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Branding the Leading Mountain of Southeast China: Studies on the Lingyin Monastic Gazetteers

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Branding the Leading Mountain of Southeast China:

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A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

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by

Philip Wei-li Hsu

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

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Philip Wei-li Hsu

Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures
University of California, Los Angeles, 2021
Professor Robert E. Buswell, Jr., Chair

This dissertation analyzes the editorship of Lingyin monastery's six monastic gazetteers compiled over the past five centuries, by focusing on both the genealogy and the editorial process followed in compiling the gazetteers themselves. This research investigates how gazetteers were compiled, the motives behind their compilation, and the significance of these gazetteers to Buddhist historiography in both Chinese and East Asian historical contexts. Unlike Buddhist canonical texts, the monastic gazetteer is a structured compilation that sheds light on Buddhist historiographical writing; it serves as a conduit through which scholars may enter a monastery's past. In addition to the extensive prefaces to the monastic gazetteers, I examine specific fascicles, including writings on monastic history, the geographic landscape of the monastic territory, the monastery's dominant dharma lineage and writings of or on notable clergy, and tourists' poems preserved in the gazetteers. The Lingyin monastic gazetteers demonstrate that the monastery adapts and revises the content of existing writing to represent the life of notable individuals in the monastery's history, omits unfavorable writings that would bring potential political persecution, and utilizes literary content to shape the preferred image of the monastery. The gazetteers' final products

reflect the Buddhist clergy's stance, and demonstrate how the relationships between the clergy, literati, and the state changed over time. The texts also show how editorial processes establish and restore the monastery's self-image, or its religious and institutional brand.

I focus on the monastic gazetteer as a genre, the similarities and differences of its content and structure with other concurrent publications, and how its structure was reorganized so that the gazetteer became one in a series that portrayed the desired image of the monastery. On the surface, the gazetteer appears to be the monastery's outreach to an external readership, providing descriptive information on the monastery itself and honoring its secular donors. However, I argue that the Lingyin monastic gazetteer editors' true focus was not on its local or cultural context but instead its religious content, honoring late or incumbent abbots and promoting the Sanfeng (or Three-Peaks; Ch. 三峰) school of the Chan (Jp. Zen) lineage. These efforts were successful throughout the Qing dynasty.

A case study of the Lingyin monastic gazetteers allows us to reconstruct the monastery's rich history through providing an account of the monastery's major historical events in chronological sequence. It reveals critical aspects of how the monks coordinated with literati to promote the monastery, how Buddhists portrayed themselves, and how monasteries branded themselves to the public through textual means. The products show the flexibility of the clergy-literati collaboration and present the changing strategies in responding to socio-political change over time. Through the publication of monastic gazetteers, the clergy brands and rebrands the monastery as well as keeps the monastic records archived and updated. Gazetteers thus allow the monastery to properly present its own self-image, securing its own religious tradition and attracting potential support from various forces.

The dissertation of Philip Wei-li Hsu is approved.

William M. Bodiford

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University of California, Los Angeles

2021

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Acknowledgements

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P.W.H

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Philip Wei-li Hsu received a BA in History from National Chengchi University (Taipei, Taiwan) in 2004, and a MA in History from National Tsinghua University (Hsinchu, Taiwan) in 2007. His main research interests focus on the social and cultural history of Chinese Buddhism during the Ming, Qing, Republican, and Contemporary periods.

Introduction

This dissertation examines the relationship between historiography and textual editorship by exploring the genre of Buddhist monastic gazetteers. I examine the genre's origins, its relevance to studies on Chinese history, the different varieties of monastic gazetteers, the relationship between the state and clergy as reflected in the gazetteers, and their historiographical significance. This research shows that there are several components crucial for establishing the legitimacy of a monastery in the classical world of China: for example, 1) the geographical space upon which the monastery sites should be sacred, either through legendary establishment or through documented sacred occurrences at the site; 2) the heritage of monks residing in the monastery should be from an authoritative and verifiable lineage of dharma transmission; and 3) the monastery itself should exhibit documented historical authority through the establishment of textual records in the form of a gazetteer.

The monastic gazetteer lies outside the traditional canon of Buddhist texts, and, as a result, scholars of the religion typically fail to adequately address these texts and account for this genre's significance in their accounts of the tradition.[1] Despite this neglect, monastic gazetteers remain powerfully rich sources of literary and historical content that shed valuable light on Buddhist historiographical writing and consciousness. Furthermore, the gazetteers of the Lingyin monastery list many non-Buddhist literati as their main compilers. Critically,

[1] On the definition and categorization of the Chinese Buddhist canon, see Jiang Wu, "The Chinese Buddhist Canon Through the Ages: Essential Categories and Critical Issues in the Study of a Textual Tradition," in Wu Jiang and Lucille Chia eds. *Spreading Buddha's Word in East Asia: The Formation and Transformation of the Chinese Buddhist Canon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 15–45, especially 26–29.

this occurrence demonstrates that not only were members of the Buddhist clergy instrumental in the editorial stages and final approval of these texts, but that Chinese literati also inserted themselves into the preparation and shaping of these documents. Therefore, the editorial relationship between clergy and literati provides leverage for the monastery to weave an explicit agenda into its gazetteers, one that moves beyond simply recording the history of local events. On the surface, the gazetteer appears to be the monastery's outreach to an external readership, providing descriptive information on the monastery itself and honoring its secular donors. I argue, however, that the editor's true focus differs from gazetteer to gazetteer, from honoring late or incumbent abbots, or promoting the Chan Buddhist school, to providing a vision of the future or the monastery's historical significance to the public.

Regarding Buddhist institutional history, James Robson suggests that in addition to traditional Buddhist texts, more non-canonical texts such as literary works, local and monastic gazetteers should be taken into account.[2] My research illustrates that the compilation and publication of a monastic gazetteer first relies heavily on a cooperative relationship between the clergy and non-Buddhist learned scholars, and textual production ultimately depends on raising the necessary funding for publication. Most prominent Chinese monasteries often have only one extant monastic gazetteer.[3] The fact that Lingyin

[2] James Robson, "Introduction: 'Neither too far, nor too near': The historical and cultural contexts of Buddhist monasteries in medieval China and Japan," in James A. Benn, Lori Meeks, and Jamese Robson eds. *Buddhist Monasticism in East Asia: Places of Practice* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 15.

[3] Limited monastic gazetteers mention the resources the monasteries used to publish their gazetteers. Even though most monastic gazetteers are co-edited by the clergy and literati, the gazetteer itself is rarely treated as a "religious text" that could potentially create a "textual community." On Chan "textual communities" of the

monastery has six complete monastic gazetteers allows scholars to examine the monastery's history from multiple perspectives. Moreover, the "continued," "expanded," and "updated" features within the Lingyin monastic gazetteers allow the clergy and editors to include information thought significant or missing in the previous versions, and even omit problematic material due to self-censorship or other editorial concerns. The role of Buddhist monastic gazetteers tells the story of a specific locale, of the people inhabiting the space, and how they dealt with internal and external affairs. A careful study of these aspects is valuable to the study of Buddhist monasticism, Buddhist history, Chinese textuality, and the relationship between the state and local religion in both past and present.

As Albert Welter has pointed out, imperial support and official recognition were important for the success of the Chan movement in China.[4] Even though early Chan texts rarely mention the significance of the relationship between clerics and officials, it is in fact a predicated factor. In the process of being officially recognized by the state, officials and literati helped—or even played a determining role—in the Chan school's shaping the style of its materials, including records of its lineage, teachings, and conversations. Texts related to Chan masters and their writings are widely found in the gazetteer materials. These arrangements enabled the gazetteers to serve multiple purposes: they were not only geographical compilations (which is how the imperial government categorizes them) but also sources that historicized related writings in order to solidify the dharma lineage that has been

monks and the literati in the Jiangnan region, see Jiang Wu, "Explaining the Rise and Fall of Chan Buddhism," in Wu Jiang, *Enlightenment in Dispute: The Reinvention of Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-Century China* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 245–263; especially 249–256.

[4] Albert Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), chapter 2.

present at the monastery. More of these "contextualization" and "historicization" of Buddhist movements are seen in biographies of monks in which prominent figures established or revived a certain Buddhist sect, but related writings are "bundled" into a monastic gazetteer that as a whole illustrates the rich materials related to a specific Buddhist school and restates its teachings. However, not all monasteries kept enough materials to publish such compilations, which is also why the Lingyin monastery's gazetteers are such precious documents.

Research Materials

This study examines the gazetteers of Lingyin monastery, arguably the most notable Buddhist monastery in southeast China. Through investigating the structure, content, and compilation history of five gazetteers published across five centuries, this research looks into Lingyin monastery's historical role through social, political, and religious lenses in Chinese history.

As the Lingyin monastic gazetteers are this research's main material, textual analysis and close reading of the texts are understandably the major method of this study. This research looks into various monastic gazetteers and will explore the value and implications of Lingyin monastery gazetteers in the study of Chinese Buddhist history.

By examining the Lingyin monastic gazetteers, this dissertation will demonstrate how such non-canonical materials may be incorporated into the study of Buddhism, which will benefit not only Buddhist studies, but also historical and religious studies more broadly.[5]

[5] For example, epistolary writing is another overlooked non-canonical material in previous scholarship. See Natasha Heller, "Halves and Holes: Collections, Networks, and Epistolary Practices of Chan Monks," in Antje Richter ed. *A History of Chinese Letters and Epistolary Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 721–743.

While it would be a mistake to neglect traditional Buddhist canonical classics, integrating more materials, such as Buddhist monastic gazetteers, into our research offers new bases for future studies that will be more comprehensive in scope. To this end, it is necessary to briefly lay out the history and relevant primary sources of Lingyin monastery.

The individualization of monastic gazetteers and monastic codes provides useful information for researchers to effectively approach how the monastery was organized (or at least was planned to be), and to what degree the monastery differs from others. The nature of the material might at first seem to limit the discussion and argument, but it provides a unique perspective that would help us respond to larger questions.

There is a tendency in Chinese historiography of exaggerating the history of one's own while understating the history of others. For example, local gazetteers record everything glorious about that place. Monastic gazetteers follow a similar pattern in recording the details of the monastery, such as monastic codes providing an ideal vision of how the monastery should be operated.[6] Later monasteries became more practical and started to compile specific codes of conduct that can serve their own needs, which also provides information that is more valuable for outsiders to differentiate one monastery from another. Some monastic gazetteers even include monastic codes that they are aware of the "ideal lifestyle"

[6] Monastic codes are also materials that reflect how the clergies in Buddhist monasteries should abide by. In the Chinese Chan context, monastic codes are also understood as "pure rules" (*qinggui*). Whereas Yifa in her thorough translation and annotation of the *Chanyuan qinggui*, one of the most earliest extant monastic codes, says that the text was modeled on the format of the notable *Baizhang qinggui*, Griffith Foulk argues that the whole Chan tradition was *de facto* a myth, and as Baizhang codes are not extant, it is risky to assume that the *Chanyuan qinggui* follows this trajectory without any substantial alteration. See Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*; Griffth Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism."

that the clergy abides by, while more monasteries simply have their own set of monastic codes.[7] These codes are customarily compiled to regulate their clergy based on their monastery's historical development or adjustments based on their current condition.

Each of the authors who contributed in the monastic gazetteer represents a node in a larger network centered on Lingyin monastery. Even though the Lingyin gazetteers all start with the monastery's geographical landscape, their longest section is still the biographies of abbots, prominent monk figures, patrons (those who left sufficient materials are usually literati), and poems or works by the people mentioned above. Each of these details were crucial how the readers imagine the monastery. With the choices to edit out certain biographical materials and literary works that record major events, the editors of the gazetteers were highly influencial in representing the history of Lingyin monastery.

During Emperor Ning's reign, Lingyin monastery was promoted to become one of the prestigious monasteries among the "Five Mountains," which made it the most prominent officially-recognized Chan monastery in the Song. The establishment of the "Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries" 五山十刹 (Wushan Shicha) system allowed Jingshan monastery 徑山寺, Lingyin monastery, and Jingci monastery 淨慈寺 of Hangzhou, and Ayuwang (Aśoka) monastery 阿育王寺 and Tiantong monastery 天童寺 of Ningbo 寧波 to gain official recognition and thereby became popular among the clergy (e,g., to study under notable Chan masters or to become the abbot of the monastery) and literati (who visit the monasteries for

[7] Such as Yunqi Zhuhong's (1535–1615) regulations for his Yunqi monastery. See Yü Chun-fang, "Chu-hung's Monastic Reform: The Yün-chi Monastery," 192–222.

the scenery or friendship with Buddhists).[8] The "Five Mountains" system was not as active after the Yuan-Ming transition, more specifically speaking, after Ming Taizu tightened the regulations on religious institutions.[9] Even though the extent of its influence on the local level remains unclear, major monasteries including most of the Five Mountains did encounter difficulties. The early Ming is arguably the watershed point when the "Four Famous Mountains of Buddhism" as religious sacred sites thrived in different places instead of within one region like Jiangnan 江南. Each mountain has one or more of its own gazetteers, but the *Sida Mingshan zhi* 四大名山志, compiled by Yin'guang 印光 (1866-1940), a prominent monk during the early twentieth century, can be seen as the monastic gazetteer that cements this notion of the "Four Famous Mountains," since it compiles into a single compilation the gazetteers of Mt. Jiuhua 九華山, Mt. Putuo 普陀山, Mt. Emei 峨眉山, and Mt. Qingliang 清涼山 (Wutai 五台).[10] Yinguang wrote prefaces for each of these gazetteers, but the fact that earlier prefaces are also included in implies that there were more than one edition of each of these mountain's gazetteers. These four mountain sites have been the

[8] See Kinya Sekiguchi's 関口欣也 (1932–2020) general overview on the Chinese and Japanese "Five Mountains" system: *Gozan to Zen'in* 五山と禅院. A recent synthesis on the development of the Five Mountains in China and Japan, see Lan Richang, *Lun Song Yuan Wushan guansi dui Chanzong dongchuan Riben de yingxiang* 論宋元五山官寺對禪宗東傳日本的影響 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 2020).

[9] Yü Chün-fang. "Ming Buddhism," in Denis C. Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote eds. *The Cambridge History of China Volume 8: The Ming Dynasty, Part 2: 1368–1644* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 893–952.

[10] On Yinguang, see Jan Kiely, "The Charismatic Monk and the Chanting Masses: Master Yinguang and his Pure Land Revival Movement," in David Ownby, Vincent Goossaert, and Ji Zhe eds. *Making Saints in Modern China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 30-77.

subject of scholarly monographs.[11]

In the prefaces that Yinguang wrote for the "Four Famous Mountains" gazetteers, he criticized past gazetteers as being too focused on the geographical landscape. He instead emphasized the relationship of *ganying* 感應 (sensation and response) or *yinghua* 應化 (manifestation in response) of the bodhisattvas with these sacred sites. Given that we know Yinguang's critique of the coverage in earlier gazetteers is correct, how did major monasteries such as Lingyinsi present themselves in their gazetteers? We are concerned not only with how landscape and buildings are represented and written in diagrams and descriptions, but also with how (or even if) a resident bodhisattva's *ganying* stories, such as those Yinguang emphasized, were described in the text.[12] This is a crucial point, as Buddhist monasteries are often designed to respond to a pilgrims' expectations, while also showing its "sacredness" at the same time. The splendour of the buildings is one way of demonstrating the sacredness of the monastery. However, even more than the infrastructure, it is often the gazetteer that lasts longer and will have an even greater impact on the perception of the monastery's fortunes. For this reason, the compilation of gazetteers was never a simple process, and their editors had to balance many competing forces, both internal and external.

When reading the gazetteers, there are seveal preliminary questions that ought to be asked: What content has been added or omitted? How did different agents write on the same topic?; And lastly, who was their intended audience? Thus, in addition to comparing the similarities and differences between the Lingyin monastic gazetteers, comparing the

[11] For example, see James Hargett's study on Mt. Emei (2006), and Lin Wei-Cheng's recent work on Mt. Wutai as a sacred mountain (2014).

[12] See, for example, Yinguang's interpretation and stories on *ganying* or *yinghua* in the preface written for the Mt. Jiuhua, Mt. Putuo, and Mt. Emei gazetteers.

gazetteers with those of the "Famous Four Mountains" will also facilitate an understanding of how concerns and focus differ between gazetteers compiled during the Ming-Qing transition and the Republican period. The major challenge of comparing the content and authors of Lingyin monastery and those of the "Famous Four Mountains," is that "common people" who often went on pilgrimage to a religious site usually do not leave as much or as detailed information to effectively engage in meaningful prosopographical research.

With the transformation and development of Buddhism in Asia, many materials related to Buddhism were produced but were not included in the traditional canon. Of these, Buddhist monk's external writings to non-Buddhists are one important body of literature; monastic gazetteers are another. Monastic gazetteers (Ch. 寺志) relate the "history of the monastery." Their structure and content are similar to local gazetteers but represents the history of one or multiple monasteries. The earliest source whose conception is closest to a "monastic gazetteer" is perhaps the *Luoyang Qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (Records of the Luoyang Monasteries) compiled during the Northern Wei 北魏 (386-534).[13] The reason why it is not considered a gazetteer is due to its title as "*ji*," which means "record" instead of "*zhi*," a "monograph" tradition that perhaps succeeded from Sima Qian's *Shiji*'s historical tradition.[14] *Records of the Luoyang Monasteries* record the development of Buddhist monasteries in Luoyang, back when the city was the capital of the empire. Thereafter, similar gazetteers that specifically record the histories of multiple monasteries within a city were mostly published

[13] See Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之, and Wang Yi-t'ung 王伊同, *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang.*

[14] See Marcus Bingenhaimer's interpretation in*Island of Guanyin: Mount Putuo and Its Gazetteers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 5–7.

during the late Ming, such as Ge Yinliang's 葛寅亮 (1570-1646) *Jinling Fancha zhi* 金陵梵刹志, which is on monasteries in modern Nanjing, and Wu Zhijing's 吳之鯨 (*juren* 1609) *Wulin Fanzhi* 武林梵志, which is on monasteries in Hangzhou.[15] The numbers of gazetteers on individual monasteries peaked during the Ming-Qing period.

The disciplinary rules and regulations followed in the monastery, the dharma transmission of the masters, and the monastery's assets and property were also typically included in the monastic gazetteers. This research will present how the Lingyin monastic gazetteers were compiled and the major differences with other gazetteers among the five mountains, demonstrating that monasteries regarded as being of similar prestige were spontaneously competing and cooperating with each other. Recently, Joe Dennis' comprehensive investigation of local gazetteers[16] from 1100 to 1700 presents the rise and peak of compilation of local gazetteers; this study provides a Buddhist perspective, by undertaking a major, *longue durée* study of one specific set of monastic gazetteers. Furthermore, this research places the six extant Lingyin monastic gazetteers within the context of Hangzhou Buddhism, using *Wulin Fanzhi,* for example, to clarify the organization of a group monastic gazetteers and individual monastic gazetteers.

Based on a rough calculation, currently there are more than 240 extant monastic gazetteers in the Chinese Buddhist tradition.[17] It would be ideal to conduct a thorough

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[15] This research uses the Wanli version of *Jinlin Fancha zhi* (collected in the SKCM) and both the Wanli and *Siku* versions of *Wulin Fanzhi*.

[16] Joseph Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Gazetteers in Imperial China, 1100-1700* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015).

[17] See Bingenhaimer's calculation, in his *Island of Guanyin: Mount Putuo and Its Gazetteers*, 4.

investigation of all the gazetteers; however, focusing on the gazetteers on one notable monastery will also deepen our understanding of the nature of monastic gazetteers as a genre. In general, most of the monasteries only have one extant gazetteer since compiling and publishing such massive texts require a significant amount of resources. But Lingyin monastery of Hangzhou currently has six extant gazetteers, which provide a relatively detailed history of the monastery over more than four centuries, thus making the monastery a unique case among other monasteries. Therefore, studying the background and the history of the Lingyin monastery and the compilation of its gazetteers provides a representative example of Chinese Buddhist monasteries and their portrayal in this genre. A brief overview of the five Lingyin monastic gazetteers follows (As for table of contents of each gazetteer, see Appendix: Table of Contents of the Six Lingyin Monastic Gazetteers):

1. Sun Gazetteer 1672 [1888; 1980]: *Wulin Lingyinsi zhi* 武林靈隱寺志. By Sun Zhi 孫治 and Xu Zeng 徐增 (b. 1612). 8 fascicles (juan 卷).

During the Wanli period (1575), Bai Heng 白珩 compiled the earliest monastic gazetteer of Lingyin monastery. This version underwent a recompilation by Sun Zhi 孫治 and Xu Zeng (1613–1673) and was turned into the current Kangxi 康熙 version, dated 1663. There seems to be an even earlier version of the book, likely published during the Ming at the latest, but the Sun version collected the remaining parts of the previous version and turned it into the current Kangxi version. The following two gazetteers mainly applied the same structure and format, adding in information specifically related to Lingyin monastery's development up to mid-Qing.

2. Li Gazetteer 1744 [1888; 1980]: *Zengxiu Yunlinsi xu zhi* 增修雲林寺續志. By Li E 厲鶚 (1692–1752) and Zhang Zeng 張燈 (1705–1750). 8 fascicles (juan).

After Lingyin received the new name "Yunlin" from Kangxi in 1689, Kangxi visited the monastery again in 1699, 1703, and 1705. In 1744, abbot Jutao 巨濤 invited the notable scholar Li E and his disciple Zhang Zeng to compile a supplementary volume called the *Zengxiu Yunlin xuzhi* 增修雲林續志 (Expanded Compilation of the Yunlin Supplemental Gazetteer). Its structure basically followed the previous gazetteer, updating the monastery's history over the preceding century.

3. Shen Gazetteer 1829 [1888; 1980]: *Yunlinsi xu zhi* 雲林寺續志. By Shen Rongbiao 沈鑅彪 (*jinshi* 1819). 8 fascicles (juan).

During the Jiaqing 嘉慶 period, Lingyin monastery was severely damaged by fire and Emperor Jiaqing ordered a restoration, which was completed in 1828, during Emperor Daoguang's reign. Yiyan, the abbot at that time, invited Shen Rongbiao to compile the *Yunlinsi xuzhi* 雲林寺續志 (Continuous Gazetteer of Yunlin Monastery), following the structure of previous gazetteers. This shows that the compilation of the later Lingyin monastic gazetteers took its model from the late Ming (viz., the updated version from the Kangxi period), and its following versions published in the Qianlong and Daoguang 道光 eras all followed the same format and covered the monastery's history from early to mid-Qing, especially with a focus on the relationship between the court and the monastery.

4. Juzan Gazetteer 1947 [1982]: *Lingyin xiaozhi* 靈隱小誌. By monk Juzan 巨贊 (1908-1984). 5 chapters and one appendix.

After 1949, Lingyin monastery was able to survive multiple political movements due to Premier Zhou Enlai's 周恩來 (1898–1976) protection. In the 1980s, the famous monk Juzan

巨贊 wrote a book *Lingyin xiaozhi* 靈隱小誌 (titled: *Short Record of the Lingyin Temple*).[18] In the preface that Juzan wrote for the first edition in 1947, he mentions:

> The three books of Lingyin are confused in structure. Stories of Wulin (Hangzhou) are piled up like hills and mountains, and for people who tried to read them, it was like entering the sea to count sand grains. The narrators mostly cut short the specific entries and conveyed a [biased or partial] meaning. This was all right for a brief examination [of the monastery] but not for plumbing what was special about it. This is why I have produced the *Small Gazetteer of Lingyin* 靈隱三書, 芬於體例. 武林掌故, 積若邱山, 覽之者如入海量沙, 述之者多斷章取義, 稽考差可, 探勝則非, 於是有《靈隱小誌》之作. [19]

It is obvious that Juzan argues that the three extant gazetteers are all lengthy and make it difficult for readers to explore what is most significant about the monastery. Thus, he selected a few important aspects and compiled them into a concise collection.

5. Leng Gazetteer 2003: *Lingyin xinzhi* 靈隱新志. By Leng Xiao 冷曉. 9 fascicles (juan).

In 2003, Lingyin monastery invited Hangzhou Buddhist specialist Leng Xiao to compile a new history of the monastery, as a result, *Lingyin xinzhi* 靈隱新志 (A New Record of Lingyin) was published. On the internet website for Lingyinsi,[20] there is a specific

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[18] On Juzan during the CCP rule, see Ji Zhe, "Comrade Zhao Puchu: Bodhisattva under the Red Flag," in David Ownby, Vincent Goossaert, and Ji Zhe eds. *Making Saints in Modern China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), especially 323-328.

[19] Juzan, *Lingyin xiaozhi*, Preface of the first edition (1947), ii.

