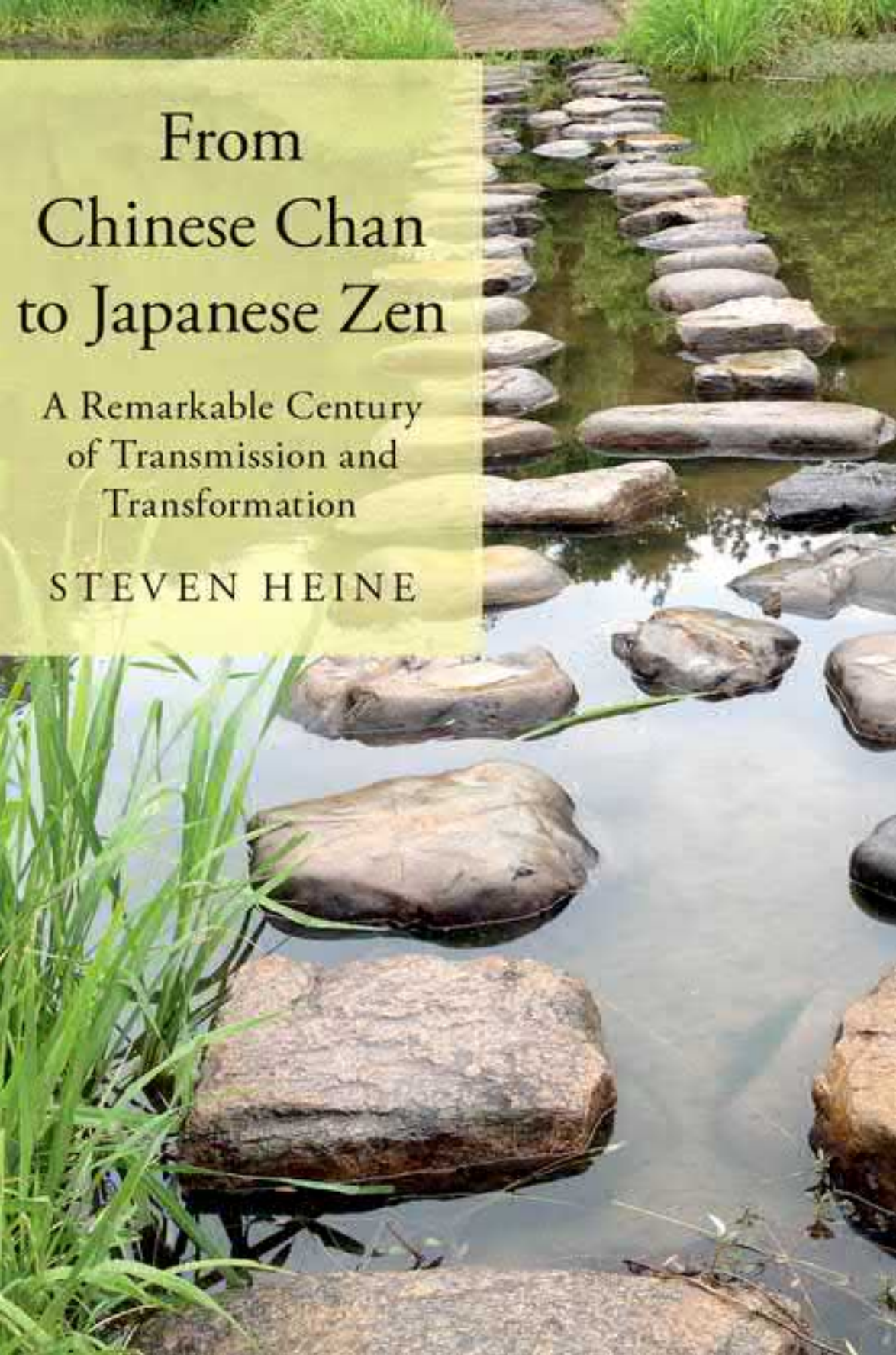
From Chinese Chan to Japanese Zen

A Remarkable Century of Transmission and Transformation

STEVEN HEINE



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Preface

THIS BOOK PROVIDES a comprehensive survey and analytical investigation of the origins and spread of Zen Buddhism by highlighting the primary innovations in religion and culture that transpired as part of a critical historical span covering the last three-quarters of the 1200s and the first quarter of the 1300s. During this highly compressed yet extraordinarily inventive and inspiring period, a transnational transfer took place that transported the fundamental ideas, practices, and artistic works of Zen (pronounced "Chan" in Chinese) from China to Japan. The transition transpired through a series of initially slow and gradual cultural transmissions, transplantations, and transformations that soon accelerated greatly. The stages of transfer involved exchanges and partnerships between monks as well as secular leaders and artistic trailblazers from both countries. By the end of the transitional cycle, the autonomy and integrity of the Zen sect, which had long thrived on the continent even though its growth was beginning to fade, had become firmly established on the Japanese islands. This legacy lasted for several centuries and continues to exert a strong influence in East Asia and throughout the world, especially since a new epoch of global transnationalism has taken hold in the twentieth century.

From a historical standpoint, there are two bookends for the remarkable century of transplantation. The opening of the cycle was marked by the spontaneous experience of awakening attained in China during the summer retreat of 1225 by the monk Dōgen. One of several early Japanese Buddhist pilgrims to reach the mainland in pursuit of Chan studies, Dōgen returned to his homeland a couple of years later to found the Sōtō Zen sect, which is based at Eiheiji temple in the mountains to the north of Kyoto. Dōgen almost single-handedly helped introduce to Japan many of the major Chinese methods of instruction, although he and other voyagers struggled during the initial stage of transition to gain wide acceptance and

approval for the foreign cult in their native land, which at the time was an isolated outpost not necessarily receptive to continental cultural inroads.

A hundred years later, the completion of the transitional process was marked by the second bookend, which was the triumph of Zen's insurgency achieved by the master Daitō, who defeated representatives of older Buddhist schools at a government-sponsored debate held in 1325. Daitō was a leading exponent of the Rinzai sect who became founding abbot of the prestigious Daitokuji temple, located in the capital. He and several other prominent fourteenth-century Zen monks, including the great teacher Musō, managed to learn Chinese well enough to comment insightfully on mainland writings without the benefit of traveling abroad. This ability showed how deeply ingrained the new movement had become in Japanese culture. Daitō used his facility to demonstrate persuasively the efficacy of the Zen path to enlightenment in a way that bested challengers from the mainstream Tendai Buddhist sect at the imperial court.

Sandwiched between the two monumental occurrences involving Dōgen's initiation and Daitō's fulfillment of the process of transfer were several crucial historical stages. As these phases unfolded, there was a gradual but great increase in the number of opportunities for fruitful spiritual and artistic interactions involving monastery abbots and other religious seekers from China, who hoped to spread the Zen tradition, and from Japan, where monks were trying to learn the tradition firsthand. By virtue of wide-ranging cultural exchanges, the new movement was transformed, and no longer was seen by default as an outsider tradition driven by itinerant visitors to the mainland who successfully learned about the establishment institution in China but met with challenges back home. Eventually, Zen became the embodiment of institutional stability in representing the mainstream religious organization of Japan that prevailed in the medieval period.

This book consists of three main divisions, covering a total of eight chapters. The use of alliteration in both section headers and chapter titles, which all begin with the letter *t*, is designed to help generate a vocabulary that appreciates and appropriates many of the major ingredients of Zen's innovative and adaptable spiritual outlook. This rhetorical approach circumvents an overreliance on technical terminology and insider jargon, while capturing the fundamental chronological components of the practice methods and teaching techniques emphasized in the extensive mystical activities and voluminous writings and paintings produced by Zen masters. Throughout, the volume uses various verbs evoking the dynamic

crossover quality of the transition from Chinese Chan to Japanese Zen, including *transfer, transfigure, transfix, transform, transcend, transgress, translate, transmit, transmute, transpire, transplant*, and *transport*. Also, most Asian-language expressions are given in translation, except for instances that either are already well known in the West, such as *zazen* (C. *zuochan*) or sitting meditation, which is the single main practice followed by all branches, or conversely are particularly difficult to render in English, such as *kōan* (C. *gongan*), puzzling test cases that are regularly used in Zen practice. Readers are encouraged to consult the Glossary for Sino-Japanese characters (C. *hanzi*, J. *kanji*) for key names, titles, and terms organized into historical and thematic categories.

The word *Zen* 禅 (literally "meditation," a Japanese pronunciation of the early Buddhist terms for the technique, which is *jhana* in Pali and *dhyana* in Sanskrit) is used in these pages to refer to the religious tradition as a whole in addition to the particular movement that was formed and disseminated in Japan. *Chan*, which refers to the Chinese pronunciation of the same character, indicates the people, places, and occurrences that were unique to the tradition practiced on the mainland. The two major branches of Zen established in medieval Japan, the Rinzai and Sōtō sects, were known respectively in China as the Linji school, for its founding monk, and the Caodong school, designated in honor of early leaders Caoshan and Dongshan (who lived in reverse sequence).

It is important to note that even though the same two characters, 禅宗 (C. *chanzong*, J. *zenshū*), are used in both languages to signify the Zen movement, there are dissimilar implications in the meanings of the second word of the compound, pronounced *zong* in Chinese and *shū* in Japanese. The significance of this term is derived from a character that literally indicates "source," as with the head of a household or progenitor of a lineage, and was often evoked to indicate the patriarch of a clan or ruler of a locale, or even someone as powerful as the emperor of the nation. While in each country there was a comparable degree of government supervision and oversight exercised over all religions, the difference was that in China during this period, Buddhist factions were loosely bound networks of lineages without a fixed organizational chart. Therefore, the English word "school" (or pluralized terms such as "branches" and "streams," which suggest subdivisions of a more or less unified movement) seems an appropriate translation of *zong* (or "Chan school" for *chanzong*).

In Japan, however, where the central authority was more strictly determined to enforce resistance to the proliferation of new religious traditions

that might try to test the limits of secular power, Buddhism was officially divided into discrete sects (*shū*) as a formal designation decreed by the government. Sectarian status, therefore, became an official label that was eagerly sought yet sometimes denied to cults emerging during the dramatic social and political upheavals that were taking place around the beginning of the thirteenth century. Not gaining the rank of being considered a regular sect was, in effect, equivalent to a prohibition against a movement's style of practice that some early Zen factions were forced to endure. Indeed, in the early thirteenth century, the fate of proscription befell a banned group known as the Daruma school; although most of the followers later joined one of the official Zen sects, the controversy sent a message to other leaders about the need to exercise great caution in dealing with worldly authority.

Seeing what happened to precursors or rival movements that ran afoul of the government, the Rinzai and Sōtō sects in Japan tried mightily to avoid such conflicts. This was a rather different situation than was found in China, where the term *zong* suggested, more informally and metaphorically than legalistically, a path or gateway to spiritual truth that was open to various approaches and techniques cutting across lines of pedigree. In China, for example, a Zen temple could alternate its abbacy between masters from one of the Linji or Caodong cliques. That kind of situation would almost never be allowed to occur in the Japanese institutional context. The Rinzai and Sōtō sects were generally held apart, even though some of their respective subfactions may have shared ideas or integrated methods of practice linking lineal divisions.

Location, Location, Location

An understanding of the significance of the expansion of Zen in relation to the political and cultural geography affecting East Asian religion and society, including intricate connections between China and Japan, is illustrated in the following series of maps. Figure P.1 shows how Buddhism spread initially to the northwest of India in the ancient kingdom of Gandhara, an area that is now part of modern Afghanistan. The tradition eventually entered China in the early centuries of the Common Era through two directions: missionaries who traveled on the Silk Road from the north brought Mahayana Buddhism, including esoteric practices, and from southeast Asia various strains of Theravada Buddhist meditative practice were introduced. By the time the Chan school began to develop in China in the sixth

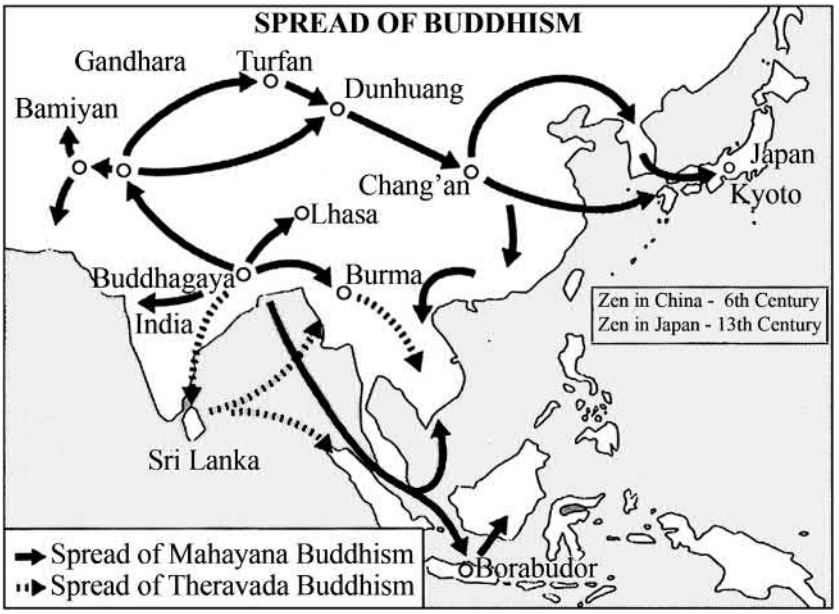


FIGURE P.1 Spread of Buddhism

century, its teaching was able to integrate both forms of Buddhism with Daoist thought emphasizing the non-duality of humans and nature, with concomitant styles of contemplation. When the way of Chan meditation was transmitted to Japan in the thirteenth century during a period that featured numerous new Buddhist sects, Zen had the advantage of representing a culmination of various Chinese religious trends connected with cultural customs that appealed to leaders of the emerging warrior class.

The next three maps highlight some of the political conditions in East Asia that influenced the century of Zen's transplantation. Figure P.2 shows the extent of China's Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279), whose capital was established in Hangzhou, south of the Yangzi River, where major Chan temples and cultural life were based. The city of Chengdu, in westerly Sichuan province, was also a center of Chan literary production. The former capitals of Xi'an and Kaifeng plus the future capital of Beijing, however, were part of territories ruled by the Jurchen Jin dynasty prior to the onset of the Mongol Empire, which seized Beijing in the 1220s under Genghis Khan and overtook the whole country in the 1270s under Kublai Khan. Figure P.3 illustrates the two main maritime military events of the era of transfer, when the attacks on Japan by the Mongol fleet in 1274 and again in 1281 were repelled on both occasions. This took place, as

FIGURE P.2 Southern Song (1127–1279) and Jin (1115–1234) Dynasties

shown in Figure P.4, at the same time the wave of Zen monks emigrating from the mainland to the islands was increasing over the same narrow waterway leading to Hakata, in Kyushu, where the battles took place and the Mongols were smitten due to fateful circumstances despite their enormously large military supremacy.

The next couple of maps highlight the extensive spread of the Zen movement: Figure P.5 shows Chan in China, where temples were founded in all districts of the country and not only in the territory near the east coast that was visited by Japanese pilgrims, and Figure P.6 illustrates the regional reach of Zen monasteries throughout various parts of Japan, including areas such as Kamakura, where the tradition was crucial to the formation of the sociopolitical landscape. Additional maps indicating various aspects of the growth of Zen are included in Chapters 3, 5, and 7.

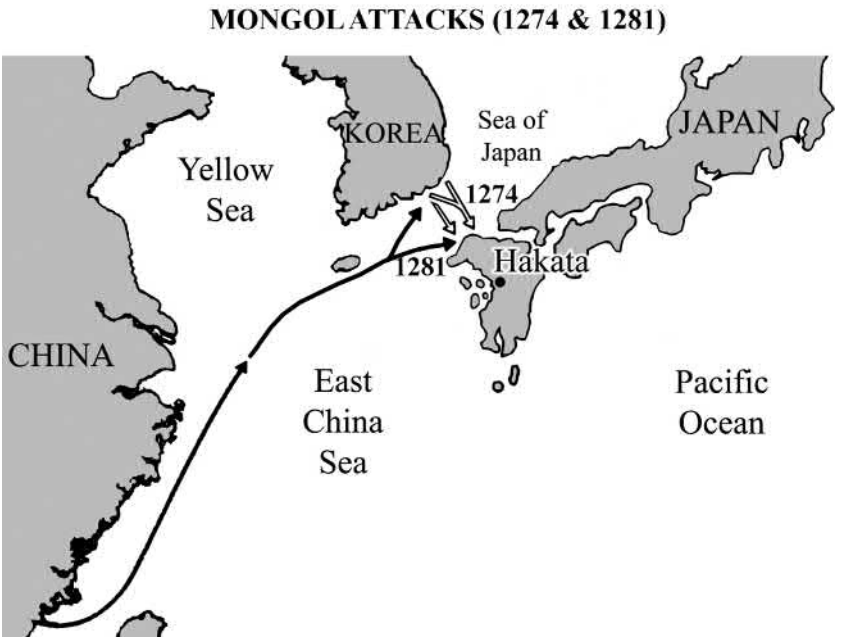


FIGURE P.3 Mongol Attacks (1271 and 1281)

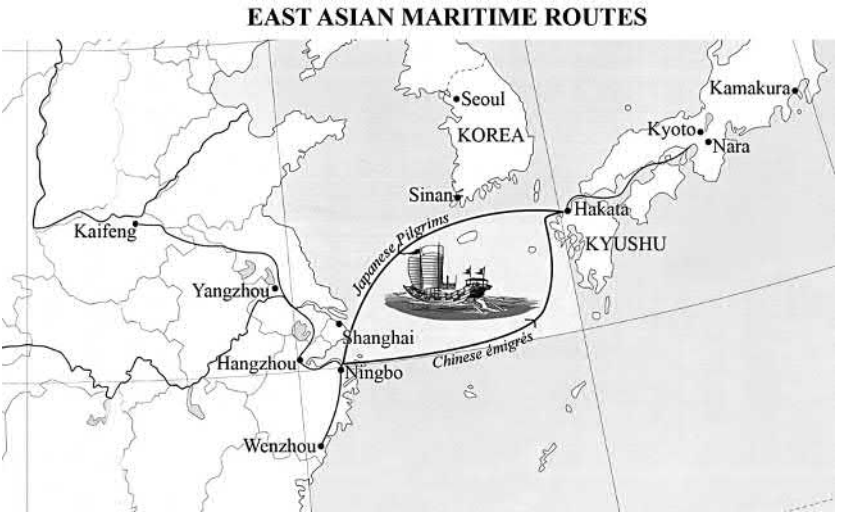


FIGURE P.4 East Asian Maritime Routes

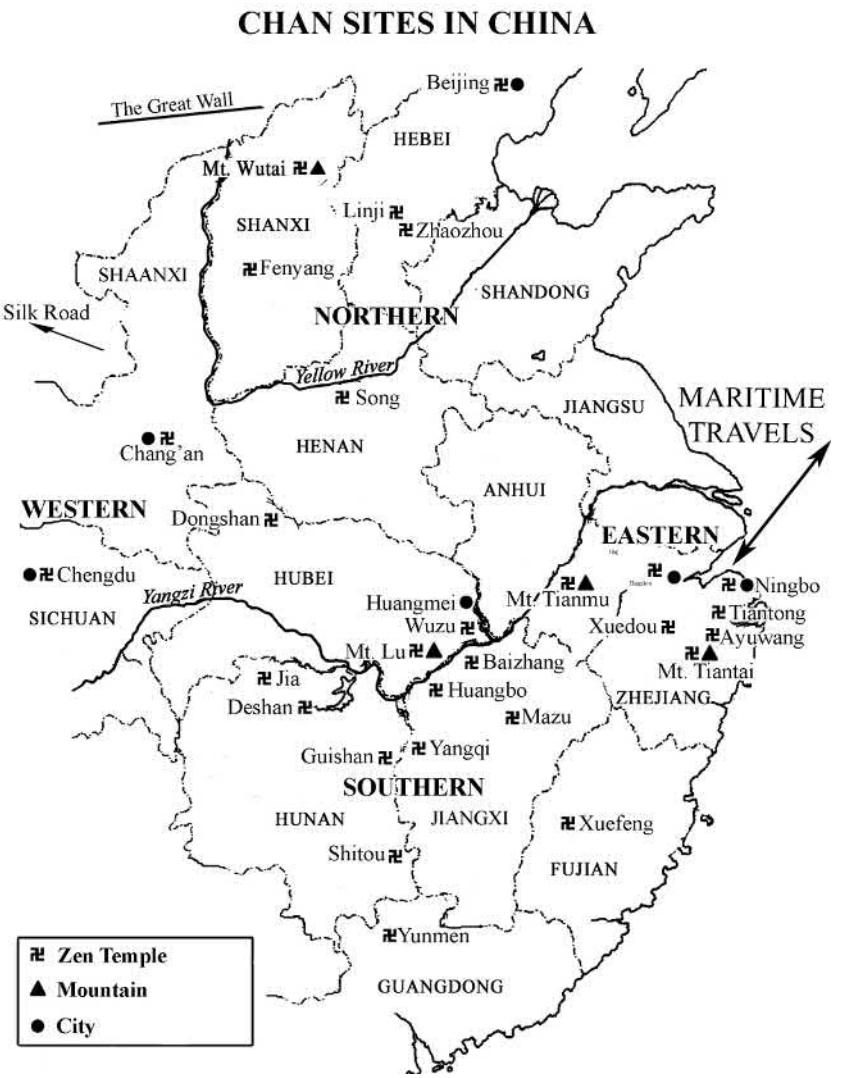


FIGURE P.5 Chan Sites in China

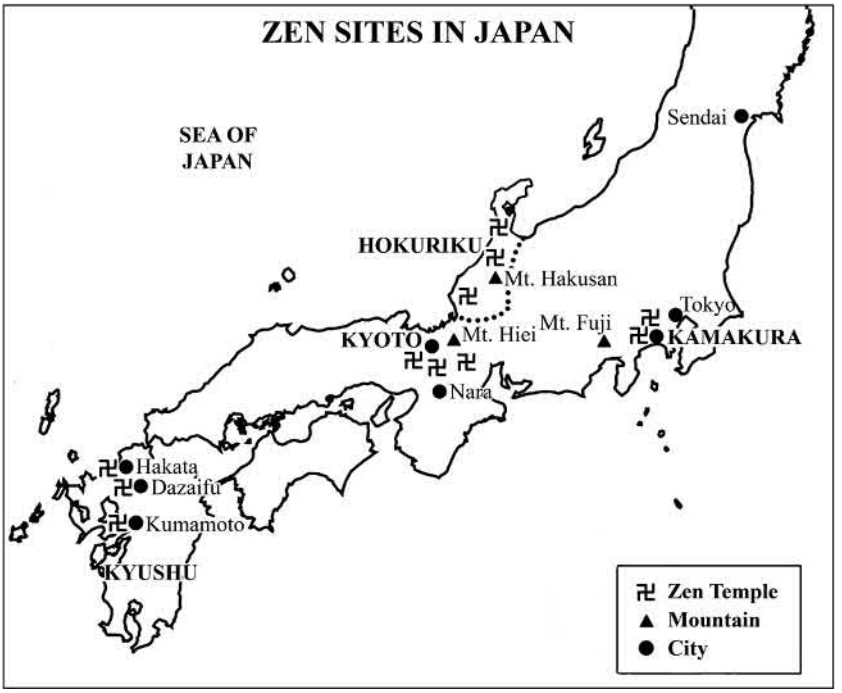


FIGURE P.6 Zen Sites in Japan

Chapter Summaries

Part I offers a methodological discussion, including social observations and philosophical reflections regarding the impact on the growth of Zen of the mythic power of what I call the Legend of Living Buddhas. This notion refers to the fundamental Zen viewpoint maintaining that contemporaneous masters are considered to be incarnate manifestations of the Buddha-nature, whose creative expressions emanate from an enlightened spiritual core unifying the foundations of human existence with all natural phenomena. Chapter 1 examines issues involved in conducting transnational research by considering recent developments in studies of Zen undertaken in East Asian and Western academic circles, along with various kinds of ethical criticism of the Zen monastic system that have been proffered during the post–World War II era. The second chapter considers how the formation of the Legend of Living Buddhas, which served as a touchstone for the transition of Chinese Chan to Japanese Zen, can be attributed to various social influences and political factors affecting the main content of religious symbolism.

Part II provides a historical overview of the three main phases of the cycle of transnational transition and the lengthy aftermath during which the movement continued to develop. These three chapters show the ways Zen in Japan grew slowly at the start of the transplantation process but soon became a dominant religious movement. It was transferred from Song-dynasty China (960–1279), where it enjoyed the status of being the major Buddhist school, to Kamakura-era Japan (1185–1333), which was shifting dramatically from an aristocratic government to a military one that embraced Zen discipline as a means of cultivating a spiritual approach to warrior culture. Chapter 3 covers the initial phase of acculturation lasting from the time of Dōgen's awakening in China in 1225 to the middle of the thirteenth century. After some initial struggles and mixed results for early pilgrims returning from the continent to their homeland, the Japanese shogun for the first time openly embraced Zen as his personal religion and imported Chinese monks to service his religious needs.

Chapter 4 treats the phase of émigré monks that lasted from the early 1250s, when the first great Chinese émigré priest, Lanqi, became abbot of Kenchōji temple, built to house his leadership in the town of Kamakura by shogun Hōjō Tokiyori, to the end of the thirteenth century, at which point the first wave of immigrant clerics subsided. Chapter 5 explains how Zen gained full independence from other schools of Buddhism with its emergence as the newly dominant sect. This phase extended from 1299, when another crucial Chinese monk named Yishan initiated the tradition of Zen poetic composition and fine arts in Japan, to 1325, which was the time that Daitō's prevalence over adversaries became part of a package of events and writings that signaled the maturity and autonomy of the Zen monastic institution. At this point, the process of transmission and transformation was more or less complete.

The three main stages of transplantation were followed by another extended phase featuring the preservation and enhancement of a wide variety of Chinese resources on the Japanese islands. This aftermath endured from the time of the vigorous institutional expansion of Zen at the beginning of the Muromachi era (1336–1563) until around 1469, when the famous monk-painter Sesshū was somewhat disappointed with the state of Chan that he saw during a trip to Chinese temples, even though he learned much about Song-dynasty landscape painting while there. Sesshū returned home after just a couple of years of travel to find the Ōnin civil war under way, a tragic circumstance that would devastate the major

monasteries in Kyoto and more or less put a halt to the long cycle of Zen's ascendancy in Japan.

After the exploration of how the transfer of Zen was shaped by historical factors in Part II, the chapters in Part III each describe some of the main aspects of religious life based on the mythology of Living Buddhas that contributed greatly to the process of transplantation during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These sections show how new forms of theory and practice imported from China, although they were at first looked at with wary eyes by many parties in Japan who were suspicious of foreign-inspired cultural changes, were inventively adopted and innovatively adapted to the new national setting. In a view derived from the central legend, Zen masters were seen as embodiments of spiritual awakening, who were also highly skilled in various training techniques that were part of a nexus of transformative functions. Their abilities were demonstrated in various activities conducted at carefully regulated temples, especially the production of imaginative literary tomes and creative artistic tones that contributed to the expansion of Zen to all regions of the country.

Taken together, the assimilated factors of religious experience enabled a brisk evolution of Zen, which started as an exotic cultural trend peripheral yet challenging to mainstream religion but turned into the primary institution that infused Japanese society at every level, while also becoming closely associated with national identity. The major elements contributing to Zen's rise were fashioned through intense interactions between Japanese pilgrims and Chinese teachers. These exchanges took place in diverse urban settings as well as in more remote rural locations, depending on travel patterns, or were transmitted through other kinds of transfers, whereby messengers imported and/or exported artistic creations to a growing body of eager collectors and connoisseurs.

Part III provides an analysis of some of the main examples of the diverse sorts of instructional techniques that were evident in both countries, albeit with some distinctions or variations. As discussed in Chapter 6, the first and foremost religious element that formed the basis for the transfer of Chan to Zen involved the role of teachers who, after attaining enlightenment following a period of itinerancy usually marked by intense personal struggles, served in administrative roles as abbots whose purview emulated the functions of public officials or local magistrates. Zen teachers trained disciples using pioneering methods to test their degree of religious understanding. This type of examination involved an investigation into the true status of the trainee's level of realization of Buddha-nature that

was communicated through the alluring rhythms of poetry or finer shadings of ink-brush painting.

Chapter 7 discusses how temples were constructed and maintained to enable trainees to attain a transcendent spiritual state through monastic discipline and studies of various kinds of sacred writings integrated with carefully structured activities of everyday practice. This chapter also discusses regional transfers brought about by evangelical teachers to diverse locales that were centers of secular power, such as the capital cities of Hangzhou in China and Kyoto in Japan, or hubs of transit, such as the ports of Ningbo in China and Hakata in Japan, where all wayfarers embarked or disembarked from their journeys. The final chapter uses the multifaceted term *tones* to explain the expressive role of written records produced as part of an exceptional new publication industry to circulate assorted sermons in prose and verse that reflected a master's awakened state of mind beyond logical thinking. The term *tones* also refers to the importance of nuanced ink strokes used for the creation of sparse, monochromatic calligraphy and painting that disclose interior depths of enlightened engagement with all forms of existence.

PART I

Transnational Studies of Maritime Transfers

I

Traditions

SHIFTS IN EAST ASIAN SOCIETY AFFECTING THE FORMATION AND RECEPTION OF ZEN

THE REMARKABLE CENTURY of transnational transfer was a greatly compacted but richly vibrant transitional period that saw the successful transmission of the Chinese Chan tradition from its original home base on the Asian mainland to the eastward archipelago of Japan and its subsequent transformation into the Zen sect. The Chan school in China and the Zen sect in Japan both prevailed as major religious movements that, for several centuries, dominated the sociopolitical landscape both in and well beyond the cosmopolitan capital and port cities of each country. This was an especially impressive achievement for the Zen movement, which initially strengthened a half millennium before during the Tang dynasty (618–907) as a utopian spiritual cult primarily intended for hermits and recluses situated in remote rural locations far removed from the highways and byways of power. What were the major cultural and historical factors that triggered and sustained these extraordinary developments?

During the dynamic epoch of Song-dynasty China, which placed a high value on various kinds of literary and artistic productions, Chan became extremely popular among the elite class of scholar-officials, or well-educated literati, who helped govern the nation based on their sophisticated knowledge and worldview. Intellectuals were enamored with the notions of self-reliance, self-cultivation, and self-realization attained through various forms of contemplation by Chan teachers, who conveyed their insights through eloquent poetry and elegant paintings, among other creative types of expression. However, the Chan religious institution, although it was still in a relatively strong position in Chinese society, was beginning to

decline in prestige in its native nation due to the threat of Mongol rule which manifested in the 1220s and was firmly established during the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368). With its survival seemingly at stake, the tradition accomplished a major transplantation to Japan, where Zen quickly took hold and remained vital throughout the Kamakura and Muromachi eras. On the Japanese archipelago, Zen became the main ideology of the samurai class that governed medieval society, thus equaling and in some ways surpassing the considerable influence that Chan had long exerted in Song-dynasty China.

The primary reason for Zen's newfound success was that the emerging Japanese military leadership sought a continental cultural vehicle for promoting its legitimacy and integrity in the face of criticism from the fading yet still prestigious aristocracy that had dominated the classical period of the Nara (710–794) and Heian (794–1185) eras. Zen fulfilled the warriors' spiritual ideal, with its emphasis on discipline and daring enacted on the battlefield as well as in the halls of the cloister. As in China, where Chan gained success among the privileged class, the teaching of how to attain independence through mental resourcefulness while confronting perils and risks, including the ultimate possibility of mortality, was an inspiring message for Japanese monastic practitioners immersed in sacred rites as well as for lay followers polishing secular talents for success either in battle or with the arts.

According to Martin Collcutt, "The Zen masters, Chinese and Japanese, displayed a vigor and directness . . . [based on] a self-reliant path . . . fostering a spirit of equanimity even in the face of death." As a further indication of the value of Zen teaching for samurai, "Japanese warriors naturally admired the Chinese Chan monk who, when confronted by Mongol warriors, faced them down saying, 'You are wielding a sword that brings death. Show me the sword that gives life!'"[1] The paradoxical life-giving sword, which complements the image of the apparently opposite death-causing weapon, is symbolic of the ability to remove ignorance and delusion by cutting through all the kinds of mental fetters that obstruct the path to spiritual realization.

During the Kamakura era, various new Japanese Buddhist movements, including Zen and other denominations such as the Pure Land (Jōdo and Jōdo-shin) and Nichiren sects, were forced to struggle to earn the rights and privileges that the denominational marker *shū* (sect) as a sign of legitimacy brought for the previous eight Buddhist sects that originated during the Nara and Heian eras. Following the period dominated by six Nara sects

imported from the continent, two main groups initiated during the Heian era became prevalent. Of these, the Tendai sect served as the foremost faction in terms of exerting social and political influence in the capital city, Kyoto. Tendai Buddhism in Japan was largely derived from the philosophy of universal enlightenment encompassing all human and natural beings, as espoused by the Tiantai school, which was foremost in Tang-dynasty China prior to the rise of Chan. At the onset of the Kamakura era, Tendai's preeminent status was followed by the Shingon sect, which was derived from Chinese Buddhist esoteric or True Word–school teachings about the efficacy of religious symbols used in rituals, such as mantras (chants), mandalas (sacred circles), and mudras (hand gestures).

Both the Tendai and Shingon sects arose after their respective founders, Saichō and Kūkai, returned from productive trips to China that took place in the first decade of the 800s and served as important forerunners to the transnational transmission of Zen. In its early days in thirteenth-century Japan, the priests of Zen, which, like other novel Kamakura Buddhist sects, started as an offshoot of the Tendai church, had to endure resistance and sometimes severe challenges in regard to establishing and maintaining their independent status. Jealous rivals from the entrenched Tendai monastic institution that had exercised hegemony for four centuries, along with their powerful aristocratic supporters, often instigated contests and conflicts with all the new movements. Therefore, it took a one-hundred-year period for Zen to become a truly autonomous and thriving sect that more or less replaced the role long held by Tendai as the leading religious movement.

In both China and Japan during the rapid developments of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, on many occasions religious leaders as well as heads of other kinds of newer cultural movements risked punishment, including imprisonment, exile, or the suppression of writings, if their views were considered subversive or positioned against the priorities of rulers who supported opposing ideologies. Therefore, in addition to performing the consecrated function of training followers on the path to enlightenment experienced beyond the conceptual boundaries of everyday society, Buddhist priests had to be able to navigate carefully yet effectively the sometimes troubling and unsettling circumstances of worldly concerns. To attain success for their monastic organizations, Zen masters needed to remain ever aware and alert that, due to strict governmental regulations of religious affairs, official support was vital to the interests of their tradition. Appealing to society's managerial class through innovation

and consistent excellence in literary and various visual, practical, and martial arts proved to be an outstanding tool for accomplishing that goal.

Relation of Sword and Brush

It is important to recognize that, despite many similarities, there were fundamental differences between Chinese and Japanese societies during the period of transplantation. In addition to discrepancies in terms of how Zen's status as an independent sect was looked upon, another major difference in the cultural environments of the two countries involved disparate understandings of the delicate relation between literature and political influence. The imperial rulers of the Song dynasty made a deliberate effort to adjust China from a society long grounded on the use of the sword symbolizing the dominance of military power to one based on the brush, which represented the ascension of intellectual and aesthetic efforts as the basis for advancing civilization.

This dramatic change occurred after a period of disillusionment with the previous martial mind-set, which failed to maintain the political integrity of the nation during the Northern Song dynasty (960–1126), when northern territory was ceded to the Jin invaders and the heavily depleted Southern Song empire was initiated. However, the emphasis on a literary approach to social leadership was not uniformly accepted because constant threats of attack from so-called barbarian intruders, including the Jin tribes, who were the major enemy before the Mongols, made cultural invention as an end in itself seem counterproductive to political interests. Nevertheless, skill with writing as well as with drawing and playing music continued to serve as the primary requisite for individuals to progress to elite levels in the new meritocratic system of the Song Chinese community. Higher education and superior learning became the new markers of personal advancement needed to climb to success on the social ladder, instead of relying on familial networks or diplomatic connections alone.

Chan played a crucial role at the heart of this essential shift in emphasis by offering a disciplinary path for refining one's ability with the arts based on a compelling spiritual vision of gaining self-fulfillment through communion with the unity of existence by virtue of the oneness of the all-encompassing Buddha-nature. This view of metaphysical harmony embracing all humans and the entire environment, in turn, sustained and enhanced the role of rhetoric and the arts. Su Shi, the most famous secular poet of the eleventh century, was a renaissance man who served as mayor

of Hangzhou and also was an agrarian reformer and inventor of technology in addition to being a semi-regular non-monastic Chan practitioner. Su Shi wrote the following verse after a nightlong vigil one autumn night:

> The voices of the river valley are the Buddha's long tongue,
> The colorful form of the mountains is nothing other than his true body;
> Throughout the night, there are eighty-four thousand verses being recited.
> On this new day, how can I ever explain this visionary experience to others?

Although not a monk, Su frequently trained in Chan meditation at mountain retreats. The Buddhist teaching that all sentient and insentient beings necessarily participate and give expression to the harmony of Buddha-nature inspired his verse, which identifies the magnificent landscape with the Buddha's ability to preach by using his special tongue. Many Zen writings cite this poem, including a famous sermon called "Sounds of Valley Streams, Colors of Mountains" ("Sansuikyō"), composed by Dōgen, one of the founders of Zen in Japan who attained enlightenment during a four-year journey to the mainland in the 1220s. In comments contained as part of his major collection, *Treasury of the True Dharma Eye* (*Shōbōgenzō*), Dōgen asks quixotically whether it was the poet who realized enlightenment by viewing the scenery or the mountains and rivers that were awakened by witnessing his vigil. The works of Su Shi and Dōgen served as exemplars for Zen lay and monastic practitioners in China and Japan, who were often prominent composers of and commentators on contemplative poetry. Celebrated writings in addition to paintings of natural surroundings or portraits of teachers earned many Zen masters the designations of being considered a "monk-poet," "monk-painter," or "monk-calligrapher."

Nevertheless, widespread admiration for rhetorical eloquence and artistic productivity as ways of articulating Chan insight was threatened and somewhat undermined by the constant presence of tribal invaders from kingdoms based in or near Beijing, which was not then a part of China. Attacks by conquering tribes drastically changed the course of events in the second half of the Song dynasty, or the Southern Song, because the upper regions of China were routed and the capital was moved from Kaifeng to the elegant urban center of Hangzhou. This city is situated on West Lake to the south of the Yangzi River on the eastern seaboard near present-day

Shanghai. The Jin assault was followed by the rule of the Mongols under the leadership of Genghis Khan, who first threatened to invade China in the 1220s, around the time of the early visits of Japanese pilgrims such as Dōgen. Then ensued the rule of Genghis's grandson Kublai Khan, who gained control over the entire country a half century later and also tried unsuccessfully to overtake Japan on two occasions.

The Jin and the Mongols valued empire building over cultural productions and tended to suppress the role of religion, although they did not go so far as to try to disband Buddhism, a prohibition that was temporarily enacted in earlier stages of Chinese history, especially during the notorious suppression of all foreign religions in 845. When Marco Polo entered China and befriended Kublai Khan, he found that Buddhism and other originally foreign faiths such as Christianity, Islam, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism were active, if not necessarily flourishing, especially in major cities. Despite the fact that both Genghis and Kublai Khan took a personal interest in and supported several prominent Chan Buddhist leaders who were based in Beijing, such as Caodong-school monks Wansong and Linquan, the Mongol period overall represented an ongoing threat to the prestige of the tradition. The Chan school managed to hold its own for several centuries, but the favored status it had achieved during the Song dynasty was greatly diminished by the new overlords. That dire situation motivated many Chinese monks to seek ways of spreading the teachings to eager followers located on the nearby islands of Japan.

After a long hiatus in maritime travels, a small but important group of Japanese Buddhist voyagers supported by the new shogunal government's interest in continental culture were beginning to journey to the mainland once again to learn from mentors whose lineages were long established. Coming to an end was four hundred years of the peaceful aristocracy of the Heian era, which produced *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*) as a peak literary achievement in the 1000s and an eminent collection of thirty-one-syllable *waka* poetry in the next century. The emerging military leadership in Japan was moving in the opposite direction from that of the Song Chinese rulers. The shoguns epitomized a warrior model that, in principle, prized the sword over the brush, yet they also realized that mastery of writing and other arts was an important means of bolstering esteem that would be crucial for sustaining their initially insurrectionary status. Beginning in the last half of the 1200s, the Hōjō clan of shoguns strongly encouraged Chinese Chan masters to relocate to Japan, where they became abbots of temples built in their honor. The rulers also helped

send dozens of native strivers to the continent for advanced instruction in methods of meditation and the arts that were soon brought back and firmly established on the islands.

The year of 1225 marked a significant turning point in the transplantation process because Dōgen, who made what was then a perilous voyage to the continent, attained an experience of awakening under Chinese teacher, Rujing. A couple of years later, Dōgen returned to Japan with numerous textual and ritual resources that he quickly began to disseminate. He said he was "empty-handed," meaning that ideas were more important than artifacts such as relics and regalia. Dōgen's emphasis on importing to his home country an authentic form of Song-style training in Zen was on display in the mid-1230s in Kyoto at Kōshōji temple, where a Dharma Hall was built for the first time in Japan. A few years later, beginning in 1243, Dōgen moved to the relatively remote mountains of the Hokuriku area, north of the capital, where he established Eiheiji monastery, which remains the cornerstone of the Sōtō sect.

Even though in the early years of the transplantation process Japanese Zen was looked upon as an offshoot of the mainstream Tendai sect, by 1325 the movement was robust enough to gain full independence from other Buddhist influences. By then, many of its most prominent leaders learned enough Chinese language and customs without having to venture to the continent, even though travel was increasingly common. From that time onward, Zen served for a couple of centuries as the most highly valued tradition in a highly competitive Japanese religious context. Collcutt describes the tremendous impact of the imported religious influences by explaining how it was evident at the end of the Kamakura era that "Zen, introduced by Chinese masters, had taken firm root in Japan. This transmission had involved not only Zen meditation techniques, *kōan* study, and Zen metaphysics but the continental style of Zen monastic life, under Chinese monastic regulations, within monasteries carefully modeled on Chinese prototypes. . . . [It] also imparted to Japanese Zen monasteries in Kamakura, Kyoto, and the provinces a strong Chinese literary and cultural imprint."[2]

During this period, Zen predominated from the city of Hakata, on the southern island of Kyushu, which was the port of call for all travelers to and from the mainland, both clerical and secular, to the territory of Hokuriku in the north, where Eiheiji and other Sōtō temples were located. Zen's regional reach furthermore extended from Kyoto, situated amid the impressive mountains in the center of the country, where Rinzai temples

were replacing in importance old-fashioned Tendai cloisters that had dominated the capital, to Kamakura, in the plains near the east coast, where the shoguns designed monasteries in the former garrison town mainly for priests who emigrated from China. In all of these locations, continental styles of training that had been considered exotic and strange in the early 1200s were eventually fully appropriated and became so commonplace as to be closely linked to Japanese national identity. The Ashikaga clan of shoguns fully supported and strengthened the role of Zen during the Muromachi era, beginning in the 1330s. As time went by and the Chan school began to weaken in its homeland, there was a tendency in Japan to undergo a kind of forgetfulness about origins, so some monastic leaders probably took too much credit for the formation of Zen culture.

The intricate interactions between representatives of the two countries continued with sustained momentum until the late 1460s. At that time, a visit to the mainland by the prominent Rinzai monk-painter Sesshū, well known for his innovative ink-brush landscape paintings, revealed to him that the Chan school was no longer vibrant at that stage of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), during which other forms of religion were favored in China. Sesshū came home after just a few years of travel to find that the Ōnin war in Japan, which would last for almost a decade, was devastating Kyoto and leading to the wreckage of many of its Zen temples, most of which were rebuilt sometime later but with a lessened degree of social influence.

Zen succeeded during a golden age lasting several centuries in China and Japan primarily because of its imaginative ways of fostering a variety of literary and fine arts produced in connection with spirituality. The aesthetic forms ranged from rhetorical virtuosity in poetry and creativity in painting to the disciplined ingenuity of the practical arts of gardening, tea ceremony, and ceramics, the performing arts of Noh theater and music, and the martial arts of sword fighting and archery. All of the aesthetic training techniques were buttressed by Zen's emphasis on meditation and related kinds of mystical rituals, including the study of the perplexing puzzles and spiritual riddles of *kōan* exercises or test cases involving dialogues or question-answer exchanges (*mondō*), some of which were left unrecorded (*mondō furoku*). In deliberately paradoxical encounter dialogues that formed the basis of *kōan* test cases used to heightened a trainee's understanding, a straightforward question such as "What is Buddha" resulted in a contrary or quixotic response, such as "Three pounds of cloth," "The cypress tree stands in the courtyard," or even the scatological

reply "A dried turd." This kind of deliberate distortion or reversal of conventional thinking was intended to ignite a spontaneous spiritual realization also conducive to inspiring various artistic expressions as indirect but inventive forms of communication transcending the commonly held boundaries of language and logic.

The Zen way of teaching helped train followers to focus on observing the finest details of each and every phenomenon while also maintaining a lofty contemplative overview of whatever natural landscape or human situation was at hand. Through aural and visual efforts involving a sublime understanding coupled with a healthy appreciation for the absurd or irrational, Zen gained a following among military leaders who sought to balance the might of the sword with the beauty of the brush, since both efforts required utmost determination in the face of challenging social circumstances. The linkage led to a famous saying, "In Zen, sword and brush are one effort" (C. *wenwu yizhi*, J. *bunbu itchi*) because the traditions manifested the same capacity for mental discipline; this is similar to "Tea and Zen are one flavor" (C. *chachan yiwei*, J. *chazen ichimi*).

Moreover, by enacting savvy strategies characteristic of a battle-tested general, Zen masters were able to forge pioneering methods for gaining the support of official leaders, who in turn benefited from the attainment of self-awareness that the tradition's teachings promoted. The twin scheme of using sociopolitical shrewdness along with artistic distinction helped establish and maintain Zen as a dominant cultural institution. Based on those qualities, for several centuries in East Asia, Zen bested its religious rivals, including Confucianism and Daoism in China as well as Shinto and other local traditions in Japan. Based in the major urban centers, Zen sustained an expanding organizational network that covered territories throughout the rural areas of both countries, encompassing faraway mountain sites where meditation could be cultivated in solitude secluded from secular distraction.

The remarkable century of transplantation that took place across the inviting yet often treacherous waterways of the Japan Sea started haltingly or even unfavorably in the new nation. Then the transfer gained impetus from a phase of vigorous travels and exchanges, so the growth of Zen quickly made great progress. An impressive and long-enduring set of imaginative writings and inspirational paintings along with many other creative expressions of meditative practice and spiritual insight were transmitted between two major East Asian cultures. The legacy of artistic productions and instructional methods produced by a multitude of

creative teachers, including Chinese émigré monks who became premier abbots on the islands and Japanese pilgrims who ventured to the continent to find unsurpassable mentors, has been upheld for nearly a millennium. This heritage continues to command attention as Zen has assumed in the age of globalization the role of an international religious community that generates compelling intellectual crossovers spanning east and west.

Nearly all of the major temples from the classical era, with their archives of art plus extraordinary architecture and gardens in addition to other splendid resources and supplies recalling a glorious past, remain current if not always thriving organizations. The lasting collection of sacred monuments includes numerous temples and shrines in China, where many once-defunct monasteries have been restored in the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution. This rebirth was achieved in large part through moral and financial support from dedicated Japanese monks as well as enthusiastic and generous lay travelers seeking to rediscover the roots of their belief.

For example, the modern Zen master (Roshi) Fukushima Keidō, who enjoyed a global following before his death in 2011 based on his long-standing abbacy of Tōfukuji, one of the earliest and still-leading monasteries in Kyoto, played an especially instrumental role in raising funds and providing expertise to resurrect several defunct Chinese temples. Tōfukuji was founded in the 1240s by Enni, who practiced for more than six years under the teacher Wuzhun at an important temple west of Hangzhou named Mount Jing or Jingshan. Beginning in the 1980s, when the first glimmers of the regeneration of Chinese Chan were becoming evident, Fukushima and his entourage made frequent visits to the mainland, including Mount Jing and another resurrected famous temple near Beijing once led by the Tang-dynasty monk Zhaozhou, in order to help oversee the authenticity of the restoration process. According to some accounts, most of the Chinese monks at the time of Fukushima's initial visit, although considered to have seniority over their counterparts from Japan, were still struggling after years of suppression to regain some of the basics of Zen practice. They were often surprised with Japanese versions of training that they learned about for the first time and felt that gaining approval from Japanese monastics went a long way toward validating continental rites of renewal.

Today, the writings of classic Zen teachers and the practices they endorsed are well preserved and are continuously being transmitted, translated, and commented on by priests and scholars as well as new generations of dedicated non-monastic practitioners and researchers.

Zen has been undertaking a worldwide project of transplantation by virtue of the travels of contemporary masters and the transfer of major premodern works from China and Japan plus South Korea, Taiwan, and Vietnam to an eager reception in Europe and the Americas. In a kind of "pizza effect," whereby the simulated tradition crafted abroad is quite different but is sometimes considered superior to the original model, it appears that in its new locations Zen is sometimes even more ardently followed than in the native lands. Or, conversely, the global practice of Zen is developing novel and perhaps seemingly odd or almost unrecognizable methods that are adjusted to new cultural settings. Yet the durable heritage of the century of transition that began in the early 1200s continues to affect deeply multiple current appropriations and adaptations of the venerable religious movement.

Sources and Resources

In conducting research to write this as one of the first book-length studies in any language devoted to an inclusive yet analytical investigation of the transfer of Zen in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, my efforts were inspired by several quite different sorts of sources. Some of the influential notions and symbols included a couple of traditional Zen sayings rooted in early Daoist thought that helped stimulate my reflection on the conundrum of discussing a belief that claims to represent "a special transmission outside scriptures" (C. *jiaowai beizhuan*, J. *kyōgen betsuden*) or insists that the essential ingredients of its approach to spirituality cannot be explained in ordinary words. Another source of stimulation was represented by insightful contemporary scholarly trends being carried out on both sides of the Pacific. Current interdisciplinary approaches for examining complex but intertwining social and philosophical issues regarding the overall role of religion in medieval Japan have been useful for explaining the impact of Zen in transnational contexts.

One of the traditional adages I thought about while writing this book was "An arrow shot straight does not hit the target." This saying is similar to a Daoist dictum, "A good merchant always hides his treasures." When applied to research on Zen, these expressions concerning archery techniques in addition to commercial values suggest that a straightforward and direct approach to analyzing research materials is not the only or best way to comprehend a phenomenon or accomplish a scholarly goal. Sometimes it is necessary to resort to indirection through the use of

metaphor, allusion, or roundabout thinking in order to convey an understanding of a complicated idea or thorny historical topic by exploring the theoretical underpinnings of outward manifestations. While the structure of this volume adheres for the most part to a sequential method of tracking the history of Zen, it also frequently cites examples of poetry and art cutting across chronological and cultural boundaries. This is done in order to capture some of the flavor of the original atmosphere of the period of transplantation, which was largely driven by an enormous sense of excitement and determination on the part of exchange partners intent on crossing literal borders of geography and figurative boundaries of class and ideology to achieve their goals.

Another maxim that stimulated my reflection also derives from Daoism, which was such a major influence on the early development of the Chinese Chan movement that Daoists have often looked upon Chan as an offshoot of their tradition. The axiom based on Laozi's seminal *Power of the Way* (*Daodejing*) suggests that "one who listens to sound without understanding its musical basis is like an animal; one who hears the musical substructure underlying sound is a person; but only one who truly appreciates what is beyond yet serves as the basis of music, or is capable of comprehending sound and no-sound (or fundamental silence at the root of all resonances), is a true gentleman." Zen teaching, customarily delivered in spontaneous oral fashion through encounter dialogues involving wise masters and intractable disciples or via sermons reflecting on the meaning of those verbal interactions, is often compared to the singing of a melody in harmony with other participants in a contemplative rite. A typical Zen inquiry of a teacher made by a new student is "What song [school of thought] do you hum?," which asks about the style of revealing the essentially soundless or wordless teaching.

The formation of Chan was also greatly impacted by musical associations in Song-dynasty China, where all well-educated citizens were expected to play instruments and be able to carry a tune; consequently, the poetic and prose expressions of Chan practitioners invariably maintained a metrical tempo and rhyme scheme reflecting an appropriation of melody. This was one of the most difficult areas of study for Japanese followers of Zen, since their syntax and pronunciation patterns were quite different from Chinese, even though the writing system using characters is quite similar. Eventually, Zen in Japan developed a distinctive approach to using the hybrid form of language known as Kanbun, which integrates Chinese semantics with Japanese sentence construction.

The Daoist saying about various perspectives in regard to the significance of sound and soundlessness further advises that the essence of a song springing from the awakened heart-mind—in Sino-Japanese, there is a single character, 心 (C. *xin*, J. *shin*), used for both human qualities—is more important for developing an understanding than are the particulars of rhythm or lyrics. When applied to academic studies, that kind of multidimensional outlook encourages the researcher to remain attentive to the depths of spiritual experiences attained by Zen practitioners, while also keeping a scholarly distance from source materials by maintaining objectivity and neutrality concerning ideological preferences that reflect the subjectivity of religious claims of superiority.

An ongoing consideration of traditional East Asian proverbs reinforces the need to convey the foundational elements of Zen thought over and above, but without neglecting, the specifics of time and place in which they were generated. My approach to the topic is also stimulated in large part by an intriguing anecdote concerning the eminent modern Japanese scholar Amino Yoshihiko that highlights a complementary methodological element useful for examining Zen chronology. Amino was an acclaimed and influential postwar historian who placed special emphasis on analyzing the role of the marginalized components of medieval Japanese society greatly impacted by Buddhist ideology and customs.

While remembering the early days of his career when he was still a high school teacher, Amino once said that he was unable to answer a question posed by a student: why did the new Kamakura Buddhist sects, including Zen in addition to Pure Land, Nichiren, and other groups—all of which remain important to this day—come into being during the thirteenth century? The deceptively simple query, or rather his failure to provide a clear answer for what seemed to be a straightforward request, motivated Amino to devote the rest of his life to scrutinizing medieval Japan more thoroughly. He went on to earn a doctoral degree on the way to becoming a pioneering researcher and university professor.

Amino's major book *Disconnections, Public Spaces, and Marketplaces: Self-determination and Safekeeping in Medieval Japan* (*Muen, kugai, raku: Nihon chūsei no jiyū to heiwa*) was published in 1978, but unfortunately it is still not available in a full translation.[3] In that volume, Amino highlights the varied kinds of people who have generally been disregarded in mainstream historical studies, which tend to concentrate only on the lives of illustrious men. His focus includes, in addition to wandering priests and missionaries who were part of Zen and other medieval religious movements,

itinerant entertainers, gamblers, merchants, miners, pirates, prostitutes, servants, and slaves.

Amino shows that the emphasis on misfits and outcasts reveals how Buddhist notions of attaining liberation, or a state of tranquility based on behavior functioning outside the boundaries or deviating from the rules of conventional society, was reflected in crossroad-like open places where diverse population sectors gathered and interacted. These public locations, which operated as realms of social autonomy that stood beyond the supervision of secular authority, encompassed pilgrimage sites at shrines and temples in addition to bazaars, bridges, gateways, or hot springs. The locations provided those disconnected from hierarchical structures with a sense of comfort and safe haven or asylum from the restrictions and oppression of heavily regulated mainstream society.

In contrast to orthodox norms, the various open sites were socially liminal areas that developed a distinctive approach to behavioral guidelines, which enabled possibilities for visitors to savor at least a fleeting glimpse of salvation rather than suppression. Amino's standpoint both greatly benefited from and has been very much influential on recent Western scholarly trends that have similarly examined the peripheral sectors of culture and society in terms of ethnicity, class, and gender so as to augment our understanding of social developments that affected religious movements. This outlook shows that the examination of Zen's transnational transition needs to highlight undercurrent communal tendencies and shared occurrences, in addition to explaining the life and thought of esteemed masters. Since heroic religious figures are invariably idealized and eulogized in the voluminous examples of self-presentational writings that Zen has specialized in putting forth, it is necessary to consider the role of borderline areas of human activity usually hidden from view.

Amino died in 2004 after a long and productive academic career demonstrating that the development and success of new Buddhist movements under the Kamakura shogunate could not be fully explained just in terms of regime changes or eminent leaders. Rather, these happenings should be clarified by an analysis of wider-ranging social patterns undertaken from multidisciplinary perspectives. Yet by the end of his life Amino remained uncertain whether his scholarship had satisfactorily responded to the complexities of the inquiry raised by a student on a fateful day, and he left it to later investigators to continue the task.

Since the time of Amino's first major publication, there has been significant progress made in studies of the origins and unfolding of the Zen

tradition. This work can be categorized into the following three categories: (1) historical analyses of the institution that provide detailed examinations of both general and specific chronological developments in China and Japan, including numerous translations and exhibition catalogues that offer case studies of particular sets of writings or artistic productions; (2) interdisciplinary methods emphasizing the relation between religious trends and sociopolitical contexts by encompassing transcultural assessments of Zen's formation and its performance of various kinds of rituals seen in connection to expressions of doctrine; and (3) critical or deconstructive approaches seeking to expose problems or deficiencies that may have affected premodern as well as current Zen attitudes toward class and gender, or imperialism and violence, as seen from a contemporary outlook concerned with overcoming Orientalist and Reverse Orientalist views tending either to romanticize or demonize the tradition.

While the first category constitutes a necessary academic starting point by providing the basic instructional and interpretative materials needed for any thorough investigation of the field, all three approaches need to be taken into account at the current stage of scholarship. Many innovations in research methods undertaken in the past forty years help to present a well-rounded examination of Zen theory and practice that avoids stereotypes or simplistic generalizations, including mystifications tending to obscure rather than illumine the tradition. It is important to resist a tendency to idealize and essentialize Zen as a timeless and unflawed form of mysticism that, according to postwar commentator Alan Watts, is the "religion of no-religion," seeming to rise above ordinary modes of behavior so as to float freely beyond the fray of social upheavals. It is equally necessary, however, not to stigmatize and demonize Zen as an imperfect, culturally conditioned institution hopelessly bound by ethical defects and societal inconsistencies.

In suggesting how to achieve a middle-way approach that avoids extreme positions of glorifying or demeaning the tradition, the works of Amino and a host of other modern investigators are valuable as a supplement to reading classical writings while conducting onsite visits for fieldwork studies of Zen temples that seek to maintain or revive in a modern setting the medieval lifestyle of reclusive monks. Many of the publications I consulted that cover the role of Zen in one or both countries during the century of transition are listed in the section of recommended readings.[4] Some resources recently produced in East Asia that are particularly useful include the 2003 catalogue *The Art of Zen*, based on an exhibit showing

the origins of the Kamakura-era Zen sect held at the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum, and the 2009 catalogue *Sacred Ningbo: Gateway to 1300 Years of Japanese Buddhism*, from an exhibit at the Nara National Museum. The Nara display highlights the crucial role played by the Chinese port city of Ningbo, located east of Hangzhou and across the bay from Shanghai in Zhejiang province, for transmitting Zen people and products across waterways. Travel patterns invariably led voyagers to the equally important harbors of Hakata (present-day Fukuoka) and Higo (Kumamoto) on the Japanese island of Kyushu. Yet another important catalogue based on an exhibit sponsored by the Japan Society Gallery of New York in 2007 is *Awakenings: Zen Figure Painting in Medieval Japan*, which showcases the impact of Chinese influences on the formation of the artistic skills of numerous medieval Japanese monk-painters.

My research is also greatly indebted to several outstanding English-language works on various aspects of the transplantation process, works that are highly recommended. To mention just a few of the most prominent books: the two-volume *Zen Buddhism: A History*, by Heinrich Dumoulin, with the first part covering Indian origins and Chinese developments and the second on the expansion and growth of Zen in Japan; *Zen Dust: The History of the Koan and Koan Study in Rinzai (Linji) Zen*, by Isshū Miura and Ruth Fuller Sasaki, on voluminous *kōan* commentaries produced in both countries; *Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism*, by Albert Welter, which treats the formation of eleventh-century Chan transmission records about the lives of masters that were commissioned by government authorities; *How Zen Became Zen: The Dispute over Enlightenment and the Formation of Chan Buddhism in Song-Dynasty China*, by Morten Schlütter, on twelfth-century doctrinal debates involving the Chinese Linji and Caodong schools that a century later evolved into the Japanese Rinzai and Sōtō sects; and *Seeing Through Zen: Encounter, Transformation, and Genealogy in Chinese Chan Buddhism*, by John McRae, on various rhetorical strategies and lineal creeds that helped Chan succeed in Song Chinese society and are crucial for understanding how it was transmitted to Japan.

To mention just a few of many other significant works, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan*, by Martin Collcutt, and *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*, by William Bodiford, offer insightful investigations of the history of the two main branches of Japanese Zen as impacted by their respective appropriations of Chan sources. Also useful are *Foundation of Japanese Buddhism,* vol. 2, *The Mass Movement*

(Kamakura and Muromachi Periods), by Daigan Matsunaga and Alicia Matsunaga, and *Kamakura: Its History, Sights, and Landmarks*, by Michael Cooper. Both works treat the origins of Zen in relation to other new Kamakura Buddhist movements. Additional valuable studies are found in historical surveys that provide an account of the history of Buddhism or of East Asian religions more generally, including books by William Deal and Brian Ruppert, Kazuo Kasahara, and Yoshirō Tamura, among others, cited in the Recommended Readings.

Examples of specialized accounts of particular teachers or theoretical and practical trends that unfolded during the cycle of transplantation include, among many additional works of interest, studies by Christoph Anderl (editor), on the role of rhetoric in Zen discourse; Helmut Brinker on creativity in Zen's production of arts; Bernard Faure on the relation between Zen rituals and meditation; Griffith Foulk on the formation of monastic training methods; Masatoshi Harada on Zen's institutional development; Kenneth Kraft on the leading Rinzai master Daitō and his ample literary commentaries; Hee-Jin Kim on the life and thought of Sōtō master Dōgen; and Joseph Parker on Rinzai poets and painters who created landscape arts, such as scrolls with verse inscriptions often derived from Chinese models. Very useful translations of key Zen writings, ranging from recorded sayings of masters and transmission histories to *kōan* collections and poetry, include books by Thomas Cleary and J. C. Cleary, Charles Egan, Andy Ferguson, Nelson Foster and Jack Shoemaker, Robert Morrell, and David Pollack, to name just a few.

Recent Scholarly Trends

As valuable as the abovementioned works are, it seems that a common tendency found in some studies of the field is an unreflective replication of a basic sense of dichotomy regarding historical occurrences that took place in both countries but are treated separately, or involving underlying elements in the formation of the two main wings (Rinzai and Sōtō) that are examined as independent movements. Moreover, the focus of some investigations reflects discrepancies between a focus on either meditative discipline or the performance of ceremonies, literary writings or the fine arts, and philosophical ideals or the practice of rites imbued with indigenous folklore. Because of persistent academic tendencies to distinguish between geographic, denominational, and thematic topics, a recent scholar suggests that studies of Japanese religiosity more broadly

conceived need a fundamental scholarly reorientation, in that "much of the symbolic system underlying Japanese religions today presupposes a continental, 'landlocked' environment, centered on agriculture (especially rice cultivation) and focusing on mountains as the privileged sites of the sacred. Unsurprisingly, then, studies on Japanese religiosities have downplayed (if not ignored altogether) the role of the sea, despite a wealth of material provided by historians, folklorists, and anthropologists."[5]

In order to overcome procedural bifurcations so as to view various aspects of the Zen tradition in a holistic fashion encompassing diverse territorial and sectarian variations of interrelated ideologies, newer trends in scholarship analyze source materials in ways that are interdisciplinary, interregional, intersectarian, and intertextual. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, based on current multifaceted methodological outlooks that have been introduced into Zen studies, it is now possible to use different kinds of crossover research approaches to try to capture and convey the tradition as part of what can be called the "East Asian Mediterranean." This standpoint demonstrates that watercourses between the countries are now seen as a connector bridging, instead of a gap separating, apparent differences between Chinese Chan and Japanese Zen as related to manifold forms of monastic training and creative expression. That approach opens the door to integrative studies revealing links underlying seemingly separate denominational practices and teaching techniques in both cultural environments.

Such an emphasis on unity linking disparate elements of the Zen movement is remiss if it overlooks aspects of divergence and deviation among factions or neglected areas of ethical concern about seeming excesses or lapses in the behavior of monks in relation to societal issues. Therefore, even as we keep an eye on linkages derived from an undercurrent of uniformity, it is important for academic approaches to highlight the significance of contests about ideological variability as well as problematic examples of possible moral disability that, it must be acknowledged, have long been part and parcel of the tradition.

