

During the Song and Yuan, figure paintings visually animated the exemplary and eccentric actions of the Chan pantheon. These images were often augmented by an abbot's calligraphy, which interceded between the viewer and figural subject through exegesis on associated hagiographic narratives. The previous three chapters have demonstrated the agency of narrative themes in shaping Song and Yuan viewers' reception of paintings of Chan figural subjects. While our earlier focus was on the agency of images, the following chapter is primarily concerned with the functions of calligraphic inscriptions that accompanied Chan figure paintings. This calligraphy most often takes the form of clerical *encomia* (*zan* 讚/贊), short verses that both praise the subject of the painting and mediate the viewer's relationship to it through original commentary.

This chapter examines Chan clerical inscriptions upon figure paintings through a case study of a single inscriber, the thirteenth century Chan prelate and the nineteenth patriarch of the Dajian 大鑑 Linji 臨濟 lineage, Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263).³⁶⁰ Guangwen's calligraphic oeuvre is one of the best extant sources for the analysis of the agency of Chan clerical *encomia* in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As he was a member of a prominent Chan lineage, who held successive prestigious appointments, literary sources on Guangwen's life and writing offer us an insight into the ideals such senior clerics were expected to embody. His successive abbacies of eight prominent monasteries, the last five of which were imperially sponsored public monasteries, are documented in his discourse record.³⁶¹ Moreover, a

³⁶⁰ Yanxi Guangwen's position within the Chan lineage is documented in several Chan hagiographic compendia; Jingshan Wenxiu's 徑山文秀 (1345-1418), *Expanded Record of the Continued Transmission of the Lamp* (*Zengji Xuchuandeng lu* 增集續傳燈錄), (1416); Chaoyong's 超永 (17th century), *Complete Text of the Five Lamps* (*Wudeng Quanshu* 五燈全書). He is also recorded Tairu Minghe's 汰如明河 (1588-1640/1), *Supplementary Additions to the Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Buxu Gaoseng zhuan* 補續高僧傳) of 1641. For original Chinese texts see: BXGSZ j.11 in: X.1524.77: 447, c5-21; ZJXCDL j.2 in: X.1574.83: 281,c2-282, a12; WDQS j.53, in: X.1571.82: 183, a11-b22.

³⁶¹ Yanxi Guanwen's appointments are recorded in the epitaph included in his discourse record: YXGWCSYL, j.2 in X.1368.69: 753, b07-754, a17. For a full list see appendix 5.1. These biographical details have been published in Itakura 2004, 19. They are also included

sufficient number of his *encomia* survive to facilitate analysis of his distinct approaches to calligraphic inscriptions on different subjects from the Chan pantheon, from exemplary patriarchs, to antinomian eccentrics (figs. 5.1-5.8). The prefaces to his discourse record, and the immediate posthumous reflections on his life and career in his epitaph reflect Song secular and monastic elites' idealised image of Guangwen as a paradigm of clerical authority.³⁶² The following discussion analyses how his calligraphic *encomia* contributed to and augmented that image.

Yanxi Guangwen's extant *encomia* appear exclusively on figural subjects. As Guangwen's inscriptions upon paintings universally state which monastery he was resident in at the time of inscription, for which his discourse record provided corresponding dates, these paintings constitute a body of pictorial evidence identifiable to highly specific coordinates of time and place. This study's focus on the agency of *encomia* in constructing the identity of the inscriber builds on the analyses of earlier scholars, who have used this body of inscribed paintings to document the painting styles prevalent in elite monastic circles during the latter period of the Southern Song dynasty.³⁶³ With one possible exception, all Guangwen's surviving *encomia* date from his most prestigious monastic appointments at the capital of Lin'an 臨安 (modern day Hangzhou 杭州), held at the end of his career from 1251-63.³⁶⁴ In addition to dating from the later portion of Guangwen's career, extant *encomia* reflect the taste of Japanese collections in which they have been thankfully

alongside lists of monastic appointments of various other Southern Song and Yuan abbots in an unpublished paper by Stephen Allee, shared with the author in personal correspondence. On the distinctions between hereditary (*jiayi* 甲乙) and public (*shifang* 十方) monasteries in the Song dynasty, see: Halperin 2006, 9, Schlütter 2008, 36.

³⁶² Preface dated 1259, by You Yu 尤焞 (1190-1272) of Jinlin 晉陵 (full translation in appendix 5.2): YXGWCSYL j.1, in: X69n1368: 725, b5-725, b12. Preface dated 1258 b, Tang Boji 湯伯紀 (1204-75) [Tang Han 湯漢]: YXGWCSYL j.1, in: X69n1368: 725, b15-725, b24 (full translation below, pages 186-7). Epitaph compiled in 1263 by Lin Xiyi 林希逸 (1193-1271): YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 753, b6-754, a17 (Excerpt translated in appendix 5.3).

³⁶³ Itakura Masa'aki has published an excellent discussion of the extant corpus of figure paintings inscribed by Yanxi Guangwen as a core of datable works around which the diverse styles and techniques of Southern Song ink painting can be described: Itakura 2004. For a discussion of apparition style, with particular reference to works from Yanxi Guangwen's extant inscription oeuvre, see: Lippit 2009, 61, 67-73 & 79-82.

³⁶⁴ On the grounds of an ambiguous monastery name and a less developed calligraphic style, one *encomium* may originate from his third appointment, held prior to 1245 as abbot of the Wanshou monastery 萬壽寺 in Qingyuan prefecture 慶元府, outside of the capital (fig 5.2).

preserved. As such, Guangwen's extant calligraphic embellishments of painting are indicative of his public image at the apex of his career, rather than providing a representative sample through which we could examine the development of both his calligraphy and verse. However, our knowledge of Guangwen's *encomia* is not limited to extant works. The list of 'Encomia on Buddhas and Patriarchs' (*fozu zan* 佛祖讚) preserved in Guangwen's discourse record reveals the broad corpus of imagery upon which he produced calligraphic expressions of clerical authority.³⁶⁵ Guangwen wrote *encomia* for a panoply of subjects from within the Buddhist pantheon: including the historic Buddha Śākyamuni, various Bodhisattvas, Chan patriarchs, and Scattered Sages (*sansheng* 散聖). He also wrote verses to accompany images of secular cultural luminaries, such as the Jin dynasty poet Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365-427), revealing the expansive scope and fluid boundaries of the Chan pantheon during the Southern Song.

The following chapter explores the functions for Yanxi Guangwen's *encomia* in three sections. Beginning with an examination of his monastic career as a context for the creation of these inscriptions, I draw on the prefaces to his discourse record and on his epitaph to illustrate how his idealised persona was constructed and disseminated. Guangwen's presentation as a verbally dexterous religious exemplar cemented his authority among the Chan clergy, and ensured the support of elite lay and imperial patrons upon whose patronage that authority depended. The subsequent two sections of this chapter explore how Guangwen's *encomia* on extant figure paintings augmented and reflected his idealised representation in literary sources. First, I examine Guangwen's appropriation of authority from Chan's historic exemplars, in an *encomium* on a depiction of the ninth century Chan master Yaoshan Weiyuan 藥山惟儼 (d. 832) (fig. 5.1). My analysis focuses on the combination of Guangwen's direct quotation of Yaoshan's speech, and the integration of his calligraphy into the painting's visual rhetoric. Four paintings of the eccentric monk Budai 布袋 (fig. 5.2-5) and one of Fenggan 豐干 (fig. 5.6) form the second group of visual material discussed in this chapter. Guangwen's verses identify these Scattered Sages as avatars of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, an interpretation that would have been familiar to the

³⁶⁵ YXGWCSYL, j2 in: X.1368.69: 749, b22-750.

paintings' viewers through hagiography. However, in his performative revelation of these subjects' true identities as elevated divinities, Guangwen uses the paintings' surfaces as material platforms to showcase his exegetical abilities.³⁶⁶ Through the analysis of extant works and documentary records of Yanxi Guangwen's inscription oeuvre, the following discussion aims to reveal how Chan clerical authority was constituted and communicated to both intra and extra monastic audiences in the Southern Song.

Yanxi Guangwen's Epitaph and the Prefaces to his Discourse Record

Yanxi Guangwen's imperial and civil patronage from elite officials feature prominently both in his epitaph, and in accounts of his teachings from his discourse record. The record of his time as abbot at the Jingci Baoen Guangxiao monastery 淨慈報恩光孝寺 in the capital Lin'an includes a sermon on the hanging of an imperial calligraphic rendition of the *Huayan Fajie* 華嚴法界.³⁶⁷ Moreover, the prefaces to his discourse record were written by two senior officials in the Southern Song imperial bureaucracy, You Yu 尤燾 (1190-1272) and Tang Han 湯漢 (1204-75), who respectively passed the presented scholar (*jinsi* 進士) examination in 1204 and 1244.³⁶⁸ Though these prominent examples of imperial and bureaucratic support were central to Guangwen's idealised self-representation in his own lifetime, later hagiographic compendia omit the details of secular sponsorship from his biography, focusing exclusively on his affiliations and relationships to Chan teachers and lineages.³⁶⁹ By approaching the Guangwen of his discourse record as a rhetorical construction of the cultural ideal of a Chan master, both by and for elite clerical and

³⁶⁶ The depiction of the Budai, Fenggan, and Fenggan's two disciples Hanshan and Shide in Song and Yuan visual culture are the subject of an extensive discussion in: Paul 2009.

³⁶⁷ This most likely refers to the *Mysterious Mirror of the Huayan Dharma Realm* (*Huayan Fajie Xuanjing* 華嚴法界玄鏡), recorded in YXGWCSYL j.1, in: X1368.69: 736, b13.

