

A Study on Imitating Activities of Hanshan Poems by Chan Buddhist Monks in SONG Dynasty^{*}

HUANG Jing-Jia

National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, Taiwan

Although we have no clear picture of the life of Hanshan, a legendary TANG monk and in *Collected Poems of Hanshan (Hanshan Shiji)*, we can find either unclear ideas regarding his major thoughts or different ideologies from Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism. Hanshan poetry was broadly read by people belonging to various social statuses during the SONG Dynasty. His poetry was also frequently cited in Chan Buddhist literature of the period. Furthermore, SONG Chan Buddhist monks invited Hanshan into their own genealogy and regarded him as a “San Sheng” (a Free Sage). Many Chan Buddhist monks of the SONG Dynasty used Hanshan poetry in various Chan Buddhist texts. Numerous Chan Buddhist monks even wrote so-called “ni Hanshan shi”, which imitated Hanshan poetry as a kind of personal literary creation. It is understandable that when a monk imitated Hanshan poetry, he would simultaneously be both the reader and the creator of Hanshan poetry, and as we understand that every writer produces their works through their own cultural outlook, a newly-formed correlation occurred naturally between the original poetry and imitated poetry through the SONG Chan Buddhist monk’s version. By observing this correlation, this paper will deeply analyze the dissemination and acceptance of Hanshan poetry, within Chan Buddhist society in the SONG Dynasty, as based on Chan Buddhist literature, in order to learn more about image creation and the recreation of Hanshan during the period.

Keywords: Hanshan, imitating Hanshan poetry, literature of the SONG Dynasty, Chan Buddhism masters, dissemination and acceptance

Introduction

Due to the popularity of Chan from the late TANG, Five Dynasties, to the SONG Dynasty, Hanshan was incorporated into the genealogy of Chan, and his poetry was passed through Chan circles, eliciting a wave of simulators. From the Five Dynasties to the SONG Dynasty, Chan Buddhism masters imitated the linguistic style or content of understanding in Hanshan poetry, leaving many “Imitations of Hanshan Poetry”, which became unique expressions in Chan literature. This demonstrates the familiarity and identification of SONG Chan Buddhism masters with Hanshan poetry. Existing research on Hanshan has rarely emphasized how Chan literature utilized Hanshan poetry; however, understanding how Chan literature interprets and utilizes Hanshan poetry is an important key to exploring how the image of Hanshan was converted into that of a Chan monk. Thus,

^{*} **Acknowledgements:** The financial support of the Taiwan National Science Council is gratefully acknowledged. HUANG Jing-Jia, associate professor, Department of Chinese, National Taiwan Normal University.

this study rejects an investigation of the authenticity of Hanshan, and uses the SONG Dynasty Chan Buddhism masters' imitations of Hanshan poetry to observe the acceptance of Hanshan during the SONG Dynasty.

Existing imitation literatures of Hanshan poetry by Chan monks from the Five Dynasties to the SONG Dynasty include: (1) Fadeng Taiqin (? -974) 10 "Imitations of Hanshan Poetry", collected in *Chanmen Zhu Zushi Ji Song* (The verses of Chan Buddhism Masters), first half of first volume; (2) Fenyang Shanzhao (947-1024) 10 "Imitations of Hanshan Poetry", collected in *Records of Chan Buddhism Master Fanyang Wud*, final volume; (3) Changling Shouzhao (1065-1123) four "Imitations of Hanshan Poetry", collected in *Records of Chan Buddhism Masters Changling Shouzhao*; (4) Xiyu Xianjing (dates unknown) 10 "Imitations of Hanshan's Self-Description", collected in *Jia Tai Pu Deng Lu*, the 29th volume; (5) Cishou Huaishen (1077-1132) 148 "Imitations of Hanshan Poetry", collected in Gaoli version of *Collected Poems of Hanshan* with one volume of "Cishou Imitations of Hanshan Poetry"; and (6) Hengchuan Rugong (1222-1289) 20 "Imitations of Hanshan Poetry", collected in *Records of Chan Buddhism Masters Hengchuan Rugong*, final volume.

Chan monks of the SONG Dynasty produced high quality and quantity "Imitations of Hanshan Poetry". As they were both readers and creators of Hanshan poetry, and positioned within their cultural systems, they could not avoid understanding Hanshan and his poetry from their personal cultural outlook. Then, what paths of acceptance for heritage and change, including linguistic expression and Chan context, exist between the imitation works of the SONG Dynasty Chan Buddhism masters and the originals? The following uses stylistic changes of the SONG Dynasty Chan Buddhism masters' imitations of Hanshan poetry to evaluate their understanding of the content of Hanshan poetry.

