

Gushan: the Formation of a Chan Lineage During the Seventeenth Century and Its Spread to
Taiwan

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ABSTRACT

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Taking Gushan 鼓山 Monastery in Fujian Province as a reference point, this dissertation investigates the formation of the Gushan Chan lineage in Fujian area and its later diffusion process to Taiwan. From the perspective of religion diffusion studies, this dissertation investigates the three stages of this process: 1. the displacement of Caodong 曹洞 Chan center to Fujian in the seventeenth century; 2. Chinese migration bringing Buddhism to Taiwan in the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) and 3. the expansion diffusion activities of the institutions and masters affiliated with this lineage in Taiwan during the Japanese rule (1895-1945), and the new developments of humanistic Buddhism (*renjian fojiao* 人間佛教) after 1949. In this spreading process of the Gushan Chan lineage, Taiwanese Buddhism has emerged as the bridge between Chinese and Japanese Buddhism because of its unique historical experiences. It is in the expansion diffusion activities of the Gushan Chan lineage in Taiwan that Taiwanese Buddhism has gradually attained autonomy during the Japanese rule, leading to post-war new developments in contemporary humanistic Buddhism.

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To Chao-cheng Yu and Yu-ju Yang

Chapter 1 Introduction

My dissertation focuses on the case of the Gushan 鼓山 Monastery in Fujian Province to investigate the formation and spread of its Chan lineage from Fujian to Taiwan since the seventeenth century in the three stages of the displacement of its center *to* Fujian, Chinese migration bringing Buddhism *to* Taiwan in the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), the expansion diffusion activities of the institutions and masters affiliated with this lineage *in* Taiwan during the Japanese rule (1895-1945), and the new developments of Taiwanese Chan Buddhism after World War II under the influences of Gushan masters who fled to Taiwan from China with the retreat of KMT (Nationalist Party of China) government and armies in 1949.

In this spreading process of the Gushan Chan lineage, Taiwanese Buddhism has emerged as the crossroad or bridge between Chinese and Japanese Buddhism because of its unique historical experiences: it not only received lineage transmissions from Gushan (and other Buddhist traditions after 1949), but also was influenced by Japanese Zen Schools during the Japanese rule. On the other hand, Taiwanese Buddhism is by no means playing a merely passive role solely affected by both Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. Rather, it has agency. In other words, the interactions between Gushan and Taiwanese Buddhism were not one-way, but bidirectional: during the Japanese rule, the precept-giving activity was reexported from Taiwan to Gushan; nowadays, Taiwanese Chan Buddhism even reintroduces humanistic Buddhism (*renjian fojiao* 人間佛教), the modernized form of Chinese

Buddhism developed in Taiwan¹, back to China.

How has Taiwanese Buddhism evolved and changed into the form we see today? To answer the question, this dissertation brings the readers back to the very starting point of this long story: Gushan, because it is in the expansion diffusion activities of the Gushan Chan lineage in Taiwan that Taiwanese Buddhism has gradually attained autonomy during the Japanese rule, leading to post-war new developments in contemporary humanistic Buddhism.

1. Research Motives and Goals

When we think of the area where Buddhism had prospered in Chinese history, Zhejiang Province might be the immediate answer. Therefore, one might ask why do I choose Gushan Monastery in Fujian as my research topic rather than other monasteries in Zhejiang?

Indeed, the impression of Zhejiang as the representative area for Chinese Buddhism could be considered as formed by the establishment of the Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries system in the Southern Song (1127-1279) which esteemed the monasteries in Zhejiang Province, where the capital of the Southern Song was located, as the highest rank, and the appointment of abbots of these monasteries by the court was regarded as the highest glory for the masters so chosen. In the beginning of the Ming (1368-1644) dynasty, because the capital was in Nanjing, the monasteries around Nanjing and in Jiangsu Province, where Nanjing was located, were also listed among these prestigious institutions.²

¹ Humanistic Buddhism will be discussed further in Chapter 6 below.

² Hasebe, “Gosan no izi to sinzyū no sidai”(五山の位次と晋住の次第), in Hasebe(1993):110-118. The Five Mountains are all in Zhejiang: 1. Jingshan in Yuhang(餘杭徑山寺); 2.Linying in Qiantang(錢塘靈隱寺); 3. Jingci in Qiantang(錢塘淨

However, Fujian Province, the focus area of this study, has also had its own splendid Buddhist tradition. While Zhejiang Buddhism was valued for their connections with political centers, Fujian Buddhism was praised for its cultural enterprise of printing Buddhist canons since the Song dynasty (960-1279).³ In 1929, when the Japanese Buddhist scholar Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定 visited Gushan Monastery, he found abundant printing blocks of Buddhist canons there and praised Gushan as the number one monastery in contemporary China in its institutional scale,⁴ This shows that Gushan had played an important role in Fujian Buddhism till the early twentieth century.

Moreover, in the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), Fujian Province was an exporting area of Chinese Buddhism and Gushan Monastery was one of the exporting centers. Through the case study of this monastery, I hope to explore the long neglected contributions of Fujian Buddhism and the spreading of its lineage to Taiwan. I do this by asking how was the Caodong Chan School spread? How was the new lineage established in Fujian in the late Ming and early Qing? How was the Gushan Chan lineage spread to Taiwan through the consanguineous, geographical and religious affinities between Fujian and Taiwan forged in the migration waves from the southeastern coastal region of the mainland to the island in the Pacific Rim? By answering these questions, I hope to shed some light on both the

慈寺); 4. Tiantong in Ningpo(寧波天童寺); 5. Yuwang in Ningpo(寧波育王寺).

³ Both the two Buddhist canons printed respectively by Dongchan Monastery(東禪寺) and Kaiyuan Monastery(開元寺) in Song Dynasty in Fuzhou city in Fujian are called Fuzhou version or Fujian version. Though they could not be found in China any more, they are preserved in monasteries in Japan. See Shiina Kōyū(椎名宏雄), *So Gen ban zenseki no kenkyū*(宋元版禪籍の研究)(Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1993):212, 233. Cited from Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fo jiao Jialiushi*(台灣與閩日佛教交流史)(Kaoshiung: Chunhui Chubanshe, 2008):51-54.

⁴ Tokiwa Daijō, *Shina bukkyō shiseki tōsaki* (支那仏教史蹟踏査記, Tokyo: Ryūginsha, 1938) (Tokyo: Ryūginsha, 1938):662-668. Cited from *ibid.*: 39, 53-4.

formation of the Caodong Chan School in southern China in Ming-Qing transition, and the historical, social, political and cultural contexts of the spread and development of Chinese Buddhism in Taiwan.

As to the research field of Chan School in the late Ming and early Qing in the recent twenty years, the works by Hasebe Yūkei (1993) and Jiang Wu (2008)⁵ have displayed the historical background and charted the phenomena of the revival of Chan School in this period. Both works could be seen as further studies based on their earlier researches on Linji lineages of Sanfeng 三峰 and Huangbo 黃蘗.⁶ While Hasebe made major contributions in explicating the activities of Hanyue Fazang 漢月法藏 (1573-1635), the establisher of the Sanfeng lineage, and the later persecution the lineage suffered during Yongzheng reign(1723-1735), Wu focused on the reinvention of Chan tradition in seventeenth-century China through the lens of a series of disputes the Huangbo masters engaged in, which were motivated by their claim of Linji orthodoxy (*Linji zhengzhong* 臨濟正宗).

In these works, Caodong School, though traditionally regarded as the counterpart of Linji, were rarely dealt with as an independent topic,⁷ and many prominent Caodong Chan masters are, as Eichman puts it, “only mentioned in passing or in a short synopsis”.⁸ However, in the late Ming and

⁵ Hasebe Yūkei(長谷部幽蹊), *Min Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū* (明清仏教教団史研究, *A Study of Chinese Buddhist Clergy in the Ming and the Qing Dynasties*) (Tokyo:Dōhōha, 1993); Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute* (Oxford University Press, 2008)

⁶ Hasebe Yūkei, “Sanhō ichimon no ryūtai”(三峰一門の隆替, “The Rise and Fall of the Lineage of Sanfeng”), in 愛知学院大学論叢一般教育研究 I, 31.4(1984): 29-69; II, 32.1(1985):3-35; III, 32.2(1985):133-50; IV, 33.3 (1986):29-47; V, 33.4(1986): 59-80; Jiang Wu, *Orthodoxy, Controversy and the Transformation of Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-century China* (Ph. D diss., Harvard University, 2002)

⁷ Hasebe had a short essay on Wuyi Yuanlai’s Boshan(博山) lineage, see Hasebe, “Hakusan no monryū”(博山の門流, “The Lineage of Master Boshan”), in 印度学仏教学研究 49(1976): 251-54.

⁸ Eichman, Jennifer Lynn, “Humanizing the Study of Late Ming Buddhism”:2, in the 3rd Sheng Yen Education Foundation International Interdisciplinary Conference (May, 2010)

early Qing, one can observe the rise of Caodong School in southern China, which could be taken as a new development of Caodong Chan after the Song and Yuan dynasties and deserves an overall study. One of the attempts of this dissertation is to head in this direction through the case study of Gushan Monastery.

Moreover, the study on Caodong School will certainly give us a chance to examine the revival of Chan Buddhism in this period from a new perspective which could complement the model of Linji School established by both Hasebe and Wu and develop a more comprehensive understanding of the spread of Chan lineages and the interactions between them. According to the Hasebe-Wu model, Chan Buddhism in the late Ming and early Qing could be characterized by conservative and sectarian tendency of Linji School. Firstly, it reinvented the tradition and emphasized on “authentic” Chan practices such as beating and shouting. Secondly, it insisted a strict definition of dharma transmission which was used as an organizing principle to extend Linji monastic network. However, there were different voices and movements in other directions.

In contrast to Linji, the Caodong lineage held more liberal attitude toward dharma transmission and showed a relative freedom beyond the boundaries between lineage affiliations in strict sense. As to the Chan educational pedagogy and training methods, rather than adopting the somewhat ritualized and formalized Chan dialogues, Caodong lineages were more pragmatic and inherited the legacy of Buddhist tradition of doctrine studies, Pure Land practices, esoteric rituals and precepts-giving

promoted by the three eminent monks Zibo Zhenko 紫柏真可(1543-1603), Yunqi Zhuhong 雲棲祿宏 (1535-1615), and Hanshan Deqing 憨山德清(1546-1623) in the late Ming.⁹

Through the case study of Gushan Monastery, this dissertation firstly attempts to focus on the contributions of the two abbots: Yuanjue Yuanxian 永覺元賢(1578-1657) and Weilin Daopei 為霖道霈 (1615-1702) to show how Caodong lineage took root in Fujian and argue that it is their relatively inclusive attitude towards the distinctions of Chan lineages and promotion of precepts-giving and Pure Land practices that formed the distinctive characteristics of Gushan Monastery which played major roles in the later spread of its lineage to Taiwan.

In the field of Taiwanese Buddhist Studies, Charles Brewer Jones' *Buddhism in Taiwan: religion and the state, 1660-1990* (1999) is a pioneering work in English providing a broad sketch of “the institutional and political aspects of the history of Chinese Buddhism in Taiwan”¹⁰ based on the research results of the newly emerging Taiwan area studies since late 1980s. Contrast to Jones' overarching narratives of Taiwan Buddhism, this dissertation focuses on the spread of the Gushan Chan lineage to Taiwan, tracing its origin back to Fujian to give a full picture of the diffusion processes, and, informed by the new contributions of scholars in this field in the twenty first century,¹¹ on its

⁹ Sheng-yen Chang (張聖嚴), *Mingmo Fojiao Yanjiu*(明末佛教研究, *A Study of Chinese Buddhism in the Late Ming*): 6-7. (Taipei: Tongchu chubanshe, 1987).

¹⁰ Charles Brewer Jones' *Buddhism in Taiwan : religion and the state, 1660-1990*: xiii (Honolulu, HI : University of Hawai'i Press, 1999). The sketch is in a three-stage periodization: “the Ming and Qing dynasty (1660-1895)”, “the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945)” and “from retrocession [of Taiwan from Japan to Chinese rule] to the modern period (1945-1990)”.

¹¹ To name but a few: Chün-Fang Yü, *Passing the Light: The Incense Light Community and Buddhist Nuns in Contemporary Taiwan* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2013); Elise Anne Devido, *Taiwan's Buddhist Nuns* (Albany : SUNY Press, 2010); Jiang Tsanteng (江燦騰), *A History of Taiwan Buddhism* (台灣佛教史, Taipei: Wunan, 2009); C. Julia Huang,

cooperative-competitive interactions with Japanese Buddhism and Confucianism to reveal both reception and resistance factors in its dissemination in Taiwan and the post-war new developments of humanistic Buddhism.

2. Research Method

The methodological approach this dissertation adopts to the topic is from the perspective of religion diffusion studies, one sub-field of geography of religion. In the subject of geography of religion,¹² David E. Sopher's *Geography of Religions* (1967) remains a landmark book. It points out the research topics of geography of religion include: (1) the significance of the environmental setting for the evolution of religious systems and particular religious institutions; (2) the way religious systems and institutions modify their environment; (3) the different ways whereby religious systems occupy and organize segments of earth space; (4) the geographical distribution of religions and the way religious systems spread and interact with each other.¹³ The topics (1) and (2) emphasize the geographical constraints of the origin of religions (like the relationship between the desert environments of the Middle East and the origin of the Jewish-Christian monotheism) and the changes of the landscapes

Charisma and Compassion : Cheng Yen and the Buddhist Tzu Chi Movement (Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 2009); Huiyan (慧嚴), *The Exchanges among Taiwan, Fujian and Japanese Buddhism* (台灣與閩日佛教交流史, 2008) Cheng-tian Kuo, *Religion and Democracy in Taiwan* (Albany : State University of New York Press, 2008); André Laliberté, *The Politics of Buddhist Organizations in Taiwan, 1989-2003: Safeguarding the Faith, Building a Pure Land, Helping the Poor* (London ; New York : Routledge Curzon, 2004); Stuart Chandler, *Establishing a Pure Land on Earth : the Foguang Buddhist Perspective on Modernization and Globalization* (Honolulu : University of Hawai'i Press, 2004).

¹² A brief review of the development of the subject, see Chris C. Park, *Sacred Worlds: an Introduction to Geography and Religion* (London ; New York : Routledge, 1994):7-30.

¹³ David E. Sopher's *Geography of Religions* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. : Prentice-Hall, 1967): 2.

caused by religious activities (like Chinese Chan schools developed the tea-planting activities in the hills because drinking tea can prevent dozing in their meditation practices). These two topics belong more to geography and are of less relevance here. As to the topic (3), it tends to deal with the spatial structure of organization from a synchronic and static perspective. However, the related topic in this dissertation is (4), that is, to analyze the dynamic process of the spread and diffusion of the Gushan Chan lineage diachronically¹⁴.

In religion diffusion studies, many basic concepts and main principles are borrowed from the diffusion of innovations¹⁵. In his classical research of the diffusion of innovations, Everett M. Rogers defines diffusion as “the process in which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system”¹⁶. Basically speaking, an innovation is “an idea, practice, or object that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption”¹⁷, and the essence of the diffusion of these innovations is “the information exchange through which one individual communicates a new idea to one or several others”¹⁸.

What is more important for this dissertation is that Rogers’ definition reminds us that the diffusion does not happen in a vacuum, but has its own temporal / historical background (“over time”) and is

¹⁴ The approach here is informed by an application of Sopher’s framework to a study of how Christianity as a new religion has been spread, penetrated and settled down in local society in Japan provided by Isooka Tetsuya 磯岡哲也, *Syukyoteki Shinnentaiki no Denpa to Henyō* (宗教的信念体系の伝播と変容, *The Spread and Changes of Religious Belief Systems*)(Tokyo: Gakubunsha, 1999).

¹⁵ Park, *Sacred Worlds*: 99.

¹⁶ Everett M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations* (5th edition, New York: Free Press, 2003): 5.

¹⁷ *ibid.*: 12.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*: 18.

embedded in the concrete social contexts (“among the members of a social system”). In Roger W.

Stump’s word, this dissertation focuses on the spatial dynamics of religious distributions:

encompassing “the processes through which religions have emerged in particular hearths and then diffused to other locations through processes of migration and conversion”¹⁹ to explore the *spatial* diffusion in *regional* (local societies in Fujian and Taiwan areas) and *historical* contexts, taking a “geo-historical synthesis” or “chronotopo” (time-space) approach²⁰.

Furthermore, in religion diffusion studies, two basic types of diffusion processes have been discerned:²¹

- (1) Expansion diffusion: like the dispersion of diseases, much religious spread takes place through direct / contagious contact between believers and nonbelievers in daily life or in conversion and proselytizing rituals and activities, or through indirect mediums like scriptures, preaching notes, propagandizing publications and other mass media or telecommunication means. One especially

¹⁹ Taking religion as a cultural system, four interrelated themes are explored in Roger W. Stump’s *The Geography of Religion* (2008): the first is (1) the spatial dynamics of religious distributions mentioned here, and the other three are: (2) the contextuality of religious belief and practice: centering on how the adherents of religions have simultaneously influenced and being influenced by the distinct local surroundings and living contexts; (3) religious territoriality in secular space: regarding territoriality as “a form of cultural strategy through which individuals and groups seek to exert control over the meanings and uses of particular portions of geographical space”, this theme analyzes how religious belief and practices are integrated into the spatial structure of believers’ daily life such as the legal, dining, educational and dressing institutions and expressions.; and (4) the meanings and uses of sacred space: taking sacred place as a locus of interaction with the divine or the supernatural, this theme displays one of the basic recognitions of geography of religion: “religious groups do not simply exist in space; they also imagine and construct space in terms of their faith” in diverse ways according to the sources of religious significance, like cosmological, theocentric, hierophanic, historical, hierenergetic, authoritative and ritual spaces. Stump, *The Geography of Religion: Faith, Place and Space* (Lanham, Md. : Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008): 5-7, 18-19, 23, 221-222, 301-305.

²⁰ The approach of bringing time and space, the “two fundamental categories of analysis into closer alignment” is emphasized in James Robson, *Power of Place: the Religious Landscape of the Southern Sacred Peak(Nanyue 南嶽) in Medieval China* (Cambridge : Harvard University Asia Center, 2009): 8, 10.

²¹ Park, *Sacred Worlds*: 100; a concise definition of the two types, see a book designed for advanced placement exam: Kelly Swanson, Kaplan AP Human Geography 2009 (Kaplan Publishing, 2009): 54-55.

efficient way belonging to this type is “hierarchy diffusion” in top-down spreading manner: new beliefs are adopted or received by leaders such as state rulers or social elites, and then disseminate through hierarchical organizations.

- (2) Relocation diffusion: the physical spread of religion through spatial movements of terrestrial crossings²² when individuals or groups of people bring beliefs with themselves from one area (usually its birthplace or hearth) to another in missionary dispatch or in voluntary or forced displacements of migration / diaspora based on secular or religious motives²³.

Expansion diffusion involves the spread of religion *within* an area, while relocation diffusion refers to the transfer of religion *between* areas.²⁴ This dissertation investigates both the relocation diffusion and expansion diffusion processes of the Gushan Chan lineage in three stages:

- (1) Displacement of Caodong Chan center to Fujian and the introduction of its lineage into Gushan Monastery in late Ming and early Qing.
- (2) Migration waves bringing Chinese Buddhism from Fujian to Taiwan during Qing-ruling period which set up the background and environments for the dissemination of the Gushan Chan lineage to Taiwan and its rapid development in the next stage.

²² Thomas A. Tweed suggests that religions are not only about being in place (dwelling) but also about moving across (crossing). He points out three types of crossings: (1) terrestrial crossings: devotees traversing natural terrain and social space beyond the home and across the homeland; (2) corporeal crossings: the religious fixing their attention on the limits of embodied existence; (3) cosmic crossings: the pious imaging and crossing the ultimate horizon of human life. (Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling* (Harvard University Press, 2006):123) The relocation diffusion discussed here is mostly close to the type (1) “terrestrial crossings” listed above.

²³ Park further distinguishes three basic mechanisms involved in relocation diffusion according to levels of scale: (1)the movement of an entire religious group(2)the dispersion of a group as individual members migrate(3)the arrival of missionaries.(*Sacred Worlds*: 138)

²⁴ *Ibid*, 142.

(3) Expansion activities of Buddhist institutions belonging to the Gushan Chan lineage within Taiwan during the period under the Japanese rule (1895-1945) and post-war period. In the period of the Japanese rule, the institutions in Taiwan had gradually obtained local autonomy but still kept intimate exchanges with its hearth in Gushan which constituted the bidirectional dynamics of the spread of the Gushan lineage. After 1949, though all the connections and interchanges between Taiwan and China were interrupted because Taiwan was ruled by the Nationalist government (Kuo Min Tang [*guomin dang* 國民黨], or KMT) which took the Communist Party of China as its sworn enemy, Gushan masters who fled to Taiwan from China did continue the expansion diffusion of the Gushan lineage in Taiwan.

This dissertation attempts to answer two questions about the “relocation diffusion” and the “expansion diffusion” of the Gushan lineage. Firstly, as to the “relocation diffusion”, it asks how the Gushan lineage was spread from one area to another by investigating into the possible motives and the dynamics behind its movements; secondly, as for the “expansion diffusion”, it asks how the Gushan lineage was spread within an area by examining two kinds of factors: 1. the means and the strategies through which it took root and developed in the local societies; and 2. the official religious policies and the measure the Gushan lineage took in reaction to it.

In Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, as to how Caodong center moved from northern China to southern China in the seventeenth century, I argue for three possible motive forces: 1. the decline of Shaolin

Monastery, the northern Caodong center, due to the destructions brought by the rebel armies against the Ming court; 2. the rise of School of the Mind of Neo-Confucianism in the south which attracted Caodong masters; and 3. the discontent with the literary Chan teachings of Shaolin Monastery.

In Chapter 4, as to how the Gushan lineage spread from Fujian to Taiwan, I argue that it is through the frequent exchanges and intimate interactions in the precepts-giving and precept-receiving and the establishment of ordination platforms in Taiwan in the early twentieth century that the bidirectional dynamics of the relocation diffusion of Gushan lineage was constructed.

On the other hand, as for the expansion diffusion of the Gushan lineage, in Chapter 2, I argue that the surviving strategy it employed in the turmoil of the Ming-Qing transition was to obtain the continuous supports from the local patrons since the late Ming through connecting the monastery with the Ming loyalists in the symbolic level while avoiding the suppression of the Manchu rulers in the substantial level by helping them in the area of public service and contributing to the stabilization of the social order during this critical period, which was the key to its success in becoming eventually firmly rooted in Fujian.

In Chapter 3, I point out that the emergence of new institutional structure of Chan lineage and the adoption of the naming practices from Chan tonsure lineage, the promotion of the joint practice of Chan and Pure Land, the reformist ideals of reviving the monastic discipline, the continuing interests of precepts-giving activities and the organization of lay Buddhist associations, all of which were the

means through which the Gushan lineage penetrated and settled down in Fujian.

In Chapter 4, I argue that the expansion diffusion of the Gushan lineage in Taiwan was through the surviving and thriving strategies adopted by the five main temples of the Gushan lineage for balancing the influences from both Japanese and Chinese Buddhism: contacting with and joining in Japanese Buddhism system to search for administrative convenience and the protection while keeping traditional Chinese Buddhist characteristics introduced from Gushan to attract the local Taiwanese believers.

Moreover, as to how the government religious policies influenced the expansion diffusion of the Gushan lineage in both Fujian and Taiwan, firstly, in Chapter 3, I argue that because Gushan succeeded Zhuhong's legacy and kept promoting Zhuhong's reformist ideals which had been regarded as orthodox by the Qing government, the Gushan lineage obtained imperial patronage and established its irreplaceable status as the precepts-giving center in Fujian, which led to its spread to Taiwan.

Secondly, in Chapter 5, I traced the three-stage changes of the religious policies in Taiwan under the rule of Japan, and argue that the expansion diffusion of the five main temples of the Gushan lineage on the island was dominated by the colonist will to assimilation of the island inhabitants. In this process, the Gushan lineage in Taiwan had undergone gradual Japanization through joining in the operations of Sōtō or Rinzai systems and dispatching disciples to receive the Buddhist education in Japan. Finally, when the thoroughgoing imperialization was imposed in the war time, the five main temples had been incorporated into imperial-way Buddhism.

In Chapter 6, I point out that under the martial law rule of KMT government, though the Japanized Buddhist organizations in Taiwan went into decline, the ideals of humanistic Buddhism have successfully transformed the traditional Buddhist virtues of wisdom and compassion into the social practices of monastic education and charity works and won over the supports of the Taiwanese and obtained impressive accomplishments on both local and global levels.

3. Contents and Materials

In Chapter 2, I investigate the formation of the Gushan Chan lineage in Gushan Monastery by focusing on the displacement of the Caodong center in north China, followed by its successful development in southern China in the seventeenth century. It shows how Gushan Monastery was rebuilt from the ruins by the cooperation between the local literati and the Caodong Chan masters, and its surviving strategies during the turmoil of the Ming-Qing transition and the hostile political atmosphere brought by the representative of Manchu conquerors in southern China.

Chapter 3 continues the study of the previous chapter and delves deeper into the spreading activities of Gushan. It will firstly discuss the historical development of the Chan lineage and focus on how the introduction of the dharma transmission lineage into Gushan monastery made Gushan become a “dharma transmission monastery” (*chuangfa conglin* 傳法叢林)²⁵ and eventually led to the formation of the Gushan Chan lineage. Secondly, it will examine how its promotion of Pure Land practices and its

²⁵ As we will see in Chapter 3, *chuangfa conglin* emerged as a new Chan monastery type in the seventeenth century.

precepts-giving which gained the imperial recognition and authorization contributed to the introduction and establishment of the Gushan Chan lineage in Fujian.

In these two chapters, the works of the main abbots of Gushan Monastery in the Ming-Qing transition period and other related contemporary Chan writings collected in the Buddhist Canon, monastery gazetteers, local history books, miscellaneous notes of contemporary literati and even a local novel of Fuzhou City are used to reconstruct the formation and development of the Gushan Chan lineage in Fujian.

Chapter 4 firstly explores the second stage of the diffusion processes: Chinese migration from Fujian to Taiwan, and then deals with how the Gushan lineage was spread to Taiwan through imparting precepts to monks from Taiwan and how it resulted in the establishment of the five main monasteries which I call as the “Five Mountains”²⁶ in the early twentieth century under the Japanese rule. The “Five Mountains” in Taiwan are (listed from north to south):

(1) Lingquan Temple 靈泉寺 on Mt. Yuemei 月眉山 in Keelung 基隆;

(2) Lingyun Chan Temple 凌雲禪寺 on Mt. Guanyin 觀音山 in Wugu Township 五股;

(3) Fayun Temple 法雲寺 in Dahu Township 大湖 in Miaoli 苗栗;

(4) Kaiyuan Temple 開元寺 in Tainan City 台南 and

(5) Chaofeng Temple 超峰寺 on Mt. Dagang 大崗山 in Kaohsiung 高雄.

²⁶ What should be noticed is that the term of the “Five Mountains” here is coined by myself to refer to the five main monasteries of the Gushan lineage in Taiwan under the Japanese rule, and it has nothing to do with the formal system of the Five Mountains appeared in the history of Chinese Buddhism and Japanese Buddhism.

One of the main attempts in Chapter 4 is to calibrate the spatial structure of organization of the Gushan lineage through observing the ordination ceremonies held in Taiwan by these institutions for the first time in history in this period. As Sopher points out, the degree of ritual self-sufficiency and autonomy of liturgical matters accorded to the local community is a useful index in locating the spatial structure of religious organization on the continuum between local autonomy and a centralized territorial hierarchy.²⁷ This chapter argues that the frequent exchanges between Taiwan and Fujian Buddhism showed both the convergence (to Fujian) and divergence (to Taiwan) directions or centripetal and centrifugal forces simultaneously constructing the dynamics of the diffusion of the Gushan lineage.

Chapter 5 turns to another aspect of expansion activities of the Gushan lineage in Taiwan through inquiring into the associations of the institutions with Japanese Buddhism and their disputes on the Buddhist precepts with Confucian literati in Taiwan to analyze both triumphant developments and the frustrating encounters they underwent in the period under the Japanese rule.

Thanks to the efforts of scholars in the field of Taiwan Buddhism, we now have the Taiwanese Buddhist Digital Database 台灣佛教史資料庫(2002), the only one digital database in this field, which contains the largest database in this area of study, including precious historical materials such as journal articles (full text in many cases), indexes to books and journal articles, transcripts of interviews,

²⁷ Sopher(1967): 57.

historical documents, multimedia resources and so on.²⁸ Chapter 4 and 5 take advantage of the materials related to the period under the Japanese rule collected in this database and other materials which became available through recent research results. Another important resource is the *Private Collection of Materials on Taiwanese Religions* 民間私藏臺灣宗教資料彙編(2009)²⁹ which provides information about Buddhism, Confucianism, sectarianism and other folk beliefs in the periods under the Qing rule (1683-1895) and the Japanese rule (1895-1945).

Besides, for the international tripartite interactions and associations among the “Five Mountains” in Taiwan, Chinese Buddhism and Japanese Buddhism in the early twentieth century, I will rely on the treasurable historical materials provided by the official reports of the investigation of religions in Taiwan conducted by the Japanese government, the newspapers like *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報 Taiwan Daily Newspaper) and *Taiwan Minpō* (臺灣民報 Taiwan People’s Newspaper), and Buddhist periodicals issued in this period such as *Nanei Bukkyō* (南瀛佛教) of The South Seas Buddhist Association, *Shūhō* (宗報) of Sōtō School, *Shōbōrin* (正法輪) of Rinzai School and so on to construct my discourses. Furthermore, the precious manuscripts, documents and out-of-print books preserved in Academia Sinica in Taipei and Yuan Guang Buddhist Institute (圓光佛學研究所)³⁰ will also be consulted.

²⁸ <http://buddhisticinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/taiwanbuddhism/tb/>. The main contributors include Ven. Huimin Bhikkhu(釋惠敏), Yang Huinan(楊惠南), Tu Aming(杜正民) and Charles B. Jones.

²⁹ Edited by Wang Chien-chuan(王見川), Li Shiwei (李世偉) *et al.* (Luzhou City, Taipei County: Boyang Publishing, 2009)

³⁰ Yuan Guang Buddhist Institute was founded by Ven. Ruwu (如悟) in 1987 in Zhongli (中壢) in northern Taiwan.

In conclusion, I will point out the post-war new developments of humanistic Buddhism in Taiwan and then summarize and review the main thesis and arguments made in the prior chapters.

This dissertation narrates the story about the formation and spread of the Gushan Chan lineage, taking the displacement of Caodong Chan center as its starting points. Here I like to offer some remarks as preparation for the next chapter.

4. Some Remarks on Displacement

In Chinese Buddhism history, the development of Caodong School could be divided into three stages, and the formation of southern Caodong School in the late Ming and early Qing could be regarded as the third stage development of the Caodong tradition after Southern Song and Yuan dynasties. These stages are:

(1) After the Caodong transmission was established in late Tang by Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (807-869) and Caoshan Benji 曹山本寂 (840-901) in Jiangxi Province, it, however, was considered almost disappeared during the eleventh century³¹. The first new major development in the Caodong School occurred in the beginning of the Southern Song (1127-1279) when its tradition was revived by the lineage of Furong Daokai 芙蓉道楷 (1043-1118) and spread from Hubei to Fujian and Zhejiang Provinces, which was perceived as a threat by the dominant Linji tradition³². It is first in Fujian then in

³¹ Morten Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen: The Dispute Over Enlightenment and the Formation of Chan in Song-Dynasty China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010): 79.

³² *ibid.*: 10.

Zhejiang that Linji master Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089-1163) began his criticism of what he called the “silent-illumination heterodox Chan” 默照邪禪 taught by contemporary Caodong masters Zhengxie Qingliao 真歇清了(1088-1151), the abbot of Xuefeng 雪峰 Monastery in Fujian, and Hongzhi Zhengjue 宏智正覺 (1091-1157), the abbot of Tiantong 天童 Monastery in Zhejiang, to create activity spaces for the Linji lineage in southern China and to promote his own method of “gong-an (kōan / public case) -introspecting Chan” 看話禪, which led to the most important and influential opposition in Chan practices.³³

(2) The second stage began in the Yuan dynasty under the rule of the Mongols. This stage was not the continuation of the silent-illumination Chan in southern China, but characterized by the rise of northern Caodong School. As we know, while the silent-illumination Chan method was introduced into Japan by Dōgen 道元(1200-1253) and prospered there, the method became extinct in southern China in Yuan Dynasty³⁴ and the gong-an(kōan / public case)-introspecting Chan method originated from Linji had been adopted by both Linji and Caodong Schools.

While in southern China the silent-illumination Chan declined, in northern China from the lineage of Furong Daokai and Lumen Zijue 鹿門自覺 (?-1117), there appeared the eminent Caodong master

³³ Thomas Yūhō Kirchner ed., Ruth Fuller Sasaki tr., *The Record of Linji* (Honolulu : University of Hawai‘i Press, 2009): 111, note.75; Morten Schlütter, “The Caodong Tradition as the Target of Attacks by the Linji Tradition”, Ch.6 of Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*:122-143. About Zonggao’s criticism of Qingliao in Fujian, see Ishii Shūdō (石井修道), *Sōdai zenshūshi no kenkyū*(宋代禪宗史の研究, *A Study of Chan Buddhism in the Song Dynasty*)(Tokyo: Daito Shuppan,1987): 83- 102; Ishii Shūdō, “Nansōzen wo dō toraeruka”(南宋禪をどうとらえるか, “How to Catch Chan Buddhism in the Southern Song Dynasty?”), in Suzuki, Tetsuo(鈴木哲雄) ed., *Sōdai zenshū no syakaiteki eikyu*(宋代禪宗の社会的影響, *The Social Influences of Chan Buddhism in the Song Dynasty*)(Tōkyō : Sankibō Busshorin, 2002): 259-275.

³⁴ Ishii Shūdō (1987): 280.

Wangsong Xingxiu 萬松行秀(1166-1246), who founded the second stage development of the Caodong School in the Yuan dynasty. Xingxiu's dharma heir Xueting Fuyu 雪庭福裕(1203-1275) revived the Shaolin Monastery 少林寺 in Mt. Shaoshi 少室 of Mt. Song 嵩山, and established a stable Caodong transmission there, which had been patronized by the Mongol royal family until the end of the Yuan dynasty. As a result, in the Yuan dynasty the main center of Caodong School shifted from Fujian and Zhejiang to Mt. Song in Henan Province.

With the shift of Caodong center to the north, Linji School spread rapidly in southern China through the efforts of a series of Linji masters in the Yuan dynasty.³⁵ The southern Linji School was so prosperous that the birthplace of Linji School, Linji Monastery 臨濟寺 in Hebei Province in northern China, felt threatened and erected the stele of "Linji orthodoxy" through the emperor's edict to claim its authority.³⁶

(3) The third stage of the development of Caodong School is the subject of this dissertation. This stage witnessed the center of Caodong shifted back again to its place of origin (Jiangxi) and southern China (Zhejiang, Fujian and Guangdong) in the late Ming and early Qing. In this movement, the Caodong School reoccupied its social and cultural space in southern China and reclaimed its position from Linji School, which again was taken as a threat by the dominant Linji tradition and caused vehement

³⁵ Hasebe gives examples in Zhejiang: Huyan Jingfu(虎巖淨符) and Yunfong Miaogao(雲峰高妙) in Jingshan Monastery(徑山), Hengzhuan Rugong(橫川如珙) in Yuwang Monastery(育王), Yuetang Zhuyin(悅堂祖閻) in Lingyin Monastery(靈隱) and Gaofeng Xuanmiao(高峰玄妙) and Zhongfong Mingben(中峰明本) in Mt. Tianmu(天目). Hasebe(1993):260.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 258-261.

disputes between the two schools as Jiang Wu's study³⁷ shows.

The displacement of Caodong center to the southern China to some extent might be ascribed to the raids of roving bandits and rebel armies in Henan Province, the Central Plains area in northern China, which led to the destruction of the northern Caodong center in the late Ming. As Meir Shahar points out, the decline of Shaolin Monastery, "began prior to the Qing conquest. Like much of the Ming military, the Shaolin Temple had been destroyed by the rebel armies that had toppled the dynasty, paving the way for the foreign invasions."³⁸

The following chapter focuses on the displacement of the Caodong School to Fujian and the formation of its lineage in the Gushan Monastery in the seventeenth century.

³⁷ Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute* (Oxford University Press, 2008).

³⁸ Meir Shahar, *The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts* (Honolulu Univ. of Hawai'i Press 2008):185.

Chapter 2 Displacement: the Spread of the Caodong Shouchang Sublineage to Gushan in the Seventeenth Century

In the third stage of the development of Caodong School, as mentioned in the previous chapter, its center moved from Henan to southern China mainly through the efforts of Wuming Huijing 無明慧經 (1548-1618) and Zhanran Yuancheng 湛然圓澄(1561-1626), who received Caodong transmission from Shaolin Monastery and established the Shouchang sublineage 壽昌系 and Yunmen sublineage 雲門系³⁹(named after their main base monasteries: Shouchang Monastery in Jiangxi and Yunmen Monastery in Guangdong) respectively. The Caodong School was thereby spread to Jiangxi, Guangdong, Fujian, Zhejiang and Jiangsu areas in the seventeenth century.⁴⁰ The Yunmen sublineage master Yuanmen Jinzhu 遠門淨柱 (1601-1654) traced the development and bifurcation of the Caodong School since the end of Southern Song (1127-1279) in his *Wudeng Huiyuan Xulue* (五燈會元續略 *A Summary of the Continued Compendium of the Five Lamps*) written in 1648 this way:

Up to the late Song dynasty, the Caodong School had flourished especially in the northern regions of the Yellow River. Therefore, when Kublai Khan of the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) summoned monks to a great assembly, the able and virtuous ones submitted themselves only to the authority of the patriarch Xueting Fuyu [of Shaolin Monastery at Shaoshi Mountain 少室山].⁴¹ Like the eighty-four tunes [in Chinese traditional music] take the tune of Huangzhong 黃

³⁹ Yunmen sublineage (雲門系) belongs to the Caodong School and not the Yunmen School (雲門宗) founded by Yunmen Wenyan (雲門文偃, 864–949).

⁴⁰ For general information about the activities of the two sublineages, see Limin Wu (吳立民) ed., Yun Ho (何雲) et al., *Chan-zong Zongpai Yuanliu* (禪宗宗派源流): 471-490 (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehuikexue Chubanshe 1998); for a short sketch of the rise of the two sublineages, see Jiang Wu, “The Rise of the Caodong School”, *Enlightenment in Dispute*: 93-97.

⁴¹ According to the biography of Fuyu in the first fascicle this *Xulue*, the great assembly was held in 1271 (the eighth year of Zhiyuan(至元)), and one-third of the assembly were made up by Fuyu’s dharma heirs (師之嗣法者居三之一). See

鐘 as their head, and thirty-six spokes converge upon the nave of wheel.⁴² It is certainly the most flourishing moment! Who can compare with him! Unfortunately, before the rise of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and after the Jin (金, 1115-1234) and Liao (遼, 916-1125) dynasties [sic], the northern regions of Yellow River had become the battlefield, and famous monasteries were defiled by the armed forces and the Chan establishment suffered from fires set off by troops..... Though Chan transmissions [in northern regions of Yellow River] have not been broken off and could be clearly recorded, few people were illuminated by them. Till now, only the three petals 三葉⁴³ of Yunmen, Shouchang and [Shaolin Monastery in] Shaoshi Mountain⁴⁴ are said to exist in comparatively large numbers.⁴⁵

Later on, in the Qing dynasty, out of Shouchang sublineage and Yunmen sublineage, two more

Caodong bases were formed and they have continued until now. The first is the Gushan sublineage 鼓

山系(out of Shouchang sublineage) based in Gushan Monastery in Fujian and the second is the

Jiaoshan sublineage 焦山系(out of Yunmen sublineage) based in Dinghui Monastery 定慧寺 in

Jiaoshan in Jiangsu.⁴⁶

Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo, Vol. 80, No. 1566, p.456.

⁴² The analogy of spokes and wheel nave is taken from the opening sentence of stanza 11 of *the Dao De Jing*: “Thirty spokes join the wheel nave /And make of void and form a pair, /And a wagon's put to use.”(三十輻,共一轂,當其無,有車之用)See Moss Roberts, *Laozi Dao De Jing* (University of California Press, 2001): 51.

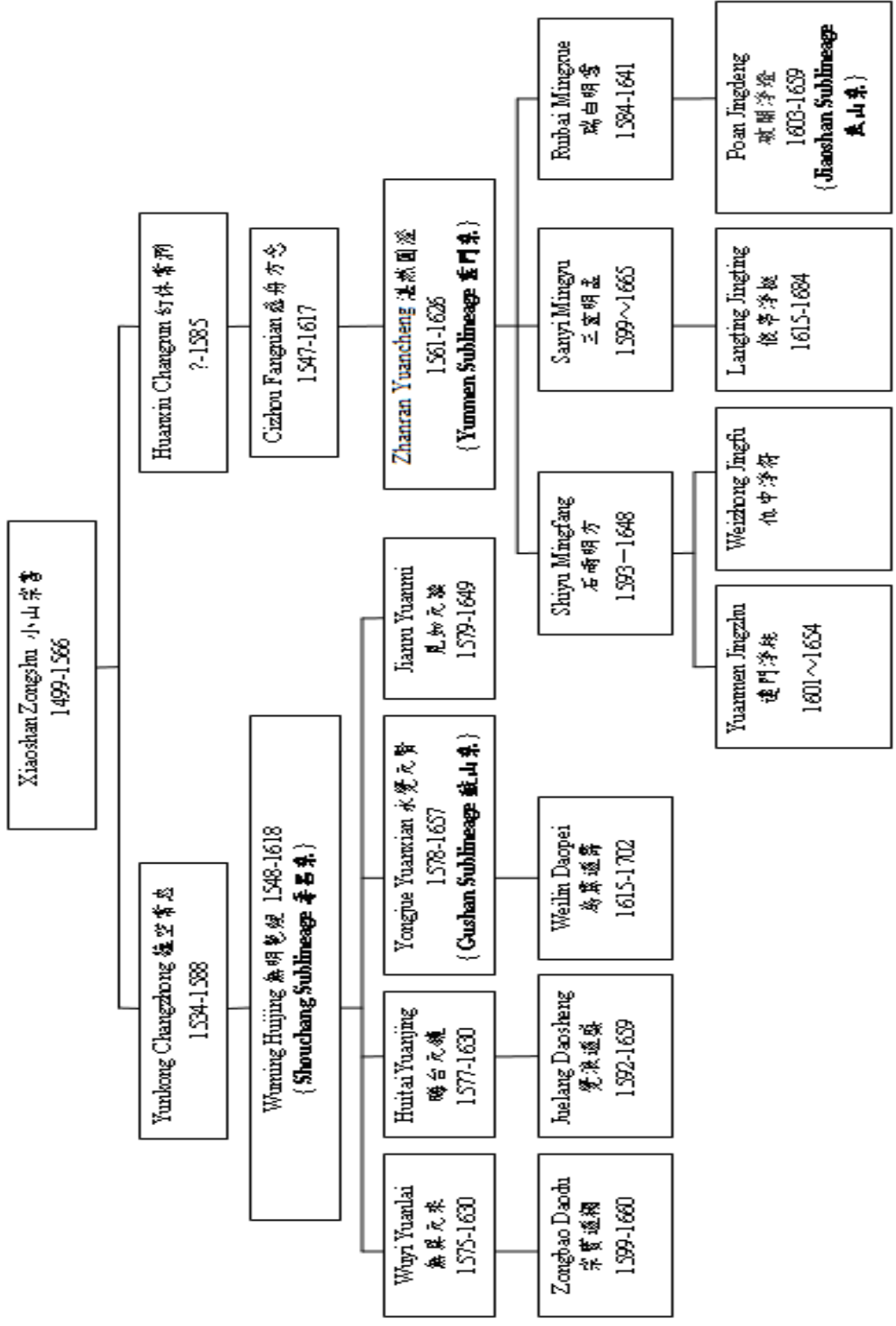
⁴³ The analogy of petals (of a flower) is taken from the ‘Verse of the First Patriarch, the Priest Bodhidharma’ in *The Platform Sutra*: “I originally came to China, /To transmit the teaching and save deluded beings./ One flower opens five petals./ And the fruit ripens of itself.” (Philip B. Yampolsky tr., *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (Columbia University, 1967):176) Yampolsky gives a note to the phrase “petal”: “This phrase is traditionally interpreted to refer to the Five Patriarchs after Bodhidharma. Another interpretation is that it predicts the later division of Ch’an into five branches: Lin-chi, Ts’ao-tung, Yiin-men, Fa-yen, and Wei-yang.”(ibid. note 267) Here “the three petals” obviously refers to the three branches/sublineages of Yunmen, Shouchang and Shaolin.

⁴⁴ The sequence of the three sublineages here might imply the superiority of Yunmen, the branch the author Jingzhu belongs to, over the other two.

⁴⁵ *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 80, No. 1566, p.444.

⁴⁶ Jiaoshan sublineage was also spread to Taiwan through Dongchu Denglang (東初鐙朗, 1908-1977), who came to Taiwan in 1949. His dharma heir Huikong Shengyen (慧空聖嚴, 1931-2009) founded Dharma Drum Mountain sublineage (法鼓山系) under Jiaoshan sublineage in Taiwan. For the transmission chart of Jiaoshan sublineage (till Dongchu Denglang) recorded by Huikong Shengyen, see his *Fayuan Xueyuan* (法源血源, *The Origin of Dharma and the Origin of Bloodline*):169(Taipei: Dongchu, 1993).

Chart 2.1. Caodong Sublineages from Shaolin Monastery in Mt. Shaoshi:
Shouchang and Yunmen Sublineages



As Chart 2.1.⁴⁷ shows, Wuming Huijing, who was famous for his revival of Baizhang Huaihai's 百丈懷海(749-814) work ethics in Shouchang Monastery 壽昌寺 in Jiangxi, had four dharma heirs: Wuyi Yuanlai 無異元來(1575-1630), Huitai Yuanjing 晦台元鏡(1577-1630), Yongjue Yuanxian 永覺元賢(1578-1657) and Jianru Yuanmi 見如元謚(1579-1649). Among them, Yongjue Yuanxian was the key character for introducing the Shouchang sublineage of the Caodong School to Fujian. This chapter examines how the Shouchang sublineage was spread from Jiangxi to Fujian during the turmoil of Ming-Qing transition.

1. The Spread of the Caodong Shouchang Sublineage from Henan to Jiangxi: Neo- Confucianism and Chan Mater Yunkong Changzhong

Yongjue Yuanxian gives a short history of how the Shouchang sublineage was transmitted from Shaolin Monastery in the preface he wrote for the recorded sayings of his dharma brother Wuyi Yuanlai in 1643:

⁴⁷ The Chart is mainly based on two *Records of the Lamp* edited in late seventeenth century: 1. Xingtong(性統) ed., *Xudeng Zhengtong*(續燈正統, *Continuation of the Records of the Orthodox Transmission of Chan Schools*, 1691, collected in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 84, No. 1583) and 2. Chaoyong(超永) ed., *Wudeng Quanshu*(五燈全書, *The Whole Records of the Transmissions of the Five Chan Schools*, 1693, collected in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 82, No. 1571), and adapted from Sheng-yen Chang (張聖嚴), *Mingmo Fojiao Yanjiu*(明末佛教研究): 26 and Tianxiang Ma (麻天祥), *Zhongguo Zhanzong Sixiang Shilue*(中國禪宗思想史略, *The Outline of Chinese Chan Buddhism History*): 347 (Beijing: Zhongguo Renmin Daxue, 2009). The Chart is only a convenient tool to help the readers grasp the division of two sublineages of Caodong School from Shaolin Monastery in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. It does not, however, cover all the members in these two sublineages, nor suggests that the masters listed in it are the only ones significant enough to be included. Moreover, the seemingly clear linear genealogical master-disciple relations implied in the chart might be put in serious doubts by the rival camp. For cautions in reading such Chan lineage chart, see John R. McRae, "Looking at Lineage: A Fresh Perspective on Chan Buddhism", in his *Seeing through Zen*:1-21(University of California Press, 2003); For Linji master Feiyin Tongrong's (費隱通容, 1593-1661) challenge (in his *Wudeng Yantong*(五燈嚴統, *The Strict Transmission of the Five Chan Schools*, 1654) to the claim from Caodong side of the dharma transmission between Yunkong Changzhong and Wuming Huijing and the disputes caused by it, see Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*: 212.

The way of Buddha is like the diamond sword of the vajra king.⁴⁸ It is not easy to obtain, not easy to use, and not easy to transmit. Because all these are not easy, persons who could transmit and hold the Way are actually few, while the ones who pass off fish eyes for pearls and palm off pheasants as phoenixes have made up half of the world. Our Caodong School had flourished in the Tang dynasty (618-907) but declined in the Song dynasty (960-1279). It appeared to be flourishing on the surface in the Yuan, but in fact it was weak within. The reason is hard to spell out. Since Xueting Fuyu was appointed by the emperor to be the abbot of the Shaolin Monastery in the beginning of the Yuan dynasty, the [Chan] learners in the world unanimously took him as their model. When [the Shaolin lineage] had been transmitted until the reign of Emperor Wanli 萬曆 (1572~1620), [the abbot] Xiaoshan Zongshu 小山宗書 (1499-1566) died, and Huanxiu Changrun 幻休常潤 (?-1585) was appointed by the emperor to fill the vacant position [in 1574].⁴⁹ Chan learners who came with luggage from the four directions were like birds retuning to the woods and fish going to the deep ponds. However, Huanxiu Changrun solely concentrated on giving lectures about the responsive commentaries on gong'an (*pingchang* 評唱) and thus greatly disappointed those having high hopes about him. At that time, there was a master named Yunkong Changzhong 蘊空常忠 (1534-1588) who had served Xiaoshan Zongshu for years and received Xiaoshan's seal of sanction in secret. But after that he retreated to Linshan 廩山 in Xujiang 盱江 [in Jiangxi] and people in the world were unable to seek him out. My master Shouchan (Wuming Huijing) received tonsure from Yunkong Changzhong. Later, after my master was conferred assurance of enlightenment 記莚 by Changzhong, he began to propagate [Yunkong Changzhong's

⁴⁸ The analogy of “the Diamond Sword of the Vajra King” is taken from “Linji’s Four Shouts” in *The Record of Linji*: “The master asked a monk, ‘Sometimes a shout is like the Diamond Sword of the Vajra King; sometimes a shout is like the golden-haired lion crouching on the ground; sometimes a shout is like a weed-tipped fishing pole; sometimes a shout doesn’t function as a shout. How do you understand this?’ The monk hesitated. The master gave a shout.” (Ruth Fuller Sasaki tr., *The Record of Linji* (University of Hawai‘i Press, 2009): 308) Sasaki gives a commentary on “the Diamond Sword of the Vajra King”: “The Diamond Sword of the Vajra King is a symbol of extreme hardness and durability, often used in Chan texts to indicate the sword of wisdom that cuts off delusion.” (*ibid.*) Here Yongjue Yuanxian using the analogy from the sayings of Linji suggests his liberal attitude toward the boundaries between lineage affiliations as discussed in Chapter 1 above.

⁴⁹ Though Yuanmen Jingzhu’s *Wudeng Huiyuan Xulue* (1648) records that Huanxiu Changrun became the abbot of Shaolin Monastery in the second year of Wanli (1574) (*Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 80, No. 1566, p.461), which was followed by both Xingtong and Chaoyong in their works *Xudeng Zhengtong* (1691) (*Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 84, No. 1583, p.620) and *Wudeng Quanshu* (1693) (*Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 82, No. 1571, p.267), and conforms to Yongjue Yuanxian’s writing here, Jiyin’s (紀蔭) *Zongtong Biannien* (宗統編年, *A Chronicle of the Transmission of Orthodoxy*, 1689) writes that Huanxiu Changrun filled the vacant position of Shaolin abbot in 1546 (the 25th year of Jiajing (嘉靖)) and notes that after Xiaoshan Zongshu died, Changrun was so modest that he refused to be the abbot at first. (*Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 86, No. 1600, p.283) However, according to Xiaoshan Zongshu’s stupa inscription (written in 1572) preserved in Shaolin Monastery till nowadays (cited in Derong Ye (葉德榮), *Zongtong yu Fatong* (宗統與法統): 432 (Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 2010)), Xiaoshan Zongshu was still alive after 1546, and his abbacy period in Shaolin was 1557-1566, a decade after 1546! Nevertheless, based on the information provided in *Zongtong Biannien*, Jiwen Tu (杜繼文) and Daoru Wei (魏道儒) criticize that Yongjue Yuanxian was wrong in stating in this preface that Huanxiu Changrun became the abbot of Shaolin in the beginning of Wanli reign. See Jiwen Tu and Daoru Wei, *Zhongguo Chanzong Tongshi* (中國禪宗通史, *The General History of Chan Buddhism in China*): 557, note 1. (Jiangsu Guji Chubanshe, 1993).

teachings]. Since my master had Wuyi Yuanlai [of Nengren Monastery 能仁寺 in] Boshan 博山 as his dharma heir, his way has become popular all over the world.⁵⁰

In this preface of 1643, Yongjue Yuanxian shows a different attitude toward Caodong School's revival in the Yuan Dynasty from that expressed by Yuanmen Jingzhu in *Wudeng Huiyuan Xulue* written five years later (1648). While Yuanmen, as the above quoted passage from *Xulue* shows, highly praises the time of Kublai Khan as the most flourishing moment of the Caodong School, Yongjue points out that the revival of the Caodong School in the Yuan Dynasty was only on the surface, but he is reluctant to say why. The different attitudes may be attributed to the different criteria used by the two Chan masters in evaluating revival and decline. As Peter N. Gregory says when addressing the so-called “decline” of Buddhism in the Song dynasty, “decline” could be understood in quantitative or qualitative terms.⁵¹ While Yuanmen emphasizes the material prosperity of the Caodong School in quantitative terms using the level of court patronage, numbers of Caodong monasteries⁵² and dharma heirs, as criteria, Yongjue, on the other hand, uses qualitative criteria. He laments the spiritual decline of Chan teachings and practices in the Shaolin Monastery, as he expresses his discontent with Huanxiu Changrun's penchant in giving lectures on gong'an, a tradition which may be traced back to Wansong Xingxiu who was the master of the great Shaolin patriarch Xueting Fuyu. The basis of this supposition lies in Yongjue's

⁵⁰ *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 72, No. 1436, p.383.

⁵¹ Peter N. Gregory, “The Vitality of Buddhism in the Sung”, in Peter N. Gregory and Daniel A Getz, Jr. ed., *Buddhism in the Sung*: 2-3 (Honolulu : University of Hawai'i Press, 1999).

⁵² Xueting Fuyu not only rebuilt Shaolin Monastery in Shaoshi Mountain, but also established the “five Shaolin” monasteries in Helin (和林), Yanji (燕薊), Changan(長安), Taiyuan(太原) and Luoyang(洛陽). Till the middle age of Yuan Dynasty, Shaolin Monastery has had 31 branches in total. See Derong Ye: 304 and 32.

criticism of Changrun by saying that he: “solely concentrated on giving lectures about the critical commentaries on gong’an (*pingchang* 評唱) and thus greatly disappointed those having high hopes about him”⁵³ The “critical commentaries” in this sentence may be put in *italic*, because it is the title of a famous work by Wansong Xingxiu: *Wansong Laoren Pingchang Tiantong Jue Heshang Songgu Congrong An Lu* 萬松老人評唱天童覺和尚頌古從容庵錄 (*The Record of the Temple of Equanimity: Old Man Wansong’s Responsive Commentary on the Odes to Classic Chan Gong-ans(Kōans / Public Cases) of Venerable Tiantong Jue*),⁵⁴ commonly called *Congrong An Lu* or *Congrong Lu* for short. As the title shows, this work is a commentary book on *Hongzhi Songgu Baize* 宏智頌古百則 (*Hongzhi’s Odes to 100 Selected Classic Chan Gong-an*). Hongzhi Zhengjue was the abbot of Tiantong Monastery in Zhejiang and the promoter of the silent-illumination Chan in the Southern Song dynasty.⁵⁵ As one genre of literary (*wenzi* 文字) Chan⁵⁶ developed in Song Dynasty, *Pingchang* became very popular among Chan masters since the publication of the *Biyuan Lu* (*The Blue Cliff Record* 碧巖錄) compiled by the Linji master Yuanwu Keqing in 1128. It is a commentary on Yunmen master Xuedou

⁵³ Since Huanxiu is the dharma grandfather of Zhanran Yuancheng, the founder of Yunmen sublineage, the criticism here may imply the superiority of Shouchang, the branch Yongjue belongs to, over Yunmen.

⁵⁴ Collected in Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 48, No. 2004. Two English translations are available: 1. Gerry Shinshin Wick tr., *The Book of Equanimity* (Wisdom Publications, 2005); 2. Thomas Cleary tr., *Book of Serenity: One Hundred Zen Dialogues* (Shambhala Publications, 2005).

⁵⁵ Basically, *Songgu* is in verse style, while *Pingchang* in prose. The relations among gong-an(kōan / public case), *Songgu* and *Pingchang* are like those among gadya, gatha in sūtras and scholar’s notes on the both.

⁵⁶ The term “literary Chan” is coined by Juefan Huihong (覺範慧宏 1071-1128) to emphasize that, in contrast to the rhetorical stance of Chan School that Chan does not set up the written word (*buli wenzi* 不立文字) and is distinct from other Buddhist traditions, Chan does not reject or abandon the written word (*buli wenzi* 不離文字): “Chan teachings were firmly grounded in both the Buddhist tripitaka and in the emergent Chan literary genres- including the discourse records (*yulu* 語錄), flame or transmission of the lamp histories (*denglu* 燈錄) and public case anthologies [gong-an(kōan)]”. (George Albert Keyworth, III, *Transmitting the Lamp of Learning in Classical Chan Buddhism: Juefan Huihong (1071-1128) and Literary Chan*, Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2001): 3. For sure, the genres of *Songgu* and *Pingchang* are also literary Chan forms.

Chongxian's (雪竇重顯, 980-1052) *Songgu*, which has been acknowledged as an authoritative gong-an text. Actually, Wangsong's *Congrong Lu*, compiled at the persistent request of his disciple Yelu Chucai (耶律楚材, 1190-1244)⁵⁷ during 1217-1223 in late Jin,⁵⁸ deliberately imitates *Biyān Lu*'s structure and became a representative gong-an work in the Caodong School.⁵⁹

Therefore, if Huanxiu took *Congrong Lu* as his teaching text, he was commenting on Wangsong's commentaries on Hongzhi's commentaries on gong-ans! Obviously, Yongjue disapproves this approach of literary Chan: to expound Chan in a roundabout way (*raolu shuo Chan* 繞路說禪).⁶⁰ Instead of holding seminars on *Pingchang*, Yongjue's master Wuming Huijing promoted Dahui Zonggao's method of "introspecting gong'an Chan": "The Chan learners whose Dharma eyes have not become

⁵⁷ Yelu Chucai was descended from the Khitan people and served as an officer in Jin dynasty under the Jurchen people. When the Mongol conquerors came, he served Genghis Khan and helped reform social customs and government institutions. Though trained in Confucian tradition, Yelu "openly recognized the greater scope of Chan Buddhism and became an attentive disciple of Wangsong. He urgently requested the reconstruction of the *Book of Serenity* during his extended stay at Genghis' headquarters in Mongolia to help him continue his Chan study while separated from his teacher." (Thomas Cleary:xxxvi; also see Yelu Chucai's preface for *Congrong Lu*, in Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 48, No. 2004: 226)

⁵⁸ About the publication date, versions and structure of *Congrong Lu*, see Shi Qingru (釋清如), *Wangsong Xingxiu Chanxue Sixiang zhi Yanjiu* (萬松行秀禪學思想之研究, Fagu Wenhua, 2010): 67-84.

⁵⁹ Nonetheless, as Taizan Maezumi Roshi points out, "The *Blue Cliff Record* appears to have been widely appreciated by Soto masters, although the *Book of Equanimity* failed to gain much prominence among teachers of the Rinza School." (Taizan Maezumi Roshi's foreword for Thomas Cleary and J. C. Cleary tr., *The Blue Cliff Record* (Shambhala, 2005):xii) Besides, gong-an(kōan / public case) studies are different in Linji and Caodong Schools. While in Linji, gong-an(kōan / public case) studies require face-to-face presentation with the teacher, in Caodong, the gong-ans(kōans / public cases) "are approached more as liturgy to be studied and discussed." (Gerry Shinshin Wick: 2) To emphasize the parallel and intimate relationships between these two *Pingchan* works, Wick further quotes his grandfather's (Hakuun Yasatani Roshi) comments which illustrates the warm-hearted Dharma relationship between Hongzhi Zhengjue, whose *Songgu* constitutes the basic contents of *Congrong Lu*, and Yuanwu Keqing, the compiler of *Biyān Lu*: "Wanshi [Hongzhi] on eve of his death left his affairs entirely in Engo's [Yuanwu] hands, and Engo on his part responded by discharging his trust well." (*ibid.*: 3) However, according to *A Record of the Activities Hongzhi Zhengjue* written by Boxiang Wang (王伯庠) in 1166, the one who got Hongzhi's letter written on the eve of his death and dealt with Hongzhi's funeral affairs was not Yuanwu Keqing, but his disciple Dahui Zonggao. (Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 48, No. 2001: 120)

⁶⁰ In *Biyān Lu*, Yuanwu Keqing summarizes Xuedou Chongxian's *Songgu* as: "Generally speaking, verses on old cases just expound Chan in a roundabout way; the general purpose of making remarks on old cases is to bring resolution to those old cases." (大凡頌古只是繞路說禪，拈古大綱據款結案, in T 2003, 141a15-16) The translation is taken from Yi-hsun Huang (黃鐸勳), "Chan Master Xuedou and His Remarks on Old Cases in the Record of Master Xuedou at Dongting: A Preliminary Study", *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* (2009, 22:69-96): 87.

clear yet ought to just practice introspecting gong'an Chan and make a firm resolution..... There's no need to recite sūtras, no need to worship the Buddha, no need to sit cross-legged in meditation, no need to travel from monastery to monastery, no need to learn the written word, no need to ask for explanations, no need to comment on gong-an, no need to accept the precepts, no need to practice asceticism and no need to be relaxed.”⁶¹ Moreover, this distaste for Wansong's *Pingchang* shown here reminds us of a famous episode of Dahui which expressed the same criticism in a much more drastic way: he burned the printing wood-blocks of *Biyān Lu*, a *Pingchang* text compiled by his master Yuanwu Keqin.⁶² The pedagogic differences could explain one of the new developments of the Shouchang sublineage in southern China and its independence from the tradition of the Shaolin Monastery in north.

Another new direction also had something to do with the Shouchang sublineage's appraisal of literary Chan. Keyworth observes that literary Chan successfully attracted Confucian scholars who revered words and language and can be viewed as “an open invitation to literati to come and learn the

⁶¹ *Wuming Huijing Chanshi Yulu (The Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Wuming Huijing 無明慧經禪師語錄)*, *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 72, No. 1432: 184. Though Wuming here lists 10 things unrelated to or excluded from Chan practices, and he seems to emphasize the independence of gong-an(kōan / public case)-introspecting method from all other Buddhist teachings, this exclusion is only temporary and just for those who are still in striving process to attain enlightenment. When one had attained great sovereignty, “it is all right to study Chan, all right to study Buddhist teachings, all right to travel from monastery to monastery, all right to stay with others, all right to dwell alone.”(ibid.) In other words, what had been forbidden is now all permitted. We may say what Wuming opposes is not Buddhist teachings or deeds other than Chan practices, but being distracted by those teachings or deeds and not able to be concentrated on gong-an(kōan / public case)-introspecting method.

⁶² Keyworth warns that taking literary Chan and Dahui's method of “gong-an(kōan / public case)-introspecting Chan” as opposite may produce a false paradigm. In Keyworth's view, Dahui's legacy of gong-an(kōan / public case)-introspecting method represents perhaps the flowering of Song Dynasty Linji Chan praxis, while literary Chan signifies Huihong's advocacy for erudition within the mature Chan institution.” (Keyworth:317) As Taizan Maezumi Roshi suggests, Dahui's burning “was an expression of his concern over the misuse of koans, rather than any fundamental objection to the use of koans, verses, or commentaries as such.” (Thomas Cleary and J. C. Cleary:xii) This attitude may apply to Yongjue also.

teachings of Chan Buddhism under the tutelage of eminent Chan masters”⁶³ It seems that Yunkong Changzhong, the master of Wuming Huijing, was not interested in socializing with literati through lecturing literary Chan. So rather than staying in northern China, he chose to go south, back to his birthplace: Jianchang 建昌 in Jianxi to live a hermit’s life. According to the biography of Yunkong written by his dharma great-grandson Juelang Daosheng, “During Jiajing (1522-1566) and Longqing (1567-1572) reign, the [teaching] style of Chan School mostly took instructing [through language and words] as ultimate 以傳習為究竟. The master [Yunkong] hated the current and rectified the abuses. He aspired to save and promote the great Dharma, but it is beyond his power, so he withdrew from society and lived in obscurity for his whole life.”⁶⁴ Therefore, Yunkong refused to instruct or socialize with literati who visited him, and criticized their visits as just looking for diversions, and he did not want waste time on them.⁶⁵ However, Yunkong’s severe attitude toward the literary Chan tradition did enthrall Luo Rufang 羅汝芳(1515-1588, one year younger than Yunkong and the two died in the same year) and Deng Yuanxi 鄧元錫(1529-1593),⁶⁶ both were the followers of the newly emerging School

⁶³ Keyworth: 4.

⁶⁴ *Jianchang Linshan Zhonggong Zhuan (The Biography of Changzhong of Linshan 建昌廩山忠公傳)*, in the appendix of Juelang Daosheng’s master --Huitai Yuanjing’s recorded sayings (*Huitai Yuanjing Chanshi Yulu (晦臺元鏡禪師語錄, The Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Huitai Yuanjing)*), *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 72, No. 1433: 227.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 226.

⁶⁶ Luo and Deng were the only two scholars with whom Yunkong discussed Chan and analyzed “the innate knowledge of goodness” (*liangzhi*, 良知). See *ibid.* Unfortunately, there is no further information about the exact time and detailed contents of their discussions. Nevertheless, because Luo left hometown and served as government officers after 1553, Liu Cong (劉聰) argues that the possible period for Luo’s interactions with Yunkong was Luo’s eight-year mourning period for his deceased parents during 1565-1572 when Luo returned home. See Liu Cong, *Yangming Xue yu Fodao Guanxi Yanjiu (陽明學與佛道關係研究, A Study on the Relationships among Teachings of Wang Yangming, Buddhism and Taoism)*: 181-183 (Sichuan: Bashu Shushe, 2009). As we will see in note 31 below, Yunkong moved to the place of Deng Yuanxi in Linshan in 1568, so the possible period for his interactions with Luo may be shorter: 1565-1568.

of the Mind (*xinxue*, 心學) of Wang Yangming 王陽明(1472-1529) in southern China, whose epistemology emphasizes “the innate knowledge of goodness” (*liangzhi*, 良知) in one’s own mind rather than the objective knowledge of principles obtained by investigation of the external world.⁶⁷

One of the reasons why Yunkong chose to return to his hometown and started the process of the displacement of Caodong School from Henan to Jiangxi may be attributed to the mutual affections with these two fellow villagers of his: Luo Rufang and Deng Yuanxi, both of whom were also from Jianxi. As Yunkong’s biography shows, when Yunkong returned to Jianchang in Jianxi, he first became a recluse in Conggushan 從姑山, where Luo Rufang established Conggushan Abode 從姑山房 as his lecturing hall in 1545.⁶⁸ Later, Yunkong moved to Linshan and stayed there for twenty years,⁶⁹ where Deng Yuanxi established Linshan Pure Adobe 廩山精舍 to lecture on both *xinxue* and Buddhist teachings.⁷⁰ We may say that though Yunkong abandoned the traditional Chan way of lecturing to obtain literati support, he nevertheless created a new style by ingeniously combining the rhetoric of separate transmission from words of the Chan tradition with the new Confucian emphasis on innate

⁶⁷ For Wang Yangming’s epistemology, see David W. Tien, “Warranted Neo-Confucian Belief: Religious Pluralism and the Affections in the Epistemologies of Wang Yangming (1472–1529) and Alvin Plantinga”, in *International Journal for Philosophy of Religion* 55: 31–55, 2004. For the development of Neo-Confucianism from Zhi Xi (朱熹, 1130-1200) in Southern Song to Liu Zongzhou(劉宗周, 1578-1645) in late Ming through Wang Yangming, see Weiming Tu, “Learning to be Human: Spiritual Exercises from Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming to Liu Zongzhou”, in *Confucian Spirituality* 2: 149-162, 2004.

⁶⁸ Luo Rufang, *Xutan Zhiquan* (盱壇直詮, *The Xu Platform (Platform in Xujiang) Recorded Sayings*), Volume 2: 222 (Taipei: Guanwen, 1977), cited from Lin Chiu-Lo(林久絡), “Luo Jinxi Wudao Jingyan Fenxi”(羅近溪悟道經驗分析, “The Analysis of the Enlightenment Experiences of Luo Rufang”, presented in The 10th Symposium of Confucianism/Buddhism Communication and Philosophy of Culture in Huaan University (New Taipei City), 2007/03/18.): 7, note 18. The title of “*The Xu Platform Recorded Sayings*” may suggest that the book is the *Platform Sutra* in Neo-Confucianism.

⁶⁹ Because Yunkong died in Linshan in 1588, his stay period in Linshan is the two decades before 1588: 1568-1588.

⁷⁰ Zhao Zhiqian (趙之謙), (*Guangxu*) *Jiangxi Tongzhi* ((光緒)江西通志 *General Records of Jiangxi*, Taipei: Huawen Shuju, 1968), fasc. 81:1812, cited from Wenshu Huang (黃文樹), “Wangmen Dizi yu Fojiao”(王門弟子與佛教, “Disciples of Wang Yangming and Buddhism”), in *Satyabhisamaya: A Buddhist Studies Quarterly* 29 (2004.06.25): 155, note 71.

knowledge advocated by the School of Mind.⁷¹

2. The Establishment of the Base of the Shouchang Sublineage in Jiangxi: Mater Wuming

Huijing and His Rustic Chan

Because Yunkong remained an anchorite all his life, it was not until his dharma heir Wuming Huijing (also a Jiangxinese) reestablished Shouchang Monastery in Jiangchang⁷² that the Caodong School had an institutional base in Jiangxi. Like his master, Wuming did not search for Confucian elites' support through the traditional lectures, but stressed on gong-an introspecting Chan. However, the economic resources for rebuilding Shouchang Monastery and maintaining the basic needs of his disciples was a realistic and urgent problem for Wuming. The solution he found was by joining Chan with agricultural labor: through farming to ensure financial self-reliance. In this way, his public profile was more like a farmer in a straw hat and rain cape with a pickax than a Chan master in a robe with a staff.⁷³ Hanshan Deqing, an eminent monk in late Ming, eulogized Wuming in the stupa inscription he wrote for him: "During his abbacy in Shouchang Monastery, he had neither sought for connections with

⁷¹ Araki Kengo 荒木見悟 argues that the evolution of Chan Buddhism in late Ming owed much to Wang Yang Ming's theory of innate knowledge. See his "Confucianism and Buddhism in the Late Ming", in W.T. de Bary ed. *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism* (pp. 39-66):54 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975)

⁷² Wuming Huijing was invited to be the abbot of the dilapidated Shouchang Monastery in 1609. In Yongle era in early Ming, a Linji master Xizhu Benlai (西竺本來, 1355-1422) had once preached in Shouchang Monastery and left a prediction before he died that he would come to Shouchang again. Because Wuming and Xizhu have the same birthplace (Chongren in Fuzhou 撫州崇仁) and the same secular surname (Pei 裴), Wuming was seen as Xizhu coming again. See Yongjue Yuanxian, "Wuming Heshang Xingyeji" (A Record of the Activities of Master Wuming 無明和尚行業記), in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 72, No. 1437, p.473.

⁷³ Zirong(自融) ed., *Nansong Yuan Ming Chanlin Sengbao Zhuan (Biographies of monks of the Chan School in Southern Song, Yuan and Ming 南宋元明禪林僧寶傳, 1664)*, fasc. 14, in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 79, No. 1562, p.650.

the outer world, nor did he send out alms collectors 不發化主⁷⁴.....When he was seventy,⁷⁵ he still labored with his fellow monks to plow and dig without rest. Surely he was the one going out to work earliest and coming back latest and led others to reclaim lands in person.....Therefore, all his life his Buddhist teachings had not departed from the pickax.”⁷⁶ The outcomes of his efforts were impressive: not only two ancient monasteries, Baofang 寶方 and Shouchang, were rebuilt, but also over twenty monastic dwellings were established to accommodate about three hundred Chan learners.⁷⁷ The down-to-earth image and remarkable achievements earned Wuming great fame, which laid the foundation for the development of the Shouchang sublineage in Jiangxi. Though Wuming refused to be actively engaged in associating with donors, many supporters were attracted to Shouchang Monastery by his reputations. The suzerain vassal of the Ming imperial family in Jiangxi, Prince of Yi 益王⁷⁸ exclaimed in praise: “We are far removed from the Sage [Buddha] who was in distant past. Fortunately, we are left with this old man [Wuming]!”⁷⁹ He did so after he came to Shouchang Monastery to offer incense and show reverence to Buddha but was treated with indifference by Wuming. This is because Wuming did not want to become a traitor of Buddha by yielding obedience to imperial authority. We

⁷⁴ Huazhu (化主), also called Jiefang Huazhu(街坊化主) or Jiefang(街坊), in charge of fund raising for Chan monasteries. See *Chixiu Baizhang Qinggui* (敕修百丈清規, *The Rules of Purity of Baizhang Revised under Imperial Order*), fasc. 4, in Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 48, No. 2025: 1133.