³⁶⁸ You Yu's biography is discussed in: Kong 2012, 10. Tang Han's biography, is discussed in: Nguyen Thi 2004, 14. For a full translation and original Chinese text of You Yu's preface, see appendix 5.2. The full text of Tang Han's preface is translated below, pages 186-7.

³⁶⁹ BXGSZ j.11 in: X.1524.77: 447, c5-21; ZJXCDL j.2 in: X.1574.83: 281,c2-282, a12; WDQS j.53, in: X.1571.82: 183, a11-b22.

lay contemporaries, we are able to discern part of the network of obligations and expectations in which his calligraphic *encomia* were deployed.³⁷⁰

The earliest account of Yanxi Guangwen's life and career is preserved in his epitaph, compiled by Lin Xiyi 林希逸 (1193-1271), found at the end of his discourse record.³⁷¹ Lin first notes the circumstances of Guangwen's death, highlighting the imperial support for his memorial shrine, which was bestowed with an imperially written name plaque and endowed with land to support its upkeep. This was a definitive sign of state support for Guangwen's shrine, whilst also serving a practical spiritual function of honouring this charismatic cleric to accrue merit.³⁷² After describing the circumstances of Guangwen's memorial, the epitaph presents a laudatory summary of Guangwen's early career. Lin recounts Guangwen's arrival in the capital, his striking bearing, verbal erudition, and his close association with Tang Han, referred to here by a sobriquet derived from his place of origin, Dongjian 東澗 (in modern Zhejiang province). In the biographical account that follows, Guangwen is identified as having been born in a family of Confucian scholars from the Lin clan of Houguan 候官, in modern Fujian. Two events from his childhood illustrate his suitability for a monastic life. First, the epitaph recounts his mother's auspicious dream of a monk visiting her room while pregnant, stating that the newborn Guangwen resembled the monk and was identified as his reincarnation. Furthermore, we hear how before he could speak, the infant Guangwen knew to clasp his hands before an image of the Buddha. These pre and post-natal portents of Guangwen's future piety are augmented by praise for his youthful talent for memorising and reciting texts. Even in the account of the early stages of his life, Guangwen is presented as both devout and highly capable.

According to the epitaph compiled by Lin, at fifteen Guangwen followed his junior paternal uncle, the otherwise unknown monk Zhilong 智隆 (dates unknown), into the

³⁷⁰ For related discussions of the historical consciousness of early Chan authors, see: Wright 1992, Maraldo 1985.

³⁷¹ The opening passages from Yanxi Guangwen's epitaph, discussed below, are translated in appendix 5.3.

³⁷² The use of imperial inscribed name plaques in the Song dynasty to combine patronage and support, with the accrual of karmic benefit and exertion of centralised control over Buddhist institutions is discussed in: Schlütter 2008, 34-6.

Wanlin Guangxiao monastery 宛陵光孝寺. He received the Buddhist precepts at eighteen years old, and was given the tonsure by Yintieniu 印鐵牛 (dates unknown). Guangwen subsequently studied under a series of masters in the schools of Shaoshimu 少室睦 (dates unknown) and Yuanzheng Guangyuan Wuji 圓證光嚴無際 (dates unknown).³⁷³ In contrast with the merely cursory mention of Guangwen's early monastic teachers, Lin's account elaborates the events surrounding Guangwen's *dharma* transmission from Zheweng Ruyan 浙翁如琰 (1151-1225) in detail.³⁷⁴

Guangwen's sudden awakening occurred late at night, prompted by the impact of his fall when he tripped on his way back to the monks' residence. The subsequent morning Zheweng Ruyan tested and ratified his enlightenment, initiating him into a formal Chan lineage. The isolated location and bodily stimulus of Guangwen's sudden awakening, and its subsequent ratification in a pedagogical setting, are characteristic of Chan narratives of awakening as discussed in chapter four. These events were central to Guangwen's later career, as Guangwen's initiation into a recognised Linji lineage made him eligible for appointment to public monasteries. Following the account of Guangwen's awakening, the epitaph biography gives a sequential iteration of the various abbacies he held, noting the patronage of a range of civil officials. After listing the series of monasteries of which he was abbot, the epitaph goes on to document the circumstances of Guangwen's death, and closes with two laudatory verses.

While Guangwen's biography discussed above derives from a posthumous source, variations of this narrative were almost certainly in circulation during the abbot's lifetime. The versions of a discourse record which we inherit today are cumulative records from throughout an abbot's career, clearly indicated in Guangwen's case by the preservation of multiple prefaces and in the different compilers for the records from each of his monastic appointments.³⁷⁵ As a compendium accumulated through

³⁷³ Itakura Masa'aki names Yanxi Guangwen's tonsure master as Tieniu Xinyin 鐵牛心印, a *dharma* heir of a monk named Zhuoan Dexin 拙庵德心, whose dates are given as 1121-1203, though no specific textual source is cited. Itakura 2004, 19.

³⁷⁴ For a translation of the circumstances of Guangwen's awakening as narrated in his epitaph, see appendix 5.2.

³⁷⁵ See: YXGWCSYL j.1-2: X.1368.69.

the records of the various institutions of which he was abbot, the version of Guangwen's discourse record transmitted in the Buddhist canon is the end product of an extended process, involving embellishment and augmentation by numerous compilers such as Lin Xiyi, and Guangwen's various disciples who compiled the discourse records of his successive abacies. As such, the text of this epitaph should be considered the culmination of Guangwen's life long project of self-fashioning in literary production, filtered through the editorial agency of subsequent compilers and editors. It is not a narrative constructed in a purely posthumous context.³⁷⁶ As such, the discourse record and the epitaph biography contribute significantly to our understanding of the construction of Guangwen's identity as an authoritative Southern Song Chan cleric. Understanding this idealised self-representation informs our reading of Guangwen's enactment of his clerical authority over historic exemplars through inscription upon the Chan pantheon's visual manifestation in painting.

The two prefaces to Guangwen's discourse record reveal the collaborative nature of his project of self-fashioning. Tang Han's 1258 preface articulates an unambiguous intimacy between the scholar and abbot. It reads as follows:

Gentlemen who have obtained the way are not too sparing when they refrain from speech, nor is their speech superfluous when uttered. Therefore, it is said: "There is nothing which I hide from you", how could my [words] be fondness for disputation?³⁷⁷ Seeing a closed mouth as hiding something, and an open mouth as disputation, is like seeing a blind man's fate as the fault of the sun and moon. When I look upon Yanxi in his everyday life he is anchored like a leisurely cloud, reticent like a withered tree. When he folds his robe atop the seat, his speech leaves all with mouths mortified [by their inadequacy]. Stretching out the paper and rousing the brush, his writing makes all with hands withdraw [on account of their relative shortcomings]. Isn't it the case

³⁷⁶ Schlütter argues that Song Chan clerics seeking appointment in the public monastery system would have conceived of their sermons as addressing a mass audience beyond their immediate monastic community, conscious of a readership of elite lay patrons for the ongoing augmentation of their discourse records: Schlütter 2008, 74.

³⁷⁷ The phrase "I have nothing to hide from you 吾無隱乎爾" is quoted from the *Analects*, book 7 chapter 24, in which the master asserts that he keeps nothing from his students: LY 7.24, in: Lau and Yang, 2009, 91.

that when great eloquence seems like blurting out, it is because there is something so deeply hidden it appears empty?³⁷⁸ In these latter days of the law, those with great titles and venerable stations cannot help valuing fame and reputation, and seeking out the bestowal of favour. [As these people] cannot leave this mire of evil, how can there be numinous efficacy in their speaking the law? Yanxi alone forgoes fame and gain, their taste seeming insipid. Thus, successive lofty mysteries flow forth from his brain. Over the [past] twenty years, his speech matches his great deeds. Some may ask me: how do you comprehend this? I say: “I comprehend speech.”³⁷⁹

Wuwu year of the Baoyou period [of the reign of Song Li Zong] [1258], the sun having arrived in the South. Written by Tang Boji [Tang Han] [1204-75].³⁸⁰

得道之士：不言非少，有言非多。故曰：『吾無隱乎爾』，予豈好辯哉？』以閉口為隱，以開口為辯，是盲者過，非日月咎。予觀偃溪平居，泊然如閑雲，悄然如枯木，及其振衣踞座，隱隱鉤鉤，則有口者喪。伸紙奮筆，灑灑落落，則有手者縮。豈所謂大辯若訥，深藏若虛者耶？近代法末，號大尊宿者，未免重名聞著施利。履踐未離濁惡，說法豈有靈驗？偃溪獨忘懷聲利，味如嚼蠟。故其胸中流出，一一高妙。二十年後，話當大行。或問予，何以知之，曰：「我知言」。

寶祐戊午。日南至，湯伯紀書。

³⁷⁸ The first half of this phrase: “Great eloquence seems like blurting out 大辯若訥” derives from the *Daodejing* chapter 45, line 5. The second half of the phrase comes from Confucius’ appraisal of Laozi in chapter 63 of the *Shiji* 史記, where he describes Lao Zi as possessing: “something so deeply hidden it appears empty 深藏若虛”. DDJ 45, in: Wagner 2003, 272. SJ 63, in: Zhang 2000, 1323.

³⁷⁹ This final phrase comes from book three chapter two of the *Mengzi* 孟子. When Mengzi’s interlocutor Gongsun Chou 公孫丑 asks the master where his strengths lie, he replies “I comprehend speech, and am good at cultivating my vast vital energy 我知言，我善養吾浩然之氣.” Mengzi goes on to clarify that this comprehension of speech is evident in his ability to identify bias, exaggeration, deviation, and evasion. The first part of Mengzi’s reply is directly quoted in the concluding line of Tang Han’s preface to Guangwen’s discourse record. By extension Tang Han’s concluding line implies that Guangwen’s verses do not fall into any of the undesirable categories identified in the *Mengzi*. For the original text and accompanying English translation, adapted in the quotation here, see: Zhang et al. 1999, 62-3.