Transmission of Hanshan Poetry in SONG Dynasty Chan Society

Collected Poems of Hanshan has mixed content with diversity in Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. Only some of the Hanshan poetry transmitted into Chan society involved clear Buddhist dogma or Chan contexts, and the imitations of Hanshan by Chan monks involved such parts. Hanshan poetry was free in form, not limited by format or rhyming, its language was simple, and its images were true, in a naturally interesting and lively Chan context. His image, and the influence of his poetry in the Chan Sect, were primarily established and deepened by the acceptance of SONG Dynasty poets and Chan monks. Even poems about Buddhism showed two completely different inclinations and styles, including common Buddhist dogma and Chan contexts. From semantics and imagery to theme, these types of poetry showed significantly different styles; thus, many scholars asserted that the *Collected Poems of Hanshan* was not written by a single person¹. The Chan poems of Hanshan expressed the wisdom of quiet living, contentment, and clarity, which are completely unlike his wild image. If he did not deliberately pretend to be wild and poor to hide his real nature, then it may be as charged, as by aforementioned scholars, that someone else was the author of the Chan poems in the *Collected Poems of Hanshan*. Later, people used vernacular common poetry to orient the style of Hanshan poetry, rather than Chan context poetry. On one

¹ Chia-hsi Yu (2007) stated: "Hanshan's poems may have some imitations mixed in" (p. 1264). SUN Chang-wu (1994, p. 230) also believed that Hanshan poetry was not only written by one person, and that there should have been a group of authors of Hanshan poetry. JIA Jin-hua (2003, pp. 65-90) used the original concept of popular poems by Hanshan to admonish society through irony, as well as poetry that expressed Southern Chan thinking to describe differences in object-subject narration habits, word choice style, and rhyming schemes to propose that Hanshan Chan poetry was not written by Hanshan, but rather by Caoshan Benji.

hand, there is a wide disparity between the numbers of these two types of poetry, on the other hand, Hanshan's common poetry is more widely disseminated.

Scholars disagree about when the poems of Hanshan began to be widely disseminated. Since the Daoist monk XU Ling-fu compiled the *Collected Poems of Hanshan*, Caoshan Benji annotated *On Hanshan Poems*, they became very popular. By the SONG Dynasty, Hanshan poems became even more popular among literati and the Chan society. An important contemporary scholar of Hanshan poetry studies, XIANG (2010), stated in *Hanshan Poetry Annotation* (Preface): "By the Song Dynasty, Hanshan poetry found an understanding audience among literati" (p. 16)². He divided Hanshan poetry into two types, "transforming the common" and "retreat", further summarizing the "Hanshan style" as having the linguistic features of: "non-conformity to character and rhyming rules, direct presentation of his thoughts, and vulgar and elegant, extremely interesting as poems" (XIANG, 2010, pp. 14-16). Later understanding of the "Hanshan style" was gradually formed after the wide dissemination of Hanshan poetry, including the organic stylistic content formed by the original works, the later imitations through common cognition, and the addition of the different imitators that enriched and changed them.

Stylistic Features of Chan Buddhism Masters' Imitations of Hanshan Poetry From the Five Dynasties to the Early Northern SONG Dynasty

The earliest imitations of Hanshan poetry were 10 "Imitations of Hanshan Poetry" (n.d.) by Fadeng Taiqin in the Five Dynasties. Taiqin was a disciple of Fayan Sect Qingliang Wenyi (885-958). In his youth he was in quiet study and not known by others, he had a bold character and often ignored the rules; the others looked down on him but Wenyi thought very highly of him. This was similar to Hanshan live in privacy at Hanyan near Guoqing Temple and acted crazy while admonishing the world. His poem stated:

Whenever I think of comrades, 每思同道者 ,
 I can only count Hanshan on my fingers. 屈指有寒山。
 He lives cheerfully under a thousand peaks, 得意千峰下 ,
 But has no one to visit. 无人共往还。
 In the morning he watches the clouds, 朝看云片片 ,
 At dusk he listens to the babbling brook. 暮听水潺潺。
 If you ask me about a quiet and strange place in the mountain, 若问幽奇处 ,
 I live in this mountain nook. 侬家住此间。 (The verses of Chan Buddhism Masters, n.d., p. 729b)