⁷⁵ Wuming died in 71 years old. He had kept laboring till 2 months before he died.

⁷⁶ Hanshan Deqing, *Hanshan Laoren Mengyou Ji* (憨山老人夢遊集, *Hanshan's Records of Dream Journeys*), fasc. 28, in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 73, No. 1456, p.659.

⁷⁷ Yongjue Yuanxian, “Wuming Heshang Xingyeji”: 473.

⁷⁸ The feudal state of Yi in Jianchang in Jiangxi was established in 1487. Because Wuming became the abbot of Shouchang Monastery in 1609, the Prince of Yi who praised Wuming could be Zhu Changqian (朱常澐), the Prince of Yijing (益敬王, 1605-1615). For the pedigree of the Prince of Yi, see Zhang Tingyu (張廷玉) et al., Yang Jialuo (楊家駱) ed., *Ming Shi* (*The History of Ming* 明史), fasc. 119 (Taipei: Dingwen Shuju, 1980): 3641.

⁷⁹ Zirong(自融) ed., *Nansong Yuan Ming Chanlin Sengbao Zhuan*: 650.

can say that Wuming's attitude to show independence from lecturing activities, fund raising activities and shunning political powers through self-reliant labor was a different model to attract donors and create a new rustic Chan tradition in Jiangxi.

If the mutual affections with fellow Jiangxinese and the attempt to break away from the Shaolin lecturing tradition to open up a new "independent" style explained the displacement of the Caodong School from Henan to Jiangxi in the late Ming, then its spread to Fujian in the late Ming and early Qing surely relied on cooperation with local literati. Actually, as Map 2.1 shows, Jiangxi is adjacent to Fujian and Jianchang, where Shouchang Monastery is located, is close to the border of Fujian. We now turn to Wuming's dharma heir Yuanjue Yuanxian and his activities.

3. The Spread of the Shouchang Sublineage from Jiangxi to Fujian: Yongjue Yuanxian and the Reconstruction of Gushan Monastery

During Ming-Qing transition in the 17th century, Fujian was one of the main battle fields between the Qing conquerors and the Ming loyalists. It was in such turmoil that the Caodong School took roots at Gushan Monastery in Fujian through Yuanxian's efforts and by adopting new strategies to survive the crisis.

In J. C. Cleary's study of the four Yuan Dynasty masters, we do not find in their writings a reflection of the turbulent social reality around them, though they indeed, in Cleary's words, in their

Map 2.1 Jiangxi and Fujian in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)⁸⁰



⁸⁰ This map is sbased on Tan Qixiang (譚其驥), editor-in-chief, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* (中國歷史地圖集, *The Historical Atlas of China*), Vol. 7, (Beijing: Zhongguo Ditu chubanshe, 1996): 70-71.

“empty but responsive, emotionally detached but actively involved” bodhisattva way, they contributed to “make a continuously fresh ‘living adaptation’ of the essence of the Buddhist message for their own time and place”.⁸¹ However, if we study what Yanxian taught during this period and search for the shadows of Yuanxian and the local supporters of Gushan Monastery found hidden in the historical records, we may find how they strove to survive the time when “the heaven was falling and the earth was cracking”.⁸²

After the Manchu troops entered Fujian and started its rule, Gushan Monastery kept intimate symbolic relations with the local Ming loyalist patrons who had played important roles in rebuilding the monastery in late Ming when Buddhism underwent a general revival after a long period of decline.

In the early Ming, some works on dharma transmission were compiled, which shows that Chan communities were still active at that time. However, from the end of the reign of Emperor Yongle (1403 – 1424) until the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Wanli (1572 ~ 1620), or between the mid fifteenth century and the end of the sixteenth century, for about 150 years, Buddhism was in a state of serious decline, during which no major records of Chan genealogy can be found. That is why Zibo Zenko (1543-1603) vowed to compile a new genealogy in the late Ming. Yunqi Zhuhong (1535-1615) recorded only four Chan masters covering the entire one hundred and fifty years in his *Biographies of*

⁸¹ J. C. Cleary, *Zen under the Gun: Four Zen Masters from Turbulent Times* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2010): 4, 7.

⁸² Huang Zongxi (黃宗羲, also known as “Nalei Xianshen”南雷先生) in his “Preface as Souvenir for Haizhang who will Leave” (“Liubie Haichang Tongxue Xu”, 留別海昌同學序, collected in his *Nanlei Wending* (南雷文定, *Nanlei Essay Collections*), vol.1, fasc. 1(Taiwan Zhonghua Shuju, 1971): 12) criticized the Confucian scholars took the contemporary situation of “the heaven falling and the earth cracking”(天崩地解)as none of their business, and were still comparing the similarities and differences among theories to follow the so called Learning of Way.

Eminent Ming Monks. They are Konggu Jinglong 空谷景隆(1387-1466), Chushan Shaoqi 楚山紹琦 (1403-73), Dufeng Jishan 毒蜂季善(1443?-1523) and Xiaoyan Debao 笑嚴德寶(1512-81). But none of them left personal recorded sayings.⁸³

From the standpoint of view of “separation of state and society”, Timothy Brook emphasizes that the strict state control over Buddhism in the Ming dynasty, which attempted to separate Buddhism from society, substantially restricted the institutional development and social influence of Buddhism. He believes that it was not until the Wanli era when the dwindled state power left room for local activism that Buddhism underwent revival supported by the local gentry who took it as symbolic capitals to display their relative autonomy.⁸⁴

However, Chün-fang Yü⁸⁵, suggests that the decline was not solely due to the external cause of state control. But the loss of monastic discipline, the neglect of meditation and study among the monastic order within the context of the Buddhist idea of “the age of the Decline of Law” (*mo fa*, 末法) might be the critical internal causes. If the external cause played any role, it is not that the state had full control over Buddhism and its strict rules were universally obeyed by the sangha, but that, on the contrary, the state policies for controlling Buddhism could not be well implemented and to some extent destroyed by the common practices of the sale of blank ordination certificates that resulted in the

⁸³ Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*: 32-3.

⁸⁴ Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power* (Harvard University Press, 1993): 311-330.

⁸⁵ Chün-fang Yü, “Ming Buddhism”, in F.W. Mote and D. Twitchett ed. *Cambridge History of China*, vol.8, Part II, (pp.893-952, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990): 918-927.

decline in the quality of the sangha and finally that of Buddhism. The Buddhist reformists in late Ming attempted to provide an effective way to invigorate the sangha through restoring monastic discipline and promoting serious practices.

Besides the external and internal causes mentioned above, the decline of Buddhism in mid-Ming was further worsened by the anti-Buddhist persecution carried out by the Jiajing emperor (1522-1566) and the Japanese piracy invasion of coastal regions where many monasteries were located.

T'ien Ju-k'ang analyzed the landholdings of Buddhist temples in Fujian. According to him, the main cause of decadence of the temples lies in the large quantity of fertile farmland donated by the faithful in previous dynasties. Since mid-Ming, these properties became both the preys of the powerful local gentry and the major source for upkeep of soldiers against Japanese pirates who appeared along the Fujian coasts through the levying of heavy surtaxes. T'ien made the following calculation in regard to the local surtaxes levied on temple holdings to subsidize military expenditure against the pirates,

“60 percent of the temple holdings had to pay 0.2 tael of silver per *mou* [畝, equivalent to about 1/6 acre] (53% for land tax and 47% for surtax) and 40 percent was left to pay the usual land tax, only the remainder was reserved for the monks ‘to burn incense and regulate conduct’ 焚修⁸⁶. As a matter of fact, in many places the latter was only a very small parcel of land, far less than the amount fixed. In 1565, surtaxes were raised to 0.8 tael per *mou*. This was a severe blow to civilians and monks alike.”⁸⁷

There is a Chinese saying, “He is not guilty, though holding jade treasure becomes a crime.”⁸⁸In this

⁸⁶ A better translation of “焚修” might be “to cultivate”.

⁸⁷ T'ien Ju-K'ang (田汝康), “The Decadence of Buddhist Temples in Fu-Chien in Late Ming and Early Ch'ing”, in E.B. Vermeer ed., *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th centuries* (Leiden ; New York : Brill, 1990, pp.83-100):93-4.

⁸⁸ The tenth year of duke Huan in *Zuo Zhuan* (左傳·桓公十年 *The Zuo's Commentaries on Spring and Autumn Annals*):

case, the temples are “not guilty, though holding the jade treasure [the lands] becomes a crime.”

Because of the dramatic decrease in the “actual” landholdings and unreasonably high burdens of the taxes on the “nominal” amounts of lands,⁸⁹ the temples could neither keep normal operations nor attract eminent masters.

The Gushan Monastery in Fuzhou, regarded as the leading temple in Fujian, originally received eighty-four thousand *mou*⁹⁰ from the ruling Wang family during the Five Dynasties (907-960), however, due to the reasons listed above, only about one hundred *mou* of land was left in 1666 (0.1% of its holdings in the late Tang and 0.7% of its holdings in the Song), which was only enough to provide mere maintenance.⁹¹ Such steadily worse situation was also reflected in the abbacy: during the period of about two hundred sixty years, since the beginning of Ming Dynasty (1368) till 1627, only five abbots in the first hundred year were listed in the *The Gazetteer of Gushan*, others were regarded as having no sufficient virtues for the title and not worthy of being recorded.⁹²

“As the proverb of Chou has it: “He is not guilty, though holding jade treasure becomes a crime.” (周諺有之： “匹夫无罪，懷璧其罪。”) See *Chunqiu Zuochuan* (春秋左傳), in *Duanju Shisanjing Jingwen* (斷句十三經經文, *Punctuated Texts of the Thirteen Classics*, Taipei: Taiwan Kaiming, 1980): 13.

⁸⁹ The transactions between monks and gentry for the temple lands were usually carried out without official documentary sanction, so the amounts of temple landholdings kept the same as they used to be in the official records, according to which the taxes were levied on the temple, while actually the temple had already lost them in the illegal transactions. As a result, the local gentry who bought temple lands could evade taxes while monks were obliged to make up the deficits. See T'ien: 95. As expected, the lawsuits for the lost lands filed by the monks attempting to rectify the false transactions made by previous monks were usually unsuccessful or procrastinated under the supposed pressure coming from the interested local gentry.

⁹⁰ Though *Gushan Zhi* (鼓山志, *The Gazetteer of Gushan*) edited in 1761 claims that there were extant records of these donated lands, we may take the number of “84,000” as a common term for a great number used in Buddhist tradition, not the real number. See, Huang Ren (黃任) ed., *Gushan Zhi* (Taiwan Taipei: Ming Wen Shuju, 1980): fasc. 5: 243.

⁹¹ T'ien: 98.

⁹² *Gushan Zhi* points out that in Song dynasty, the abbots were appointed by the imperial decree, so they all were the best candidates in their times. However, in Ming dynasty, after Yongle era, the abbots were only nominated by the office of monk-officials and the abbacy was depreciated. (fasc. 4: 224)

According to *The Gazetteer*, in the beginning of Jiajing era (1522-1566), there were still hundreds of monks in the Gushan Monastery. However, almost all the main structures of the monastery were destroyed in the fire in 1542. What was worse, in 1548, the powerful local gentry snatched two thousand five hundred *mou* of farmland from the monastery. Though the abbot brought the case before the court, it dragged on for years without any result. Eventually, having no other way out, the monks “donated the disputed land to the provincial academy and one after another fled away from this place for lack of subsistence.”⁹³ After it, there was even less hope for rebuilding the main structures of the monastery in the hillside of the Mt. Gushan. During this time, the remaining monks could only lived in the “White Cloud Branch” 白雲廡院 at the south foot of the mountain, which was originally the barn of the monastery.⁹⁴

Despite the miserable conditions for the monastery, due to its advantageous geographical location (only 30 *li* 里, equivalent to about half kilometers) from Fuzhou City, the provincial capital of Fujian), which had abundant historic monuments and scenic sights, Gushan remained a popular outing place for the literati who would climb the mountain in the daytime and lodge at the “White Cloud Branch” at night. Some left poems lamenting the ruins of the monastery buildings⁹⁵ and some took further actions to rebuild it and became its patrons. Their endeavors covered the following four aspects:

1. Abating taxes and regaining the temple lands: from the beginning of his service term in

⁹³ T'ien, 93. *Gushan Zhi*, fasc. 5: 250-51.

⁹⁴ *Gushan Zhi*, fasc.2: 129-30.

⁹⁵ Usually titled as “Gushan Feishi”(The Desolate Gushan Monastery 鼓山廢寺), collected in *Gushan Zhi*, fasc. 13.

Fujian in 1605, magistrate Wang Shide 王世德 took it as a shame to have a previously famous monastery lie in ruins in his district. Therefore, he resurveyed the lands of the Gushan Monastery and abated the surplus taxes of 30 *dan* (石, equivalent to about 94 kilograms) of grains. In 1607, the abbot Xingcong 性聰 brought lawsuit against the gentry for misappropriation. Through the efforts of Wang against the powers of local gentry, 10% of the land was returned to the monastery.⁹⁶

2. Editing the monastery gazetteer: The abbot Liaoxin 了心 composed the first gazetteer of *Lingyuan Ji (The Collection of Efficacious Origins)* 靈源集 for the Gushan Monastery in 1414.

However, both the format and the content were less than ideal. More than a hundred years later, in 1545, Huang Yongzhong 黃用中 obtained *The Collection* and renamed it *The Gazetteer of Gushan* 鼓山志. In the Wanli era, Xie Zhaozhi 謝肇淛(1559-1624) and Xu Bo 徐燠(1570-1642) reedited *The Gazetteer* and added many newly collected materials in 1608. Xu delivered this new version to the abbot Yongjue Yuanxian, who further refined it and wrote a preface in 1653.⁹⁷

3. Rebuilding the Monastery in ruin: The main contributor for rebuilding was Cao Xuequan 曹學全 (1574-1646). In 1619, Cao rebuilt the Great Buddha 大雄殿, seventy-seven years after

⁹⁶ *Gushan Zhi*, fasc. 5: 251 and fasc. 7, “Chongxing Gushan Sitianbei” (The Stele of Reviving the Temple Lands of Gushan Monastery, 重興鼓山寺田碑) by Ye Xianggao (葉向高): 340-344.

⁹⁷ *Gushan Zhi*, fasc. 7, Liaoxin, “Lingyuan Ji Xu” (Preface of *The Collection of Efficacious Origin* 靈源集序): 376-380; Huang Yongzhong, “Gushan Zhi Xu” (Preface of *The Gazetteer of Gushan* 鼓山志序): 363-365; Zhao Shixian (趙世顯), “Gushan Jiu Zhi Xu” (Preface of *The Old Gazetteer of Gushan* 鼓山舊志序): 368-370; Yuanxian, “Gushan Zhi Xu” (Preface of *The Gazetteer of Gushan* 鼓山志序): 382-384.

its destruction by fire in 1542. In his “Petition for Reviving the Yongquan Monastery on Mt. Gushan” 重興鼓山湧泉寺疏文,⁹⁸ it states that an elder told him that there was a prediction of the Monastery that “after sixty years, the Monastery would be revived”. Later, Cao rebuilt the Mountain Gate 山門, the Eastern Border Pavilion 東際亭, the Hall of the Guardian Kings 天王殿 and the Eastern Border Bridge 東際橋 in Tianqi (1621-1627) and Chongzhen (1628-1644) eras. In addition, he also built the Hall of Scriptures 藏經堂 in 1636.⁹⁹ According to *The Gazetteer*, other contributors to the rebuilding includes Xu Tong 徐燾 (1561-1599, Xu Bo’s elder brother), Shao Jiechun 邵捷春(?-1641), Shen Shaofang 申紹芳, Chen Hongdao 陳宏道 and Lin Hongyan 林宏衍.

4. Inviting eminent Chan masters to serve as abbots: The invitation was also led by Cao Xuequan. In *The Gazetteer*, it states: “In 1627, the sangha of the Gushan Monastery in Fujian decided to form themselves into a public monastery”. What may mean that Gushan Monastery, as other temples in the decline period of mid-Ming, was “divided into several separate houses (*fang* 房) that operated independently. Monks affiliated with the houses were referred to as ‘house monks’ (*fangzeng* 房僧) and the monk in charge of the house ‘house head’ (*fangtou* 房頭).”¹⁰⁰ If it were the case, saying to “form themselves” could mean that

⁹⁸ Collected in Cao Xuequan, *Shi Cang Ji* (石倉集), in *Siku Jinhuishu Congkan Bubian* (*The Supplement to Collection of the Forbidden Books of The Four Branches of Literature* 四庫禁毀書叢刊補編, Beijing : Beijing Chuban She, 2005), vol.80: 500-501.

⁹⁹ *Gushan Zhi*, fasc. 2.

¹⁰⁰ Jiang Wu:33. Another example of united several separate houses into one single monastery may be found in Cao Xuequan’s poem about the merging of the houses of Kaiyuan Temple (開元併家即事): “The Buddha had already made all

the original independently operating “houses” in Gushan decided to be merged into a single institution and to be led by one abbot, rather than the “house heads”. Following this suggestion, Cao led other local gentry to invite Wuyi Yuanlai to serve as the abbot of the Monastery, who was titled as the “Master Who Reopens the Mountain”.¹⁰¹ As we have mentioned above, Yuanlai was a dharma heir of the Caodong Chan master Wuming Huijing in Jianxi. When Yuanlai came to Gushan, Wuming’s Shouchang sublineage was transmitted from Jianxi to Fujian for the first time. However, Yuanlai stayed at Gushan for only six months before going back to Boshan 博山. Later, in 1634, when Lin Hongyan 林宏衍 and his son Lin Zhifan 林之蕃 visited Wengu Guanyin 聞谷廣印(1566-1636), Wengu recommended to them another dharma heir of Wuming, Yongjue Yuanxian, who was also a precept disciple¹⁰² of Wengu and was staying at Wengu’s place at that time. Therefore, Cao Xuequan and other local supporters invited Yongjue to serve as the abbot of Gushan¹⁰³

beings empty, Kaiyuan Temple has just made the houses merged. Those parsimonious would fall, while Buddhist dharma would not be wrong. The parcel moon is near to the ocean and all deities pour flowers of māndārava. The three vehicles are originally non-dual, they all ride on the white ox cart.” (佛已空諸有,開元始併家.彼慳還自墮,我法未為邪.片月臨滄海,諸天雨曼花.三乘元不二,長駕白牛車) See *Shi Cang Ji*: 290.

¹⁰¹ *Gushan Zhi*, fasc. 4: 210-211.

¹⁰² A precept disciple is one who received precepts from the master. Another kind of disciples is those who received the dharma transmission from the master and could be called as “dharma transmission disciples”.

¹⁰³ Lin Zhifan, “A Parcel Record of the Activities of Master Yongjue Yuanxian” (福州鼓山白雲峰湧泉禪寺永覺賢公大和尚行業曲記), in Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 72, No.1437: 576.

4. The Cooperation with Local Ming Loyalists: Cao Xuequan and Gushan Monastery in the Ming-Qing Transition

Among the patrons of the Gushan Monastery in the late Ming mentioned, Shen Shaofang, Cao Xuequan, Lin Hongyan and his son Lin Zhifan survived the Ming-Qing transition in 1644 and witnessed the resistance of the Southern Ming against the Manchu conquerors. Facing the threats of Manchu troops from the north, Ming loyalties in southern China gathered around an imperial prince to establish resistance polities one after one.¹⁰⁴ Shen Shaofang served in the first resistance polity of the Prince Fu 福王, the Hongguang regime 弘光(1644-1645) which took Nanjing as its capital, while Cao and Lin Hongyan served in the next polity of the Prince Tang 唐王, the Longwu regime 隆武 (1645-1646) which retreated to Fujian and took Fuzhou as its capital, after the Manchus had destroyed the Hongguang regime and occupied the Yangzi River region. I will say more about Cao Xuequan who is undoubtedly the most important local gentry who helped revive Gushan.

According to Chen Chao's study,¹⁰⁵ Cao was attracted to Buddhism after a series of family tragedies and career frustrations in his life. When he was young, Cao lost both his wife and concubine. Furthermore, under the abominable circumstance of the conflicts between factions at court and the dominance of eunuch power, both of which were common in late Ming,¹⁰⁶ he could not fulfill the

¹⁰⁴ Lynn A. Struve, *The Southern Ming: 1644-1662* (Yale University Press, 1984): 12.

¹⁰⁵ Chen Chao (陳超) "On Buddhist Complex of Cao Xuequan" (曹學全的佛教情節), in *Journal of Fujian Normal University* (2008:no.3):120-125.

¹⁰⁶ Besides, Cao visited many Confucian scholars who were famous for their Buddhist tendencies in the Wanli era, such as Li Zhi (李贄, 1527-1602), Yuan Hongdao (袁宏道, 1568-1610), Jiao Hong(焦竑, 1540-1620) and Tu Long(屠隆, 1541-1605).

Confucian ideal of serving the emperor and the people. In 1613, Cao was removed from his position of commissioner (*ancha shi* 按察使) in Sichuan and forced to return to his hometown in Fujian because of his insistence on righteousness and his refusal to compromise offended local imperial clansmen.

Ten years later, in 1623, Cao was reinstated to serve in Guangxi. This time, he almost lost his life by offending his supervisor who was a follower of the eunuch party led by the notorious Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢(1568-1627). After this, Cao refused to serve as government official, and in his last twenty years, he devoted himself to cultural activities¹⁰⁷ and gained fame as a great patron of Buddhism in Fujian, enthusiastic in reviving the Buddhist temples, giving generous alms, holding Dharma assembly and republishing *Wudeng Huiyuan* 五燈會元(*The Compendium of Five Genealogies*) in 1634.

Historically, Cao was memorized for his meeting a martyr's death during the time of the Ming-Qing transition. According to "Cao Xuequan Xingshu" (曹學佺行述 *The Biography of Cao Xuequan*) written by his sixth son, Cao Mengxi 曹孟喜, in 1644, when the news of that Li Zicheng's 李自成 (1606-1645) troops entered Peking and Chongzhen Emperor committed suicide arrived, Cao Xuequan, then seventy one years old, wept bitterly. He refused to eat anything and attempted to commit suicide by drowning himself in the pond. He was only saved by his family who from then on watched him day and night to prevent him from killing himself. Later, when the polity of the Prince Tang was established in Fujian, Longwu Emperor praised Cao as a great Confucian within the four seas (throughout the

¹⁰⁷ Cao devoted himself in editing the Confucian Canons (儒藏), as the counterpart of Buddhist and Daoist Canons.

country)海內鴻儒 whose fame he had heard for decades, so he appointed Cao to edit the *Verified Records* 實錄 of Chongzhen Emperor and promoted him to Minister of Rites 禮部尚書 in charge of the education and the imperial civil-service examination.

The Biography of Cao Xuequan continues:

Cao Xuequan knew beforehand that there would be no hope for the current situation [of resisting the invasion of the Manchus], so he told others: “[Editing *The Verified Records*] is my task but it is not something I can control. If Heaven blessed the Ming, *The Verified Records* could be completed; If not, I, the old minister of Ming, could only choose to die. How is it possible for me to serve the second master [of Manchu]?” On the seventeenth day of the ninth month in 1646, the Manchu troops entered Fuzhou City. At seven a.m. on the eighteenth day [the next day], Cao took a bath, made his clothes and cap neat, then hanged himself in the middle hall of [his own study named] ‘Western Peak’ 西峰 at the age of seventy three.¹⁰⁸

This time, his family could not save him because he had already sent all of them to the suburbs to avoid the Manchus several days ago.

In this formal biography, one can detect no Buddhist elements. However, in other records, though their reliability still waits to be examined, Buddhist monks did leave their traces. According to these records, Buddhist monks led anti-Manchu activities and received support from Cao. Some even claim that Cao himself became a Buddhist monk!¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Cao Mengxi, “Cao Xuequan Xingshu” collected in *Xijian Mingshi Shiliao Jicun* (*The Collection of the Rarely Seen Historical Books of History of Ming Dynasty* 稀見明史史料輯存, Beijing : Xian Zhuang shu ju, 2003), vo.11: 20-22.

¹⁰⁹ Three records give us different versions of the story about Buddhist monks and Cao in the anti-Manchu activities: (1) Shao Tingcai’s 邵廷采 *Dongnan Jishi* (東南紀事, *The Records of the Southeastern Regions*, composed in 1697-8, collected in *Taiwan Wenxian Congkan* (*The Collection of Taiwan Records* 台灣文獻叢刊), no.96) says: after the Manchus occupied Yanping 延平, the prefecture in the north of Fuzhou, a tribute student 貢生 of the county of Min 閩縣 named Qi Xun 齊巽, with Zhang Feng 張份, a compiler of the secretary bureau 中書, and a medical monk Bukong (醫僧不空) planned to organize a resistance group against Manchus and sent message to Cao Xuequan, who then supported them with one thousand taels of silver, so they could recruit members. At first they killed the persons who pasted the notices of pacifying people in Fuzhou City for the arriving Manchu troops. However, their members dispersed when they heard that the Manchu troops were approaching Fuzhou City (*Dongnan Jishi*, p.63). The record

Based on these records, if we take the characters as representing different types of people at that time, we may suggest that in facing the threats of the Manchus, some Confucian literati took refuge in joining the sangha, while some members of the sangha joined the anti-Manchu movement. Further, we may suppose that the stories about Cao Xuequan's hiding in Gushan or even becoming a monk there might be based on the fact that he was a great patron of Gushan and had intimate relations with it. The *Biography* mentions that Cao sent his family out to the suburbs. If it was Gushan where Cao's family took refuge, then it is no wonder that the story of Cao's taking refuge in Gushan would appear.

The close connection between Cao and Gushan are also reflected in the account of how Cao died. Since the *Biography* only says that Cao hanged himself in his own study, it leaves much room for speculating what Cao did right before he died. In Jiang Risheng's 江日昇 *Taiwan Waiji* (台灣外記 *The Unofficial History of Taiwan*), composed in 1704, it says that when the Manchus were approaching, Cao rushed to the Gushan Monastery to divine his fortunes before Buddha. However, upon prostrating himself, he saw a rope. He then hastily put it in his sleeves and sped home. He arranged the four tables

shows that a monk also played a leading role in the anti-Manchu activities and obtained the support from Cao. However, besides the title of doctor, there left no further clues about the identity of this monk Bukong.

- (2) Cha Jizuo 查繼佐(1601-1676, also known as "Dongshan Xianshen" (東山先生)) gave a different version of the story. In his *Zuiwei Lu* (*Records of 'Writing History is My Crime'* 罪惟錄, *Zuiwei Lu*, collected in *Taiwan Wenxian Congkan* (*The Collection of Taiwan Records* 台灣文獻叢刊), no.136) and *Dongshan Guoyu* (*Cha Jizuo's History of States* 東山國語, collected in *Taiwan Wenxian Congkan* (*The Collection of Taiwan Records* 台灣文獻叢刊), no.163), the monk Bukong did not appear. When the Manchus were approaching Fuzhou City, it was Cao Xuequan himself went to hide in the Gushan Monastery and became a monk there! Then Qi Xun visited Cao in Gushan to obtain his support for his resistance group (*Zuiwei Lu*, p.57; *Dongshan Guoyu*, p. 65).
- (3) Later, Li Tiengen 李天根 combined the above two versions. In his *Juehuo Lu* (燭火錄, *Records of the Torch Fire*, composed in 1747-8, collected in *Taiwan Wenxian Congkan* (*The Collection of Taiwan Records* 台灣文獻叢刊), no.177), there appeared two monks, Bukong and Cao Xuequan, in the Qi Xun's uprising against Manchu and Cao Xuequan was forced to join Qi Xun's uprising (*Juehuo Lu*, p. 866).

into a coffin, made his clothes and cap neat and wrote the sentence “When I am alive, I depend on a brush. When I die, I leave only a rope” 生前一管筆,死後一條繩 on the wall. When he finished, he put down the brush and hanged himself.¹¹⁰ The tragic scene dramatically shows that Cao’s spiritual sustenance was provided by Gushan. However, according to the *Biography*, the above sentence was already mentioned by Cao in telling others his determination to die for the Ming Dynasty, rather than his last words.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, the *Biography* also mentions one mysterious event which happened at Gushan: “Cao Xuequan was especially proficient in Chan teachings and had profound friendship with the Great Master Yongjue of Gushan. When he died for the cause of loyalty, Master Yongjue was in his abbot’s room and saw Cao walk slowly into the room but disappeared in an instant. It is not until the next day did Master Yongjue know of Cao’s death.”¹¹²

The Unofficial History of Taiwan presents the image of Cao as a Ming loyalist and served as a great patron of the Gushan Monastery. This implies that the Gushan Monastery was connected with the Ming loyalists on a symbolic level, and a historical memory was formed by these narratives, which made the monastery attractive to the surviving Ming patrons in the early Qing. For example, Lin Hongyan 林宏衍, who invited Yongjue to Gushan with Cao Xuequan, suffered as a result of being reported to Manchu authorities in 1647.¹¹³ He remained to be a great patron of the Gushan Monastery

¹¹⁰ *Taiwan Waiji*, collected in *Taiwan Wenxian Congkan (The Collection of Taiwan Records 台灣文獻叢刊)*, no.60:86.

¹¹¹ *The Biography*: 20.

¹¹² *Ibid.*: 22-23: “尤深禪理，與鼓山永覺大師膾契。當殉節時，永覺大師於方丈中見宮保公[曹學佺]緩步而入，須臾弗見。次日方知其殉節。”

¹¹³ Chen Fazhen (陳發曾), *Rongcheng Jiwen (榕城紀聞, Jottings of What I Heard in Rongcheng)*, collected in *The Database*

until his death in Shunzhi era (1644-1661), which was twenty years after he first met Yongjue in 1634 and several years before Yongjue's death in 1657. Lin had deep friendship with Yongjue, so Yongjue even encouraged him to be ordained.¹¹⁴ His son Lin Zhifan 林之蕃 was asked by the dharma heir of Yongjue, Weili Daopei, who was also the succeeding abbot of Gushan after Yongjue, to write the biography of Yongjue. In it, Lin Zhifan claims to have received the teachings from Yongjue for the longest time and know Yongjue's life quite in details.¹¹⁵ Later, Lin Zhifan also composed prefaces for the recorded sayings of Daopei. We can infer that if Cao Xuequan was the main patron of Gushan in the late Ming, his role was succeeded by Lin Hongyan and his son Lin Zhifan in the early Qing after Cao's death.

After the Manchus occupied Fuzhou City, Fujian became the battle field between Zheng Chenggong's 鄭成功(1624-1662) maritime power and the Manchus. Though at the symbolic level, Gushan was related to Ming loyalists, at the substantial level, Yongjue avoided being involved in the conflicts and wars between the Manchu and the anti-Manchu powers and provided resources for stabilization and consolation when the normal functions of society was in a state of collapse.

of the Full Text of Continued Edition of the Collection of Taiwan Records (台灣文獻叢刊續編全文資料庫, www.greatman.com.tw/twc.htm), no.198: 143.

¹¹⁴ See both Yongjue's eulogistic and elegiac poems for Lin Hongyan: *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 72, No. 1437, p.505;522.

¹¹⁵ *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 72, No. 1437, p.578.

5. Religious/Public Services of Gushan Monastery in the Wars

After the Manchu troops occupied Zhejiang in 1646, the Regent Lu 監國魯王 of Southern Ming in Shaoxing 紹興 in Zhejiang fled into the coastal areas. Then after the Longwu Regime in Fujian was also destroyed by the Manchus, General Zheng Cai 鄭彩, who was an elder clansman of Zheng Chenggong and served in Longwu Emperor's court, went to bring Regent Lu to the somewhat more secure Zheng base in Fujian in the winter of 1646. Through the spring and summer of 1647, Zheng Cai fought northward from his base in Xiamen 廈門 in southern Fujian, and concentrated on strategic points in Fuzhou Prefecture in middle Fujian. "Virtually the whole populace around Fuzhou was mobilized under Lu's banners, and the city was starved under siege until the Qing relief forces arrived in the summer of the following year."¹¹⁶

In the siege, Yongjue observed the slaughters in the battle field along the river at the foot of Gushan and left two poems entitled, "Fucheng Tan"(福城嘆, Lamenting Fuzhou City) and "Chongyang Yougan"(重陽有感, Personal Feelings on the Festival of Double Nines), recording the disasters of the siege of Fuzhou City where starvation and epidemics happened one after another.¹¹⁷ In his *Xu Yiyang*(續寤言 *Continued Nonsense Uttered in Dreams*), published in 1652, Yongjue described the terrible starvation in Fuzhou City. This might refer to what happened during the siege: "The killing of men and eating them was heard in the north of the Yangzi River but never heard in the south of the River.

¹¹⁶ Lynn A. Struve: 109-110.

¹¹⁷ The two poems are collected in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 72, No. 1437, p.522;529.

However, it has happened in Minzhong [閩中, the ancient name of Fuzhou City]; Exchanging children with each other and eating them was heard in ancient times but I never heard that mother would eat her child. However, it had also happened in Minzhong.”¹¹⁸

The monastery also suffered under these terribly dismal conditions. According to the two biographies of Yongjue, between the end of 1647 and the beginning of 1648, “the bandits pillaged Gushan and held Master Yongjue in a sedan to take him out. However, the half way, they suddenly trembled and fell down, so they sent Yongjue back to the Monastery. The masts of their boats anchored in the river were also struck by lighting, so they dared not come again.”¹¹⁹ Though the biographies do not identify the bandits, we may suppose that they belonged to the anti-Manchu groups organized by the populace around Fuzhou “under Lu’s banners” as described above or they were just the real bandits pretending to be the Ming loyalists. Actually, in this confusing period, the demarcation line between soldiers and bandits had become very thin and unclear. So were the distinctions between monks, soldiers and bandits. Yongjue lamented that the current circumstances of the sangha was even worse than that in Fujian at the end of Yuan Dynasty. In the latter case, monks were forced to serve in the army and take charge of defending the city. However, in Yongjue’s time, monks voluntarily joined the army to seek for personal benefits.¹²⁰ He also witnessed that some Chan masters had even become

¹¹⁸ *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 72, No. 1437, p.575: “殺人而食，江北嘗聞之，江南所未聞也，今已見於閩中矣!易子而食，古語嘗聞之，未聞母食其子也，今亦見於閩中矣!”

¹¹⁹ The biography by Lin Zhifan: *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 72, No. 1437, p.578; The biography by Pan Jintai (潘晉臺): *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 72, No. 1437, p.579

¹²⁰ Yongjue’s poem “Sengbing Tan” (Lamenting on Monk Soldiers 僧兵嘆), in *ibid.*:522. In it, Yongjue mentioned the poem

bandits and made livings by robbery!¹²¹

In contrast, judging from what Yongjue did, we may surmise that he held the conviction that the sangha should take social responsibility and save the suffering people with practical actions. In 1650, Yongjue led the sangha of Gushan to collect and bury over a thousand corpses which might be those of people who died due to war, starvation and epidemics two years ago during the siege. In 1654, the corpses buried by Gushan monks were over two thousand and eight hundred. Lin Zhifan's biography of Yongjue says, in the following year, "in the spring of 1655, the prefectures of Xinghua 興化, Fuqing 福清 and Changle 長樂 suffered from the mutinies 兵變, starving men and women wandered to the southern suburbs of Fuzhou City and it was unbearable to see their miserable situations. So Master Yongjue assembled people and dispatched disciples to relieve them by giving alms of rice porridge and preparing coffins to bury over two thousand dead. The activities lasted for fifty days."¹²²

It is unclear what "the mutinies" mentioned in the biography refers to because during this period, the Manchu rulers were negotiating with Zheng Chenggong and it was relatively peaceful in Fujian. In Chen Fazhen's *Rongcheng Jiwen* (榕城紀聞, *Jottings of What I Heard in Rongcheng*), it is recorded "in the fifth month of 1655, people in the four prefectures of Fuqing, Xinghua, Quanzhou 泉州 and Zhangzhou 漳州 all suffered from starvation. Every day over thousand wandering men, women, adults and children arrived in Fuzhou." Therefore, we may assume that "the mutinies" refer to people being

of the same title made by Master Mengguan(夢觀,釋大圭) which describes that the monks were forced to serve in the troops in Quanzhou (泉州) in the end of Yuan Dynasty.

¹²¹ *ibid.*:575.

¹²² *ibid.*:577.

forced to become bandits because of the starvation.

Jottings of What I Heard in Rongcheng continues:

The officials distributed rice to relieve the starving people. In the beginning, they set up a factory in Nantai 南台 [in the southern part of Fuzhou City] for distribution. However, because people who came were many and the government offices were negligent of their duties, they sent the wandering people to Buddhist monasteries and ordered the monasteries to feed them. Because the starving people were transported from one place to another, few of them could survive. The Master of Gushan gave rise to the aspiration of relieving the people. He went to the ferry dock everyday to welcome the starving people and set up a porridge kitchen to feed the hungry and a medical clinic to cure the sick. After one month and several days, [as a retribution,] the officials who [should have] taken charge of it [but negligent of their duties] were all infected with epidemics and died.¹²³

In his poem entitled “Shezhou Zhenji” (設粥賑饑, Providing rice porridge to relieve the starving people), Yongjue writes:

Do not say that after wearing the black robes [and becoming a monk], all things are none of your business.

Who could be carefree when the wandering people meet your eyes on every side?

Their farms are all desolate but they still need to eat.

Their wives and children dispersed and they themselves are depressed.

When they have meals, they always keep the mercy in mind.

They were forced to leave home not because they wanted to travel.

I feel ashamed that I am still not a person who has forgotten all feelings

And garrulously encourage people to give alms universally.¹²⁴

It is just because Yongjue does not think that monks could evade social responsibilities and forget compassionate feelings that he adopted practical actions to save people in the turbulent times.

¹²³ *Rongcheng Jiwen*:148: “乙未五月,福興泉漳四郡皆飢.流民男女大小,日以千至.官發米濟之.初作廠於南臺分給.因至者多,官府怠玩,分流民於各僧寺,令僧人給之.流離轉徙,鮮有活者.鼓山和尚發心托鉢濟饑.每日至渡船迎候餓民,設廠煮粥施之.病者予藥丸.一月餘,主事者染氣,皆病死.”

¹²⁴ *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 72, No. 1437, p.530: “莫道披緇萬事休，流離滿目孰無憂？田園荒盡口猶在，妻子散來身亦愁。進食每懷漂母惠，棄家豈學子長遊？自慚未是忘情者，饒舌豐干勸普周。”

6. Conclusion

The strategies the Gushan Monastery adopted to survive the Ming-Qing transition could be divided into two levels: in the symbolic level, it became a symbol of Ming loyalties, whose space embodied the historical memories through narrative imaginations and was able to obtain the continuous supports from the patrons since the late Ming, which was tolerated by the Manchu rulers because it was merely a symbol without actual anti-Manchu activities.

On the substantial level, the Monastery proved itself to be useful for society by providing relieving resources. If it did not actively cooperate with the Manchu rulers, at least it helped them in the area of public service and contributed to the stabilization of the social order during this critical period.

Chapter 3 The Formation of the Gushan Chan Lineage in Fujian during the Qing Dynasty

Through Master Yongjue Yuanxian's efforts in cooperating with the Ming loyalists and contributing to social services, Gushan survived the catastrophe during the Ming-Qing transition. After the turmoil, the Caodong Shouchang sublineage brought by Yongjue had the chance to be continued and transmitted steadily through the Qing dynasty, using Gushan as its base. As a result, a new Chan lineage was formed in Fujian: the Gushan Chan lineage.

This chapter examines the formation and expanding activities of the Gushan Chan lineage in Fujian. Firstly, I will discuss the historical development of the Chan lineage and focus on how the introduction of the dharma transmission lineage into Gushan monastery made Gushan become a “dharma transmission monastery” (*chuangfa conglin* 傳法叢林)¹²⁵ and eventually led to the formation of the Gushan Chan lineage. Secondly, I will examine how its promotion of Pure Land practices and its precepts-giving which gained the imperial recognition and authorization contributed to the introduction and establishment of the Gushan Chan lineage in Fujian.

1. The Historical Development of Chan Lineages

The central place of the lineage construction of the transmission line of patriarchs and the

¹²⁵ As we will see below, *chuangfa conglin* emerged as a new Chan monastery type in the seventeenth century. However, as Jiang Wu points out, the term “did not appear in seventeenth-century Buddhist sources but was widely used at the end of the nineteenth century to refer to a particular monastic system.” See “Building a Dharma Transmission Monastery in Seventeenth-Century China: The Case of Mount Huangbo”, in *Journal of East Asian History* 31 (June 2006, pp.29-52): 30, note 2.

genealogical model it implies in Chan Buddhism can not be overemphasized. As Bernard Faure points out, the insistence on a patriarchal tradition is the most characteristic and obvious feature of the Chinese Chan School. This genealogical concern in Chan thoughts is not a concession to the spirit of the times. On the opposite, it “determined from the outset the main lines of the Chan/Zen patterns of thoughts.”¹²⁶ Moreover, not only the patterns of thoughts, but the genealogical model defines also, as John McRae points out, how Chan spiritual practice itself is carried out.¹²⁷ In a word, the notion of “lineage” dominates the historical development of Chan beliefs and rituals in Chinese society.

Elizabeth Morrison in recent years explores the historical development of the genealogy of Chan lineage from the Tang dynasty (618-907) to the Five dynasties (907-960) and the Song dynasty (960-1279)¹²⁸. She starts with Erik Zürcher’s study on how Buddhism was spread and adapted in China¹²⁹, then takes the emergence of a novel source of religious authority, the patriarch and lineage (a succeeding line of patriarchs), in medieval China as one of the most significant phenomena in this spreading and adapting process. For example, three Buddhist groups in the Sui (581-619) and Tang

¹²⁶ Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy: A Critical Genealogy of Northern Chan Buddhism*, trans. Phyllis Brooks, (Stanford University Press, 1997): 1-2. As T. Griffith Foulk puts it, the Chan lineage represented its ideology of an elite “mind-to-mind transmission” of the essence of the Buddha mind or enlightenment itself, as opposed to the transmission through sutras or philosophical treatises in teaching lineages 教宗. (T. Griffith Foulk, “Myth, Ritual and Monastic Practice”, in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory ed., *Religion and society in T’ang and Sung China* (Honolulu, Hawaii : University of Hawaii Press, 1993, pp. 147-208):151.

¹²⁷ John R. McRae, *Seeing through Zen* (University of California Press, 2003): 6. McRae explains that the encounter experience between teacher and student, the most important aspect of Chan spiritual cultivation, is fundamentally genealogical because it is relational (interactions between individuals), generational (organized according to teacher-student generations) and reiterative (to be emulated and repeated in present and future generations) (p.7).

¹²⁸ Elizabeth Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs: Qisong and Lineage in Chinese Buddhism* (Leiden [The Netherlands] ; Boston, Mass. : Brill, 2010). The following statements are mainly based on this study.

¹²⁹ Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Leiden : Brill, 1959).

dynasties had experimented the idea of lineage:

1. Dharma Master Shi 碩法師, a student of Jizang 吉藏(549-623) of Sanlun School 三論宗, wrote *Sunlun youyi yi* 三論遊意義 in the Sui dynasty, which draws on the *Fu fazing yinyuan zhuan* (付法藏因緣傳 *Account of the Avadāna of the Transmission of the Dharma Treasury*) to “link a line of Indian figures with China and perhaps the first attempt to support a particular Chinese Buddhist group with reference to such a line.”¹³⁰
2. To respond the growing prestige of the Sanlun School, Guanding 灌頂 (561-632), a student of Tiantai Zhiyi 天台智顛(538-597), in his introduction to the *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 produced Taitai’s own line of patriarchs with complete spiritual authority. While Linda Penkower¹³¹ notes that Guanding’s lineage claim appears as part of a much larger effort to consolidate Zhiyi’s legacy and secure continued imperial patronage for the monastery communities he established, Morrison suggests that the role of lineage in Tiantai case is not only to demonstrate authority but to express the teaching backed by that authority¹³².
3. Kuiji 窺基(632-682), a disciple of Xuanzang 玄奘(600-664) of Weishi 唯識 or Faxiang 法相 School, narrated the transmission of Buddhism at the outset of his *Chengweishi lun shuyao* 成唯識論樞要. While Dan Lusthaus takes Kuiji as one of the early practitioners of “lineage construction”¹³³, Morrison regards him as proof that the tendency to seek authority in producing lineage was becoming more common¹³⁴.

Though Chan was not the first Buddhist group having experimented with the idea of lineage, the very

¹³⁰ Elizabeth Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs*: 31.

¹³¹ Linda Penkower, “In the Beginning...Guanding (561-632) and the Creation of Early Tiantai”, *Journal of the International Association for Buddhist Studies* 23.2 (fall 2000): 245-296): 274, cited in Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs*: 37.

¹³² Elizabeth Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs*: 38.

¹³³ Dan Lusthaus, *Buddhist Phenomenology: A Philosophical Investigation of Yogacara Buddhism and the Ch'eng Wei-shih Lun* (London: Routledge, 2002):405, cited in Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs*: 50.

¹³⁴ Elizabeth Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs*: 50.

notion of spiritual lineage and religious patriarchs received full treatment and obtained the central importance in Chan tradition, constructing the self-understanding and self-narrative of Chan in the Song dynasty. As Morten Schlütter puts it, in the Song, there was little “to distinguish the Chan School in particular terms from other Buddhist groups”, so “the most fundamental notion of the Chan school in the Song was not one of uniqueness of institution or practice” but “the concept of the special Chan transmission lineage.”¹³⁵

Morrison further identified three important developments of Chan lineage over the course of the seventh through ninth centuries¹³⁶, and I think these development tendencies continued till the northern Song (960-1127):

1. A shift from competing lineage claims to the defense of an increasingly standardized Chan lineage against external critics: Based on Dunhuang texts, Yanagida Seizan¹³⁷ founded the study on the competing lineage claims in early Chan history in the Tang dynasty, which was further investigated by both John McRae¹³⁸ and Bernard Faure¹³⁹. For example, though traditionally the demarcations and lines of separation between the Northern and Southern schools have been taken as the break between gradualism and subitism, Faure’s study points out that in fact the two schools laid claims to the same kind of subitism which showed the elitist character of their preaching the sudden nature of awakening

¹³⁵ Morten Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*:17.

¹³⁶ Elizabeth Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs*: 8, 52 and 51-87: chapter 2 “The Emergence of Chan Lineage”.

¹³⁷ Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山, *Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū* 初期禅宗史書の研究, Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967.

¹³⁸ John McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch’an Buddhism*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986.

¹³⁹ Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy: A Critical Genealogy of Northern Chan Buddhism*, trans. Phyllis Brooks, Stanford University Press, 1997.

and of practice. The controversy over sudden and gradual awakening, therefore, was a paradigmatic means to label the Northern school as heterodoxy¹⁴⁰ and “only the outcome of the ‘will to orthodoxy’ that characterizes all of early Chan.”¹⁴¹

However, after An Lushan’s rebellion in 755, which greatly weakened the central power, Buddhist clergy became more independent from the court and “claims of orthodoxy lost some of their importance”.¹⁴² Thus, by the late eighth century, the emerging Niutou 牛頭 (Oxhead) school was “apparently quite content to remain a collateral line of Chan”¹⁴³, which was nothing to be ashamed of any more¹⁴⁴.

Till the tenth century, when the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 (*Patriarchs Hall Collection*) was composed in Fujian by disciples of Zhaoqing Wendeng 昭慶文登 (884-972), it presents an extensive genealogy and one of its main purpose is “to present a harmonious picture of a fragmentary movement, a kind of ‘common front’ or outward face that was easily understood and accepted as Chan’s public persona.”¹⁴⁵

T. Griffith Foulk also points out that the ideology contained in the Chan literature in the Song dynasty may have been politically useful for both Buddhist clergy and the court: “the depiction of the Chan lineage as a vast extended clan that contained within itself all that was noble and successful in the Buddhist tradition provided an ideological framework in the Sung for an attempted consolidation of the

¹⁴⁰ Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*: 9-10.

¹⁴¹ Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*: 4.

¹⁴² Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*: 5.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ Elizabeth Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs*: 76.

¹⁴⁵ Albert Welte, *Monks, Rulers and Literati: the Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism* (New York : Oxford University Press, 2006):68-9, cited in Elizabeth Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs*: 84.

Buddhist order that paralleled the political unification of the empire.”¹⁴⁶ In other words, the competing lineage claims in early Chan history were replaced by a harmonious picture of common front to serve the political ideology of unification.

2. A transition from new claims about contemporary or recent masters to the streamlining and bolstering of existing claims about the more distant past: In the early attempts to construct the Chan lineage transmission back to Indian patriarchs, they mainly depended on Huiyuan’s 慧遠 (334-416) preface to the *Meditation Sūtra of Dharmatrāta* (Damoduoluo chanjing 達摩多羅禪經), like Faru’s 法如 (638-689) epitaph¹⁴⁷ and Du Fei’s 杜朏 *Chuan fabao ji* 傳法寶紀 (*Chronicle of the Transmission of the Dharma Jewel*, written between 713-716)¹⁴⁸, or depended on the *Transmission of the Dharma Treasury* 付法藏因緣傳, like *Lidai fabao ji* (曆代法寶記, *Record of the Dharma-Jewel Through the Generations*) composed around 780¹⁴⁹. Though the earliest version of *Platform Sūtra* found in Dunhuang (the earliest layers having been dated 780) adopts many of the genealogical innovations of *Lidai fabao ji*, it adds “the seven Buddhas of the past” to the head of the list of Indian patriarchs¹⁵⁰ to trace the origin of the transmission into the more distant past.

In the beginning of the ninth century, Zhuju’s 智炬 *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳 (*Transmission of the*

¹⁴⁶ T. Griffith Foulk, “Myth, Ritual and Monastic Practice”, in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory ed., *Religion and society in T’ang and Sung China* (Honolulu, Hawaii : University of Hawaii Press, 1993, pp. 147-208):194.

¹⁴⁷ Elizabeth Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs*: 53-55.

¹⁴⁸ Elizabeth Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs*: 56-57.

¹⁴⁹ Elizabeth Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs*: 68-71.

¹⁵⁰ Morrison (p.71) points out that since Huineng’s audience at one point proclaims him to be a buddha (“Who would have expected Ling-nan to be so fortunate as to have had a Buddha born there!”), see Philip B. Yampolsky tr., *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (Columbia University, 1967):162), this inclusion makes sense on one level.

Baolin [Monastery], written in 801) “picks up from the *Platform Sūtra* both of its significant innovations: the seven Buddhas and the transmission verses.”¹⁵¹ Besides, Zhiju culled materials for expanded biographies of the patriarchs which were often borrowed by *Jinde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (*Jingde Record of the Transmission of the Lamp*, compiled by Daoyuan 道原 and published around 1009) without crediting the *Transmission of the Baolin*, “which may have carried a sectarian or suspect reputation”¹⁵². This phenomenon to some extent reasserts one of MaRae’s rules of Zen studies: “precision implies inaccuracy”. The more details accumulate, the more “we should recognize them as literary tropes”¹⁵³.

3. A move from exclusive claims about the authority of only one line of descent to inclusive claims that legitimate many lines of descent: In attacking the Northern school and efforting to establish his master Huineng as the sixth patriarch, Shenhui 神會 (684-758), as *Putidamo nanzong ding Shifei lun* 菩提達摩南宗定是非論 (*Treatise Establishing the True and the False*) compiled by Dugu Pei 獨孤沛 shows, insisted of single transmission which is symbolized and authenticated by possession of the patriarchal robe¹⁵⁴. These kinds of exclusive claims about the authority of only one line of descent, however, as Faure points out, were “abandoned as soon as their goal, that of eliminating the Northern school, had been achieved”¹⁵⁵. Faure comments that:

[t]he Dharma robe was said to have been “buried” once and for all with the death of Huineng (in

¹⁵¹ Elizabeth Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs*: 74.

¹⁵² *ibid.*

¹⁵³ John R. McRae, *Seeing through Zen*: xix.

¹⁵⁴ Elizabeth Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs*: 60-62.

¹⁵⁵ Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*: 100.

spite of various attempts to recover it by the Bao Tang school [保唐宗]), and later tradition readily accepted that the two (or as many as five, or seven) main Chan lineages could lay claim, with the same degree of validity, to descent through the sixth patriarch, Huineng. None of them was judged to be collateral. If the Northern school had appeared a century later, it too would doubtless have benefited from this tolerance. But this was not the case¹⁵⁶.

Actually, according to Morrison's analysis¹⁵⁷, the open attitude toward multiple branches within a lineage and more than one dharma transmission had already appeared in the writings of lay Buddhist like Li Hua's 李華(c. 717-774) epitaph for Xuanlang 玄朗 and Bai Juyi's 白居易(772-846) epitaph for Xingshan Weikuan 興善惟寬(775-817), a student of Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一(709-788). Then Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密(780-841) was the first Chan dharma heir known to "conceive and name the 'Ch'an lineage' in China as an extended clan"¹⁵⁸. In Five Dynasties, the *Patriarchs Hall Collection* took the first step towards inclusivity, and in the Song dynasty, the *Jingde Record of the Transmission of the Lamp* completes the gesture.

Morrison's observations provide us with an advantageous perspective to reconsider the innovation of Chan lineage as a historical construct and rhetoric discourses born in the will to orthodoxy and the struggle for authority and legitimacy of Chan masters and students. Through the creation of lineage, Chan Buddhism obtained its indispensable place in the Chinese culture and society.

Besides the will to orthodoxy, the external political and social circumstances could not be

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ Elizabeth Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs*, pp.66-67 "The Popularity of Patriarchs"; pp.76-77 "Two Epitaphs: Windows on Literati Receptions"; pp.79-80 "A Scholar with a Lineage: Zongmi"; pp.83-84 "A More Inclusive Vision: The *Zutang Ji* (952)" and pp.84-85 "The Triumph of Affiliation: The *Jinde Chuandeng Lu*".

¹⁵⁸ Griffith T. Foulk, "Controversies Concerning the 'Separate Transmission'", in Peter N. Gregory and Daniel A. Getz, Jr. ed., *Buddhism in the Sung* (Honolulu : University of Hawai'i Press, 1999):220-294): 233.

neglected in exploring the formation of Chan lineages. As Morten Schlütter points out, “Chan lineages could be understood as ‘transmission families’, and procreation was a major concern of these lineages, as it is of all families.”¹⁵⁹ In the Song dynasty, the government policy of encouraging the establishment of “public” monasteries¹⁶⁰ and the supports from the local Confucian elites were key factors for Chan “transmission families” to produce their own offspring and shape factional consciousness:

Only as an abbot of at a public monastery could a Chan master give transmission to his students, and Chan masters were very aware that they required the support of officials and local literati if they wished to obtain abbacies and continue their lineages. Appealing to the interests of the educated elites thus became an important subtext in the Chan School, and the very real influence of elite laypeople ultimately contributed in significant ways to the shaping of Chan ideology and factional, or sectarian consciousness¹⁶¹.

Though in the northern Song, as Morrison observes, the inclusive attitude toward lineage identity dominated, it was, as Schlütter emphasized, in the political and social contexts which shaped the sectarian consciousness that the factional conflict between Linji and Caodong lineages in the southern Song (1127-1279) emerged, which “for the first time opened up what we might call a true sectarian division in Chan”¹⁶², as discussed in Chapter 1 above.

But, one may ask, what is the development of the very notion of lineage after Song?

It needs much more studies on Chan Buddhism in the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties to answer this question. Nevertheless, I hope I can, provide some information to partly facilitate a better

¹⁵⁹ Morten Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*:10.

¹⁶⁰ About the “public” monasteries, see the discussions in section 2.1 (“The Classification of Buddhist Monasteries”) below.

¹⁶¹ Morten Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*:26.

¹⁶² Morten Schlütter, “The Caodong Tradition as the Target of Attacks by the Linji Tradition”, Ch.6 of Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*.

understanding of Chan lineage in Chinese history.

In the seventeenth century, three new developments of the Chan lineage can be discerned:

Firstly, as discussed in Chapter 1, according to Hasebe Yūkei and Jiang Wu's studies¹⁶³, the will to orthodoxy seems to reappear in Linji School which emphasized on “Linji orthodoxy (*Linji zhengzhong* 臨濟正宗)”. Linji masters initiated disputes on the historical authenticity of the lineage transmission of the Caodong School by appealing to the rigid definition of the “face-to-face” dharma transmission. In Chapter 1, I suggest that one of the backgrounds of these disputes was that Linji School felt threatened in facing the returning of the Caodong School to southern China.

Secondly, the opposition between Linji and Caodong presented itself not in the form of the different methodological approaches (“gong-an-introspecting Chan” v.s. “silent-illumination Chan”) like that in Southern Song, but in the efforts of reviving and reinventing the original features of Chan practices in the “golden age” of late Tang and Five Dynasties (when the division of “five houses” was formed) to win over the social recognition that they were the true successors to the eponymous ancestors of their lineages: while Miyun Yuanwu was famous for his beating and shouting of Linji style, Yongjue Yuanxian published his study of *The Old Track of Caodong* (*Dong Shang Guce* 洞上古轍, 1647) on the sophistic and complex thoughts of “five stages of correct and partial” (*pianzheng wuwei*

¹⁶³ Hasebe Yūkei (長谷部幽蹊), *Min Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū* (明清仏教教団史研究) (Tokyo:Dōhōha, 1993); Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute* (Oxford University Press, 2008).

偏正五位)¹⁶⁴ originally formulated by Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (807-869), the founder of the Caodong School.

Thirdly, a new Chan institutional form of “dharma transmission monastery” which makes a certain dharma lineage having its own temple base through selecting candidates for abbot only from among its own dharma heirs¹⁶⁵ had emerged and become a common phenomenon in this period. This last point is the focus of this chapter and will be discussed further in the next section.

2. The Emergence of Dharma Transmission Monasteries and the Practice of Naming in Chan

Lineages

2.1 The Classification of Buddhist Monasteries

Chün-fang Yü¹⁶⁶, T. Griffith Foulk¹⁶⁷ and Morten Schlütter¹⁶⁸ all observe that in the Song dynasty, the Buddhist monasteries are divided into two basic types of the “public” and “private” (“hereditary”) ones according to how their abbots were selected. While the public monasteries are

¹⁶⁴ Wang Fang 王芳 points out that Yuanxian’s *The Old Track of Caodong* was introduced into Japan in 1673 and had great influence on the discussions of the thought of *Hensyo-goi* (偏正五位), one of the major topics in the “the movement of restoration of Sōtō lineage” (syūtō fukko undō 宗統復古運動) centering on the revival of the tradition of Dōgen (道元 1200-1253), the founder of Sōtō lineage. See: Wang Fang, “鳳潭と永覚元賢の曹洞偏正五位理解について”, *インド哲学仏教学研究* 15(2008):131-143.

¹⁶⁵ Hasebe Yūkei, *Min Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū* (Tokyo:Dōhōha, 1993):286, 294, 300 ; Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute* (Oxford University Press, 2008):10-11, 258-262.

¹⁶⁶ Chün-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: Chu-hung and the late Ming Synthesis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981): 147.

¹⁶⁷ T. Griffith Foulk, “Myth, Ritual and Monastic Practice”, in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory ed., *Religion and society in T’ang and Sung China* (Honolulu, Hawaii : University of Hawaii Press, 1993):147-208.

¹⁶⁸ Morten Schlütter, “Vinaya Monasteries, Public Abbacies, and State Control of Buddhism under the Song (960- 1279)”, in William M. Bodiford ed., *Going Forth: Visions of Buddhist Vinaya: Essays Presented in Honor of Professor Stanley Weinstein* (Honolulu [Hawaii]: University of Hawai’i Press, 2005):136-160.

known as “monasteries of the ten directions” (*shifang cha* 十方剎) because their abbacies were open to all eminent members of the officially ordained Buddhist clergy, or of the “sangha of the ten directions” (*shifang seng* 十方僧) rather than restricted to disciples of the previous abbots, the private monasteries were called “disciple-lineage cloisters” (*jiayi tudi yuan* 甲乙徒弟院)¹⁶⁹ where abbacies were passed down through the lineage of a tonsure family¹⁷⁰ only and outsiders were excluded. Both hereditary monasteries and some form of the public abbacy system may have appeared prior to the Song, but not until the Song did they become official legal categories to be put under the state control and supervision¹⁷¹.

Furthermore, the classification of the “public” and “hereditary” monasteries had been applied till early Republican China: during the Song and Yuan dynasties, there were three types of public

¹⁶⁹ Chün-fang Yü points out that Muchaku Dōchū 無著道忠(1653-1744) suggests in the entry “Dudi yuan”度弟院 in his *Zenrin shōkisen* 禪林象器箋(Tokyo, 1909, p.8)that the name *jiayi* (甲乙) “probably originated because of the rules of succession to the abbotship: tonsured disciple A (or *chia* [jia]) preceded tonsured disciple B (or *i* [yi])”(則已所度之弟子令住持之，甲乙而傳者)。See Chün-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: Chu-hung and the late Ming Synthesis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981): 147). Schlütter takes “jiayi” as hereditary “succession” (Morten Schlütter, “Vinaya Monasteries, Public Abbacies, and State Control of Buddhism under the Song (960- 1279)”:140).

¹⁷⁰ According to Holmes Welch, the tonsure family which owned the hereditary temple was composed of several generations of masters and disciples, all of them “heirs” (*zisun* 子孫, literally meaning “sons and grandsons”) of the hereditary temple. All relationships among the “heirs” were based on the tonsure the novice received on entering the Buddhist order: when a monk shaved the head of a layman, the latter became an “heir” (*zisun* 子孫) of the monk’s temple, and the “tonsure disciple”(tidu dizi 剃度弟子) of the monk. Two tonsure disciples of the same generation in the same family were regarded as “brothers” or “cousins”(shi xiongdi 師兄弟).They had an obligation to keep up the worship of their “ancestors”. Welch points out that though in other religions disciples are also aware of their lineage, but “only in Chinese Buddhism have family institutions been so substantially translated from secular to monastic life -- which is testimony, no doubt, to the strength of familism in the Chinese way of thinking.”(Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967): 129-130)

¹⁷¹ Schlütter argues that it was only in the Song that hereditary monasteries acquired a specific legal status, which recognized the tonsure family’s rights to its monastery. Through the control of the abbacy, the tonsure family was able to retain property rights to the monastery and its land under the state protection. On the other hand, the abbacies of the public monasteries, because they were not determined by the rule of succession in a tonsure family, were wide open to the intervention of the secular authorities. See Morten Schlütter, “Vinaya Monasteries, Public Abbacies, and State Control of Buddhism under the Song (960- 1279)”: 140-144.

monasteries specializing in meditation (Chan), doctrine (*jiao* 教) and discipline (*lu* 律)¹⁷²; in the Ming dynasty, the first emperor, Taizu (太祖, r. 1368-1398), classified the large or public monasteries into three types: meditation (Chan), doctrine (*jiang* 講) and practical instruction (*jiao* 教), and issued edicts abolishing monasteries mainly aimed at private (hereditary) temples.¹⁷³ In the Qing dynasty, in *Da Qing huidian* (大清會典 *The Complete Institutes of the Great Qing*), the monasteries were classified as the officially built (*chi jian* 敕建) and the privately built (*si jian* 私建), and both of them were further classified as large (*da simiao* 大寺廟) and small ones (*xiao simiao* 小寺廟)¹⁷⁴; in Republican China, in 1922, three types of monasteries: the public, the hereditary and the dharma transmission ones, were recognized by government in the "Xiuzheng guanli simiao tiaoli" (修正管理寺廟條例, Revised Regulations for Administering Monasteries and Temples).¹⁷⁵

The so-called “public” nature of the public monasteries which concerns its abbacy was qualified in

¹⁷² Chün-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: Chu-hung and the late Ming Synthesis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981): 147; Morten Schlütter, “Vinaya Monasteries, Public Abbacies, and State Control of Buddhism under the Song (960- 1279)”: 152 says: “[i]n the late Southern Song, public Tiantai and Huayen[華嚴] monasteries were classified as teaching (*jiao* 教 or *jiang* 講) monasteries. Also in the Southern Song, a further category of public vinaya (*lü* 律) monasteries appeared. These were monasteries associated with the newly emerged Vinaya school in Buddhism.”

¹⁷³ Chün-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: Chu-hung and the late Ming Synthesis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981): 146-148.

¹⁷⁴ *Da Qing huidian* (edited in 1684-1690 in Kangxi 康熙 reign), fasc. 71, collected in *Jindai Zhongguo Shiliao Congkan* (近代中國史料叢刊 *Collectaneum of Modern Chinese History*) series 3, sub-series 72, vol.720 (Taipei County: Wenhai Press, 1992): 3624-3625. See also the analysis of Yang Jian (楊健), *Qing Wangchao Fojiao shiwu Guanli* (清王朝佛教事務管理, *The Administrative Management of Buddhism in the Qing Dynasty*) Ch.5 “The Monasteries Management” (寺院管理), sec.1 “The Classification of Monasteries”(寺院的分類) (pp. 314-321). The small monasteries were the hereditary ones, as Holmes Welch reports: “Most hereditary temples could also be called ‘small temples’ (*hsiao-miao* [小廟]), even though they had a large number of residents or extensive land holdings.” (*The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950*, p.130)

¹⁷⁵ See Jiang Wu, “Building a Dharma Transmission Monastery in Seventeenth-Century China: The Case of Mount Huangbo”, p. 42, note 44. The “Xiuzheng guanli simiao tiaoli” is collected in Wang Hengyan 王亨彥 ed., *Putuoluojia Xinzhi* (普陀洛迦新志, *New Gazetteers of Potalaka*, 1924), reprint in Du Jiexiang 杜潔祥 comp., *Zhongguo Fosi Shizhi Huikan* (中國佛寺史志彙刊, *Series of Monastic Gazetteers in China*, Taiwan Taipei: Ming Wen Shuju, 1980) Vol. 1, pt.10, fasc. 8: 510.

the Song. Ideally, their abbacies should be open to all prominent members of the Buddhist clergy, but practically, most, or probably all of the public monasteries were officially associated with a specific tradition of Buddhism, and their abbacies were therefore restricted to the members affiliated with that particular tradition. At first, all public monasteries seemed to be designated as Chan, and only Chan masters could be the candidates for the abbots of the Chan public monasteries. There then appeared the public monasteries associated with Tiantai and Huayan 華嚴 Schools¹⁷⁶. In the spread of the notion of lineage, as we have seen, Tiantai School was ahead of Chan. However, after Chan developed their own construction of lineages, it earned the preemptive priority in the designation of the public monasteries. This special association with the system of public abbacies, as Schlütter comments, “allowed the Chan school to develop an institutional base and an independent identity”¹⁷⁷.

After the Chan School dominated the public abbacies system, the openness of the public monasteries had further dwindled with the emergence of the dharma transmission monasteries in the seventeenth century where the succession of abbacies were limited not only to Chan masters, but also to the Chan masters from a specific lineage of the Chan tradition, and were passed down through the lineage of a “dharma family” only, that is, as we have pointed out, only the dharma heirs of the previous abbot could be considered as the candidates for the abbacy.

As in a tonsure family where the personal relationships are based on the tonsure, the

¹⁷⁶ Morten Schlütter, “Vinaya Monasteries, Public Abbacies, and State Control of Buddhism under the Song (960-1279)”:152.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 157.

teacher-disciple relationships in a dharma family are based on dharma transmission. As Holmes Welch points out, there are two kinds of dharma transmission: the private and the institutional. The former has nothing to do with abbotship but is a private transaction to signify approval or cement a personal connection. However, in the institutional dharma transmission as happened in the dharma transmission monasteries, “what had been transmitted was thought of as the dharma of *that monastery*” and “receiving it gave a right and also an obligation to serve as abbot.”¹⁷⁸ In Tiantai Master Tan Xu’s 倅虛 (1875-1963) words, we may say that the private transmission is “transmitting the dharma without transmitting the abbotship” 傳法不傳座 while the institutional transmission is “transmitting the dharma with transmitting the abbotship” 傳法帶傳座¹⁷⁹. In other words, in the dharma transmission monasteries where the institutional transmission is practiced, the “mind to mind” transmission is embedded into the succession of the power and the position of the abbacy to keep the rights of the dharma family to the institutional base of their own specific lineage. As Jiang Wu puts it, the

¹⁷⁸ Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950*: 158. In p. 315, Welch provides further information about the distinction between the private and institutional transmission. He points out that in private transmissions, “[a] single master transmitted to a single disciple; later he might transmit to another. Or perhaps he transmitted to several disciples at the same time. None of these disciples, however, was supposed to receive this sort private dharma from a second master, since that would have been disloyal to the first. He could, however, receive additional dharmas from every monastery that asked him to serve as abbot. That kind of relationship was institutional and did not conflict with the private relationship”.

¹⁷⁹ See Tan Xu, *Yingchen Huiyi Lu* (影塵回憶錄, *Reminiscences of Shadows and Dust*, Hong Kong: Huanan Xuefo Yuan) vol. II, pp. 227-229. A recent case happened in the post-war period could be taken as an example to explain the differences between these two kinds of dharma transmissions: in September 1976 in Dajue Si (Temple of Enlightenment 大覺寺) in New York, master Shengyen, who instructed the Chan meditation in the Temple then, asked his teacher Master Dongchu, who had served as the abbot of Jiaoshan during 1946-1948, if he could get the Caodong dharma transmission through Dongchu’s Jiaoshan lineage, and Dongchu replied that “In these days, the so called dharma transmission in Chan monasteries does not lie in the mind-to-mind transmission but in transmitting the abbotship. Since we are not personally in Jiaoshan, you could get the dharma transmission but could not succeed the abbotship.”(近世叢林所謂傳法，不在於心法而在於傳承寺主方丈的位子，人不在焦山，雖可得其法而不可承其位。 See Shengyen, *Chanmen Xiuzheng Zhiyao* (禪門修證指要, *The Essentials of Practice and Attainment Within the Gates of Ch'an*)(Taipei:Fagu Wenhua, 1999): 249-250). That is, what happened here is a private dharma transmission without transmitting the abbotship.

institutional life of Chan Buddhism was sustained by a mediating power structure provided by the dharma transmission.¹⁸⁰

In many aspects, the institutional dharma transmission seems to come close to the abbacy succession rules followed in the hereditary monasteries and was criticized as allowing private interests take precedence over the public interests and as one of the main reasons why the large monasteries have gone into a decline.¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, the dharma transmission monasteries also held certain similarities to the public monasteries such as the functions of the dharma transmission and giving precepts, as we will see in the case of Gushan. However, while in the public monasteries only the abbot could give the tonsure¹⁸², the dharma transmission monasteries tend to have more rigid rules against the practices of giving the tonsure and training the novice (and even against letting them spend a night) to prevent the formation of the tonsure family and thereby become hereditary,¹⁸³ especially

¹⁸⁰ Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute* (Oxford University Press, 2008):258.

¹⁸¹ See Tan's criticism in the section of "Transmitting the dharma without transmitting the abbotship" in his autobiography *Yingchen Huiyi Lu*, vol. II, pp. 227-229. The section is translated in Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950*: 173-176.

¹⁸² In the entry "Shifang Zhuchi"十方住持 (the abbot of [monasteries of] the ten directions) in *Shishi Yaolan* (釋氏要覽, *Manual of Buddhist Practices*), compiled in the Northern Song in 1019 by Shi Daocheng (釋道誠), it says: "Only the abbot could give the tonsure. No monks could tonsure other disciples by themselves." (凡度弟子，惟長老一人，諸僧無各度別者之事。 See *Shishi Yaolan*, fasc.3, in T54n2127, p302). Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950*: 132, however, emphasizes that the public monasteries having rules against shaving heads. I assume that this might be the situation after almost all famous public monasteries had tuned into dharma transmission monasteries since late Ming and early Qing.

¹⁸³ According to Hasebe Yūkei (*Min Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū*, p.321), as far as the extant monastery rules are concerned, three kinds of rules had been followed in the dharma transmission monasteries since late Ming:

1. "Agreement with the Sangha"僧約 prescribed by Yunqi Zhuhong (in *Yunqi Fahui* (雲棲法彙, *Collected Works of Master Yunqi*)(Nanjing: Jinling kejing chu):27a-29b);
2. Rules of Lian Minastery 理安寺 prescribed by Ruohan Tongwen 簪庵通問(1604~1655);
3. *Record of the Verified Meaning of the Pure Rules of Pai-chang* 百丈清規證義記 by Chan master Yuangong Yirong 源供儀潤, published in 1823.

In the above three texts, one can find rules against giving the tonsure (building up disciples) privately and keeping novices:

1. The ninth rule of "Circumspection and contentment with one's status"安分小心約 in "Agreement with the Sangha" by

when the monastery attempted to break away from the hereditary succession and was newly converted into a dharma transmission monastery.

In Gushan's case, as we have seen in Chapter 2, since the mid-Ming it had been divided into several separate "houses" 房 that operated independently and were held by tonsure families¹⁸⁴, which was considered as a "decline" from a united public monastery to separated hereditary units. In the late Ming, to revive the monastery, the local gentry helped the separate hereditary houses to reorganize as one united public institution and invited Chan master Yuanxian to serve as the abbot. As a result, Gushan was converted into a dharma transmission monastery. In the early Qing, to prevent the return to a hereditary status, Weilin Daopei, the dharma heir of Yuanxian and succeeded the abbotship of Gushan, prescribed in 1659 that those who build up the hereditary "houses" were to be expelled from the monastery¹⁸⁵. One clear example for the importance of this new development can be seen in the rule

Zhuhong: "The following people are to be expelled from the monastery:.....those who build up their own disciples and following; those who keep young children and male novices without permission." 自立徒眾者出院, 擅留童幼沙彌者出院 (Translated in Chün-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: Chu-hung and the late Ming Synthesis*: 204).