[20] The official website of Lingyin monastery is: http://www.lingyinsi.org/. For example, there is an active discussion forum where users can ask questions and the webmaster will respond to each of them on behalf of the monastery. These include minor questions such as the schedule of the monastery's ritual practices or official statements to the public. In addition, there are also Wechat and Sina Weibo websites for the monastery. Retrieved 14 June 2021.

subcategory called the "Lingyin gazetteers," which includes the digital versions of Juzan and Leng's Lingyin monastic gazetteers. A chronology of Lingyin's monastic history is also provided on the website, listing major events and incidents since the Tang. Understandably, the information mostly was extracted from the Lingyin monastic gazetteers, but it does offer organized information for interested readers to accumulate a systematic understanding of the monastery's history. Most of the events are related to when the monastery was destroyed by fire or natural disasters and when it was rebuilt, and how the abbots contributed to the monastery, the community, or how they responded to the court and bureaucracy. The Leng version actually omitted many previous abbots in the Lingyin monastic history, mostly keeping (or including) those who were active in the first half the 20th century and well known by today's readers, such as Master Hongyi 弘一 (1880–1942) and poet monk Su Manshu 蘇曼殊 (1884–1918).[21]

In the preface written in 1980 for the reprinted edition and published in 1982, Juzan continuously confirmed the support from Zhou Enlai, the first premier of the People's Republic of China, who tirelessly protected Lingyin monastery from becoming the target of political movements.[22] When the Red Guards raided and devastated Putuo Island—another notable religious site southeast of Hangzhou and offshore of Ningbo—Lingyin monastery was able to avoid major destruction. The Juzan gazetteer and the most up-to-date Lingyin monastery gazetteer both mentioned and thanked Zhou for his unusual protection.

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[21] On Master Hongyi and Hangzhou, see Raoul Birnbaum, "Two Turns in the Life of Master Hongyi, A Buddhist Monk in Twentieth-Century China," in David Ownby, Vincent Goossaert, and Ji Zhe eds. *Making Saints in Modern China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 161-208, especially 174-175; On Su Manshu, see 180.

[22] See, for example: Juzan, *Lingyin xiaozhi*, Preface of the 1982 edition, i.

Compared with other religious sites, Lingyin monastery received various support from the Song, Ming, and Qing courts, and even the PRC central government. Without the gazetteer records, readers would only be able to approach this history through other external sources. However, the information in its monastic gazetteers makes it possible to trace back the relatively detailed history of Lingyin monastery, which provides an institutional perspective on the relationship between state and religion. This is viritually unique to Lingyin monastery, and hardly found at other monasteries.

Running a monastery involves money, which mainly comes from alms or donations. As for Buddhist monasticism and the laity, there has been a long history for Buddhist monasteries receiving alms and donations from laypeople and providing merit to them in return by conducting multiple rituals and recitations of scriptures. Jacques Gernet (1918-2018) also pointed out that laymen and the monastery developed two relationships: economic and religious.[23] In order to maintain their functioning, monasteries are allowed to use their permanent assets to give out loans to laypeople. As there is a hidden karmic bond created through this relationship, the lay borrowers would usually return the loans in order to avoid karmic retribution. Although the loan is an economic activity, it has multiple religious significance: to maintain the monastery' monastic practice for the monks by raising funds through the loans, and to generate good merit for the laity by returning the loans.

Of course, Lingyin monastery continuously received support from multiple sources; developments in Qing confirm this relationship. Some other Chan monasteries might have received similar support, but so far no other monastery demonstrates this privilege with the testimony of monastic gazetteer as supporting evidence. Therefore, as previous studies on

[23] Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Century*, 231–247.

religious support at the Qing court mainly focused on its connections to Tibetan Buddhism, a study of the Lingyin monastic gazetteers sheds light on the development of Chinese Buddhism from the Ming-Qing transition until the mid-Qing period.

Chapter Overview

The main body of this dissertation consists of five chapters. Chapter 1 will examine the historical context of how monastic gazetteers as a genre emerged and how the preface writings define the meaning of publishing a monastic gazetteer. This chapter also offers an overview of the structures and contents of "Lingyin Sanshu," the three Lingyin monastic gazetteers published respectively in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, to outline the development of the monastery from its first establishment until mid-Qing times. The first *Lingyin sizhi* in eight fascicles established the basic structure for the monastery's gazetteer; although the latter two use a different title, their structures were still the same as the first gazetteer. The advantage of the Lingyin monastic gazetteers is that it was one of only two out of five monasteries that produced more than two gazetteers, thus making it possible to do further investigation than for other monasteries. This chapter focuses on how the order of topics covered in the three gazetteers was adjusted over time and juxtaposes and compares them with other gazetteers of the "Five Mountains." This strategy is workable, since the competition between the five monasteries started soon after the establishment of this organizational system. The goal of the discussion is to argue that the five major monasteries arranged their own gazetteers differently so that they would have a unique character that distinguished them from one another, even though the nature of the content included under each entry is similar.

Chapter 2 discusses the potential issues the editors faced when compiling a gazetteer

for a monastery with a long history, including how they decided which sources or materials to include in reconstructing the monastery's past, and how to edit them in order to make often conflicting information align in a coherent way. Juxtaposing the gazetteer clerical biographies with those that were already included in Wu Zhijing's *Wulin Fanzhi* (Monastic Gazetteer of Hangzhou), I argue that even though the gazetteer editors first relied on limited materials to reconstruct the monastery's past, the increasing amount of information favorable to the monastery added into the gazetteer indicates that the clergy-literati cooperative editorship presents the clergy's preference for a desired monastic history, as opposed to that of the literati.

Chapter 3 focuses on the "great men" of Lingyin monastery in different monastery gazetteer versions, specifically focusing on the abbot biographies and the fascicle on their "dharma talks" (*fayu* 法語), which also showcase the abbots' involvement in the editorial process. The editors' decision to include or omit certain details also reveals their agenda as they maneuver in response to the state, disclosing that political power dynamics and negotiations behind the dharma transmission of the monastery were integral to the publication process. The "concealment" and "reappearance" of the dharma talks in the sequels to the Lingyin monastic gazetteers also shows the literary persecution of specific Buddhist schools and the response of the monastery during the High Qing era (1683-1839).

Chapter 4 traces the narratives and biographical sketches of non-Buddhists in the gazetteers. I argue that stories in these narrations became "selling points" of the monastery, which contribute to the monastery's eventual prominence as a pilgrimage site for remembering past visitors. This chapter examines these individuals' relation to the monastery to rethink Buddhist historiographical criteria regarding fact and fiction; it also demonstrates how these written records provide opportunities for readers to remember the

monastery's past and to trace the footsteps of notable individuals.

Chapter 5 examines how authors from the past up to the modern period elaborate on the concepts of the "reconstruction" and the "future" of the monastery. It argues that, as the style of commemorative writing shifted over time, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist writers drastically changed their rhetoric in order to justify their evolving purposes. These writings not only bridge non-Buddhist and Buddhist readers, but also shed light on the future of actors who have made and will continue to make reconstructions in the future possible. A portion of this chapter will also focus on the life of monk Juzan and his effort to compile two shorter gazetteers of Lingyin monastery—one before, and one after, Mao. These two versions of a monastic gazetteer show how the political atmosphere drastically affected Juzan's writing and his representation of the monastery. In these writings, although the "future" is uncertain, editors treated these texts as manifestos to confront unexpected outcomes and to encourage auspicious means.

Although monastic gazetteers are typically treated as materials external to the Buddhist canon, this research will ultimately demonstrate that they are critical to the study of Buddhism; moreover, they contain rich content crucial to the study of history and religion. The Lingyin monastic gazetteers present a noteworthy case of how we may use historical texts to critically analyze and redefine modern approaches to Chinese Buddhism.

Chapter One

Historical Context: Prefacing the Gazetteers

Buddhist Monastic gazetteers are typically titled *sizhi* 寺志 (lit. writings on the monastery). There are also other names for writings regarding a Buddhist site, including *shanzhi* 山志 (mountain gazetteer) and *fanzhi* 梵志 or *fanchazhi* 梵刹志 (Buddhist monasteries' gazetteer), but *sizhi* is the most specific title to name a Buddhist monastic gazetteer.[24] There are several critical components that comprise and establish the legitimacy of a monastery in the classical world of China. For example, 1) the geographical space upon which the temple sits should be sacred, either through legendary establishment or through documented sacred occurrences at the space. 2) The heritage of monks residing in the temple should be from an established and verifiable lineage of authoritative monastic

[24] There are still other names for the history of Daoist palaces named *miaozhi* 廟志 or *gong(guan)zhi* 宮觀志 (temple or palace gazetteer), and for Confucian academies called *shuyuanzhi* 書院志 (academic gazetteer). All of these gazetteer writings "write on" (*zhi*) the history and development of a specific or larger compound of a teaching, covering different aspects of the subject. For overviews on local gazetteers, see James Hargett, "Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers and Their Place in The History of Difangzhi Writing," in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 56.2 (1996): 405-442; Peter Bol, "The Rise of Local History: History, Geography, and Culture in Southern Song and Yuan Wuzhou," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 61.1 (2001): 37-76. A comprehensive overview on local gazetteers, see Joe Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Gazetteers in Imperial China, 1100-1700* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015). As for Buddhist monastic gazetteers and the study on Mt. Putuo as a sacred place, see Marcus Bingenheimer, *Island of Guanyin: Mount Putuo and Its Gazetteers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

dharma transmission. And 3) the temple itself should exhibit documented historical authority through the establishment of textual records in the form of a gazetteer. This chapter examines the function of the preface of the temple gazetteer, and understands this textual element as the final complementary piece of the monastery's legitimacy both within the historical record and within the historical imagination of readers of Buddhist and local histories.

A Buddhist monastic gazetteer usually includes coverage of the landscape (*shanshui* 山水), patriarchs (*zushi* 祖師), dharma transmission (*faxi* 法系), and literary works (*yiwen* 藝文), which includes commemorations (*ji* 記), prefaces (*xu* 序), essays (*wen* 文), and memorandums (*shu* 疏). Over the years, the number of poems by literati and monks expanded until they eventually had their own fascicle. Some monastic gazetteers might also have a property list of the monastery, and even its own set of monastic regulations for its members. The most peculiar characteristic of Buddhist monastic gazetteers is perhaps the dharma transmission of the monastery. The prefaces of these gazetteers often provide the readers with a preliminary understanding of why and how the monastic gazetteer was compiled, and the information occasionally mentions influences by local gazetteer writings. Prefaces for the monastic gazetteers of the "Five Mountains" focus on the urgency of publishing a monastic gazetteer in order to confirm their position, as other lesser-prominent monasteries already had one of theirs published. The prefaces highlight the necessity of compiling a comprehensive, eloquently written monastic gazetteer to provide detailed explanation of the monastery's landscape and lineage. The monastic gazetteer genre was born out of the desire to complement the existing landscape and lineage, and eventually became the final component of ensuring the prominence of a monastery.

The historiographic genre covers a wide range of subjects and its development often dates back earlier than Sima Qian's 司馬遷 *Shiji* 史記 (History of Records). Authors of this genre categorized and labeled different segments of their texts' content, often naming the section on geography as "writings on geography" (*dilizhi* 地理志), a practice that Ban Gu 班固 (32-92) started in the *Hanshu* 漢書(Book of Han). Ban Gu also changed *shu* 書 to *zhi*, though he gives no specific reason for this revision. Later, official histories follow Ban Gu's established model and cover various aspects related to the state and its development over time. Outside of official circles, historiographical writing gradually developed at the local level as well, and this, in turn, stimulated the development of local gazetteer writing, which is widely recognized as chorography. Chorography is a systematized writing that records the history of a certain district or region. Although later studies on Chinese chorography writing state that this tradition could be traced back to pre-Qin times, the earliest extant local gazetteer writing is the *Huayang Guozhi* 華陽國志 (Chronicles of Huayang), written by Chang Qu 常璩 (c. 291-361) of the Eastern Jin (317-420), and this text was later heavily cited when Pei Songzhi 裴松之 (372-451) wrote his commentary to the *Sanguo Zhi* 三國志.[25] Qing scholar Hong Liangji 洪亮吉 (1746-1809) asserts that *Huayang Guozhi* and *Jueyue shu* 絕越書 written in Eastern Han on Wuyue 吳越 regional history, are two of the earliest surviving local gazetteers. Additionally, based on James Hargett's calculations, there are more than 8,000 local gazetteers surviving today, but the majority of them were compiled during

[25] James Hargett, "Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers and Their Place in The History of Difangzhi Writing," 406.

the Ming and Qing.[26] As for Buddhist monastic gazetteers, most of the surviving ones were also compiled during the same period. Even though the number of extant monastic gazetteers dating prior to the Ming is relatively low, tracing back to earlier forms of the genre to compare the similarities with local gazetteers is a valuable exercise.

Soon after Buddhism entered China, limited extant records say that patrons and followers started to build monasteries worshiping the Buddha. Baima Monastery 白馬寺 (White Horse Temple) was considered by the tradition to be the first Buddhist monastery ever built in China (est. 68). Over the years of South-North division, a number of emperors endorsed Buddhism and therefore stimulated the teaching, which in turn, allowed the Buddhist community and the number of monasteries to expand. Nevertheless, there were several times when the emperor opposed Buddhism and persecuted its clergy and followers. Two out of four of the major persecutions of Buddhism happened during the Northern and Southern dynasties 南北朝. One was by Emperor Taiwu of Northern Wei 北魏太武帝 during his reign from 446 to 452. Another time was during Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou 北周武帝 around 567 to 578. Often, Buddhist monasteries were torn down or turned into palaces for their Daoist rivals; there are cases in which monks were killed or forced to renounce their ordination and return to lay life.

Furthermore, nearly all of the Buddhist monasteries built during this period did not survive the occasional turbulent periods, and now the current earliest monastery dates to the Tang. The fact that no actual physical monastic building built before the Tang survived did

[26] James Hargett, "Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers and Their Place in The History of Difangzhi Writing," 405; Peter Bol, "The Rise of Local History: History, Geography, and Culture in Southern Song and Yuan Wuzhou," 37.

not stop the Buddhist clergy and Buddhist apologists from claiming that the monasteries they were affiliated with have long histories, even when the stories they relate are legendary. However, it appears that only the stories need to be original; the buildings are fine if newly built or restored over time. Buddhist monastic gazetteers unsurprisingly succeeded in keeping both the "establishment legend" and the "historical facts" in the publication and the following sequels also tend to keep these characteristics as they are. Nonetheless, it did not take long between the time when Buddhism first entered China and when the development began of more systematic records introducing the history of Buddhism in China. Yang Xuanzhi's 楊衒之 (d.u.) records of Luoyang Buddhist monasteries offers timely and invaluable material for modern readers.[27] However, in the introduction of his book, Yang focuses on the decline of Buddhism in Luoyang and his concern that he take on the burden of compiling an updated record of the extant monasteries. Therefore, instead of mentioning the record's relationship with Luoyang's "local history," Yang wrote an "urban history," in which Buddhist monasteries were the main subject. Surprisingly, this vision was constantly extolled but never applied to other cities. It took another thousand years for some enthusiastic author to keep a record of Buddhist monasteries in a city, and these cities, Hangzhou 杭州 and Jinling 金陵 (modern day Nanjing), both happened to once be the capital of a dynasty.

The appearance of a monastery where the clergy both dwell and practice is often the epicenter of the development of the state of the religion. Chinese Buddhists usually point

[27] James Hargett, "Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers and Their Place in The History of Difangzhi Writing," 408. For an English translation of Yang's records, see Yang, Xuanzhi; Yi-t' ung Wang (trans.). *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-Yang* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984).

out the number of clergy, the size of a monastery, and the beauty of its decorations as features that define whether Buddhism is either prosperous or encountering a period of decline within that region during a given time period. While a local gazetteer offers an overview of the various developments within one specific locale, a monastic gazetteer provides an organized and tightly focused compilation of texts relating to a single monastery. One major difference between local and monastic gazetteers is that the latter's structure and arrangement presents more flexibility than the prior. This tendency is more apparent when comparing different gazetteers compiled for the same monastery. Erik Zürcher (1928–2008) stated another perspective on Chinese Buddhist texts: "at what level was it produced; by what kind of people; under what kind of sponsorship; for what kind of public?"[28] Each Buddhist-related material narrates a different story behind the scene, but these questions ought to be continued in order to access the multiple factors that interact with each other in different historical contexts.

In his research on Mt. Heng—the South Peak—James Robson first provided an overview on the Five Peaks belief in Chinese history.[29] It started as a symbol of the unification of the political and the religious world, yet developed into a wrestling stage especially between Buddhist and Daoists. Robson suggests that future religious studies should take "Buddhist-Daoist studies" into consideration, as their campaign constantly happens on nearby mountains, or even more often, on the same mountain.[30] The Mt. Heng case is one of the more obvious cases where this interreligious competition took place on notable religious mountains, which entailed more materials being written to support such

[28] Erik Zürcher, "Perspectives in the Study of Chinese Buddhism," 278.

[29] James Robson, *Power of Place*, 1–3.

[30] James Robson, *Power of Place*, 13–14; 324–327.

research.

After the fall of Northern Song, the court fled to the south and Lin'an (Hangzhou) became the new capital. As a result, the Southern Song court followed the path laid out by the Wuyue kingdom and further stimulated Buddhism's growth in the Jiangnan region. After the establishment of the "Five Mountains" system, competition among monasteries intensified. In order to sustain the monastery, each monastery tried to gain and keep enough monastic farmland and monastic economic assets. These numbers are recorded in the monastic gazetteers. As all of the five major mountains have monastic gazetteers, it is possible to analyze their development over time by comparing the numbers of each monastery. Even though the structures of local and monastic gazetteers share the same outline, monastic gazetteers usually show more character than regular local gazetteers, and this literary creativity serves to distinguish themfrom other monasteries. In addition to histories related to the geographic and humanistic elements, connections and etiquette with the court and bureaus are also recorded.

Diagrams of the monastery are another crucial material later people could use to trace back the history of monastic buildings and see how monastic life was practiced. Around the time when the system of "Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries" was established in China, Japanese monks traveled to Southern Song and Yuan Jiangnan region, especially to modern time Zhejiang, and this list of prominent mountains and monasteries became the destination of many of these travelling monks. These monks not only brought back Chan texts such as recorded sayings (*yulu* 語錄), Chan hagiographies and other collected works, they also brought back diagrams of these monasteries, which eventually became the original reference of how Japanese Zen monasteries were designed. This is said to be the "Song style" (*Songshi* 宋式) of designing. This set of diagrams, named as *Wushan*

Shicha tu 五山十刹圖, mainly follows the Chinese Chan pure rules or regulations (*qinggui* 清規), and thus provides an important amount of information regarding monastic life during that period.[31] These diagrams also reveal what aspects of the monastery especially interested Japanese monks. This set of materials became important enough to attract the Japanese learned Buddhist monk Mujaku Dōchū 無著道忠 (1653-1745) to write comments on them, called the *Da Song Wushan tushuo* 大宋五山圖說 (Illustrated Description of the Five Mountains of the Great Song).[32] There are several copies of this series of multiple diagrams now stored in Buddhist monasteries in Japan that became an additional material to the monastic gazetteers themselves. These visual materials provide additional information when studying the layout of the monastery including the location of the three main halls, Buddha hall 佛堂, Dharma hall 法堂, and the Sangha hall 僧堂, and the function and design style of other secondary structures in the monastery.[33]

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[31] Zhang Shiqing, *Wushan Shicha tu yu Nan Song Jiangnan chansi* 五山十刹圖與南宋禪寺(Nanjing: Dongnan daxue chubanshe, 2000), 5–6.

[32] See Wang Dawei 王大偉 and Luo Yuwen 羅玉文, "Cong Wuzhu Daozhong Da Song Wushan tushuo zhi Lingyinsi tu kan Chanseng de shenghuo kongjian" 從無著道忠《靈隱寺圖》看禪僧的生活空間, in *Lingyinsi yu Zhongguo Fojiao: jinian Songyuan Chongyue Chanshi dansheng 880 zhounian*, edited by Guangquan (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2013), 700–707, especially 700–701.

[33] See Wang Dawei and Luo Yuwen, "Cong Wuzhu Daozhong Da Song Wushan tushuo zhi Lingyinsi tu kan Chanseng de shenghuo kongjian," 700–707. These sets of diagrams not only provide the exterior arrangement, but also the interior designs of the monastery buildings. This includes furniture and minor wooden ornaments in the monastery. Understandably, these materials ought to be valuable materials for the study of Song-Yuan and Japanese Buddhist interaction history. As Zhang Shiqing commented on these sets of diagrams, the notable

The Yuan dynasty followed the Song and altered the "Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries" system by adding a supreme monastery above them in order to manage the existing system, though the list of "Five Mountains" monasteries remained unchanged and stayed prominent.[34] During the Yuan-Ming transition, rebellions and civil warfare devastated the Jiangnan area in which Lingyin monastery was influenced, though it was shortly restored several times during the Hongwu 洪武 period of the Ming, and in Wanli 萬曆 during the late Ming. After the restoration during Shunzhi 順治 period of the Qing, Lingyin monastery was granted the name "Yunlin" 雲林 during Kangxi's reign in 1689; therefore, the following two monastic gazetteers applied this name as their book title.

Forces that formulate a Religious Place

Previous studies related to monastic gazetteers are mostly focusing on the state and the literati's position in monasteries. Timothy Brook's study on Buddhism and gentry society offers a wide range of cases regarding how the members of the two groups interacted with

architect Liang Sicheng 梁思成 (1901–1972) has already came across these materials in the 1940s by the fact that he translated Japanese scholar Tanabe Yasushi's 田辺泰 (1899–1982) article on these visual materials into Chinese. But thereafter, no further investigation of these diagrams was ever made in Chinese academia. The rediscovery of these diagrams reopen new avenues to access to the landscape of these major Southern Song monasteries. See Wang Guixiang 王貴祥, *Zhongguo Hanchuan Fojiao Jianzhu shi: Fosi de jianzao, fenbu yu siyuan geju, jianzhu leixing ji qi bianqian* 中國漢傳佛教建築史: 佛寺的建造、分布與寺院格局，建築類型及其變遷 (Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 2016), 1510–1511.

[34] On the "Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries" during Song and Yuan dynasties, see Ishii articles (1982-1985) and Noguchi's book chapter (2005) on the system in the Yuan.

each other.[35] Through applying historical collections such as local gazetteers, Brook stated that the actions seen in these materials show that the Buddhist world was incorporated into "gentry culture" in the late Ming. This tendency existed from the very beginning of the Ming, as literati such as Xu Yikui 徐一夔 and Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–1381) both developed close relationships with Buddhist monks. State policy during the Hongwu period drastically changed the situation for Buddhism and other religious traditions as well as separated them both socially and politically. This policy was not laxed until the early 16th century. As monks' status began to rise, monks came into greater contact with the gentry. More gentry-clergy interactions were recorded in Nanjing, one of Ming's main political and cultural centers. Letter writing became a very popular movement between the two groups starting from the third quarter of the 16th century. These writings show that they both recognized that they shared a same common cultural ground.[36] This genre of writing is perhaps one of the most recognizable features of Ming monastic Buddhism. Brook's study first focused on the donation and literary activities of literati in monastic spaces and how their image was reflected by monastic gazetteers. In his book on Ming-dynasty state and religion, he focused on the relationship between state, gentry society and Buddhism.[37]

Nevertheless, clergy are still the essential members of a monastery. Therefore, this research focuses on the clergy's role as "insiders" within the process of compiling the

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[35] Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China*, see especially pp. 15-22.

[36] Jennifer Eichman, *A Late Sixteenth-Century Chinese Buddhist Fellowship: Spiritual Ambitions, Intellectual Debates, and Epistolary Connections.*

[37] Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power.*

monastic gazetteers and how the gazetteers reflected the image of the clergy and Buddhism.[38] Specifically speaking, this study will use gazetteer materials to analyze the relationship between state, local bureaus, and the Lingyin monastery. In his study on Tang to Song Buddhists interaction with literati, Mark Halperin presented that commemoration writings by literati people became a crucial platform for communication and understanding their peer intellectual clergies.[39] After the rise of the Chan school, dharma transmission became a vital issue to prove the legitimacy of one's dharma lineage. Although monastic gazetteers include a wide range of information, those related to patriarchs and abbots of the monastery became a significant part of the gazetteers. These aspects are all possible topics when discussing monasticism of a monastery.

When Martin Collcutt discusses the history of the "Five Mountains" (J. *gozan*) in the Japanese Buddhist context, he focused on how this system formed, and what the structure of it was like through several perspectives, which includes the patrons, monks, and key figures within this process. Furthermore, Collcutt looks into the monastic life, sub temples, monastic community, and the economy of the *gozan* monasteries.[40] The Chinese "Five Mountains" system was, of course, mentioned in Collcutt's study, as Japanese Buddhist traveled to China, introduced this system back into Japan, and became the well-known *gozan* system. Ironically, the system later developed into a sustaining one that was more active and lasted longer than its Chinese origin. Fully aware of the differences between the two

[38] For the "insider" in the Japanese Buddhist context, see William Bodiford, "The Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan: The Insider's View."

[39] Mark Halperin, *Out of the Cloister: Literati Perspectives on Buddhism in Sung China, 960–1279*.