Taiqin lived with the clouds as a hermit in the mountains, with only Hanshan as his spiritual comrade, and used imitations poems as a way of achieving spiritual interaction with Hanshan. Because each person achieves Chan enlightenment in his own way, Hanshan became an understanding voice across the generations for solitary practitioners seeking enlightening. Hanshan hermitage "Hanyan", wrote a poem stating: "Sitting all night on the stone bed, a round moon rises from the cold mountain" (石床孤夜坐, 圆月上寒山。) (XIANG, 2010, p. 578), which symbolized the fulfilled character of one's nature, and was the expression of the spiritual realm; this was the lifestyle of Hanshan that Taiqin admired.

² Including An-shi Wang, Shi Su, Ting-chien Huang, You Lu, and Hsi Chu et al., who wrote imitations or commented on Hanshan poetry.

After Taiqin, there was Fenyang Shanzhao's 10 "Imitations of Hanshan Poetry". He was by nature serious and profound, with a diligent attitude in studying Chan. He visited 71 contemporary Chan Buddhist masters, and finally settled at Linji Sect Shoushan Shengnian (926-993). He lived at Fenzhou Taiping Temple Taizi Chan Hall and preached tirelessly for 30 years, becoming the master who revitalized Linji. Shanzhao had a serious Chan style; when he was young he learned how to read without a teacher, which showed that he was highly intelligent. His *Song Gu Bai Ze* was disseminated in Chan society. Shanzhao also cited Hanshan as a comrade with similar enlightenment states:

A silent and quiet place, 寂寂虚闲处 ,
 Few people come here. 人疏到此来。
 The bright moon shines quietly through the window, 透窗明月静 ,
 The sunlight opens the door. 穿户日光开。
 White cranes crowd on the trees in the courtyard, 鹤聚庭前树 ,
 The oriole calls on the balcony behind the house. 莺啼宇后台。
 Who can understand the same ideas, 同心谁得意 ,
 Looking up and afar to Mount Tiantai. 举目望天台。 (Records of Chan Buddhism Master Fanyang Wude, n.d., p. 625a)

Shanzhao practiced Chan in the mountains, and rarely saw other people, only accompanied by cranes and orioles. His heart could only be understood by Hanshan of "Mount Tiantai", to which he looked. This shows that Shanzhao saw Hanshan as someone who knew his heart. "Hanshan" was a poet, a mountain, and a realm of understanding the way. Thus, Hanshan poetry states: "If your heart is the same as mine, you can come here" (君心若似我, 还得到其中) (XIANG, 2010, p. 40). He pointed out a path to the spiritual state of Hanshan for future generations, and later led Chan practitioners to confirm their hearts. Thus, Shanzhao saw Hanshan as an understanding friend living in the mountains and forests: "I meditate alone and miss my comrade, and I hear bells from afar. I wanted to say something but could not describe it with words, so all I did was clap and laugh" (独坐思知己, 钟声聚羣和。欲言言不尽, 拍手笑呵呵) (Records of Chan Buddhism Master Fanyang Wude, n.d., p. 624c). This is one of the crazy images of Hanshan; in response to the complexity of people, he could not argue with them, but could only clap and laugh without making judgment.

This shows that both Taiqin and Shanzhao saw Hanshan as their comrade in cultivating enlightenment. Their imitations of Hanshan poetry were also similar in styles. An imitation work by Taiqin:

Nothing was lost from the past to present, 今古应无坠 ,
 All are clear before one's eyes. 分明在目前。
 A cloud rises into the night valley, 片云生晚谷 ,
 A lone crane flies down from the distant sky. 孤鹤下遥天。
 The reeds on the shore are green in the fog, 岸柳含烟翠 ,
 The flowers by the stream are fresh with rain. 溪花带雨鲜。
 Who can know the meaning of this? 谁人知此意 ?
 It makes me remember Nanquan. 令我忆南泉。 (The verses of Chan Buddhism Masters, n.d., p. 729a)

The imagery is as fresh and beautiful as facing natural scenery after enlightenment would be in a clearer mental state. This sort of Chan enlightenment clarity could only be understood by others in the same state, thus, he thought of famous Southern Sect Chan Buddhism master Nanquan Puyuan (748-834). Yuanwu Keqin's *Bi Yan Lu* (n.d.) cited in Puyuan said: "It is most precious for a practitioner to look like a foolish person" (Emerald cliff record, n.d., p. 166b). The Fifth Master of Chan had 700 disciples that could speak Buddhism, but inherit Huineng, because Huineng could not, thus, he could only practice and was unable to inherit from the Fifth Master (Fo Guo Huan Yu Chan Shi Bi Yan Lu, n.d. p.166b). Most people have too much Buddhist knowledge, but Buddhism could only be experienced beyond the dimension of narration. Thus, in nature, Taiqin faced an understanding that could only be understood and not described, so he remembered "Nanquan" for correspondence.