³⁸⁰ YXGWCSYL j.1, in: X.1368.69: 725, b15-24.

In its unabashed exhalation of Guangwen's qualities and abilities, Tang's preface narrates the ideals that a Chan abbot was expected to embody in elite Southern Song society. Tang treats Yanxi as both a spiritual exemplar and a cultural luminary, extolling his moral qualities alongside his verbal and calligraphic talents. The preface begins by describing the nature of an enlightened figure, someone who has attained the way. Such a person can be recognised through the quality rather than the quantity of their speech. Lengthy diatribes are not to be confused with talented discourse, and nor is silence to be mistaken for ignorance. Tang's analogy of a blind man blaming the sun and moon's lack of illumination for his sightlessness stresses the listener's responsibility in recognising the words of the enlightened. Failure to apprehend the subtleties of an exemplar's speech results from the audience's inability to perceive the exemplar's hidden depths.

Tang goes on to describe how Guangwen embodies this archetype. First, Tang describes Guangwen's lofty demeanour when at ease, comparing his deportment to a cloud's inaccessibility and the venerable resilience of an old tree. The preface then praises the dramatic power with which Guangwen publicly expressed his teachings, referencing both oral and calligraphic expression. Tang presents Guangwen's oratory and writing as separate talents, both of which were performed before an audience. The grammatical parallel of their presentation implies an equivalence, or at least comparable value, in these areas of cultural performance. The degree of awe Guangwen's brushwork is said to elicit in those who watch him write may appear hyperbolic to the contemporary reader. However, this lavish praise contains an important implication for the reception of Guangwen's *encomia*, describing elite Song audiences comparing Guangwen's brushwork to their own. Thus, Tang's preface clarifies that the calligraphic dimensions of Guangwen's *encomia* participated in a mode of cultural expression that was central to his public reputation. As with his oratory, the merits of Guangwen's calligraphy were not limited to the exegetical function of its content.

At the end of the preface Tang expands on his praise for Guangwen's abilities by extolling his moral virtues. Though no one is named for explicit comparison, Tang

states that Guangwen was uniquely unconcerned with his status and reputation: “he alone forgoes fame and gain”. However, at the time this preface was composed in 1258 the patriarch was abbot of the Xingsheng Wanshou Chan monastery, on Mount Jing (Jingshan 徑山), one of the Southern Song’s most elevated monastic appointments. Moreover, Tang’s preface was itself an instrument of promotion for Guangwen, facilitated by an elite associate from the imperial bureaucracy. Unless we uncritically accept Tang’s repeated maxim that the onus is on the perceiver to recognise a true religious authority, the laudatory praise for Guangwen’s humility ill fits the context of its production. As such, the preface should be read as a construction of an ideal to which Guangwen wished to be perceived to conform. Tang Han and You Yu’s prefaces, and the discourse record that follows them, were key tools for the projection of that identity. As the following discussion will illustrate, Guangwen’s *encomia* on Chan figure paintings augmented the image projected by literary records and appraisals of his words and deeds. The associations his calligraphic commentaries created between inscriber and subject allowed Guangwen to appropriate qualities of insight, eloquence, and disinterest in worldly favour from the historic Chan pantheon.

Yaoshan Weiyang Meeting with Li Ao

Of the eight extant paintings with *encomia* by Yanxi Guangwen I have been able to consult for this study, only one was produced in a horizontal format: *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao* 藥山李翱問道圖 (fig. 5.1). This painting is currently in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and has been historically attributed to both Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13th century), and to Zhiweng Ruoqing 直翁若敬 (active 13th century). These historic attributions reflect the technical execution of the painting. The predominantly dilute ink and faint tonality of the scene, with only selected details depicted in saturated dark marks, resembles elements of the apparition style (*wangliang hua* 魑魎畫) first credited to Zhirong 智融 (1114-1193) but for which Zhiweng was also famed.³⁸¹ The association with Muxi likely derives from the

³⁸¹ The visual allusions to the apparition painting style have been noted by several earlier scholars, treating this piece as representative of a Southern Song aesthetic popular among monastic circles, for example: Fong and Metropolitan Museum of Art 1992, 353.

painting's compositional complexity and technically accomplished brushwork, which embody the qualities for which he was admired in Japan.³⁸²

Moving across the composition from right to left, as it would have been viewed in its original format, the scene opens with Yaoshan Weiyān 藥山惟嚴 (746-829). Yaoshan was the third patriarch in the Dajian lineage, Guangwen's predecessor by sixteen generations. He is seated upon a rock, at the edge of a copse of gnarled old trees, the arcs of their faint, fluid trunks foreshadowing the curve of his spine. A box of *sūtras* sits on the adjacent boulder next to a *kundika* (*jingpin* 淨瓶), a Buddhist sacred water vessel. This vessel is alluded to in both Yaoshan's hagiography, and in Guangwen's *encomium*, which are discussed in more detail below.

Yaoshan's raised forefinger and open mouth signify speech. His words are directed at the man approaching from the left of the scroll. Dressed in the robe and hat of scholar, this is Li Ao 李翱 (774-836), provincial governor of Liang Zhou 良州 (in modern Hunan province). Li has come to seek a teaching from the master, and bows slightly as he approaches the seated Yaoshan, hands clasped together within the sleeves of his robe.³⁸³ The painting captures a seminal moment in the narrative, marking a change of heart in Li Ao. Li was initially unimpressed with the Chan patriarch, but in the painted scene he has just been persuaded of Yaoshan's merits by a pithy utterance. Guangwen's *encomium* fills the otherwise empty space above Li Ao, supplanting Yaoshan's voice by addressing the figure below, whilst also clarifying the subject matter of the scene for the viewer.

Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao presents a classic paradigm for the interaction between an elevated Chan cleric and senior scholar official, wherein the cleric displays his superior eloquence to the lay protagonist and earns his respect.³⁸⁴ The

³⁸² For a discussion of Muxi's reception in Japan, see: Yūji 1996.

³⁸³ This posture of deference is familiar from the example of scholars greeting their equals, seen in the scene of 'Filial Piety in Relation to the Three Powers' (*San Cai* 三才) from Li Gonglin's *Classic of Filial Piety* 孝經圖, discussed in chapter three, page 131 (fig. 3.13). This comparison is also noted in: Fong and Metropolitan Museum of Art 1992, 353

³⁸⁴ Scenes depicting the interaction of Chan clerics and lay scholars are traditionally referred to as 'Chan Encounter Paintings' (*Chanhui tu* 禪會圖). Issues surround the definition of this genre, are discussed in chapter three, pages 105-9. Yoshiaki Shimizu discusses a painting of

painting captures the axial moment of this interaction, focusing on Yaoshan's verbal exegesis. The master's words would have been familiar to the Southern Song viewer through multiple hagiographic versions of this famous encounter. In the *Jingde Record of the Transmission of the Lamp*, (*Jingde Chuandeng Lu* 景德傳燈錄), hereafter *Jingde Record*, the crux of this hagiographic narrative lies in Li Ao's change of attitude toward Yaoshan. The official shifts from initial impatience at being rebuffed by the master to a realisation of Yaoshan's spiritual accomplishment. Li Ao expresses his change of heart in a verse composed after he receives Yaoshan's teaching. This teaching is expressed in three stages, the first part is a statement, the second is a gesture, and the teaching then concludes with a statement to clarify the meaning of the gesture. The need for clarification serves two functions: it underscores Yaoshan's didactic authority over Li Ao in this meeting, and it explains the significance of Yaoshan's enigmatic gesture to the reader or viewer of the narrative. The combination of an expression of authority with a religious teaching is also reflected in Guangwen's *encomia*, which appropriates Yaoshan's authority by implanting itself within the visual narrative. The *Jingde Record* account of the meeting reads as follows:

Provincial Governor of Liang Zhou, Li Ao, was repeatedly rebuffed when requesting teachings from the master. Thus, Ao entered the mountains to visit him. The master was engrossed in a sutra scroll and did not look up. An attendant announced: "The provincial governor is here." Li Ao was of impatient character, and so he said: "Seeing your face is not as good as hearing your name". The master called to the provincial governor, and Ao responded. The master said: "Why value the ear and look down on the eye?" Li Ao put his hands together to apologise to him, asking: "What is the true way?" The master pointed up with one finger and down with another, saying:

an interaction of this type by the monk painter Yintuoluo 因陀羅 (active 14th century), which is iconographically very similar to the Metropolitan painting of Yaoshan and Li Ao. However, Yin's painting features an *encomium* by Chushi Fanqi 楚石梵琦 (1296-1370), which identifies the scene as a meeting between Guizong Zhichang 歸宗智常 (757-821) and Li Bo 李渤 (773-831): (Shimizu 1980, 8-9). Another example of such a narrative is found in the scene of Master Birds Nest [Niaoke] and Bai Juyi, in *Eight Eminent Monks* 八高僧圖, traditionally attributed to Liang Kai (fig. 6.6d).