[40] Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan*.

traditions, Collcutt suggests "we must await further research by scholars of Chinese history and religion into the Buddhist institution as a whole and into the religious environment of such Chan centers as Ayuwang or Ching Shan (Jingshan) monasteries."[41] In the past three decades, the study of Chinese religious sacred sites has rapidly emerged into an established field with a broad focus on "mountains" in the Chinese religious world. Not only have the four famous mountains received great scholarly interest; the Five Peaks, which had a longer history than the former mountains, also became subjects for case studies.[42]

As for the "forces" that help develop and define religious places, perhaps it is useful to apply the discussion raised by editors Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yu in the introduction to a compilation on sacred sites and pilgrimage sites in China. Yu and Naquin offered a general and broad overview of how the formation of such spaces took place.[43] Articles by Yu and John Lagerwey both mentioned the different types of pilgrims: clerics, emperors, literati, and commoners, one in Putuo, a notable Buddhist sacred place. John Lagerwey presents its long history as a Daoist religious site, multiple forces including official visitors, literati, and ordinary pilgrims who all participated in the building of the mountain before Emperor Cheng (r. 1403-1424) of the Ming officially recognized the mountain as a Zhenwu (Ch. 真武) cult religious site.

The interaction between the four forces mentioned above helps formulate a sacred religious place. In short, religious sites include those of Buddhist, Daoist, or other popular

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[41] Martin Collcutt, "Preface," *Five Mountains*, xviii.

[42] See, for example, James Robson's discussion: James Robson, *Power of Place: The Religious Landscape of the Southern Sacred Peak (Nanyue) in Medieval China*, 25–44

[43] Susan Naquin and Yü Chun-fang, *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, 1–38, especially 21–31.

religions involved multiple forces from which they can establish religious sacred sites. It might be useful to have an overview on the formation of the "Five Peaks" cult and the creation of the "Four Famous Mountains," and the "forces" that help establish them in the Chinese religious context. By the end of the 17th century, Mountains Wutai, Emei, Putuo, and Jiuhua (entered after 1605) had already been grouped together as the "Four Great Famous [Buddhist] Mountains," but the person who formulated the term remains unknown. Each mountain as a religious sacred site was produced and developed in a rather complicated pattern that involves multiple forces, such as first from pilgrimage (mostly commoners), and later on by clergy, literati, or the emperor.

This study does not limit itself to the dimensions mentioned above, and explores perspectives that reveal the more comprehensive historical value of the Lingyin monastic gazetteers. First of all, this research provides an overview of all the six monastic gazetteers of Lingyin monastery. As each of the six gazetteers was published in five different centuries, each editor of the gazetteers revised the formatting or content. Each of them also presents a singular focus based on different historical contexts. The goal of this study is to trace how the format of the Lingyin monastic gazetteers changed over the past five centuries. The second task was to discuss Lingyi monastery within the "Five Mountains" system. In short, Lingyin's monastery was ranked second, behind Jingshan monastery, among the "Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries" proposed during Emperor Ning 寧宗 (1194-1224) of the Southern Song period.[44] While the list of the "Ten Monasteries" differs over time, the list of the "Five Mountains" remains unchanged. Being ranked second did cause some members of Lingyin monastery are bittersweet and this emotion is expressed in the Lingyin monastery

[44] See *Song Lian Quanji* 宋濂全集, 4/1307–1310.

gazetteers. Through comparing gazetteers of Lingyin monastery of the "Five Mountains" and those of the "Four Famous Mountains," this research also repositions how Buddhists define "mountains"; furthermore, it argues for that notable monasteries such as Lingyin monastery fit within the definition of "sacred sites."

Although all "Five Mountains" have gazetteers that were preserved until the present, when it comes to the numbers of gazetteers and the time span of which they cover, Lingyin monastery boasts the broadest coverage among the five. In addition to comparing the major differences between the Lingyins monastic gazetteers with those of the other Five Mountains' gazetteers, this research will specifically focus on Lingyin monastery and the Ashoka (Ayüwang) monastery gazetteers that also compiled a continuous volume. Furthermore, this chapter investigates the relationship between gazetteers and Buddhist monasticism in the gazetteer materials.

When Wu Zhijing, a late Ming literati active in the Wanli 萬曆 period (1572-1620), wrote his book on Buddhist monasteries of his hometown Hangzhou, he started with the entry on Xianlin monastery 仙林寺, a monastery inside Hangzhou city housing the *senggangsi* 僧綱司 (Prefectural Buddhist Ministry).[45] This ministry is in charge of Buddhist affairs of the locale and was regarded as the official institution in service of the government. However, Wu stated that the main reason listing this monastery as the first is following the local gazetteer's tradition, explaining that "this is also following the sequence of the previous three main local gazetteers (of Hangzhou)." Although Wu did not point out which three they were, it is likely that he was indicating the three Hangzhou gazetteers published in the

[45] *Wulin Fanzhi* (*Siku* version), 1/1a-2b.

Southern Song period (1127-1269): *Qiandao Lin'an zhi* 乾道臨安志 (The Qiandao reign Gazetteer of Lin'an; 1169), *Chunyou Lin'an zhi* 淳祐臨安志 (The Chunyou reign Gazetteer of Lin'an; 1250), and *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳臨安志 (The Xianchun reign Gazetteer of Lin'an; 1268).[46] The first two words of the title indicate that this work was compiled during a specific reign. Lin'an 臨安 was Hangzhou's previous name during the Song period. Now only parts of the prior two gazetteers exist, whereas the last and latest one is mostly complete. These three Lin'an local gazetteers are widely regarded as the "masterpiece of Song local gazetteers" or revered as "The Three Gazetteers of Lin'an" *Lin'an sanzhi* 臨安三志.

Even though it is not clear whether Wu Zhijing was able to read the complete version of all three, it is certain that he was aware of the style and layout of how Song period local gazetteers were compiled. Therefore, even though there are numerous private historical works in a locality, authors such as Wu had a tendency to follow how sites were described previously, in order to provide potential readers with convenient access to materials with which they are unfamiliar. When it comes to writing "gazetteers," it seems that authors, compilers, and the readers of the books all share a certain degree of agreement on how historical material ought to be presented. Wu regarded himself as a learned person who would abide by existing paradigms when it comes to compilation. Overall, although the format of monastic gazetteers from late Song to early Ming might be slightly different, each monastic gazetteer did have the tendency to follow the layout of the local gazetteers. The

[46] James Hargett, "Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers and Their Place in The History of Difangzhi Writing," 428–429.

main difference, perhaps, is that local gazetteers provide general information on the region, whereas monastic gazetteers provide specific information related to the monastery, including geography, patriarchs, notable figures, literary works, and so on.

There is one section in *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* on "(Buddhist) monasteries and (Daoist) palaces" that places Daoist palaces in front of Buddhist monasteries. The author's introduction states that "Daoists are more sincere than Buddhists"; this perhaps also reflects the emperor's personal preference and therefore the authors adjusted their tone and also the structure of the content.[47] Over the Song-Yuan transition, war, fire, and natural decay gradually brought the demise of some Buddhist monasteries. Wu Zhijing did mention the destruction over this period, and he especially highlighted the destruction due to war and fire over the Yuan-Ming transition. He constantly praises the restoration activities taking place in early Ming times, and how Hangzhou Buddhism developed throughout the Ming. In Wu's book, non-Buddhist religious institutions, such as Daoist palaces, are under-represented as Wu himself thinks of Hangzhou as a crucial center for Buddhism, and perhaps due to family reasons, such as his mother being a Buddhist laywoman.[48]

Wu's scholarship—*Wulin Fanzhi* or *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin* (Hangzhou)—on collecting and introducing monasteries of Hangzhou later became the most direct and therefore crucial reference when tracing back the history of Buddhist development in the late Ming period. However, reading the *Siku Quanshu* 四庫全書 version (1781)—also the more popular version—of the book does not offer much contextual evidence since the preface is missing. The Wanli version of the book contains its original form and structure,

[47] *Xianchun Lin'an Zhi*, "monasteries and palaces," 5.

[48] See the obituary that Wu wrote for his mother: *Yaocaoyuan chuji* 瑤草園初集 5/94b-105b; especially 104b.

and also a preface written in 1612 by Wu's friend Wu Yongxian 吳用先, a scholar official who served briefly as a general in Northeast China. This might be part of the reason the *Siku* version omitted the writing since Wu Yongxian may have fought with the Manchu troops during the 1630s. The Wanli (1572–1620) version of *Wulin Fanzhi* provides a third person view of commenting on the gazetteer and a first person account of Wu compiling the book.[49] Not surprisingly, Wu Yongxian's preface states that during the late Ming period, "six or seven out of ten" of the Buddhist monasteries were already gone when compared with the past, so there is an urgent need to keep a record of the remaining ones for future reference. In Wu Zhijing's foreword, which is also omitted in the *Siku* version, he mentions a similar concern about the shrinking number of the monasteries, and states that his book has two major goals: 1) to "record the lives (or notable individuals) who nurtured (Wulin's Buddhist monasteries)," and 2) to "record the change of generations and customs."[50] Wu kept his promise by detailing important matters, including the founding and restoration periods, and the current situation of the monasteries under each entry. He also provides a list of Buddhist patriarchs in a different fascicle under each notable monastery's entry, and a list of Buddhist laymen he considers related to Hangzhou Buddhism. Wu also mentions his role model for compiling the book: Yang Xuanzhi, the author of the *Monastic Records of Luoyang*, a book on 5th century Buddhist development in Northern Wei's capital Luoyang. However, this proves that Wu selected the list of people based on personal preference, since Yang did not seem to have any relationship with Hangzhou throughout his lifetime. Treating

[49] *Wulin Fanzhi* (Wanli version), acknowledgment.

[50] *Wulin Fanzhi* (Wanli version), Wu's notes: 一以紀生齒阜繁, 往哲休養培植之所由致; 一以紀時代隆替，觀風問俗之所必資.

Yang's contribution to Buddhist monastic record-keeping as inspiration and motivation for Wu to compile a similar book on Buddhist monasteries in Hangzhou is reasonable.

After the Song fled to Hangzhou and established the Southern Song, political factors brought in financial support to local development, and religious institutions like Buddhist monasteries also received recognition and patronage, which enhanced their development during the period. These factors supported Buddhism's continued flourishing in and around the city, the notable "Five Mountains and Ten monasteries" list also appeared during Emperor Ning's reign, and was quickly introduced to Japan by Lanxi Daolong 蘭溪道隆 (1213-1278).[51] In Japan, maps on notable Buddhist mountains were drawn and kept in Buddhist monasteries for reference. A painting depicting the "Five Mountains" was also among the images kept for blueprints for the designation of Japanese Zen monasteries. As Martin Collcutt points out, it is important to pursue studies on Chinese "Five Mountains" such as Jingshan monastery and Ashoka Monastery.[52] Collcutt's study on the Japanese Five Mountains, or *gozan*, relies on the *Dasong Wushan tu* 大宋五山圖 (The Five Mountains of the Great Song Dynasty) to investigate how the Japanese designed their own monasteries based on Chinese examples. Therefore, reading the preface of the monastic gazetteers along with examining the design diagrams of the Five Mountains provides a descriptive and visual experience of contextualizing the monasteries in different regions.

In 1993, Susan Naquin and Chun-Fang Yu co-edited the *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*,

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[51] For a comprehensive compilation focusing on Lanxi Daolong, see Murai, Shōsuke 村井章介 ed. *Higashi Ajia no naka no Kenchji: shūkyō seiji bunka ga kōsasuru Zen no seichi* 東アジアのなかの建長寺：宗教・政治・文化が交叉する禅の聖地 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2014).

[52] See Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan*, 18-19.

in which the book articles discussed Buddhist and Daoist sacred mountains.[53] However they did not cover individual monasteries or monastic gazetteers, from which a wider definition of "mountains" still remains to be derived. Following Chun-fang Yu's study on another famous mountain—Putuo Island (or Mt. Putuo)—Marcus Bingenheimer furthermore focused on the gazetteers of Mt. Putuo and presented the process of making it into a sacred site through looking into the arrangements and content of the monastic gazetteer materials.[54] In short, monastic gazetteers play a prominent role in the formation of a religious site, as it is a work of collaboration and competition between different forces. Bingenheimer discussed nine monastic gazetteers of Mt. Putuo to reveal the historical significance of both the mountain as a sacred religious site and the importance of gazetteer materials.

In the introduction that Naquin and Yu wrote for the compilation on pilgrims and sacred sites, they stated that a "mountain" (C. 山, *shan*) in the Chinese context can mean (1) a single peak; (2) a cluster of hills; (3) a whole mountain range; (4) caverns in a mountain, or (5) an island. The articles collected in this compilation also support this list of definitions by relatively conducting a case study on one "mountain."[55] Whereas I argue that larger monasteries—in this context, Lingyin monastery—that were clearly referred to as a "mountain," should also be added into this list of what constitutes a "mountain."

When looking into the Chinese "Five Mountains" records, one is actually seeing these records through the lens of a Ming or Qing compiler's eyes. Even though they all include a decent amount of information from the Song and Yuan times, all the five monasteries

[53] Susan Naquin and Yü Chun-fang eds., *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*.

[54] Marcus Bingenheimer, *Island of Guanyin: Mount Putuo and Its Gazetteers*, chapter 1.

[55] Susan Naquin and Yü Chun-fang, "Introduction," *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, 11.

gradually compiled their own set of monastic gazetteers, were mostly compiled during the early Qing period. In the preface, the authors often state that the compilation of the gazetteer was heavily based on a previous version initiated during the late Ming period, they rarely mention previous compilation records. Even though the compilation dates are late, given the long history of the monastery, most gazetteer prefaces still allow the readers to gain a general understanding of how these monastic gazetteers of notable monasteries were compiled, and occasionally mention the concerns governing the publication process. Even though the ranking of the mountains were determined when it was presented and has never changed over time, the competition between different mountains never stopped after its initiation in the Song. It also maintained this tendency over the Yuan, but the compilation of the gazetteers mostly started after the mid-Ming period. The following discussion will mainly focus on the prefaces of the gazetteers and trace back the motivations that prompted the monastery to publish or even renew the gazetteers.

Among all the extant monastic gazetteers of each of the "Five Mountains," *Jingshan zhi* 徑山志 (Monastic Gazetteer of Jingshan) is the earliest version. It was published in 1624 and never had another updated version in the Qing. Instead of starting with the geographical landscape, the compilers of the gazetteer decided to start from the patriarchs of the monastery. The first entry of note of the gazetteer justifies its legitimacy with the following:

> Those who write on notable mountains focus on the significance of the shape of landscape, and therefore earned their names from springs or rock features. Although Jingshan is the leading one throughout the country, it is actually unique due to its patriarchs; thus the first record records a list of the patriarchs over the years 凡誌名山者, 類先形勝, 以泉石得名故. 徑山雖勝甲海內, 實以祖席獨著, 故首志列祖.[56]

[56] *Jingshan zhi* (Tianqi version), note/1a/51.

Ranked as first among the Five Mountains, the compilers of the Jingshan monastic gazetteer unsurprisingly chose a Chan Buddhist perspective to emphasize the significance of the monastery's glorious genealogy, showing the monastery's religious prominence rather than the monastery's other features.

In addition, the writers of the prefaces of Jingshan monastic gazetteer often point out the monastery's relationship with West Lake (Xihu 西湖) and with notable literati including Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) and Su Shi 蘇軾. However, compared with Jingci and Lingyin monasteries, which are both fairly close to the lake, emphasizing Jingshan monastery's relationship with the lake and famous figures seems like a bizarre approach, since Jingshan's location is relatively far from the lake. One author, Li Yeran 李燁然 (b. 1583; *jinshi* 1610) in his preface written in 1624 even reluctantly admits that "(the monastery) is *a bit far* from the provincial capital (Hangzhou)" 去省會稍遠 plus the fact that the monastery to that point had never compiled a gazetteer (which would promote its notability and prominence), thus "this dhyāna (meditation) and quiet place" 禪那幽杳之地 was rarely bothered.[57] Li later changed his tone and made a blunt connection between the monastery and the lake again, saying that both Bai and Su were "polishing the significance of West Lake; and promoting the purpose of Jingshan" 兩公所拂拭者, 西湖之形勝; 所揚抶者, 徑山之宗旨. Even though it is not stated clearly, the compilation of the gazetteer confirms the relation between the two, and thus solidifies the prominence of Jingshan Monastery.

In the following preface by Chen Maode 陳懋德 (d.u.), he also reaffirms the

[57] *Jingshan zhi* (Tianqi version), Li's preface, 6.

significance of the 87 patriarchs in Jingshan Monastery's history.[58] There is one aspect of the gazetteer writings that he mentions: "Sometimes there are events that have long been uncommemorated, and beings that are moved but whose thoughts flourish. The purpose of writing is to commemorate events and to move beings" 夫事有久而無記, 物有感而思興. 志者, 所以記事而感物者也.[59] Therefore to write is to record events and to affect the people who read about those events. Chen actually points out that there was an earlier publication on Jingshan's past stories in the Song and Yuan period, and this new one for which he is writing a preface is therefore meaningful as it completes the mission.

Still another preface written by Huang Ruheng 黃汝亨 (1558-1626) further stresses the necessity of having a Jingshan monastic gazetteer as many other lesser prominent Buddhist sites and monasteries already have their own gazetteers. Huang admits that he did not read them all, but some of them are indeed far from ideal. He praised the passion and patience of Song Kuiguang 宋奎光 (1612 *juren*; d. 1649) as the compiler of the monastic gazetteer, who eventually grants the prominent Jingshan monastery, which already has all the three jewels of Buddhism (Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha), the last puzzle piece: a gazetteer.[60] Huang furthermore praises this publication as "the book of the revival of Jingshan." Huang ends his preface with an overview of the importance of historiography: "without any monastic gazetteer, how would one know how the dharma banner is unfurled and how the dharma jewel is transmitted" 不有梵志, 則何以知法幢之所繇竪, 法寶之所繇傳? From Huang's preface, he was not assuming that the monastic gazetteer came from a specific writing, and

[58] *Jingshan zhi* (Tianqi version), Chen's preface, 10.

[59] *Jingshan zhi* (Tianqi version), Chen's preface, 27-28.

[60] *Jingshan zhi* (Tianqi version), Huang's preface, 37.

apparently Song Kuiguang 宋奎光 searched for materials from Chan recorded sayings and hagiographic records from the Buddhist Canon, rather than solely following the format of local gazetteer writing.

During the same period when the Jingshan monastic gazetteer was compiled, Jingci Monastery, another monastery among the "Five Mountains" located south of West Lake, also started to embark on compiling its own monastic gazetteer. The first version of ten fascicles was completed by master Dahuo, and the most complete version, which consists of 28 fascicles, was compiled by master Jixiang 際祥 during the Jiaqing 嘉慶 period (1796-1820). In the preface written by Qing Antai 清安泰 (d. 1809; *jinshi* 1781), a Manchu literatus, he traces the "writing on Buddhist monasteries" (*fanyu*) 志梵宇者 back to Yang Xuanzhi's *Records of Luoyang Buddhist Monasteries*. As the Wuyue 吳越 Kingdom's court worshiped Buddhism in Hangzhou, Wu Zhijing therefore compiled the *Monastic Gazetteer of Hangzhou*.[61] Qing's preface highly praises Wu's contribution as he focused on the eminent Buddhist masters instead of prominent monasteries. Qing Antai then carried on to introduce Jingci monastery's history, emphasizing the visits and support from Emperor Kangxi (1661-1722) of Qing. The support from the court granted enough resources to rebuild the monastery, and this eventually motivated monk Jixiang to compile the monastic gazetteer.

In another preface of Jingci Monastery written by a famous literatus Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821-1907) for the Guangxu reign 光緒 (1888; 1875-1908) in a reprinted version of the Jingci monastic gazetteer, it mentions that during Emperor Xianzong (r. 1465-1487) of the

[61] *Jingci sizhi* (1888), Qing Antai's preface, 1a/3.

Ming Dynasty, Jingci Monastery was regarded as "the leading monastery of West Lake" 西湖第一叢林.[62] The monastery suffered from war during the Xianfeng 咸豐 reign and most of the monastic-gazetteer woodblocks were destroyed. Ding Bing 丁丙, a notable Hangzhou literatus, tried to collect local historical materials related to Hangzhou and reprinted and included into the *Wulin Zhanggu Congshu* 武林掌故叢書 (Series of Wulin Stories). The purpose of reprinting it, according to Yu Yue, is "to allow readers to examine the origin of construction, to observe the generations of sages and saints, appreciate the significance of the landscape, and the beauty of literary works."[63] Yu's interpretation in the preface reveals the motivation for the reprinting movement of Wulin 武林 (Hangzhou) materials promoted by the Ding family in the 1880s was to convey to readers the impressions mentioned above. Also due to the fact that other religious institutions, including both Li'an 理安 monastery and Guangfu 廣福 temple had their gazetteers reprinted, Jingci, as a notable monastery, ought not to fall behind too far. In the last preface written by a Manchu official Yude 玉德 in 1805, he mentions that Jingci Monastery was as famous as Yunlin 雲林—Lingyin Monastery's name after Emperor Kangxi granted this new title of Yunlin—but never had a complete gazetteer that could match the monasteries prominence.[64] Thus, all the writers of Jingci monastic gazetteer's prefaces extended gratitude over having a major history of the monastery finally published and becoming the last among the Five Mountains to have a

[62] *Jingci sizhi* (1888), Yu's preface, 1a/9.

[63] *Jingci sizhi* (1888), Yu's preface, 2a/11: 使讀者考其興建之來由, 觀其賢聖之輩出, 與夫山水之勝, 翰墨之美.

[64] *Jingci sizhi* (1888), Yude's preface, 2a/15.

monastic gazetteer.

Prefaces written for Lingyin Monastery were certainly not the earliest but perhaps quantitatively the largest among the Five Mountains, and also are more detailed when describing their origin. The fact that the monastery compiled three monastic gazetteers throughout the Qing also allows later readers to trace back what the monastery looked like on record by going through the prefaces written for each version.

Often referred to as the "First Mountain of the Southeast" 東南第一山 *Dongnan diyi shan*, Lingyin monastery became a notable monastery in the Jiangnan region.[65] With the support from the Wuyue Qian family 吳越錢氏, a regional kingdom thriving during the Five Dynasties period, eminent monks, such as Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (901-975), were appointed as the abbot and restored the monastery from the destruction that occurred during the wars of the late Tang.[66] After Emperor Zhen of Northern Song granted the name "Jingde (reign) Lingyin Chan Monastery"景德靈隱禪寺 (Jingde Lingyin Chansi) in 1007, the monastery hosted visits and donations from the emperor, stays of notable governmental officials, and avid donations from pilgrims.[67] After multiple destructions, Lingyin monastery's name was changed into Yunlin 雲林 (Cloud Forest) during the Kangxi period in

[65] Another contestant of the same title is Mt. Yandang 雁蕩山, also in the Zhejiang Province.

[66] On Yanshou's life and his major work, the *Wanshan tonggui ji* 萬善同歸集, see Albert Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds: A Study of Yung-Ming Yen-Shou and the Wan-Shan T'ung-Kuei Chi*. On Buddhist clergies with their patrons during the Ten Kingdoms period in south China, see Benjamin Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs: Chan Monks and Regional Rulers During the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms*, especially chapter 5.

[67] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, Foreword.

the Qing dynasty. The name was changed back to "Lingyin" later as it was more familiar to the Buddhist community and to the public.

In addition to Yongming Yangshou, the most well-known Buddhist figure of Lingyin monastery is arguably the monk Jidian 濟顛 (1148-1209), also known as "Crazy Ji" (Jigong).[68] Even though Jigong was never the abbot of Lingyin monastery, he did win a lot of fame by his eccentric behavior and benevolence presented by his fascinating supernatural powers. Due to his series of performances, Jidian often became more popular than the patriarch and abbots of the monastery, and eventually was included into the list of eminent monks of Lingyin monastery. The monastery even established a hall especially attributed to the monk.

The first monastic gazetteer compiled during the Qing dynasty was published in 1671. This was based on an earlier version from late Ming and eventually established a model for the latter two versions in 1744 and 1829. The notable monk Huishan Jiexian 晦山戒顯 was the main disciple of Jude Hongli 具德弘禮 who was regarded as one of the most important abbots in Lingyin's history and who revived the monastery from destruction during the Ming-Qing transition. In the opening of the preface that Huishan Jiexian wrote, he makes a bold statement that "no prominent monastery lacks a *zhi*: the first reason is to make manifest the prominent landscape, the second is to present its creations and honorables figures"[69] He did come across the gazetteer by Bai Heng 白珩 in the late Ming,

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[68] Meir Shahar, *Crazy Ji*, especially pp. 212–217. Nevertheless, Shahar did not extensively mention Lingyin monastery's condition during Jidian's time.

[69] *Wulin Lingyinsi zhi* (1888), Huishan Jiexian's preface, 1a/5: 方內名山祖席琳公宮, 莫不有誌, 一以顯山川名勝, 二以表興創功勛.

but the writing was too abstract and anecdotal. Therefore, after Sun Zhi's rewrite and Xu Zeng's 徐增 revision, the new gazetteer became a better version that could present the glorious history of Lingyin as restored by the hands of Jude Hongli. Huishan Jiexian also emphasized that Lingyin had more than 100 generations of abbots competition with Jingshan monastery. Xu Zeng also admitted in his preface that "there is nothing more difficult than compiling a *zhi* in historiography; as we (literati) are not familiar with dharma gate affairs, does this not make compiling a monastic gazetteer even harder?"[70] Xu Zeng was wary of the challenges of compiling a monastic gazetteer and was open to disagreements and revisions.