2. "Rules and Agreements for Communal Living by Chan Master Ruohan" 簪安禪師同住規約 says: "Building up personal private disciples and keeping young novices are not allowed. Those who transgress these rules are to be expelled from the monastery." 不許私立徒眾, 收畜年少沙彌, 違者出院. (See Hang Shijun 杭士駿 ed., *Wulin Lian Si Zhi* (武林理安寺志, *The Gazetteer of Lian Monastery in Wulin*, 1760), reprinted in Du Xiangjie 杜祥潔 ed., *Zhongguo Fosi Shizhi Huikan* (中國佛寺史志彙刊, *Series of Monastic Gazetteers in China*) (Taipei City: Minwen, 1980), vol. I, no.21, fasc. 6, p. 310);
3. "Rules and Agreements for Communal Living" 共住規約 in *Record of the Verified Meaning of the Pure Rules of Pai-chang* mentions: "The following people are to be expelled from the monastery: those who keep the people who had committed blunders and the young people, or recruit personal private disciples." 保留有大過人, 及年輕者, 或私招徒眾者出院. (See *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 63, No. 1244, p.488)

¹⁸⁴ The "houses" are the units of tonsure families which divide and possess the properties of the original public monastery through the hereditary succession. See Derong Ye's (葉德榮) discussions of "mentou" 門頭, "fangtou" 房頭 and "fang" 房 of Shaolin Monastery in *Zongtong yu Fatong* (宗統與法統, Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 2010): 7-13.

¹⁸⁵ "The following people are to be expelled from the monastery: those who privately build houses, set up kitchen stoves and gathered disciples in vacant lands of the monastery and its branch to initiate the tendency of the 'house heads' and destroy the public institution." (於上下兩院曠地上自造房舍, 安爐灶, 聚徒眾, 啟房頭之漸, 破壞叢林者出院). See "Gushan Rules and Agreements for Communal Living" (本山共住規約, 1659) by Weilin Daopei, collected in *Conglin Zhubai Qinggui Keyi* (叢林祝白清規科儀, *Arrangement of Oral Texts in Monastic Services*) published by Gushan Monastery in

against tonsure and the accompanying hereditary tendency prescribed in Tianning Monastery 天寧寺, which was converted into a dharma transmission monastery in the eighteenth century during the Qianlong reign(乾隆, 1736-1795)¹⁸⁶. In the “Stele of Rules and Agreements of Tianning”(Tianning Guiyue Bei 天寧規約碑), erected by Daxiao Shiche 大曉實徹(1685-1757) in 1756, it is stated: “the monastery is the eternally present implement for the clergy members in the ten directions. Once the practice of the tonsure appears here, an embryo of the chronic disease [of becoming hereditary] will germinate. Therefore, from now on no tonsure is permitted. Those who transgress it will be punished.”(叢林乃十方常住，一有剃度遂萌痼胎，嗣後不許剃度，違者罰)¹⁸⁷.

We may take the dharma transmission monasteries as an type of institutional structure between the public and hereditary ones, holding the characteristics of both at the same time. Here I take the public, the dharma transmission and the hereditary monasteries as ideal types in analyzing the classification of the monastic organizations, and this typology constructs a public-hereditary continuum with the dharma transmission monasteries in-between¹⁸⁸. A tabulation of the differences between the three types is given as in the table 3.1¹⁸⁹:

1870, reprint in Lan Jifu 藍吉富 ed., *Chanzong Quanshu* (禪宗全書, *The Complete Chan Buddhist Collection*), vol.82 (Taipei: Wenshu Chubanshe, 1990): 351.

¹⁸⁶ See Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950*, Appendix VI “The Dharma of the T’ien-ning Ssu”(pp.450-453).

¹⁸⁷ See Pu Yisheng 濮一乘, *Wujin Tienning Si Zhi* (武進天寧寺志, *The Gazetteer of Tienning Monastery in Wujin*, 1948), reprinted in Du Xiangjie ed., *Zhongguo Fosi Shizhi Huikan* (Taipei City: Minwen, 1980), vol. I, no.35, fasc. 10, p. 349). The sentence is quoted and translated into Japanese in Hasebe Yūkei(長谷部幽蹊), *Min Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū*, p.305.

¹⁸⁸ Another typological continuum of religious institutions could be found in the “church-sect continuum” with denomination in-between. For a tabulation of the differences among church, denomination and sect, see Richard T. Schaefer, *Sociology* (New York: The McGraw Hill, 2008): 380, Table 15-3.

¹⁸⁹ Holmes Welch provides a tabulation of the sixteen differences among the public monastery, the branch temple (of the public monastery 分院) and the hereditary temple in *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950*, p.137. My table is

Table 3.1 Three Types of Buddhist Monasteries

	Public Monastery	Dharma Transmission Monastery	Hereditary Monastery
Abbacy open to all eminent Buddhist clergy members	✓ (ideally open to all, but practically restricted to the members of a specific tradition of Buddhism)	× (limited to dharma family members)	× (limited to tonsure family members)
Property of whole sangha	✓	✓ (ideally property of whole sangha, but criticized as property of dharma family ¹⁹⁰)	× (property of tonsure family)
Transmitting dharma	✓ (private transmission)	✓ (both private and institutional transmission ¹⁹¹)	×
Giving the tonsure	✓ (confine only to the abbot)	×	✓
Giving precepts	✓	✓	×

Through the comparison listed in the above table, we can see that the emergence of the dharma transmission monasteries in the seventeenth century was a striking phenomenon in the development of the institutional structure of Chan monasteries. They tried to find a balance between the public and private monasteries in order to sustain the life of their own Chan lineages. Hasebe observes that since

much simpler and in my table, the branch temple is replaced by the dharma transmission monastery.

¹⁹⁰ Hasebe takes Lian Monastery as an example and comments that in the dharma transmission monasteries, an abbot's dharma family and guest monks from the ten directions together formed a communal living (*Min Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū*, p.305). Welch reports that in Gaumin Monastery in Yangzhou (揚州高旻寺), Jiangtian Monastery at Jinshan in Zhenjiang (鎮江金山江天寺) and Gushan Monastery (all of the three were famous dharma transmission monasteries), there was no time limit on residence in the wandering monks hall for the visiting monks. Such an indefinite stay was called "gua hai-dan" 掛海單 (*The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950*, pp. 15-16; p. 139). The permission of "gua hai-dan" shows the stay and living in the dharma transmission monasteries were open to all sangha members who want to pursue further trainings or serving the offices in the great monasteries. This is an obvious difference from the hereditary monasteries. In the latter places, since they were privately owned by a tonsure family, "the sangha could not treat them as its common property. Visiting monks could expect to be put up for only three days." (*The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950*, p.129)

¹⁹¹ The institutional transmission through a ceremony is the way of producing new abbots in the dharma transmission monasteries. Nevertheless, according to Welch's report, an abbot who had taken a dharma disciple through the private transmission "might later decide that no one else was better qualified to succeed to the abbotship. If his colleagues agreed, the succession was so arranged. In such a case there was no need to transmit the dharma to the disciple a second time" through the institutional transmission. (*The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950*, p.158)

the late Ming many Chan public monasteries had gradually turned into the dharma transmission ones and this tendency became more obvious starting in the Qing dynasty¹⁹², which led to stronger and stronger lineage consciousness and vehement sectarian disputes. Yet, this tendency also showed that the Chan lineages adopted a compromise between recognizing the reality of the dharma family succession in the monasteries and attempting to reconstruct the ideal of transcending the sectarian boundaries and providing a public space for those who seek strict Chan practices and trainings and attempt to lead a meaningful religious life regulated by pure rules.¹⁹³ To some extent and in some cases¹⁹⁴, one may say that the compromise was successful in that it not only prevented the Chan monasteries from becoming hereditary ones, but provided a local Chan base which made possible the continuing efforts through the lineage of a dharma family to broaden the economic foundations generation by generation and resulted in the steady transmission and the prosperity of the lineage in the Qing dynasty.¹⁹⁵ Gushan Monastery was a successful representative of the dharma transmission monasteries.

Following Hasebe's study, Jiang Wu finds that after a monastery was revived by local patrons and a Chan master was invited to serve as the abbot, this master would "reorganized the monastic

¹⁹² Hasebe points out that the tendency was especially remarkable in the southern China. He gives examples of the Five Mountains in Zhejiang (1. Jingshan in Yuhang(餘杭徑山寺); 2. Linying in Qiantang(錢塘靈隱寺); 3. Tiantong in Ningpo(寧波天童寺); 4. Jingci in Qiantang(錢塘淨慈寺); 5. Yuwang in Ningpo(寧波育王寺)) and other famous public monasteries which were occupied by the specific lineages of Linji or Caodong. See Hasebe *Min Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū*, pp.294-308.

¹⁹³ *ibid.*, pp.304-305.

¹⁹⁴ Hasebe takes Jinshan Monastery and Tienning Monastery as examples (*ibid.*, 307). To these, we may add Gushan Monastery.

¹⁹⁵ On the contrary, a public monastery may lose its properties because the abbots are changed frequently, so few of them are willing to take care of the monastic management, and some of them even taking monastic properties away with them when they depart the monastery. See Huang Minzhi 黃敏枝, *Songdai Fojiao Shehui Jingjishi Lunji*(宋代佛教社會經濟史論集, *Essays on the Socio-economic History of Buddhism in the Song Dynasty*, Taipei: Xuesheng, 1989): 309-310.

bureaucracy by appointing his dharma heirs as officers and successors”. If the abbacy succession was continued within this dharma family, then after several generations, the monastery would turn into a dharma transmission one.¹⁹⁶ As we have seen in Chapter 2, this model was followed at Gushan: at first Yongjue Yuanxian was invited to be the abbot of Gushan Monastery, through his efforts and supports of local literati, Gushan was rebuilt and survived the turmoil in the Ming-Qing transition. Yuanxian left his dharma heir Weilin Daopei as the successor of the abbotship and since then the Shouchang sublineage introduced by Yuanxian had been transmitted steadily in Gushan throughout the Qing dynasty. As a result, Gushan turned into a dharma transmission monastery and became a local base for the formation of the “Gushan Chan lineage”. As we will see below, the “Gushan Chan lineage” formed in Qing could be taken as a new Chan lineage developed from the Shouchang sublineage.

2.2 The Naming Practice in Chan Lineages

The naming practice of dharma heirs and disciples was a means of rationalizing the dharma transmission in dharma transmission monasteries¹⁹⁷. Through the naming practice, the personal relationships among members of the dharma family are shown. By looking at the names of those who served as the abbots, we can discover which lineage dominated a particular monastery. Furthermore, one can also discover easily if the monastery is a dharma transmission one from the name list of its

¹⁹⁶ Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*: 10-11.

¹⁹⁷ Jiang Wu, “Building a Dharma Transmission Monastery in Seventeenth-Century China: The Case of Mount Huangbo”, p. 43.

abbots. Jiang Wu gives a verse description of the operation of the naming practice, using the

“generation characters” (*beizi* 輩字) and “transmission poems”(*yanpai ji* 演派偈):

.....characters contained in transmission poems were used in monks' names as markers of a common generation in order to construct a sectarian consciousness. The transmission poems, usually written by the founder of a lineage, provide hierarchical structures for the lineage in that each new member of a given generation will take the same word from the poem (the next word in sequence after the word used by the previous generation) as his generation character (*beizi* 輩字). All members of the same generation will have this identical generation character.¹⁹⁸

In a tonsure family, the “generation character” is used when a master choosing a tonsure name (*tidu ming* 剃度名) for his newly tonsured disciple. The tonsure name always has two characters, one of which (more often the first rather than the second) was taken from the “transmission poem” as the “generation character”.¹⁹⁹

In the practice of naming, it seems natural to assume that the “transmission poem” and the “generation character” are symbiosis from the very beginning. Hasebe, however, insists that the two should be treated separately and argues that the founder of a lineage may give his own disciples a common generation characters but it is difficult to say that he would compose the transmission poem in advance for the spread of the lineage and for the future generations. The common practice of using generation characters in Chan lineages could be observed in the late Ming, but not until the mid-Qing did the composition of the transmission poems became popular²⁰⁰.

However, if we consider the naming practice in the secular world which is mirrored in the

¹⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 45.

¹⁹⁹ Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950*: 279.

²⁰⁰ Hasebe Yūkei(長谷部幽蹊), *Min Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū*: 268-273.

monastic setting, we will arrive at a slightly different conclusion. I will first focus on the generation characters and then turn to the transmission poems.

2.2.1 The Use of Generation Characters and the Case of Shaolin Monastery

As Morrison points out, once the notion of lineage appeared and the analogy to family was made, a pool of traditional Chinese familial language was readily available²⁰¹. And the practice of naming is one of the most obvious examples.

The use of generation characters in the traditional Chinese families could be traced back to the Tang dynasty.²⁰² The famous poet Dufu (杜甫, 712-770) chose “Zong” (宗) as the generation character and named his two sons Zongwen (宗文) and Zongwu (宗武)²⁰³. In the case of the name containing only one character, the use of the generation character would be shown in the radical of that single name character. For example, in the Song dynasty, the famous scholar Su Xun (蘇洵, 1009-1066) chose “che” (車) as the generation character and named his two sons Shi (軾, 1037- 1101) and Che(轍, 1039-1112).²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ Elizabeth Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs : Qisong and Lineage in Chinese Buddhism*: 66.

²⁰² Li Huiliang (黎輝亮), “Hanzuren de Quming yu Hanminzu Chuantong Yuyan Wenhua”(漢族人的取名與漢民族傳統語言文化, “The Practice of Naming of the Chinese People and the Traditional Language Culture of the Chinese”), in *Journal of Hainan Teachers College* (1991, no.1, pp.98-102): 101.

²⁰³ Dufu uses the names of his sons in the titles of poems, such as “熟食日示宗文宗武”, “催宗文樹雞柵”, “宗武生日”, “元日示宗武” and “又示宗武”. See Ou Li-chuan(歐麗娟), “Dufu Shi zhong de Qinzi Guanxi yu Jiaoyuguan”(杜甫詩中的親子關係與教育觀, “The Parent-children Relation and the View on Children-education in Tu Fu's Poems”), in *Bulletin of the College of Liberal Arts, National Taiwan University* no.58 (May 2003, pp. 25-70): 47, note 31.

²⁰⁴ Su Xun and his two sons Su Shi and Su Che, usually jointly referred to as the “three Sus” (三蘇), were all famous for their ancient style prose (guwen 古文) and played important roles in the “guwen movement”(古文運動) in Song. For Su Shi’s contributions to the literal culture of Song, see Peter Kees Bol, “*This Culture of Ours*”: *Intellectual Transitions in*

The practice of naming by the generation character seemed to be adopted by Chan masters in the Yuan dynasty. According to Ye Derong's (葉德榮) study of Shaolin Monastery, the Shaolin Monastery had followed a double track transmissions: the "ancestral transmission"(zongtong 宗統) and the "dharma transmission"(fatong 法統) since the Yang dynasty. On the level of the abbotship succession, like in the dharma transmission monasteries, the "fatong" principle dominated and the abbacy was passed down through the lineage of the "dharma family" founded by the Caodong Chan master Xueting Fuyu²⁰⁵. However, the monastery properties were kept by several hereditary "houses" and passed down through the lineage of the "tonsure families" according to "zongtong" principle.²⁰⁶ In other words, Shaolin was a dharma transmission monastery made up with several hereditary units, a hybrid institution possessing the characteristics of both monastery types²⁰⁷.

The hereditary "houses", as we have seen in the case of Gushan, represents a centrifugal tendency separating the public monastery apart into independent units. However, at Shaolin Monastery, the institutions of the dharma transmission and the hereditary units operated smoothly as one unit because both the lineage of the dharma family (on the level of abbotship) and the lineage of the tonsure families were founded by Xueting Fuyu. All members of Shaolin Monastery were considered as the offspring of

T'ang and Sung China (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992), Chapter 8 "Su Shih's Tao: Unity with Individuality"(pp.254-299).

²⁰⁵ About Xueting Fuyu and Shaolin Monastery in the Yuan dynasty, see Chapter 1.

²⁰⁶ Ye Derong (葉德榮), *Zongtong yu Fatong*, pp.1-7. "Zong tong" and "fa tong" could be understood as "the lineage of a tonsure family" and "the lineage of a dharma family". See Ye's explanations in the English abstract of the book.

²⁰⁷ Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950*: 138 gives "hereditary public monasteries" (zisun shifang conglin 子孫十方叢林) as an example of the hybrid institution which is under the control of a single tonsure family but has the functions of the public monastery such as permitting visiting monks to stay as long as they wished and perhaps a regular program of meditation or buddha recitation.

Fuyu's Caodong lineage. That is, Fuyu initiated both the Coadong dharma transmission lineage and the Caodong tonsure lineage in Shaolin in the Yuan dynasty.²⁰⁸

Based on the steles preserved in Shaolin, Ye Derong lists generation by generation both the tonsure descendants and the abbots (the dharma descendents) since Fuyu.²⁰⁹ It is obvious that the generation characters had been used in every generation of the tonsure lineage since the Yuan until today, while it was not until the mid-Ming that a similar practice was adopted in the dharma transmission lineage²¹⁰. This is consistent with Hasebe's observation that the use of generation characters appeared commonly in the dharma transmission lineages in late Ming.²¹¹

Based on the case of Shaolin, I want to discuss three points about the use of generation characters:

(1) The formation of Chan tonsure lineages and the use of generation characters.

We observe above that the Chan tonsure lineage at Shaolin have used generation characters since the Yuan dynasty, which bolstered the rationalization of the tonsure lineage transmissions. We may infer further that Chan tonsure lineages, including that at Shaolin, were formed in the Yuan, if not earlier.

²⁰⁸ For the dharma transmission lineage founded by Fuyu, see Ye Derong, *Zongtong yu Fatong*, pp.22-24; for the tonsure lineages founded by Fuyu, see Ye Derong, *Zongtong yu Fatong*, pp.13-15.

²⁰⁹ For the name list of the tonsure descendants, see Ye Derong, *Zongtong yu Fatong*, pp.41-290. For abbots' name list, see pp.291-475.

²¹⁰ Ye Derong gives an example of Huanxiu Changrun (?-1585) who adopted the generation character in his dharma transmission: the name list of his dharma heirs was scribed in the back of his stele (erected in 1578) which shows the generation character in their names was "zu"(祖). See Ye Derong, *Zongtong yu Fatong*: 37.

²¹¹ Hasebe points out that the Chan masters born in about 1550 began to adopt generation characters in naming dharma heirs. He gives four examples (*Min Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū*: 268): (1) Shouchang [Wuming] Huijing (1547-1617) chose the character "yuan"(元); (2) Huanyou Zhengchuan (幻有正傳, 1549-1614) chose "yuan" (圓); (3) Zhanran Yuancheng (1561-1626) chose "ming"(明); (4) Chuiwan Guangzhen (吹萬廣真, 1582-1639) chose "hui"(慧).

The term “Chan tonsure lineage” may at first glance appear strange, because in the Song dynasty, as Foulk points out, “Chan lineage” meant the lineage of enlightenment, so only a selected few who received dharma transmission could be regarded as members of that lineage.²¹² However, in addition to the elite dharma heirs, Chan masters did have tonsure disciples²¹³, and did produce their own tonsure lineages²¹⁴. Furthermore, in the monastic order, the tonsure relations are the most fundamental ones²¹⁵. Do tonsure disciples of Chan masters have no right to claim the orthodoxy of their Chan lineages which could be traced back to all the great patriarchs? To some extent, the tonsure lineages could be regarded as Chan lineages not because they succeed in receiving the “mind to mind transmission” of Chan masters, but because they are their offsprings, which is after all the core meaning of the term “lineage”. As a result, as Welch puts it, almost all Chinese Buddhist monks belong either to Linji or Caodong in respect to tonsure, which had no doctrinal significance, but is purely a matter of lineage²¹⁶.

²¹² T. Griffith Foulk, “Myth, Ritual and Monastic Practice”:160-161.

²¹³ As we see above, in the (Chan) public monasteries, the abbot (Chan masters) could give the tonsure. Foulk also points out that in Song, one can chose a Chan master as his sponsor for joining the monastic order, and this sponsor was necessary to officiate the novice ordination ceremony and to oversee the subsequent training of the novice. (Foulk, *ibid.*, p.161) Since late Ming and early Qing, Chan masters may not give the tonsure in dharma transmission monasteries, they may, however, give the tonsure in hereditary monasteries, most likely in the monasteries where the masters received their own tonsure.

²¹⁴ Morten Schlütter mentions a case of Lingfeng Chansi 靈峰禪寺 whose first abbot was Master Ciren Lingji (慈忍靈濟), a disciple of Mazu Daoyi (馬祖道一, 707-786 or 709-788) in the Tang dynasty. In the Northern Song dynasty, when the monastery was by imperial command changed from Vinaya (the hereditary monastery) to Chan (the public monastery), the monks there protested and claimed that they were “the sons and grandsons of Ciren [the founder of Lingfeng]. Now that a person [to be the abbot] is selected publicly the descendants of Ciren have been cut off!”(我慈忍之子孫也。今取人於十方, 則慈忍之後絕矣!) That is, the tonsure lineage formed in the monastery claimed to be founded by Chan master Ciren. See *Hubei Jinshi Zhi* 湖北金石志 (*Collection of Stone Carvings in Hubei*) fasc.10.9b, in *Shike Shiliao Xibian* 石刻史料新編 (*New Edition of Historical Materials Carved on Stone*) (Taipei: Xin Wenfeng, 1977), Series I, vol.16, p.105, translated in Schlütter, “Vinaya Monasteries, Public Abbacies, and State Control of Buddhism under the Song (960- 1279)”: 153-154.

²¹⁵ The other religious kinship includes those formed in receiving the precepts and dharma transmissions. See Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950*, pp.278-279. Schlütter argues convincingly that “all monks and nuns were members of a tonsure family, and for the vast majority their tonsure lineage was what gave them identity and defined the framework of their monastic career.”(“Vinaya Monasteries, Public Abbacies, and State Control of Buddhism under the Song (960- 1279)”: 141)

²¹⁶ Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950*: 281.

In early Republican China, the Chan tonsure lineages and dharma transmission lineages are termed “*tidu pai*” 剃度派 and “*changfa pai*” 傳法派²¹⁷, or “*tipai*” 剃派 and “*fapai*” 法派²¹⁸ in short. The distinction of these two kinds of lineages is significant for our understating of the spread of the Gushan Chan lineage to Taiwan in the following chapters.

(2) The adoption of generation characters in the dharma transmission lineage.

In the case of Shaolin, we observe that the use of generation characters in naming in Chan tonsure lineages appeared much earlier than that in the dharma transmission lineage. We may infer that in the late Ming, the dharma transmission lineages adopted the practice of naming by generation characters from the Chan tonsure lineages as a means of rationalization of the dharma transmission. In other words, this practice originated in Chan tonsure lineages and then was spread to the dharma transmission lineage. One of the differences between the dharma transmission in the Yuan and the Ming lies in that in the Ming the transmission was further institutionalized by borrowing the practice of naming.

(3) The use of generation characters and the composition of transmission poems.

Because the use of generation characters originated in Chan tonsure lineages, it is quite natural to infer that it is also in Chan tonsure lineages that the practice of composing the transmission poems first

²¹⁷ The two terms was used in the "Xiuzheng guanli simiao tiaoli", see note 24 above.

²¹⁸ See Chan master Xuyun (虛雲, ?-1959), *Jiaozheng Xingdeng Ji* (校正星燈集, *The Revised Collection of Stars and Lamps*, 1935), in Cen Xuelu (岑學呂) ed., *Xuyun Laooheshang Nianpu Fahui Zengdingben* (虛雲老和尙年譜法彙增訂本, *The Revised Chronicle and Collected Works of Master Xuyun*) (Taipei: Dasheng Jingshe, 1982):256.

appeared. The transmission poems were recorded in the “Shishi yuanliu wuzong shipu dingzu tu”(釋氏源流五宗世譜定祖圖 Chart Determining Genealogies and Patriarchs of the Five Lineages Originated from Buddhism)²¹⁹ edited in the early Qing. They were then recorded in the “Zong jiao lu zhujia yanpai”(宗教律諸家演派Lineage Charts of Chan, Teaching and Vinaya Schools)²²⁰ and the “Chanmen risong”(禪門日誦Daily liturgy of Chan School)²²¹ compiled in the late Qing. Holmes Welch suggests that the purpose of the transmission poems in *Chanmen Risong* is to show who transmitted the dharma to whom, not who shaved who’s head,²²² I differ from this theory but think it was the reverse. I believe the transmission poems were created first in Chan tonsure lineages to confirm tonsure relations and not used for dharma transmission.

If my hypothesis is correct, then the question would be when the transmission poems appeared in Chan tonsure lineages and when the practice spread to the dharma transmission.

2.2.2 The Use of the Transmission Poems in Chan Lineages

I begin with the case of Shaolin. It is recorded in *the Lineage Charts of Chan, Teaching and Vinaya Schools* that Fuyou composed a transmission poem consisted of seventy characters.²²³

According to Ye’s study, the tonsure lineage in Shaolin followed this poem in naming since the Yuan

²¹⁹ Collected in *Zimen Shipu* (緇門世譜, *The Buddhist Genealogies*) fasc.1, see *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 86, No. 1603.

²²⁰ “Zong jiao lu zhujia yanpai”, in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol.88, No. 1667.

²²¹ *Chanmen risong* (Tianning Monastery Version) (Taipei: Fotuo Jiaoyu Jijinhui, year unknown).

²²² Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950*: 453.

²²³ *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol.88, No. 1667, p.563. The poem is also collected in earlier “Shishi yuanliu wuzong shipu dingzu tu” without referring to the composer.

dynasty. He further argues that Fuyu only composed the first twenty characters and the abbot Bian Haikuan (彼岸海寬, 1596-1666) added the next fifty characters in the early Qing because the first twenty characters were already used up by that time.²²⁴ Is it possible that the transmission poem appeared as early as the Yuan? If in the Yuan the practice of using generational poem which is the counterpart of transmission poem by Buddhists had not appeared in the secular world, is it possible that the transmission poem appeared first in Chan lineages? Or was the entire transmission poem used in Shaolin composed by Haikuan in the early Qing and was retrospectively traced to the Yuan?

The practice of composing generational poem in the secular world seemed to appear in early Ming. In official historical records, Emperor Taizu composed generational poems for Ming royal families²²⁵. Furthermore, it is said that the Kong family of Confucius' offspring in Qufu (曲阜孔府), had begun in the early Ming to use generation characters in naming by following the eight characters of a generational poem.²²⁶

In the early Ming, the use of such poems may be confined to the royal relatives or the family of Confucius. However, we have reasons to believe that this practice gradually became popular from the

²²⁴ Ye Derong, *Zongtong yu Fatong*: 18-19. Ye further points out that the seventy characters transmission poem appeared firstly in the stele of “Chici Zuting Shaolin Shishi Yuanliu Wujia Zongpai Shipu” (The Buddhist Origin and Development of the Five Lineage Genealogies Granted by Imperial Order to Shaolin Ancestral Hall 敕賜祖庭少林釋氏源流五家宗派世譜) written by Haikuan in early Qing but erected in 1802.

²²⁵ Zhang Tingyu (張廷玉) et al., Yang Jialuo (楊家駱) ed., *Ming Shi (The History of Ming 明史)*, fasc. 100 (Taipei: Dingwen Shuju, 1980): 2503-2505.

²²⁶ It is said that the eight characters transmission poem was granted by Ming Taizu, and a thirty character transmission poem was announced in the Qing dynasty during Qianlong reign. See Meng E (孟娥), *Kongzi Zongzu 105 Dai Zibei Kao* (孔子宗族 105 代字輩考, “On the Generation Characters of the 105 Generations of Confucius' Offspring”), in *Journal of Heilongjiang College of Education* (2000, no.1): 123-126; Aihara Shigeru (相原茂), “Chūgoku no Naduke”(中国の名づけ The Chinese Practice of Naming), in *Gengo 言語*(1990:03): 26-29.

mid-Ming after the change of ritual laws in 1536, one of the results of the “Great Ritual Debate” (*Dali yi* 大禮議). This allowed the officials to establish their own ancestor halls and let both the officials and the ordinary people alike to offer sacrifice to their apical ancestors on the winter solstice.²²⁷ As Ivy Maria Lim puts it,

What made the difference between the lineage organizations that appeared during the Ming dynasty and those of the pre-Ming period, however, was popularization. During the Tang and Song dynasties, the only acknowledged lineages were those of aristocratic families, whereas in the Ming dynasty, lineage organization evolved gradually among the general populace from its basis in the Ming system of household registration. The process was helped, no doubt, by social pretensions as well as by the growing popular acceptance of neo-Confucian descent ethics, which were made fashionable by a change in the ritual regulations of the Ming court in 1536. In much of China, the lineage organization that developed throughout the sixteenth century eventually took the now familiar form of group alignments on basis of kinship relations expressed physically and symbolically through ancestral halls, common burial grounds, corporate trust estates, and the compilation of genealogies.²²⁸

Zhang Xue-song also points out that, with the popularization of the compilation of genealogies after the 1536 change of ritual laws, the use of transmission poems in Buddhist genealogies from the late Ming onward was a convenient and economic way to construct the lineage self-identity and distinguish one lineage from another.²²⁹

²²⁷ See discussions of Ke Dawei(柯大衛) in “Citang yu Jimiao – cong Songmo dao Ming Zhongye Zongzu Liyi de Yanbian”(祠堂與家廟--從宋末到明中葉宗族禮儀的演變, “Ancestral Hall and Family Temple: the Development of the Lineage Rites since the late Song to mid-Ming”), in *Journal of History and Anthropology*, vol.1, no.2 (Oct, 2003, pp.1-20):2-5. The “Great Ritual Debate” began with Emperor Shizong’s (世宗) desire to ritually honor his late father, and insisted that uncle Xiaozong(孝宗) be called uncle and not be regarded as his father, though he ascended to the throne as successor to his cousin Emperor Wuzong(武宗) who had died childless. However, the officials disagreed and suggested that Shizong should consider himself as an adopted son of his uncle Xiaozong. For more details, see Carney Thomas Fisher, *The Great Ritual Controversy in Ming China* (Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1977)

²²⁸ Ivy Maria Lim, *Lineage Society on the Southeastern Coast of China: the Impact of Japanese Piracy in the 16th Century* (Amherst, N.Y.: Cambria Press, 2010): 1-2.

²²⁹ Zhang Xue-song(張雪松), “Wanming Yilai Sengren Minghao ji Puxi Yanjiu”(晚明以來僧人名號及譜系研究, Monks’ Naming and Their Buddhist Lineages since Late Ming China Lineages in Late Imperial China), in *Hsuan Chuang Journal of Buddhism*, no.15 (Mar, 2011, pp.247-272), pp. 268-269.

Based on these studies, I believe that the composition of transmission poems in Chan tonsure lineages became popular after the late Ming, and the practice was then also adopted in the dharma transmission, together with the use of generation characters. That is, though in Chan tonsure lineages, as Hasebe insists, the use of generation characters might be earlier than the composition of the transmission poems, in the dharma transmission lineages, the use of generation characters and transmission poems originated about the same time in the late Ming and early Qing because the practice was adopted from Chan tonsure lineages, not an innovation initiated by the dharma transmission lineages.

Returning to our question raised in the beginning of this section: Is it possible that the composition of the transmission poem appeared in Chan tonsure lineages as early as in the Yuan? If that practice in the secular world originated in the early Ming as we just see, then it would be very difficult to say that Buddhists already adopted this practice earlier than the Ming. However, John W. Chaffee argues that in the beginning of the Northern Song, Taizu (宋太祖 r.960-976) had already composed a generational poem for royal families though this was not recorded in the official history but is found in the genealogy of Zhao (the surname of the Song royal family) compiled in 1882.²³⁰ If Chaffee is correct,

²³⁰ John W. Chaffee, *Branches of Heaven: A History of the Imperial Clan of Sung China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999): 22-25. In the note 8 to page 23, Chaffee argues that though the document “The Emperor Taizu’s Great Instructions for the Jade Register (Taizu Huangdi Yudie Daxun 太祖皇帝玉牒大訓)” (i.e. the imperial genealogy), dated the twelfth day of the eighth month of 964, is found only in Zhao genealogy (Zhao Silian (趙思瀛), Xuxiu Shanyin Huashe Zhaoshi Zongpu 續修山陰華舍趙氏宗譜) in 1882, there are reasons for accepting it as authentic: (1) the Zhao genealogies “generally speak of treasuring all clan documents that might have been preserved through the years”; (2) the common clansman ancestor of the family had close ties with Song court, so it is reasonable that “the family came into possession of an assortment of clan documents”; (3) “although many of these documents are unique and therefore cannot be independently verified, they employ Song documentary forms and have proved reliable in their information that can be

then we may say that the use of transmission poem at Shaolin Monastery since Yuan is not so implausible. Nevertheless, it had not become popular until mid-Ming, and not until late Ming did it become a common practice. This provided the background of compiling the records of transmission poems such as *Chart Determining Geneologies and Patriarchs of the Five Lineages Originated from Buddhism* in early Qing as we have seen above.

In Buddhist monastic order, the tonsure relations are the most fundamental, and the name with tonsure lineage's generation character given to the novice would in principle be unchanged for his whole life, though he could, following the common practice in the secular world, have "courtesy names" or "style names" (*zi* 字) or "special names" (*biehao* 別號)²³¹. However, since the late Ming, when the dharma transmission lineages adopted the use of generation characters and transmission poems, Chan masters began to give names with the generation character of their own Chan tonsure lineages to their dharma heirs. In the case when the master and the heir belonged to different Chan tonsure lineages, when the heir received a new name in the dharma transmission, for the heir, it was the name of the dharma transmission, not the name of the tonsure, but for the master, the new name was named following the transmission poem of his own Chan tonsure lineage. It is at this point that the transmission poems of the Chan tonsure lineages and the transmission poems of the dharma transmission lineages got entangled and resulted in complexities which perplex scholars who attempt to

checked."(p.315).

²³¹ See Jiang Wu, "Building a Dharma Transmission Monastery in Seventeenth-Century China: The Case of Mount Huangbo", pp. 45-46.

differentiate these two kinds of transmission poems.²³² However, as my analysis shows, basically all transmission poems are of Chan tonsure lineages, it is for the dharma heir who originally did not belong to his dharma transmission master's tonsure family that the transmission poem of his master turned into the transmission poem of the dharma transmission lineage.

Three kinds of practice could be discerned concerning this complicated situation since the late Ming:

(1) When the master A and the dharma heir B belonged to different Chan tonsure lineages, the dharma heir B would receive the new name given in the dharma transmission, and would follow his master A's transmission poem to name his (B's) own future heirs.²³³

(2) Though having received the dharma from the master A, the dharma heir B maintained his(B's) tonsure name, and would use the transmission poem of his (B's) own tonsure lineage to name his (B's) own future dharma heirs.²³⁴

(3) Though having received the dharma transmission from the master A, the dharma heir B composed a new transmission poem and created a new lineage transmission. This kind of practice happened

²³² For example, Hasebe seems to be stuck in these complexities and judges that the transmission poems of the dharma transmission lineages did not become popular until mid-Qing.

²³³ Jiang Wu, "Building a Dharma Transmission Monastery in Seventeenth-Century China: The Case of Mount Huangbo": 47 gives an example of Feiyin Tongrong (費隱通容, 1593-1661). Tongrong initially received the tonsure name "Mingmi"(明密) from his Caodong teacher. However, when he received dharma transmission from Miyun Yuanwu, he changed his name to "Tongrong" according to the transmission poem of Miyun's tonsure lineage, and "almost all of his immediate disciples were given the generation character "xing"(行) in accordance with Miyun's transmission poem."

²³⁴ Jiang Wu, "Building a Dharma Transmission Monastery in Seventeenth-Century China: The Case of Mount Huangbo": 46-47 gives an example of Yinyuan Longqi (隱元隆琦, 1592-1673). Yinyuan maintained his tonsure name "Longqi" he received from the tonsure lineage of Huangbo Monastery(黃蘗寺) in Fujian though he received dharma from Feiyin Tongrong and was expected to change the generation character of his name from "long"(隆) to "xing"(行), as we see in the above note. Then Yinyuan Longqi named his heirs in Japan according to the transmission poem of his own tonsure lineage.

especially when the dharma heir B was invited as the abbot to reorganize the monastery into a dharma transmission one. That is, by composing a new transmission poem, the dharma transmission could be further rationalized, which bolstered the formation of the dharma transmission institution. On the other hand, the new transmission poem composed by the heir B showed that the master A's lineage was introduced by the heir B to other monastery and therefore obtained a new base for the next stage development of the master A's lineage. This was the case related to the formation of the Gushan Chan lineage and would be discussed further below.

3. The Formation of the Gushan Chan Lineage in the Qing Dynasty

According to *Chart Determining Geneologies and Patriarchs of the Five Lineages Originated from Buddhism*, Wuming Huijing composed a new transmission poem in early Qing that started with the generation character of his own name (the character “hui” 慧). According to my analysis above, I assume that Wuming wrote the poem when he reestablished Shouchang Monastery in Jiangxi as an institutional base of his lineage which was known as the Shouchang sublineage of the Caodong School.

The poem reads²³⁵:

The perfect wisdom of the great way promotes compassionate relief	慧圓道大興慈濟
Enlightened to the origin to transmit the lamps and continue the ancestral light	悟本傳燈續祖光
Thoroughly understanding the ocean of [Buddha] nature to manifest the Dharmadatu	性海洞明彰法界
Extensively developing the [Buddhist] practices and vows to realize the true and eternal [mind]	廣弘行願證真常

The transmission poems were usually made of auspicious characters and do not necessarily have clear

²³⁵ *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 86, No. 1603, p.485 b05-06.

meanings. Wuming’s poem is, however, quite clear. It emphasizes the responsibility to continue the lineage transmission and expresses the expectations to achieve enlightenment and spread Buddhist teachings. According to the poem, Wuming’s own generation character is the first character of the poem (“hui” 慧) and he would use the character “yuan”(圓) (the second character of the poem) in naming his heirs. However, the generation character of his four dharma heirs turned to be “yuan”(元), a homophone as 圓. Following Hasebe one may infer that this is because Wuming used the generation character but he did not compose the transmission poem. However, I tend to think that the use of a homophone was permissible in naming or that the record made a mistake because of the homophone.

The Chart Determining Geneologies and Patriarchs of the Five Lineages Originated from

Buddhism continues that Wuming’s dharma heir Wuyi Yuanlai also composed a new transmission poem²³⁶:

The original Way is extensively transmitted as an unity	元道弘傳一
The light of mind illuminates universally and pervasively	心光照普通
[Our] patriarchs have made the dharma eyes prosperous	祖師隆法眼
[We should] spread the Shouchang lineage forever	永播壽昌宗

The third character of this poem “hong”(弘) was recorded in “Lineage Charts of Chan, Teaching and Vinaya Schools” as a homophone “hong”(宏)²³⁷, as the case above of “元” for “圓” in Wuming’s poem.

It provides a proof that in the process of collecting and recording the transmission poems, the

²³⁶ *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 86, No. 1603, p.485 b07-08.

²³⁷ *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 88, No. 1667, p.485 b02-03. The other difference is in the second sentence: while “The Buddhist Origin and Development of the Five Lineage Genealogies and the Certain Charts of Patriarchs” reads as “心光照普通”, “Lineage Charts of Chan, Teaching and Vinaya Schools” records as “心光普照通”, that is, “照普” is reversed as “普照”.

homophones might replace each other.

According to my analysis, I assume Wuyi composed this poem when he was invited to serve as the abbot of Nengren Chan Monastery at Boshan 博山能仁禪寺 and introduced Wuming's lineage there. Wuyi's poem expressed a strong resolution to spread his master Wuming's Shouchang lineage, which indicates that, as I have analyzed above, the composition of a new transmission poem was not regarded as a betrayal of one's own master to build up one's own sphere of influence, but a mark of the further spreading of the master's lineage.

In addition to Wuyi, Wuming had three other dharma heirs. The records of transmission poems did not mention that the three heirs composed their own transmission poems. In the case of Jianru Yuanmi, because he succeeded Wuming to be the abbot of Shouchang Monastery, I assume that he continued using the transmission poem Wuming composed for the monastery. In the case of Huitai Yuanjing and Yongjue Yuanxian, the descendants of the two seemed to have used the same transmission poem.

In *Shouchang Zhengtong Lu* (壽昌正統錄 *The Record of Shouchang Orthodoxy*), compiled by Modao Dinglong (默道鼎隆), the dharma descendent of Huitai Yuanjing in 1759 in Japan, it says that Juelang Daosheng (覺浪道盛, 1592-1659), the dharma heir of Yuanjing, revived the Shouchang lineage and composed a new transmission poem²³⁸:

²³⁸ The dharma transmission from Huitai Yuanjing to Modao Dinglong was: Huitai Yuanjing(晦台元鏡)→ Juelang Daosheng (覺浪道盛)→ Cuiwei Dawen(翠微大文)→ Xinyue Xingchou (心越興儔)→ Wuyun Fatan (吳雲法曇)→ Chanshan Jieyuan (禪山界圓)→ Puming Yicong (普明一琮)→ Modao Dinglong(默道鼎隆). In the turmoil of the Ming-Qing transition, Xinyue decided to leave China to take refuge in Japan. He arrived in Nagasaki in 1677 and initiated the Caodong Shouchang lineage transmission in Japan and took Gionzi (祇園寺) in Mito (水戶) as its base. Three

The [one who has attained the] original wisdom makes the Way flourish greatly	慧元道大興
The dharmadatu is [thereby] wholly innovated anew	法界一鼎新
[His wisdom] pierces heaven and penetrates the earth	通天並徹地
[He] honors the ancient [patriarchs] and soars high above the contemporaries	耀古及騰今

The above poem is also recorded in the “Daily liturgy of Chan Buddhism” without, however, referring to the author, only saying that it was written by a descendent of Shouchang lineage. Furthermore, the “Daily liturgy of Chan Buddhism” changed the third character of the last sentence (“及”) into “fu” 復²³⁹, and it is this version of the transmission poem that was followed in the Gushan lineage,²⁴⁰ There is, moreover, a further alteration: the third character of the third sentence (“並”) was changed into “jian” (兼). One can judge easily from the name lists of Gushan abbots in the Qing dynasty that the dharma transmission at Gushan had indeed adopted this transmission poem²⁴¹. At the end of this Chapter, I will give a name list (table 3.2) since Yuanxian throughout the Qing dynasty till early Republican China.

To conclude, the introduction of the dharma transmission lineage into Gushan Monastery turned Gushan into a dharma transmission monastery which in turn led to the formation of a new Chan lineage

generations later, the abbot Puming asked his dharma heir Modao to edit *Shouchang Zhengtong Lu* with an attempt to revive the Shouchang lineage which had declined after Xinyue died. *Shouchang Zhengtong Lu* has five fascicles of main texts and one fascicle of the appendix. The whole main texts and part of the appendix were published in Nagai Masashi (永井政之), “Sōtōshū Jushō ha no seiritsu to tenkai” (曹洞宗寿昌派の成立と展開) in *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu ronshū* 駒澤大學佛教學部論集 no.18 (Oct 1987): 220-269. The new transmission poem composed by Juelang was, however, omitted in it. It is Shi Chanhui (釋禪慧) who visited Nagai Masashi and got a copy of *Shouchang Zhengtong Lu* from Nagai published the whole texts of the book. Juelang’s transmission poem was recorded in its appendix. See Dinglong ed., Chanhui collates, *Shouchang Zhengtong Lu* (Taipei: Sanhui Jiangtang, 1994): 305.

²³⁹ *Chanmen risong* (Tianning Monastery Version) (Taipei:Fotuo Jiaoyu Jijinhui, year unknown): 415.

²⁴⁰ See Shi Chanhui, *Jueli Chanshi Nianpu* (覺力禪師年譜, *A Chronicle of Chan Master Jueli*) (Taipei: Sanhui Jiangtang, 1997): 172. Master Jueli introduced the Gushan Caodong lineage to Taiwan in the early twentieth century, as we will discuss in the following chapters.

²⁴¹ That is Juelang’s poem with two characters altered: 慧元道大興,法界一鼎新,通天兼徹地,耀古復騰今. Based on Chan Xizhang’s (陳錫璋) study on Gushan abbots (Chan Xizhang ed., *Fuzhou Gushan Yongquansi Lidai Zhuchi Chanshi Chuan Lue*(福州鼓山湧泉寺歷代住持禪師傳略, *The Biographies of All the Abbots of Gushan Yongquan Monastery in Fuchou*, Tainan City: Zhizhe Chubanshe, 1996).

in Gushan. By referring to Gushan lineage as a “new” one, I mean it is new in at least two aspects:

(1) After Gushan was turned into a dharma transmission monastery, it became the “new” base in Fujian for the development of the Souchang lineage.

(2) After Yuanxian introduced the Souchang lineage into Gushan, in order to rationalize the dharma transmission, he used a “new” transmission poem different from Wuming’s Shouchang lineage.

This could be considered as building up a “new” lineage transmission as Welch points out: “A new transmission poem is composed usually in the case that the characters of the original poem had been exhausted. Sometimes, though the characters of the original poem have not been used up yet, a disciple of an intermediate generation would compose a new poem that started with the generation character of his own name to create a new lineage transmission.”²⁴²

4. The Legacy of Zhuhong and the Imperial Patronage of Gushan in the Qing Dynasty

Since the late Ming and throughout the Qing, in addition to dharma transmission, Gushan also developed the joint practice of Chan and Pure Land, and the promotion of precepts-giving, both of which can be traced back to the activities of Zhuhong in the late Ming. In Gushan, while Wuming Huijing was worshipped as the Chan patriarch, Zhuhong was worshipped as the Pure Land patriarch, and Zhuhong’s disciple Wengu Guangyin 聞谷廣印(1567-1637), as the precepts patriarch. However, because Guangyin’s precepts-giving also came from Zhuhong, it was through Guangyin that Zhuhong’s

²⁴² See Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950*: 280.

teachings of Pure Land and precepts were brought to Fujian and further developed in Gushan.

With the promotion of precepts-giving and Pure Land practice, Gushan inherited the legacy of reformist ideals of Zhuhong. Moreover, it became a multi-functional dharma transmission monastery in the Fujian area. Thanks to Zhuhong's legacy, Gushan met the religious needs of the local people and gained the patronage of the Qing rulers and thus successfully took root in Fujian in the Qing dynasty.

Chün-fang Yü's study of Zhuhong's promotion of the joint practice of Chan and Pure Land and his contributions to the revival of the monastic discipline remains the standard in the field²⁴³. Following Yü's analysis, I will first discuss Zhuhong's promotion of both Pure Land practice and Vinaya, next their spread to Gushan in the seventeenth century, and finally the imperial patronage it enjoyed leading to the imperial authorization in establishing the precept platform at Gushan in the mid-eighteenth century.

4.1 Zhuhong as Pure Land Patriarch of Gushan

Although Zhuhong is well-known as the promoter of the joint practice of Chan and Pure Land, he did not initiate this movement which can actually be traced back at least to the Tang²⁴⁴. Robert Sharf points out that early Chan masters “did not reject the practice of *nien-fo* [Buddha recitation 念佛] per se; on the contrary, *nien-fo* was widely practiced in their communities.”²⁴⁵ For example, the Korean Chan

²⁴³ Chün-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: Chu-hung and the late Ming Synthesis*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1981.

²⁴⁴ For a historical review of the development of the joint practice of Chan and Pure Land in Chinese Buddhism, see Chün-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*: 47-57; Helen Josephine Baroni, *Obaku Zen: The Emergence of the Third Sect of Zen in Tokugawa, Japan* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000): 106-112.

²⁴⁵ Robert Sharf, “On Pure Land Buddhism and Ch'An/Pure Land Syncretism in Medieval China”, in *T'oung Pao*, vol.88,

master Musang (Wuxiang 無相, 684-762) taught a method of Buddha invocation as a device to attain samadhi.²⁴⁶ Wendi Adamek also argues that Musang's (Wuxiang) Jingzhong monastery 淨眾 “was primarily associated with Pure Land practices in the ninth century, so Wuxiang's legacy contributed to both Pure Land and Chan developments.”²⁴⁷

However, the dual practice did not become a self-conscious movement until Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽(904-976) gave it a theoretical schema to advocate the basic compatibility between *nianfo* and Chan meditation. Yanshou used “weixin nianfo” (*mind-only nianfo* 唯心念佛) to link *nianfo* with the Chan doctrine of “the mind itself is the Buddha”.²⁴⁸ Furthermore, he appeals to the principle of nonduality such as “*li shi wu he*” (universal and particular do not obstruct each other, 理事無闕) and “*kong you xiang cheng*” (emptiness and existence complement each other, 空有相成) to claim that the seemingly polarity of Chan and Pure Land is in reality complementary.²⁴⁹

Following Yanshou, during the Yuan and Ming, many Chan masters took *nianfo* as another way for practicing Chan meditation. For example, Chushan Shaoqi 楚山紹琦(1296-1370) teaches that when reciting the phrase “*A-mi-tuo-fo*”阿彌陀佛, one should always generate the doubt: “Who after all is

fasc.4-5 (2002, pp.282-331): 308-309.

²⁴⁶ Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*:51-52; Baroni, *Obaku Zen*:108.

²⁴⁷ Adamek, *The Mystique of Transmission*: 286.

²⁴⁸ Yanshou, *Wanshan Tonggui Ji (Myriad Virtues Return to the Same Source 萬善同歸集)*, fasc.2, in T no.2017, vol. 48, p.967a-b; cf. Heng-ching Shih, “The Syncretism of Chinese Ch’an and Pure Land Buddhism”, in David Kalupahana ed., *Buddhist Thought and Ritual* (New York: Paragon House Publishers, 1991: 69-84): 75. According to Heng-ching Shih, Yanshou advocated the dual practice of Chan and Pure Land for three reasons. The first was the strong antagonism between Chan and Pure Land prevailing at his time, and he attempted to counteract the one-sided practice of Chan by incorporating *nianfo* practice into Chan. The second was that the turbulent circumstances of his era made *nianfo* practice an accessible, effective and egalitarian way to salvation for the suffering people. The third was his non-sectarian attitude toward Chan and Pure Land. (pp. 71-72)

²⁴⁹ Yanshou, *Wanshan Tonggui Ji*, fasc.3, p.992a; cf. Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*: 52; Heng-ching Shih, *ibid.*: 76-78.

this person doing *nianfo*?²⁵⁰ That is, the effect of *nianfo* is just like the *gong'an* or *huatou* 話頭 (critical phrase) used in Chan meditation, so the practice was called *nianfo gong'an*.²⁵¹

With this historical background, it would not be difficult for us to see why Zhuhong devoted himself to promoting the joint practice of Chan and Pure Land. As Sharf puts it, there does not appear to be “any fundamental *doctrinal* discrepancy” between Zhuhong’s approach to *nianfo* and that of the early Tang Chan masters²⁵². Actually, Zhuhong followed Yanshou and succeeded the long existent tradition of the dual practice since the early Tang.

In Japanese Buddhism, Zen masters regarded Zen and Pure Land as opposite to each other. The irreconcilability between the two became even stronger in the eyes of Zen reformers such as Hakuin Ekaku 白隱慧鶴(1685-1768) after the mid-eighteenth century. On the other hand, in Chinese Buddhism, as Baroni points out, the combined practice of Chan and Pure Land had a long history, and “its absence, particularly in the context of Ming Buddhism, would have seemed far stranger to them [the Chinese] than its inclusion.”²⁵³

In this context of Chinese Buddhism, Zhuhong made his own contributions to the dual practice. In

²⁵⁰ “這個念佛的畢竟是誰?” See Zhuhong, *Huangming Mingseng Jilue (Selected Biographies of Famous Monks of the Ming Dynasty 皇明名僧輯略)*, in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1581, vol. 84, p. 370 a10.

²⁵¹ About using *nianfo* as *goanna*, Yü say: “Since the end result of *nien-fo* was to terminate discursive thought, it had the same effect as *kung-an* meditation in Ch’an. When one used *nien-fo* in this fashion, *nien-fo* was clearly no longer an expression of one’s piety and faith, but became a means to arouse the ‘feeling of doubt’ (*i-ching* [疑情]), the critical mental tension that drove one to reach awakening.” Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*: 53.

²⁵² Robert Sharf, “On Pure Land Buddhism and Ch’an/Pure Land Syncretism in Medieval China”: 322. Sharf continues to assume that what was new in Zhuhong’s efforts “was the notion that monks and laypersons could engage in the same practice and aspire to the same religious goals, and that *nien-fo* was not a mere *upāya* for those of limited faculties but was rather the single most effective method to attain Ch’an enlightenment.”

²⁵³ Baroni, *Obaku Zen*: 106.

his commentary on *A-mi-tuo Jing* 阿彌陀經 (The smaller *Sukhāvāṭīvyūha Sūtra*), one of the most fundamental Pure Land sutras, written in 1584, he shows the way to reconcile Pure land and Chan:

1. Explain Pure Land via Huayan: Like Yanshou, Zhuhong introduces a pair of philosophical terms of the Huayan School, “*li*” (理 universality) and “*shi*” (事 particularity) to analyze *nianfo*. He distinguishes *nianfo* into two kinds of “*chi ming*”(持名 taking hold of the Buddha name): that of “*li chi*”(理持 taking hold of universality) and that of “*shi chi*”(事持 taking hold of particularity). This will lead to two levels of “*yixin*”(一心 one mind): “*li yixin*”(理一心 one mind of universality) and “*shi yixin*”(事一心 one mind of particularity)²⁵⁴. On attaining the higher level of *li yixin*, one will suddenly achieve an accord with the original mind (*ben xin* 本心)²⁵⁵, which can be said to be no other than obtaining enlightenment into one’s own Buddha nature as it is the case in Chan meditation.
2. Pure Land and Chan: as many Chan masters in the Yuan and Ming, Zhuhong points out that *nianfo* could be used as *huatou* like in Chan meditation.²⁵⁶ He further emphasizes that *nianfo* is no inferior

²⁵⁴ The distinction of *li* and *shi* of *nianfo* practice appears in Zhuhong’s commentary on the paragraph of “if, when one hears A-ni-tou-fo, one takes hold of the name for a time, from one day to seven days, with the unperturbed one mind”(若有善男子,善女人,聞說阿彌陀佛,執持名號,若一日,若二日,若三日,若四日,若五日,若六日,若七日,一心不亂). See Zhuhong, *A-mi-tuo Jing Shu Chao (Phrase-by-Phrase Commentary on the smaller Sukhāvāṭīvyūha Sūtra 阿彌陀經疏鈔)*, in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 424, vol. 22, pp. 658c24-659a02 (the paragraph quoted above, translated in Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*: 58). Yü gives a short explanation of these technical terms in Yü, “Ming Buddhism”: 932-933: “When one speaks the name Amitabha, one listens to the sound with great concentration and dwells on it. When one practices this for a long time, one is totally pervaded by the one single thought of Amitabha. This is the state of concentration (samadhi). This [shi yixin] is suitable for people with a dull wit. The next level, the one mind of principle [li yixin] is for people with sharp wits. This is a much deeper kind of understanding in which one not only achieves a state of continuous identity with the Buddha, but also realizes that both one’s own mind and the Buddha, being identical, are ultimately beyond thought. No categories of reasoning are applicable to them. One realizes, thereby, the wisdom of emptiness.”

²⁵⁵ Zhuhong, *A-mi-tuo Jing Shu Chao*, p. 661c13.

²⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 658c18-19; cf. Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*: 61.

to Chan, and *nianfo* is “even more effective than Chan not only because of the efficacy of the name, but because of its suitability to contemporary needs.”²⁵⁷

Yuanxian and Daopei further developed Zhuhong’s efforts of promoting the joint practice of Chan and Pure Land in Gushan. The key person to spread Zhuhong’s Pure Land practice to Fujian was Wenguo Guangyin. Yuanxian and his dharma heir Daopei then introduced it to Gushan. The story began, however, with Daopei the disciple, and not Yuanxian the master.

In 1632, when Daopei was eighteen, he visited Guangyin at Baoshan Cloister 寶善庵 in Fujian in order to find the way to be liberated from samsara. Guangyin instructed Daopei to practice Pure Land because *nianfo* would enable one eventually become a Buddha. After that Daopei had no more doubt²⁵⁸. Judging from Daopei’s activities and writings, we can say that the first Buddhist practice with which Daopei began his cultivation was Pure Land. He was exposed to Zhuhong’s teaching of *nianfo* in an early age under Guangyin’s direction, and continued to practice and promote it for the rest of his life. As Daopei said, his ambition was in Chan, and his practice was in Pure Land 志在宗門,行在淨土²⁵⁹. Daopei tonsured his mother and taught her to practice *nianfo* during the last five years of his mother’s life (1646-1650).²⁶⁰ Thus he used *nianfo* as a way to carry out filial piety, a core virtue of bodhisattva

²⁵⁷ Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*: 62.

²⁵⁸ Daopei’s autobiography “Lubo Huanji” (“The Illusionary Footprints in Drifting Travel” 旅泊幻蹟), in his *Weilin Daopei Chanshi Huan Shan Lu* (*The Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Weilin Daopei when Returning to Gushan* 為霖道霈禪師還山錄), *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1440, vol. 72, fasc. 4, p. 671c11-12: “請問出生死路頭,老人授以念佛畢竟成佛之說,遂諦信不疑。”

²⁵⁹ Daopei’s saying quoted by Gong Xiyuan (龔錫璦) in his preface for Daopei’s *Jingtu Zhijue* (*The Essentials of Pure Land* 淨土旨訣), *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1171, vol. 62, p.22c21-22.

²⁶⁰ Daopei’s autobiography “Lubo Huanji”, 672b11-12.

precepts emphasized in the *Fanwang Jing* (梵網經 *Bramā Net Sūtra*)²⁶¹.

Let's return to the year 1632 when Daopei visited Guangyin. Guangyin appreciated Daopei but he worried that he might be too old to give enough instructions to Daopei, so he told Daopei to visit Yuanxian to receive Chan training²⁶². This shows that Guangyin believed in the dual practice of Chan and Pure Land. Fortunately, in the same year, Yuanxian also came to Baoshan to receive precepts from Guangyin²⁶³, so Daopei began the joint practice of Chan and Pure Land under his two masters, Guangyin and Yuanxian. We may infer that Daopei also received the name "Weilin Daopei" during this time. While Yuanxian gave him the generation character of "dao" and named him "Daopei", Guangyin gave him the style name of "Weilin"²⁶⁴.

Yuanxian stayed in Baoshan with Guangyin and Daopei for two years (1632-1633) and we may infer that except from receiving precepts, Yuanxian also learnt Zhuhong's Pure Land teachings from Guangyin, for in 1634, as we have read in Chapter 2, through Guangyin's recommendation, Yuanxian was invited to be the abbot of Gushan. Moreover, at the request of Guangyin or Guangyin's disciples²⁶⁵,

²⁶¹ The bodhisattva precepts and *Fanwang Jing* will be discussed in next section.

²⁶² Daopei's autobiography "Lubo Huanji", 671c13-15.

²⁶³ Yuanxian's learning precepts from Guangyin will be discussed in next section.

²⁶⁴ Daopei's autobiography "Lubo Huanji", 671b17-18: "余名道霈,乃先師所命.字為霖,則聞谷老人所賜也."

²⁶⁵ Yuanxian prefaced *Jingci Yaoyu* in the eighth day of the fifth month in 1634 and said that the book was written under the request of Guangyin's disciples in Jingci An. See Yuanxian, *Jingci Yaoyu*, in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1166, vol. 61, fasc. 1, pp.819-820. The book was reprint in 1637 in Zhengji Monastery(真寂) in Hangzhou when Yuanxian serve as the abbot there, and in Feng Hongye's(馮洪業) postscript, it is said that Guangyin established Jingci An and request Yuanxian to write the book (*Jingci Yaoyu*, fasc.2, p.832). By the way, in Lin Zhifan(林之蕃), "Fuzhou Gushan Baiyunfeng Yongquan Chansi Yongjue Xian Gong Da Heshang Xingye Quji"("A Parcel Record of the Activities of Master Yongjue Yuanxian"福州鼓山白雲峰湧泉禪寺永覺賢公大和尚行業曲記), it is said that *Jingci Yaoyu* was written in 1635 (*Yongjue Yuanxian Chanshi Guanglu*, in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1437, vol. 72, fasc. 30, p. 576c10).

he wrote *Jingci Yaoyu* (淨慈要語 *Essential Sayings of Jingci*) for Jingci An 淨慈庵, a cloister established by Guanyin in Jianzhou 建州 of Fujian, Yuanxian's hometown.

Both Heng-ching and Sharf take note that in *Jingci Yaoyu*, Yuanxian applies the Huayan concepts of “*li*” and “*shi*” to the theoretical construction of Pure Land practice²⁶⁶. The application, needless to say, follows Zhuhong's synthetic approach to Buddhist teachings and Pure Land. In this aspect, Daopei's *Jingtu Zhijue* (淨土旨訣 *The Essentials of Pure Land*), written in 1684, follows Zhuhong in distinguishing “*li nianfo*” from “*shi nianfo*”²⁶⁷. In addition to Huayan teaching, Daopei also carried out dialogue with the Taitai Master Youxi Chuandeng 幽溪傳燈 (1554-1627) by writing “*Xu Jingtu Sheng Wusheng Lun*” (續淨土生無生論 *On No-rebirth of Birth in the Pure Land , Continued*).²⁶⁸ This is a response to Chuandeng's “*Jingtu Sheng Wusheng Lun*” (淨土生無生論 *On No-rebirth of Birth in the Pure Land*) which uses the Tiantai doctrine of the Round Teaching 圓教 of nature-inclusion 性具

²⁶⁶ Yuanxian distinguishes the faith in Buddha into two kinds: faith in the “*li*” (信其理) and faith in the “*shi*” (信其事) under the title “The True Faith in *Nianfo*”(念佛正信) in *Jingci Yaoyu*, fasc.1, p.821, which was also collected in Jineng(濟能) ed., *Jiaohu Ji* (*The Collection of Tiger with Horns* 角虎集, in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1177, vol. 62, fasc. 1, p. 207). Heng-ching Shih translates the paragraph from *Jiaohu Ji*, and the translation is quoted by Robert Sharf with minor changes: “There are two aspects with regard to the faith in the Buddha's words. One is faith in the principle 理; the other is faith in the phenomenal. Faith in the principle means to believe that one's mind is the Pure Land and one's nature is the Buddha Amitābha. Faith in the phenomenal means to believe that the Pure Land lies in the Western Region, and that Buddha Amitābha resides there. From the aspect of the principle, the aspect of the phenomenal manifests. It is like the ocean-seal's ability to manifest myriad phenomena. From the aspect of the phenomenal, the aspect of the principle manifests, for the myriad phenomena are inseparable from the ocean-seal. These two aspects of faith are both one and two, yet neither one nor two. To have faith in this manner is called true faith.” (Heng-ching Shih, “The Syncretism of Chinese Ch'an and Pure Land Buddhism”, p.80; Sharf, “On Pure Land Buddhism and Ch'an/Pure Land Syncretism in Medieval China”, p. 314, note 119).

²⁶⁷ *Jingtu Zhijue* (*The Essentials of Pure Land* 淨土旨訣), *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1171, vol. 62, p.24c23-25a14.

²⁶⁸ Daopei, “*Xu Jingtu Sheng Wusheng Lun*”, collected in Ouyi Zhixu, *Jingtu Shiyao*(淨土十要, Kaohsiung: Foguang, 1991). What should be noticed here is that the version of *Jingtu Shiyao* collected in the Buddhist canon (*Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1164, vol. 61) does not include Daopei's essay. The essay appeared in the Guangxu (光緒) version of *Jingtu Shiyao* in 1894, and reprinted by Shi Yinguang (釋印光) in 1930. See Zhuang Kun-mu 莊崑木. “Weilin Daopei Chan Shi de Sheng Ping yu Zhu Zuo”(“The Life and Works of Chan Master Weilin Daopei”, 為霖道霈禪師的生平與著作) in *Zhengguan Zhazhi*(正觀雜誌) 22 (2002, pp.111-193): 158, note 148.

thought to expound Pure Land .²⁶⁹

Another main point of the *Essential Sayings of Jingci* is that Yuanxian promoted “*fangsheng*” (the releasing of life 放生) as the means of cultivating compassion and accumulating merits in order to be reborn in the Pure Land. In Yuanxian’s definition, *Jingci* means “Calling on Buddha’s Name and Releasing of Life” (*nianfo fansheng* 念佛放生). As we will see in next section, the practice of “*fangsheng*” was also promoted by Zhuhong. In the second fascicle of the *Essential Sayings of Jingci*, Yuanxian encouraged nonkilling and the release of life, and he severely criticized the undesirable custom of female infanticide by drowning.

To promote *nianfo fansheng*, Daopei organized the “Lotus Association” 蓮社 in Gushan and attracted many local elites and elders.²⁷⁰ He also gave directions to local associations for releasing life (*fangsheng hui* 放生會)²⁷¹ and Lotus Associations²⁷², which made Gushan not only a Chan monastery

²⁶⁹ Youxi Chuandeng, “Jingtu Sheng Wusheng Lun”(淨土生無生論), in T no.1975, vol. 47. Yungfen Ma points out that Chuandeng “uses nature-inclusion thought to interpret the doctrine of the Pure Land school. He views pure land as inherent good included in nature and, therefore, it can manifest the phenomenal pure land when following the condition of the mind that practices Buddha contemplation (*nianfo* 念佛); “By seeing the direct rewards of the Buddha and circumstantial rewards of the pure land as inherent in Buddha-nature, Chuandeng harmonized Pure Land thought with nature-inclusion.” See Yungfen Ma, *The Revival of Tiantai Buddhism in the Late Ming: On the Thought of Youxi Chuandeng* 幽溪傳燈 (1554-1628), Dissertation, Columbia University in New York City (2011): 213, 287.

²⁷⁰ *Weilin Daipei Chanshi Can Xiang Lu* (*The Recorded Sayings of Fragrance Meal* 為霖道霈禪師餐香錄, *Xuzangjing*, *The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1439, vol. 72), fasc. 2, p. 640c06-07: “予開蓮社於寺之別院,每喜里中耆英入會,相與締世外交,林浦印翁老居士其一也。”

²⁷¹ In Daopei’s preface for the Association for releasing life of Nanxiang (南鄉放生會序), he says that in 1678 when he visited Nanxiang, he was welcomed by the local people. Daopei observed that the local people practiced *nianfo* without releasing life, so he encouraged them to organize *fangsheng hui* in every county to promote nonkilling and cultivate the custom of releasing life. Nanxiang is probably in Fujian. Unfortunately, from the information provided in the text, I can not identify the place. See *Weilin Chanshi Luboan Gao* (*Chan Master Weilin’s Draft of Wandering Travel Cloister*, 為霖禪師旅泊菴稿, in *Xuzangjing*, *The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzōkyō*, no. 1442, vol. 72, fasc.3, p. 669b12-c10.

²⁷² Daopei was taken as the sponsor of the Putongnian Lotus Association(普通年蓮社) organized in Putong Monastery(普通寺) in Fujian Yanping(延平). It was a *nianfo* organization with the name taken from Chan legend about Bodhidharma who was said to arrive in China in Putong reign (520-527) of Emperor Wu in the Liang dynasty. It may show the syncretic interests on both Chan and Pure Land of this association. In Daopei’s preface for his poem composed for the picture of

but also the center promoting Pure Land practice in Fujian. In other words, Gushan can be regarded as the monastery for the joint practice of Chan and Pure Land.

Due to the tradition of dual practice, Zhuhong was worshipped as the Pure Land patriarch in Gushan in addition to Wuming Huijing. In the eulogy for Zhuhong, Yuanxian praised him as the reviver of Buddhism in its decline age and the promoter of Pure Land practice and compassionate activities : “Concentrated on one mind and take refuge in Pure Land; promoting myriads of deeds to spread profound compassion.”²⁷³ Yuanxian also composed an “Eulogy for the Three Great Masters of Yunqi (Zhuhong), Shuochang (Wuming) and Zhenji (Guangyin) (Yunqi Shouchang Zenji san dashi cai 雲棲壽昌真寂三大師贊)”²⁷⁴:

The three masters appeared together like the sun illuminates the dark road.	三師並出,日照昏衢.
No matter they practice Chan or Doctrinal Teaching, their different ways have the same destination.	或禪或教,異路同趨.
They carry on the past heritage and open up the future to provide good examples for the people.	承前啟後,作眾良模.
Though I am not clever, am I not the one who is willing to learn yet incapable of it?	吾雖不敏,願學之而未能者乎?

In this eulogy, the reconciliation of different practices of Chan and Pure Land is strongly felt, and it is obvious that Zhuhong is juxtaposed with Wuming. We may infer that for Yuanxian, while he regards

Putongnian Lotus Association, he mentioned that in the picture, he himself was drawn as sitting in the center and surrounded by the members of the association, just like the assemble with all those superior and good people in Pure Land (“會中諸善友繪畫蓮社圖一幅……傳余陋質坐於中方,而諸公各尚其像圍遶座下,俾見者儼然極樂國中諸上善人俱會一處”). See *Weilin Daopei Chanshi Huan Shan Lu (The Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Weilin Daopei when Returning to Gushan 為霖道霈禪師還山錄)*, *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1440, vol. 72, fasc. 3, p.664 a06-08.

²⁷³ “專一心而歸淨國,弘萬行以布深慈.” See Yuanxian, “Eulogy of the Great Master Yunqi”, in *Yongjue Yuanxian Chanshi Guanglu 永覺元賢禪師廣錄)*, *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1437, vol. 72, fasc. 21, p. 504c11.

²⁷⁴ *Yongjue Yuanxian Chanshi Guanglu 永覺元賢禪師廣錄)*, *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1437, vol. 72, fasc. 21, p. 504c13-15.

Wuming as his Chan master, he regards Zhuhong as his Pure Land master, and as we will see in the next section, Guangyin as his precepts master.

In Daopei's inscription for the portrait of Gushan patriarchs, it says: "The ones who sat facing south on the stone chair together as if they were moving lips to discuss whether Chan and Pure Land were same or different were Master Yunqi Lianchi [Zhuhong] and Patriarch Shouchang Wuming. The ones surrounded them were all dharma disciples of their lineages who sat in attendance and listened reverently."²⁷⁵ Here again, Zhuhong is mentioned together with Wuming and is regarded as the Pure Land patriarch of Gushan.

Moreover, in the "List of Ritual Offerings on the Death Anniversaries of Patriarchs" (Zushi Jichen Shangong Dan) (祖師忌辰上供單) kept in Gushan, we read:²⁷⁶

The first generation mountain-opening patriarch, the state preceptor Shenyan, who had been endowed with the title of "Dinghui Yuanjue Guangbian Xingsheng" in the Liang dynasty (death anniversary: the 11th day of the 6th month)

梁開山第一代定慧圓覺廣辯興聖神晏國師 六月十一日忌

The grand-master Lianchi in Yunqi Hall (death anniversary: the 4th day of the 7th month)

雲棲堂上蓮池老師太 七月初四日忌

The grand-master Wengu in Zhenji Hall (death anniversary: the 17th day of the 10th month)

真寂堂上聞谷老師太 十月十七日忌

The old monk Wuming Huiing, the thirty-first generation patriarch of the Caodong Orthodox Lineage in Shouchang Hall (death anniversary: the 17th day of the 1st month)

壽昌堂上傳曹洞正宗第三十一世無明經祖老和尚 正月十七日忌

From this list, we can discern that the three masters Yuanxian eulogized had been worshipped in

²⁷⁵ "石几南向並坐,若口喃喃地商略禪淨是同是別者,為雲棲蓮池師太,壽昌無明老祖.兩傍圍繞,皆其派下法胤,侍坐拱聽." Daopei, "Yunqi Shouchang Boshan Gushan Zhuzu Tongzheng Tici" ("The Inscription for the Portrait of Gushan Patriarchs of"雲棲壽昌博山鼓山諸祖同幀題辭), in *Weilin Daopei Chanshi Huan Shan Lu (The Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Weilin Daopei when Returning to Gushan 為霖道霈禪師還山錄)*, *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1440, vol. 72, fasc. 4, p. 667c09-10.

²⁷⁶ *Conglin Zhubai Qinggui Keyi*, p. 312.

Gushan at least until the late eighteenth century when the latest patriarch, Daoyuan Yixin 道源一信, listed therein died in 1795.

4.2 The Revival of Vinaya by Zhuhong and Its Legacy in Gushan

The decline of vinaya served as the background of Zhuhong's efforts to renew the monastic order. According to Yü's study, the decline was due at least to two reasons. Firstly, the government's selling of the tonsure certificates (*du die* 度牒²⁷⁷) definitely invalidated state control of the moral and intellectual standards for the sangha members, and caused a general neglect of discipline²⁷⁸. Secondly, while in the Song and Yuan, Buddhist public monasteries were classified into three types of meditation, doctrine and discipline, in the Ming dynasty, Taizu replaced discipline with ritual performance. This act

²⁷⁷ The institution of tonsure certificate was one of the most important state controls on sangha. It required every one who wanted to join the monastic order to obtain the certificate from the government, and through limiting the certificates issued, the state could control the population of Buddhist clergy. The institution was officially established during the Tang dynasty in the eighth century and had lasted till mid Qing in the eighteenth century. See Chün-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: 155-162 "Government Control of Ordination Certificates"*. Though "du die" is usually translated as "ordination certificates", to distinguish "du die" from "jie die"(戒牒) received upon full ordination, I follow Yifa here to translate "du die" as tonsure certificates while reserve "ordination certificates" for "jie die". See Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China: An Annotated Translation and Study of the Chanyuan Qinggui* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002):78. Yifa also points out that though traditionally it is believed that tonsure certificates were first issued in 747 (the sixth year of Tianbao 天寶), two Japanese scholars doubts it and argues for a much earlier date because "in China the system of government-authorized tonsure and clerical registration had been established as early as the Southern-Northern dynasties(fifth to sixth centuries)", it seems reasonable "to assume that the government would have issued some form of identification to the clergy at this time." See Yifa, p. 235, note 190, citing Yamazaki Hiroshi 山崎宏, *Shina Chūsei Bukkyō no Tenkai* 支那中世佛教の展開(Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1971): 571-572, and Moroto Tatsuo 諸戸立雄, *Chūgoku Bukkyō Seidoshi no Kenkyū* 中国仏教制度史の研究(Tokyo: Hirakawa Shuppansha, 1990): 216-232.