To understand and better evaluate recent scholarly efforts for overcoming tendencies toward dichotomization while also remaining alive to diversification yet open to the need for social criticism, let us briefly consider how research on Zen has unfolded since the early days of modern scholarship. Prior to World War II, some academic inroads involving Zen's extensive impact were first made in the West with the 1893 Parliament of World Religions, where several Japanese leaders were present. This group

included a young D. T. Suzuki, the eminent Japanese thinker, who at that time was serving as an interpreter for the renowned Rinzai-sect teacher Shaku Sōen, the first Zen representative in the West. Suzuki stayed in America and continued to write books in English and translate key historical works for several decades until his death in 1966. He spent the late 1930s and early 1940s in Japan before returning to teach in New York, where many of his students became noted writers or intellectuals.

With the end of military conflict in 1945, the beginning of renewed American travel to Japan helped lead to a scholarly understanding of Japanese history on the part of a new generation of foreign researchers. Soon after, an appreciation for East Asian culture, including a rejuvenated interest in Zen along with engagement in meditation practice, became widely popular in the West. Scholars hoping to conduct fieldwork or archival research in China, on the other hand, had to wait for opportunities until well after the end of the Cultural Revolution and the opening of studies of traditional Chinese society. By the late 1990s, the academic analysis of premodern China, which was for a long time conducted almost exclusively at Japanese or Taiwanese universities, started to develop on the continent.

Zen scholarship since the war has been carried out on both sides of the Pacific in several stages or waves. The various stages have moved steadily in the direction of forming a neutral and holistic methodological framework, based on historically grounded hermeneutical (or interpretative) studies, for depicting major developments in Zen discourse, including ritual activity and the arts. The waves of research collectively signify a gradual progression away from studies that reveal a subtle (or, in some cases, not so hidden or even trumpeted) bias that may be derived from either embracing or rebuffing particular partisan affiliations and sectarian claims. The main goal of current approaches is neither to lean toward any single principle or method nor to evade dealing with thorny social issues.

An explosion of interest in Zen marked the first wave of postwar studies in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, when initial attempts were made at creating accurate translations as well as reliable summaries of doctrinal and institutional history. Some of this was accomplished in English writings by notable Asian commentators such as Suzuki, who almost singlehandedly influenced a couple of generations of American aficionados of Zen. His impact on worldwide spiritual life, based on making extensive comparative connections with Western psychology and mysticism, has been compared to that of Albert Einstein in theoretical physics, though this is perhaps an exaggeration.

However, Suzuki has also been increasingly criticized for his sometimes idealized portrayals of the tradition, especially during the decade before the war, when he seemed to cast Zen as a timeless truth devoid of fallibility. While in Japan in the late 1930s, Suzuki wrote several seemingly nationalist tracts.[6] Despite his considerable communications with Westerners, Suzuki sometimes made Reverse Orientalist claims that only Asian (particularly Japanese) practitioners were able to actualize Zen meditation in authentic fashion. Yet a careful reading indicates that he generally opposed Japan's conflict with the United States, and he returned soon after the war to receive a warm welcome from Americans increasingly intrigued by Zen.

In addition to the opening of meditation centers in the West, numerous prominent artists and intellectuals infused Zen teachings into their work based on intense personal commitment to contemplative spirituality. These figures included the innovative classical composer John Cage, who wrote the score for *4' 33"*, which instructs the pianist or other instrumentalist to not make any sound whatsoever for several minutes without interruption; best-selling Beat movement novelist Jack Kerouac, who evoked Zen meditative perspectives in works such as *The Dharma Bums* and *On the Road* about traveling around North America in carefree bohemian style; and poet Gary Snyder, a colleague of Kerouac, whose writings have often reflected his training in Zen, first conducted at temples in Kyoto in the early 1950s. Many other important cultural leaders were influenced by personal connections with Suzuki, who gave lectures to fervent followers at Columbia University in the 1950s, in addition to other Chinese, Japanese, Korean, or Vietnamese exemplars of Zen who came to practice and teach followers in postwar America.

Another feature of the early period after the war was the attention paid by a growing group of specialists to studies of the teachings of East Asian masters. In 1958, Alan Watts wrote a short but highly influential essay about the increased interest in Zen, titled "Beat Zen, Square Zen, and Zen." In using lingo of the postwar era regarding so-called Beat and square cultural components, which seems outdated yet remains relevant for today's situation regarding studies of the tradition, Watts makes a distinction between three ways of categorizing different types of learners. The category of "square Zen" represents those wishing to practice meditation in a simulated monastic setting by adhering as closely as possible to the manner of the ancients, since imitation is the highest form of flattery. One basic challenge to this standpoint is that, even in East Asia, such a degree

of fidelity to premodern practice is hardly possible, since so many changes in contemporary society interfere with this effort. "Beat Zen" refers to the opposite trend, for those who are more concerned with following an alternative lifestyle based on pursuing poetry and art. According to Watts, the most significant but often overlooked endeavor for creating true understanding involves academic studies inquiring into the history of Zen as it originally manifested.

In that vein, the second wave of Chan/Zen studies featured scholarly efforts spearheaded in the late 1960s by Yanagida Seizan in Japan and Philip Yampolsky in the United States. Both scholars specialized in studies of the *Platform Sutra*, one of the first crucial Chan texts, attributed to sixth patriarch Huineng, based on invaluable long-lost manuscripts that were discovered in the early twentieth century at the Dunhuang Buddhist caves near a former Silk Road–based oasis in northwestern China. Yanagida and Yampolsky also worked together for a time in Kyoto as part of a major translation project led by Ruth Fuller Sasaki on the recorded sayings of Linji and similar classic Zen texts. Their studies presented detailed revisionist accounts that tried to interpret dozens of treatises by and about traditional Zen masters from a historiographical standpoint yet without sacrificing an understanding of their spiritual content.

Second-wave research inspired by the achievements of Yanagida and Yampolsky was continued in the West beginning in the 1980s with the publications of new translations and historical studies, including the exceptional scholarship of Robert Buswell. Based on years of practice in Asia before becoming a scholar, Buswell examined literary developments in Chinese Chan that led to the formation of the Korean Zen (or Seon) movement, founded by Jinul in the early thirteenth century, the same time as the formation of Zen in Japan. Jinul's teachings were greatly influenced by the twelfth-century Chan master Dahui, whose approach to *kōan* practice also impacted Rinzai Zen. Although some of the materials in the first wave of research remained useful and are still being read today, the second wave of postwar scholarship was much more academically astute and thorough in analyzing Zen texts by determining their appropriate place in the overall corpus of Buddhist writings. In some instances, however, second-wave textual and historical approaches revealed a strong affinity with a particular interpretative school or specific lineage, thus perhaps skewing the presentation by linking their methodological outlook to the first wave's frequently apologetic approach. In other words, the main drawback of the first two stages in postwar academic studies of Zen was that, by trying to

be faithful to the ideals of the tradition, the scholarly works sometimes defaulted to the self-presentation of sectarian views in a way that was delimiting of possibilities for neutrality and objectivity.

The third stage of postwar research was initiated by challenging sectarian orthodoxy in order to reveal more diverse aspects and hidden layers of Zen religiosity. This approach was strongly influenced by a couple of scholarly trends. One was the Amino-influenced standpoint, further supported by other Japanese and Western scholars who considered it crucial to take into account overlooked societal sectors in order to develop an understanding of mainstream institutions. Those methods included a focus on the role of outsiders and the marginalized, such as women and the sick, in addition to sacred ceremonies such as funerals and memorials, plus evangelism and fund-raising that helped forge connections with secular officialdom. Without examining these assorted aspects of religious behavior, it was argued, discussions of Zen might revert to what the tradition has said or proclaims about itself, rather than judiciously framing ethical issues in broader community-based perspectives.

The third wave of Zen studies began in the 1990s by combining a postmodern deconstruction of forms of essentialism that were sometimes embedded in the interpretation of classical texts with wide-ranging contemporary social criticism. Scholars examined the role of Zen in relation to the state, particularly how the religious tradition contributed during the first half of the twentieth century to the discourse of Japanese supernationalism and imperialism. This was a political condition to which numerous Buddhist leaders, including both temple priests and university philosophers, capitulated, but they later recanted after the war or, in some instances, declined or refused to repent.

Additionally, third-wave scholars further considered the support that the Zen monastic institution provided, directly or indirectly, to bias toward ostracized factions in Japanese society, such as the outcast community known as Burakumin. Members of this group were provided with Buddhist memorial ceremonies that, at premium cost to the family, functioned covertly to stigmatize the deceased's inferior societal status. In diverse ways, scholarship in the third stage of Zen studies demonstrated that a status-quo-oriented moral agenda taken up by many prominent yet ethically deficient clerics led to the subversion of religious ideals. Some major works exposed the ways the sayings and anecdotes of *kōan* discourse were exploited for the sake of endorsing

militarist rhetoric or for use in funerary rites that discriminated against marginalized sectors of society.

Major third-wave works included *Chan Insights and Oversights*, by Bernard Faure; *Imperial-Way Zen*, by Christopher Ives; *Pruning the Bodhi Tree*, edited by Paul Swanson and Jamie Hubbard; *Rude Awakenings*, edited by James Heisig and John Maraldo; *Zen at War*, by Brian Victoria; and *Zen Skin, Zen Marrow*, by Steven Heine. The handling of various issues regarding Zen's apparent ethical lapses has recalled investigations beginning in the 1980s of the involvement of prewar German intellectuals in advocating Nazi ideology. It is interesting to note that some of those figures, especially philosopher Martin Heidegger, who occasionally discussed Western mysticism in light of Eastern thought, were very much intrigued by Asian spirituality.[7]

Heidegger received numerous foreign visitors who came to Germany in the 1920s to speak about his unique approach to philosophy, including several prominent Japanese Buddhist thinkers such as Tanabe Hajime (affiliated with Pure Land Buddhism), Nishitani Keiji (a proponent of Zen), and Kuki Shūzō (unaffiliated). This interaction took place prior to the onset of the Third Reich as well as Japan's military aggression in Manchuria, but in retrospect the meetings may suggest a controversial occurrence. Heidegger apparently read some of D. T. Suzuki's writings before the war, although the two giants did not meet until 1953, after Heidegger had been forbidden from teaching at any German university but remained in conversation with many worldwide philosophers. Other German intellectuals such as Eugen Herrigel and Wilhelm Gundert, who both traveled to East Asia before the war and became noted interpreters or translators of Zen spiritual experience, might have had an affinity with Buddhist mysticism due to fascist leanings. In the case of Herrigel and Gundert, these tendencies were openly expressed when they returned to their homeland in the late 1930s, around the time Suzuki went back to Japan and seemed to undergo a problematic nationalist turn.

The primary shortcoming of third-wave studies is that they sometimes constituted the flip side of the first two stages of research, which advocated subjective truth-claims in regard to the so-called spiritual purity of Zen teaching. Early uncritical support for Zen essentialism got eclipsed by a devil's-advocate-style debunking of the tradition as fundamentally duplicitous and corrupt, and utterly resistant to reform. The tension between the first two waves of postwar scholarship, which implicitly accepted and in some cases actively promoted a particular set

of beliefs, and third-stage research, which, conversely, sought to undermine orthodox assertions, eventually gave way to fourth-wave studies that have been under way for more than a decade.

This current stage includes the works of a number of noteworthy scholars, such as Griffith Foulk, Morten Schlütter, Albert Welter, and Duncan Williams, among others, who seek to achieve a constructive methodological compromise through a balanced and evenhanded weighing of sectarian rhetoric along with appropriate historical criticism. These scholars look at developments in China and Japan based on wide-ranging historical sources, including official documents and prefaces to Zen monastic works written by secular leaders, but without necessarily making assumptions one way or the other about the merits of the ideology that generated their formation. The fourth wave of postwar Zen studies thus features a mature handling of complex textual materials in a seasoned and reasonable fashion as part of a transparent investigation. By forgoing an attachment to the view of Zen discourse as an everlasting truth that is immune to historical variability and verifiability or to an attack on the tradition as an innately flawed organization, the fourth-wave approach tries not to pass judgment in a way that might either overvalue or diminish the significance of the tradition.

Orientalism, *Reverse Orientalism*, *and De-Orientalism*

Another way of looking at the gradual progression of postwar studies of Zen is to view this trajectory from the standpoint of how recent scholarship has been trying to surmount Orientalist trends evident in many of the approaches in the early stages. The syndrome of Orientalism refers to a widespread tendency to stereotype in terms of presumed Western superiority the otherness of East Asian culture. Asian mysticism and religious training is cast as either, on one extreme, a romanticized form of lofty spirituality above the fray or, at the other end of the spectrum, a manifestation of a deficient and incorrigible society in which human integrity is not fully valued. Long before the opening of Japan in the nineteenth century, perhaps since the time of Marco Polo, Oriental culture was invariably portrayed by Western missionaries and merchants as either a paradise that provides a panacea for contemporary social ills or a Hades wherein human behavioral flaws become exacerbated. The notion of Reverse Orientalism

as a reactive form of discourse evident from the beginning of the twentieth century indicates the boasting of its own sense of superiority by Asian spokespersons, such as D. T. Suzuki among others, who tend to slough off criticism emanating from Western commentators as evidence of their sheer incapability of understanding genuine Oriental wisdom. On the other hand, Japanese philosopher Watsuji Tetsurō wrote in the 1920s that it was sometimes better to analyze Zen in light of Western categories, since the native tradition had become ingrown and incapable of self-investigation.

There can be a significant benefit gained from Orientalist or Reverse Orientalist tendencies in that these approaches may reflect a profound, even if flawed, appreciation for the complex sense of beauty expressed in East Asian culture. For example, when seen in proper historical context, Van Gogh's late nineteenth-century paintings, which were influenced by the style of Japanese "floating world" art, and Puccini's early twentieth-century *Madame Butterfly*, as derived from vaunted portrayals of women in Japan by the notorious French novelist Pierre Loti, both contribute constructively to an overall understanding of East Asian aesthetics. It is important not to get carried away by an assumption that exaggerated depictions constitute a realistic view of Asia. It is equally essential not to throw out the baby with the bathwater, so to speak, by devaluing the originality of Buddhist philosophical theories expressed in literary and artistic works because certain aspects of Asian society have been frequently misrepresented or misunderstood.

In the early stages of the postwar period, Zen was often depicted in an essentialist way as a tradition characterized by basic simplicity and homogeneity underlying apparent intricacy and variation. One of the most famous and enduring examples of Orientalism is the discredited yet useful book *Zen and the Art of Archery*, by Eugen Herrigel. This remains popular in Japan and America, in part because readers in both countries admire the fact that this work apparently greatly influenced the approach to technical inventiveness of Steve Jobs, who for many years practiced Zen meditation with a Japanese master living in America, Kōbun Chino. A few years ago, shortly after the Apple innovator died, Herrigel's book was prominently displayed in Japanese bookstores with a wraparound flyer (*obi*) announcing, "This book was admired by Steve Jobs!" Around that time, a devastating critique of Herrigel's approach was published in *Shots in the Dark*, by Shoji Yamada, who claimed the German author had

little understanding of either Zen thought or archery training techniques.[8] Yamada's account also severely critiqued the most famous Zen rock garden at Ryōanji temple in Kyoto. This was built in the sixteenth century, but it had fallen into a state of disrepair until a visit by Japanese American sculptor Isamu Noguchi in the early 1950s led to its restoration, mainly in pursuit of tourist dollars.

Zen in the Art of Archery is based on Herrigel's six years of experiences as a visiting philosophy professor in Japan beginning in 1926, more than a decade before World War II. The book was not published until after the war, first in German and then in English in the 1950s (and has been a best-seller ever since), and eventually in a Japanese version that first appeared in 1982. In this slim volume, Herrigel claims he had several significant Zen insights while training under the mentorship of archery master Awa Kenzō at a time when many traditional martial art forms were being revived or, some would say, reinvented.

Yamada charges that Herrigel, who probably could not comprehend Awa's arcane explanations in Japanese, fabricated much of the account by virtue of misleading portrayals based on Orientalist fantasies of what he imagined Awa said, mistranslations of key terminology, and misappropriations given that when Herrigel returned to Germany he became an avowed Nazi sympathizer. From a culturally critical standpoint, the most egregiously Orientalist passages come near the beginning of the book when Herrigel suggests, "Wrapped in impenetrable darkness, Zen must seem the strangest riddle which the spiritual life of the East has ever devised: insoluble and yet irresistibly attractive."[9] He further argues:

> For some considerable time it has been no secret, even to us Europeans, that the Japanese arts go back for their inner form to a common root, namely Buddhism. This is as true of the art of archery as of ink painting, of the art of the theatre no less than the tea ceremony, the art of flower arrangement, and swordsmanship. I do not mean Buddhism in the ordinary sense . . . [but Zen, which] is not speculation at all but immediate experience.[10]

Despite receiving severe scholarly criticism by Yamada and others, the ongoing popularity of Herrigel's work still holds for many readers because of its fascinating modern portrayal of traditional Zen experience, whether or not its account can be considered fully reliable. In order

not to distract from or diminish an appreciation of Zen by debunking and disdaining any and all Orientalist or Reverse Orientalist tendencies, we must be aware that some of what may seem today to be self-serving assertions are not necessarily derived entirely from contemporary (mis) interpretations once these expressions are appropriately situated in their bygone setting. For example, the eminent émigré monk Yishan, who came to Japan in 1299, first introduced the saying "Poetry is Zen" into the tradition's discourse as a formulation of the relationship between the two practices in the monastic institution of silent meditation and creative writing, which before then were considered antithetical. Fourteenth century monk-poet Kōzei further proclaimed, "There is no Zen outside of poetry, and no poetry outside of Zen."[11]

The tendency to equate Zen training with non-monastic activities, including fine arts such as calligraphy and poetry or martial arts such as archery and sword fighting, may open the door to many other possible forms of behavior, genuinely aesthetic and ethical or otherwise. If taken out of context, Kōzei's rather bold assertion could be used to define Zen in terms of wide-ranging approaches that might in some instances reflect or legitimate societal shortcomings, including instances of antinomian attitudes or tacit support for nationalism or discrimination. It seems that some degree of Zen exceptionalism used to justify various kinds of questionable actions in the name of enlightenment untouched by secular deficiency, was expressed in the early days of the tradition and is not just a product of modern Orientalist foibles.

The primary aim of current scholarship should probably be to articulate a standpoint of De-Orientalism, which avoids extremes by rooting out stereotypical presumptions without dismissing valuable classic or contemporary sources. Recent historians have shown that the Zen institution, like all worldwide religions, is multifaceted and diverse; therefore, research about its numerous implications is deserving of distinct and nuanced analytic categories reflecting various chronological, regional, and ideological influences. Remaining sensitive to variability and irregularity helps deflect the pretenses of Orientalist claims by Westerners that demonize and vilify or romanticize and idealize the tradition. It also overcomes the tendencies of Reverse Orientalism, whereby Asian proponents assert the supremacy of their own standpoint. Either set of stereotypes, in the final analysis, tends to uphold a view of Zen that is formulaic and static, rather than ever shifting and multifunctional.

Notes

1. Martin Collcutt, "Zen Art in a Monastic Context: Zen and the Arts in Medieval Kenchōji," in *Awakenings: Zen Figure Painting in Medieval Japan* by Gregory Levine and Yukio Lippit (New York: Japan Society, 2007), 25.
2. Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 86.
3. For a very brief overview, see Yoshihiko Amino, "Medieval Japanese Constructions of Peace and Liberty: Muen, Kugai and Raku, Supplementary Notes," *International Journal of Asian Studies* 4, no. 2 (2007): 161–72.
4. Some of the most prominent exemplars among Chinese and Japanese scholars, whose works are not included in the bibliography, are Abe Chōichi, Hoga Kōshirō, Iriya Yoshitaka, Ishii Shūdō, Ishikawa Rikizan, Kuroda Toshio, Murai Shosuke, Matsunami Naohiro, Sasaki Kaoru, Satō Shūkō, Shimao Arata, Tamura Yoshirō, Tamamura Takeji, Wang Liansheng, Yanagida Seizan, and Yu Weici.
5. From the program for the conference "Sea Religion in Japan: International Conference," University of California at Santa Barbara, June 13–15, 2016.
6. Robert H. Sharf, "The Zen of Japanese Nationalism," in *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism under Colonialism*, ed. Donald S. Lopez Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 107–160; and Brian Victoria, *Zen at War* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, rpt. 2006).
7. Martin Heidegger, "Dialogue on Language Between a Japanese and an Inquirer," in *On the Way to Language*, trans. Peter D. Hertz (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1971).
8. Shoji Yamada, *Shots in the Dark: Zen, Japan, and the West*, trans. Earl Hartman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011). Yamada also wrote a Japanese book, *Tokyo Boogie-Woogie to Suzuki Daisetsu* [*Tokyo Boogie-Woogie and D.T. Suzuki*] (Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin, 2015), which uses a postwar pop song written by Suzuki's son that became a worldwide sensation as a vehicle for cultural criticism of Orientalist tendencies of the era.
9. Eugen Herrigel, *Zen in the Art of Archery* (New York: Vintage, 1999), 8.
10. Ibid., 6.
11. David Pollack, *Zen Poems of the Five Mountains* (New York: Scholars Press, 1985), 155–56. See also Gregory P. A. Levine, "Critical Zen Art History," *Journal of Art Historiography* 15 (2016): 1–30.

2

Transitions

SOCIAL INFLUENCES ON ZEN'S LEGEND OF LIVING BUDDHAS

IN ORDER TO examine the role of transnational exchanges during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it is helpful to consider as a symbolic example of the overall transitional process an important kind of practice that was typical of the olden days of Zen and is still being carried out in many quarters today. According to this training method, itinerant seekers struggling with the question of how to realize the fundamental aim of attaining enlightenment travel to various temples over an extended period in order to try to find a prominent teacher ideally suited to the level of their spiritual needs. To cite the image of the "double-edged sword that gives life or causes death," which was commonly used in Zen literature to refer to the capacity of a person or idea to function in seemingly opposite or contradictory ways, the pedagogical style might be either strict and demanding or forgiving and nurturing. An important implication of this instructional approach is that every one of the various Zen lineages, along with each major master within each group, had its own special way of mentoring suited to the particular circumstances of their disciples.

When, in ancient times, a pilgrim pursuing the goal of finding the right teacher hoped to enter the gates of a monastery to request approval for admission, he was expected to say to the prospective host, "I am sorry to trouble the establishment."[1] As recommended in various teaching manuals for monks in training, this stock phrase indicated the formality of politeness characteristic of the application procedure, although it was understood that monasteries were expected by the same sets of guidelines to open their doors to all sincere visitors. Upon discovering the appropriate

teacher after undergoing an ordeal of trial and error that often led to episodes of humiliation and scorn, the beginner could then settle into a sustained period of studying under the master's tutelage to train in a way that best enabled him to gain an experience of awakening that occurred suddenly and without expectation, and was neither quick nor planned.

Once admission to the temple was granted, trainees still needed to pass through a series of testing situations that evaluated their capabilities for responding to a probing query or to receiving a stinging comeback from the master. Many times the novice's full entrée into monastic life was delayed or even denied if he failed to impress. In a famous *kōan* included as case 7 in a collection published in 1229, *Wumen's Barrier* (also known as *Gateless Gate* [C. *Wumenguan*, J. *Mumonkan*]), the master Zhaozhou is asked for instruction by a disciple who says he has "just entered the cloister."[2] It would have been a rare privilege for a newcomer to gain a meeting with the abbot, an opportunity that should not be taken lightly. Zhaozhou immediately senses that the guest is overly eager, anticipating a grandiose transcendent experience that would transpire all at once following his arrival. So the master asks the monk if he has already eaten breakfast and then advises him to return to the kitchen to "wash your breakfast bowls." This chore was one of the mainstays of monastic life; it was not considered an idle task, but reflected the view that everyday actions, however seemingly trivial or insignificant, are emblematic of awakening and thus require one's utmost attention.

According to the traditional commentary on the dialogue in the *kōan* narrative, "As soon as Zhaozhou opened his mouth, he revealed his vital organs," but "the monk was probably unable to grasp the truth, as if he was mistaking a bell for a jar," in that these two objects look alike but have vastly different functions. Instead, the initiate should recognize that "it is pointless to search for fire while holding a lantern's light," that is, he should know deeply that internally he already is a Buddha, who does not need to acquire this state as an external goal. In such a way, learners were invariably put through their paces until eventually deemed ready to advance to the stage of becoming the embodiment of awakening.

Reaching the ultimate goal of enlightenment might take anywhere from a relatively short period to many years of sustained practice, depending on the novice's level of religious awareness. There are reports of Song Chan and Kamakura Zen monks working on the process for six years or more. After a lengthy phase of involvement in various sorts of temple affairs, the trainee would have moved up in the ranks of monks who were

full-fledged members of the congregation and turned into a senior member of the monastic community. Should he keep climbing and eventually become the appointed abbot of the temple by inheriting the mantle of the authority of the lineage, the newly appointed high priest would then serve as a representative or even the personification of the establishment. He was then in the position of receiving guests and teaching neophytes as part of the ongoing perpetuation of Zen's instructional mission.

The frequently cited *kōan* about Zhaozhou and his overly eager novice can be considered an appropriate symbol of the trajectory of the spread of Zen from China to Japan in a couple of ways. First, the case narrative highlights how Chan gradually expanded from a peripheral movement located at temples far removed from the capital during the Tang dynasty to become the mainstream tradition fully ensconced at the center of the powerful sectors of Chinese society during the Song dynasty. Second, the story indicates the way early Japanese pilgrims such as Dōgen and Enni, who traveled to the continent in the 1220s and 1230s with a profound sense of uncertainty and trepidation about what might befall them as strangers in a strange land, went on voyages in order to trouble the Chan establishment. As transient clerics largely unschooled in the most advanced continental methods of meditation, these travelers had to endure occasions of proving their mettle while suffering the risk of being severely rebuffed if they failed to measure up. After two years in China, Dōgen became so discouraged that he wanted to head back to Japan before he decided to stay longer and was then able to attain enlightenment under a new mentor, Rujing. Also, it was said that Enni was so severely beaten on repeated occasions by his teacher, Wuzhun, that he had scars on his face for the rest of his life, but he recognized that being severely disciplined was a necessary step in the process of edification.

On returning home, Dōgen and Enni met at first with mixed results. While each master quickly gained a group of enthusiastic followers, many monks representing the powerful Japanese Tendai Buddhist tradition treated them with skepticism and contempt by trying to prevent their temples from being built or their lectures from holding forth. Just a few decades later, the atmosphere had changed dramatically, in that numerous priests were venturing eagerly in two directions, from China to Japan and vice versa, receiving a warm welcome from religious and secular leaders alike in both countries. The shoguns became the biggest patrons of the rapidly growing Zen movement, installing émigré monks from the mainland as abbots of new monasteries constructed in the capital. Then, a

century after the initial journeys to China, Zen's leaders demonstrated that the sect had, indeed, transmuted into the mainstream tradition in Japan. Daitō's expertise was so strategic and savvy that, even without having traveled to the continent, he easily defeated rivals from the Tendai sect in a competition recognized and rewarded by the shogun and emperor.

To capture the full significance of Zen's transition from troubling to transforming into the establishment, my primary aim in exploring the century of transmission is to clarify a critical chronological and cross-cultural conundrum concerning Zen's role in Chinese and Japanese societies. The basic question is, how did the Zen monastic institution, after struggling for centuries as a fledgling and peripheral trend in China that purposely violated many religious and social conventions with irreverent attitudes and blasphemous actions, gain by the 1200s a wide following among monastic leaders and disciples in addition to powerful lay followers in major East Asian cities?

Chan had developed half a millennium earlier in Tang-dynasty China as a mystical movement chiefly for the schooling of cloistered monks, who renounced and withdrew from ordinary society in order to dwell in seclusion in the mountains. During the Tang dynasty, Chan became known as the Southern school because its major temples, led by deliberately impious priests flouting routine behavior, were located below the Yangzi River. To the north was the capital in Chang'an, where the major Buddhist denominations were entrenched in power in conjunction with imperial backing for their institutional growth. Despite its overall strength in the seventh and eighth centuries, all forms of Buddhism that were seen as an originally foreign faith suffered from challenges caused by periods of official persecution.

The main instance was the massive 845 prohibitions of every imported religion, including Christianity, Islam, and Zoroastrianism. This edict led to the closure of scores of Buddhist temples and the destruction of their vast archives, as hundreds of thousands of monks and nuns were returned to lay life. In the long run, however, there was a silver lining in that Chan's ability to rebound quickly and effectively from the chaos contributed to its revival and rapid spread when it gained support from new rulers beginning in the mid-900s. Many of its clerical leaders fled Chang'an and went first to southerly areas, especially Jiangxi and Hunan provinces, and eventually to the east coast near Hangzhou, the capital of the Song dynasty. There Zen emerged as the dominant school from the eleventh century onward. Why was it that just a couple of centuries after the devastating

suppression, Zen's iconoclastic manner of religiosity was able to gain a wholehearted following among privileged supporters through promoting a highly ritualistic approach emphasizing decorum and etiquette in addition to refined aesthetics? How did Chan prevail over other more established Buddhist schools?

Moreover, after a hiatus of several hundred years during which interactions between China and Japan were quite restricted, what sociopolitical factors in the thirteenth century helped cause an alien crusade with impenetrably intricate instructions regarding opaque spiritual techniques to become prevalent in a new host nation? To put these questions another way, which elements of religiosity enabled Zen to transform from an insurgent movement challenging social conventions to the central school of the realm with prominence lasting for several hundred years, first in the Song and Yuan dynasties of China and then in the Kamakura and Muromachi eras of Japan?

Looking back, it is clear that Chan practice during the Tang dynasty featured an informal quality that in many ways resolutely ignored and even disdained the traditional pomp and circumstance of Buddhist ritual. Some of the many famous examples of unconventional images of Zen masters from the Tang dynasty include the so-called Bird's Nest Monk, who sat high in the branches of a tree while preaching to followers standing below, such as the famous poet Bai Juyi, who was once bested by the recluse in a *kōan*-like dialogue about ethics; a hermit who was so attached to his mountain retreat that when he occasionally needed to go to the town in the valley below, he rode on his mule sitting backward so that he could continue to gaze longingly at the receding peaks; and the Boat Monk, who floated on a lake for thirty years while reciting poetry until he found an eminent disciple, at which point he plunged into the water and was never seen again. According to this priest's death verse, "Sailing the waters for thirty years, / The fish seen in clear water won't take the hook. / Breaking the fishing pole made of bamboo, / Abandoning all schemes, I find repose." Other Tang-dynasty monks were said to have ripped up or burned Buddhist sutras for being irrelevant to the spiritual quest, used a wood statue of Buddha to kindle a fire, slapped or excoriated their own teachers, or committed other seemingly outrageous acts. These accounts are exaggerated or invented in some cases, but the message of seclusion and solitude versus convention and routine rings clear.

An interesting counterexample from the Tang dynasty involves one of the great early Chan institutional leaders, Baizhang, a disciple of the

seminal master Mazu and the grand-teacher of Linji. It is said that Baizhang created the first manual of monastic instructions setting up the rules for training and discipline followed in all Zen temples. After the persecution of Buddhism in 845, Baizhang's regulations proclaiming that monks needed to carefully observe strict disciplinary codes were followed for centuries. Strict adherence to behavioral guidelines helped avoid possible criticism on the part of government authorities, who were seeking to restrict subversive ideologies while overseeing all religious movements from the standpoint of an emphasis on Confucian-oriented propriety, that Zen's "wild and outlandish" teaching methods were a form of unethical antinomianism. Baizhang was also known for the moralistic saying "A day without work [in the fields] is a day without eating." One time when he was elderly, in order to test their teacher's resolve, Baizhang's disciples hid his farming tools and expected him to relinquish his chores for the day, but he persisted anyway.

Yet Baizhang's views were multifaceted, as he once declared that the most genuine religious experience came not as part of institutional structure highlighting the roles of hierarchy and group spirit but from practicing Zen alone outside the gates of the temple. Even though he was strict about monastic regulations, Baizhang frequently went to a retreat he valued for periods of contemplation in a secluded forest. In a famous dialogue illustrated in Figure. 2.1, he responded to a query about what he considered "the most extraordinary spiritual experience" by saying it was a matter of "conducting solitary meditation while sitting atop a one-hundred-foot mountain," which was also the literal meaning of his name.

During the Song dynasty, Baizhang's rules were dutifully obeyed so as to create an orderly and systematic approach to religious practice that allowed room for independent spirituality through aesthetic outlets without necessarily escaping temple grounds, since art salons and literary workshops were often available on the compound. Chan cloisters were built with seven main buildings, with priority given to two structures. The first was the Dharma Hall, where the abbot gave sermons in a set way and on a regular basis as outlined in Baizhang's rules. During times of preaching, Chan masters skillfully used poetic and prose forms of discourse that dazzled the imagination of monastic and literati followers in attendance. The second important building was the Monks Hall, in which meditation was carried out on a daily basis in communal fashion. Although itinerant travels remained a strong element in the early stages of a devotee's practice, the unity of discipline

FIGURE. 2.1 Zen Meditation

and contemplation along with aesthetics was cultivated while he trained inside the temple gates.

East Asia's "Mediterranean Style"

Responding to a series of queries about the reasons for the rapid transnational transplantation of Zen requires recognizing that tracing social interactions involving intricate cultural as well as commercial networks facilitated by the use of maritime routes linking China with Japan has become an increasingly important topic in various studies of the history of East Asian culture. This scholarly trend applies to many other aspects of cross-regional intellectual and institutional history, whereby the mutuality and reciprocity of conceptual and practical influences spanning country-wide settings has played a crucial role in the formation of diverse religious, creative, or educational movements.

For several decades, Japanese researchers have been discussing the need to examine East Asia's apparent "Mediterranean-style" connections. As with many key instances of interactions involving southern European, Asiatic or Levantine, and North African cultures, waterways served to bridge

rather than to foster a barrier between the environments on the Chinese mainland and Japanese archipelago. In considering contemporary methodological perspectives, in 1977 a University of Tokyo professor, Tanaka Takeo, lamented that there needed to be a more wide-ranging examination of maritime routes than those involving Zen alone. "Although some scholars have discussed the cultural exchange of the period," he wrote, "their interest has been limited largely to one aspect: the travels of Buddhist priests, especially those of the Zen sect. Unless we examine Japan's international relations within the full context of the evolving East Asian order and consider the political, economic, and cultural aspects of this as a single whole, a true understanding will elude us."[3] Tanaka's remark suggests that even though Zen was being looked at in terms of its bicultural mission, scholars at the time probably were not coming to terms with the realization that a religious tradition is best understood in terms of its broader socioeconomic context as part of a Mediterranean-style maritime situation.

A fascinating example illustrating the process of transplantation involves a charismatic Chan teacher's scroll, as shown in Figure 2.2, which

FLOATING YUANWU

FIGURE. 2.2 Floating Yuanwu

is known as "Floating [or Drifting] Yuanwu" ("Nagare Engo" in Japanese). This prized artifact has long been held in the archives of Daitokuji, a prestigious Rinzai Zen temple located in Kyoto that was founded by Daitō in the fourteenth century and today probably has the largest holding of Zen literary and artistic resources imported from the mainland.[4] The scroll is also sometimes displayed as part of a select group of national treasures at the Tokyo National Museum, which includes a number of related Zen calligraphic materials from the era that were created in both countries.

This scroll represents the first part of a longer essay written in 1124 by eminent Chinese master Yuanwu confirming the enlightenment of his main student Huqui, as explained in light of the teacher's distinctive views of the spiritual history of Chan teachings and lineages. Yuanwu is important because his various sublineages became dominant in Japanese Rinzai Zen. He was also famous for composing the greatest literary work of the period, the *Blue Cliff Record*, which is the single most influential collection of commentaries on *kōan* cases used in Japan. The *Blue Cliff Record* proved controversial and was supposedly destroyed in the mid-1100s by another important Yuanwu follower, Dahui, who was also a very prominent Chan thinker. The *kōan* text, long rumored to have been brought to Japan by Dōgen in the 1220s although that was never verified, was restored on the continent in the early 1300s and delivered to the islands in 1326. This revival was an instance of transnational transmission inspired by interest in rediscovering the teachings of Yuanwu on the part of Japanese monks who traveled to China to learn more about the origins of their lineage's beliefs.

According to legendary accounts, the certificate of approval for Huqui was inserted into a paulownia wood canister several generations after its composition and the container was placed in the ocean so that it would help spread the patriarch's teaching to the Japanese islands. The vessel is said to have drifted over the sea until eventually it reached the southern shores of Kyushu and was soon transported to Kyoto, where many monks were eager to receive documents about their school's Chinese background. This story of relocation is no doubt fanciful. Though hardly the first narrative of the miraculous appearance of an icon acquired from the waves off Japan, it is no doubt best understood as representative of the kinds of events of transferral across the waters that did transpire on many occasions. The journey made by the scroll, likely carried in the hands of a Japanese pilgrim returning home, conveys an urge on the part of Chinese monks to transmit their tradition to a new land.

Regardless of concerns about the veracity of the legend, the authenticity of "Floating Yuanwu" as the oldest surviving specimen of handwritten Zen literature is well established. Yuanwu's scroll is one of nearly two dozen documents now considered Japanese treasures that were written by Chinese and native monks in the highly innovative Zen calligraphy known as the "ink traces" (*bokuseki*) style, which is characterized by freely crafted bold characters. This technique deliberately contravenes formal academic standards of lettering, drawing instead on the creator's spontaneous inspiration, which expresses interior spiritual awareness. It became customary for nearly all the great Zen masters during the century of transition to use *bokuseki* calligraphy for poems and inscriptions. Voluminous historical records catalogued the inventiveness of dozens of figures, who were celebrated and emulated for centuries to come even as vigorous debates about took place in regard to the genuineness of documents found in Japan.

In executing this method of writing, the brush is moved continuously across the paper, thus creating richly varied lines as a direct manifestation of the artist's Zen understanding or as a suggestion of his awakened mind. That approach to calligraphy was used for composing a variety of Zen genres penned by monks who crossed the sea or communicated by sending their writings via ship. In addition to certificates of enlightenment such as Yuanwu's document, some of the literary categories include different kinds of sermons presented for public and private audiences, verses generated in anticipation of death plus other kinds of poetry, the bestowing of a Buddhist name on a disciple, letters containing exhortations or instructions for lay followers facing life crises, and dedications for paintings produced for various ceremonial occasions. All of these styles are examples of the tremendously prolific production of Zen literature that was considered to be "painting in words" in conjunction with the creation of visual art that was regarded as "poetry without words."

The symbolism of "Floating Yuanwu," therefore, reveals multiple ways that complex religious relationships based on ongoing exchanges connecting Chinese proselytizers with Japanese trailblazers greatly enhanced the expansion of various aspects of the Zen tradition. Furthermore, the scroll's mystical message has engendered countless comments about the meaning and value of Yuanwu's philosophy tendered by generations of teachers and scholars shuttling between countries.

Another important implication of maritime interactions involves the role played by gods and spirits associated with watery locales that became

known as harbingers of auspicious beginnings and defenders of the faith. These divinities included dragons and snakes in various forms, which were long considered protectors of Buddhist scriptures and diverse kinds of religious regalia and were situated in rivers, lakes, and waterways being traversed or at harbors receiving visitors from across the sea. The gods were often thought to have washed ashore and became heralded in the arrival to the new location because their presence reflected the smoothing over of difficulties for newcomers or the purifying of an immigrant's alien status in another country, as well as an impetus for adventurers seeking to forge transplantation efforts. Thus, these spirits invariably served as agents of movement, change, and transformation linked to vigorous seafaring cultural transfers and transitions.

For example, the deity known as Daigenshūri (C. Daquanxiuli) in Japan was long associated with the port at Ningbo; he rode the waves, so to speak, with Zen travelers to become established in the new land and was eventually thought of as having indigenous origins. Daigenshūri supposedly aided the transfer of the *Blue Cliff Record* to Japan, which legend says was copied in a single night before Dōgen's departure. As part of another example of transition, accounts of Tenjin Michizane, the deified spirit of the ninth century Japanese courtier Sugawara no Michizane, who was wrongfully accused of treasonous actions by rival courtiers, became part of a nationwide network of shrines that were based at the island of Kyushu, where travelers enhanced the mythology. "In Zen circles, however, Yukio Lippit points out, Tenjin Visiting China (J. *Tōtō Tenjin*) became the role of choice. In this guise, Tenjin is depicted in Daoist robes and traditional Chinese scholar's headgear, holding a plum branch and a bag containing a Zen monk's mantle (*kesa*)."[5] During the thirteenth century, the conversion of Tenjin to Zen was used by disciples of Enni's lineage in northern Kyushu in support of continental legitimacy so as to fend off intrusions made into their strongholds by other schools of Buddhism.

Viewing historical happenings as well as mythical transmissions from a transnational standpoint requires an adjusted sense of how time and chronology function in relation to the significance of space and place as vehicles for transporting cultural activities and ideologies. In many cases of the transfer of ideas and objects, such as the "Floating Yuanwu" scroll or portrayals of Tenjin Visiting China, numerous occurrences took place simultaneously or in overlapping fashion in the two countries. Changes moved from west to east, and there were also prominent examples of cross-fertilization in that islander trends in adopting Zen greatly influenced

continental developments, thus complementing the more readily apparent reverse tendency of China's impact on Japan. For example, Japanese voyagers frequently traveled to the continent in order to purchase paintings of Tenjin that were supposedly produced more "authentically" by Chinese artists for buyers from abroad.

Therefore, looking at a fundamentally bicultural phenomenon primarily in terms of a single national setting, or as a one-way street leading from mainland to islands without a sense of movement in the contrary direction, tends to diminish our knowledge of its overall impact. A fully comparative examination, on the other hand, highlights manifold ways the tradition has undertaken an ongoing process of appropriation and assimilation as well as accommodation and alteration, at once reflecting and affecting established social structures in addition to newly forming cultural attitudes.

The effective transplanting of Zen's main monastic institutional system, known in China and Japan as the Five Mountains, which transpired in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, was one of the most interesting and important examples of East Asian transmission and transformation. The term "Five Mountains" referred to different sets of leading temples and their legendary abbots that were located in or near capital cities and were supported by the government of each country. In Japan, the system was exclusively connected with the Rinzai sect, although such restrictions did not apply in China. In addition, another group of affiliated monasteries that was part of the officially sponsored Zen organizational model was known as Ten Directions Temples, indicating sacred sites located in a much wider variety of geocultural settings. Moreover, in Japan, many provincial or less prestigious Rinzai and Sōtō cloisters were linked in a broad-based association called Forest Temples that stood outside of the sanctioned Five Mountains networks. Whatever the ranking, all religious sites in both countries, including those of other Buddhist schools, were carefully regulated by edicts and decrees to ensure appropriate behavior and deference to the power of secular authority.

During the compressed but exceptionally dynamic period of transition, the Zen tradition transported a variety of refined and captivating spiritual resources. These included elements of religion that were deeply personal (e.g., prominent clerical leaders and their lay followers) and imaginatively rhetorical (poetry and prose compositions), in

addition to creatively artistic (gardening, painting, swordsmanship, tea, and theater) or functionally material (priestly garb and implements as well as new printing methods and other technical devices). In sum, the ample religious-aesthetic assets that contributed to the transfer of Zen encompassed exciting instructors, innovative temple designs, inspiring contemplative practices, stirring aesthetic expressions, and inventive writings in Chinese that were usually first produced in stylish calligraphy and later published in woodblock editions. Zen monks in Japan adopted and enhanced the hybrid form of Sino-Japanese writing known as Kanbun, especially for writing poetry, which represented a major influence on native language and culture. Some leaders preferred to write in Japanese vernacular, but all Zen priests were expected to become agile with varying styles of Kanbun composition.

The complexly interwoven nexus of sanctified elements enabled Chan to play a principal role in Chinese society, where it was the dominant tradition for several centuries over and above Confucianism, Daoism, and other schools of Buddhism. Chinese Chan particularly appealed to the literati class of scholar-officials, who benefited from its artistic approach toward spirituality that at once provided release from secular stress and offered a means for improving discipline in order to succeed in everyday life. Those factors further contributed to the forging of a fruitful relocation to Japan, as Zen quickly became the dominant sect in another highly competitive religious environment featuring various Buddhist factions and Shinto customs vying for the attention of the rising warrior class. When enthusiasm in China began to fade with the onset of Mongol rule in the Yuan dynasty, Chan clerics hoped to gain new disciples from across the waters, and quite a few found safe harbors by traveling abroad. Almost all the early émigré monks stemmed from the lineage of Yuanwu, author of the "Floating" scroll and the *Blue Cliff Record*. With its elaborate comments on *kōan* dialogues, the latter became an instant sensation in Japan when it was introduced in the early fourteenth century, and it remains an ever-present source of commentary and contemplative reflection.

Over the course of a hundred years, the operational diffusions and constructive conversions of the Chinese Chan school into the Japanese Zen sect were fulfilled. This is largely because continental cultural trends, while appearing initially to represent new and exotic imports from the mainland, were very much in accord and compatible with indigenous

Japanese traditions by conveying a profound awareness of the harmonious unity of humans and nature. That outlook was already being expressed through highly allusive and symbolic Japanese poetry in the thirty-one-syllable, five-line *waka* form, which was filled with metaphor and wordplay associated with the turning of the four seasons that generated the complementary emotions of melancholy (represented, for example, by the falling of autumn leaves) and renewal (the flourishing of spring blossoms). Zen complemented and augmented local aesthetic trends in Japan by presenting centuries' worth of major continental scholarly and artistic developments that had reached a peak stage of achievement in the Song dynasty, sparking intense Japanese interest.

Chinese monks had compelling reasons based on political pressures at home to seek out Japanese disciples, either among pilgrims who came to their country or by venturing to sea. In Japan, the governance of the Hōjō clan of shoguns pursued continental invention and prestige in order to legitimate its martial rule after centuries of aristocratic governance. The importation of Zen reinforced the shogunate's sense of self-esteem and buttressed its collective samurai ideals. Some of the Hōjō rulers, particularly Tokiyori and his son Tokimune, took a passionate personal interest in Zen during the last half of the thirteenth century as a guide for administrative decision-making in addition to attaining their own spiritual experiences, motivated in part by regret and repentance for a lifetime of aggressive behavior. But they also issued proclamations that strictly controlled monks' behavior at temples built by the warlords. Like scholar-officials of China, the rank-and-file samurai greatly benefited from the Zen approach to the harmonious relationship between spirituality and secularism.

In *Public Zen, Personal Zen*, Peter Hershock refers to Zen as the result of "an 'arranged' cultural marriage." That is, "Zen is not just transplanted Chinese Chan. . . . [T]he Zen traditions that began emerging in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries are not merely reproductions or imitations of Chan on Japanese soil."[6] The flourishing of Zen in Japan, even more so than on the continent, resulted in a full integration of meditative religion with a variety of practical in addition to fine arts. As Alexander Kabanoff suggests, "there was nothing static about the transnational transition," since "Chan teaching and practice underwent a considerable transformation in Japan. The Japanese propagators tried to adapt Chan to local conditions and to give it a more utilitarian character."[7]

Sociopolitical Motivations and Cultural Constructions

It is important to trace the transplantation process in terms of how social and political trends helped shape developments that relied primarily on the mythical standpoint of the Legend of Living Buddhas, which refers to the inspiring charisma and inventive teaching capacity of eminent Zen masters. The interpretation I propose seeks to overcome various sorts of methodological bifurcations representing the polarizing tendency to examine the tradition by putting an emphasis on either how Chinese Chan exerted influence or the ways of Japanese Zen's accommodation and acculturation.

A bifurcated outlook may default to uncritical support for stereotypically split views of the tradition without necessarily considering important areas of replication, renewal, or reversal that reveal linkages underlying apparent divisions. In contrast to a divisive view, my aim is to integrate and synthesize diverse scholarly materials and research perspectives cutting across apparent historical, national, sectarian, regional, and applied religious partitions. This helps fashion a holistic outlook encompassing variations and divergences in terms of how to examine in innovative ways key developments that took place in different societal settings.

If the transplantation of Zen is seen primarily from a Sino-centric perspective, then occurrences in Japan will appear to reflect the tail end of a long maturation process. From that standpoint, visitors from overseas carried out and helped maintain old customs by reenacting bygone debates about the methods of meditation and *kōan* studies. That occurred either without much novelty and invention, in one perspective, or, contrariwise, by diluting and polluting the supposed purity of Chan through compromises and deficiencies.

When the transition is viewed mainly in terms of what transpired in Japan, the focus shifts drastically away from continental influences to the period of the New Kamakura Buddhism of the thirteenth century. Zen is thereby considered a mainly indigenous undertaking that unfolded alongside the formation of other new sects with charismatic leaders who broke away from the hegemony that the Tendai church held throughout the Heian era. Like Zen, the other heterodox-reform thinkers were dismissive of government-required rituals, whether publicly or privately enacted, in favor of a single selected practice based, depending on the sect, on either prayer, recitation, or meditation. Some accounts of medieval

Japanese Buddhism disparage Zen as a throwback to Chinese hierarchical influences imported in mechanical fashion by Dōgen, Enni, and other pilgrims, whereas other new Kamakura sects are praised for emphasizing egalitarian tendencies reminiscent of modern democratic tendencies.

However, the main teachers of the Pure Land sects, including Hōnen and Shinran, derived their approaches largely from mainland practice methods and images of Amida Buddha. Moreover, Nichiren founded an eponymous sect based on his distinctive view of the importance of the teachings of the *Lotus Sutra*, a scripture imported from China that also greatly influenced Tendai in addition to Zen thought. All of the newly forming medieval Japanese schools actually had deep roots in Chinese Buddhism in terms of their ideological and disciplinary underpinnings, but much of that influence gets overlooked when there is a primary focus on domestic religious configurations and interactions.

A promising scholarly direction is suggested by the title of a volume edited by Shimao Arata, *Five Mountains Cultures of East Asia* (*Higashi Ajia no naka no Gozan bunka*). This book is the fourth in an important series developed by University of Tokyo scholar Kojima Tsuyoshi, Exploring Themes Beyond East Asian Maritime Boundaries. Shimao's edition announces on the cover that it deals with the "dynamic activities of Zen masters and the flourishing of Zen culture." According to this crossover outlook, which is similarly used in world-historical studies of the Mediterranean as well as the Caribbean, the West Indian Ocean, and other examples of culturally connective waterways, the seas between China and Japan are viewed as a crucial link rather than an obstacle. Contributors to the volume consistently highlight how networks of Zen temples involved seafaring associations, so developments in China often responded to the ways events unfolded in the Japanese setting.[8]

Building on standpoints reflected in those studies, my aim is to show the intertwining at nearly every historical turn of two major factors that helped promote the effectiveness of the transnational, trans-sectarian process of transplantation. One feature involves sociopolitical motivations derived from various pulls and pushes due to fluctuating governmental and related secular influences. The other element refers to cultural constructions based on examples of elite textual learning and contemplative arts on the part of well-educated monks in addition to the use of folklore and popular beliefs in order to sway the general populace.

As for the role of politics, when we think of determinative civil and diplomatic events of the thirteenth century in East Asia that were based on

nautical excursions, no doubt the single major image is of two successive but ultimately unsuccessful Mongol Empire campaigns to drive Japan into submission as one more of its vast territories, but the first situated to the east. Kublai Khan was at the peak of power as his domain expanded in a westward direction by overtaking most of the rest of the known world approaching Europe, including Central Asia, Eurasia, South Asia, and the Middle East, most of which easily fell victim. Grandson to Genghis Khan, who died in 1227 (the same year Dōgen returned to Japan) after enlarging the realm through a rapid series of victories, Kublai conquered Song China in 1271 and sent a well-equipped armada to the shores of southern Japan three years later. A forceful winter storm that Japanese refer to as the "divine wind" (*kamikaze*, the same term that was later used for suicide bomber pilots during World War II) dispelled the invaders, who tried again in 1281, when a massive typhoon once again shattered the huge fleet sent by the khans.

It is less widely recognized that Zen Buddhism played a key role, directly or indirectly, in shaping some of the decisive sociopolitical events. For example, one of Genghis Khan's main advisors was Yelu Chucai, a diplomat from a formerly rival tribe, the Khitans, who were defeated by the Jin rulers before they, in turn, were overcome by the Mongols. Yelu was a lay follower of the Chan monk Wansong, whose numerous important writings interpreting *kōan* cases, especially the *Record of Serenity* (C. *Congronglu*, J. *Shōyōroku*) collection of one hundred case commentaries, were designed to appeal to the great khan's growing entourage by showing links connecting Chan thought with Confucianism and Daoism. Wansong's expansive collection was patterned after the *Blue Cliff Record* and composed while he was at a temple retreat in Beijing, which at that time was not a part of China proper but controlled by the Jin dynasty. Despite its appeal to a broad following, the relatively isolated location of its origins meant that the *Record of Serenity* did not reach Japan and become popular there until the late sixteenth century.

Following this effort, Wansong's main disciple, Linquan, served as a primary consultant to Kublai Khan on religious debates in which the Chan school prevailed over both Tibetan Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity by using indirect teachings that befuddled the rivals, foreshadowing what Daitō would accomplish in Japan a half century later. An additional development reflecting political influence is that the travels of Dōgen and other early Japanese pilgrims were affected by shifting administrative sands at home and abroad. Moreover, during the period of invasions from 1274 to 1281, Hōjō Tokimume conferred with exiled monks he favored, especially

Wuxue, the second main émigré leader after Lanqi, on how to respond to the threat. Wuxue was once suspected of spying, as were many foreigners in both countries, but he eventually earned the trust of the shogun by teaching him to deal with military affairs through the use of *kōan* exercises and the powerful effects of sitting meditation.

The period of transnational transition in China encompassed the final stages of the Song dynasty, controlled by the literati class, and the first half of the Yuan dynasty, which brought about a rather drastic shift from native to outsider rule. This political change greatly affected the dominant role that Chan occupied, and it stimulated some monks to either travel or receive overseas visitors as part of a growing trend considered crucial for the endurance of the tradition. The transplantation process also spanned the Kamakura era in Japan, which featured strong support for the fledgling Zen movement by the newly powerful warlords, who resisted invasion by following the recommendations of priests who had recently arrived from China. The Hōjō rulers were overthrown in the 1300s and replaced by rival militarists from the Ashikaga clan, who also enthusiastically backed Zen for the next century and a half. Transfer activities from mainland to islands continued well into the Muromachi era, when Five Mountains temples in Japan were tiered for the first time in a system devised by the shogunal government as based on Chinese models.

Although the two main branches in Japan were reliant on ongoing Chinese influences, it is clear that the Rinzai sect primarily gained support from a revived aristocratic class in Kyoto that was intrigued by the lyrical depth and refinement of the new style of hybrid Sino-Japanese poetry. Sōtō Zen for the most part spread into rural areas, largely among illiterate farmers who benefited from construction projects supported by monks. Nevertheless, there was a shared emphasis on the part of Rinzai and Sōtō on *kōan* studies and the promotion of *zazen* meditation. The supposed opposition that is expressed in many modern accounts of apparent Rinzai support for investigating test cases through introspection in contrast to Sōtō support for the silent-contemplation style of meditation minus reflection, as if these were ever really two distinct and separable practices, was more or less invented and applied retroactively in the Tokugawa era (1603–1868). At that time, the government required that each Buddhist sect identify its primary teaching principles, to ensure that these were different from those of rival lineages. Ever since, the shogun's decree has continued to affect interpretations of what transpired in medieval Japan.

A key factor abetting the transplantation process was that the historical conditions were ripe: the two societal settings shared many common features, while also reflecting different stages in the respective trajectories of national growth. Song China was characterized by an increasingly complex economy enhanced by transregional trade routes that were facilitated by new technologies and inventions affecting printing and travel. Rather than the older hierarchical stratification of society based primarily on aristocratic background, higher levels of education encouraged the rise of a meritocratic system that led to social mobility for many citizens who gained specialized skills relevant to advancing urbanized civil functions and commercial enterprises.[9]

With the ascension of the class of scholar-officials, who promoted the importance of erudition and edification, came an increase in leisure time and recreational activities, thus creating opportunities to satisfy a spiritual longing for bucolic interludes through appreciating the subjective meanings embedded in Chan's impressionistic poetry and painting. The goal of gaining release from social ills was accompanied by an intense new interest in religious literature and art in order to stimulate an ethic of professional advancement. Moreover, for lesser-educated classes, an attachment to supernatural beliefs regarding the inevitability of karmic retribution propelled the popularity of Zen methods for eliminating the effects of demonic spirits through exorcism and other ritual methods of repentance or devotion.

Many of the same social structures impacted thirteenth-century Japan. Since the Hōjō clan became keenly aware of the loss of intellectual prestige precipitated by the ongoing warfare that they helped instigate, the shoguns strengthened their intellectual reputation through the vessel of Zen spirituality, which was injected into diverse forms of martial activities. China and Japan exercised a pluralistic view inclusive of rival religious standpoints that was accompanied by strict government oversight. This situation fostered an open-ended and tolerant yet also schismatic and very much contested religious environment. Political support and supervision were crucial factors in the success or failure of any movement, including Confucianism, Daoism, and Shinto in addition to various Buddhist factions. Each one of these groups tried to promote particular advantages by distinguishing its own unique style of theory and practice from that of opponents, who were subjected to harsh criticism. Government officials, who often had connections or received some benefit from supporting

clerical leaders, were in charge of appointing abbacies at Zen monasteries that were treated as public institutions.

Living Buddhas

The triumph of Zen in East Asia was to a large extent the result of productive interactions of savvy monks with rulers, regents, and courtiers. Some priests who may have opposed or tried but failed to accommodate the wishes of secular leaders suffered harsh consequences, including imprisonment or exile. An example in China was the banishment of the eminent twelfth-century master Dahui to the malarial southern provinces because he crossed paths with partisan political competitors in the capital. This exile lasted for nearly two decades in the midst of an otherwise impressive career that was strongly supported by officials with whom he was aligned. Dahui's status was rehabilitated near the end of his life and he died as an abbot who, like a returning hero, had been installed at the most prestigious of the Five Mountains temples. The story of his trials and tribulations, and of how he endured and overcame their impact, became a central part of the narrative eulogizing his role as a venerated master. As a similar example of how suffering from political turmoil stiffened religious resolve in Japan, Dōgen's flight from Kyoto about fifteen years after he returned from China was due in part to fierce opposition from the Tendai sect, which is said to have burned down his original monastery established in Kyoto. Even though Dōgen was a fierce critic of Dahui, who represented a rival faction, his life story bears many similarities in terms of their respective capacities to transmute secular despair into triumph in the sacred realm.

Zen gained viability as an institution in East Asian society by maintaining a firm commitment to the strict practice of austere discipline linked to a flexible philosophy integrating inspirational aesthetics with the activities of ordinary life. That adaptable approach also helped lay followers achieve career goals while at the same time realizing some degree of relief from the humdrum of everyday tasks. Overcoming strategic obstacles to gain entrée into the halls of power was mainly a by-product of social accomplishments that appealed to privileged members of the ruling class intrigued by the spiritual capacity of Zen ideas and ideals. In Japan, however, Zen's success represented much more than its role as emissary of continental culture. Fundamentally, it cultivated self-awareness by promoting the view that

everyone can and should make the effort to attain enlightenment based on innate cognitive abilities. This standpoint gained backing from the elite class of both societies, including educated literati and skilled warriors receptive to the notion that self-reliance was key to shaping their destiny.

Therefore, Zen's ascendant path as a monastic organization patronized by elite lay disciples was primarily the result of having "developed powerful new rhetorical modes and polemical strategies and produced an appealing body of quasi-historical mythological lore . . . which served to spread its message and sustain its claims to spiritual leadership."[10] Underlying the transformational process were the multiple elements of a powerful fabled standpoint based on the presence of Living Buddhas. The central myth of the Zen school reflects the belief that an adroit master embodies the essential qualities of Buddha. Rather than practicing reverence for an iconic Buddhist image as an otherworldly object of worship for believers to behold and venerate from a distance out of a sense of their incapacity and insecurity, a Zen adept's teaching methods serve as a this-worldly model for seekers to emulate so that they too are able to attain enlightenment on their own by sharing the innate quality of Buddha-nature.

According to this foundational legend, the principle of Buddha-nature is experienced by the Zen master in communion with all human existence and natural surroundings and becomes manifested in every aspect of his pedagogical methods, approaches to training, ritual activities, daily meditation, and poetic writings or paintings, as well as any and all other creative articulations of wisdom. As living representations of the Buddha, illuminated Zen teachers are fully capable of coming down to earth from a transcendent realm in order to serve the pragmatic role of an abbot managing temple compounds on a daily basis while addressing the religious needs of monastic and lay followers. As Dōgen says in a sermon about having a dream in which he and Sakyamuni tease and fool each other but end by writing poetry together, "Whether Buddha is present or not present, I trust he is right under our feet. Face after face is Buddha's face; fulfillment after fulfillment is Buddha's fulfillment." Dōgen adds in another lecture, "Buddhas of all times share the same hands and eyes with you right here and now, and sustain this interaction every day of the year. Ancestors from all generations take part in one body and mind with you right here and now, and uphold this compatibility month after month."

The process of transplantation, which unfolded rather slowly in the first few decades of the transitional century but then gained considerable

momentum and culminated rapidly, was fueled by personal interactions through dynamic exchanges between Chinese and Japanese monks. These encounters generated feelings of warmheartedness and mutual empathy based on communal participation in the primal mythology of Living Buddhas, as well as a profound sense of loss and regret when it came time for transients to take leave of their sojourns. Zen priests often performed intricate clerical rites based on adhering to stringent monastic discipline while producing voluminous literary compositions and artistic masterworks. The clerics also often served as commissioners, consultants, envoys, prefects, or interpreters for domestic or foreign affairs, intimately involved in the functions of the more exclusive levels of society. Their civil functions, which often tested the validity of a recluse's ethereal experience when applied to concrete societal roles, inspired a broad audience of people looking for ways of relating spiritual transcendence to ordinary life. The secular elite sought to gain release and a sense of liberation from their regimen. They also found the meditative theories and practices of Zen training an efficacious means of improving their social mobility by achieving higher levels of self-awareness that enabled them to pass exams and gain professional advancement.

In some instances, the master's involvement in secular activity could lead to an apparent temptation with hypocrisy or cause other frustrations. But the most successful Zen teachers managed to find ingenious ways to turn any ambiguity or feeling of uncertainty concerning lifestyle choices into positive attitudes about the frailty and vulnerability, yet ultimate exaltation and reward, of the religious vision of self-reliance. The eleventh-century monk-poet Xuedou was one of the first Chinese priests to comment extensively in poetic and prose comments on the puzzling symbolism of *kōan* cases, in the *One Hundred Verse Comments* (*Xuedou baize songguji*), published in 1038, which formed the basis of the *Blue Cliff Record* a century later. The test cases were usually based on perplexing and paradoxical sayings and stories regarding the dialogues of Tang-dynasty adepts, such as the seemingly impious remarks "Nothing is to be gained from doing good deeds," "Buddha-nature has no real value," and "An enlightened sage must take a leap from the top of a tall pole."

Xuedou's body of writing was perhaps the single major influence on the composition of commentary on test cases produced by later generations of Zen monks in China and Japan. In the following verse, which evokes traditional folklore about intrepid explorers seeking to wrest a fabulous prize

from an undersea dragon guarding a precious gem, the master reflects on his career path of lecturing to promulgate abstruse Chan teachings for monastic and lay disciples:

> For over twenty long, hard years of bitter suffering,
> I've been plunging to the depths of the blue dragon's lair for your sake;
> How much grief this has caused me can hardly be recounted,
> If you wish to be an esteemed Chan adept, you'd better not take my work lightly!

The dragon is associated in Chinese lore with wish-fulfilling jewels that can be used to pacify a realm and bring peace and safekeeping to its people. Its hidden home is also known for protecting Buddhist teachings expressed in the scrolls of handwritten sutras. During the era of transplantation that took place two centuries after Xuedou's verse, the maritime abode of dragons was also associated with cultural and commercial connections linking China and Japan that resembled the role of Daigenshūri.

The main aim of Zen discourse is to resist and prevent any form of expression that smacks of commonplace emotions or stereotypical viewpoints from standing pat as a formulation through consistent rhetorical undermining and reversal of its fundamental implications. This comes even at the expense of seeming to flout or insult the giants of the tradition, although the true intention of such discourse is to elevate instead of detract from the spiritual atmosphere. Therefore, in his disingenuously blasphemous commentary on Xuedou's verse, Yuanwu tries to break the spell that his predecessor's mythmaking may have cast on the audience by saying ironically, "So unhappy, his sad words sadden people to death. Poor miserable man, you must try not to preach to despondent people in such a melancholy way!"