In the preface that Xu Zeng wrote for Lingyin monastic gazetteer, his was the first among the prefaces of the Five Mountains' monastic gazetteers and perhaps the only one that connected the *zhi* writing tradition to the Chinese historiographical tradition: "Eight *shu* in *Shiji* then became ten *zhi* in *Hanshu*, people after this imitated this style; thus, commanderies and counties had *zhi*, and monasteries also had *zhi*. This is the origin of the *Wulin Lingyin Monastic Gazetteer*."[71] Therefore based on Xu, taking Lingyin monastic gazetteer as an example, such writing was apparently imitating the format of official historiographical writing rather than local gazetteers.

The preface of each monastic gazetteer provides the readers with a first impression when opening the gazetteer. Often written once a draft of the gazetteer is complete or nearly

[70] *Wulin Lingyinsi zhi* (1888), Xu's preface, 2a/11: 修史之難, 莫過于誌. 吾輩不諳法門事, 則修寺誌, 不尤難乎.

[71] *Wulin Lingyinsi zhi* (1888), Xu's preface, 1b/10: 史記中列八書, 前漢書乃變為十志, 後世人又倣之. 于是郡縣有誌, 寺亦有誌, 此武林靈隱寺誌所由來也.

complete, it points out several noteworthy aspects when reading the gazetteer. These aspects are certainly not the only features of a gazetteer but do partially reflect the author of the preface or the monastery's view. For example, the prefaces of the Five Mountains' gazetteers often refer to the local gazetteer tradition, tracing all the way back to the most ancient Chinese historical writing tradition, but also point out how the monastic gazetteer is different from other existing writings. The preface writers mostly reiterate briefly the monastery's history, their personal connection with the monastery, why and how this monastic gazetteer is important, and the main character of this gazetteer based on his own opinion.

The Lingyin monastic gazetteers, especially the three compiled during the Qing, however, do not fully follow the formula mentioned above. The compilers who also prefaced the first gazetteer followed the preface that Huishan Jiexian wrote, and add up to how the gazetteer started its compilation, contextualized how the gazetteer first appeared, and why the revision was needed. All in all, the attempts were to praise Jude Hongli and his contribution to the monastery. As the abbot who restored Lingyin, he also initiated the recompilation of the gazetteer, inviting Sun Zhi to compile the gazetteer.[72] Sun Zhi's preface, written in 1663, belittled the gazetteer that Bai Heng compiled, aimed to highlight the contribution of Jude Hongli, and compared the final product with Yang Xuanzhi's *Record on Luoyang Monasteries*—nearly all the monastic gazetteer's paradigm. Yan Hang who also prefaced Sun Zhi's version, praised his style and effort of compiling the gazetteer, including a number of local *biji* writings in the gazetteer. Yan Hang even compared Sun's style of compilation with other past writers, stating that he could not tell the difference between

[72] *Wulin Linyin sizhi*, Xu Zeng's preface, 1b/10.

them; some of them are even like pre-Qin writing. Finally, Yan Hang abruptly switched the tone and ended the preface with extolling Jude Hongli's contribution as "immortal" (*buxiu* 不朽).[73] It is expected that Yan Hang agreed to preface for Sun Zhi's compilation as they were friends, but Yan's preface shows that instead of the credibility and comprehensive style that Sun Zhi presented, he seems to be more interested in the various stories of the monastery Sun selected (*jishi* 紀事), and marking the doctrines (*biaoli* 標理).[74] Even though doctrines are expected to be reflected in the Buddhist related biographies and dharma talks, the secular readers are in general more interested in the stories. The reason Bai's monastic gazetteer received harsh criticism is that he probably focused especially on including more eccentric stories to entertain more readers and omitted the content that embodies Buddhist doctrine.

As Sun Zhi's disciple and the compiler who was asked to update the gazetteer, Xu Zeng, in his sixties when conducting the work, was fully aware that the Lingyin monastic gazetteer ought to look different based on which abbot was in charge, though the content of each version "should not contradict with each other."[75] He admitted that it is impossible to make no adjustments to the previous monastic gazetteer as he always followed the different timing (*shijie* 時節), the cause and effect (*yinyuan* 因緣) and altered the content of the monastic gazetteer.[76] It is unclear if Sun Zhi was still alive by the time Xu completed the revision in 1672, but the latter's revision should be regarded as rather different from Sun's version of

[73] *Wulin Linyin sizhi*, Yan Hang's preface, 1a/15.

[74] *Wulin Linyin sizhi*, Yan Hang's preface, 1b/16.

[75] *Wulin Linyin sizhi*, Xu Zeng's preface, 2b/12.

[76] *Wulin Linyin sizhi*, Xu Zeng's preface, 2b/12.

the first Lingyin gazetteer. Based on comparing with Sun Zhi's collected works on Lingyin monastery, some of his names were removed from his works included in the monastic gazetteer updated by Xu, showing Xu's concern regarding the content that Sun Zhi wrote.

Prefaces of the following two Lingyin monastic gazetteers including one by literatus Li E 厲鶚 (1692-1752) of *Zengxiu Yunlin sizhi* 增修雲林寺志 written in 1744 and one by Shen Rongbiao 沈榮彪 of *Yunlinsi xuzhi* 雲林寺續志 in 1829 both mentioned that the publication of the updated version was because there had been a seventy or eighty year gap without any updated versions. Both of them, however, did not mention the genealogy of gazetteer writing in general, but Li mentioned that Lingyin is the "leading monastery of our Zhe" 靈隱為吾浙首剎, and Shen stresses on the fact that receiving an excessive amount of funding from the court makes it "the champion of all monasteries" 實為諸剎之冠.[77] Thus, the sequels of the monastic gazetteers do carry the responsibility of promoting the monastery's prominent role, and the publication is part of the result of responding to receiving official financial support.

Conclusion

Due to the nature of the materials, it is risky to claim that the stories told based upon them represents the whole picture of a larger region, not to mention the state of Buddhism as a whole. For example, for Buddhist studies in northern China, stele and epitaph materials are the substantial source as more warfare occurred over the years and fewer printed materials survived. Comparing the Buddhist materials of the Five Dynasties in the north and

[77] *Zengxiu Yunlinsi zhi* (1888), Li's preface, 1a/5; *Yunlinsi xuzhi* (1888), Shen's preface, 1a/3.

Ten Kingdoms in the south explains this observation: an abundant amount of Buddhist materials are preserved in better condition in the south due to the support from the monarchy, the social condition, and less warfare compared to the north.[78] Jacques Gernet's study on Buddhist monasticism covers a wide range of topics, especially monastic economy. The material that Gernet's used to make his argument is largely based on the Dunhuang materials.[79] However, the Dunhuang material is an exceptional case as it is a remote area in northwest China away from the political center. Dunhuang materials are also furthermore stored inside hidden places and able to survive when there was warfare around the site. Conversely, Jiangnan or southeast China became wealthier especially after the Song, due to factors such as government protection and sponsorship to Buddhist monasterie and the laity's donation to the monasteries. Overseas visitors, mainly monks from Japan and Korea, were able to bring back Buddhist related materials and preserved backupsof numerous materials.

These multiple factors altogether provide advantages to conducting in-depth studies focusing on materials from Jiangnan, as there are more direct or indirect materials from this specific region that could present different facets of Buddhist developments over time. There is also an existing dilemma that although there are more materials produced in this region, they still cannot reflect the whole picture of the progress of Chinese Buddhism in general. A study on a larger monastery in this region, on the one hand, is based upon how the materials are related to the monastery; on the other hand, it seeks to investigate why and how the monastery reached this level of development, and furthermore, in what degree this

[78] Benjamin Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs*, 20–21.

[79] Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society*, xii.

case study is representative. For example, when it comes to monastic life, Anthony DeBlasi focused on religious life at Upper Tianzhu Doctrinal Monastery (Shang Tianzhu jiangsi) mainly using its monastic gazetteer, in which the monastery's relationship with the surrounding society appears to be closer. The monastery followed the bureaucratic model, and monastic life mirrored secular elite life.[80] Michael Walsh focused on Tiantong monastic gazetteers and monastic economies, especially how "remarkably successful" the gazetteer materials were. Marcus Bingenhaimer collected and compared the structure of nearly a dozen monastic gazetteers on the Putuo Island monasteries.[81] Even though each study may have a different focus, it presents a perspective for the study of monasticism based on the material itself and how it is interpreted to demonstrate a monastery's prominence.

[80] Anthony DeBlasi, "A Parallel World: A Case Study of Monastic Society, Northern Song to Ming," in *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 28 (1998), pp. 155-175.

[81] Michael J.Walsh, *Sacred Economies: Buddhist Monasticism & Territoriality in Medieval China*, p. 67; Marcus Bingenheimer, *Island of Guanyin: Mount Putuo and Its Gazetteers.*

Chapter Two

Editing the "Middle Period": Lingyin Monastery before the Compilation of its Gazetteers

The monastic gazetteer is a genre that provides readers a monastic perspective on assessing its past. When a monastery has a history of over a millennium, it often lacks credible sources to provide sufficient description for such a long period of time.[82] To supplement the record, legends and myths of the monastery tend to proliferate, and these elements became stories used to fill in gaps in the historical annals after destruction and decay over time.

Taking Lingyin monastery and its gazetteers as an example, this chapter discusses how the gazetteer editors dealt with potential issues when compiling a monastic gazetteer for a monastery with a long history, including how they determined which sources or materials to consult regarding the construction or reconstruction of the monastery's past, and, furthermore, how to edit these in order to make the information aligned in a coherent way. I argue that the three masters (Huili, Yongming Yanshou, and Jude Hongli) whom the editors select as representative in Lingyin history divide the monastery's history into three parts: the classical, middle, and modern periods. In the monastic history of each period—using clerical biographies and pagodas for examples—the editors rely on lesser external materials to

[82] Based on a rough calculation, there are over 100 monasteries in Zhejiang province that have a history of more than a millennium. See Guo Xuehuan, *Zhejiang gusi xunji* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2018), p. 7.

support the reconstruction of the monastery's past; more information related to Buddhist terminologies are added in the gazetteer, which indicates that the clergy-literati cooperative editorship gradually contained more of clergy's assertions.[83] Thus, even though the editors-in-chief of the Lingyin gazetteers were all literati or scholar-officials, I will refer to them as "the editors" to present the reality that clergy-literati in fact co-edited the monastic gazetteers.

The editorial process involved in compiling the monastic gazetteer was an action of claiming or reclaiming the patriarchs of the monastery. If one looks into the history of Lingyin monastery, it unsurprisingly claims that it has a history of more than a millennium, which could be traced back as early as the Sui or Tang dynasties. However, it was not until Luo Binwang 駱賓王 (640-684) took refuge in the monastery after failing in his campaign against Empress Wu that the monastery began to use the name of "Lingyin," which literally means "Numinous retreat." This indicates that Luo, who was considered "numinous," took refuge in the monastery.[84] It took another three centuries for the monastery to receive official recognition with this title of "Lingyin" under Emperor Zhen of Northern Song in 1007. Before that, during the Tang-Song transition, the monastery suffered destruction during the Huichang 會昌 suppression (840s) and was revived during the reign of the

[83] Based on Cao Ganghua's recent calculation of Qing dynasty monastic gazetteer authors, 82 were compiled by literati, 60 were compiled by monks. See Cao Ganghua, *Qingdai Fojiao Shiji Yanjiu* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2018), appendix 1 & 2, pp. 137-187. It is, however, normal that the two groups worked together to complete the gazetteers as the clergy has more access to the monastic materials and literati (mostly local) served as liaisons between the monastery and the public.

[84] See the Foreword of *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*. Luo has a collection titled *Mister Lingyin* (*Lingyin zi* 靈隱子).

Wuyue 吳越 kingdom. Yongming Yanshou was appointed the abbot and successfully restored the monastery.[85] It is during this time that Lingyin monastery housed more than 3,000 monks, the most in the monastery's history. The historical figures including Buddhists and non-Buddhists and their actions are closely tied with how the monastery generated its historicized past; the monastic gazetteer is the ultimate product to solidify the legends into its own history.

Therefore, the Lingyin monastic gazetteers also functioned as a tool for the monastery and its clergy to claim past figures as their own—including patriarchs and abbots. Noting their affiliations with specific Chan schools not only made those connections official but also presents how the monastery gradually developed into an institution solely affiliated with the Linji School. The hypothesis of this chapter suggests that the Lingyin monastic gazetteer editors extensively adapted content from the *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin* and reorganized the information based on the clergy's preference. For the sake of constructed the history that the monastic clergy desired, the editors prioritized continuity over historical fact. The content of the abbots and patriarchs' biographies in the gazetteer were either edited or reshaped due to the editor's concern, adding minor but crucial details, including extra entries of monks—or patriarchs—with extraordinary stories. The function of the gazetteer biographies is to consolidate the monastic lineage and the monastic community. The fascicles on monks are not limited to certain criteria but instead those with multiple backgrounds and achievements that enrich the diversity of the monastery's history.

[85] Benjamin Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs: Chan Monks and Regional Rulers during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), chapter 5.

Genealogy of the Lingyin Monastic Gazetteer

Based in Hangzhou, adjacent to West Lake, Lingyin monastery is arguably the most notable Chinese Buddhist monastery in the city. The Lingyin monastic gazetteers claim that the monastery was originally established by Huili, an Indian monk who arrived in China in the first half of the 4th century CE. Lingyin monastery is also one of the Buddhist monasteries that has more than one monastic gazetteer.[86] However, even the compilers of the High Qing Lingyin monastic gazetteers were not sure whether there were earlier versions of the same kind. It was, perhaps, not a crucial issue to them as the only gazetteer named after Lingyin was a late-Ming version that was poorly written. The Qing version gazetteer compiler's goals were, therefore, straightforward: to compile a new, complete version and replace the existing one. This accusation of the previous versions such as "misspellings," "anachronism," and "vernacular" became a convenient excuse that compilers of the later versions of Lingyin monastic gazetteers often restate.[87] Editors of preceeding Lingyin monastic gazetteers carried on this mission to record the monastery's development, in the meantime, including more materials into the gazetteer to fill in the gaps in the monastery's history. This includes the biographies of the patriarchs and abbots, information of the monastic pagodas dedicated to past abbots, and records of past patrons.

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[86] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 2/26b/128. The entry on the old Lingjiu monastery was by the side of the Feilai Peak. It is said that this is the first monastery that Huili established after his arrival to Hangzhou. During Jiaxi reign 嘉熙 (1237-1240) of Emperor Li 理宗, Lingjiusi was changed into Xingsheng monastery 興聖寺. Destroyed during late Yuan, it is now the tomb of Mr. Zhang 張公墓.

[87] For example, in the version that Sun Zhi compiled, the preface has pointed out content of previous versions have 帝虎雜出 which indicates to mixing up characters that look alike, or mixing up dynasties, or 用筆近俚 which indicates that "unsophisticated writing."

Long before the Lingyin clergy started to compile monastic gazetteers with literati, the history of the monastry had already entered the eyes of authors in preceding dynasties. In his book *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin*, late Ming scholar Wu Zhijing (1609 *juren*) included more than 400 monasteries of Hangzhou and its adjacent regions. Wulin indicates Mt. Wulin, which also represents Hangzhou. Wu Zhijing apparently followed the *Luoyang Qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (Records of the Luoyang Buddhist Monasteries), a 5th-century work that was the first work on Buddhist monasteries, in which Yang Xuanzhi, the book's author, started from introducing the monasteries in the Luoyang urban area, then went on to cover stories of the monasteries around the city and its surrounding areas. Since it is geographically located in the Northern Mountain (Beishan 北山) suburbs of Hangzhou, Lingyin monastery was not among the first monasteries mentioned in Wu's book. However, when introducing the prominent monks of each monastery, Lingyin monastery became the leading one among all the Hangzhou monasteries, with 38 individual monk biographies in another fascicle of the book.

Published in circa 1612, the *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin* provides introductory information when readers are looking for local monasteries or short biographies of monks of each monastery.[88] The 38 biographies of Lingyin monastery monks are, of course, Wu Zhijing's personal selection, which can also present a certain criteria of how non-Buddhists regard or evaluate Buddhist monks. One example is that Wu does not identify which specific Chan School tradition the monk is inheriting. The other aspect is that in general Wu is not as

[88] The most popular *Siku* version *Wulin fanzhi* does not have the publication date or a preface with a date. However, In the Wanli (1571-1619) version *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin*, Wu authored the foreword in 1612, three years after he obtained the *juren* title, and possibly shortly before his death.

interested in the exact dates of when the monk passed away. Keeping the dates was perhaps important to the monastery as they might become part of the monastery's routine schedule. It does not necessarily mean that the monk served a longer term at a specific in which monastery he was listed under, it was solely Wu Zhijing's criteria to stress or balance the number of monks related to each monastery. Interestingly, for example, Wu Zhijing did not list Yongming Yanshou or Dahui Zonggao in the list of Lingyin patriarchs even though both of their biographies are lengthy in the Lingyin gazetteers. Yongming Yanshou was one of the three main figures in the history of Lingyin monastery, yet was instead listed under Jingci monastery in Wu's compilation, and Dahui Zonghao was listed under Jingshan monastery.

Interestingly, in many cases, the first extant Lingyin monastic gazetteer published in 1672 copied—partially or completely—the monks' biographies directly from the *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin* rather than rewriting new versions for them. The Lingyin monastic gazetteer was not the only one doing so—the editors of Jingshan (1624) and Jingci (1805) monastic gazetteer also did so as well.[89] Out of 16 monk biographies collected in the Jingshan monastic gazetteer, which spanned the period from the origin of the monastery down to Ming dynasty notable monks, including founding abbot Dajue Guoyi Zhenyuan 大覺國一貞元 master, a majority of the content of his gazetteer's biographies were also based on the ones in *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin*. The fact that three major monastery's gazetteer all adapted materials from the *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin* and turned them into part of the monastery's founding story or pre-gazetteer monastic development history indicates that

[89] Song Kuiguang 宋奎光 (d.u.) compiled the Jingshan monastic gazetteer. Monk Zhuyun Jixiang 主雲際祥 (fl. 18th century) compiled the Jingci monastic gazetteer.

Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin was regarded as a reliable source that became authoritative when assessing monastic histories.

One of the reasons for the monastic gazetteer editors copying from a specific source is that these individuals included often lack credible sources to input new information or update their biography, another is that the editors consider this information borrowed from previous writings are detailed enough. Therefore, when comparing the *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin* version and the biographies in the monastic gazetteers, any minor difference or expansion of the content will reflect how the editors evaluate the materials. The act of copying the whole text and publishing them in a new form of organization is not a new method. The gazetteer literature has a long tradition of copying old information from other books without any edits, often without proper citation. In the Lingyin gazetteers' context, sometimes the author of a specific piece, such as a commentary, a commemoration, and especially poems, is mentioned. When it comes to Buddhist related materials, however, the authorship became relatively obscure. For the monastery's local and social background, the sources that the editors bother to mention are usually notable and are therefore also authoritative enough that readers (and potential critices) will understand the genealogy of this provided information, such as the Hangzhou local gazetteers like *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳臨安志 (Gazetteer of Lin'an during the Xianchun Reign) published in the Southern Song period. Although definitely not the earliest gazetteer ever compiled focusing on Hangzhou, these gazetteers were already the most comprehensive and credible publications one could obtain and utilize. If the editors adapted materials from another source without mentioning their source, then comparing the minor differences between the original version and those in the gazetteer will reveal compelling details.

The first three extant Lingyin monastic gazetteers during the Qing dynasty were compiled each roughly 80 years apart (1672; 1744, 1829). Since it remains unclear whether there are previous versions of the monastic gazetteers, any record related to what happened to or in the monastery experienced a highly selective process before being printed in the monastic gazetteers. Therefore, any record before the restoration of Jude Hongli and Huishan Jiexian 晦山戒顯 (1610-1672) during early Qing can be considered certified by the editorial board and serves as approved information which presents the desired image that the monastery plans or intends to present to the public. Other than the first few fascicles which includes the geography, patriarchs, and dharma talks by important abbot of the monastery, following fascicles are mostly compilations of previous written works by past famous authors.

This style of editing remained the same in the following updated versions. Due to the excessive amount of written literature attributed to the monastery accumulated over time, it was never a difficult task for the gazetteer editors to find enough materials that cover a certain aspect of the monastery. The challenge is instead what material serves as the proper piece to serve the purpose that can also fit into a specific category of the monastic gazetteer. Based on what information is included in the monastic gazetteer and which aspect they are referring to, readers will not only encounter relevant materials based on which theme the fascicles are based on, but also explore the missing elements that the monastic gazetteer's editors intentionally filled in. Any written piece by a contemporary author on an ancient development or individual can be treated as a make-up for the monastery's essential past. These writings ought to be the features that the editors of the gazetteers consider profound, or a justification and contextualization of a series of attractions. The gazetteers confirm or

reassure the important incidents and individuals of the monastery through collecting and even creating these writings that might potentially reshape the monastery's past.

This process places legends and relevant stories of the monastery on paper in printed fashion, which turns the classification of these writings into classicalization of the monastic-related information. As seen in Meir Shahar's studies on Huili, Feilai Peak monkeys, and Jigong of Southern Song, the monastic gazetteer compilation provides crucial information on these stories, yet the stories have already emerged over centuries before being included into the gazetteer.[90] This arrangement reflects the monastery's acknowledgement of these possibly fictional pasts. It is, however, impossible for the monastic gazetteer to cover every aspect of these legends and stories, but the publication of the gazetteer and how it presents these stories state the monastery's stance towards them. These representations can be treated as the monastery's official version of reiterating their past, from which the editor's design of the monastery's history is presented.

Even though the gazetteer and other various miscellaneous records (such as *biji*) claimed that the monastery was formed by monk Huili during the late fourth century, history of Lingyin monastery has not become clearer until much later in the Song dynasty, evidenced by relatively detailed information of its patriarchs, abbots, and actual activities during their time at the monastery. The earliest dated pagoda—a place that commemorates a monk—was in the Sui Dynasty, and steles that patrons dedicate to their pilgrimage to the monastery are dated in the Tang dynasty (618-907). These evidence show that, other than legendary patriarchs whose tenure was back between the Eastern Jin and Sui dynasty, Lingyin

[90] Meir Shahar, "The Lingyin Si Monkey Disciples and The Origins of Sun Wukong," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 52:1 (Jun., 1992), pp. 193-224; Meir Shahar, *Crazy Ji: Chinese Religions and Popular Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1998).

monastery does not have any additional information describing the monastery's development during this time period. Therefore, looking into the aspects mentioned above helps the readers to contextualize

The Lives of Abbots and Patriarchs based on the Gazetteer Editors

In the first fascicle of the Lingyin monastic gazetteer, the editors focused on the restoration of the monastery after years of decline. They tried to recall what the monastery looked like two decades ago, and moved on to mention "if there is no abbot in residence, how can the monastery not decline?" 不有住持，何以寺不有廢者? The abbots are the "spiritual mentors " (*shanzhishi* 善知識) who revived the monastery.[91] However, heavily sponsored by the state, it is not surprising that the editors of the first Lingyin monastic gazetteer compared the monastery with the state, saying "the monastery's abbot is like the state's monarch. The state cannot exist one day without a monarch, so how can the monastery exist one day without an abbot?"叢林之有住持, 猶國之有君也, 國不可一日無君, 而叢林可一日無住持乎.[92] In the fascicle on "Abbots and Patriarchs" 住持禪祖, the editors of the monastic gazetteer, listed the qualities of an abbot that one "must be a person of great virtue/spiritual mentor, knows the sickness of all sentient beings, recognizes the medicine to treat the sickness, then be able to spread the dharma path and save the people, just as fire consumes firewood, "必須善知識, 知眾生病, 識治病藥, 然後弘開法道濟度

[91] *Lingyin sizhi* 3/3a/49.

[92] *Lingyin sizhi* 3b/1a/147.

生民, 火以薪傳. The "medicine" is the metaphor for expedients to provide treatment to people with different defilements.

An ideal patriarch has a long tradition of knowing how to provide proper support and response to people with different conditions.[93] From Eastern Jin down to the Wanli period (1572-1620) of the Ming dynasty, there were about 130 patriarchs. This number is also coincidentally more than Lingyin Monastery's rival which is the leader of the Five Mountains. An updated version of the Jingshan monastic gazetteer was never published Jingshansi listed its abbots first rather than starting with the monastery's geographical landscape. It is apparent that this well-documented list is the pride of the monastery, even though it did not start until the 8th century, which makes it several centuries later than Lingyin monastery. The monastery's abbacy succession order became more clear after the arrival of Yongming Yanshou, and continued to add additional information into the fascicle on the monastery's abbot in its proceeding updates. The editors were quite wary of the supplementary information and added short notes after the abbot's biography to avoid confusion.