²⁷⁸ Chün-fang Yü, *ibid.*, p. 178. According to Yifa, the sale of tonsure certificates could be traced back to the reigns of emperors Zhong 中宗 and Rui 睿宗(684) of Tang, and the market of tonsure certificates flourished in Song: the practice first began during the era of the emperors Ren(仁宗, r. 1023-1063) and Ying(英宗 r. 1063-1067), and became widespread during the reign of Emperor Shen(神宗, r. 1068-1085).(Yifa, *ibid.*, p. 76; p. 235, note. 193). In Ming, the sale of tonsure certificates began in 1451 during the Jingtai era(景泰, 1450-1456) and was institutionalized by a 1573 ruling saying that the Ministry of Rites could print blank tonsure certificates and distribute them to different places for sale (Chün-fang Yü, pp. 161-162).

“officially relegated discipline to limbo”.²⁷⁹

The situation was further worsened during the reign of Jiajing (1522-1566) when the ordination platforms in the capital Beijing were officially abolished and no monks or nuns were permitted to receive precepts. This was because critics claimed that during the precepts-giving ceremonies held at the platform, men and women mingled and escaped criminals might be found among them.²⁸⁰

As Dewei Zhang comments, “[t]his ban on the ordination platform was Jiajing’s last restriction of Buddhism, but it was one of the most negative legacies he left to Buddhism which would last over fifty years after his death”.²⁸¹ The situation surely caused a crisis for Buddhist clergy because no novices could receive full ordination through the legitimate ceremonies during this period. Some of them could not but appeal to the *Fanwang Jing* (梵網經 *Bramā Net Sūtra*) and *Zhancha Shaneyebao Jing* (占察善惡業報經 *Book of Divining the Requital of Good and Evil Actions*), the apocryphal scriptures compiled in China.²⁸² These sutras provide a rationale for a person to receive the precepts by themselves using

²⁷⁹ Chün-fang Yü, *ibid.*, pp. 178-179.

²⁸⁰ According to the Verified Records of Emperor Jiajing in *Ming Shilu* (明實錄), in the fifth month of 1526, the Western Mountain ordination platform(西山戒壇) and the one at Tianning monastery(天寧寺) in Beijing were officially closed because men and women were mixing together 男女相混(fasc. 64); in the seventh month of 1546, Master Tong (通法師) and the abbot of Tianning monastery were arrested because in the precepts-giving ceremonies held by the monastery, men and women were mixing together and even the escaped criminals hid in them and disturbed the public security 男女混淆,甚有違罪黥徒髡髮隱匿,因緣為奸(fasc. 313); in the ninth month of 1566, monks and nuns were banned to give preaches in the ordination platforms 嚴禁僧尼至戒壇說法(fasc. 562); cf. Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*: 29. Zhang Dewei, *A Fragile Revival: Chinese Buddhism under the Political Shadow, 1522-1620* (Dissertation, The University of British Columbia, 2010) also points out that the prohibition of the ordination platform “was connected with the White Lotus teaching that was then popular in North China and that was charged with having pillaged an ordination platform earlier that year [1566].” (p.61)

²⁸¹ Zhang Dewei, *ibid.*, p. 61, note 34.

²⁸² *Fanwang Jing* (T no.1484, vol.24) was compiled in the mid-fifth century, and *Zhancha Jing* (T no. 839, vol.17) was compiled in the early sixth century. For *Fanwang Jing*’s central place in the Mahayana precepts adopted by Japanese Tendai School, see Paul Groner, “The Fan-wang ching and Monastic Discipline in Japanese Tendai: A Study of Annen’s Futsū jubosatsukai kōshaku”, in R. Buswell, Jr. ed., *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990): 251-290. For the visionary experiences required by *Fanwang Jing* in receiving bodhisattva precepts, see Yamabe

the images or statues of Buddhas / Bodhisattvas as vicarious preceptors. The success of receiving the precepts are indicated by a visionary experience of obtaining a good or auspicious sign (*haoxiang* 好相 in *Fanwang Jing*, or *shanxiang* 善相 in *Zhancha Jing*).²⁸³ While *Fanwang Jing* provides the protocol for visionary authentication for receiving the Bodhisattva precepts, *Zhancha Jing* goes further and allows the self-conferral of full ordination.²⁸⁴

It was under this difficult condition that some Buddhist masters attempted to restore the precept-giving tradition. Among them, the most influential ones were Zhuhong and Guxin Ruxin 古心如馨(1541-1615)²⁸⁵. While Guxin was recognized as the reviver of Vinaya School and his disciple Sanmei Jiguang 三昧寂光(1580-1645) initiated the vinaya lineage at Baohua Monastery 寶華 in

Nobuyoshi(山部能宜), "Visionary Repentance and Visionary Ordination in the Brahmā Net Sutra", in William M. Bodiford ed., *Going Forth: Visions of Buddhist Vinaya* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005): 17-39. For *Zhancha Jing*, see Whalen Lai, "The Chan-ch'a Ching: Religion and Magic in Medieval China", in Buswell ed., *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*:175-206.

²⁸³ The instructions for self-initiation to precepts appear in *Fanwang Jing*, fasc. 2, T 24. 1006c5-18 and in *Zhancha Jing*, fasc.1, T 17 904c.2-905a3. Wendi L. Adamek points out that "the reception of a good sign obviates the need for the clergy, and the presence of properly invested clergy obviates the need for a good sign." (Adamek, *The Mystique of Transmission: On An Early Chan History and Its Contexts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007): 83) That is, in receiving the precepts, the good sign and the clergy could be mutually substituted. In late Ming, since no Dharma masters were permitted to confer the precepts, the novices appealed to the good sign as a substitution.

²⁸⁴ Adamek points out that "the *Fanwang Jing* protocol does not require the self-ministrant to state that he or she is already fully ordained, but it also does not go as far as another apocryphon [*Zhancha Jing*] that explicitly allows for self-conferral of full ordination." (Adamek, *ibid.*, p.82) A famous example of self-conferral of full ordination could be found in Ouyi Zhixu(藕益智旭, 1599-1655) who "received both his monastic and Bodhisattva precepts before the image of the late Yunqi Zhuhong 雲棲祿宏(1535-1615) who must have been considered by his avid admirer Zhixu a proper Bodhisattva candidate, and whose image could therefore be used as a vicarious preceptor." (William Chu, "Bodhisattva Precepts in the Ming Society: Factors behind their Success and Propagation", in *Journal of Buddhist Ethics* (Volume 13, 2006): 13) However, this "was contrary to the vinaya practice. As a result of his studies in the vinaya, he gave up the status of monk (*bhikshu*) when he was thirty-five and that of novice at forty-six. He practiced penance according to the teachings of the *Sutra of predicting and investigating good or evil karma and retribution* [*Zhancha Jing*]; at forty-six, he cast the dice and obtained a judgment to the effect that he had obtained the pure precepts of a monk." (Chün-fang Yü, "Ming Buddhism": 944). From Zhixu's example, we could observe how anxious a monk would be during the period when one found no way to receive the precepts through official ceremonies held in the precept platform.

²⁸⁵ Shi Sheng-yen (釋聖嚴), "Mingmo Zhongguo de Jielu Fuxing" (明末中國的戒律復興, "The Rivival of Vinaya in the Late Ming China"), in Fu Weixun (傅偉勳) ed., *Cong Chuantong dao Xiandai: Fo jiao Lunli yu Xiandai Shehui* (從傳統到現代: 佛教倫理與現代社會, *From the Tradition to the Modernity: The Buddhist Ethics and the Modern Society*, Taipei: Dongda, 1990, pp.145-157): 146.

Jiangsu²⁸⁶, Zhuhong's vinaya teaching was spread to the Caodong School through his disciple Wengu Guangyin 聞谷廣印(1567-1637) and continued in Gushan.

In this dark age when the ordination platforms were shutdown, Guxin was said to have received the precepts from Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī during a visionary experience on Mt. Wutai 五台山²⁸⁷; in Yunqi Monastery 雲棲 where Zhuhong revived the monastic discipline, Zhuhong made the novices receive the precepts in front of the statue of Buddha, while he himself served only as the witness.²⁸⁸ It was not until 1614 (the 42nd year of Wanli reign) that Emperor Wanli issued an edict that Guxin could offer “the great ordination of thousand Buddhas 千佛大戒” at Mt. Wutai.²⁸⁹ After that, other Vinaya

²⁸⁶ For the formation of the vinaya lineage in Baohua monastery, see Shi Guodeng(釋果燈), *Mingmo Qingchu Luzong Qianhuapai zhi Xingqi* (*The Rise of the Qianhua Branch of Vinaya School in late Ming and early Qing*, 明末清初律宗千華派之興起, Taipei: Fagu Wenhua, 2004)

²⁸⁷ See “The Vinaya Master Ruxin of Tianlong Monastery in Jinling”(金陵天隆寺如馨律師), in Wenhai Fujū(文海福聚, 1686-1765) ed., *Nanshan Zongtong*(南山宗統, *Vinaya Lineage of Nanshan*, 1742) fasc.2, reprint in Beijing Foxue Wenhua Yenjiusuo ed., *Nanshan Zongtong*(Beijing: Zongjiao Wenhua Chubanshe, 2011):19-20; “The Vinaya Master of Tianlong Monastery in Jinling”, in Hengshi Yuanliang(恆實源諒, 1705-1772) ed., *Luzong Dengpu* (律宗燈譜, *The Genealogy of Vinaya Lineage*, 1765) fasc.1, reprint in Beijing Foxue Wenhua Yenjiusuo ed., *Luzong Dengpu* (Beijing: Zongjiao Wenhua Chubanshe, 2011):18-19; and “The Biography of Shi Ruxin” in Yu Qian(喻謙) ed., *Xin Xu Gaoseng Zhuan* (新續高僧傳, *New Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks*, Taipei: Liuli Jingfang, 1967): 911.

²⁸⁸ “令受之於佛像之前,師為證明而已”. See Shi Guangrun(釋廣潤), “Yunqi Benshi Xinglue”(雲棲本師行略. “The Biography of Master Yunqi”), in *Yunqi Fahui*, fasc. 25, *Jaxing Dazangjing*, no.B277, vol. 33, p. 199.

²⁸⁹ In 1613, Guxin was awarded the purple robe and in 1614, he gave precepts in Mt.Wutai: “萬曆四十一年.....奉聖旨詔大沙門如馨律師,欽賜紫衣.....於四十二年四月初一日至初八日,恭就五臺山敕建聖光永明禪寺,傳受千佛大戒”. See the entry “hujie die wen”(護戒牒文, “texts of the protecting precepts certificate”) in *Da Zhaoqing Lusi zhi* (大昭慶律寺志, *The Gazetteer of Great Zhaoqing Vinaya Monastery*, edited by Wu Shuxu 吳樹虛 in 1764), reprint in Du Jiexiang (杜潔祥) comp., *Zhongguo Fosi Shizhi Huikan* (中國佛寺史志彙刊, *Series of Monastic Gazetteers in China*, Taiwan Taipei : Ming Wen Shuju, 1980) Vol. 1, pt.16, fasc.7 : 258-259. What is noticeable is that in the biography of Guxin in *Da Zhaoqing Lusi zhi*, fasc.8, because the year for Guxin's precepts-giving is omitted, it seems that Guxin gave precepts in 1613 (the 41st year of Wanli reign): “萬曆四十一年,詔賜紫衣鉢,佛錫杖,命往五臺聖光永明寺,授千佛大戒”(Da Zhaoqing Lusi zhi, fasc. 8: 287). Or we can assume that Wanli Emperor requested Guxin to give precepts in 1613, but the ceremony was held in the next year (1614). However, Jiang Wu points out that in 1613, at Wanli Emperor's request, Guxin offered “Triple Platform Ordination in an expedient way”(“santan fanbian shoushou”三壇方便授受). In the note, Wu provides *Qingliang shan zhi* (清涼山志, *The Gazetteer of Mt. Qingliang*) as the source. However, in the biography of Vinaya master Yuanqing(遠清律師傳) in *Qingliang shan zhi*, it says that Vinaya master Huiyun(慧雲, the special name conferred to Guxin by Wanli Emperor) gave precepts to Yuanqing(遠清) in Lingyin Monastery in Wulin(武林靈隱寺). Because Yuanqing was sick and could not go to the ordination platform to join the ceremony, Guxin led the other participants to Yuanqing's place and gave the precepts to Yuanqing. For Yuanqing did not receive the precepts in the official ceremony held in the platform, it was an expedient way: “時慧雲律師,方說戒于武林靈隱.....及法期已屆,大眾登壇, [遠]清獨未至.....慧因遣人探詢,清果有

and Chan monasteries restored ordination platforms to hold precepts-giving ceremonies²⁹⁰.

While Guxin reopened the way to the precepts-giving ceremonies, Zhuhong was devoted to revitalize the monastic discipline in at least three aspects²⁹¹:

Firstly, he prescribed pure rules for Yunqi Monastery, and revived the ritual of *posadha*, the central part of which is the semi-monthly recitation of the *pratimoksa* rules (the 250 precepts for a bhikṣu or Buddhist monk).²⁹²

Secondly, he commented on the Tiantai master Zhiyi's commentary on the *Fanwang Jing*²⁹³ which was circulated and followed widely and therefore promoted the propagation of bodhisattva precepts in the late Ming²⁹⁴. Not only was the request to receive bodhisattva precepts from Vinaya or

恙……慧雲……統眾就之，一時三壇，方便授受。” In sum, the event recorded in *Qingliang shan zhi* had no relation to Wanli Emperor, and it did not mention the year 1613 either. See Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*: 30, and Shi Yinguang (釋印光) reedited, *Qingliang shan zhi* (1933), reprint in Bai Huawen(白化文), Liu Yongming(劉永明) and Zhang Zhi(張智) ed., *Zhongguo Fosizhi Congkan* (中國佛寺志叢刊 Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guanling Guji Keyinshe, 1996), vol.9, fasc.3, p. 145. The biography of Vinaya master Yuanqing in *Qingliang shan zhi* continued to say that due to Yuanqing's efforts, Guxin was invited by Emperor Wanli to Mt. Wutai to preach the precepts, and Guxin preached for three years. Based on this information, Zhang Dewei assumes that “[t]he precept altar which had been closed by Jiajing would not reopen until Wanli 45 (1617)”. Zhang's calculation might be 1614 (the year Guxin gave precepts at Mt. Wutai) plus 3 (Guxin stayed in Mt. Wutai for 3 years). See Zhang Dewei, *A Fragile Revival: Chinese Buddhism under the Political Shadow, 1522-1620*, Dissertation, The University of British Columbia (2010): 77.

²⁹⁰ Hasebe Yukei, “Min Shin jidai ni okeru Zen Ritsu ryōshū kōka no dōkō”(明清時代における禅律両宗弘化の動向, “A Movement of Propagandizing Activities of Zen and Lu School of Buddhism in the Ming-Qing Dynasties”), in *Aichi Gakuin Zenkenkyūjo kiyō* 愛知学院禅研究所紀要 20 (Mar. 1992, 183-203): 191; Hasebe Yukei, “Chūgoku kindai ni okeru gukai hōgi”(中国近代における具戒法儀, “Studies on the Ceremony of Ordination, Upasampada in Modern China”), in *Aichi Gakuin Zenkenkyūjo kiyō* 愛知学院禅研究所紀要 28 (Mar. 2000, 1-22): 3.

²⁹¹ The following statements are based on Chün-fang Yü, “Ming Buddhism”: 933.

²⁹² The ritual of *posadha* is held twice monthly: “on the days of the full moon and half moon, monks gathered together to listen to the recitation of the *pratimoksa*. Any monk who committed an offense while the rules were being read aloud had to confess in front of the assembly. He would then receive either absolution or punishment, depending on the nature and severity of the offense.”(Chün-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*: 199)

²⁹³ Zhiyi's commentary on the *Fanwang Jing* was recorded by his disciple Guanding in *Pusajie Yishu* (菩薩戒義疏, T no.1811, vol. 40); Zhuhong's subcommentary was in *Fanwang Pusa Jiejing Yishu Fayin*(梵網菩薩戒經義疏發隱, 1587), in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 679, vol. 38.

²⁹⁴ Shi Shengyen points out that other important masters who promoted bodhisattva precepts in late Ming followed Zhuhong's subcommentary in their works: (1) Ouyi Zhixu's *Fanwang Jing Hezhu*(梵網經合註, 1637), in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 694, vol. 38. (2) Sanmei Jiguang's *Fanwang Jing Zhijie*(梵網經直解, 1638), in

Chan masters by lay people become popular, but the giving of bodhisattva precepts was combined with the full ordination ceremonies, and formed a new style of “Triple Platform Ordination”(san tan da jie 三壇大戒) when the precepts for novices, complete precepts for monks and bodhisattva precepts were given all together in one place and within a short time.²⁹⁵ This has been the case until today.

Thirdly, Zhuhong put the bodhisattva precepts prescribed in *Fanwang Jing* into practice by actively promoting nonkilling and the release of life, and initiated the vogue among his lay followers of organizing associations for releasing life.²⁹⁶

All these efforts were continued by both Yuanxian and his dharma heir Daopei and further developed in Gushan during the Qing dynasty.

Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo, no. 697, vol. 38. (3)Zaisan Hongzan's (在慘弘贊) *Fanwang Jing Pusajie Lueshu*(梵網經菩薩戒略疏, 1679). See Shi Shengyen, “Mingmo de Pusajie”(“The Bodhisattva Precepts in late Ming”明末的菩薩戒), in Fu Weixun ed., *Cong Chuantong dao Xiandai: Fojiao Lunli yu Xiandai Shehui*, pp.159-168.

²⁹⁵ Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*: 30-31. According to Shi Jianyi(釋見一), in the Song dynasty, the rites of full ordination and bodhisattva ordination were held separately in different times and places, and the state established the Mahayana Ordination Platform (大乘戒壇) to give bodhisattva precepts to those who had already received full ordination. For example, in 1006, in all circuits(lu 路) seventy-two ordination platforms were established, while Mahayana Ordination Platform was built separately in Cixiao Monastery in the capital (天下諸路皆立戒壇,凡七十二所.京師慈孝寺別立大乘戒壇, see Zhi Pan(志磐, 1220-1275), *Fozu Tongji(A Chronicle of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs 佛祖統紀)*, T no. 2035, vol. 49, p.404 a16-17). But in late Ming, bodhisattva ordination was held together with novice initiation and full ordination in “Triple Platform Ordination”. As we have seen above in *Da Zhaoqing Lusi zhi*, Guxin had already adopted an “expedient way” of triple ordination to confer precepts to Qingyuan. The practice was further institutionalized in *Chuanjie Zhenfan(Rules for Precepts Transmission Ceremonies 傳戒正範)*, published in 1660, *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, vol. 60, no. 1128) by Jianyue Duti(見月讀體, 1602-1679), the second generation disciple of Guxin. See Shi Jianyi, “Lueshu Zhongguo Fojiao Jietan yu Shoujie Fangshi Biange zhi Guanxi”(“On the Relations between Chinese Buddhist Ordination Platforms and the Development of the Way of Receiving Precepts”略述中國佛教戒壇與受戒方式變革之關係) in *Hanjia Sanpai: Biqiuni Chongshoujie Lunwenji(Three Chapters on the Refreshing Sound Of The Dharma: The Collective Essays of the “Re-Ordination” of Nuns 寒筍三拍:比丘尼重受戒論文集)*, Nantou County: Nanli, 2002): 1-40. As for novice initiation combined with full ordination, Hasebe assumes that it was because in late Ming many literati over twenty years old (the age for a monk to receive full ordination) joined Buddhist clergy without receiving even novice initiation, and it was very convenient for them to receive both novice initiation and full ordination, or even plus bodhisattva ordination, all together at the same time (Hasebe, “Chūgoku kindai ni okeru gukai hogi”: 5).

²⁹⁶ Nonkilling is the first of the ten grave precepts (shi zhong jie 十重戒) and the release of life is the twentieth of the forty-eight light precepts (sishiba qing jie 四十八輕戒) in *Fanwang Jing*. For Zhuhong's contributions to proselytizing these two practices, see Chün-fang Yü, “Chu-hung and the Late Ming Lay Buddhist Movement”, in *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*: 64-100.

In the case of Shouchang sublineage, it was Yuanxian's dharma brother Wuyi Yuanlai who started the practice of precepts-giving in the Wuming's lineage. Yuanlai received full ordination from Dharma Master Jian hong 極庵洪 at Mt. Chao hao 超華 in 1595 when he was twenty one years old. Then in 1601, Yuanlai visited Ehu Monastery 鵝湖 in Jianxi and received bodhisattva precepts there from Linji master Yangan Guangxin 養庵廣心(1547-1627), one of the eminent disciples of Zhuhong. When Yuanlai visited Ehu, Guangxin had given precepts there for ten years and had over three hundreds disciples but he never set up the position of rector (*shou zuo* 首座). However, Yuanlai was invited to serve as the rector there for half year. Later Yuanlai visited Zhuhong three times and received preferential treatments at Yunqi Monastery. Zhuhong even gave Yuanlai a calligraphy work to encourage him to promote the true Buddhist dharma. In 1602, when Yuanlai was invited to Boshan 博山 in Jiangxi to serve as the abbot, Guangxin gave Yuanlai the handbook used in "the rites and protocols for precepts-giving"(shoujie yigui 授戒儀軌).²⁹⁷

After receiving precepts from Zhuhong via Guangxin, Yuanlai taught both Chan and precepts in Boshan. Over ten thousands of monks and lay people visited him in order to receive either ordination or bodhisattva precepts²⁹⁸.

Yuanxian also received both full and bodhisattva precepts from his dharma brother Yuanlai in

²⁹⁷ Liu Rigao(劉日杲), "Boshan Hesang Zhuan"(The Biography of Master Boshan 博山和尚傳), in *Wuyi Yuanlai Chanshi Guanglu (The Comprehensive Records of Chan Master Wuyi Yuanlai 無異元來禪師廣錄)*, in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1435, vol. 72, fasc. 35, p 378c18-p. 379 a08: "時和尚方二十七歲,聞鵝湖心大師,以雲棲宏大師神足,授律鵝湖,往受菩薩毗尼.鵝湖興者十年,弟子三百餘人,初不置首座也.和尚至,即留為首座.....厥後三禮雲棲,雲棲遇和尚殊優至,因書'演暢真乘'數字贈之.....鵝湖聞和尚居博山,即以授戒儀軌畀之."

²⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 379 b 12: "其它學士大夫文學布衣,禮足求戒者,動至數萬"; p.379 c02: "苾芻白衣,皈心受戒者,無慮千萬人".

1618²⁹⁹. In 1632, Yuanxian went to Baoshan Cloister 寶善庵 in Fujian to visit Wengu Guangyin 聞谷廣印(1567-1637), another eminent disciple of Zhuhong from whom he received bodhisattva precepts.³⁰⁰ He learnt the rites of precepts-giving from Guangyin.³⁰¹ It was said that Guangyin encouraged Yuanxian to preach Buddhadharma and imparted the precepts handbook used by Zhuhong (*yunqi jieben* 雲棲戒本) in the ritual of *posadha*³⁰² to Yuanxian³⁰³. Therefore, Yuanxian received the vinaya tradition from Zhuhong through Yuanlai and Guangyin.

In 1634, when Yuanxian was invited to serve as the abbot of Gushan, he refused to teach Chan, but only instructed people precepts. Next year, in 1635, when he was invited to preach at Kaiyuan Monastery 開元寺 in Fujian Quanzhou 泉州, he started to teach both Chan and precepts, saying that “my Chan lineage originated from Shouchang [Wuming], and my precepts lineage originated from

²⁹⁹ Pan Jintai(潘晉臺), “Gushan Yongjue Laoren Zhuan”(“The Biography of Yongjue”鼓山永覺老人傳), in *The Comprehensive Records of Chan Master Yongjue Yuanxian (Yongjue Yuanxian Chanshi Guanglu 永覺元賢禪師廣錄) Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1437, vol. 72, fasc. 30, p. 578c14: “時博山以奔喪至,及歸,師與偕往,稟具戒”. And Lin Zhifan(林之蕃), “Fuzhou Gushan Baiyunfeng Yongquan Chansi Yongjue Xian Gong Da Heshang Xingye Quji”(“A Parcel Record of the Activities of Master Yongjue Yuanxian”福州鼓山白雲峰湧泉禪寺永覺賢公大和尚行業曲記): “復往博山,圓菩薩戒”(Yongjue Yuanxian Chanshi Guanglu, in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1437, vol. 72, fasc. 30, p. 576b03).

³⁰⁰ Yongjue Yuanxian, “Zhenji Wengu Dashi Taming”(“The stupa inscription of Wengu Guangyin”,真寂聞谷大師塔銘) says that Guangyin received bodhisattva ordination from Zhuhong and studied hard with Zhuhong. As a result, Guangyin had obtained the way of Zhuhong completely: “至雲棲,受菩薩戒.朝夕請益,遂盡得雲棲之道.”(Yongjue Yuanxian Chanshi Guanglu, *The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1437, vol. 72, fasc. 18, p. 489a 04-05)

³⁰¹ Pan Jintai’s biography of Yuanxian says Yuanxian received full ordination from Yuanlai, but Lin Zhifan’s biography of Yuanxian says that Guangyin conferred the great precepts (full ordination) to Yuanxian: “王申謁聞谷大師于寶善庵……大師……即以大戒授師.”(Yongjue Yuanxian Chanshi Guanglu, in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1437, vol. 72, fasc. 30, p. 576c02-05). Hasebe assumes that the “conferring the great precepts” means that Yuanxian learnt the rites of precepts-giving (*jiefa* 戒法) from Guangyin. See Hasebe, *Min Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū*, p.280, note 51.

³⁰² The *jieben* contains the 250 precepts for a bhikṣu or Buddhist monk and is used in the ritual of *posadha* held twice monthly. See Qu Dacheng(屈大成), “Foiaio Jielu yu Zhongguo Luzong” (佛教戒律與中國律宗“Buddhist Vinaya and Chinese Vinaya School”), in Zheng Peikai(鄭培凱) ed., *Zongjiao Xinyang yu Xiangxiang*(宗教信仰與想像 *Religious Beliefs and Imaginations*, Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2007, 133-162):136.

³⁰³ “師至五十六歲,因謁聞谷大師于寶善.一見投契,力勸出世,乃所傳雲棲戒本授之.” See Weilin Daopei, “Yongjue Shi Zhuan” (“The Biography of Master Yuanjue”永覺師傅), in Yongjue Yuanxian, *Jingci Yaoyu (The Significant Comments on Practices of Pure Land and Compassion 淨慈要語)*, *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1166, vol. 61, p. 819.

Zhenji [Guangyin] 禪本壽昌,戒本真寂.”³⁰⁴ Indeed, Yuanxian regarded Guangyin as his precepts master when he referred to himself as “the precept inheriting disciple” (*binjie dizi* 稟戒弟子) of Guangyin on the occasion when he worshipped the late Guangyin³⁰⁵. Through Guangyin, Yuanxian thus became the precept grandson (*jie sun* 戒孫) of Zhuhong³⁰⁶.

In Quanzhou, Yuanxian even conferred precepts to deities! In 1636, the god Perfected Wu (Wu Zhenren 吳真人) appeared in a dream to the temple attendant and asked to receive the five precepts from Yuanxian. In 1642, when Yuanxian visited Quanzhou again, both Perfected Wu and another local deity Minister Chang (Chang Xianggong 張相公) received bodhisattva precepts from him. Yuanxian gave them the dharma names Daozheng 道正 and Daocheng 道誠.³⁰⁷ It is obvious that Yuanxian chose the generation character of “dao” 道 based on his own transmission poem.

In 1646, Yuanxian went to Baoshan Cloister to preach precepts. While there he wrote two Vianya works, *Sifen Jieben Yueyi* (四分戒本約義 *Brief Meaning of Vinaya in Four Parts*) and *Luxue Faren* (律學發軔 *The Initiation of Vinaya Studies*)³⁰⁸. While the former is a commentary on the two hundred and fifty precepts for monks, the latter contains three parts: while the first on the origin of precepts and the

³⁰⁴ Pan Jintai, “Gushan Yongjue Laoren Zhuan”, p. 579 a18.

³⁰⁵ Yuanxian, “Ji Zhenji Wengu Dashi”(祭真寂閩谷大師 Worship the Great Master Zhenji Wengu), in *Yongjue Yuanxian Chanshi Guanglu, Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1437, vol. 72, fasc. 16, p. 476c08.

³⁰⁶ In Gulai’s(古來) preface for Gushan’s “Tong Jieliu”(同戒錄“record of those ordained at the same time”) in 1912, it was said that Zhuhong’s precepts was transmitted to Gushan and Yongjue Yuanxian was the precepts grandson of Zhuhong (“本山……稟蓮池大師之戒,以永祖為蓮池大師戒孫”). See “Tong Jieliu”(Gushan, 1912), collected in *Minjian Sicang Taiwan Zongjiao Ziliao Huibian* (民間私藏臺灣宗教資料彙編), edited by Wang Chien-chuan(王見川), Li Shiwei (李世偉) *et al.* (Luzhou City, Taipei County: Boyang Publishing, 2009, Series 1, vol.31, pp.1-89): 1.

³⁰⁷ Lin Zhifan, “Fuzhou Gushan Baiyunfeng Yongquan Chansi Yongjue Xian Gong Da Heshang Xingye Quji”, p. 577 b23-c06.

³⁰⁸ *Sifen Jieben Yueyi* is collected in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 178, vol. 40; and *Luxue Faren* in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1125, vol. 60.

significance of precepts for novices, complete precepts for monks and bodhisattva precepts, the second and third on the twelve topics of monastic discipline.³⁰⁹

Yuanxian had over three hundred disciples in Gushan and tens of thousands persons would visit him for Chan or precepts instructions³¹⁰. He transmitted precepts to six disciples and conferred six poems on each one³¹¹. As a result, we can conclude that Yuanxian was the one who started to give precepts in Gushan and this can be taken as the further development of Zhuhong's promotion of the vinaya in Fujian.

From the case of Shouchang sublineage, we can observe two points. Firstly, both Yuanlai and Yuanxian received precepts from Zhuhong. While Zhuhong's disciple Guangxin introduced precept-giving to Jiangxi where Yuanlai further promoted it, Guangyin introduced this practice to Fujian and Yuanxian devoted to the giving of precepts in Gushan.

Secondly, Yuanlai and Yuanxian strengthened the vogue of receiving bodhisattva precepts among lay people in Southern China, which greatly facilitated the spread of their own lineages in localities³¹².

³⁰⁹ Fan Jialing(范佳玲), *Mingmo Caodong Dianjun: Yongjue Yuanxian Chanshi Yanjiu (The Last Caodong Chan Master in Late Ming: A Study on Yongjue Yuanxian)*, 明末曹洞殿軍--永覺元賢禪師研究, Dissertation, National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, 2006): 311.

³¹⁰ “所依從率三百餘人,問道受戒者,不啻幾萬人。” Lin Zhifan, “Fuzhou Gushan Baiyunfeng Yongquan Chansi Yongjue Xian Gong Da Heshang Xingye Quji”, p. 578a21.

³¹¹ Hasebe, *Min Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū*, p.266. The names of the six precepts disciples were recorded in Lin Zhifan's biography of Yuanxian: Kuicun si 跬存思; Xueqiao Fu 雪樵涪; Zaojian zhen 藻鑑真; Mowei Shun 莫違順; Jingxin Ming 警心銘; Zongsheng Shan 宗聖善. Though their generation character was omitted, we can easily infer from the case of the dharma names of the two local deities Daozheng and Daocheng that the generation character Yuanxian gave to the six precepts disciple was also “dao”(道). Therefore, the six disciples were 跬存道思,雪樵道涪 and so on. The six poems Yuanxian composed for them were recorded in *Yongjue Yuanxian Chanshi Guanglu, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1437, vol. 72, fasc. 23, pp. 515c 11-516 a05. However, the sencod poem is for Dongsheng(洞生), not 雪樵涪, or we may assume that Dongsheng is another special name for 雪樵涪.

³¹² Hasebe, “Min Shin jidai ni okeru Zen Ritsu ryōshū kōka no dōkō”: 193. As to the relations between Chan masters and

For example, as we have discussed in Chapter 2, Lin Zhifan, one of the most important local supporters of Gushan, received the bodhisattva precepts from Yuanxian who was therefore Lin's precept master³¹³.

Daopei, the dharma heir of Yuanxian, received full ordination from Yuanxian in 1639³¹⁴. In this way he traced the lineage of his precept reception to Zhuhong by way of Yuanxian. Daopei continued his endeavours to promote monastic discipline. As we have seen above, he formulated pure rules for Gushan to prevent it from returning to the tradition of hereditary houses.

According to his recorded sayings, Daopei emphasized the significance of precepts³¹⁵ and its relation to filial piety, one of the most important topics of *Fanwang Jing* which served as the basis for bestowing bodhisattva precepts to the faithful³¹⁶. Daopei continued Zhuhong's efforts to promote

their lay precepts disciples, Foulk points out that already in Song, persons who received bodhisattva precepts from a Chan master were believed to have established a karmic connection with the lineage (Foulk, "Myth, Ritual and Monastic Practice": 162); Welch also reports that when a layman received ordination from a monastery, he had undoubtedly become an "ordination disciple" of that monastery as much as any of the monks ordained there at the same time. And ordination disciples could be approached for support if it was needed (Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism*, pp.364-365.)

³¹³ Lin Zhifang gave his title as "bodhisattva precepts disciple" at the end of his biography of Yuanxian (p. 578 b06).

³¹⁴ Daopei's autobiography "Lubo Huanji" ("The Illusionary Footprints in Drifting Travel" 旅泊幻蹟), in his *Weilin Daopei Chanshi Huan Shan Lu* (*The Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Weilin Daopei when Returning to Gushan* 為霖道霈禪師還山錄), *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1440, vol. 72, fasc. 4, p. 672b09.

³¹⁵ In *Weilin Daopei Chanshi Can Xiang Lu* (*The Recorded Sayings of Fragrance Meal* 為霖道霈禪師餐香錄, *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1439, vol. 72), one can find Daopei's preaches of precepts for the people who requested for receiving precepts:

- (1) on "taking precepts as your master" (以戒為師) to Shihang 石航 and Shihang's disciple Sizhe 思哲(p. 593b04-b18);
- (2) on "precepts, meditation and wisdom having been already complete in ourselves"(戒定慧皆備於己) to the nun Yiran 怡然 from Jingci Hall 淨慈堂(p.602b04-09);
- (3) on "the relation between precepts and Chan dharma" to the nun Zude 祖德 who requested for both precepts and Chan(p.602b10-b13);
- (4) on "the reasons why Buddha prescribed precepts" to Ledao 樂道, Jizhao 寂照 and Xiangguang 祥光(p.602b19-c15);
- (5) on "the emptiness of both the giver and receivers of precepts" to the disciples of the abbot of Xu Cloister (虛庵)(p.603a11-a19);
- (6) on "this mind is precepts" (是心是戒) to the female lay disciple Hu Yijing 胡益淨(p.604c18-c24);
- (7) again on "taking precepts as your master" to Xuansheng 玄生(p.608b21-c17);
- (8) on "empty mind is the precepts"(心空即是戒) to Chuanbi 傳璧 and Chuanchan 傳禪(p.609a08-a11);
- (9) on "prescribing the precepts in no precepts"(於無戒中立戒) to Xiangguang 祥光(p.609a12-a21).

³¹⁶ *Fanwang Jing* says: "Filial piety is the law of ultimate truth. It is discipline"(孝順至道之法,孝名為戒, T no. 1484, vol.24, p1004a25). Although Zhiyi did not comment on this paragraph, Zhuhong built a major thesis about it in his

nonkilling and the release of life. These and other related activities can be found in his recorded sayings as well³¹⁷.

Indeed, the practice of releasing life in Gushan had already begun in the Song and this was continued after Daopei. According to the gazetteer, the pond for releasing life (*fangsheng chi* 放生池) in Gushan was built by the abbot Yuanjue Zongyan 圓覺宗演 during the Shaoxing reign (1131-1162) in the early Southern Song³¹⁸. This was because at that time many monks at Gushan came down with illness. After the pond was completed, they were all restored to health. Since that time the pond had been reestablished three times: in 1356 of the Yuan dynasty by the abbot Chongzu 崇祖; in 1629 in the late Ming; and in 1756 during Qianlong reign by the abbot Xinglong 興隆³¹⁹. Li Ba 李拔, the prefect of Fuzhou, also composed three poems about fish viewing at the pond³²⁰.

The *Gazetter of Gushan* praises Daopei as “promoting the joint practice of Chan and teachings,

Fanwang Pusa Jiejing Yishu Fayin. See Chün-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*: 90. In *Weilin Daopei Chanshi Can Xiang Lu*, Daopei preached on “filial piety is discipline” to Taichao, Taizhi and Taijing(太超,太志,太靜)(p.596b04-b18), and to Xu Taixiao(徐太孝)(p.604c04-c11). It is obvious that these four disciples of Daopei had the same generation character of “tai”(太 or 大) according to Gushan lineage transmission poem.

³¹⁷ Three works of Daopei’s recorded sayings mentioned the related activities:

1. *Weilin Daopei Chanshi Can Xiang Lu*, compiled during 1660-1667: Daopei praised the contributions made by the monk Dunchao(頓超) and his association for releasing life and burying corpses(放生掩骼)(p.598a10-a16); Daopei also wrote the “Puquan Nianfo Fangsheng Wen” (“Essay on Universally Encouraging Reciting the Buddha’s name and Releasing Life”, 普勸念佛放生文, pp.631c01-632a11) to promote such practices.
2. *Weilin Chanshi Luboan Gao* (*Chan Master Weilin’s Draft of Wandering Travel Cloister*, 為霖禪師旅泊菴稿, in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzōkyō*, no. 1442, vol. 72), prefaced in 1683 and 1684: Daopei wrote two poems, one against fishing in rivers and promoting releasing life (“Quan Jinxi Fangsheng” 勸禁溪放生, p.718a24-b05), another against burning the bees (“Jie Shao Feng” 誡燒蜂, p.718b06-b09).
3. *Weilin Daopei Chanshi Huan Shan Lu*, compiled in 1684-1688: Daopei prefaced the reprint of the collection of essays against killing the cattle (“Chongqian Niujie Huichao Xu” 重鋟牛戒彙鈔序, pp.665c09-666a08).

³¹⁸ The establishment of *fangsheng chi* could be traced back to Emperor Yuan of the Liang dynasty(梁元帝, 552-555), but not until Song did the practice become popular. See Chün-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*: 72-73.

³¹⁹ Huang Ren ed., *Gushan Zhi*, fasc. 4, p.129.

³²⁰ Huang Ren ed., *Gushan Zhi*, fasc. 13, pp.938-940. Li Ba served as the prefecture chief of Fuzhou for three years in 1760-1763.

and spreading both Pure Land and Vinaya 禪教兼行,淨律並開”³²¹, which is a clear evidence that the synthetic characteristics of Zhuhong exerted a great influence on Gushan .

According to Ryūchi Kiyoshi 龍池 清, there is a biography of Daopei written by Taixin 太心³²² and Daopei’s precept grandsons 戒孫 Xingliang 興量 and Xingchun 興純 found among Buddhist sources kept in Gushan which were not included in the canons³²³. If this is the case, we can infer that Zhuhong’s tradition of giving precepts lasted at least two generations after Daopei in Gushan to the mid Qing³²⁴.

4.3 Imperial Patronage and the Authorization of Erecting Ordination Platform in Gushan

Besides Zhuhong’s legacy, the development of Gushan during the Qing was also determined by state policy in regard to Buddhism and the measure Gushan took in reaction to it.

As we have discussed above, in the very beginning of the Ming, Taizu reclassified monasteries into three types of mediation, doctrinal study and ritual performance. He put all kinds of restriction on the freedom of movements of monks belonging to the former two types and segregated them from the common population to prevent the possibilities of that the friendly clergy-lay connections would be organized into rebellious powers which challenge the state Confucian orthodoxy like the White Lotus

³²¹ Huang Ren ed., *Gushan Zhi*, fasc. 4, p.215.

³²² Taixin must be Hengtao Daxin(恆濤大心), the dharma heir of Daopei.

³²³ Ryūchi Kiyoshi, “Kosan Isanzō Ibbusshoroku” (“The Record of the Lost Buddhist Books in Gushan and Yishan Canons” 鼓山·怡山藏逸佛書錄), in *Tōhō Gakuhō* (Tokyo), vol. 6 (1929: 793-820): 816, cited in Zhuang Kun-mu, “Weilin Daopei Chan Shi de Sheng Ping yu Zhu Zuo”, p.143.

³²⁴ Yuanyu Xingwu (圓玉興五), the Gushan abbot with the generation character “Xing”(興) as Daopei’s precepts grandsons, died in 1734.

Sect in late Yuan period, and to protect the Confucian government officials from the possible undesirable influence of frequent exposure to monks in general. Only those of practical instruction type who provide ritual services for lay people were given favor because they were less “Buddhist” in their commitments and training and hence could pose no threat to dominant Confucian orthodoxy. Actually, what they offered in the funeral rituals had been well incorporated in Chinese family religion and the Confucian morality of filial piety.³²⁵

The Qing state followed this line of controlling Chinese Buddhism.³²⁶ As Jiang Wu puts it, for the Qing emperor, the ideal religion should be tightly controlled and “isolated from the rest of society, especially from the cultural and literary elite, who were the emperor’s reserved bureaucrats but also potential challengers if let loose.”³²⁷ Under the tense relations between the Manchu rulers and Han subjects in the early Qing, this was an especially sensitive issue.

As a result, in dealing with Chinese Buddhism, the Qing state mainly treated it politically, and tried hard to monopolize the interpretations of religious authorities, and set up the official standard for orthodoxy to ensure that all Chinese Buddhist thoughts and activities were under state control, as we will see in the case of Chan Buddhism. As Waley-Cohen puts it,

Qing Emperors saw no clear delineation between the realms of religion and of politics. Thus they

³²⁵ Chün-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*:147-151,168.

³²⁶ Qing continued many administrative measures from Ming for Chinese Buddhism such as maintaining the system of monk officials and restricting the construction of monasteries. Cf. Guo Peng(郭朋), *Ming Qing Fo Jiao*(明清佛教 *Chinese Buddhism in the Ming and the Qing Dynasties*) (Fuzhou: Fujian Renmin Chubanshe,1982), 293ff.

³²⁷ Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*: 257. Susan Naquin also points out that Qing laws and regulations reflected the long-standing Chinese state and Confucian desire to control religious professionals and to maintain a clear line between the professional and the lay devotee. Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000): 52.

identified religion, unless it was absolutely subject to their control, as a potential menace to their sovereignty—in other words, religion either specifically served the state or it was specifically subversive. For they were accustomed to absolute authority and could not brook competition from any alternative authority, whether located in the unpredictable supernatural world or in the human world beyond reach of their political authority.³²⁸

In the early Qing, Qing rulers adopted policies of both suppressive regulation and patronizing conciliation toward Chan lineage in the newly conquered southern China due to its suspiciously intimate relations with the Ming loyalties. While the Caodong master Zhuxin Hanke 祖心函可 (1611-1659) was arrested and exiled to Qianshan 千山 in the northeastern frontier in 1648 for the treasonable tendency in his writing and became the first victim of the literary inquisition in the Qing³²⁹, the Linji masters Muchen Daomin 木陳道忞 (1596-1674) and Yulin Tongxiu 玉林通秀 (1614-1675) were summoned to the court and were honored by Shunzhi Emperor³³⁰. The situation made Chan Buddhism a political-ideological battle field between the “new dynasty party” (*xinchan pai*

³²⁸ Joanna Waley-Cohen, *The Culture of War in China: Empire and the Military under the Qing Dynasty* (London; New York : I.B. Tauris, 2006): 49.

³²⁹ Guo Chengkang(郭成康) and Lin Tiejun(林鐵鈞), *Qingchao Wenzhi Yu* (清朝文字獄 *The Literary Inquisition in the Qing Dynasty*): 82. Zhuxin belonged to Shouchang sublineage. He was the dharma heir of Zongbao Daodu (宗寶道獨 1600-1661), and Daodu was the dharma heir of Wuyi Yuanlai. Zhuxin witnessed the fall the first Southern Ming regime of Prince of Fu (1644-1645) and wrote historical records manuscripts “Zaibian Ji”(再變紀 *The Record of the Second Time Incident*) to lament it, which, however, made him the victim of the literary inquisition. For more details, see Wang Zongyan(汪宗衍), “Qingdai Diyizong Wenzhiyu: Hanken Heshang ‘Zaibian Ji’ An” (清代第一宗文字獄--函可和尚『再變記』案 “The First Literary Inquisition in Qing: The Case of Master Hanke’s Zaibian Ji”), in the appendix of Shi Hanke(釋函可), *Qianshan Shengren Chanshi Yulu* (千山剩人禪師語錄 *The Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Qianshan Shengren*, Hong Kong: Jinqiang, *The Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Qianshan Shengren*, Hong Kong: Panyu Hanzhuofu Bujiaozhai, 1970): 41-45. For the literary inquisition in Qing, see L. Carrington Goodrich, *The Literary Inquisition of Ch’ien-lung* (New York : Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1966, c1935).

³³⁰ Tongxiu was summoned in 1658, and Daomin was summoned in 1659. See Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*:85, 90-91. Wu further comments that although Shunzhi Emperor had a personal interest in Chan teaching, “his stance can be viewed as part of a systematic cultural strategy to win the favor of the literati population in the south who had close connections to Chan masters and communities.”(p.109)

新朝派) and the “old dynasty party” (*guguo pai* 故國派) in the early Qing³³¹.

As we have discussed in Chapter 2, Yuanxian seemed to choose a middle way between the two extremes of the “new dynasty party” and the “old dynasty party” in Gushan. Though keeping close relations with the Ming loyalists, Yuanxian successfully avoided the destructive blows from the state power by not being involved in the anti-Manchu activities.

Yuanxian’s survival strategy was continued by Daopei who ingeniously dealt with Geng Jimao 耿繼茂(?-1671) the feudatory prince (*fang wang* 藩王) who was the representative of the Manchu conquerors in Fujian³³². In a novel entitled *The Unofficial History of the Fujian Capital (Mindu Bieji 閩都別記)*³³³ compiled in mid Qing, it was said that the feudatory prince Geng visited Daopei in Gushan³³⁴ and had a conversation with him:

Prince Geng asked: “Since your name is Daopei, then where is the ‘dao’ (道way)?”	道在哪裡?
Daopei answered: “The ‘dao’ (稻rice) is in the middle of ‘tian’ (田field).”	稻在田中.
The prince shouted: “The ‘dao’ I asked is not that ‘dao’.”	此道不是那稻.
Daopei answered immediately: “The ‘tian’ I answered with is not that ‘tian’.”	此田不是那田.

The dialogue is composed by using the homophones of “dao” and “tian”. What Daopei meant was that the Buddhist way was just in one’s mind field (*xintian* 心田). This episode constructed the image of

³³¹ Cf. Chen Yuan (陳垣), *Qingchu Sengzheng Ji* (清初僧諍記, *Controversies of Monks in Early Qing*, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1962): 63-70.

³³² For ruling the newly conquered South China, Qing rulers designated three Chinese generals as the feudatory princes (三藩) and gave them exceptionally wide powers: Wu Sangui (吳三桂) in Yunnan (雲南) and Guizhou (貴州), Shang Kexi (尚可喜) in Guangdong and Geng Jimao in Fujian. Geng Jimao ruled Fujian from 1651 to 1671 till he died, and his son Geng Jingzhong (耿精忠) succeeded his position.

³³³ The author of *Mindu Bieji* is Liren Heqiu (里人何求), but scholars still can not identify who the author was. It contains four hundred chapters and has been the longest novel in Fujian area. It was probably compiled during Qianlong to Jiaqing (嘉慶 1736-1820) eras based on the folk lores and legends in Fujian area. See Lin Weiwen’s (林蔚文) preface for Liren Heqiu, *Mindu Bieji* (Fujian: Fujian Renmin, 2008): 1-3.

³³⁴ Because Daopei served as the abbot of Gushan since 1658 and left Gushan in 1671, and Geng Jimao ruled Fujian from 1651 to 1671, the feudatory prince who visited Daopei should be Geng Jimao, not his son Geng Jingzhong.

Daopei as a witty Chan master. In the novel, similar repartees between the prince and Daopei continued for several times that day. Finally, when the prince left Gushan, he dared not to look down on Daopei anymore³³⁵. In the entry of Daopei in *The Poetry Collection of Fujian Monks (Minseng Shichao 閩僧詩鈔)*, it was even stated that Prince Geng invited Daopei to be the state preceptor, but Daopei refused, and this implied that it was because Daopei had foreseen that Geng would rebel against Qing³³⁶. If this record is reliable, then Daopei had won over the respect of the Qing rulers but kept distance from them, a strategy of keeping balance between submission to the state power and maintainance of political neutrality.

However, in Daopei's old age, when Qing rule of South China was consolidated, Gushan chose to cooperate with the state power and obtained imperial patronages as a reward. According to Yang Jian's 楊健 study, the rewards Qing emperors bestowed on monasteries including silver, Buddhist canon, calligraphy works, name plaques, Buddha statues, deities tablets (*shen pai* 神牌, tablets written with deities' names to be worshiped in Buddhist monasteries) and so on. The emperors even granted new names to monasteries at their own will³³⁷. Based on the *Gushan Gazetteer*, I will discuss the patronages

³³⁵ Liren Heqiu, *Mindu Bieji* (Fujian: Fujian Renmin, 2008): 1233-1234.

³³⁶ “智能知來，耿逆叛延為國師，不就”。 See *Minseng Shichao* (manuscript, reserved in the library in Fujian Normal University), cited in Ma Haiyan (馬海燕), *Gushan Chan Yanjiu (鼓山禪研究 The Study of Gushan Zen)*, Master's Thesis, Fujian Normal University, 2007): 62. Among the three feudatory princes (Wu Sangui, Shang Kexi and Geng Jimao (and his son Geng Jingzhong) in Fujian), Wu was the most powerful and autonomous. He later then threatened the ruling of Manchu: “In 1673 when the Kangxi emperor threatened to abolish the feudatories, Wu Sangui rebelled, and Shang and Geng [Jingzhong] rather hesitantly followed him. The Qing state was in real danger for several years but then began to push the Wu forces back, securing the surrender of the others.”(John, E. Wills, Jr., “Contingent Connections: Fujian, the Empire, and the Early Modern World”, in Struve, Lynn A. ed., *The Qing Formation in World-historical Time* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center : Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2004, 167-203): 191.)

³³⁷ Yang Jian (楊健), *Qing Wangchao Fojiao shiwu Guanli*: 317-321.

Gushan received during the reigns of Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong:

(1) Kangxi reign (1662-1722): in 1699 Guhan was granted the name plaque “Yongquan Si” 湧泉寺 written by Kangxi Emperor³³⁸, when Daopei was eighty-five years old. Through the granting of the name plaque, Gushan was recognized as one of the official monasteries and incorporated into the ritual system of the state. On the important festivals like New Year’s Day, the birthday of Emperor, Buddha’s birthday and so on, the monastery would hold celebration ceremonies to pray for the longevity of the emperor and the welfare of the state³³⁹. As we will see below, the name plaque also provided the authorization for holding precept giving and ordination activities.

Furthermore, in 1714, when Daopei’s dharma heir Hengtao Daxin 恆濤大心(1652-1728) served as the abbot, Gushan was granted Buddhist canon which were enshrined in the Buddha Hall³⁴⁰.

(2) Yongzheng reign (1723-1735): As an ethnic minority, the Manchus succeeded in ruling a multiethnic imperial state by seeking self-legitimacy from a variety of historically potent cultural traditions. They established a transcendence over culture that lay the foundation for an ideology of universal emperorship.³⁴¹ For example, the fundamental ruling policy of the Qing in Inner Asia was to

³³⁸ Huang Ren ed., *Gushan Zhi*, fasc.2, p.121.

³³⁹ Yang Jian (楊健), *Qing Wangchao Fojiao shiwu Guanli*: 315-316; see *Conglin Zhubai Qinggui Keyi* compiled in *Gushan* for the eulogies recited on these rituals.

³⁴⁰ Huang Ren ed., *Gushan Zhi*, fasc.2, p.121.

³⁴¹ Gray Tuttle, *Tibetan Buddhists in the Making of Modern China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 32; Pamela Kyle Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 12, 51; Patricia Berger, *Empire of emptiness: Buddhist art and political authority in Qing China* (Honolulu : University of Hawai’i Press, 2003), 5. As James Hevia suggests, a central percept in the Qing imaging of empire was the notion that the world was made up of a multitude of lords over whom Manchu emperors sought to position themselves as overlord. (“A Multitude of Lords: The Qing Empire, Manchu Rulership and Interdomainal Relations”, in: *Cherishing men from afar: Qing guest ritual and the Macartney embassy of 1793*. Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995), 30.

seek legitimacy from Tibetan Buddhism and gained the loyalty from the Mongols by providing protection and support of Tibetan Buddhism.³⁴² As for China proper, Qing emperors presented themselves “as the heir to the Chinese dynastic tradition, a Confucian monarch” to the Han Chinese,³⁴³ and strove for a simplified Confucian ethos to instruct the common people.³⁴⁴

However, aside from the Confucian tradition, Emperor Yongzheng also appealed to the Chan tradition to obtain the authority for intervening in Chinese Buddhism affairs. As far as I know, Yongzheng was the only emperor who claimed himself as an enlightened Chan master in Chinese history.³⁴⁵ By assuming this role, Yongzheng crossed the boundary between the sacred and the secular realms and combined the roles of the monarch of the Chinese Empire and the Chan master over all masters in his one person. From this advantageously transcendent status, Yongzheng undertook to set up the standard for Chan orthodoxy by demolishing the so-called Chan heterodoxy.

In the forth month of 1733, Yongzheng wrote two prefaces to two works of his own: the *Imperial Selection of Recorded Sayings (Yuxuan Yulu 御選語錄)*³⁴⁶ and the *Records of Exposing Demons and*

³⁴² David Farquhar, “Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch’ing Empire”, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 38 (1) 1978. p 5-34. Though Natalie Köhle opposes the view that takes ruling as a Buddhist emperor and generous patronage of Tibetan Buddhism is “particular” to Qing’s political ideology in case of *Wutai shan* (五台山), she, nevertheless, points out that *Wutai shan* figured much more prominently in Qing imperial ideology than that of the Ming. (“Why Did the Kangxi Emperor Go to Wutai Shan? Patronage, Pilgrimage, and the Place of Tibetan Buddhism at the Early Qing Court”, in: *Late Imperial China*. Vol. 29, Iss. 1. Jun 2008, 73-119.)

³⁴³ Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1998): 199.

³⁴⁴ For example, the *Kangxi* (康熙) Emperor’s “Sacred Edict” (聖諭) of 1670 was supposed to be read aloud by officials and village elders in public meetings in all rural localities. Even more publicized was the *Shengyu Guangxun* (Extensive Explanation of the “Sacred Edict” 聖諭廣訓), an amplification of *Kangxi*’s edict produced by Yongzheng Emperor. See Monica Esposito, “Daoism in the Qing (1644-1911)” in Livia Kohn ed., *Daoism Handbook* (Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2000): 644.

³⁴⁵ For the Yongzheng’s Chan enlightenment, see Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*: 166-168.

³⁴⁶ Collected in *Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1319, vol. 68.

Discerning Heresies (*Jianmo Bianyi Lu* 揀魔辨異錄).³⁴⁷ As the titles show, while the latter was composed to destroy the Chan “heresies” of Hanyue Fazang’s 漢月法藏(1573-1625) lineage³⁴⁸, the former was compiled to provide Chan practitioners with models of orthodox Chan.

What is germane to our discussion here is that in the *Imperial Selection of Recorded Sayings*, Yongzheng agrees with Zhuhong’s dual practice of Chan and Pure Land and points out that *nianfo* would not obstruct cultivating Chan, and Chan could be put into practice with Pure Land jointly³⁴⁹. Therefore, though Zhuhong was not a Chan master in the strict sense, his sayings were included in this work in fascicle thirteen as “External Collection” (*waiji* 外集).

By being included in the *Imperial Selection of Recorded Sayings*, Zhuhong’s joint practice of Chan and Pure Land was recognized as orthodoxy by the Qing state³⁵⁰. We may infer that because Gushan succeeded Zhuhong’s legacy, it would not be regarded as heterodoxy by the state, which greatly benefited its steady development in the Qing dynasty.

In 1734, Yongzheng ordered the compilation of the Buddhist canon, the so-called Dragon Edition

³⁴⁷ Collected in *Xuzangjing*, *The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1281, vol. 65.

³⁴⁸ Hanyue was the dharma heir of Miyun Yuanwu. However, Hanyue disagreed with his master on the standard of Chan enlightenment. While Yuanwu appealed to the practice of beating and shouting, Hanyue emphasized the main tenets of the five Chan schools (*wujia zongzhi* 五家宗旨). For Yongzheng only assented that there are three passes (*san guan* 三關) in the process of enlightenment through Chan, he did not allow the Chan practitioners indulge in inquiring for the main tenets and criticized Tanji Hongren (潭吉弘忍 1599-1638) who defend his master Hanyue in the controversy between Hanyue and Yuanwu, as the “demon”. For more details, see Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*: 135-183.

³⁴⁹ “念佛何礙參禪”，“淨業正可以兼修”. Yongzheng, *Yuxuan Yulu*, *Xuzangjing*, *The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, no. 1319, vol. 68, p. 524b21-22.

³⁵⁰ Chün-fang Yü cites Ogasawara Senshū (小笠原宣秀) to point out that Yongzheng adopted Zhuhong’s idea to decree the establishment of both a meditation hall (*Chan tang* 禪堂) and a hall for the recitation of the Buddha’s name (*nianfo tang* 念佛堂). Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*: 30; Ogasawara Senshū, *Chūgoku kinsei Jōdokyō shi no kenkyū* (中国近世浄土教史の研究, *Studies in the History of Chinese Pure Land School of Recent Times*, Kyoto, 1963): 213.

of Buddhist Canon (*Longzang* 龍藏), which was not completed till Qianlong's reign in 1739. For the completion, many Buddhist masters were summoned to the capital. Yuanyu Xingwu 圓玉興五(?-1734), then the abbot of Gushan, was among them³⁵¹. Though compiling the Buddhist canon was a great enterprise and seen as one of Yongzheng's lavish patronages of Buddhism, the aims for its compilation, however, include the reorganization of the contents of the canon to eliminate heterodoxy and to establish the new orthodoxy. When translating the Buddhist canon into Manchu language, Qianlong decreed in 1773 that because Yongzheng had already ordered to remove the heterogenous and disorderly (*congza* 叢雜) works, and Qianlong himself continued to eliminate other works in order to purify and clarify Buddhist doctrines (*cheng chan zongmen* 澄闡宗門), the certified version of the canon needed no further expurgation, and any attempt to add more works to the canon would be forbidden forever.³⁵²

If my observation is correct, then we may assume that Xingwu's participation in the compilation of the canon implied that Gushan was recognized by the state as qualified to join the enterprise of forming the new Buddhist orthodoxy, and in this process, Gushan itself was also incorporated into the state authority.

(3) Qianlong reign (1736-1795): Gushan was bestowed in 1742 the Buddhist canon in seven thousand

³⁵¹ Huang Ren ed., *Gushan Zhi*, fasc.4, p 220.

³⁵² *Qianlong Chao Shangyu Dang* (乾隆朝上諭檔 *The Emperor's Edicts in Qianlong Reign*), Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan(中國第一歷史檔案館) ed. (Zhongguo Dangan Chubanshe, 1991): 282-283, cited in Yang Jian (楊健), *Qing Wangchao Fojiao shiwu Guanli*: 263-265.

two hundred and forty fascicles. In 1745, Zhou Xuejian 周學健(?-1748), the inspector-general of Fujian province³⁵³, built six shelves to house the canon. While the canons granted in Kangxi reign were worshipped in Buddha Hall, this time, the canons were placed in the Dharma Hall for worship³⁵⁴.

In 1748, the abbot Changmin Farui 常敏法睿(?-1761) retired, so the local literati Li Fu (李馥) and Huang Ren (黃任) invited Pianzhao Xinglong 遍照興隆(1697-1775), the disciple of Hengtao Daxin, to take the position of abbot. It was recorded that Gushan was then in decline. Not only were the trees logged illegally by the local people but also the buildings were in a dilapidated condition. Xinlong devoted himself to revive Gushan and invited Huang Ren to compile *The Gazetteer of Gushan*. It was through Huang Ren that Yu Wenyi 余文儀(?-1782) heard of Xinglong. In 1756, Yu, then the prefectural magistrate of Zhangzhou 漳州, wrote an essay to celebrate Xinlong's sixtieth birthday and praised Xinglong for his contributions to Gushan in the essay³⁵⁵. I assume that it was based on the admirations for Xinglong that Yu Wenyi announced in an official notice in 1773 to authorize the precept-giving ceremony of Gushan when he served as the inspector-general of Fujian province³⁵⁶.

I suggest that the official notice made in 1773 was with Xinglong's request because in that year Gushan would reestablish the ordination platform which had been long closed due to the decline of the monastery before Xinglong's time.

³⁵³ Zhou served as the the inspector-general of Fujian province during 1743-1746.

³⁵⁴ Huang Ren ed., *Gushan Zhi*, fasc.2, p.121-122.

³⁵⁵ Yu Wenyi, "Wei Pianzhao Chanshi Shou Xu"(為遍照禪師壽序“Preface for Chan Master Pianzhao's Birthday”), in Huang Ren ed., *Gushan Zhi*, fasc.7, p.387-390.

³⁵⁶ Yu Wenyi served as the inspector-general of Fujian province since 1771.

Yu Wenyi's official notice was found in the "ordination yearbook (*Tongjie Lu* 同戒錄)³⁵⁷ issued by Gushan in 1912³⁵⁸ for its ordination ceremony that year. In this notice, Yu argues that only the monasteries which had been granted the name plaques from the emperor could reestablish the ordination platforms, and the preceptors for the ordination ceremony were required to be virtuous and strict precepts abiding ones. Fortunately, Gushan, the monastery which had been granted both the name plaque and the Buddhist canon in the reigns of Kangxi and Qianlong, was qualified under all these conditions. Therefore, all monks and nuns who were above twenty and under sixty and required to receive precepts should join the ordination ceremony of Gushan. Other monasteries without the name plaques were not allowed to hold ordination ceremonies or they would be punished.

Through this official notice, the ordination platform in Gushan was authorized by the secular power and it was due to a series of imperial patronages that its honored transmission of precepts-giving was guaranteed.

The ordination ceremony had become more significant for the Buddhist clergy after 1773 when Yu Wenyi issued the official notice because just in the next year, 1774, Qianlong abolished the institution of tonsure certificates³⁵⁹ and what left to be the certificates for the identity of monks and nuns were the

³⁵⁷ Welch reports that after the ordination ceremony, large ordaining monasteries gave each ordinee an ordination certificate (戒牒), a bowl, a robe, and several books, among which was "Tongjie Lu". Welch translates "Tongjie Lu" as "ordination yearbook" because it resembled so closely the "class yearbook" that one receives when one graduates from school. (Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism*: 250).

³⁵⁸ See "Tong Jielu" (Gushan, 1912), collected in *Minjian Sicang Taiwan Zongjiao Ziliao Huibian* (民間私藏臺灣宗教資料彙編), edited by Wang Chien-chuan (王見川), Li Shiwei (李世偉) *et al.* (Luzhou City, Taipei County: Boyang Publishing, 2009, Series 1, vol.31, pp.1-89): 3-6.

³⁵⁹ According to Jiang Wu's analysis, one of the reasons for the abolishment of the institution of tonsure certificates was that after the tax reform adopted by Yongzheng, the state's revenue relied on the acreage of land rather than on population,

ordination certificates (*jie die* 戒牒) issued to the ordinee by the ordaining monasteries after the ordination ceremony. In other words, the ordination certificates, originally used as the travel documents for monks and nuns³⁶⁰, had replaced the tonsure certificates after the latter had been abolished.

Jiang Wu argues that since the late Ming the Three Platform Ordination Ceremony had been offered freely by all major monasteries, it was impossible for Qing government to regulate it. Finally, with the abolishment of the tonsure certificates institution, monks could offer the Three Platform Ordination Ceremony legally and freely³⁶¹. Though this might be the case and there might have appeared many competitors for holding the ordination ceremonies, Gushan still enjoyed the fame of being the center of precepts-giving in Fujian because the reasons stated in Yu Wenyi's official notice. Consequently, until the early twentieth century, Taiwanese monks and nuns had always visited Gushan to be ordained, as we will discuss in Chapter 4.

5. Conclusion

This chapter inquires into the the formation of the Gushan Chan lineage in Fujian, and argues that

so there is no need to continue to control the monastic population (Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*:166). Jiang Wu says that the abolishment of the institution of tonsure certificates was in 1754, however, according to Yang Jian's study, the correct year is 1774, twenty years after. See Yang Jian (楊健), *Qing Wangchao Fojiao shiwu Guanli*: 151.

³⁶⁰ According to Yifa, in the Song dynasty, “[a]fter receiving tonsure, the postulant graduated to the status of novice. Upon full ordination, he would be issued an ordination certificate (*jiedie* [戒牒]) by the Department of Sacrifice. At the same time, a document entitled ‘The Six Awareness’ (*liunian* [六念]) containing the signatures of the ordination preceptors was issued by the monastery. These three documents—the tonsure certificate, the ordination certificate, and ‘The Six Awareness’—were the standard papers needed to apply for travel permits.” (Yifa, Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China: An Annotated Translation and Study of the Chanyuan Qinggui*:78.) Hasebe argues that the ordination certificates were still used as the travel documents in Ming and till late Ming and early Qing. (Hasebe, *Min Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū*: 193)

³⁶¹ Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*:166.

on the one hand, the rationalization of the Chan dharma transmission through the naming practice helped Gushan turn into a dharma transmission monastery in the late Ming and early Qing. On the other hand, by using the new transmission poem, a new Chan lineage was formed in Gushan during the Qing dynasty.

Besides Chan transmission, the practices of Pure Land and the precepts-giving also played important roles in how the Gushan lineage could take roots in the local society. Through organizing *nianfo* communities and associations of releasing life, Gushan developed its own local networks of supporters and promoted Zhuhong's ideal of *nianfo fangshen* in Fujian. By holding ordination ceremonies, Gushan Chan masters established precepts transmission relations with local literati and broadened its influences in Fujian. In other words, in the Qing dynasty, Gushan had developed into a multi-functional Buddhist center, promoting the joint practice of Chan and Pure Land, and transmitting the precepts.

Both the practices of Pure Land and precepts-giving could be traced back to Zhuhong through Wengu Guanyin who firstly spread Zhuhong's teaching to Fujian. Thanks to Zhuhong's legacy, the Gushan Chan lineage was recognized as orthodox in the Qing dynasty and obtained imperial patronages which in turn strengthened its status as the precepts-giving center in Fujian. As we will see later, one of the key factors of the spread of the Gushan lineage to Taiwan was the precept giving held at ordination ceremonies at Gushan.

Table 3.2 Name List of Gushan Abbots³⁶²

Abbots	Dates of Birth and Death	Abbacy Period	Notes
Yuanjie Yuanxian 永覺元賢	1578-1657	1634-1657	The dharma heir of Wuming Huijing (無明慧經)
Juelang Daosheng 覺浪道盛	1592-1659	1641	The dharma heir of Huitai Yuanjing (晦臺元鏡)
Weilin Daopei 為霖道霈	1615-1702	1658-1671 1684-1702	The dharma heir of Yuanjie Yuanxian (永覺元賢)
Weijing Daoan 惟靜道安	1617-1688	1672-1684	The disciple of Yuanjie Yuanxian (永覺元賢)
Hengtao Daxin 恆濤大心	1652-1728	1702-1728	The dharma heir of Weilin Daopei (為霖道霈)
Yuanyu Xingwu 圓玉興五	?-1734	1728-1734	Summoned to Beijing for the compilation of Dragon Edition of Buddhist Canon
Xiangxian Fayin 象先法印	?-1739	1734-1739	
Danran Fawen 淡然法文	?-1757	1740-1742	
Changmin Farui 常敏法睿	?-1761	1742-1748	
Pianzhao Xinglong 遍照興隆	1697-1775	1749-1756 1762-1775	Reopened the ordination platform in Gushan
Qingchun Fayuan 清淳法源	?-1762	1756-1762	
Dongyang Jiechu 東陽界初	?-1785	1775-1785	
Daoyuan Yixin 道源一信	?-1795	1785-1795	
Jiyun Dinshan 繼雲鼎善	?-1800	1796-1800	
Liaotang Dingche 了堂鼎徹	?-1820	1801-1820	

³⁶² Source: Chan Xizhang (陳錫璋) ed., *Fuzhou Gushan Yongquansi Lidai Zhuchi Chanshi Chuan Lue (The Biographies of All the Abbots of Gushan Yongquan Monastery in Fuchou)* 福州鼓山湧泉寺歷代住持禪師傳略, Tainan City: Zhizhe Chubanshe, 1996)

Huizhou Tianzhi 慧周天智	?-1835	1821-1827	
Ziting Tongyu 滋亭通雨	?-1832	1828-1832	
Yuanzhi Tongwan 圓智通完	?	1833-1835	
Lutian Tongyue 鷺田通月	?-1840	1835-1840	
Zenghui Xinzhuo 增輝新灼	?	1840-1842	
Mian Tongfan 密庵通梵	?-1844	1842-1844	
Liukun Tongming 六坤通明	?	1845-1846	
Nengchi Tianxing 能持天性	?-1848	1846-1848	
Yuncheng Jianren 雲程兼忍	?-1875	1848-1851	
Jingkong Jianyin 淨空兼印	?-1875	1852-1853 1858-1863 1868-1875	Served as the abbot of Gushan for three times
Guangyao Tianming 光耀天明	?	1853	
Fengchao Jianfei 鳳超兼飛	?-1861	1854-1858	
Zongtong Diwei 宗通地緯	?-1864	1863-1864	
Hongzhi Tonghua 宏志通華	?-1868	1864-1868	
Qiliang Chefang 奇量徹繁	?	1875-1883	The abbacy period is doubtful because it overlapped with that of Jinping Yaohua and Huaizhong Disheng
Jinping Yaohua 今品耀華	?	1877-1878	Retired due to embezzlement of the monastery properties
Huaizhong Disheng 懷忠地聖	?	1878-1880	Retired due to embezzlement of the monastery properties

Miaolian Dihua 妙蓮地華	1824-1907	1883-1902	Founded Jile Temple (極樂寺) as the branch temple of Gushan in Penang in Malaysia in 1891
Yuanlang Guyue 圓朗古月	1943-1919	1902-1906	
Zhenguang Guhui 振光古輝	?-1924	1906-1924	
Daben Wuyuan 達本悟源	1847-1929	1924-1929	Revived Xuefeng Monastery(雪峰寺) in Fuzhou
Deqing Guyan (Xuyun)德清古巖 (虛雲)	?-1959	1929-1935	Restored the rule against tonsure in Gushan
Yuanying Hongwu 圓瑛宏悟	1878-1953	1937-1939	Headed the Chinese Buddhist Association in 1953

Chapter 4 The Spread of the Gushan Lineage from Fujian to Taiwan: the Rise of the “Five Mountains” under the Japanese Rule

This chapter deals with how the Gushan lineage spread to Taiwan through precepts-giving to monks from Taiwan and how it resulted in the establishment of the five main monasteries, which I call as the “Five Mountains”, in the early twentieth century under the Japanese rule. I will first briefly introduce the situation of Buddhism in Taiwan in the Qing dynasty as the context for the interactions among Taiwanese and Chinese monks in the late Qing, and then analyze the rise of the five main monasteries.

One of the main attempts in Chapter 4 is to calibrate the spatial structure of the organization of the Gushan lineage through observing the precept-giving rituals held in Taiwan by these institutions for the first time in history in the early twentieth century. The degree of ritual self-sufficiency and autonomy in liturgical matters accorded to the local community is a useful index of locating the spatial structure of religious organization on the continuum from local autonomy to a centralized territorial hierarchy. This chapter argues that the frequent exchanges between Taiwan and Fujian Buddhism showed both the convergence (to Fujian) and divergence (to Taiwan) directions or centripetal and centrifugal forces simultaneously constructing the dynamics of the diffusion of the Gushan lineage.

1. Buddhism in Taiwan under the Qing

As Map 4.1 shows, Taiwan is a small island off the coast of Fujian. It had long been beyond China's control because the state had no governing interests in it. This was shown in Kangxi Emperor's comments on Taiwan after the anti-Manchu regime built by the Ming loyalist Zheng Chenggong in Taiwan surrendered to Qing in 1683.³⁶³ Kangxi wrote: "Taiwan is a tiny piece of earth. We gain nothing by possessing it, and it would be no loss if we do not acquire it."³⁶⁴ Although Shi Lang (施琅 1621-1696), the admiral who had led the conquest of Taiwan, successively persuaded the emperor to annex the newly conquered island as a part of Qing's territory by pointing out the significant strategic position of Taiwan due to its geography,³⁶⁵ Qing government seemed to take over the original redoubt of Ming loyalists reluctantly and its ruling was mainly preventive: Qing's main concern was not to direct the course of development of Taiwan, but to suppress rebellions before they could threaten Qing's control.³⁶⁶ Therefore, Qing tried to curb the migrating waves from Fujian and Guangdong to

³⁶³ As we have seen in Chapter two, Fujian was one of the main battle fields between the Qing conquerors and the Ming loyalists led by Zheng Chenggong. In 1661, when Zheng was expelled from Xiameng (廈門 Amoy), his military base along Fujian coast, he occupied Taiwan as a new anti-Manchu base. Though Zheng Chenggong died the next year, his family governed Taiwan till 1683. For a concise account of Zheng family's rule of Taiwan, see Gary Marvin Davison, *A Short History of Taiwan: The Case for Independence* (Westport, CT.: Praeger, 2003): 15-22.