“You get it?” “No”, Ao said. The master said: “The clouds are in the sky, the water is in the vase.” Ao was ecstatic, bowed, and composed a verse, saying:

The form of the cultivated body is like the form of a crane,
Under one thousand pines are two sutra boxes,
I came to ask of the way, and no superfluous words were spoken,
The clouds are in the blue sky, and the water is in the vase.³⁸⁵

朗州刺史李翱嚮師玄化屢請不起。乃躬入山謁之。師執經卷不顧。侍者白曰：「太守在此。」翱性褊急乃言曰：「見面不如聞名。」師呼太守。翱應諾。師曰：「何得貴耳賤目。」翱拱手謝之。問曰：「如何是道？」師以手指上下曰：「會麼？」翱曰：「不會。」師曰：「雲在天，水在餅。」翱乃欣愜作禮而述一偈曰：

練得身形似鶴形，千株松下兩函經，
我來問道無餘說，雲在青天水在餅。

First, Yaoshan responds to Li Ao’s underwhelmed reaction to their meeting in stating: “Why value the ear and look down on the eye?” This stresses the importance of personal experience over reputation. Li Ao is impressed by Yaoshan’s frank injunction to draw one’s own conclusions rather than relying on heresay, and requests a teaching from the master. Yaoshan responds by pointing up with one finger and down with another, replicating the gesture of the infant Buddha when he announced his arrival to the world. In the *Jingde Record* biography of Śākyamuni, immediately after birth the Buddha takes seven steps in each of the four directions, then pointing one hand at heaven, and the other at the earth he declares in a booming voice: “Above and below, and in all four directions, there are none that will not revere me 上下及四維，無能尊我者”.³⁸⁶ This reference proved too enigmatic for Li Ao. Yaoshan’s third comment explains the meaning of his non-verbal teaching through a metaphor, stimulating the revelation Li Ao had been seeking by saying: “The clouds are in the

³⁸⁵ JDCDL j.14, in: T.2076.51: 312, b9-17. Translation adapted from: Shimizu 2007f; Shimizu 1980, 13.

³⁸⁶ JDCDL j.1, in: T.2076.51: 205, b10.

sky, the water is in the vase”. This embeds Yaoshan’s earlier gestural appropriation of the position of the Buddha in both an immediate and cosmic setting. The immediate surroundings are alluded to in the reference to the adjacent bottle, and the cosmic centrality of the Buddha’s *dharma* is alluded to by the image of the clouds in the sky. Li Ao’s comprehension of this teaching is then expressed in verse, which explicitly praises Yaoshan’s economical use of language.

In the Metropolitan scroll, this verbal exegesis is embodied in a four-line *encomium* inscribed by Guangwen. Oscillating between ready legibility and abbreviated cursive forms, the range of calligraphic styles dramatises the individuality of the inscriber. The asymmetric density of strokes within individual characters, and the distinctive uses of dense and light ink across the inscription demonstrate Guangwen’s idiosyncratic calligraphic style. While Guangwen’s name in the inscription has been defaced over time, he is immediately identifiable as the author of the inscription through the subsequent seals. The inscription reads as follows:

Complete abandonment slices past the face,
Looking down on the eye yet valuing the ear,
Present between the water and the clouds
Do not speak [further], as there is nothing more!
Resident of Cold Spring [Guangwen]³⁸⁷

全犧劈面來，賤目而貴耳，
便是雲水間，莫道無餘事。
住冷泉 □□。

Guangwen’s first line stresses the potential for revelation through Yaoshan’s teaching, and by implication the *encomium*’s commentary upon it. His description of Li Ao’s realisation as abandonment literally translates as a complete offering (*quanxi* 全犧). Guangwen presents Li as giving himself up entirely to Yaoshan’s teachings, and rejecting earlier doubts over their eloquence and insight. He is not describing Li’s

³⁸⁷ Translation slightly adapted from: Shimizu 2007f.

revelation as a moment of sudden awakening, in the sense of a transformative enlightenment, but as an acceptance of the veracity of the master's spiritual seniority. By quoting both of Yaoshan's key phrases from the hagiographic dialogue in the second and third lines of the *encomium* Guangwen positions their message at the crux of the visual narrative. Both Li Ao, and the viewer of the scroll are reminded that understanding is acquired through direct interaction, and that the great insights of Buddhism are suspended between the cosmic space of heaven and the immediate surroundings of our present environment. The last line "Do not speak [further], as there is nothing more!" stresses the finality of Yaoshan's teaching, adapting a quote from Li Ao's poem "I came to ask of the way, and no superfluous words were spoken!" This closing line praises Yaoshan's ability to express great truths in few words, articulating an ideal quality that Guangwen himself was credited with in the preface to his discourse record. Tang Han opened his preface to Guangwen's discourse record by commenting that when enlightened people say nothing, they do not say too little. Guangwen's *encomium* repackages the original narrative of Yaoshan's interaction with Li Ao, directly addressing the viewer of the scroll with an imperative not to elaborate upon the language of the teaching. Locating his own commentary within the viewer's experience of the scene, Guangwen's *encomium* simultaneously cements his authority through association with Yaoshan, and provides exegesis on Yaoshan's exemplary actions.

While this inscription makes a forceful rhetorical connection between Guangwen and Yaoshan, the use of quotation in inscriptions by senior Chan abbots upon images of this subject was by no means unique to Guangwen. In an inscription by Yuejiang Zhengyin 月江正印 (active 14th century), on a no longer extant painting of this same subject, entitled *Attendant Gentleman Li visits Yaoshan* 李侍郎參藥山, we see a similar appropriation of authority through borrowed language:

Clouds up in the sky, water within the vase,
Seeing your face and hearing your name, looking down on the eye and valuing
the ear,
One section of the scene is incompletely painted,

The treetops rustling [like] the rising of cold waves.³⁸⁸

天上雲，瓶中水。
見面聞名，賤目貴耳，
一段風光畫不成，
樹頭瑟瑟寒濤起。

The opening couplets of both Guangwen and Zhengyin's *encomia* refer to the same key phrases from Yaoshan's dialogue, referencing the cloud and vase, and the value Li Ao initially placed on reputation over personal experience. The repetition of these poetic tropes in the *encomia* of Song and Yuan Chan abbots reiterates their centrality to the interpretation of pictorial action in depictions of the encounter between Yaoshan and Li Ao. Both Guangwen and Zhengyin's *encomia* illustrate their familiarity with the subject, clarifying the events in the visual narrative for the viewer and stressing which elements of the interaction were of greatest importance. However, in their third and fourth lines the *encomia* conclude with different commentaries on the paintings they augment. Guangwen's teaching focuses on the nature of language in the encounter, appropriating Li Ao's verse to praise Yaoshan's brevity. Zhengyin, by contrast, focuses on the viewer's visual experience of the painting upon which his verse was inscribed. As the painting is now lost, however, the exact nature of the commentary is unclear.

As noted earlier in this thesis, certain tropes from a Chan exemplar's hagiography would be repeatedly alluded to in clerical *encomia* on painted representations of that same exemplar. *Encomia* on paintings of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains repeatedly mention the Daystar, which the Buddha saw on the morning of his enlightenment (figs. 2.5-2.7). Inscriptions on images of Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed repeatedly refer to the image of the five petal flower, through which the patriarch alluded to the eventual development of Chan into five schools. The image of the vase and the clouds, and the comment on 'looking down on the eye and valuing the ear' were standard tropes in *encomia* on paintings of Yaoshan and Li

³⁸⁸ YJZY j.3, in: X.1409.71: 143, a22-24.

Ao. These patterns of quotation in Chan inscriptions combine performative repetitions of the words of past masters with the expressive force of calligraphy and painting, framing and amplifying axial moments in hagiographic narratives. Such conventions in inscriptions mirror the didactic conventions of the Linji Chan school's use of *gong'an* 公案 (public cases) in a teaching, through a method known as “examining a phrase”, (*kanhua* 看話).³⁸⁹ In *kanhua* Chan a familiar phrase or action from an historic dialogue by a Chan exemplar is presented to the student in quotation, followed by commentary by the master. The contemplation of this phrase, mediated through the master's verbal intercession, is intended to spark the student's insight. While we cannot be certain that these inscribed paintings were used in didactic contexts, their rhetorical parallel with the verbal dimensions of *kanhua* Chan indicates a probable similar rhetorical function. However, unlike *kanhua* Chan, clerical *encomia* on Chan figure paintings were enhanced by combination with visual representation.

Further to the commentarial and exegetical function of Guangwen's *encomium*, the physical properties of *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao* would have impacted how Southern Song viewers approached both image and text. The scroll's original horizontal format created an imperative for intimate viewing. When handscrolls were unrolled, the audience would have been physically close to the painted or written surface. Extant thirteenth and fourteenth century paintings showing figures examining handscrolls provide an idealised representation of this intimate mode of looking. In an anonymous painting of eighteen *arhats* viewing a handscroll, inscribed by the Yuan cleric Tanfang Shouzhong 曇芳守忠 (1274-1348) (fig. 5.9a), the assembled worthies are pressed right up against the surface of the object.³⁹⁰ The *arhats* stare intently at the scroll at close quarters. They exchange smiles of joy at what they see, while their emphatically gesturing hands skim the scroll's surface (fig. 5.9b). As an idealised representation of experience, this conception of viewing practices does not necessarily reflect the actual ways in which handscrolls were used. However, *Eighteen Arhats Viewing a Handscroll* indicates that it would be acceptable, or even expected, that a

³⁸⁹ For a discussion of this method in the Linji school's teaching from the 12th century see: Schlütter 2008, 104-21.

³⁹⁰ For a discussion of this painting, see: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1975, 84, pl. 16.

viewer would be in close proximity to a scroll's surface. Such scenes show that there was a clear interest in intimate examination of that surface, helping us to understand how *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao* is most likely to have been viewed in its original horizontal format.