In a similar vein with regard to having somewhat mixed but, in the end, celebratory feelings about the relation between the spiritual and mundane worlds is an interesting verse by the early fourteenth-century Japanese pilgrim Betsugen. Like many of his contemporaries, Betsugen traveled extensively for ten years while studying with various masters in China, including the eminent monk-poet Gulin, who mentored numerous Japanese visitors and often wrote odes either certifying their enlightenment or regretting their departure from the continent to return home. In contrast to some of his native followers, who accompanied their

companions to the islands, Gulin never left China but contributed greatly to transnational transitions. According to Betsugen's verse:

> A wild crane and a lonely cloud do not leave a trace in the sky.
> So I too am not attached to this vain world anywhere.
> A row of trees like a screen is set out in front of the rock;
> The peaks, as if strained, are rising farther to the sky.[11]

For Betsugen, who likely composed the poem while staying at an urban temple rather than an isolated mountain retreat, the purity of the bird and cloud passing above the lofty summits serves as a reminder of the apparent contrast of the constancy of the sacred realm with the prevarications of worldly life.

The challenge for prominent Zen teachers was to maintain their commitment to the path of quietude without attachment while also performing effectively, rather than neglecting or abandoning various administrative, instructional, or outreach functions expected of all monastic leaders. On the other hand, in both countries there were many examples of Zen teachers portrayed as trickster figures who played the role of a wise fool by deliberately breaking the rules of propriety and etiquette in order to demonstrate a carefree attitude rising above mundane considerations. Many such ironic heroes were thought to have gained magical powers that could spread the teaching through miracles and exorcisms, just as much as by the production of eloquent sermons or fine arts.

The most famous Chan trickster in Song China was the outrageous twelfth-century monk Ji Gong, whom people called a madman, vagabond, or drunken clown and who is still eulogized in TV shows produced in China today. Ji Gong wore improper clothes and acted impertinently while wandering between various temple sites, so as to mock all manner of sacred and secular authority. His unorthodox behavior in taking on the guise of a ne'er-do-well showed an uncanny knack for exposing the foibles and corruption of the rich and powerful, and thereby defeating evil forces while saving the day for the righteous. Ji Gong is commemorated at a Zen temple in Hangzhou where he resided, and his statue sits adjacent to the tomb of the revered master Rujing, who was known for his Spartan behavior while teaching Japanese pilgrim Dōgen and other foreign visitors, especially Korean monks. This makes for a fascinating juxtaposition of symbols regarding the institutional regularity and behavioral irregularity of Zen masters' approaches to religious fulfillment.

Beginning in the last half of the thirteenth century, dozens of monks traveled from Japan to the mainland on a regular basis, while many Chinese clerics who taught these travelers accompanied their newfound colleagues on the way back to Japan in order to connect with more disciples. Other Chinese priests decided to come on their own to the island, or were invited by the shogunate in an attempt to enlist continental guidance. In some instances, Japanese seekers stayed home but sent samples of their poetry and painting across the waters in order to solicit approval and gain inscriptions from Chinese counterparts or monastic superiors such as Gulin, the teacher of Betsugen and many other pilgrims.

One of the main themes of Zen arts was to depict a sense of sorrow and nostalgia triggered by the departure of prized visitors. This leave-taking reminded all parties to value the unique opportunity for learning that their constructive interactions inspired, as examples of what is referred to in Japanese as "treasure each and every chance to meet" (*ichigo ichie*, literally "one occasion, one encounter"). According to a poignant verse that was sent to a Japanese monk staying on the mainland by the Chinese priest Mingji, who arrived in Japan around 1330 and gained many new followers there:

> The distance between us must not be the measure
> of our closeness;
> In the two lands the scenery has turned to spring,
> And we are both strangers in a strange land now,
> The two of us lifting our broken begging bowls.[12]

In addition, many paintings from this era depicted Chinese monks standing sadly on the shore and waving a fond though regretful farewell to their Japanese counterparts, as they drifted off in a boat to return to their native land.

Almost all the maritime traffic took place between two main ports. In China, the town of Ningbo, now across the bay from modern Shanghai, was the gateway to all the major Chan monasteries in the vicinity of Hangzhou and many other territories. As the site where Marco Polo set sail for his lengthy return trip to Italy via the so-called Silk Road of the Sea, Ningbo was a Buddhist center for centuries well before the rise of Chan. It received priestly voyagers from various parts of Asia arriving to visit China. In Japan, comings and goings invariably occurred in the harbor of Hakata (or nearby Dazaifu), on the coast of the island of Kyushu.

Hakata became an important center of temple life, where a vibrant culture of material exchanges transpired involving the trade of precious or prized objects such as bowls, drums, robes, scrolls, staffs, and other kinds of religious implements, whose novelty and ingenuity made them part of the overall package that made Zen spirituality appealing to islanders. It is said that the different customs and colors these items represented were seen as strange and alienating in Japan at first, and were sometimes prohibited by local edicts. However, eventually they were swept into a boom of intensive interest in exotic yet practical continental influences.

Living Buddhas are considered to remain in an animated state even after death or the demise of the physical component. Although Buddhism emphasizes impermanence and rejects claims of eternal existence, the masters are ceremonially memorialized through ritual portraiture inscribed with poetry written in anticipation of death. These highly stylized paintings are displayed prominently on temple grounds and sometimes placed on the high seat or throne of the deceased teacher for constant viewing by his surviving flock. Most such verses express an appropriate degree of self-reflective humility mixed with self-reliance. Often claims are made that the master was sitting upright holding the brush at the moment of demise.[13] An example of a death verse by the émigré monk Lanqi, who died in 1278 after spending more than three decades teaching in Japan: "Thirty years and more I worked to nullify myself. / Now I leap into the realm of death. / The ground churns up / The skies spin round." According to the fifteenth-century master Ikkyū, who was known for his blatant violations of strict monastic rules, "Bury me when I die beneath a wine barrel in a tavern. / With luck the cask will leak." There are many poems reflecting on the view that death and life are indistinguishable, such as "Empty-handed I entered the world. / Barefoot I leave it. / My coming, my going, / Two simple happenings / That somehow got very much entangled."[14]

Notes

1. See Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900–1950* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967).
2. This collection, like many of the main Zen texts, are included in volume 48 of the main modern edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon, known as the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, that was published in Japan between 1912 and 1924.

3. Tanaka Takeo with Robert Sakai, "Japan's Relations with Overseas Countries," in *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, ed. John W. Hall and Tanaka Takeo (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 171. In the same volume H. Paul Varley argues that "those who embraced Zen were motivated to journey to China for inspiration and study. It was largely for this reason that members of the Zen priesthood came to play a prominent role not only in the importation of Chinese culture to Japan but also in trade and general intercourse with China during the medieval age"; Varley, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and the World of Kitayama: Social Change and Shogunal Patronage in Early Muromachi Japan," 192.
4. Gregory P. A. Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005).
5. Gregory Levine and Yukio Lippit, *Awakenings: Zen Figure Painting in Medieval Japan* (New York: Japan Society, 2007).
6. Peter D. Hershock, *Public Zen, Personal Zen: A Buddhist Introduction* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014), 57.
7. Alexander Kabanoff, "Man and Nature in Gozan Poetry," *Petersburg Journal of Cultural Studies* 1, no. 2 (1994): 73.
8. Another book by a Japanese researcher, Yu Iji's *Studies of Five Mountains Literature* (*Gozan bungaku no kenkyū*) (Tokyo: Kyuko Shoin, 2004) covers a similar approach in great historical detail.
9. Jacques Gernet, *Daily Life in China on the Eve of the Mongol Invasion 1250–1276* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1962).
10. T. Griffith Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism," in *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China*, ed. Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 149.
11. Kabanoff, "Man and Nature in Gozan Poetry," 76 (modified).
12. David Pollack, *Zen Poems of the Five Mountains* (New York: Scholars Press, 1985), 102.
13. Buddhist death poems written in Kanbun are referred to in Japanese as *yuige*, but other death poems by monks or non-monastics written in the *waka* form using Kana are known as *jisei*.
14. Compare this to Job's parting words in the Old Testament: "Naked I came from my mother's womb, and naked I will depart. The Lord gave and the Lord has taken away; may the name of the Lord be praised."

PART II

Troubling at First, then Turning into the Establishment

3

Transmissions

WHEN DŌGEN ATTAINED ENLIGHTENMENT IN CHINA IN 1225

THE THREE CHAPTERS in this section of the book show how Zen grew slowly at first in both countries but soon became the dominant East Asian religious movement for a period that lasted several hundred years. During the transitional century, groundbreaking Japanese monks learned directly and enacted the central myth of becoming a Living Buddha through gaining firsthand knowledge based on face-to-face interactions while receiving transmission from Chinese mentors. This gave the Japanese monks a strong sense of authenticity, in that their interior spiritual experiences were considered valid since they were not based merely on secondhand, book-learning methods.

Direct personal transmission also provided the mark of authority because when confronted with skeptics or critics, the Japanese clerics could evoke continental sources and seals of approval as external certifications that legitimated their leadership efforts. The twin peaks of individual authenticity and communal authority enabled inventive pioneers to repudiate an early Zen movement known as the Daruma school, titled after the Japanese pronunciation of the name of the first Chinese Chan patriarch (Damo in Chinese, Bodhidharma in Sanskrit), since its founder, Nōnin, had never been to China. Aware of this deficiency, Nōnin sent two disciples to the mainland to earn a pseudo-transmission seal from a teacher in the lineage of Dahui, which was, it turned out, dying off, so this ploy to gain indirect legitimacy proved unsuccessful.

Through face-to-face encounters, Zen was transmitted to Japan from Song-dynasty China, where at the beginning of the 1200s it had come to

enjoy the status of functioning as the major Buddhist school but by the point of its apogee was already becoming fearful of decline due to imminent Mongol invasion. In addition, some of the sharp criticisms about an apparent lack of ethical discipline stemming from eminent Neo-Confucian philosopher Zhu Xi were taking hold among some scholar-officials. Zhu had practiced Chan enthusiastically as a young man but soon after rejected its impious or antinomian tendencies that, he felt, violated traditional Confucian propriety.

Meanwhile, Zen was starting to spread to Kamakura-era Japan, which had shifted dramatically from a long-term aristocratic government to a quickly evolving military-based government seeking the benefits of continental cultural resources, including literary and fine arts that were being transferred through the importation and incorporation of the foreign faith. Transplanting Zen to the archipelago was completed after a period of one hundred years of making gradual inroads through a constructive and for the most part steady, albeit at times rocky and rather unpredictable, path of progress. It seems clear that at the inception of the process in the first half of the thirteenth century, no one could have foreseen the wide-ranging successes that would catapult Zen into so much prominence just a few generations later.

As mentioned in the preface, the overall transmission cycle was framed by two main occurrences. The event that signaled the beginning of the progression was Dōgen's enlightenment, which was attained in 1225 in China. At the time this took place, Dōgen was for the most part an unheralded monk considered a solitary and vulnerable outsider with regard to the mainstream of Japanese religion and culture. His accomplishment, however significant it may seem in retrospect, gained very limited attention at the time it transpired, mainly from a small crowd of close followers. Dōgen's teachings were not broadly disseminated, and by 1243 he had left Kyoto for the northern provinces located in the remote Hokuriku region. Only years later, long after the Zen movement precipitated by Dōgen and other early pilgrims was able to prevail over much resistance, did his story of awakening become well known in his native nation. In recent years, interpreters of traditional Japanese thought, including sectarian as well as academic historians, have highlighted the paradigmatic quality of Dōgen's successful voyage to the mainland, based on dedication and determination to realize the Buddha Dharma no matter the obstacles.[1]

Following some significant inroads made by several monks including Dōgen, who in 1248 turned down Hōjō Tokiyorī's request to become the

shogun's personal teacher at a major temple that was later awarded to the émigré monk Lanqi, the last half of the thirteenth century featured the arrival of several dozen priests who came from China. They quickly got involved in vigorous exchanges with numerous Japanese counterparts, including the shogunal rulers. Many clerics from Japan visited the continent to study with famous masters, and they sometimes returned home in the company of a new group of émigrés that included talented artists and skilled craftsmen in addition to monks. By the second half of the twelfth century, the town of Kamakura was hospitable to the construction of Zen temples based on Hōjō clan support.

After a period of rapid expansion, the primary event that marked the completion of the process of transferring Zen to Japan was Daitō's 1325 victory in an official debate with leaders of other Buddhist sects, especially the Tendai church. This triumph was fully supported by both shogunal and imperial authorities, who embraced the spiritual guidance offered by Daitō. The teacher's success vividly demonstrated that he and many other Zen teachers who had not traveled to China, including such prominent priests as Kōhō, Kokan, and Musō, nevertheless had mastered the ability to read carefully and comment critically on classical sources while writing in Kanbun, the hybrid form of literary language that combined Chinese characters and phrasing with Japanese syntax and grammar.

Daitō's triumph occurred the same year as the death of Keizan, the Sōtō sect's second main patriarch, another crucial leader who had not been to the mainland but who greatly expanded his movement's profile to northern provinces.[2] Despite their lineal divergences, both Dōgen at the beginning of the cycle of transfer and Daitō at its end were particularly skilled in their respective ways at appropriating Song-dynasty Chan writings from a distinctively Kamakura-era Zen standpoint. By adopting transnational and, therefore, bilingual and bicultural perspectives to comment inventively on canonical texts, the considerable contributions made by Dōgen and Daitō to the overall impact of Zen literature in many ways eclipsed those of Chinese masters.

The century of transplantation, encompassing Zen's distinctive method of challenging and eventually breaking free from the prevalence of the Tendai sect, developed in three main historical stages. For a quick synopsis, the first stage of initial acculturation lasted from 1225 to 1253, when Japanese monks initially received direct transmission in China to become Living Buddhas who brought the fundamental myth back to their home country. The second stage, marked by the arrival of émigré Chan monks,

endured from 1253 to 1299, by which time the presence of the Zen legend was more deeply entrenched in Japan.

The third stage of gaining sectarian autonomy transpired from 1299 to 1325 and created a full-scale environment reflecting multiple manifestations of Living Buddhas, with mainlander and islander practitioners coexisting harmoniously and developing the tradition in idiosyncratic but highly productive ways. The three phases represented sequential steps leading from early outsider status to a concluding point whereby Zen found its central place in Japanese society. In China at this time, Chan continued to permeate all sectors of society, albeit in somewhat diminished fashion largely based on support from Japanese in addition to Korean monastic visitors, whose level of enthusiasm for Zen practice may have surpassed that of native monks.

To give a more complete overview of the developmental stages, the first phase endured for about twenty-five years, beginning with one of the most remarkable decades in East Asian history, even though several events that can now be seen as connected were not recognized when they took place as being part of an important cultural pattern. The main Chan activities were transpiring in and around the capital city of Hangzhou, where Linji-school monk Wumen published the famous *kōan* commentary *Wumen's Barrier*. Although this text later became one of the most important documents studied at Rinzai Zen temples, Japanese monks did not know of its existence until the 1250s, when it was first brought to the archipelago, and probably did not read it carefully for another century.

Meanwhile, to the north in Beijing, which was being wrested from the Jin tribes by the forces of Genghis Khan, who died in 1227, the Caodong-school monk Wansong composed in 1224 another important *kōan* collection, the *Record of Serenity*. Strongly supported in his role as an important abbot by both Jin and Mongol rulers, Wansong was encouraged by his lay disciple Yelu Chucai to pen this work in order to impress the great khan with Chan learning. A devout Buddhist practitioner from the Khitan tribes that were conquered by the Jin, Yelu was a poet and diplomat who became a key advisor to Genghis Khan. He petitioned the Mongol ruler to curb violence when they overtook the Jin dynasty by encouraging him to govern and tax fairly a vanquished region, rather than punish or slaughter its inhabitants. Yelu is thus credited with saving the lives of countless Han Chinese as well.

According to a verse about Chan practice by Yelu titled "Attaining the Unity of Practice and Realization," "Marching for ten thousand miles

through wind-blown sand— / North, south, east, and west, it's all home. / In the end, the heart is emptied, / Nothing stirs the mind, a white lotus."[3] However, when Dōgen reached China in the same decade when so many significant Chan writings were being created, he was no doubt unaware of Wumen, Yelu, or Wansong. Even though the last of this group was part of the Caodong lineage, he lived in a faraway region and his masterpiece did not reach the shores of Japan until several hundred years after Dōgen's visit. This lacuna highlights how much knowledge about Chan still needed to be gained by Japanese monks.

Stage one covered the introduction and initial assimilation of Zen as a set of alien religious and cultural influences based on the experiences of awakening attained by Dōgen and Enni, who visited the continent a decade later, while training under eminent Chinese mentors, Rujing and Wuzhun, respectively. These two monumentally influential pilgrims returned to Japan to build major monasteries for the Sōtō and Rinzai branches in ways that created the conditions for all subsequent developments. Both early Zen travelers used various literary styles and formed methods for teaching disciples by following techniques they imported from the mainland.

Enni's major temple, Tōfukuji, established in Kyoto with the backing of the still-powerful Fujiwara clan, integrated sitting meditation with Tendai rites, much like Eisai's Kenninji temple, which also supported syncretic practices. Therefore, Dōgen's provincial cloister at Eiheiji was probably the first institution in Japan to practice *zazen* exclusive of Tendai influence. Monks at Eiheiji also adhered closely to the seven-hall monastic layout favored by the Chinese Five Mountains temples, as illustrated in a manual on constructing monasteries that was reprinted in Japan around 1250. Ten years later, during the second transitional stage, the Song Chan temple design began to proliferate at several new Kamakura monasteries that were commissioned by the shogunate, especially Kenchōji temple, built in 1253, and Engakuji temple, opened in 1282.

The first phase concluded with journeys by two additional important monks. One was the return home in 1254 after six years in China of Kakushin, who before leaving for the mainland studied with Dōgen and Enni and then trained under Wumen while abroad. Kakushin brought back to Japan a handwritten author's copy of *Wumen's Barrier*, which was probably the first major Chan text to be received on the islands. The second journey was the arrival on the islands of Lanqi, the first of the great émigré monks.

Lanqi was trained in the lineage of Enni's Chinese teacher, Wuzhun, who was a member of the stream of twelfth-century master Yuanwu. Lanqi's role reinforced the pedigree stemming from Yuanwu's lineages that become critical for the formation of the entire Rinzai sect. Entering Japan of his own accord in the late 1240s, rather than arriving by official invitation, Lanqi's presence soon came to the attention of Hōjō Tokiyori, who greatly admired the exile and installed him as abbot of Kenchōji temple. Like Eiheiji, Kenchōji was based on the layout of Chan's Five Mountains temples. It is recorded in Dōgen's traditional biographies that Tokiyori initially offered him the opportunity to hold the abbacy of this new monastery. Dōgen supposedly declined the proposal because it would have required him to leave behind the mountain setting he adored to become enmeshed in the world of political connections.

The former garrison town of Kamakura is today located about an hour southeast by train from modern Tokyo, which was just a small fishing village nearly four centuries before the Tokugawa shoguns established it in 1603 as the castle town that served as the center of their realm. Tokyo soon after that became the largest urban complex in the world. Turned into a home for various kinds of Buddhist priests by the Hōjō clan, Kamakura also featured as an important landmark an impressive outdoor statue of Amida Buddha that is worshiped by the Pure Land sect. Known as the Great Buddha (Daibutsu), this immense bronze figure was completed in 1252, a year before Kenchōji was built and Dōgen died. In addition, Kamakura featured a significant Shinto shrine for the deity Tsuragaoka Hachiman, among many varied religious and cultural sites. Kenchōji stands today near the North Kamakura rail station as one of many great living testaments to the remarkable achievements of the traditional Zen monastic institution founded during the century of transplantation. Down the road lies Engakuji temple, built three decades later for the next main émigré monk, Wuxue, who came to Japan by the invitation of the Hōjō clan in order to fill the crucial priestly role that had been played by Lanqi, who was now deceased.

The second phase of the transplantation of Zen, examined more fully in Chapter 4, was a highly productive interim period when many additional monks started arriving from China soon after Lanqi, mainly through the auspices of the Hōjō clan. This group included the clerics Wuan, Daxiu, Wuxue, and, perhaps most important, Yishan, who came in 1299 as an emissary of the Mongols and was at first suspected by the Japanese of spying. With his powerful presence marking the transition to the third

stage, Yishan successfully taught the complicated rules of Chinese poetry, in addition to many other continental customs, to a large group of native disciples of the Rinzai sect while leading temples in Kamakura and Kyoto. Yishan's innovations, which prompted new waves of travelers to the continent, resulted in the development of Five Mountains literature. This corpus was one of the main cultural products of the transmission process; Japanese monks wrote countless volumes of poetry, often sent to the mainland for approval or to be provided with a complementary scroll or painting.

During the second stage, the fledgling Sōtō sect was torn by inner turmoil following Dōgen's death in regard to the legitimacy of succession, and it splintered into multiple subfactions. Nevertheless, Sōtō Zen continued to expand effectively in the mountainous area of the northern provinces of the Hokuriku region, where Dōgen established Eiheiji after his movement was unable to take hold in Kyoto. Meanwhile, in the latter half of the thirteenth century, numerous Japanese voyagers from both Zen branches went to learn directly from continental mentors, especially Xutang, the famous monk-poet from the Linji school. The travelers often faced difficult roadblocks and were sometimes imprisoned or banished, but they also found that numerous continental mentors were interested in migrating so as to benefit from the spread of the tradition to the offshore site. However, Zen in Japan was still struggling to gain firm footing and had not yet achieved full autonomy. It was still regarded as a subsidiary of the Tendai sect and forced to compete with other new Kamakura Buddhist schools that also threatened the established church.

The third phase of the transplantation process, to be examined in Chapter 5, culminated in the full independence of Zen by virtue of the ability of monks such as Daitō and Musō to become significant Rinzai leaders in Kyoto based on their facility with Chinese sources. This was achieved without traveling to the continent, even though their teachers and many contemporaries did make the journey. Daitō demonstrated an ability to spontaneously evoke Chan discursive methods while defeating his rivals in the officially sanctioned religious debate of 1325. At this time, the Sōtō sect embarked on an ambitious project to convert rural temples throughout the nation based on the evangelical efforts of Keizan's main disciple, Gasan. Sōtō leaders used such methods as ritual offerings and efficacious charms in addition to large-scale construction projects in order to propagate Zen teaching among farmers. Both sects prospered by offering funeral services and memorial ceremonies at a time when these rites

were much in demand among all members of Japanese society. Many new Zen temples were constructed to cater to the concern for commemorating ancestors of particular families.

By the end of the transmission cycle in the mid-1320s, Zen was recognized in Japan as a firmly entrenched and thriving sect that emulated and polished, while also modifying and redefining, continental approaches to spiritual practice. In a prolonged aftermath phase during the first part of the Muromachi era, beginning in the late 1330s, the ongoing rise of Zen dominion within the Japanese religious sphere was perpetuated as the Rinzai and Sōtō sects reached new developmental heights. Eventually the Ōnin War, starting in 1467, decimated many of the cultural manifestations of the tradition, including most of the great Zen temples based in the capital. This precipitated a severe decline in the movement's prestigious role in Japanese society, which was revived at times but never fully recovered in subsequent periods of history.

Textures of Transition

The story of overseas transmission was largely one of how, just as the Chan tradition was entering a phase of weakening in its homeland, Zen in Japan managed to fend off the attacks of powerful Buddhist rivals in order to assert its independence. Winning this struggle ultimately enabled Zen to break free from the hegemony of the Tendai sect, which since the beginning of the Heian era had been based at major temples located on the sacred peak of Mount Hiei (Hieizan), situated to the northeast of Kyoto, where it served as the main agent for protecting the city's "demon gate." According to the traditional lore of geomancy or *fengshui* (J. *fūsui*), which was imported from China and involved the placement of buildings and cityscapes in relation to the spiritual energies of natural surroundings so as to empower people to come and go freely without obstruction, the northeast corner of any place is the corridor most susceptible to the intrusion of baleful spirits. Building a temple or shrine helps consecrate and thus provides mystical safeguarding to prevent the incursion of demons into a city or public space, or a home or other private locale.

Tendai had long used its hallowed highland perch to exert control over the Japanese religious scene by maintaining intimate alliances with national rulers, including the emperor's family and the elite Fujiwara clan, which dominated the political landscape through endogamous relations with the imperium. The sect was subdivided into two main factions: the

Mountain Gate (Sanmon) lineage, centered at Enryakuji temple, on Mount Hiei, and the Temporal Gate (Jimon) lineage, based at Onjōji temple, located down from the hills on the shores of Lake Biwa near the western edge of the capital. These powerful cliques were locked in perpetual conflict about various doctrinal arguments as well as institutional disputes. Onjōji played an important role in the growth of Zen, mainly because many of the early leaders, including Eisai, Dōgen, and Enni, were affiliated with that temple at some point in their careers.[4]

When government control in Kamakura Japan shifted from the aristocracy to the emerging samurai class with the rise of the Hōjō clan, this instigated a seven-century period of often hotly contested shogunal rule that eventually ended with modernization and the restoration of imperial authority in the Meiji era (1868–1912). The Heian era's view of leadership highlighted the refined etiquette of the nobility and the scholarly exclusivity of established monasteries. That approach gave way to a spirit of simplicity, frugality, and parsimony. Various reform Buddhist movements, including Pure Land and Nichiren in addition to Zen, were determined to attain salvation based on intensive individual practice rather than the esoteric ritualism of Tendai. The new schools stressed uncorrupted and unpretentious personal enlightenment over the old order's complicated principles and impenetrable rites performed by specialized priests in closed ceremonial cloisters.

The founders of the various Kamakura Buddhist sects invariably started their training at Mount Hiei, but one by one ended up departing that sacred complex in order to open their own independent temples elsewhere. Prior to his trip to China, Dōgen studied at both of the major Tendai monasteries, Enryakuji and Onjōji, before spending six years at the first Zen temple built in the capital, Kenninji. This temple was founded by Eisai in 1202 and included a mixture of Zen meditation and esoteric Tendai ritualism. With its previously uncontested supremacy threatened by challenges from Zen and other emerging sects, Tendai leaders adamantly tried to counterattack by working with the government to thwart any newfangled religious initiatives. Burning down or otherwise threatening a new monastery was one tactic, so that arson was probably one of several factors causing Dōgen to flee his first temple, located on the outskirts of the capital, for the safe haven of the provinces.

The alternative teachings proffered by the Kamakura Buddhist reformers generated enthusiastic followings largely among the non-aristocratic classes, including powerful samurai in addition to less prestigious groups

of peasants, artisans, and merchants. Prior to modernity, the merchants, who were considered contaminated from a strict Buddhist standpoint for accumulating cash reserves, were placed in the lowest position. Peasants working the soil and artisans who knew a craft were tiered higher, even though they were generally far less wealthy. As featured in Amino Yoshihiko's historical scholarship, outcasts and transient groups in addition to women and the disadvantaged were for the first time given thoughtful attention, rather than repudiation, by several of the new Kamakura sects. This trend included the opening of Zen nunneries in addition to appeals to various types of lay followers.

Tendai philosophy emphasized the doctrine of universal enlightenment, as supported by various kinds of arcane ritual practices that were used to attain a realization of the absolute principle of an all-encompassing unity and which could only be performed by advanced priests from select monasteries. In contrast to that focus, the embryonic Buddhist movements put a strong weight on individual deliverance. Emancipation, they claimed, could best be achieved by each and every person. In the Pure Land sects this occurred either through Zen's self-power (*jiriki*) path of sitting in meditation while contemplating *kōan* test cases or the other-power (*tariki*) path of devotion to a salvific image of Amida Buddha in the Pure Land sects; recognition through recitations of the preeminence of the teachings of the *Lotus Sutra* (*Hokkekyō*) according to the Nichiren sect; or social outreach to the dispossessed in the Discipline or Ritsu sect. And for all the Kamakura schools, steadfast adherence to a single form of practice selected to the exclusion of options promoted by other sects led to enlightenment.

In response to this challenge, Tendai leaders were determined to scrutinize, criticize, persecute, or even proscribe the new cults through the exile of leading priests and prohibitions against the building of temples, among other strategies of resistance to change. Proscription affected one of the earliest Zen movements in the late twelfth century, the Daruma school, which was further attacked by Eisai in the 1190s after his return to Japan from a second trip to China. The remaining Daruma followers eventually flocked to Dōgen's retreat at Eiheiji nearly five decades later. Their presence contributed to tensions about succession following the founder's death. That situation helps explain why Eisai and Enni readily made accommodations to Tendai procedures in the routine of their temples, as meditative techniques were allowed to flourish or even exist only so long as they were considered offshoots of Tendai teachings.

The period of concessions to Tendai made by some early Zen leaders, whereby a moderate degree of assimilation contributed to a lack of sectarian autonomy, lasted a relatively short time. Soon enough, Zen alongside other new Kamakura movements grew quickly with support from the shogunate. Of the novel Buddhist schools that were spawned in response to a series of monumental political upheavals by attracting social classes left out of aristocratic society, Zen proved most successful in gaining Hōjō sponsorship and playing a major role in early medieval Japanese society. The rulers consistently showed their preference for the Zen view of self-reliance linked to communal harmony as attained through daily practice based on interpersonal teachings. This positive reception occurred mainly because "the Zen stress on active meditation, man-to-man debate, physical discipline, and practical, rather than bookish, experience, appealed naturally to the warrior spirit."[5]

The shogunate's partiality to Zen was evident in the construction of magnificent new temples and in consulting about military strategy with prominent monks, whether of Chinese or Japanese background. While Nichiren was exiled to Sado Island in the Sea of Japan for a spell in the 1270s when the threat of Mongol invasion loomed, Hōjō Tokimune was engaged in practicing contemplation under the tutelage of émigré Zen master Wuxue. Yet the rulers hedged their bets by also endorsing the viability of alternative teachings in a pluralistic context. During this phase, all Zen and other Buddhist temples along with Shinto shrines were expected to capitulate to the requirement that prayers be offered to try to mitigate the possibility of foreign intrusion. Still, samurai particularly favored religious literature and art produced by Zen teachers known for expressing lyrically the state of mind of individual self-awareness. Instead of portrayals of nirvana as an otherworldly domain populated by ethereal Buddhist saints, Zen used nature imagery to evoke the turning of four seasons as symbolic of the inner spirituality of Living Buddhas.

One of the qualities common to all the new Buddhist groups was an intense feeling of urgency about the need to gain individual salvation in the face of ever-present turmoil. Shifting political alliances that wreaked social havoc after the destruction of much of the capital in the civil war of 1185 brought about a sense of desperation and dread. In addition, the onset of multiple natural disasters such as earthquakes and storms, often leading to fires and floods, heightened widespread anxiety. Dealing with unforeseen and untimely catastrophes contributed to the era's worldview, which was characterized by a deep awareness of impermanence (*mujō*

kan) based on a fundamental sense of uncertainty and vulnerability that was felt deeply and directly in the daily lives of everyone from the rich and powerful to the impoverished and forsaken.

One of the main examples of discourse on impermanence was the vivid expression of instability proclaimed in the *Tale of the Heike* (*Heike monogatari*), probably first published in the thirteenth century, an epic account of the effects of the vicious battle in 1185 that triggered the end of the Heian and the onset of the Kamakura era. The opening passage evokes the ringing of temple bells as symbolic of the evanescent and illusory nature of the rapidly fluctuating world. Another eloquent record of social strife produced in the early 1200s is the compelling short essay "An Account of My Hut" ("Hōjōki"), by the poet Chōmei, who renounced an urban lifestyle to become a recluse at a hermitage, where he was inspired by Pure Land piety. According to Chōmei, "Though the river's current never fails, the water passing, moment by moment, is never the same. Where the current pools, bubbles form on the surface, bursting and disappearing as others rise to replace them, none lasting long. In this world, people and their dwelling places are like that, always changing."[6] This passage recalls numerous sayings by Zen masters about the need to realize deeply the apparent dichotomy yet underlying unity of life and death as the "one great spiritual matter" that is crucial to attaining enlightenment.

Chōmei further describes how mystical release is experienced at his hermitage that was filled with musical instruments and Buddhist implements by communing with natural manifestations associated with the cyclical rotation of the four seasons:

> In spring, the wisteria flowers tremble in the wind, so many blooming in the west that it seems like the coming of Amida Buddha riding on purple clouds. In summer, I can hear the cry of the cuckoo, promising to be my guide on the mountain road to death. In autumn, the sound of the cicada fills the ear and, hearing it, I grieve while thinking of the transience of life in this world. In winter, I look at the snow with emotion as it piles up and then melts away, just as sins that people have committed disappear if they repent.

The Chōmei passage recalls a thirty-one-syllable *waka* verse composed by Dōgen that was recited by the famous modern Japanese novelist Kawabata Yasunari on the occasion of his 1968 Nobel Lecture. Dōgen's verse has a similar emphasis on the flourishing flowers of spring, the

chirping birds of summer, the full moon of fall, and the virgin snow of winter. His *waka* reads:

Haru wa hana	In spring, the cherry blossoms,
Natsu hototogisu	In summer, the cuckoo's song,
Aki wa tsuki	In autumn, the moon, shining,
Fuyu yuki kiede	In winter, the frozen snow.
Suzushi kari keri.	How pure and clear are the seasons![7]

The aesthetic configuration of Dōgen's verse, which reinforces its religious message, is primarily based on the multiple nuances of the adjective *suzushi* appearing in the final line. *Suzushi* can be taken to mean, as in the translation of Kawabata's speech by Edward Seidensticker, the physical characteristic or bodily sensation of the brightness and coldness of the snow. Yet that rendering, which suggests that *suzushi* merely amplifies *kiede* (frozen) in the previous line in modifying *yuki* (snow), represents but one level of meaning. In Japanese court poetry, *suzushi* often implies a serene and cool outlook—encompassing both the objective appearance of nature and the subjective response of human perception—generated by phenomena that are not necessarily literally cold. A prominent poet from the era, Tamekane, used the term to describe the purity and coolness of the voice of the cuckoo, in which one kind of stimulation evokes the impression of another sensation. This phenomenon, called synesthesia, illustrates the underlying and complex interrelatedness of personal reaction and external stimulus, body and mind, sensation and awareness. Another example of synesthesia is a traditional Zen saying, "The Dharma expounded by insentient beings is inconceivable. Listening to it with your ears, there is no sound, but by hearing with your eyes you directly understand."

Therefore, *suzushi* refers neither to just the snow nor the observer, neither to just the physical realm nor the mental. Rather, it suggests a lyricism that is rooted in but unlimited by the forms previously portrayed in the poem to convey an immediate and renewable response to the perpetual cyclicality of four distinct yet overlapping phenomena. *Suzushi* reflects the lyricism of the entire poem by expressing the primordial unity encompassing infinite diversity and the possibility for momentary change by modifying each of the seasonal images: the vivid colors and graceful scattering of spring flowers, the sharp cry of the cuckoo at dawn or dusk, the clarity and tranquility of autumn moonlight, and the purity of freshly fallen snow.

From the Zen standpoint, the identity of the objectivity of seasonal sensations with the subjectivity of the engaged observer's awakened perception of each phenomenon by concentrating on discrete moments of cyclical comings and goings enables a profound apprehension of the whole of reality to be fully achieved. For Chōmei and Dōgen, dying is not merely an endpoint that comes after living but a constant possibility of alteration in light of the inexorableness of ephemerality, in that nothing ever stays the same as all phenomena can vanish in the twinkling of an eye. However, Dōgen's emphasis on a celebration of perpetual renewal in relation to incessant change is somewhat different from Chōmei's Pure Land focus on repentance in the face of death, though arguably complementary when viewed from an overall Buddhist perspective.

First Inklings of Zen in Japan

Even though the beginning of the transfer of Zen in 1225 is based on Dōgen's enlightenment attained in China, as with all complex historical occurrences there is no single cause or simple condition that transpired at a particular time and place. Rather, a careful examination shows that an intricate pattern with distinctive highlights as well as detours and setbacks unfolded on multiple social, regional, and sectarian levels. It is important to track the background for Dōgen's journey in light of developments that created the initial inklings of Zen in Japan, which transpired over more than fifty years prior to his awakening, when two monks made journeys to China. The first was Kakua, who taught Zen without words by playing a note on his flute, and the second was Eisai, who is often considered the founder of Rinzai Zen because he created the first temples in Kyushu, Kamakura, and Kyoto that placed an emphasis on meditation. However, many observers feel it was left to the émigré Lanqi to play the role of Rinzai Zen initiator, since Eisai and, later, Enni still thought of themselves as variations of a prototypical Tendai practitioner.

A more thorough sense of historical underpinnings needs to look back at five hundred years of development to the time when Chan training in contemplative practice was becoming prominent in Tang-dynasty China and was introduced to Japan for the first time through a set of maritime transfers. Zen meditation was partially disseminated as early as the seventh century through the efforts of the Japanese traveler Dōshō on his return from the continent. This cultural exchange was reinforced in the eighth century by the Chinese émigré Daoxuan, and again in the ninth

century by another pilgrim, Saichō, who was founder of the Tendai sect. From the time of its inception in the first decade of the ninth century, Saichō's movement incorporated key elements of meditation. Zen practice, however, was not seen as the method of a self-supporting or independent school, but was instead considered one of various options provided under the comprehensive scope of Tendai ritualism.

Tracing developments on the continent, the formation of Chan is generally dated to the mid-sixth century, when the contemplative Brahmin wayfarer Bodhidharma supposedly traveled from India to China in a trek referred to in Zen lore as "the first patriarch coming from the West." This migration probably occurred around the same time Mahayana Buddhism was initially entering Japan through Chinese as well as Korean influences. The first Japanese capital, Nara, sometimes regarded as the final destination of the Silk Road, which connected East Asia with the Mideast and beyond, was formed in the eighth century. Major Buddhist temples were built according to the pre-Chan style, which featured a Buddha Hall as the central chamber. Along with the integration of the continental religion, advanced studies of Chinese language and literature were implemented in Japan and quickly became the hallmark of the educated elite.[8]

Bodhidharma is particularly known for his irreverence, having told the emperor in a famous *kōan* case that there is "nothing sacred" and "no merit" to be gained by doing good deeds. In another set of legends, the first patriarch is praised for his perseverance while facing the wall of a cave in unwavering meditation for nine years while his limbs supposedly withered and fell off from disuse. He also demanded that the second patriarch, Huike, cut off his arm to prove his dedication before he could become a disciple. The role in Zen folklore of the popular Daruma doll as a round, Humpty Dumpty–like figurine that is still used as a good-luck charm in modern Japanese culture stems from accounts of Bodhidharma's determination to succeed in ascetic training. Daruma dolls have become one of countless examples of cross-sectarian religious symbols in Japan. Those who acquire the object generally pay little heed to its denominational origins, or whether it is of Buddhist or Shinto derivation, so long as it seems effective in granting their wishes for starting a business or originating another kind of entrepreneurial endeavor.[9]

Even though his image is evoked as an iconic device in popular religiosity, the primary teaching of Bodhidharma was that enlightenment could be reached only through authentic self-reliance, without dependence on external learning devices, based on understanding intuitively the unity of one's

true inner nature with the essence of the Living Buddha. This approach is encapsulated in a famous verse, attributed to the first patriarch, indicating that Zen constitutes "a special transmission outside the sutras, / Not founded upon words and letters. / By pointing directly to one's mind, / One sees into his own true nature and becomes Buddha." This saying was probably not formalized in Chan literature until the Song dynasty, when traditional anecdotes were systematically catalogued in detailed historical literature. It indicates that Zen's emphasis on unmediated religious awareness does not require, and ideally dispenses altogether with, scripture or the outward trappings of religion, including ritual performances accompanied by assorted regalia and paraphernalia.

The primary legacy of Bodhidharma's approach was marked by a radical shift from an emphasis in Buddhism on explicating doctrine and conducting ritual to a focus on the use of teaching techniques or giving instructions through cryptic sayings and art. This approach demonstrates the teacher's capacity to find an opportune moment to address and root out the basis of a disciple's ignorance through dialogues featuring wordplay, allusion, metaphor, and other indicators of indirect communication. According to a traditional saying, "Those who enter the Zen gate in the morning as students determined to excel in silent meditation must, once their goal is achieved, be prepared to expound its meaning in the evening through lively discourse or other expressions that astonish and stir the assembly of monks."

In the eighth century, the Chan movement split into two main branches. The Northern school advocated a gradual path to enlightenment through ongoing practice, and the Southern school emphasized sudden enlightenment or awakening caused instantaneously by such triggers as seeing blossoms fall, hearing a bird chirp, or taking in the surge of a river flowing. Following the significant advances made by the sixth patriarch, Huineng, whose approach to sudden enlightenment is advocated in the record of his life and sayings compiled by followers, *The Platform Sutra* (*Tanjing*), the Northern school faded out even as the Southern school continued to grow. Based primarily at temples located below the Yangzi River, especially Jiangxi and Hunan provinces, Huineng's sublineages eventually spread to all regions of the country.

By the time the first Japanese pilgrims arrived seeking to study Zen in the thirteenth century, only various branches of the Southern school remained. These factions became known as the Five Houses of Chan, including the streams of the Caodong, Fayan, Guiyang, Linji, and Yunmen

lineages. The difference between the two designations is that "Five Houses" (C. Wujia, J. Goke) refers to distinct yet expanding lineal approaches and their respective teaching methods, whereas "Five Mountains" (C. Wushan, J. Gozan) indicates a specific group of dominant temples situated in or near Hangzhou. It is often noted that by Dōgen's era, just the Linji and Caodong schools were still significant, as the viability of the other three streams had long ended.

Probably the very first instance of the transmission of Zen to Japan as an autonomous school occurred when the monk Dōshō traveled to China in 653 to study under the eminent Buddhist translator and exegete Xuanzang. Sponsored by the imperium at the beginning of the seventh century, the lengthy excursion of Xuanzang and his entourage included India and Afghanistan, where he discovered and transmitted voluminous Sanskrit writings. This trip was later immortalized in the fanciful novel *Journey to the West* (*Xiyouji*). Dōshō's studies primarily centered on the Indian Buddhist teachings of the Yogacara (J. Hossō) school, which in some ways was a precursor to Chan because of its emphasis in texts such as the *Lankavatara Sutra* on the notion that mind or mental sensations is the metaphysical ground of all aspects of reality that do not exist separately from how they are perceived. Dōshō was exposed to the Chan school, as cited in his valuable report that served as a precedent influencing the founding of the Japanese Zen sect centuries later. He practiced meditation with a disciple of the second Chan patriarch, Huike, and also met the fourth patriarch, Daoxin. Back in Japan, he opened the first Zen meditation hall in Nara while serving commoners by digging wells, building bridges, and setting up ferry crossings in addition to introducing the custom of cremation, since there was at the time no clear method for providing funerals in Japan.

In the early 700s, Daoxuan, who embraced meditative practice while studying under the Northern Chan patriarch Puji, became the first Chinese master to arrive in Japan.[10] Daoxuan, who was primarily considered a member of the Tiantai school in China, also brought an important text on Buddhist precepts that became a mainstay of Japanese monastic practice. He taught meditation to the Japanese monk Gyōhyō, who in turn transmitted this technique to Saichō. In the first decade of the ninth century, around the same time Kūkai made a longer trip to China and returned home to found the Shingon sect, Saichō traveled briefly to the continent. Already exposed to meditation practice via Daoxuan's impact on Gyōhyō, on his return Saichō was open to incorporating meditation into the routine

of Tendai monastic rituals. Four centuries later, Eisai evoked Saichō's limited interest in Zen as a rationale for the government to recognize his new movement as a separate sect. However, Saichō held off from viewing Zen as an autonomous entity and asserted Tendai supremacy throughout his career.

The Chinese monk Yigong was the first follower to visit Japan as a representative of Chan's Southern-school lineage, based on the teachings of the master Mazu, who was the mentor of Baizhang, the supposed author of the initial set of Zen monastic regulations. Yigong arrived in 815 and tried unsuccessfully to transmit Zen systematically to the eastern nation. It is recorded in an inscription left at the famous Rashōmon gate protecting the southern entryway to Kyoto that, on leaving to return to China, Yigong said he was aware of the futility of his efforts due to hostility he experienced from the Tendai Buddhist establishment.

Another prominent ninth-century Japanese pilgrim was Ennin, who went to the mainland as part of a diplomatic mission but also for his personal pursuit of Buddhist teachings at Mount Tiantai, located to the south of Hangzhou, which was the spiritual fount for the Tendai sect in Japan. Ennin's diary, which covered nearly a decade of extensive travel throughout China (his trip is compared with those of Kūkai and Saichō in Figure 3.1), recorded a period of tremendous disruption in Chan's development. In the 840s, reprobate emperor Wuzong, who endorsed a magical form of Daoism, decided to ban Buddhism and all other foreign religions. Ennin mentions several encounters with Chan monks, who he said were used to living "quite idly and without attachments, like clouds floating about the landscape."[11] The Tendai traveler returned to Enryakuji temple on Mount Hiei, where he built new storehouses for sutras and implements and also introduced the practice of Pure Land recitation of the name of Amida Buddha. Even though he had witnessed Chan, Ennin did not contribute to the growth of Zen.

After Ennin's journey, there was a lengthy hiatus in travel to China as well as any further advance of Zen in Japan. For the next three centuries, Tendai (founded by Saichō) along with the Shingon sect (initiated by Kūkai at the beginning of the 800s) dominated Japan with philosophical speculation and supernatural rites, thereby pushing the practice of meditation into the background. The Tendai sect's strategy to mitigate any possible opposition from indigenous Shinto cults involved the assimilation (*honji suijaku*) of local gods and spirits. These deities, along with some Hindu divinities that were also being imported and absorbed from India, were

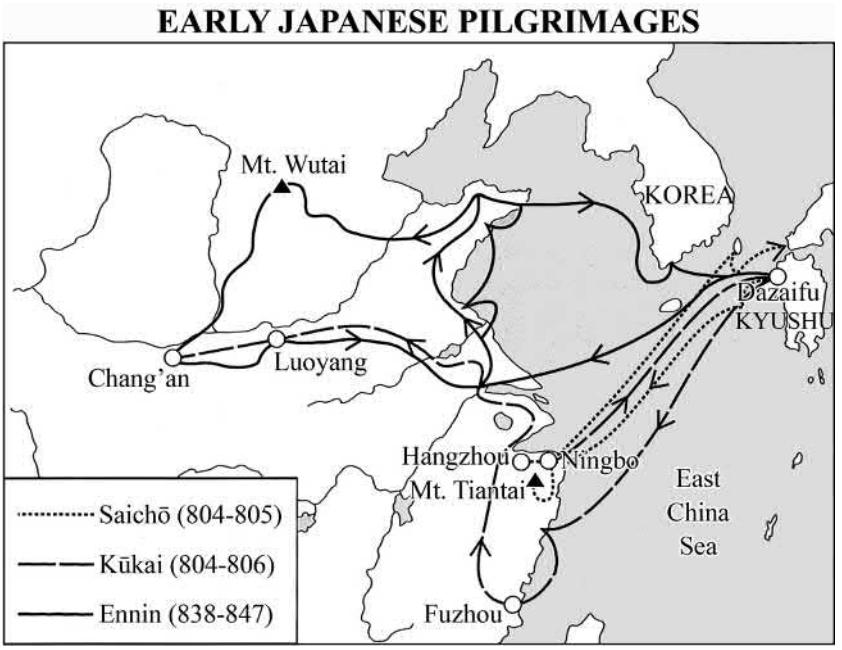


FIGURE. 3.1 Early Japanese Pilgrimages

cast as local manifestations of the universal spiritualism of Buddhas and bodhisattvas. However, criticism of Tendai corruption and stratification helped lead eventually to the growth of Zen. This skeptical outlook cautioned that while Tendai espoused the notion of original enlightenment (*hongaku*), which asserted that all beings are born with the same endowment of a potentiality for becoming Buddha, the worldliness of the sect's secular affiliations, designed to protect the state and ensure its own power and prosperity, hypocritically fostered a high degree of social inequality as well as lack of emphasis on individual self-reliance.

During the prolonged interval in maritime contacts and transfers, the writings of tenth-century Chinese thinker Yanshou became popular among many Japanese practitioners. Yanshou was a student of Chan master Deshao of the Fayan lineage, who served as abbot of the Chan temple at Mount Xuedou, near Mount Tiantai. Yanshou proposed a syncretic view combining Pure Land devotion with Zen meditation in a way that was compatible with Tendai thought in Japan. His main text, the *Record of Source Mirror* (C. *Zongjinglu*, J. *Shūgyōroku*), was one of the few early writings affiliated (though not exclusively) with Chinese Chan that was studied seriously on the islands prior to Eisai's travels to China.

Another religious trend near the end of the Heian era that influenced initial interest in Zen was the prevalence of wandering holy men known as *hijiri*. These mysterious figures ventured forth from the fortress-like monasteries on Mount Hiei to evangelize and raise funds among the common folk in rural locales by offering to perform funerals and other ceremonies or to construct bridges and dams. The *hijiri* approach to community outreach, in light of the awareness of the transiency of all phenomena, became a key feature of most of the new Kamakura movements, including Zen wanderers who pursued the practice of applying Buddhist truth gained via meditation to all avenues of secular society.

Thirteenth-Century Japanese Pioneers

Momentum for establishing Zen in Japan leading up to Dōgen's enlightenment experience in China was building for about fifty years beginning in the last few decades of the 1100s. Since journeys to the mainland by prominent Buddhists were pretty much cut off following the debacle Ennin witnessed in the mid-800s, and additional political obstacles further restricted maritime travels, Japanese visitors first learned of the primacy of Chan in China during the late twelfth century. Several trips to the mainland undertaken by adventurous monks were the first recorded excursions to occur in well over three hundred years.

These voyagers were probably seeking to break off from Tendai hegemony and hoping to discover authentic continental Buddhism, considered more advanced than native sects, much as previous Japanese travelers had done in the ninth century. Highly motivated seekers undertook the short voyage to the mainland made rather arduous by the constant threat of storms and pirates. Like Saichō, the new pioneers did not penetrate into the inner territories of China, in contrast to Kūkai and Ennin, who both pressed much further inland. In the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries these journeys mainly took place in and around the capital of Zhejiang province, Hangzhou, by way of the port of Ningbo. The travelers were content to stay along the east coast because this area featured prominent Chan temples with charismatic masters who served as leaders of the prestigious Five Mountains network, which gained the support of the secular elite. Another important site was the nearby island of Mount Putuo (Putuoshan), which was claimed to be the abode of the goddess Guanyin (J. Kannon). It was believed that the deity was helping spread Zen among various seafarers. The homecomings of Japanese travelers invariably came

through ports in Kyushu, where returnees who stopped on their way to Kyoto or Kamakura built the first Zen temples in Japan.

During the initial phase of transplantation, visiting monks sought to trouble the clerical establishment by requesting permission to take part in the observances of the Chan monastery, despite the usual restrictions that applied to outsiders and irregular practitioners, including Daoists, shamans, women, and occasional travelers from Korea, Southeast Asia, or as far away as Central Asia. As previously discussed, the reference to "trouble" derives from Chan rules of etiquette and decorum requiring that uninvited roving priests trying out different possible teachers pay their respects to the abbot by formally requesting entrance into the institution called upon. The host temple, in turn, was expected to accommodate the practical and instructional needs of guests as much as possible, but only on a provisional basis.

Zen travels began with Kakua half a century before Dōgen set sail in the company of Eisai's senior disciple, Myōzen. Kakua went to China for a couple of years to study with a student of Yuanwu, the highly influential author of the *Blue Cliff Record*, whose lineages had the biggest impact on the growth of Zen in both countries. It is said that upon Kakua's return in 1171 the emperor asked him about the meaning of Zen, and Kakua responded wordlessly by playing a flute. Kakua also composed the first Japanese Zen poem, in which he described enlightenment as a matter of "breaking sandals on an endless pilgrimage" that led to his "finding water in a clear stream and the moon in the sky."[12] Although Kakua's indirection must have seemed like an intriguing action, recorded with praise in some Zen historical sources or with derision by rival Buddhists, it had little impact at the time on the growth of the religious institution. Another early traveler was Chōgen, a monk from Tōdaiji temple in Nara, who went to China in the 1180s. He returned to help rebuild the monastery buildings and advocate Pure Land chanting. In addition, a Tendai monk named Shunjō came back from a trip to the continent around 1195, when he constructed Sennyūji temple in Kyoto along the lines of the Five Mountains Chan temples he visited, but without identifying himself as a Zen priest or using *zazen* as the primary form of practice.

By far the most important twelfth-century trailblazer was Eisai, whose mission was influenced in part by antagonism toward the Daruma school, founded by Nōnin. Like many critics of this faction, Eisai thought Nōnin, who was referred to years later by Nichiren as a "Zen demon," had

misinterpreted classical Zen ideas by featuring this-worldly religious experience characterized by a brazen flouting of the need to adhere to Buddhist precepts. Eisai first made a six-month-long trip to the continent in 1168 in pursuit of Chinese Tiantai teachings and temples, which he soon realized either were in a dilapidated state or had already been converted to Chan. Going to China again nearly two decades later, in 1187, to try to eventually reach India, a plan that was stymied due to several kinds of obstacles, Eisai stayed for four years at monasteries in Zhejiang province, where he learned Chan directly from the master Xu'an at Mount Tiantong, the same temple where Dōgen would stay three decades later. Xu'an represented the Huanglong (J. Ōryū) branch of the Linji/Rinzai school, which did not last long in Japan, as later practitioners generally followed the sublineages of Yuanwu's movement that were part of the other main Linji stream, known as Yangqi (J. Yōgi).

Eisai returned from his second journey in 1191 to repudiate the Daruma school as inauthentic. He opened several new temples and promulgated in two main works an approach to Zen based on his firsthand knowledge gained in China. During his stay in Hakata, on the island of Kyushu, in 1195 Eisai established Shōfukuji, which claims today to be the oldest original Japanese Zen cloister. This temple was built on a site where a Chinese sanctuary had once stood, and it is likely that the early patrons were local warrior-rulers involved in trading with China, in addition to continental merchants then based in the area. Shōfukuji went on to develop close ties with the Hōjō clan, as the shoguns by the late thirteenth century were tightening their control over northern Kyushu in response to the threat of possible Mongol attack.

Moving to Kamakura, Eisai established Jufukuji temple in 1200 with the support of Hōjō Masako, a prominent female member of the new shogun clan who was particularly interested in promoting Buddhism. Two years later, he founded Kenninji temple in Kyoto, which would quickly become the central monastery of his short-lived lineage and a key to the career paths of Dōgen and Enni, who trained or preached there. Even though Eisai is generally considered the founder of the Rinzai sect, he always thought of himself as a Tendai monk who featured meditation mixed with various traditional ritual elements. His monastic method, referred to as *en-mitsu-zen-kai*, is an eclectic synthesis of complete experience (*en*) derived from esoteric ritualism (*mitsu*) as traditionally used in Tendai rites combined with the full set of Buddhist precepts (*kai*) that was

preferred by Chinese schools along with meditation (*zen*) practiced in Zen, which was one of four religious options.

The first major work by Eisai was the *Protection of the State Through Zen* (*Kōzen gokokuron*), published in 1198, the same year a major Pure Land text on the merits of chanting the *nembutsu* first appeared. To anticipate critics, Eisai stressed that Zen practice is not a matter of solitary contemplation accompanied by seemingly arbitrary behavior, as he and other critics claimed was the case for Nōnin's faction, which tried to appropriate Chan based on a very limited access to Chinese sources. Nōnin commissioned a couple of followers to gain his certification on the mainland from disciples of the master Dahui at Mount Ayuwang temple, but this initiative was widely rejected as inauthentic. For Eisai, Zen training necessarily involved the communal practice of adhering to the Hinayana set of 250 specific precepts guiding the etiquette of monastic behavior in combination with the Mahayana set of 48 more general ethical perceptual guidelines. This synthesis was invariably practiced in Chinese monasteries, but not in Japan outside of the oldest temples established in Nara in the eighth century. Eisai's work was therefore an implicit criticism of laxity in most forms of Japanese Buddhism, since for the Tendai sect only the Mahayana portion of the monastic codes was being followed.

Eisai's other main work, written in 1211, a year before Chōmei's essay on Pure Land reclusion, was the *Treatise on the Health Benefits of Drinking Tea* (*Kissa yōjōki*), about a special beverage he helped make a staple of life at Zen temples and samurai training studios. Eisai is said to have brought tea seeds back to Japan and planted them on Mount Sefuri, a few miles south of Hakata. Eisai was surely not the first person to promote the drink as an aid to staying awake and alert during meditation because of its caffeine content and other properties. However, his writings proved crucial for the development of the intricacies of the tea ceremony formed in relation to Zen practice four centuries later. It is said that Eisai used tea to treat the alcoholism of Sanetomo, the third and last of the titular Minamoto shoguns, who was also an accomplished poet and Buddhist practitioner fascinated by all kinds of Chinese cultural products, including Zen. Sanetomo's public assassination in 1219 led to the full-scale rule of the Hōjō shogunate that began a few years later. It was Hōjō support for the new Zen lineage that helped set the stage for Dōgen's travels, although years later, when Dōgen was invited to Kamakura to sermonize Tokiyori, he declined to stay with the secular ruler for longer than six months.

Dōgen and Enni

With Hōjō leadership making it easier to gain permission for overseas travel, Dōgen left for the continent in the company of several Kenninji monks, including Myōzen, the heir to Eisai's lineage, who considered Dōgen his primary disciple. Like almost all Japanese monks from the era, Dōgen began his career as a novice in the Tendai sect that was headquartered at Enryakuji temple. However, he soon experienced a "great doubt" (*taigi*) about the teaching of original enlightenment in relation to the need for ongoing practice. This led him to leave Mount Hiei and visit Onjōji temple, where he sought advice about his uncertainty before spending more than half a decade at Kenninji temple, founded by Eisai.

Despite some disagreement concerning their respective styles of training, in that Dōgen put more emphasis on sitting mediation than on the Buddhist precepts when he returned from China, Dōgen stayed at Kenninji once again for a few years before opening his first temple, Kōshjii, just to the south of the capital. In a sermon from 1236, Dōgen praises the dedication and determination to attaining enlightenment based on following Chinese models of demeanor that he found evident in nearly every aspect of his prestigious predecessor's approach:

> In the great monasteries in China, monks never get involved in idle chatter. In our country, while Eisai was still alive and serving as abbot of Kenninji, one never heard any small talk. Even after his death, so long as a few of his disciples remained at the monastery, priests did not speak in that way. It is really a shame that in the last seven or eight years since then, young monks have frequently been indulging in frivolous babble.[13]

While traveling about during the first two years he spent on the mainland, Dōgen wandered to all of the Five Mountains temples, where he met many masters and studied various important scriptures and documents of transmission. Although he was very much impressed by the new religious environment, Dōgen was at first deeply disappointed with the current state of Chan, especially at Mount Jing, the highest-ranked of the Five Mountains monasteries. He felt that in several dialogues held there, the teachers were poseurs merely playing verbal games without an authentic understanding. This was the temple at which Enni would later study, but Dōgen's disillusionment took place several years before Enni's teacher, Wuzhun, was installed as an important reform-minded abbot.

Dōgen was getting ready to head back home after various travels shown in Figure 3.2, but when Myōzen died he decided to help bury his Japanese colleague, from whom he had been separated since they arrived together. Although he came to China more advanced in practice and better prepared than Dōgen, Myōzen passed away prematurely in his forties, perhaps from the stress of dealing with the challenges of travel on the continent. This unfortunate event meant that Eisai's lineage was destined to die out soon after. Meanwhile, back in Japan in 1225, prospective traveler Enni was switching his affiliation from the Onjōji branch of Tendai to Zen. Another future pilgrim, Kakushin, took the tonsure in the Shingon sect before getting involved in Zen training under Dōgen and Enni.

Dōgen then ended up attending the summer retreat of 1225 with Rujing, a respected Caodong teacher of meditation who served as head of various monasteries for a few years each and had just accepted the abbacy there. After only a couple of months of study at Mount Tiantong, Dōgen attained enlightenment during a prolonged meditation session that was part of the annual summer retreat, when Rujing scolded a monk snoozing in the next seat for his "single-minded sitting slumber" instead of his cultivation of

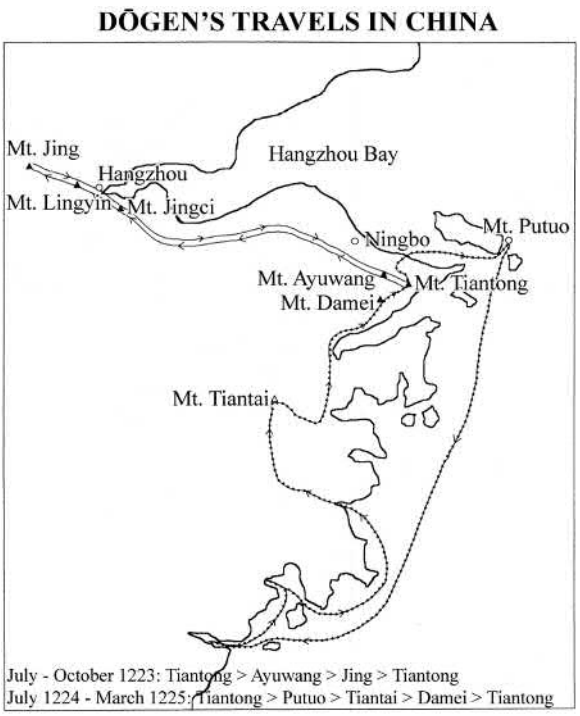


FIGURE. 3.2 Dōgen's Travels in China

sustained concentration. On hearing this rebuke, Dōgen had an experience of sudden awakening that was based on shedding or letting go of conventional thought and deeds. Dōgen's insight was quickly approved by Rujing, who instructed him in the view that "practicing Zen is casting off body-and-mind (*shinjin datsuraku*), which can only be accomplished through single-minded sitting meditation or *zazen*. Concerning the typical monastic practices of offering incense, bowing to an icon, chanting the name of Buddha, performing repentance rites, and the reading of sutras, none of those methods are pivotal to the goal of attaining enlightenment and can be dispensed with." These words emphasizing *zazen* became the hallmark of Dōgen's commitment to the cultivation of continuous contemplation as the main practice technique for Zen trainees. He also integrated other typical Chan styles of training, including following strict behavioral guidelines and interpreting puzzling *kōan* cases, into the daily regimen.

Before his departure from China, Dōgen was allowed to enjoy an intimate discipleship, as indicated by numerous conversations recorded in Rujing's Abbot Quarters, a selective location in a Chan monastery generally reserved for high-level apprentices. While here, Dōgen heard an ode by Rujing that was part of a literary genre known as "verses of self-praise," in which a master comments on his own portrait with a fitting sense of humility. As shown in Figure 3.3, Ruing writes, "Transcending heaven and earth through sitting meditation, / One's true self is fully revealed, and such a person is called a real teacher. / But Zen monks are more laughable than a winter gourd or calabash floating in the water, / Or a diamond hanging upside down from the branches of a plum blossom tree."

The fact that, as a young foreigner, Dōgen was granted full access to regular audiences with Rujing and was even invited to succeed the master (an offer he declined) shows that Chan leaders were probably feeling vulnerable about their status in China and thus were eager to reach out to Japanese learners. Rujing must have been delighted to find such enthusiasm in this worthy disciple, whose perseverance surpassed in intensity that of native seekers. The mentor cautioned Dōgen to steer clear of secular affairs when he went home. However, many Zen teachers in both countries, who understood that securing patronage through political connections was a crucial goal, did not necessarily heed Rujing's warning. Dōgen, in fact, relied heavily on the backing of his one-eyed samurai patron, Hatano, who funded the construction of Eiheiji.

Following Rujing's death a couple of years after his breakthrough, Dōgen returned to Kyoto but was, he reported, "empty-handed" (*kūshu genkyō*). This phrase suggests that an illuminated state of mind demonstrates the

FIGURE. 3.3 Zen Portrait with Poem

authenticity of experience achieved through sustained meditation and the diligent study of Chan writings. That experience is far more important than the concern of typical Buddhist visitors to China, who tried to accumulate ceremonial regalia or repeat doctrinal formulations, as if these trophies of their journey could be put on display to claim the mantle of authority once they returned to Japan. While Dōgen might have been empty-handed, he was by no means empty-headed in that he seems to have been able to learn a vast storehouse of Chinese textual materials that he introduced to his assembly of Japanese monks with a tremendous ability to offer his own insightful critical evaluations. This body of writings continues to impress a wider readership than ever before.

Dōgen opened Kōshōji temple in the capital, but when he encountered strong resistance from Tendai leaders, who may have set the monastery ablaze in the summer of 1243, he left for the northern mountains, where Eiheiji temple was constructed. There is no clear explanation in the fragmentary historical record for Dōgen's decision to depart from Kyoto, so we can only speculate about possible reasons based on Tendai resistance or adherence to Rujing's admonition. Dōgen's assembly was joined by the continental priest Jakuen (C. Jiyuan), who was captivated by Dōgen upon meeting him in China and after Rujing's death crossed the sea to study with the Japanese teacher. It is also said that Dōgen brought back to Japan a small group of Chinese craftsmen, such as carpenters and makers of robes and other accessories, which created a genuinely Chan-based monastic community at Eiheiji.