³⁶⁴ "臺灣僅彈丸之地，得之無所加，不得無所損", *Qing Shengzu Shilu Xuanji*(清聖祖實錄選輯 *The Compilation of Veritable Records of the Kangxi Emperor*, collected in *Taiwan Wenxian Congkan*, no.165, p.129, the tenth day of the tenth month, 1683), translated in Emma Jinhua Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006): 34. Teng suggests that Kangxi was a Manchu ruler oriented toward Inner Asia and "had little appreciation for maritime affairs and saw no benefit in acquiring a small island a hundred miles away from China."(p.34)

³⁶⁵ Shi Lang argued that "a failure by the Emperor to take the island as China's would leave open the possibility that it might be taken by potentially hostile powers and might again serve as a redoubt for disorderly pirates and criminals." (Alan M. Wachman, *Why Taiwan? Geostrategic Rationales for China's Territorial Integrity*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007):56).

³⁶⁶ Shelley Rigger, *Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011): 17. Rigger quotes a Qing-era proverb says of Taiwan: "There is a major rebellion every five years, a minor rebellion every three."(三年一小反，五年一大亂) She further points out that the Heaven and Earth Society (天地會) carried out a series of

Map 4.1 Fujian and Taiwan in the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911)³⁶⁷



violent revolts in central Taiwan: “the group slaughtered one city’s entire cadre of Qing officials in 1787, then murdered their replacements eight years later. In the 1860s, a *new* Heaven and Earth Society was killing officials in the same region.”³⁶⁷ This map is sbased on Tan Qixiang (譚其驤), editor-in-chief, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* (中國歷史地圖集, *The Historical Atlas of China*), Vol. 8, (Beijing: Zhongguo Ditu chubanshe, 1996): 42-43.

Taiwan since Zheng family's reign (1661-1683) and restricted trade between Taiwan and China. But the official bans and the stormy Taiwan Strait separating Taiwan from Fujian could not stop poor farmers in mountainous and crowded Fujian from seeking new opportunities to reclaim the fertile lands of the island.³⁶⁸ With them, Chinese folk beliefs and Buddhism were introduced to and gradually took root in Taiwan. As Charles Brewer Jones points out,

Because all of the Chinese inhabitants of Taiwan were recent immigrants, Buddhism, and indeed all of the religions that they brought with them, exhibited both continuities and discontinuities. Migration involves tearing oneself away from home and family, and moving to a new environment in which one may feel quite isolated and vulnerable. Under these circumstances, immigrants will attempt to recreate as much of the life to which they are accustomed as possible, thus creating strands of continuity.....However, immigrants must also adapt themselves and their lifestyles to their new situation, so discontinuities also result.³⁶⁹

The dialectical relations of continuities and discontinuities could also be observed in the spread of the Gushan lineage to Taiwan in the early twentieth century as we will discuss below.

Although Chinese Buddhism was spread to Taiwan in the seventeenth century, few monks were recorded in history.³⁷⁰ According to Jiang Tsanteng's 江燦騰 study, the monks of practical instruction

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.15, 17.

³⁶⁹ Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan: religion and the state, 1660-1990* (Honolulu, HI : University of Hawai'i Press, 1999): 4-5. Jones argues that the continuities lied in the common Guanyin(觀音) cult practiced in both China and Taiwan, and the connection between temples in Taiwan and their counterparts in China: the newly built temples in Taiwan were very often named after their counterparts in China (p.5). The discontinuities were due to the loose regulation of the privately newly built temples. In these temples, while Daoist divinities might be worshipped as Guanyin, Guanyin was worshipped by using Daoist rituals (p.7).

³⁷⁰ Kan Zhengzong (闕正宗) gives a list of monks recorded in historical materials: Zhizhong of Kaiyuan Temple in Tainan(台南開元寺僧志中); Yifeng in Mituo Temple in Tainan(台南彌陀寺僧一峰); Canche and Heling in Daxian Temple in Tainan(台南大仙寺僧參徹,僧鶴齡); Shaoguang in Chaofeng Temple in Kaohsiung(高雄超峰寺僧紹光); Jingyuan in Yuanxian Temple in Kaohsiung(高雄元興寺僧經元); Shubi in Chaotian Temple in Beigang(北港朝天宮僧樹璧); Ronghua in Jiantan Temple in Taipei(台北劍潭寺僧榮華) and Foqiu in Baozang Yan in Taipei(台北寶藏巖僧佛求). These monks, however, left no records of their preaching activities. Kan assumes that it was because they were solitary monks who chose to withdraw from society and live in mountains. (Kan Zhengzong, *Taiwan Fojiao Shi Lun* (台灣佛教史論, *Essays on Taiwanese Buddhism History*, Beijing: Zongjiao Wensua Chubanshe, 2008): 3-4). For a short account of Canche, see Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*: 9-10.

type who provided ritual services for lay people constituted the majority of Buddhist clergy in Taiwan in the Qing dynasty because in the immigrant society of Taiwan, conditions of public security and hygiene were quite disappointing due to government's poor administration and little attention was paid to the infrastructure, and in these helpless and stressful situations, what the illiterate farmers needed were the consoling rituals for the dead and the wandering hungry ghosts, not meditation trainings or doctrinal preachings. These monks were called "Xianghua Seng"(香花僧 the monks of fragrant flowers) for in the ceremonial eulogies flowers were offered to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas to invite them to attend. They were usually unordained and led secular family lives.³⁷¹ It was not until the early twentieth century after Gushan Chan lineage was spread to Taiwan that Buddhist clerical trainings in a real sense and ordination ceremonies could be provided for the first time in Taiwan. We will now turn to the spread of Gushan Chan lineage to Taiwan and then the spread of the precepts-giving practices in Taiwan with the rise of the "five mountains".

2. Gushan Chan Lineage from Fujian to Taiwan: Caodong or Linji?

As we have shown in Chapter 3, after Yuanxian introduced Caodong Shouchang sublineage to Gushan and adopted a new transmission poem, a new Gushan Chan lineage was formed in the Qing dynasty and the abbots were all dharma offspring of this Gushan "Caodong" Chan lineage. However,

³⁷¹ Jiang Tsanteng (江燦騰), *Taiwan Fojiao Shi* (台灣佛教史, *A History of Taiwanese Buddhism*, Taipei: Wunan, 2009): 32-36; cf. Charle Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*: 9-11.

four of the five main monasteries which introduced Gushan lineage to Taiwan in the early twentieth century claimed to be “Linji” lineage from Gushan! This greatly confused the scholars, and they had attempted to give possible explanations. In Huiyan’s 慧嚴 study, she first gives two answers, and then provides further information on them, which will be listed as the third one below:

1. In 1935, Chan master Xuyun 虛雲(?-1959) who served as the abbot of Gushan during 1929-1935, compiled *The Revised Version of Biographies of Gushan Patriarchs (Zengjiao Gushan liezu lianfang ji* 增校鼓山列祖聯芳集). Later, Xuyun’s lay disciple Cen Xuelu 岑學呂(1882-1963) added a note at the end of the book which said that Xuyun was tonsured in Gushan where both Linji and Caodong lineages had been transmitted since the Ming dynasty. Miaolian Dihua 妙蓮地華 (1824-1907, served as the abbot of Gushan during 1883-1907) belonged to Lingji lineage but received the dharma transmission lineage of Caodong. Miaolian then transmitted the two orthodox Chan lineages to Xuyun.³⁷²
2. In 1940, Li Tianchun’s 李添春(1899-1988) “The Characteristics of Taiwan Buddhism”(台湾仏教の特質) indicated that in Gushan, because only the two Chan lineages of Linji and Caodong were transmitted there, if one’s tonsure lineage was Linji, he would necessarily succeed Caodong dharma transmission lineage, through which he got both Linji and Caodong transmissions.³⁷³

³⁷² “謹案虛雲和尚出家鼓山,鼓山自明代以來,臨濟、曹洞並傳,妙蓮老和尚即以臨濟而接曹洞法脈者也。蓮老以兩宗正脈付之老人”。Xuyun, *Zengjiao Gushan Liezu Lianfang Ji*, in Cen Xuelu(岑學呂) ed., *Xuyun Laohehang Nianpu Fahui Zengdingben* (虛雲老和尚年譜法彙增訂本, *The Revised Chronicle and Collected Works of Master Xuyun*) (Taipei: Dasheng Jingshe, 1982, pp. 258-263):263.

³⁷³ Li Tianchun(李添春), “Taiwan Bukkyō no Tokushitsu (Jō)”(台湾仏教の特質(上)): “……福州の鼓山寺に於いては,

3. Huiyan doubts the answer 1 by pointing out that Miaolian Dihua only received Caodong lineage, not both lineages of Linji and Caodong.³⁷⁴ She agrees with the answer 2 and assumes that the joint transmission of both Linji and Caodong was initiated with Daben Wuyuan 達本悟源(1847-1929, served as the abbot of Gushan during 1924-1929) because when Japanese Buddhist scholar Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定(1870-1945) visited Gushan in January 1929, he was told that there were tonsure lineages and dharma transmission lineages. If according to the dharma transmission lineage rather than the tonsure one, Gushan belonged to Caodong, while Xuefeng Monastery 雪峰寺 in Fuzhou, which had been revived by Daben in the late Qing as we have mentioned in Table 3.2 in Chapter 3, belonged to Linji. Daben Wuyuan was tonsured in Linji lineage but now belonged to Caodong.³⁷⁵

In other words, Huiyan argues that since Daben Wuyuan received both Linji tonsure lineage and Caodong dharma transmission lineage,³⁷⁶ we can assume that the joint transmission of both Linji and Caodong in Gushan began in his time. Although Huiyan's argument is convincing, she stops here and does not inquire further into a more basic question: why did Gushan, a dharma transmission monastery

曹洞、臨濟の二宗のみであるから、得度の師匠は臨濟宗であれば、嗣法は必ず曹洞宗といふやうに、同一人にして双方の系統を相承するを以って今日迄に及んでゐる。”, in *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教 Taipei: Nanei Bukkyōkai) vol.18, no.8 (1940, pp.8-17): 11-12.

³⁷⁴ Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi* (台灣與閩日佛教交流史 *A History of Interactions among Taiwan Buddhism, Fujian Buddhism and Japanese Buddhism*, Kaoshiung: Chunhui Chubanshe, 2008):43-46.

³⁷⁵ Tokiwa Daijō, *Shina bukkyō shiseki tōsaki* (支那仏教史蹟踏査記, Tokyo: Ryūginsha, 1938): 668: “.....剃度派と法派とあるが、剃度の如何によらず、鼓山は曹洞宗であり、雪峰は臨濟宗である。達本は臨濟に剃度して、今は曹洞宗であり.....”

³⁷⁶ According to Chen Xizhang's *The Biographies of All the Abbots of Gushan Yongquan Monastery in Fuchou* (p.437), Daben Wuyuan was tonsured in Xiangjie Temple at Mt. Huangbo(黃蘗山香戒寺) by master Hanlin(漢林) and later received Caodong dharma transmission from Jingkong Jianyin(淨空兼印, ?-1875, served as the abbot of Gushan during 1852-1853, 1858-1863, 1864-1875). However, Daben Wuyuan seemed to kept his name from the tonsure lineage since the generation character “wu”(悟) does not appear in Gushan transmission poem.

which in principle prohibited the tonsure practice, have the tonsure lineage? Again, Holmes Welch provides a valuable report on this question which points out that the tonsure lineage was built up in Gushan when Miaolian Dihua served as the abbot during 1883-1907.

In the development of Gushan in the Qing dynasty, if Yuanxian and Daopei could be regarded as the revivers of the monastery in the early Qing, and Pianzhao Xinglong who reopened the ordination platform could be regarded as the reviver in the mid Qing, then Miaolian Dihua could be taken as the reviving patriarch in the late Qing. It was said that the two former abbots before Miaolian retired due to embezzlement of the monastery properties and the buildings were in a dilapidated condition when Miaolian succeeded the abbotship. Therefore, Miaolian dedicated himself to fund raising activities and visited Southeast Asia to collect alms from the overseas Chinese merchants.³⁷⁷ One of his accomplishment was the foundation of Jile Temple 極樂寺 as the branch temple of Gushan in Penang in Malaysia in 1891.³⁷⁸ In 1904, he visited Beijing and received two sets of *Longzang* or the Dragon Edition of Buddhist Canon and an imperial plaque from Guangxu Emperor 光緒(r. 1875-1908)³⁷⁹.

On the other hand, Miaolian was a controversial character³⁸⁰ and the convenient means he used for dealing with the financial crisis of Gushan actually were in violation of the monastery rules. As Welch

³⁷⁷ Chen Xizhang's *The Biographies of All the Abbots of Gushan Yongquan Monastery in Fuchou*, pp.424-426.

³⁷⁸ Cf. Shi Baoci(釋寶慈), *Heshan Jilesi Zhi* (鶴山極樂寺志 *The Gazetteer of Jile Temple*, 1923), reprint in Bai Huawen(白化文), Liu Yongming(劉永明) and Zhang Zhi(張智) ed., *Zhongguo Fosizhi Congkan* (中國佛寺志叢刊 Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guanling Guji Keyinshe, 1996), vol.99.

³⁷⁹ Chen Xizhang's *The Biographies of All the Abbots of Gushan Yongquan Monastery in Fuchou*, p.425; Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism*, p. 117.

³⁸⁰ Welch reports that there were rumors that Miaolian engaged in "orgies and secret underground tunnels used for vicious purposes." In early 1907, Miaolian "cut off the whole of his genitalia with a large vegetable chopper". Though the wound healed, he died in summer that year. (*ibid.*)

told us,

Once upon a time, when the need for money arose, he [Miaolian] decided to raise it by selling the titles of “rector” and “guest prefect” to any monks who was willing to put up a sizable lump sum. Along with the title the purchaser acquired the right to a private apartment of his own, where he could live until the end of his days, eating the monastery’s rice free of charge. . . . More than that, he had the privilege of taking disciples. To shave their heads he would withdraw to the Ho-shui Yen[喝水巖], a small sub-temple perhaps half a mile off. Thus he complied with the rule against tonsure. . . . Afterwards he would bring them back to live in his apartment and undergo training for their ordination, which they would also receive at Ku Shan [Gushan].³⁸¹

Since Miaolian, the purchasers of the monastery position titles had the right to build up their own disciples to produce his own tonsure lineage. Furthermore, because Gushan was a dharma transmission monastery providing public spaces for Buddhist trainings, we may assume that many Buddhist clerics from both Linji and Caodong lineages were attracted to Gushan, and in Miaolian’s time, there were both Caodong and Linji masters serving positions in Gushan. Therefore, if the title-purchasers were Linji masters, they would initiate Linji tonsure lineages in Gushan. Similarly, if the purchasers were Caodong masters, they would produce Caodong tonsure lineages. It was not until Xuyun was invited to be the abbot of Gushan in 1929 and revived the rules against the hereditary tendency that the tonsure practice disappeared in Gushan.³⁸²

In commenting on the regrettable condition of Gushan before Xuyun’s reform in 1929, Welch points out that the hybrid institution of the dharma transmission monastery compounded with hereditary units emerged in Gushan in the late Qing and the early Republican China “produced

³⁸¹ Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism*, p. 139.

³⁸² Xuyun’s reform, of course, made the title-purchasers indignant, see Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism*, p. 140.

(perhaps by chance) two of the most eminent monks in modern China”: Xuyun and Yuanying Hongwu 圓瑛宏悟(1878-1953, served as the abbot of Gushan during 1937-1939), both of them received both the tonsure and the precepts in Gushan under this hybrid institution.³⁸³

To Welch’s comments, we can add that the hybrid institution of Gushan also produced Gushan Linji tonsure lineages which were spread to Taiwan because before Xuyun’s reform in 1929, all the “five mountains” had already introduced Gushan tonsure lineages to Taiwan. As we will see in the cases of the five mountains below, three main spreading patterns of Gushan Linji lineages could be discerned:

1. The Taiwanese monks visited Gushan and received the tonsure from Linji masters there. Later they introduced these Gushan Linji tonsure lineages back to Taiwan.
2. Gushan Linji masters came to Taiwan and gave tonsures to the Taiwanese monks. The Taiwanese monks then visited Gushan to receive precepts and then stayed there serving monastery positions, through which they became members of Gushan and obtained the right to produce their own tonsure lineages under the hybrid institution. When they were invited back to their hometown to serve as the abbots of monasteries in Taiwan, they were considered as Gushan monks introducing Gushan Linji lineages to Taiwan.
3. The Taiwanese monks who had been tonsured in Linji lineage in Taiwan visited Gushan to receive

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.140. Welch assumes that Xuyun received tonsure and precepts in 1858-1859 according to his autobiography. However, in note 14 (p.486), Welch reminds us that there is much doubt as to the reliability of the dates in Xuyun’s autobiography.

precepts. After they returned to Taiwan, they were recognized as the successors of Gushan Chan lineage because of the precept-receiving and the intimate relationships and frequent interactions they kept with Gushan.

Except the first pattern, the other two patterns showed that the criteria for judging whether the monasteries in Taiwan belonging to Gushan Chan lineage was not based on the tonsure or dharma transmission relations, but on the relations built with Gushan through the Taiwanese monks' precepts-receiving in Gushan, position-serving in Gushan and their later interactions with Gushan. It is in this broad and inclusive sense of Gushan Chan lineage transmission that the "five mountains" were considered as belonging to it. For example, focusing on the relations of the precepts-giving and receiving in the ordination ceremonies held in Gushan, Charles Brewer Jones points out that the four of the "five mountains" provided the means for a more widespread dissemination of the "ordination lineages" of Gushan³⁸⁴; along a similar line of thinking, the recent studies of He Mianshan 何綿山 also ascribes all the "five mountains" to Gushan lineage in dealing with the historical affinities between Fujian and Taiwan Buddhism³⁸⁵.

Among the five home temples of the "five mountains", two temples had long existed since the

³⁸⁴ Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*: 62, 93. Following Zhu Qilin(朱其麟), Jones deals with the four temples of the five mountains as the "Four Great Ancestral Daochang"(si da zushi daochang 四大祖師道場) in the early twentieth century under the Japanese rule; cf. "Introduction" of the vol.1 of Zhu Qilin, *Taiwan Fojiao Mingcha* (臺灣佛教名剎 *Famous Buddhist Monasteries in Taiwan*, Taipei: China Cosmos Publishing House, 1988, 2 vols). However, Kaiyuan Temple, the one Jones left untouched, as we will see, also spread the "ordination lineage" of Gushan to Taiwan in this period.

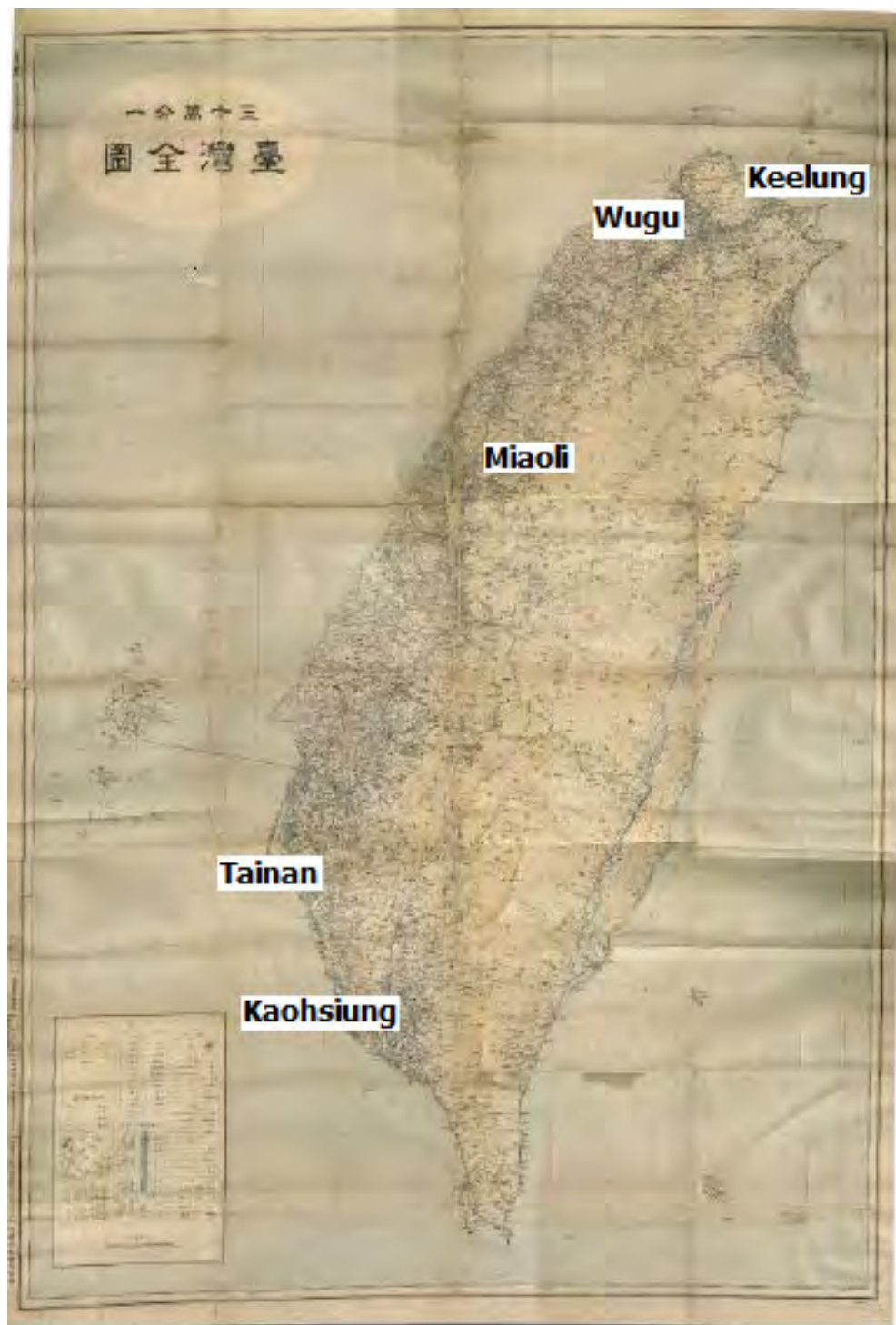
³⁸⁵ He Mianshan(何綿山), *Min Tai Fojiao Qinyuan* (閩台佛教親緣 *The Affinities between Fujian and Taiwan Buddhism*, Fuzhou City: Fujian Renmin, 2010).

Qing dynasty and turned into the bases of Guhan lineages in Taiwan in the twentieth century; the remaining three temples were newly built in this period. On the other hand, the Gushan lineages in the four of the “five mountains” were brought back by native Taiwanese monks and belonged to Linji; the only one Caodong lineage was introduced by a Fujianese master of Gushan. Now we can turn to the rise of the “five mountains” case by case to see how they spread Gushan Chan lineage from Fujian to Taiwan. I will first focus on the two older temples which identified themselves as belonging to the Gushan Linji lineage, then to the other two newly built temples which were also of Gushan Linji lineages, lastly to the only one temple belonging to the Gushan Caodong lineage. For a basic understanding of the five mountains, please see the tables and the map below:

Table 4.1 The Five Mountains of the Gushan Lineage in Taiwan

Home Temple	Location	Founding Year	Main Abbot during the Japanese Rule Period	Lineage Affiliation
Kaiyuan Temple	Tainan	1690	Chuangfang 傳芳 (1855-1919)	Linji
Chaofeng Temple	Kaohsiung	1731	Yongding 永定 (1877-1939)	Linji
Lingquan Temple	Keelung	1905	Shanghui 善慧 (1881-1945)	Linji
Lingyun Chan Temple	Wugu (New Taipei City)	1909	Benyuan 本圓 (1883-1947)	Linji
Fayun Temple	Miaoli	1912	Jueli 覺力 (1881-1933)	Caodong

Map 4.2 Map of the Locations of the Five Mountains under the Japanese Rule (1895-1945)³⁸⁶



³⁸⁶ This map is based on the map of Taiwan made in 1939 which has been digitalized in “Taiwan Century-old Maps System” (“Taiwan Bianian Lishi Ditu Xitong” 台灣百年歷史地圖系統, <http://gissrv4.sinica.edu.tw/gis/twhgis.aspx>) of Academia Sinica Digital Resources.

Table 4.2 Lineage Transmissions of the Five Mountains (Selected Masters)

Five Mountains	Lineage Transmissions during the Japanese Rule Period
Kaiyuan Temple	Qingyuan Chuangfang → Xuanjing Fatong → Chengyuan Yinfa 清源傳芳(1855-1919) 玄精法通(1875-1921) 成圓印法(1890-1933) Deyuan Yinru → Zhengfeng (Lin Qiuwu) 得圓印如(1882-1946) 證峰(林秋梧, 1903-1934) Zhengguang (Gao Zhide) 證光(高執德, 1896-1955)
Chaofeng Temple	Yimin → Yongding Hongjing → Kaiji 義敏(1875-1947) 永定宏淨 (1877-1939) 開吉
Lingquan Temple	Shanzhi Changhui → Qiu Dexin 善智常慧(1853-1906) 邱德馨(1882-1942) Shanghui Changjue → Shen Derong → Li Puxian (Li Tianchun) 善慧常覺(1881-1945) 沈德融(1884-1971) 李普現(李添春, 1899-1988) Lin Delin → Zeng Puxin (Zeng Jinglai) 林德林(1890-1951) 曾普信(曾景來, 1902-1977)
Lingyun Chan Temple	Benyuan → Juejing 本圓(1883-1947) 覺淨(1892-1963)
Fayun Temple	Jueli Fuyuan → Miaoguo Tengwu 覺力復願(1881-1933) 妙果騰悟(1884-1963) Miaoqing → Dachan (Lianzhou) 妙清(1901-1955) 達禪(蓮舟, ?-1976) Miaocheng 妙塵(1887-1949) Xuanshen → Ruxue 玄深(1913-1990) 如學(1913-1992)

3. The Rise of the Five Mountains

3.1. Kaiyuan Temple in Tainan City

Because Tainan City 台南市 in the southern part of Taiwan was the political center in both periods under the Zheng Family and the Qing rules, Kaiyuan Temple 開元寺 in Tainan City was one of the few earliest Buddhist temples which appeared in Taiwan. The temple was originally the villa of Zheng Jing (鄭經, 1642-1681), the son of Zheng Chenggong, which was built in Zheng Jing's old age in 1681³⁸⁷,

³⁸⁷ Lin Qingguang(林謙光), *Taiwan Jilue* (臺灣紀略 *The Sketchy Records of Taiwan*, 1690, Taipei: Zongqing, 1995): 54, cited in Kan Zhengzong(闕正宗), "Kaiyuan Si Chuancheng Fazhan shi"(開元寺傳承發展史, "On the Development and

and then rebuilt as a temple named “Haihui Si” 海會寺 in 1690 by Qing officials³⁸⁸. Because Haihui Si was the first official Buddhist temple in Taiwan under the Qing rule, later it was also called Kaiyuan Temple following the custom of Chinese Buddhist tradition: because Xuanzong in the Tang dynasty (唐玄宗, r. 712-756) decreed every prefecture to build a Kaiyaun Temple as the local official temple, the official Buddhist temples built in later dynasties were also named as “Kaiyaun Temple”³⁸⁹.

According to Zheng Zhuoyun’s 鄭卓雲 manuscript of *Draft of the Gazetteer of Kaiyuan Temple* (1930), the first abbot of Kaiyuan Temple was Chan master Zhizhong 志中 whose special name was Xinghe 行和. He came from Quanzhou 泉州 in Southern Fujian and was in charge of raising funds to help the Qing officials rebuild Zheng Jing’s villa into a Buddhist temple. The Qing government in Taiwan then invited him to serve as its first abbot³⁹⁰. *The Gazetteer* also points out that the Chan lineage of Kaiyuan Temple originated from Linji Master Miyun Yuanwu in the late Ming.³⁹¹ Based on these clues, one may assume that Zhizhong’s special name Xinghe indicates that his generation character was “xing” 行, and according to the transmission poem of Miyun Yuanwu, Zhizhong might be

Sustainment of Kai Yuan Temple”), in Kan Zhengzong et al., *Wuhua Tianbao Hua Kaiyuan: Tainanshi Erji Guji Kaiyuan Si Wenwu Jinghua* (物華天寶話開元:臺南市二級古蹟開元寺文物精華, *Rediscovered Treasures of Kaiyuan Temple: Historic Documents And Artifacts from A Class II Historical Site*, Tainan City: Tainan Kaiyuan Si, 2010, 16-167): 19.

³⁸⁸ Wang Huaxing(王化行), “Shijian Haihui Si Ji”(始建海會寺記“The Record of Founding Haihui Temple”), in Wang Bichang(王必昌), and Lu Dingmei(魯鼎梅), *Chongxiu Taiwan Xianzhi*(重修臺灣縣志, *Reedited Taiwan County Gazetteer*), in *Taiwan Wenxian Congkan*(台灣文獻叢刊), no. 113, fasc.6, pp. 194-195, cited in Kan Zhengzong, *ibid.*: 21.

³⁸⁹ In Tang dynasty, during the Kaiyuan period (713-741), Xuanzong decreed every prefecture to build a Kaiyaun Temple as the local official temple. See Lu Jiaxing(盧嘉興), “Beiuyan Beiguang yu Kaiyuansi”(北園別館與開元寺 The “North Park Villa” and Kaiyuan Temple), in Chang Mantao 張曼濤 ed., *Zhongguo Fojiaoshi Lunji: Taiwan Fojian Pian* (中國佛教史論集:臺灣佛教篇, *Essays on Chinese Buddhism History: Taiwan Buddhism*, Taipei: Dasheng Wenhua, 1979, pp.269-320):284.

³⁹⁰ Zheng Zhuoyun(鄭卓雲), *Draft of the Gazetteer of Kaiyuan Temple* (Taiwan Kaiyuan Si Zhi Luegao 台灣開元寺志略稿), collected in *Minjian Sicang Taiwan Zongjiao Ziliao Huibian* (民間私藏臺灣宗教資料彙編), Series 2, vol.4, pp.175-265): 222-223.

³⁹¹ Zheng Zhuoyun, *ibid.*, p.187.

the disciple of Yuanwu's dharma heir Feiyin Tongrong 費隱通容(1593-1661) because in the transmission poem, the generation character of "xing" 行 comes after Yuanwu's "yuan" 圓 and Tongrong's "tong" 通.³⁹² Moreover, almost all disciples of Tongrong shared the generation character "xing"³⁹³. However, based on the names of Zhizhong's first and second generation disciples appearing in the inscription of the huge hanging bell made by Zhizhong and his disciple Fuzong 福宗 in Kaiyuan Temple in 1695³⁹⁴, Kan Zhengzong argues that the transmission poem of Zhizhong's lineage was that of Caodong master Ruibai Mingxue 瑞白明雪(1584-1641), the dharma heir of Zhanran Yuancheng 湛然圓澄(1561-1626)³⁹⁵ who founded Yunmen sublineage 雲門系 of Caodong School in the late Ming as we have discussed in Chapter 2. But, if Kan's argument is valid, why *The Gazetteer* records that the lineage of Kaiyuan Temple was Linji?

Kan points out that it was because since the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century when Linji Chan master Yishi Chaoru 奕是超如(?-1815) served as the abbot of Kaiyuan Temple, Miyun Yuanwu's Linji lineage had been introduced into the temple.³⁹⁶ In the late nineteenth century, Rongfang Dayuan 榮芳達源(?-1882), the fifth generation disciple of Chaoru, was the first

³⁹² The transmission poem of Miyun Yuanwu was recorded in "Zong jiao lu zhujia yanpai" (Lineage Charts of Chan, Teaching and Vinaya Schools 宗教律諸家演派): "祖道戒定宗,方廣正圓通,行超明實際,了達悟真空"(*Xuzangjing, The Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo*, Vol. 88, No. 1667, p.559 c01-02). Jiang Wu translates it as "The ancestral Way honors discipline and meditation. How just, broad, correct, perfect, and allembicing it is! Its practice is so superior that it illuminates the ultimate reality. Its complete understanding will result in the realisation of the meaning of emptiness." See Jiang Wu, "Building a Dharma Transmission Monastery in Seventeenth-Century China: The Case of Mount Huangbo", p. 46, note 50.

³⁹³ Hasebe, *Min Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū*, p.269.

³⁹⁴ For a photo of the bell inscription, see Kan Zhengzong et al., *Wuhua Tianbao Hua Kaiyuan*, p.223.

³⁹⁵ Kan Zhengzong, "Kaiyuan Si Chuancheng Fazhan shi", pp. 33-55. According to Kan, it seems that when Ruibai Mingxue served as the abbot of Guiyuan Temple (歸元寺) in Hubei (湖北), he adopted a new transmission poem different from his master Zhanran Yuancheng, and Zhizhong's generation character came from this new transmission poem.

³⁹⁶ Kan Zhengzong, *ibid.*, pp. 70-76.

abbot of Kaiyuan Temple who was recorded as having received precepts in Gushan (from Miaolain Dihua in 1859)³⁹⁷, through which Rongfang initiated the ordination relations between Gushan and Kaiyuan Temple. However, it might be due to the turmoil during the early period of Japanese ruling that the transmission of Rongfang's Linji lineage in Kaiyuan Temple broke off after his disciple Laisheng Wushun 來勝悟順, and was replaced by another Linji lineage brought by Baoshan Changqing 寶山常青.

When Taiwan became the first overseas colony of Japan in 1895, Baoshan Changqing served as the abbot of Kaiyuan Temple. He chose to cooperate with Wakō Kokuei 若生國榮 and Yoshikawa Yūgo 芳川雄悟, the Japanese missionaries of Sōtō School dispatched to Tainan area, to make Kaiyuan Temple a branch temple of Sōtō School in Taiwan. To make himself a Sōtō Chan master, Changqing began to wear Japanese Buddhist monk's robe and adopted the Japanese Buddhist rituals for feeding the hungry ghosts in the ullambana ceremony. On the other hand, taking advantage of his connections with Sōtō School, Changqing sold the landed properties of Kaiyuan Temple illegally and extorted the land rents of Guanyin Temple 觀音亭 in Fengshan 鳳山 in Kaohsiung after he was appointed by Sōtō School to be the vice abbot there.³⁹⁸ These scandals led to the decline of Kaiyuan Temple.

During this period of chaos and decline, in the five years of 1898-1903 after Changqing, Kaiyuan

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

³⁹⁸ Wang Jianchuan(王見川), "Luelun Riju Shiqi de Tainan Kaiyuan Si (1896-1924)"(略論日據時期的臺南開元寺 "On Kaiyuan Temple during the Japanese Ruling Period"), in *Yuanguang Foxue Xuebao*(圓光佛學學報), no.4 (Dec., 1999, pp. 279-291): 281.

Temple had four abbots from Changqing's lineage: Miaodi 妙諦, Miaojué 妙覺, Yixin 義心 and Yongding Hongjing 永定宏淨(1877-1939). It seemed that the former three abbots made no contributions in saving Kaiyuan Temple from the decline so the *Gazetteer of Kaiyuan Temple* had no biographies for them. As to Yongding, he was the key character who not only helped revive Kaiyuan Temple but also introduced Gushan Linji lineage with his master into one of the five mountains, the Chaofeng Temple in Kaohsiung, as we will discuss later.

According to the *Gazetteer of Kaiyuan Temple*, Yongding was tonsured in Kaiyuan Temple in 1898 (when he was twenty two years old) by master Yimin 義敏(1875-1947)³⁹⁹, the disciple of Miaodi. While Yimin visited Gushan and received precepts there in 1895⁴⁰⁰, Yongding did not receive full ordination. In the chaotic times of Kaiyuan Temple, Yongding, though not fully ordained, served as the abbot in 1901 when he was only twenty five.⁴⁰¹ In 1903, when Xuanjing 玄精(1875-1921), who had been tonsured in Kaiyuan Temple and then visited Gushan to receive precepts, returned to Kaiyuan Temple from Gushan, Yongding abdicated the abbotship and gave the position to Xuanjing because in that time, as we will discuss in the next section, the monks who had received precepts in Gushan were regarded as better candidates for the abbotship. Yongding then served as the prior (*jianyuan* 監院/

³⁹⁹ Zheng Zhuoyun(鄭卓雲), *Draft of the Gazetteer of Kaiyuan Temple*, p.238.

⁴⁰⁰ “Yimin Shangren Xinghua Ji”(義敏上人行化記, “The Record of the Preaching Activities of Master Yimin”), in *Cien Shisui* editorial board ed., *Cien Shisui*(慈恩拾穗 *Gleaning the Compassionate Favours*, Kaohsiung: Hongfa Si, 1976): 177.

⁴⁰¹ “A Brief Biography of Master Lin Yongding”(“Lin Yongding Shi Lueli”林永定師略歷), in Xu Shuo (徐壽), *Taiwan Quantai Simiao Zhaitang Mingji Baojian*(臺灣全台寺院齋堂名蹟寶鑑 *An Illustrated Handbook of Taiwan Temples and Vegetarian Halls*, Tainan: Guoqing Xiezhenguan, 1932), collected in *Minjian Sicang Taiwan Zongjiao Ziliao Huibian* (民間私藏臺灣宗教資料彙編, Series 1, vol.27, pp.1-187): 184.

dangjia 當家) and helped the new abbot Xuanjing to revive the Kaiyuan Temple.⁴⁰²

With Xuanjing serving as the abbot, his Gushan Linji lineage was introduced into Kaiyuan Temple and replaced the Linji lineage of Changqing. In Jiang Tsanteng's 江燦騰 terms, the lineage since Changqing to Yongding was the old Linji transmission in Kaiyuan Temple, while the lineage introduced by Xuanjing from Gushan was the new Linji transmission in Kaiyuan Temple⁴⁰³. After the new Linji transmission had become the main stream in Kaiyuan Temple, Yongding and his master Yimin chose to leave to seek for a new development opportunity in Chaofeng Temple, as we will discuss later.

The Gushan Linji lineage of Xuanjing could be traced back to his master Chuanfang 傳芳 (1855-1919). Chuanfang had been a tea merchant in Tainan. One day when he heard Rongfang Dayuan, the abbot of Kaiyuan Temple who had received precepts in Gushan talked about the supramundane dharmas, he felt life was impermanent and wanted to leave the secular world. Later, through Rongfang's introduction, in 1881 when Chuanfang was twenty seven years old, without telling his family, he left his newly wedded wife to visit Gushan and was tonsured there by Linji master Weixiu 維修, through which he became a member of Weixiu's Gushan Linji tonsure lineage, he then stayed in

⁴⁰² Wang Jianchuan(王見川), "Luelun Riju Shiqi de Tainan Kaiyuan Si (1896-1924)": 282. In Zheng Zhuoyun(鄭卓雲), *Draft of the Gazetteer of Kaiyuan Temple*, p.227, it is said that after Xuanjing served as the abbot, he decided to cooperate with "Yongding the prior"(永定當家) to repair the main halls; in p. 238, *the Gazetteer* says that before 1903, Yongding was the prior serving as the abbot concurrently(監院兼住持).

⁴⁰³ Jiang Tsanteng (江燦騰), *A History of Taiwanese Buddhism* (台灣佛教史): 311.

Gushan for the following thirty years⁴⁰⁴. In about 1895, Xuanjing, who had been tonsured in Kaiyuan Temple, visited Gushan to receive the precepts and became the disciple of Chuanfang there⁴⁰⁵, from whom Xuanjing received the Gushan Linji lineage. This lineage, as mentioned above, was introduced to Kaiyuan Temple and became the the new Linji transmission in the temple when Xuanjing returned to serve as the abbot in 1903.

With the assistance of Yongding who abdicated the abbotship to Xuanjing, Xuanjing dedicated himself to revive Kaiyuan Temple. Based on the reports of *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* 臺灣日日新報, Kan Zhengzong points out that Xuanjing introduced the pure rules of Gushan for regulating the clergy in Kaiyuan Temple⁴⁰⁶ in order to revive Chinese monastic discipline, expel the residents who smoked opiums, and prevent the tendency of Japanization such as the “*nikujiki saitai* 肉食妻帶” (meat-eating and marriage)⁴⁰⁷ since the time of Baoshan Changqing⁴⁰⁸. For Buddhist cultivation and trainings, Xuanjing adopted the joint practice of Chan and Pure Land⁴⁰⁹, the tradition of Gushan as we have seen in Chapter 3, and required Chan learners to farm in the day and to meditate at night (*zhou nong ye chan*

⁴⁰⁴ Zheng Zhuoyun(鄭卓雲), *Draft of the Gazetteer of Kaiyuan Temple*, p.228-229; “Chikan Duanxun: Zhuchi Yuanji”(赤坎短訊:住持圓寂, “The Short Message from Chikan: The Abbot Entered Nirvana”), in *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, May 7, 1919): page 7.

⁴⁰⁵ Zheng Zhuoyun(鄭卓雲), *Draft of the Gazetteer of Kaiyuan Temple*, p.226.

⁴⁰⁶ “聞寺中規矩,仿照古[鼓]山寺例而行”, *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (the Chinese version, Dec. 14, 1905), page 4, “Chongxiu Kaiyuan Si”(重修開元寺 Rebuilding Kaiyuan Temple); cf. Kan Zhengzong(闕正宗), “Kaiyuan Si Chuancheng Fazhan shi”, p.88.

⁴⁰⁷ The *nikujiki saitai* law was promulgated on Meiji 5/4/25 (May 31, 1872) by the Grand Council of State: “From now on Buddhist clerics shall be free to eat meat, marry, grow their hair, and so on. Furthermore, they are permitted to wear ordinary clothing when not engaged in religious activities.” See Richard M. Jaffe, *Neither Monk nor Layman: Clerical Marriage in Modern Japanese Buddhism* (Honolulu : University of Hawai'i Press, 2011): 72.

⁴⁰⁸ Kan Zhengzong(闕正宗), “Kaiyuan Si Chuancheng Fazhan shi”, p.88.

⁴⁰⁹ “日則.....念佛,夜則靜坐.....” *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (the Chinese version, May 12, 1908), page 3, Nanqiao(南樵), “Lu Yancao: Zeng Ti Xiaoying”(爐煙草:贈題小影, “A Draft of Mr. Luyan: The Inscription for the Little Photo [of Xuanjing in Kaiyuan Temple]”); cf. Kan Zhengzong(闕正宗), “Kaiyuan Si Chuancheng Fazhan shi”, pp.90-91.

晝農夜禪)⁴¹⁰, the tradition of agricultural Chan promoted by Wuming Huijing as we have seen in

Chapter 2.

Furthermore, Xuanjing raised funds for repairing the main halls, and building new guest rooms to attract local literati to spend leisure time in the temple⁴¹¹. If the literati then wrote poems or articles about their visits to Kaiyuan Temple or their contacts with Xuanjing, it would be successful propaganda for soliciting more visitors.⁴¹² On the other hand, since his early age, Xuanjing had been famous for his *kung fu* (Chinese martial arts) and miraculous deeds which attracted many believers to Kaiyuan Temple who gave him the Daoist name Tsai the True Man (*Tsai Zhenren* 蔡真人), for Xuanjing's secular surname was Tsai⁴¹³. Xuanjing's wonderous performances could be regarded as continuing the tradition of *yisheng* 異僧 (monks with magical powers) of Taiwanese Buddhism in the Qing dynasty which was said to be brought by the Ming loyalists who had escaped into Buddhist clergy and fled to Taiwan to avoid getting arrested by Qing rulers in China⁴¹⁴.

Besides establishing personal relations with the local society to expand the influence of the temple, Xuanjing also kept intimate connections with Gushan. He visited Gushan again in 1906 to learn

⁴¹⁰ “夜而禪坐……晝而墾地闢耕”, *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (the Chinese version, Dec. 14, 1905), page 4, “Chongxiu Kaiyuan Si”(重修開元寺 Rebuilding Kaiyuan Temple)

⁴¹¹ *ibid.*

⁴¹² Kan Zhengzong(闕正宗), “Kaiyuan Si Chuancheng Fazhan shi”, p.90.

⁴¹³ In Zheng Zhuoyun(鄭卓雲), *Draft of the Gazetteer of Kaiyuan Temple*, p.226, it is said that Xuanjing could make himself invisible, remove nevus from one's body and cure uncommon diseases.

⁴¹⁴ Li Tianchun(李添春), “Chapter of the People, Religion” (人民志,宗教篇) in *Taiwan Sheng Tongzhi Gao* (臺灣省通志稿, *Drafts of General Gazetteer of Taiwan Province*, Nantou: Taiwan Provincial Historical Commission, 1956), fasc. 2, pp. 69-70 cited a story about “*yisheng* 異僧” which is translated in Charles Brewer Jones' *Buddhism in Taiwan*, pp. 11-13.

Gushan repentance rituals and invited several Gushan monks to come to stay in Kaiyuan Temple,⁴¹⁵ and we may assume that they were invited in order to instruct Gushan rituals in the temple. Contrast to the abbot Changqing who introduced the Japanese Buddhist rituals for feeding the hungry ghosts, it was obvious that what Xuanjing attempted to achieve was the re-sinicization of the daily practices of the monastery. Nevertheless, during Xuanjing's period, though adopting Chinese Buddhist trainings and rituals from Gushan, the temple remained as the branch of Sōtō School in its institutional form. In 1908, Ishikawa Sodō 石川素童(1842-1920), the superintendent priest (*kanchō* 管長) of Sōtō School, visited Kaiyuan Temple in his inspection tour in Taiwan and reported that all the resident monks in Kaiyuan Temple belonged to Sōtō School and they claimed themselves as Sōtō members.⁴¹⁶ This kind of keeping relations with both Chinese and Japanese Buddhism was a common survival strategy adopted by the five mountains as we will discuss further below.

Earlier in that year (1908) and before Ishikawa Sodō's visit of Kaiyuan Temple, Xuanjing, however, was arrested for being accused of teaching his disciples the dubious magics (*guaishu* 怪術) for religious deception⁴¹⁷. This accusation was, needless to say, firmly related to his fame as a monk with magical powers. After that, Xuanjing left Kaiyuan Temple and went to Japan with the Sōtō missionary Harada Tainō 原田泰能, and then visited Haiyin Temple 海印寺 in Quanzhou in Fujian and finally died

⁴¹⁵ Kan Zhengzong(闕正宗), "Kaiyuan Si Chuancheng Fazhan shi", pp. 89-90.

⁴¹⁶ Ishikawa Sodō (石川素童), "junshaku ihō" (巡錫彙報, "Report of the Inspection Tour", in *Shūhō* (宗報, Tokyo: Sōtōshūmukyoku Bunshoka (曹洞宗務局文書課), no. 293 (Mar. 1, 1909): 10; cf. Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi*, p.141.

⁴¹⁷ *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (the Chinese version, Aug. 28, 1908), page 4, "Shengren Shoulei"(僧人受累, "A Monk Got Involved"); cf. Kan Zhengzong(闕正宗), "Kaiyuan Si Chuancheng Fazhan shi", pp.91-92.

there in 1921.⁴¹⁸ After Xuanjing left, his assistant Yongding might again serve as the abbot.⁴¹⁹

In 1910, Shanhui 善慧(1881-1945), the abbot of Lingquan Temple 靈泉寺, one of the institution of the five mountains, invited Xuanjing's master Chuangfang (who had stayed in Gushan for thirty years as we mentioned above) to northern Taiwan to preach in Lingyun Chan Temple 凌雲禪寺, another institution of the five mountains. Since Shanhui went to Gushan for receiving precepts in 1902, he might know Chuangfang there at that time and that was why he invited Chuangfang to Taiwan in 1910. Later, in 1913, Xu Changchun 許長春, one of the merchant leaders in Tainan who had heard Chuangfang's fame, invited Chuangfang to come back to Tainan and serve as the abbot of Kaiyuan Temple⁴²⁰. We may assume that the merchant leader Xu had probably known Chuangfang for a long time because Chuangfang was a native of Tainan and also a tea merchant before he went to Gushan as we mentioned above.

Since Chuangfang, Kaiyuan Temple had been dominated by his Gushan Lingi lineage for he set up the rules about the abbotship which prescribed that the qualified abbot candidates must be from Chuangfang's dharma kinship (*falei* 法類)⁴²¹. Besides the prescriptions for regulating monastic affairs of Kaiyuan Temple, the other two main contributions of Chuangfang were: 1. holding bodhisattva precepts-giving ceremonies to produce the bodhisattva precept disciples of Kaiyuan Temple to facilitate

⁴¹⁸ Zheng Zhuoyun(鄭卓雲), *Draft of the Gazetteer of Kaiyuan Temple*, p.227.

⁴¹⁹ Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi*, p.144.

⁴²⁰ “Chikan Duanxun: Zhuchi Yuanji”(赤崁短訊:住持圓寂) in *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, May 7, 1919): page 7; Kan Zhengzong(關正宗), “Kaiyuan Si Chuancheng Fazhan shi”, pp.93.

⁴²¹ “Kaiyuan Si Ligui”(開元寺例規, The Rules for Kaiyuan Temple), in Zheng Zhuoyun(鄭卓雲), *Draft of the Gazetteer of Kaiyuan Temple*, p.189-190.

the spread of his Gushan Linji lineage in local society as Gushan masters did in the late Ming as we have seen in Chapter 3; 2. departing from Sōtō School and joining in Japanese Rinzai School Myōshinji Sect 妙心寺派 to win over more supports from Japanese Buddhism, as we will discuss further in the case of Lingyun Chan Temple later on.

After Chuangfang died, Kaiyuan Temple underwent decline again because the succeeding abbot Chengyuan 成圓, the grandson disciple of Chuanfang, was involved in a sex scandal and absconded with money and his lover in 1921. Finally, he lost all the money and died in an opium den when forty-three years old in 1933.⁴²²

In 1924, Deyuan 得圓, another disciple of Xuanjing, who had received precepts from Miaolian Dihua in Gushan in 1906, was voted to be the new abbot of Kaiyuan Temple. Under his efforts, the temple was revived and its connection with Japanese Buddhism also got strengthened through dispatching disciples to study Buddhism abroad in Japan. We will leave this topic to the next Chapter. Now let's turn to the rise of the other four institutions of the five mountains.

3.2 Chaofeng Temple on Mt. Dagang in Kaohsiung

As it was the case of Kaiyuan Temple, Chaofeng Temple 超峰寺 in Mt. Dagang 大岡山 was also founded in the Qing dynasty. It was said that the master Shaoguang 紹光 founded the temple in 1731⁴²³

⁴²² Kan Zhengzong(闕正宗), “Kaiyuan Si Chuancheng Fazhan shi”, pp. 106-108.

⁴²³ Zheng Jinglai(曾景來), “Taiwan Bukkyō Shiryō”(臺灣佛教資料) only mentions that Shaoguang founded the temple

and it was rebuilt in 1763 by the prefectural magistrate Jiang Yunxun 蔣允焄⁴²⁴. However, because of the lack of historical records, the reliability of these two events is doubtful.⁴²⁵

During early period of the Japanese rule, Mt. Dagang was once occupied by Lin Shaomao 林少貓 (1845-1902) as the base for military anti-Japan activities⁴²⁶ because though Mt. Dagang is only three hundred and forty three meters high, it was the highest mountain in the plain of Kaohsiung 高雄 and the most suitable location for keeping Kaohsiung harbor and urban areas under surveillance.⁴²⁷ During this period when Mt. Dagang became the battle field between the Japanese conquerors and the Taiwanese rebel forces, Chaofeng Temple was severely affected, and after Lin Shaomao surrendered in 1898 and then was killed by the Japanese army in 1902 because the colonial rulers wanted to eliminate any potential rebelling power⁴²⁸, the temple had to find someone to lead the recovery and rebuilding projects, so Master Yongding was invited from Kaiyuan Temple in 1903.⁴²⁹ Another later material points out that it was Yongding's master Yimin who visited Chaofeng Temple in 1905, lamenting the

during Yongzheng reign(1723-1735), see *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教 Taipei: Nanai Bukkyōkai) vol.16, no.12 (1938, pp.19-26): 24; Kai Zheng(開證), “Dagang Shan Benshan Ji Famai Kaishan Zushi”(大岡山本山及法脈開山祖師, “The Founding Patriarchs of the Head Temple in Mt. Dagang and its Dharma Lineage”) points out that it was in the ninth year of Yongzheng reign (1731), see *Cien Shisui*(慈恩拾穗, 1976): 177.

⁴²⁴ Okayama gun yakusho(岡山郡役所) ed., *Okayama gun yōran*(岡山郡要覽 *The Local Gazetteer of Okayama Prefecture*, Tainan, 1937), translated by Liu Tiexiang(劉天祥), “Gangshan Jun Yaolan”(岡山郡要覽), in *Gaoxian Wenxian*(高縣文獻), no. 24 (Dec. 2005, pp. 313-384): 382.

⁴²⁵ For further discussions, see Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001): 497-500.

⁴²⁶ *Okayama gun yōran*(岡山郡要覽, Tainan, 1937), translated by Liu Tiexiang(劉天祥): 382.

⁴²⁷ Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001), pp. 497-498.

⁴²⁸ Mukōyama Hiroo(向山寬夫), *Riben Tongzhi xia de Taiwan Minzu Yundong Shi*(日本統治下的台灣民族運動史 *The History of Taiwan National Movement under Japanese Rule*), trans. Yang Ruhong(楊儒鴻) et al. (Taipei: Fulushou Xingye, 1999, 2 vols), vol.1: p. 312, p. 331.

⁴²⁹ Zheng Zhuoyun(鄭卓雲), *Draft of the Gazetteer of Kaiyuan Temple*: 238; Charles Brewer Jones' *Buddhism in Taiwan*, pp.56-57. Jones suggests that Lin Shaomao's rebellion was quelled by 1898. Actually, Lin surrendered to Japan on May 12 in 1899, and then was killed in 1902, see *ibid.*

ruined condition of the monastery buildings he then decided to rebuild the temple. However, because Yimin was used to a wandering life, the responsibility of reviving was handed over to his disciple Yongding.⁴³⁰

In 1903, Yongding abdicated the abbotship of Kaiyuan Temple and gave the position to Xuanjing. During the next five years of 1903-1908, he served as the abbot of Chaofeng Temple and helped Xuanjing to repair the main halls in Kaiyuan Temple. He went to and fro between these two temples⁴³¹ and made great contributions to both. In 1908, Yongding's master Yimin also came to Chaofeng Temple.⁴³²

As we have seen above, Yongding and his master Yimin belonged to the old Linji transmission in Kaiyuan Temple. According to Shi Tianlu's 釋天露 study, Yimin was tonsured by Miaodi in Kaiyuan Temple in 1890 and visited Gushan to receive the precepts from Miaolian in 1895, then stayed in Gushan for three years,⁴³³ through which Yimin became a member of Gushan. Therefore, with Yimin's arrival in Chaofeng Temple, one may say that he brought Gushan lineage into the temple⁴³⁴. As Zheng

⁴³⁰ Shijie Zazhi She (世界雜誌社) ed., *Chaofeng Si Chuancheng Shi* (超峰寺傳承史, 1993):7. In it, it is said that Yimin visited Chaofeng Temple in "six years before the Republican era (1905)"(民國前六年(1905)). However, "six years before the Republican era" was 1906, not 1905.

⁴³¹ Zheng Zhuoyun(鄭卓雲), *Draft of the Gazetteer of Kaiyuan Temple*: 238.

⁴³² Kai Zheng(開證), "Dagang Shan Benshan Ji Famai Kaishan Zushi"(大岡山本山及法脈開山祖師), see *Cien Shisui*(慈恩拾穗): 177.

⁴³³ Shi Tianlu(釋天露), "Dagangshan Famai de Dijiezh: Yimin Shangren han Yongding Fashi"(大岡山法脈的締結者:義敏上人和永定法師, "The Founders of the Dharma Lineage of Mt. Dagang: Master Yimin and Master Yongding"), in *Zhongguo Fojiahui Qiantai Liushi Zhounian: Minguo Fojiao Gaoseng Xueshu Yantaohui Lunwenji* (中國佛教會遷台六十年:民國佛教高僧學術研討會論文集 *The Sixtieth Anniversary of Chinese Buddhist Association Moving to Taiwan: Collection of Essays of the Conference on the Eminent Buddhist Monks in Republican China*, Taipei: Zhongguo Fojiahui, 2010, pp. 527-546): 529.

⁴³⁴ Charles Brewer Jones' *Buddhism in Taiwan*, p. 57: "without him [Yimin], the Chaofeng Temple would never have become the center of a major Buddhist ordination lineage in Taiwan during the Japanese period."

Jinglai 曾景來 comments in 1938:

Furthermore, although [Chaofeng Temple] has no head-branch relation with [Gushan] Yongquan Monastery, till the Japanese ruling period, the resident clergy in this temple would surely visit [Gushan] Yongquan Monastery at least once to receive the precepts, spend two to three years in cultivation there and then come back. On the other hand, [Chaofeng Temple] has intimate relations with Kaiyuan Temple in Tainan. The clerical members of these two temples associate with each other. They would help each other especially on the occasions of Buddhist festivals and memorial services.⁴³⁵

If Zheng's record is reliable, though Chaofeng Temple was not a branch of Gushan in Taiwan, it surely had established intimate relations with Gushan by going there for ordination and Buddhist cultivation since the Qing dynasty. In the period under the Japanese rule, Yimin continued this tradition. Moreover, with Yongding's serving positions in both Chaofeng Temple and Kaiyuan Temple, Chaofeng Temple had frequent interactions with the Gushan Linji lineage of Xuanjing transmitted in Kaiyuan Temple.

After 1908, Yongding dedicated the rest of his life to rebuild Chaofeng Temple into an exceptionally great Buddhist center in Taiwan. His construction project was so big that even though he spent over thirty years, the building works had not yet been completed when he died in 1939⁴³⁶. Since

⁴³⁵ Zheng Jinglai(曾景來), "Taiwan Bukkyō Shiryō"(臺灣佛教資料) *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教) vol.16, no.12 (1938, pp.19-26), p. 24: "尚は福州の湧泉寺とは本末関係はないが、領臺前までは本寺在住の僧侶は必ず一度は湧泉寺に往き、戒を受け二三年間の修行を経て戻って来ることになってゐたのである。一方臺南の開元寺とは親密の関係にあり、両寺の僧衆互いに往来し、殊に祭典法要等の場合には彼此相助け合ふことになってゐるのである。"

⁴³⁶ Charles Brewer Jones points out that the construction of the Great Hall "was not completed until shortly before his [Yongding's] death in 1939" (*Buddhism in Taiwan: religion and the state*, p.58) However, a photo and its exposition show that in 1941, two years after Yongding's death, the Great Hall were still under construction. See the entry "Chaofeng Temple" in Shi Dechang(施德昌) ed., *Taiwan Bukkyō Myōseki hōkan* (臺灣佛教名蹟寶鑑 *An Illustrated Handbook of Taiwan Buddhism*, Taichung: Mingde Xiezhenguan, 1941), reprint in *Minjian Sicang Taiwan Zongjiao Ziliao Huibian* (民間私藏臺灣宗教資料彙編), Series 1, vol.28, pp. 289-506): 479-480. Actually, the construction was planned to be completed in 1943 (Zheng Jinglai(曾景來), "Taiwan Bukkyō Shiryō"(臺灣佛教資料) *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教) vol.16, no.12 (1938, pp.19-26), p. 24). However, the Great Hall was destroyed with the whole temple in 1942 before the completion of its construction.

Chaofeng Temple had been famous for its Guanyin 觀音 cult and the efficacy of the Bodhisattva⁴³⁷, to attract more pilgrims and provide overnight accommodations for them, Yongding built guest quarters and even a road for cars from the temple on the mountain to the ground level.⁴³⁸ It goes without saying that this costed quite large amounts of money, and Yongding even applied to the government for the permission to raise funds all around the island.⁴³⁹ Through these efforts, Yongding successfully turned Chaofeng Temple into a prosperous Guanyin pilgrimage site in southern Taiwan which drew some sixty thousands pilgrims annually in 1930s.⁴⁴⁰ However, in 1942 during the Pacific War, Yongding's contributions to Chaofeng Temple were totally destroyed. The whole temple was demolished because the Japanese army took Mt. Dagang as a fortress and forced the monks and nuns to move to the ground level. Led by Yongding's master Yimin, who was two years older but lived eight years longer than the disciple, New Chaofeng Temple 新超峰寺 was soon founded in Gangshan Village 崗山村 at the foot of Mt. Dagang, and Yimin died there in 1947. It was not until after the war that the destroyed old

⁴³⁷ In 1884, the believers in Kaohsiung founded Baizhao Hall (百昭堂), a pilgrimage association of Chaofeng Temple, which organized the pilgrims to visit the temple every year on the nineteenth day of the second month to celebrate the birthday of Guanyin. See "Yinnan Suibi" (瀛南隨筆 "Jottings of Tainan"), in *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, Apr. 10, 1912): page 5. This custom was surely spread to Taiwan from China, as Chün-fang Yü points out, the date of Guanyin's birthday was known during the Ming dynasty, and it was the most important day for all sorts of pilgrims. In the case of Upper T'ien-chu(上天竺), one of the most famous Guanyin pilgrimage sites in China, for celebrating Guanyin's birthday, the pilgrims "came from nearby and far away. They would fast and then come to the monastery the day before the observance. Because there were hundreds of thousands of pilgrims, they could not be accommodated in the monastery but had to stay outdoors and wait for daybreak. This was called 'spending the night in the mountains' (*su-shan* 宿山)" (Chün-fang Yü, *Guanyin: the Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001): 363) We may assume that the similar situation had also happened in Chaofeng Temple.

⁴³⁸ The entries of "Chaofeng Si" 超峰寺 and "Longhu An" 龍湖庵, in Xu Shuo (徐壽), *Taiwan Quantai Simiao Zhaitang Mingji Baojian* (臺灣全台寺院齋堂名蹟寶鑑, 1932): 150, 152.; cf. Jiang Tsanteng's (江燦騰) analysis in *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001): 514.

⁴³⁹ Xu Shuo (徐壽), *Taiwan Quantai Simiao Zhaitang Mingji Baojian* (臺灣全台寺院齋堂名蹟寶鑑, 1932): 152.

⁴⁴⁰ *Okayama gun yōran* (岡山郡要覽, Tainan, 1937), translated by Liu Tiaxiang (劉天祥): 382; cf. Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan: religion and the state*, p.61.

Chaofeng Temple was rebuilt.⁴⁴¹ However, through the divination, the famous statue of Guanyin which had attracted so many pilgrims to the old Chaofeng Temple temple since the Qing dynasty refused to leave and stayed in the new temple.⁴⁴²

Compared to the building project of Chaofeng Temple, another achievement of Yongding caused more research interests. In 1908, Yongding founded the Longhu Convent 龍湖庵 for his female disciples and female pilgrims⁴⁴³. It was the first female-only Buddhist cultivation institution in the history of Taiwanese Buddhism⁴⁴⁴. However, the residents there were mainly the “*zhaigu* 齋姑” (vegetarian hall auntie), the female members of *zhaijiao* 齋教 (vegetarian religions), rather than nuns.

This was because since the Qing ruling period till the early years of the Japanese rule, there were few nuns in Taiwan due to the lack of higher or full ordination ceremonies held in Taiwan. Moreover, it

⁴⁴¹ Shijie Zazhi She (世界雜誌社) ed., *Chaofeng Si Chuancheng Shi* (超峰寺傳承史 *The Transmission History of Chaofeng Temple*, Kaohsiung: Da Gangshan Chaofeng Shi, 1993):7. Charles Brewer Jones provides another reason why Chaofeng Temple was destroyed: during Pacific War, “[a]s Allied bombers began targeting Taiwan, the Japanese government felt that a brightly colored temple sitting on the top of a solitary mountain in the middle of a broad plain made too inviting a target, and so they gave all the temples on the mountain some financial compensation and ordered them to vacate.” (*Buddhism in Taiwan: religion and the state*, p.61)

⁴⁴² Guo Zhang (果展), “Bukenu Guanyin: Xinjiu Chaofeng Si Jinri” (不肯去觀音: 新舊超峰寺今日, “Guanyin who Refused to Leave: the Present New and Old Chaofeng Temples”, in *Puti Changqing* (菩提長青), no.195 (Feb. 20, 1992): page 4). Jiang Tsanteng is very discontent with this result because it devastated the common historical memories shared by the pilgrims (*Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001): 551-552.) However, “Guanyin who Refused to Leave” might be regarded as her another new miracle like in the case of P’u-T’o (普陀), see Chün-fang Yü, *Guanyin*: 384.

⁴⁴³ There are different statements about the founding year of the convent. Xu Shuo (徐壽) reports that the Longhu Convent was founded in 1908; Huiyun (慧雲) says that the convent was founded during the spring of 1909 as a thatched building, and then rebuilt in 1911; and Zheng Jinglai (曾景來) says Longhu Convent was founded on November 1907 and rebuilt into a brick building with tiled roof (煉瓦造瓦葺) in 1910. See Xu Shuo (徐壽), *Taiwan Quantai Simiao Zhaitang Mingji Baojian* (臺灣全台寺院齋堂名蹟寶鑑, 1932): 150; Huiyun (慧雲), “Da Gangshan Longhu An Wannian Bu Xu” (大崗山龍湖庵萬年簿序, “The Preface of the ‘Ten Thousand Year Book’ in Longhu Convent at Mt. Dagang”), in *Nanei Bukkyō* (南瀛佛教), vol.14, no.3 (1936, pp.8-17): 54; and Zheng Jinglai (曾景來), “Taiwan Bukkyō Shiryō” (臺灣佛教資料) (*Nanei Bukkyō* vol.16, no.12 (1938, pp.19-26), p. 26). Charles Brewer Jones (*Buddhism in Taiwan: religion and the state*, p.58) and Jiang Tsanteng (江燦騰, *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi*, 506) takes 1908 as the founding year. I follow them here. However, Huiyan (慧嚴) argues for Huiyun because Huiyun visited Longhu Convent for four times in 1934 and should have been provided with materials for writing the preface (Huiyan, *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialishi* (2008):206).

⁴⁴⁴ Jiang Tsanteng (江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001): 512-513.

was even more difficult for the female clergy than the male to leave their hometown to visit Gushan Monastery to receive the precepts. As such, a great number of Taiwanese Buddhist women opted to become *zhaiigu* or unordained nuns who observe the five basic Buddhist precepts rather than the bhikkhunī precepts⁴⁴⁵. Though it was difficult to differentiate between *zhaiigu* and unordained nuns, Japanese government did distinguish *zhaijiao*, the sectarian religions, from Buddhism. In the Qing dynasty, three sects of *zhaijiao* derived from the Luo Teaching (*Luo jiao* 羅教) established by Luo Qing 羅清(1443-1527) were introduced to Taiwan: Dragon Flower (*longhua* 龍華), Golden Banner (*jinchuang* 金幢), and Prior Heaven(*xiantian* 先天). As Chün-fang Yü puts it,

All members of these sects kept a vegetarian diet, but the sects differed with regard to marriage. While members of the first two could marry, members of the third remained celibate. They either lived in vegetarian halls or went there for ritual activities. Many of these vegetarian halls were built for unmarried daughters or widows by their male kin. The Japanese classified these sects as “vegetarian religions”(zhaijiao) and differentiated them from Buddhism.⁴⁴⁶

Huiyan argues convincingly that the situation of the undifferentiation between *zhaiigu* and unordained nuns began to change since 1919 when the ordination platform was opened in Kaiyuan Temple to impart the precepts to both Buddhist clergy and lay believers. It was the first ordination ceremony for monks and nuns in the history of Taiwanese Buddhism. Before it, the precepts-giving activities held in Taiwan were only for lay people.⁴⁴⁷ However, before 1919, it seemed that there had been Taiwanese

⁴⁴⁵ Wei-Yi Cheng, *Buddhist Nuns in Taiwan and Sri Lanka: A Critique of the Feminist Perspective* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2007): 168.

⁴⁴⁶ Chün-fang Yü, *Passing the light: the Incense Light community and Buddhist nuns in contemporary Taiwan* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2013): 49. For more details of the spread of *zhaijiao* from China to Taiwan, see Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan: religion and the state*: 14-29.

⁴⁴⁷ Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi* (台灣與閩日佛教交流史, 2008): 494-496. Based on Huiyan's article “Cong Tai-Min-Ri fojiao de hudong kan niseng zai Taiwan de fazhan” (從臺閩日佛教的互動看尼僧在台灣的發展“The

nuns who had already visited Gushan and received precepts there. According to the ordination yearbook issued by Gushan in 1912⁴⁴⁸, among the fifteen nuns participating the ordination ceremony, eight came from Taiwan: seven from Taipei and one from Xinchu 新竹 in northern Taiwan. Half of the eight Taiwanese nuns were tonsured by Guyue Yuanlang 古月圓朗(1843-1919), then the retired former abbot of Gushan, another half were tonsured by Guhui Zhenguang 古輝振光(?-1924), then the Gushan abbot in office. All of them were recorded as not receiving the tonsure in Gushan, but in Liangxin Temple in Fuzhou 福州良心寺 by Guyue and in Xiangji Temple in Shanxi 陝西香積寺 by Zhenguang. And seven of them received tonsure in 1911, just before the ordination ceremony in 1912, only one of them was tonsured in 1905. However, all of them might actually receive the tonsure in Gushan, where the tonsure had become permissible since Miaolian as we have seen above. But in order to comply with the rule against tonsure on the surface, every document in the ordination records would show that tonsure had taken place at the master's hereditary temple, like at Guyue's Liangxin Temple or at Zhenguang's Xiangji Temple in this case, "which the disciple might never have set foot in. This was called 'borrowing a name' [*jieming* 借名], a very common procedure in Chinese Buddhism"⁴⁴⁹ and in Gushan.

Development of the Nuns' Order in Taiwan: An overview from the perspective of Taiwan-Fujian-Japanese Buddhist Interactions", *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal*, no. 12 (1999, pp. 249-274): 261 - 64), Elise Anne Devido suggests that "Kaiyuan Temple held the first ordination ceremony in Taiwan for monks in 1917 (at which Taixu officiated)". However, this is a wrong reading of Huiyan's article. In Huiyan's article, it is said that Taixu was invited to come to Taiwan in 1917 for the plenary masses (*Shuilu fahui* 水陸法會) held in Linqun Temple(靈泉寺), not for the precepts-giving ceremony. See Elise Anne Devido, *Taiwan's Buddhist Nuns* (Albany : SUNY Press, 2010): 14.

⁴⁴⁸ *Chisi Gushan Yongquan Chansi Jietan Tongjie Lu*(敕賜鼓山湧泉禪寺戒壇同戒錄 *The Ordination Yearbook of Gushan*, 1912), collected in *Minjian Sicang Taiwan Zongjiao Ziliao Huibian* (民間私藏臺灣宗教資料彙編), Series 1, vol.31, pp.1-89): 64-68.

⁴⁴⁹ Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism*: 140.

The other thing that would not be shown in the ordination yearbook was that the eight Taiwanese nuns might never visit Gushan! They might adopt the way of “*jijie* 寄戒”(mail-in ordination) by just mailing in an ordination fee to buy an ordination certificate without attending the ordination in person⁴⁵⁰. If this was the case, we may assume that it was not until after 1919, with the ordination ceremonies for monks and nuns held by the four temples of the five mountains, as we will discuss later, that more and more nuns appeared in Taiwan.

Because Longhu Convent was founded in 1908, eleven years before the first ordination for nuns in Taiwan, and Yongding never held any ordination ceremony for monks or nuns, the major residents of the convent were *zhaiigu*, and it was reported in 1932 that besides the nuns, there were ninety four female residents in the convent.⁴⁵¹ Nevertheless, Yongding introduced Chinese Buddhist trainings for the female practitioners there. Moreover, his disciple Kaiji 開吉 founded Lianfeng Temple 蓮峰寺 near Chaofeng Temple in 1918, a nunnery for both nuns and *zhaiigu*⁴⁵² and led by the monk Kaiji. The leadership of Kaiji showed that Lianfeng Temple was a Buddhist nunnery, not a *zhaitang* 齋堂(the vegetarian hall) of *zhaijiao* because the sectarian tendency of *zhaijiao* expressed a lay ideal of

⁴⁵⁰ Li Yuzhen(李玉珍), “Chujia rushi: Zhanhou Taiwan fojiao nuxing senglu shengya zhi bianqian” (出家人世:戰後台灣佛教女性僧侶生涯之變遷, “Become a monastic and enter the world: The Evolution of Postwar Taiwan Buddhist female monastics’ careers”) in *Huigu lao Taiwan, zhanwang xin guxiang: Taiwan shehui wenhua bianqian xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* (回顧老臺灣、展望新故鄉—臺灣社會文化變遷學術研討會論文集 *Looking back at old Taiwan, looking ahead to a new native place: Proceedings of the Conference on Taiwan Social and Cultural Change*, Taipei: National Taiwan Normal University and Taiwan Provincial Documents Committee, 2000, pp.409-441): 429; cf. Elise Anne Devido, *Taiwan's Buddhist Nuns* (Albany : SUNY Press, 2010): 13.

⁴⁵¹ Xu Shuo (徐壽), *Taiwan Quantai Simiao Zhaitang Mingji Baojian*(臺灣全台寺院齋堂名蹟寶鑑, 1932): 150.