Before the arrival of Jude Hongli at the dawn of the Qing, the editors said that Lingyin monastery was a "cave of patriarchs" (*zuku* 祖窟) where "the five lamps [viz., the mature Chan schools] illuminated each other" 五燈互耀.[94] It was not until Jude Hongli's presence that the light of Linji 臨濟 school (J. Rinzai) stood out from the rest. The concept of the "Five Lamps" was formulated after the publication of the "Lamp Records"of the

[93] *Lingyin sizhi* 3b/1a/147.

[94] *Lingyin sizhi*, 3b/1a.

Chan school in the Song period (960-1279).[95] Compiled between 1004 and 1202, the five lamp records were compiled by Chan monks of different schools who provided a series of biographies of Chan monks that records their experience of attaining enlightenment. Among the various Chan schools in the Song dynasty, even with the existence of "Five Houses and Seven Branches" 五家七宗 since the 9th century, Linji and Caodong 曹洞 schools were the two major ones that survived over time. Even though the editors of the Lingyin monastic gazetteer state that Linji was the dominant school in the Qing, based on an overview of the patriarchs and abbots' background in the monastic gazetteer, Linji had already become the major school in the Song. It is somewhat confusing that, unlike Jingshan monastery, the Lingyin monastic gazetteer was not able to clearly state the generation of each abbot and how long their tenure was. This tendency also did not become more clear until the Qing dynasty.

Editors of the monastic gazetteers especially feature the Chan school of which the patriarch is affiliated with to show the fact that the "Five lamps" were in fact illuminating each other. This also shows the diversity of Song period Chan, so that receiving training from a specific Chan school or branch will not be the sole reason that makes a monk the abbot. The fascicle on the list of patriarchs and abbots is divided into half. The first half starts with Huili, the founder of the monastery. However, the first patriarch for whom the editors clearly point out a sectarian affiliation is Wuzhu Wenxi 無著文喜 (c. 737-836) of the Guiyang (also read Weiyang) school 溈仰宗.[96] Before Wuzhu Wenxi, the only difference was whether the monk is a Chan master (Chanshi 禪師), Vinaya master (Lushi 律師), or

[95] *Lingyin sizhi*, 3b/1b.

[96] *Lingyin sizhi*, 3b/6a-6b.

Venerable elder (zunshi 尊師). The classification of the monk's affiliation also shows how Buddhism evolved in China: from legendary stories or general divisions, to specific training, activities, and dharma transmission. Simply browsing through the affiliation of the monks will allow the readers to perceive the diversified backgrounds of the Lingyin patriarchs and abbots.

For example, among the 38 monks listed under the Lingyin monastery entry in the *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin*, there are only 9 pre-Song monks included. The last included a monk who lived in the Tang dynasty was Venerable Zhiyi 智一尊者 (d.u.) who stayed in Lingyin Mountain, abided by the precepts and was especially notable for his ability to "long roar" (*changxiao* 長嘯).[97] Lingyin monastery's relationship with Feilai Peak and Huili is often mentioned in the monastery's early history, especially in the biographies of monks. Zhiyi's "long roar" is to call the monkeys to have food. In Zhiyi's biography, Wu said that this routine not only made Zhiyi come to be called "monkey father" (*yuanfu* 猿父) but also turned into a local custom, so that eventually a "Monkey-Feeding Platform" (Fanyuantai 飯猿臺) was established.[98]

The Huichang persecution during the 840s marked a gigantic shift in middle-period Chinese Buddhism. Buddhist clergy were forced to renounce their religious beliefs, and monasteries were either abolished or changed to serve other religious traditions. Lingyin monastery was no exception. Throughout the gazetteer there are lines that mentioned

[97] *Lingyin sizhi*, 3b/1b-2a.

[98] *Wulin Fanzhi* (*Siku* version), 9/5a-5b/186.

"abolished teaching monastery" 廢教寺 which indicates to the monastery's history during this persecution. After the persecution, it is unclear what happened to Zhiyi.[99]

Even though the *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin* listed Zhiyi as a monk during the Tang, in the Lingyin monastic gazetteer, the editors moved Zhiyi after Huili to the second of all patriarchs. Every mention of the Tang dynasty in his biography has been wiped out and replaced with the Liu Song dynasty (420-479). The actual concern behind the arrangement is now difficult to trace, but one possible assumption is that for the gazetteer editors, Zhiyi's monkey story and "Monkey-Feeding Platform" establishment tale "fits better" right after mentioning Huili's story with the monkeys following Huili's story instead of an abrupt reappearance in the Tang. The editors therefore rearranged the order to provide a potential contextualization of the monkey tales in the early history of Lingyin monastery. The patriarchs and monkeys also ceased interaction after this point.

Rather than mastering a specific Buddhist discipline, pre-Tang Lingyin monks are often known to perform miracles. For example, Vinaya master Tanchao 曇超 (d. 492), who was active during the Jianyuan 建元 reign (479-482) of the Qi 齊 Dynasty (479-502), often dwelled under a tree without being harmed by tigers or (potentially) rhinos (*si* 兕), and could meditate without moving for days.[100] Tanchao's most notable achievement was his response to a deity who came to him, mentioning that due to the villagers construction projects that damaged the "dragon's house" (longshi 龍室), the dragon deity swore he would not bring rain to the area for 300 days, which resulted in a serious drought. The deities asked if the master who has great virtue and miraculous power can pray for rain, so that the dragon deity

[99] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 3b/1a.

[100] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 3a/2a-2b/131-132.

who will bring rain will definitely respond. After Tanchao secretly recited the "dragon spell" (longzhou 龍咒), at night, the dragons visited him in human form and bowed three times, then a huge rained poured the following day. Another example was Chan master Baoda 寶達 where the Lingyin monastic gazetteer copied the account word for word from *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin* (except that his name in the latter book was Baokui 寶逵). Baoda was known to perform rituals, such as reciting an esoteric spell for days to stop the sea waves that were harming the sand shore. One night, a deity came in human form to visit Baoda and expressed his anger. Baoda eventually calmed his emotions and the wave went in another direction afterwards.[101]

Said to be active during the Sui dynasty, Shengda Zhenguan's 聖達貞觀 (534-608) biography consists of multiple elements: he was from a prominent family, had auspicious looks, and received multiple trainings which includes Vinaya, Tiantai, and Chan meditation. These qualities altogether subsequently earned him rare praise: "Qiantang (Hangzhou) with Zhenguan is worth half of the whole world" 錢塘有貞觀，當天下一半.[102] He was invited during the Kaihuang 開皇 reign (589-600) to dwell at the newly established Nan Tianzhu monastery 南天竺寺. He preached the essence of the Lotus Sutra that emotionally moved the deity to give away his shrine to become the monastery's hall. Moreover, after local official Liu Jingan 劉景安 requested him to preach the [*Foshuo*] *Dragon King of the Sea Sutra* 海龍王經 (trans. Dharmarakṣa 竺法護, c. 229-306), it rained suddenly. Shengda Zhenguan

[101] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 3a/2b/132.

[102] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 3a/3a/133.

seems to have been honored with all the privileges a monk could receive but he turned down further honors from Emperor Wen and Prince Qinxiao (Yang Jun 楊俊, 571-600).

The biographies started to have a clearer story with less miraculous performances and more Buddhist related activities, such as his dharma lineage, his training, and later accounts. Although Lingyin monastic gazetteer still copied the content from *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin*, starting from Vinaya master Jiandao Shouzhi 堅道守直 (699-770). As an eighth generation descendant of a Qi dynasty official, Jiandao Shouzhi was recommended by an official during the Kaiyuan 開元 period of Emperor Xuan (r. 713-741) 玄宗 before moving to Lingyin. The main difference between *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin* and the gazetteer version is that the latter one added the dates of Jiandao Shouzhi and his ordination into the biography based on the first one which referred to the epitaph that Jiaoran Qingzhou 皎然清晝 (d. 805), Jiandao Shouzhi's main disciple wrote for him.[103] Again, Lingyin's monastic gazetteer mainly applied the biography that Wu wrote for Jiaoran Qingzhou, yet it seems that the only connection between Jiaoran Qingzhou with Lingyin monastery is that he received the precepts at Lingyin's ordination platform and served Jiandao Shouzhi as a student. Regarded as a "Buddhist of great capacity " 釋門偉器, Jiandao Shouzhi wrote well, visited notable mountains, and eventually became a recluse in his later years, giving up writing poems and focusing instead on Chan meditation. The key difference is that Wu listed Jiaoran Qingzhou as "attendant" (shizhe 侍者), emphasizing the fact that he served his teacher

[103] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 3a/3b/134. This epitaph, however, is not seen in the Lingyin monastic gazetteer.

Jiandao Shouzhi while Lingyin's monastic gazetteer changed his role as a Vinaya master, granting him an individual identity.[104]

Another monk Daobiao 道標 (d.u.) was also identified as an "attendant" in the biography that Wu Zhijing wrote, but was regarded as a "Vinaya master" in the gazetteer. Compared to the versions seen in Wu's account, not only are more details provided in the gazetteer, there are also dates differences: Wu said that Daobiao "followed the imperial edict" (制舉) and passed the examination in mastering the sutra and became a monk in 757 while the gazetteer said that he passed the exam in 759, and subsequently shared fame with Jiaoran Qingzhou and another monk named Lingche 靈徹, also known as one of the "Ten Buddhist Intellects" 僧中十哲.[105] Daobiao eventually gained higher recognition through developing a close relationship (*xianjiao* 心交) with high ranking scholar-officials such as Li Jifu 李吉甫 (758-814), Wei Gao 韋皋 (746-805), and Meng Jian 孟簡 (d. 814).[106] The gazetteer provided information that Daobiao's potential weapon to gain popularity was his ability to write good poems. Although a monk like Daobiao is definitely worth mentioning in the gazetteer, editors of the gazetteers still admitted that other than the date that he passed away at 84, they actually do not have any further information, such as a pagoda, to provide additional information about him.[107]

The gazetteer editors changed the order of the monks listed in the *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin*, moving Venerable Daoqi 道齊 before Vinaya master Jiankong 鑑空. These two

[104] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 3a/4a/135.

[105] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 3a/4a/135.

[106] *Wulin fanzhi,* 9/2b-3a/185.

[107] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 3a/134-135.

cases show that the editors actually look into the dates of when an individual was active; if a specific date was given, then it becomes the new order of how they were listed in the gazetteer. Trained at a traditional academy reading Confucian classics, Daoqi shaved his head and renounced secular life, went to Lingyin monastery to pursue a career as a monk, learned *Huayan Sutra* at the Tianzhu monastery, and practiced meditation at a stone chamber. In the winter of 805, Daoqi was asked by scholars from four directions to preach the Huayan Sutra. When Daoqi was preaching, miracles occurred: two flowers grew out from the earth and started to glow, which fascinated the observants.

When Jiankong was first travelling to Qiantang (Hangzhou) in early Yuanhe 元和 (806-819) period, he was already 45 years old. That year was a year of drought and when Qi Zuo 齊佐 (Jiankong's secular full name) planned to beg for a meal at Tianzhu monastery, after he finally reached Mt. Gu 孤山, he got so hungry that he could hardly proceed. At this moment, an Indic monk approached, started to laugh at him, saying he might be starved to the extent that he could not recall his memories (from his previous life) of "ever preached the Lotus Sutra at Tongde Monastery." [108] The monk subsequently showed Qi Zuo a bag of jujubes, each one was as big as a fist. After Qi ate one, he suddenly recalled his memory at the Tongde monastery, and became the only person who attained enlightenment among the five travelers. Thereafter, Qi started to pursue the career of learning Buddhism by going forth at Lingyin monastery. After being ordained, he kept high virtues and practiced asceticism. His interaction with the poet Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (Hedong, 773-819) shows

[108] Original text: 不憶講《法華》於同德寺乎. See *Wulin fanzhi,* 9/3a-4a/185-186; *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 3a/5a-5b/134-135. This story originated from *Taiping Guangji* (Extensive Records of the Taiping Era), *juan* 388 which is a subcategory of stories on "realizing your previous lives" 悟前生.

his observation of Buddhism's concept of casuality after he passes away. Although it is unclear after he embarked on a series of travels to notable monasteries, the gazetteer editors noted at the end that no details can be confirmed after the Huichang Buddhist persecution, which Wu has not clearly mentioned in his *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin*. Therefore, one of the major differences between Wu's version and the gazetteer version, such as the sequence of order, down to word choice, were all great deals to the gazetteer editors, yet can only be identified and further investigated when both books preserved the biographies for the same monk.

On the other hand, Baoyu Huilin 抱玉慧琳 (737-820) did not appear in Wu's book but did in the gazetteer, placed between Daoqi and Jiankong. He studied under a Lingyin monk named monk Xifeng Jin 西峰金 (d.u.) and then served as abbot during the Dali 大曆 (766-779) period at Lower Tianzhu.[109] A group of literati including Bai Juyi treated Baoyu Huilin with respect such as "Abhidharma Confucius" 毘曇孔子 or "Victorious Force Bodhisattva" 勝力菩薩. This is perhaps the most important direct information before Baoyu Huilin passed away.

The records on patriarchs in The *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin* and in the monastic gazetteer had their first major difference in content when reaching the biographies of Chan master Taoguang 韜光 (d.u.). As a monk who developed a close relationship with the literatus Bai Juyi and attracted many visitors to revisit his hut, a huge collection of poems related to Taoguang have been collected in the gazetteers, and their stories are still remembered as an important part of the history of Lingyin monastery. Based on the *Monastic*

[109] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 3a/4b-5a/134-135.

Gazetteer of Wulin, we are told that Taoguang was from Xishu (modern day western Sichuan) and followed his master's words to "proceed when encountering heaven [tian] and stop when you see 'nest' [chao]." As Taoguang reached the village of Chaoju 巢居 ("Dwell in the Nest"), he decided to stay.[110] He and Bai exchanged poems and eventually he turned down Bai's invitation to repay a visit. The *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin* included some of his poems while the editors of the gazetteer noted that these poems can be found later in the book rather than even quoting one or two of them at that point in the compilation.

As the abbot who was particularly crucial in the monastery's history, the Lingyin gazetteer editors carefully drafted Yongming Yanshou's contribution. However, in the *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin*, instead of listing all the prominent monks in the gazetteer, Wu Zhijing decided to move Yongming Yanshou under the patriarchs of Jingci monastery, one of the other Five Mountains south of West Lake, close by Lingyin monastery.[111] Wu continued by introducing Chan master Qingsong 清聳 (d.u.) of the Fayan school, who earned his certification from Jinghui 淨慧, which is another name of Qingliang (or Fayan 法眼) Wenyi 清涼文益 (885-958), the first patriarch of the Fayan School. The *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin* Qingsong seems to have more descriptions than he had in the gazetteer. The editors seem to cut off extra information, including places such as Siming and Lin'an, mainly focusing on Qingsong's relationship with Lingyin, while the *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin* did not clearly state that Qingliang Wenyi of Jinling 金陵 was Qingsong's teacher.[112] These cases are not rare, but added in his biography, which means that historical interpretation

[110] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 3a/6a/139.

[111] *Wulin fanzhi* (*Siku* version), 9/29b-31b/198-199.

[112] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 3a/7a/141.

faces an issue of what is more relevant and what is not to the subject of the book. Wu's and the editor's versions present these concerns and different focuses that lead to adjustments to the biography's content.

These two approaches were better presented when it comes to Wu's version and the editor's version of Yongming Yanshou, a monk regarded as one of the three most important abbots in Lingyin monastery's history along with Huili and Jude Hongli. He is often referred to as the abbot who revived Lingyin monastery during the Wuyue period (907-978). The editor's version is as follows:

> [Yongming Yanshou Chan master,] Fayan school, his given name is Chongyuan, granted title Zhijue. Surname is Wang, his place of origin is Yuhang (northwest of Hangzhou). Recited the *Lotus Sutra* when he was seven, read down with five lines each time. Became the Huating town general, purchased animals to release (*fangsheng*) with governmental money, [thus] sentenced to death. King Qian Wenmu pardoned him and allowed him to go forth [and leave the household]. He dwelt and meditated at the hills where Tiantai Zhi[yi] stayed, there were birds that nested at the closet. In the midst of Chan meditating, he witnessed Guanyin, who poured dew in his mouth, [he therefore] subsequently obtained eloquence. When he visited State Preceptor [De] Shao (891-972), he heard the falling wood metaphor and gained enlightenment. In 960, King Qian Zhongyi requested him to reestablish Lingyin [monastery]; this is how Lingyin's restoration occurred. Therefore he was called the one who served as the abbot of Lingyin, and was treated as the first generation. After transferring to Yongming site, he treated the mind as principle and enlightenment as goal, authored *Zongjing lu* which consists of a hundred fascicles. He practices 108 good deeds everyday; has 2,000 and more disciples, offered food to ghosts [and spirits] at night, released animals during the day, so that people called him "the advent of the Benevolent One (Maitreya)." In 975 he passed away while sitting. After the cremation his relics contained five colors, paved on the ground like scales. His reliquary is located at Daci Mountain.
> 法眼宗, 字沖元, 賜號智覺. 姓王, 餘杭人. 七歲誦《法華經》, 五行俱下. 年二十八為華亭鎮將, 以官錢放生, 坐死. 錢文穆王赦之, 聽其出家, 住天台智者巖習定, 有鴟鵂巢於衣裓. 禪觀中, 見觀音以甘露灌其口, 遂獲辨才. 參(天台德)韶國師, 聞墮薪而有悟. 建隆元年, 錢忠懿王請重創靈隱, 靈隱之興由此. 故後稱住持靈隱者, 以為第一代也. 繼遷永明道場, 以心為宗, 以悟為旨, 著《宗鏡錄》一百卷. 每日行一百八善; 弟子二千餘人, 夜施鬼食, 晝放生命, 世人號「慈氏下生」. 開寶八年趺逝, 火, 舍利五色, 鱗砌於地, 塔大慈山.[113]

[113] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 3a/6b-7a/140.

In the *Monastic gazetteer of Wulin*, Wu Zhijing provided a more detailed description than the editor's version, covering Yongming Yanshou's career from when he was born, to how he pursued his studies, from the monasteries he visited and served as abbot, to his post-Lingyin career and his doctrinal contributions.[114]

Among several aspects worth notice, first is that in Wu's version, young Yongming Yanshou memorized the *Lotus Sutra* "seven lines each time" rather than the gazetteer's "five lines each time"; Wu Zhijing also further elaborated that Yongming Yanshou when reciting the sutra "[for] sixty days, brought a flock of sheep kneeling down and listen [to Yanshou reciting the sutra]." Before that, Wu also mentioned that when Yanshou turned twenty, he stopped eating meat and only had one meal a day. The gazetteer surprisingly did not include this part. Interestingly, while the gazetteer was candid regarding Yanshou fault in utilizing the government's budget to purchase animals to free, Wu's version omitted this factor that triggered the opportunity for Yanshou becoming a monk, and instead, just mentioned that he started meditation with Cuiyan 翠巖 Chan Master. King Wenmu noticed this tendency, granting Yongming Yanshou the privilege to study with Cuiyun. Unlike Yanshou's relationship with the preceptor Shao, nothing in the gazetteer version on Yongming Yanshou's interaction with Xuedou Chongxian 雪竇重顯, another prominent Chan master during Late Tang and early Five Dynasties, was mentioned.

Secondly, rather than "reviving Lingyin," Wu's account was worded in another fashion, saying that Yanshou was requested to "found the new monastery of Lingyin." Wu Zhijing also specifically mentioned that Yanshou transferred to Yongming monastery the "following year" instead of the gazetteer's version stating it as "following." The gazetteer

[114] *Wulin fanzhi* (*Siku* version), 9/29b-30a/198-199.

version seems to select some lines from Wu's version while being fairly succinct after Yanshou's tenure at Lingyin Monastery. Given that Yanshou only served a year as an "inaugural abbot" of Lingyin Monastery, it is normal to focus on his major achievements that were mainly carried out during his fifteen years at the Yongming Daochang 永明道場, which refers to Jingci monastery. It is understandable that Yongming Yanshou earned a prominent role in Lingyin monastery's history due to his later contribution to Chinese Buddhism. Thus, Wu's design of the biography does make sense; the gazetteer version also briefly listed Yanshou's major contribution rather than taking too much credit from Yanshou's post-Lingyin career. After the editor's selection of materials and rewrite of the biography, Yanshou looks more like a human being who is not flawless while in Wu's version he seems impeccable, sometimes even almighty.

At the end of the gazetteer version, the editors perhaps provided evidence of why Wu listed Yanshou under Jingci monastery instead of under Lingyin monastery: "During mid-Emperor Shen of Ming (1572-1620) period, the pagoda (originally at Daci Mountain 大慈山) was moved to Zongjing Hall of Jingci monastery, later renamed as Pagoda of Shouning" 明神廟中遷於淨慈宗鏡堂, 後號壽寧之塔.[115] The term "Zongjing" 宗鏡 indicates *Zongjinglu*, Yongming's most influential work. This was right in the midst when Wu Zhijing was finishing his gazetteer, thus, though not clearly mentioned, this new update and selection, together with Yanshou's career at Jingci monastery, have

There are plenty of cases that the monks included in the "patriarch and abbot" fascicle were not abbots but were at some point related to the monastery. For example, the

[115] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3a/7a/141.

versatile Vinaya master Zanning 贊寧 (920-1001), who also wrote the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Biographies of the Song Eminent Monks), in fact never became the abbot of Lingyin, and was listed under Kaihua Monastery 開化寺 in *Monastic gazetteer of Wulin*. After being ordained as a monk, he studied the Nanshan Vinaya 南山律 at Lingyin. Both the Qian family of Wuyue and Emperor Taizu of Song (r. 960-976) both valued his capability and granted him honorary titles, including the purple robe in 992. Zanning argued with scholar-official Wang Yuchen 王禹偁 (954-1001) about his opinion on Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179-104 BCE), Wang Chong 王充 (c. 27-97), Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581-645), and Cai Yong's 蔡邕 (133-192) and earned Wang's respect.[116] Wu's version provides more of Zanning's literary contribution, in addition to his works mentioned earlier, and a hundred other fascicles that Wang Yuchen was asked to preface. By juxtaposing the gazetteer and Wu's version it is easier for the readers to trace the highlights of Zanning's lifeZanning's case. The affiliation of the patriarch and abbots also presents a microvision of how the various Chan schools developed in the Song. For example, after Wuzhu Wenxi, most of the mentioned monks were from the Yunmen school or Fayan school; these two schools were especially active in the Northern Song period (960-1127), and faded away after the fall of Northern Song.

The second half of the fascicle on abbots and patriarchs starts with Mingjiao Qisong 明教契嵩 (1007-1072), an eminent monk who was from the Yunmen school 雲門宗, and was known to argue with his contemporary Confucian opponents, defending Buddhism by writing lengthy comments. In the first fascicle on abbots and patriarchs, there were still 11

[116] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3a/7b/142.

monks included in the previous fascicle after Zanning but most of them do not have a lengthy biography that provides profound information.[117] Interestingly, Wu Zhijing mentioned 7 of them (excluding Chuguang 處光 (d.u.), Shaoguang 韶光 (d.u.), Daoduan 道端 (d.u.), and Huizhong 慧中 (d.u.)—they only have their school origin, dharma transmission, or an extra dialogue quoted), and sometimes the gazetteer version just copied the content, and sometimes it omitted some content from Wu's longer description. It is somewhat confusing why Wu decided to include these abbots with limited information in the first place as three of them only have one line regarding which Chan school they have succeeded and who their dharma teachers were. Four of these biographies provided more information citing an extra line from the *yulu* in which the monk had a dialogue with another monk that can reflect the person's major thought. These four monks are worth more mention because there are actual dates of important personal activities included in their biographies. Such as when Huiming Yanshan 慧明延珊 (d.u.) Chan master served as the abbot, Lingyin monastery received farmland from the Zhangyi 章懿 (987-1032) Empress dowager in 1024 as compensation to congratulate Emperor Renzong's birthday; later, in 1030, these farmlands were exempted from taxes.[118] This example shows that the monastery was especially wary of these gifts and exemptions issued by the court or government as these documented stele records [119]

[117] See *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3b/1a-1b/147-148.

[118] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3a/8b/144.