While *Meeting between Yaoshan and Li Ao* was produced in a format conducive to this intimate mode of looking, it has since been remounted in Japan as a vertical hanging scroll. This vertical format adapts the image for hanging in the *tokonoma* alcove 床の間 during a tea ceremony. Hung in the discrete space of the alcove a few feet away from where the guests of the tea master would sit, this mode of display creates a distance between viewer and object.³⁹¹ While the remounting of *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao* necessarily involved a degree of material violence, the alteration of the object reflects the esteem placed upon the object in Japanese transmission. Moreover, its adaptation to suit Japanese taste accounts for its preservation.³⁹² The material alteration of *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao*, and of other works of this type, was thus simultaneously creative and destructive. The cutting and reframing of the scroll both facilitated and reflected new relationships between viewer and object, telling us much about its history of collection and transmission in the archipelago, whilst also erasing elements of its history prior to arriving in Japan.

The profound impact of the material alteration of *Meeting between Yaoshan and Li Ao* exerts a on a viewer's reception of the painting and calligraphy becomes immediately apparent when one examines the painting in person. The intricate details of the pictorial moment are completely illegible from a few feet away. Instead you are confronted with an expansive blue and cream silk mounting, suspending the subtle monochrome composition of the painted scene within a block of colour. Seen from even a short distance away, key details of the figures' interaction are no longer visible, such as Yaoshan's open mouth, his teeth, and Li Ao's subtle expression. The

³⁹¹ For a discussion of this history of this method of display and practice of social viewings at elite Japanese gatherings, see: Guth 1993, 41-2.

³⁹² A 2014 exhibition at the Nezu Museum in Tokyo focused on the various material alterations of objects from antiquity by Japanese collectors, including such elite groups as the Ashikaga shoguns and their alteration of Chinese paintings into formats very similar to *Meting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao*: Nezu Bijutsukan 2014, 7.

painting's substantial alteration into its present vertical mounting quadruples the height of the scroll, from its 31.8 cm paper surface to the 124.8 cm of the complete object. A close viewing is essential both to read the inscription, and to appreciate how the scroll was conceived of by its Song artist and inscriber.

The composition is divided down the centre, separating the pictorial space occupied by each figure. While Yaoshan is grounded in the composition through his surrounding rocks and trees, the space around Li Ao is nigh on empty, achieving balance with the right hand side only through the calligraphy. This indicates that the image was prepared with the express intention of receiving an inscription on this site. The integration of calligraphic and pictorial expression is emphasised in the correspondence between the darker strokes on some of the characters, and the dark ink dots on the surface of the rocks and trees around Yaoshan. This density of ink is most apparent in the *quan* 全 in the first line, *lai* 來 in the second, and asymmetrically presented within a single graph in the *ren* 人 radical in *bian* 便 in the fourth line. It is seen most forcefully of all in the final character of the verse *shi* 事, which acts like a graphic punctuation mark to distinguish the expressive passage of verse from the signature.

The interaction between the historic Chan exemplar and scholar official in *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao* would have been a familiar setting for Guangwen. He was a well-connected cleric with close associates among the secular elite of the capital. When he wrote the *encomium* for *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao*, Guangwen was abbot of the Lingyin monastery 靈隱寺, around half a day's walk from the imperial palace on the shores of West Lake. This setting would have given him ample opportunity to meet with the local elite. In his epitaph Lin Xiyi describes the intimate friendships between Guangwen and scholar officials in the following terms: "Eminent officials and famed scholars competed to follow him, always staying late and forgetting to return home 貴卿名士, 爭先游從, 晚每至忘歸."³⁹³ Lin's epitaph is essentially hagiography, so such lavish praise does not necessarily reflect all of Guangwen's interactions with men of learning. However, the deference of the

³⁹³ YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69, 753 c5.

scholar to the Chan cleric seen in Li Ao's interaction with Yaoshan in the Metropolitan painting resonates with Lin's idealised posthumous image of Guangwen. Indeed, the interaction between Yaoshan and Li Ao provides a canonical precedent for Guangwen's presumed authority over scholar associates. The Metropolitan painting provides a clear example of how Guangwen could rhetorically appropriate such authority to augment his image while alive. Moreover, the Li Ao beneath Guangwen's *encomium* appears conspicuously more deferential than the Li Ao in another painting of this scene by the Southern Song court artist Ma Gongxian (active 13th century), (fig. 5.10). In the painting from the Metropolitan Museum, Li Ao is moving toward Yaoshan, his back entering into a bow, and his hands clasped in a respectful greeting. Ma Gongxian 馬公顯 depicts Li Ao standing resolute and dignified, his back ramrod straight, and turned slightly away from the viewer. Moreover, there is no calligraphic commentary upon Ma's painting, while the *encomium* upon the Metropolitan painting expresses Guangwen's contemporary authority to the Southern Song viewer. By both integrating his calligraphy into the composition, and by mediating the viewer's experience of the visual narrative, Guangwen has literally written himself into Chan antiquity.

Budai and Fenggan

The final section of this analysis of Yanxi Guangwen's *encomia* explores how they mediated the relationship between Song viewers and images of eccentric figures from the margins of the Chan pantheon. The following discussion examines Guangwen's *encomia* on four paintings of Budai (figs. 5.2-5.5) and one of Fenggan (Fig 5.6). Both subjects are Chan Scattered Sages, *sansheng* 散聖 in Chinese.³⁹⁴ These are figures from outside the formal lineages who are often identified as avatars of Buddhas and

³⁹⁴ The prefix *san* 散 is particularly difficult to translate. Its basic meaning is of being unattached or dispersed. This is reflected in the structure of Chan hagiographies, where *sansheng* are listed as a separate category outside of formal lineage structures. The title *sansheng* is similar to that of Scattered Transcendent (*sanxian* 散仙), or True Man Without Station (*wuwei zhenren* 無位真人). The term *san* was also used as a prefix for irregular official titles, at times indicating either a supernumerary or honorary position. For a discussion of the diverse meanings of this term as applied to official titles, see: Hucker 1985, 395 no. 4831.

Bodhisattvas.³⁹⁵ Guangwen's *encomia* recurrently evoke and then resolve the purported ambiguity of Budai's identity. The repetition of certain phrases in these verses appears to contradict the originality and immediacy for which Guangwen was praised in the prefaces to his discourse record. However, these calligraphic acts of identification were performative. Though audiences of these paintings would have been familiar with the divine identities of Budai through his hagiography, the process of revealing these identities in *encomia* was still valued. This value is evidenced by a phrase at the end of an *encomium* on a painting of Budai by Zhiweng Ruoqing, which states that the image was produced in response to a request from a lay practitioner, identified solely as a 'Man of Chan' (*Chanren* 禪人) (fig. 5.3). The list of Guangwen's inscriptions upon his own portraits includes several similar dedications, providing further evidence of a diverse clerical and lay audience for Guangwen's inscriptions upon paintings (appendix 5.4). *Encomia* enabled both proximity and interaction between Guangwen's calligraphic presence and Budai and Fenggan's simulation in painting, connecting eccentric clerics from outside the Chan lineage with the clerical and cultural authority of a sitting abbot.

Budai was a heavily mythologised figure, his hagiography in the *Jingde Record* dates his death to 916, listing his biography in the separate category of Scattered Sages discussed above.³⁹⁶ Like the other Scattered Sages, Budai existed on the periphery of both the physical and ideological space of monastic life, leading an itinerant, antinomian existence beyond the cloister walls. However, an existence in the margins did not relegate Budai to marginal importance. He was a liminal figure, whose life on the periphery of society carried an implied access to transcendent truths that escaped those bound by convention. The extent of his elevated status is made clear at the end of his hagiography in the *Jingde Record*. In his *gātha*, or death verse, Budai reveals himself as an avatar of the future Buddha, Maitreya (*Mile* 彌勒):

³⁹⁵ A painting of Master Clam 蜆子和尚 by Muxi in a private collection in Japan preserves another example of an encomium by Guangwen on a painting of one the Chan's Scattered Sages (fig. 5.7). However, as Guangwen's *encomium* on this painting focuses on the monk's eccentric actions, and is not part of his performative identification of Scattered Sages as avatars of Buddhist divinities, it is beyond the immediate scope of this study.

³⁹⁶ For Budai's hagiographic record, see: JDCDL j.27, in: T.2076.51: 434, a19-b26. Paramita Paul discusses the iconographic conventions for Budai's depiction in: Paul 2009, 71-2.

In the third month of the *bingzi* second year of the Zhenming reign period of the [Latter] Liang [emperor Modi 末帝] [916], the master was about to realise extinction [enter Nirvana]. He seated himself upon a flat rock at the end of the eastern porch of Yuelin monastery, and spoke the following verse:

Maitreya, true Maitreya,
Body separated into 100 billion pieces
Time and again appearing to the people of the day,
The people of day then fail to recognise you.

Once the *gātha* was complete he calmly passed away. Thereafter, people saw the master wandering with a cloth sack in other prefectures. Thereupon the four classes [of Buddhist devotee] strove to depict his image. Today his complete body is preserved in the eastern hall of the Yuelin temple.³⁹⁷

梁貞明二年丙子三月師將示滅。於嶽林寺東廊下端坐磐石。而說偈曰：

彌勒真彌勒，分身千百億。
時時示時人，時人自不識。

偈畢安然而化。其後他州有人見師亦負布袋而行。於是四眾競圖其像。今嶽林寺大殿東堂全身見存。

When he unmask himself as a member of the highest strata of the Buddhist pantheon, Budai couples his revelation with playful chastening of the people of his day for their failure to recognise his true face. In the last lines of the hagiography he displays a final act of transcendence, defeating death itself by reappearing in the mundane world in the tantalisingly vague ‘other prefectures’.³⁹⁸ In addition to his subversive appeal as a charismatic eccentric who attracted lay devotions, Budai is exceptional among the historic exemplars listed in the *Jingde Record*, as he is potentially still present among

³⁹⁷ JDCDL j.27, in: T.2076.51: 434, b22-26.