⁴⁵² Shi Dechang(施德昌) ed., *Taiwan Bukkyō Myōseki hōkan* (臺灣佛教名蹟寶鑑, 1941): 482. It is said there were forty residents, including both nuns and *zhaiigu*.

practicing Buddhist beliefs without subordination to monastic leadership.⁴⁵³

The key character for making Longhu Convent a Chinese style nunnery was Ven. Huiquan 會泉 (1874-1943) from Southern Fujian. Huiquan was the founder of Minnan Buddhist Seminary 閩南佛學院, one of the most famous modern-style Buddhist schools in early Republican China⁴⁵⁴, in Nan Putuo Temple 南普陀寺 in Amoy in 1925 when he reorganized the temple from a hereditary monastery into a public one and served as the abbot there.⁴⁵⁵ Huiquan was famous for his lectures of Buddhist scriptures, so he was invited to give speeches on *Diamond Sutra* in the Patriotic Buddhism Seminar (*Aiguo Fojiao Jiangxihui* 愛國佛教講習會) in 1912 in Linqun Temple 靈泉寺, one of the five mountains⁴⁵⁶; then in 1920, Yongzhi 永智, the dharma brother of Yongding⁴⁵⁷, visited Chengtian Temple in Quanzhou 泉州 承天寺 in southern Fujian to invite the abbot Huiquan to Longhu Convent. Because Yongzhi then died, Huiquan visited Taiwan later that year with his dharma brother Huiji 會機. This time Huiquan not only lectured on both Buddhist scriptures and the Four Books 四書 of Confucianism in Chaofeng Temple, which showed his syncretic tendency, but also introduced the joint practice of Chan and Pure Land and the Chinese monastic daily rituals to Longhu Convent, through which the convent had become the

⁴⁵³ B.J. Ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (Sinica Leidensia, v. 26, New York, 1992), 37, 64.

⁴⁵⁴ For Minnan Buddhist Seminary and Taixu's (太虛 1890-1947) contributions to it, see Holmes Welch, *The Buddhist Revival in China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp.110-112. For a short comment on the monastic schools in early Republican China, see Don. A. Pittman, *Toward a Modern Chinese Buddhism: Taixu's Reforms* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001): 54-56.

⁴⁵⁵ He Mianshan(何綿山), *Tai Min Fojiao Yuanliu yu Hudong* (台閩佛教源流與互動, *The Taiwan-Fujian Buddhist Origins, Developments and Interactions*, Taipei: Zhongguo Fojiao Hui, 2010): 177.

⁴⁵⁶ "The End of the Buddhism Seminar" ("Fojiao Jiangxihui Zhongjie" 佛教講習會終結), *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, Oct 3, 1912): page 5.

⁴⁵⁷ Yongzhi 永智 and Yongda 永達 were tonsured by Yimin in Chaofeng Temple. See Shi Tianlu(釋天露), "The Founders of the Dharma Lineage of Mt. Dagang: Master Yimin and Master Yongding", 543.

model Chinese style nunnery in Taiwan. The Chinese Buddhist practices in Longhu Convent was highly praised by Huiyun 慧雲(1910- 2002)⁴⁵⁸, another Chinese monk from southern Fujian. In 1934, Huiyun was invited to Taiwan to serve as the catechist master (*jiaoshuo ācārya* 教授阿闍梨) in the ordination ceremony held in Kaiyuan Temple. After the ceremony, Huiyun visited Longhu Convent four times and suggested the convent to introduce the “ten thousand year book”(wannian bu 萬年簿) for keeping records of its historical development,⁴⁵⁹ another common practice in Chinese monasteries.

However, the dual practice of Chan and Pure Land and the syncretic tendency of Buddhism and Confucianism introduced by Chinese monks into Longhu Convent was severely criticized by Zhengguang 證光(secular name Gao Zhide 高執德, 1896-1955). Zhengguang was the disciple of the abbot Deyuan in Kaiyuan Temple and had been sent to study abroad in Japan. After Zhengguang gave four speeches during two nights in Longhu Convent on February 21-22, 1936, from the standpoint of Japanese pure Zen, he attacked the Chinese style Buddhist practices in Longhu Convent as misunderstanding the essence of religion and being not able to distinguish the true Chan from the false one, like “treating a bandit as one’s father”(ren zei zuo fu 認賊作父).⁴⁶⁰ However, this criticism

⁴⁵⁸ Huiyun resumed secular life in 1939 and was known as Lin Ziqing(林子青). Lin dedicated his life to promote the teachings of Master Hongyi (弘一, 1880-1924), the reviver of Vinaya School in early Republican China.

⁴⁵⁹ Huiyun(慧雲), “The Preface of the ‘Ten Thousand Year Book’ in Longhu Convent at Mt. Dagang”, in *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教), vol.14, no.3 (1936, pp.8-17): 54. Welch Holmes points out that the “ten-thousand-year book” usually recorded “not only all appointments, but expulsions, ordinations, acquisition of permanent property like land or omages, construction or restoration of buildings, additions to the code of rules, and any noteworthy events.”(Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism*: 471, note. 40). However, Huiyan regards “the ten-thousand-year book” as the pure rules of the convent prescribed in 1924. This is quite a strange reading of Huiyun’s preface. Huiyun said he encouraged the convent to set up the “ten-thousand-year book” in 1934, so it was a new practice introduced by Huiyun, not the pure rules prescribed ten years ago. See Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi* (台灣與閩日佛教交流史, 2008):207.

⁴⁶⁰ Gao Zhide(高執德), “Takaoshū ka Junkai Kōen Ki”(高雄州下巡回講演記 Records of the Speaking Tour of

vividly reflected the remarkable Chinese Buddhist characteristics of Longhu Convent in contrast to those of Japanese Buddhism.

I suggest that one of the reasons why Yongding insisted on adopting Chinese Buddhist customs was to maintain Chaofeng Temple as a center of traditional Chinese Guanyin cult and Guanyin pilgrimage in order to distinguish it from the Japanese pilgrimage tradition of the thirty-three Kannon (*Sanjūsan kasho kannon junrei* 三十三箇所觀音巡礼) newly introduced in the 1920s⁴⁶¹. But this does not mean that Chaofeng Temple had no connection with Japanese Buddhism. We know that Yongding was registered as a Rinzai monk in 1917⁴⁶² and Longhu Convent also joined the system of Rinzai Myōshinji Sect.⁴⁶³ In 1935, Yongding served as the local committee member of Rinzai School in Kaohsiung.⁴⁶⁴ He even joined Myōshinji Sect's project to set up a Buddhist college in Chaofeng Temple in the last year of his life in 1939⁴⁶⁵. After he died, his disciple Kaiji continued this development policy of the temple and actively enhanced its relations with Myōshinji Sect. However, all

Kaohsiung), in *Nanei Bukkyō*, vol.14, no.4 (1936, pp. 22-27): 25-26; cf. Jiang Tsanteng's (江燦騰) analysis in *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001): 540-543.

⁴⁶¹ The Japanese pilgrimage of Kannon was introduced by Japanese migrants to Yilan(宜蘭) in eastern Taiwan in 1920, then spread to Linyun Chan Temple(凌雲禪寺) in Taipei (1925), Mt. Yuemei in Keelung(基隆月眉山, 1928), Mt. Shibajian in Xinzhu(新竹十八尖山, 1929) and Daci Temple in Beitou in Taipei (北投大慈寺, 1931). See Shi Yongdong(釋永東), "Taiwan Sanshisan fan Kuanyin Lingchang zhi Xiankuang Yanjiu"(臺灣三十三番觀音靈場之現況研究, "A Study on the Present Thirty Three Kannon Temples in Taiwan"), in *Taiwan Wenxian*(臺灣文獻), vol. 63, no.3 (Sep., 2012, pp. 303-338): 321-322. For the origin of the pilgrimage of Kannon in Japan, see Sachiko Usui, "The Concept of Pilgrimage in Japan", in Maria Rodríguez del Alisal, Peter Ackermann and Dolores P. Martinez ed., *Pilgrimages and Spiritual Quests In Japan* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007): 25-36.

⁴⁶² Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi* (2008): 361.

⁴⁶³ In 1932, Rinzai School Myōshinji Sect chose nineteen important Rinzai branch temples in Taiwan to hold ceremonies to pray for the welfare of the state and Longhu Convent was one of them. See "Zabao: Linjizong Zhusheng Fengdao Hui"(雜報:臨濟宗祝聖奉禱會, "Titbit: the Praying Ceremony in Honor of the Emperor"), in *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教 Taipei: Nanei Bukkyōkai) vol.10, no.1 (1932): 58.

⁴⁶⁴ Shi Tianlu(釋天露), *ibid.*, 537.

⁴⁶⁵ Shi Tianlu(釋天露), *ibid.*, 537; Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001), p.544.

these efforts seemed to be ineffective to save the temple from the destiny of being completely destroyed by Japanese armies in the Pacific War as we mentioned above.⁴⁶⁶

3.3 Lingquan Temple on Mt. Yuemei in Keelung

Shanhui(善慧 1881-1945), the founder of Lingquan Temple 靈泉寺, might be the most active Taiwanese Buddhist leader under the Japanese rule. He established close relationship with both Chinese and Japanese Buddhism and made his lineage in Taiwan the medium for Chinese-Japanese Buddhist interactions.

Shanhui was a native of Keelung 基隆, an important naval base and commercial harbor in northern Taiwan. When Japan took over Taiwan as its colony in 1895, Japanese troops landed at Keelung and marched toward Taipei after fierce fightings with anti-Japan forces of the short-lived Republic of Formosa (Taiwan Minzhuguo 臺灣民主國)⁴⁶⁷. In the turmoil of wars, Shanhui took refuge in the Dragon Flower sect of *zhaijiao* with his mother at the age of fifteen in Yuanzhai Vegetarian Hall 源齋堂 in Keelung in 1896. Later, Shanhui turned to receive Buddhist trainings under the instruction of Shanzhi 善智 and Miaomi 妙密⁴⁶⁸.

We know little about Miaomi because of the lack of historical records. As to Shanzhi, according to

⁴⁶⁶ Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001), 535-537; 544-548.

⁴⁶⁷ Harry J. Lamley, "Taiwan Under Japanese Rule, 1895-1945: The Vicissitudes of Colonialism", in Murray A. Rubinstein ed., *Taiwan: A New History* (Armonk, N.Y. : M.E. Sharpe, 2007, pp.201-260): 203-206.

⁴⁶⁸ Li Tianchun(李添春), "The Materials of Taiwan Buddhism History Part I. The History of Caodong School (1)" (*Taiwan Fojiao Shi Ziliao Shangpian: Caodong Zong Shi* 臺灣佛教史資料上篇:曹洞宗史一), in *Taiwan Fojiao* (臺灣佛教), vol.25. no.1 (Nov. 1971, pp.4-29): 4.

Li Tianchun's "The Materials of the History of Taiwanese Buddhism, Part I: The History of Caodong School" (*Taiwan Fojiao Shi Ziliao Shangpian: Caodong Zong Shi* 臺灣佛教史資料上篇:曹洞宗史), Shanzhi was a native of Keelung who received the tonsure from Jingfeng 景峰 in Gushan, and received the precepts there in 1891. Shanzhi then practiced Buddhist cultivation in Gushan for three years.⁴⁶⁹

According to Shanhui's review of the development of Taiwanese Buddhism in 1915, Shanzhi came back to Keelung with Miaomi, Miaoxing 妙性 and Yuanjing 元精 to preach Buddhism in 1895-1896.⁴⁷⁰

Nevertheless, based on the reports of *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shinpō*, Wang Jianchuan 王見川 argues that they came to Taiwan to raise funds to help the abbot Miaolian to revive Gushan Monastery⁴⁷¹. However, according to *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shinpō*, the fundraising activities of Shanzhi and Miaoxing happened in 1898, not in 1895-1896 as Shanhui reports. Furthermore, Miaoxing was a native of Keelung who was tonsured in Gushan in 1897 and then served in Gushan as the prior,⁴⁷² so it was impossible for Miaoxing to come to Taiwan as a Gushan monk in 1895-1896. Li Tianchun also points out that Shanzhi came back to Taiwan with Miaomi in 1898.

Nevertheless, what should be noticed is that in Shanhui's review, Shanzhi and the other three

⁴⁶⁹ Li Tianchun(李添春), *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴⁷⁰ Shanhui, "Taiwan Fojiao Ershi Nian Huigu"(臺灣佛教二十年回顧, A Review of the Past Twenty Years of Taiwan Buddhism), *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, June 17, 1915): page 69.

⁴⁷¹ "Cibei Yinguo"(慈悲因果, "The Causation of Compassion"), *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (Chinese Version, Nov. 10, 1898): page 3; "Xiaofa wei Sheng"(削髮為僧, "Shaving Hair to be A Monk"), *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (Chinese Version, Mar. 29, 1899): page 3. See Wang Jianchuan (王見川), "Taiwan Jindai Fijiao Renwu: Shanhui, Wang Zhaolin, Wushang Chutang"(臺灣近代佛教人物:善慧,王兆麟,無上初探, "Modern Taiwan Buddhist Characters: An Initial Study on Shanhui, Wang Zhaolin and Wushang"), in Fan Chunwu(范純武), Wang Jianchuan(王見川) and Li Shiwei(李世偉), *Taiwan Fojiao de Tansuo*(臺灣佛教的探索, *An Exploration of Taiwan Buddhism*, Luzhou City, Taipei County: Boyang Publishing, 2005, pp. 81-118): 83-84.

⁴⁷² "Xiaofa wei Sheng"(削髮為僧), *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (Chinese Version, Mar. 29, 1899): page 3.

monks were referred to as “Fujian Guhan Buddhist clergy” (*Fujian Gushan Shenglu* 福建鼓山僧侶) though both Shanzhi and Miaoxing were natives of Keelung. This supports my assumption that because Taiwanese monks had practiced Buddhist cultivation for years in Gushan (like Shanzhi) or served the positions in Gushan (like Miaoxing), they became members of Gushan, and when they came back to Taiwan, they were recognized as Gushan monks.

After the fundraising activities, Miaomi and Shanzhi seemed not to have returned to Gushan but stayed in the folk belief temple Qingning Gong 清甯宮 dedicated to the water deities, which was the rear hall of Dianji Gong 奠濟宮 for the Sage King who Settled Zhangzhou (*kaizhang shengwang* 開漳聖王)⁴⁷³. Because Miaomi and Shanzhi preached Buddhism in Taiwanese dialect (*taiyu* 台語) and Shanzhi was famous for his medical skills, they attracted many local believers, including several rich literati like Jiang Zhongliang 江忠良 and Xu Zisang 許梓桑 who suggested building a new Buddhist temple for the two masters. After Miaomi died in 1901, Shanzhi continued the building plan which was then completed by Shanghui⁴⁷⁴.

In 1902, Shangzhi brought Shanghui back to Gushan and Shanghui received the tonsure from Shangzhi’s Linji master Jingfeng, through which Shanghui became the dharma brother of Shangzhi⁴⁷⁵. Then Shanghui seemed to practice Buddhist cultivation in Gushan for three years and received the

⁴⁷³ Shi Ziwei(釋自煒), *Shanhui Fashi zhi Yanjiu*(善慧法師之研究 *A Study of Master Shanghui*), Master thesis, Yuan Guang Buddhist Institute, 2008): 11.

⁴⁷⁴ Li Tianchun(李添春), “The Materials of Taiwan Buddhism History Part I. The History of Caodong School (1)”:⁴; Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001):184.

⁴⁷⁵ Li Tianchun(李添春), “The Materials of Taiwan Buddhism History Part I. The History of Caodong School (1)”:⁵.

precepts from the abbot Miaolian in 1905⁴⁷⁶. Meanwhile, Shnghui became the dharma heir of master Zhiquan 志泉⁴⁷⁷. Because Shnghui's name was recorded as Guzhi 古智 in the ordination yearbook issued by Gushan in 1924⁴⁷⁸, and because the generation character “*gu* 古” of the name appears in the transmission poem of Gushan Caodong lineage, we may assume that Zhiquan was a Gushan Caodong master whose generation character was “*yao* 耀” according to the transmission poem, and Shnghui was given a new name of “Guzhi” when receiving the dharma transmission from him. If so, then Shnghui was tonsured in Lingi lineage while received the dharma from Caodong lineage in Gushan, just like the case of the Gushan abbot Daben Wuyuan as we have seen above.

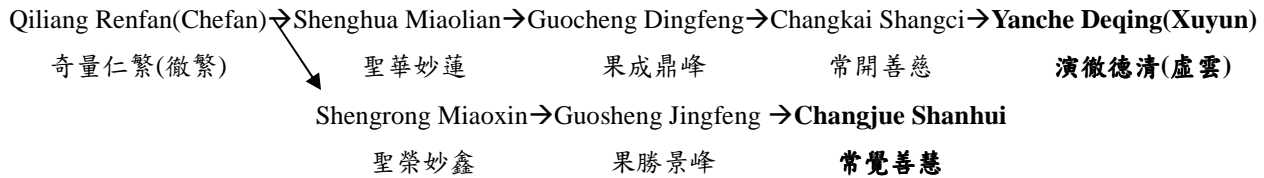
When Shnghui returned to Taiwan and served as the abbot of Lingquan Temple, he introduced his Gushan Lingji tonsure lineage to it. Shnghui's lineage was the only one of the five mountains that had been recorded in the Gushan abbot Xuyun's *The Collection of Stars and Lamps* (*Xingdeng Ji*, 星燈集 1932) as the Gushan Linji lineage spread to Taiwan, which was referred to as “*Tawan Lingquan Si Pai* 臺灣靈泉寺派”(the Lingquan Temple lineage in Taiwan). In *The Collection of Stars and Lamps*, the lineage transmissions of both Shnghui and Xuyun were recorded as originated from Qiliang Renfan 奇量仁繁 who served as the Gushan abbot during 1875-1883, and his name in the Gushan Caodong

⁴⁷⁶ Li Tianchun says Shnghui received both tonsure the full ordination in Gushan in 1902 and then returned to Taiwan in August that year (*ibid.*). However, according to the ordination yearbook issued by Gushan in 1924, Shnghui was recorded as having received the precepts from Miaolian in 1905 (*The Ordination Yearbook of Gushan* (1924), collected in *Minjian Sicang Taiwan Zongjiao Ziliao Huibian* (民間私藏臺灣宗教資料彙編), Series 1, vol.23, pp.348-452): 355). I assume that in August 1902, only Shnghzhi returned to Taiwan while Shnghui stayed in Gushan for the three year Buddhist trainings.

⁴⁷⁷ Li Tianchun(李添春), “The Materials of Taiwan Buddhism History Part I. The History of Caodong School (1)” :5.

⁴⁷⁸ *The Ordination Yearbook of Gushan* (1924), p.355. In 1924, Shnghui served as the ordaining master (*chuangjie daheshang* 傳戒大和尚) in the ordination ceremony held in Gushan.

dharma transmission lineage was Chefan 徹繁⁴⁷⁹:



From the above chart, it is obvious that Shanghui was the dharma uncle of the Gushan abbot Xuyun, because of that Shanghui was highly esteemed in both Gushan and Taiwan, which not only helped him successfully develop his own lineage in Taiwan, but also made him one of the most suitable candidates chosen by Japanese Buddhism to promote the tripartite interactions and associations among Japanese, Chinese and Taiwanese Buddhism⁴⁸⁰.

I now turn back to the foundation of Lingquan Temple. In 1905, Lin Laifa 林來發, the local supporter of Shanzhi in Keelung, donated one *jia* (甲, about 2.4 acres) from his tea plantation at Mt. Yuemei 月眉山 to Shanzhi for building a new Buddhist temple. Since Shanzhi died in 1906, the responsibility was handed over to his dharma brother Shanghui⁴⁸¹.

Because the naval base was located in the Keelung harbor, and Mt. Yuemei was crucial in defending the capital Taipei, the building of Lingquan Temple must apply for permission from the Command Headquarter of Keelung Fortress.⁴⁸² We may assume that for accelerating the building progress, Shanghui chose to join in Sōtō School in 1907 to obtain more supports from Japanese

⁴⁷⁹ Xuyun, *The Collection of Stars and Lamps*, in *Minjian Sicang Taiwan Zongjiao Ziliao Huibian* (民間私藏臺灣宗教資料彙編) Series 1, vol.31, pp.172-217): 180-190.

⁴⁸⁰ Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001):185.

⁴⁸¹ Li Tianchun(李添春), “The Materials of Taiwan Buddhism History Part I. The History of Caodong School (1)”:⁵.

⁴⁸² Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001):186-187; Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*: 41.

authorities, and his policy for the development of the temple was quite successful. It was said that Ishikawa Sodō, the superintendent priest of Sōtō School, hosted the inauguration ceremony of Shanhui in 1908⁴⁸³, and in the topping-out ceremony for the temple in 1910, not only both the fortress commander and the magistrate of Keelung, but also the local literati from Keelung and Taipei, Japanese Buddhist missionaries, and over twelve hundred believers attended it⁴⁸⁴. Furthermore, in 1912, Shanhui visited the newly founded Sōji-ji 總持寺 in Yokohama, the head temple of Sōtō School⁴⁸⁵, and was bestowed with the Buddhist Canon of *The Dainihon Revised Tripitaka Compact Edition* published by *Kōkyō shoin* 弘教書院 in 1885 as the treasure for Lingquan Temple.⁴⁸⁶ Then during 1921-1933, for twelve years Shanhui served as the president of Taiwan Buddhist Middle School (*Taiwan Bukkyō Chūgakurin* 台湾仏教中学林), a high school run by Sōtō School in Taipei. The school was the most important Buddhist education institution under the Japanese rule, which will be discussed in the next Chapter.

We may assume that through activities stated above, Shanhui had won long term protection from Japanese Buddhism. Therefore, during the Pacific War, though Lingquan Temple was located in the fortress area of Keelung, it was not as the doomed Chaofeng Temple which was demolished by the

⁴⁸³ Li Tianchun(李添春), “The Materials of Taiwan Buddhism History Part I. The History of Caodong School (1)”:⁵, but Huiyan argues that in the reports of *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō*, it was only said that Ishikawa Sodō was invited to preach in Lingquan Temple, and there was no mention about his attending the the inauguration ceremony of Shanhui. See Huiyan, *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi*: 214-216.

⁴⁸⁴ “Section 6. The Topping-out Ceremony and the Ordination Ceremony”(六.落成式及戒會), in *Lingquan Si Yangē* (靈泉寺沿革, The Development of Lingquan Temple), manuscript, no page number, unknown publisher.

⁴⁸⁵ Sōji-ji was originally located in Ishikawa Prefect(石川縣) but burned out in 1898. So Sōtō School decided to move its head temple to Yokohama and rebuilt Sōji-ji there in 1911.

⁴⁸⁶ 大日本校訂大藏經縮刷藏本(Tokyo: *Kōkyō shoin*, 1885). See Shi Ziwei(釋自煒), *Shanhui Fashi zhi Yanjiu*: 18.

Japanese armies. Shanghui seemed to have established much better relations with Japanese Buddhism than Yongding and he was also more flexible in balancing the influences from both Japanese and Chinese Buddhism: contacting with and joining in Japanese Buddhism to search for administrative conveniences and the protection while keeping traditional Chinese Buddhist characteristics introduced from Gushan to attract the local Taiwanese believers.

For this reason, Shanghui kept frequent exchanges with Gushan and Chinese Buddhism. In 1908, the Guhan master Xingjin 性進 was invited to Lingquan Temple to witness the completion of the Buddha Hall⁴⁸⁷; in 1909, Shanghui invited Master Shengen 聖恩 from Gushan for instructing the Chinese style Buddhist sutra chantings used in the memorial services⁴⁸⁸. In 1911, Shanghui visited China and made a grand tour of Buddhist sites in Shanghai, Tiantong, Hangzhou and Putuo Island.⁴⁸⁹ We may assume that it was in this tour that Shanghui expanded his social network in Chinese Buddhism. Then in 1915, Xingjin was invited again for prescribing Chinese monastic pure rules for Lingquan Temple;⁴⁹⁰ in 1923, Shanghui invited both the Gushan master Shengen and the southern Fujian master Yuanying 圓瑛, who was then preaching in Southeast Asia, to attend the ordination ceremony for lay people held in Lingquan Temple⁴⁹¹. After the ceremony, Yuanying traveled around the

⁴⁸⁷ “Section Two. The Buildings of Lingquan Temple”(二.靈泉寺之建築), in *Lingquan Si Yangge* (靈泉寺沿革), manuscript, no page number, unknown publisher.

⁴⁸⁸ Li Tianchun(李添春), “The Materials of Taiwan Buddhism History Part I. The History of Caodong School (1)”:15.

⁴⁸⁹ Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*: 42.

⁴⁹⁰ Li Tianchun(李添春), “The Materials of Taiwan Buddhism History Part I. The History of Caodong School (1)”:16.

⁴⁹¹ Huiyan suggests that Yuanying visited Taiwan during October 1923- February 1924. (*Taiwan yu Min Ri Fo jiao Jialishi*, p.479)

island to make speeches in Keelung, Taipei, Xinzhu, Taizhong 台中 and Tainan. The contents of his speeches showed the two representative synthetic characteristics of Chinese Buddhism. Firstly, based on “yili”一理(one principle) of Neo-Confucianism and “yixin”一心(one mind) of Huayan philosophy, Yuanying elucidated that Confucianism and Buddhism were consanguineous;⁴⁹² Secondly, Yuanying promoted the joint practice of Chan and Pure Land through instructing the method of using *nianfo* as the critical phrase: “*nianfo shi shei?*”念佛是誰? (“Who is this person doing *nianfo*?”) Because Yuanying taught in mandarin with the heavy accent of Fuzhou dialect (Fuzhou *qiang* 福州腔) of Fujian, one of the audience, an old Taiwanese nun who spoke Hakka 客家 dialect of Guangdong, mistakenly took “*nianfo shi shei?*” as “*nianfo chishui*”念佛吃水(drinking water when doing *nianfo*) and put it into practice seriously.⁴⁹³

Furthermore, through inviting Chinese monks to Taiwan, Shanghui made Lingquan Temple a platform for the Chinese-Japanese Buddhist interactions. Firstly, in 1912, as we have seen above, master Huiquan was invited to give lectures on *Diamond Sutra* in the Patriotic Buddhism Seminar in Linquan Temple. The seminar was organized by Shanghui and supervised by Sōtō master Kadowaki Tangen 門脇探玄 of the Sōtō *betsuin* (別院 branch temple) in Taipei, and its aims were to promote the missions of Sōtō School on the island and enhance the level of Buddhist education in Taiwan. The

⁴⁹² On Jan. 20 1924, Yuanying gave a speech on “Rushi Tongyuan Lun” (儒釋同源論, “On the Consanguinity of Confucianism and Buddhism”) in Tainan. See “Lixue Yanjiang”(理學演講, “Speech on the Doctrine of the Principle [of Neo-Confucianism]”) in *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, Jan. 20, 1924): page 6.

⁴⁹³ This anecdote is recorded by Yuanying’s Taiwanese disciple Yanyin (演音, 1914-1997) in his *Yanyin Laoheshang Kaishilu* (演音老和尚開示錄 *Master Yanyin’s Talks on Dharma*, Taitung County: Lengyan Jingshe, 1993):261, cited in He Mianshan(何綿山), *Tai Min Fo jiao Yuanliu yu Hudong*, pp.196-197.

lecturers included both Chinese and Japanese Buddhist masters, plus a layman: Shanghui on *Collection of the Images in Mind* (Xinying Ji 心影集, a textbook for cultivating citizen ethics), Huiquan on Buddhist sutras, the Sōtō missionary Watanabe Reijun 渡辺靈淳 on the history of Buddhism of India, China and Japan⁴⁹⁴, and Cai Guilin 蔡桂林, a *xiuxai* 秀才 (the scholar who passed the lowest level of the imperial examination) in the Qing dynasty who accompanied Shanghui to visit Sōji-ji in Yokohama earlier that year, on classical Chinese⁴⁹⁵. It was a successful cooperation of Chinese and Japanese Buddhism, of the clergy and the lay people, on religious education.

After Patriotic Buddhism Seminar in 1912, Huiquan came to Taiwan for several times to give lectures in Chaofeng Temple and Longhu Convent, as we have seen above. As Huiyan points out, the experiences of Buddhist education in Taiwan might have influence on Huiquan's foundation of Minnan Buddhist Seminary in Fujian.⁴⁹⁶

Secondly, in 1917, Lingquan Temple held the plenary masses (*Shuilu fahui* 水陸法會) for celebrating the completion of the three stupas. Shanghui invited master Qichang 岐昌, who was famous for his ritual changtings, and Yuanying to preside over the masses. Because Yuanying was too busy to

⁴⁹⁴ The title of the lecturing was “*sangoku bukkō reikishi*”(三國佛教歷史). I assume *sangoku* refers to Gyōnen's (凝然 1240-1321) *Sangoku buppō denzū engi* (三國佛法傳通緣起 *A Record of the Transmission of the Buddha-dharma through Three Countries*, 1311) which traces the histories of the Buddhist schools in India, China and Japan. See Carl Bielefeldt, “Filling the Zen shu: Notes on the Jisshu Yodo Ki” in Bernard Faure ed., *Chan Buddhism in Ritual Context* (London ; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003, pp. 179-210): 194.

⁴⁹⁵ “The Opening of Buddhism Seminar”(“Fojiao Jiangxihui zhi Kaimu”佛教講習會之開幕), in *Taiwan Nichi-Nichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, Sep. 5, 1912): page 6; “*Bukkyō Kōshūkai heikai*”(佛教講習會閉會“*The Closing of the Buddhism Seminar*”), *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, Oct 1, 1912): page 2; “The End of the Buddhism Seminar”(“Fojiao Jiangxihui Zhongjie”佛教講習會終結), *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, Oct 3, 1912): page 5.

⁴⁹⁶ Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi* (2008): 463-464.

come, he recommended Taixu 太虛 (1890-1947) to replace him. During his stay in Taiwan, Taixu learnt a lot about the monastic institution and the clerical education in Japan from Derong 德融 (1884-1971), a disciple of Shanghui who had studied abroad in the Sōtō middle school in Japan, and the two teachers in Taiwan Buddhist Middle School, Kumagai Taiju 熊谷泰壽 and Inoue Shunei 井上俊英, both of whom just graduated from Komazawa University of Sōtō School in Tokyo that year.⁴⁹⁷ Then Shanhui accompanied Taixu to visit Buddhist temples and educational institutions in Yamaguchi, Kobe, Osaka and Kyoto where Shanhui sent a made-to-order Japanese Buddhist monk's robe to Taixu.⁴⁹⁸ These experiences in Taiwan and Japan surely became significant references for Taixu when he founded the Wuchang Buddhist Institute (*Wuchang foxue yuan* 武昌佛學院) in 1922, an educational model for Buddhist seminaries throughout China.⁴⁹⁹

The friendship established between Shanghui and Taixu in this tour in Taiwan and to Japan lasted to the 1920s and might contribute to the further exchanges among Chinese, Japanese and Taiwanese Buddhism in East Asia. In 1923, Shanghui attended the Buddhist meeting in Lu Shan 廬山 held by Taixu's "World Buddhist Federation" (*Shijie Fojiao Lianhehui* 世界佛教聯合會)⁵⁰⁰. The meeting

⁴⁹⁷ Huiyan(慧嚴), "Taixu, Yuanying Er Dashi yu Taiwan Fojianjie"(太虛圓瑛二大師與台灣佛教界"On the Two Masters Taixu and Yuanying and Taiwan Buddhism"), *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal*, No. 17, (2004, 215-242): 217-222.

⁴⁹⁸ Taixu's trip to Taiwan and Japan in 1917 was recorded in his *Dongying Caizhen Lu* (東瀛采真錄 *The True Records of the Tour in Japan*), in *Taixu Dashi Quanshu* (太虛大師全書 *The Complete Works of Master Taixu*, Taipei: Taixu Dashi Quanshu Yingyinhui, 1970), no.19, pp. 312-357.

⁴⁹⁹ Don Alvin Pittman points out that Wucsang Buddhist Institute became a pioneer in Buddhist education: the school "adopted the western educational format of lecture and discussion classes. It employed monastic and lay instructors, provided blackboards for use by teachers and students, and required academic course work not only in Buddhist studies and languages but in secular subjects, such as history, literature, and psychology, as well. Its excellent library was renowned for a collection that eventually included more than forty thousand books." (Don. A. Pittman, *Toward a Modern Chinese Buddhism: Taixu's Reforms*, p. 97)

⁵⁰⁰ Li Tianchun(李添春), "The Materials of Taiwan Buddhism History Part I. The History of Caodong School (1)":17.

attracted the attention of Edo Sentarō 江戸千太郎, the Japanese consul in Jiujiang 九江, who then cooperated with Taixu to organize the First World Buddhist Federation in 1924, which in turn led to the holding of the East Asian Buddhist Conference in Tokyo in 1925⁵⁰¹, and three delegates from Taiwan also attended it: one was Xu Lin 許林, the representative of *zhaijiao*, the other two were Benyuan and Jueli, the founders of the two institutions of the five mountains.⁵⁰² More about Shanghui would be discussed in the next Chapter. Now let's turn to these two Taiwanese delegates: Benyuan and Jueli.

3.4 Lingyun Chan Temple on Mt. Guanyin in Wugu District of New Taipei City

Mt. Guanyin 觀音山 is located in the modern Wugu 五股 District of New Taipei City. On the mountain, there are two Lingyun Temples. One was already in existence during the Qing dynasty, another was newly built by Benyuan 本圓(1883-1947) under the Japanese rule. To distinguish Benyuan's temple from the old one, I follow Kan Zhengzong to use the full name for it: Lingyuan Chan Temple 凌雲禪寺. Lingyuan Chan Temple was located in the back and higher place of the old Linyun Temple.⁵⁰³

According to *A Handbook of the Shrines, Temples and Churches in Taipei (Taihoku shūka ni okeru*

⁵⁰¹ Holmes Welch, *The Buddhist Revival in China*, p.56; pp.166-167.

⁵⁰² Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001): 292. However, Charles Brewer Jones says that Shanghui was one of the three representatives from Taiwan to attend the Conference (*Buddhism in Taiwan*, p.43)

⁵⁰³ Lingyun Temple was said to be founded by Fujian people in 1739, and was burn out in the late Qing. It was then rebuilt in 1927. See Kan Zhengzong, “Benyuan Heshang yu Lingyun Chan Si: Riben Zhimin Shidai Wugu Guanyinshan Pai de Jueqi”(本圓和尚與凌雲禪寺:日本殖民時代五股觀音山派的崛起,“Mater Benyuan and Lingyun Chan Temple: The Rise of the Lineage of Wugu Guanyinshan under the Japanese Rule”), in *Zhongguo Fojiaohui Qiantai Liushi Zhounian: Mingguo Fojiao Gaoseng Xueshu Yantaohui Lunwenji* (2010, 564-594): 564-565.

shaji kyōkai yōran 臺北州下に於ける社寺教會要覽, 1933), Lingyun Chan Temple was founded by Master Baohai 寶海 who came from Sanchong 三重 in the suburb of Taipei. Baohai was tonsured in 1896 and received the precepts in Gushan. In 1909, he successfully persuaded Liu Jinpo 劉金波, a man of great wealth in Dadaocheng 大稻埕 area of Taipei, to build a Buddhist Temple to gain merits for his late father. With the help of Liu Qiguang 劉緝光 from Miaoli, they found land on Mt. Guanyin and the temple took only one year from December 1909 to November 1910 to be built. Unfortunately, Baohai then died and the supporters invited Benyuan to succeed him as the abbot⁵⁰⁴.

However, based on the materials provided by Master Luhang 律航 and Master Jiguang 寂光 in the ordination yearbook issued by Lingyun Chan Temple in 1956⁵⁰⁵, Kan Zhengzong argues that the founders of Lingyun Chan Temple were Master Liming 理明 and Master Baohai, and Benyuan took part in the project from the very beginning.⁵⁰⁶

According to Luhang, Liming was a Gushan Chan master who had once dreamed of Guanyin. In the dream, the bodhisattva brought him to Mt. Guanyin and instructed him to build a temple there for cultivation. Therefore, Liming invited Baohai, his ordination brother, to come with him to Taiwan and

⁵⁰⁴ Taiwan Shaji Shūkyō Kankōkai (臺灣社寺宗教刊行會) ed., *Taihoku shūka ni okeru shaji kyōkai yōran* (臺北州下に於ける社寺教會要覽, *A Handbook of the Shrines, Temples and Churches in Taipei*, 1933), reprint in *Minjian Sicang Taiwan Zongjiao Ziliao Huibian* (民間私藏臺灣宗教資料彙編), Series 1, vol.28, pp.1-288): 247.

⁵⁰⁵ Luhang (律航), “Guanyinshan Lingyun Chan Si Qianfo Dajie Yuanqi” (觀音山凌雲禪寺千佛大戒緣起, “The Origin of the Thousand Buddha Great Ordination Ceremony of Lingyun Chan Temple on Mt. Guanyin”), in Wuming (悟明)ed., “Taipei Guanyinshan Lingyun Chan Si Huguo Qianfo Dajie Tong Jielu” (台北觀音山凌雲禪寺護國千佛大戒同戒錄 “The Ordination Yearbook of the State Protection Thousand Buddha Great Ordination Ceremony of Lingyun Chan Temple on Mt. Guanyin in Taipei”, Taipei Guanyin Shan Lingyun Chan Si, 1956): 6; Jiguang(寂光), “Benyuan Heshang Zhuanji”(本圓和尚傳記, “Biography of Master Benyuan”), in Wuming ed., *ibid.*, p. 10.

⁵⁰⁶ Kan Zhengzong, “Mater Benyuan and Lingyun Chan Temple”: 566-567.

initiated the building plan.⁵⁰⁷ This origin myth showed the intimate connection with the Guanyin cult and the temple as in the case of Chaofeng Temple: while the latter had enjoyed the fame as Guanyin pilgrimage site since the Qing dynasty in the southern Taiwan, the former was newly built under the Japanese rule in the northern Taiwan. Actually, according to Xu Shuo's 徐壽 *An Illustrated Handbook of Taiwan Temples and Vegetarian Halls (Taiwan Quantai Simiao Zhaitang Mingji Baojian 臺灣全台寺院齋堂名蹟寶鑑)* published in 1932, among the five mountains, Guanyin was the principal object of worship in both Chaofeng Temple and Lingyun Chan Temple while all the other three institutions of the five mountains mainly worshipped Śākyamuni Buddha.⁵⁰⁸

In Kan's reconstruction of the founding history of Lingyun Chan Temple, Benyuan, as Shanghai, was a native of Keelung, and he was tonsured by Master Yuanjing in Dianji Gong in Keelung in 1897⁵⁰⁹ or in 1900⁵¹⁰. In 1900, Liming, Baohai and Benyuan decided to build a temple but could not find financial supports, so Liming left and Benyuan also went to Gushan to receive precepts in the next year (1901), only Baohai kept searching for opportunities to build the temple and finally obtained the donations of Liu Jinpo in 1909, so Baohai became the main founder of Lingyun Chan Temple.⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁷ Luhang (律航), "The Origin of the Thusand Buddha Great Ordination Ceremony of Lingyun Chan Temple on Mt. Guanyin": 6.

⁵⁰⁸ Xu Shuo (徐壽), *An Illustrated Handbook of Taiwan Temples and Vegetarian Halls*, reprint in *Minjian Sicang Taiwan Zongjiao Ziliao Huibian* (民間私藏臺灣宗教資料彙編, Series 1, vol.27, pp.1-187): p. 21 (the entry of "Lingquan Chan Si" 靈泉禪寺); p.23 (the entry of "Lingyun Chan Si" 凌雲禪寺); p. 50 (the entry of "Fayun Chan Si" 法雲禪寺); p. 104 (the entry of "Kaiyuan Si" 開元寺); p. 152 (the entry of "Chaofeng Si" 超峰寺).

⁵⁰⁹ Taiwan Shaji Shūkyō Kankōkai (臺灣社寺宗教刊行會) ed., *Taihoku shūka ni okeru shaji kyōkai yōran* (臺北州下に於ける社寺教會要覽, 1933):247.

⁵¹⁰ Shi Dechang(施德昌) ed., *Taiwan Bukkyō Myōseki hōkan* (臺灣佛教名蹟寶鑑, 1941): 317.

⁵¹¹ Kan Zhengzong, "Mater Benyuan and Lingyun Chan Temple": 567.

As we have seen above, in Shanghui's review of the development of Taiwan Buddhism in 1915, the four Gushan monks, Shangzhi, Miaomi, Miaoxing and Yuanjing, came back to Keelung to preach Buddhism in Dianji Gong⁵¹². We may assume that in this time, both Shanghui and Benyuan were attracted by these Buddhist masters and decided to leave home (*chujia* 出家) to become monks. While Shanghui was tonsured in Gushan in 1902, Benyuan received the tonsure in Keelung from the Gushan monk Yuanjing. According to Jiguang's "Biography of Master Benyuan" (Benyuan Heshang Zhuanji 本圓和尚傳記), Benyuan was the disciple of Facan 法參, so the dharma name of Yuanjing was Facan, and the full name of him (his special name plus his dharma name) was Yuanjing Facan 元精法參.

In the entry of "Guanyinshan Lingyun Chan Si" 觀音山凌雲禪寺 in Shi Dechang's 施德昌 *An Illustrated Handbook of Taiwan Buddhism (Taiwan Bukkyō Myōseki hōkan 臺灣佛教名蹟寶鑑)* published in 1941, it was recorded that Benyuan was the grandson disciple of Chuangfang.⁵¹³ As we have seen above, Chuangfang had practiced Buddhist cultivation for thirty years in Gushan and then was invited to serve as the abbot of Kaiyuan Temple in 1913. If this record is reliable, we may assume that Yuanjing was the disciple of Chuangfang and that Yuanjing might also be a Taiwanese who went to Gushan and received the tonsure from Chuangfang there. As a result, through Yuanjing, Benyuan belonged to Chuangfang's Gushan Linji lineage. Later, when Benyuan served as the abbot of Lingyun Chan Temple, he introduced this Gushan Linji lineage there. This also explained why Lingyun Chan

⁵¹² Shanghui, "Taiwan Fojiao Ershi Nian Huigu" (臺灣佛教二十年回顧, A Review of the Past Twenty Years of Taiwan Buddhism), *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, June 17, 1915): page 69.

⁵¹³ Shi Dechang(施德昌) ed., *Taiwan Bukkyō Myōseki hōkan* (臺灣佛教名蹟寶鑑, 1941): 317.

Temple had intimate connections with Kaiyuan Temple under the Japanese rule as we will see below.

I now return to the foundation of Lingyun Chan Temple. After receiving the precepts in Gushan in 1901, Benyuan came back to Taiwan soon after to visit his mother who had cried to blindness because of missing her son. He then stayed in Qingning Gong, the rear hall of Dianji Gong in Keelung, and helped Shangzhi build Lingquan Temple⁵¹⁴. In 1906, after the main hall of Lingquan Temple was completed, Benyuan returned to Gushan with his disciple Juejing 覺淨(1892-1963)⁵¹⁵ and then went to Zhejiang for further Buddhist training. After he came back from Zhejiang to Gushan, he served as the provost (*dujian* 都監) of Gushan⁵¹⁶ and stayed there for four to five years. As I mentioned before, in 1909, when Benyuan was still in Gushan, Shanghui asked him to invite the Gushan master Shengen to visit Lingquan Temple to instruct the Chinese style Buddhist sutra chantings used in the memorial services⁵¹⁷. This showed that after Shangzhi died in 1906, Benyuan still kept connections with Lingquan Temple and Shangzhi's successor Shanghui. Therefore, when Benyuan was invited to come

⁵¹⁴ Jiguang(寂光), "Biography of Master Benyuan": 10.

⁵¹⁵ Shanhui, "Taiwan Fojiao Ershi Nian Huigu"(臺灣佛教二十年回顧, A Review of the Past Twenty Years of Taiwan Buddhism), *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, June 17, 1915): page 69.

⁵¹⁶ "Shen Benyuan Shi Lueli"(沈本圓師略歷, "A Brief Biography of Master Benyuan"), in Xu Shuo (徐壽), *Taiwan Quantai Simiao Zhaitang Mingji Baojian*(臺灣全台寺院齋堂名蹟寶鑑, 1932): 180. According to Welch, the provost (都監) was one of the staff of the business office(kufang 庫房). "Though his status there was the highest, he took little part in its day-to-day operation. Usually he was an older monk, who had had many years' experience as a prior himself. Thus he bore the same relation to the acting prior that the retired abbot bore to the abbot in office: an honored advisor. The provost did not have to wait to be consulted. He could take the initiative in inspecting and correcting. In particular, he would advise the abbot on the appointment of officers and, if any officer was not performing his duties satisfactorily, the provost could recommend his dismissal or, in case of a serious violation of rules, his expulsion." (Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism*, p.29)

⁵¹⁷ Li Tianchun(李添春), "The Materials of Taiwan Buddhism History Part I. The History of Caodong School (1)":15, 24; cf. Kan Zhengzong, "Mater Benyuan and Lingyun Chan Temple": 571-572.

back to Taiwan to succeed Baohai as the abbot of Lingyun Chan Temple in 1910⁵¹⁸ or in March 1911⁵¹⁹, he also served as the prior of Lingquan Temple at the same time. After Benyuan left Lingquan Temple with his disciple Juejing to concentrate on the abbotship of Lingyun Chan Temple, he still kept friendly relationships with Shanghui⁵²⁰ as a cooperator. It was not until 1916-1917 that Benyuan turned into the competitor of Shanghui.

As we have mentioned above, the construction of Lingyun Chan Temple had already been completed before Baohai died. However, it seemed that the temple was built in the form of that of folk beliefs and Benyuan found it too small to be a great and spacious Buddhist monastery. In order to distinguish Lingyun Chan Temple from other folk belief ones, Benyuan decided to remodel it. The first rebuilding plan for a part of the temple was completed in half year from August 1914 to February 1915.⁵²¹ Meanwhile, Benyuan followed Shanghui's step to cooperate with Sōtō School and we may assume that it was Benyuan's strategy to gain more resources for the sake of renovating Lingyun Chan Temple. In this aspect, Benyuan was not only a cooperator but also an imitator of Shanghui. Benyuan actively joined in the missionary activities of Sōtō School, like giving a speech with other Taiwanese Buddhist leaders in the great Buddhist meetings in 1916, which was organized by Ōishi Kendō 大石堅

⁵¹⁸ “Shen Benyuan Shi Lueli”(沈本圓師略歷, “A Brief Biography of Master Benyuan”), in Xu Shuo (徐壽), *Taiwan Quantai Simiao Zhaitang Mingji Baojian*(臺灣全台寺院齋堂名蹟寶鑑, 1932): 180.

⁵¹⁹ Taiwan Shaji Shūkyō Kankōkai (臺灣社寺宗教刊行會) ed., *Taihoku shūka ni okeru shaji kyōkai yōran* (臺北州下に於ける社寺教會要覽, 1933): 247.

⁵²⁰ Li Tianchun(李添春), “The Materials of Taiwan Buddhism History Part I. The History of Caodong School (1)”: 24; cf. Kan Zhengzong, “Mater Benyuan and Lingyun Chan Temple”: 571-572.

⁵²¹ Taiwan Shaji Shūkyō Kankōkai (臺灣社寺宗教刊行會) ed., *Taihoku shūka ni okeru shaji kyōkai yōran* (臺北州下に於ける社寺教會要覽): 247; Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001): 201.

童(1868-1934), then the abbot of Sōtō *betsuin* in Taipei, and lasted for thirty five consecutive days in the Taiwan Industrial Fair (*Taiwan Kangyō Kyōshinkai* 台湾勸業共進会) for commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the Japanese rule in Taiwan and the completion of the new headquarters building of Japanese government in Taipei.⁵²²

However, Benyuan seemed to be marginalized in the system of Sōtō School because by the middle of 1910s, Shanghui had already become the main Taiwanese Buddhist leader in northern Taiwan who occupied the central position in the Sōtō School's network. For example, after the great Buddhist meetings in 1916, Ōishi Kendō approved the founding of Taiwan Buddhist Youth Association (*Taiwan Fojiao Qingnian Hui* 臺灣佛教青年會) to revive Taiwan Buddhism. While Ōishi became the president of the association and Shanghui served as the chief secretary, Benyuan was only listed in the supporting members⁵²³; in September 1916, when Sōtō School applied to the government for the permission to found Taiwan Buddhist Middle School in Taipei, Ōishi was the president while Shanghui and Benyuan competed for the position of the dean. Finally, Shanghui became the dean and Benyuan served as the vice dean. According to the report of Master Xinyuan 心源, the disciple of Ōishi, Benyuan was quite discontent with the result.⁵²⁴ Moreover, it seemed that Benyuan obtained few supports from Sōtō

⁵²² Lin Delin(林德林), "Taiwan Fojiao Xinyundong zhi Xianqu"(臺灣佛教新運動之先驅, The Pioneers of the New Taiwan Buddhism Movements), in *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教) vol.13, no.5 (May 1935, pp.23-34): 23, 27. Qu Haiyuan(瞿海源) says that the great Buddhist meetings in Taipei in 1916 lasted for forty days. See Qu Haiyuan "Chapter of the Resident, Religion" (住民志,宗教篇) in *Chongxiu Taiwan Sheng Tongzhi* (重修台灣省通志, *Revised General Gazetteer of Taiwan Province*, Taiwan Provincial Historical Commission, 1992), fasc. 3, pt.1, p. 108; cf. Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, pp. 68-69.

⁵²³ Lin Delin(林德林), "Taiwan Fojiao Xinyundong zhi Xianqu"(臺灣佛教新運動之先驅), pp. 30-31.

⁵²⁴ Xinyuan's report was recorded by Yifeng (一峰) in his "Xinyuan Laoheshang yu Taiwan Fojiao Zhongxuelin" (心源老

School in his plan of reconstructing Lingyun Chan Temple, so by 1915, though Benyuan had served as the abbot for five years, only a little part of the rebuilding plan had been completed.⁵²⁵ All these factors impelled Benyuan to depart from Sōtō School and receive the invitation of Rinzai School.

Since 1916, in order to compete with Sōtō School, Nagatani Jien 長谷慈円(1880-1918), the second abbot of Rinzai Gokoku Temple 臨濟護国禪寺 in Taipei, began to expand the influence of Myōshinji Sect in Taiwan by persuading significant Taiwanese Temples to join in the system of Rinzai School. His main target was Kaiyuan Temple in Tainan which was regarded as the highest-ranking temple in Taiwan. Because Benyuan was the grandson disciple of Chuangfang, the abbot of Kaiyuan Temple, Nagatani firstly persuaded Benyuan, and then went to visit Chuangfang through Benyuan's introduction⁵²⁶.

According to Masuda Fukutarō's 増田福太郎 "Report of Visiting Temples on the South Island" (*Nantō zibyō tanbōki* 南島寺廟探訪記) in 1929, Lingyun Chan Temple joined in the system of Myōshinji Sect in 1916;⁵²⁷ In January 1917, when Nagatani applied to the government for the permission to found Chinan Academy (*Chinnan gakuri* 鎮南学林), a high school run by Rinzai School in Taipei, to compete with Taiwan Buddhist Middle School of Sōtō School, both Kaiyuan Temple and

和尚與臺灣佛教中學林, "Master Xinyuan and Taiwan Buddhist Middle School"), in *Taiwan Fojiao*(臺灣佛教), vol. 19, no.7 (July 8 1965, pp. 17-19): 18.

⁵²⁵ Kan Zhengzong, "Mater Benyuan and Lingyun Chan Temple": 575-576.

⁵²⁶ Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi* (台灣與閩日佛教交流史, 2008): 266-267.

⁵²⁷ Masuda Fukutarō(増田福太郎), "Nantō zibyō tanbōki" (南島寺廟探訪記, "Report of Visiting Temples on the South Island"), in the appendix of his *Tōa hōchitsujo josetsu: minzoku shinkō o chūshin toshite* (東亜法秩序序説: 民族信仰を中心として, *Preface to the Legal Order of East Asia: Focusing on the National Beliefs*, Tokyo: Ozorasha, 2001): 226.

Lingyun Chan Temple were listed as the donors in the application documents.⁵²⁸ Originally, Lingyun Chan Temple and Kaiyuan Temple were asked to pay the preparing fees to Sōtō School for founding Taiwan Buddhist Middle School, with Benyuan departing from Sōtō School with Chuangfang, they did not pay the fees⁵²⁹. In this competition for the financial supports from Taiwanese temples to establish Buddhist education institutions, Nagatani had the upper hand. Benyuan then was officially registered as a Rinzai monk and appointed the Rinzai missionary in Taiwan in March 1917⁵³⁰.

To reward the new members of Rinzai School, Nagatani accompanied Benyuan, Chuangfang and Chengyuan 成圓, another grandson disciple of Chuangfang, to visit Gushan and other monasteries in Fujian, Guangdong and Putou Island from March to May 1917,⁵³¹ then went to Myōshinji in Kyoto where the Taiwanese monks were well treated and bestowed with kasayas.⁵³² In October that year, Lingyun Chan Temple was further bestowed with *gosonpai* 御尊牌, the tablet of Emperor to be worshipped in the temple for praying for the longevity of the emperor.⁵³³ With Benyuan and Changfang's visiting the head temple of Rinzai School Myōshinji Sect in Japan, all the eminent monks of the Linji lineages of Kaiyuan Temple were registered as Rinzai monks, like Yongding, the abbot of

⁵²⁸ Wen Guoliang(溫國良), *Riju Shiqi Zaitai Riben Fojiao Shiliao Xuanbian* (日據時期在臺日本佛教史料選編, *Selected Historical Materials of Japanese Buddhism in Taiwan under the Japanese Rule*, Nantou City: Guoshiguang Taiwan Wenxianguang, 2013): 124-126.

⁵²⁹ Yifeng(一峰), "Xinyuan Laoheshang yu Taiwan Fojiao Zhongxuelin" (心源老和尚與臺灣佛教中學林): 18.

⁵³⁰ Shi Dechang(施德昌) ed., *Taiwan Bukkyō Myōseki hōkan* (臺灣佛教名蹟寶鑑, 1941): 317.

⁵³¹ "Zhu Chanshi Jianbiehui"(諸禪師餞別會, "Farewell Party for Chan Masters"), *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, Mar 27, 1917): page 6; cf. Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi* (台灣與閩日佛教交流史, 2008): 267.

⁵³² Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi* (台灣與閩日佛教交流史, 2008): 269.

⁵³³ "Yu Zunpai Fengdaishi Xiangbao"(御尊牌奉戴式詳報, "A Detailed Report of the Honoring Ceremony for the Tablet of Emperor"), *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, Oct 28, 1917): page 5.

Chaofeng Temple, Jieyuan 捷圓(1879-1948), Chuangfang's grandson disciple who served as the abbot of Zhuxi Temple 竹溪寺 in Tainan City, and Juejing, Benyuan's disciple who was the abbot of Xiyun Temple 西雲寺, the branch temple of Lingyun Chan Temple.⁵³⁴

After departing from Sōtō School and joining in the system of Rinzai School, Benyuan soon initiated a series of reconstructions of Lingyun Chan Temple in 1918 and helped Nagatani organize Taiwan Friends of the Buddhist Way (*Taiwan Fojiao Daoyou Hui* 臺灣佛教道友會), an imitation of Sōtō School's Taiwan Buddhist Youth Association.⁵³⁵ Then in 1920, Lingyun Chan Temple was officially registered as the branch temple of Rinzai School in Taiwan, through which the temple was recognized as the Buddhist monastery, not a folk belief one.⁵³⁶ In 1921, Benyuan and Shanghui helped the foundation of The South Seas Buddhist Association (*Nanying Fojiao Hui* 南瀛佛教會) organized by Marui Keijirō 丸井圭治郎(1870-1934), the head of the Office of Shrines and Temples(*shajika* 社寺課) of Japanese government in Taiwan. This time, Benyuan obtained the equal treatment: both he and Shanghui served as the secretaries of the association⁵³⁷. In 1923, Benyuan held the ordination ceremony for both monastic clergy and lay people in Lingyun Chan Temple. Almost half of the ordained monks and nuns in the ceremony were members of the Gushan Linji lineage of Chuangfang

⁵³⁴ Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi* (2008): 361.

⁵³⁵ Qu Haining "Chapter of the Resident, Religion" (住民志,宗教篇) in *Chongxiu Taiwan Sheng Tongzhi* (重修臺灣省通志, 1992): 113-115.

⁵³⁶ Taiwan Shaji Shūkyō Kankōkai (臺灣社寺宗教刊行會) ed., *Taihoku shūka ni okeru shaji kyōkai yōran* (臺北州下に於ける社寺教會要覽,1933):247-248.

⁵³⁷ Qu Haining "Chapter of the Resident, Religion" (住民志,宗教篇) in *Chongxiu Taiwan Sheng Tongzhi* (重修台灣省通志, 1992): 115-118.

and Benyuan⁵³⁸, which showed the rise of Lingyun Chan Temple as one of the representative Gushan lineages in Taiwan. In 1925, Benyuan attended East Asian Buddhist Conference held in Tokyo as one of the three delegates from Taiwan, as we have seen above.

Furthermore, since the late 1920s, Lingyun Chan Temple turned into a pilgrimage site of the Japanese thirty-three Kannon, a totally different development from Chaofeng Temple which insisted on the traditional Chinese Guanyin cult. In 1927, in the meeting for the Rinzai branch temples in northern Taiwan held in Rinzai Gokoku Temple in Taipei, some believers suggested to set up pilgrimage sites of the thirty-three Kannon all around the island⁵³⁹. Later, the keeper of Kamano 鎌野 watch and clock shop in Taipei donated the stone statues of the thirty-three Kannon to set up the pilgrimage route along the path from Xiyun Temple to Lingyun Chan Temple at Mt. Guanyin for those who were not able to visit the Kannon pilgrimage sites in Japan. Since 1928, pilgrims had been recruited twice a year in the spring and fall to visit Lingyun Chan Temple and spend a night there. Since 1931, Rinzai Gokoku Temple had been in charge of organizing the pilgrimage activities to Lingyun Chan Temple, which showed the intimate cooperations of Benyuan with Rinzai School.⁵⁴⁰

Nevertheless, Lingyun Chan Temple did maintain some Chinese Buddhist characteristics and

⁵³⁸ *The Ordination Yearbook of Lingyun Chan Temple On Mt. Guanyin (Guanyinshan Lingyun Chan Si Tongjie Lu 觀音山凌雲禪寺同戒錄*, Taipei: Lingyun Chan Temple, 1923).

⁵³⁹ “Linjizong Beibu Lianluo Simiao Huiyi”(臨濟宗北部聯絡寺廟會議, “The Meeting for the Rinzai Branch Temples in the Northern Taiwan”), in *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, Sep. 29, 1927): page 4.

⁵⁴⁰ “Deng Guanyinshan: Canbai Sanshisuan Suo”(登觀音山:參拜三十三所, “Climbing Mt. Guanyin: A Pilgrimage to the thirty-three Kannon”), in *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, Apr. 12, 1928): page 4; “Kannon Reijō Junpaidan Boshū”(觀音靈場巡拜團募集, “Recruiting the Kannon Pilgrimage Groups”), in *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, Mar. 27, 1931): page 2; cf. Kan Zhengzong, “Mater Benyuan and Lingyun Chan Temple”: 586-587.

Benyuan also kept exchanges with Gushan. Firstly, Benyuan forbided the clergy in Lingyun Chan Temple to eat meats or lead secular family lives.⁵⁴¹ Secendly, as we have seen above, he visited Gushan and other Chinese monasteries in 1917 with Nagatani; and in 1923, Benyuan invited the Gushan master Sheneng to be the catechist master, and Yuanying to be the confessor master (*jiemo ācārya* 羯磨阿闍梨) for the ordination ceremony held in Lingyun Chan Temple⁵⁴².

3.5 Fayun Temple of Dahu Township in Miaoli

Among the five mountains and their founders, Fayun Temple 法雲寺 was the only institution which belonged to the Gushan Caodong lineage, and its founder, Master Jueli 覺力(1881-1933) was the only non-native of the island⁵⁴³. About Jueli, Shi Chanhui 禪慧 had published *The Annals of Chan Master Jueli* which provides many important information, but Jiang Tsanteng points out that several points in its chronology are questionable and gives his own reconstruction of Jueli's life⁵⁴⁴. I will mainly follow Jiang's discussions in the following.

Jueli was a southern Fujianese born in Amoy in 1881. He had felt the sufferings and impermanence of life since his childhood⁵⁴⁵. Therefore, in 1896, when he was sixteen, he left home and

⁵⁴¹ Taiwan Shaji Shūkyō Kankōkai (臺灣社寺宗教刊行會) ed., *Taihoku shūka ni okeru shaji kyōkai yōran* (臺北州下に於ける社寺教會要覽, 1933):247.

⁵⁴² *The Ordination Yearbook of Lingyun Chan Temple On Mt. Guanyin (Guanyinshan Lingyun Chan Si Tongjie Lu 觀音山凌雲禪寺同戒錄*, Taipei: Lingyun Chan Temple, 1923):1.

⁵⁴³ Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*: 48.

⁵⁴⁴ Shi Chanhui (釋禪慧), *Jueli Chanshi Nianpu* (覺力禪師年譜 *The Annals of Chan Master Jueli*, Taipei: Sanhui Jiangtang, 1997); Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001): 206-222.

⁵⁴⁵ Jones points out that in 1896, when Jueli was sixteen, one of his schoolmates had suddenly sickened and died. Jueli

went to Gushan where he took Master Wanshan 萬善 as his master. He stayed in Gushan for three years, then received the tonsure in 1899 from Wanshan before he received the full ordination from Master Benzong 本忠(1866-1935) in 1900⁵⁴⁶.

Jueli's tonsure master Wanshan was a Gushan Caodong master, and Wanshan gave Jueli the dharma name “*fuyuan*”復願 according to the Gushan Caodong transmission poem adopted by Yongjue and Daopei since the late Ming and early Qing. Later, when Jueli served as the abbot of Fayun Temple, he brought with him the Gushan Caodong lineage.

From 1901 Jueli studied vinaya in Gushan with Master Benzong for six years. In 1905, he went to Southeast Asia with Benzong to raise funds for Gushan. He visited other monasteries in China and Japan in 1908, to observe the condition of Buddhism and went to Taiwan for the first time and stayed in Lingquan Temple founded by Shanhui.⁵⁴⁷ Jueli also visited Lingyun Chan Temple⁵⁴⁸ which was still under construction at that time. Jiang Tsanteng assumes that because Master Baohai, the founder of Lingyun Chan Temple, received precepts in Gushan and might have known Jueli there, so when Jueli came to Taiwan, Jueli went to visit Baohai in Lingyun Chan Temple and made the acquaintance of the main supporters of Lingyun Chan Temple such as Liu Jinpo 劉金波 from Da Daocheng 大稻埕 in

“was instantly filled with repugnance for life's transitoriness, and decided then and there to run away to seek ordination.”(*Buddhism in Taiwan*: 48-49)

⁵⁴⁶ Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *ibid.*: 207-208. In 1924, Jueli served as the confessor master in the ordination ceremony in Gushan. According to the ordination yearbook of that year, Jueli received the full monastic precepts from Benzong in 1900. See *The Ordination Yearbook of Gushan* (1924), collected in *Minjian Sicang Taiwan Zongjiao Ziliao Huibian* (民間私藏臺灣宗教資料彙編), Series 1, vol.23, pp.348-452): 355.

⁵⁴⁷ Zhang Changchuan(張長川), “Jueli Heshang Zhuang”(覺力和尚傳, “The Biography of Jueli”), in *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教 Taipei: Nanei Bukkyōkai) vol.12, no.1 (1934, pp.48-49): 48.

⁵⁴⁸ Jueli's autobiography (“Zi Shu”自述), in Shi Chanhui (釋禪慧), *The Annals of Reverend Jueli*, p.119.

Taipei and Liu Qiguang 劉緝光 from Dahu in Miaoli 苗栗大湖. Jiang further theorizes that during Jueli's stay in Lingyun Chan Temple, Ye Aming 葉阿銘, a native Hakka person 客家人 of Taoyuan 桃園 county in Taiwan heard of the fame of Jueli and came to visit him.⁵⁴⁹

Ye was only three years younger than Jueli and before he visited Jueli, he had already taken refuge in *zhaijiao*. When he visited Jueli, Jueli appreciated him so much that Jueli took Ye as disciple and named him Miaoguo. Later, Jueli took Miaoguo back to Gushan, and Miaoguo received the precepts there in 1912⁵⁵⁰.

Before Miaoguo received the precepts, he returned to Taiwan in 1911⁵⁵¹ and met Liu Qiguang at Lingyun Chan Temple on Mt. Guanyin. Liu discussed with Miaoguo about building a Buddhist temple in Liu's hometown, Dahu in Miaoli⁵⁵². Jiang assumes that it was for the development of Jueli's lineage and his own monastic career in Taiwan that Miaoguo decided to return to Gushan to receive the full ordination and then invited Jueli to come to Taiwan with him to build Fayun Temple in Miaoli in 1912⁵⁵³.

Miaoli is a mountainous area in northern Taiwan. In the Qing dynasty, when the Hakka people

⁵⁴⁹ Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001): 213.

⁵⁵⁰ In *The Annals of Reverend Jueli*, p.157, Shi Chanhui (釋禪慧) cited Mater Dali's(達理) "Miaoguo Heshang Zhuang"(妙果和尚傳, "The Biography of Master Miaoguo"). Dali says that: a. Miaoguo visited Jueli in 1902; b. Miaoguo was taken to Gushan by Jueli in 1906; c. Miaoguo received the precepts in Gushan in 1912. Though Jiang Tsanteng agrees with the point c, he disagrees with the points a and b. See the discussions of Jiang in *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001): 213. For Chanhui's version of Miaoguo's activities which says that Miaoguo met Jueli in 1911 in Gushan, see Shi Chanhui (釋禪慧), *The Annals of Reverend Jueli*, p.132 and Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*: 49-50.

⁵⁵¹ Qu Haiyuan says that Miaoguo returned to Taiwan in 1911 because his mother had fallen ill. ("Chapter of the Resident, Religion" (住民志, 宗教篇) in *Chongxiu Taiwan Sheng Tongzhi* (重修臺灣省通志, 1992):120); cf. Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*: 50.

⁵⁵² Shi Chanhui (釋禪慧), *The Annals of Reverend Jueli*, p.132.

⁵⁵³ Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001): 214.

from Guangdong came to reclaim the lands of Dahu in Miaoli, they had intense conflict with the aborigines. In order to console those who died in the warfare and to pacify the aborigines through religious powers, the local literati Wu Dinglian 吳定連 and Liu Qiguang planned to build the temple for the righteous people (*yiming gong* 義民宮) and invited Jueli and Miaoguo to establish the Buddhist Fayun Temple⁵⁵⁴. After the Fayun Temple was founded, the local society was pacified as the literati expected, so there was a proverb saying “Fayun jiang er Dahu ping”法雲建而大湖平(when Fayun Temple was established, the Dahu area was pacified.)⁵⁵⁵

As the other four institutions of the five mountains, Jueli adopted the development policy of balancing the influences of Chinese Buddhism and Japanese Buddhism. However, judging from his reformist ideas of Buddhist education and the precepts-giving activities, he inclined more to Chinese tradition as we will see below.

In the aspect of connecting with Japanese Buddhism, Fayun Temple had already become the branch temple of Sōtō School in Taiwan before the foundation of Taiwan Buddhist Youth Association in 1916.⁵⁵⁶ In 1919, Jueli was appointed as the missionary for the Sōtō School.⁵⁵⁷ In 1922, Jueli was

⁵⁵⁴ Shi Chanhui (釋禪慧), *The Annals of Reverend Jueli*, p.142.

⁵⁵⁵ Shi Chanhui (釋禪慧), *The Annals of Reverend Jueli*, p.137.

⁵⁵⁶ Lin Delin(林德林), “Taiwan Fojiao Xinyundong zhi Xianqu”(臺灣佛教新運動之先驅), in *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教) vol.13, no.5 (May 1935, pp.23-34): 29. Lin Delin cited the “Intent to Set up Taiwan Buddhist Youth Association”(Taiwan Fojiao Qingninghui Quyì Shu, “臺灣佛教青年會趣意書”) which points out that till that time (1916), Sōtō School had incorporated Taiwanese Temples into its system, including Lingquan Temple in Keelung(基隆靈泉寺), Lingyun Temple and Xiyun Temple in Taipei(臺北凌雲寺,西雲岩), Fayun Temple in Miaoli(苗栗法雲寺), Daxian Temple in Jiayi(嘉義大仙岩), Kaiyuan Temple in Tainan(臺南開元寺) and so on.

⁵⁵⁷ Zhang Changchuan(張長川), “Jueli Heshang Zhuang”(覺力和尚傳), in *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教 Taipei: Nanei Bukkyōkai) vol.12, no.1 (1934, pp.48-49): 49. However, Huiyan argues that both Jueli and Miaoguo were appointed missionaries in 1917 (*Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi*, p.251).

invited to serve as the abbot of Longshan Temple 龍山寺 in Taipei⁵⁵⁸, which had been one of the most important centers of Guanyin cult in northern Taiwan since the Qing dynasty.⁵⁵⁹ Huiyan argues that with Jueli's serving the abbotship in Taipei, he established further intimate relations with Sōtō School⁵⁶⁰. Therefore, although Jueli played no role in the foundation of Taiwan Buddhist Middle School in 1916 and the establishment of The South Seas Buddhist Association in 1921, he was chosen in 1924 as a council member of the The South Seas Buddhist Association⁵⁶¹. In 1925, as we have seen above, both Jueli and Benyuan attended East Asian Buddhist Conference in Tokyo as the delegates from Taiwan. While Jueli was the representative of Sōtō School in Taiwan, Benyuan was the deputy of Rinzai School in Taiwan.

On the other hand, Jueli kept up exchanges with Gushan and Chinese monks. In 1922, Jueli invited Master Huiquan from southern Fujian to hold the plenary masses in Fayun Temple to celebrate the completion of the meditation hall⁵⁶². In 1924, Master Yuanying was invited to preach *Diamond Sutra*⁵⁶³. In 1925, after the East Asian Buddhist Conference in Tokyo, Jueli invited Master Daojie 道階, the abbot of Fayuan Temple in Beijing 北京法源寺, and other delegates from China to visit Taiwan⁵⁶⁴.

⁵⁵⁸ Taiwan Shaji Shūkyō Kankōkai (臺灣社寺宗教刊行會) ed., *Taihoku shūka ni okeru shaji kyōkai yōran* (臺北州下に於ける社寺教會要覽, 1933): 256-257.

⁵⁵⁹ Charle Brewer Jones takes Longshan Temple as an example to points out that such large temples in the Qing dynasty fulfilled functions far beyond the religious sphere. They might also “serve as community gathering places, meeting-halls for trade guilds and other groups, and loci of political power.” (*Buddhism in Taiwan*, p.8)

⁵⁶⁰ Huiyan (慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi*, p.259.

⁵⁶¹ “Lishi Yidong”(理事異動, “Personnel Changes of the Council Members”), in *Nanei Bukkyō*, vol.2, no.4 (1924): 32.

⁵⁶² Shi Chanhui (釋禪慧), *The Annals of Reverend Jueli*, p.144.

⁵⁶³ “Fayun Si qing jiang Jing”(法雲寺請講經), in *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, Jan. 17, 1924): page 6.

⁵⁶⁴ “Dongya Fojiao Dahui Zhonghua Minguo Daibiao lai Tai”(東亞佛教大會中華民國代表來臺, The R.O.C. Representatives of the East Asian Buddhist Conference Coming to Taiwan), *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教) vol.4, no.1 (1926):

According to *The Annual* edited by Shi Chanhui, besides these Chinese Buddhist masters, Gushan monks came to visit Fayun Temple frequently⁵⁶⁵.

Moreover, Fayun Temple maintained Chinese Buddhist characteristics because Jueli prescribed that the resident clergy should seriously observe the ten precepts⁵⁶⁶ for the novice, which prevent the tendency of Japanization. As Jueli points out to Masuda Fukutarō who visited Fayun Temple in 1929, one of the reasons why the Buddhist clergy who came to Taiwan from Japan could not attract Taiwanese believers was that they did not uphold the precepts strictly⁵⁶⁷. On the contrary, through emphasizing the maintenance of traditional Chinese monastic discipline, Jueli not only obtained the supports of the local believers, but also provided a check against the Japanization of Buddhism in Taiwan.⁵⁶⁸ As Li Tianchun comments, Jueli could not speak Japanese, and although he was appointed the Sōtō missionary and dressed like a Japanese monk, all he preached was of Gushan tradition⁵⁶⁹. I assume that Jueli's stressing on the precepts had a personal factor. It was said that when Jueli received the invitation to come to Taiwan to be the abbot of Fayun Temple, his master Wanshan disapproved,

34.

⁵⁶⁵ Shi Chanhui (釋禪慧), *The Annals of Reverend Jueli*, p.150.

⁵⁶⁶ The ten precepts are: (1) no killing; (2) no stealing; (3) no sex; (4) no lying; (5) no drinking alcohol; (6) no wearing perfumes or adornments; (7) no singing, dancing, or watching song-dance entertainments; (8) no sleeping on a luxurious bed; (9) no eating after lunch, until morning; (10) no touching or hoarding money or treasures. See Rulu, *Bodhisattva Precepts: Selected Mahāyāna Sūtras* (Bloomington, IN: Authorhouse, 2012): 2; Masuda Fukutarō(增田福太郎), "Nantō zibyō tanbōki" (南島寺廟探訪記): 283.

⁵⁶⁷ Masuda Fukutarō(增田福太郎), "Nantō zibyō tanbōki" (南島寺廟探訪記): 284.

⁵⁶⁸ Cf. Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, p.53.

⁵⁶⁹ Li Tianchun(李添春), "The Materials of Taiwan Buddhism History Part I. The History of Caodong School (2)" (*Taiwan Fojiao Shi Ziliao Shangpian: Caodong Zong Shi* 臺灣佛教史資料上篇:曹洞宗史二), in *Taiwan Fojiao* (臺灣佛教), vol.27. no.1 (Apr. 1973, pp.14-16): 14.

fearing that Jueli would return to lay life because of the unusual circumstances in Taiwan.⁵⁷⁰ Therefore, by keeping the monastic discipline he learnt from Benzong in Gushan for six years as we have seen above, Jueli proved himself to be the eminent disciple worthy of Wanshan's trust.