Taiqin wrote another poem: "Who believes that everyone has the Buddha Nature, thinking of this makes me upset and despair" (谁信天真佛, 兴悲几万般) (The verses of Chan Buddhism Masters, n.d., p. 729b). With this poem, he lamented that people do not understand that their true innate nature was the Buddha. In "Buddha Nature", Chan refers to the Buddha character and innate natural present in all creatures. That means like *Yongjia Zheng Dao Ge* stated: "Understand that the Dharmakāya was originally empty, only the Buddha nature of original nature" (法身觉了无一物, 本源自性天真佛) (*Yongjia Zheng Dao Ge*, n.d., p. 395c). Hanshan poetry also stated: "Even though there are a thousand Buddhas, I have the Buddha Nature" (任你千圣现, 我有天真佛) (XIANG, 2010, p. 422).

Shanzhao's "Imitations of Hanshan Poetry" was also similar to Taiqin:

Buddha has a hundred benevolent and solemn appearances, 百福庄严相,
The path to cultivation is very long. 从头那路长。
Clouds appear in the sky, 云生空里尽,
Rain falls in the ponds. 雨落满池塘。
Spring birds chirp, 春鸟喃喃语,
But autumn birds are busy. 秋鸿役役忙。
Who can understand the meaning within, 孰能知此意,
Only me transformed into Fenyang. 独我化汾阳。 (Records of Chan Buddhism Master Fanyang Wude, n.d., p. 624c)

The first three couplets expressed the aspects of nature as themselves, while the final couplet could be interpreted in two ways: The first expressed that self and nature can be transformed to a member of the Chan Buddhism master Fenyang. The other was that Shanzhao was invited by monks and laypeople of Fenzhou to preach for nearly 30 years without leaving, revitalizing the Linji Sect.

Other than "Imitations of Hanshan Poetry", Shanzhao also had 15 "Nan Xing Shu Mu Tong Ge" (南行述牧童歌), with styles similar to Hanshan poetry, where #15 stated: "Frequently laughing at Hanshan, often singing about Shide. Since Luciou asked Fenggan, they both hid in a stone wall" (往往笑寒山, 时时歌拾得。闾氏问丰干, 穿山透石壁) (Records of Chan Buddhism Master Fanyang Wude, n.d., p. 626c). The shepherd, Hanshan, Shide, and Fenggan had the same childlike minds, and if Luciou asked about them, it would result in forcing them to hide in the stone wall, and people would never see them moving in the world with their naïve natures. The shepherd's song corresponds to Hanshan's idea that the Buddha Nature was the true nature that practitioners were searching for; on the other hand, he reminded them that the point of the shepherding heart was

to maintain the true nature of minds.

This section shows that from the Five Dynasties to the early Northern SONG, Taiqin and Shanzhao's imitations of Hanshan poetry were all composed in eight lines, two lines to a couplet, and even had rhymes. Though the rhetoric was not especially polished, it was refreshing and natural with clear imagery. As Chan Buddhism masters, they used imitation works to convey their admiration of Hanshan, whom they saw as a kindred spirit, and frequently thought of him in their close to nature Chan practices. In terms of content, it inherits from the Chan poems of Hanshan, filled with natural Chan states. Thus, Taiqin and Shanzhao used their own experiences in practicing Chan and the perspective of Chan enlightenment to interpret Hanshan poetry, in turn, writing imitations of Chan-style poems of Hanshan.

Stylistic Changes in Chan Buddhism Masters' Imitations of Hanshan Poetry in the Late Northern SONG Dynasty

In the late Northern SONG Dynasty, Changling Shouzhao wrote four "Imitations of Hanshan Poetry", which primarily interpreted Chan thought. Shouzhao practiced at Linji Sect Yellow Dragon School Lingyuan Weiqing (? -1117), where he revitalized Linji Sect, and since his countenance was serious and cold, people called him "Iron Face".