According to a verse Dōgen wrote in remembrance of Rujing as part of a sermon given in 1236 on the occasion of opening a Dharma Hall at Kōshōji, the first such structure in Japan, "Since deceiving my late teacher, this mountain monk has no Buddha Dharma to proclaim. / Trusting fate, I spend my hours abiding in harmony." Furthermore, he said, "Each morning the sun rises in the east, / Every evening the moon sets in the west. / When clouds disperse, the valleys are still, / When rains pass through the mountains, the grounds are soaked. / Leap years occur regularly, / Roosters always crow at dawn."[14] In this poem, a disingenuously simple and direct internal awareness of daily and seasonal cycles reflecting the unity of natural phenomena in relation to human awareness, is evoked as a subtle but compelling way of namelessly eulogizing the greatness of Dōgen's continental master.

Among his many accomplishments as a Zen pioneer, Dōgen was a prolific author who successfully integrated Chinese sources and philosophical perspectives into a distinctively Japanese Buddhist worldview. His two main works are hailed for being the principal vehicles for inaugurating in Japan the intricate forms of *kōan* commentaries. In the *Treasury of the True Dharma Eye* (*Shōbōgenzō*), Dōgen used vernacular Japanese in brilliantly innovative ways to remark on the extensive wordplay and allusions characteristic of test case interpretations. In the *Extensive Record* (*Eihei kōroku*), composed entirely in Kanbun by using Chinese characters without inserting Japanese syllables, which would have been difficult for relatively uneducated followers at Eiheiji to understand, Dōgen declared proudly that he was delivering Chan sermons in Japan for the first time. Dōgen's other important writings include the *Hōkyō Era Records of China* (*Hōkyōki*) and

the *Record of Things Heard* (*Shōbōgenzō zuimonki*), both of which contain reflections and sermons on his mainland experiences, including lessons learned directly from Rujing; the *Universal Recommendation for Zazen* (*Fukanzazengi*) and *Discerning the Way* (*Bendōwa*), which proclaim the priority of *zazen* meditation, also referred to as the practice of "just sitting" (*shikan taza*); and the *Eihei Rules* (*Eihei shingi*) plus a collection of Chinese verses (*kanshi*), which show his deep familiarity with the monastic guidelines and cultural customs enacted in continental temples.

In 1236, a decade after Dōgen's journey to China and while his initial temple was starting to grow before being threatened by Tendai adversaries, the monk Enni left Japan to undertake more than six grueling years of study under Wuzhun, who became abbot of Mount Jing in 1232 and quickly completed a vigorous revival and expansion of the somewhat deteriorated compound, the condition of which had been noted by Dōgen just a few years before. It is said that Wuzhun was a severe teacher who regularly struck Enni with a warning stick so that scars on his face would become emblematic of the pain and suffering he endured to attain enlightenment. The journey of Enni, who was later given the moniker "Primary Sage" (C. Shengyi, J. Shōichi), is still celebrated at Mount Jing, which has been rebuilt since the Cultural Revolution with funding from the master's modern Japanese followers, especially former longtime Tōfukuji abbot Fukushima Keidō. At Mount Jing temple today, a sculpture prominently displayed shows Enni appearing smaller than his Chinese teacher, Wuzhun, even though that was not the case.

Enni returned home in 1241 to open his first temple in Kyushu, Jōtenji, situated near the cloister Eisai established in Hakata. On learning that a fire had damaged Mount Jing, Enni oversaw the transport of wood from a nearby forest to China for the rebuilding of that monastery. This generous deed presaged the efforts of Fukushima in reconstructing Mount Jing beginning in the 1980s. Enni was soon invited by a powerful aristocrat to become leader of Tōfukuji, a new and very large Rinzai temple that was located in the southeastern part of the capital close to Dōgen's Kōshōji, but construction was delayed for many years due to the Tendai sect's objections. When the monastery was finally fully opened in the mid-1250s, Enni installed a famous portrait of his teacher plus other ritual implements imported from the mainland. The grandeur of the much larger Tōfukuji compound, even when it was still under construction, may have contributed to Dōgen's desire to depart from the capital for a location in the countryside.

Enni enjoyed more than three decades of abbacy, with a few years spent at Jufukuji temple in Kamakura and the rest at Tōfukuji. From that base in the capital, he also supervised the rehabilitation of Eisai's Kenninji temple. It is said that for several years Enni walked from Tōfukuji to Kenninji every day at noon. His main writing was the *Essentials of the Ten Buddhist Schools* (*Jisshū yōdōki*), a tract that shows in great historical detail how both Pure Land and Zen, which was referred to then as the Buddha-Mind (Busshin) school, had emerged to surpass the teachings of the previous eight Japanese Buddhist sects because of a shared emphasis on the superiority of the attainment of individual salvation. Also, Enni's recorded sayings and collected Dharma talks were published as separate compilations, along with a set of instructions on *zazen*.

Among Enni's many disciples, Mukan, who traveled to China around 1250, became the initial abbot selected for the opening of Nanzenji temple as a Zen cloister in 1291. This was one of the earliest monasteries in Kyoto that would later play a crucial role in the Five Mountains system. Another important disciple of Enni, Mujū, composed the *Tales of Sand and Pebbles* (*Shasekishū*) in 1283, which integrates Japanese folktales with *kōan* case narratives imported from China and became one of the most important, if somewhat atypical, compositions in the early history of the sect.

The first of three main stages of transplantation, lasting a quarter century, primarily involved firsthand transformational encounters. Through undeterred determination and drive, a number of intrepid wayfarers achieved a personal spiritual realization and gained expertise in the meditative practice and literary techniques of Zen through face-to-face meetings with inspirational yet strictly disciplinarian Chinese teachers. The Dharma directly transmitted to Japanese monks was passed on to subsequent followers of their lineages. Following the model of Eisai, both Enni and Dōgen were critical of Nōnin for not going to the mainland as well as for encouraging the breaking of monastic rules. When most of the followers of Nōnin's faction joined Dōgen's assembly at Eiheiji temple in the early 1240s, this integration of monks from diverse backgrounds led to grave concerns about who would be considered the most qualified successor to the movement he started. This issue was especially pressing since only one of the primary candidates, a former member of the Daruma school named Gikai, had ever been to China, while Jakuen, who followed Dōgen from the mainland, was not considered qualified to lead.

Notes

1. Watsuji Tetsurō, *Purifying Zen: Watsuji Tetsurō's Shamon Dōgen*, trans. Steve Bein (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011).
2. Keizan was chronologically the fourth-generation patriarch, but is considered second in overall importance for Sōtō Zen.
3. John Gill and Susan Tidwell, eds., *After Many Autumns: A Collection of Chinese Buddhist Literature* (Los Angeles: Buddha's Light Publishing, 2011) (translation modified).
4. For example, Dōgen built Eiheiji temple near a Tendai branch temple of Onjōji called Heisenji, which is situated at the foot of the sacred snow-covered peak Mount Hakusan. Since Onjōji held less prestige than its rival Enryakuji among the secular elite, it was more open to change and innovation and thus better suited to accommodating Dōgen's flight to northerly domains.
5. Martin Collcutt, "Zen Art in a Monastic Context: Zen and the Arts in Medieval Kenchōji," in Gregory Levine and Yukio Lippit, *Awakenings: Zen Figure Painting in Medieval Japan* (New York: Japan Society, 2007), 61.
6. Chōmei, "An Account of My Hut," trans. Donald Keene, in *Anthology of Japanese Literature*, ed. Donald Keene (New York: Grove Press, 1955), 197–212.
7. Steven Heine, *The Zen Poetry of Dōgen: Verses from the Mountain of Eternal Peace* (Boston: Tuttle Publishing, 1997). Kawabata's choice stunned the Zen audience since Dōgen was primarily known for prose rather than poetic writings that were associated with Rinzai priests. http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1968/kawabata-lecture.html.
8. During the Heian era, Buddhist priests wrote in Chinese or Kanbun, while the literary language of female authors as in the *Tale of Genji* and of male *waka* poets was primarily based on vernacular or Kana without much use of characters or *kanji*.
9. In a variation on traditional Buddhist ceremonies, for which it is believed that painting an eye animates a statue of the Buddha, in the case of Daruma dolls an eye is drawn on the icon as a means of evoking good luck.
10. This figure is not to be confused with another prominent Buddhist monk named Daoxuan (the second character is different), who wrote an important collection of monk biographies including an early account of Bodhidharma.
11. Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 3.
12. David Pollack, *Zen Poems of the Five Mountains* (New York: Scholars Press, 1985), 23.
13. In Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō-Zuimonki. Sayings of Eihei Dōgen Zenji Recorded by Kōun Ejō*, trans. Shohaku Okumura and Tom Wright (Tokyo: Sōtōshū shūmuchō, 2004).
14. *Dōgen zenji zenshū*, ed. Kawamura Kōdō, et. al., vol. 3 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1988), 34.

4

Transplantations

HOW ÉMIGRÉ MONKS OVERCAME MIDCENTURY CHALLENGES

THE FIRST TRANSITIONAL period, lasting a quarter century, was marked by the acculturation of Zen in Japan. This development was based primarily on the heroic individual experiences of enlightenment attained in China by Dōgen, who traveled in the 1220s, about thirty years after Eisai's second trip to the mainland, and Enni, who left for the continent a decade later. Upon returning to their native land, all three pioneering monks built major temples in the capital for then start-up Rinzai and Sōtō branches. The two main divisions of Zen were soon recognized as emerging cloistral organizations that advocated the groundbreaking path of self-power. That approach was based on a firm belief in the sect's primal mythical view, which maintained that each and every individual has the capacity to become a Living Buddha if the potential is properly cultivated and refined through daily contemplation and the rigors of monastic discipline.

The small handful of early voyagers forged many important innovations and founded monasteries that gained enthusiastic followings in Kyoto and other key places, including the new military town of Kamakura, the ports of Kyushu, and the provincial Hokuriku region. The main writings left by Eisai, Dōgen, and Enni defended Zen's right to exist in a pluralistic Japanese society, while extolling the virtues of *zazen* or sitting meditation as a newer method of training for enlightenment. The works of all three pioneers were remarkably innovative and inspirational in developing a focus on instructing monastic practices, deciphering Chinese literary sources, and evaluating Buddhist history in Japan. Eisai particularly emphasized the role of the precepts as well as drinking tea in ways

that were novel for his audience. Dōgen was inventively interpretative by creatively introducing and explicating traditional Chan kōan texts for his islander followers who were unschooled in this topic, and Enni's work showed that Zen represented the culmination of the historical development of all previous aspects of Japanese Buddhism. These efforts set the stage for the ingenuity displayed several generations later by Daitō, Musō, and many other scholarly yet practice-minded Zen teachers.

Despite those accomplishments, it is clear that by the end of the initial stage of transplantation, the three pioneers had all met with mixed success. Their combined efforts, however inspirational and influential in the long run, were still very much preliminary and transitional, rather than transformational, due to resistance from rival forces, which made them unable to prevail fully over various trials and tribulations. Attempts to transfer Chinese Chan onto Japanese soil were limited in large part because of constraints imposed by jealous opponents from the Tendai sect. Since the dawn of the Heian era, Tendai had functioned more or less as the state religion for imperial-aristocratic rulers from its main site on Mount Hiei, northwest of the capital. Fearful of challenges to their authority, Tendai adversaries tried to prevent Zen temples from being built or priests from being registered or acknowledged by official sponsors.

At midcentury, the progress of the early pilgrims was somewhat piecemeal and the potential for the expansion of Zen seemed quite restricted. Factional opposition caused the initial masters either to embrace esoteric rituals from Tendai and Shingon practice, as did Eisai at Kenninji temple and Enni at Tōfukuji temple, or to relocate to remote northern provinces in order to escape the wrath of rival clerics, an option Dōgen took with the opening of Eiheiji temple.[1] Eisai and Enni represented different sublineages of Rinzai Zen, both of which were soon eclipsed, so neither movement lasted long in Japan. Dōgen's loyal band of Sōtō Zen disciples, who accompanied him in withdrawing from the capital, was split soon after his death.

Additional conflicts were caused by opponents from among the other new Kamakura Buddhist sects, who also felt threatened by the intrusion of foreign customs. In one representative account, it was said that just seeing the billowing Chinese-style clerical robes worn by Eisai and his disciples was irritating enough to trigger quite a ruckus among other Buddhists. As Zen monks strode through the streets of Kyoto, they were severely criticized for "causing the wind to stir" by various priests uninvolved with Chinese practices and envious of the novelty and sense of

continental authenticity Zen garb conveyed. Although this complaint may seem petty and irrelevant, in many premodern societies clothing represented a powerful symbol of the status of the social group to which one belonged. Therefore, concerns expressed in the early days about garments worn by monastics indicated that the evolution of Zen into a major religious faction would need additional time.

Given the difficulties and challenges experienced until the end of the initial stage of transfer, it would have been difficult at that juncture to imagine the heights of institutional growth that Zen was about to achieve in a dynamic and fluid but highly competitive religious environment. In Japan as in China, where government authorities oversaw all religious groups, Zen managed to gain the strongest level of official support despite its reclusive and somewhat antinomian origins. In light of pervasive early obstacles, which kinds of next steps in the transmission process were needed for the movement to be able to transmute from a fledgling and abrasive cult to an established and stable sect attaining an ascendant place in Japanese society?

Prior to examining the goals Zen managed to achieve during the second main stage of the transplantation process, which began around 1250 and lasted for nearly fifty years, it is important to consider in greater detail not just how much was gained but also how much was not yet accomplished after the initial stage of the transfer of Chinese Chan resources that transpired from 1225 to the middle of the thirteenth century. The extent to which Japan had become a land hospitable to Living Buddhas can be assessed in terms of the three main elements of religiosity imported from the mainland that will be examined more fully in the third part of this book: teachers, temples, and tones. The last category includes literary works relying on rhyme and meter as well as visual arts depending on shades of coloring, even when the painting is drawn in monochromatic ink-brush style. What were Japanese Zen masters like at this time compared to prototypical Chinese priests? How much did monasteries constructed on the islands function like the sites pilgrims visited on the mainland? To what extent were Zen teachers involved in composing poetry or creating paintings and other forms of Chan-based aesthetic expressions of enlightenment? In other words, in which ways were Japanese Zen priests in the early thirteenth century truly original and distinct from the supposedly outdated yet still significant Tendai ecclesiastical models as well as different from leaders of other new Kamakura Buddhist sects?

By the time Japanese travelers arrived on the mainland, the Chan school in China had produced multiple generations of imaginative masters. These teachers exerted great influence over all aspects of temple life, primarily grounded on the ingenious eloquence of their Dharma Hall sermons as well as other forms of discourse that were presented according to standard guidelines in *Zen Monastic Rules* (C. *Chanyuan qinqqui*, J. *Zen'en shinggi*), which was first published in 1103 and by the end of the thirteenth century had been reprinted in Japan. After receiving Dharma transmission through contemplative encounters with prominent continental mentors, the initial overseas voyagers came back to Japan with many fresh spiritual supplies that were both conceptual or rhetorical and material or practical. The articles of faith included scrolls of the recorded sayings of Chan masters along with symbols of their authority and charisma, such as special bells, bowls, drums, robes, and staffs, that were used in temple rites. In addition, returning pilgrims brought knowledge of distinct ritual methods, especially *zazen*, performed for several hours each day along with the study of enigmatic *kōan* cases and other training techniques.

Eisai, Dōgen, and Enni functioned much like Chinese priests, with Dōgen becoming the representative of this group who was most emphatic about the need to adhere strictly to the mainland model while refusing to make concessions to Tendai practices. He frequently discussed how he admired an eleventh-century Chinese Caodong monk, Daokai, who once turned down the offer of an imperial robe for the sake of maintaining Buddhist austerity and simplicity, thus showing an uncompromising attitude that Dōgen felt should guide the behavior of Zen leaders in Japan.[2]

By midcentury, however, only a couple of relatively minor and for the most part unheralded Chinese monks, who had accompanied Japanese travelers on their return trips, were living and teaching on the archipelago. One of the most important of this group was Jakuen, a peer of Dōgen's in China who came to the islands to join his group. Jakuen did not play a significant role until sometime during stage two in the 1260s, when a decade after Dōgen's death he started his own temple, known as Hōkyōji. He was joined there by Giun, and this faction became one of the main centers of Sōtō Zen, known for its strict adherence to Chan models for practice as espoused by Dōgen. No doubt other continental visitors played key roles in Japan, but they did not gain a strong enough reputation to be known today.

The three great Japanese pilgrims opened or functioned prominently at multiple monasteries in various locations around the country, thus creating a proliferation of meditation cloisters. They were experts in a new

and very different style of temple construction, including rules for maintenance based on the anthropomorphic notion that the seven main halls of the compound were identified with various body parts of a Living Buddha. Just walking on the grounds of the monastery was said to produce an intimate awareness of unity and identification with universal principles of enlightenment. Moreover, Zen temples in Japan started to become adept at displaying their own forms of architecture and furniture, clothing and eating utensils, deities and icons, and musical instruments and textiles,

Dōgen and Enni both included in their retinue of followers various craftsmen and designers imported from the continent to ensure that temple construction was carried out in an authentic way. Yet Kenninji and Tōfukuji still included traditional Japanese prayers and rites, especially at the time of the Mongol invasions, when this was required by Hōjō Tokimune to help protect the nation. At Eiheiji, even though he refused shogunal support, Dōgen relied on donations from a samurai patron, Hatano, and there were also some changes in temple practice based on adapting to the local environment. For example, Dōgen's preaching, especially during the later stages of his career, incorporated native rites such as honoring local deities or celebrating supernatural events including proverbial flowers falling from the sky or hearing the ethereal sound of bells that were never actually rung. Many such examples were associated with temples of the continental Tiantai school.

Concerning the extent of literary and visual tones, or Zen writings and paintings, produced in Japan, it is clear that, even more than a religious tradition, the travelers brought with them a sophisticated worldview and innovative way of practicing meditation in relation to diverse cultural activities. These efforts ranged from composing verse and creating calligraphy to performing the tea ceremony and cultivating martial skills. By the end of the initial phase of transfer, however, there was little evidence of the prevalence of many of the various forms of aesthetic experience, such as the composition of Kanbun poetry that are generally associated with the ripening of Japanese Zen. It took two more generation for these arts to become richly developed.

However, Dōgen did write elegant calligraphy, and he composed verse in Chinese venerating portrayals of Rujing and other ancestors, among many other topics. The arrival of a collection of his master's recorded sayings, which was brought to Dōgen from China around 1242, when he was still residing at Kōshōji temple in Kyoto, marked a key turning point that apparently prompted him to follow more closely than ever continental

models of temple life. While at Eiheiji, Dōgen composed more than a hundred examples of Kanbun poetry, much of it inspired by his mainland mentor. With just a couple of exceptions, these expressions are not included in major Zen compilations of Sino-Japanese verse that primarily cover the writings of numerous Rinzai-sect monks who resided in Kyoto or Kamakura.

During the 1240s, while still waiting for completion of the construction of Tōfukuji, which was long delayed due to opposition from Tendai monks, Enni obtained many kinds of materials from various travelers who came from the same Chinese temple where he had studied. These included Wuzhun's ritual portrait, one of the earliest and most famous prototypes in Japanese of the extremely important genre depicting masters in a refined and elegant posture accompanied by their main symbols of authority. Additional examples of his teacher's art and artifacts were transported to Kyoto, such as drawings, implements, and scrolls.

This haul brought to Tōfukuji probably also contained some of the works of one of Wuzhun's prime students, the highly influential monk-painter Muqi, whose monochrome ink drawings reflecting the meaning of various enlightenment stories or Zen perspectives on natural landscapes were never fully appreciated in China since the artist deliberately broke the academic rules for painting. Muqi's artworks became a sensation in Japanese Rinzai temples, which preserved them for posterity. Daitokuji temple, in Kyoto, holds many of the painter's most important pieces. Many of these items were transformed when they got to Japan into a particularly bold expression of metaphysical unity through the use of the triptych technique, three different images by a single artist linked in separate but attached screens. The most famous instance of a Muqi triptych features a Buddhist deity, Guanyin (J. Kannon), in the center with two natural images set on either side: a crane and a monkey holding her young.

On the other hand, most of the major Song-dynasty Chan *kōan* texts had not yet reached Japan by 1250. The first of the multitude of texts that arrived during stage two was the *kōan* collection *Wumen's Barrier*, which was transported by Kakushin, a pilgrim who studied with the master Wumen for half a decade in China before returning home in 1254. Kakushin, along with his prestigious predecessor pilgrims, wrote instructional treatises on the practice of *zazen*. Others who contributed to this genre included the first great émigré monk, Lanqi, and the fourth Sōtō Zen patriarch, Keizan. The various essays explaining the rationale and directives for the performance of the main training method were generally

rather short compositions largely based on a continental model published in 1103 as part of the *Zen Monastic Rules* compendium. Clarifying the guidelines for contemplation was crucial to the early mission of spreading Zen in Japan, since it represented a new training method. Interestingly, in China, aside from the 1103 essay, there were not many works specifically on *zazen*. Most writings at the time took for granted the importance of the technique and dealt instead with debates about the relation between meditation and other practices, such as studying *kōan* cases or enforcing monastic regulations.

Methodological Implications and Historical Complications

According to Martin Collcutt's appraisal of the first phase of transplantation, while it was "beginning to make its presence felt, in the year 1250 Zen was still a relatively obscure and alien teaching in Japanese Buddhist circles . . . [with] very few monasteries in Japan where even a diluted form of syncretic Tendai-Zen was practiced; despite increasing interest, it would take another century for 'pure' Zen to be firmly established with patronage and support."[3] This comment strongly suggests that for Japanese Zen to be able to grow and thrive as an independent sect in the second half of the thirteenth century, it needed to receive a powerful infusion of Chinese Buddhas in order to create a sense of legitimacy.

Collcutt's remark regarding the weakness of the status of Zen in 1250 has another important implication. It reveals that for a long time modern researchers, who borrowed numerous ideas from traditional sectarian discourse, were mainly concerned with what is now—nearly four decades after his observation—often considered a misleading question. For many years, the main scholarly inquiry concerned whether and to what extent Zen in the Japanese setting allowed training methods imported from China to become mixed or diluted through syncretism with the techniques of other Buddhist sects and native cults. An additional question asked if Japanese teachers thought of this as a shortcoming and tried to adhere to an unadulterated form of Chan devoid of variegated religious elements.

The so-called mixed Zen approach incorporated traditional Tendai rites, with meditation considered one of several options rather than the main authentic practice technique available. Eisai and Enni endorsed the combinatory view, whether out of religious conviction or a politically driven need for conciliation with traditional Buddhism. Tōfukuji temple was the most

successful of the early Zen cloisters situated in the capital, largely because of accommodations made by Enni with regard to mainstream Tendai as a means of gaining aristocratic backing from Kujō Michiie, his powerful patron, who belonged to the Fujiwara clan. Moreover, Enni's approach to Zen practice was greatly influenced by a book by the tenth-century Chinese master Yanshou, *Record of Source Mirror*, which was an eclectic tome well known for its emphasis on merging Chan with both Tiantai and Pure Land Buddhist practices.

Scholars who endorsed the view that there was an opposition between mixed and pure Zen generally have argued that Dōgen left Kyoto in order to emphasize the priority of sustained sitting meditation led by teachers who also delivered inspiring public talks for clerical and lay followers while enforcing communal labor as part of rigorous ascetic discipline. Dōgen's approach, it is said, was based on emulating more directly than Enni the Chan models he experienced in China. However, many subsequent Sōtō Zen followers backtracked from Dōgen's stance by seeking ways to uphold the founder's lofty vision while persuading a larger population of non-monastics through integrating local folklore beliefs by using rites for the worship of native deities. Those teachers formulated a religious worldview linking the realm of transcendence to the concrete needs of everyday life, thus indicating a lack of regard for the so-called purity of Zen.

Therefore, the notion of a strict dichotomy between undiluted, or pure, and diluted, or mixed, Zen is frequently challenged by current researchers. They argue that there really was no such thing as an uncorrupted tradition in the first place, since Chinese Chan had long absorbed influences from three main religions (various schools of Buddhism plus Confucianism and Daoism) in addition to the artistry of literati. Therefore, expecting an unmixed form of practice to be upheld in Japan was based on a problematic and insubstantial assumption, because Zen could not possibly try to emulate a standpoint that never existed in the way it is imagined.

Another area of doubt recently raised in regard to placing too much weight on how Japanese Zen could or should have become more like supposedly pure Chinese Chan involves concerns about basic historical and cultural perceptions. Much of what we know today of Chan during the later stages of the Song dynasty is derived from perspectives reported by Japanese visitors. For example, Dōgen's *Hōkyō Era Records of China*, an account of his conversations held in Rujing's Abbot Quarters, offers rare insight into the lifestyle of Chan monks in the thirteenth century. While the record keeping of monastic activities was a strong feature of traditional

Chinese resources and remains a valuable tool used in modern scholarship, the kind of outsider's narrative that Dōgen's document provides is unique for the way it incorporates his personal observations and reflections into seemingly objective descriptions.

But, it must be asked, how accurate and reliable is this work, which was not discovered by Dōgen's followers until after the master's death? Could its view of continental practice have been shaped by the Sōtō founder's rather limited access to Chan practice, in that he only traveled in parts of Zhejiang province? Or did later editors in Japan, who based their approach to editing on hearsay or other untrustworthy evidence, slant the text? Furthermore, might viewpoints ascribed to leading Chan teachers from the transitional century actually reflect subsequent appropriations that were derived from Japanese Rinzai or Sōtō Zen sectarian perspectives, rather than a direct understanding of the original Chinese teachings?

Current scholarship about Song-dynasty Chinese temples, for example, indicates that the extent of Chan influence, as shown in Figure P.5, had a far greater degree of regional and thematic diversity than a typical impression based solely on Japanese reports. Since thirteenth-century islander pilgrims, with their limited ability in the Chinese language and penchant for returning home after a relatively short period of travel, mainly visited monasteries in the east coast area, this does not necessarily mean that Chan was unimportant in other parts of the country. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, some Japanese monks ventured much more extensively into the continental countryside and stayed for decades or never returned home. The writings these travelers left behind, however, are mainly poetry collections rather than detailed depictions of temple life, and therefore are not particularly helpful for modern scholarly efforts trying to reconstruct the actual historical setting.

For all the major inroads made by the intrepid Japanese pioneers Eisai, Dōgen, and Enni, who each represented a manifestation of the Legend of Living Buddhas based on a productive multiyear journey to the mainland where face-to-face enlightenment was gained, the crucial missing ingredient as of the late 1240s that was about to be introduced in a major way was the authority and authenticity provided by Chinese teachers reaching the islands. The next seventy-five years of development in the transplantation process were marked by a sweeping shift from the first stage, which established the existence of native Buddhas located mainly in Kyoto, where they were not fully accepted. The second stage featured the initial presence of imported Chinese masters, who were primarily situated in temples built

for them in Kamakura by the Hōjō shoguns. The third stage generated a more complex and accommodating environment for continuing constructive interactions between exemplars of the primal Zen myth stemming from both countries. Leading monks were primarily positioned at the center of sociopolitical Japanese power in Kyoto, while also moving frequently back and forth across the waters.

One of the most noteworthy aspects of the transition process was the flourishing of a dynamic religious worldview characterized by a seemingly limitless creativity on the part of Zen clerics, who were trained either by Chinese teachers on the continent and in Japan or by native followers of one of these figures. The fully realized realm of spirituality was reflected in the mastery by new generations of Living Buddhas of inventive forms of poetry and painting that fascinated a secular audience. These works were fashioned on the grounds of temples or in aesthetic spaces outside the monastery walls, such as literary salons or painting workshops.

The main teaching that prompted these developments involved Wuxue, the second-most-important émigré monk, who came to Japan about three decades after Lanqi's arrival in 1246. Wuxue instructed followers that he had learned from his continental mentor, the master Xutang, a profound appreciation for religious realization gained through experiencing what the Chan masters referred to as "Verse Samadhi." Xutang also taught an appreciation for the intimate relation between poetry and meditation directly to numerous pilgrims, especially the Rinzai monk Daiō (also known as Nampō), who spent nine fruitful years in China beginning in 1259 and later became the mentor of Daitō (also Shūhō) several decades after he returned home. The approach formed by Xutang was exemplified by the inspired use of capping phrases and other metaphorical or allusive remarks that were contained in the Chinese mentor's collection of recorded sayings. That text, brought back to Japan by Daiō in the late 1260s, was studied enthusiastically for many centuries by followers of Xutang's lineage.

The term "Verse Samadhi," which became even more firmly entrenched after another émigré monk, Yishan, arrived in Japan in 1299 and enhanced Chinese learning among Zen trainees, indicates a joyously contemplative involvement in aesthetic accomplishments. Those productions included calligraphy and verse compositions, in addition to pictorial portrayals of Zen patriarchs conducting *kōan* encounter dialogues and related inspirational topics.[4] To cultivate the appropriate state of mind, attained through intensive meditative engagement at the most refined spiritual level with

transcendent ideals related to the unity of Buddha-nature, Japanese monks were required to become sufficiently skilled in Chinese literary and visual techniques that they could contribute their own sense of originality to various styles of artistic expression. This capacity enabled practitioners to extricate themselves from conceptual snares caused by logical thinking, so that any and all self-imposed barriers to awakening based on delusion and deception were firmly and finally removed.

As significant as aesthetics was for advances made in the transplantation process, in recent years numerous scholars have shown that it is equally important not to isolate the history of Zen and the arts from what may sound at first like a quite different approach to interpreting history that emphasizes more practical topics, such as the economics and politics of temple life. An analysis of financial issues in regard to how monasteries sustained themselves through various sorts of commercial activities based on the arts and other endeavors is most relevant for understanding the rise of Zen as a powerful cultural tradition. That development was derived in large part from revenue generation contributing to the growth of temple life.

In other words, Zen aesthetics was not simply an abstract and exclusive realm of refined artistic achievements that were somehow kept separate from the ritual functions of priests or moneymaking conditions of temples. As Michael Walsh notes in a study of the Five Mountains temple Mount Tiantong, where Dōgen attained enlightenment in China:

> Monasteries were very active, trading, allowing for the interaction of literati and monks, disseminating Buddhist texts and lectures, sometimes even paying taxes in support of underemployed farmers, hiring field laborers, supporting local fairs and markets, and fully participating in the kind of sociopolitical atmosphere that allowed such an increase in commercialism and exchange to happen in the first place.[5]

Employing savvy commercial strategies enabled cloisters to support the vigorous efforts of salons and studios needed to facilitate wide-ranging and highly influential artistic productions. One of the main implications of understanding this development involves the role of prominent Zen paintings featuring poetic inscriptions, which were traditionally thought to express the solitary spiritual vision of a lone reclusive mystic removed

from the everyday world. Now we can see that such works were likely group-based projects created as part of a cooperative effort that was promoted in part for seemingly non-religious purposes, that is, to appeal to potential donations from wealthy lay followers. Recognizing this situation help us better view the social context surrounding the origins of Zen aesthetics, but that outlook does not necessarily diminish an appreciation of its beauty or detract from interpreting the basic component of spirituality that contributed to the formation of art.

Therefore, one of the main reasons that the full flourishing of Zen in Japan was not reached by the middle of the thirteenth century was that this development had to wait for a time in which there were monasteries comparable in size and maturity to counterparts in Song China that sponsored collaborative artistic studios on and off the compound.[6] Once this began to unfold, Zen monk-poets were able to draw extensively and innovatively from a set of stock phrases and sayings charged with symbolic meaning to extend the traditional Japanese literary view that language (*kotoba*) expresses, either directly or indirectly, the longings and aspirations of an inspired heart-mind (*kokoro*). Common examples evoked in Zen verse include the image of sleep to indicate a state of meditation or the image of a dream to symbolize the attainment of enlightenment, although both metaphors have converse implications by signifying delusion and ignorance. Similarly, autumn leaves represent a state of mental discrimination that causes a decline of consciousness, and fire symbolizes the passions of worldly attachments, while ashes or withered trees reflect the demise of the ego.

Based on an enhanced spiritual vision, Zen practitioners, whether clerical or lay, also knew how to bend or break conventional rules and stereotypical expectations for artistic productions by taking poetic license with rhyme schemes in verse or with color patterns in painting to disclose inventive ways of explicating lofty self-awareness. For example, the temple abbot Keijo writes, "In spring temples, bell sounds dividing day and night / Are seen by the ear and heard by the eye, / Colors from beyond the sky dying everything in two— / Purple in the sunset clouds, red in the dawn."[7] The notion of synesthesia conveyed in the second line, which suggests paradoxically the sensation of sounds received by eyes and sights by ears, reflects the idea that the ringing of the bell represents not only a break in the times of the day. Rather, its resonance is also considered an invisible line at once dividing and linking the realms of immanence ("colors"

of purple and red) and transcendence ("beyond the sky"), which are ultimately fused in non-dual oneness by virtue of a contemplative awareness that apprehends the unity of Buddha-nature.

As the second phase of transplantation unfolded, Japanese Zen began to feature a remarkable degree of diversified viewpoints that should not be reduced to a simplistic Rinzai-versus-Sōtō model, as if these movements were worlds apart or were the only streams available, since there were numerous splintered factions active at the time. Nevertheless, the stereotype that eventually developed in the fourteenth century is by no means altogether wrong in that the two main sects consolidated respective strongholds while asserting their independent identity because government oversight required that religious factions be defined in opposition to each other. It was decreed that if the branches of Zen seemed too close to one another's style of practice, they should be forced to integrate with their rivals. Each group also feared that if their approach seemed too remote from mainstream Buddhist standpoints, they could be proscribed altogether, which happened to the defunct Daruma school as the earliest Zen faction in Japan.

The Sōtō sect's spread was characterized less by reliance on the arts as a means of gaining patronage from the elite class than by the conversion of large provincial territories through performing exorcisms and other rites while also making outreach efforts via construction projects to aid local farmers. Yet some Sōtō lineages continued to be dedicated to preserving Dōgen's more philosophical and literary approach. In any event, the growth of the Sōtō sect in rural locales throughout the country quickly overwhelmed the dominance long held in these areas by the older Tendai and Shingon sects.

Despite divergences in regional or practical emphasis as part of a highly competitive religious atmosphere, the expansion of Zen continued to take place in the capital cities for Rinzai's artistically inspired masters or around the countryside for Sōtō's evangelically motivated teachers. Both branches reflected an apparently boundless feeling of confidence about the ability of the growing Zen institution to flex its organizational muscle by continuing to gain new followers. Kyushu was the only main area where Rinzai and Sōtō temples coexisted, since all Japanese pilgrims who invariably stopped there on the way to and from China opened monasteries that remained important centers due to the southernmost island's strategic location.

Chan Unity and Factionalization

The second transitional stage featured the entry to Japan of several prominent Chinese teachers, including Lanqi and Wuxue as the primary examples, with the latter monk filling the leadership role played by his predecessor, in addition to the masters Wuan and Daxiu, who played relatively minor roles. The influx of immigrants was the result of many types of social and religious factors that stimulated one of the most productive periods of maritime travels in East Asian history by triggering the reciprocity of cultural and commercial exchanges. Chan leaders were feeling weary of societal trends in China and wary of the future, as it seemed that the apogee of the school had faded, so they were looking for alternative venues and outlets of expression. However, Mongol rulers were not as devastating toward Buddhism as anticipated; indeed, the Yuan dynasty saw one of the most dynamic periods of back-and-forth travels that were also supported by the Hōjō and Ashikaga shoguns, who were eager to continue continental trade.

Perhaps the crucial element motivating Chinese masters to leave their homeland for new if unpredictable horizons abroad involved conflicted conditions within the Chan school itself, which by the later stages of the Song dynasty was undergoing an internal crisis of spiritual authority. This uncertain situation reflected the absence of a central system of institutional governance or of a clear standard for prescribing monastic practice, a situation that led to an extreme degree of disputation among competing lineages. This controversy caused ongoing tension and turmoil in ways that hampered efforts to achieve a unified vision of the movement in China.

A dual predisposition that characterized the Chan school since its inception in the Tang dynasty involved the profound harmony underlying intense alliances of monks, coupled with a perpetual fragmenting into diverse cliques and subdivisions that often argued bitterly about the merits of their respective methods of meditative training. During the Song dynasty, the multi-branched schema known as the Five Houses, covering the Caodong, Fayan, Guiyang, Linji, and Yunmen streams, was designed to try to embrace nearly all the assorted philosophies representing eminent masters of every group within a centralized whole.

Each of the houses devised its own particular style for passing through the proverbial gateway leading to the path to enlightenment. According to various commentaries from the time, some of which were contradictory

or complicated by contentiousness, the Caodong line emphasizes the notion of the "five ranks" (C. *wuyi*, J. *goi*), or distinct levels of interaction involving the relation between absolute truth and its applications in the relative world. The Fayan line stresses the role of indirect communications through the evocation of allusions and metaphors in poetic style. The Guiyang line uses diagrams of circles and squares or other shapes and objects as spiritual tallies. The Linji line teaches the four mysteries involving connections between subjective or inner realization and objective or outward awareness through radical means of shouting at and striking disciples. Finally, the Yunmen line highlights the three essentials or complementary ways of teaching embedded in each utterance to address trainees at advanced, middle, and novice levels.

Every one of the various approaches was considered a double-edged sword that exhibited the strength of promoting mutual understanding but deficiencies that delimited the possibility of reaching transcendence if and when the outlook was followed in mechanical fashion. For example, late Song-dynasty commentators addressed these strengths and weaknesses in the three main schools that remained strong by the twelfth century: in Caodong, wise trainees attain a refined degree of insight, but the ignorant get mired in investigating too many details of multiple aspects of philosophical interactions; for Linji, outstanding practitioners gain illumination yet befuddled monks lose the opportunity out of the recklessness of their masters, whose teaching tools are often excessive; and among Yunmen novices, enlightened teachers show a knack for combining reticence with incisive expression while the deluded forsake insight by being overly accommodating rather than upholding a strict standard for all trainees to follow.

Despite apparent shortcomings, the flexibility afforded by considerable variations in the teaching methods of the Five Houses was a key ingredient contributing to the ascendancy of the Chan movement so that, after humble beginnings, it became the leading Buddhist school in China. Widespread dissemination of its practices among the elite classes greatly influenced secular literature and literati culture in addition to other religious ideologies.[8] Drawing upon diverse Chinese intellectual influences, Chan thinkers over many generations created a distinctive set of ideas and words seamlessly weaving together values and ideals or narratives and stories with prototypes and personages expressing instructional techniques that helped preserve collective memories. The Chan standpoint struck a special chord with Daoist conceptions of frugality and discipline linked to the directness and immediacy of spirituality experienced in a sudden and

spontaneous moment of awakening, and its familial, genealogical model of transmission appealed to Confucians.

During the Song dynasty, Chan created a vast array of literature, including chronicles, *kōan* commentaries, poetry collections, compilations of monastic rules, and reference works commenting on the other categories of writings. The main goal of these works was to highlight the mystical activities and preaching methods of the most consistently heroic yet frequently irreverent individual teachers, whose personal stories, filled with trials and triumphs, captured the imagination of a broad readership. The spiritual accomplishments of a small handful of the greatest masters, who conquered their defilements to attain a state of spiritual wholeness while still functioning amid secular distractions, were appreciated without regard to sectarian divisions.[9] In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the recorded sayings of leading Chan mentors, especially the founders of the Caodong, Linji, and Yunmen lineages, were published and distributed for the first time as independent, easily acquired texts. Monks and lay disciples perused these works enthusiastically, regardless of denominational affiliation or ideological bent. Newer generations of leaders were also gaining intense groups of followers who were loyal to their unique modes of instruction.

By the middle of the twelfth century, however, unity was becoming fragmented through bitter schismatic disputes. An observer is struck by the notion that Chan monks had become almost too successful for their own good. While succeeding in carving out their own compelling discursive niche within the vast arena of Chinese religion and culture through the introduction of new paradigms of soteriology and practice expressed in innovative literary forms, this function proved to be so similar to Daoist approaches that a notion of separate sectarian identity often got lost. In addition, fierce criticism of Chan was profited by the revival of Confucianism instigated by Zhu Xi, who was the most influential philosopher of the era. Zhu began his career in the mid-1100s somewhat sympathetic to and interested in pursuing Chan practice, and he visited several Buddhist temples in Zhejiang province, including the temple of Deshao, the teacher of Yanshou and an advocate of synthesizing Chan with Tiantai. But Zhu later became the harshest attacker, as he deemed the Zen approach escapist and not conducive to promoting a harmonious society.

These factors caused the main Chan factions to bicker furiously among themselves. A prominent commentator once noted that the greatest teachers surely would have felt that nothing prevented diverse approaches from

blending harmoniously and would have disapproved of petty conflicts. A common saying among the leaders was, "The great Way is without directions and all the currents of the Dharma have the same taste." However, descendants of eminent masters sometimes turned the teaching devices of their respective lineages into a means of bolstering their own traditions and patriarchs, thereby creating conflicts and cause for mutual confrontation. The extreme individuation of Zen methods meant that nearly every style of training or system of thought tried to proclaim its own superiority at the expense of rival standpoints. The situation was further complicated in that discord between schools did not necessarily prohibit some of their followers from sharing ideas and methods. For example, the notion of five ranks, attributed to the Caodong lineage, was borrowed and reinterpreted by other lineages in both China and Japan. But that kind of exchange often led less to a feeling of cooperation than to a bewildering array of pedagogical options that caused even greater argumentation.

The main cause of debate between factions involved the choice between a literary approach that emphasized the utility of language to disclose the Dharma and an anti-literary view that saw all forms of discourse as a conceptual trap. Another key area of discord concerned whether to investigate the meaning of *kōan* cases during meditation sessions or to maintain the view that silent reflection functions as the key to attaining an experience of illumination. Additional points of conflict concerned whether and to what extent Zen should be considered united with the Three Creeds of Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism or as representing an exceptional religious philosophy, and if a Zen practitioner could appropriately practice the chanting of the Buddha's name, as in the Pure Land school, or needed to resist the temptation to "croak like a frog," as some Zen commentators sarcastically stated in their criticism of this training technique.

Yet another area of debate concerned whether to use or to reject as teaching tools the reading of Mahayana scriptures, including the influential *Diamond Sutra, Lankavatara Sutra*, and *Lotus Sutra*. Underlying all the points of contention was a fundamental question as to whether synthesis and syncretism with diverse teachings should be acknowledged and recognized as a way of embracing the relative value of complementary approaches that enriched Zen or disdained and discarded because alternative viewpoints represent contrasting philosophies that conflict with core Zen teachings. On the positive side, these debates created a sense of excitement and fascination reflecting the variability and richness of ideas that contributed to the spread of Zen, even if there never was a clear resolution.

Chinese Émigrés and Japanese Patrons

The second stage of the transfer of Zen was characterized by accelerated momentum and great zeal for the imported religion on the part of the most powerful members of Japanese society. By the end of the thirteenth century, a wave of dozens of monks from both countries moving back and forth began to win the day in the new transnational landscape. However, the contested context of Chinese Chan was to some extent duplicated in a compressed amount of time and in streamlined fashion among Japanese Zen groups, who inherited the wealth of elaborate theoretical discussions along with some of the bitterness caused by discrepancies between rivals. Since by the later stages of the Song dynasty the Fayan and Guiyang schools had died out and the Yunmen stream was weakened and absorbed into the Linji school, only Rinzai and Sōtō emerged as the two significant branches in Japan, but each had numerous subdivisions, so this phase of transplantation still featured a wide variety of lineages.[10]

To give an idea of the remarkable range of diversity among what might seem like a relative handful of newcomers, Heinrich Dumoulin notes that a total of sixteen Chinese missionaries arrived on the islands, while the number of Japanese monks visiting the continent was fifteen during the Southern Song dynasty until 1279, with another fifteen over the next century. "From these Chinese and Japanese masters," Dumoulin points out, "a total of forty-six different lines of Japanese Rinzai Zen originated."[11] Another scholar charts even higher numbers of maritime voyagers: "No fewer than 112 Japanese monks traveled to China in the Southern Song dynasty, while in the fourteenth century, between 1300–1350, this number rose to 200."[12] Perhaps the discrepancy is that Dumoulin indicates only the most impactful travelers. In addition to journeys made by monks, there was a lively exchange between Chinese and Japanese temple builders and technical specialists of monastery life, who journeyed between the two countries to take part in the opening of cloisters as well as the implementation of their rites and symbols. Since priests often functioned as envoys or traders, the actual number of travels is impossible to calculate.

During stage two, Sōtō Zen did not undergo as extensive an infusion from the continent as Rinzai, nor did it send more than a couple of prominent priests for relatively short visits to the mainland. According to William Bodiford's comment about constraints felt by the Sōtō sect's provincial followers at Eiheiji, who unlike their Rinzai counterparts generally did not enjoy the advantages of officialdom's economic support, "passage between Japan and China was expensive, time consuming, and difficult to arrange."[13] Meanwhile, better-financed Rinzai pilgrims often were

accompanied by a retinue of merchants and craftsmen, who could act as interpreters and navigators once they disembarked at the port of Ningbo.

The three most important Chinese masters who reached the islands or influenced Japanese Rinzai Zen while remaining at home represented different subfactions of the single main lineage then current at the Five Mountains Chan temples, a lineage that was based on the teachings of the eminent twelfth-century Linji school master Yuanwu, author of the *Blue Cliff Record*. A couple of generations after Yuanwu's death, the lineage divided into two streams based, respectively, on the masters Songyuan and Boan. Two Chan monks greatly impacted Japan stemmed from different sides of the Songyuan clique, including Lanqi, the émigré who was a student of Wuming, and Xutang, the teacher of Daiō and other pilgrims who visited him in China. The main leader representing the Boan clique was Wuzhun, who trained Enni in addition to émigré monks Wuxue and Wuan before they left for the islands.

It is important to recognize that, for the first time, lineal charts of the era began to feature ongoing interactions of Japanese and Chinese teachers, thus highlighting a significant new level of cross-cultural exchanges. This is shown in Tables 4.1–4.3, covering the Linji-to-Rinzai and Caodong-to-Sōtō transmissions, with italicized names indicating a foreign figure,

Table 4.1 Linji to Rinzai: Songyuan and Boan Lines

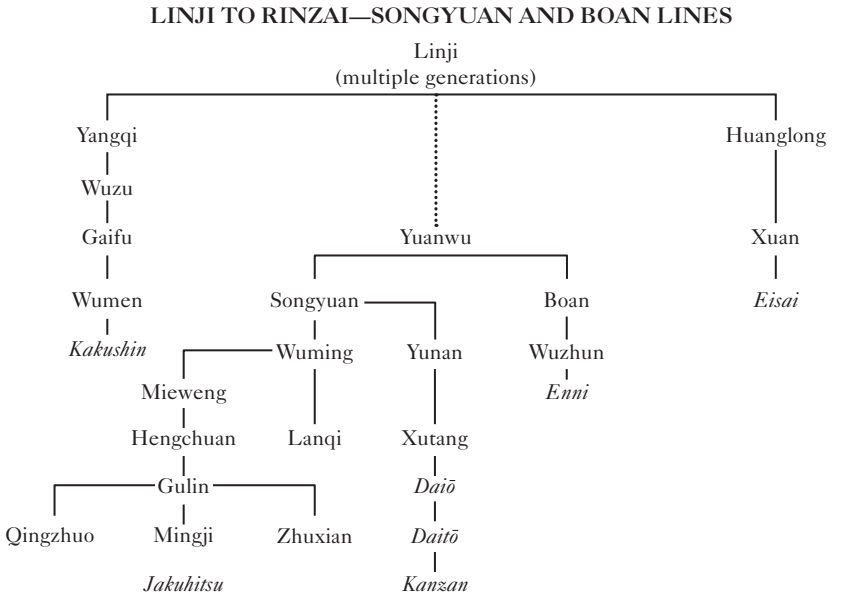


Table 4.2 Linji to Rinzai: Boan Line Extended

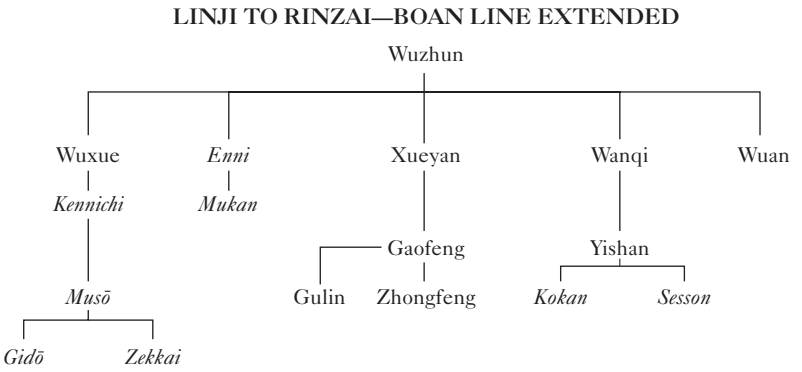
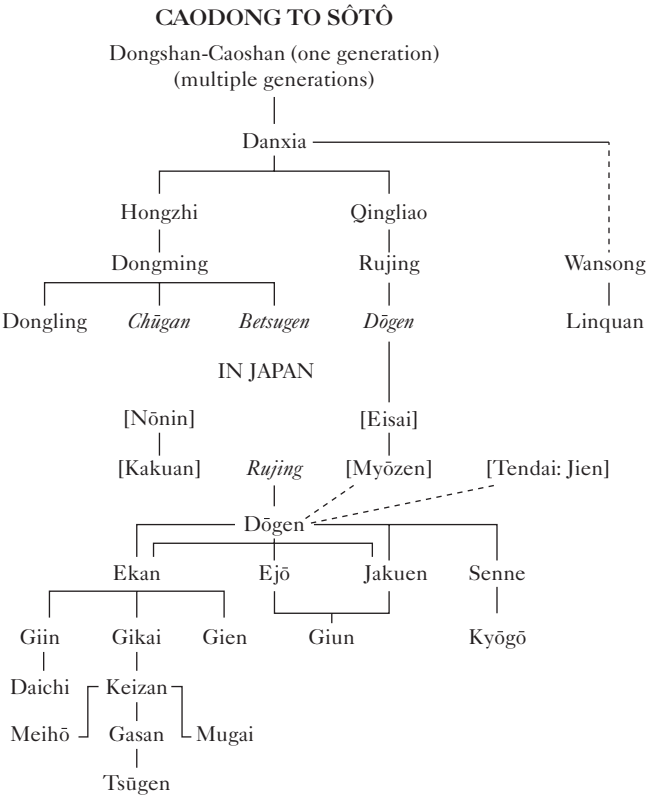


Table 4.3 Caodong to Sōtō



either Chinese or Japanese. All three of the main Linji/Rinzai groups—two Songyuan factions in addition to the Boan stream—generally followed a literary approach by weaving poetic commentaries on *kōan* cases along with sitting meditation. There were, however, different degrees of emphasis in each clique as to whether the extensive use of verse remarks should be actively promoted as a requisite form of training or merely tolerated as a useful but, in the end, less than productive outlet for self-expression.

Lanqi was the first and most influential settler from China, arriving in 1246 in the port city of Hakata. Lanqi came to Japan of his own volition, unlike later émigré monks who were invited by the shogunate, such as Wuxue, or sent by the Mongols, such as Yishan. Lanqi soon found his way to the center of power, first in Kyoto and then in Kamakura, at the behest of Hōjō Tokiyori. After opening a Monks' Hall at a smaller temple in Kamakura for the practice of communal meditation (as the third main example of this facility in Japan, following Dōgen's initiation of the continental custom at Kōshōji and Eiheiji), Lanqi was installed by the shogun as the abbot of Kenchōji, the initial fully Song-style seven-hall Zen monastery that was constructed in Kamakura. Kenchōji was opened in 1253, also the year of the death of Dōgen, who apparently had declined the offer to lead this new sacred site when he went to visit Tokiyori in 1247–48 accompanied by his samurai patron and a handful of disciples.

During his stay in Kamakura, Dōgen preached to Tokiyori, who apparently felt guilty about years of committing violence, but at the end of six months the master told the ruler he preferred to remain at his rural temple, far removed from secular activities. Dōgen composed the following *waka* about his return trip, called "Treasury of the True Dharma Eye" ("Shōbōgenzō"): "In the heart of the night, / The moonlight framing / A small boat drifting, / Tossed not by the waves / Nor swayed by the breeze."[14] The image of the drifting boat, indicating alienation in an impersonal world, is transformed into a symbol of the dedication and determination required in the search for enlightenment. The craft is not at the mercy of the elements but appears to be thoroughly undisturbed by waves (symbolizing objects of attachment) and breeze (ignorance and desire). The moon deepens the meaning of the resolute detachment of the vessel. Yet, in contrast to the heavenly body, the boat is not totally aloof from the world of variability; it remains involved, at once aimless in its solitude and purposeful in its disciplined response to change.

Despite being associated with rival sects and having different reactions to the shogun's offer of a new temple, there were similarities in the

midcentury approaches to Zen practice of Dōgen and Lanqi, who were said to have communicated in the early 1250s through an exchange of letters. Both stressed sitting meditation performed according to Chinese Chan guidelines, which gained the personal attention and affection of Tokiyori, who abdicated the throne in 1256 to become a full-time monk. Also, Lanqi was not nearly as supportive of the role of poetry as a training method as were most of the later émigré monks, beginning with Yishan, since Lanqi's teachings, like Dōgen's, stressed keeping total focus on attaining enlightenment without distraction. Lanqi said, "The practice of Zen does not lie in composing four and six character parallel prose."[15] Similarly, the Sōtō founder insisted that his followers refrain from the pursuit of poetry. "Zen monks," he wrote, "are fond of literature these days, finding it useful to write verses and tracts. This is a mistake. . . . No matter how elegant their prose or how exquisite their poetry might be, they are merely toying with words and cannot gain the truth."[16] Yet both masters did write quite a few poems, collected in their records, because verse composition was an irresistible cultural imperative for Zen teachers.

After spending fourteen years beginning in 1252 in China, where he attained enlightenment in the Songyuan branch of the Linji school, the Japanese pilgrim Muzō, who first studied meditation under Enni, wrote an account in the *Extensive Zen Records* (*Kōzenki*) that defended the new movement against attacks from Mount Hiei. Muzō noted that in addition to Lanqi, there were several other prominent émigré monks who were able to "make the Buddha's sun shine and radiate throughout the land" with the support of the shogunate. When Lanqi left Kamakura in 1260 for a stint as abbot of Kenninji in Kyoto, Hōjō Tokiyori invited Wuan, a disciple of Wuzhun from the Boan stream of the Linji school, to come from the continent and take his predecessor's place in Kamakura by heading Kenchōji for a while.

Wuan grew close to Tokiyori and appreciated the ruler's personal interest in Zen by awarding him the seal of transmission; the shogun was the first Japanese warrior to achieve such certification. But Wuan apparently never felt comfortable subordinating Zen to Japanese political machinations or submerging the veneration of Buddha to local gods, as the government generally required. When the shogun died in 1263, Wuan decided to return to China after staying just a few years. Meanwhile, almost twelve months later, Lanqi ran afoul of officials, who accused him of being a Mongol spy, although the matter was soon cleared up. In 1269, the next main émigré monk, Daxiu, arrived in Japan. Invited by Tokiyori several years before, his

travels were delayed, so by the time of his entrance the shogun's young son, Hōjō Tokimune, was the new ruler. Daxiu stayed abroad until his death in 1289, and he often assisted Lanqi before his death in 1274 by teaching at Kenchōji in addition to other Kamakura temples.

After Lanqi passed away, Tokimune invited from China the second-most-important émigré of this phase, Wuxue, another disciple of Wuzhun, who reached Japan in 1279. Three years later, Wuxue was installed as abbot of the new Engakuji temple, which was built in the Song Chan style down the road from Kenchōji. These two monasteries have remained ever since the hallmarks of Rinzai Zen in Kamakura, where there are dozens of other temples. Engakuji initially served as a memorial site for warriors killed in the Mongol invasions, since depleted resources left the shogun unable to reward their families with substantial material benefits.

Wuxue became Tokimune's personal advisor and Zen teacher at the time of the second Mongol invasion in 1281, and he administered funeral rites when the shogun died in 1284 at the age of thirty-six. The émigré master also played a major role in propagating Zen by heading various cloisters constructed by the shogunate, while transmitting many new examples of continental writings and art that helped convert many clerical and lay followers to the rapidly growing Rinzai sect. Wuxue's primary Japanese disciple was Kennichi, who became well educated in Chan styles of training and was able to creatively compose poetry in Chinese. Kennichi later played a crucial role in the growth of Zen by serving as the teacher who enlightened Musō in 1305. One of the two great Japanese masters of the third stage along with Daitō, Musō spent several years as a novice struggling with failed attempts to gain awakening while studying under Yishan, whose mainlander methods and purely Chinese conversations were too demanding for the disciple's limited language abilities at the time.

Although the main story of the second stage of transplantation involved travelers coming from China, it is also important to consider the role played by Japanese pilgrims in addition to non-voyager Chinese monks. One of the main travelers from the islands was Mukan, a disciple of Enni, whose midcentury trip to the continent, where he studied with the master Duanqiao, solidified his claim to inheriting the mantle of authentic practice. Nearly forty years later, in 1290, Mukan gained the honor of opening one of Emperor Kameyama's former estates as Nanzenji temple, which soon after became the most prestigious Zen monastery in Kyoto. Secular authorities believed the property was haunted and were convinced that only Mukan could purify this realm. Instead of using incantations or

other forms of magic to try to drive away the ghosts, as more traditional Buddhist priests attempted, Mukan simply meditated until the demonic spirit vanished. Impressed with the Zen master's solution, the emperor appointed him the monastery's first abbot. Although Mukan died less than a year later, Nanzenji has long remained a leading Rinzai sacred site.

The next major Japanese traveler in the mid-1200s was Kakushin, who, after studying under both Dōgen and Enni before the trip, hoped to find and train with Wuzhun in China. When he learned that Enni's former master had died, Kakushin instead studied under Wumen, the reclusive author of *Wumen's Barrier*. He brought back to Japan an original manuscript of the text along with other spiritual supplies. These included Wumen's prestigious ritual portrait, which the master referred to with due humility as an "illusory image of myself painted by a patron." During their initial meeting, the monks traded puns on their names that meant, respectively, "No Gate" (Wumen) and "Enlightened Mind" (Kakushin). At the time of the latter's departure to return to Japan, his Chinese teacher wrote: "The Great Song Empire and the Japanese Empire— / Heaven is without boundaries and earth has no poles / With one sentence he settles a thousand errors. / Is there anyone else who can distinguish between right and wrong?"[17]

Some continental masters who stayed at home exerted nearly as much influence through teaching visitors as those who traveled. The life and work of Wuzhun must be appreciated for his deeply personal relations with Japanese students such as Enni, in addition to Chinese followers, including Wuxue, who later went to the islands. Wuzhun was also the mentor for the prominent non-voyager painter Muqi, whose work greatly impacted all the Zen arts. Following Wuzhun's accomplishments, which were part of the first stage of transplantation, during stage two Xutang became the most prominent Chinese master who never went abroad but taught Verse Samadhi to Daiō and other Japanese monks. Xutang's Chan pedigree stemmed from one of two key Songyuan subfactions. The trip by Daiō, who had started in Enni's lineage and also studied under Lanqi while he was still in Japan, encouraged numerous Japanese Rinzai priests to reach China in the late 1200s. Some pilgrims stayed for a decade or more at prestigious temples or remote hermitages, where they were invariably involved in the production of some form of literary or fine arts.

Daiō attained enlightenment in 1265. On leaving China, he received this quatrain from Xutang, who referred to the "many grandchildren on the eastern shore, who have received the Dharma from me": "Wandering

all over to the ends of the realm, / You've grown used to being like a boat sailing on dry land. / But do you know how to find your real home? / As your traveler robes flap in the breeze, do not delay your voyage."[18] The image of touring the land by ship refers to the many challenges faced during Daiō's sometimes arduous journeys on the continent. The flapping of the sleeves of his robe suggests the unspoken emotional depths of both parties at the time of his return from the mainland, muted by a sense of detachment along with a firm commitment to spreading Zen teachings.

After coming home, Daiō stayed on Kyushu for three decades, thus contributing to the growth of Zen in the Hakata area, before eventually being called to lead a temple in Kyoto in the early 1300s. Then, during the third stage of transmission, he became the teacher of Daitō, who thirty years later established Daitokuji temple with strong government backing. This monastery has long served as the main site of one of the most important Rinzai lineages, along with Myōshinji temple, which was founded in Kyoto by Daitō's main disciple, Kanzan. This line, based on the multigenerational teacher-student relations involving masters Daiō, Daitō, and Kanzan, is still known as Ō-Tō-Kan. It has left the sturdiest legacy affecting subsequent centuries of Rinzai followers. The large group of eminent monks from this lineage includes Hakuin, the most important Zen reformer of the Tokugawa era, in addition to the twentieth-century abbot Yamada Mumon, among dozens of other important figures.

During the second half of the thirteenth century, following the death of Dōgen in 1253, Sōtō Zen leaders quarreled about succession at Eiheiji temple and ended up splintering into five subfactions. Two of the groups were led by the sect's only main post-Dōgen voyagers to China, Giin and Gikai, who both joined Sōtō Zen in 1242, at the time the Daruma school, already legally prohibited for more than a decade, was finally disbanded. Giin went to the continent in 1254, a year after the master's death, in order to have a copy of Dōgen's recorded sayings sanctioned by the current leaders of Mount Tiantong.[19] He apparently also showed the text to Xutang, who was considered an authority on Zen literature and wrote a brief introduction, even though he was a representative of the Linji school. Upon returning to his homeland, Giin started an important temple in the Higō area of Kyushu, just south of Hakata, and this has remained a key region for the growth of the Sōtō sect. Also, it is said that Gikai accompanied Daiō for part of his journey to China in 1259. Back in Japan three years later, a decade after Dōgen's death, Gikai sought to update Eiheiji with detailed new information about continental rituals before leaving to start his own

temple, Daijōji, partly in disappointment since he would not be one of Dōgen's successors.

The leaders of the five Sōtō Zen cliques after the founder died included:

1. Ejō and Gien, both former members of the Daruma school who remained at Eiheiji, where they preserved the master's strict style of teaching
2. Jakuen and Giun, who came from China and the Daruma school, respectively, who also maintained Dōgen's approach at Hōkyōji temple, established in 1261 (Giun joined Jakuen there in 1279, and later renewed connections at Eiheiji by serving as its fifth abbot)
3. Senne and Kyōgō, who returned to Kyoto during Dōgen's lifetime to open Yōkōan temple, which was the only Sōtō cloister that remained in the capital
4. Giin, who after coming back from China was based in Kyushu, where he started temples that established the sect's long-standing presence there
5. Gikai, who inspired his disciple Keizan to combine Dōgen's training methods with esoteric rites, first at Daijōji temple north of Eiheiji and then at two monasteries located in the Noto peninsula, Yōkōji and Sōjiji

Despite various signs of turmoil, Sōtō Zen continued to spread throughout the medieval period, mainly in rural areas, as the main rival to the Rinzai sect, ensconced in the capital. The Senne-Kyōgō lineage, though short-lived, was particularly notable for producing the oldest set of commentaries on Dōgen's major treatise, the *Treasury of the True Dharma-Eye*, consisting of seventy-five fascicles. Their interpretation, titled *Commentaries* (*Goshō*), was based in large part on the interpretative methods of Tendai doctrine, which many other Sōtō followers from the period probably felt the master had precluded. The Senne-Kyōgō approach to Zen literature was far removed in content and style from the writings of the Rinzai monk Mujū, who integrated folklore with *kōan* cases in *Tales of Sand and Pebbles*. Nevertheless, both texts reflected the ongoing influence of Tendai theories on the Zen sects in the late 1200s.

Another important achievement during the second phase of the transplantation process was the start-up of a publishing industry for producing editions of various imported Chan works using their original Chinese script in new versions that became known as the Five Mountains Edition (or Gozan-ban). First released in 1289, this comprehensive set of publications included numerous Song-dynasty writings, usually with annotations that were further studied and commented on by native monks.

Additional continental works such as *Wumen's Barrier*, brought to the islands by Kakushin, and Xutang's recorded sayings, transported by Daiō, were released in independent printings that became popular among followers of the relevant sublineages of Rinzai Zen. The printing of Kanbun works with commentaries appended by Japanese monks demonstrated that islanders were making significant progress in gaining facility with Chinese writings.