In his visit to Fayun Temple, Masuda Fukutarō also observe that compared with Shanhui and Benyuan, Jueli was unique for his special concern for Buddhist education in Taiwan.⁵⁷¹ As to his own disciples, in 1923, Jueli sponsored Miaoji 妙吉, Zhenchang 真常 and Daxuan 達玄 to study in the Buddhist seminaries in China⁵⁷² like Wuchang Buddhist Institute founded by Taizu and Inner Studies Institute (*Zhina neixue yuan* 支那內學院) founded by a Buddhist layman Ouyang Jian 歐陽漸 (Ouyang Jingwu 歐陽竟無, 1871-1943) in Nanjing 南京 in 1919⁵⁷³. When these disciples graduated from the Buddhist seminaries in China and returned to Taiwan, they helped Fuyun Temple found its own education institution, Fayun Buddhist Study Society (*Fayun Foxueshe* 法雲佛學社), in 1928⁵⁷⁴. Though the Society was short-lived because of the economic depression and lack of financial supports, just like most of the other Buddhist educational experiments in Taiwan⁵⁷⁵ and in China during this

⁵⁷⁰ Shi Chanhui (釋禪慧), *The Annals of Reverend Jueli*, p.134.

⁵⁷¹ Masuda Fukutarō(増田福太郎), “Nantō zibyō tanbōki” (南島寺廟探訪記): 288.

⁵⁷² Shi Chanhui (釋禪慧), *The Annals of Reverend Jueli*, p.147; “Fayun Si she Foxue yuan”(法雲寺設佛學院, Fayun Temple Founding the Buddhist Seminary), in *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (Oct. 15, 1925): page 4.

⁵⁷³ Inner Studies Institute emphasized Weishi (唯識 mind-only) philosophy. It was established in 1919 and operated continuously until the Japanese invasion of Nanjing in 1937. See Don. A. Pittman, *Toward a Modern Chinese Buddhism*: 54; cf. Gregory Adam Scott, *Conversion by the Book: Buddhist Print Culture in Early Republican China* (Dissertation, Columbia University, New York City, 2013): 73; 267-268.

⁵⁷⁴ Shi Chanhui (釋禪慧), *The Annals of Reverend Jueli*, p.151-152; Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi* (2008):255, 263-264.

⁵⁷⁵ Zheg Daxu(曾達虛), “Taiwan Fojiao de Yipie”(臺灣佛教的一瞥, “A Glimpse of Taiwan Buddhism”), in *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教) vol.13, no.4 (1935, pp.16-22): 17.

period⁵⁷⁶, I assume that the reforming plans of Jueli for the Buddhist education in Taiwan was deeply influenced by those similar attempts in China.

Among Jueli's attempts to enhance the Buddhist educational level in Taiwan, the most noticeable one might be his promotion of the education of female practitioners, both *zhaiigu* and nuns. After he was chosen in 1924 as a council member of the The South Seas Buddhist Association, he asked the association to hold seminars for the female. In 1925, a special seminar for the female was held in Yishan Tang 一善堂, a vegetarian hall of *zhaijiao* in Xinzhu, for six months⁵⁷⁷. Through Jueli's efforts, Yishan Tang was gradually turned into a Buddhist institution. The same happened to Yitong Tang 一同堂, another vegetarian hall in Xinzhu which then became Yitong Chan Temple.⁵⁷⁸

In the special seminar held in Yishan Tang, one female practitioner of Yishan Tang became Jueli's disciple and was named Miaoqing 妙清. With Jueli's help, Miaoqing founded Yuantong Chan Temple 圓通禪寺, a Buddhist nunnery in Taipei, in 1927⁵⁷⁹. The other female disciples of Jueli, Miaochen 妙塵 and her five sisters, following their late mother's will, built Pilu Chan Temple 毗盧禪寺, another Buddhist nunnery in Taizhong during 1927-1930. Jueli then asked his disciple Zhenchang, who had

⁵⁷⁶ Don. A. Pittman, *Toward a Modern Chinese Buddhism*: 56.

⁵⁷⁷ “Kai Dierhui Tebie Jiangxihui (yu Xinzhu zhouxia Xiangshan Yishan Tang wei Nuzibu)” (開第二回特別講習會(於新竹州下香山一善堂為女子部), in *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教) vol.3, no.4 (1925): 30-31. “Holding the Second Special Seminar (In Yishan Tang in Xiangshan in Xinzhu, as the Female Department)”, ; cf. Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi*, p.252.

⁵⁷⁸ Zongping(宗平), “Jueli Chanshi Yiwen”(覺力禪師軼聞, “Anecdotes of Chan Master Jueli”), in Shi Chanhui (釋禪慧), *The Annals of Reverend Jueli* (pp. 191-198): 197; cf. Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001): 219.

⁵⁷⁹ Taiwan Shaji Shūkyō Kankōkai (臺灣社寺宗教刊行會) ed., *Taihoku shūka ni okeru shaji kyōkai yōran* (臺北州下に於ける社寺教會要覽, 1933):244-245; Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001): 219.

graduated from Minnan Buddhist Seminary in China, to teach in the educational institute for the nuns established in Pilu Chan Temple. According to Huiyan's study, the arrangement of the lectures in Pilu Chan Temple was introduced from Minnan Buddhist Seminary by Zhenchang, including both Buddhist studies and secular subjects such as western philosophy and Chinese literature,⁵⁸⁰ which reflected the influences of the Buddhist educational reforms in China. However, after receiving trainings in Pilu Chan Temple, several nuns chose to study abroad in *Kansai Nisō Gakurin* (関西尼僧学林 Kansai Middle School for Nuns) founded in 1903 by Sōtō School in Aichi prefecture in Japan⁵⁸¹, and the same happened to the nuns in Yuantong Chan Temple⁵⁸². This phenomena showed that the modern Chinese Buddhist education introduced into the nunneries in Taiwan could only provide the basic level instruction, and the nuns had to study abroad to pursue further trainings, especially when they wanted to study in the Buddhist university like Komazawa in Tokyo. Nevertheless, because both the middle schools run by Sōtō School and Rinzaï School in Taiwan were only for males, the education for the nuns promoted by Jueli surely made great contributions⁵⁸³.

Jueli died in 1933, and two years later, in 1935, Fayun Temple was totally destroyed not by Japanese armies but by the massive earthquake in the the central Taiwan, and it was not until after the

⁵⁸⁰ Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi*, pp. 498-503.

⁵⁸¹ Ōno Ikuko (大野育子), *Rizhi Shiqi Fojiao Jingying de Jueqi*(日治時期佛教菁英的崛起:以曹洞宗駒澤大學台灣留學生為中心, *The Appearance of the Buddhism Elites in the Japanese Taiwan Rule Times by Overseas Taiwanese Students of Soto Zen Buddhism Komazawa University*), Master Thesis, Dajiang university (2009): 94.

⁵⁸² Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi*, pp. 498-503.

⁵⁸³ Ōno Ikuko (大野育子), *Rizhi Shiqi Fojiao Jingying de Jueqi*, pp. 94-96.

war that the Great Shrine Hall was rebuilt in 1951⁵⁸⁴. Therefore, since the middle 1930s, Yuanguang Temple 圓光寺 in Taoyuan 桃園 which was founded by Jueli's disciple Miaoguo in 1917 replaced Fayun Temple to be the main institution of Jueli's Gushan Caodong lineage, as we will discuss in the next Chapter.

After introducing the rise of the five mountains in Taiwan, I will inquire further into the precepts-giving activities and the ordination ceremonies held in Gushan and Taiwan to show the exchanges between Gushan and Taiwan, and the dynamics of the diffusion of the Gushan lineage to Taiwan.

4. Receiving Precepts in Gushan and the Ordination Ceremonies in Taiwan

Taiwan was annexed as one prefecture of Fujian province in 1684. In the mid Qing, if all monks and nuns in Fujian should visit Gushan for receiving precepts after Gushan reopened the ordination platform as we have discussed in Chapter three, then there was no exception for Taiwanese monks and nuns. Even after Taiwan prefecture was made as a separate province in 1885, Taiwanese monks and nuns still had to visit Gushan to receive precepts because there was no ordination platform or precepts-giving ceremonies in Taiwan.

However, because of the difficulties of crossing Taiwan Strait and the relatively high travel

⁵⁸⁴ Charles Brewer Jones points out that when Fayun Temple was destroyed in the earthquake, Japan was already at war with China which made materials for rebuilding the temple difficult to come by. *Buddhism in Taiwan*, p.54.

expenses and ordination fees, till the early years under the Japanese rule, there had been few fully ordained monks and even fewer fully ordained nuns in Taiwan, and one could find no place to receive the basic monastic discipline trainings. By contrast, the ones who had received precepts in Gushan would be recognized as the orthodox Chinese Buddhist clergy and highly esteemed by Taiwanese Buddhist believers. As Marui Keijirō points out in his official *Report of the Investigation into Religion in Taiwan* (*Taiwan Shukyō Chōsa Hokōkusho* 台灣宗教調查報告書) in 1919, if one wanted to be a high-ranked Buddhist priest in Taiwan, it was necessary for him to obtain the ordination certificate in Gushan, or it would be difficult to gain lay people's trust.⁵⁸⁵ Marui further provides the information about the ordination ceremonies held in Gushan. According to him, Gushan Monastery held ordination ceremonies twice a year, one in the spring on the eighth day of the fourth month (the Buddha's birthday), and again in the winter on the seventeenth day of the eleventh month (the Amitabha Buddha's birthday). The ordination lasted for seven days and the ordination fees were about forty to fifty yen. At the end of the ordination, the ordinee would be burned three to twelve scars on the pate.⁵⁸⁶ Marui also provides an ordination certificate issued by Gushan on the eighth day of the fourth month in 1878.⁵⁸⁷ Therefore, we can infer that the ordination in Gushan lasted for seven days and ended on the Buddha's birthday in the spring, or on the the Amitabha Buddha's birthday in the winter. Welch also points out that the Buddha's

⁵⁸⁵ Marui Keijirō (丸井圭治郎) ed., *Taiwan Shukyō Chōsa Hokōkusho* (台灣宗教調查報告書 *Report of the Investigation into Religion in Taiwan*, 1919), vol. 1. (Taihoku [Taipei]: Taiwan Sōtokufu(台灣總督府), reprint by Taipei: Jieyou Chubanshe, 1993):72-73.

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 73.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

birthday was the most important festival of the year, and it was the customary date for the end of the spring ordination at most Chinese monasteries⁵⁸⁸.

According to Welch, ordinands paid only a small fee: two to five dollars for monks, twice as much for nuns, and three times as much for lay people⁵⁸⁹. Compared to it, the ordination fees for Gushan was quite high, which to some extent explained why few Taiwanese could receive precepts there.

Welch also points out that the length of ordinations had regional differences. The ordinations in Baohua Shan 寶華山 in Jiangsu, the most famous ordination center of the vinaya lineage in China, used to last fifty-three days, but since at least as early as 1924, they had lasted only thirty-seven or thirty-eight days; in Hubei the ordination interval dropped to two weeks; and for Sichuan and Shanxi it was one week only.⁵⁹⁰ Therefore, the length of ordinations in Gushan was relatively short and might not be able to provide enough trainings. It might be one of the reasons why some ordines chose to stay for three years in Gushan to receive further Buddhist trainings.⁵⁹¹ As we have seen above, Master Chuangfang had stayed for over thirty years. He might plan to spend the rest of his life in Gushan if he had not been invited back to Taiwan.

⁵⁸⁸ Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism*, p. 294.

⁵⁸⁹ Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism*, p. 296.

⁵⁹⁰ Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism*, pp. 294-295. Welch quotes the information from Prip-Møller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries* (Copenhagen, 1937): 311. Welch's informants also points out that at Gushan in 1916, the ordination lasted for four days, while in 1930 at a small monastery in Hunan it lasted for just three days.

⁵⁹¹ Marui reports that the ones who visited Gushan for receiving the precepts would stay for three years. In the first year, he would receive the novice initiation; in the second year, he would receive full ordination; and in the last year, he would receive bodhisattva ordination (*Taiwan Shukyō Chōsa Hokōkusho*, p.73). However, this might be a misunderstanding. As we know, the ordination in Gushan was the "Triple Platform Ordination" where novice initiation, full ordination and bodhisattva ordination were given all together in one place and within a short time. But we may assume that the ones who had received the precepts would stay for three years in Gushan.

In order to receive the precepts in Gushan, some Taiwanese would also choose to receive tonsure there, and when they returned to Taiwan to serve the abbotship, they introduced their Gushan tonsure lineages to their temples. The precept relations built between Gushan and Taiwanese monks or nuns continued under the Japanese rule. As we have seen above, almost all the founders of the five mountains received the precepts in Gushan during the Japanese ruling period. In other words, after Taiwan became the colony of Japan, the Taiwanese Buddhist clergy of the five mountains still kept intimate relations and exchanges with Gushan, which bolstered the spread of the Gushan lineages from Fujian to Taiwan. For this phenomenon, Charles Brewer Jones provides an explanation.

Jones says, “the Japanese were very interested in cultivating Buddhist contacts with the Chinese as a means of preparing the ground for their eventual takeover of the rest of China”,⁵⁹² and the Japanese government needed the five mountains in Taiwan as a bridge to the mainland. In fact, as Welch suggests, after the the East Asian Buddhist Conference in Tokyo in 1925, Buddhist exchanges happily continued between Japan and China for ten years till 1937 when Japan invaded central China.⁵⁹³ Jiang Tsanteng suggests that it was in this kind of the atmosphere of the Sino-Japanese friendship and amity that the five mountains develop their international tripartite interactions and associations among Japanese, Chinese and Taiwanese Buddhism⁵⁹⁴. As we have seen above, the founders of the five

⁵⁹² Charles Brewer Jones provides this as the reason why Shanghui got the permission to build Lingquan Temple in Keelung. However, it applied to the situations of all the five mountains. See Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan: religion and the state*, p.41.

⁵⁹³ Holmes Welch, *The Buddhist Revival in China*, pp.168-169.

⁵⁹⁴ Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001):259-324.

mountains tried to deal with the influences from both Chinese and Japanese Buddhism and find their own best policies for thriving and developing, which constituted the context of the rise of the five mountains under the Japanese period.

With the successful development of the Gushan lineages of the five mountains, Taiwan Buddhist clergy had the ability to hold their own ordination ceremonies for the first time in the history of Buddhism in Taiwan, which could be regarded as the first and crucial step of claiming the ritual self-sufficiency and the autonomy of liturgical matters of the five mountains. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the five mountains cut off the connections with Gushan to pursue independence. As we have seen, the ordination ceremonies were the platform for the frequent interactions between the five mountains and Gushan, in which the dynamics of the diffusion of Gushan lineage could be observed.

In the beginning, the five mountains held ordination ceremonies only for lay people but not for monks and nuns. In 1909, the first ordination ceremony in the history of Taiwan Buddhism was held in Lingquan Temple and it was for lay people.⁵⁹⁵ It was not until ten years later, in 1919, that the ordination platform was established in Kaiyuan Temple to impart the precepts to both Buddhist clergy and lay believers, as we have seen above. Since then, Taiwanese monks and nuns could receive the precepts on the island. In 1923, Linyun Chan Temple also held the ordination ceremony for both Buddhist clergy and lay believers. The other insitutions followed the practice in 1928 (Fayun Temple),

⁵⁹⁵ Li Tianchun(李添春), “Lingquan Si Yange”(靈泉寺沿革, “The Development of Lingquan Temple”), in *The Ordination Yearbook of Caodong School Lingquan Temple (Caodong Zong Lingquan Si Tongjie Lu* 曹洞宗靈泉寺同戒錄, Keelung: Lingquan Temple, 1955), cited in Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi* (2008):451.

1934 (again in Kaiyuan Temple), 1940 (Lingquan Temple) and 1942 (again in Lingquan Temple). In these activities, the five mountains invited Gushan masters like Yuanying, Daben and Shengen, and other monks from southern Fujian like Huiyun to serve as the three masters or seven honored witness (*san shi qi zheng* 三師七證).⁵⁹⁶ Therefore, the ordination ceremonies in Taiwan were held through the cooperation of Gushan and the five mountains.⁵⁹⁷

Furthermore, the interactions in the ordination ceremonies between Gushan and the five mountains were not one-way, but bidirectional: not only Gushan masters were invited to Taiwan, but the masters of the five mountains were invited to confer the precepts in Gushan! The key character was Shanghui of Lingquan Temple. In 1924, Shanghui was invited by the Gushan abbot Zhenguang Guhui 振光古輝(?-1924) to hold the ordination ceremony in Gushan⁵⁹⁸. According to the ordination yearbook, the three masters were all from the five mountains in Taiwan. While Shanghui served as the ordaining master (*chuangjie daheshang* 傳戒大和尚), Jueli was the confessor master, and Dexin (德馨), the disciple of Shangzhi and the dharma nephew of Shanghui, served as the catechist master.⁵⁹⁹ Through the cooperation of Lingquan Temple (Shanghui) and Fayun Temple (Jueli), the precept-giving activity was reexported from Taiwan to Gushan, which completed the bidirectional dynamics of the spread of Gushan lineage.

⁵⁹⁶ Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi* (2008):462.

⁵⁹⁷ Sometimes the Japanese masters of both Rinzaï and Sôtô School were also invited to serve as the *san shi qi zheng*.

⁵⁹⁸ “Gushan jiang kai Jietan”(鼓山將開戒壇, “The Ordination Platform Is to be Opened in Gushan”), in *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, Apr. 13, 1924): page 6.

⁵⁹⁹ *The Ordination Yearbook of Gushan* (1924), collected in *Minjian Sicang Taiwan Zongjiao Ziliao Huibian* (民間私藏臺灣宗教資料彙編), Series 1, vol.23, pp.348-452): 355.

5. Conclusion

In this Chapter we have reviewed the development of Buddhism in Taiwan since the Qing dynasty till the period under the Japanese rule and focus on how Gushan lineage was spread from Fujian to Taiwan through the precepts-giving practice, which resulted in the rise of the “Five Mountains” or the five main monasteries introducing the Gushan lineages into Taiwan in the early twentieth century.

In the period under the Japanese rule, the five mountains kept intimate interactions and frequent exchanges with Gushan and Chinese Buddhism, which bolstered the spread of Gushan lineages in Taiwan and constituted the bidirectional dynamics of the diffusion of Gushan lineage. On the other hand, the five mountains had to find out the balancing point between Chinese Buddhism and Japanese Buddhism in order to attract support from both local believers and the systems of Sōtō or Rinzai Schools for developing their own Guhan lineages in Taiwan.

In the next Chapter, by focusing on the interactions between the five mountains and Japanese Buddhism and Confucianism in Taiwan, I will inquire further into both the developments and the frustrating encounters the five mountains had undergone under the Japanese rule.

Chapter 5 The Spread of Gushan Lineage in Taiwan: Developments and Setbacks under the Japanese Rule

In Chapter 4 I analyzed the dynamics of the spread of the Gushan lineage from Fujian *to* Taiwan, I turn in this final chapter to examine the expansion activities of the five mountains *in* Taiwan, both the triumphant developments and the frustrating setbacks they underwent in the period under the Japanese rule.

I will firstly introduce the religious policy of the Japanese government in Taiwan as the contexts for the spread of the Gushan lineages in the island. Secondly, I will focus on the interactions among the five mountains with Sōtō and Rinzai Schools to show both the positive and negative influences of Japanese Buddhism had on the developments of the five mountains. Finally, I will analyze the frustrations the five mountains encountered during the war time to show how they were assimilated and transformed through the accelerative Japanization required by the Japanese rulers and then incorporated into the system of the so called “imperial-way Buddhism” (*kōdō bukkyō* 皇道仏教) on the eve of the surrender of Japan.

1. The Three Periods of the Religious Policy of the Japanese Government in Taiwan

According to Sai Kindo’s 蔡錦堂 study⁶⁰⁰, the religious policy of the Japanese government in

⁶⁰⁰ Sai Kindo(蔡錦堂), *The Religious Policy in Taiwan under the Japanese Imperialism (Nihon teikoku shugika Taiwan shūkyō seisaku 日本帝国主義下台湾の宗教政策*, Tokyo: Dōseisha, 1994): 10-12.

Taiwan could be divided into three periods:

(1) 1895-1914:

During 1894-1895, in the Sino-Japanese War fought for control of Korea, none of the military action reached Taiwan, but the island was ceded to Japan in the treaty signed in Shimonoseki. This result, as Leonard Gordon points out, indicated the “irrefutable shift in the power balance of East Asia. China’s humiliating defeat by a rival Asian nation revealed both Chinese internal weakness and Japanese strength and readiness for colonial expansion, equivalent in form and objective to that of the western powers.”⁶⁰¹

After Japanese troops landed at Keelung in May 1895 to take possession of the island, they encountered a series of fierce resistances from anti-Japan forces of the short-lived Republic of Formosa (Taiwan Minzhuguo 臺灣民主國)⁶⁰² and other Taiwanese rebel armies. Although the military conquest of Taiwan only took five months and ended in October 1895 when Tainan City, the Qing capital in Taiwan, fell to the Japanese forces⁶⁰³, the anti-Japan guerrilla conflicts continued, which led to turmoil in the early years of the Japanese rule. It was not until Lin Shaomao, the most troublesome rebel leader for the Japanese rulers was killed in 1902, as we have mentioned in Chapter 4, that the Taiwan Governor-General’s Office (*sōtokufu* 總督府) in Taipei could claim that the whole island had been

⁶⁰¹ Leonard H. D. Gordon, *Confrontation over Taiwan: Nineteenth-century China and the Powers* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2007): 203.

⁶⁰² For a short account of Republic of Formosa, see *ibid.*, pp.191-194; pp. 199-203.

⁶⁰³ Gordon points out that “in the five months that the insurrection took place, the Japanese army was reported to have killed over 10,000 resisters, and an estimated 14,000 were wounded. For an island population of approximately 2.6 million, this was a tormenting loss. By contrast, the superior Japanese force lost 278 lives, and 921 were wounded in the same period! The one-sided conflict attests to both the quality of the Japanese military force and the disorderly resistance.”(*ibid.*)

thoroughly pacified⁶⁰⁴.

During this chaotic period, in order not to stir up further discontent with the new rulers caused by the massive bloody suppressions among Taiwanese, and to lay foundations for the subsequent consolidation and efficiency of Japanese colonial rule and economic exploitations, Gotō Shinpei 後藤新平(1857-1929), the director in charge of civil affairs of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office during 1898-1906, adopted the policy of the so called “*kyūkan onzon*”(旧慣温存, preserving of old customs). He retained Okamatsu Santarō 岡松参太郎(1871-1921), a professor of law in Kyoto University, to conduct the first scientific investigation of the uncodified social conventions and customary practices which structured and regulated the social life of the Han people in Taiwan, focusing mainly on the land, the kinship system and other economic topics of commerce and finance⁶⁰⁵.

Nonetheless, we cannot ignore the colonial intentions implied in the policy of preserving old customs. On the one hand, its final goal lay in the gradual introduction of Japanese system and culture through moderate and acceptable ways to Taiwan in order to assimilate the Taiwanese for more effective colonial rule. On the other hand, the investigations conducted by the jurists of Kyoto University provided a “scientific” justification of the social discrimination implied in the hierarchical order imposed by the Japanese colonialism: the pre-modern Taiwanese should thankfully submit

⁶⁰⁴ Mukōyama Hiroo(向山寛夫), *The History of Taiwan National Movement under Japanese Rule*, pp. 331-332.

⁶⁰⁵ Tomothy Y. Tsu, “Japanese Colonialism and the Investigation of Taiwanese ‘Old Customs’”, in Jan van Bremen and Akitoshi Shimizu ed., *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 1999, pp. 197-218): 204; cf. Wu Wenxing(吳文星), “Jingdu Digu Daxue yu Taiwan Jiuguan Diaocha”(京都帝國大學與臺灣舊慣調查, “Kyoto Imperial University and the Investigation of Taiwanese ‘Old Customs’”), in *Shida Taiwanshi Xuebao*, no. 1 (Dec. 2007): 29-49.

themselves to the rule of the modern Japanese who performed their civilizing duties by bringing the progressive modernity and the advanced civilization to the island.⁶⁰⁶ Moreover, before the pre-modern Taiwanese society had been totally modernized and civilized, the island residents were not qualified to enjoy the same legal status and political rights as the Japanese did, one of the most remarkable situations of which was that the Taiwan Governor-General's Office wielded the supreme power over executive, legislative and judiciary matters, so Taiwan had no elected local council, not to mention its own councilor representative of Taiwanese interests in the Japanese Imperial Diet in Tokyo.⁶⁰⁷

Still, following the principle of “preservation of old customs”, the religious policy of the Japanese government before 1915 was laissez-faire or non-intervention. Taking advantage of this policy, all the five mountains in Taiwan introduced the Gushan lineages to their monastic institutions in this period, as we have seen in Chapter 4. Because *zhaojiao* was reported in Okamatsu's investigation as one of the old customs like Buddhist, Daoist and folk beliefs of the Han people in Taiwan, it was no more the heterodox sectarian movements suspected or even banned by the Qing government. Consequently, it prospered rapidly under the Japanese rule in this period⁶⁰⁸.

Japanese Buddhism was also introduced into the island as a part of the Japanese culture, which

⁶⁰⁶ Cf. Jiang Tsanteng's discussion of the assimilation policy in the early years of the Japanese ruling period, in *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001):104-121; Li Ding-Tzan (李丁讚), “Zongjiao yu Zhimon: Taiwan Fojiao de Bianqian yu Zhuaxing, 1895-1995”(宗教與殖民:台灣佛教的變遷與轉型:1895-1995, “Religion and Colonial Discourse: The Historical Transformation of Buddhism in Taiwan, 1895-1995”), in *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica*, No. 81 (Spring 1996, pp. 19-52): 19-28.

⁶⁰⁷ Chou Wan-yao(周婉筠), “Taiwan Yihui Shezhi Qingyuan Yundong Zai tantao”(臺灣議會設置請願運動再探討, “Revisit the Petition Movement for Establishing Taiwan Council”), in *Taiwan Shiliao Yanjiu*, no. 37 (June 2011): 2-37.

⁶⁰⁸ About Okamatsu's investigation of *zhaojiao*, see Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001): 64-77.

might serve as a religious means of assimilating the Taiwanese. At least this was the expectation of the Japanese Buddhist missionaries in Taiwan.

(2) 1915-1930:

The Xilai Temple 西來庵 Incident in 1915 led to a change of the Japanese religious policy. This incident was a millenarian-inspired uprising led by Yu Qingfang 余清芳(1879-1915) against Japanese colonial rule, which took Xilai Temple as its contacting and meeting place, and its main battles occurred in Ta-pa-ni 噍吧哖 area in Tainan. According to Paul Katz's study,

[t]he Ta-pa-ni Incident, which is named after the town where the fiercest fighting took place, was one of the largest acts of armed resistance to occur during the colonial era, with the number of villagers and Japanese killed during the fighting estimated to have exceeded one thousand..... A further 1,957 individuals were arrested in the months of the uprising and after it was suppressed; 1,482 of them were put on trial and 915 sentenced to death. A total of 135 people accused of being involved in the uprising were executed during 1915 and 1916, and hundreds more died during long years of imprisonment⁶⁰⁹.

In the above quoted paragraph, it is said that the number of the people killed in the fightings between the villagers and Japanese armies is estimated over one thousand. However, more people might be killed after the fightings. According to the recent news of Tainan, the bones of over three thousand people were found in Xinhua 新化 area, which were suspected as those of the victims in the Xilai Temple Incident. According to the local legend, after the incident, the Japanese police beheaded all the local male villagers above fifteen on the riverbank for revenge, and no one dared to bury them. The

⁶⁰⁹ Paul Katz, *When Valleys Turned Blood Red: The Ta-Pa-Ni Incident in Colonial Taiwan* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005): 2.

victims might be over ten thousand.⁶¹⁰

Although most of the participants of the uprising were from areas that had suffered economic dislocation under the Japanese rule and the Xilai Temple Incident was largely a result of the colonial exploitations through the heavy land taxes, the sugar monopoly and the confiscation of foreastlands⁶¹¹, the Japanese government accused them as bandits who revolted out of their ignorant superstition⁶¹². Therefore, the religious policy must be adjusted to distinguish superstitions from orthodox beliefs through conducting the religion investigation in Taiwan, and then to actively eliminate the superstitions to prevent rebellions and maintain the public safety, and to guide the ignorant people to lead a meaningful life with the civilized ideals and genuine faiths through education⁶¹³. The concrete accomplishments of the new religious policy were: 1. the establishment of the Office of Shrines and Temples in the Taiwan Governor-General's Office in 1918 to put the religious institutions and activities under the official superintendence; and 2. the publishing of *Report of the Investigation into Religion in Taiwan* in 1919 by Marui Keijirō, the head of the Office of Shrines and Temples, after the three-year large-scale investigations all around the island.⁶¹⁴

Another important follow-up effect of the Xilai Temple Incident was the appearance of many

⁶¹⁰ *Lianhe Bao*(聯合報, *United Daily News*, Mar. 14, 2014), <http://udn.com/NEWS/NATIONAL/NAT5/8546667.shtml>. For a discussion of the population changes of the villages involved in the incident, see Paul Katz, *When Valleys Turned Blood Red*, pp. 218-233.

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.4, p.6.

⁶¹² Sai Kindo(蔡錦堂), *The Religion Policy in Taiwan under the Japanese Imperialism*, p.51.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-67.

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-72.

associations of both *zhaijiao* and Buddhism. According to Li Tianchun⁶¹⁵, because many *zhaijiao* members were involved in the incident, the Tainan Vegetarian Mind Society 臺南齋心社, the *zhaijiao* organization founded in 1912 under the directorship of Sōtō School, attempted “to evolve into an islandwide religious organization, known as the Patriotic Buddhist Association (*Aiguo Fojiao Hui* 愛國佛教會), whose intention was to unite all the Buddhist temples and *zhaijiao* meeting-halls in Taiwan under the leadership of the Sōtō School of Japanese Buddhism, and to give the Japanese government a way to distinguish law-abiding Buddhists from rebels and bandits.”⁶¹⁶ As Charles Brewer Jones points out, this was the only time in Chinese Buddhist history where monastic Buddhist has entered into an alliance with any form of folk Buddhism like *zhaijiao*, or that *zhaijiao* has cooperated with Buddhist clergy to represent their common interests before the Japanese government⁶¹⁷.

Following this trend and searching for the survival strategy under the new religious policy, the five mountains helped both Sōtō School and Rinzai School to establish Buddhist associations like The Buddhist Youth Association in 1916 and Taiwan Friends of the Buddhist Way in 1918, and finally under the headship of Marui Keijirō, the most influential Buddhist organization, The South Seas Buddhist Association was officially founded in 1922, as we have seen in Chapter 4.⁶¹⁸

Through joining in these islandwide Buddhist associations, the five mountains were put under the

⁶¹⁵ Li Tianchun(李添春), “Chapter of the People, Religion” (人民志,宗教篇) in *Drafts of General Gazetteer of Taiwan Province*, fasc. 2, p.113.

⁶¹⁶ Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, p.66.

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.30.

⁶¹⁸ For more information about these associations, see *ibid.*, pp. 68-81.

command of Japanese Buddhism and the regulations of the the Office of Shrines and Temples.

Nevertheless, as we have seen, taking advantages of the connections with Japanese Buddhism, the five mountains were recognized as the orthodox religious institutions and played a role in the tripartite interactions and associations among Japanese, Chinese and Taiwanese Buddhism.

(3) 1931-1945:

In 1931, with Japan's invasion of the northeastern part of China and initiated the so called "Fifteen Years' War" till 1945⁶¹⁹, the religious policy of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office was further tightened to accelerate the Japanization of the Taiwanese people to ensure their loyalty to Japan. The case was much more so after the year 1937 when Japanese armies advanced into the heart land of China after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident happened in Beijing.

In 1937, the so called *kōminka undō* (皇民化運動, the imperialization movement) was launched by the Governor-General Kobayashi Seizō 小林躋造(1877-1962) to turn the island inhabitants into the fully assimilated imperial subjects. According to Harry J. Lamley's study, the *kōminka* policy embraced a series of government-sponsored assimilationist programs and reforms which were implemented mainly through campaigns and local drives during the war. In April 1937, the first Japanization

⁶¹⁹ The historians who argue for the concept of the "Fifteen Years' War" point out that "(1) the Japanese invasion of northeastern China was the cause of full-scale war with China"; (2) deadlock in the war with China was the chief reason for the Japanese invasion of Southeast Asia; and (3) the invasion of Southeast Asia triggered the Japanese war against the United States and the United Kingdom. In short, the conception of these battles is a single fifteen-year war both provides a coherent explanation and recognizes Japan's war responsibility." See Kimijima Kazuhiko (君島和彦), "The Continuing Legacy of Japanese Colonialism: The Japan-South Korea Joint Study Group on History Textbooks", translated by Inokuchi Hiromitsu (井口博充), in Laura Hein and Mark Selden ed., *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany, and the United States* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2000, pp. 203- 225): 208.

movement policy was executed, targeting the use of language: the Chinese columns on newspapers were abolished and classical Chinese was removed from the elementary school curriculum. The next step was the *kokugo* (国語, national language) program which aimed to increase the Japanese speakers among the Taiwanese people⁶²⁰.

Other imperialization reforms were directed at Taiwanese customary practices. Traditional Taiwanese operas and puppet plays were banned; fireworks and the burning of gold and silver paper foil at temples were prohibited; the wearing of Chinese style clothes in public, the betel-nut chewing and the noisy commotions were discouraged. On the other hand, the marriage and funeral ceremonies were encouraged to be arranged in Japanese manners.⁶²¹ Furthermore, a name-changing campaign was promoted in 1940 to bestow full Japanese names to the approved Taiwanese households as a great honor.⁶²² As Lamley points out, in the imperialization movement,

[f]rom the outset the Governor-General Kobayashi and his subordinates undertook to root out characteristics of the Taiwanese culture declared to be “un-Japanese” or otherwise objectionable and, whenever possible, to replace them with Japanese ways. Previously, the colonial authorities had tolerated or even sought to preserve many of the Chinese traditions and practices deeply ingrained in Taiwanese society. Now, suddenly, such overtures to cultural accommodation were cast aside, and overbearing *kōminka* reforms imposed instead.⁶²³

In the realm of religion, Kobayashi forced the so called “State Shinto”(kokka Shintō 国家神道) upon the Taiwanese people in both public and private spheres. Firstly, he not only constructed more

⁶²⁰ Harry J. Lamley, “Taiwan Under Japanese Rule, 1895-1945: The Vicissitudes of Colonialism”, in Murray A. Rubinstein ed., *Taiwan: A New History* (Armonk, N.Y. : M.E. Sharpe, 2007, pp.201-260): 240.

⁶²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

⁶²² *Ibid.*, p. 240.

⁶²³ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

Shito shrines on the island but also proposed the measure of “temple reconstructing” (*jibyō seiri* 寺廟整理) to raze temples, shrines and *zhaijiao* vegetarian halls to transform them into Shito shrines, or Japanese Buddhist temples and missionary stations. The statues or images of the deities originally worshipped in the destroyed Taiwanese religious institutions were burnt to send them back to heaven⁶²⁴. Secondly, he required the island inhabitants to destroy the ancestral altars in their homes and maintain the Japanese-style domestic altars (*kamidana* 神棚) for worshipping the paper amulets (*taiima* 大麻) sent from the sacred Ise shrine in Japan.⁶²⁵

During the war time, under the religious policy of imperialization, the five mountains were not the objects of the measure of “temple reconstructing” because they had intimate connections with Japanese Buddhism⁶²⁶, but they must be further Japanized to be integrated into the Japanese imperial scheme as members of the imperial-way Buddhism. In this process of Japanization and imperialization, the five mountains had gradually lost their own Gushan tradition and Chinese Buddhist identity, which could be regarded as the major blow to the spread of Gushan lineages in Taiwan.

After having outlined the three periods above, I now will discuss in more detail of the first period when the policy of “preserving of old customs” dominated.

⁶²⁴ Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, p.85.

⁶²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83; Harry J. Lamley, “Taiwan Under Japanese Rule, 1895-1945: The Vicissitudes of Colonialism”, pp. 241-242.

⁶²⁶ Charles Brewer Jones points out that the main brunt of the measure of “temple reconstructing” fell upon folk temples and shrines, Daoist temples, and *zhaijiao* meeting halls. (*Buddhism in Taiwan*, p.83)

2. The Advent of Sōtō and Rinzai Schools

The spread of Japanese Buddhism to Taiwan was the result of its overseas missions in the Meiji period (1868-1912), which constituted a part of its survival strategies under the Meiji religious policy. Meiji government endeavoured to establish a Shinto-oriented polity under the guidance of the newly invented nationalist ideology of “Imperial Way”(kōdō 皇道) and issued a series of orders to separate Buddhism from Shinto (*shinbutsu bunri rei* 神仏分離令) which contributed to a violent disestablishment of Buddhism in Japan from 1868 to 1872⁶²⁷. As Micah L. Auerback points out,

The beginning of the Meiji period coincided with a short but widespread persecution of Buddhism, known as the movement to “abolish Buddhism and demolish Śākyamuni” (*hai-Butsu ki-Shaku* 廃仏毀釈). Unlike its counterparts on the Asian continent, the Japanese Buddhist establishment had never before experienced anything like a nationwide suppression in its history of over a millennium. In addition to the physical destruction of countless temples, images, ritual implements, scriptures, and other pieces of Buddhist material culture, the lasting psychological effects of the shock and panic triggered by this suppression within the Buddhist community should not be underestimated. Even after the suppression ended, Buddhism faced an unprecedented situation. Now excluded entirely from official ideology and patronage, it had to face critiques of being foreign, outmoded, and a drain on public resources, even as it also had to compete with a resurgent Christianity.⁶²⁸

Striving for survival, Buddhism in Japan maneuvered to prove itself “useful” in building a strong and modern state in order to regain the recognition and protection from the government, and the most effective way to achieve this was to identify closely with the agenda of the government, acting as a self-appointed agent of nationalism⁶²⁹. Therefore, besides constructing the discourses to support the

⁶²⁷ Christopher Ives, *Imperial-Way Zen: Ichikawa Hakugen's Critique and Lingering Questions for Buddhist Ethics* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009): 13-17.

⁶²⁸ Micah L. Auerback, *Japanese Buddhism in an Age of Empire: Mission and Reform in Colonial Korea, 1877-1931* (Dissertation, Princeton University, 2007): 6-7.

⁶²⁹ Naoko Shimazu, *Japanese Society at War: Death, Memory and the Russo-Japanese War* (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 96.

new imperial ideology through propagating the unity of the Buddha's law (*buppō* 仏法) with the sovereign's law (*ōbō* 王法), they made efforts to “grant their religion a social utility congruent with the interests and initiatives of the state by pursuing charity work (*jizen jigyō* [慈善事業]) and social project (*shakai jigyō*[社会事業]), participating in government-orchestrated campaigns to promulgate the official ideology, traveling as envoys of the state on overseas fact-finding missions, helping with the colonial enterprise in Hokkaidō and beyond, and serving as military chaplains.”⁶³⁰ It was through serving as military chaplains that Japanese Buddhist missionaries arrived in Taiwan in 1895 to help with the colonial enterprise on the island.

Actually, it was the Japanese Christians who were the first to provide medical help to wounded soldiers and relief to families who had become poverty stricken as a result of the war. The deeds of the patriotic Japanese Christians became the catalyst for Buddhist-Christian cooperation in sustaining the imperial expansion of military actions⁶³¹. As Brian Daizen Victoria points out, all of the major Buddhist sects in Japan assigned chaplains to the military, and by 1930s they were found attached to every regiment.⁶³² The theoretical foundation of Buddhist serving in the armies consists in that if the nation is threatened, it is impossible for Buddhism to exist. Therefore, Buddhists must provide aids in the war not only to protect the nation but to protect the Buddhist faith.⁶³³

According to Matsukane Kimimasa's study, in the early years of the period under the Japanese

⁶³⁰ Christopher Ives, *Imperial-Way Zen*, p.19.

⁶³¹ Brian Daizen Victoria, *Zen at War* (Second Edition), (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006): 21.

⁶³² *Ibid.*, 29.

⁶³³ Naoko Shimazu, *Japanese Society at War*, p.95.

rule, the Japanese Buddhist sects which were introduced to Taiwan by the chaplain-missionaries included Jōdo Shinshū Honganji Sect, Jōdo Shinshū Ōtani Sect, Nichiren School, Jōdo School, Sōtō School and Shingon School Kōya Sect⁶³⁴; later, Rinzai School Myōshinji Sect was spread to Taiwan in 1897⁶³⁵, and Tentai School in 1909⁶³⁶. By 1940, eight schools and fourteen sects of Japanese Buddhism had been introduced to Taiwan.⁶³⁷

The task of the Japanese military chaplains and later missionaries was to propagate or “open” the teachings (*kaikyō* 開教) or to proselytize (*dendō* 伝道) Japanese Buddhism through multiple ways: they “performed funerals, memorial services, and other rituals. They lectured on the Dharma and ran meditation groups. They trained local employees of Japanese companies, housed Japanese troops, and engaged in surveillance of local people.”⁶³⁸ Take Hashimoto Jōdō 橋本定幢(1858-1912), the chaplain of Jōdo School as example. According to his diary in 1896⁶³⁹, his missionary activities included: 1.

⁶³⁴ Matsukane Kimimasa(松金公正), “Riju Shiqi Riben Fojiao zhi Taiwan Bujiao: yi Siyuan shu ji Xintu Renshu de Yanbian wei Kaocha Zhongxin”(日據時期日本佛教之台灣佈教:以寺院數及信徒人數的演變為考察中心,“The Propagation of Japanese Buddhism in Taiwan during the Japanese Occupation: Focusing on the Development of the Numbers of Temples and Believers”), in *Yuanguang Foxue Xuebao*(圓光佛學學報), no.3 (Feb., 1999, pp. 191-221): 202.

⁶³⁵ Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi* (2008):338.

⁶³⁶ Kan Zhengzong(闕正宗), *Taiwan Rizhi Shiqi Fojiao Fazhan yu Huangminhua Yundong: Huangguo Fojiao de Lishi Jincheng(1895-1945)* (臺灣日治時期佛教發展與皇民化運動:皇國佛教的歷史進程(1895-1945), The Development of Taiwanese Buddhism under the Japanese Rule and The Imperialization Movement: The Historical Development of the Imperial-State Buddhism (1895-1945), Taipei County: Boyang Publishing, 2011): 26.

⁶³⁷ Matsukane Kimimasa(松金公正), “Riju Shiqi Riben Fojiao zhi Taiwan Bujiao: yi Siyuan shu ji Xintu Renshu de Yanbian wei Kaocha Zhongxin”, p. 201.

⁶³⁸ Christopher Ives, *Imperial-Way Zen*, p.37.

⁶³⁹ Hashimoto Jōdō (橋本定幢), “Saito Nisshi”(再渡日誌, “Diary of Revisiting Taiwan”), in *Jōdo Kyōhō* (淨土教報, Tokyo: Kyōhōsha), no. 243 (1896.2.15), 245 (1896.3.5), 246(1896.3.15), 247(1896.3.25), 249(1896.4.15), 250(1896.4.25), 251(1896.5.5), 252(1896.5.15), 253(1896.5.25), 255(1896.6.15), 256(1896.6.25), 257(1896.7.5), 259(1896.7.25), 260(1896.8.5); cf. Matsukane Kimimasa(松金公正), “Guanyu Riju Chuqi Riben Fojiao Congjun Bujiaoshi de Huodong: yi Jingtuzong Bujiaoshi Qiaoben Dingchuang ‘Zaidu Rizhi’ wei li”(關於日據初期日本佛教從軍佈教使的活動—以淨土宗佈教使橋本定幢〈再渡日誌〉為例, “On the Activities of Japanese Buddhist Military Chaplains: A Case Study of the Jōdo School chaplain Hashimoto Jōdō’s ‘Diary of Revisiting Taiwan’”), in *Yuanguang Foxue Xuebao*(圓光佛學學報), no.3 (Feb., 1999, pp. 383-422).

consoling the Japanese soldiers and preaching to the troops; 2. distributing Jōdo School magazines to the troops; 3. visiting the injured soldiers; 4. preparing and performing funerals; 5. attending the memorial meetings; 6. investigating the situations of Buddhism and Christianity in Taiwan; 7. investigating the local areas; 8. laying foundations for proselytizing activities.⁶⁴⁰

As to the chaplain of Sōtō School, Sasaki Chinryū 佐佐木珍龍 was originally dispatched to the Japanese army for the Sino-Japanese War during 1894-1895, then came to Taiwan in June 1895. According to Sasaki's observations in his *On the Dreamlike Experience of a Military Chaplain* (*Jūgun Jitsureki Muyūdan* 從軍實歷夢遊談), most Taiwanese Buddhist clergy was ignorant. Seventy percent of them were illiterate and half of them were not even able to recite the sutras.⁶⁴¹ Therefore, Japanese Buddhist missionaries had to bring reforms to revive Buddhism in Taiwan. Moreover, Sasaki quoted the first Taiwan Governor-General Kabayama Sukenori 樺山資紀(1837-1922) to point out that because most of the Taiwanese people believed in Buddhism brought by their ancestors from China, Buddhism was necessary for ruling Taiwan. The aims of the missionary works of Sōtō School were not to propagandize its own doctrines or to expand its influences but to serve the interests of the nation.⁶⁴²

⁶⁴⁰ TainakaChiduru(胎中千鶴), "Nippon Tōchi Ki Taiwan no Bukkyō Seiryoku: 1921 Nen Nanei Bukkyōkai Seiritsu made" (日本統治期台湾の仏教勢力: 1921年南瀛仏教会成立まで, "The Buddhist Movements in Taiwan under the Japanese Rule : Towards the Birth of the Nanying Buddhist Association in 1921"), in *Shien* 58(2) (Mar 1998, pp.23-45): 28.

⁶⁴¹ Sasaki Chinryū(佐佐木珍龍), *Jūgun Jitsureki Muyūdan*(從軍實歷夢遊談, *On the Dreamlike Experience of a Military Chaplain*, Tokyo: Komeisha, 1900): 87.

⁶⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97. For more discussion of *Jūgun Jitsureki Muyūdan*, see Matsukane, Kimimasa(松金公正), "Ribenzhimindi Tongzhi Chuqi Bujiaoshi Yan Zhong Zhi Taiwan Fojiao --- Yi Zuo zuomu Zhenlong "Congjun Shili Mengyou Tan" wei Zhongxin"(日本殖民地統治初期佈教使眼中之臺灣佛教--以佐佐木珍龍「從軍實歷夢遊談」為中心, "The Observations of a Japanese Buddhist Missionary on Taiwanese Buddhism in the Early Period under Japanese Colonial Rule: On Sasaki Chinryū's *Jūgun Jitsureki Muyūdan*"), in *Shilain Zazhi* (史聯雜誌), no. 35 (Nov. 1999): 21-36.

The most important accomplishment of Sasaki was signing contracts with Longshan Temple in Taipei and five other temples in Tainan, including Kaiyuan Temple, Zhuxi Temple and Fahua Temple 法華寺, to make them branch temples of Sōtō School⁶⁴³. As we have seen in Chapter 4, Baoshan Changqing, the abbot of Kaiyuan Temple, chose to cooperate with Sōtō School at this time. After Sasaki left Taiwan, the succeeding Sōtō missionaries seemed to make great efforts to increase the number of Sōtō branch temples. By 1901, Sōtō School had a total of one hundred and ninety four branch temples in Taiwan.⁶⁴⁴

Before Japanese government wiped out the anti-Japan forces and claimed that they had pacified the whole island, few Japanese civilians came to Taiwan. During that period, many Taiwanese people and temples converted to Japanese Buddhism for protection⁶⁴⁵. However, with the consolidation of Japanese rule and the restoration of the social order through the introduction of the police system, the island inhabitants no longer needed Japanese Buddhism and returned to their own customary beliefs, so Japanese Buddhist sects lost many Taiwanese believers they had won in the previous years⁶⁴⁶. What is worse for the Japanese missionaries was that the government religious policy in this period, as we have discussed above, was “preserving of old customs” to conciliate the Taiwanese people, so the Taiwan Governor-General’s Office discouraged Japanese Buddhism from establishing the head-branch relation

⁶⁴³ Kan Zhengzong(闕正宗), *Taiwan Rizhi Shiqi Fojiao Fazhan yu Huangminhua Yundong*, 2011): 18.

⁶⁴⁴ Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi*, p.275.

⁶⁴⁵ Ōhashi Sutesaburō(大橋捨三郎), *Shinshū honpa honganji Taiwan kaikyōshi* (真宗本派本願寺台灣開教史, Taipei: *Shinshū honpa honganji taihoku betsuin*, 1935): 132.

⁶⁴⁶ Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001):129-130.

with Taiwanese temples in 1898 to restrain the intense contests among the Japanese Buddhist sects for gaining the branch temples.⁶⁴⁷ As Sōtō master Arai Sekizen 新井石禅(1864-1927) pointed out in 1908, although it appeared that Sōtō School had had over one hundred branch temples in Taiwan, after the government initiated the conciliating policy, those branch temples became having no relation with Sōtō School. Therefore, Arai suggested Sōtō School to build its own institution in Taiwan for further missionary works.⁶⁴⁸ That was why the Sōtō *betsuin* 別院 was founded in 1910 in Taipei. The other temples founded by Sōtō School included Kyuhōji 久寶寺 in Keelung (1908), Shinchikuji 新竹寺 in Xinzhu (1908), Taichūji 台中寺 in Taizhong (1903) and Tainanzenji 台南禪寺 in Tainan (1908).⁶⁴⁹

The other reasons why it was relatively hard for Japanese Buddhism to attract the Taiwanese believers might include the language barrier, the malignant competition among different Buddhist sects, the frequent transference of the missionaries, and the personal character problems of the missionaries.⁶⁵⁰ Under these unfavorable conditions for converting the islanders and with more and more Japanese civilians came to Taiwan, it was very natural for the Japanese Buddhist missionaries to take these Japanese settlers in the island as their main clients⁶⁵¹.

⁶⁴⁷ Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi*, pp. 308-315.

⁶⁴⁸ *Shūhō* (宗報), Tokyo: *Sōtōshūmukyoku Bunshoka* (曹洞宗務局文書課), no. 267 (1908.2.1): 41-42; cf. Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi*, pp. 308-309.

⁶⁴⁹ Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi*, pp. 316-318.

⁶⁵⁰ Kan Zhengzong(闕正宗), *Taiwan Rizhi Shiqi Fojiao Fazhan yu Huangminhua Yundong*, 2011): 32.

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32. The similar situation appeared in Korea after 1895. As Micah L. Auerback points out, “[e]ven as the Sino-Japanese War resulted in an intensification of Japanese control over Korea and a rapid influx of Japanese settlers, it paradoxically also marked a new separation between Japanese and Korean Buddhists. . . . While Japanese clerics began to enter Korea in ever-increasing numbers along with Japanese settlers, the majority of them seem to have had only limited contacts with Korean Buddhists, and to have focused their attention on their fellow Japanese instead.”(*Japanese Buddhism in an Age of Empire* (2007): 132-133.)

Nevertheless, because almost all the Taiwanese Buddhist lineages belonged to Caodong or Linji Schools, Sōtō School had the advantageous position in persuading significant Taiwanese temples to join in the Sōtō system⁶⁵² and became the most successful Japanese Buddhist sect in proselytizing the local people in Taiwan. Later, by imitating and copying Sōtō School's success experiences, Rinzai School soon rose in the mid-1910s in Taiwan and became the competitor of Sōtō School.

On the other hand, because the Taiwan Governor-General's Office did not recognize the official head-branch relation between Japanese Buddhism and their Taiwanese temples, the connections between Taiwanese temples and Sōtō School or Rinzai School became not only private but also loose ones. Therefore, as we have seen in Chapter 4, in order to obtain opportunities to further its development, Lingyun Chan Temple left Sōtō School and joined the Rinzai system. Moreover, as Masuda Fukutarō observed in 1929, after Lingyun Chan Temple became the branch temple of Rinzai School, though it received directions from Rinzai School in the doctrinal matters, economically it was totally independent.⁶⁵³ In 1930, Zheng Zhuoyun also pointed out that although almost all the clerical residents of Kaiyuan Temple were registered as the members of Rinzai School, because the customs in Taiwan was quite different from those in Japan, Kaiyuan Temple still maintained its own independent position according to the old customs.⁶⁵⁴ In other words, the so called "head-branch relation" was

⁶⁵² TainakaChiduru(胎中千鶴), "The Buddhist Movements in Taiwan under the Japanese Rule : Towards the Birth of the Nanying Buddhist Association in 1921", p.30.

⁶⁵³ Masuda Fukutarō(增田福太郎), "Nantō zibyō tanbōki" (南島寺廟探訪記): 226.

⁶⁵⁴ Zheng Zhuoyun(鄭卓雲), *Draft of the Gazetteer of Kaiyuan Temple* (Taiwan Kaiyuan Si Zhi Luegao 台灣開元寺志略稿), collected in *Minjian Sicang Taiwan Zongjiao Ziliao Huibian* (民間私藏臺灣宗教資料彙編), Series 2, vol.4,

largely nominal and not substantial⁶⁵⁵. The loose connections with Japanese Buddhism surely provided the five mountains free space to develop their own Gushan lineages in Taiwan without too much interference from the Japanese “head” temples.

I now turn to the spread of Rinzai School to Taiwan. Rinzai School was not brought to Taiwan by the military chaplains in 1895 like Sōtō School, but was introduced later by the missionary Hosono Nangaku 細野南岳 in 1896⁶⁵⁶. Hosono pointed out that the missionary tasks of Rinzai School was not only to spread its own lineage in Taiwan, but to take Taiwan as a base to reexport Japanese Buddhism to southern China where Chan Buddhism had long been in decline⁶⁵⁷. It was under this overreaching structure of the Buddhist pan-Asianism that Rinzai School dispatched missionaries to Taiwan and China to promote the Sino-Japanese Buddhist exchanges for maintaining “peace” in East Asia⁶⁵⁸.

As we have seen in Chapter 4, Rinzai School rose rapidly in the mid-1910s through the cooperation with Benyuan of Lingyun Chan Temple. Through Benyuan’s assistance, Nagatani Jien, the abbot of Rinzai Gokoku Temple 臨濟護国禅寺 in Taipei, not only successively persuaded Kaiyuan Temple to join in the Rinzai system, but also organized Taiwan Friends of the Buddhist Way, and

pp.175-265): 187-188.

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

⁶⁵⁶ Jiang Musheng(江木生), “Naichi Bukkyō no Taiwan Denrai to sono Gensei”(内地仏教の台湾伝来と其現勢, “The introduction of Japanese Buddhism into Taiwan and Its Present State”), in *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教) vol.15, no.2 (1937, pp.15-20): 16. Huiyan argues that Hosono Nangaku arrived in Taiwan in 1897 (*Taiwan yu Min Ri Fo jiao Jialiushi*, p. 338.

⁶⁵⁷ Murata Kakyū (村田何休), “sōgyō no hito, shusei no hito” (創業の人, 守成の人, “The Pioneers and Preservers”), in *Shōbōrin* (正法輪), (Rinzaishū Shūmu sho 臨濟宗宗務所), no. 324 (1914), p. 20, cited in Tainaka Chiduru(胎中千鶴), “Nippon tōchi ki Taiwan ni okeru Rinzaishū Myōshinji ha no katsudō: 1920-30 nendai o chūshin ni” (日本統治期台湾における臨濟宗妙心寺派の活動--1920~30年代を中心に, “The Activities of Rinzai School Myōshinji Sect in Taiwan under the Japanese rule: Focusing on 1920-30s”), in *Journal of Taiwan studies* (台湾史研究), no. 16 (Oct. 1998, pp. 3-17): 3.

⁶⁵⁸ Tainaka Chiduru(胎中千鶴), *ibid.*, p.4.

founded The Chinan Academy (*Chinnan gakuri* 鎮南学林). Nagatani provided six reasons to support his plan of establishing the academy: 1. to expand missionary activities to proselytize not only the Japanese settlers but also the island inhabitants to make the latter receive the favor and grace from the Emperor and the Buddha; 2. due to the World War I, the European countries were not able to provide enough resources for Christian missions in Taiwan, it was the best time for Rinzai School to win over the Taiwanese believers on the island; 3. to eliminate the superstition through preaching the orthodox Buddhist doctrines to prevent anti-Japan uprisings; 4. to educate the new Rinzai members like the disciples of Kaiyuan Temple; 5. to compete with Taiwan Buddhist Middle School run by Sōtō School; and 6. to serve the government religious policy of promoting the true faith to enlighten the ignorant people.⁶⁵⁹

With Nagatani's death in 1918, the missions of Rinzai School began to ebb. Marui Keijirō, the head of the Office of Shrines and Temples of Japanese government, succeeded Nagatani to be the president of the Chinan Academy but finally because of financial difficulties the Academy was abolished and merged with Taiwan Buddhist Middle School of Sōtō School in 1922.⁶⁶⁰ Therefore, as we will see in the next section, almost all the Taiwanese Buddhist elites of the five mountains under the Japanese rule were educated in the Sōtō and not Rinzai system.

With the enthusiastic missionary activities of the Rinzai master Tōkai Gisei 東海宜誠(1892-1989),

⁶⁵⁹ *Shōbōrin* (正法輪), (Rinzaishū Shūmu sho 臨濟宗宗務所), no. 378 (1917), p. 9-11, cited and translated into Chinese in Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi* (2008):347-349.

⁶⁶⁰ Jiang Musheng(江木生), "Naichi Bukkyō no Taiwan Denrai to sono Gensei"(内地仏教の台湾伝来と其現勢): 17.

the number of Rizai branch temples in southern Taiwan increased to sixty one by 1927.⁶⁶¹ One of the reasons of Tōkai's success in expanding the Rinzai network was his excellent language skills. He was one of the few Japanese missionaries who could speak and give speeches in Taiwanese dialect (*taiyu* 台語) fluently.⁶⁶² Tōkai himself pointed out that compared with other Japanese Buddhist sects permitting the clergy to eat meat, the vegetarianism of Rinzai School was admired by many Taiwanese believers.⁶⁶³ Personally, Tōkai had upheld the precepts strictly. He never got married and was a vegetarian for his whole life,⁶⁶⁴ which might help him attract many followers in southern Taiwan, and some of them even became his dharma heirs⁶⁶⁵. Moreover, because the government religious policy changed in this period and the official began to distinguish the orthodox faiths from the superstitious ones, many Taiwanese Buddhist institutions, *zhaijiao* vegetarian halls and the folk belief temples chose to join in the Rinzai School system for protection and searching for developing opportunities by taking advantages of their connections with Japanese Buddhism.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁶¹ A journalist(一記者), “Heshang ye Liyong Jingji Qinlue”(和尚也利用經濟侵略“*The Monk also Undertaking Economic Exploitation*”), in *Taiwan Minpō* (臺灣民報 *Taiwan People's Newspaper*), no. 149 (Mar. 20, 1927): page 14. According to the report, the sixty one Rinzai branch temples included thirty one in Tainan, nine in Taizhong and seventeen in Kaohsiung.

⁶⁶² Huiyan assumes that Tōkai attended the speeches given in Taiwanese dialect by Sōtō missionary Watanabe Reijun(渡辺 靈淳) in the graet Buddhist meetings in Taiwan Industrial Fair in 1916, and decided to imitate him. (*Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi* (2008):373)

⁶⁶³ “台湾における本派は臨濟禪寺を始め僧堂式に一切魚肉を撰らぬと云う家風を本島人は特に賞賛し崇敬の念を厚うする”, in *Shōbōrin* (正法輪), (Rinzaishū Shūmu sho 臨濟宗宗務所), no. 624 (1927), pp. 7-8, cited in Tainaka Chiduru(胎中千鶴), “The Activities of Rinzai School Myōshinji Sect in Taiwan under the Japanese rule: Focusing on 1920-30s”: 7.

⁶⁶⁴ Kan Zhengzong(闕正宗), “On the Development and Sustainment of Kai Yuan Temple”, p.135, note 377.

⁶⁶⁵ Tōkai's dharma heirs included Wu Yichun(吳義存), Chen Quanjing(陳詮淨), Lai Yaochan(賴耀禪) and Zhang Huiguang(張慧光). See “Manjūsan Ryūsenji Engi”(萬壽山竜泉寺縁起, “The Origin of Longquan Temple at Mt. Wanshou”), in *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教) vol.11, no.3 (1933): 46.

⁶⁶⁶ Tainaka Chiduru(胎中千鶴), *ibid.*, p.9.

However, another attempt of Tōkai incurred objections from the side of Rinzai branch temples, especially Kaiyuan Temple, the most significant member in the Rinzai system in Taiwan. As we have seen above, the head-branch relations between Japanese Buddhism and the five mountains were basically nominal, and the Gushan lineages in Taiwan made use of these loose connections to maximize their own benefits of obtaining both protection and relative economic independence from Japanese Buddhism. Tōkai devoted himself to change this situation and tried hard to transform the nominal head-branch relations into a substantial one. For example, he arranged the Rinzai branch temples into six levels and required all of them to pay annual fees. The highest level ones such as Kaiyuan Temple were yearly charged eighty yens⁶⁶⁷. Furthermore, in 1924, he tried to intervene in the financial affairs of Kaiyuan temple by proposing to organize a juridical person called *entsūkai* 円通会 to take over the property rights of the temple, which, needless to say, really offended the abbot Deyuan 得圓 (1882-1946) and his supporters who accused Tōkai of exploiting the temple economically.⁶⁶⁸ In the end, although the juridical person was not established, Tōkai did actively interfere in the properties management of Kaiyuan temple.

However, according to Kan Zhengzong's study, the aims of Tōkai's organizing the juridical person for Kaiyuan Temple should be regarded as a means to turn the temple properties into the foundation providing financial supports for Tōkai's public service enterprise of both the social charity works and

⁶⁶⁷ A journalist, "The Monk also Undertaking Economic Exploitation", page 14.

⁶⁶⁸ *Ibid.*; Kan Zhengzong(關正宗), "On the Development and Sustainment of Kai Yuan Temple", p.111, p.125.

Buddhist education⁶⁶⁹. Tōkai promoted this enterprise through the network of the Rinzai members of the five mountains in southern Taiwan: Kaiyuan Temple and Chaofeng Temple. For example, Tōkai founded the Rinzai Buddhist Charity Organization (*Linji zong fojiao ciji tuan* 臨濟宗佛教慈濟團) in Kaiyuan Temple in 1928 and established the Buddhist Charity Hospital (*fojiao ciai yiyuan* 佛教慈愛醫院) in Kaohsiung in 1929⁶⁷⁰. On the other hand, he held Buddhist lectures for training Rinzai missionaries in 1937 in Kaiyuan Temple which lasted for sixty- seven days⁶⁷¹, and Buddhist seminars for the nuns in Lianfeng Temple, the branch temple of Chaofeng Temple, which lasted for six months⁶⁷². In 1939, in the last year of Yongding’s life, as we have seen in Chapter 4, Tōkai planned to establish Mt. Dagang Buddhist College (*dagangshan fojiao xueyuan* 大崗山佛教學院) in Chaofeng Temple⁶⁷³.

We may assume that Tōkai required both Kaiyuan Temple and Chaofeng Temple to cooperate and provide supports and resources in these activities. We may even say that Tōkai’s efforts were admirable because he made these two traditional Buddhist temples in Taiwan devote themselves to serve society. But as a result, the financial autonomy of these two Gushan lineage institutions in Taiwan was thereby limited. Nonetheless, we can not ignore that what might motivate Tōkai’s enterprise was that he wanted to prove Rinzai School was “useful” in mobilizing and assimilating Taiwanese Buddhism to serve the nation. Furthermore, Tōkai’s attempts to strengthen the head-branch relations between Japanese

⁶⁶⁹ Kan Zhengzong(關正宗), “On the Development and Sustainment of Kai Yuan Temple”, p.130-131.

⁶⁷⁰ Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi* (2008):381-384.

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 391-392.

⁶⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 386-387.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 392-393.

Buddhism and Kaiyuan Temple indeed brought baleful influence on Kaiyuan Temple which led to the schism among the clerical residents and might in turn result in the tragic death of the abbot Zhengguang 證光 (secular name Gao Zhide 高執德, 1896-1955) after the Second World War.

According to Jiang Tsanteng's study, Chengyuan 成圓 (1890-1933), who accompanied Chuangfang to Myōshinji in Kyoto through the invitation of Nagatani in 1917 as we have seen in Chapter 4, played a role in helping Kaiyuan Temple join in the Rinzaï system in Taiwan. Chengyuan then succeeded Chuangfang to serve as the abbot of Kaiyuan Temple in 1919. However, as we have also mentioned in Chapter 4, Chengyuan absconded with money and his lover in 1921. Finally, he lost all the money and died in an opium den when forty-three years old in 1933. In 1927, Chengyuan attempted to return to Kaiyuan Temple through the help of his disciple Quanjing 銓淨 but failed.⁶⁷⁴ Jiang points out that when Tōkai attempted to intervene in the financial affairs of Kaiyuan Temple, he obtained the supports from Chengyuan's disciple Quanjing, and the other monk Zhejing 澈淨 who had served as the vice abbot during Chengyuan's abbotship. However, Deyuan, the abbot in office, with his disciple Zhengfeng 證峰 (secular name Lin Qiuwu 林秋梧, 1903-1934) and their follower Zheng Zhuoyun 鄭卓雲, the one who composed *Draft of the Gazetteer of Kaiyuan Temple* in 1930, strongly opposed Tōkai's proposal.

During the war time, when Zhengguang (Gao Zhide) served as the abbot of Kaiyuan Temple, the schism among the clerical residents was suspended because Kaiyuan Temple had been totally

⁶⁷⁴ Kan Zhengzong (關正宗), "On the Development and Sustainment of Kai Yuan Temple", p.107.

incorporated into Rinzai School, and Zhengguang cooperated with Tōkai intimately. However, after the war, the schism emerged again. It might be the opposing party in Kaiyuan Temple who reported Zhengguang to the authorities and accused Zhengguang of helping hide the communists in 1954. At this time, Taiwan was ruled by the Nationalist government (Kuo Min Tang [*guomin dang* 國民黨], or KMT) which took the Communist Party of China as its sworn enemy. Therefore, the accusation against Zhengguang was fatal. In 1955, Zhengguang was executed by shooting.⁶⁷⁵

3. The Reformist Ideals of the Taiwanese Buddhist Elites under the Japanese Rule

In the early years under the Japanese rule, the founders of the five mountains were all trained in Gushan and introduced traditional Chinese Buddhist cultivations to their Gushan lineage institutions in Taiwan. Later, out of the need of cooperation with Japanese Buddhism, it became necessary for the five mountains to have their own disciples who can cross the linguistic barrier to serve as intermediaries in the interactions with the Sōtō or Rinzai School. As we have seen in Chapter 4, Derong 德融 (1884-1971), a disciple of Shanghui of Lingquan Temple, was the first Taiwanese Buddhist clergy who studied abroad in Japan. According to Li Tianchun, Derong studied in the elementary school set up by Japanese government in Taiwan in 1898 when he was fourteen. Therefore, he could communicate with the Japanese people without any difficulty. In 1900, he took refuge in the Dragon Flower sect of

⁶⁷⁵ Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001): 169-170, note 232. However, Kan Zhengzong disagrees with Jiang and gives his own explanation for Zhengguang's death. ("On the Development and Sustainment of Kai Yuan Temple", pp.142-149)

zhaijiao in Keelung. As we have seen in Chapter 4, before Shanhui turned to study Buddhism with Shanzhi, Shanhui had also taken refuge in the Dragon Flower sect. Therefore, Shanhui made the acquaintance of Derong in the Dragon Flower vegetarian hall and thought highly of Derong because of his language skills. In 1907, Shanhui successfully persuaded Derong to leave home and tonsured him in Lingquan Temple. Derong then went to Gushan for full ordination. When Derong returned to Taiwan, he became the most capable assistant of Shanhui in applying for permission to build Lingquan Temple from the Command Headquarter of Keelung Fortress. Moreover, through Derong's contact with Sōtō School, Shanhui was registered as a Sōtō master in 1907⁶⁷⁶.

In 1908, Ishikawa Sodō, the superintendent priest of Sōtō School, hosted the inauguration ceremony of Shanhui and brought Derong to Japan with him to study in the Sōtō middle school. However, in 1912, when Shanhui visited Sōji-ji in Yokohama, he asked Derong to come back to Taiwan to help him, so Derong could not complete his education⁶⁷⁷. Nevertheless, Derong continued to play a key role in the development of Lingquan Temple and contributed a great deal to running the Taiwan Buddhist Middle School of Sōtō School in Taipei when Shanhui served as the principal there. In 1919, Derong received the Sōtō dharma transmission from Ishikawa Sodō. In 1938, he succeeded Shanhui as the abbot of Lingquan Temple.⁶⁷⁸

Without Derong, one cannot imagine the rise of Lingquan Temple and the success of Shanhui

⁶⁷⁶ Li Tianchun(李添春), "The Materials of Taiwan Buddhism History Part I. The History of Caodong School (1)": 9-10.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.10.

⁶⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.10-13.

under the Japanese rule. From Derong's case, we can understand how significant it was for the five mountains to send disciples to receive Japanese Buddhist education, which could be regarded as the most important investment in cultivating the second generation leaders of Gushan lineages in Taiwan.

In order to promote the missionary work in Taiwan, both Sōtō and Rinzai initiated a new policy of training the Taiwanese missionaries in their own educational institutions because they believed the Taiwanese missionaries could be able to attract Taiwanese believers more easily. This was one of the reasons why Sōtō and Rinzai competed with each other in establishing their own Buddhist middle schools in Taipei during 1916-1917 as we read in Chapter 4. However, as we have also seen, the Rinzai Chinan Academy was merged with Sōtō Taiwan Buddhist Middle School in 1922. Moreover, at that time, the Sōtō sect established four middle schools (*chūgakurin* 中学林)⁶⁷⁹ and one university (*daigakurin* 大学林, the later Komazawa University in Tokyo) in Japan. Taiwan Buddhist Middle School in Taipei was its fifth middle school. Compared to it, before 1945, the highest educational institute of Rinzai School in Japan was Rinzai School Professional School (the later Hanazono University in Kyoto), which was not a university⁶⁸⁰. Therefore, although Taiwan Buddhist Middle

⁶⁷⁹ The First Middle School of Sōtō School (曹洞宗第一中学林) was located in Tokyo; The Second Middle School of Sōtō School (曹洞宗第二中学林) was located in Sendai City(仙台); The Third Middle School of Sōtō School (曹洞宗第三中学林) was located in Aichi prefecture(愛知); and The Fourth Middle School of Sōtō School (曹洞宗第四中学林) was located in Yamaguchi prefecture(山口).

⁶⁸⁰ Ōno Ikuko (大野育子), *Rizhi Shiqi Fojiao Jingying de Jueqi*(日治時期佛教菁英的崛起:以曹洞宗駒澤大學台灣留學生為中心, *The Appearance of the Buddhism Elites in the Japanese Taiwan Rule Times by Overseas Taiwanese Students of Soto Zen Buddhism Komazawa University*), Master Thesis, Dajiang university (2009): 39. Before 1945, there were five Buddhist universities recognized by the government in Japan. They were: 1. Ryūkoku University (龍谷大学) of Jōdo Shinshū Nishi Honganji Sect; 2. Ōtani University(大谷大学) of Jōdo Shinshū Ōtani Sect; 3. Risshō University(立正大学) of Nichiren School; 4. Taishō University(大正大学) jointly run by Tendai, Shingon and Jōdo Schools; and 5. Komazawa University (駒沢大学) of Sōtō School.

School established by the Sōtō sect in Taipei was changed into an ordinary middle school in 1935⁶⁸¹

and was no longer a Buddhist educational institution, it still had provided a channel for the Taiwanese Buddhist clergy to receive trainings in the the education system of Sōtō School in both Taiwan and Japan, through which the Taiwanese Buddhist elites who would graduate from Komazawa University since the mid-1920s .

Based on the student registration records preserved in Komazawa University, Ōno Ikuko 大野育子 provides a tabulation of the disciples of the five mountains who had studied at Komazawa University.

Table 5.1 below follows Ōno’s tabulation with minor alterations:

Table 5.1 Name List of the Disciples of the Gushan Lineages in Taiwan having studied in Komazawa University⁶⁸²

Gushan Lineages in Taiwan	Temple	Enrollment Year	Names of Disciples	Disciples’ Masters in Taiwan
Lingquan Temple Lineage	Lingquan Temple	1925	Li Tianchun 李添春 (Puxian 普現)	Shen Derong 沈德融
	Taizhong Buddhist Assembly Hall 台中佛教會館	1925	Zeng Jinglai 曾景來 (Puxin 普信)	Lin Delin 林德林
	Baozang Temple 寶藏寺	1937	Song Chunfang 宋春芳 (Xiuzhen 修振)	Qiu Dexin 邱德馨
	Jingxiu Chan Cloister 靜修禪院	1940	Chen Suzhen 陳素貞 (Xiukong 修空)	Wu Daxin 吳達心
Fayun Temple Lineage	Fayun Temple	1925	Peng Adong 彭阿棟 (Miaoxin 妙信)	Lin Jueli 林覺力
		1930	Huang Yinggui 黃英貴 (Dahui 達輝)	Unknown
	Yuanguang Temple 圓光寺	1937	Liu Kaihuan 劉開煥	Unknown
		1937	Lin Chenxi 林陳喜 (Dawen 達文)	Ye Miaoguo (葉妙果)
		1940	Wang Liechuang 王烈傳 (Daguan 達觀)	
		1944	Ōyama Takahira (大山高平) ⁶⁸³	Unknown

⁶⁸¹ For the development of Taiwan Buddhist Middle School under the Japanese rule, see Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi* (2008):319-337.