Seeing the way is practicing the way, 见道即修道 ,

Without mind, who can find enlightenment. 无心谁悟心。

True, false, common, sacred, 是非凡与圣 ,

No difference between past and present in the rise and fall. 成坏古无今。

Withered leaves flow in the green brook, 碧涧流残叶 ,

Breeze blows into a quiet forest. 微风入静林。

Who comes below the rocks, 谁来石崑下 ,

To teach you to thread a needle at night. 教汝夜穿针。 (Records of Chan Buddhism Master Changling Shouzhao, n.d., p. 270a).

The first couplet was from the words of Mazu Daoyi: "It is not necessary to cultivate the way, as long there is no pollution" (Broad Records of Chan Master Ma Zu Dao Yi, n.d., p. 3a). What is pollution? Any mind paid to life, death, or pretense is all pollution. Being without mind is to practice the way, which means one should maintain a mind without excess. What is a mind without excess? Being without a discerning mind for pretense, true/false, take/give, irregular/regular, or common/sacred is to be without mind. Folklore stated that on the seventh day of the seventh month on the lunar calendar, women who thread needles under the moonlight could beg for and achieve dexterous hands. This refers to the understanding of enlightenment by meditating in the forest on quiet nights. This type of imitation poem had significant Chan character; and it is necessary to understand Chan lingo in order to understand his thoughts. Thus, there is more Chan than emotional effect.

Xiyu Xianjing³ wrote 10 "Imitations of Hanshan's Self-Description" to express one's own experiences in

³ Although the birth and death years for Xianjing are not known, from the fact that he learned from Linji Sect Yellow Dragon School's Letan Yingqian (1034-1096), his contemporary 14th Nanyue Master Shouzhao, and the time during which his teacher Lingyuan Weiqing was alive, they should have been contemporaries. See "Jia Tai Pu Deng Lu" (Vol. 10) *Chu Zhou Sheng Yin Xian Jing Chan Shi, Xin Zuan Wan Xu Cang Jing*, Vol. 79, No.1559, p. 348a.

practicing meditation, which showed even more plain imagery and without profound Chan significance.

Many imitations of Hanshan, 多见拟寒山 ,
 Or imitations of Shide. 不然拟拾得。
 Everyone has ambition as high as the sky, 冲天各有志 ,
 What good does imitation do. 拟比复何益。
 Live in the mountain and see its green, 居山山色翠 ,
 Live by the water and listen to its endless sounds. 临水水声长。
 Flower in the wind and moon in the snow, 风华与雪月 ,
 All the time sing by yourself. 时处自歌扬。(Jia Tai Pu Deng Lu, n.d., p. 476a)

Comparatively speaking, the Chan principles in Xianjing's imitations were not like Shouzhuo within Chan wisdom character, but clearly interpret common Buddhist principles. For instance, cause-and-effect, teaching people to cease complaining, as such expressive methods were more direct than before Chan masters. This shows that Xianjing's imitations of Hanshan poetry had adopted a style of clear admonishment.

Cishou Huaishen was a disciple of Yunmen Sect Changlu Chongxin (dates unknown); although he died at the beginning of the Southern SONG Dynasty, he primarily lived under the Northern SONG Dynasty. He was adept at poetry, calligraphy, and painting; he was serious in holding to principles, and often wrote verses to admonish his disciples. He wrote 148 "Imitations of Hanshan Poetry", which had similar styles to his contemporary Xianjing, easy to understand and widely disseminated. Huaishen saw Hanshan as a avatar of Manjusri in the human world. In the poetry collection's preface, he wrote: "Hanshan and Shide are Manjusri and Samantabhadra. They have written more than 300 poems that have disseminated in the world. Their words have deep meaning in admonishing the people" (Gaoli version of collected poems of Hanshan, n.d., p. 1). "The sages have appeared and they are in the world. They pretend to be poor scholars, they sing and laugh, writing their poetic verses on the stone walls, which are easy to understand in their admonishment function" (Gaoli version of collected poems of Hanshan, n.d., p. 1). Then, he explained the intentions of imitations of Hanshan poetry:

As I am old and sick, I live in Dongting Lake. There is nothing for me to do but sing Hanshan poetry and Shide verses. I imitated their styles to write 148 poems. Although my words are clumsy and without literary brilliance, I only seek to express the compassion of these sages. (Gaoli version of collected poems of Hanshan, n.d., p. 1)

Thus, Huaishen's motivation behind simulation works was not only to express his meditation reflections, but had a further religious mission. This was clearly expressed by referring to Hanshan as a avatar of Manjusri, who used poetic verses as a technique to transform people. Thus, even though these lacked the literary brilliance of poetry, they still realized Hanshan's intention of admonishing and broadly transforming the people. Compared to Chan poems, which fewer people can understand, they had greater identification among the people.