By the end of stage two, however, Japan still remained a rather distant outpost for the transfer of Chan. One of the main indicators of challenges still being faced was a serious lack of comprehension when native and foreign monks tried speaking with one another. Monks from both countries could decipher the same Chinese characters or glyphs, even if they often had relatively little ability to converse readily. Since, usually, neither side understood the other language very well in terms of conversational ability, the capacity for direct oral communication between speakers of the two languages was limited. Because of this linguistic barrier, Japanese followers often misunderstood Lanqi and Wuxue. In some instances, the émigré monks were thought to have said something deliberately incomprehensible or off-putting when, in fact, they had been offering welcoming remarks of clarification that, unfortunately, were not much appreciated by islanders.

It is difficult to assess in what ways and how effectively sojourners communicated with the hosts, but émigré monks in Japan often had to rely on Chinese non-monastic residents to play the role of interpreter. Many continental masters ended up speaking with their Japanese counterparts through a practice known as "brush-talk" (*hitsudan*) or "conversation by writing," since all parties could read and write characters. This common base of knowledge enabled Chan teachers to instruct their Japanese disciples through an exchange of written questions and answers. Japanese monks traveling to China, who made use of interpreters, conduct their private interviews with Chan masters through brush-talk. The same arrangement was used in Japan in conversations held, for example, between Wuxue and his eminent follower Kennichi.

Conversations based on brush-talk could be awkward or confusing. Another important émigré, Mingji, who arrived in 1330 accompanied by Chinese colleagues and their returning Japanese disciples, viewed the situation poetically when he wrote, "I came ten thousand leagues over the seas to these shores, / Knowing nothing of the language that people here spoke: / All I could make out was a babble of 'bababa,' / I couldn't catch

more than something like 'lilili.'"[20] The same master also said to one of his Japanese disciples, "To communicate my feelings, I took up a brush to say what was on the tip of my tongue, / And you caught my ideas by listening to my words with your eyes."[21]

In the second verse, Mingji does not display frustration but instead promotes an awareness of how the challenge to converse could ironically enhance mutual understanding by compelling both parties, as Living Buddhas, to come to terms with ways of expressing their underlying sense of shared spiritual experience. Further complementing this collegial attitude, Mingji became an example of a Chinese voyager who adopted the distinctive Japanese sensibility of equating the unpredictable changes in seasonal weather with the vicissitudes of human emotions. In his poetry, the émigré master evokes nature images as lyrical symbols to explore the proverbial ups and downs affecting one's undiminished efforts to navigate and negotiate the ever-challenging path to enlightenment on foreign shores.

Notes

1. Eisai was quite successful in founding a number of temples throughout the country, although their practices were mixed. Dōgen's monastery was the closest to Chinese Chan models, but he was not accepted in Kyoto. Enni alone was welcomed as a leader of Zen in the capital by the elite, especially the powerful patron Kujō Michiie, but his temple practice incorporated examples of non-Zen rites. All three founders consistently placed a strong emphasis on the practice of sitting meditation, and the main teachers of the next transitional stage would lend support to the instructional tracts they wrote about this method of training.
2. It is said that Dōgen was offered an imperial robe three times and turned it down on the first two occasions, but reluctantly accepted it the third time.
3. Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 5.
4. Joe Parker, *Zen Buddhist Landscape Arts of Early Muromachi Japan (1336–1573)* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 53.
5. Michael Walsh, *Sacred Economies: Buddhist Monasticism and Territoriality in Medieval China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 15–16.
6. Prior to the introduction of Zen, the integration of spiritual insight and creative arts was well known in Japan. Throughout the classical period many poets and painters were clerics or had strong Buddhist affiliations. This crossover group included the most eminent *waka* versifiers and critics of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, such as Saigyō, Fujiwara Shunzei, and his son Fujiwara

Teika, who in 1205 compiled the major edition of *New Collection of Ancient and Modern Waka* (*Shinkokinshū*), which greatly influenced several generations of Zen poets.

7. David Pollack, *Zen Poems of the Five Mountains* (New York: Scholars Press, 1985), 27 (translation modified).
8. Joseph Capitanio, "Portrayals of Chan Buddhism in the Literature of Internal Alchemy," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 43, no. 2 (2015): 119.
9. Transmission is conceived of as "straight-line succession," a form of spiritual heritage in which only a single patriarch in each generation embodies the Dharma and passes it on to one chosen individual in the next.
10. Note that the Linji stream, the largest faction, was further divided into two main lines, Yangqi and Huanglong.
11. Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism II: A History, Japan*, trans. James W. Heisig and Paul Knitter (New York: Macmillan, 1990), 36.
12. Paramita Paul, "Wandering Saints: Chan Eccentrics in the Art and Culture of Song and Yuan China," Ph.D. dissertation, Leiden University, 2009, 129–30.
13. William M. Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 38.
14. Steven Heine, *The Zen Poetry of Dōgen: Verses from the Mountain of Eternal Peace* (Boston: Tuttle Publishing, 1997), 103–4.
15. Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 67.
16. In Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō-Zuimonki: Sayings of Eihei Dōgen Zenji Recorded by Kōun Ejō*, trans. Shohaku Okumura and Tom Wright (Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 2004).
17. Paul, "Wandering Saints," 130 (translation modified).
18. See Jason Avi Protass, "Buddhist Monks and Chinese Poem: Song Dynasty Monastic Literary Culture," Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 2016, 161–63.
19. This text, known as *Dōgen's Recorded Sayings* (*Eihei goroku*), is an abbreviated version of the much longer text known as *Dōgen's Extensive Record* (*Eihei kōroku*).
20. David Pollack, *Zen Poems of the Five Mountains* (New York: Scholars Press, 1985), 157.
21. Ibid.

5

Transformations

WHY DAITŌ DID NOT GO TO CHINA, YET WON A DEBATE IN 1325

THE THIRD AND final stage of transplantation fulfilled the process of transforming Zen from a newly acculturated cult straddling the periphery of medieval Japanese society to a firmly established and fully independent major sect holding sway at the center of the highly competitive religious setting. Completing this phase took a quarter century, beginning with the arrival in 1299 of one of the most influential of the émigré monks, Yishan. His intensely continental method of teaching the integration of meditation and arts ensured that Chinese language, customs, and culture would prevail, albeit in somewhat modified form, during the hegemony of the Five Mountains system, which endured until the Ōnin War of the late fifteenth century. Freed by Daitō's victory over Buddhist rivals in the debate of the mid-1320s from any longer needing to make concessions or compromises with Tendai sect oversight while gaining enthusiastic endorsements from both shogunal and still-remaining imperial leaders, Japanese Zen temples amply provided hospitable sites for hosting Living Buddhas from both countries. These teachers demonstrated inspiring creativity in producing countless examples of poetry and painting. The Rinzai and Sōtō sects continued to flourish in the cities and/or countryside, while many new breakthroughs in refining Zen theory and practice were continually developed.

To review briefly the entire progression, the first stage of the remarkable century of transition featured the initial appearance of maritime voyagers such as Dōgen and Enni, who crossed the sea to learn authentic Chan religiosity. After returning home, they became early yet rare manifestations of

the presence of Buddhas on Japanese soil. By the middle of the thirteenth century, it was still too soon for important Chinese immigrants to reach the islands, although Chan teachers such as Rujing and Wuzhun, who stayed in China, had a long-lasting impact that was perpetuated by islander disciples. By the 1250s, monks in Japan were beginning to read multiple volumes of Chinese writings giving instructions about the mystical path of ancestral teachers from the time of the first patriarch, Bodhidharma, and the sixth patriarch, Huineng, through all the leading Chan masters of the Tang and Song dynasties. Wide-ranging examples of religious and literary ingenuity on the part of native monks were imbued with a keen awareness of the notion of lineal pedigree that could only stem from connections with the continent. Through innovative words and images, those who became a central part of freshly cultivated Zen lineages pursued traditional techniques of traversing the patriarchal path yet also articulated in distinctive ways how new generations of seekers could fit themselves into a complex mythic-historical genealogy.

The main feature of the second stage of transmission involved the influx of Chinese monks coming to the islands, where they took on leadership roles at Kamakura temples with strong support from the Hōjō shogunate. Other significant kinds of religious exchanges also transpired, especially between Japanese travelers and their mainland teachers, as in the case of Xutang's mentorship of Daiō at a temple located near Hangzhou. One of the main accomplishments of this phase was the incorporation with adaptation at Kamakura monasteries of Chinese rituals, such as holding private face-to-face meetings between master and student along with the delivery of public sermons by temple abbots that prompted open discussion and constructive debate among their followers, much of which was recorded and distributed.

During stage two, émigré masters introduced into the Japanese vocabulary inspirational catchphrases about the role of time and effort in obtaining enlightenment, such as "Seize each encounter as a unique opportunity," "Attaining enlightenment is like crossing the dragon's gate" (symbolizing the sudden overcoming of challenges), "The ego must be pierced as with a nose ring that is used to tame a wild ox," "A well-balanced mind is in itself the Way," and "Every day (both before and after realization) is a good day." Other common sayings regarding the relativity of symbols and words in trying to explain the ultimate spiritual experience included "Zen is a matter of direct mind-to-mind transmission," "Delusions are like seeing flowers in the sky" (literally, "having cataracts"), "Truth is more than a finger

pointing to the moon," and "Only an empty circle truly represents awakening." Both Rinzai and Sōtō teachers learned to express the Dharma by evoking continental slogans while giving lectures and homilies that, in Zen spirit, were filled with deliberately outrageous or paradoxical expressions. They also crafted eulogies and commemorative verses or composed *kōan* commentary and calligraphy based on a spiritual awareness that challenged conventional views or stereotypical assertions about reality by encompassing thematic reversals and paradoxical interpretations.

Furthermore, the system of Zen monasteries rapidly generated the publication and ever-widening circulation of Chinese texts, including test case anthologies, the recorded sayings of venerable continental masters, and transmission-of-the-lamp histories, which documented various patriarchs who passed on the special transmission in their lineages. The printing also featured non-Zen classics, ranging from Mencius and Laozi to the works of Tang-dynasty poets such as Bai Juyi and Du Fu as well as the verse of Su Shi and Ouyang from the Song dynasty. Early Japanese lyricists, such as the renowned poet Hitomaro from the seventh century, were included in the group of luminary predecessors as well. Many disclosers of essential wisdom, including numerous religious and secular leaders from days of yore, were considered to have preached the Buddhist Dharma, each in a special way, and were integrated into the pantheon of the sages demonstrated in verse eulogies and innovative paintings illustrating these figures' lives and teachings.

One of the key aspects of the third transitional stage was Yishan's immeasurable impact on Zen temple life, which greatly enhanced a focus on continental language and customs. Yishan required that all novice monks seeking entrance to Engakuji, Kenchōji, Nanzenji, and most other monasteries in Kamakura and Kyoto had to be able to demonstrate their intensive knowledge of the intellectual history of China. This included gaining expertise in philosophical and literary masterpieces as well as more recent erudite works, all of which formed part of the scholarly canon in which continental literati were exceptionally well versed. The various writings to be studied included Zen and non-Zen materials that were reprinted through ongoing updates to the prestigious Five Mountains Edition. According to Yishan's rigorous demands, Japanese trainees needed to show how their understanding went well beyond rote learning by giving clear evidence of a creative poetic imagination spontaneously expressing spiritual awareness, based on what Xutang taught as the practice of Verse Samadhi. In that way, Five Mountains poetry and painting

flourished as one of the primary examples in Japanese cultural history of attaining superb new heights of artistic accomplishment.

The major developmental element of stage three was not travel but the growing number of important Japanese masters who learned Chinese and used it effectively while staying home. Several prominent Japanese monks became significant Zen leaders based on their facility with Kanbun writing that was attained without needing to venture to the mainland. The group of non-voyagers representing the Rinzai sect included masters Daitō, Kokan, Kennichi, and Musō, who all served as abbots of prestigious monasteries in Kyoto once the role of the capital as the religious and cultural center of Japan was restored. Prior to this shift, most of the major advances made by Zen for half a century had been based primarily in Kamakura. Non-voyager leaders from the Sōtō sect included Giun and Keizan, along with the latter's main disciple, Gasan, who led temples in rural areas ranging from Kyushu in the south to Hokuriku in the far north. The increase in the number of native-bred Living Buddhas, who could preach convincingly in continental fashion but with local characteristics, was largely triggered by Yishan's manner of training followers through administering exams in Chinese.

Although Zen became increasingly liberated from submission to the whims of overseers from the Tendai sect, contests with old-order Buddhists protesting new Zen temple construction in the capital or blocking other initiatives of what they still considered an upstart movement persisted for several decades. For example, completion of Musō's prestigious Tenryūji temple was held up for many years during the 1340s, and there were also objections raised by Tendai priests regarding entrance fees that were charged to unaffiliated monks trying to visit or pass through the grounds of Nanzenji temple.

By the end of the century of transnational transition, Japan had become a remarkably welcoming environment for the ongoing presence of Living Buddhas. Yishan and other Zen leaders opened studios or ateliers situated either within or outside the monastery gates, as was the custom in China. In these settings, monk-poets and monk-painters gathered along with non-clerical colleagues to collaborate in producing new styles of writing conjoined with inventive fine arts. The genre of hanging scrolls beautifully drawn by an artist with inspiring poetry inscribed in impressive calligraphy by one or more authors was one of many examples of religiously inspired creativity. The secular reception for these works was often just as enthusiastic as the response of the clerical audience. The influence

of Zen in Japanese society probably surpassed the status reached by the model movement in Song-dynasty China, where the impact of Chan was somewhat mitigated by the criticism of Confucian thinker Zhu Xi and additional sociopolitical challenges. Nevertheless, Japanese pilgrims continued to travel to the continent for studies with teachers from various Linji and Caodong lineages, who did not leave China yet greatly influenced the third stage of transfer.

The trend of Zen dominance continued for another 150 years after the third stage through the sponsorship of the shoguns plus a couple of emperors who regained partial power during the 1330s, while the rule of the Hōjō clan was giving way to the new Ashikaga clan leadership. The Ashikaga shoguns often used trade routes with Yuan- and Ming-dynasty (1368–1644) China to finance and sustain Zen cultural productions based in salons they eagerly supported. Their efforts also contributed to the preservation of continental art held in archives that the rulers patronized with monetary as well as moral support. Zen temples gained additional revenue through donations made during festivals and formalities. It is interesting to note that the popularity of diverse creative activities generally meant that specific instructions or comments about the core Zen practices of meditation and manual labor were not recorded. For example, the diaries by Five Mountains monks were "replete with details of Buddhist ceremonies, feasts, appointments of abbots, gifts from patrons, temple domains, literary gatherings, political happenings, social events, and climatic changes."[1] Yet those documents generally left out references to basic monastic training, either because the practices were already well ingrained or due to laxity and unconcern with current efforts to maintain strict standards.

Chinese Influences at Home and Abroad

At the beginning of the third transitional stage, which unfolded during the first quarter of the 1300s, Yishan led the way as a particularly persuasive Chinese immigrant priest. A native of Zhejiang province who was enlightened under a Chan master after spending several years of training in the Vinaya and Tiantai schools, Yishan reached the islands as part of a Mongol diplomatic initiative. After at first suffering accusations of being a spy, placing him in jeopardy with the shogunate, which was suspicious about his true intentions, Yishan quickly gained authority in the Zen institution. This was a result of his becoming closely linked to and the recipient of personal support from Hōjō Sadatoki, just as previous Chinese masters

Lanqi and Wuxue developed intimate relationships with Tokiyori and Tokimune, respectively. Yishan then initiated the most important Chinese literary movement in Japanese history, which educated scores of monks at temples in Kyoto and Kamakura.

Much more so than his thirteenth-century émigré predecessors, especially Lanqi and Wuxue, who stressed the priority of typical Zen pedagogical methods over the role of the arts as the key to attaining awakening, Yishan established the notion that literary composition was as important for Zen practice as *zazen* or cloistral discipline. As Collcutt notes, "Where Lanqi and Wuxue had largely confined their activities to Zen training, Yishan, who was well-read in Neo-Confucian philosophy, Chinese literature, and classics, besides being a talented calligrapher and connoisseur of Chinese painting, introduced these more scholarly and literary interests to the monks who studied with him and to his secular patrons in Kamakura and Kyoto."[2]

With the strong backing of Sadatoki, who took up where Tokimune had left off in the 1280s before a hiatus in interest in promoting the Zen sect took hold with the intervening shoguns, Yishan's charismatic leadership and expertise in calligraphy and poetry provided the aesthetic outlook conducive to an atmosphere wherein multiple Living Buddhas created highly original rhyming couplets and ink-brush paintings. Those works served as expressions of spiritual insight that had a great commercial appeal among lay followers, including samurai. Yishan stressed that one's skill in Chinese arts should not be viewed as a matter of scholasticism undertaken in seclusion, but was best demonstrated through collaborative efforts. Based on secular influences and relationships with civil leaders, continental religious traditions were continually altered and in many ways enhanced by the impact of Japanese culture. It had long been customary to hold public poetry contests, during which each participant was challenged to match or surpass the ingenuity of the others, and this atmosphere was applied to Zen.

While failures often have silver linings, successes can sometimes become threatening as well. Yishan's approach was so effective in attracting followers, even though they had to pass difficult entrance exams testing knowledge of literary Chinese, that Hōjō governance quickly became concerned with possible overpopularity and passed new regulations limiting the size of monastic assemblies and restricting their sometimes unruly behavior. Fearing that the temples might take in more members than

they could efficiently feed and clothe or that monks encouraged by Zen sayings about antinomian values might behave in an eccentric way that undermined his authority, the shogun ruled that frugality was to be strictly observed and ascetic practices clearly emphasized. For instance, even the number and quality of refreshments consumed during tea breaks and other ordinary indulgences were carefully regulated. Perhaps in response to such measures, Yishan, who was transferred in 1313 from Kamakura to Nanzenji temple in Kyoto, committed suicide four years later. This was apparently due to severe illness caused by the unwillingness of authorities to grant him release time from supervisory duties.

Nevertheless, the shogunate was eager to welcome additional émigré monks to Japan. The next main visitor, invited in 1309, was the monk Dongming, of the Caodong school, who further emphasized the importance of literary skills in relation to meditation. The late 1320s were marked by the entrance of several prominent Chinese priests including Qingzhuo, who came in 1326, followed by Mingji and Zhuxian, arriving in 1329. Hōjō Takatoki did not summon these three, as they accompanied Japanese pilgrims returning home, but all were warmly received once they appeared. The newcomers were awarded leadership roles at major monasteries and encouraged to stay in Japan for the rest of their lives. The new émigrés were more relaxed about their stay abroad than predecessors such as Wuan, who quickly returned to China, and Yishan, who killed himself. The comfort level was high enough even in cases like that of Mingji, who confessed that he never really learned to speak the local language.

Sometimes considered to have gained a knack in composing Chinese verse that was equal to that of natives, Japanese travelers to China included such eminent monk-poets as Betusgen, Chūgan, Getsurin, Jakuhitsu, and Sesson, among many other luminary figures who contributed to the Five Mountains literature collections. A couple of decades later, in 1351, Dongling was the last of the great immigrant priests to arrive in Japan. Even though Japanese travels to the mainland continued for a century—especially by monk-painters seeking inspiration, such as Sesshū—the sociopolitical conditions were no longer ripe for continental voyagers to reach the islands. The mid-fourteenth century thus marked the beginning of the end of a two-century era of intensive maritime exchanges stimulated by émigré monks and Japanese pilgrims.

The lineal affiliation of Dongming, who trained in China under Yunwai, another teacher of Japanese pilgrims, and Dongling is particularly interesting because of its impact on the promotion of Zen cultural interactions.

Both monks were trained in China in the Caodong school. Rather than the stream that Dōgen inherited from Rujing, they represented the followers of a more famous twelfth-century Caodong master, Hongzhi, who was a major leader a couple of generations earlier than Rujing and one of the most instrumental Chan masters of the Song dynasty. In Japan, however, both Dongming and Dongling became part of the Rinzai Five Mountains network, based in Kyoto, which featured a literary style, since by then followers of the Japanese Sōtō sect after Dōgen's death had become less focused on Kanbun virtuosity.

Hongzhi's approach to teaching was linked to an important twelfth-century intellectual movement known as Literary Chan (C. Wenzi Chan, J. Bunji Chan), which had many disciples among monks in both the Linji and Caodong schools, in addition to its share of detractors. After entering the monastery at the age of eleven, Hongzhi received an advanced education in the classics. He and his colleagues were highly erudite and knowledgeable, and their poetic skills were central to their functions as abbots and elucidations of the inner meaning of Buddhist truths. Not only does the extensive collection of Hongzhi's recorded sayings contain the greatest number of poems compared to other collections from the era, but it is clear that the rhetorical quality of his verse equals or surpasses that of eminent Linji contemporaries, including Yuanwu and his disciple, Dahui. Compared to their records, Hongzhi's body of writing has an even more significant number of poems composed in a larger variety of genres that were reflective of the range of literature found throughout Song-dynasty Chan works.[3]

Because of the impact of Dongming transmitting the legacy of Hongzhi in a way that added to the influence of Yishan, Japanese monks in the 1300s ventured forth to the continent in far greater numbers than in the last half of the previous century. These travelers found in China that sectarian distinctions were generally less important than differences in ideology. Once on the mainland, the voyager monks usually studied with one of two Chan masters known for their excellent writing skill and instructional ability, Gulin and Zhongfeng. Both teachers resided in rural temples that were somewhat close yet outside the immediate area of Hangzhou, where earlier pilgrims such as Eisai, Dōgen, Enni, and Kakushin had taken up training. That was because the cultural significance of the former capital was not nearly as strong during the Yuan dynasty, and leading masters often wished to be sequestered, since they did not expect much support from Mongol rulers, who occupied major cities, and in some cases were fearful

of possible reprisals. Like the predecessor teachers Wuzhun, Wumen, and Xutang, who never left China, Gulin and Zhongfeng remained at home but received dozens of foreign visitors.

Gulin was part of a Linji-school lineage that embraced many notions about the value of poetry that were endorsed by Hongzhi's clique. In particular, Gulin instructed Japanese monks in the use of typical Chinese styles of poetry containing four lines or eight lines with five or seven characters each, in order to express powerful, spontaneous Zen insights. Japanese followers who trained with Dongming while at home, and then with Gulin on the continent, formed what became known in Japan as the Wanshi stream (after the Japanese pronunciation of Hongzhi). This faction, which eventually became a minor but influential wing of Rinzai Five Mountains temples located in the capital, did not interact much with the main factions of the Sōtō sect.

One exception to that rule was the monk-poet Betsugen, who hailed from Fukui, the same mountain province where Dōgen had founded Eiheiji, and spent ten years in China studying with Gulin before coming back in 1330 accompanied by some of the master's top continental disciples as well as Japanese colleagues. Betsugen then settled at a temple near Eiheiji. Toward the end of his life, he wrote a verse that refers to growing old and seeing things around him seeming to fade after nearly fifty years of Zen practice. In the last couple of lines, he says of fleeting yet continuing experiences of awakening based on perceptions of nature: "Leaning against the wall, I often think on things of then and now— / With one sound, new geese cross the chilly skies."[4] Another Japanese student of Gulin's, Jakuhitsu, who also stayed in the countryside instead of the capital once he returned to Japan, composed a verse that similarly favors the stillness and solitude appreciated while contemplatively observing natural phenomena, rather than remaining immersed in the turmoil of human emotion: "A monk comes knocking on my brushwood gate, / Wanting to discuss matters of great Zen import: / Excuse this mountain priest, too lazy to open his mouth— / But warblers are singing all over the blossom-strewn village."[5]

For his part, Gulin wrote many farewell poems for trainees from both countries as they were departing China for the shores of Japan. One of these pieces highlights the importance of mind-to-mind transmission, which transcends any reliance on words, especially when conversation is difficult due to language barriers: "No shackles on this body, you come and go as you please; / Half a lifetime spent in journeys to

famous mountains . . . / The essentials and the mysteries, both perfectly complete; / No matter the stress or strain, you remain at ease. / When master and disciple meet, ask no questions! / Just look at each other and smile."[6] In this and other examples of his calligraphy, Gulin's brushstrokes demonstrate a lofty and sure-handed style reflective of a fiercely independent spirit. Like Xutang, who during stage two hosted Daiō and other Japanese visitors, Chinese teachers such as Gulin sometimes playfully but with humility referred to the "colossal mistake" pilgrims were making by traveling abroad.

Zhongfeng was a member of the Boan line of the Yuanwu stream that also fostered the masters Wuzhun and Enni, and he was the main disciple of the prominent teacher Gaofeng. While mastering monastic life, Zhongfeng and other monks of his stature during the Yuan dynasty cultivated literary skills as well, enabling them to write poetry about plum blossoms or other natural phenomena that gained a broad audience among literati. Like his teacher, Zhongfeng was one of the most enthusiastic exponents of the approach to *kōan* studies known as the key word or shortcut technique. Based on the teachings of Dahui, a disciple of Yuanwu in the twelfth century who challenged his teacher's emphasis on rhetoric, this method highlights a particular catchphrase culled from a case narrative, such as "No!" in response to the question of whether a dog has Buddha-nature, or "Three pounds of flax" in answering the query "What is Buddha?" With a relentless emphasis on seemingly absurd or non-sequitur-like sayings, the key word at once sums up and goes beyond the core inquiry of the test case.

Zhongfeng was confident that this technique would appeal to followers of Pure Land Buddhism, who chanted the name of Amida Buddha, or to Confucians, who memorized many of the maxims of their founder, since ultimately the underlying efficacy and wisdom of all these types of religious expressions are identical. His approach was similar to the viewpoint taken nearly three centuries before by the syncretic Chinese monk Yanshou, whose works linking meditation to Pure Land and Tiantai practices were among the first Chan writings to reach Japan and influenced the thought of Eisai and Enni, among others. At the same time, in his calligraphy and poetry Zhongfeng stressed that true transcendence is based on non-attachment to any particular standpoint, including that of Zen. As one verse professes, "The phrase 'practicing Chan,' / Has been tossed around for a while, / If you try to pursue this topic, / You're likely to fall into the muddy waters."[7]

A master even better known at the time than Gulin, Zhongfeng developed a wide range of cultural competencies, through which he navigated a complex set of social and intellectual relationships that took place within local, religious, and social networks.[8] He received disciples from many parts of Asia and often corresponded by writing eloquent letters to lay and clerical followers in China and elsewhere, especially Japan, where monks such as Musō sought his approval in confirming their level of spiritual attainment. Zhongfeng's epistles often addressed some special occasion, such as the monastic achievement of a trainee or the passing of an exam or an illness suffered by a lay disciple's family member. Zhongfeng bestowed upon the recipients of his letters expressions of higher wisdom related to everyday life experiences. Reading the correspondence today, we see many interesting indicators reflecting the profound infiltration of Zen into nearly all sectors of East Asian society. Constructive interactions strengthened social connections by evoking the authority of sage advice conveyed through the auspices of ritual expertise in return for gifts, awards, or donations.

Zhongfeng's numerous Japanese followers launched a subfaction of the Rinzai sect known as the Genjū line that stressed their teacher's eclectic values. Zhongfeng led a reclusive lifestyle that at times flouted convention—for example, when he grew a beard or behaved in an irreverent way—and this was emulated by many of his disciples. However, the combination of Zen and Pure Land in Japan was rejected by Zen leaders of all schools, unlike in China, where it became commonplace at most Chan temples. Zen rivals sometimes sarcastically referred to the repetitive recitation of the name of Amida Buddha taught by Hōnen, the founder of the Pure Land sect, as a meaningless act that must not be conflated with meditative concentration.

In addition to the Wanshi and Genjū lines representing links between Rinzai and Sōtō branches in Japan that were much more common in Chinese Chan circles, for which sectarian affiliation was a less important factor, another short-lived combinatory movement was the Hottō line. This stream of Zen was based on the teaching of Kakumyō, a student of Kakushin's, who had studied with both Dōgen and Enni before meeting Wumen during his travels abroad. Similarly, Kakumyō trained under Lanqi in Japan and studied with Zhongfeng in China. Back home, he also maintained close contact with Keizan, the most prominent leader of the post-Dōgen Sōtō sect. Kakumyō's main disciple was Bassui, who learned to solve *kōan* cases from Rinzai teachers in addition to Keizan's main follower,

Gasan. This kind of trans-sectarian quest to find the right teacher became a popular practice within the tradition of Forest Temples, further linking the two main sects with a practice that endured through the Muromachi era but was greatly diminished in the Tokugawa era.

Japanese Zen Leaders Going and Staying

By the 1320s, whether they had ever been to the mainland or learned about Zen from émigré or native teachers, Japanese monks consistently wore Chinese black robes while at seven-hall temples where they preached sermons and wrote religious poems. They were well versed in meditative techniques, including *kōan* studies, and developed novel ways to test disciples, such as conducting a private interview session about how to interpret deliberately paradoxical and perplexing test cases, like "Tell me what this is without calling it a staff or not calling it a staff" or "Where is the Buddha-nature not manifested?" Zen clerics mastered Chinese literary skills in learning a vast body of complex legends and lore about the lives and teachings of Chinese predecessors stemming from the Tang dynasty, and were able to produce their own inventive remarks with distinctive interpretations. Zen priests also embraced strict methods of monastic training that involved adherence to the behavioral guidelines of precepts and rules, while also carrying out various kinds of yearly and life-cycle rituals for the burial and memorialization of prominent patriarchs based on Chan guidelines.

Since by the third transitional stage voluminous Chan writings, along with secular texts from the mainland including Confucian and literary classics, were being effectively transmitted while newly created Japanese Zen sayings were also being recorded and printed, all the main teaching styles and training techniques required for the growth of the sect had become readily available. Japanese monks were capable of reading Chinese works critically, even if they could not necessarily converse well in the language. Their sermons extended interpretations of stories of spontaneous encounters contained in various continental collections of Chan anecdotes and dialogues.

The hybrid form of Sino-Japanese or Kanbun writing, which had long been used by Buddhist monks in Japan, was modified and enhanced in Five Mountains literature (C. Wushan Wenxue, J. Gozan Bungaku). This highly specialized style of composition, which adapts complex continental rhetorical constructions to Japanese syntax and grammar, remains one of

the highlights of Japan's entire cultural tradition. During the Heian era, islander monks composed primarily in Chinese as best they could, but now Zen masters more effectively fused the characters/ideograms from the mainland language to native constructions, so that it was comprehensible and revealing of spiritual awareness in fresh ways. Rank-and-file priests, who were generally less than fluent in Chinese, continued to rely on many of the available handbooks and lexicons when they needed to decipher the writings or compose their own work. For modern Japanese, these medieval materials usually seem hopelessly complex. Today's readers routinely consult expert translations into contemporary Japanese vernacular (*gendaigoyaku*) supported by ample annotations and explanations. Moreover, many current Rinzai Zen priests, who are still required to compose traditional poetry, turn to reference works, including Internet sources, that feature handy listings of Kanbun options for vocabulary, diction, and rhyme.

During phase three, temple culture started to evolve in ways that reflected a synthesis of continental ideals and islander applications. A couple of the newer customs involved important changes to the layout of the Zen monastery that put greater emphasis on apprenticeship relationships between master and disciple for learning the finer points of calligraphy, poetry, and painting in ways that emulated typical medieval Japanese training techniques used for various crafts. One such alteration was the heightened role of the Abbot's Quarters, which in some instances was considered the main building on the compound, rather than the Dharma Hall, where the patriarch gave formal lectures. This residence usually featured a beautifully landscaped garden in the area directly behind the structure for contemplative viewing by the abbot, who frequently invited selected disciples to receive instruction and learn his innermost thoughts about *kōan* cases. The prelate often gave special lessons for key followers, who were usually either advanced monks ready for promotion or novices showing a knack for training. However, only rarely were these intensive sessions ever recorded.

The other main reform in Zen temple layout, especially at larger monasteries, was the founding of various subcloisters or small sanctuaries, each highlighting its own master and his unique style of teaching. The whole compound thereby encompassed diverse pedagogical styles targeting different kinds of students, who were able to find a mentor suited to their particular needs and be assigned accordingly at least for a spell, such as during a summer retreat, when there would be extra time for greater

attention to individual instruction. Many of the smaller friaries claimed to evoke the ethereal presence of Buddhist saints including arhats, who were specialists in meditation, and bodhisattvas, who could perform miracles of shifting shape or bilocation. The powerful but invisible presence of these spiritual entities, it was said, would aid and assist a trainee's artistic inspiration and lead him to achieve new levels of spiritual attainment.

Through the kind of meditative state these changes in layout highlighted, Zen temples in Kyoto and Kamakura developed or polished diverse aesthetic creations that depended on intensive one-to-one pedagogy over prolonged periods of training, such as the tea ceremony and landscape garden design, calligraphy and ink drawings, and poetry workshops and painting salons. These efforts were sustained both in the temple compound and at appropriate locations around town where there was an eager audience for the arts, as was the case in the Song-dynasty capital, Hangzhou. In addition, Zen monks cultivated the strategies of sword fighting along with Noh theater's moral dramas about karmic retribution, both of which appealed to samurai faced with tests of courage or inevitable tragedy caused by competition and conflict. Additional artistic disciplines included architecture, ceramics, cuisine, and flower arranging, among other techniques demonstrating an individual's flair for expressing religious inspiration in practical ways.

Before looking more closely at the main element of phase three, which involved the expertise of monks who did not travel to China, it is important to consider that during these couple of decades there were many Japanese pilgrims who reached the continent in order to train directly under the inimitable teachers Gulin or Zhongfeng and their equally qualified colleagues. Some monks were said to be able to talk and think or even dream in Chinese, much like a native speaker and better than Korean monks who no doubt had more years of training. But they could not help defaulting to native syntax and usually wrote *waka* poetry in addition to the hybrid Kanbun style. Moreover, some of the Chinese émigré monks became fluent in Japanese poetic methods, even as others continued to struggle with the language.

One of the main monk-poets from this era was Sesson, a colleague of Kennichi's who left Japan in 1306 to study in China under Gulin based on Yishan's recommendation. Seven years later, he was imprisoned by the Mongols as a possible spy and for a time faced probable death. He escaped the situation by evoking a verse once delivered by Wuxue more than thirty years before, when a Mongol soldier invading Japan and wielding

an intimidating "sword of the Yuan dynasty" threatened him. Apparently Sesson's captors knew of that legendary poem. In his verse, Sesson takes the four lines of Wuxue's poem and uses them as the opening parts of a new four-stanza piece. Cited here is the Wuxue original plus the last of Sesson's stanzas in italics, for a total of seven lines:

> In heaven and earth there is no place to plant my solitary staff,
> I delight that man is nothing and all things are naught,
> Impressive, that three-foot sword of the Great Yuan,
> Like lightning, it flashes through the shadows, severing the spring wind,
> *The god of nothingness bleeds crimson, streaming down,*
> *Mount Sumeru, much to my amazement, turns upside down,*
> *I will dive and disappear into the stem of the lotus.*[9]

By virtue of manifesting the Buddha-nature as part of oneness with the essential emptiness of all phenomena and conceptual categories, ranging from the cosmic peak of Buddhist mythology turned topsy-turvy to the beauty of a single stem of the lotus blossom symbolizing awakening, Sesson eloquently discloses his indifference to imminent danger. The verse was a powerful enough expression to win his safety, and he was able to remain in China for fifteen years.

Chūgan was another prominent monk-poet who trained on the mainland with Gulin beginning in 1325, after he had experienced some delays while awaiting departure. Like Betsugen's journey, Chūgan's trip was inspired by the teachings of Dongming, who initiated the Wanshi lineage in Japan. According to Chūgan's evocative verse, written nearly a decade after he came home and was seeking to integrate contemplation with everyday activities: "These eight or nine years since I returned from China, / I've worn out my soul trying to raise a crop on rocks: / Scorched sprouts, rotted plants—what use are they? / Best to stop tilling and go back to sleep."[10] "Sleep" here indicates meditation, but the term is double-edged since it can also imply the intellectual slumber of ignorance, just as the image of a dream is ambiguous because it suggests either transcending the world through idealism or falsely escaping it due to delusion.

Sometimes a prominent Japanese traveler was assimilated enough that he became abbot of a Chinese temple. A prime example was the monk-painter Tesshū, who reached the mainland in the 1330s to study with Zhongfeng on the recommendation of his native teacher, Musō. A decade

later he led a monastery for a few years before returning home in 1341. Back in Japan, Tesshū exhibited an artistic style learned from continental counterparts, depicting in finely crafted detail how ordinary aspects of nature, including reeds and bamboo, orchids and other flowers, or birds and fowl, could symbolize various aspects of Zen training. One of his famous works shows geese in four states—flying in unison, honking, feeding, and sleeping—that resemble the daily round of Zen practice involving collective contemplation, recitations of scriptures, taking meals, and ending the long day in blissful slumber.

While pilgrims such as Sesson, Chūgan, and Tesshū were crucial for the advance of Five Mountains literature in Japan, because they could study the imported Chan template without travel, from this point on numerous leading representatives of Zen no longer went to the mainland. Earlier generations of Zen leaders beginning with Eisai, Dōgen, Enni, and Kakushin were always educated first in the Tendai sect before switching to Zen, but this new crop of monks was initiated almost exclusively in Zen practice and had little or no loyalty to the temples on Mount Hiei or elsewhere, even if they might have spent a couple of years there at a young age.

By staying at home throughout their lives, the newer Zen clerics were able to learn enough Chinese to propagate a distinctively Japanese style of Sinitic writings in Kanbun integrated with indigenous cultural forms. It is also clear that as the Hōjō clan was beginning to fade, newer rulers who were less schooled in continental ways started to have a strong preference for native monks such as Daitō and Musō, with whom they felt more comfortable than with émigrés or pilgrims who spent so much time abroad. This was especially the case for two emperors from different regal lines, Go-Daigo and Hanazono, who held sway in Kyoto during the 1330s, and also for the Ashikaga brothers, Takauji and Tadayoshi, who seized power from the Hōjō clan and by the end of that decade established the Muromachi period. Further support for Zen came from successor shoguns of the Ashikaga line, including Yoshimitsu, Yoshimochi, and Yoshimasa, who governed Japan until the late fifteenth century and patronized Zen arts.

Kokan was the leading Rinzai thinker of the era. His historical and theoretical writings provided much of the intellectual foundations for assertions of the primacy of the Zen movement over every other school of Buddhism. Kokan was a minor exception to the new rule that prior Tendai training was unnecessary, since he entered the holy order on Mount Hiei in 1287 at the age of nine. After quickly switching to Zen, in addition to

Buddhism he also studied Chinese classics starting at the age of seventeen and learned calligraphy from Yishan. Kokan soon rose through the monastic hierarchy to become abbot of Tōfukuji and Nanzenji temples in Kyoto. In 1342 Emperor Go-Murakami accorded him the title of National Teacher.

Kokan's masterwork *Genkō Era History of Buddhist Teachings* (*Genkō shakusho*), first published in 1322 in thirty volumes, is the oldest history of Buddhism in Japan that positions Zen at the pinnacle of the religion's overall development. Explaining the advent of Zen hegemony in light of the entire pan-sectarian history of Japanese Buddhism, this text "can be read as the attempt of a monk who never made it to the mainland to bring the mainland to the islands."[11] Kokan also penned an apologetic work further explaining Zen's primacy; a treatise on the *Lankavatara Sutra*, which greatly influenced the formation of early Chan philosophy; and, in addition to an anthology of his own Chinese and Japanese verse, a very important rhyming dictionary to aid monks in the composition of Chinese or Kanbun poetry.

Kennichi was one of the first eminent monks who never studied in the Tendai sect in addition to not traveling to China, even though some of his mentors and many of his contemporaries made the journey. An imperial prince by birth, Kennichi trained under Enni, Wuan, and Wuxue. Patronized by both Hōjō Sadatoki and Takatoki, he led at some point in his career most of the major Kamakura monasteries. As the teacher who enlightened Musō in 1305, Kennichi mainly wrote Japanese *waka* poetry, rather than works in Kanbun, and because of his aristocratic status, his verse was also included in prestigious imperial anthologies that focused on secular verse.

During the first quarter of the 1300s, several dozen Japanese monks journeyed to the mainland for extended visits, and some learned to communicate in Chinese like native speakers. Yet it fell to the non-traveler Daitō to defeat his old-order Buddhist opponents in a government-sponsored contest by using a competitive strategy based entirely on evoking Chan pedagogical methods. These techniques included a capping phrase culled from one of the major Song-dynasty *kōan* collections and a Zen staff used as a tool for instruction. Daitō was ordained at the age of eleven and studied Tendai doctrine for a short time. In 1301 he became a student of Kennichi in Kamakura, and in 1304 he went to Kyoto to study under Daiō, whom he accompanied to Kamakura when the teacher was appointed abbot of Kenchōji in 1308. Just ten days after arriving at Kenchōji,

Daitō had a breakthrough with the test case known as "Yunmen's Barrier" (C. *guan*, J. *kan*), in which a single provocative word functioned as a necessary roadblock to trigger sufficient doubt to lead to transcendence.

After Daiō died several months later, Daitō returned to Kyoto and, according to legend, spent twenty years living with beggars under the Gojo Bridge. Eventually Emperor Hanazono decided to look for the legendary cleric and went to this dilapidated area with a basket of melons. He said to the vagabonds standing around, "Take this melon without using your hands." One of them replied, "Give it to me without using your hands," and the regent realized this must be Daitō. Actually, Daitō appears to have spent the years of seclusion at two small temples, Ungoji, in eastern Kyoto, and Daitokuji, in the northwestern part of the capital. The latter temple was soon enlarged with the aid of the imperial court, and Daitō resided and taught at Daitokuji for the rest of his life, while also being called on many occasions to lecture before the monarchs Hanazono and Go-Daigo, who represented different imperial lineages.

During the pivotal debate of 1325, Daitō evoked a typical saying from the *Blue Cliff Record*, the seminal Chinese compilation of *kōan* commentary that was reconstructed in China in 1300, more than a century after it had been lost, and then transmitted to Japan, where it quickly gained authoritative status as a source of Zen wisdom. The use of a paradoxical capping phrase, "An octagonal millstone flies through the air," was a spontaneous utterance that demonstrated Daitō's inner knowledge based on self-reliance and served as a way of exposing and dispensing with the Tendai sect representative's apparent attachment to doctrinal treatises. When the rival priest failed to understand the meaning, Daitō drove the point home by using his ceremonial staff to smash an object. Both the emperor and the shogun supported Daitō's victory and officially recognized Zen for the first time as the dominant religious sect. Zen was no longer seen as troubling the establishment from the margins of the social periphery, as it had become the mainstream located at the cultural center. Just as Song-dynasty Chan long exerted great appeal for scholar-officials, the backing of Zen was further strengthened by sponsorship from a wide range of public administrators.

Daitō's tremendous ability to remark on capping phrases or create his own ingenious ones was featured in extensive commentaries on the *Blue Cliff Record* and other Chan sources that are still being studied carefully by Rinzai priests today. Known for his courageous commitment to the Dharma, at the time of his death Daitō forced his crippled leg into the full

lotus position, then wrote his death poem and passed away. His lineage based at Daitokuji and Myōshinji was left out of the Five Mountains network, not for lacking prominence but because its followers had enough clout to appoint their own abbots rather than have them assigned by secular authorities, a basic requirement of that institutional system.

The other main Rinzai leader from this era who did not venture from Japan was Musō, who rejected Yishan as a teacher for being too tough-minded in favor of native mentor Kennichi. However, the time spent with Yishan lent credibility to Musō's continental expertise in literature and the arts. Although considered a less dynamic and charismatic master than the phenomenally creative Daitō, with a rather pedantic and pedestrian pedagogical style compared to his counterpart, Musō proved to be the single most significant Zen teacher of the fourteenth century in terms of the tremendous influence he exerted on both shogunal and imperial leaders. After remaining in out-of-the-way temples for nearly two decades following his awakening, which occurred in 1325, Musō's erudition gained the attention of government officials when he was appointed head of Nanzenji temple by Emperor Go-Daigo. After this, Musō opened several important monasteries in Kyoto before his death in 1351. Dongling, the last great émigré monk, succeeded him as leader.

Musō's main writing was *Dialogues in a Dream* (*Muchū mondō*), completed in 1342, which consists of a lengthy series of questions posed by Ashikaga Tadayoshi about Zen history, theory, and practice followed by Musō's answers. These are delivered in a straightforward teaching style that features the same meaning as in typical Zen writings, but for the most part without cryptic and paradoxical rhetoric. The main temple founded in Kyoto by Musō based on government support was Tenryūji, even though construction of the monastery was delayed from 1339 to 1345 because of vigorous Tendai objections. Tenryūji provided incomparable aesthetic resources, including literary inspiration for the entire Five Mountains movement. Its superb landscape garden was designed to be symbolic of cases 49 and 52 from the *Blue Cliff Record*, kōans that signify upward transcendence. The garden evokes case 52 with a waterfall, which represents the path of ordinary fish swimming to reach the proverbial dragon gate at the top, and case 49 with a bridge formed by a series of stones placed at the edge of a pond, which symbolizes a crossover commitment to compassionate deeds[12]

Unlike his continental interlocutor through letters, Zhongfeng, who considered gardens to be an illusory representation of true reality, Musō

maintained that cultivated temple grounds allowed practitioners to experience in microcosmic form the essence of the all-encompassing Buddha-nature. According to one of his Kanbun poems about the significance of awareness of natural scenery:

> Autumn-colored word-branches dropping many leaves,
> Frosty clouds carrying rain pass through this nook in the mountains.
> Everyone is born with the same sort of eyes—
> Why don't they see the case that is right in front of them?

The final line of Musō's poem uses the fascinating term *genjōkōan* (C. *xianzheng gongan*), which refers to the *kōan* not as a paradoxical puzzle in the usual sense but by evoking an image from the legal system of an open-and-shut or airtight case. This signifies that truth is manifested here and now in each and every phenomenon without partiality or obfuscation. Usually associated with the teachings of Dōgen, who wrote a famous letter for a lay disciple on the meaning of *genjōkōan*, the term was also evoked by Linji/Rinzai teachers, including Yuanwu and Zhongfeng in addition to Musō, to suggest that the everyday world, when properly observed and appreciated, is coterminous with ultimate reality.

In Sōtō Zen during the third developmental stage, two main leaders emerged who further demonstrated that traveling to the continent was no longer needed to engage effectively with Chinese sources and practices. However, these monks embraced very different religious standpoints, thus illustrating the complexity of the medieval sect. The first master, Giun, joined Eiheiji from the proscribed Daruma school. After a period of time, Giun joined the Chinese émigré Jakuen at Hōkyōji temple located not far from Eiheiji. Their aim was to uphold the strict teachings of Dōgen and avoid compromises with local folk beliefs that other leaders were eager to make to achieve popularity.[13] Giun arduously studied Chinese under Jakuen's tutelage.

In 1314, Giun returned to Eiheiji to become its fifth patriarch, and he remained at the monastery until his death. He is notable for composing four-line, Kanbun-style verse commentary with capping phrases for each section of a special sixty-fascicle edition of Dōgen's masterpiece, the *Treasury of the True Dharma-Eye*. Apparently Giun decided to leave out of this version about a dozen fascicles that are included in alternative editions

because they contain passages expressing the founder's critical view of Chinese predecessors from rival lineages.

For one of the fascicles dealing with the compassion expected of a genuine practitioner, Giun writes the phrase "Adding flowers to the golden brocade." Like a well-known Zen saying that appears in the *Blue Cliff Record* and was often used by the eminent Noh playwright Zeami, "Piling frost on top of snow in a silver bowl" Giun's saying represents the need to keep enhancing even the highest levels of accomplishment. The final line of his verse reads, "Endless spring blooms on a tree without roots," suggesting perpetual renewal minus any obstruction. In general, Giun's remarks on Dōgen were more dependent on Chinese sources than were the earlier commentaries of Senne and Kyōgō, who mainly relied on Tendai doctrine. In 1358, Giun's disciples collected his recorded sayings, which included numerous Kanbun-style lectures and sermons. This text became the Sōtō sect's first major publication; it was widely distributed and set a standard for using Chinese that was followed by other medieval masters from both branches of Zen.

Endorsing a different approach to Zen practice, Keizan became the most prominent leader of the Sōtō sect next to Dōgen, and in many ways his lineal division was even more prosperous. Of the current fourteen thousand Sōtō temples in Japan, 95 percent are affiliated with Keizan's major monastery, Sōjiji. Originally located in remote Noto peninsula, after a fire in 1898 the temple was moved in the early twentieth century to a small town near Yokohama, and the original site was also rebuilt. The key to Keizan's success was a syncretic approach combining Chinese views of temple life, based on practicing meditation while giving public lectures (an approach he learned about from his teacher Gikai, who went to the mainland in the company of Daiō to study continental practice), with indigenous Japanese rituals that incorporated esoteric Buddhist and Shinto beliefs. This unique mixture of austere Zen training and the worship of local gods through native rites greatly contributed to the phenomenal popularity the Sōtō sect enjoyed in medieval Japan outside of the capital.

In 1300, Keizan wrote *Transmission of the Light* (*Denkōroku*), a history of Sōtō Zen's patriarchy. This text was not discovered until 1857, though there had long been rumors of its existence. It begins with the patriarchy's Indian and Chinese ancestors and culminates with the life and teachings of Dōgen and his main disciple, Ejō. This work, based on a series of sermons delivered during the summer retreat, includes a verse and capping phrase for each entry. Keizan frequently presented to his assembly Kanbun

lectures with additional capping phrases, and he also penned a prominent manual on the practice of *zazen*. Complementing that approach, Keizan wrote an account of his prophetic dreams, in which visions, oracles, and omens triggered by various folk religious spirits were fancifully considered to evoke the wide-ranging effects of the Dharma. This work includes an anecdote about the spirituality of Keizan's grandmother, who apparently donated to Dōgen's first temple in Kyoto nearly a century before during the initial phase of Zen's transplantation. The good karma generated by that selfless act helped lead to the formation of Keizan's successful branch of the Sōtō sect that was known for advocating the right of women to be included in Zen practice. At least one of Keizan's followers, the monk Daichi, spent ten years in China and also trained under Rinzai teachers in Japan. The record of Daichi's sermons and sayings is still studied by Sōtō Zen scholars today.

Aftermath Accomplishments

Through solidifying the full independence of both Rinzai and Sōtō Zen, the completion of the third stage of the transition process in many ways represented a new beginning. By the end of the Kamakura era, the sect's full impact was starting to be felt, and this trend gained momentum in various productive ways through the next century of the Muromachi era. The rule of the Ashikaga shoguns marked the onset of a lengthy aftermath period during which Zen's prevalence in Japanese society further highlighted and extended the remarkable achievements of the initial century of transnational transmission.

Even though there were no great émigré monks who became abbots at temples in Japan after Dongling arrived in Japan in 1351, culturally constructive maritime exchanges continued to unfold on many levels. Based on the Daitō-Musō model, many of the greatest monk-poets who were leaders in Kanbun-style composition did not go to China. This group included Keijō, who declined the opportunity to accompany a diplomatic mission, perhaps out of diffidence with regard to his speaking ability, and Gidō, an important member of Musō's lineage who compiled a set of guidelines for verse composition with literary criticism based on continental sources. Nevertheless, interactions with the mainland were maintained by a number of Japanese clerics who studied poetry in China with followers of Gulin and Zhongfeng and returned to Kyoto to pursue their craft while teaching novices at temples and in various studios around town.

In the late fourteenth century, Zekkai, a disciple of Musō's primary successor Shun'oku, whose approach to Zen is often contrasted with that of his colleague Gidō, went abroad for a decade around the start of the Ming dynasty in the 1370s. While there, he was able to solicit prefaces composed in Chinese for the poetry collection of Musō as well as for his own compositions. It is said that after studying for ten years with the most prominent literati and monk-poets, Zekkai astounded continental colleagues with his ability to evoke creatively Chinese rhetorical techniques of allusion and antithesis. He even wrote a verse for the Chinese emperor, who composed a poem in reply.

Zekkai was also sensitive to the experiences of the demanding mainland journey, which produced both feelings of exhilaration and tribulations. This inspired an impromptu poem he wrote while staying at a temple in Jiangsu province: "Coming and going, with no fixed lodging, / Over rivers and seas, wherever wind and mists take me. / At night, I stay in temples among the peaks, / In the morning, I float in a boat on the lake. / Green hills abound and as I turn my head, / White birds in front of the sail are flying by. / Ten years as a traveler in a foreign land— / Wordless, here I am lost in my thoughts.[14] Back in Japan, Zekkai remarked, "Not one single day of rest have I been able to enjoy since I returned from China."[15]

During the lengthy aftermath period, many monk-painters traveled between China and Japan, thus continuing the momentum generated by the renowned artist Mokuan, who spent twenty years on the continent, where he became known as the "Japanese Muqi." Muqi was a disciple of the master Wuzhun, who was active in the first half of the thirteenth century and almost single-handedly initiated the novel Zen approach to ink-brush painting. His inventive work, inspired by the earlier Buddhist painters Li Gonglin (eleventh century) and Liang Kai (twelfth century), defied the formal rules of Chinese academic art. Muqi's drawings revealed the inner state of mind of the creative artist on various topics that reflected the history and ideals of the religious movement. Mokuan's reputation as the islander inheritor of Muqi's mantle led to further travels, both by Japanese monks seeking continental teachers and by Chinese priests in pursuit of enthusiastic disciples. The most prominent member of that group was Josetsu, an immigrant from China who reached the islands in the early 1400s and soon became the leading Zen painter in Japan, gaining the attention of the shogun Yoshimochi, an enthusiastic student of Zen and an artist in his own right who sponsored an active salon.

On an institutional level during the aftermath, the Ashikaga rulers, much like their Hōjō predecessors, patronized avidly the Five Mountains temples while also regulating carefully their activities. The network of monasteries was fluid in that the rankings underwent a number of revisions through 1386, when five temples in Kyoto were designated (Tenryūji, Shōkokuji, Kenninji, Tōfukuji, and Manjuji, tiered in that order) and another five monasteries in Kamakura were selected (Kenchōji, Engakuji, Jufukuji, Jōchiji, and Jōmyōji). Nanzenji, linked to Musō, occupied a preeminent position over and above the other ten sanctuaries, which were subsidiary to this temple, even though its preeminent status was occasionally challenged by Tendai reprisals. All the temples contributed to a vigorous printing enterprise, producing more than four hundred different Chinese works that were reissued as part of the Five Mountains Edition. The majority of these texts pertained to Zen and other Buddhist sects, but about a hundred were non-Buddhist works. These publications were often reprints of Song- or Yuan-dynasty editions, since the woodblocks from which they were copied had been carved by Chinese block-cutters who crossed the sea to Japan.

The Five Mountains temple system was not limited to ten or eleven primary sites in the cities, because each of the main temples in the network encompassed in its orbit numerous major and minor branch cloisters situated throughout the nation. Because of their intricate connections with aristocratic families in Kyoto interested in the study of classical Chinese culture, the prestigious continental monasteries supported myriad monks whose literary pursuits served as the centerpiece of the curricula at various sub-temples. This situation soon led to accusations by rival factions that the Five Mountains temples had become "enervated" from too much artistic activity and were increasingly bureaucratic and effete in their conduct. The monasteries were said to have lost a dedication to the essentials of Zen practice, such as *zazen, kōan* study, or summer retreat austerities, as well as the annual period of itinerancy during which a Zen monk would test and polish his spiritual awareness by traveling to study under a variety of masters.

Daitō's lineage, based at Daitokuji temple (which, as noted earlier in this chapter, was not part of the Five Mountains system because it appointed its own abbots), claimed to preserve the core Zen practices that the Five Mountains were ignoring. The next main representative in this division, Kanzan, became the third patriarch of the Ō-Tō-Kan stream of the Rinzai sect. Kanzan received ordination at Kenchōji and studied with

Daiō before beginning his practice under Daitō in 1327. Three years later, Kanzan experienced enlightenment and then moved to a countryside temple, where he worked as a laborer and deepened his realization. In 1337, he was called back to the capital and installed as the founding abbot of Myōshinji temple, where he taught typical novices in addition to the then-cloistered former emperor Hanazono. Known for his ascetic lifestyle, Kanzan is said to have died dressed in his pilgrimage clothes while standing silently under a tree.

Meanwhile, the Sōtō sect spread vigorously in rural areas by earning the goodwill of local administrators through efforts to build bridges and dams and other infrastructural components that promoted the area's economic stability. After Keizan's death in 1325, his main disciple, Gasan, along with his colleague Tsūgen and other followers of this subsect converted many dozens of small temples in countryside locales by serving farmers while also maintaining a stress on training dedicated monks in meditation and the precepts. Some members of the lineage, such as Gennō and Ryōan, gained a reputation for exorcising demonic local spirits that tried to prevent the spread of Zen; they accomplished this by exposing the underlying interest of demons in realizing transcendence and thereby converting them to become protectors of the Dharma rather than opponents.

The loosely knit association of cloisters known as Forest Temples involved many factions outside of the mainstream Five Mountains system, including Rinzai lineages representing Daitokuji and Myōshinji and their branch temples along with various Sōtō streams connected with Eiheiji and Sōjiji in addition to countless smaller cloisters. With the Five Mountains virtually monopolizing shogunal patronage in the capital, the Forest Temples were mainly though not exclusively formed in provincial Japan. These Zen sites often became a magnet for idealistic monks fleeing the supposedly anemic literary approach characteristic of aristocratic practitioners who were supposedly more interested in an idle preoccupation with the arts than meditation.

The aftermath phase of Zen in late medieval Japan has long been dismissed as a period of ongoing decline in genuine spirituality. Part of the reason for this is that, as William Bodiford notes, "except for the Chinese poetry of the Five Mountains (*Gozan bungaku* 五山文學), the vast bulk of Japanese Zen literature remains unknown. It has not been adequately cataloged, surveyed, or archived, much less published or studied. We do not know how much literature survives in the locked storerooms of old temples."[16] Bodiford further points out that this tremendous corpus

"consists not just of Chinese poetry, but also of every possible manner of prose records, legal documents, and ritual pronouncements."[17] Based on this kind of recent revisionist scholarship calling greater attention to the need for a more detailed, in-depth analysis, the aftermath is now usually considered an age of replenishment.

According to voluminous documents that have been recovered in temple archives and studied by modern specialists conducting research on this historical period, the intellectual life of both Rinzai and Sōtō sects remained vibrant, even if its quality varied somewhat from the cultural production of the initial century of transplantation. The Forest Temples developed innovative approaches to the study of *kōan* cases and featured collections based on colloquial conversations and informal memos written by various lesser-known teachers, often with detailed images and symbols borrowed in part from esoteric Buddhism. Muromachi materials include the creative use of spur-of-the-moment vernacular rhetoric combined with impromptu visual imagery contained in cryptic documents known generically as "paper slips" (*kirigami*). For example, a diagram of a staff would be labeled with terms indicating various hidden meanings for each part of the instrument. These lectures were used to preach the Dharma by complementing the previous era's focus on elite Kanbun-based textual constructions and continental-style ceremonial paintings.

Late medieval Zen practice was not limited to *kōan* training alone but included public rites that were originally intended for conduct inside the temple, such as precept ordinations and mortuary ceremonies. Both Five Mountains and Forest Temples used monastic codes featuring procedures for worshiping Buddha through feasts sponsored by donors and tea services that served to highlight the bureaucratic and social hierarchy, in addition to funerals, memorial rites for ancestral spirits, and the feeding of hungry ghosts. These practices forged essential links uniting the communities of monks to their lay supporters. While eminent leaders of all factions of Zen still diligently studied Chinese writings and produced their own original sets of commentaries that were sometimes shared across sectarian lines, they all benefited from fruitful relations with the laity, even as each faction valued different social sectors in diversified regions of the country.

Despite so many significant developments in Zen theory and practice in the fifteenth century—many of which seemed quite favorable and enduring, while others were somewhat controversial for appearing

counterproductive to continental ideals—the devastating Ōnin War dramatically curtailed Zen's rise in Japan and signaled the end of an epoch of growth. Sesshū, who was Josetsu's main Japanese disciple, visited China in the late 1460s, drawing impressive scenes of pagodas and beautiful landscapes in the Ningbo area that enhanced his style of ink-brush painting. Disappointed with the state of Chan he found on the mainland, however, Sesshū returned home after just two years abroad to learn that the importance of the Five Mountains institution was subsiding since the capital had been sacked and the power of the Ashikaga rulers was starting to dissolve. The monk-poet Taikyoku, author of the valuable journal *Hekizan nichiroku*, which recorded events of this turbulent era, writes eloquently of the desolation caused by the hardships of the Ōnin War:

> Ancient temples with thousands of pines are taken over
> for army camps,
> A clump of craggy grass is left where my thoughts are
> cut off from the world . . .
> After more than forty years of practice, I'm left with
> nothing but this—
> In the dark, I clap my hands and laugh at the life I lead.[18]

With Rinzai monasteries in the capital greatly depleted or altogether destroyed pending subsequent rebuilding, the Sōtō sect, which had spread to northern and southern provinces through the evangelism of Gasan and his followers, was following a path in which the teachings of its founder, Dōgen, were either absent or seemed but a distant memory. Even before the Ōnin War ended Japan's encounters with Chinese monks at home and abroad, Zen records do not list any Chinese émigré monks becoming abbots of major temples in Japan during the fifteenth century, and the number of Japanese pilgrims dwindled to about one-fourth of the number of travelers who had crossed the waters just a hundred years before.[19]

The foundation was thereby laid for the rebirth of spiritual inspiration and creativity during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The situation in Japan changed considerably with the arrival of a small handful of Chan immigrant monks led by the priest Yinyuan (J. Ingen) from southeastern China, who remained loyal to the Ming rulers at the time of the invasion of the Manchus and sought to escape the new rulers of the Qing dynasty (1644–1912), who posed an apparently grave threat to the flourishing of

Buddhism on the mainland. The appearance of Chan travelers during the mid-1600s was remarkable in a society that otherwise emphasized seclusion from the outside world, including other East Asian countries. When these monks entered Kyushu, they quickly gained an official reception in Kyoto. The new settlers soon formed a third branch of Japanese Zen, known as Ōbaku, the Japanese pronunciation of the name Huangbo. Huangbo was an eminent student of Baizhang and teacher of Linji during the Tang dynasty. This movement is still based at a temple built with the shogunate's support in the town of Uji, located to the southeast of the capital, where several episodes of *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*) were set and to where Dōgen's first temple, Kōshōji, was relocated in the Tokugawa era, among other cultural landmarks.

The Tokugawa rulers greatly appreciated Ōbaku Zen's adherence to continental customs, so the movement became a conduit for understanding both religious and secular Chinese culture, including the literary and fine arts of the Ming dynasty. The monks brought devotional iconography and ritual materials along with secular calligraphies and paintings, in addition to introducing culinary and tea preferences as well as new kinds of plants and ways of cultivating them. This revival of maritime exchanges helped reinvigorate the practice methods as well as the outreach efforts of the Rinzai and Sōtō branches, which had become somewhat dormant both intellectually and practically, largely because of the rise of Confucian and Nativist (Shinto) ideologies in the early days of Tokugawa rule. The various Zen factions were stimulated to renew the essential ingredients of their commitment to transmitting Chinese sources in the Japanese social context. The new project, fostered by another round of continental travelers, inspired the composition of Kanbun-style works by Japanese monks in both poetry and prose. A Chinese monk was invited to teach at a Sōtō seminary in Tokyo with the blessing of the shogunate.

For several hundred years, beginning with the decline of Chinese immigrants in the fourteenth century and accelerating with the new arrivals three hundred years later, lines delineating sectarian distinctions between the Rinzai and Sōtō factions were often blurred, especially in the association of Forest Temples. However, harmonious sectarian interaction lasted only until the eighteenth century. At that point, the Tokugawa shoguns compelled the often competing and conflicting Zen branches to articulate wholly separate institutional identities. If a group did not feature its own area of specialization vis-à-vis rivals, it might be cast as redundant, and

thus its training techniques could be restricted or prohibited so as to avoid any semblance of conflict with another, possibly more favored faction.

Notes

1. Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 100.
2. Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 74. (Spelling of personal names adjusted.)
3. Christopher Byrne, "Poetics of Silence: Hongzhi Zhengjue (1091–1157) and the Practice of Poetry in Song Dynasty Chan *Yulu*," Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, 2015.
4. David Pollack, *Zen Poems of the Five Mountains* (New York: Scholars Press, 1985), 32.
5. Ibid.
6. Charles Egan, ed., *Clouds Thick, Whereabouts Unknown: Poems by Zen Monks of China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).
7. Natasha Heller, *Illusory Abiding: The Cultural Construction of the Chan Monk Zhongfeng Mingben* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 323 (translation modified).
8. Ibid., book jacket.
9. Hiroaki Sato and Burton Watson, ed. and trans., *From the Country of Eight Islands: An Anthology of Japanese Poetry* (New York: Columbia University Press), 230 (translation modified).
10. Pollack, *Zen Poems of the Five Mountains*, 41.
11. Carl Bielefeldt, "Kokan Shiren and History," in *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Jeffrey P. Mass (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 314.
12. Ibid.
13. Giun's writings frequently cited Chinese sources, including those that inspired Dōgen such as earlier Caodong figures like Hongzhi, and he was also admired for his teaching of the five ranks by Rinzai monks, who came to study this dialectical-reversible conceptual pattern with him.
14. Sato and Watson, *From the Country of Eight Islands*, 232.
15. Pollack, *Zen Poems of the Five Mountains*, 166.
16. William M. Bodiford, "The Rhetoric of Chinese Language in Japanese Zen," in *Zen Buddhist Rhetoric in China, Korea, and Japan*, ed. Christoph Anderl (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 285.
17. Ibid., 305. "Although especially vibrant during the medieval period (14th through 16th centuries), in many ways [this literature] continues to be produced even today," with the aid of websites disseminating knowledge of traditional rhetorical styles that monks consult, such as http://www.zensorin.net.