³⁹⁸ Budai’s incorporation into both monastic institutional and popular religious practice is discussed in: Shahar 1998, 39-40 & 218.

the later generations of readers. Coupled with the popularity of his iconographic representation mentioned at the end of his hagiography, Budai's status as an incarnation of an elevated Bodhisattva hidden in a humble guise makes him potentially ubiquitously present. Budai's potent liminality clearly contributed to the popularity of his representation in Chan art.

Budai's liminal qualities in his hagiographic representation are embellished in the technical and compositional approaches of the artists who depicted him in painting. Three of the four paintings of Budai with *encomia* by Guangwen use extremely dilute ink and minimal brushstrokes to conspicuously display the illusionistic process of the act of depiction (figs. 5.2-5.4). The fourth image of Budai inscribed by Guangwen is part of a diptych by Li Que 李確 (active 13th century), paired with a painting of the Scattered Sage Fenggan and his tiger (figs. 5.5-5.6). Both Budai and Fenggan are rendered in the cursive abbreviated brush style of Li Que's teacher Liang Kai, using much darker tones than the other three works depicting Budai with Guangwen's *encomia*.³⁹⁹ Yet Li's representation of Budai also creates a deliberate boundary between the viewer and subject. Li's Budai turns away from the viewer. Facing upward and holding his belly, Budai laughs at something imperceptible to the scroll's audience. These paintings' technical and iconographic qualities offer contrasting responses to Budai than seen in Guangwen's calligraphic performances of recognition. While the painted images play upon Budai's concealed identity through illusory imagery, the accompanying *encomia* reveal the subject in dense, dark ink.

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, I believe there is a significant probability that a painting of Budai formerly attributed to Hu Zhifu 胡直夫 (13th century), currently in the collection of the Fukuoka City Art Museum, features the earliest of Guangwen's extant *encomia* (fig. 5.2).⁴⁰⁰ This supposition is based on variations in both Guangwen's use of place names, and his calligraphic style. Guangwen's

³⁹⁹ Liang Kai stylistic repertoire and legacy are discussed at length in chapter six.

⁴⁰⁰ For a discussion of this image focused on its relationship to the apparition style of painting, see Lippit 2009, 81-3. The pedigree of its transmission through the Shogunal collection of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358-1408, r. 1368-94), and its subsequent display and appreciation in the tea ceremony circles of Ichizo Kobayashai 小林一三と (1873-1957) and Yauzaemon Matsunaga 松永安左 (1875-1971) are noted in: Itsuō Bijutsukan and Fukuoka-shi Bijutsukan 2013, 44, pl. 35.

signature on the Fukuoka scroll designates the monastery of which he was abbot as Wanshou 萬壽, signing his name: “Eulogised by Guangwen of Wanshou”. Wanshou was a title for numerous monasteries across the Song Empire, literally meaning ‘a thousand years’, often used as an expression of a wish for imperial longevity. The name was given to monasteries entrusted with accumulating karmic benefit to prolong the life of the emperor.⁴⁰¹ Two monasteries at which Guangwen served as abbot included Wanshou in their name: his third appointment at the Wanshou Chan monastery 萬壽禪寺 in Qingyuan prefecture 慶元府 (part of modern day Fujian province), before 1245, and his final appointment at the Xiansheng Wanshou monastery on Mount Jing near the Southern Song capital of Lin'an from 1256-1263.⁴⁰² In the other examples of works inscribed when at the Xiansheng Wanshou monastery, Guangwen names his location as Mount Jing, rather than Wanshou (figs. 5.4, 5.6). He also occasionally uses the ‘Double Path’ (*shuang jing* 雙徑) seal of the monastery. The Fukuoka Budai incorporates neither this form of signature, nor this seal.

The *encomium* for the Fukuoka Budai is written in a regulated hand, each stroke readily legible and with a uniform balance in the speed and weight of the characters of each line. Compared to Guangwen’s later calligraphy while abbot of the Lingyin Monastery on Beishan (figs. 5.1, 5.7-5.8) and Wanshou Monastery on Jingshan (figs. 5.3, 5.5-5.6), the brushwork is stiff and formulaic. Moreover, the tonality of the ink used in the contested *encomium* is relatively constant. There are only minor changes in the saturation of individual characters and strokes, compared to the significant contrasts in globular dark forms and light delicate movements in the *encomium* on *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao* discussed above.

While we have no means of definitively asserting that the Fukuoka Budai is from the earlier portion of Guangwen's career, there is at least a strong case for a cautious avoidance of earlier presumptions that it dates to Guangwen’s final abbacy.⁴⁰³ Nonetheless, the painted content remains consistent with the overall stylistic range of

⁴⁰¹ The establishment of such a system under Song Huizong is discussed in: Schlütter 2008, 71-2.

⁴⁰² For a full list of Guangwen’s abbacies, based on his epitaph biography, see appendix 5.1.

⁴⁰³ This inscription is dated to his time on Jingshan in: Itakura 2004, 20; Lippit 2009, 83.

images of Budai inscribed by Guangwen. The artist has rendered Budai's body as a contained, circular space, gazing into the wind as his robe blows forward. The juxtaposition of the front and back edges of the simple garment wrapped around Budai's shoulders eloquently simulates the recession of space around his body, lending illusionistic depth to the groundless image. The ephemeral quality of Budai's body and garb is strikingly juxtaposed with the implicit weight of the staff across his shoulder, where the saturation of the black ink reads as a pictorial simulation of physical gravity. Breaking with the static conventions of front facing Buddhist polychrome cult imagery (fig. 2.13), this portly eccentric stares out beyond the boundary of the picture. Guangwen's inscription reads as follows:

In the bustling market, unhindered in liberated mischief,
One may not speak of dreams in front of a fool,⁴⁰⁴
You twist your brain and turn your head, but who gets it?
The pole atop your shoulder is as heavy as a mountain.
Eulogised by Guangwen of Wanshou.⁴⁰⁵

鬧市裏不妨放頑，癡人前不可說夢，
轉腦回頭誰得知，肩頭棒子如山重。
萬壽廣聞贊。

In the third line of this verse Guangwen makes an oblique allusion to the anonymity of Budai, in spite of his conspicuous public persona within the crowded, urban world evoked in the opening couplet. The answer to Guangwen's rhetorical question "who gets it?" is clear. The inscriber does, and thereby so does the viewer.

The four character phrase "twist your brain and turn your head" is also found on two other *encomia* inscribed by Guangwen on images of Budai (figs. 5.3 and 5.5). It derives from a teaching offered by the monk Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 (707-791)

⁴⁰⁴ This phrase is adapted from the concluding verse in case four of the *Wumenguan*, 'The Barbarian has no Beard' 胡子無鬚. WMG, j.1 in: T.2005.48: 293, b28.

⁴⁰⁵ Adapted from: Lippit 2009, 81.

which led to the awakening of Wuxie Lingmo 五洩靈默 (747-818). Having come to seek a teaching from Shitou, Lingmo was on the verge of departing when Shitou called out to him. Lingmo turned his head to listen and Shitou offered him the following phrase: “From birth to old age, there is only this, what do you turn your head and twist your brains for? 從生至老，只是這箇，回頭轉腦作甚麼”.⁴⁰⁶ Shitou’s words equate turning the head and twisting the brain to purposeless mental action. In Guangwen’s verse Shitou’s image is redeployed to connect the impenetrable machinations of Budai’s mind with this awakening generating teaching. Guangwen’s implicit understanding of Budai’s mind is thereby directly linked with the abbot’s status as an awakened Chan master. This is expressed as much through the function of his calligraphy as intercession between viewer and subject as by the content of his verse.

Another painting, inscribed during Guangwen’s final abbacy on Mount Jing bears the seal of Zhiweng Ruoqing (fig 5.3). This eminent monk painter of the early thirteenth century is celebrated for his execution of works in the apparition style, as a follower of Zhirong. Though few of Zhiweng’s works survive, and textual records remain scant, works such as this illustrate the enigmatic aesthetic for which he was known. Like the painter of the Fukuoka Budai attributed to Hu Zhifu, Zhiweng emphasises the illusionistic process of representation. He creates a deliberate distance between his image of Budai and the viewer, which is bridged by Guangwen’s mediating *encomium*. As noted above, the Budai by Li Que eschews this ghostly aesthetic in favour of the kinetic rapid movements of the abbreviated brush technique associated with Li’s teacher, Liang Kai. However, the side on stance of Li’s Budai creates a different obstacle to direct interaction between viewer and pictorial subject (fig 5.5). In the *encomia* on both Zhiweng and Li Que’s paintings, Guangwen’s verses centre on a rhetorical allusion to Budai’s supposedly concealed identity, with a striking lack of variation in language. The inscription to the Zhiweng painting reads as follows:

⁴⁰⁶ This incident is recorded in various Chan hagiographic compendia with which Guangwen would have been familiar, such as the 1183 *Liandeng Huiyao*, and the 1252 *Wudeng Huiyuan*. In the earlier 1004 *Jingde Chuandeng lu* version Shitou uses a slightly different phrase to awaken Lingmo, which does not mention turning the head and twisting the brain. JDCDL j.7: T.51.2076: 254, b11-b12; LDHY j.4: X.1557.79: 45b11-b12. WDHY, j.3 in: X.1565.80: 77, a8.

Floating, floating travels, wave and wave of walking,
Twisting your brain and turning your head, how many taints?⁴⁰⁷
Before the jade pavilion, after Sudana has gone,
In this place of green, green grass, will you still be known?

Requested by a man with superior understanding of Chan
Yanxi Guangwen of Jingshan.