⁶⁸² Source: Ōno Ikuko (大野育子), *The Appearance of the Buddhism Elites in the Japanese Taiwan Rule Times by Overseas Taiwanese Students of Soto Zen Buddhism Komazawa University* (2009): 49.

Fayun Temple Lineage	Yuantong Temple 圓通寺	1937	Lin Jinlian 林金蓮 (Lianzhou Ni 蓮舟尼)	Lin Miaoqing 林妙清
	Yitong Hall 一同堂	1937	Zhang Xiuyue 張繡月(Ruxue 如學)	Uknown
		1942	Cai Xueshu 蔡雪恕(Changang 禪剛)	Unknown
Jinhua Buddhist Hall 金華佛堂	1941	Guo Jingzi 郭靜子(Jingguang 靜光)	Ye Puqing 葉普慶	
Kaiyuan Temple Lineage	Kaiyuan Temple	1926	Gao Zhide 高執德 (Zhengguang 證光) ⁶⁸⁴	Wei Deyuan 魏得圓
		1927	Lin Qiuwu 林秋梧(Zhengfeng 證峰)	
		1937	Zhang Jinchu 張金出 (Weilong 微隆, Xuanda 玄達)	
		1943	Gao Keqing 高克勤	Gao Zhide 高執德
		1943	Zhan Huosheng 詹火盛	
Chaofeng Temple Lineage	Chaofeng Temple	1937	Xu Jilin 許繼麟	Lin Yongding 林永定
	Zhaoqing Chan Temple 昭慶禪寺	1938	Wu Jinmao 吳錦茂	Wu Yichun 吳義存
		1938	Lin Dingguo 林定國	

From the table above, we can see that except for Lingyun Chan Temple, all the other four Gushan lineages in Taiwan sent disciples to study in Komazawa University. Because of the Japanization of Taiwanese Buddhism in the late period under the Japanese rule, Taiwanese monks and nuns tended to keep their secular names rather than using the dharma names. For example, Master Zhengguang of Kaiyuan Temple was usually known as Gao Zhide. Hereafter, I will adopt the secular names to refer to these disciples of Gushan lineage.

Among these graduates of Komazawa University, five were nuns (whose names are in screentones in the above table) and four of them were members of Fayun Temple lineage, which reflected the efforts made by Jueli in promoting the monastic education of female disciples as we have seen in Chapter 4. Among them, Zhang Xiuyue 張繡月(Ruxue 如學, 1913-1992) was admired as one of the

⁶⁸³ Ōyama Takahira was a Taiwanese with the Japanese name. His Chinese name, unfortunately, was not recorded in the registration materials. See Ōno Ikuko (大野育子), *The Appearance of the Buddhism Elites in the Japanese Taiwan Rule Times by Overseas Taiwanese Students of Soto Zen Buddhism Komazawa University* (2009): 42, note 123.

⁶⁸⁴ Ōno Ikuko argues that Gao Zhide(高執德) was tonsured by Miaoguo in Fayun Temple, and lists Gao Zhide in Fayun Temple lineage in her tabulation. See *ibid.*, p.59.

“Kings of Nuns” (*nigu wang* 尼姑王) in post-war Taiwan⁶⁸⁵. She devoted all her life to promote Buddhist education in Taiwan and founded Faguang Institute for Buddhist Studies (*faguang fojiao wenhua yanjiusuo* 法光佛教文化研究所) in 1989 in Taipei, which can be considered as continuing the Fayun Temple lineage’s emphasis on Buddhist education.⁶⁸⁶

Among the twenty-two monks and nuns listed in the table above, sixteen of them enrolled in Komazawa University after 1937 when Japan initiated the full-scale war with China and the imperialization movement was launched in Taiwan. After they returned to Taiwan, they were incorporated into Imperial-way Buddhism which will be discussed in the next section. Here I focus on the Taiwanese Buddhist elites who enrolled in Komazawa university in 1920s and returned to Taiwan in the late 1920s and the early 1930s, especially members belonging to the Lingquan Temple and Kaiyuan Temple lineages who introduced the Buddhist reformist ideals into Taiwanese Buddhism and to some extent laid foundations for the final Japanization and imperialization of the Gushan lineages in Taiwan. They were Li Tianchun 李添春(1899~1988) and his cousin Zeng Jinglai 曾景來 (1902-1977) , of the Lingquan Temple lineage, and Gao Zhide 高執德 (1896-1955) and Lin Qiuwu 林秋梧 (1903-1934) of the Kaiyuan Temple lineage. All four were deeply influenced by the Sōtō master

⁶⁸⁵ The other famous “King of Nuns” in post-war Taiwan was Tianyi (天乙 1924-1980). See Chün-fang Yü, *Passing the light: the Incense Light community and Buddhist nuns in contemporary Taiwan* (University of Hawai’i Press, 2013): 40.

⁶⁸⁶ For more information about Zhang Xiuyue 張繡月(Master Ruxue 如學), see Shi Chanhui(釋禪慧), “Changnian Shi en: Ruxue Shangren Bashi Shuodan Xianli”(常念師恩-如學上人八十壽誕獻禮, “Remembering Master’s Grace with Gratitude Forever: A Gift for the Eightieth Birthday of Master Ruxue”) in the appendix of *Jueli Chanshi Nianpu* (A Chronicle of Chan Master Jueli 覺力禪師年譜) (Taipei: Sanhui Jiangtang, 1997): 39-50.

Nukariya Kaiten 忽滑谷快天(1867-1934), the president of Komazawa University from 1921-1934.

Moreover, Zeng Jinglai's master Lin Delin 林德林(1890-1951), who graduated from Taiwan Buddhist Middle School in Taipei without going abroad to study in Komazawa University, was also a faithful follower of Nukariya in Taiwan, as we will see below.

Nukariya, a personal friend of the famous D. T. Suzuki 鈴木大拙 (1870-1966), was one of the foremost exponents of Zen in the West. In 1913, while living and lecturing at Harvard University, Nukariya wrote *Religion of the Samurai*⁶⁸⁷ to present the “pure Zen” in Japan as “a character-building force, a religion for a new, modern nation, a muscular religion that could discard superstition and appropriate in a scientific age.”⁶⁸⁸ He further points out that the spirit and ethic of Zen is essentially identical with that of the samurai which was acknowledged as an ideal doctrine for the rising Japanese generation after the Russo-Japanese War in 1905⁶⁸⁹. Through these colonialist or Protestant discourses, Nukariya contributed to the transformation of the profile of Zen to be incorporated into the Japanese war machine.⁶⁹⁰ As Robert Sharf comments, what Nukariya and other late Meiji Zen apologists did was to “identify the ‘essence of Zen’ with both the ‘spirit of *bushidō* [武士道]’ and the ‘spirit of Japan’, notions then replete with connotations of imperial conquest and unconditional obedience to the

⁶⁸⁷ Nukariya Kaiten, *Religion of the Samurai: A Study of Zen Philosophy and Discipline in China and Japan*, Luzac's Oriental Religions Series, vol. 4 (London: Luzac, 1913).

⁶⁸⁸ John J. Jørgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng, the sixth Patriarch: Hagiography and Biography in Early Ch'an* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005): 29.

⁶⁸⁹ Robert H. Sharf, “The Zen of Japanese Nationalism”, in Donald S. Lopez ed., *Curators of the Buddha: the Study of Buddhism under Colonialism* (Chicago, Ill. : University of Chicago Press, 1995, pp. 107-160): 115.

⁶⁹⁰ Brian Daizen Victoria introduced Nukariya Kaiten's *Religion of the Samurai* in Chapter five of *Zen at War* (Second Edition, pp. 58-59) with the chapter title of “The Incorporation of Buddhism into the Japanese War Machine”.

emperor.”⁶⁹¹

Although Nukariya’s influence on the western understanding of Zen was short-lived because he did not have the fluency in English as D. T. Suzuki did,⁶⁹² he nevertheless had great influence on the reformist ideals of the Taiwanese Buddhist elites under the Japanese rule. Nukariya came to Taiwan twice. In 1917, when serving as the professor in Komazawa University, on behalf of the superintendent priest of Sōtō School, Nukariya came to Taipei to host the opening ceremony of Taiwan Buddhist Middle School⁶⁹³. Later, in 1932, when Nukariya served as the president of Komazawa University, the South Seas Buddhist Association in Taiwan invited him and Hosaka Gyokusen 保坂玉泉(1887-1964), who was then a professor at Komazawa University and later also served as the president of the university in 1958, to give speeches around the island⁶⁹⁴. From the articles written welcoming the two to Taiwan by Li Tianchun, Zeng Jinglai and Lin Qiuwu, we can observe the influences of Nukariya on these Taiwanese Buddhist elites. I will not discuss Zheng’s essay because it was mainly about the admirable moral characters of Nukariya such as leading the university students by personal example in practicing daily Buddhist rituals and keeping the campus neat by weeding and cleaning toilets, and

⁶⁹¹ Robert H. Sharf, “The Zen of Japanese Nationalism”, p.116.

⁶⁹² Bernard Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993): 53.

⁶⁹³ “Zhongxue Lin Kailinshi”(中學林開林式, “The Opening Ceremony of Taiwan Buddhist Middle School”), in *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, Apr. 12, 1917): page 6.

⁶⁹⁴ Lin Delin (林德林), “Huhuagu, Baoban Ershi Taiwan Xunjiao Riji”(忽滑谷,保坂二師臺灣巡教日記, “The Diary of the Speech Tour of the Two Masters Nukariya and Hosaka in Taiwan”), in *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教 Taipei: Nanei Bukkyōkai) vol.10, no.4 (1932): 55-57.

taking care of pupils selflessly on both spiritual and material levels⁶⁹⁵. Instead, I will focus on the works by Li Tianchun and Lin Qiuwu.

According to Li Tianchun, the doctrines preached by Nukariya could be summed up in his “four tenets on singleness”(*siyi lun* 四一論):

1. Believing in one sigle Buddha, not other buddhas; (*xin yifo buxin yufo* 信一佛不信餘佛)
2. Following one single doctrine, not other doctrines;(*feng yijiao bufeng yujiao* 奉一教不奉餘教)
3. Practicing one single practice, not other practices;(*xing yixing buxing yuxing* 行一行不行餘行)
4. Attaining one single fruit, not other fruits.(*zheng yiguo buzheng yuguo* 證一果不證餘果)⁶⁹⁶

In Lin Qiuwu’s essay, the “four tenets on singleness” is termed “the doctrine of the four singleness”(*siyi zhuyi* 四一主義). Lin points out that the *siyi* doctrine was the essence of Nukariya’s thoughts which represents his upholding of the pure and taintless (*chunyi wuza* 純一無雜) belief and his promotion of the pure and circumspect (*chunmi* 純密) Sōtō style⁶⁹⁷.

While the single practice in medieval Japanese Buddhism, like Hōnen’s 法然 (1133-1212) exclusive practice of the *nenbutsu* 念仏(Buddha recitation), Dōgen’s 道元 (1200-1253) “*zazen* -only”(坐禪 sitting meditation) and Nichiren’s 日蓮(1222-1282) exclusive devotion to the *Lotus Sutra*, might originate from the trend toward hierarchical arrangement of Buddhist teachings, or may have been a response to the perceived soteriological uncertainties of the age⁶⁹⁸, Nukariya’s emphasis of

⁶⁹⁵ Zeng Jinglai(曾景來), “Huanying Huhuagu Xiansheng” (歡迎忽滑谷先生, “Welcoming Master Nukariya”), in *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教 Taipei: Nanei Bukkyōkai) vol.10, no.2 (1932): 20-22.

⁶⁹⁶ Li Tianchun(李添春), “Donglai de Damo” (東來的達摩, “The Bodhidharma Coming from the East”), in *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教 Taipei: Nanei Bukkyōkai) vol.10, no.2 (1932, pp. 27-29): 27.

⁶⁹⁷ Lin Qiuwu (林秋梧), “Xianshi de Zhandousheng Fo Huhuagu Kwaitian Laoshi”(現世的戰鬥勝佛忽滑谷快天老師, “Master Nukariya Kaiten: the ‘Winner of Fight Buddha’ in the Present World”), in *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教 Taipei: Nanei Bukkyōkai) vol.10, no.2 (1932, pp. 22-23): 22.

⁶⁹⁸ Jacqueline Ilyse Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (Honolulu :

singleness surely came from his discourses of “pure Zen”, one of whose polemical intents was to rebuke the Chinese joint practice of Chan and Pure Land to justify that “Zen survived in its ‘pure’ form only in Japan”, so “Japan had the right, and indeed the obligation, to assume the leadership of Asia and guide its disadvantaged brethren into the modern age.”⁶⁹⁹

Nukariya’s attitude toward the Chinese joint practice of Chan and Pure Land was explicitly expressed in his speech on *Straight Talk on the True Mind* (*Chinsim chiksöl* 真心直説)⁷⁰⁰ given in Kaiyun Temple in his speech tour in Taiwan on February 16-17 1932. In this speech, he vehemently criticized Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904-976) who initiated the self-conscious movement of the joint practice of Chan and Pure Land and provided a theoretical schema to advocate the basic compatibility between *nianfo* (Buddha recitation 念佛) and Chan meditation as we have seen in Chapter 3. Nukariya pointed out to the audience that though Yongming Yanshou’s joint practice of Chan and Pure Land was admired in his time, Yongming’s belief was not “pure and single (*junichi* 純一)”, and his practices were also “confused and chaotic (*konran* 混乱)”. Therefore, as a Buddhist master, Yongming is not worth to be taken seriously (*tsumaranai* つまらない). Nukariya further expressed his regret that Yongming’s joint practice of Chan and Pure Land was followed in Taiwan

University of Hawai’i Press, 2003): 231-232.

⁶⁹⁹ Robert H. Sharf, “Whose Zen? Zen Nationalism Revisited”, in James W. Heisig and John C. Maraldo ed., *Rude Awakenings: Zen, the Kyoto School, & the Question of Nationalism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1995, pp. 40-51): 49.

⁷⁰⁰ Traditionally, *Straight Talk on the True Mind* was regarded as the work of Korean Sōn Master Chinul (知納, 1158-1210). However, the authorship of the treatise should be ascribed instead to the Jurchen Chan monk Zhengyan (政言, d. ca. 1184-1185). See Robert E. Buswell, Jr. ed. and tran., *Chinul: Selected Works (Collected Works of Korean Buddhism, Vol. 2, Korea: Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, 2012): 89-90.*

because if one believed in both Chan and Pure Land at the same time, he would fall into self contradiction (*jiko mujun* 自己矛盾) and ended up with a split personality (*jinkaku no bunretsu* 人格の分裂)⁷⁰¹.

Following Nukariya, the Taiwanese Buddhist elites promoted the pure Buddhist belief and practice to reform Taiwanese Buddhism. For example, Lin Qiuwu commented on *Straight Talk on the True Mind* in vernacular Chinese in 1933⁷⁰², which was also published as a serial in *South Seas Buddhism* (*Nanei Bukkyō* 南瀛佛教), a magazine of the South Seas Buddhist Association. In it, Lin Qiuwu also emphasized the “incompatibility” between *nianfo* and Chan meditation, and regarded Yongming, Zhuhong and Zhixu, the three masters who promoted the dual practice of Chan and Pure Land as the arch-criminals (*zuikui* 罪魁) of Chan Buddhism.⁷⁰³ Moreover, as we have seen in Chapter 4, in 1936, Gao Zhide attacked the dual practice of Chan and Pure Land in Longhu Convent as not being able to distinguish the true Chan from the false one, like “treating a bandit as one’s father”.

From the standpoint of the pure Buddhist faith, the Taiwanese Buddhist elites also devoted themselves to eliminate the superstitious practices in Taiwan in order to reform Taiwanese religions and to civilize the island inhabitants. However, it could also be regarded as serving the religious policy of the Taiwan Governor-General’s Office.

⁷⁰¹ Nukariya Kaiten, “Zhenxin Zhishuo Jiangyi”(真心直說講義, “Lectures on *Straight Talk on the True Mind*”), recorded by Li Tianchun, in *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教) vol.10, no.5 (1932, pp. 2-18): 15.

⁷⁰² Li Xiaofeng (李筱峰), *Taiwan Geming Sheng Lin Qiuwu* (臺灣革命僧林秋梧, *Lin Qiuwu: the Taiwanese Revolutionary Monk*, Taipei: Zili Wanbaoshe Wenhua Chubanshu, 1991):106.

⁷⁰³ Lin Qiuwu (林秋梧), “(Zhenxin Zhishuo Zhujie (Shier)”, (真心直說註解(十二) “Commentaries on *Straight Talk on the True Mind*, part twelve”), in *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教) vol.11, no.6 (1933, pp. 19-22): 22.

The anti-superstitious attitude by the Taiwanese Buddhist leaders can be seen in a few cases.

During 1929-1931, Lin Qiuwu launched a campaign against the Universal Salvation Rite (*pu du* 普度) held for the hungry ghosts on the Ghost Festival. This was because although it had Buddhist origin in the ullambana,⁷⁰⁴ it had turned into superstitious practices in Taiwan and became confused with folk beliefs in deities.⁷⁰⁵ According to Li Xiaofeng, this campaign was not only a reform, but a revolution which exemplified Lin Qiuwu's leftist stance regarding superstition as a tool used by rulers to control ignorant people.⁷⁰⁶

Along the same vein, in 1936, Zheng Jinglai was asked by the Taiwan Governor-General's Office to investigate Taiwanese superstitions which resulted in the publication of *The Taiwanese Religions and Undesirable Customs of Superstition* (*Taiwan shūkyō to meishin rōshū* 台湾宗教と迷信陋習) in 1938.⁷⁰⁷ As we have mentioned above, during the war time, under the the imperialization reforms, the “old customs” in Taiwanese society became unacceptable to the Japanese rulers. In Zheng's case, the Taiwanese Buddhist elite contributed to the elimination of these undesirable customs.

Besides emphasizing the purity of the Zen faith and practice, another standpoint of Nukariya which had great influence on the Taiwanese Buddhist elites was the secularization of Buddhist clergy.

Lin Qiuwu highly extolled Nukariya as a brave Buddhist fighter for breaking the ossified Buddhist

⁷⁰⁴ For the origin of the ghost festival, see Stephen F. Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 1988).

⁷⁰⁵ Li Xiaofeng (李筱峰), *Taiwan Geming Sheng Lin Qiuwu* (臺灣革命僧林秋梧, *Lin Qiuwu: the Taiwanese Revolutionary Monk*, Taipei: Zili Wanbaoshe Wenhua Chubanshu, 1991):112-116.

⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰⁷ Zheng Jinglai, *The Taiwanese Religions and Superstitious Undesirable Customs* (*Taiwan shūkyō to meishin rōshū* 台湾宗教と迷信陋習, Taihoku: Taiwan shūkyō kenkyūkai 臺灣宗教研究會, 1938), reprint in 1995 (Taipei: Nantian Shuju).

precepts. According to Lin, Nukariya was the first Sōtō master who got married and began to wear ordinary clothing.⁷⁰⁸ Under Nukariya's influence, except for Lin Qiuwu, both Li Tianchun and Zheng Jinglai got married after they graduated from Komazawa University and returned to Taiwan⁷⁰⁹. As to Gao Zhide, he was already married before he became a monk and thus he did not abandon his secular home as a monk.⁷¹⁰ In this aspect, these Taiwanese Buddhist elites had already been Japanized before the war time.

Another Japanized Taiwanese monk was Lin Delin, the master of Zeng Jinglai. As we have mentioned above, Lin Delin graduated from Taiwan Buddhist Middle School in Taipei. Although he did not continue to study at Komazawa University, he was a faithful follower of Nukariya in Taiwan and promoted Nukariya's doctrines by translating Nukariya's pamphlet of "four tenets of singleness" in 1932 (on the occasion of welcoming Nukariya to Taiwan)⁷¹¹ and *A Dialogue on the Orthodox Faith* (*Zhengxin Wenda* 正信問答) in 1942.⁷¹²

As we read before, Lin Delin was the disciple of Shanhui and after he graduated from Taiwan Buddhist Middle School, he served as the abbot of Taizhong Buddhist Assembly Hall 台中佛教會館 in 1920⁷¹³. According to Jiang Tsanteng's study, the reformist ideals of Lin Delin included:

⁷⁰⁸ Lin Qiuwu (林秋梧), "Master Nukariya Kaiten: the 'Winner of Fight Buddha' in the Present World", in *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教 Taipei: Nanei Bukkyōkai) vol.10, no.2 (1932, pp. 22-23): 23.

⁷⁰⁹ Ōno Ikuko (大野育子), *Rizhi Shiqi Fojiao Jingying de Jueqi*, p.131.

⁷¹⁰ Kan Zhengzong(闕正宗), "Kaiyuan Si Chuancheng Fazhan shi", p.142.

⁷¹¹ Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi*, pp. 539-540.

⁷¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 590-606.

⁷¹³ Li Shiwei (李世偉), "Zhen Biquan, Yang Rujiao: Riju Shidai Zhanghua Chongwen She de Jieshe yu Huodong"(振筆權, 揚儒教一日據時代彰化崇文社的結社與活動, "Reving the Powers of Pens to Promote Confucianism: the Organization

1. Distinguishing the Buddha from deities: the Buddha must not be worshipped as a god. Believers should take the Buddha as their model to strive for their own self-purification.
2. Buddhist monks and nuns could get married like Protestant ministers. However, they are required to be professional, morally upright and active in serving society.
3. The monastic institution should be sound to prevent it from corruption.⁷¹⁴

It might be because of Lin Delin's zeal in reforming Taiwanese Buddhism that some local conservative Confucian literati regarded him as deviating from Buddhist tradition and neglecting the precepts. The attack on Lin Delin was initiated in 1927 by the Confucian scholar Zhang Shuzi 張淑子 who once had some personal conflicts with Lin. It then turned into a large scale criticism of Taiwanese Buddhist monks and nuns who were suspected by Zhang Shuzi and his Confucian allies as not keeping the precepts and being involved in rumored sex scandals. Even the founders of the five mountains like Shanghui, Benyuan and Jueli fell prey to their invectives which accused them as bad masters who failed in bringing up precepts abiding disciples.⁷¹⁵

Facing these attacks, Lin Delin insisted on his reformist ideals and finally put them into practice by marrying the maid of Taizhong Buddhist Assembly Hall in 1932. He invited Hosaka Gyokusen, the

and Activities of Chongwen Association in Zhanghua under the Japanese Rule”), in Wang Jianchuan(王見川) and Li Shiwei (李世偉), *Taiwan de Zongjiao yu Wenhua* (臺灣的宗教與文化, *The Religion and Culture of Taiwan*, Taipei County: Boyang Publishing, 1999, pp. 279-305): 286; Huiyan(慧嚴), *Taiwan yu Min Ri Fojiao Jialiushi*, p. 324.

⁷¹⁴ Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Renshi Taiwan Bentu Fojiao* (認識臺灣本土佛教: 解嚴以來的轉型與多元新貌, *Understanding Native Taiwanese Buddhism: the Transformation and the New Look of Pluralism after the Curfew*, Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu, 2012): 170.

⁷¹⁵ Li Shiwei (李世偉), “Reving the Powers of Pens to Promote Confucianism”, pp. 286-290. For a detailed analysis of Confucian literati's attacks on Lin Delin, see Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001): 367-488.

personage who went on the speech tour with Nukariya in Taiwan as we have mentioned above, as the chief witness at the wedding ceremony.⁷¹⁶ As one can expect, this action invoked even fiercer outrage from the conservatives. For a period of time, Taizhong Buddhist Assembly Hall lost almost all its believers. After Lin Delin died in 1951, his wife and children were forced to move out, and they then converted to Christianity.⁷¹⁷

The Taiwanese Buddhist elites educated in the Sōtō system were expected to become the second generation leaders of the five mountains, and some of them did serve as abbots, such as Gao Zhide of Kaiyuan Temple and Lin Delin of Taizhong Buddhist Assembly Hall. However, the reformist ideals they received from Nukariya made them deviate far from the Chinese Buddhist tradition of the five mountains received from Gushan, such as the joint practice of Chan and Pure Land, the emphasis on the precepts, and the frequent precepts-giving activities. Their divergence from the Gushan tradition might pave the way for further Japanization of the five mountains. On the other hand, being the “elites”, how great their influence in fact had on the ordinary Taiwanese Buddhist believers and the daily practices of the five mountains remains a question. As the case of Lin Delin shows, Taiwanese Buddhist believers still demand a traditional precepts-abiding abbot.

While in the late 1920s and the early 1930s the reformist ideals proposed by the Taiwanese Buddhist elites posed challenges to the traditional practices and the conservative attitudes of the five

⁷¹⁶ Li Shiwei (李世偉), “Reving the Powers of Pens to Promote Confucianism”, pp. 290-291.

⁷¹⁷ Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Renshi Taiwan Bentu Fojiao* (2012): 170.

mountains as well as the Confucian literati, the disputes or the conflicts, if any, had all stopped after the late 1930s, for both the reformists and the traditionalists were required to serve the imperialization of the Taiwanese Buddhism.

4. The Incorporation of the Five Mountains into Imperial-way Buddhism

We have seen above how Japanese Buddhism had tried to be “useful” to the colonial expansion of the Japanese empire since the Meiji period and how it was, against this backdrop, introduced to Taiwan and influenced the development of the five mountains under the Japanese rule. In this section I focus on the final imperialization of the five mountains during the war time when they were incorporated into the so called imperial-way Buddhism. As Brian Daizen Victoria points out, the emergence of imperial-way Buddhism in the 1930s was not so much a new phenomenon as it was the systematization or codification of previous personal and institutional choices of Japan’s Buddhist leaders toward their country’s expansionist policies. Thus formed, imperial-way Buddhism could be expressed from two perspectives: “Stated in Buddhist terms, imperial-way Buddhism represented the total and unequivocal subjugation of the Law of the Buddha to the Law of the Sovereign. In political terms, it meant subjugation of institutional Buddhism to the state and its policies.”⁷¹⁸

⁷¹⁸ Brian Daizen Victoria, *Zen at War* (Second Edition), (2006): 79. As to the definition of imperial-way Buddhism, Victoria quotes a Jōdo sect priest Shiio Benkyō’s(椎尾弁匡) essay in 1938: “The reason that Buddhism was able to develop in Japan was completely due to the imperial household, especially to the fact that each of the successive emperors personally believed in and guided Buddhism so that it could accomplish its task. Although it is true that Japanese Buddhism has developed through the power of the devotion of illustrious priests and lay persons, the fact that such persons were able to believe and practice their faith was due to the imperial household and emperors who fostered its development through the

Christopher Ives argues that Japanese Buddhism became highly “engaged” in activities that promoted Japanese nationalism and imperialism through reinterpreting the long tradition of “Buddhism for the protection of the realm”(gokoku Bukkyō 護国仏教). While traditionally, *gokoku Bukkyō* meant that the rulers can protect the country by protecting Buddhist Dharma, in modern times, its meaning flipped: the Buddhists can protect Buddhist Dharma by protecting the country, that is to say, “they can protect Buddhist institutional interests by supporting the Japanese state.”⁷¹⁹ It was in the discursive context of this reversed meaning of *gokoku Bukkyō* that imperial-way Buddhism emerged in 1930s.

Moreover, because imperial-way Buddhism was mainly mobilized to serve the war, with its emergence, two new elements of *gokoku Bukkyō* tradition were developed. Firstly, imperial-way Buddhism apologists provided arguments to justify Japan’s invasion of China. They argued that the war was just because it was an act of Buddhist compassion for the benefits of Chinese people. Through the war, the unreasonableness of China could be corrected and China would be a more advanced country as Japan, then the true friendship between Japan and China could be established and the eternal peace in East Asia could be achieved. For that sublime goal of compassion, the war could be justified in Buddhism⁷²⁰.

Secondly, out of the intimate connection of Zen and the “spirit of *bushidō*” which was essential

continual issuance of imperial edicts and their own personal example. This is something that cannot be seen in other countries. It is for this reason it ought to be called imperial-way Buddhism.”(Ōkura Seishin Bunka Kenkyūjo, *Gokoku Bukkyō* (護国仏教 *Nation-Protecting Buddhism*, Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1938), pp. 50-51, cited in Brian Daizen Victoria, *Zen at War* (Second Edition), (2006): 82)

⁷¹⁹ Christopher Ives, *Imperial-Way Zen* (2009): 127.

⁷²⁰ Brian Daizen Victoria, *Zen at War* (Second Edition), (2006): 86-94.

for the victory of the war, not only the imperial armies but also the masses were required to receive Zen trainings. In other words, while samurai had become the ordinary people after the Meiji Restoration (*Meiji Ishin* 明治維新) in 1868, now the ordinary people are required to turn into samurai⁷²¹. It was against the development of these two new elements of imperial-way Buddhism that the five mountains in Taiwan were mobilized to serve the war effort.

Firstly, under the religious policy of the Taiwan Governor-General Office in the imperialization movement since 1937, many Buddhist organizations for protecting the nation were founded, through which the five mountains were also incorporated into imperial-way Buddhism. For example, in October 1937, Sōtō School in Taiwan founded Keelung Nation-Protecting Organization of Sōtō School (*Keelung Sōtōshū Gokokudan* 基隆曹洞宗護国団), and Derong, the disciple of Shanhui of Lingquan Temple, served as the vice president. The organization devoted itself to accelerate the imperialization of Taiwanese people by holding seminars for eliminating superstitious faiths, helping Japanese authorities arrange the forums for executing the imperialization policy thoroughly, and raising funds for the national defense.⁷²² According to Wu Minxia's study, by the end of 1939, seven Buddhist nation-Protecting organizations were founded in Taipei (2), Xinzhu (3), Tainan (1) and Kaohsiung (1), through which Taiwanese Buddhism had turned into the means for implementation of Japanese colonial

⁷²¹ Brian Daizen Victoria, *Zen at War* (Second Edition), (2006): 105; 108.

⁷²² "Keelung Sōtōshū Gokokudan"(基隆曹洞宗護国団, Keelung Nation-Protecting Organization of Sōtō School), in *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教) vol.17, no.2 (1939): 51.

and imperial policies and lost its own relative independence in the previous years.⁷²³ The tendency of the imperialization of Taiwanese Buddhism, the five mountains included, could be obviously observed in the slogans in 1939 published in *South Seas Buddhism* of the South Seas Buddhist Association, the most influential Buddhist magazine in Taiwan, which required the Taiwanese Buddhists to:

- (1) Speak national language [Japanese] always.
- (2) Wear the improved [Japanese style] clothes (*Kairyō fuku* 改良服).
- (3) Break the old undesirable customs and put reforms into practice.
- (4) Adopt the domestic (*naichi* 内地) [Japanese] style Buddhist rituals and recite Buddhist sutras in national language [Japanese].
- (5) Realize the Mahayana spirits of the Buddha and go into streets to serve society.
- (6) Be loyal and patriotic to the nation [Japan] and recognize the current political situations to accomplish the tasks of imperialization.⁷²⁴

To satisfy the requirements of the Japanization of Taiwanese Buddhism such as adopting the Japanese style Buddhist rituals and reciting Buddhist sutras in Japanese, the five mountains had to send disciples to study abroad in Japan after 1937⁷²⁵, as we have seen in table 5.1 above.

In 1940 and again in 1941, Rinzai School held two Buddhist seminars for the nuns in Lianfeng Temple (the branch temple of Chaofeng Temple), both of which lasted for six months. Their main objective was to instruct the doctrines of imperial-way Buddhism and to cultivate the spirit of imperial subjects.⁷²⁶ After that, not only the monks but also the nuns in Taiwan had been mobilized as members of imperial-way Buddhism.

⁷²³ Wu Minxia (吳敏霞), *Riju Shiqi de Taiwan Fojiao* (日據時期的臺灣佛教, *Taiwanese Buddhism under the Japanese Rule*, Taichung County: Taiping Ciguang Si, 2007): 586.

⁷²⁴ “Hontō Bukkyōto yo!”(本島仏教徒よ！“To the Buddhists in Taiwan”), in *Nanei Bukkyō*(南瀛佛教) vol.17, no.11 (1939): 21.

⁷²⁵ Wu Minxia (吳敏霞), *Riju Shiqi de Taiwan Fojiao*, p. 589.

⁷²⁶ Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Fojian Wenhua Fazhang Shi* (2001): 545.

Secondly, because the five mountains had intimate historical connections with Chinese Buddhism in southern China, since the early years in the period under the Japanese rule, they were regarded by Japanese Buddhists and the colonial rulers as a bridge to the mainland or a base for reexporting the Buddhism preserved in Japan to China. During the war time, some of the founders and Taiwanese Buddhist elites of the five mountains were dispatched to China to work with Chinese Buddhist organizations to pacify the Chinese in the Japanese occupied areas to make them more amenable to Japanese rule⁷²⁷ and to propagandize the theories about the just and compassionate war to persuade the Chinese to cooperate with Japan for the future of East Asia.

According to Kan Zhengzong's study, in 1939, Shanghui, the founder of Lingquan Temple, was retained by Narita Hōsui 成田芳髓, the abbot of the Sōtō branch temple in Shanghai named *Chōtoku yin* 長徳院, to go to China to pacify local people and proselytizing Sōtō doctrines (*senbu fukyō* 宣撫布教). Shanghui went to Hangzhou 杭州, Suzhou 蘇州, Zhenjiang 鎮江 and Nanjing 南京 to contact the important temples there, and chose twenty young monks from these temples to receive the language training in Japanese.⁷²⁸ It was the initiation of Sōtō School's missions in the Japanese occupied areas in Central China. It is possible that Shanghui was appointed the head of Hongzhou Buddhist Association (*Hongzhou Fojiashui* 杭州佛教會) at this time.⁷²⁹ These missionary activities might be a part of the

⁷²⁷ Christopher Ives, *Imperial-Way Zen* (2009): 42.

⁷²⁸ “Kaisanzi no Zen E shi Chūshi kaku Jiin de senbu fukyō”(開山寺の善慧師中支各寺院で宣撫布教, “Master Shanghui of Kaisan Temple Visiting Temples in Central China for Pacifying the Local People and Proselytizing Buddhist Doctrines”), in *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, Aug 6, 1939): page 7.

⁷²⁹ Kan Zhengzong(闕正宗), *Taiwan Rizhi Shiqi Fojiashui Fazhan yu Huangminhua Yundong* (2011): 313.

Japanese policy of religious education proposed by the education minister and former war minister Araki Sadao 荒木貞夫, one of the later class-A war criminals, in 1938: “the utilization of religion for pacification in China derives from the fact that the propagation of religion is none other than the propagation of the Imperial Way.”⁷³⁰ Although Shanghai was mobilized to assist the propagation of imperial-way Buddhism in China, he took advantage of his position to save Master Yuanying in 1939 from being put to death by the Japanese authorities when Yuanying was accused of planning to rebel against Japan in Shanghai.⁷³¹

After the Japanese armies occupied Hainan Island 海南島 in the south of Guangdong in 1940, Zhen Jinglai, one of the Taiwanese Buddhist elites of Lingquan Temple lineage mentioned above, was dispatched there to publish the brochures with a Buddhist title “Qiong Haichao Yin” 瓊海潮音 (“Voice of the Sea Tide in Hainan Island”) to denounce the Chinese war of resistance against Japan (*kanri* 抗日) and to promote the cooperation between the Chinese and the Japanese to develop East Asia together.⁷³²

Moreover, during the Pacific War, Japanese government used Taiwan as the base for the invasion of southeast Asian countries in its policy of marching southwards (*nanshin seisaku* 南進政策) to build the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere (*daitōa kyōeiken* 大東亞共榮圈)⁷³³. Because there were many overseas Chinese in these countries who believed in Chinese Buddhism, Taiwanese Buddhism

⁷³⁰ Christopher Ives, *Imperial-Way Zen* (2009): 37.

⁷³¹ Li Tianchun(李添春), “The Materials of Taiwan Buddhism History Part I. The History of Caodong School (1)”: 5; Kan Zhengzong(闕正宗), *Taiwan Rizhi Shiqi Fojiao Fazhan yu Huangminhua Yundong* (2011): 313.

⁷³² Kan Zhengzong(闕正宗), *ibid.*

⁷³³ For the marching southwards policy and the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, see W.G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism, 1894-1945* (Oxford [Oxfordshire]: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1987): 220-250.

could be used as a bridge to reach them.⁷³⁴ In 1943, Gao Zhide, the abbot of Kaiyuan Temple, was dispatched to Tokyo to attend the Greater East Asian Young Buddhist Conference (*Daitōa bukkyō seinen taikai* 大東亞佛教青年大会) as one of the six representatives from Taiwan. In the Conference, the Taiwanese delegates proposed two plans: 1. to set up religious education institutions in Taiwan for the South Pacific Buddhist areas; 2. to train Taiwanese young Buddhist as the missionaries for the overseas Chinese in southeast Asian countries.⁷³⁵ These two proposals could be seen as the “contributions” of Taiwanese young Buddhists to Japanese invasion of southeast Asia, and the Taiwanese Buddhist elite of Kaiyuan Temple lineage was also mobilized for it.

Thirdly, as to the Buddhist spiritual training, especially that of Zen, for the civilians in the war-time Japan, Brian Daizen Victoria points out that Sugimoto Gorō 杉本五郎(1900-1937), the lay disciple of Rinzai Master Yamazaki Ekijū 山崎益州(1882-1961), had this proposal in the *Great Duty* (*Taigi* 大義) he wrote in 1938:

Each Buddhist temple should be a training center for developing spiritual discipline within the people. Priests should be the leaders of this training. In so doing they can claim the right to be called men of religion.⁷³⁶

His master Yamazaki added the comment:

We Zen priests cannot directly produce so much as a grain of rice or a sheet of paper. However, in terms of developing the spiritual power of the people, there is a way for us, incompetent though

⁷³⁴ Jōhoku Inshi (城北隱士), “Nanshin no Waga Taiwan Bukkyōto e”(南進の我臺灣佛教徒へ, “To Our Taiwanese Buddhist Marching Southwards”), in *Taiwan Bukkyō*(臺灣佛教), vol. 20, no.6 (1942, pp. 14-20): 19-20.

⁷³⁵ Kan Zhengzong(闕正宗), *Taiwan Rizhi Shiqi Fojiao Fazhan yu Huangminhua Yundong* (2011): 299; Ōno Ikuko (大野育子), *Rizhi Shiqi Fojiao Jingying de Jueqi*, pp. 152-154.

⁷³⁶ Sugimoto Gorō (杉本五郎), *Taigi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1938): 198, cited in Brian Daizen Victoria, *Zen at War* (Second Edition): 130.

we be, to do our public duty. I believe that we should do everything in our power to go in this direction.⁷³⁷

The proposal seemed to have been put into practice by the Sōtō School. In June 1942, Sōtō School founded the Wartime Center for the Development of an Instructor Corps to Train Imperial Subjects. As Christopher Ives points out, the main objective of the center was the increase of fighting- power and its founding principles included “volunteering for public duty, clarifying the *kokutai* [国体 national polity], ‘guarding the prosperity of the imperial throne’, training subjects of the emperor, and repaying one’s debt of gratitude to the emperor.”⁷³⁸

As for Taiwan, in the last two years of World War II, two Buddhist spiritual training centers were founded in Kaiyuan Temple in the south and in Yuanguang Temple 圓光寺 in the north. As we have mentioned in Chapter 4, in 1935, Fayun Temple founded by Jueli was totally destroyed in the earthquake and since the mid-1930s, Yuanguang Temple in Taoyuan 桃園 which was founded by Jueli’s disciple Miaoguo 妙果 in 1917 replaced Fayun Temple to be the main institution of Jueli’s Gushan Caodong lineage. Therefore, through setting up the spiritual training centers in both Kaiyuan Temple and Yuanguang Temple, both the Gushan Linji lineage and the Gushan Caodong lineage were mobilized in the tasks of developing spiritual discipline of the people during the war time.⁷³⁹

⁷³⁷ Victoria quotes this passage from the December 1942 issue of *Sanshō* (Eiheiji Sanshō kai). See Brian Daizen Victoria, *Zen at War* (Second Edition): 131.

⁷³⁸ Christopher Ives, *Imperial-Way Zen* (2009): 42; Brian Daizen Victoria, *Zen at War* (Second Edition): 143-144.

⁷³⁹ Kan Zhengzong(關正宗), *Taiwan Rizhi Shiqi Fojiao Fazhan yu Huangminhua Yundong* (2011): 286-287.

5. Conclusion

With the changes of the religious policy of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office, the spread of Gushan lineages in Taiwan underwent both the triumphant developments and the frustrating setbacks under the Japanese rule.

Generally speaking, the religious policy of Japanese government in Taiwan had been gradually tightened under the guideline of assimilating the Taiwanese people. In the beginning, the assimilation process was slow and moderate, which left the developing spaces for the five mountains to maximize their own benefits through balancing the connections and interactions with both Chinese Buddhism and Japanese Buddhism. However, with the outbreak of the war, the rapid and thorough assimilation was imposed through imperialization movements to turn the island inhabitants into loyal and patriotic imperial subjects. Under this situation, the five mountains had to be Japanized and incorporated into imperial-way Buddhism to be mobilized to sustain the Japanese expansionist military actions.

In this process, the roles played by the Taiwanese Buddhist elites could not be neglected. Although they were cultivated as the second generation leaders of the Gushan lineages in Taiwan, they seemed to be deeply influenced by Japanese Buddhism through their experiences of studying abroad in Japan. Therefore, it was no wonder to see them promote imperial-way Buddhism and join in the Buddhist "nation-protecting" activities and organizations in both Taiwan and China. That was one of the reasons why they were suspected as potential enemies of the KMT government which ruled Taiwan after the

war. This was fully revealed in the tragic death of Gao Zhide of Kaiyuan Temple, which not only symbolized the end of their (Gao Zhide and other elites') age, but also presaged the difficulties and hardships the already Japanized members of the five mountains would encounter in the process of resinification initiated by Chinese Buddhist clergy who came from the mainland after 1949.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

This dissertation contributes to the ongoing scholarship which questions the conventional view, prevalent some decades ago that Chinese Buddhism went into decline during the late imperial period. I do so by showing that the reformist ideals of reviving the monastic discipline, the joint practice of Chan and Pure Land, the emergence of new institutional structure of Chan lineage, the promotion of precepts-giving activities and the organization of lay Buddhist associations, all vital to the life of the religion, occurred in the late Ming and the early Qing. In recent years we see researches on Qing Buddhism which has been a relatively neglected period, but it is the Linji School which has been the main subject of study while Caodong School, though traditionally regarded as the counterpart of Linji, has seldom received scholarly attention. To develop a more comprehensive understanding of the development and spread of Chan lineages in this period, I chose Gushan, a Caodong monastery located in Fujian province as a case study to trace the formation of the Gushan Chan lineage and its later spread to Taiwan. The theme of the dissertation is then the establishment of the Gushan lineage and its transmission to Taiwan as well as its fate in Taiwan under the Japanese occupation.

In this final chapter, I will firstly show the continuing expansion diffusion of the Gushan lineage in Taiwan after World War II, and then deal with the new developments of humanistic Buddhism, taking Dharma Drum Mountain as an example. At last, I will recapitulate the main points discussed in

the chapters of the dissertation.

1. The Continuing Expansion Diffusion of the Gushan Lineage in Taiwan

With the surrender of Japan in 1945, Taiwan was retroceded to China. This political power transfer was an upheaval for both the Taiwanese and Japanese in Taiwan in facing the “de-Japanization” policy of the new Taiwan Provincial government. The new Nationalist authorities not only “reorganized all the old Japanese political administrative units along Chinese lines”, but also “began to repatriate all Japanese citizens.”⁷⁴⁰

Though the Taiwanese Buddhist leaders, who had been so skillful at adjusting the balancing point between Chinese Buddhism and Japanese Buddhism during the Japanese rule, soon decided to abolish the South Seas Buddhist Association and to establish the Taiwan Provincial Buddhist Association (Taiwan Sheng Fo jiao Hui 台灣省佛教會) to be incorporated into Chinese Buddhist system led by the BAROC (Buddhist Association of Republic of China) which reconstructed itself in Nanjing in 1947⁷⁴¹. However, these efforts could not save the five mountains from going into decline.

According to Jiang Tsanteng’s research⁷⁴², there were three unfavorable factors for the post-war developments of the institutions of the Gushan lineage in Taiwan which had been already Japanese

⁷⁴⁰ Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*: 98.

⁷⁴¹ *ibid.*: 99.

⁷⁴² Jiang Tsanteng, “Shuangyuan Huiliu xia de Xinju Kaizhan” (雙源匯流下的新局開展, “The New Development under the Convergence of the Double Origins”), Ch.3 of Jiang Tsanteng, Hou Kunhong (侯坤宏) and Yang Shuhao (楊書濠), *Zhanhou Taiwan Hanchuan Fo jiao Shi* (戰後臺灣漢傳佛教史, *Post-war history of Chinese Buddhism in Taiwan*, Taipei City: Wunan, 2011): 103-105.

under the Japanese rule in facing the “de-Japanization” policy of the new rulers:

1. The confiscation of Japanese properties: When the Japanese citizens in Taiwan were repatriated, they were only allowed to bring one thousand Japanese yen in cash and one backpack of daily necessities.

All the other things left in Taiwan, “houses, shops, business, bank accounts, government buildings,

Shintō shrines, and (most significantly for our purposes) Buddhist temples” went to the New Taiwan

Provincial government⁷⁴³. These Japanese Buddhist institutions, during the Japanese rule, had served as

not only the preaching centers of Japanese Buddhism but also the fields for the interactions and

cooperation activities between the Taiwanese and Japanese Buddhist organizations. With the

confiscation of Japanese properties, one important part of the de-Japanization policy, the five

mountains lost their direct connections with Japanese Buddhism and stages for public activities.

2. The language barriers: During the Japanese rule, the Taiwanese Buddhist elites had been educated and

trained in Japan and highly Japanized. Though they were able to give speeches and write academic

essays proficiently in Japanese, after the war, few successfully crossed the language barriers and used

Mandarin, the national language of the new Nationalist government, without difficulties. This made the

Taiwanese Buddhist elites lose their leadership, which greatly diminished the social impacts of the five

mountains.

3. The untimely death of the Taiwanese Buddhist leaders: When the Taiwanese Buddhist leaders

planned to establish the Taiwan Provincial Buddhist Association, Shanhui of Lingquan Temple died

⁷⁴³ Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*: 98-99.

unexpectedly on the last day of 1945. The Association then elected Benyuan of Lingyun Chan Temple as the first president. However, Benyuan also soon died in 1947. After Zhengguang (Gao Zhide) of Kaiyuan Temple was executed by shooting in 1955, not only the first generation Taiwanese Buddhist leaders but also the second generation Taiwanese Buddhist elites had been gradually marginalized⁷⁴⁴.

Besides the political, cultural and social factors stated above, Charles Brewer Jones observes the stagnation of the diffusion activities of the five mountains from the perspective of the degree of ritual self-sufficiency and autonomy of liturgical matters. After 1949, the BAROC retreated to Taiwan in accompany with the Nationalist government and became the highest and the only one Buddhist organization on the national level on the island. To prevent the precepts-giving activities becoming a for-profit business and forbid the hereditary temples holding ordination ceremonies which had been expected to be held in public monasteries, the BAROC ruled that the annual ordination should be run and staffed under its authorities, which “gave the BAROC control over entry into the clerical entry.”⁷⁴⁵ Because monks retreated from China dominated the BAROC infrastructure, the Taiwanese clergy was excluded from the official precepts-giving ceremonies. As Jones points out,

It also explains why the ordination lineages emanating from the Yongquan Temple [Gushan] in Fujian Province, which had predominated during the Japanese period, became inactive.....The dominance of the mainland monks and the institution of the new ordination system effectively put an end to the transmission of the Yongquan Temple [Gushan] lineages⁷⁴⁶.

⁷⁴⁴ Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*: 99-100; Jiang Tsanteng(江燦騰), *Renshi Taiwan Bentu Fo jiao* (認識臺灣本土佛教: 解嚴以來的轉型與多元新貌, *Understanding Native Taiwanese Buddhism: the Transformation and the New Look of Pluralism after the Curfew*, Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu, 2012): 9.

⁷⁴⁵ Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*: 151.

⁷⁴⁶ *ibid.*: 151-152.

Nevertheless, this does not necessarily imply that the Gushan lineage had little influence on the developments of post-war Taiwanese Buddhism. Actually, the Gushan masters who came to Taiwan with the Nationalist government after 1949 continued transmitting the Gushan lineage in Taiwan, which initiated further expansion diffusion and resulted in the establishment of the new institutions of the Gushan lineage. The key character was master Lingyuan 靈源 (1902-1988). According to Lingyuan's biographies written by his dharma heir master Shengyen 聖嚴 (1930-2009)⁷⁴⁷ and the Buddhist scholar Kan Zhengzong 闕正宗⁷⁴⁸, Lingyuan was a native of Zhejiang and born in a Buddhist family. His mother had taught him to recite the name of Amitabha since his childhood. At twelve, his face was pockmarked by smallpox. Three years later, after having kept reciting the name of Guanyin and transcribed the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*, his face recovered miraculously.

However, in middle school, Lingyuan pursued the Daoist way and got married at twenty. It was not until later that he converted to Buddhism and decided to leave home at Mt. Wutai when he was twenty five but then dissuaded by his father. In 1932, Lingyuan went to Gushan and finally received tonsure from the abbot Xuyun who took him as his dharma grandson and gave him the dharma name of Lingyuan Hongmiao 靈源宏妙 according to the Gushan Linji transmission poem. In the next year, Lingyuan received full ordination also in Gushan. After the ordination session, he studied the *Fanwang Jing* (梵網經 *Bramā Net Sūtra*) with master Yingci 應慈 who served as confessor master in the

⁷⁴⁷ Shi Shengyen, "Lingyuan Lao Heshang Xingzhuang" (靈源老和尚行狀, The Biography of Master Lingyuan), in Shi Shengyen, *Daonian-Youhua* (悼念-遊化, Memorial, Travelling and Preaching, Taipei: Fagu Wenhua, 1999): 37-39.

⁷⁴⁸ Kan Zhengzong, *Taiwan Gaosheng* (臺灣高僧, Eminent Monks of Taiwan, Taipei: Puti Changqing, 1996): 121-140.

ordination, and then enrolled in Fajie Seminary 法界學院 founded by Xuyun in Gushan to learn the *Huayan Sutra* with master Cizhou 慈舟 who also taught him the practice of taking *nianfo* 念佛 as *huatou* 話頭 (critical phrase). Lingyuan's studying approach fully reflected the tradition of the Gushan Chan lineage which promoted the joint practice of Chan and Pure Land while emphasizing the Bodhisattva precepts and Huayan teachings.

In 1949, Lingyuan served as the abbot of Nanhua Temple 南華寺 in Guangzhou and then fled to Hongkong to reside in Baolian Temple 寶蓮寺. In 1953, he was invited to Taiwan by the lay Buddhist believers Nan Huaijin 南懷瑾 and Lu Kuanyuan 魯寬緣. Through the introduction of Nan, Gu Dingsheng 顧定生 became the tonsured disciple of Lingyuan and was named as Weiding 惟定. Under the assistance of Weiding, Lingyuan founded Shifang Dajue Temple 十方大覺寺, the new institution of the Gushan lineage in Taiwan, in Keelung in 1954.

In Taiwan, Lingyuan had transmitted the Gushan Linji lineage to two eminent dharma heirs, master Shengyen and master Weijue 惟覺, who founded modernized Buddhist organizations of Dharma Drum Mountain (DDM, Fagushan 法鼓山) and Chung Tai Chan Monastery 中台禪寺 respectively. Here I will take the case of master Shengyen to show the further globalization and transformation of the Gushan lineage.

According to Don. A. Pittman's study,⁷⁴⁹ Master Shengyen was born in Jiangsu in 1930. At

⁷⁴⁹ Don. A. Pittman, *Toward a Modern Chinese Buddhism: Taixu's Reforms* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001):278-281.

thirteen, He received tonsure in Guangjiao Monastery 廣教寺, a hereditary temple on Mt. Lang 狼山 in Jiangsu. In 1944, Shengyen left the Monastery for Shanghai area where he firstly made a living by performing rituals for the dead, then had an opportunity to enter a modern Buddhist seminary founded by a student of the reformer Taixu in Jingan Temple 靜安寺.

In 1949, Shengyen joined the Nationalist Army and came to Taiwan as a soldier. He kept his own learning of Buddhism during the ten years of army service. As Pittman points out, during this period in army, “when leaves permitted him to attend retreats, he sought further instruction from Buddhist teachers. The most important of these was the master Lingyuan, whom Shengyen considered his first real master.”⁷⁵⁰

According to Shengyen’s own memories, he met master Lingyuan and was enlightened by Lingyuan’s shouting in 1958. In 1978, Shengyen received the dharma transmission from Lingyuan and was given the dharma name of Zhigang Weirou 知剛惟柔 according to the Gushan Linji transmission poem⁷⁵¹. On the other hand, after he left the army in 1960, he received tonsure once again from master Dongchu 東初 (1907-1977) who had served as the abbot of Dinghui Temple 定慧寺 on Jiaoshan 焦山 of Caodong lineage in Jiangsu during 1946-1948. Later, in September 1976, Shengyen received the Caodong dharma transmission from Dongchu in Dajue Si 大覺寺 in New York⁷⁵². In this way,

⁷⁵⁰ *ibid.*: 279.

⁷⁵¹ Shi Shenyen, *Shengyan Fashi Xuesi Licheng* (聖嚴法師學思歷程, *An Intellectual Autobiography of Master Sheng-yen*, Taipei: Fagu Wenhua, 1999): 51-52; Shi Shenyen, *Shengyan Fashi jiao Mozhao Chan* (聖嚴法師教默照禪, *Master Sheng Yen teaches silent illumination*, Taipei: Fagu Wenhua, 2005): 98-99.

⁷⁵² Shi Shengyen, *Chanmen Xiuzheng Zhiyao* (禪門修證指要, *The Essentials of Practice and Attainment Within the Gates of Ch'an*, Taipei: Fagu Wenhua, 1999): 249-250.

Shengyen was heir to both the Gushan Linji lineage and the Jiaoshan Caodong lineage, which might motivate Shengyen to transcend the sectarian barriers and guide the developments of Dharma Drum Mountain from the vision of the whole Chinese Chan Buddhism (*Zhonghua Chan* 中華禪) as we will see below.

Shengyen's greatest contribution to the spread of Gushan Linji lineage was the promotion of its globalization. According to the welcome remarks on the website of Dharma Drum Mountain Buddhist Association (DDMBA), the globalization began in USA with Master Shengyen's mission:

After receiving a doctorate in Buddhist studies at Rissho University, Japan in 1975, Master Sheng Yen embarked on his mission of bringing the Dharma to the West. Soon after arriving in New York City in 1976, he began to hold Saturday meditation classes which attracted a number of students. From this nucleus of mostly Western as well as Asian disciples, Master Sheng Yen later established the Chan Meditation Center (CMC) in Queens, New York.....In 1994, as CMC grew in breath and scope, Master Sheng Yen established Dharma Drum Mountain Buddhist Association to further the teaching of Buddhism in the West and for international programs. Since then, nearly 31 DDMBA chapters have been started in the USA⁷⁵³.

Beginning with USA chapters, Shengyen had established branches/liaison offices in Asia, Oceania and Europe. What is more important is that Shengyen transmitted the Gushan Linji dharma lineage to five western lay disciples: John Crook, Simon Child, Max Kalin, Gilbert Gutierrez and Zarko Andricevic. As far as I know, this was the first time that the Gushan dharma lineage has been 1.globalized, and 2. transmitted to the western disciples, and 3. transmitted to the lay Chan practitioners, which could be taken as the whole new development of the spread of the Gushan lineage.

According to the recent study of Shi Guoxing 釋果興 and Lin Qixian 林其賢, the dharma names

⁷⁵³ <http://www.ddmba.org/>

given to the five western lay dharma heirs when they received the dharma were named according to the transmission poem of the Gushan Linji lineage. However, in 2000, Shengyen composed a new transmission poem of thirty two characters, and at the same year, Shengyen renamed his western lay dharma heirs according to this new transmission poem. For example, when John Crook received the Gushan Linji dharma transmission, he was named as Chuandeng Jiandi 傳燈見諦, but in 2000, John Crook was renamed as Chuandeng Jingdi 傳燈淨諦⁷⁵⁴.

Again, as Holmes Welch points out, the composition of the new transmission poem implies the intent to create a new lineage transmission.⁷⁵⁵ This reasonably explains Shengyen's founding of the whole new lineage in the history of Chinese Chan Buddhism five years later in 2005: the Dharma Drum Lineage of Chan Buddhism (DDLC, *Zhonghua Chan Fagu Zong* 中華禪法鼓宗)⁷⁵⁶. With the establishment of DDLC, the Gushan lineage in Taiwan has been not only globalized but also transformed into a modernized Chinese Chan lineage devoted to the practices of humanistic Buddhism, as we will now turn to.

⁷⁵⁴ Shi Guoxing and Lin Qixian, "Tansuo Shengyan Fashi dui Jushi Chuanfa de 'Yanpai Minghao' – cong Linji Zong Gushanpai de Famai Chuancheng Tanqi" (探索聖嚴法師對居士傳法的「演派名號」--從臨濟宗鼓山派的法脈傳承談起, "Looking into the 'Dharma Name' System Instructed by Master Sheng-Yen to Dharma Heirs as Lay People for the Lineage Transmission: The Transmission of the Gu-shan line of the Linji Lineage"), presented in the Fifth International Conference on the Thought of Master Sheng Yen (Sheng Yen Education Foundation), June 29-30, 2014.

⁷⁵⁵ Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950*: 280. See the discussion in Chapter 3 above.

⁷⁵⁶ Jimmy Yu is now working on the book project on the formation of DDLC. "The book will be the first full-length monograph of Chan Buddhism in modern times in any language and the first study of Sheng Yen, the founder of DDLC, in the English language." (http://religion.fsu.edu/faculty_jimmy_yu.html)

2. The New Developments of Humanistic Buddhism in Taiwan

The most astonishing new development of contemporary Taiwanese Buddhism is the practice of humanistic Buddhism which represents the values of a socially engaged Mahayana Buddhism adapted to the modern world. As Don. A. Pittman points out, humanistic Buddhism could be traced back to the Taixu's reformist ideals of "Buddhism for human life" (*rensheng fojiao* 人生佛教) aiming at the modernization of Chinese Buddhism⁷⁵⁷. As Taixu's eminent disciple, master Yinshun 印順 (1906-2005) advocated humanistic Buddhism (*renjian fojiao* 人間佛教) which has then been put into practice by the newly emerging modernized Buddhist organizations in Taiwan like master Xingyun's 星雲 (1927-) Fo Guang Shan 佛光山 (Buddha's Light), master Zhengyan's 證嚴 (1937-) Tzu Chi 慈濟 (Compassion Relief) and master Shengyen's DDM.

Although we may agree with Pittman on that all the four Buddhist masters mentioned above (Yinshun, Xingyun, Zhengyan and Shengyen) succeeded Taixu's legacy in promoting humanistic Buddhism⁷⁵⁸, we should notice the differences between Taixu's "Buddhism for human life" and Yinshun's humanistic Buddhism, and the different ways adopted by Fo Guang Shan, Tzu Chi and DDM to practice humanistic Buddhism.

Firstly, on the theoretical level, Taixu and Yinshun provided the guiding principles for the later humanistic Buddhism movements in Taiwan. Charles Jones points out that the primary difference

⁷⁵⁷ Don. A. Pittman, *Toward a Modern Chinese Buddhism: Taixu's Reforms*: 263.

⁷⁵⁸ *ibid.*

between Taixu and Yinshun “consists in their diagnosis of what constitutes Chinese Buddhism’s main impediments to meeting modern social needs.”⁷⁵⁹ While Taixu ascribed the decline of Chinese Buddhism to an overemphasis on funerals and other rites serving the dead and attempted to reorient Buddhism towards this-worldly concerns for *rensheng* (human life), Yinshun criticized the theistic tendency of traditional Chinese Buddhism which worshipped Buddhas as if they were deities, so he “prefer ‘*renjian*’ over ‘*rensheng*’ to give even more emphasis to the fact that Buddhism should not just focus on the living but participate actively in human society (*renjian*, ‘in the human domain,’ ‘in the midst of people’)”⁷⁶⁰.

Secondly, on the practical level, it is through the efforts of Buddhist masters like Xingyun, Zhengyan and Shengyen that the reformist ideals of humanistic Buddhism could be realized and have won over the supports of the Taiwanese society. Nevertheless, for the rise and success of humanistic Buddhism movements in Taiwan, we need to take the social and political conditions and the strategies the Buddhist masters adopted for the promotion of humanistic Buddhism into considerations.

On the one hand, the rise of Fo Guang Shan and Tzu Chi is unimaginable without the background of the rapid economic growth and huge social changes since the 1960s in Taiwan. As Carolyn Chen points out:

Buddhism has experienced a popular revival in Taiwan since influential monks like Fo Guang Shan’s Hsing Yun and Tzu Chi’s Cheng Yen established their organizations in the late

⁷⁵⁹ Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*: 133.

⁷⁶⁰ Stuart Chandler, *Establishing a Pure Land on Earth: The Foguang Buddhist Perspective on Modernization and Globalization* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004): 43.

1960s.....The popularity of humanistic Buddhism spread as Taiwan became increasingly urbanized, modern, and economically affluent in the 1970s onward. The new media-savvy, this-worldly Buddhism helped meet the spiritual needs of an urban Taiwanese middle-class experiencing massive social transformation.⁷⁶¹

In other words, out of the concerns about human life, through the instructions of applying Dharma to the daily lives, humanistic Buddhism provides solace to Buddhist believers suffering from the mental stress caused by the process of urbanization and modernization. In fact, besides satisfying the spiritual needs of the urban middle-class, on the material level, by means of being engaged in the social welfare services, humanistic Buddhism also provides a certain kind of social safety net for the poor, the sick and relatively disadvantaged minorities, as we will see below.

On the other hand, humanistic Buddhism had already attained great accomplishments before the democratization of the Taiwanese society in the late 1980s when martial law was lifted in 1987. The success of humanistic Buddhism to some extent could be attributed to the promotion strategies adopted by the Buddhist masters under the martial law rule of KMT government. According to Charles Jones' study, during the period of martial law when the proliferation of civic organizations was still strictly regulated by the government, Xingyun avoided running afoul of the regulations by registering all the institutions he founded as corporate members of the BAROC to ensure the survival of Fo Guang Shan, and it was not until 1990 did Xingyun begin to set up a single unified nationwide Buddhist association independent from the BAROC⁷⁶². As for the case of Zhengyan, Jones points out that through being

⁷⁶¹ Carolyn Chen, *Getting Saved in America: Taiwanese Immigration and Religious Experience* (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 2008): 35.

⁷⁶² Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*: 189-190.

devoted to the charity works, Tzu Chi successfully filled the unfilled need in society and thrived even during the period of martial law because it “did not compete with the BAROC as a general-purpose service organization for Buddhists, but found its own niche as a nationwide social-service agency”⁷⁶³.

Lastly, as for the different ways for practicing humanistic Buddhism, while Xingyun is more concerned with the situation of human life in the modern world and instructs that Buddhism is about seeking comprehensive happiness in life, which requires the Buddhists to possess a pleasant optimistic rationality⁷⁶⁴, Zhengyan devotes herself to solve the actual sufferings of mankind caused by wars, diseases, poverty, natural disasters and so on through all kinds of charity and humanitarian assistance works on a global scale⁷⁶⁵. In a word, humanistic Buddhism embodies the soteriological spirits of Mahayana Buddhism of bestowing happiness and relieving sufferings.

As to master Shengyen, like Taixu, he emphasized the establishment of a pure land on earth. When DDM was founded in 1989, he set up “uplifting human nature and establishing a pure land on earth” as the aims of the organization⁷⁶⁶. Later, in 1993, these two aims were expressed in a new idea of “spiritual environmentalism” (*xinling huanbao* 心靈環保), which absorbs the environmental movements into Buddhist practices and endows humanistic Buddhism a global profile in contemporary society.

In fact, Shengyen began to consider about problems of environmental protection because of the

⁷⁶³ *ibid.*: 212.

⁷⁶⁴ Don. A. Pittman, *Toward a Modern Chinese Buddhism: Taixu's Reforms*: 273-274.

⁷⁶⁵ *ibid.*: 289-290.

⁷⁶⁶ *ibid.*: 283.

popular environmental protection discourses and vigorous protests of environmental activists in Taiwan in 1990s, which could be regarded as a process of localization of the global trend of the environmental awareness⁷⁶⁷. In observing these phenomena, reasoning from the Buddhist principle of causality, Shengyen attributed the causes of environmental pollutions to human activities, and further traced the root cause of our polluted/pollution-making activities to our polluted/pollution-making mind. Then he brought up Buddha's teachings of purifying our mind as a cure for the sick earth and named it "spiritual environmentalism":

Why we promote 'spiritual environmentalism'? It is because environmental pollutions are caused by human beings. "Environment" itself makes no pollution. Neither plants nor minerals bring about pollutions for human environments. Only human beings make pollutions. We not only pollute the material environments but also the spiritual ones. Languages, letters, signs, all kinds of images and thoughts, ideas may damage our mind. The pollution of material environments can not be departed from our activities, and our activities can not be departed from our 'mind spirit' (xin-ling 心靈). If our 'mind spirit' is pure, our material environments will not be polluted. Therefore, when discussing environmental pollutions, we should begin with its root cause, that is, our 'mind spirit'⁷⁶⁸.

It is only by spiritual environmentalism that human environments could be established as a pure land without pollutions and then the ideals of humanistic Buddhism could be realized.

In conclusion, through the contributions of Buddhist masters like Xingyun, Zhengyan and Shengyen, humanistic Buddhism movements have become the most representative characteristics of contemporary Taiwanese Buddhism. With the democratization of the Taiwanese society, the interrupted

⁷⁶⁷ Yih-Ren Lin (林益仁), "Huanjing Shijian de 'quanqiu' yu 'zaidi' bianzheng: yi Fagushan de 'huanbao' lunshu wei li" (環境實踐的「全球」與「在地」辯證：以法鼓山的「環保」論述為例, "The Dialectical Relationship between 'Global' and 'Local' Environmental Practices: A Case Study of Dharma Drum Mountain's 'Huan-Bao' Discourse"), *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies* 55 (Sept. 2004), pp. 1-46.

⁷⁶⁸ Shi Shengyen, *Chan Men* (禪門, *Gates of Chan*, Taipei: Fagu Wensua, 1999): 91.

connections and interchanges between Taiwan and China have been rebuilt and the ideals of humanistic Buddhism are also reexported from Taiwan to China through the institutions established and activities held in China by Fo Guang Shan, Tzu Chi and DDM, which fully reflects the high degree of autonomy and vitality of contemporary Taiwanese Buddhism.

3. Summary of Main Arguments

I use the framework provided in Chris C. Park and Roger W. Stump's studies of the religion diffusion.⁷⁶⁹ In Chapter II investigate the formation and spread of Gushan Chan lineage both in Fujian and in Taiwan through three stages: 1. the displacement of Caodong Chan center from north to south, namely, from Shaolin Monastery in Henan to Gushan Monastery in Fujian in the seventeenth century. This process was accomplished through the return of the Caodong lineage to its birth place in Jiangxi to reoccupy the social and cultural space in southern China and to regain its share from Linji School; 2. the spread of both the Gushan Linji lineage and the Gushan Caodong lineage to Taiwan through the bidirectional exchanges in the precepts-giving and precept-receiving and the establishment of ordination platforms in Taiwan in the early twentieth century; 3. the expansive diffusion of the Gushan Chan lineages in Taiwan through the founding and the development of the five mountains under the Japanese rule during 1895-1945, and the new developments of humanistic Buddhism in Taiwan after

⁷⁶⁹ Chris C. Park, *Sacred Worlds: an Introduction to Geography and Religion* (London ; New York : Routledge, 1994); Stump, *The Geography of Religion: Faith, Place and Space* (Lanham, Md. : Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008).

1949.

In Chapter 2, I discuss how the Caodong lineage was spread to Jiangxi and then to Fujian through the cooperation between the Caodong masters who took a conciliatory attitude toward neo-Confucianism, and the local literati in the late Ming. With the Caodong master Yongjue Yuanxian serving as the abbot of Gushan, we see how Gushan Monastery was revived and how it survived the Ming-Qing transition under the Manchu conquerors and surrounded by a society immersed in militarism and intense conflicts between the Qing conquerors and the Ming loyalists. With Yongjue's efforts, Gushan Monastery became a symbol of Ming loyalty, whose space embodied the common historical memories through narrative imaginations, and was able to obtain the continuous supports from the patrons since the late Ming. But at the same time, the monastery created its profile of compassion and mercy by providing relief resources for the victims of wars. Gushan helped the Qing rulers in public services and was advantageous to stabilizing the social order in the chaotic times in the seventeenth century. This was the key to its success in becoming eventually firmly rooted in Fujian.

Chapter 3 details how the Caodong Shouchang sublineage brought to Gushan by Yongjue was continued and steadily transmitted in the Qing dynasty through the introduction of the new institution of "dharma transmission monastery", which made the formation of Gushan Chan lineage possible. Focusing on the case of Gushan, the chapter analyzes the factors for the emergence of the dharma transmission monastery in the late Ming and how it was further rationalized through the naming

practices of using the “generation characters” and “transmission poems”. I argue that since the late Ming both the “generation characters” and “transmission poems” were borrowed and adopted by Chan dharma transmission lineages (in which the teacher-disciple relationships were based on dharma transmission) from Chan tonsure lineages (in which the personal relationships were based on the tonsure). In addition to Chan transmission, Wengu Guangyin, the eminent disciple of Zhuhong, also introduced the dual practice of Chan and Pure Land and the precepts-giving activities into Gushan. During the Qing dynasty, at Gushan, the bestowing of Bodhisattva precepts, Pure Land devotionism, and the practice of releasing life were promoted together with Chan meditation. This made the monastery a multi-functional Buddhist center in Fujian and led to its secure place in the local society. Thanks to Zhuhong’s legacy, the Gushan Chan lineage was recognized as orthodoxy in the Qing dynasty and obtained imperial patronage which in turn strengthened its status as the precepts-giving center in Fujian. This was one of the key factors leading to Gushan lineage’s spread to Taiwan.

Chapter 4 examines how in the early twentieth century both the Gushan Linji lineage and Gushan Caodong lineage, under the Gushan hybrid institution of the dharma transmission monastery combined with hereditary “houses”, were transmitted from Fujian to Taiwan. This was done through the Taiwanese Buddhist clergy’s visiting Gushan to receive higher ordination and instructions of Buddhist cultivations, resulting in the rise of the “Five Mountains” or the five main monasteries which introduced the Gushan lineages into Taiwan. Through observing the intimate connections and frequent

exchanges between the five mountains and Gushan, the chapter argues that although the ordination ceremonies held by the five mountains in Taiwan could be regarded as representing self-sufficiency and autonomy in liturgical matters of Taiwanese Buddhism, it nevertheless indicated the bidirectional dynamics of the diffusion of Gushan lineage. Moreover, the developments of the five mountains in Taiwan under the Japanese rule were inevitably influenced by the missionary tasks of both Sōtō School and Rinzai School on the island. By inquiring into the survival and thriving strategies adopted by the five mountains, I argue that the founders of the five mountains had skillfully adjusted the balancing point between Chinese Buddhism and Japanese Buddhism according to the requirements to attract supports from both the local believers and the Sōtō or Rinzai School in spreading their own Guhan lineages in Taiwan.

In Chapter 5, focusing on the interactions between the five mountains and Japanese Buddhism under the religious policies of the Taiwan Governor-General Office, I explore the expansion activities of the five mountains in Taiwan, both the triumphant developments and the frustrating setbacks they underwent in the period under the Japanese rule. I argue that because the final goal of the religious policies of the Japanese government in Taiwan was to assimilate the island inhabitants, the Japanization process of Taiwanese Buddhism was initiated long before the start of the war. From analyzing the activities of the Taiwanese Buddhist elites of the five mountains who were trained in the Sōtō educational system in both Taiwan and Japan, we see that they were deeply influenced by Japanese

Buddhism through their studying experiences in Komazawa University under the directions of the Sōtō master Nukariya Kaiten who promoted “pure Zen” in service to the imperial expansion of Japan.

During the war time, the five mountains were incorporated into imperial-way Buddhism. Both the founders and the Taiwanese Buddhist elites of the Gushan lineages in Taiwan were mobilized to sustain the Japanese military invasions, which led to the final imperialization of the five mountains. In this process of Japanization and imperialization, the five mountains had gradually lost their own Gushan tradition and Chinese Buddhist identity.

Finally in Chapter 6, I investigate into the continuing expansion diffusion of the Gushan lineage in Taiwan after 1949 and the new developments of humanistic Buddhism. Through the study of the key characters of master Lingyuan and master Shengyen, I point out that the Gushan lineage has been transformed and incorporated into the DDM system which has made great contributions to humanistic Buddhism movements.

In this dissertation, by focusing on the key actors, their activities and the main institutions connected with them, I hope I have shown the dynamics and the means through which the transmission and spread of the Gushan Chan lineages had been made possible. By so doing, I wish to shed some light on how Chan lineages spread and took root in local societies in the late imperial period and how it sustained itself and obtained the opportunities for further diffusion through new developments of organizing its institutions. Moreover, by inquiring into the development of the Gushan Chan lineages in

Taiwan, I hope this dissertation can promote the academic study of Taiwanese Buddhism which is still lacking. Finally, because Taiwanese Buddhism has received influences from both Chinese and Japanese Buddhism, such a study can offer an example of how to study local Buddhism from the perspective of East Asian Buddhism. For it was precisely through the interactions, inter-changes and inter-connections with both Chinese Buddhism and Japanese Buddhism that Taiwanese Buddhism emerged and evolved.

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