18. Sato and Watson, *From the Country of Eight Islands*, 234 (translation modified).
19. Steffen Döll, *Im Osten des Meeres: Chinesische Emigrantenmonche und die fruehen Institutionen des japanischen Zen-Buddhismus* [East of the ocean: Chinese emigrant monks and the early institutions of Japanese Zen Buddhism] (Munich: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010), 140.

PART III

Techniques for Attaining and Maintaining Enlightenment

6

Teachers

TESTING THE AUTHENTICITY AND AUTHORITY OF ZEN MASTERS

THREE MAJOR ASPECTS of theory and practice encompassing the roles played by charismatic masters leading complex monastic sites while creating monumental artistic compositions greatly contributed to the impressive rise of Zen Buddhism in Song-dynasty China and Kamakura-era Japan. During this transformational period, when all religious movements functioned under the ever-watchful (though for the most part supportive) eye of government supervision, the Zen tradition prevailed despite stiff competition from rival schools in both countries. Zen's approach had the greatest overall appeal for the leaders of secular society, who were interested in demonstrating their own spiritual development by practicing the path of self-power realized by virtue of one's innate ability to transcend conventional language and logic without deferring to any external principle or symbol.

The main sacred elements that helped promote the spread of Zen by cultivating the palpable presence and fulfilling the sacred impact of the Legend of Living Buddhas included:

1. Teachers or captivating trailblazers, who attained their distinguished status by conquering intense bouts of delusion and despair through passing *kōan* test cases under the tutelage of a stirring master either at home or abroad. By gaining a personal experience of enlightenment, they became fully capable of managing a growing monastic institutional system, negotiating official support while recruiting and

inspiring disciples through displays of rhetorical acumen and philosophical insight in public lectures and private discussions.

2. Temples as consecrated sites that served as the locus for nurturing monks. Standard institutional structures featured specific training routines used to polish each novice's capacity for realizing an inner mystical awareness. The stately presence of these compounds also exerted an ongoing impact on the outside community, producing artworks that engaged the active participation of intellectuals intrigued by Zen ideals or enacting rites that attracted common folk seeking practical benefits during difficult economic times.
3. Tones, including (a) perceptive literary expressions of a transcendental state of mindfulness, inventively composed by crafting the complicated rhyme schemes and refined imagery of Sinitic poetry, and (b) a subtle visual approach that involved the writing of freestyle calligraphy plus the drawing of pale ink figures (used to evoke the enigma of numinous consciousness in relation to ordinary reality through contrasting ethereal forms of ghostly landscapes set against sharply drawn facial features representing an awakened mind).

Linked together, these interrelated elements generated resourceful forms of persuasion, including inspiring sermons and ritual performances, that helped Zen form a distinctive sectarian identity and enabled highly cultured Living Buddhas preaching the Dharma to expand their scope from the continent to the islands. Zen masters were almost always inventive writers or innovative artists who constructed imaginative literary and visual tones while also presenting ceremonial evocations of their spiritual awareness in ways that fascinated literati or warriors in addition to other lay followers.

The touchstone of the three factors of transmission was the ongoing propagation of an impressive series of enthralling, venerated teachers. The emergence of skillful and flexible masters was the single element for which the Zen sect became best known after its initial rise during the Tang dynasty. Expertise in modes of concentration as the basis for poetic composition and the production of fine arts enabled fiercely individualistic teachers to transfer ideas and customs during the various phases of religious relocations and cultural exchanges that transpired during the remarkable century of transition from Chinese Chan to Japanese Zen. Numerous prominent adepts disseminated the stock of knowledge received from the succession of Chinese patriarchs in their respective lineages to new

generations of Japanese followers, who were trained in meditation and related disciplines at carefully organized temple compounds. Zen masters served as thoughtful instructors of dedicated practitioners, who each sought in a distinctive way to emulate and hopefully surpass the imaginative words and cherished deeds of their mentor.

The foremost Zen teachers, who triggered transplantation by inspiring unheralded or anonymous priests following in their path, fall into two main categories. The first group includes leading Japanese pilgrims and Chinese expatriate monks, who ventured forth from their native lands without fear of failure despite emotional and physical risks that must have seemed at the time to nearly outweigh any expected reward. The second category covers Zen masters who did not undertake a maritime journey but, by working closely with voyagers from across the waters, in many instances were just as influential in terms of their overall effect on the transfer process as those who did travel abroad.

Zen's heritage was thus based primarily on the feats of dynamic teachers, who trained resolutely throughout their lives, from before their moment of sudden realization or *satori* through the long periods following this critical experience as they assumed the role of abbot to instruct students while continuing to cultivate their own contemplative state. The teachers led large monasteries or smaller temples, where they commemorated lineal ancestors and composed voluminous writings on diverse instructional methods as well as standard behavioral guidelines for their disciples. The Zen view of spiritual realization, referred to in Japan as the notion of self-power (*jiriki*), holds that each and every diligent and determined practitioner has the innate aptitude to attain awakening.

The merit of the self-power approach is expressed in typical paradoxical fashion in case 20 of *Wumen's Barrier*, a mainstay of the training curriculum in both China and Japan. According to this cryptic *kōan*, the master Songyuan, who was a contemporary of Wumen's, routinely asks his novices to comment on two thought-provoking puzzles: "Why is it that a man of great strength does not lift his legs?" and "It is not with the tongue that the mouth speaks." These enigmas are known as "turning words" (C. *yizhuanyu*, J. *ittengo*) because they force the mind to pivot away from everyday thinking and toward gaining genuine mystical awareness. Both of the perplexing phrases used by Songyuan suggest that a true teacher should not be judged by actions, such as lifting a leg or verbosity. A more fundamental level of spirituality, one that underlies but is not limited to particular sayings and doings, must be discerned and demonstrated.

Since the case's core topics deliberately present a roadblock that is likely to stymie uninformed trainees, Wumen's incisive prose comments highlight the monumental difficulty involved in coming to an understanding of the fundamental Zen standpoint, which is compared to the purest substance that must be refined by the hottest flames: "It seems that Songyuan spilled his guts and spit out from his belly. But there is no one who can appreciate his ideas. Even if someone did come forward with appreciation, let him approach me and he will surely get beaten with my staff. Why? Because if you want pure gold, you must find it in the midst of fire."

Wumen's somewhat tongue-in-cheek verse comment shifts attention to the magnificent levels of accomplishment supposedly revealed by a master, who has the metaphoric power to uproot the earth or go beyond the heavens without succumbing to any obstruction:

> Raising his leg to kick up the fragrant seas;
> Lowering his head to look down on the highest
> level of contemplation.
> There is no space vast enough for his body—
> I'll let somebody else fill in the last line.

In the final phrase of the poem, Wumen challenges his listeners (the remarks were originally presented as oral sermons that were later recorded and edited) to think the matter through for themselves and on that basis create inventive expressions, instead of depending on the teacher's guidance. It is interesting to note that the original Chinese reads 續一句 (C. *xu yiju*, J. *zoku ikku*), just three words, whereas the other lines all have seven characters each. Wumen was generally quite careful to follow the strict rules of traditional poetry composition, which demand regularity, so breaking the pattern here is no doubt done in support of his demanding approach. In the end, only those who speak convincingly to show they represent the "finest gilded treasure" will be able to avoid the wrath of Wumen's staff.

Becoming a Living Buddha

The Zen view of self-power stands in sharp contrast to the other-power standpoint held by various Kamakura Buddhist schools, especially Pure Land and Nichiren, which maintains that enlightenment can be realized only through an external instrument. This is achieved either by the

recitation of scriptures or by a declaration of faith in the salvific power of Amida Buddha and the bodhisattva Kannon, who are envisioned as awe-inspiring higher beings. According to self-power, on the other hand, one must remain skeptical of all doctrinal formulations and attempts at rote learning or memorizing theories since understanding is necessarily an inner experience. Because the crucial role that is played by the Zen teacher does foster an element of otherness in the training process, that reliance must also be cast aside when appropriate. Zen records are replete with anecdotes about disciples contradicting or even slapping their teachers when such a degree of irreverence is called for. Wumen's comments indicate that a demanding master accepts no less of a response from an aspiring disciple, and will praise the disciple's self-motivated reaction.

Tracing the history of the development of self-power ideology calls for a brief overview of the legacy of Indian Buddhism and how it was transformed in China before developing into an approach based on cultivating Living Buddhas. Zen lineages have uniformly followed yet inventively adapted to the East Asian setting the traditional collections of Buddhist behavioral codes for monastic discipline known as the Vinaya. These instructions were initially designed by Sakyamuni when he was first setting up hermetic communities in India and realized that members of the assemblies needed clear directives in order to establish standards of social interaction among the membership that would help preserve a moral fabric while troubleshooting possible difficult ethical situations.

For example, one time a monk asked the Buddha whether it might be fitting to hasten the time of his demise, since life is painful and relief does not come until after death. The founding teacher did not object, but when he revisited the community a year later and found that a number of followers had killed themselves, he spoke out against suicide. That decree became part of the Vinaya. Nevertheless, austere practices such as cutting a finger, burning a limb, or in extreme cases self-immolation were not uncommon in Chinese temples. Hoping to avoid such extreme behavior, Zen took precautions to distinguish between the self-determination of a practitioner and his possible self-destructive acts.

The ideal of the master as a Living Buddha further evolved from some of the main propensities evident in Chinese practices over the course of several centuries before Zen's teaching method reached a mature state during the Song dynasty and was transferred to Japan. The original movement of Buddhism from India to China that took place in the early centuries of the Common Era was marked by a sharp transition from a focus on

reading abstract doctrinal treatises, whose authors were largely unknown and their lives not documented, to an emphasis on recording actions and deeds reflecting the unique personality and individuality of leading priests, whose oral teachings were compiled by followers and eventually became written texts. Beginning in the sixth century, Chinese Buddhists developed a new style of compilation, known as *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (C. *Gaoseng chuan*, J. *Kōsōden*), that catalogued regardless of ideological emphasis or sectarian identity the achievements of the major clerics representing each approach to religious practice. Every entry in the volume highlights the life of a particular monk through a mixture of factual historical materials about his birth, education, travels, monastic roles, and death, with diverse legends and lore about spiritual exploits such as the ability to use ritual evocations to conjure miracles or transform demonic energies into positive powers that protected the temple grounds.

In the early days of collecting monk biographies from the time before Chan was a separate school, the grouping of meditators was just one of the ten or so main categories of monks. The classifications with the most entries included translators and exegetes as well as interpreters and cantors, since these functions were all very much needed in order to complete the appropriation of texts imported from India into the Sinitic setting. By the time a new Song-dynasty edition of the *Biographies* was produced in 988, however, the role of the Zen school with its distinctive type of teaching model had become much more prominent, so meditators were now the single most popular and important category.[1]

The next main development in the evolution of the Living Buddhas template was the emergence at the beginning of the eleventh century of a brand-new series of biographies of monks that were produced entirely by and for the Chan lineages, which were organized according to the generational transmissions of the Five Houses. At this stage, Chan was sufficiently dominant in China that it could create a special class of writings fully excluding practitioners from other Buddhist schools, who were far less influential. Zen thus formed its own sets of quasi-historical writings known as transmission-of-the-lamp records, and dozens of examples of the genre were produced throughout the Song dynasty. The Zen school also published for the first time many other kinds of compositions, including the recorded sayings of major masters along with *kōan* commentaries in poetry or prose.

An additional genre consisting of guides to monastic regulations was also introduced. The context for this development, which was strongly

advocated by Eisai, was that Chan practice in China adhered to both the Hinayana list of 250 rules guiding specific aspects of monkish behavior and the Mahayana list of 48 precepts that endorsed more general principles for compassionate deeds. However, a central part of the Chan claim to independence from other schools of Buddhism was the formation in 1103 of its own set of guidelines in the *Zen Monastic Rules* (C. *Chanyuan qingqui*, J. *Zen'en shingi*). The original source for this was a short essay attributed to Baizhang, a prominent predecessor of Linji during the Tang dynasty. Like many other textual materials from that period, Baizhang's essay was not published until the explosion of Chan texts took place beginning in the Song dynasty.

According to the 1004 edition of the first main transmission-of-the-lamp record, in which the Baizhang thesis was first published, Zen rules were posited as a third or middle way of practice between the Hinayana emphasis on precise codes of etiquette and the Mahayana emphasis on universal values, yet beyond both. According to Baizhang, the fundamental guiding principle for temple life is to exist in "the presence of an honored one or elder." This esteemed leader "is revered for being spiritually insightful and morally superior, just as accomplished disciples in early Buddhism were often given the title of Sakyamuni's foremost disciple, Subhuti." As the embodiment of spiritual transformation, the temple abbot dwells in a simple "ten-foot-square room," so named in honor of the residence of the hero of the *Vimalakirti Sutra*, an account of a wise layman who outsmarted all the seemingly magnificent bodhisattvas who tried debating him in his modest abode.

Because of the all-important role of the master, Zen temples were supposed to dispense with the building of a Buddha Hall, normally used to house statues and icons, since the only important figure is the Living Buddha, who resides in the Abbot's Quarters and preaches in the Dharma Hall. In practice, however, iconography was rarely forsaken and in fact was often enhanced by assimilating diverse local deities into the Zen pantheon of patriarchs and saints. The Buddha Hall also served as a useful place to entertain lay patrons with a vegetarian feast that might include a sample of preaching by the inspirational abbot and a recitation of the sutras by the full assembly.

Another apparent inconsistency with Baizhang's remarks regarding Living Buddhas is that nearly all Zen temples preserved relics of and honored with daily and annual memorials their honored ancestors, including patriarchs stemming from India as well as more recent deceased masters

in Chinese or Japanese lineages. In addition to monuments featuring a container of relics that were usually placed in an auxiliary building, ritual observances included hanging on the wall or placing in a special seat a ritual portrait of the temple's founder, usually inscribed with his own poem or a eulogy written by one of his main followers.

The power of the myth of Living Buddhas helped provide Zen temples with an organizational outlook that negotiated the contours of engagement with civil society. It also offered a spiritual ideal that appealed to highly motivated individuals, who aspired to attain peace of mind so that they could struggle with but ultimately prevail over challenges experienced in the course of everyday social and professional interactions. This lore further inspired Japanese teachers, who adopted and adapted puzzling and perplexing mainland teachings, to feel that their teaching activities took part in a long-standing tradition; like Chinese counterparts, they too could consider themselves to be walking emblematically alongside ancient continental adepts. This was true for monks, who cultivated awakening through meditation and adherence to behavioral guidelines, as well as for samurai, who often refined their military talents by adhering to disciplinary codes or undertaking artistic endeavors that also captivated clerics. Both groups, which in the era of warrior-monks in medieval Japan could be overlapping, felt a sense of identity that came from undergoing tribulations and enjoying triumphs through following religious models based on the sayings and deeds of generations of previous Zen path makers.

Attaining the status of being a Living Buddha, whose charisma derived from the capacity of contemplation extending through all phases of life and enduring after death, represented the utmost challenge for monks in training. This goal involved taking command of an imaginative worldview maintaining that all aspects of existence are essentially uncertain, because words and ideas depicting reality are nothing more than provisional human constructs that can be overturned at any time through an inversion or subversion of their apparent meaning. Masters demonstrated the significance of gaining intuitive insight into the fundamental nature of ambiguity by teaching disciples in inventive ways through paradoxical sermons and elusive didactic verses that were deliberately bewildering yet ultimately illuminating.

Zen teachers used spontaneous encounters and demanding admonitions while testing disciples by drawing them into a contest involving willpower and knowledge of the Dharma in order to induce a profound sense of doubt as a necessary stepping-stone to spiritual breakthrough. As in

a legal negotiation, which was an important symbol since temple abbots were considered to function like magistrates at court in judging the degree of a trainee's transcendence toward or transgression away from mystical transformation, a verdict about the disciple's state of mind was not always final. It could be appealed and in the end upended and undone or even re-reversed, as befitting the occasion, by an ongoing process of evaluation.

Perhaps the most extraordinary quality demonstrated by successful Zen masters involves the ability to coordinate the seemingly contradictory but in the end complementary qualities of actualizing the authenticity of individual religious attainment seemingly far removed from community engagement through exerting the authority of an institutional entrepreneur, whose primary purpose is to manage the affairs of his assembly. When considering diverse religious traditions worldwide, the coupling of authentic interior experience with collective authority is not unusual. What makes the case of Zen so intriguing is the way extreme standpoints are so intricately linked, in that a volatile rhetoric of irreverence and a blasphemous disdain for convention are inseparably connected with the ability to lead a temple in an orderly and stable fashion.

In order to receive recognition for their writings, masters often fulfilled the words of Song-dynasty secular poet Yang Wanli, who greatly influenced Zen literature in part by disingenuously diminishing its importance. "When you read books," Yang writes, "your eyeballs wither away leaving the bare sockets, / When you chant poems, your heart leaks out slowly with each word . . . / It's so much better to close your eyes and sit in your study; / Lower the curtains, sweep the floor, burn incense; / Take a walk when you feel energetic, and when you're tired go to sleep." This verse highlights the fact that it was often the most withdrawn and unconventional masters who were appointed abbots of prestigious temples. This occurred because the calmness and composure fostered by renunciation and reclusion were conducive to heading a Zen assembly so long as a teacher's sense of independence did not go as far as threatening to dethrone the hegemony of regal rule.[2]

Zen teachers, therefore, represented a dramatic shift from relying on philosophical doctrines or theoretical explanations to using practical teaching devices. Innovative rhetorical tools, including irony, punning, paradox, and non sequitur, help stir the mind from its everyday spiritual slumber. Masters frequently take a tough and demanding approach by resorting to insults, putdowns, barbs, and zingers that trigger enough doubt in a disciple's mind about one-sided thinking to cause a revulsion

leading him to pivot to a new level of mindfulness. Insults include "You can't trust his view, as his jowls are big enough to be seen from behind," "He carries a board over his shoulder" (signifying one-sided or tunnel vision), or "He acts like a dog who, despite knowing better, cannot resist licking hot oil." An example of the stricter side of a master's instructions is seen in a Song Chan verse that evokes how a warning staff, as shown in Figure 6.1b in distinction to the ceremonial stick and fly whisk in Figure 6.1a, is used to reprimand undeserving rivals or phony followers: "Holding in my hand the three feet of a wood cane, / It shows not even a hairsbreadth of mercy. / Whether Buddha or demon, saint or sinner—let it cut through them all! / Only then will the diamond eye of wisdom be revealed."

Employing these teaching techniques requires a constant struggle against resorting to conventional thinking. It was often said that when an average person who is marked by delusion and ignorance attains a realization of truth he instantly transforms into a sage, but when a sage understands truth in a deluded and ignorant fashion he falls back into commonplace mentality. To guard against both arrogance and complacency in using a more moderate tone of teaching, Lanqi speaks of the need for a master to adopt a grandmotherly outlook by shepherding his flock gracefully in an adage that nevertheless emphasizes the self-determination of

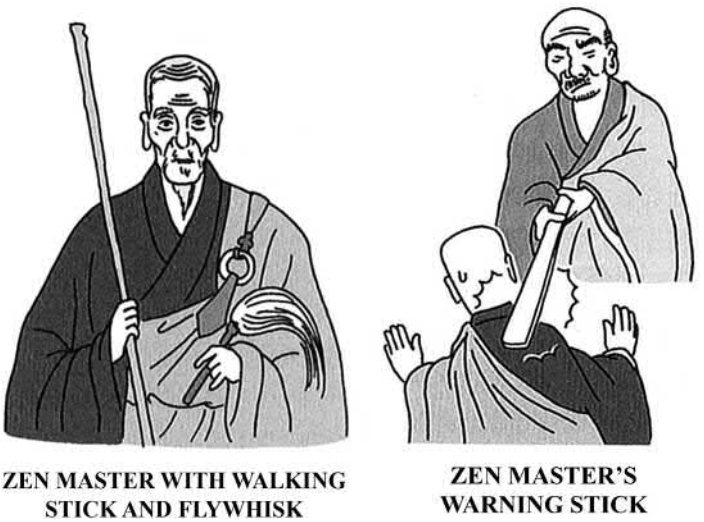


FIGURE. 6.1 a. Zen Master with Walking Stick and Fly Whisk
b. Zen Master's Warning Stick

the disciple: "A good horse does not wait for the sight of the whip to start running, just as a good priest does not aspire for enlightenment only after receiving admonishment." Furthermore, another Zen poem written in anticipation of a master's death stresses the humility of a genuine teacher, who recognizes his own limitations: "For sixty-seven years, I held on to dreams and illusions by gazing at flowers in the sky [signifying illusion]; / A white crane disappears in the mist above, as rushing waters merge with the firmament."

The process of becoming a Living Buddha can be divided into the following nine stages, which revolve around the transformative turnabout experience of sudden enlightenment or *satori*. This state is usually attained either by undergoing an encounter dialogue with one's mentor or by the inspirational effect felt when hearing a pivotal sound, such as a bird's song or the impact of a pebble hitting a bamboo tree, or by observing a natural event, such as a falling blossom or rushing river. Prior to *satori*, the prospective master demonstrates a distinctive interest and capacity for attaining an experience of awakening, which he pursues with dedication and determination. After achieving that goal, he diligently carries out his teaching duties and monastic responsibilities.

Nine Main Stages of a Zen Master

1. Birth	Regardless of background, he aspires to transcend ordinary awareness
2. Vows	Struggles with self-doubt and uncertainty before gaining ordination
3. Itinerancy	Travels widely to find and study under a teacher suited to his needs
4. Retreats	Trains continuously with Zen devices, rather than relying on doctrine
5. *Satori*	Face-to-face encounter or spontaneous occurrence leads to an awakening
6. Certification	Receives award of lineal transmission directly from his teacher
7. Abbacy	As leader, continues post-realization cultivation amid ongoing challenges
8. Successor	Chooses foremost disciple by testing to determine his true merit
9. Death	Composes final verse collected into his recorded sayings by followers

Supplementing the stages on this list, the full development of the master's life is considered to extend from a time even before birth when there were prophecies, dreams, signs, and omens pointing to the auspicious event. It continues for decades or centuries following death, as the teacher is memorialized with celebratory portraits and dedicated steles or the display of a burial urn that receives congregants' daily offerings of water, flowers, fruit, and incense. Ancient worthies, such as Dōgen, Enni, Daitō, and Musō, who all founded prodigious lineages, are still remembered at their temples today, particularly on the occasion of death anniversaries commemorated in fifty-year cycles. This event is marked by the publication of revised editions of the master's writings and the production of various kinds of biographical materials, in addition to reconstructing monastery buildings by fund-raising to propagate the sect.

The Exemplary Life of Yuanwu

The life and times of the master Yuanwu, who became prominent in the first part of the twelfth century before his death in 1135, which was a critical period for the spread of the Linji and Caodong schools in Song-dynasty society, provides an interesting and important model that highlights many of the primary elements involved in becoming a Living Buddha. Yuanwu's legacy is significant for several reasons, including his authorship of the *Blue Cliff Record*, the most famous *kōan* commentary used in East Asia, even though tradition reports that it was destroyed and kept out of circulation for more than a century by Dahui, his primary disciple. Dahui, another exceptional Chan leader, apparently objected to the text's elaborate form of discourse, which he felt distracted novice practitioners. Yuanwu is also significant because, since Dahui's following eventually diminished and did not have a great impact on Japan, most of the major émigré monks were from one of two sublineages of Yuanwu's faction, including the Songyuan and Boan streams. The *Blue Cliff Record* was restored in China in 1300, in part because interest on the part of Japanese monks in learning about their continental progenitor inspired the recovery process, and soon after the text was commented on by Daitō and Musō, among many others.

During the twelfth century, the Chan school suffered through the ups and downs of the era's political turmoil, creating fierce competition with various factions of Buddhism as well as Neo-Confucianism, which offered a harsh critique of what appeared to outsiders to be an endless array of seemingly nonsensical Chan sayings. Both Yuanwu and Dahui are notable

in their respective religious quests for surmounting grave challenges and giving voice to confessional expressions of regret and remorse for shortcomings, personal as well as social, during turbulent times. They both eventually prevailed and basked in the glow of emotional recovery in addition to institutional recognition, reward, and redemption. By the end of their respective careers, each was highly regarded by the imperium for displaying a firm commitment to religious discipline while developing innovative literary and/or pedagogical techniques.

Yuanwu enjoyed a very successful monastic career as a tenth-generation master in the Linji school. He is known for having crossed various cultural and sectarian as well as social and geographical boundaries in pursuit of Chan spirituality. He was duly acknowledged with patronage and titles received from the Song-dynasty court, despite the fact that he never led a temple in the prestigious Hangzhou region. Born in 1063 in the city of Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan province, to a family of Confucians, as a young man Yuanwu trained to take civil examinations but did not perform very well. He then visited a Chan temple near his hometown that was known for a strong literary tradition expressing Buddhist thought. This gave him the feeling that he must have been a monk in a previous lifetime. It is said that at an early age, Yuanwu's literary acumen developed in connection to musical arts, in that he learned to "beat drums, clang cymbals, clap sticks, blow the flute, and sing drama" with such proficiency that the adults in his village let him become a local member of the elite Eight Sounds Association. This background may have contributed to his remarkable rhetorical flair and eloquent expressions.

After wide-ranging itinerant travels and struggles to attain awakening, in his forties Yuanwu eventually finished studying and gained a powerful enlightenment experience at a temple in Hubei province under the tutelage of the renowned mentor Wuzu, who had undergone his own prolonged struggles before attaining realization. Yuanwu's awakening occurred only after he was at first dismissed by the master, who was an advocate of *kōan* studies; in another version, Yuanwu grew dissatisfied with Wuzu's intense teaching style and decided to leave his assembly. Yuanwu then underwent a sustained period of feverish illness (perhaps typhoid fever) referred to as the "Zen malady" (C. *chanbing*, J. *zenbyō*) because of intense anxiety, disturbance, and exhaustion from trying to maintain a focus on meditation while leading an itinerant lifestyle. Wuzu foresaw this condition and advised Yuanwu to return to his temple when the disciple was exhausted from struggling with the notorious malady. The trauma helped break

Yuanwu's sense of false pride and self-esteem, qualities driving him to succeed but also supporting an ego that was an impediment to reaching his spiritual goal. This set the stage for productive uncertainty encompassing profound doubt, which led to the ultimate attainment beyond conventional distinctions between selfhood and selflessness.

Yuanwu's enlightenment verse, which was approved by Wuzu as a "great achievement," reads: "Behind the fragrant curtain colorfully embroidered with golden ducks, / In the midst of songs [accompanied] with the flute he got drunk and left. / Such a romantic experience of youth, / Only the lady herself can appreciate."[3] There is a double-layered story behind this expression. First, it is said that a transport clerk who had retired from office and was on his way back to his native Sichuan came to ask Wuzu to instruct him in the way of Chan and was given a verse containing the couplet "Repeatedly calling to the maid actually has nothing to do with her, / It is only to let Lover Tan recognize my voice." That poem, in turn, involves a woman who was shy about leaving her bedchamber when her lover visited and, instead, called out the name of her maid, Xiaoyu, as a way that let him be aware that she was available. The clerk told Wuzu that he grasped the meaning of these two lines.

Sometime later Yuanwu, who happened to be standing beside them at that time, asked the master for his opinion of the clerk's understanding, and Wuzu said, "He only recognizes the voice." Yuanwu responded, "'It is only to let Lover Tan recognize my voice'—since the clerk has recognized the voice, then what is the problem?" Wuzu asked, "What are the meanings of 'The first patriarch coming from the west' and 'Cypress standing tree in the courtyard'? Hah!" Upon hearing this, Yuanwu was suddenly awakened. Walking out of the room, he saw a rooster flying to the railing and heard the flapping of wings as it was about to take off. He said to himself, "Isn't this the voice?" Yuanwu then entered Wuzu's chamber to report to the master through verse his enlightenment experience. Further testimony to Yuanwu's prowess comes from an account of his teacher comparing three main disciples:

> One evening, the master talked so late that when it came time to leave the lamps were already out. In the darkness Wuzu said, "Each of you, please give me a turning word." Fojian said, "A radiant phoenix dances in the sky." Foyan said, "An iron snake lies across the ancient road." Foguo [Yuanwu] said, "Watch your step!" Wuzu commented ironically, "Only Foguo surpasses my teachings!"[4]

Of his three followers, including Fojian (Buddha Mirror), who refers to an auspicious omen of renewal and Foyan (Buddha Eye), who evokes a seeker's feeling of desperation, it was Foguo (Buddha Fruition) who was ranked highest by Wuzu's ironic expression of praise for evoking a Chan saying that was frequently written on boards and placed in the entrance halls of Zen temples as a reminder to remain ever aware. Yuanwu's deceptively simple response was the most profound.

Soon after his breakthrough in 1104, Yuanwu was invited to preach at Zhaojue temple in his hometown, Chengdu, where he began a series of lectures that eventually became the *Blue Cliff Record*. This location was convenient in that Yuanwu also needed to care for his ailing mother as an expression of filial piety, and he would later return to this temple for the last five years of his life, beginning in 1130, after spending some time along with Dahui in exile in the south of China. Yuanwu's colleague Zhang Shangying, then a chief councilor and Buddhist advocate who repeatedly fell in and out of the imperial court's favor over the course of several decades and had recently been demoted to a regional post in Hunan province, met Yuanwu in Sichuan in the early 1110s. He recommended that Yuanwu be recruited to lead the temple on Mount Jiashan in Hunan province, an important Chan cloister founded in the Tang-dynasty that was known for growing tea near the Blue Cliff Spring, situated on the temple grounds. Yuanwu received the purple robe from Emperor Huizong, an enthusiastic patron of cultural arts who traveled to Hunan in part to see the master (although Huizong himself was already politically weak and ineffective, a condition that a decade later helped precipitate the demise of the Northern Song dynasty as well as the emperor's capture in 1126). In 1114, Yuanwu was symbolically named Buddha Fruition (Foguo).

In 1125, the year the *Blue Cliff Record* was compiled by a group of followers and Dahui first came to study with him, imperial authorities appointed Yuanwu abbot of a major monastery in the capital of Kaifeng, although with the Jin invasion occurring the next year this assignment did not last long. In 1128, Yuanwu was granted the moniker by which he is best known, which means Perfectly Enlightened One. Joined by Dahui as his main assistant, he served as abbot of a temple in Nanjing. Yuanwu also presided for a time at a cloister on the famous Chan site of Mount Yunju, in Jiangxi province, after being banished to the south, along with Dahui, following the fall of the Northern Song before returning to Chengdu in 1130. Yet another imperial title, Truly Awakened Chan Teacher, was bestowed posthumously.

An example of Yuanwu's rhetorical creativity in evoking the experience of enlightenment is a verse concerning the core dialogue also used in case 53 in the *Blue Cliff Record*. In the *kōan* narrative, Mazu twists his disciple Baizhang's ear while explaining that it is inappropriate to refer to ducks "flying by," since such an expression that is seemingly true to ordinary perception denies the immediacy of momentary experience. Baizhang stayed deaf for three days. According to Yuanwu's poetic expression linking self-realization to natural imagery:

> Wild ducks fly by the creek,
> Myriad peaks display their wintry hues.
> Looking around, Baizhang does not know where they return,
> Yet he cannot help but depend on being struck by Mazu.
> Smashing away the ball of doubt as complicated delusions
> melt away,
> And are carried by the wind directly to the clear sky.
> Clouds, mountains, oceans, and moon are unwavering forms,
> As a single saying reflecting Chan prevails in all the lands.[5]

In the eighth month of 1135, during the reign of Southern Song Emperor Gaozong, who also greatly admired the Chan master, Yuanwu fell ill and ordered his disciple Daoyuan to take charge of the monastery he occupied in Chengdu. On the fifth day of the month, at the request of his attendants, he composed a verse on his deathbed that is ironically self-deprecating, as is typical of the genre: "My best efforts [on behalf of teaching the Dharma] are devoid of merit. / There is no need for me even to leave this verse, / Other than to show that I accept my fate. / Adieu! Take good care!"[6] In addition to producing seventy-five monastic disciples in the Linji-Yangqi lineage, it is evident from his voluminous letters, used as a teaching method emulated by Dahui, that Yuanwu addressed both monks and lay followers, who received nearly one-quarter of the 145 correspondences contained in the *Essentials of Mind* (*Xinyao*). Yuanwu was particularly well acquainted with and served as an inspiration for many of the era's leading scholar-officials, including the grandson of Su Shi, among other prominent figures, several of whom wrote prefaces for the volume of his recorded sayings, which was published in 1134, a year before his death.

Very much involved with the sociopolitical turmoil of the era despite attempts to escape it, Yuanwu completed his career as a Chan teacher who constructively allied the imperium and literati with the local elite in

various locations. He also enabled his fellow citizens of Sichuan province, where he spent the first and final stages of his life, to gain a successful intertwining of religious and literary pursuits. Having spread the Linji-Yangqi stream well beyond its original domain in the southwest of China to northern, southeastern, and central regions, another testament to his legacy is that all Rinzai-sect lineages in Japan are ultimately descended from Yuanwu through travels to and from China during the late thirteenth-century period featuring émigré monks.[7] This crucial phase of cultural interaction no doubt contributed to the recovery of the *Blue Cliff Record* and its transmission to Japan in the early 1300s.

Being a Living Buddha

In playing the role of prelate, Zen teachers such as Yuanwu and countless others have served as talented and savvy administrators by exercising broad moral and legal jurisdiction while overseeing growing assemblies of monks. Without sacrificing the integrity of solitude or the dignity of reclusion that instigated and sustained their mystical journey and its various artistic expressions, eminent masters frequently gained a dedicated and expanding group of followers among the ruling class and elite members of society, whose financial support helped sustain the enlargement of their temple compounds often located in or near major cities. Despite the ample recognition and appreciation for the efforts of Zen teachers, considerable challenges always remained, and these were negotiated by coordinating the mantle of authority, which promoted stability based on enhanced leadership qualities, with an evocation of authenticity often suggested by instances of eccentric behavior deliberately going against social norms.

In creating a sense of balance between highly regulated conduct and exceptionally irregular activities through an emphasis on manifesting spirituality during everyday life in inventive ways that were being overlooked by other Buddhist sects, Zen teachers found effective means of attracting novice monastic and lay disciples from many social sectors and geographical regions. Appeals were also made to less-educated populaces living in the countryside or in underprivileged urban areas as enigmatic masters stimulated much interest in the merits of religious awareness by performing ceremonies for burials and memorials for the deceased, or delivering ritual exorcisms through evoking paradoxical sayings reflective of a contemplative outlook that were capable of placating baleful spirits or banishing ghosts. In addition, teachers in rural areas demonstrated the

power of compassion through the construction of dams and bridges to help farmers lead more productive lives and thereby earn their devotion and loyalty.

As an abbot administering his temple compound by managing its organizational and financial affairs through supervising the training of dozens of disciples, each of whom played a particular role in the life of the monastery and required a certain level of attention with a correlated teaching strategy, Zen masters were figuratively and literally placed on a pedestal. They occupied a separate residence in the Abbot Quarters, which could be visited only by designated followers, and delivered sermons on a regular basis in the Dharma Hall by sitting on the high seat, which is a throne-like, well-adorned chair replete with symbolic value borrowed from imperial styles of comportment. It was said in a rules text that "monks who come from outside seeking spiritual guidance and those postulants who join the monastery must look to the abbot for all things. No other monk is allowed to receive disciples of his own."[8] In that way, the master takes on a regal air by seeming above the fray and unapproachable, as his every appearance around the monastery requires the monks in attendance to behave properly.

Monks in the abbot's presence follow strict regulations for ceremonial conduct when entering a chamber, bowing, offering incense, circumambulating, chanting, serving tea, and departing to return to their ordinary routine. The teacher, in turn, is expected to demonstrate humility and simplicity befitting the empathetic component of his awakened state. Therefore, "the abbot should be knowledgeable enough to be relied on by the assembly and virtuous enough to avoid fame and privilege."[9] Baizhang, the original author of what became the *Zen Monastic Rules*, was known for the saying "A day without work is a day without eating," which prompted a tradition of communal labor followed at most Zen temples.

Further evidence that rules apply to the Zen abbot is revealed in case 13 of *Wumen's Barrier*, in which the master Deshan is scolded by a high-ranking monk of the temple for coming to lunch early, before the announcement of serving of the noonday meal was made by sounding the clappers. It is recorded that Deshan said nothing at the time and was later reprimanded by his main disciple, Yantou, but the next day he ascended the rostrum to give a sermon and it was clear to everyone there that his talk was quite different from the typical routine. What he actually said is not recorded, but the exact content of the talk is of little consequence, since his

previously disapproving student, who later became a prominent master in his own right, leapt to his feet and clapped his hands while laughing aloud. Yantou proclaimed for all to hear, "It is wonderful that our revered teacher has preached the last word of Zen! From now on, nobody in the whole world will be able to outdo him!"

Following this emphasis on the power of preaching, according to a significantly expanded version of the *Zen Monastic Rules* published in 1103 that served as a standard manual universally followed in Chinese and Japanese temples, the single main function of the Zen abbot is to present a variety of public speaking opportunities in which he teaches and expounds the Dharma before different audiences by using distinct styles of discourse. These events are performed a set number of times at certain points in the daily regimen each month, although additional impromptu occasions could be initiated to comment on special circumstances in the temple with talks sometimes given late into the night. Japanese pilgrims, such as Dōgen in relation to Rujing, Enni to Wuzhun, and Daiō to Xutang, reported to their countrymen how thrilling it was to hear the insightful overtures of their continental masters. Those lectures were extremely exciting moments filled with the metrical recitation of prose or poetic rhyming comments on *kōan* cases that amazed and stirred the crowd. Memories of such events lingered in the minds of the participants for a long time.

The first major type of oral delivery referred to in *Zen Monastic Rules* involves formal sermons presented at least six times a month in the Dharma Hall before an assembly of monks, who line up in ceremonial fashion and remain silent until the abbot calls for questions. Open discussion is usually followed with a concluding verse, ironic comment, or dramatic gesture, like drawing a circle in the air with the staff to highlight a particular point or throwing down the fly whisk to suggest mock disdain. Sometimes invited non-monastic guests attended, and the event was often a vehicle for enticing them into deeper levels of engagement with the Zen tradition, including *zazen* practice.

Although the presentation style of formal sermons delivered in Chinese or in Kanbun by a master sitting on the high seat appears to have been ritualistic, and in temples today it is often scripted so as to try to reenact the atmosphere of the classic period, the great teachers were able to breathe new life into their formal sermons. The key was to show how they were constructively critical of predecessors' standpoints in order to set the stage for articulating a distinctive view of reality. For example, Dōgen comments

judgmentally on a saying attributed to Sakyamuni that was later interpreted by four eminent Zen masters, including his teacher Rujing:

> The World-Honored One said, "When one person opens up reality and returns to the source, all space in the ten directions disappears." Wuzu said, "When one person opens up reality and returns to the source, all space in the ten directions crashes together resounding everywhere." Yuanwu said, "When one person opens up reality and returns to the source, in all space in the ten directions flowers are added on brocade." Fuxing said, "When one person opens up reality and returns to the source, all space in the ten directions is simply all space in the ten directions." My late teacher Rujing said, "Although the World-Honored One made the statement, this utterance cannot avoid becoming a static standpoint; my view is, "When one person opens up reality and returns to the source, a mendicant breaks his rice bowl.'"
>
> Dōgen said, "The previous five venerable teachers responded in their own ways, but I have a saying that is not like theirs. When one person opens up reality and returns to the source, all space in the ten directions opens up reality and returns to the source."[10]

According to Dōgen's assessment of the seemingly repetitive yet distinct sayings, the five previous versions were all off base by being overly positive or negative, or by dodging the issue, whereas Dōgen claims to capture the true spirit even though he alters the words of the original utterance. Of course, he would no doubt be the first to recognize, based on the fundamental Zen notion of philosophical uncertainty, that the alternative versions were in many ways no worse (or better) than his own interpretation. His real aim is to challenge the audience with a progression of ideas that inspires their own sense of self-reliance and self-realization by suggesting, in effect, "Others say 'such and such,' but I say 'this or that.' Now, tell me, what do you think?"

The next category of sermons encompasses a range of informal talks, for which the setting is outside the pomp and circumstance of the Dharma Hall and is held in either the Abbot's Quarters, Monks' Hall, or another structure on the compound. These locations offer a more casual and inviting environment, although the lecture itself is demanding of both the audience's heightened attention and their contemplative awareness. This classification includes evening meetings, usually with handpicked groups

of superior or struggling students, small gatherings for selected followers, and general talks on the Dharma given to audiences encompassing all comers. An important subcategory is referred to as the rite of entering-the-room (C. *jushi*, J. *nyūshitsu*), during which private lessons for advanced or beginning trainees are given in the Abbot's Quarters as a rare privilege. Japanese travelers to the mainland during the century of transition reported that it was quite unusual and a real honor for them, as foreign monks, to gain entrée into the master's private abode. Dōgen reports that Rujing accepted him for this role. We cannot be sure how well he and others were able to communicate in that intensive Chinese-language-based situation, but back in Japan all of the informal discourses were invariably delivered in vernacular language, thus making them accessible to larger numbers of followers.

Additional duties of a Zen master include calling the congregation to order to announce a milestone in temple life, such as receiving a donation for a fresh set of scriptures or the refurbishing of a building, and instructing novices, including greenhorn monks or temporary visitors to the monastery. The master also attends to the needs of elderly brethren, who are less active than regular clerics, and gives general talks to temple workmen or to lay congregants seeking solace by attending services. It is clear that many teachers during the era of transplantation spent time composing letters to non-monastic followers in order to help put their everyday affairs into Zen philosophical perspective. This enabled families, for example, to come to terms with the notion of the fundamental instability of human existence when experiencing the tragedy of an illness or the death of a loved one, or, conversely, a celebratory feeling when their child passed an exam or gained a promotion. Sometimes, the master was reported to "rhyme together" with a layman, by writing verses with the same tonal patterns to emphasize their foundational camaraderie.

Masters also serve regularly as officiates for ceremonial occasions, holidays, festivals, memorials, the visits of senior venerable monks from various temples, or any of the many other momentous occurrences taking place at the monastery. These events include conferring precepts on neophytes, confirming the degree of spiritual development of advanced trainees, bestowing certifications of transmission and granting titles for senior disciples, and hosting vegetarian feasts for donors, in addition to performing funerary rites and memorial ceremonies for temple luminaries. Any of these occasions could become the time for a spontaneous oral discourse, some of which are preserved in the recorded sayings of

various patriarchs. Moreover, the abbot oversees the activities of a wide range of administrative and functional officers, including the chief cook, fund-raiser, librarian, prior, rector, and tea master. All those positions are assigned on a rotation basis, so that by the time a monk progresses to the status of abbot he has become intimately familiar with all aspects of monastic responsibilities.

Death and Succession

As with other duties, the *Zen Monastic Rules* goes into great detail about the guidelines for the aftermath of a Living Buddha, especially in preparing for succession to the abbacy as he anticipates and comes to terms with his imminent demise. Since the Five Mountains temples in China and Japan were public institutions, the abbots were considered officials of the realm, so their careers were managed to a large extent by a religious ministry of the central government situated in the capital, with departments instituted at the local level in each circuit. Clerical leaders, especially in China, were traditionally selected from among those erudite monks who had passed rigorous examinations. Confucian rites for marking progress in the world of education greatly influenced the way Zen temples dealt with the succession of their abbot as part of a patriarchal genealogical network of affiliations, with behavioral decorum and etiquette cast in terms of a hierarchical system of filial piety featuring ways of honoring the former and future head of the family. In China, abbots were generally assigned regardless of what school they represented, so the temple did not have a fixed sectarian identity. In Japan, on the other hand, it was paramount that lineal affiliation be a primary factor in determining the new leader of a monastic site.

When a selected abbot is invited from outside the temple, a special emissary is dispatched to his cloister to request permission from its master. After accepting the call, the abbot-to-be travels and enters the new monastery with much fanfare, including a ceremony for the open viewing of his credentials held at the front gate. This is followed by a banquet, including his first formal sermon delivered in the Dharma Hall, where he gives thanks to the emperor or warlord and invokes the spirits of genealogical predecessors. Then the now confirmed abbot holds a small gathering for leading monks in order to receive meritorious offerings from his new flock, and he also preaches to the lay patrons of the temple.

To commemorate the death of the former abbot, the corpse is first placed in a funerary urn. The rank-and-file monks put on mourning clothes as the temple's rector oversees the mortuary rites. The ritual portraiture (C. *dingxiang*, J. *chinzō*) of the deceased is displayed and a wake is held, followed by other memorial services. A small gathering continues to mourn the abbot, chant the scriptures, and make ritual offerings of tea and broth for a customary forty-nine-day period of lamentation while the soul of the deceased is held in limbo pending rebirth. During this time, the corpse is taken to be cremated, an Indian custom introduced through Buddhist practice that eventually became commonplace in East Asia. The remains are interred in a stupa or pagoda, along with other sacred implements including the master's relics. During the Tang dynasty, there were some examples of the mummification of masters, especially the famous sixth patriarch Huineng, but that practice apparently did not last through the Song dynasty or get transferred to Japan.

After the burial, as a way of honoring and memorializing the deceased abbot, the portrait is considered an animated embodiment of the former teacher. As a highly stylized painting sometimes including an inscribed verse, this object functions as the single main symbol of a master's authority and emblem of his ongoing spiritual charisma lasting long after death. Traditionally, the portraits were also often used for commercial purposes, since multiple copies of different versions of the teacher's image were made available for purchase or distribution to lay followers. This important Song-dynasty Chan practice first reached Japan around the middle of the thirteenth century, when portraits of the Chinese teachers of early Zen pilgrims were brought across the waters. These included the painting of Wuzhun drawn on silk by an unknown artist in 1238 and transported by Enni for storage at Tōfukuji temple in Kyoto. Kakushin also received a portrait of his mainland mentor, Wumen that was sent from China, and a few decades later the master's image became one of the earliest Japanese portraits.

In these paintings, the master is almost always shown seated in a high Chinese-style armchair, sometimes decorated with brocade. The chair is not otherwise used in Japan, where sitting on tatami mat floors was the main custom. His position, as shown in Figure 3.3 (page 87), is turned to face three-quarters to the left, and he wears the abbot's full ceremonial garb. This includes a robe and surplice often connected to each other with a large ring that is either round or octagonal and is placed on the left side of the

chest over the heart. The master holds a staff or scepter and may also carry other implements, such as a fly whisk, bamboo cane, or whip. His legs are folded in a lotus position and tucked under the robe, or else they hang down from the seat. Either way, in front of the chair stands a small footstool with the master's wooden shoes resting on it.

In contrast to monochrome impressionistic paintings of patriarchs, which will be discussed in Chapter 8 as a key example of Zen's artistic tones, the genre of ritual portraits does not use expressive modification to emphasize an aesthetic or psychological dimension. In fact, the faces of prelates in this genre are free of emotion and studiedly neutral in outlook, so that their demeanor appears calm, with the eyes seeming to gaze off in the distance. No attempt is made to add a dramatic flourish, since the main function is to create an embodiment of the master's charisma or the way he emits contemplative power. The paintings are not to be considered a mere likeness or resemblance because they serve as a model for disciples during the master's life and become a sacral object or a kind of substitute body after his death that is called "the truth [or reality] hanging on the wall." As Bernard Faure writes, "As religious icon, the portrait was functionally equivalent to the relics, the mummies, or the stupas: it meant the presence of the Buddha in his very absence."[11]

Not all examples of ritual portraits or writings about them were so somber and serious, however. Eccentric monks who prized their individuality, such as Zhongfeng in China and Ikkyū in Japan, deliberately had their paintings drawn to demonstrate monastic authority but also to reveal key aspects of their individualistic authenticity. For example, a portrait of Zhongfeng shows excessive detail of his facial features, including a mole, as well as a robe opened to show his chest. In other instances, he is drawn in unusual ways: with long unkempt hair, sitting outdoors in a landscaped setting, or revealing the stump of his finger that was burned in ascetic practices.[12] In a poem for one of his portraits that was given to Ketsuzan, a Japanese monk who went to study with him in China, Zhongfeng incorporates the disciple's name into the first line, in which he refers to himself as "big and lofty." He then writes, "Hair a mess like a cloud, spine stiff like iron. / Ask this fellow the Buddha Dharma and Way of Chan / Then he'll say there are no words to speak."[13]

Dōgen also emphasizes authenticity over authority when he writes in a self-mocking tone that plays on the term "truth hanging" about a

portrait that was used during his lifetime as an object of veneration by the assembly:

> If you take this portrait of me to be real, then what am I, really?
> But why hang it there, if not to anticipate people getting to know me?
> Looking at this portrait, can you say that what is hanging there is really me?
> In that case, your mind will never be fully united with the wall [as in Bodhidharma's wall-gazing meditation cave].[14]

In another verse also from his later life, the Sōtō Zen patriarch, known for his insistence on following the Zen disciplinary rules at every turn, writes, "When I preach in the Dharma Hall, / I always need to lean on my staff; / When someone asks for water, / I point to the bucket; / When someone asks for rice, / I offer a bowl." He concludes with an irreverent self-deprecating outlook:

> Previously I observed the precepts down to the minutest details,
> Like some kind of trained animal;
> Now, even though I wear Sakyamuni's robe,
> Everyone in heaven and on earth laughs and calls me an old ricebag.[15]

Notes

1. See Albert Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).
2. This concern meant that Zen writings often consist of allegories that refer to political circumstances indirectly, thus making them hard to decipher without trying to reconstruct the original situation.
3. John Gill and Susan Tidwell, eds., *After Many Autumns: A Collection of Chinese Buddhist Literature* (Los Angeles: Buddha's Light Publishing, 2011), 169 (translation modified).
4. Thomas Yuhō Kirchner, trans., *Entangling Vines: A Classic Collection of Zen Koans* (Boston: Wisdom, 2013), 82 (case 77, translation modified).
5. In *Yuanwu's Record Sayings*, in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* vol. 47.801b4–6.
6. In *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* vol. 49:686b21; note there is an AABA rhyme in the original with *gong, song, zhong* in the first, second, and third lines.

7. See Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981).
8. Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China: An Annotated Translation and Study of the Chanyuan Qinggui* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 34.
9. Ibid., 35.
10. *Dōgen's Extensive Record: A Translation of the Eihei Kōroku*, trans. Taigen Dan Leighton and Shohaku Okumura (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2004), 2:179.
11. Bernard Faure, "Chan and Zen Studies: The State of the Field(s)," in *Chan Buddhism in Ritual Context*, ed. Bernard Faure (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 17.
12. Natasha Heller, *Illusory Abiding: The Cultural Construction of the Chan Monk Zhongfeng Mingben* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 374–88.
13. Ibid., 378.
14. Steven Heine, *The Zen Poetry of Dōgen: Verses from the Mountain of Eternal Peace* (Boston: Tuttle, 1997), 131.
15. Ibid., 132.

7

Temples

TRAINING DISCIPLES WHILE MITIGATING TRANSGRESSIONS

TO UNDERSTAND THE significance of Zen temples, we must consider that monks in Buddhism are referred to as "home-leavers," or those who make a departure from their household as they retreat from ordinary society, including their former dwelling and its familial community, out of dedication to the single-minded pursuit of spiritual awakening. The Sanskrit term for monk, *pravrajya*, is translated into Chinese characters that literally mean "going out of the house" (C. *chujia*, J. *shukke*). In Hinduism, enlightenment (*moksha*) was treated as a goal to be attained late in life through a phase of homeless wandering while practicing meditation in a forested wilderness. This took place only after one had already fulfilled the stage of being a householder by successfully raising and providing for a family. Once the Hindu holy man (*sannyasin*) achieved spiritual freedom, there was no turning back. Even if he returned to the residence of his family, he was no longer considered a husband or father.

Buddhism, however, significantly shifted the paradigm for attaining release by encouraging the induction of monks to take place at a much younger age, so that their religious quest became a lifelong journey carried out away from their home, rather than an end-of-existence experience. Although Buddha at first advocated perpetual itinerancy, he soon realized that the quest to remain isolated from the world required having a sanctuary that was unchanging and undefiled. At Buddhist temples, monks were able to engage in training on a regular basis that was conducted as part of the practices of an assembly (Skt. *samgha*, C. *sengga*, J. *sōka*), or congregation of like-minded, hierarchically organized clerics based on seniority.

When it was first introduced to China, the Buddhist approach to religiosity seemed to be at great variance with common practice in Confucianism, which stressed the role of filial piety and devotion to a strong family system that could never be abandoned. It was also somewhat at odds with the outlook of Daoist practitioners, who, although they often resided in remote mountain locations, did not necessarily renounce home life. Except for a few hermits and recluses, whose independent status was generally never fully recognized as truly being part of the tradition, Chinese Buddhist monks invariably belonged to a monastery as a permanent residence and locale for enacting their rigorous exercises.[1] In this sacred setting, which preserved an emphasis on maintaining purity while promoting spirituality, home-leavers performed austerities and obeyed monastic discipline, studied and recited the sutras, and cultivated various learning methods based on the techniques of devotion, meditation, recitation, or ritualization.

One of the major innovations that helped Zen succeed during the remarkable century of maritime transmission from China to Japan was to conceptualize anew the organization and significance of the sacred compound through building temples in a more streamlined yet all-encompassing way than previous Buddhist schools had done. This plan was implemented in terms of both the structure and symbolism of the sites by developing a seven-hall monastery layout (*shichidō garan*) imagined in anthropomorphic fashion to represent the very being of Buddha. Monks navigated the hallowed grounds of a Zen cloister that was shaped like the body of the original patriarch, Sakyamuni, and his multitude of adherents, who were all united with the same level of awareness the founder had realized.

Through this approach, Zen also reconfigured the meaning of each priest's existence in terms of how they were considered a part of a new clerical family that essentially replaced their former, conventional household. This view was reflected in notions of the lineal transmission of the school with its generational leaders or ancestors guiding apprentices, as well as their numerous followers or offspring receiving transmission. Every Zen priest, in a sense, had a father and grandfather and numerous brothers, in addition to children of his own once he ascended to the status of being recognized as a master.

This innovative genealogical narrative housed at seven-hall temples enabled Living Buddhas to flourish throughout various regions of East Asia, both in densely populated cities near the center of secular power and

in remote rural or mountainous areas seemingly far removed from the conflicts and controversies of everyday society. At all of these locations, the stately presence of the Zen temple, with its economical innovations supporting an environment favorable for calm and peaceful mystical reflection during otherwise troubled and turbulent times, ensured continuing interactions between monastics and enthusiastic lay advocates. Scholar-officials on the mainland and samurai in Japan frequently visited temples led by the abbots they admired, or invited their teachers to venture outside the gates so as to take part in collaborative artistic endeavors, give public talks, raise revenue, implement rituals of healing and ablution, or bless and contribute to local development projects. Zen temples, often sited near bustling crossroad locations in cities or ports, also functioned as sites for the transportation of ideas of organizational structure, political theories, and the latest developments in technology and material culture involving, for example, architectural design and printing.

Through absorbing so many influences, Zen temples underwent critical moments when the boundaries of the compound were challenged by intruders and imposters or by transgressors and potential converts needing special techniques of instruction. Grave situations inevitably challenged the sacred borders of the monastery compound, which were literal in terms of actual gates protecting the temple halls and theoretical in terms of barriers conjured through images of Buddhas manifesting transcendence to combat the impurities of ordinary life. At times of crisis, the master was called upon to make what were often split-second judgments. He had to choose which potential followers to help and recruit or to reject and repudiate, in addition to whether to accept donations of new land and possessions or to resist such temptations. Temple leaders used as guidelines for moments of moral decision-making the traditional Buddhist Vinaya as well as the *Zen Monastic Rules*, derived from Baizhang's original essay on temple regulations. They also incorporated indigenous means for the persuasion of converts, such as the concept of ritual propriety adapted from Confucianism, and for the repulsion of transgressors, including methods of exorcism derived from esoteric Buddhist, Daoist, Shinto, and assorted folk religious beliefs.

The temple grounds functioned as the new home, in the broadest sense of the term, for Zen monks, whose entire life was spent training there except for planned occasions of making a pilgrimage or undertaking an itinerant period at home or abroad when they visited various monasteries to find the master best suited to their particular pedagogical needs.

The overall significance of Zen temples in the lives of teachers and disciples can be understood on five main levels, with the first three points referring to the basic construction and complex religious representation of the revered sites. The initial level suggests the material culture content of the actual place, which consists of a group of seven main buildings and additional auxiliary structures. Each edifice, with specific rules attached to its function, serves a distinct practical, ceremonial, or contemplative purpose. Collectively, the temple buildings regulate every aspect of a monk's diligent attempts to make progress toward reaching the spiritual goal of his training.

The second function of the Zen temple involves a conceptual element in that the consecrated setting, usually situated amid or near auspicious natural surroundings such as hills and fresh water, even when placed in an urban area, constitutes a refuge from the anxieties of worldly society. During the Tang dynasty, Chan temples were almost always situated amid lofty peaks in remote locales. When the shift of the primary location of the movement to cities was made during the Song dynasty and the tradition was then transported to Japanese urban spaces, usually an elevated area near a stream, spring, or pond was chosen in Hangzhou, Kyoto, or Kamakura. Zen temples continued to call themselves "mountains," wherever they were actually situated. At these sites, monks were able to execute a carefully arranged set of sacramental activities regulated according to daily, seasonal, annual, and life cycle timetables. A third level of significance, which was especially crucial for Zen's advances in Japan, pertains to the projection of the temple as not just a gathering of buildings occupying space, but a metaphysical realm that is imagined to be in itself the configuration of the very torso, head, and limbs of Sakyamuni and contemporaneous Living Buddhas at one with his mystique.

While temples are in many ways self-contained worlds without much need for contact with outside society, the next two levels of significance, referring to issues of ethical accountability and institutional associations, indicate that the sites are continually engaged with negotiating connections with as well as severances from the wider social milieu. The fourth level of a Zen temple's significance involves ongoing deliberations and determinations made by masters about how to troubleshoot challenging circumstances of disorderly conduct within the temple gates or to engage with commercial and other secular pursuits possibly intruding from the secular realm. The fifth level concerns how variously located Zen temples have participated in networks of affiliated cloisters linked mainly by a

sense of lineal identity, while also reflecting sectarian divisions in addition to regional influences. The Five Mountains system, based in the capital cities of China and Japan, represented the primary but by no means only example of multiple monasteries organized in institutional relationships operating with government supervision and/or support.

Structure and Symbolism

Ideas about the material arrangement and symbolic representations of Chan temples were formed on the continent over the course of several centuries beginning in the Tang dynasty, when major monasteries proliferated in Jiangxi and Hunan provinces, situated below the Yangzi River to the southwest of Hangzhou. This development gave rise to the designation of the Jiang-Hu Chan movement, also referred to as the Southern School, as a way of indicating an early period during which the tradition was making some exciting inroads but was not yet fully molded as a strong, independent religious movement. The term "Jiang-Hu" is also used more generically to indicate a group of wanderers who aimlessly follow a path of contemplation. At that time, the main Chinese Buddhist school was Tiantai, the progenitor of the Japanese Tendai sect, which was based at a mountain range located in Zhejiang province that had branch temples spread throughout the country. The seven main buildings of the typical Tiantai monastery included the pagoda, golden hall, lecture hall, bell tower, sutra repository, monks' dormitories, and refectory. All of these structures were also used at Chan temples, but they generally had either a somewhat different function or an altered degree of importance.

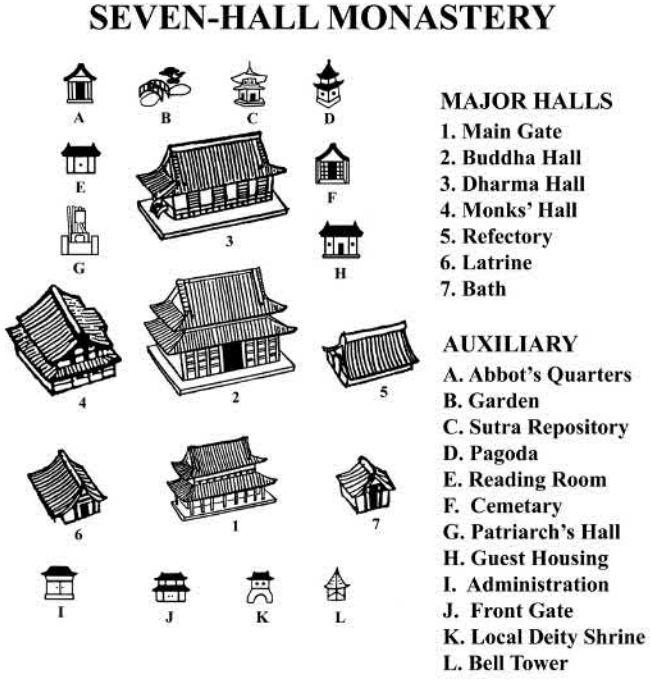
The conventions of Zen temple design became solidified during the Song dynasty with the construction in and around Hangzhou of several main cloisters or, in some cases, the refashioning of what previously had been Tiantai-school monasteries. According to early records transmitted and published in Japan in the 1250s that were based on Chinese Five Mountains temples located at Mount Jing, Mount Tiantong, and Mount Ayuwang, the monastery layout includes on its central north-to-south axis three structures, each with two stories. That height was somewhat unusual in Japan, where buildings were generally just one level, aside from the palace or other majestic sites. Included in that group were a few ancient Buddhist temples located in the city of Nara, which was the capital in the eighth century before Kyoto was established.

As shown in Figure 7.1a, the three central edifices of a Zen temple are (1) the Main Gate (C. *shanmen*, J. *sanmon*), also called the Mountain Gate or Triple Gate, serving as the principal entryway through which all those seeking admission proceed; (2) the Buddha Hall (C. *fodian*, J. *butsuden*), containing icons of Sakyamuni and various deities in an elegant chamber used to host distinguished public officials and other guests; and (3) the Dharma Hall (C. *fatang*, J. *hattō*), an unadorned location used for the abbot's regular delivery of formal sermons before the full assembly of monks. To the north or above the Dharma Hall, there should be a mountain or hill in view for practitioners to contemplate during practice, in addition to a source of fresh water flowing in an area near this building

Also included in the temple plan are, to the eastern side, (5) the Refectory, used for cooking and eating meals, and (7) the Bathhouse, for daily communal washing at assigned times. The western flank holds (4) the Monks' Hall (C. *sengtang*, J. *sōdō*), where trainees keep their meager possessions and sleep at night or meditate at intervals throughout the day, and (6) the Latrine or toilet. A special Buddhist god protects each structure. Activities conducted at all of the major monastery buildings, whether for practicing meditation and attending lectures or for dining and cleaning, must follow strict behavioral guidelines spelled out in detail in the *Zen Monastic Rules*, which calls for severe punishments when directives are violated.

The seven-hall layout encompasses multiple layers of fractal symbolism, since the message of a fundamental unity directly connecting the individual, or microcosm, with the universal, or macrocosm, gets encoded in every aspect of temple architecture. This linkage suggests that a perfectly designed monastery and the impeccably controlled body are one and the same with Buddha, who is embodied in the cloistral structure. To reinforce that standpoint, the temple plan is often illustrated as a human form to depict the ideal operational relationships between the particular elements constituting an organic whole.