蕩蕩行波波走，
轉腦回頭，多少漏逗？
瑤樓閣前，善財去後，
草清清處還知否？

禪了上人請贊。住徑山偃溪廣聞。

Guangwen's inscription to the Li Que Budai is remarkably close to the verse accompanying the Zhiweng painting, reading:

Floating, floating travels, wave and wave of walking,
Coming and going all over, how many taints?
Before the jade pavilion, after Sudana has gone,
In this place of green, green grass, will you still be known?

Yanxi Guangwen, Resident of Jingshan

蕩蕩行波波走，
到處去來，多少漏逗，
瑤樓閣前，善財去後，
草青青處還知否？
住徑山偃谿黃聞。

⁴⁰⁷ The taints mentioned here (*lou* 漏) refers to the concept *you lou* 有漏 (*sāsrava*), conducting actions conditioned by intentions, and thereby accruing *karma*.

Aside from four characters in their second lines, Guangwen's *encomia* on Zhiweng and Li Que's paintings are identical. This conspicuous overlap in verbal content shows only slight variation on the same theme seen in the Fukuoka scroll attributed to Hu Zhifu. Moreover, the verse on the Zhiweng scroll incorporates another repetition, where Guangwen duplicates the phrase from the Fukuoka scroll commenting on the turning and twisting of Budai's head: "Twisting your brain and turning your head, how many taints? 轉腦回頭，多少漏逗". These 'taints' refer to karmic taints or outpourings (*lou* 漏). These parallel Shitou's teaching to Lingmo, in which Shitou equates turning the head and twisting the brain with purposeless mental action. Guangwen's incorporation of this allusion into the image of Budai once again borrows the authority of Shitou's teaching to address the viewer of the painting.

The allusion to this image of Budai's turning head was by no means limited to Guangwen's *encomia*, with the exact same four character expression "twisting your brain and turning your head" also seen in the recorded verses of his clerical contemporaries such as Xiyao Liaohui 西巖了慧 (1198-1262).⁴⁰⁸ Zhiweng's image of Budai (fig. 5.3) incorporates the same gesture seen in the painting attributed to Hu Zhifu (fig. 5.2), gazing over his shoulder beyond the boundaries of the composition. Rather than fully embodying the presence of Maitreya's avatar, these images are sightings of a wild, enigmatic eccentric. He is a wandering figure, who does not reside in any monastic centre, and who is not formally affiliated with any lineage. This eccentric's insights are only accessible through the mediating function of Guangwen's *encomia*, produced by a senior figure in the very institutions from which Budai was estranged.

The repetitive rhetoric of Guangwen's *encomia* sits uncomfortably alongside the idealised image of the abbot as an extraordinary exegete and paradigm of spontaneous revelation, found in the prefaces to his discourse record. An explicit conflict emerges when we compare the contemporary sources of You Yu's 1259 preface to Guangwen's discourse record with his most repetitive inscriptions (fig. 5.3, 5.5),

⁴⁰⁸ XYLHCSYL j.2, in: X.1391.70: 499, b20.

produced between 1256 and 1263. You Yu's preface opens with the following celebration of Guangwen's originality:

Chan Master Yanxi sat in eight centres of awakening. Students flocked to him, like water rushing into a great gully. The phrases he uttered spread to all places: firstly because there was not one phrase that was unoriginal, secondly because no phrase was repeated, thirdly because they completely blocked observational knowledge as a route to logical thinking, and fourthly because they cut off the entanglements of convention. Only through these four [qualities] can we completely sweep away today's afflictions upon the gateways to the *dharma*. This is what makes him so outstanding in this time.⁴⁰⁹

偃溪禪師，八坐道場。學者奔赴，如水赴壑。所句語，流傳諸方。一則並無一句踏襲，二則亦無一句重疊，三則塞盡知見理路，四則截斷葛藤窠臼。只此四著，盡掃近日法門弊病。宜其傑出一時也。

The recurrent repetition clearly calls You Yu's claims of Guangwen's originality into question. Guangwen repeats himself, quotes from the canon, and works within the same conventional forms of verse.

While Guangwen certainly replicated the verbal content of his *encomia* on these three different images of Budai, a fourth example from the collection of the Tokugawa Art Museum offers a more focused take on Budai's identity as an avatar of Maitreya (fig. 5.4). In a painting inscribed between 1251 and 1254, while abbot of Jingci Baoen Guangxiao monastery 淨慈報恩光孝寺 on Southern Mountain (*Nanshan* 南山), Guangwen uses a longer verse form of five lines of 8, 9, 7, 7 and 7 characters. The cadence of the calligraphy is relatively consistent, accelerating into slightly more cursive text in the final line. Compared with the even saturation of the Fukuoka painting, this text creates a greater contrast between the tonalities of distinct characters. This verse reads as follows:

⁴⁰⁹ YXGWCSYL j.1, in: X.1368.69: 725, b5-8. For a full translation see appendix 5.3.

Upon the long sandbar of the river you are the great worthy,
Was the Great Master before Mount Yunhuang also you?⁴¹⁰
You swap your face, change your head at will,
Only [Your] next coming as Maitreya is not confirmed,
You pull the wool over all people's eyes, men and women [alike].

Inscribed by Guangwen of Nanshan

長汀江上汝即大士，
雲黃山前大士即汝許？
汝換面改頭決定，
嘗來補處只不許？
汝教壞人家男女。
南山黃聞題。

The rhetorical structure and the cadence of the verse inscribed upon the Tokugawa scroll distinguish it from Guangwen's repetitive forms in the three other paintings examined above. However, the Tokugawa painting's *encomium* shares their focus on the concealment of Budai's true identity. The first line addresses Budai through a variant of his sobriquet, Master of the Sandbar 長汀子', here Great Worthy of the Sandbar 長汀大士. This references Budai's itinerant lifestyle to identify the painted subject as the mendicant-cum-vagrant of his hagiographic narrative.⁴¹¹ These monikers recognise Budai as a source of spiritual potency, but with none of the stabilising context of monastic authority.⁴¹² Instead, he sleeps on the sandbar, at the literal periphery of the communities he passes through and in a space that is inherently unstable and changeable. In the accompanying painting it is not Budai who

⁴¹⁰ The Great Master before Mount Yunhuang refers to the monk Shanhui Dashi 善慧大士 (497-569), who was also believed to be an avatar of Maitreya. For a discussion of this figure see: Hsiao 1995.

⁴¹¹ The same title is used in the *Jingde Record*: "For a time Budai was known as Master Sandbar 時號長汀子布袋師也": T.2076.51: 434, a24.

⁴¹² In his discussion of Budai's hagiography, Meir Shahar stresses that Budai was never formally ordained, evident in his burial rather than cremation, and so was always in some way peripheral to the monastic institution: Shahar 1998, 40.

is slumbering, but a small boy whose weary head rests on top of Budai's sack. Budai is gleefully pulling the bag out from under the boy, about to prompt a very literal awakening. This image of Budai as resident on the periphery of the monastery has parallels with the narrative of Master Clam, who combed the riverbanks outside the White Horse Shrine 白馬廟 in Jingzhao [county] 京兆.⁴¹³ Guangwen's *encomium* for a painting of Master Clam in a private Japanese collection celebrates Master Clam's antinomian behaviour for a similar liminality and freedom praised in verses on Budai.⁴¹⁴ Guangwen's opening two lines describe Master Clam catching shrimp from the water bank, and disregarding the expectations that a monk would abstain from such fare: "Casually grasping what comes, dragging the mud and wading the water, illicit booty emerges before him, facing a tough taboo 信手拈來,拖泥涉水,贓物現前,當面難諱."⁴¹⁵

The second line of Guangwen's inscription on the Tokugawa painting of Budai references, another avatar of the Maitreya, the sixth century layman Fu Xi 傅翕, who was also known as Shanhui Dashi 善慧大士 (497-569).⁴¹⁶ The second line of Guangwen's verse connects Budai to this sixth century figure through the name of Fu Xi's mountain residence, Mount Yunhuang: "Was the Great Master before Mount Yunhuang also you? 雲黃山前大士即汝許".⁴¹⁷ Both Fu Xi's *Jingde Record* hagiography and his *Discourse Record* recount the same origin story of the name of Mount Yunhuang. In both texts a miraculous proclamation was made atop this mountain that reconfirmed Fu Xi's status as an avatar of Maitreya.⁴¹⁸ Fu Xi presents

⁴¹³ JDCDL j. 17, in: T.2076.51: 338, b1.

⁴¹⁴ The rhetorical conventions for *encomia* upon this theme produced by Song and Yuan abbots, including Yanxi Guangwen, are discussed in an unpublished paper by Stephen Allee of the Freer Gallery of Art. This paper was kindly shared with the author in the process of research. Allee's approach significantly informed the above discussion of Guangwen's *encomia* in this chapter.

⁴¹⁵ Translation from: Allee, unpublished paper.

⁴¹⁶ The history of the various versions of Fu Xi's biographies, the development of their content, and their connection with sixth century Buddhist practice are the subject of extensive discussion by Hsiao Bea-hui in her 1995 thesis *Two Images of Maitreya*. For her thorough survey of the various biographical sources on Fu Xi, see: Hsiao 1995, 50-61. Shanhui was incorporated into the Chan pantheon as an anomalous category of exemplary clerics outside the lineage, listed in the *Jingde Record* as "Those who crossed the gate of Chan, who although not having exited *samsara* were famed in their day 禪門達者雖不出世有名於時."

⁴¹⁷ Fu Xi's residence on Mount Yunhuang is discussed in Hsiao 1995, 96.