[119] See *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3a/142-145, for the other three patriarchs. In the biography of Wensheng 文勝 Chan master, who was Huiming Yanshan's teacher, stated that he had in total 25 disciples, followed by citing a dialogue on "old mirrors" and "family style." Dezhang Chan master was at first abbot of the notable Xiangguo

Again, the gazetteer editors nearly cited word-by-word Wu's version of Qisong's biography, and only added the title "Mingjiao" 明教 (Illuminating the Teaching) in front of Qisong, his Yunmen school affiliation, his secular given name, and the condition of his relics after the cremation. In Mingjiao Qisong's case, there were round soybean-like relics on his skull. The editors also changed the official titles of Han Qi 韓琦 (1008-1075) and Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) who have met with Qisong. Wu's account of Qisong was fairly balanced and informative as he pointed out "without learning the worldly classics but able to write the hundred-thousand words of 'Yuanjiao un,' manifesting the consonance of Confucianism's and Buddhism's paths in order to resist the anti-Buddhist argument, making the readers in awe of his views" 世間經書不學, 而能作〈原教論〉十餘萬言, 明儒釋之道一貫, 以抗排佛之說, 讀者畏服.[120] In addition to 'Yuanjiao lun,' Wu Zhijing also mentioned that Mingjiao Qisong wrote several other works and presented them to Emperor Renzong, earning his praise and asked the Chuanfa yuan to include Qisong's works into the

monastery 相國寺 in Bianjing (modern Kaifeng). He was called by Emperor Renzong to have a forum with Master Puzhao 普照 (d.u.), and was granted the name of Mingjue 明覺. He retired in 1050 and Emperor Renzong assigned him to serve as the abbot of Lingyin monastery. At last, Huanmin 幻旻 (999-1059) Chan master studied under Huiming at Lingyin and "learned all his dharma" 盡學其法. He himself became the abbot of Lingyin in 1048 and passed away in 1059. Qisong wrote his epitaph. The editor's arrangement of listing Huanmin as the last patriarch of the first half of fascicle on patriarch and abbots, with Qisong writing the stelae also serves as a transition into Qisong, an authoritative figure of Buddhism in the Northern Song period, and also one of the prominent monks in Lingyin's history.

[120] *Wulin fanzhi* (*Siku* version), 9/6a-6b/187.

Buddhist Canon. Qinsong's other works which include twenty fascicles are also widely circulated.[121]

Based on the gazetteer records, the abbot succession between the Northern to Southern Song transition remains unclear. The last retrievable date before the fall of the Northern Song is when Benran Qingjue 本然清覺 (1043-1121) arrived at Lingyin monastery in 1093, built the Baiyun hut (Baiyun An 白雲菴), and eventually established his own school: the Baiyun school (Baiyun zong 白雲宗).[122] This is perhaps why the editors identify him as "school master" 宗師(*zongshi*). As Confucius' 52nd generation descendant, his father obtaining the *jinshi* degree. Benran Qingjue's biography states that after reading the *Lotus Sutra*, he decided to go forth and become a monk. From northern China and eventually dwelling at Lingyin monastery, Benran Qingjue's teaching attracted more and more followers which made him establish his own compound to house these people, subsequently attracting more popularity that eventually led to the government's concern. The Chan school in general at first regarded the Baiyun School as a heresy yet it gained official recognition during the Southern Song, and further developed during the Yuan. When Benran Qingjue's teachings suffered persecution during the Daguan period (1107-1110), he was forced to flee to Guangnan, in southern China, and eventually passed away there. The Baiyun school was

[121] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3b/1a-1b/147-8. See especially Elizabeth Morrison's study on Qisong (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp.169-194. Qisong's relationship with Emperor Renzong (r. 1022-1063) of Northern Song also helped promote that Buddhist's understanding of filial piety is nothing different from that of the Confucian's standard.

[122] Please see a recent dissertation on Baiyun school by Kaiqi Hua, "The White Cloud Movement: Local Activism and Buddhist Printing in China under Mongol Rule (1276-1368 CE)," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Merced, 2016; especially pp. 36-85.

banned again during the early Ming dynasty and its followers merged with the White Lotus society.

On the other hand, Jishi Huiguang 寂室慧光 (c. 1086-1185) of the Yunmen school 雲門宗 was the only listed clergy who lived through the transition period (c. 1127) of the Northern to Southern Song.[123] However, the editors only attributed one verse to him and nothing else is especially mentioned. It is possible that the Baiyun school's activity overshadowed the monastery's development, yet the editors did not bother mentioning this information that might potentially harm the reader's impression of the monastery.

The earliest date that a monk who took the Lingyin abbacy since then was Fozhi Duanyu 佛智端裕 (1085-1150) of the Linji school in 1148.[124] Even though he was assigned a golden robe from the empress, which entails his prominent achievement, his tenure did not last long as he passed away two years after serving as abbot. There were abundant relics after his cremation, and the amount kept on increasing even after the ritual, which allowed the editors to write more about this story. Even though no word on when they stopped growing is mentioned in Fozhi Duanyu's biography, it is said that the monastery clergy distributed the extra relics into another pagoda where Fozhi Duanyu is worshipped.

Despite never being the abbot of the monastery, Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 has the longest biography in the Lingyin gazetteer.[125] Wu Zhijing instead listed him under Jingshan monastery, where he became the leading figure in Buddhism. Wu, however, did not write as much content on him apart from mentioning that Dahui Zonggao was regarded as the

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[123] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3b/3a/151.

[124] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3b/3a-4a/151-152.

[125] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3b/4a-7b/151-160.

person who brought about the "revival of the Linji school" (*Linji zhongxing* 臨濟中興). Wu perhaps considered that a thorough biography of Dahui Zonggao would lead to an excessively long entry, so he instead provided only the briefest of details. However, the gazetteer version of the biography took this approach, mentioning that Zonggao was assigned the abbot of Jingshan in 1158, and on the 28th day of the second month of that year, he came to Lingyin monastery and gave a dharma lecture. The beginning of his lecture stated that "this is what [your father] Shakyamuni's 49 years and 360 or so meetings could not exhaust" 這是釋迦老子四十九年三百六十餘會說不盡底.[126] The Lingyin gazetteer version then quoted from Dahui Zonggao's speaking records without mentioning any further dates and his other activities related to Lingyin monastery.

It is possible that the editors regarded this dharma talk as Zonggao's "inaugural speech" as the new abbot of Jingshan monastery. His interpretation in this talk of the relationship between the Dharma King's dharma and the dharma could be understood as the "ultimate truth" (*diyiyi*, 第一義).[127] After Dahui Zonggao's talk, the unnamed Lingyin abbot knocked (on the woodenfish; *baichui* 白槌) and concluded that "when you truly perceive the Dharma King's dharma, the Dharma King's dharma is as it is" 諦觀法王法，法王法如是.[128] Zonggao's long quotation might not be directly related to Lingyin monastery but the editors regard this talk by the leading monk during the Southern Song as especially

126 *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3b/4b/154.

127 *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3b/5a/155.

128 Based on Griffith Foulk's translation (Digital Dictionary of Buddhism); originally from *Zhu Huayan jing ti Fajie guanmen song* 註華嚴經題法界觀門頌 T1885.45.698b06.

meaningful, not just because of its relevance to the monastery itself but also to Chinese Buddhism: this is because it places Buddhism in a broader Chinese cultural context, incorporating the role of the imperial impact in the sustainability of Buddhism in China. It is evident that this was on Dahui Zonggao's mind in the middle of his talk, since he praised the emperor and restated that Buddhists ought to reciprocate the kindness of the royal family.[129]

Dahui Zonggao had a profound influence on Lingyin monastery in that at least three of his disciples became abbots of the monastery. Wu Zhijng wrote on two of them and of course the gazetteer editors added their biographies into the fascicle. But the main difference between their coverage is that Wu did not mention their relationship with Dahui Zonggao. Even though a portion of his verses in the biography went missing (*que* 闕) in the *Siku* version of Wu's biography on Zui'an Daoyin, in the gazetteer version these verses are all perfectly complete.[130] These minor differences sometimes do not reveal much detail but simply confirm that the *Siku* version did not find the best version when recompiling the work. Based on the information one can gain from Wu's account, school affiliation and dharma lineage appear to be of secondary concern, yet the gazetteer editors added this crucial information to help the readers understand the relevance of the subject to the monastery. Biographies on Fozhao Deguang 佛照德光(1121–1203) and Shei'an Liaoyan 誰菴了演 both present the same concern.[131]

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[129] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3b/6b-7a/158-159.

[130] *Wulin Fanzhi* 9/14a; *Lingyin sizhi* 3b/10a-10b/165-166.

[131] Another renowned monk, Jingsou Jujian (or Beijian Jujian), who also was included in the gazetteer, studied with Biefeng Tudu at Jingshan monastery and Fozhao Deguang at Asoka Monastery. Jingsou Jujian was invited to be the abbot of Lingyin monastery but refused: "I laughed and said my [final] days are approaching." He

When Chijue Daochong 癡絕道沖 (1169–1250) moved from Tiantong monastery to take the position of Lingyin's abbot in 1244, he had already established a reputation from running a series of monasteries. His connection with Lingyin was from his dharma-grandfather Mi'an and dharma-uncle Songyuan Chongyue. His tenure at Lingyin was not that long. The most notable account of Chijue Daochong was of his withdrawal from his abbacy after the court took over the monastery's farm land to construct a merit monastery for a concubine named Yan. The court granted the monastery a 1000 *mu* of land to urge Chijue Daochong to finally return after several failed attempts.[132]

The gazetteer, again, adapted most content from Wu Zhijng's account on Xiatang Huiyuan 瞎堂慧遠 (1103–1176) yet slightly adjusted the narrative.[133] Both biographies kept the important dates of when Xiatang Huiyuan was active as Lingyin's abbot (around 1170 to 1172). It was during this time when he discussed the Madhyamaka *cishi ji* 辭世偈). The main difference between the two biographies is Xiatang Huiyuan are the conversations had with other fellow monks, as well as those that he had with the emperor. The gazetteer editors, instead, decide to omit nearly all the dialogues between Xiatang Huayuan and the emperor, just leaving one event that mentions Emperor Xiao's visit to the Lingyin monastery and his short dialogue with Xiatang Huiyuan after encountering his portrait at one hall in the monastery. This is also an account closely related to the monastery's history itself than solely emphasizing Xiatang Huiyuan's personal achievements. Moreover, it is even more confusing

instead recommended Chijue Daochong to become Lingyin monastery's abbot. See *Lingyin sizhi* 3b/14a-14b/173-174.

[132] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3/17b-18b/179-181.

[133] *Wulin fanzhi* 9/10a-12a/189-190; *Lingyin sizhi* 3b/8a-9a/161-163.

that the editors replaced the person having the dialogue with Xiatang Huiyuan on Mazu Daoyi's famous *gong'an* case "Being partners with the myriad dharmas" 萬法為侶 from the emperor to a nameless monk. One potential explanation is that the editors decided to focus on the dates of his tenure as abbot over the other details, with the exception of mentioning that Xiatang Huiyuan gained enlightenment and assumed the post as Lingyin monastery's abbot—both relevant to the monastery's history. As long as the meaning of the story in the biography is conveyed then the subject of whom the dialogue was conducted with could become a secondary concern. After Xiatang Huiyuan's death, his whole body was mummified and was eventually enshrined in a pagoda on a peak at the west of the monastery, and perhaps more importantly, his collected works were included in the Buddhist canon. These treatments imply that Xiatang Huiyuan was remembered as not only an abbot of the monastery but also a canonized author.

Another notable account from Xiatang Huiyuan was of the famous Jidian, or "Crazy Ji," one of his main disciples. Although Jidian never became an abbot of any monastery, not to mention Lingyin monastery, the editors still included him in the fascicles on abbot biographies as *zushi*, or "patriarch." Jidian was one of the only non-Chan masters included in the fascicle.[134] There are stories that describes him as an eccentric monk and most of his fellow monks disliked him except Xiatang Huiyuan, who "knew that he was not an ordinary

[134] One of the other patriarches who was not an abbot of Lingyin monastery was Huiyan Keguang 慧眼可光, who was said to develop a twenty-word palindrome from the case of "Bodhidharma comes from the West" to "connect those who have medium-lower credentials" 接中下之機. The appearance and conduct of Jidian and Huiyan Keguang are somewhat attractive to a wider audience than limiting the monastery to government officials and scholar elites. See *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3b/23b/192.

person" 知非凡器. Xiatang Huiyuan protected Jidian until his unfortunate passing. Xiatang Huiyuan's death gave the clergy who disliked Jidian the opportunity to remove Jidian from Lingyin monastery. Whereas Jidian performed most of his legendary stories at Jingci monastery, the gazetteer biography says that it cannot include them all: it instead refers the reader to a longer official Jidian biography (*benzhuan* 本傳).[135] In this regard, nearly no Lingyin abbots and patriarchs share the same privilege as Jidian. At the end of the gazetteer biography, the editors will occasionally suggest the readers look up more detailed information of the monk from a specific source, usually the monk's epitaph. Other than Jude Hongli, only six other patriarchs or abbots have their epitaphs included in the gazetteer, which are selected from another source.[136] Although Jidian's biography was not included in the gazetteer, Jude Hongli's disciple Huishan Jiexian authored the preface of Jidian's official biography, stating that based on the model of the Indian lay bodhisattva Vimalakīrti, the monastery saw Jidian as a bodhisattva as he was applying unprecedented methods, such as drinking alcohol and consuming meat, to hide his sacredness and to enlighten sentient beings. Huishan Juixian, however, also noted that as Buddhist practitioner, one should not just follow these apparently "defiled actions" (*wuxing* 污行), but that was certainly not Jidian's genuine intention. Huishan Jiexian wrote three times "can you emulate this, or not?"

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[135] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3b/9b/164; For Jidian's biography written by Huishan Jiexian, see *Lingyin sizhi* 7/26a-27a/457-459.

[136] See *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 6/29a-37b/387-404, which includes the epitaphs of Huili, Puci Huanmin, Fuliang 用貞輔良 (1317-1371), Xingyuan Huiming 性原慧明 (1318-1386), Wuwen Benju 無文本聚(1325-1399), Kongsou Xinwu 空叟忻悟 (1337-1391). Other than Huili and Huanmin, the latter four monks were all Ming monks.

能學否耶, to clarify the differences that divide Jidian's rightful approaches from other "evil meditations" (*mochan* 魔禪).[137] Another purpose of the preface is to provide the monastery's stance on Jidian, as many of the statements are "closer to vernacular language" (*jinli* 近俚); therefore, revising and turning them into an official *benzhuan* will not only stimulate the circulation of these stories, but also add another good anecdote to both the Lingyin and Jingci monasteries.

More proof that the gazetteer adapted writings by Wu Zhijing comes from reading through the biography of Xiatang Huiyuan's other foreign disciple, [Ruishan] Jue'e 叡山覺阿 (c. mid-12th century) who travelled across the sea from Japan with his brother-in-dharma Kinkei 金慶.[138] Jue'e was originally trained as a Tendai monk and came to meet with Xiatang Huiyuan for further studies. It is said that he achieved enlightenment after hearing the drum sounds by the river. In Wu's version, Jue'e came back to Lingyin monastery and presented to Xiatang five verses to "seize the opportunity" (*touji* 投機); Wu included all five while the editors of the gazetteer only chose the first one from Wu's version.[139] After these verses were sanctioned by Xiatang Huiyuan, Jue'e returned to Japan. From cases like how Jue'e was described in Wu Zhijing's version and how the gazetteer editors adapted the content, we see that Wu's version often provides a longer version of the biography of each monk, while the gazetteer editors later select a portion from it and possibly leaves a trace to the readers to look for a more complete version at their interest.

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[137] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 7/ 26a-27a/ 457-459.

[138] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3b/9a-9b/ 163-164.

[139] *Wulin fanzhi* 9/12a-12b/190; *Lingyin sizhi* 3b/9a-9b/163-164.

There are, of course, exceptions to this observation. When the editors drafted the biography of Yuetang Zuyin 悅堂祖閬 (1234–1308), the content drastically changed Wu Zhijing's version except all of the dates remain the same. The major differences mostly appear in how the dialogues between the subject and another figure in the biography were being conducted and presented. After Yuetang Zuyin was promoted to abbot of Lingyin monastery, he had a dialogue with a monk. Wu Zhijing's version goes as follows: "Buddhas as numerous as countless dust motes are at the tip of your tongue; the sacred teaching of thehe tripiṭaka is under your foot; why do you not see them?"[140] Whereas the gazetteer version has two differences: The "Tripiṭaka" (sanzang 三藏) has the misprint "Three years" (sansui 三歲) and "them" (ta 他) became "ground" (di 地).[141] Given that the similarities of the characters might have caused the differences, they would probably make the context difficult to decipher if the reader does not have another version to compare. If one knows the subjects of the verse are the "Buddhas" and "sacred teaching" and the verb is "to see" then it would be easier to comprehend the complete meaning. This example implies that potential typos—though often minor—could create more hassle when reading the biographies.

The inauguration of an abbot was typically described with the phrase "the teaching of the school has been greatly revitalized" (*zongfeng dazhen* 宗風大振). Wu used this phrase at least four times in his *Wulin Fanzhi*, and again the gazetteer editors adapted Wu's account on Zhuquan Falin 竹泉法林 (1284–1355). *Wuling Fanzhi* said that when Falin relocated to

[140] *Wulin Fanzhi* 9/14b.

[141] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3b/21b/188.

Lingyin in 1338, he not only revitalized the teaching of the school, but Emperor Shun of Yuan (r. 1333-1370) also granted him the golden robe, which indicates governmental recognition of Buddhist monks.[142] Yuansou Xingduan 元叟行端 (also known as Jizhao; 1255–1341) was Jingshan's abbot at the time when Zhuquan Falin was Lingyin's abbot.[143] Zhuquan Falin's biography states that the dharma master and disciple both serving the abbot of monasteries among the "Five Mountains" at the same time is significant. Another major event is that when Zhuquan Falin was appointed to serve at the Dalongxiang monastery in Jiqing, he turned down the offer along with monetary compensation and eventually fled to the mountains; this was when the Yuan officials gave up the invitation plan. As the Dalongxiang monastery was above the Five Mountains' scale, Zhuquan Falin's decision to dodge the position further protected the pride of Lingyin and even the Five Mountains in general. This is perhaps why his biography especially mentioned this story to glorify his personal character since he was giving up a great offer that many other monks would gratefully accept.

Ming period Lingyin Abbots and Patriarchs

Monk Xingzhong Shouren 行中守仁 (or Shouren Yichu; 1309–1382) was the last monk among Wu's list of Lingyin monks. Active during the Yuan-Ming transition, Xingzhong Shouren was described as a "monk of Lingyin" and there was no word on whether he was the abbot of the monastery. Again the gazetteer version of Xingzhong Shouren's biography was a simplified version from Wu's account yet based on the abbot-

[142] *Wulin Fanzhi* 9/21b-23b; *Lingyin sizhi* 3b/24a-24b/193-194.

[143] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3b/ 22a-22b/189-190.

monks listed before and after Xingzhong Shouren[144], the readers can confirm that he was never the abbot of the monastery as the gazetteer clearly listed their generational sequence of abbot succession. Like Jianxin Laifu, Xingzhong Shouren was known for his poem-making and calligraphy abilities which established his social network with notable figures such as Yang Weizhen 楊維楨(1296–1370) and Daoist Zhang Boyu 張伯雨 (1283–1350). These credentials perhaps earned him a position as the Right Buddhist Patriarch (You Shanshi 右善世) at the Central Buddhist Registry (Senglu si 僧錄司).[145] This position was in charge of the authenticity or proper conduct of the clergy. Being a monk affiliated with Lingyin, Xingzhong Shouren's social network from which he earned political achievement were perhaps justifies [146]

The earliest record of compiling a Lingyin monastic gazetteer was perhaps implemented by Wujie Shancai 無杰善才. A disciple of Wuwen Benju, Wujie Shancai was assigned as Lingyin's 68th abbot in 1403.[147] Compared with biographies of other monks, his biography is relatively short; the establishment of a hut to worship Wuwen Benju is mentioned. Wujie Shancai was certainly aware of keeping records for the future compilation of a monastic gazetteer as his biography stated he "compiled several works on the monastic

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[144] The editors listed Wuwen Benjiong (1325-1399) as the 66th and Kechun as the 67th abbot of the monastery, and Xingzhong Shouren's biography was listed between the two. See: *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3b/27b-28a/200-201.

[145] *Wulin Fanzhi* 9/26b-27a; *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3b/27b-28a/200-201.

[146] Other Lingyin monks who also served at the Central Buddhist Registry in different periods were Jianxin Laifu when the Registry was established in 1382, and Sikuo Xingkong (d. 1425). See *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3b/24b/194; 3b/28a/201.

[147] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3b/28a/201.

gazetteer" 修寺志遺文數篇 that the monastery still benefited from his effort.[148] Even though the editors particularly mentioned this conduct, there was no work by Wujie Shancai included in the Qing monastic gazetteers.

When reading through the biographies of the abbots during the mid-Ming period (between Yongle and Wanli reigns; 1402–1620) we will figure out how the Lingyin abbots and patriarches reresent the highlights of Ming dynasty history. In the early Ming, most of the abbots recorded in the gazetteers participated in the dharma rituals convened by Ming Taizu, the founder of the Ming. The goal of these Broad Offering Buddha Assemblies were to becalm the massive deaths mainly from the wars during the late Yuan period.[149] In the late Ming period, the abbots were associated with the revival of Buddhism after a long period of stagnation during the roughly 150 years of the mid-Ming period.[150] When investigating the Lingyin abbots recorded during this long period, only three abbots have longer, individual biographies while others were only mentioned in their dharma names in a separate paragraph without any further details.

Fashi Liangjie 伐石良玠 served as the 74th abbot in 1434, and was invited to Lingyin monastery after his successful career at Huqiu Monastery of Suzhou; he is especially

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[148] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3b/28a/201.

[149] On Buddhist rituals mourning the dead during the early Ming period, see Natasha Heller, "From Imperial Glory to Buddhist Piety: The Record of a Ming Ritual in Three Contexts," *History of Religions* 51:1 (2011), pp. 59-83.

[150] Yu Chun-fang, "Buddhism in the Ming Dynasty," Chapter 14 in Vol. VIII of the *Cambridge History of China*, edited by Denis Twitchett and Frederick Mote (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 893-952.

well known for the reconstruction work he funded at his new monastery.[151] He was also known in Lingyin history for "constructing the monastery." The monastic gazetteer includes more personal details of Shen'an Xiang 慎菴祥 such as he was prodigy before becoming a monk. But his actual contribution to the monastery was more specific: "the two corridors between the abbot hall—it was the master (Shen'an) who invested his whole bag [of resource] to construct them"方丈間兩廡, 是師傾橐所葺也. Thus, these two abbots were mainly remembered as "bricks and mortar abbots" who contributed to the construction of monastic facilities, rather than for their role in mastering religious practices.

Qianxi Deming was active during an uncertain period of time.[152] It was during the Jiajing reign, when Japanese pirates (known as Wako) were infamous in causing longlasting instability in the Ming coastal regions. Since early in Ming Taizu's reign, the government had already ordered a suspension of activities along the coast (*haijin* 海禁). Coastal residences were ordered to move inland to stop the pirates from looting their property. This extreme policy worked in such a severe way that the economy along the coast was also heavily impacted and various activities—including religious activities—were affected. For example, Mount Putuo where the Bodhisattva Guanyin is worshiped experienced a lockdown, and residents on the island were forced to leave the island.[153] The monasteries on the island were also left unattended for a period of time when the pirate activity reached its peak during the Jiajing period. The island itself was a crucial location for coastal defense and the sea around

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[151] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3b/28b/202.

[152] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3b/28b-29a/202-203.

[153] On Japanese pirates destroying Putuo during the first half of the 16th century, see Yu Chun-fang, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), p. 378.

it was an important fishing ground. The radical yet passive method that the government took to deal with pirates caused this sacred religious place to undergo a severe downturn.

The pirates, however, did not limit their activities merely to Mount Putuo or its adjacent area; instead, they caused wider damage to the coastal regions of China's southeast, including cities such as Jiaxing and Hangzhou, where a number of wealthy monasteries such as Lingyin monastery were attacked. Here again, Wu Zhijing pointed out the impact from pirate activities; several monasteries "stopped functioning" or were "destroyed" during the Jiajing period, mainly in the 1550s.[154] The main reason behind this is perhaps that the monastery lost most of its infrastructure, resulting in unlivable conditions and forcing the clergy to flee from the monastery to another.

Specific monastic gazetteers provide further accounts of what the monastery went through during this difficult time. Included among the "Five Mountains," the prestigious Jingci monastery dwells by the south of West Lake, making it an obvious target for the pirates. The monastery's gazetteer records the history of how general Hu led his troops to fight back the invasion of the pirates, killing thousands of them in a series of combats. Even though the monastery survived the invasion, it was not able to avoid becoming a military barracks rather than adhering to its religious function. The account on the monastery's fate in the monastic gazetteer states:

> The monastery turned into barracks, monks fled away into the forest, as military activities were muddling and war drums was noisy for almost a decade before they were quellned; the pine trees and bamboo forests of Nanping [where Jingci monastery is located] were all completely cut down" 寺宇變為營寨, 僧徒竄伏林莽, 戎馬紛紜, 鉦鼓喧雜者幾十年, 始獲討平, 南屏喬松修竹, 砍伐殆盡.[155]

[154] See, for example: *Wulin Fanzhi* 4/18b/280.

[155] *Wulin Jingci sizhi* 22/30b/1452.

On the other hand, Dazhaoqing 大昭慶 Vinaya Monastery was even burnt down by government officials to keep pirates from stealing its remaining property.[156] It took the monastery another few decades to be restored to its previous condition.