Imitations by Huaishen generally focused on admonishing people to avoid killing. For instance, "There is much killing in the world, producing violent disasters" (世上多杀生, 遂有刀兵劫。) (Gaoli version of collected poems of Hanshan, n.d., p. 2). The cause-and-effect of eating meat: "The rich like to eat meat, the poor usually eat vegetables. Compared to eating meat, eating vegetables does not produce negative karma" (富汉喜食肉, 贫家多喫菜。喫菜比食肉, 且无身後债。) (Gaoli version of collected poems of Hanshan, n.d., p. 3).

The trouble of reincarnation: “Terrifying reincarnation, it cannot be stopped with thoughts” (可畏是轮迴，念念无停住。) (Gaoli version of collected poems of Hanshan, n.d., p. 18). There were many such admonishment poems that asked people to stop killing and eating meat, which were quite similar to Hanshan’s popular admonishment poems. It was impossible for Huaishen not to have read the Chan poems in the *Hanshan Poetry Collection*. Perhaps it was due to a coincidence in their personalities or purposes, he imitated the style of Hanshan in simple language and clear meaning, with the goal of disseminating the popular teachings of Buddhism.

In the late Southern SONG Dynasty, Hengchuan Rugong was a disciple of Linji Sect Yangqi School Tianmu Wenli (1167-1250). He had been a sheep herding hermit at Mount Yandang, during which time he wrote 20 imitations of Hanshan poetry. He believed: “Hanshan does not have themes in poetry, just expresses his original nature” (Records of Chan Buddhism Masters Heng Chuan Ru Gong, n.d., p. 203b). “True nature” refers to one’s innate Buddha nature, which naturally flows from one’s real nature. The “flow” could be seen as an outpouring or enlightenment of one’s nature; it could also mean to development or use verbal expression to explore one’s true nature. Rugong’s imitations are similar to the verses in Chan, his rhetoric is plain and simple, generally describing the solid understandings of life as a practitioner or experiences of rural living.

Even when one is old, one’s mind does not rest, 人心到老不知休，

If the mind rests, everything rests. 心若休时万事休。

When a gourd on the water can be held down, 水上葫芦捺得住，

One can believe that the bridge is flowing while the water is not. 始信桥流水不流。 (Records of Chan Buddhism Master Hengchuan Rugong, n.d., p. 203a)

This poem utilized a poem by Liang Dynasty Master Fuxi: “Holding a hoe empty-handed, walking while riding a water buffalo. Man passing over a bridge, the bridge is flowing and the water is not” (空手把锄头，步行骑水牛。人在桥上过，桥流水不流。) (Records of Words of Master Shan Hui, n.d., p. 130b). How could one be empty-handed if holding a hoe; how could one be riding a water buffalo while walking; and how can the bridge be the flowing and the water not flowing when one passes over a bridge and watches the water? These three points are in complete contradiction to life knowledge and common sense. However, the Chan style of thinking seeks to break all commonly understood logic, freeing oneself from rational understanding, and fully face the current context. Thus, holding a hoe without insistence, no difference between riding a buffalo and walking, seeing water flow while crossing a bridge, or seeing a bridge flow while crossing water are all unreal manifestations, but all are possible manifestations among 10 thousand; there is no reason to insist on right or wrong. Rugong’s poem believed that all differences arise from the mind; without thoughts there would be no truth or falsehood, and people would not be seduced by external manifestations.

Thus, the imitators’ own Chan experiences, cultural literacy, and purpose of imitation, would affect their stylistic inclinations in imitations. Comparison of the Chan Buddhism masters’ imitations of Hanshan poetry in the earlier and later periods shows that there were clear changes in style and content. From the Five Dynasties to the early Northern SONG Dynasty, Chan Buddhism masters used the resonance and call of their Chan practice experiences to imitate the Chan enlightened imagery of Hanshan. In the late Northern SONG, imitations by Chan Buddhism masters gradually developed in a rational and popular direction, emphasizing plain Buddhist principles. When there were no more imitations of the Chan image, and the poems became a plainer verses in poetry.