⁴¹⁸ JDCDL j.27, in: T2076.51: 430, c18-9. SHDSYL, j.4 in X.1336.69, 130 a15-a16.

this revelation as the result of his having achieved *śūraṃgama-samādhi* (*shoulengyan ding* 首楞嚴定). This state of consciousness is understood to be the tenth mental abode of the Bodhisattva. Fu Xi's attainment of *śūraṃgama-samādhi* thus demonstrated the veracity of his claims to being an incarnation of Maitreya.⁴¹⁹ According to both the *Jingde Record* and the *Discourse Record of Shanhui Dashi* one of the consequences of his attaining this state occurred when Fu Xi was atop the peak of Yunhuang Shan in 562. On this occasion he saw a vision of seven Buddhas, led by Śākyamuni with Vimalakīrti bringing up the rear. Among these seven Buddha's Śākyamuni proclaimed to Fu Xi that he would succeed him in Buddhahood. There followed a swirl of yellow clouds that enveloped the peak, accounting for the subsequent name of the mountain.

The phrase used by Śākyamuni to declare Fu Xi's succession as the future Maitreya was "*buchu* 補處", literally "to occupy his place". This is the same phrase used by Guangwen to refer to Budai's future birth as a Buddha. Guangwen deliberately pairs Budai's title as the 'Great Master of the Sandbar' with Fu Xi as the Great Master before the named site of Mount Yunhuang. This underscores their shared status as avatars of Maitreya. Guangwen's inscription thereby augments the revealed divine status of the painting's antinomian subject, linking the liminal Master of the Sandbar with his previous incarnation as Shanhui Dashi.

Guangwen's third and fourth lines allude to Budai's deliberate change of appearance, and his posthumous revelation of his true identity as Maitreya. This lyrical evocation of Budai's mutability situates the mendicant between the cosmic position of the deity, and the dangerous position of the unmoored eccentric. The final line describes Budai's mischievous temperament, commenting on Budai's propensity to deceive his ordinary contemporaries. This characterisation of Budai fits his representation in the Tokugawa painting, which shows a grinning Budai about to wake the young boy asleep upon his bag and not the introverted figure gazing into the imperceptible distance in the other painting discussed above.

⁴¹⁹ Fu Xi's proclamations of having achieved *śūraṃgama-samādhi* are discussed in Hsiao 1995, 91-2.

Like his earlier inscriptions, Guangwen's *encomium* on the Tokugawa scroll combines the identification of Budai as a manifestation of the future Buddha with a rhetorical question as to Budai's identity and the circumstances of his appearance. As a devotional focus of the Chan community, whose hagiography stresses his capacity to appear anywhere at any time, Budai represents a source of potency not accessible through the established structures of monastic power. Indeed, the process of selection for a senior monastic position required state approval, and demonstrable membership of a recognised lineage.⁴²⁰ Guangwen was an edifice of identifiable, demonstrable, and conservative authority. Budai sits at the opposite end of the spiritual spectrum. He is a trickster, a mendicant, and a shape-shifting avatar with mischievous intentions. Through the calligraphic exertion of authority over iconic representations of this trickster, Guangwen is able to incorporate him within the structure of the monastic hierarchy. He becomes part of the pantheon by association, participating in monastic life through the abbot's calligraphic simulation of a dialogue with Budai's icon. Nowhere is this clearer than in Guangwen's *encomium* on the Tokugawa scroll, which uncharacteristically repeatedly addresses the painted subject through the second person pronoun, *ru* 汝.

Li Que's painting of Budai is distinctive among images of the portly mendicant inscribed with Guangwen's *encomia* as it is part of a diptych, currently preserved together in the Myōshinji 妙心寺 monastery in Kyoto. A contemporaneous inscription by Guangwen on another of Li's paintings pairs this Budai with Fenggan, the Scattered Sage from Mount Tiantai whose name literally means Big Stick (fig 5.6). Fenggan stands facing forward, his hair grown long and wild in flagrant disregard for the monastic regulations. Unlike Budai, he is not alone. Budai stands in profile, his head upward as he grasps his belly in a fit of euphoric laughter. Fenggan displays no such levity. His tiger familiar slinks around his legs, head down and fur bristling, while man and beast glare outward, in an unflinching exchange of gazes with the viewer. Fenggan's posture matches that of his animal companion, heads set low, teeth bared, legs spread wide in a combative stance. Even the curvature of Fenggan's staff mirrors the tiger's erect tail. Rather than taming the wild beast as a

⁴²⁰ The function of public Chan monasteries in ensuring state selection of conservative clerics is discussed in: Schlütter 2008, 76.

symbol of control over the erratic mind, Fenggan has become an animal. The zoomorphic transformation of the master ties into the inscribed verse, where Guagnwen uses allusion to the image of the tiger as an analogy for the recognition of Fenggan's disciple Hanshan 寒山 (8th century) by provincial governor Lü Qiu 閻丘 in another hagiographic narrative.⁴²¹

Guangwen's *encomia* on these paintings of Budai, and the single depiction of Fenggan, actively incorporate spiritually powerful, yet unpredictable and even dangerous figures into the Chan pantheon. The occasional nature of Guangwen's calligraphy, described in Tang Han's preface to Guangwen's discourse record, reveals the performative nature of the taming of these wild divinities. While the inscriptions on images of Budai repeat the same phrases, as separate commentaries on a common subject Guangwen's *encomia* would not have been intended for viewing together. They are distinguished by their contexts of viewing and reception, used to create relationships with associated paintings and with intended audiences. Guangwen's inscription upon Li Que's paintings was a commentary upon the diptych of Fenggan and Budai, contributing to the visual juxtaposition of Budai's removed levity and Fenggan's immediate ferocity. The *encomium* on Zhiweng's Budai was expressly produced at the request of a lay patron or disciple. While a holistic examination of Guangwen's oeuvre of calligraphic *encomia* shows repetition and duplication, these repetitions are adapted to the specific circumstances of viewing engendered by each image. Further to the contexts created by relationships between viewers and paintings, and between separate paintings in sets, subtle details in Guangwen's *encomia* also reference the visual idiosyncrasies of the paintings' subjects. For example, the pole upon the shoulder of the Budai attributed to Hu Zhifu from the Fukuoka City Art Museum, and the turning of Budai's head in both the Fukuoka scroll and in Zhiweng's painting are visible details commented on directly in Guangwen's *encomia*. This shows a clear consideration of the image when composing the accompanying text.

The success of Guangwen's career indicates that the calligraphic verses he produced were sufficient to meet the expectations of Song society, as demonstrations of both

⁴²¹ For a full translation of the inscription see notes to fig. 5.6.

his clerical authority and cultural refinement. Unlike his *encomium* on *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao*, Guangwen's performative demonstration of authority on paintings of eccentrics are not structured around allusions to visual narrative. However, they are significant to this study for what they reveal about the relationships between image and text in inscribed Chan figure paintings. Manipulation of the text-image relationships was a key mechanism for Guangwen's cultural performance upon images of Scattered Sages, contrasting the illusory presence of the painted eccentric with the tangible voice of the abbot's calligraphy.

Conclusions

The preceding chapter analysed Guangwen's practice of inscribing *encomia* on Chan figure paintings through two case studies of different relationships between subject, inscriber and viewer, contextualised against the idealised image of the abbot expressed in contemporary literary sources. The first case study examined Guangwen's use of inscription in appropriating the authority and identity of historic exemplars from the Chan lineage through direct quotation. In *Meeting Between Yaoshan Weiyuan and Li Ao*, Guangwen's direct reference to the speech of the past exemplar was augmented by the visual integration of his calligraphy into the painted narrative scene. This capitalised on the intimate visual experience expected of the handscroll format by the Southern Song viewer. The integration and overlap between Guangwen's thirteenth century commentary and Yaoshan's ninth century teaching implied an equivalence between inscriber and subject. This potentially prompted historic viewers to draw parallels between the hagiographic scene in which Yaoshan demonstrates his pedagogical authority over Li Ao, and Guangwen's own relationships to elite scholar officials in the Southern Song capital. The analysis of *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao* augments the discussion of Chan visual narratives of interaction in chapter three. It illustrates how the integration of text and image both created a specific reading of a hagiographic Chan narrative, and how the Song patriarch who commented upon the narrative's representations in painting related to the painting's protagonists.

The second case study focused on Guangwen's *encomia* on depictions of two of Chan's Scattered Sages, Budai and Fenggan. The analysis focused on the functions of

text image relationships in creating a space for clerical commentary, rather than looking at the use of visual narrative. Guangwen's re-use of set phrases in *encomia* on these paintings appeared to contradict his idealised representation as an erudite exegete. However, when each work is situated within the context of its production and reception, we see how Guangwen's *encomia* functioned as cultural performance. The contrast between the tangible presence of Guangwen's calligraphic voice and the ephemeral depiction of illusive, liminal eccentrics allowed the abbot's calligraphy to shape the viewer's reception of the pictorial subject.

In conclusion, extant *encomia* upon figure paintings of Chan subjects provide a valuable insight into the mode of self-fashioning achieved by the Southern Song cleric Yanxi Guangwen. Further analysis of the approaches of other Chan abbots to the production of clerical *encomia* would be of great interest, but was unfortunately beyond the scope of this study. Nonetheless, this chapter has shown how Guangwen's calligraphy integrated the idealised representation of his position as a Chan abbot with the paintings' historic subjects, through combinations of commentary on, appropriation of and mediation of the pantheon's relationship to the viewer. This process was not simply a reflection of the established hagiographic narratives familiar to the Southern Song Chan viewer, but created a discrete cultural space in which the agency of the inscriber animated the exemplars of the past. Possessed of an independent agency engendered by the integration of text and image, Guangwen's *encomia* lend a performative voice to Chan's historic pantheon, speaking for icons.