During this turbulent time when pirates were active, Buddhism in the southeast region was profoundly affected both socially and financially. Studies in the past on local Buddhist development focused on several aspects including the strict state religious policy inherited from early Ming that one is not allowed to become a monk before reaching a certain age. Lack of monks trained from their early years resulted in the lack of outstanding clergy; this reason is the background to imply that mid-Ming Buddhism experienced a "serious decline," not materially but spiritually.[157] Yu Chun-fang pointed out that the empire actually made the same mistake as previous dynasties when they were facing financial hardship by over-issuing ordination certificates to ineligible persons so they would enjoy tax exemptions since their purchased licenses made them monks at least on paper. In addition, even though support from the court was maintained, there was no significant doctrinal development over the years. One outstanding monk was Konggu Jinglong 空谷景隆 (1393-1470), who wrote a series of essays criticizing Neo-Confucianism scholars arguing that they plagiarized ideas from Buddhism without properly citing their sources. Moreover, he argues that these Confucians even discouraged their followers from reading Buddhist texts just to hide their well-thought-out scheme: viz., hiding the tracks of their ideas' connections to Buddhism.

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156 *Dazhaoqing lüsizhi* 1/10a/33.

157 Yü Chun-fang, "Buddhism in the Ming Dynasty," pp. 893-952.

Pirate activities, however, were another obvious yet understudied factor that impacted Buddhism during the mid-Ming period. When Mt. Putuo's religious activities were interrupted, some people were unable to be ordained as monks due to the lockdown caused by continuous warfare or pirate's activities. For example, when the future monk Yunkong Mingzhao first decided to work on becoming a monk, he first yielded his rights to inherit family property to his brother and subsequently devoted himself to the teaching of Buddhism. However, the pirate's activities "impeded him from going forth [to become a monk]."[158] Another Chan master Xinglin decided to become a monk after the pirate activities were quelled, but "corpses of the deceased were [still] scattered everywhere" 融邑屍骸相枕. Xinglin decided to lead student-volunteers to collect and bury the corpses before actually going forth. [159]

Wu Zhijing's criteria for selecting monks was strict: he only included those who served at abbots, whereas the gazetteer editors also included those who only had an indirect connection with the monastery or monastery's clergy who later rose to fame. The editorial style overall seems not as organized or as consistent. The main goal was perhaps to incorporate as many monks that were once related to Lingyin monastery as possible. Therefore, any possible indirect relationships with the monastery that might result in enhancing the prominence of the monastery would be mentioned.

As Mark Halperin pointed out, for Song scholar-officials, Buddhism has become too important to "leave solely to the Buddhists."[160] As for the cases seen in Lingyin monastic

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[158] *Putuoluojia xinzhi* 6/36b/410.

[159] *Wulin Lingshi sizhi* 3/63.

[160] Mark Halperin, *Out of the Cloister*, 236.

gazetteers, however, it is unimaginable that the non-Buddhist editors wrote out their conduct one by one and were sure that they precisely captured the patriarchs' deeds and accomplishments. Before they drafted the short biographies for each monk, the clergy must have provided preferable information that eventually made this section complete and trustworthy. Given that the voluminous "spoken records" by these patriarchs would likely take an enormous amount of time to read and digest, to excerpt a single verse from a patriarch and claim that this flawlessly concludes their career is a painstaking task. One can thus assume that the clergy participated in authoring or editing of the final version of the patriarchs' biographies.

This process also sheds light on the style of the gazetteer biographies. Those who read into the details of each biography might get stuck in the verses and dialogues that only have limited connection with the monastery, or even with the monk's past. From an apologetical view, these verses could be closely related to the monk's enlightenment experience, or how the monk conveys his teaching to a specific audience (mostly the clergy) to present his capability that makes him deserving of the position as abbot, or justly simply being mentioned. If taken from a critic's view, these highlighted selections seem to lack context and their style could be easily accused of missing substantial details. This tendency, however, exists in many—if not all—monk biographies in the gazetteers. Taking the Lingyin gazetteers for example, the priority was oftentimes exhaustively including something about everyone rather than everything about everyone. Therefore, as long as lesser abbots are excluded, the more complete the monastery's history will be.

Conclusion

By investigating the fascicles on abbots and patriarch biographies, this chapter explains how the editors of the Lingyin monastic gazetteer adapt, reorganize, edit, and rewrite its monastic history. Even though Lingyin monastery was said to be established by Huili in the 4th century, for centuries the monastery still lacked a clear and coherent history. The abbacy sucession and prominent figures of the monastery did not start to be listed until the Tang period. As for the historical sites, the earliest traceable date of establishing a pagoda (or stupa) was from the Sui Dynasty (for further discussion, please see chapter 4). In order to fill in this centuries-long gap, and in order to consolidate the historical role of the founder Huili, the editors mainly adapted content from the *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin.* After comparing the abbots' biographies in Wu's book and in the Lingyin monastic gazetteer, I argue that the "pre-gazetteer" Lingyin monastic history on its abbots and patriarchs relied heavily on Wu Zhijing's historical writing, and the editors started to gradually add more standardized Buddhist content in succeeding monastic individuals as they had more information to add, or to pursue a goal that made them to prioritize certain information. This added information includes school affiliations, pre-ordination life stories, contribution to the monastery, and especially the dates that they passed away. The condition of the relics after their cremation is often mentioned as well.

We can also furthermore note that these comparisons demonstrate several observations: other than securing Huili's role, the editors perhaps do not weigh the gaps inthe monastery's history as a crucial issue. They adapted, edited, and added the existing writings by Wu Zhijing "placeholders" into the monastery's missing history. They also occasionally even disregard Wu's original order, then reorganized and reordered the sequence of abbots and patriarchs in order to edit the monastic history into a version with

more consistency in order to make the monastery's history more comprehensive. This approach is also presented when the editors dealt with the historic pagodas. These arrangements, however, echo John McRae's (1947–2011) suggestion that "precision implies inaccuracy," yet also makes the gazetteer records "not true" yet "more important."[161] Other than the biographies adapted from Wu's existing work, the editors still made the effort of writing nearly a hundred new biographies for past abbots and patriarchs. This endeavor perhaps freed the editors from the accusation of excessively "copying and pasting" previous accounts. However, they still struggled with the process of wading through a large amount of material and making choices what to include and what to omit.

[161] See John R. McRae, "McRae's Rules of Zen Studies," in *Seeing Through Zen: Encounter, Transformation, and Genealogy in Chinese Chan Buddhism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), xix-xx.

Chapter Three

Great Monks and their Successors: Dharma Transmission and Abbot Succession at Lingyin Monastery during the Qing Period

Ever since the foundation of the Chan school in China, dharma transmission has remained one of its core features. As a Chan monastery, the succession line detailed in the Lingyin monastic gazetteer introduces the abbots in the monastery's history. It starts wit the line: "[The monastery's abbot is] like the state's monarch. The state cannot exist one day without a monarch, so how can the monastery exist one day without an abbot?" 叢林之有住持, 猶國之有君也. 國不可一日無君, 而叢林可無住持乎?[162] Hagiographies, such as lamp records (*denglu* 燈錄), which record stories of the past patriarchs, depict the patriarchs' lives and how they passed on their teachings to their disciples. These stories usually also mention the moment when the patriarch achieved enlightenment as a disciple and thereby succeeded the dharma transmission of their mentor. Similarly, abbacy succession of a monastery shares the same importance as dharma transmission because they both strive to maintain their own reputation and prosperity. In monastic gazetteers, different fascicles focus on different subjects. Looking into the chapters on "Chan Patriarchs" *(zushi* 祖師*)* and "Epitaphs" and comparing their contents is a useful way to sort out essential information. Reading the "short bio" of the abbots leaves tracks for readers to discover the "great men" in the

[162] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 3a/1a/129.

monastery's history.

There were indeed "great men" in Lingyin monastery's long history, and its monastic gazetteers continuously refer to these leading patriarchs of the past. However, each Qing-period Lingyin monastic gazetteer refers to one or two major figures closely related to the monastery's path return to glory since its decline in the Late Ming. This method is often merely seen in individual biographies written by disciples of the great men, and thereby manifested in this series of monastic gazetteers.

The Lingyin monastic gazetteers highly value each Chan patriarch who had contributed to the monastery's history, but were also sensitive to the contemporaneous external political atmosphere in which the monastic gazetteer was compiled and published. Specifically, Chan patriarchs in the early to mid-Qing mainly dealt with at least three factors: dharma transmission, abbacy succession, and external affairs. The existing abbacy-selection system provides space for influential monks and their lineage to intertwine dharma transmission and the abbacy succession, ensuring that all abbots would therefore be in the same dharma lineage. This private succession establishment successfully carries out the preceding "great man's" guidelines and promises that the monastery is sufficiently maintained and continuously endorsed by the court. Therefore, the monastic gazetteer records not only reflect the monastery's interaction with the external world, but also present balanced praise of the abbots and patriarchs who made major contributions to the monastery. The publication of the Qing-period monastic gazetteers announces the updated "white book" of the monastery, entailing how religious institutions determine which information could be publicized or omitted and thereby establish its desired image for its readers.

Monasteries and Abbot Selection

Starting no later than the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1269), the transmission of the monastery's abbacy came to be based upon three major methods: public (*shifang*), "internal succession" (*jiayi*, viz., private), and monasteries funded by lay people, who then invited a monk to serve as abbot.[163] Public transmission means having an official post open; local elites then could recommend potential candidates. After developing a short list, the magistrate eventually selects the person from this suggested list to become the monastery's next abbot. Internal or family succession entails selecting an abbot based on the current abbot or a small group of monastery's members' opinion; external forces have rather lesser influence in the process. In most cases, the government or local community prefer a public search, whereas monasteries themselves prefer internal selection. There are, of course, pros and cons to both of these selection methods. A general search can reflect the monastery's relationship with the external sphere, of how the abbot might largely be determined based on his ability and previous career and achievements that gained public recognition. The downside is that the new abbot often introduces a different climate to the monastery, and the agenda carried out by the previous abbot is likely subject to change after the arrival of the new abbot. Conversely, in the monasteries that practice internal succession, the abbot often appoints monks that he knows fairly well—most of the time, one of his disciples—to carry out his ongoing mission. Most of his concerns and vision for the monastery will be taken into account; and if this abbot is competent and has established a solid foundation for the monastery, it is likely that the new abbot will succeed the legacy better than someone less connected to the previous abbot.

[163] See the discussion in Natasha Heller, *Illusory Abiding*, 176-177. Also see Huang Ming-chih (1989).

During the Song dynasty, notable monks were promoted from the monasteries in the "ten monasteries" up to the "five mountains" based on their fame and prominence, whether they received support and sponsorship from the community or the government. They were sometimes also appointed by the imperial court.[164] According to Ishii Shudo 石井修道, by tracing dozens of monks' career paths, there was a clear trajectory indicating that the monks moved from local monasteries to higher-ranked monasteries, including those of the "ten monasteries" to the "five mountains." Becoming abbots of these monasteries presented these monks with the capability both in their practices and also in how they dealt with political affairs. Some of the prominent monks who rejected this track established their own monasteries by either starting a new one or restoring an old one, and eventually compiled a rebellious monastic code that went against the religious political trend at the time. Zhongfeng Mingben, for example, is one such monk who rejected Lingyin monastery's invitation and started his own monastery also in the Hangzhou area.

Even though later in the Southern Song period, the Dalongxiang Jiqing monastery 大龍翔集慶寺 (Great Flying Dragon Jiqing monastery)—a superior monastery established in Nanjing to regulate the existing "five mountains and ten monasteries"—was kept to regulate the remaining system, serving as the abbot of these monasteries still represented the "ladder of success" for Buddhist monks. This superior monastery retained its role and was renamed in the Yuan and Ming as Tianjie si 天界寺 (Heavenly Realm Monastery), and the monasteries among the "Five mountains and Ten monasteries" slowly lost prominence over time. Ishii's study points out that the monasteries on the list retained a close relationship

[164] Ishii Shudo, "Chūgoku no gozan jissetsu seido no kiso teki kenkyū" 中国の五山十刹制度の基礎的研究 pts. 1–4. *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu ronshū* 13–16 (1982–1985). Especially 13 (1982), 89-90.

with the court, and the abbot of each monastery often required the approval from the court, or at least, from the local magistrate. This selection and approval process makes these monasteries "public" rather than "succession" monasteries, which means that the monasteries have less power to determine their own abbot. The Mongol Yuan, not surprisingly, also succeeded this selection method as it is rather lenient towards religion and does not intercede with the selection process.[165] Even though Tibetan Buddhism overshadowed Chinese Buddhism during the Yuan, the prominence of serving as abbot of a notable monastery remained unchanged.

Lingyin monastery, as one of the monasteries in the list of the "Five Mountains," remained on the list and never drop out after it was first included. Serving as the abbot at a major Buddhist monastery like Lingyin monastery was, therefore, always a prominent position that ambitious monks seeking influence and fame would avidly pursue. By looking over the monastery's records and the abbots listed in the monastic gazetteers published over time, many of them were prominent figures not only in the Buddhist sector, sometimes even in intellectual history. For example, widely known as a vinaya master, Zangning 贊寧 compiled the Biographies of Song eminent monks, Mingjiao Qisong 明教契嵩 who promoted Buddhist ethics share similarities with Confucianism and interacted closely with Emperor Renzong of the Song (r. 1022–1063), and the prominent Chan master Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 who was notable for promoting *kanhua* Chan and his friendship with Zhu Xi (1130–1200). There is, however, less information on them included in the extant monastic gazetteers; most merely receive a brief biography in the gazetteer's "patriarch" fascicle. Notable abbots or monks recorded in the "patriarch" fascicle apparently serve the

[165] See Collcutt on Five Mountains (1980) and Noguchi's series of studies (2005).

purpose of presenting the monastery's past, since the succession of the monastery's abbacy is essential information that a monastery should demonstrate as comprehensively as possible. However, their preoccupation with the completeness of information often cost them its accuarcy. The gazetteer does not necessarily record the biographies in its original form. Rather, they should be used simply for tracking down a specific individual, leading the readers to search for more extensive biographical records elsewhere.

In the long history of Pre-Qing development, especially after the Song dynasty, Lingyin monastery, just like many other Chinese monasteries, had abbots who came from the Chan tradition, particularly from the Linji lineage. This, of course, does not mean that they are "dharma siblings" and succeed from a relatively smaller dharma lineage; this is because the Linji school has grown into perhaps the largest Chan school from the Song period onwards. The monastery's prominent position in Chinese Buddhism indeed continuously attracted the state's interest and its abbacy became one of the most desired positions among Buddhist monks. Even though state and local forces both impact the final choice of abbot, since the monastery is widely regarded as a Chan monastery, the abbot was never from an external tradition, such as Tiantai or another minor Buddhist school in the Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties. It is, however, difficult to trace the exact school of every abbot, since many of them do not have extensive biographies. Some of them may have served the position as interim abbots or their tenure were simply too short to have warrented a section for them. One case is Nanchu (Shi)yue who was a mid-Yuan period abbot. While he is not known to have a personal biography, his only biography in the Jingshan monastic gazetteer's patriarch section only contains one line, and merely the month and day when he assume the abbacy is

recorded.[166] Nanchu (Shi)yue, nevertheless, was more notable in the accounts on other monks, such as in his disciple's biography, which states that he was "promoting the path at Lingyin," and records his disciple's interaction with him.[167] These side records serve as more valuable sources to construct one monk's personal life but as a result they do not benefit the monastery's history as a whole; therefore they are omitted in the published monastic gazetteer. It is inevitable and understandable that monks who were active closer to when the gazetteer was compiled or who were closer lineage-wise to the monastery's dominant lineage during that time will enjoy longer mentions in their biographies. This information often does not praise their doctrinal contributions yet, champions their administration capabilities. With their masterful ability, they brought the monastery back from ruin and thus deserve more coverage in their biographies in the gazetteers. The linear development of the monastery's history demonstrates the political acumen of the monk and his disciples that allowed them control the abbacy position through most of the Qing period.

In short, Lingyin monastery's historical development is against previous understanding in that there is a low chance of turning a public monastery into a private monastery, especially when the monastery is a major monastery. Throughout the Qing, after Jude Hongli, Lingyin monastery became a major monastery so that its dharma transmission and abbot succession were both in the Jude Hongli lineage that succeeded from the Sanfeng Chan tradition.

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[166] Nanchu Shiyue's biography in Jingshan monastery's gazetteer was even shorter, only stating that he was the 50th abott of the monastery and the date he passed away. See *Jingshan zhi*, 3/16a/249.

[167] See *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 3a/24b/194.

Decline in Late Ming and Revival in Early Qing

In the introduction of the "successive abbots and patriarch" fascicle in the *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, the author wrote that since Eastern Jin (317-420) through the Wanli period (1573-1620) of Ming, there were over 130 abbots who served as the head of the monastery.[168] The introduction specifically mentions that the monastery experienced a decline after the passing of Yi'an Rutong 易菴如通 (1523-1595, abbot 1582-1595?). It was not until the arrival of Jude Hongli (1600-1667) in 1649 that the monastery returned to its glorious past (*zhongxing* 中興).[169] Between this period of nearly half a century, the monastery chose its abbot based on the twenty-four households' (*fang*) decision. According to Juzan 巨贊(1908-1984), a Republican-era abbot of the monastery who wrote another Lingyin monastic gazetteer, this "household system" was introduced from Jingshan monastery—another notable monastery adjacent to Hangzhou—during the Ming-Qing transition by an anonymous yet ambitious monk who later grew into a strong force in the monastery.[170] Juzan harshly criticized this system as the households in the monastery did not fully abide by the abbot's direction, thereby weakening the abbot's authority to manage the monastery. This competition with Jingshan monastery began when the "Five Mountains" system was established in the Southern Song. Lingyin monastery was constantly overshadowed by Jingshan monastery, as Lingyin was placed second in the "Five mountains" system while the latter long remained in first place. Juzan was certainly not the first one to bring up this resentment; this statement was already occasionally found in previous Lingyin monastic gazetteers. There were

[168] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 3a/1a/129.

[169] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 3a/1a-ab/129-130.

[170] Juzan, *Lingyin xiaozhi* (1947), 20-21.

constantly two contexts co-existing in Lingyin monastic gazetteers: 1) arguing Lingyin monastery ought to be the first among the Five Mountains, and 2) the fact that its abbot must deal with all the households in the monastery to keep it operating smoothly.

Huotang Zhengyan 豁堂正嵒 (1597-1670) was the first abbot the households invited to rule the monastery after the dynastic transition in 1649. A Hangzhou native, Huotang Zhengyan grow up in a military family. Once a wandering monk praised young Huotang Zhengyan as "a wish-fulfilling gem in turbid water" 濁水牟尼珠也, indicating his destiny of become a monk.[171] After Huotang Zhengyan's father died when he was ten, Huotang went forth and became a novice monk under Fuchu 復初 (d.u.), a senior monk at Lingyin monastery. Huotang Zhengyan ordained when he was thirteen. He then visited Wujin Chuandeng 無盡傳燈 (1554-1628) at Mt. Tiantai when he was fifteen, returned to Lingyin and received the ten precepts for novice monks from vinaya master Guxin Ruxin 古心如馨 (1541-1616), a central figure who was said to have revived the vinaya tradition in the late Ming. Huotang's monk career was further enriched as he visited Hangshan Deqing 憨山德清(1546-1623) and Zibo Zhenke 紫柏真可(1543-1603)—both among the well-known four Buddhist masters in the late Ming period—before participating in Sanfeng's sermon at Jingci monastery.[172] After Sanfeng's sermon, Huotang felt "confused and seemingly lost" 惘然若失 as he went on meditating restlessly for seven days and nights with his eyes open.[173] Huotang Zhengyan eventually attained an experience that he recorded in a verse, gaining

[171] *Zengxiu Yunlin xuzhi*, 3/5a/37.

[172] *Zengxiu Yunlin xuzhi*, 3/5b/38.

[173] *Zengxiu Yunlin xuzhi*, 3/5b/38.

himself dharma transmission from Sanfeng.

Huotang Zhengyan's achievement attracted the notice of the Lingyin monastery elders. They thereby invited him back to be the abbot of the monastery. He named his residence "Broken Hall" 破堂 (*potang*) as the building was dilapidated and covered with moss. Jude—who later became the abbot of Lingyin monastery—once invited Huotang to move and serve as the abbot of Guangling monastery and was fascinated by Huotang's ability to describe intricate concepts with succinct words. These two years of Huotang Zhengyan's visit changed Jude's life. Huotang Zhengyan Lingyin in 1648 after two years at Guangling and he recognized that as "the head of the five monasteries (mountains)," Lingyin monastery could not revive without Jude Hongli's competence. He reached consensus with the monastic community that includes the clergy and laymen, subsequently inviting Jude Hongli as the new abbot. After Jude Hongli's arrival, Huotang moved to serve as the abbot at Jingci, retired at Jinling after his illness in 1666, and eventually died in 1670.[174] Huotang Zhengyan's dharma lineage was then passed on in Jingci and Jinling as his disciples eventually became abbots of these monasteries. It is noteworthy that his disciple Kuangpu Jieqing 匡瀑戒青 (d. 1682) who once visited when Jude Hongli was at Tianning monastery, is also listed among the "Chan Patriarch" without indicating any dates when he served as Lingyin's abbot.[175] As a preacher of Dahui Zonggao and Gaofeng Yuanmiao's 高峰原妙 (1238-1296) discourse records, it is possible that Kuangpu Jieqing shares the same position as Jidian Daoji 濟顛道濟 (1149-1209) or Jigong 濟公, a famous eccentric monk in the Song who was associated with but never an abbot of any monastery. A certain number of monks who were included

[174] See *Zengxiu Yunlin xuzhi*, 3/5a-6b/37-40.

[175] *Zengxiu Yunlin xuzhi*, 3/6b-7a/40-41.

in the "Chan Patriarch" share the same prominence as Jidian or Kuangpu but also never served as an abbot of the monastery. It is, therefore, necessary to include more materials into consideration, such as *taming* records —funerary epitaphs of Buddhist monks—and other relevant sources when evaluating the relationship between individual monks with the monastery.

Jude Hongli

The Lingyin monastic gazetteers were each compiled in different centuries, including additional information rather than repeating material from previous versions by excerpting or recompiling it. The reader of the gazetteer will likely not find all the information of an abbot in his biography, since more information can be found in writings in other fascicles. For example, the compilers pointed out in the latter half of Jude Hongli's biography: "as for the remaining detailed description, please see the main catalogue" 餘俱詳總錄.[176] This note clarifies that some notable monks such as Jude Hongli have more information in addition to their short biography offered in the "Chan Patriarch" fascicle. There are one or two other fascicles that include commentaries, prefaces, and biographies written by the monks and literati. Each of these materials often include information about a specific monk who was once affiliated with the monastery rather than general information about the monastery itself, but as the abbots were regarded as the face of the monastery, anything that covers their lifetime and their relationship with the monastery might also serve as useful material to the readers. In addition, it is reasonable to assume that the more material related to a monk included in the monastic gazetteer, the more prominent was his role in history or to the

[176] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 3b/30b/205.

monastery. Having avid disciples to rigorously keep or discover records for the master is one of the most effective ways to accumulate materials for future reference. The succeeding Lingyin monastic gazetteers present how the monastery members rediscovered omitted monastic history and recompiled that data in the updated version.

According to various historical sources, including monastic gazetteers, Buddhist hagiographies, and lamp records, Jude Hongli has had more than seventy disciples throughout his life.[177] His main disciple, Huishan Jiexian, wrote his "account of personal conduct" (*xingzhuang* 行狀)—a material which is also relatively rare and therfore valuable even for a literatus — for him.[178] Jude Hongli's past as a non-Buddhist and how he discovered and pursued Buddhism became an intriguing story that one could hardly encompass in a short biography. This material became the most important primary material on Jude Hongli and served to fill in the historical gap of the monastery between Jude Hongli's arrival and the last abbot in the late Ming. Many disciples' names can be only found in Jude Hongli's account of personal conduct and are not seen elsewhere. In addition to the information provided in Jude Hongli's biography, this personal conduct—also the longest single writing included in the Lingyin monastic gazetteers—went into the details about his life. In this writing, Huishan Jiexian wrote that besides the *Shoulengyan jing*, reading *Mohe Zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 by Tiantai Zhiyi (538-597) was another text that motivated Jude Hongli to become a monk. Jude Hongli pursued his career under several masters and eventually found

[177] The epitaph by Wu Weiye 吳偉業 (1609-1671) says 67 while another source says 68. The "Buddhist Studies Person Authority Databases" of Dharma Drum Mountain counts 70 disciples.

[178] The personal conduct is in *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 7/40a-49b/485-504. Jubo Jiheng 巨渤濟恆 (1605-1666) was another main disciple of Jude but died before his death in 1667.

consonance with Hanyue Fazang.[179]

Hanyue Fazang's 漢月法藏 (1573-1635) Chan teaching was a phenomenon during the Ming-Qing transition, which attracted numerous monks and lay followers.[180] As one of Hanyue's main disciples who also became the abbot and revived the prestigious establishment as Lingyin monastery, Jude Hongli's importance was therefore never understated. The Lingyin monastic gazetteers include a series of materials on Jude Hongli. In Sun Zhi's *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* there are at least five works directly on Jude Hongli. In addition to the personal conduct written by Huishan Jiexian, he also asked Wu Weiye 吳偉業 (1609-1672), a notable literati friend who was also friends with him for over forty years, to write an epitaph for Jude Hongli.[181] When Jude Hongli's whole mummified body was placed into the stupa within the monastery, layman Zhang Lilian 張立廉 (*juren* 1637) wrote a chart for the enshrinement.[182] Jude Hongli therefore has more than one authoritative material for readers to not only evaluate his importance in Lingyin's history but also retrace the heyday of the Sanfeng school's impact in early Qing society.