As shown in Figure 7.1b, each building is associated with a part of the Buddha's body, so that entering and moving about the temple grounds is considered the equivalent of communing in unimpeded fashion with Sakyamuni, while occupying his domain on a regular basis. There is a direct correspondence between the Main Gate and privates, the Buddha Hall and heart, the Dharma Hall and head, the Monks' Hall and right arm, the Refectory and left arm, the Latrine and right leg, and the Bathhouse and left leg. According to Mujaku, the renowned Tokugawa-era Rinzai monk and scholar of monastic history and organization who was probably the



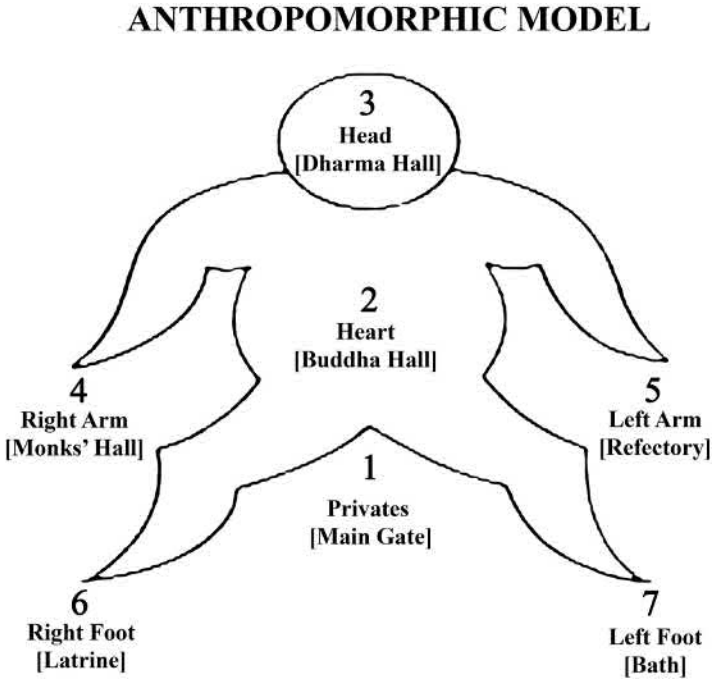


FIGURE. 7.1 a. Seven-Hall Monastery
b. Anthropomorphic Model

first to create this drawing, the anthropomorphic symbolism suggests that Buddha is not an external icon but the total expanse of the mini-universe of the temple grounds that is covalent with the attributes of all of the actual persons entering through the gates. It is unclear, however, whether the Song-dynasty and Kamakura-era monastic planners held this view, or if it was adopted and applied (or, some might argue, imposed) retrospectively.

In any event, a primary factor contributing to the movement's success is that, in contrast to the monasteries of earlier Buddhist schools, Zen temples featured the crucial position of several newly designed buildings, especially the Dharma Hall and Monks' Hall. These edifices had no exact equivalent in previous cloisters, despite some obvious resemblances to the lecture hall and golden hall, respectively, of Tiantai/Tendai school monasteries. An understanding of the special functions of these two major buildings is evoked in a *kōan*-like dialogue, in which a monk asks the master about the essence of Chan teaching. The master responds cryptically, "Mountains and rivers." The monk then inquires, "Who lives among these mountains and rivers?" To which the master replies, "Behind the Buddha Hall! In front of the temple gates!"[2] The answers seem to be typically nonsensical Zen sayings that may come off at first glance as so much prattle, or even as a negation of the importance of temple grounds, but on deeper reflection the master's response reveals the underlying philosophical meaning of the arrangement of buildings.

The replies emphasize that the Dharma Hall represents the realm of true emptiness standing behind the extravagant statuary and other adornments of the Buddha Hall, and is backdropped by an impressive natural setting of smaller hills and bigger mountains with water flowing. It also points out that in front of the Main Gate lies the ordinary world of distractions and delusions that everyone occupies prior to becoming a homeleaver. The master emphasizes that even the most ignorant pre-trainee, who is not yet familiar with Buddhist teachings, possesses the innate knowledge and capacity of the universal Buddha-nature that will eventually mature and flourish through following temple practices. In that paradoxical sense, those standing before the Main Gate prior to training, as well as advanced practitioners attending the Dharma Hall, situated behind the Buddha Hall, are fundamentally the same, even if they are currently undergoing very different stages in the process of realization.

Upon entering the temple compound, the three structures on the north-to-south axis are experienced in a series that is accompanied by an east-to-west pattern of movement for appropriate actions revolving around

the central part of the complex. This sequential lineup creates a progression leading the learner through a stage of separation from the secular world so as to enter into the sacred domain via the Main Gate. This phase enables him to gain a view of potent religious icons in the Buddha Hall that point, ultimately, beyond any counterproductive reliance on symbols to the signless quality of enlightenment fully realized in the Dharma Hall.

The Main Gate functions as a checkpoint in the transition from profane (originally a Latin word meaning "standing in front of a shrine") to sanctified space. The gate also defines the temple itself as a kind of mountain or elevated locale, regardless of its actual position. The phrase "opening a mountain" is often used in the ceremonial inauguration of a new temple once the master has rid the place of the forces of pollution and established a sanctuary for home-leavers. Often there is a small pond and a bridge, which is usually either an arched overpass or a chain of stones in shallow water to highlight ephemerality, across which people pass upon arriving at the temple compound.

The Buddha Hall and Dharma Hall, along with the Abbot's Quarters and its landscape garden, used by the head priest, represent the physically upper and conceptually superior realms of the temple. This is reached by ascending from the lower physique through the torso of the temple-as-body toward the transcendence of spiritual awakening situated at the crown, symbolizing the top of the skull. Monks gather periodically for festivities and lectures in the monastery's heart, or Buddha Hall, and mind, or Dharma Hall. The temple plan follows naturally the way of coming into and walking along a physical path that is representative of the trajectory of Zen discipline. This upward course helps ingrain in practitioners the full implications of how experiences of Buddha-nature can occur at any place and time, yet must be continually polished and refined to realize the final goal of spiritual transcendence.

The Buddha Hall serving as the center of the complex by housing its principal statue, usually of Sakyamuni, represents the *axis mundi* equal to the notion of the cosmic Mount Sumeru that is frequently evoked in Buddhist mythology, an identification that further enhances the levels of anthropomorphic symbolism. While the Dharma Hall is the uppermost facility, the Buddha Hall is valuable for practical purposes, such as fundraising, demonstrations of piety, and visits of secular leaders on special occasions, such as a vegetarian banquet for the celebration of a bodhisattva, the promotion of a high temple official, or an imperial birthday. It was common for lay disciples to enter the gates of the compound to take

part in a ritual held in the Buddha Hall, but then become interested in remaining at the sacred site to listen to the master preach in the Dharma Hall and eventually support or perhaps become a member of the assembly.

In addition to displaying icons, the Buddha Hall uses various natural images showing the path that leads beyond any reliance on external signs to the formless quality of the Dharma Hall. These symbols in or near the hall may include the transparency of water flowing in the compound, the clarity of the shining moon as seen from an adjacent pavilion, the illumination of jewels embedded in some of the statues, or the sense of unity embodied in carefully designed circular forms represented in and around the building. These are subtle signs that, by virtue of their self-deconstructive function, at once highlight and overcome the risks of depending on any sort of iconography.

Moving past the Buddha Hall, monks enter the austere, undecorated Dharma Hall, where the abbot gives sermons before the assembly in addition to other public talks used as occasions for philosophical discourse and pedagogical interactions. The trainee is likely to hear the master caution people not to mistake the moon reflected in water (representing all kinds of signs pointing to reality) for the actual lunar body (indicating the absolute existence of Buddha-nature). In other words, a menu is used to order food and a fishnet is used to trap the prey, so once the utility of the devices is exhausted their function must be set aside. Zen teachers often punctuate their oration evoking a transcendental message by drawing a circle in the air with their staff, throwing down the fly whisk, or calling out a syllable meaning "Bah!" or "Humbug!" to indicate disdain for ignorance before stepping down from the platform and walking away from the crowd.

The Dharma Hall's design reflects a disregard for worldly concerns and embodies the Zen school's main principles of simplicity and directness in cultivating spiritual discipline without interference or mediation by extraneous routines or supernatural elements. The building is a tangible manifestation of the notion of "no merit" that was originally put forth by the first patriarch, Bodhidharma, and expressed in the first case of the *Blue Cliff Record* in response to the emperor's question about the importance of good deeds, including construction projects. It also reflects other notions of transcending reliance on external signs, such as Linji's saying "A true person has no rank," or Dōgen's "Knowing the self is to forget the self through casting off body-mind."

According to Baizhang's original guidelines, the entire assembly meets in the Dharma Hall twice a day for morning and evening convocations,

although this exacting schedule was rarely followed, and the subsequent *Zen Monastic Rules* text indicates that such events are to be held at regular times and for special occasions every month. On these occasions, the abbot enters the hall and ascends to the high seat or regal armchair. The head monks along with rank-and-file disciples line up on either side of the room to listen attentively to the abbot's sermon. This main discourse is followed by an opportunity for a stimulating debate about the essential meaning of Zen teachings that disclose how one should live to be in accord with the Dharma. Buddha-nature is frequently spoken of as formless, or existence as-it-is prior to humanly created distinctions, such as the notion of relying or not depending on forms. For the uninitiated, however, the experience of enlightenment can be gained only through at first being greatly stimulated by signs but eventually casting aside all symbolic forms as a useful but ultimately meaningless distraction.

The Monks' Hall is by far the most important of the other four main buildings, since that is where trainees spend the majority of their time. According to Baizhang, this site is to be organized by rank based on a system of seniority determined by the number of summer retreats spent since the time of the monk's ordination. Platforms for resting are built along the side of the hall and include a stand for each cleric's robes and other purposely few belongings, such as a notebook, brush, and begging bowl. The proper posture is to lie on the right side, which was the position of the Buddha's final repose at the time he entered the state of *parinirvana* just before dying. A cushion is set at the edge of the platform and the practitioner's hands are used to support his head. Periods of rest should last no more than a few hours, even if this comes after a lengthy session of meditation or phase of completing chores. Rest is a time for "reclining meditation," a euphemism for sleeping, which is part of the practice of the four primary observances of walking, standing, sitting, and lying down as methods of meditation.

In the Refectory, the monks eat two simple vegetarian meals daily, at breakfast and midday, following the routine set by Sakyamuni's refusal to allow dining after the noon hour. These repasts, which are referred to as "taking medicine" because no pleasure is gained, are prepared and served with utmost frugality in order to demonstrate that the activity of consuming food does not serve the body alone but becomes yet another opportunity for realization of the Dharma. Throughout the daily round, all members of the monastic community must participate equally, regardless of rank, in carrying out the practice of collective labor, including cleaning the kitchen and dining hall.

The tasks for regulating the community are assigned to specific officers, with each steward taking responsibility for fulfilling the duties assigned to his role, such as growing vegetables and rice, cooking and serving those products to the assembly, or distributing or selling the items to non-monastics when there is a surplus. The supervisory roles are divided into leaders of the eastern wing, who manage economic affairs including preparing food and keeping a registry of financial accounts, and leaders of the western wing, who oversee the lifestyle and training schedules of permanent as well as itinerant residents of the temple.

Additional Buildings and Adaptations

The basic layout reveals a sparse, spartan approach to temple organization that contains the essential structures conducive to communal training reinforced by instructions provided on a regular basis by the abbot. It is misleading, however, to presume that all Zen monasteries have had such a simple, uniform design, since the entire temple enterprise is much more complicated. The seven halls constitute no more than the minimum skeleton of the entire compound. There are variations in design based on the inclusion of numerous supplementary buildings, with each serving an important purpose and many representing a holdover from previous forms of Buddhism. In fact, the very idea that there is a fixed number of temple buildings was probably not specified during Song-dynasty China and, like the anthopomorphic model, may have been invented during Tokugawa-era Japan and retroactively advocated for earlier periods of the school's development that took place in both countries.

Because of the wide assortment of additional edifices, modifications to the arrangement and organization of the monastery layout largely depend on the size and location of the particular temple district. During the period of transplantation, cloisters were usually of grander scale in China than Japan, and could include several dozen structures altogether for various residential, economic, and administrative functions. Japanese temple planners introduced the utility of subtemples that each had its own master, which led to the expanded size of some monastic compounds, such as Daitokuji in Kyoto, rivaling the scope of continental counterparts. In both countries, Zen sanctuaries were sure to accommodate shrines dedicated to indigenous deities that helped shield the compound and also housed pagodas honoring previous masters in addition to various buildings used for governing temple affairs or accommodating guests.

One of the main differences between the two cultures pertains to the role of the Monks' Hall, which in Japan was usually one large edifice housing the entire assembly, which might include hundreds of clerics, whereas in China monks generally practiced meditation in communal fashion but slept in separate chambers.[3] Also, on the mainland, the Monks' Hall and some other buildings were not freestanding structures, as was common in Japan. Usually they were connected by an intricate series of doorways and walkways linking the halls. This enabled the abbot to venture freely to different sites on the compound so as to engage in conversation with practitioners, as depicted in Dōgen's account of the activities of Rujing, rather than remaining out of view or being seen only when holding forth from a distant seat in the Dharma Hall.

Another innovation of temple design in Japan involved the increasing importance of the Abbot's Quarters, an edifice that was not enumerated as one of the seven main buildings since this list includes a Buddha Hall, despite the protest against the need for that structure in the early guidelines. According to Baizhang, the abbot, as the embodiment of spiritual transformation, resides in a "ten-foot-square" room, an image based on the *Vimalakirti Sutra*, in which a wise lay practitioner outsmarts bodhisattvas who visit his humble abode. This space is not merely a private bedroom but a facility where the master lives, meditates, studies, and teaches in his own fashion, and it is often much larger than the ideal model explicated in the sutra.

Along with a garden designed for contemplative viewing situated behind it, the Abbot's Quarters usually is set above or to the north and a little to the left or western side of the Dharma Hall; hence, it is somewhat off center from the central axis. Depending on the teacher's instructional approach (that is, whether there is more emphasis on formal or on informal teaching), sometimes the role of this building eclipses that of the Dharma Hall in overall significance for delivering sermons. Monks may request or be invited for personal interviews or instruction, entering into this chamber in ritual fashion. Otherwise, according to Baizhang, each disciple is primarily responsible for regulating his own diligence, or indolence, in making an effort at meditation, whether he is of senior or junior status. Although this rule seems to indicate that the practice of meditation is not as important, or at least is less well organized and regularized, than individual teachings provided by the abbot for motivated disciples, almost all Zen temples have long enforced a strict schedule for the practice of *zazen*.

Dōgen often emphasizes that when he was studying at Mount Tiantong, the primary reason for admiring and later emulating his Chinese mentor was that Rujing often spontaneously initiated what is known as the entering-the-room ceremony, sometimes by waking up the assembly in the middle of the night to call a session. Selected trainees, clerical or lay as well as advanced or novice, were invited into the Abbot's Quarters for rigorous one-on-one or small-group instruction about the finer points of conducting meditation while contemplating *kōan* cases. Whenever teacher and disciple get involved in an intimate pedagogical relationship in the master's abode that is referred to as a "Dharma battle," both contestants engage in the process of "sharpening the sword," which highlights the value of competition. This can also be referred to as "breaking the spearhead," which in a complementary way symbolizes the significance of reciprocity and cooperation between enlightened minds helping to polish and perfect each other through their exchange.

Both Dōgen's memoirs regarding Rujing's conduct and the *Zen Monastic Rules* suggest that such interactions were by no means limited to the Abbot's Quarters. In principle, they could take place anywhere on the monastery grounds outside the restricted activities of the Dharma Hall, with the Monks' Hall serving as the most likely location, when the master visits periodically to engage in intensive instructional interactions with certain disciples. The exact requirements and methods for the implementation of these discursive occasions probably vary greatly with the particular temple and its main teacher.

Despite the important role of the Abbot's Quarters and Monks Hall for teaching, the instructions delivered in those settings usually have been left unrecorded. Only a small portion of informal sermons were transcribed and made part of the Zen canon, which generally features formal Dharma Hall sermons as the primary literary production of masters, contained in collections of their recorded sayings. Even in those records, however, much of what transpired during the lectures, including open periods of question-and-answer exchanges between master and disciples, was left out of the document. Therefore, readers today can gain only a partial understanding of the entirety of occurrences in the temple halls.

Beginning in the thirteenth century, the transfer of teachings and texts as well as rites and techniques of discipline crossed the sea to Japan, which faithfully adopted yet creatively adapted assorted approaches for constructing temples that were both suited to training disciples and appropriate to the new cultural setting. As Zen was first being transported, its

monasteries and many of the customs associated with them, ranging from the design of the edifices to the use of clerical robes, ritual implements, and everyday discourse, caused cultural and linguistic shock waves that were difficult for the native population to absorb. "Not only were monastery buildings different in style, disposition, and furnishing from anything existing in Japan," Collcutt points out, "the robes of Zen monks, their manner of walking and bowing, their etiquette before and after eating, bathing, and even defecating were also distinctive."[4] Moreover, in striking contrast to what residents of Kyoto were used to hearing, there emanated the perplexing sounds of bells rung and clappers sounded plus cymbals and musical accompaniments used for sutra chanting.

The novelty of Zen routines that were first established during the early stages of the century of transition further involved learning the Chinese terminology required to implement the procedures as well as to acclaim and reinforce their value through composing and reciting poetry based on Song-dynasty locutions and intonations.[5] Japanese ceremonies reproduced the language of mainland monasteries, which included technical terminology and vernacular expressions previously unknown on the islands. To ensure that this language would be used correctly regardless of the circumstances, Zen manuals provided the descriptions of rituals supplemented with alternative scripts for use on different occasions.[6] The new vocabulary, pronounced with various accents by monks speaking (or trying to speak) proper Chinese vocalized with a literary flair, undoubtedly would have proved indecipherable for local citizens.

Once the sense of amazement at these foreign customs turned from a cause of alienation into an attraction, the appeal was not simply based on the idea that the new movement constituted exotic teaching techniques. It quickly became clear that Zen temple life represented a highly systematic and carefully planned set of methods for training that was deemed well suited to the era of samurai leadership. The major early pilgrims all introduced one or more very serious and sober yet seductive and alluring elements of the ritual and ideology of discipline, meditation, or arts that helped establish Zen as an authentic continental tradition worthy of widespread and enthusiastic acceptance in Japan. This enabled the imported Song-dynasty material culture and means of learning that reflected the movement's view of lineage to become a living reality inside Zen temples, where priests practiced freely the latest styles of Chinese contemplative rituals, despite any lingering misunderstandings on the part of onlookers.

Eisai's standpoint spread rapidly from a small handful of his temples based at several sites in Kyoto, Kamakura, and Hakata largely because of the way he presented Zen as being linked to an advocacy for adhering to the full set of Buddhist precepts, combining the Hinayana list of 250 specific ethical dictums with the Mahayana set of 48 more general behavioral codes. This amalgamated approach to discipline, which was commonly followed on the mainland, had not been observed for the four centuries of the hegemony of the Japanese Tendai sect, which preferred only the Mahayana precepts and thus was often accused of moral laxity. Dōgen streamlined the list to sixteen precepts, which proved sufficient to reinforce his reputation for being a strict, almost puritanical disciplinarian.

Furthermore, the founder of the Sōtō sect asserted that he was the first teacher in Japan to establish a wide variety of Chinese Chan monastic rituals and offices. These encompassed guidelines for conducting *zazen* meditation and delivering formal lectures in the Dharma Hall, including end-of-year and other regularly scheduled homilies, in addition to evening and other types of informal sermons. Dōgen also is given credit for spelling out rules for various activities carried out in the Monks' Hall and for explaining the overwhelming significance of the role of the chief cook (C. *dianzuo*, J. *tenzo*), along with the proper methods for taking meals in addition to cleaning one's face, brushing teeth, and washing the body. Moreover, Dōgen instigated yearly ceremonies for observing the anniversaries of Buddha's birth (celebrated today in Japan on April 8) and his experience of awakening (December 8), while also initiating the summer retreat and additional seasonal rites, such as a ceremony for lighting the winter hearth.

Training Activities

As Zen's approach to monastic life continued to evolve in Japan, its temples sought to create a fine balance between a tightly controlled regularity, required for enacting communal rituals, and a more carefree sense of spontaneous irregularity, useful for inspiring expressions of individual insight, which in some ways contradicted and in other ways reinforced the spirit of collective unity. All group practices fit into a carefully developed schedule of daily, seasonal, and annual observances, which helped arouse unprompted expressions of contemplative awareness in poetry and painting. A sample agenda for an everyday regimen (*mainichi shogyōji*) covers

the following activities taking place twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, during the course of set intervals throughout the daily round:

Time of Day	Monastic Activity
3–5 a.m.	Meditation
5–6 a.m.	Worship
6–7 a.m.	Breakfast
7–9 a.m.	Study
9–11 a.m.	Meditation
11 a.m.–12 p.m.	Lunch
1–3 p.m.	Bathing
3–5 p.m.	Meditation
5–6 p.m.	Rest
6–8 p.m.	Worship
8–11 p.m.	Meditation
11 p.m.–1 a.m.	Sleeping (reclining meditation)
1–3 a.m.	Sleeping (reclining meditation)

According to this itinerary, meditation is carried out eight to ten hours per day, although the exact amount varies with the approach of the particular Zen lineage and time of year. Periods for worship usually include the chanting of major Mahayana Buddhist scriptures (C. *guanjing*, J. *kankin*), such as the *Lotus Sutra* and the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra*, before the morning gruel and near the end of the day. During recitations, often done on behalf of a benefactor, monks circumambulate (walk ceremoniously in a circle around) a revered spot, such as a statue or meditation platform. This service can be performed in honor of the temple's founder and previous abbots as well as other lineal patriarchs, whose mortuary tablets are enshrined in a memorial hall, in addition to secular figures such as ancestors of the emperor or shogun, or a donor's family. It is believed that through the power of prayerful activities, such as reading, reciting, or rotating sutra scrolls held in a repository, meritorious spiritual ties between ordinary people and the Buddha are strengthened, with the temple leaders serving as ritual intermediaries.

The following list shows a typical schedule of yearly temple rituals. In modern Japan, days of the month are regularized according to the Western

calendar yet still reflect the influence of traditional continental dating, as with the inclusion of Chinese New Year, along with the ongoing impact of long-standing Buddhist anniversary observances:

Date	Annual Practice
January 1	New Year Bell Ringing
January 27–28	Sacred Food Offering Festival
February 3	Chinese New Year
April 8	Buddha's birthday
April 15	Opening Summer Retreat (*ango*)
July 1–12	Visitor's Feast
October 10	Ordination Ceremony
November 27	Sacred Fire Festival
December 1–8	Intensive daylong meditation (*sesshin*)
December 8	Buddha's enlightenment (*rohatsu*)
December 27	Preparing for New Year

This schedule features the summer retreat, a tradition started by Sakyamuni of setting aside a three-month period during the rainy season, beginning on the full moon of the fourth lunar month, when monks withdraw from any worldly engagement for the sake of intensive studies and meditative practice. Also included is a weeklong phase of concentrated meditation lasting up to twenty hours daily in the days leading up to the anniversary of the Buddha's experience of awakening. In addition to the events listed, services (often featuring either formal or impromptu talks by the abbot) are held for other seasonal transitions, commemorations of patriarchs, and various festivals, plus fortnightly confessional rites held in the Dharma Hall, during which monks reveal transgressions to their peers as a way to repent for any acts of misconduct committed since the last ritual. Some of the annual activities on this list are also carried out at the monasteries of other sects, but at a Zen temple they are performed in a distinctive way so as to emphasize the underlying unity of communal regularity and individual irregularity.

Adhering to stringent regulations each day throughout the year makes it possible, in typical Zen paradoxical fashion, for an unmediated flash of transformative intuition to occur during any activity at any location on the compound. Ordinary sounds and sights cannot to be trusted to disclose truth, since these sensations easily confound and delude the unwary. At

the same time, for those who are continuously engaged in authentic contemplation, the falling of a leaf, hue of a petal, fragrance of incense, rushing of a stream, chirp of a bird, or ping of a pebble striking a tree can all trigger instantaneous understanding.

Various accounts included in traditional Zen literature suggest that enlightenment is sometimes attained spontaneously through reflection on water while bathing, or while eating, sleeping, or eliminating, because all actions conducted on the grounds of the temple compound—and, in special instances, outside the monastery—are part of the universal Buddha-nature. According to legend, the fifteenth-century Japanese master Ikkyū attained awakening when he heard the meow of a cat, and for Tokugawa-era leader Hakuin, this occasion was instigated by the ringing of a bell stimulating a breakthrough to a new level of awareness.

Zen practitioners are often inspired by sayings preserved in *kōan* collections, such as "Every day is a good day" and "When hungry I eat, when tired I sleep," which highlight the way each moment provides an opportunity to realize enlightenment. The verse commentary to case 19 in *Wumen's Barrier* on the topic, "Ordinary Mind Is the Way," reads much like Dōgen's *waka* on the four seasons cited in Chapter 3: "In spring hundreds of flowers, in autumn the moon; / In summer the breezes, in winter the snow. / If vain thoughts do not clutter your mind, / Then each day of every season is auspicious."

In these ways, Zen maintains harmony between the extraordinary and the mundane by making sure that all practitioners are well aware of the potential importance of everyday deeds. Some masters proclaim, for example, that it is the chief cook rather than a scholastic monk who plays the most important role in temple life. Dōgen reports that while first traveling in China, he learned more from a couple of humble, unassuming chefs, who best embodied diligence and dedication in pursuit of enlightenment by attending to their seemingly menial chores good-naturedly, despite suffering delays and obstacles, than he did from some of the pretentious abbots he encountered before he finally met Rujing.

Beyond an emphasis on particular rituals, as shown in Figure 7.2, Dōgen emphasizes that the seemingly ordinary task of preparing food is coterminous with the experience of enlightenment attained through sitting meditation. It is said that during the era of transplantation, the wok at Mount Tiantong, which still stands on the temple grounds today (though sometimes with a modern device like a motorcycle adjacent to it), was used to prepare food for up to a thousand monks. If the chef is truly awakened and understands how his seemingly humble contributions epitomize the

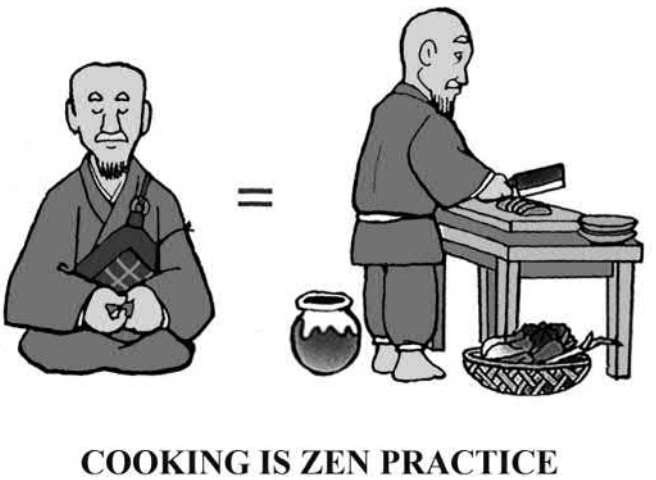


FIGURE. 7.2 Cooking Is Zen Practice

profundity of human conduct, then not a single grain of rice is wasted, but not one monk goes away from the dining hall feeling hungry.

Zen teachers further emphasize that enlightenment should not be conceptualized as a final goal that occurs as the completion of training, since the experience must be continuously renewed through ongoing practice. This enduring process of rejuvenation is referred to by Dōgen as the oneness of practice and realization (*shushō ittō*), and by Daitō as the post-realization cultivation (*shōtai chōyō*) of awakening taking place at each and every moment. For the great masters, this was often achieved by withdrawing at times from their regular duties and responsibilities as leaders, so as to practice solitary meditation amid the beauty of nature. Musō frequently sat before the temple pond late in the evening and once wrote of his moment of insight, "In the dead of night, the moonlight strikes the middle of the pond." Similarly, in a verse included in a group of poems on "Dwelling in the Mountains," Dōgen writes:

> Transmitting to the east the way the ancestors brought
> from the west,
> My daily activities are illuminated by the moon and
> shadowed by clouds,
> Because I revere the ancient way of the patriarchs,
> The secular dust of worldly customs does not reach
> Where I remain secluded in my grass-thatched hut,
> On a snowy evening, deep in the mountain recesses.[7]

When abbots return to the temple hall from their exercise in the contemplative composition of poetry conducted outside the monastery gates in order to provide instruction for trainees, their main teaching tool is usually a stick or staff that is used to gesture dramatically or sometimes threaten to strike foolhardy monks failing to show signs of progress. The range of Zen staffs includes batons, canes, ceremonial fly whisks, rods, walking sticks, and whips, which vary in length from three feet to over seven feet (taller than a person). These teaching devices can be made from wood that is left uncarved to reveal a natural state, crafted in more elaborate fashion with a polished or lacquered finish, or fashioned from precious metal sometimes encrusted with jewels to convey a regal atmosphere.

It seems likely from the size and weight of one of the training implements frequently used by Zen teachers that a bamboo cane about a yard long, known in Japan as the *shippei*, originally functioned for thrashings given to an animal or person who, when struck with it, would be startled or stung but never seriously injured. By the time of the Song dynasty in China, the bamboo staff had become a key part of the formal regalia of a Chan abbot, who wielded it as a symbol of authority when taking the high seat in a Dharma Hall to teach an assembly of monks or engage in debate with lay followers. As depicted in countless biographies and recorded-sayings collections of both countries, Zen masters occasionally threatened or actually used their bamboo staffs to flog disciples in a way that was understood to be instructive rather than punitive. This was considered an aid in disabusing disciples of stubbornly held views by helping them maintain concentration during meditation or startling them into an awakening experience.

Shifting Boundaries

Zen temples during the era of transplantation served as complex social institutions, where interactions with literati or warriors and other secular figures regularly took place in the public space at the heart of the site in the Buddha Hall. Monasteries also functioned as multifaceted vehicles for cultural exchanges that introduced to Japanese society new material objects, ways of human conduct and speaking, and various kinds of literary and artistic traditions. However aloof from the everyday world spiritual life behind the gates might have seemed, Zen monasteries never existed in a vacuum devoid of all kinds of secular influences.

Instead, temples were highly flexible and adaptable organizations ever ready and willing to negotiate symbolic boundaries, in terms of either redrawing or holding fast to conceptual lines related to matters regarding the purity and regularity of practice, as well as structural boundaries, by adjusting to the local environment, whether urban or rural, or close to or distant from centers of sociopolitical power and prestige. The Zen monastic institution has always been engaged in forms of contest that sometimes stretched or collapsed its borders by competing with rivals or other obstructive forces such as demonic spirits, dealing with transgressors from within, forming collaborative associations with related institutions, responding to the requests of sponsors, or adjusting to shifts in location whether natural or social.

As one scholar says of the historical situation in which Zen temples, conceived as sanctuaries offering reprieve from the ordinary world, were invariably involved in some type of commercial enterprise in order to create a stable economic atmosphere that supported but did not dilute the religious quests of their membership:

> As a social phenomenon, the monastery could not escape the social world, a world of representation, symbolically meaningful and material, political and economic, and constructed and actualized. We can thus highlight monastic economic behavior without detracting from the fact that devotion to the Buddha and promotion of the Dharma were still the first orders of business in the *samgha*. Furthermore, seemingly unrelated activities, promoting the Dharma and accumulating wealth, were at the many levels of social practice thoroughly integrated . . . at a local level of exchange.[8]

In response to various pushes and pulls on its ideology and resources, the Zen monastic organization developed an outlook based on refusing to hold to fixed distinctions between ideal teachings and this-worldly pragmatism, as epitomized by the saying "A false hermit is one who escapes to the mountains, whereas a true hermit finds his way in the contours of the city." The message of non-duality in regard to ultimate reality and ordinary existence is reinforced by one of the two main versions of a twelfth-century series of drawings with poetic commentary known as the *Ten Oxherding Pictures* (C. *Shiniutu*, J. *Jūgyūzu*), in which a young lad chases after and eventually tames a wild ox, representing the elusive and evasive world of desire and attachment.

After the boy peacefully subdues the beast, which responds to the boy's wishes so that both the human and animal reach a state of harmony with the ox no longer needing to be leashed, the chaser's mind reverts for a stage to a notion of primordial uninhabited space. The final image in the sequence shows the hero entering the marketplace, where a Living Buddha in the form of a beggar greets him. The accompanying poem reads ironically, "Barefoot and uncovered, / I mingle with the people of the world. / Though my clothes are ragged and dusty, / I remain blissful. / There is no need for magic to extend my existence; / Right before my eyes, withered trees come back to life." However, a well-known alternative version of the series of pictures, equally valid in its own way, culminates instead with the drawing of an empty circle that appears as the eighth image in the first rendition.

An important example of extending symbolic boundaries during the Song dynasty and Kamakura era involved the role played by many nonclerical scholars and writers, who contributed to the publication of Zen texts that were composed by prominent masters and recorded and edited by their main monastic disciples. Lay intellectuals, who were frequently inspired by the teachings of abbots after visiting their temples and attending lectures, often composed introductory remarks, annotations, or dedications. They also assisted with the printing and distribution of the texts. An interesting example concerns *Wumen's Barrier*, which originally contained forty-eight *kōan* cases with commentary. After Wumen and others wrote supplementary materials, the author retired to a small hermitage near West Lake in Hangzhou and befriended the literatus Anwan, who added a forty-ninth test case with prose and poetic remarks that eventually became part of one of the main editions used today.

A folk religious method for spreading the temple's range of activities was based on the apparent ability of Zen masters to dispense with baleful spirits or convert ghosts to the Dharma. During the period of transition, the worldview commonly held in China and Japan maintained that nonhuman beings, including denizens of the spirit world such as gods and goblins as well as souls of the deceased, were real forces that were usually immune to any form of persuasion by ordinary people. Commoners believed that meditative training gave monks a special power to subdue evil spirits and transform them into protectors of Buddhism. It was mentioned earlier that one of Enni's prominent followers, Mukan, used meditation in 1291 to dispel ghosts haunting Nanzenji temple in Kyoto and preventing its opening. A few decades earlier on the mainland, Wumen

was said to have a capacity, recognized by the emperor, to make water gush from a stone or create a rainstorm in the midst of a season of drought.

In Japan, the evangelical fourteenth-century monk Gennō, one of Sōtō master Gasan's many disciples who helped spread the sect widely into rural areas, seems to have had the most encounters with Shinto *kami* and other local spirits. In a particularly popular story, Gennō is supposed to have exorcized an evil spirit from the so-called Killing Stone (*sesshō seki*), located at Mount Nasu, nowadays a couple of hours by train north of Tokyo, by striking the rock with his staff as he recited a Zen verse that included a line based on one of Dōgen's famous sayings, "Realizing the *kōan* right here and now [*genjōkōan*] is the great challenge." Gennō's encounter with the spirit of a demonic shape-shifting fox that occupied the stone (visited several centuries later by haiku poet Bashō, who saw that it was actually a volcanic rock emitting poisonous gas) has long been memorialized in Japanese literature and arts, especially Noh theater. It represents a type of supernatural contest that occurred regularly as part of medieval Japanese Zen evangelism.

Over time, some Zen temples located both inside and outside major cities learned to camouflage their appearance at times by incorporating some of the symbolism of native folklore so as to attract additional lay followers who were less interested in the rigors of meditation. The cloisters amalgamated such elements as *torii* gates (generally painted gray, rather than the Shinto vermilion color), thus adding another new structure to the seven-hall design, in addition to the ritual washing of hands (*temizu*) in sacred water at the entranceway, the burning of incense, and the selling of fortunes in the form of inscribed plates (*ema*), paper prayer slips (*omikuji*), hanging votive banners, or other kinds of amulets. In some instances, Zen temples known for being dedicated to prayer (*kitō*) became the most popular and thriving centers in the Sōtō and Rinzai Zen networks. At these sites, *zazen* was not necessarily excluded, but the practice might well take a backseat to the assimilation of devotional or esoteric Buddhist elements.

While the tendency to extend significantly the temple's conceptual borders by incorporating local deities and mitigating demons was common at prayer temples, a complementary approach at monasteries dedicated to training monks was to retract the consecrated limits through prescribed punishments of troublemakers who violated the precepts. Antinomianism, or the breaking down of the dichotomy of good versus evil, can occur in a mystical tradition when practitioners are lax in practice or teachers abuse their privilege. This represents a misapplication of the

notion of irregularity and irreverence that was always a threat at temples and could cast upon Zen a deficient reputation. According to Baizhang's rules, anyone who makes a false claim of membership, or is insincere or deceitful in his training and misuses his office, is to be punished by the monastery supervisor, who removes the impostor's possessions from the Monks' Hall and expels or excommunicates him from the compound. An offending monk is flogged with the abbot's staff. After finding that his robes, bowl, and other belongings have been burned in front of the entire assembly, he is unceremoniously dispatched through the side gate of the temple.

This is exactly what happened to Gemmyō, one of Dōgen's disciples, who disobeyed the teacher's orders by accepting a gift of land from the shogun that he was explicitly told to reject; in fact, Dōgen had the miscreant's meditation seat destroyed and the ground under it dug up, so that no one could occupy the same space ever again. That severe degree of discipline has several merits according to Baizhang's rules: (1) it serves as a warning to other monks of the humiliation and disgrace that will ensue should a similar offense be committed; (2) it ensures that the commitment of the temple's rank-and-file monks is not compromised by an affronting incident but continues to grow; and (3) the dismissal avoids the need to seek out public litigation and leaves unsullied the standing of the purity of Zen practice among the general community. Therefore, detailed regulations function as a strong deterrent against wickedness by not allowing a situation whereby offenses occur without recourse to appropriate chastisements.

Regional Reaches

During the century of transplantation, Zen temples achieved remarkable success in a wide variety of locations in both countries, often by being positioned in places where there were already indigenous pre-Buddhist sacred sites based on Daoist or Shinto traditions, taking over cloisters that belonged to a vanishing school of Buddhism, or converting a former Confucian academy. A Zen master who gained independence from his teacher and was intent on opening a mountain in the sense of founding his own temple usually sought out auspicious settings near hills, supplies of fresh water, and other natural resources, even in an urban setting, in addition to proximity to secular sponsors who appreciated and benefited from the teacher's lectures and artwork.

The process of expansion is evoked in the intriguing narrative of case 40 of *Wumen's Barrier* in which Guishan, a prodigious student of Baizhang's, is chosen by the master to start a new monastery at a superior mountain setting that was selected by a local expert in the placement of holy places. Guishan's status is confirmed once he wins a contest against a higher-ranked cleric. The competing monks are asked to name a water pitcher placed on the ground, without using or not using those exact words. After the senior priest utters an absurd phrase, Guishan responds to the teacher's demand by silently walking up and kicking over the container. He is deemed suited to become the new abbot and, after doing so, goes on to establish an important lineage of his own, known as the Guiyang line, that thrived in mountain temples.

Understanding the growth of a particular monastery must be seen in terms of the fact that all Zen temples functioned as part of institutional networks based on lineal affiliations and territorial associations, including cross-regional connections encompassing the role of maritime exchanges. A typical query posed to an itinerant monk by a potential instructor that appears in numerous *kōan* dialogues is "Where are you from?" which is sometimes phrased as "Where did you last hang your walking staff?" At the instant the prospective student replies, the teacher can determine, based on where he previously underwent training, the trainee's spiritual background, level of commitment, and capacity for learning.

Masters, who expected that the practitioner would know to use this conversation as an occasion to reveal the depths of his inner self, generally shunned literal answers. At times, however, a regional bias was evident, as in the famous story in which sixth patriarch, Huineng, who was an illiterate traveler from Lingnan, located in a swampy, malarial region in China's far south, was told that a barbarian such as he could have "no Buddha-nature." The future leader demonstrated his prowess by reinterpreting the term "no" (C. *wu*, J. *mu*) to suggest the transcendence of emptiness rather than mere negation, thereby instantaneously affirming his standing as a distinct Living Buddha partaking in the universality of fundamental truth.

The chief locations for Chan and Zen temples during the period of transition were situated, as shown in Figures 7.3a, b, c, and d, in several main areas of China and Japan that can be categorized in terms of three types of places. The categories of locations include (1) harbors, which were the basis of seafaring travels generating remarkable cultural and commercial exchanges following several centuries during which foreign interactions had greatly declined; (2) capital cities, where the newly developing religious movement gained the approval and sponsorship of the social elite, which was especially evident in exceptional aesthetic productions; and (3) rural

FIGURE. 7.3 a. Zen Temples in Song China.
b. Rinzai Zen Temples in Kyoto.
c. Rinzai Zen Temples in Kamakura.
d. Sōtō Zen Temples in Hokuriku.

sites in far-flung provinces, especially Hokuriku in Japan, where the spread of cloisters promoted opportunities for meditative monks to experience solitude and reclusion amid nature or to promote worldly benefits for lay followers seeking a better life by relying on the spiritual power of Zen masters.

The first classification covers the activity of temple building and maintenance at the ports of Ningbo as well as Hakata and other sites in Kyushu.

These two sites were the places where almost all travelers landed before passing through security checkpoints in order to enter the respective countries. Zen pilgrims shuttling between China and Japan usually brought back and forth arts and artifacts, in addition to the doctrinal ideologies and ritual practices that sustained the religious meaning of those material objects. In the vicinity of Ningbo, temples at Mount Tiantong and Mount Ayuwang were nearly a thousand years old by the time they were converted to the Chan school during the Song dynasty and, as part of the Five Mountains system, hosted many prominent Japanese visitors, who did not need to venture too far inland to gain access to the most important sanctuaries. The temples were pan-sectarian in that leaders of the same site could represent either of the Linji or Caodong branches or subdivisions because lineage was less linked to institutional structure than in Japan and the various houses of Chan were not in direct competition for patronage.

The main temples in Kyushu, which were newly built by Eisai and Enni of the Rinzai sect and Giin of the Sōtō sect, helped establish denominational trends that took hold in Japan. Those sites, now recognized as some of the oldest Zen cloisters in the country, were soon eclipsed in importance by monasteries located elsewhere. By comparison with Kamakura and Kyoto, the distinctive feature of Zen temples in Hakata lay in the region's international setting. During the formative period, Chinese merchants based in the area were significant patrons of Zen monasteries that were deeply involved in continental trade and exchange. Japanese Zen teachers loyal to their continental teachers often provided valuable resources for sustaining Chinese temples undergoing challenges.

The second classification covers Zen temples located in the three capital cities of the era, where the literary and fine arts were produced that were then bought and sold by wayfarers visiting marketplaces in the main ports. The Song-dynasty capital, Hangzhou, shown in Figure 7.3a, housed Jingci temple, sited on the banks of West Lake, and Lingyin temple, located in the hills nearby. We note that this city was no longer the capital during the Yuan dynasty, when much of the maritime interactions were taking place, but it remained a prominent urban center in the late 1290s, as attested by Marco Polo's account of the metropolis before he departed the shores of China. Also, Mount Jing was positioned in the Tianmu mountain range, not far from the western edges of the city, thus rounding out the cloisters included in the Chinese Five Mountains. Several other important Chan monasteries were located in the hilly territories of Zhejiang province between Hangzhou and Ningbo, including Mount Damei and Mount

Xuedou, in addition to temples on Mount Tiantai, some of which were for a time converted to the Chan school.

In the Japanese capital cities of Kyoto in Figure 7.3b, surrounded on three sides by peaks and with flowing rivers, and Kamakura in Figure 7.3c, with Mount Fuji to the northwest and the ocean to the southeast, Zen temples were mainly built on the hilly outskirts of the city. They were situated in elevated sites where the impact of nature was more vibrant and conducive to introspective awareness, whereas Pure Land temples were located in more centralized urban zones in order to serve the needs of common folk through an emphasis on worship. In some Kyoto temples such as Tōfukuji, Nanzenji, Tenryūji, and in a later era Kinkakuji, Zen sites were built with imperial support or represented facilities transformed from former emperor's residences. By the time the Ashikaga clan came to power, even though the cultural center of the country was once again found in Kyoto, both major cities had their own Five Mountains network, consisting of the most prestigious monasteries that were exclusively of the Rinzai sect and received the shogunate's support.

The third category of Zen temples covers provincial areas known for enabling solitary meditation amid spectacular scenery near springs of water used to serve tea or close to waterfalls that became sites for contemplative gazing. Some of these remote locations gave rise to tall tales of masters involved in taming tigers, overcoming demonic spiritual forces intruding on temple gardens or discovered behind the main buildings, exorcising magical foxes, and generally using their charisma to attract to Zen training otherwise mischievous or recalcitrant human followers.

The Jiang-Hu region of China, encompassing Jiangxi and Hunan provinces, was home to many famous Tang-dynasty Chan monasteries, some of which remained important during the Song dynasty. An interesting example is Mount Jiashan, situated in the northwest corner of Hunan province, which was said to have formed the basis for the tea ceremony and also inspired the authorship of the *Blue Cliff Record*. Both spiritual developments took place at the Blue Cliff Spring, located right next to the monastic compound, which today is one of numerous traditional Buddhist sites that have been revived in post–Cultural Revolution China.

The Chan school started outside of the cities as a rogue movement that opened new cloisters in remote areas of southern districts while the Tang-dynasty capital was located in northerly Chang'an. When the tradition migrated to Hangzhou and then crossed the sea to relocate in Japan, the geocultural trends were reversed, since nearly all the major temples

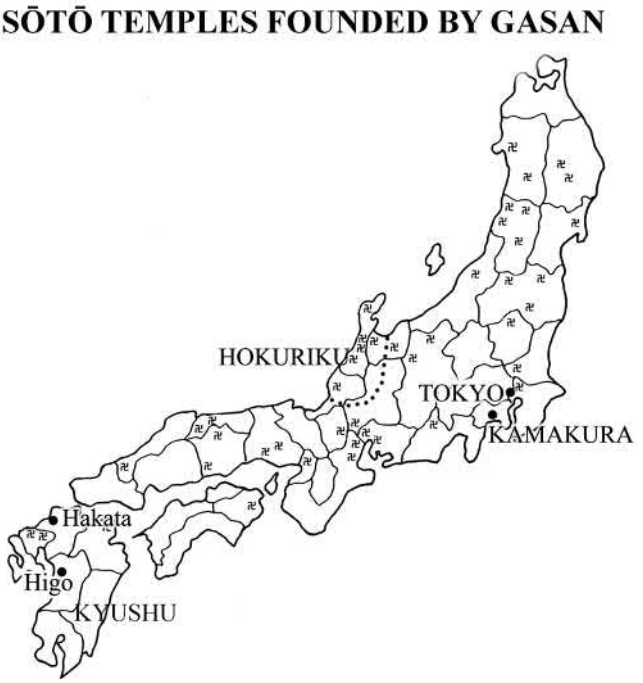


FIGURE. 7.4 Sōtō Temples Founded by Gasan

were placed in urban centers. Nevertheless, after being stifled in Kyoto, the spread of the Sōtō sect by Dōgen and early followers produced several key temples in the deep mountains of the Hokuriku region, as shown in Figure 7.3d.

In the next stage, as shown in Figure 7.4, Keizan's first generation of Sōtō-sect disciples, especially Gasan and his followers, converted countless abandoned or underused local chapels in nearly all other regions of the country outside the Rinzai strongholds in Kyoto and Kamakura. According to William Bodiford, several key factors enabled Sōtō sanctuaries to plant firm roots in rural Japan.[9] These elements included the offering of ritual prayers for worldly benefits by identifying meditation with mystical power that was evoked in mass ordination ceremonies and funeral services, in addition to affirming agricultural labor and participation in local religious festivals as an expression of Zen. During these ceremonies, ritual performers generated merit while sponsors received the blessings that were directed toward specific individuals and goals, such as building or repairing a wide variety of infrastructure projects aiding local farmers.

It is important to recognize that provincial expansion was not limited to one sect, in that literally thousands of temples belonging to the Sōtō and Rinzai branches were established throughout wide rural areas of Japan as part of the Forest Temples network. The story of the spread of Zen in these areas is that passionate evangelists transformed numerous smaller cloisters that for several centuries had had membership in other Buddhist sects. While impressing local groups with profound examples of erudition and articulation unique to Zen, exorcisms of malevolent spirits and rites of devotion and repentance for unproductive karma were said to reflect the religious acumen of accomplished and committed masters.

In addition to the worship at various provincial Zen temples of bodhisattvas such as Kannon or Jizō, there are many examples of a local demon-turned-deity or a wicked spirit that realizes an underlying and undying wish to serve the Dharma. Since evil is not considered absolute in East Asian thought, demonic forces can be transformed into protectors of Buddhist law. Examples of such malleable spirits include Kitsune (shape-shifting fox, also known in its positive manifestation as Inari, the rice fertility deity) and Tengu (mountain goblin), which is sometimes associated with the practice of asceticism in secluded mountain locations known as *shugendō* or the *yamabushi* cult. Demonic spirits are frequently turned into avatars (*gongen*) or symbolic manifestations of Buddha, whose power at times supersedes that of any other recognizable feature of Zen training or traditional, pre-syncretic Buddhist devotion.

Temples housing powerful spirits are primarily concerned with delivering to their congregations of lay adherents the power to heal ailments and provide an avenue to achieving this-worldly benefits (*genze riyaku*), including good fortune and prosperity. They offer the capacity to achieve commercial success and relief from misfortunes ranging from fires and floods to health problems and infertility. Tales depicting a new Zen temple being introduced into a remote region through interactions with local supernatural forces serve the purpose of legitimating the patronage of an influential sponsor seeking broad support in the midst of local religious conflicts. Not neglecting the role of meditation altogether, these sites also frequently feature the appearance on the premises of a large, flat-topped meditation stone (*zazen ishi*) that was once used by the founding master, who practiced diligently to boost his capacity to serve congregants.

Notes

1. A major exception from the Tang dynasty is Hanshan, whose name literally means "Cold Mountain," and whose poetry based on a life as an eccentric wanderer often accompanied by a couple of like-minded monks exerted a major influence on nearly all Song monk-poets and monk-painters, who depicted their exploits in artwork.
2. Cited by Andy Ferguson, *Tracking Bodhidharma: A Journey to the Heart of Chinese Culture* (Berkeley, CA: Counterpoint, 2013), 31.
3. Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 184.
4. Ibid., 171–72.
5. William M. Bodiford, "The Rhetoric of Chinese Language in Japanese Zen," in *Zen Buddhist Rhetoric in China, Korea, and Japan*, ed. Christoph Anderl (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 288–289.
6. Ibid.
7. Steven Heine, *The Zen Poetry of Dōgen: Verses from the Mountain of Eternal Peace* (Boston: Tuttle, 1997), 137. A similar approach is expressed in a poem by Keizan: "When white clouds disappear, blue mountains stand out. / Yet, even the soaring height of the many peaks vanishes from view / As only one—the highest apex reaching to the sky—becomes apparent. / But, who arrives at its summit or knows its name? / In the realm that is attained through deep contemplation, / All day long you look, yet there are no eyes with which to see, / All night long you listen, yet there are no ears with which to hear."
8. Michael Walsh, *Sacred Economies: Buddhist Monasticism and Territoriality in Medieval China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 15.
9. William M. Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 121.

8

Tones

TRIGGERING SPIRITUALITY THROUGH LITERARY AND FINE ARTS

THE TREMENDOUS OUTPOURING of manifold examples of creative arts that were composed by scores of highly talented monks played a primary role in helping to stimulate and sustain the success of maritime transfers and transitions completing the shift from Chinese Chan to Japanese Zen, especially during the period beginning in the late thirteenth century and lasting through the lengthy aftermath to transplantation until the Ōnin War began in 1467. The emphasis on the role of the arts transpired in large part because supportive intellectuals in both societies, who cherished hearing and viewing as well as compiling and displaying Zen works, were often eager to learn the creative techniques and try their hand at producing various genres. These efforts took place as part of an ongoing engagement of the well-educated with adroit masters, who taught lofty notions of aesthetic realization associated with a meditative regimen that became integrated into the daily endeavors of lay disciples. Because of the importance of painting and the way it was linked to poetic inscriptions in addition to other art forms in medieval Japan, the general designation for the era of Zen's Five Mountains Literature (Gozan Bungaku) could probably be reconfigured more expansively to cover diverse virtuosities as part of the rise of "Five Mountains Culture" (Gozan Bunka).

All the artistic accomplishments from the era of transmission required marvelous skills that were continually polished through dedication to the contemplative cultivation of the spirituality of the inner self. The proliferation of masterpieces in literature and painting was also very much indebted to inventive developments in articulating ideals based on self-reliance and

self-realization attained through arts that appealed to literati and monks, in addition to using newer production materials for brushes, ink, and paper that facilitated enhanced creativity. An additional impetus concerned the introduction of pioneering technical methods for the refined publication and organized distribution of art products, whether as an attractive boxed set of books published by the Five Mountains that was easily acquired or a decorative fan or hanging scroll elegantly exhibited in the inner chambers of an aristocrat's home.

Many artworks associated with Zen were generated by reclusive clerics sequestered from ordinary life, including pilgrims traveling to faraway or overseas monasteries. However, the various aesthetic forms should not necessarily be viewed solely as expressions of mystical insight or considered to constitute explicitly sacred expressions, if that status is seen as standing in stark contrast to the artistic products of secular virtuosity. Because numerous Zen teachers functioned as diplomats, envoys, executors, interpreters, or advisors to public officials in addition to fulfilling monastic administrative roles overseen by the government, their artistic achievements often involved commercial exchanges with community leaders, including merchants and foreign emissaries. It is therefore important to situate Zen creativity as part of social settings in which Buddhist and secular participants shared ideas and resources.

The composition of stirring writings and inspiring drawings that contributed to the spread of the tradition emerged from a collective context of salons situated both on and off the temple compound, where there were constructive interactions involving exceptional monastic and non-clerical devotees taking part in loose-knit but wide-ranging spiritually based artistic fraternities. The East Asian term for an extremely close friend or intimate and sympathetic associate literally means "one who knows the tones or sounds" (C. *zhiyin*, J. *chi'in*), thus suggesting that two or more parties share a profound sense of familiarity with and esteem for the rhythms of poetry or the tonal qualities of painting. The impact of the combinatory approach linking the realms of temple and town, or monks and literati, furthermore meant that Zen arts often were crafted and utilized for evangelical purposes, such as fund-raising campaigns. This was a basic component of the transnational transmission of the religious movement, which was founded on reflective self-investigation yet fully aware of the importance of gaining broad financial and moral support.

This crucial era of Chan cultural production that was initiated in Song China featured various verbal and visual styles, and most masters excelled

at both types of art even though they probably focused their attention on creating one or the other. The major Song Chan literary form was the composition of regulated poetry, usually composed in rhyming couplets or quatrains with five or seven characters in each line to convey emotional responses to profound experiences of suffering and enlightenment. The main visual genre included impressionistic paintings that pictorialized traditional Zen beliefs and imagery in order to highlight the subjective state of mind underlying examples of human conduct as well as observations of natural surroundings. Also included was imaginative calligraphy, generally employed as an essential illustrative vehicle for composing verse that complemented drawings as well as for writing lectures, certificates, letters, and other forms of communication distributed for special monastic or other teaching occasions. Combining genres, monks' paintings were often inscribed with verses written by colleagues in exquisite calligraphy, which in its own way was an acknowledged artistic form.

Talent in the literary arts required superior facility with aural tones for creating cadenced rhetorical patterns used to convey multifaceted viewpoints that could be easily memorized and presented in attractive ways to various audiences, who were enthralled with the rhymes and rhythm of the words. Similarly, skill in the fine arts was driven by innovative approaches to ink-brush drawings that featured bold strokes usually balanced by the use of pale or ghostly lines representing an extraordinarily pallid use of liquid to depict evocatively the subject matter at hand. According to an analysis of the artistic productions of the era:

> Throughout the Song period Chan monks not only adopted but also took a leading role in refining norms of gentlemanly companionship based upon the exchange of poetry and the brush arts. More than a few became renowned as prominent painters and calligraphers themselves, and Chan monks played a crucial role in developing certain painting subjects that would later on be closely associated with the literati painting canon, most famously Huaguang Zhongren's (d. 1123) invention of the ink plum (C. *momei*) genre.[1]

The plum tree painted with the type of ink-brush strokes referred to here functions as an image of rejuvenation or renewal and fertility or prosperity, since the fragrant yet frail blossoms bloom in late winter, when snow still appears on the branches and twigs. This conveys the graceful beauty of spiritual awakening that perseveres and prevails in the face of

any obstacles or roadblocks. The plum blossom can be apprehended either as a delicate natural object that is beautiful or for its allegorical implications for religious life. Capturing so many expressive meanings in a seemingly simple instance of the local landscape has made the plum a versatile sign suitable for use on many ritual occasions that feature aesthetics, ranging from celebrations of childbirth to rites for seasonal transitions and memorials for the deceased who are reborn in the spirit world, in addition to acknowledging moments of sudden awakening.

The motif of renewal, long recognized in the East Asian cultural tradition, was particularly highlighted and amplified in countless Zen aural and visual compositions, since the popularity of the plum tree allowed artists to demonstrate the virtuosity of their distinctive discursive flair or brush technique. Dōgen cites an example of his master Rujing's numerous poems about the distinctive sapling in a section of the *Treasury of the True Dharma-Eye* called "Plum Blossoms" ("Baika"): "Our original face [or essential selfhood] is beyond birth and death. / Springtime occurs within the blossom of the plum and enters into a picture." This couplet illustrates several key points about a unified vision of time and change in relation to aesthetic perception and production. One point concerns overcoming the apparent contrast between the eternity of the soul and ephemerality of the seasons, which are integrated and infused with spiritual fullness at the moment of the appearance of the flower. Another idea is that the plum is not just depicted in the painting as an object separate from how it is perceived; instead, it represents a manifestation of spring that comes to life in the human-created image.

The plum was one of many words and signs that formed a kind of imagery code in Zen poetic language and visual iconography. Other objects such as peach or cherry blossoms, bamboo or pine trees, monkeys or herons, the moon or clouds, and boats drifting or reflections in water, to name just a few examples, suggested complex implications regarding encounter dialogues and related religious experiences that were evoked in the arts. Since ordinary language with straightforward explanations cannot capture the meaning of enlightenment, Zen teachers created expressive patterns featuring allusion, ambiguity, indirection, and metaphor to suggest deeper truths. As the Song Chan master Juefan asserts, "The subtleties of the mind cannot be transmitted in ordinary words, but are seen in unusual expressions evoking images and symbols in roundabout but evocative ways."

Some Zen ink drawings consist of orchids growing amid briars and rocks to show that the colorful and aromatic flower, another symbol of awakening, can emerge at any time and place but needs to be thoroughly cultivated. A famous example of this genre by Japanese monk-painter Tesshū includes the artist's own verse inscription expressing a sense of wonder as to whether "there is anything in the world as redolent as the solitary orchid." Another Japanese monk-poet says ironically, "Growing wise is nowhere near the trouble of growing orchids!" In the same contemplative vein, highlighting the way natural objects symbolize enlightenment while disclosing a more austere atmosphere without decoration, the simple but elegant calligraphy by Musō's disciple Zekkai for an unadorned hanging scroll reads, "In the soundless expanse of the mountains, a pine cone falls."

Many Chan artworks produced during the transitional period were quickly transported, emulated, and often preserved and enhanced in Kamakura and Muromachi Japan, where the overall artistic atmosphere was probably even more intense than on the mainland in several ways. Once Zen was firmly ensconced in Japan, enthusiastic interest in the legacy of Chinese teachers and temples stimulated the rediscovery of continental writings and paintings that were either long lost, such as the *Blue Cliff Record*, or held in diminishing regard and largely neglected, including the paintings of Muqi and other significant Chan stylists considered too unconventional.

Japanese temple leaders often launched their own collections of poetry and painting that originated on the mainland and were supplemented with vernacular annotations. Islander aficionados also revolutionized ways of exhibiting art by developing the triptych technique, in which three differently themed pieces by a single artist are placed on side-by-side panels, as well as expanding and enriching the calligraphic properties of verse remarks decorated on hanging scrolls that feature a drawing of a religious episode or inspiring landscape. Perhaps the main example of the triptych method is a three-part screen that contains Muqi's painting of the White-Robed Guanyin—this portrayal of the Mahayana Buddhist goddess was a motif that Chan initiated, as it is not found in previous Buddhist schools—sitting serenely on a stone in the center panel. A crane on the left panel flanks the deity, and to the right a gibbon holds her young while aloft in the branch of a tree. The two natural scenes accompanying the distinctive image of the divinity of compassion suggest, if somewhat incongruously,

important lessons for human spirituality in the fowl's long-lasting allure and the primate's devotion to familial relations.

Preservation efforts in Japan proved important because in China, despite many celebrated instances of innovation, Chan creativity was not always greatly admired by society at large. Formal academic art based on holding fast to external standards for judging quality, such as strict adherence to certain rhyme schemes in verse or design theories for painting, was generally preferred to Chan's deliberately imprecise artistic styles and popular cultural techniques that disclosed the inner awareness of the artist's self-reflections about sensations, rather than showing objects as they are. The Chan outlook frequently led to the abrupt breaking of complicated aesthetic rules that were shaped and exalted over the course of many centuries. Chan monotone painting was considered a radical departure from the mainstream. In some instances poetry, though it was a less controversial genre, was also given short shrift by academic critics, who did not believe that religious verse constituted true literature. The lack of sympathy was due in large part to Chan's fascination with the arts as a central element of Buddhist reclusion, something that was increasingly seen as exemplary of social decline by rulers of the Southern Song and Yuan dynasties, who promoted a more pragmatic standpoint prizing the sword instead of the brush.

In Japan, on the other hand, even though warlords governed the realm, it was widely recognized that the greatest Zen writers and artists in both countries knew how to adhere to stipulated regulations, when appropriate, yet violate them when a sense of freedom was deemed necessary for disclosing the depths of spiritual experience. Through the support of the Ashikaga sovereigns, who usurped the power of the Hōjō clan in the 1330s but further developed the previous shogunate's appreciation of Zen, high priority was placed on safeguarding and upgrading a wide variety of Chan literary and artistic resources that were being overlooked on the continent but were imported to and emulated on the islands through the efforts of adventurous émigré monks and returning native travelers. In this context, the structure of regularity, based on prescribed external guidelines representing authority imposed by elite judges, combined with the anti-structure of irregularity, or carefree expression reflecting authentic inspiration based on interior self-awareness, constitute conflicting yet complementary and mutually reinforcing tendencies.

An additional feature of aesthetics in the Japanese context was the formation during the Muromachi era of several remarkably diverse styles of

art beyond poetry and painting that were influenced by Zen spirituality, even if it is misleading to claim these disciplines as strictly expressive of the sect's ideology, since many of the proponents embraced broader cultural interests. The novel forms that are unique to Japan include practical arts such as gardening, either in landscape fashion as represented by Musō's design at Tenryūji temple in the 1300s or in the dry rock garden style (*kare sansui*) of construction at nearby Ryōanji temple two centuries later. This site consists of fifteen stones scattered within an enclosed rectangle of simple gravel carefully prepared daily with monks' rakes into circular configurations. Zen gardens are vital to temple life because of their proximity to the Abbot's Quarters and because they inspire viewers to grasp multiple perspectives related to perceptions of nature.

Other examples promoted in Japan are ceremonial arts, such as the ceremony of drinking tea, which was first introduced by Eisai to the court and further developed by Rikyū in conjunction with the shogunate nearly four hundred years later; performing arts, including Noh theater, with Zeami, who studied the teachings of Dōgen and other Zen masters, serving as the foremost playwright, theorist, and producer integrating Buddhist themes of repentance and retribution for transgression; and martial arts, especially sword fighting, which became the basis of popular philosophical works such as *Book of Five Rings* (*Gorinsho*) by Miyamoto, a non-clerical meditator and warrior, and *The Unfettered Mind* (*Fudōchi shinmyōroku*) by Takuan, an abbot of Daitokuji temple and friend of the shogun who was exiled for a spell before returning to a Tokyo monastery. Both author-practitioners were active at the dawn of the Tokugawa era, when self-expressions relating strategy with spirituality were particularly relevant since combat was forbidden under the shogun's enforcement of the peace.

In the case of arts involving a ritual presentation, such as the tea ceremony, or performance, such as Noh theater, the physical materials needed to carry out the routines became art objects because of the care and attention given to their production and functions. These resources, ranging from ceramic tea bowls and ivory-handled whisks to painted masks and elaborate costumes, can be associated with Zen aesthetic styles even when they are used in a seemingly non-religious way. Moreover, as pottery, weaving, flower arrangement, and other types of applied arts were developed, Zen contemplation served as the touchstone for these practices. Various artistic activities were considered examples of training in the Japanese religious-aesthetic way (C. *dao*, J. *dō* or *michi*) through dedication to the

particular form (J. *kata*) or method of training based on synthesizing substance or materials with style or aesthetic vision.

Creative Tensions

The Zen understanding of the role of the seemingly wild words of poetry and dashing lines of painting in relation to the serene teaching of meditation and somber monastic discipline upheld within the confines of seven-hall temple life is typically paradoxical. This approach encompasses ostensibly opposite but ultimately harmonized tendencies that at once affirm and negate the importance of artistic production. On the one hand, there is a strong tendency in Zen to embrace the unity of apparent contraries at all levels, such as the oneness of sword and brush, iconic imagery and iconoclasm, contemplation and ceremony, or practice as the means and enlightenment as the goal of religious attainment. The notion of the unity allowing for differences and discrepancies between modalities was applied to the overall merging of Zen practice with the artistic disciplines. Once leading teachers endorsed that principle, the notion of oneness was further evoked for interpreting the connection between poetry and painting as a reciprocally reinforcing pair of aural and visual tonal constructions, as shown in Figure 8.1.