Conclusions

According to time progression, this study analyzed imitation style changes in SONG Dynasty Chan Buddhism master's Hanshan poetry. In the Five Dynasties and early Northern SONG Dynasty, Fadeng Taiqin and Fenyang Shanzhao saw Hanshan as their comrade, and primarily imitated the Chan enlightenment styles of Hanshan poetry, inheriting the spiritually gifted Chan style of Hanshan, which is full of intricate Chan thoughts. In late Northern SONG, Chan Buddhism masters saw Hanshan as a avatar of bodhisattva, and the main imitations of Hanshan poetry used common verbal language to express admonishing themes. Changling Shouzhuo's verbal Chan stories, and Xiyu Xianjing and Cishou Huaishen's imitation of Hanshan's clear and direct admonishment poems, with definitive Buddhist principles and significant admonishments were widely disseminated. Therefore, from Fadeng Taiqin to Hengchuan Rugong, the styles of imitation were a gradual evolution from Chan enlightenment to Chan principles, and to popular admonishment. The author does not believe that the style focusing on Chan is greater than the vernacular poems that express common Buddhist principles. In fact, both styles were present in Hanshan poetry, and the amount of the latter greatly exceeded that of the former. Imitations of Hanshan poetry after Cishou Huaishen uniformly demonstrated admonishments, not only a unification in understanding of the style of Hanshan poetry, but also these plain verbal admonishments in Hanshan poetry were seen as its primary style. Moreover, since common admonishment poems were more easily disseminated, they became commonly understood as the Hanshan style, followed by later imitators. This shows that the imitations by SONG Dynasty Chan Buddhism masters have a crucial place in understanding of the significance of poetry in the Hanshan style.

References

- Broad Records of Chan Master Mazu Daoyi (马祖道一禅师广录). (n.d.). *Xin Zuan Wan Xu Cang Jing*, 69, 3a.
- CHEN, Y. T. (2007). *Hanshan poetry collection editions*. Beijing: World Affairs Press.
- Emerald Cliff Record (佛果圆悟禅师碧岩录). (n.d.). *Da Zheng Zang*, 48, 166b.
- Gaoli Version of Collected Poems of Hanshan (高丽刊本寒山子诗集). (n.d.). *Cishou Imitations of Hanshan Poetry*, 1.
- JIA, J. H. (2003, March). A study of the authentic author of the Chan poems in the *Collected Poems of Hanshan*. *Bulletin of the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy*, 22, 65-90.
- Jiatai Record of Universal of Lamp (嘉泰普灯录). (n.d.). *Xin Zuan Wan Xu Cang Jing*, 79, 476a.
- Records of Chan Buddhism Master Changling Shouzhuo (长灵守卓禅师语录). (n.d.). *Xin Zuan Wan Xu Cang Jing*, 69, 270a.
- Records of Chan Buddhism Master Fanyang Wude (汾阳无德禅师语录). (n.d.). *Da Zheng Zang*, 47, 624c.
- Records of Chan Buddhism Master Hengchuan Rugong (横川如珙禅师语录). (n.d.). *Xin Zuan Wan Xu Cang Jing*, 71, 203a.
- Records of Words of Master Shan Hui (善慧大士语录). (n.d.). *Xin Zuan Wan Xu Cang Jing*, 69, 130b.
- SUN, C. W. (1994). *Poetry and Chan*. Taipei: Dong Da Publishing.
- The Enlightenment Song of Yongjia (永嘉证道歌). (n.d.). *Da Zheng Zang*, 48, 395c.
- The Verses of Chan Buddhism Masters (禅门诸祖师偈颂). (n.d.). *Xin Zuan Wan Xu Cang Jing*, 66, 729a.
- Tsui, H. C. (2010). *Han Shan: Searching for a cultural phenomenon*. Beijing: China Social Sciences Press.
- XIANG, C. (2010). *Hanshan poetry annotations* (Han Shan Shi Zhu). Beijing: Zhonghua Books.
- Yeh, C. H. (Ed.). (2005). *Hanshan data compilations*. Taipei: Xiu Wei Technology.
- YU, C. H. (2007). *Discrimination of the catalogue summary of imperial collection of four* (四库提要辨证). Beijing: Zhonghua Books.