At the same time, it must be noted that even though Xutang taught his Chinese and Japanese followers the joys of Verse Samadhi, usually there was felt during the Song dynasty a basic sense of uncertainty and tension regarding claims for the "unity of poetry and Chan" (C. *shichan yizhi*, J. *shizen itchi*). Recent scholarship has shown that such an assertion clearly postdates Song-dynasty Chan. The notion rejecting any separation between dedicated religious aspiration and avid pursuit of the arts probably was fitted retroactively based on a Japanese standpoint developed sometime after the influence of Yishan and his followers on the merits of writing verse.

On the continent, however, monks were often vexed by what was called the "poetry demon" (*shimo*), an evocative expression reflecting anxiety about letting literary pursuits distract and detract from Buddhist salvation by suggesting that writing is merely a karmic habit that must be extinguished rather than fulfilled. According to some of the best representatives of the genre, poetry occurs wondrously only when one is not actually engaged in meditation, since literature lies outside of Chan (*Chan yu* or *Chan wai*). Because poetic inspiration is also a thought process reflecting

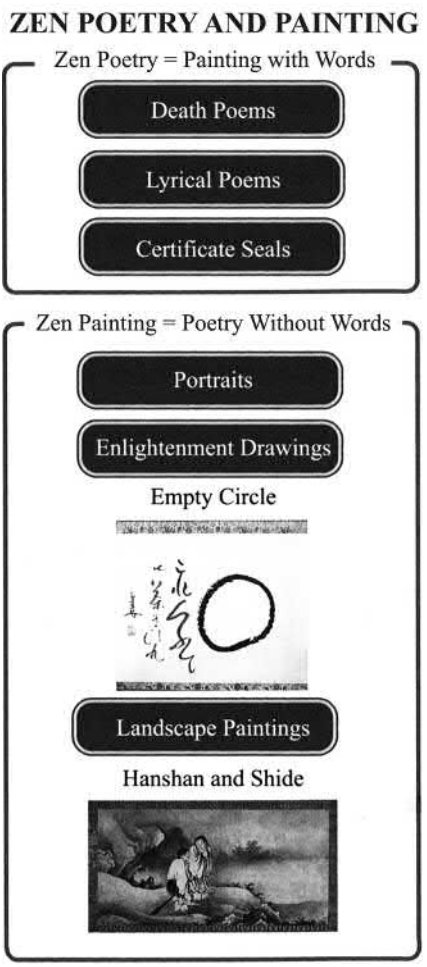


FIGURE. 8.1 Zen Poetry and Painting

emotional attachments and intrudes upon a meditator's serenity, it can seem actively antagonistic to monasticism. This tension is expressed in the verse "Early Autumn Idle," which was sent by the Chinese author to a fellow monk: "Beneath the open window, my bedding is illumined, / I faintly sense that the morning chill broadens. / Within the temple, no one speaks, / All I hear is the sound of tall pines dripping with rain. / Poetry comes about when I fall out of meditation, / And melancholy interferes with my repose while trying to remain silent."[2] The Japanese master Kokan offers a more positive view when he says that poetically attuned perception actually deepens and enhances sensations in a way that is

conducive to meditative detachment: "Moonlight casts patterns through bamboo blinds; / Accepting every sight and sound that's offered, / The more detached, the more I see and hear: / This time of night is so truly still / I no longer notice the mosquitoes buzzing round my ears."[3]

It was sometimes said that there are three types of Zen practice: ranked in order of genuineness, they are meditation, artistry, and time wasting. Another way of making the point that fascination with art can represent a lack of full attention or deficiency is expressed in a parable indicating that on a snowy day, some monks persist in concentration by staying impervious to the cold and unfazed by the distraction outside. Other trainees, however, can do nothing but think of poetic images depicting the snowfall, and a third group lets disturbances diminish their intentions by wishing to escape the routine in order to frolic in the storm. Apparently torn between the first and second options, a Buddhist poet once admitted that after a fierce rain during which he was sitting cross-legged, he began reading aloud in the early dawn light under a lamp lighting his hermit's den while grinding ink with rainwater gathered in the window so he could start to write. In reading this verse, we need to recognize that the act of preparing ink as well as making an ink stick or a brush was crucial to the success of the ink painting, known in Japan as *sumi-e* or *suibokuga* (C. *shuimohua*). Those items, along with containers and stands, were created from carefully chosen materials and often finely decorated.

Musō, the most influential Japanese monk-poet of the period of transplantation, considers extensively the need to balance the role of art in relation to Zen meditative and monastic discipline. In discussing landscape gardening, he notes that some pursue the practice as a form of reputation seeking, while others have primarily aesthetic goals. Whether or not members of these groups are dedicated practitioners, it is clear that their spirituality is not pure. Yet another category of monastic gardeners engages in gardening as a way of motivating their religious aims, similar to drinking tea as part of the temple routine. Musō argues that the authentic Zen adept stands out because he realizes that the practice of landscape gardening is a tool for gaining insight in everyday activity. Although the concern for gardens may seem to resemble a worldly passion, it really reflects an authentic aspiration to actualize the Way. In that light, practitioners evoke the resources of grasses, rocks, springs, and trees in order to highlight the beauty of each of the four seasons. The emphasis is not on employing the garden as a means to reach an end, but on the continuing

right-mindedness of the meditator, whose efforts constitute yet another form of Zen training.

In a similar approach to grasping the underlying unity of all activities from a contemplative standpoint, the Chan monk Daoqian writes about going for a hike during his free time as an experience that appears to be outside of meditation but eventually inspires and infuses it. He says in a verse, "Sometimes, when not practicing contemplation, I climb up to the top of a peak, / Then settle on a rock to rest, yawn, and stretch. / Tracks in the field do not divide my vision; / Don't you realize the Great Way has no partitions?"[4] In this manner, any tension about the role of creativity becomes not a hindrance, but the source of enhanced creative expression. The fundamental point is that Zen sanctions whatever type of thought or deed is appropriate to resolving a disciple's situation of struggling with doubt and learning to achieve a spiritual breakthrough, whether aural, visual, or some other kind of stimulus to sensations.

Nevertheless, it is considered imperative to constantly guard against various infiltrations of the demonic poetic impulse reflected in seemingly innocent but potentially deadening redundancies of clichés and excesses of language. For example, an overreliance without proper understanding on allusive or metaphorical catchphrases like "Every day is a good day," "The donkey sees the well, and the well sees the donkey," "Heaping snow on a crane in a silver bowl," "The pine is straight, the brambles are bent," or "It takes a thief to catch a thief" becomes problematic. Ideally seen as examples of self-awareness through mind-to-mind transmission, these expressions, if taken at face value, can stultify instead of stimulate the pursuit of enlightenment. Similar deficiencies include the use of literary flourish for its own sake and a dependence on rote learning acknowledged by a teacher who, regardless of the flaws, dispenses easy answers without a suitable evaluation of the student or who awards certificates on demand or for a fee rather than genuine spiritual accomplishment. All counterproductive tendencies must be identified, criticized, and weeded out at the root lest they fester and eventually diminish the integrity of the monastic assembly and its overall status and standing in an already suspicious society at large.

Zen Sayings as Aural Tones

What distinguishes a typical high-ranking monk, who enjoys the prestige of seniority but plays a limited role in running the monastery and in the

end remains a mediocre figure, from a genuine self-surpassing master? As a Living Buddha, whose whole existence is at one with the symbolic bodily parts of the temple grounds, the true Zen adept excels at teaching both his monastic assembly and lay followers by using poetry or painting to seize instructional opportunities on multiple occasions that are sometimes prearranged and scripted but are often impromptu. The difference between the mundane follower and the extraordinary leader is based primarily on demonstrating a much deeper degree of familiarity and spontaneous facility with the spoken word or brushstroke.

In terms of using literary tones, during the era of transplantation it was taken for granted that all Zen clerics in both countries were copiously trained in the scholastic tradition of studying voluminous Chinese texts. For centuries before and after the arising of Zen, the starting point for all trainees representing any Buddhist school was to comprehend the thousands of scrolls that constituted the traditional Buddhist canon, known at the *Three Baskets* or *Tripitaka* (C. *Dazangjing*, J. *Daizōkyō*). This collection, usually kept in a sutra repository on the monastery grounds, includes the teachings of Sakyamuni and many other early Indian sources that were translated in addition to various Mahayana scriptures probably first written in Chinese. Many of these texts contain hymns in verse form known as *gatha* (C. *ji*, J. *ge*) that influenced Zen poetry. Monks were vigorously involved in reading and memorizing the works included in the canon, in addition to copying and reciting them in daily rituals. It is said that Dōgen studied the basic collection two times before traveling to China and could cite it accurately on the spur of the moment.

Furthermore, Zen priests needed to be skillful with another vast corpus of Chinese Chan works that were produced during the Song dynasty. These included transmission-of-the-lamp records, providing quasi-historical (or hagiographical) accounts of patriarchs organized according to lineage and generation of followers; compilations of recorded sayings that cast light on the life and teaching styles of individual masters; *kōan* collections, featuring commentaries in poetry and prose on selected test cases; and monastic regulations, which in some instances included quixotic anecdotes about former teachers in order to illuminate the need and rationale for temple rules. Both Dōgen and Daitō demonstrated an ability to quote freely yet accurately from the different Zen works, which must have been well memorized and thoughtfully analyzed.

All monks learned the various pre-Zen and Zen Buddhist works. For the great majority, however, developing an oral-aural ability was limited to using

effectively the sound of the voice, sometimes accompanied with instruments and orchestrated with a musical score, as a medium for propagating the Dharma through chanting the sutras, singing hymns during ceremonies, or reciting the names of Buddhas when this practice was integrated with meditation (more commonly in China than Japan). Only an authentic Zen master delivering homilies either inside or outside of the Dharma Hall, in addition to other kinds of preaching, would be knowledgeable and insightful enough to consistently demonstrate a critical perspective by assessing the significance of the various texts and integrating their respective standpoints into his own worldview while simultaneously surpassing them. The master's public talks showcased a distinctively creative outlook by at once questioning the perspectives of his predecessors and challenging his followers to go beyond conventional interpretations, including his own when appropriate.

The content and style of the Living Buddha's manner of expression, for which he often improvised and displayed ingenuity at every turn, highlights a convincing pivot from being a constant learner to being a captivating teacher. The master not only fulfills ceremonial duties to speak as prescribed in the *Zen Monastic Rules* but also consistently breaks new ground in his innovative articulations. This marks a dramatic shift from the role of emissary of the tradition's legacy to that of provocative trailblazer, someone who gives the religious heritage his unique stamp, which many other teachers from future lineal cohorts would go on to cite yet also critique when appropriate.

Much of the innovation during the century of transition revolved around commentaries on test cases, since each teacher and his lineage used its own *kōan* curriculum. Teachers lectured on particular cases as a means of instructing students how to apply these adages to any and all situations. Various rituals and doctrines were taught in dialogue style, featuring questions answered with controversial or confrontational phrasings. In order to avoid falling into stereotype, the great masters would analyze and creatively evoke capping phrases in Kanbun that were either alternatives (*daigo*) to the typical answers or appended words (*agyo* or *jakugo*) that supplemented the previous responses.

The most ingenious Japanese interpreter to affix capping phrases to dialogues and related sayings was Daitō, who mastered the ability to offer interlinear remarks on Chan writings despite never having set foot in China. In an especially intriguing example of the genre, Daitō comments on the record of a temple opening ceremony that was originally

conducted two centuries before, in the 1020s, by Xuedou, an early *kōan* compiler whose remarks on selected test cases formed the basis for Yuanwu's additional commentary in the *Blue Cliff Record*.[5] In responding to the interplay between Xuedou and his assembly, which includes an episode in which the master grabs hold of a disciple who has stepped forward from the group to question him, we see that Daitō, who had presided over the inauguration of several temples, is an experienced participant-observer. The Japanese teacher at once identifies with the Chan master's position and stands back from it by constructively criticizing that model.

The passage begins with Xuedou standing in front of the high seat in the Dharma Hall before addressing the crowd, and Daitō interjects by quoting a line from the renowned Tang-dynasty poet Wang Wei bidding farewell to a friend traveling to a remote province: "Beyond the last outpost, you will find no friends." In this intimate way, "Daitō dispatches Xuedou on his journey into uncharted spiritual realms, suggesting that few will truly understand his Dharma teaching,"[6] while also exhorting retrospectively the assembled monks who are embarking on a solitary inner voyage through listening to their master. Then, when Xuedou gestures by pointing to innumerable Buddha realms, Daitō remarks, "Blind!" This can be understood as either a putdown of the limitations of teacher and students or a praiseworthy evocation of the Buddha-nature, which cannot literally be seen since it is invisible yet functions as the absolute truth, impartial to divisions and discriminations, like the blindness of the proverbial scales of justice.

In the Zen community, considerable debate among rival factions ensued, sometimes with great acrimony, about how much verbosity was fitting from a master, given his concern with avoiding defective tendencies caused by the so-called poetry demon. One school of thought, referred to as Literary Zen, endorsed a roundabout approach that advocated seeing words as entangled vines that are useful and necessary to unravel the entanglements of expression, whereas an opposing view was to emphasize a shortcut method based on evoking allusive catchphrases that cut off speech acts. Musō, who was greatly influenced by Yuanwu's lineages, particularly emphasized the common ground underlying this controversy by teaching that "an unenlightened trainee seeks to investigate meaning (or intention) rather than words (or expression), but an enlightened teacher is able to focus on the use of words rather than meaning." This indicates that only a true master realizes that all implications of speaking are relative to

the situation at hand, so he carefully chooses words or silence according to the desired impact on the learner.

Therefore, for Musō, there is no disposition either toward or away from composing poetry. Yuanwu's own impartiality toward literature when seen as a means rather than an end is indicated in his capping phrases that use lyrical images for a typical trope referring to the fourfold categorization of the relation between words and meaning:

> Words get the point but meaning does not:
>
> In the ancient valley a cold spring gushes, while blue pines are laced with frost.
>
> Meaning gets the point but words do not:
>
> Unrooted grass grows on a stone, while still clouds hide the mountains.
>
> Meaning and words both get the point:
>
> White clouds gather in the sky at dawn, while water flows under the bright moon.
>
> Meaning and words both do not get the point:
>
> The blue sky is unspotted by clouds, while in green waters the wind spurs waves.[7]

In commenting on the dichotomy between words and meaning, the first two capping phrases create a sharp contrast between frostiness and growth. The third line, on the unity of expression and intention, indicates a realm free of obstruction that is enhanced by the final line's image of unrestricted movement in evoking the negation or basic emptiness of apparent opposites of cloudlessness and wave-making.

Records of Zen Teachers

Among the remarkable variety of texts based on the discourses of Living Buddhas published during the century of transplantation, with some genres representing carefully edited writings and others consisting of the annals and accounts of a teacher's oral instructions transcribed by followers, the single most important category was the recorded sayings (C. *yulu*, J. *goroku*) of specific masters. This Zen tradition was initiated in the Tang dynasty based on the model of the *Analects* of Confucius, a collection of sayings by his intimate followers, and it flourished during the Song dynasty, when the accounts of giants such as Linji and Yunmen were

frequently reprinted and widely read along with dictionaries, annotations, and other reference resources to guide the uninitiated. The variety of publications was a sign of prestige confirming the authenticity of practice and the authority of the abbacy of genuinely accomplished adepts.

Most of the prominent examples of the genre include the master's anecdotes, conversations, dedications, dialogues, funerary orations, homilies, lectures, letters, sayings, and sermons, along with diversified poetic utterances such as painting inscriptions (without the art). The texts were amassed by monastic disciples and published for broader circulation, often with supplementary biographical or other introductory materials added by lay followers. Song-dynasty literati eagerly endorsed these collections of recorded sayings as one of the defining features of their ongoing commitment to promoting literary culture over martial power. This was the case even though the Chan records usually contain many seemingly unformed expressions and offhand repartees in local dialects that would not otherwise be considered representative of rhetorical excellence. The editions of recorded sayings created for exceptional Japanese teachers were invariably composed in Kanbun in order to emulate continental models. As time passed and the capacity for using this difficult hybrid language languished by the late fourteenth century, a subgenre referred to as "things heard" (*kikigakishō*) preserved in vernacular discourse many of the forms and conventions of Song-style records. These records generally also include the annals of private interviews (*sanzen* or *dokusan*) conducted between a master and student working diligently to pass test cases, a training technique that was increasingly common in Japan.

In the Kamakura and early Muromachi periods, Zen masters were expected to show a Confucian gentleman's capacity for expertise in playing chess, learning a musical instrument, writing poetry, and creating paintings. In addition, temple abbots functioned much like a secular magistrate by passing judgment on the progress of their disciples while having the ability to reverse course and overturn previous opinions in assessing various Zen texts and practitioners. Furthermore, they were greatly influenced by the native tradition of participation in poetry contests, or group efforts to construct a series of *waka* verses that were linked (*renga*), as each successive author in the competition followed yet surpassed the discursive pattern set by the preceding poet's use of images and symbols. This standpoint enabled a gradual process of Japanization (*yawarageru wakan*) that overcame any tendency to imitate mainlander models of poetic composition by introducing uniquely indigenous philosophical perspectives and expressive styles.

Despite the great impact of émigré monks on the islands, which prompted locals to turn to Chinese sources for prototypes, continental teachers in Japan primarily taught Zen to native students at the request of parochial patrons. Reinforcing the importance of back-and-forth maneuverings involving the interplay of Chinese and Japanese outlooks in framing their discourse, monks needed to show ability with bilingualism and biculturalism in order to succeed in both sacred and secular environments through the production of well-received collections of recorded sayings. This forced Japanese trainees to try to express themselves in written Chinese, so they studied the rules of Chinese prosody and semantics to be able to read Chan literary genres on a regular basis and cite these in their own sermons with originality.

According to poetic guidelines, each line of Chinese verse has a fixed number of characters, usually with an odd amount, five or seven, although even numbers, four or six, are occasionally used. The characters are arranged to form complicated yet balanced repetitions integrating level (C. *píng*) and oblique (C. *ze*) tones that rise and fall as part of a mandatory rhyme scheme (C. *yayun*) scheme. Although prose is unrhymed, effective compositions feature carefully structured metrical patterns that incorporate verbal contrasts based on allusions to secular Chinese literature. To provide valuable resources for Japanese novices trying to find their way with the challenge of sounding original in their Kanbun expressions, catalogued collections organizing Chan sayings by rhyme, topic, or number of characters per line were provided.[8]

In spite of the efforts expended, except for a few notable exceptions, Japanese monks could not produce the same kinds of Zen language that were imported from China. It is difficult to determine how effectively priests could communicate beyond a reliance on brush talk, since they often could read characters but did not understand the alien grammar or pronunciation. Nevertheless, some monks probably did learn to converse in Chinese like a native speaker, or at least better than Koreans who had a head start, and a few even claimed they dreamt in the foreign tongue. This relatively small group included not only monks who traveled extensively but also some who never visited the continent. Many other practitioners became capable of assimilating the varied obscure references and arcane allusions prescribed in continental literary theory, so they could manage rhyming and use technical vocabulary or choice wording based on reference manuals without seeming extremely literal or mechanical in their poetry.

Two main styles of hybrid Sino-Japanese discourse were developed. One consisted of pure Kanbun (*jun-kanbun*), or genuine Chinese writing composed as a text with continental grammar for the articulation of characters either in Chinese or in Japan's distinctive Chinese style of pronunciation (*on'yomi*) of glyphs, rather than the native intonation (*kun'yomi*). The other style was a form of blended Japanese and Chinese writing (*wakan konkōbun*), or composition written with Japanese syntax and mixed *on'yomi* and *kun'yomi* readings. Inasmuch as classical Chinese was originally unpunctuated, the mixed Kanbun tradition developed various conventions for punctuation (*kundoku*) with diacritical and syntactic markers (*kaeriten*) placed alongside the characters to render Chinese into Japanese grammar and word order, as shown in Figure 8.2. An interesting feature of hybridity was that, over time, the Japanese enunciation of certain key terms took on a Chinese inflection, as with the use for "sutra" of *kin*, based on the Chinese *jing*, rather than the customary *kyō*; for "cook," the term *tenzo*, based on *duonzuo* rather than *tenza*; and for "Dharma Hall," the term *hattō*, based on *fatang* rather than *hōdō*.

FIGURE. 8.2 Sino-Japanese Reading

The main content of collections of recorded sayings written in pure Kanbun includes prose and poetic sections. The prose writings include sermons (C. *shangtang*, J. *jōdō*) delivered in the Dharma Hall on a regular monthly and annual schedule of ceremonial occasions, as well as spontaneous informal talks (C. *xiaocan*, J. *shōsan*) preached in the Abbot's Quarters or elsewhere on the temple compound, such as Dharma words (C. *fayu*, J. *hōgo*) for lay disciples given in the Buddha Hall. Formal sermons typically follow a four-part structure, with the master's opening comments, his responses to questions, the oration proper, and concluding remarks usually consisting of a poem or capping phrase that makes an ironic counterpoint to what was previously discussed and is topped off with a gesture such as tossing down the staff. Group interactions took place but are almost never included in the records.

In addition, there are lectures for special occasions, such as the inauguration and incense presentation (C. *nianxiang*, J. *nenkō*) remarks of a new abbot, or the record of the final sermon marking the retirement or imminent death of the outgoing prelate. Other momentous events marked by talks contained in the records are for bestowing confirmation names, certifying a student's enlightenment, installing and consecrating icons or new editions of the canon, funerary eulogies and ancestral memorial services to install a consecrated commemorative tablet, and rituals performed on behalf of the temple's patrons or for recruiting new donors. Many records also feature eloquent epistles sent to followers whose families experienced a celebration, crossroad, or tragedy in their daily lives.

The poetry sections of the typical recorded-sayings text contain various genres of Buddhist verse or *gatha* (C. *jisong*, J. *geju*), including regulated poetic comments on *kōan* cases (C. *songgu*, J. *juko*), often accompanied by capping phrases and prose remarks; poems honoring the departure of an itinerant monk, such as a Japanese traveler leaving China; verse encomiums on mourning the death of a monk or lay follower; and poetry to memorialize and extol the virtues or special qualities of a disciple on whom the Zen teacher has conferred an honorary spiritual name. Although the records of masters from the era of transition do not contain pictorial works, they normally do include transcribed versions of poetic inscriptions (C. *zan*, J. *san*) authored by a Zen teacher that were originally composed for and etched on paintings, including poems (C. *zizan*, J. *jisan*) written when still alive for his own ritual portrait

One of the most intriguing types of Zen poetry involves a master composing a verse in anticipation of his own death (C. *yiji*, J. *yuige*; literally,

"poetry left behind"). For this and other literary genres, it was common practice for a disciple to use his mentor's poem as a model that was purposely evoked yet adapted with some seemingly minor but highly significant changes in wording. Rather than being considered a kind of plagiarism, the overlap represents an acknowledgment of the teacher's greatness while highlighting the author's originality. The following examples of death poems illustrating transnational influences are by Rujing, the Chinese teacher, and Dōgen, his Japanese student; the commonly used words and phrases are highlighted in the translation and citation of Chinese characters.[9] According to Rujing's verse:

> For sixty-six *years* committing terrible sins against *heaven*,
> *Now leaping beyond*,
> *While still alive I plunge into the yellow springs of the netherworld*.
> *Ah*, why did I once think that life and death are not related?
>
> 六十六年.罪犯彌天.打箇足跳.活陷黃泉.咦.從來生.死不相干.

Whereas Rujing's approach is confessional and repentant in admitting his transgressions, even if in tongue-in-cheek mode, Dōgen's verse expresses supreme self-confidence in the face of obstacles:

> For fifty-four *years* illumining the way of *heaven*,
> *Now leaping beyond*, shattering every barrier.
> *Ah*, from head to toe there are no more longings,
> *While still alive I plunge into the yellow springs of the netherworld*.
>
> 五十四年.照第一天. 打箇足跳.触破大千. 咦.渾身無覓. 活陷黃泉.

It is also important to note that many other kinds of self-reflective and lyrical verse are included in recorded-sayings texts acclaiming the beauty of nature, observing the quietude of eminent predecessors or current practitioners, or proclaiming the merits of one's awakening. Moreover, some compositions show how a teacher considers the creative tension between expressing the poetic impulse and adhering to monastic discipline that forbids any attachment to words. The master Touzi writes, for example, "Although I am in the business of emptiness, / I cannot avoid being at the mercy of my inclinations. / Even though I have long been practicing Chan meditation, / Instead, I remain preoccupied with literary content."

In addition to what is contained in these collections of recorded sayings, most masters penned different kinds of works, such as biographies

of ancestors, encyclopedias or compendia, histories of the Zen sect, or commentaries on *kōan* cases. A Zen teacher knows that, whether he embraces or rejects the role of literary pursuit, enlightenment requires the overcoming of a dependence on discourse by allowing for no element of conceptual discrimination to enter into one's thinking. Yet words and letters always function as a skillful means to disentangle the entangled vines of misunderstanding. According to the introductory remarks on case 23 of the *Blue Cliff Record*, Yuanwu indicates that his commentaries are designed to polish the tool of language, which serves a means of investigating the spiritual state of students and bringing about their awakening:

> Jade is tested with fire, gold is tested with a stone, a sword is tested with a hair, and water is tested with a pole. In the school of dedicated monks, through a single word or a single phrase, a single encounter or a single condition, a single exit or a single entry, a single opening or a single closing, you are able to judge whether someone is deep or shallow, whether he is facing forward or behind. Tell me, what will you use to test him?[10]

At the same time, Yuanwu presents a devastating critique of misinterpretations of Zen writing and teaching by mentioning, as a kind of parody of inappropriate *kōan* discourse, that "when [Tang master] Baoshou held a service and Sansheng pushed forward some monk, the master slapped him and Sansheng's retort was, 'What does this teach people; isn't it your way of deceiving the monk?'"[11] It is unclear whether with this anecdote, which concludes with Baoshou throwing down his staff and returning to the Abbot's Quarters, Yuanwu is aiming his criticism at a particular commentator. But it is obvious he is attacking someone who has a facile understanding, which merely skims the surface, yet thinks it is profound, or, to evoke a variation on a Chinese saying mentioned in the prose remarks on case 6 in *Wumen's Barrier*, one who "holds up the head of a sheep to sell the meat of a dog."[12]

Despite that warning, Yuanwu also highlights the profoundly allusive and thought-provoking quality of Zen literature when he cites the story of Tiantai Deshao, who was an eminent leader during the period between the Tang and Song dynasties. Deshao was a wandering monk until his experience of enlightenment, when he uttered the following verse: "Standing atop the summit of the Great Peak / I am beyond the ordinary human world; / Outside of mind there are no things, / Green mountains fill my

eyes."[13] This lyricism resembles a poem by Deshao's teacher, Fayan, about the unity of the everlasting and evanescent realms that is cited in another famous collection, "Wherever I go, the frosty night's moon / Falls as it may onto the valleys ahead. / The Big Dipper hangs down its handle at night over fresh waters." That verse, in turn, recalls an old Zen saying, "The clear autumn moon turns its frosty disc," which in turn evokes a Chinese couplet often used today for celebrations of the harvest moon, "The bright moon shines over the sea / Wherever you may be, we share this time together."

Fine Arts as Visual Tones

According to the outlook regarding the oneness of aural and visual tones that developed during the period of transplantation, Zen poetry is a form of painting with words, whereas painting represents poetry in motion or art without the crutch of language in the sense that "a picture is worth a thousand words." As time went by, literary and fine art forms were fused with the use of hanging scrolls featuring one or several verses, or even dozens of them, commenting on the significance of the imagery. Both arts came to be seen as ways of pointing to the moon without mistaking the convenient indicator (that is, necessary means of communication through rhetoric or drawing) for the ideal object, or as ways of attaining the goal of self-realization. There is a Zen saying that the painting of a rice cake does not fill the belly because it is illusory and, therefore, represents a diversion from the true path rather than a vehicle leading to it. From another paradoxical perspective, however, it is precisely the dreamlike world of art that captures most vividly and imaginatively the multiple layers and deeper meanings of reality; hence Dōgen writes, "Only a painted rice cake satisfies hunger."

An old Chinese legend based on Buddhist practice suggests that painting the eyes on the image of dragon or some other being animates the spiritual power so that the drawn subject comes alive in the blink of an eye. This tale is a metaphor for the real aim of Zen art, which is not simply to reproduce the appearance of the subject but to capture its unseen soul in a manner that reflects the inner character of the artist. The painting of a flower does not try to match precisely the shape and color of petals, considered an illusory goal, yet conveys its essential fragrance and beauty. In Zen, the creative representation of a phenomenon is more significant than mere presentation or description, which is likely to cause a misleading or

illusory interpretation if it is not amplified by an imaginative evocation of fundamentally indescribable qualities. Only a child, it is said, expects to see depiction lacking fresh originality. Conveying the paradoxical Zen view, Gulin suggests that on crossing a river, "it is the bridge that flows beneath our feet, not the water."

Landscapes drawn from a bird's-eye view are the most common theme, but by viewing sounds and sights from the standpoint of Zen aesthetics, which encompasses synesthesia, even the most ordinary painted object, like a chicken pecking at grains, a leaf fluttering in the breeze, or a frog croaking in the pond, takes on profound spiritual significance. A poem by Kokan, "Evening Stroll in a Summer Garden," recalls the flavor of many Zen paintings by showing how, after at first being lost in his thoughts, the Japanese master's attention to the finer details of the natural surroundings replaces or even surpasses the state of meditation. "My room so miserable with heat and mosquitoes I can't do *zazen*," Kokan writes, "So I kill the time pacing the gravel paths, hands behind my back; / There's nothing in the inner garden, but something catches my eye / Looking closely: a single strand of spider web stretches across the path."[14] A similar verse reads, "Peach blossoms over the bank, bright red brocade; / Willows beside the levee, light green silk. / In the distance, a white egret spies a fish: The calm lake shatters in a dot of blue."[15]

Just as there was much debate in Zen circles concerning the subtle efficacy of circumlocution to ensure that rhetoric is used in a manner conducive to triggering awakening but without allowing excess verbiage that might foster an attachment to language, there were many differences and discrepancies reflecting an extraordinary diversity and complexity of the styles, methods, and materials employed in painting. The main areas of discussion involve (1) the relation between realism and idealism, or whether to depict human figures in a precise or impressionistic way; (2) topics that are considered especially ripe for aesthetic representation, and whether any limits should be imposed on the kinds of subjects drawn for religious purposes; (3) the relative boldness or paleness of strokes, and how far to go with the trend of using pallid ink-brush lines to allow the main subject of a drawing to appear to fade into the background; and (4) the decorum for exhibiting art in terms of the way new presentation techniques introduced at studios and salons in addition to temple halls in Japan affect an appreciation of Zen art that was produced in both countries.

The first major debate concerns variances between two main styles for drawing esteemed masters. The method used for the ritual portrait

of a recently deceased abbot shown sitting on the high seat while holding a staff or fly whisk is executed in a rather realistic and linear manner, whereas more artistic renderings of patriarchs and temple founders in addition to legendary figures from remote times (C. *zushitu*, J. *soshizu*) are carried out in a distinctly expressive and idealistic fashion. While keeping in mind that some ritual portraits were done in eccentric ways to deliberately break a dependence on the mold, the question is raised as to why for the most part there were there such radically contrasting types of figural depictions even though the same artist was usually responsible for both kinds of painting.

The reason is that formal portraiture highlighting a concrete and personal representation of a particular teacher with realistic reliability is required for ritual purposes in funerary services and ceremonies for posthumous veneration, as a tool to help congregants remember and honor the deceased's actual facial features. Conversely, the primary purpose of a spontaneous drawing of a venerable sage engaged in a noteworthy Zen deed, such as throwing down his staff while reprimanding a student, is to commemorate evocatively the lineage's mythical legacy of authentically inspired instructional activities, rather than to create a sense of verisimilitude of the person. Patriarchal paintings are, therefore, not pictorial pretexts of individual representations decorated with priestly inscriptions, but performative demonstrations of the awakened state of mind in action.

The second debate deals with the tremendous variety of painting themes that cover different kinds of venerated human figures, various natural forms encompassing animals and plants as well as a wide range of types of scenery, and allegorical interactions between people and creatures or objects in the environment. All of these topics are meant to be effective in communicating the significance of achieving self-realization, either through following an ideal example or through understanding the art's symbolism, regardless of whether or not the subjects painted are specifically linked to the history and training techniques associated with the Zen lineage.

The first thematic category actually refers to humanlike images in that gods are portrayed in an anthropomorphic manner. Many of the divine images are either unique to the Zen tradition or reflect efforts by artists to accommodate in their pantheon various Buddhist and non-Buddhist luminaries. Deities painted include the bodhisattva Guanyin/Kannon, who is usually shown wearing white robes in leisurely poses to highlight the equanimity of her compassion; the manifestation of the bodhisattva

Manjusri as the so-called Happy Buddha (C. Budai, J. Hotei), usually illustrated as a corpulent beggar spreading good cheer amid the world of everyday turmoil; and the series of dozens or, in many cases, up to five hundred images of arhats (C. *luohan*, J. *rakan*), or idiosyncratic saints, each embodying diverse and rather quirky aspects of wisdom.

In terms of quasi-historical human figures, one of the most distinctive elements of Zen art not used in previous Buddhist depictions is the portrayal of the precise moment when Sakyamuni, considered the founding patriarch of the sect, descends from the mountaintop. Showing how he looks after six years of uninterrupted austerities needed to attain enlightenment, the paintings of the Buddha's face highlight vividly a mixture of exhilaration and exhaustion, as he is about to begin a teaching career that would last forty-nine years, until his death. The pivotal question for all aspects of Zen theory and practice concerns what factors motivated Sakyamuni to make the decision to return to the ordinary world when he could have chosen solitude instead. Other typical paintings feature Bodhidharma, the first patriarch, who supposedly brought Zen from India to China in the sixth century and is shown meditating while facing the wall of a cave for nine years until his limbs would fall off or crossing the Yangzi River on a single reed, and the sixth patriarch, Huineng, who was admired for the iconoclastic act of ripping up the sutras.

An additional novel category involves Zen legends about the "scattered sages" (C. *sansheng*, J. *sanshō*), or delightfully detached practitioners who, like Buddha, once approached the gates of enlightenment but temporarily turned back from a life of reclusion in order to wander about, aimlessly and without care, while often expressing joy and ironic humor in regard to performing mundane tasks or communing with nature. Examples of this genre are the three venerable Tang-dynasty monks of Mount Tiantai, including Hanshan, Shide, and Fenggan, who are often shown in paintings of the "Four Sleepers" (C. Sishui, J. Shisui) slumbering peacefully in the woods accompanied by a tamed tiger. Other examples include the Boat Monk, living in the waters of a lake for thirty years; the Bird's Nest Monk, teaching from his perch in a tall tree; and the ragged wandering Shrimp Eater, eagerly violating the precept of nonviolence when hunger drives him to imbibe a delectable shellfish; and devourers of meat or cutters of wood.

Additional paintings of human images are used to illustrate Zen encounters, such as a famous dialogue between the Confucian magistrate Li Ao, who questions but is ultimately illumined by the paradoxical

response of master Yaoshan. Other works demonstrate the instantaneous experience of enlightenment, as when the master Xiangyan gains *satori* upon hearing the sound of a pebble he rakes striking a bamboo tree. Or they show that secular poets, such as the Chinese Bai Juyi or the Japanese Hitomaro, can be drawn as if they were once monkish members of the lineage and could easily pass for a Zen exemplar of spiritual awakening.

While landscapes always were the most popular way to paint the natural surroundings, Zen's attentiveness to detail and penchant for finding symbolism in all manifestations of Buddha-nature also result in prolific paintings of trees and flowers, fruits and vegetables, and rocks and streams, in addition to all kinds of animals. For instance, monkeys highlight the unfortunate tendency to try to grasp the reflection of the moon in water, whereas dogs are too eager to lick hot oil even when they know better. Cats, on the other hand, exemplify cunning and cleverness, while geese fly endlessly, never reaching a final destination, and rhinos are exotic animals with horns that have magical healing properties. Another major theme refers to parables for learning the Dharma, such as the series of *Ten Oxherding Pictures*, in which a novice chases, captures, and then leaves behind the wild bull symbolizing his own desires, or the sequence of blind men haltingly finding their way across a bridge to represent the effect of holding one-sided or partial perspectives.

The third area of debate pertains to the seemingly ceaseless quest for perfecting artistic methods and materials appropriate to the content and message of Zen paintings, especially by using ink that is monochrome to put an emphasis not on wondrous colors but on subtly drawn strokes that convey a ghostlike dissolvent quality, just as appropriate words are self-deconstructive in that they are released and no longer relied upon once the meaning is gained. Ink-brush drawings help the viewer learn to detach from outward appearance by demonstrating simplicity and naturalness as well as freedom from the rules of symmetry. As shown at the bottom of Figure 8.1 and also in Figure 8.3, the dreamy or shadowy lines seem to fade away, so that only limitless expanse looms—an empty space filled in, so to speak, by the viewer's imagination. In the most extreme style, whereby all forms in a painting are pale-toned apparitions created by diluting the ink used to depict the subject and contrasting this with jet-black accents for accouterments as well as selected areas of the face, apparition painting expresses the illusory ambiguities of dualistic thinking through a manipulation of ink liquidity.[16]

JOSETSU'S *GOURD*

FIGURE. 8.3 Josetsu's *Gourd*

To achieve tonality and shading by varying the ink density, artists usually grind their own ink stick over an inkstone in a circular motion until a smooth black liquid of the desired concentration is produced. The brushes, made from various animal hairs, are tapered to a fine point, a feature vital to the style of ink-wash paintings. Once a stroke is painted on porous paper, it cannot be changed or erased. This makes ink art a technically demanding form requiring great skill and concentration based on years of training. In the hand of a master, a single stroke can produce astonishing variations in tone ranging from deep black to silvery gray. In his work *Composition*, Arthur Wesley Dow, an early twentieth-century American artist intrigued by Zen art, writes, "The painter . . . puts upon the paper the fewest possible lines and tones; just enough to cause form, texture and effect to be felt. Every brush-touch must be full-charged with meaning, and useless detail eliminated."[17]

The styles of wash and apparition artwork developed over the course of several centuries, starting with the twelfth-century pioneer of Chan patriarchal painting, Liang Kai, and continuing in the next century with Muqi's focus on eccentric monks. That helped complete a transition from adhering to the art rules of the Chinese academy to the autonomous formation of Zen ink drawing, which altered convention enough to trigger innovative genres reflecting novel insights. Additionally, in the late 1100s, the monk-painter Zhirong emphasized the ethereality and lightness of wan brushwork in order to convey almost total ambiguity about where one depicted form leaves off and other shapes in the painting begin.[18] In that modality, featuring a bare economy of strokes, there may be only a few dark touches amid the disappearing lines for eyelids, pupils, nostrils, or ear. Most of the Chan ink artists led obscure lives, since their efforts were not valued at home. In the fifteenth century, Sesshū, perhaps the last great medieval Japanese Zen ink painter who traveled to the mainland, experimented with the style of "splashed, or spilled, ink landscape painting" (*haboku sansuiga*) to suggest the artist's complete independence even from brushwork. Sesshū, influenced by his teacher, Shubun, developed an innovative landscape technique used in ink-wash painting to suggest mountains and water slowly receding into the misty background by revealing segments of white space left open between various scenes of the four seasons that are linked into one integrated scroll. This expanse of absence, known as *ma*, represents unarticulated yet unrestricted openness rather than mere vacuity or lack.

The final area of debate involves the role of various tools and techniques used for displaying art. Chinese painting had long promoted the notion of depicting "eight different views" (C. *bajing*, J. *hakkei*) of a particular natural setting, such as a lake or peak, and in Zen this multifaceted approach was applied to many other topics so as to feature the manifold paradoxical perspectives of human perception. Influenced by the native custom of creating a sequence of scrolls to tell a story, Japanese Zen producers of art invented triptychs and fourfold panels to link disparate images imported from China to form a common motif, and they also frequently decorated with art otherwise practical objects, such as screens, fans, and pots. Even the brushes, inkstands, and holders, in addition to the artist's stamp, were treated as valuable materials to be designed in special ways and adorned with ink strokes, finished with lacquer, or embellished with gold. Even a brush used for cleaning utensils and implements has a functional design elegant in its simplicity.

Perhaps the main innovation in Japanese art involved the increasing complexification of inscribed scrolls (*shijagiku*) or poem-with-painting designs covering a wide range of themes, such as geese flying by, an expanse of green mountains against white clouds, the moon shining over a gate, monks bidding farewell to departing visitors, and many more. No doubt the single most famous example was a scroll with several dozen inscriptions that now belongs to a subtemple of Myōshinji in Kyoto entitled *Catching a Catfish with a Gourd* (*Hyōnenzu*), as shown in Figure 8.3. Created around 1413 by Josetsu, a Chinese immigrant who stayed the rest of his life in Japan with official support, the painting shows a comical-looking man fishing against the background of a winding river and a bamboo grove. As a humorous response inspired by a riddle, "How do you catch a catfish with a gourd?" that was put to the participants in his salon by the shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimochi, himself an artist, the work can be viewed as a *kōan* in visual form. It is designed to provoke the viewer into observing the ordinary world from an enlightened standpoint, given the implausible task of capturing a slippery and slithery fish in the water with a small, hard, and inflexible curved object.

Unlike most other instances of the genre, in which thirty-one inscriptions were added later, for this piece the poets were gathered in a group and assigned the style of verse they should write, so that the overall effect of the collective effort is unusually orderly and complete but with a feel of spontaneity and release. Several of the accompanying verse remarks divulge with irony the meaning of the painting: "Using a gourd is a good

way to catch a catfish, / Yet, an even better way is to coat the gourd with oil"; "If you catch a fish with a gourd, then let's make a clear soup, / But if we don't have rice, then let's get some sand and cook it"; and "How can you pin the catfish with a gourd? / Well, the river's waters are broad and endless— / There are myriad ways to do it." This successful interfusion of various art forms with purposely self-contradictory philosophical commentary, as commissioned by the highest secular authority in the land, highlights the culmination of a remarkable century followed by a hundred-year aftermath of the transplantation and transformation of Chinese Chan into Japanese Zen.

Notes

1. Yukio Lippit, "Apparition Painting," *Anthropology and Aesthetics* 55–56 (2009): 78.
2. Jason Avi Protass, "Buddhist Monks and Chinese Poems: Song Dynasty Monastic Literary Culture," Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 2016, 90.
3. David Pollack, "Kokan Shiren and Musō Soseki: 'Chineseness' vs. 'Japaneseness' in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Japan," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 7, no. 2 (1984): 149.
4. Ibid., 91–92.
5. Kenneth L. Kraft, *Eloquent Zen: Daitō and Early Japanese Zen* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992), 143–44.
6. Ibid.
7. In *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, volume 48:331c6–9.
8. The best-known example of the classified collection of Chinese verse is the *Forest of Zen Verse* (*Zenrin kushū*) from 1688, which is said to be a revised version of a fifteenth-century collection.
9. See Steven Heine, *The Zen Poetry of Dōgen: Verses from the Mountain of Eternal Peace* (Boston: Tuttle, 1997), 88.
10. In *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, volume 48:164a25–28.
11. Moreover, Korean Zen master Taego Pou (1301–1382) added capping phrases to each line along with prose in addition to a final verse comment; see *A Buddha from Korea: The Zen Teachings of Taego*, trans. J. C. Cleary (Boston: Shambhala, 1988), 85–86.
12. In *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, volume 48:293c18.
13. Ibid., volume 48:147c7–8.
14. David Pollack, *Zen Poems of the Five Mountains* (New York: Scholars Press, 1985), 100.
15. Charles Egan, ed., *Clouds Thick, Whereabouts Unknown: Poems by Zen Monks of China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), no. 136.

16. Yukio Lippit, "Awakenings: The Development of the Zen Figural Pantheon," in Gregory Levine and Yukio Lippit, *Awakenings: Zen Figure Painting in Medieval Japan* (New York: Japan Society, 2007), 19–20.
17. Arthur Wesley Dow, *Composition: A Series of Exercises in Art Structure for the Use of Students and Teachers* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1914), 118.
18. Lippit, "Apparition Painting," 86.

Glossary of Names, Titles, and Terms

Note: In most cases the first term is the Chinese pronunciation with the Japanese after the slash, but when the Japanese is better-known, the Chinese is in parentheses. Historical lists are in chronological order, and miscellaneous items are listed in alphabetical order.

Historical Periods

Chinese Dynasties

Tang 唐, 618–907
Five Dynasties 五代, 907–960
Song 宋, 960–1279
  Bei (Northern) Song 北宋, 960–1126
  Nan (Southern) Song 南宋, 1227–1279
Yuan 元, 1271–1368
Ming 明, 1368–1644
Qing 清, 1644–1911

Japanese Eras

Nara 奈良, 710–794
Heian 平安, 794–1185
Kamakura 鎌倉, 1185–1333
Muromachi 室町, 1336–1573
Azuchi-Momoyama 安土桃山, 1568–1600
Tokugawa 徳川 *or* Edo 江戸, 1603–1868

Chinese Chan

Influential Monks Who Did Not Go to Japan, School

Fayan 法眼, 885–958, Fayan
Yanshou 永明, 904–975, Fayan
Xuedou 雪竇, 980–1052, Yunmen
Yuanwu 圜悟, 1063–1135, Linji
Huqui 虎丘, 1077–1136, Linji
Dahui 大慧, 1089–1163, Linji
Hongzhi 宏智, 1091–1157, Caodong
Zhirong 智融, 1114–1193, Linji
Songyuan 松源, 1132–1202, Linji
Boan 破庵 1136–1211, Linji
Liang Kai 梁楷, ca.1140–1210, Linji
Wuming 無明, 1160–1237, Linji
Rujing 如淨, 1163–1228, Caodong
Wansong 萬松, 1166–1246, Caodong
Wuzhun 無準, 1178–1249, Linji
Linquan 林泉, 12th century, Caodong
Wumen 無門, 1183–1260, Linji
Xutang 虛堂, 1185–1269, Linji
Duanqiao 斷橋, 1201–1261, Linji
Muqi 牧溪, ca. 1210–1269, Linji
Gaofeng 高峰, 1238–1295, Linji
Yunwai 雲外, 1242–1324, Caodong
Gulin 古林, 1262–1329, Linji
Zhongfeng 中峰, 1263–1323, Linji

Émigré Monks (Japanese Pronunciation), Year of Arrival

Wuan 兀庵, 1197–1276 (Gottan), 1260
Lanqi 蘭溪, 1213–1279 (Rankei), 1246
Daxiu 大休, 1214–1289 (Daikyū), 1269
Wuxue 無學, 1226–1286 (Mugaku), 1278
Yishan 一山, 1247–1317 (Issan), 1299
Mingji 明極, 1262–1336 (Minki), 1310s
Dongming 東明, 1272–1340 (Tōmyō), 1309
Qingzhuo 清拙, 1274–1339 (Seisetsu), 1326
Zhuxian 竺仙, 1292–1348 (Jokusen), 1320s
Dongling 東陵, d. 1365 (Tōryō), 1351
Josetsu 如拙, active early 15th century (only known in Japanese), 1380s

Temples, Five Mountains with*

Ayuwang 阿育王*
Damei 大梅
Jiashan夾山
Jingshan 徑山*
Jingci 淨慈*
Lingyin 靈隱*
Tiantong 天童*
Xuedou 雪竇

Japanese Zen

Pilgrims (Years of Journey), Sect

Kakua 覺阿, b. 1143 (1171), n/a
Eisai 栄西, 1141–1215 (1168, 1187–1191), Rinzai
Myōzen 明全, 1184–1225 (1223–1225), Rinzai
Dōgen 道元, 1200–1253 (1223–1227), Sōtō
Enni 圓爾, 1202–1280 (1235–1241); also known as Shengyi/Shōichi 聖一, Rinzai
Kakushin 覺心, 1207–1298 (1249–1254), Rinzai
Mukan 無関, 1212–1291 (1251–1263), Rinzai
Giin 義尹, 1217–1300 (1254–1256), Sōtō
Gikai 義介, 1219–1309 (1259–1262), Sōtō
Muzō 無象, 1234–1306 (1254–1266), Rinzai
Daiō 大應 (Nampo 南浦), 1235–1308 (1259–1267), Rinzai
Mokuan 黙庵, d. 1345 (1329–1345), Rinzai
Sesson 雪村, 1290–1348 (1308–1239), Rinzai
Daichi 大智, 1290–1366 (1314–1325), Sōtō
Jakuhitsu 寂室, 1290–1367 (1321–1326), Rinzai
Getsurin 月林, 1293–1351 (1320s), Rinzai
Betsugen 別源, 1294–1364 (1320–133), Rinzai
Chūgan 中巖円, 1300–1375 (1318–1325), Rinzai
Tesshū 鐵舟, d. 1366 (1332–1341), Rinzai
Shubun 周文, d. ca. 1444–50, Rinzai
Sesshū 雪舟, 1420–1506 (1468–1469), Rinzai

Monks Who Did Not Travel, Sect

Nōnin 能忍, d. ca. 1196, Daruma
Taikō 退耕, 1163–1241, Rinzai
Mujū 無住, 1226–1312, Rinzai

Kennichi 顯日, 1241–1316, Rinzai
Giun 義雲, 1253–1333, Sōtō
Keizan 瑩山, 1264–1325, Sōtō
Kakumyō 覺明, 1271–1361, Rinzai
Musō 夢窓, 1275–1351, Rinzai
Gasan 峨山, 1275–1366, Sōtō
Kanzan 関山, 1277–1360, Rinzai
Kokan 虎関, 1278–1347, Rinzai
Daitō 大燈 (Shūhō 宗峰), 1282–1337, Rinzai
Tsūgen 通幻, 1323–1391, Sōtō
Gidō 義堂, 1325–1388, Rinzai
Gennō 源翁, 1329–1400, Sōtō
Zekkai 絶海, 1336–1405, Rinzai
Ryōan 庵慧, 1337–1411, Sōtō
Ikkyū 一休, 1394–1481, Rinzai
Taikyoku 太極 b. 1421, Rinzai

Temples, Date, Place, Founder (Sect)

Shōfukuji 聖福寺, 1191, Kyushu, Eisai (Rinzai)
Jufukuji 寿福寺, 1200, Kamakura, Eisai (Rinzai)
Kenninji 建仁寺, 1202, Kyoto, Eisai (Rinzai)
Kōshōji 興聖寺, 1233, Kyoto, Dōgen (Sōtō)
Jōtenji 承天寺, 1241, Kyushu, Enni (Rinzai)
Tōfukuji 東福寺, 1243, Kyoto, Enni (Rinzai)
Eiheiji 永平寺, 1244, Fukui, Dōgen (Sōtō)
Kenchōji 建長寺, 1253, Kamakura, Lanqi (Rinzai)
Hōkyōji 宝慶寺, 1262, Hokuriku, Jakuen (Sōtō)
Daijiji 大慈寺, 1278, Kyushu, Giin (Sōtō)
Daijōji 大乘寺, 1283, Hokuriku, Gikai (Sōtō)
Engakuji 円覚寺, 1282, Kamakura, Wuxue (Rinzai)
Jōmyōji 浄妙寺, 1288, Kamakura, Taikō (Rinzai)
Manjuji 万寿寺, late 12th century, Kyoto, Daiō and early abbot (Rinzai)
Nanzenji 南禅寺, 1291, Kamakura, Mukan (Rinzai)
Daitokuji 大徳寺, 1319, Kyoto, Daitō (Rinzai)
Sōjiji 總持寺, 1321, Keizan, Hokuriku (Sōtō)
Myōshinji 妙心寺, 1337, Kyoto, Kanzan (Rinzai)
Tenryūji 天龍寺, 1339, Kyoto, Musō (Rinzai)
Shōkokuji 相国寺, 1383, Kyoto, Shun'oku (Rinzai)
Jōchiji 浄智寺, late 14th century, Kamakura, Daxiu (Rinzai, originally 1188 as Esoteric Buddhism)

Early Texts, Year Imported or Published

Yanshou, *Record of Source Mirror* (*Zongjinglu*, J. *Shūgyōroku* 宗鏡錄), 12th century (written 10th century)
Eisai, *Protection of the State Through Zen* (*Kozen gokokuron* 興禅護国論), 1198
Eisai, *Treatise on the Health Benefits of Drinking Tea* (*Kissa yōjoki* 喫茶養生記), 1211
Multiple, *Five Mountains and Other Temples* (*Gozan jissatsu* 五山十刹), 1250
Dōgen, *Treasury of the True Dharma Eye* (*Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼蔵), completed 1252
Dōgen, *Extensive Record* (*Eihei kōroku* 永平廣録), completed 1252
Wumen, *Wumen's Barrier* (*Wumenguan*/*Mumonkan* 無門関), 1254 (1229)
Enni, *Classification of Buddhist Schools* (*Jisshū yōdōki* 十宗要道記), 1250s
Xuedou, *One Hundred Verse Comments* (*Xuedou baize songguji* 雪竇百則頌古集), 1267 (1028)
Muzō, *Extensive Zen Records* (*Kōzenki* 廣禅記), 1272
Mujū, *Tales of Sand and Pebbles* (*Shasekishū* 沙石集), 1283
Senne and Kyōgo, *Comments on Treasury of the True Dharma Eye* (*Goshō* 御抄), 1280s
Zongze, *Zen Monastic Rules* (*Chanyuan qingqui*/*Zen'en shingi* 禅苑清規), 1280s (1103)
Various, *Ten Oxherding Pictures* (*Shiniutu*/*Jūgyūzū* 十牛図), 1280s
Various, *Five Mountains Edition* (Gozan-ban 五山版), from 1289
Keizan, *Transmission of the Light* (*Denkōroku*) 傳光録, 1300
Yuanwu, *Blue Cliff Record* (*Biyanlu*/*Hekiganroku* 碧巖錄), 1326 (originally 1128)
Daitō, *Capping Phrase Comments on the Blue Cliff Record* (*Hekigan agyō* 碧巖下語), 1330s
Musō, *Dialogues in a Dream* (*Muchū mondō* 夢中問答), 1330s
Kokan, *Genkō Era History of Buddhist Teachings* (*Genkō shakusho* 元亨釈書), 1330s
Wansong, *Record of Serenity* (*Congronglu*/*Shōyōroku* 從容録), 16th century (originally 1224)

Shogunate Supporters

Hōjō Masako 北条政子, 1158–1225
Hōjō Tokiyori 北条時頼 5th, 1227–1263 (r. 1246–1256)
Hōjō Tokimune 北条時宗 6th, 1251–1284 (r. 1268–1284)
Hōjō Sadatoki 北条貞時 7th, 1271–1311 (r. 1284–1301)
Hōjō Takatoki 北条高時 9th, 1303–1333 (r. 1316–1326)
Ashikaga Tadayoshi 足利直義, 1306–1352
Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 1st, 1305–1358 (r. 1338–1357)
Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満, 3rd, 1358–1408 (r. 1368–1394)
Ashikaga Yoshimochi 足利義持, 4th, 1386–1428 (r. 1395–1423)
Ashikaga Yoshimasa 足利義政, 8th, 1436–1490 (r. 1449–1473)

Other Chan/Zen Figures

Bodhidharma 菩提達磨, 6th century
Huike 慧可, 487–593
Daoxin 道信, 580–651
Dōshō 道昭, 629–700
Huineng 惠能, 638–713
Daoxuan 道璿, 702–760
Mazu 馬祖, 709–788
Yaoshan 藥山, 745–827
Baizhang 百丈, 749–814
Linji 臨済, d. 866
Yigong 儀空, 9th century
Huangbo 黃檗, d. 850
Deshan 德山, d. 865
Zhaozhou 趙州, 778–897
Yantou 巖頭, 828–887
Baoshou 保壽, 830–888
Xiangyan 香嚴, d. 898
Fayan 法眼, 855–958
Yunmen 雲門, 862–949
Sansheng 三聖, 9th century
Li Ao 李翺, 9th century
Hanshan 寒山, 9th century
Shide 拾得, 9th century
Fenggan 豐干, 9th century
Deshao 德韶, 891–972
Yangqi 楊岐, 992–1049
Huanglong 黃龍, 1002–1069
Touzi 投子, 1032–1083
Daokai 道楷, 1043–1118
Zhang Shangying 張商英, 1043–1121
Wuzu 四睡, 1047–1104
Zongze 宗賾, d. 1107
Foguo 佛果 [*see* Yuanwu]
Fojian 佛鑑, 1059–1117
Foyan 佛眼, 1067–1120
Xu'an 虛庵, 1125–1195
Ji Gong 濟公, 1130–1207
Jinul 知訥, 1158–1210
Yelu Chucai 耶律楚材, 1190–1244
Jakuen (Jiyuan) 寂円, 1207–1299

Miyamoto 宮本, 1584–1655
Takuan 沢庵, 1573–1645
Yinyuan (Ingen) 隱元, 1592–1673
Mujaku 無著, 1653–1744
Tenkei 天桂, 1648–1735
Menzan 面山, 1683–1769
Suzuki Daisetsu 鈴木大拙, 1870–1966
Awa Kenzō 阿波研造, 1880–1939
Nishitani Keiji 西谷啓治, 1900–1990
Fukushima Keidō 福島慶道, 1933–2011

Miscellaneous

Amida 阿彌陀
Amino Yoshihiko 網野善彦, 1928–2004
ango 安居
Anwan 安晚, n.d.
bajing/hakkei 八景
baika 梅花
Bai Juyi 白居易, 772–846
bokuseki 墨跡
Budai/Hotei 布袋
Busshin 仏心
Caodong/Sōtō 曹洞
Chachan yiwei/Chazen ichimi 茶禅一味
Chan/Zen 禅 (also: 禪)
Chanbing/Zenbyō 禅病
Chan wai 禪外
Chan yu 禪餘
Chanzong/Zenshū 禅宗
Chōmei 長明, 1153–1216
Chōgen 重源, 1121–1206
chujia/shukke 出家
Daigenshūri (Daquanxiuli) 大權修理
Daibutsu 大佛
daiyu/daigo 代語
Damo/Daruma 達磨
dao/dō *or* michi 道
Daodejing 道德經
Dazangjing/Daizōkyō 大藏經
dianxiang/chinzō 頂相
dokusan 独参

Eihei goroku 永平語錄
ema 絵馬
en-mitsu-zen-kai 圓密禅戒
Ennin 圓仁 *or* 円仁, 794–864
Enryakuji 延暦寺
fangzhang/hōjō 方丈
fatang/hattō 法堂
fayu/hōgo 法語
fengshui/fūsui 風水
fodian/butsuden 仏殿
Fudōchi shinmyōroku 不動智神妙録
Fujiwara 藤原
Fujiwara Shunzei 藤原俊成, 1114–1204
Fujiwara Teika 藤原定家, 1162–1241
Gaoseng chuan/*Kōsōden* 高僧伝
Gaozong 高宗, 1107–1187 (r. 1127–1162)
gendaigoyaku 現代語訳
Genji monogatari 源氏物語
genjōkōan (xianzheng gongan) 現成 公案
Genjū 幻住
Go-Daigo 後醍醐, 1288–1339 (r. 1318–1339)
goi (wuwei) 五位
gongen 権現
Gorinsho 五輪書
Gozan (Wushan) 五山
Gozan-ban 五山版
Gozan Bungaku (Wushan Wenxue) 五山文学
Gozan Bunka (Wushan Wenhua) 五山文化
Guanyin/Kannon 觀音
Gyohyo 行表, 724–797
guan/kan 関
Guiyang 潙仰
haboku sansuiga 破墨山水画
Hakusan 白山
Hanazono 花園天皇, 1297–1348 (r. 1308–1318)
hanzi/kanji 漢字
Hatano 波多, n.d.
Heike monogatari 平家物語
Hekizan nichiroku 碧山日錄
Hieizan 比叡山
hijiri 聖
Hitomaro 人麻呂, ca. 7th century

hitsudan 筆談
Hōjōki 方丈記
Hokkekyō 法華宗
Hokuriku 北陸
Hōnen 法然, 1133–1212
hongaku 本覚
honji suijaku 本地垂迹
Hossō 法相
Huizong 徽宗, 1082–1135 (r. 1100–1125)
Hyōnenzu 瓢鮎図
ichigo ichie 一期一会
jakugo 着語
ji/ge 偈
Jimon 寺門
jing/kyō *or* kin 經
jiaowai biezhuan/kyōge betsuden 教外別傳
jiriki 自力
jisei 辞世
jisong/gejū 偈頌
Jōdo 浄土
Jōdo-shin 浄土真
jun-kanbun 純漢文
jushi/nyūshitsu 入室
kaeriten 返り点
kami 神
kamikaze 神風
Kana 仮名
Kanbun 漢文
kanshi 漢詩
kare sansui 枯山水
kata 形
Kawabata Yasunari 川端康成, 1899–1972
kiede 消えで
kikigakishō 聞き書き抄
Kinkakuji 金閣寺
kirigami 切り紙
kitō 祈祷
Kitsune 狐
kōan (gongan) 公案
kotoba 言葉
Kujō Michiie 九条道家, 1193–1252
Kūkai 空海, 774–835

Kuki Shūzō 九鬼周造, 1888–1941
kundoku 訓読
kun'yomi 訓読み
kūshu genkyō 空手還郷
Li Gonglin 李公麟, ca. 1049–1105
Linji/Rinzai 臨濟
luohan/rakan 羅漢
ma 間
mainichi shugyōji 毎日諸行事
Minamoto Sanetomo 源実朝, 1192–1219 (r. 1203–1219)
momei 墨梅
mondō 問答
mondō furoku 問答不録
muen・kugai・raku 無縁・公界・楽
Nagare Engo (Yuanwu) 流れ圜悟
nembutsu 念仏
nianxang/nenkō 拈香
Nichiren 日蓮, 1222–1282
Noh 能
omikuji お御籤
Ōnin 応仁
Onjōji 園城寺
on'yomi 音読み
Ō-Tō-Kan 応灯関
ping 平
Puji 普寂, 651–739
Putuoshan 普陀山
Rashōmon 羅城門
renga 連歌
Rikyū 利休, 1522–1591
Ritsu 律
rohatsu 臘八
Ryōanji 龍安寺
Saichō 最澄, 767–822
samu 作務
Sanmon 山門
sansheng/sanshō 散聖
Sansuikyō 山水經
sanzen 参禅
satori 悟り
sengga/sōka僧伽
sengtang/sōdō 僧堂

Sennyūji 泉涌寺
sesshin 接心
sesshō seki 殺生石
shangtang/jōdō 上堂
shanmen/sanmon 山門 (also 三門)
shichan yizhi/shizen itchi 詩禪一致
shichidō garan 七堂伽藍
shijagiku 詩画軸
shikan taza 只管打坐
shimo 詩魔
Shingon 真言
shinjin datsuraku 身心脱落
Shinkokinshū 新古今集
Shinran 親鸞, 1173–1262
shippei 竹篦
shogun 将軍
shōtai chōyō 聖胎長養
shugendō 修験道
Shunjō 俊芿, 1166–1227
Shun'oku 春屋, 1311–1388
shushō ittō 修証一等
Sishui/*Shisui* 四睡
songgu/juko 頌古
Su Shi 蘇軾, 1037–1101
suibokuga/shuimohua 水墨画
sumi-e 墨絵
suzushi 涼し
taigi 大疑
Tamekane 為兼, 1254–1332
Tanabe Hajime 田辺元, 1885–1962
Tanjing 壇經
tariki 他力
temizu 手水
Tendai (Tiantai) 天台
Tenjin Michizane 天神道真
Tōdaiji 東大寺
torii 鳥居
Tōtō Tenjin 渡唐天神
Tengu 天狗
tenzo (duonzuo) 典座
Tsuragaoka Hachiman 鶴岡八幡
waka 和歌

wakan konkōbun 和漢混交文
Wanshi 宏智
Watsuji Tetsurō 和辻哲郎, 1889–1960
wenwu yizhi/bunbu itchi 文武一致
Wenzi Chan/Bunji Zen 文字禪
wu/mu 無
Wujia/Goke 五家
Wuzong 武宗, 814–846 (r. 840–846)
xin/shin *or* kokoro 心
xiaocan/shōsan 小參
xiayu/agyo 下語
Xiyouji 西遊記
xu yiju/zoku ikku 續一句
yamabushi 山伏
Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山, 1922–2006
Yang Wanli 楊萬里, 1127–1206
yayun 押韻
yiji/yuige 遺偈
yizhuanyu/ittengo 一轉語
Yulu/Goroku 語錄
zan/san 贊
zazen (zuochan) 坐禪
zazen ishi 座禪石
ze 仄
Zeami 世阿弥, 1363–1443
Zenrin kushū 禅林句集
zhiyin/chi'in 知音
Zhu Xi 朱熹, 1130–1200
zizan/jisan 自贊
zong/shū 宗
zushitu/soshizu 祖師像

Recommended Readings

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