This trend continued for over a century before its ultimate fall due to Emperor Yongzheng's suppression in 1733. This persecution perhaps impacted Lingyin monastery; in the second monastic gazetteer there is not as much material related to Jude Hongli, not to mention the Sanfeng school materials. As Jude's main disciple, Huishan Jiexian contributed

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[179] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 7/40a-49b/485-504.

[180] On Hanyue Fazang, see: Wu Jiang, *Enlightenment in Dispute: The Reinvention of Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-Century China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 88-90.

[181] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 7/30b-49b/476-485.

[182] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 7/35b-40a/476-485.

to Lingyin monastery's history. For example, following his master Jude Hongli's teaching and witnessing him restoring the Lingyin monastery, Huishan Jiexian finally felt confident enough to draft a postscript affirming that the monastery was revived after a long period of downfall starting from the previous dynasty.[183] Huishan Jiexian dedicated this achievement to Jude Hongli, stating that all of this would not have happened without Jude Hongli's endeavor throughout the years.

Perhaps due to Yongzheng's persecution, or simply to save content, the *Xuxiu Yunlin sizhi* skipped reiterating Jude Hongli's significant contribution to the monastery but rather went on listing the abbacy succession after him. The Lingyin monastic gazetteer waited for another century after the suppression to restate the prominence of the Sanfeng school and its influence towards the monastery itself. Even though the specific dates remain unclear, the following abbots including Qian'an Xian 乾菴賢(d.u.), Sanmu Zhiyuan 三目智源 (d. 1681 or 1682), Shuokui Yuanzhi 碩揆原志 (1628-1697), Zhengnan Can 證南參 (d.u.; Sanmu's desciple), and Kuangpu Jieqing were either Jude's disciple, dharma-grandson, or who once followed him.[184]

Dihui Huilu 諦暉慧輅 (1627-1725) was also one of the disciples of Jude. He was born in Wuxing in late Ming. Warfare made him homeless, and after his mother died when he was six, he went forth and became a novice monk. He wandered through many places before officially becoming Jude's disciple. According to the records in *Xuxiu Yunlin sizhi*, Dihui Huilu was the abbot when Emperor Kangxi visited the monastery and granted him the new

[183] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 7/27a-28a/459-461.

[184] There is also a strong Vinaya tradition kept in certain households in Lingyin monastery. See discussion in chapter 5.

name of Yunlin.[185] Dihui Huilu later served as Kangxi's consultant and received numerous gifts such as plaques for the monastery, a golden fan, inkstone, and ginseng. Over Dihui Huilu's career at Lingyin, he accepted a number of disciples, including Minyan Zhiguang 敏巖智廣 (fl. 1725–1731), Wenzhu Shangzhi 聞竹上志 (1668–1732), Wangshan Shangjun 晚山上峻, Yuanwei Mingjue 元微明覺 (d. 1737), and Jutao Yiguo, who became his main successor.

By taking a close look at the monastery's history through the writings on its institutional function, the monastery itself, to some extent, resembles a public university. Since the Song, the Lingyin monastery had already established the foundation of its future library, which is preserved still today. One of the main editors of the first extant monastic gazetteer, Xu Zeng, was a long time patron of the Lingyin library. One other key factor that frames this image was the presence of a number of monastic households. The households of the monastery can be understood as academies or certain departments that operate on their own, providing perhaps specific training or even separate tradition, such as the Vinaya school teaching. Members of the clergy might be loosely affiliated to a certain household, but still mainly follow the monastery's overall daily schedule. Senior clergy in charge of the household might have had the freedom to have a certain curriculum for junior fellows of the monastery, and based on monastic gazetteer records, might be eligible to participate in meetings to decide on pivotal issues such as who to invite as abbot, or the general direction where the monastery should proceed, such as property or construction-related supervisions. It is, however, regrettable that the Lingyin monastic gazetteers do not provide extensive accounts on the structure of these households, and the history of each household largely

[185] *Zengxiu Yunlin xuzhi* 3/7a-8b/41-44.

remains a mystery. In short, in the first Lingyin monastic gazetteer, the list of the twenty-four households was featured in the latter half of the compilation. It is included in an appendix along with a list of main publications by past abbots or monk members, "local products of our mountain"(*benshan wuchan* 本山物產).[186] This list provides the title of each household, and occasionally, its locations. The households can be roughly divided into two halls: east and west, but the curious part is that there is only one hosehold under the east side that is supposedly a previous abbot's old storage place. The other twenty-two households are on the west side. One of the households' names went missing. The names of the other households are either reference to a Buddhist term, a certain historical figure or place of the monastery, or simply the direction within the monastery that they are located.[187]

Based on the statements that the abbots, including Huishan Jiexian, wrote to the monastic elder members who were in charge of these households, Lingyin monastery reached the peak of household-politics specifically between the late Ming and High Qing period. The writings by Huishan Jiexian to these household elders reveal an untold history of how incumbent abbots managed to reconcile themselves with the existing forces behind the monastery.[188] The household system faded out of the monastery's history, reflected in their absence in later gazetteers. This may be because all the Qing-period monastic gazetteers were eventually written by the disciples or dharma-heirs of Jude Hongli and Huishan Jiexian, their writings and writings listing each household's title serves as a reference when those curious readers encounter them in the writings.

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[186] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 8/66a-67b/635-638.

[187] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 8/65a-65b/633-634.

[188] See, for example, Huishan Jiexian's writing addressed to the household leaders (honoring them as "brothers"), included in *Yunlinsi xuzhi*, 4/13a-13b/173-174, and 4/14a-14b/175-176.

During Kangxi's visit, he wrote a plaque "Yunlin Chansi" 雲林禪寺 for Lingyin monastery, which resulted in the monastery changing its name to Yunlin. Furthermore, in the following monastic gazetteer, the monastery decided to reflect this change in the title of the monastic gazetteer.

This updated monastic gazetteer—*Xuxiu Yunlin xuzhi*—in which Huotang's biography is included, clearly positions itself as the supplement of the previous monastic gazetteer. Before listing Huotang's biography, there is a short note stating that this fascicle on the abbots' biographies is "adding and supplementing previously (omitted) Chan masters and hereafter continuing the masters after Wuyue Jixuan" 以上增補前代諸禪師; 以下續前志五岳濟玹禪師後. Wuyue Jixuan 五岳濟玹 (d.u.) was also Jude's disciple, and was listed at the end of the first Lingyin monastic gazetteer's fascicle on Chan patriarchs.[189] This candid statement shows that the previous Lingyin monastic gazetteer was loosely compiled but the editors of the following version were trying to recover the errors made in the past. However, it remains difficult to gain a clear chronological order of abbacy succession if reading the gazetteers separately. The editors' main goal was to include omitted abbots in the updated version. There was already no necessity to reiterate the information mentioned in the previous gazetteer.

Comparing the differences between the biography of Jude Hongli in the "Chan Patriarch" fascicle and his detailed biographical account included in a later fascicle is one potential way to distinguish what is essential to his character as a "Chan Patriarch." The biography especially mentioned that Jude is the thirty-second generation of the Linji school;

[189] See *Zenxiu Yunlin xuzhi*, 3/5a/37. There are six abbots listed before Huotang; all of them were Song period abbots or monks.

no other previous Chan masters included in the monastic throughout the Ming were specifically mentioned by their generation. Jude Hongli's original family was based in Shaoxing 紹興, a town southeast of Hangzhou. He was first a goldsmith and read the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra* (*Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經). He then went forth and followed Hanyue Fazang for seventeen years before serving as the abbot at several monasteries, eventually becoming the successor to Huotang as abbot of Lingyin. The biography does not mention how he later moved to Jingshan and "preached the patriarch's path" and later passed away after being at Tianning monastery in Weiyang for only seven days. It is worth mentioning that in Jude's biography in the *Lingyin sizhi*, the author wrote, "when talking about Lingyin, Master Li (Huili) is the (first) founder, (Yongming) Yanshou is the patriarch, whereas no Chan virtues in history share the same prominence as the master who revived and established Lingyin" 以靈隱言, 理公(慧理)為祖, (永明)延壽為宗, 而師以中興兼刱置靈隱以來, 禪德未之有也.[190] Therefore Huili, the founder of the monastery; Yanshou, the restorer of the monastery; and Hongli, the abbot who served right after the Ming-Qing transition, were considered to be the three of the most influential abbots in Lingyin's history.

Huishan Jiexian 晦山戒顯 (1610-1672), who was Jude's disciple, succeeded Jude as abbot after he left for Jingshan monastery and constituted the inner "succession" tradition for Lingyin monastery. This shows that during the Ming-Qing transition, the monastery experienced a fifty-year gap (c. 1595-1649) without an abbot. This time lapse between abbots provided space for bringing back the monastery into the successive tradition. Given that Jude is the new abbot who profoundly contributed to the revival of the monastery, his

[190] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 3b/30a/205.

accomplishments eventually earned him the privilege to combine his dharma transmission and the abbacy succession together; his dharma lineage ruled Lingyin monastery in the following two centuries. Jude Hongli, the later Jutao Yiguo, and their disciples dominated Lingyin's abbacy from nearly the whole High Qing (c. 1662-1795) to the Mid-Qing period.

When Huishan Jiexian arrived in Lingyin, he was confident enough to announce that the monastery had recovered from its dark age after his master's tireless effort restoring the monastery. In the epilogue that Huishan Jiexian wrote for the stele on "Revival of Lingyin," he mentioned that when he first visited the monastery in 1645, the monastery was still in the midst of decline.[191] It was also during this time that he encountered master Wanhuo 萬壑 (d. 1665) of the Five Pine Household, who "sincerely greeted me and invited me to Lingyin." Huishan Jiexian would know what was going to happen to him in the future admitting that he "felt odd in mind" but he went on reiterating the contributions of Jude Hongli to the monastery since his tenure initiated in 1649. In the following two years before moving to serve as the abbot at Yunju 雲居 monastery, Huishan Jiexian served as a "rear seat" (*banshou* or *bantou*), assisting Jude Hongli, who was the "head seat." Huishan Jiexian wrote that he felt "this merit [of Jude Hongli restoring the monastery] is huge and difficult to implement." When Huishan Jiexian revisited the monastery in 1659, the infrastructure of the monastery including the dharma hall and sangha hall had mostly changed in appearance; however, the ruined state of the main hall still left the community bitterly disappointed. When Huishan Jiexian was finally ordered by Jude Hongli to succeed the position in 1667, Huishan Jiexian was thrilled to witness the monastery already fully restored.

[191] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 7/459-461. 跋中興靈隱碑.

The Disappearance and Reappearance of Huishan Jiexian and his writings

When the compilers finished editing the first monastic gazetteer of Lingyin monastery, Huishan Jiexian was the abbot and assigned to give final approval to the gazetteer. Although there are many monks who served as abbot in the monastery's long history, Huishan's title was "the second generation abbot," which means that the monastery recounted its history as beginning from the Qing dynasty; Huishan's dharma teacher Jude Hongli thus became the "first generation." It is understandable that as the Jude to Huishan lineage is the main line of the monastery, more works related to them were included. Even though their case already presented the fact that the monastery's abbot selection process is an intertwined relationship of both dharma transmission and abbacy succession, one of the intriguing features in the first Lingyin monastic gazetteers is that the compilers included the "offer letters" of inviting Huishan Jiexian back to serve as the monastery's new abbot after the passing of Jude.[192] These letters are, of course, written in compelling rhetoric. Even though not dated, these letters started as early as right after Huishan received Jude's dharma transmission, moved to Lushan and served as the abbot of the place. The sequence is not as traceable, but based on the titles of the letters, Huishan still kept an intimate and regular connection with the monastery through letters.

In addition to the compliments, the letters also raise names of eminent monks in the past, including some who also served as abbot of Lingyin monastery. For instance, in the invitation letter written to Huishan, not only prestigious monks such as Huiyuan of Lushan and Zhiyi of Tiantai's names were quoted, but also Qisong, who once served as the abbot of Lingyin. These notable names somewhat reflect the (group) writer's imagination of sublime

[192] See for example, an article by Zhengyan in *Yunlinsi xuzhi*, 4/7a/161-164.

historical patriarchs and thereby restates and strengthens the letter's purpose, urging their desired candidate to accept the offer. Huishan eventually did accept the invitation and returned to the place where he first "received the dharma." Nevertheless, rather than juxtaposed along with the offer letters at the first place, Huishan's acceptance letter is not included in the gazetteer until the publication of the third monastic gazetteer. Although one possible concern might be not making his own presence overshadow his master Jude Hongli, or the letters might have been sensitive materials at the time when Huishan was still establishing his contribution to gain recognition.

The most convincing explanations can be traced through investigating what happened between the publication of the first and third gazetteers. One striking fact is that in the second monastic gazetteer, there are nearly no writings included by or even on Huishan Jiexian and Jude Hongli. This is somewhat bizarre as both of them were the main characters in the first monastic gazetteer, and most of the abbot successors are their dharma heirs. Jude Hongli and Huishan Jiexian's records did not reappear until the publication of the third monastic gazetteer where Huishan Jiexian's response to Lingyin monastery's offer letter were finally unearthed. Even though no further biographies of them are revised in the updated gazetteer, these already raised several concerns. A plausible interpretation is that the monastery was still overshadowed by Emperor Yongzheng's persecution of the Hanyue Fazang and the Sanfeng school disciples and their publications. This leads us back to looking into the history and strategy of how the monastery dealt with the court, as it is often their most prominent patron since the Qing.

The monastery first received extensive support from Emperors Kangxi and later from Qianlong, but not much was written on Emperor Yongzheng who ruled the empire between Kangxi and Qianlong's sixty-year-long reign. Indeed there are still records of what the

monastery did during the Yongzheng period, but they are rather obscure. Emperor Yongzheng is known as an avid Buddhist practitioner who found consonance with not only Tibetan Buddhist teachings but also Chan Buddhist meditation practices.[193] He is also known as the only self-claimed enlightened emperor in Chinese history. Nevertheless, Emperor Yongzheng had strong disagreements with a group of Chan monks such as Miyun Yuanwu 密雲圓悟 (1567-1642) and Hanyue Fazang over the five schools of Chan Buddhism. The major disagreement between them was on the interpretations on the relationship between the five schools in Chan history: i.e., whether they share the same origin or have their own fundamental meaning (zongzhi 宗旨). Emperor Yongzheng not only compiled his own selection on discourse records (*yulu* 語錄) but also other books to argue with the accounts of the Chan monks included in the discourse records. Yongzheng did not appreciate Chan monks who seem to be overly involved in politics. Raising doctrinal debates regarding schools and their teachings was only an expedient to distract the audiences from his genuine intention.

Indeed, the result of the clash between state and religion is often quite predictable. Emperor Yongzheng eventually persecuted Hanyue Fazang's school that held opposite opinions to him; their works were also banned and removed from the Buddhist canon. Interestingly, Emperor Yongzheng also confiscated his own publications after this and

[193] On Emperor Yongzheng and his attitude towards Buddhism, see, for example: Wu Jiang, *Enlightenment in Dispute: The Reinvention of Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-Century China*, chapter 6; especially pp. 164-166. Also see: David M. Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Goverance of the Ch'ing Empire," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Jun., 1978, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Jun., 1978), pp. 5-34.

banned anything related to this incident and relevant materials became the taboo of the time. His successor Emperor Qianlong maintained this censorship during his reign. Literary persecution is one of the sub-themes especially during the High Qing period and even Buddhist monks were not excluded. Like Miyun Yuanwu, Hanyue Fazang and his opinions were Yongzheng's main target; any disciples of or works by them also became extremely sensitive as any connection with their names might bring up serious issues. Jude Hongli was one of Hanyue Fazang's main disciples who could have easily become one obvious target. Coincidentally, Lingyin monastery's second monastic gazetteer was published in the early years of Qianlong, so the editor's came up with the strategy of simply not including any works related to them into the updated gazetteer in order to avoid potential trouble.

Self-censorship especially caused the dharma-transmission and abbacy succession section of the new monastic gazetteer to lack content.[194] This proves the promiscuity of the gazetteer text and the flexibility of the compilers. In order to celebrate the monastery's major reconstruction around 1744, Li E, the chief compiler, looked for forgotten monks in the past from the Song and Yuan dynasty and included a shorter biography to fill in the "patriarch" fascicle with more content. Even though this arrangement made the sequence look disjuncted, the reason behind the compilation of the gazetteer was to "add and supplement" to the previous edition, so this title self-justified the arrangement.

As a result of the lift of the literary persecution, most of the third monastic gazetteer's "dharma talk" writings were by Jude's disciples who also became the abbot of the monastery, such as Huotang, Huishan Jiexian, Shuokui Yuanzhi, and Dihui Huilu. The release of these materials filled in the gaps in the monastery's history between the late

[194] Juzan also mentioned the infleunce of literary persecution, see: *Lingyin xiaozhi* (1947), 39.

Kangxi period to the first-half Qianlong period. Many of the writings were even written before the monastery was renamed "Yunlin." The compilers, instead, looked for another main abbot to center the depiction around. As a result, Jutao, his disciples, and their works became the focus of this edition.

Great Man Jutao Yiguo

The second Lingyin monastic gazetteer, *Zengxiu Yunlin sizhi*, compiled in 1744—a century after the establishment of the Qing—is mainly centering around Jutao's career as the abbot of the monastery. After Emperor Kangxi granted the new name Yunlin for Lingyin monastery, Jutao Yiguo 巨濤義果(1690-1753) became the most pivotal abbot for many years, and eventually his disciples and dharma-grandsons took control of the monastery until the mid-Qing period, before Hangzhou suffered from the Taiping rebellion.

Jutao is from Dantu, a village close to Zhenjiang (southern Jiangsu province) township. When he was eleven, he became a novice monk at Jiaoshan following his parents' expectation. He later wandered around several monasteries and at one point served as a student under vinaya master Dezhang Daolin's 德彰道林 (1661-1723) guidance at the notable Tanzhe monastery.[195] After Dezhang passed away, Jutao later came back to the south and served as a servant of Dihui for nine years. In 1732, Jutao succeeded the abbacy and shortly travelled to Chang'an and was said to "protect the dharma gate." In 1738, Jutao returned to Yunlin monastery and immediately restored the "atmosphereJutao's charisma attracted donations which funded rebuilding the monastery. This was already nearly a century after Jude revived the monastery and many buildings constructed back then have

[195] *Zengxiu Yunlin sizhi*, 311a-11b/49-50.

deteriorated over time.

Dashou Liuzhou 達受六舟(1791-1858), a monk especially notable for his literary skills and contributions in epigraphy (*jinshi* 金石), eventually become the abbot of Jingci monastery and served as one of the two final readers of the third Lingyin monastic gazetteer; he also wrote about the genealogy of Sanfeng school's transmission at Lingyin monastery:

> Regarding the Sanfeng Branch, as Chan Master Hanyue Zang is from Sanfeng of Mount Yu in Jiangsu, he established his own household after arriving at Yulin; thus (the school is) called Sanfeng (Three Peaks). The (history of the) dharma-sect after patriarch Zang is recorded in the two gazetteers compiled by Sun and Li respectively, and each of them have aspects missing. Due to distant generations and years unclear, there is no way to consult and record it all in detail. From Master Jutao, (the dharma-sect) started to divide into six branches, establishing set rules to fulfill this position, discussing and nominating six persons from six branches, drawing lots and deciding the family succession (*jiayi)*, taking turns succeeding this (leading) seat.
> 三峰支派, 為漢月藏禪師由江蘇之虞山三峰, 至雲林自立之門戶也, 故曰三峰. 家自藏祖以下法派, 孫厲兩志已載, 各有失收. 因世遠年湮, 無從細詢備載. 今從巨濤和上之下, 始分為六支, 定例充此任者, 由六支議舉六人, 拈鬮以定甲乙, 輪流繼主是席.[196]

Dashou Liuzhou restated that Hanyue Fazang, a prominent Chan monk of the Lingji 臨濟 school, after "establishing another sect" 另立門戶 of the Sanfeng school, came to Lingyin monastery and passed on his dharma transmission to Jutao Yiguo. Jutao Yiguo eventually became the abbot of Lingyin monastery and had six (rather than usual one) major disciples. After Jutao Yiguo passed away, his six disciples agreed to decide whom to serve as the abbot of the monastery through *nianjiu* 拈鬮 (drawing lots), which clearly reveals that Lingyin monastery developed a systematized internal "succession" pattern from this time onwards.[197] Therefore, the abbacy of Lingyin monastery was hereupon decided and became

[196] *Yunlinsi xuzhi*, 3/18a/143.

[197] *Yunlinsi xuzhi*, 3/18a/143.

the main selection theme for another half a century. Drawing lots was not a new invention, as it was already practiced no later than the Yuan. What is intriguing is that the monastic gazetteers pointed out how this arrangement actually worked and how long each disciple served as the abbot, which offers a case that we do not see similar arrangement in other major monastic gazetteers. Each abbot served an average tenure about three years, sometimes slightly shorter; and occasionally one might serve more than a decade, as shown here:

Jutao Yiguo 巨濤 (1690-1753), served as abbot in 1732; again in 1738 and retired in 1753.
Zaizhan Deyuan 在瞻德元 (1720-1760), served as abbot 1753-1759.
Yüchuan Deyuan 禹傳德源 (d.u.), served as abbot 1758-1760.
Yinyuan 印圓 (disciple of Poshan), served as abbot 1760-1763.
Yüshan Delin 玉山德琳(disciple of Jutao), served as abbot 1763-1770; 1772-1774.
Danshan Dechan 淡山德昖 served as abbot 1770-1772.
Canguang 燦光 (disciple of Jutao), served as abbot 1774-1782.
Xianwei 顯微 (disciple of Canguang), served as abbot 1782-1786.
Daqian Chongzhao 大千重照 (1745-1807), served as abbot 1786-1791.
Zhenxiu 振修 (disciple of Zaizhan), served as abbot 1791-1793.
Yuanrui Chongmi 元瑞重密(1729-1801), served as abbot 1793-1795.
Deheng Chong'en 德恆重恩(d. 1796), disciple of Yinyuan, served as abbot 1795. Stepped down from the abbacy since Emperor Qianlong abdicated the same year.
Zhian Chongxiu 志安重秀(1759-1817), served as abbot 1796-1799.
Daolong 道隆, served as abbot 1798-1799. Died in office.
Xin'an 心安, served as abbot 1799.
Desan 德三, served as abbot 1799-1804.
Xinghong 性宏 served as abbot 1804-1805.
Jingyi 靜一, served as abbot 1805-1807.
Ruoru 若如, served as abbot 1807-1809.
Pinlian Lüyue 品蓮律月 (1758-1823), disciple of Zhian, served as abbot 1809-1811.
Huizhou 惠周(1760-1825), disciple of Zhenxiu, served as abbot 1811-1813.
Langyuan 朗緣, disciple of Deheng, served as abbot 1813-1820.
Dinglian 定蓮, served as abbot 1815-1816.
Jianneng 見能, served as abbot 1816-1817; 1820.
Dehui 德慧, served as abbot 1817.
Shengchuan 聖川, 1817-1820.
Sufeng 素風, served as abbot 1820. Stepped down as Emperor Jiaqing passed away the

same year.[198]

These records, based on Dashou Liuzhou, are according to the exclusive "Myriad years records" 萬年簿 and other epitaph records.[199] Based on this list, we see that most of the abbots after Jutao Yiguo served only around two to three years and occasionally shorter periods. The chart prior to the abbacy succession illustrates a clear lineage from Jutao Yiguo as the thirty-fourth generation figure, down to his dharma-great-great grandson Shengchuan, who served as Lingyin monastery's abbot before Emperor Daoguang (r. 1821-1850) ascended the throne. The third Lingyin monastic gazetteer—*Yunlinsi xuzhi*—was compiled in 1829, a year after the monastery finished a major restoration sponsored by Emperor Jiaqing in 1816. According to Shen Rongbiao, a Hanlin official and the compiler of the third monastic gazetteer, the monastery suffered a major fire which burnt down most of the main buildings in 1816. In addition to receiving 10,000 taels from the court, the monastery also collected donations from local elites and initiated the reconstruction in 1823 which was completed in 1828. Aware that the last gazetteer was compiled eighty years earlier, both the monastery clergy and local elite agreed that it was an appropriate occasion to recompile the monastic gazetteer and produce an updated version.

There must have been a draft for each of these monastic gazetteers but rarely were they mentioned in the prefaces to the final products. In Buddhist periodicals published in the Republican period onwards, there are more and more data from which we can trace the process of producing a monastic gazetteer. The "myriad-years record" writings, perhaps,

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[198] *Yunlinsi xuzhi*, 3/18a-19b/144-146.

[199] Holmes Welch translates it as "ten-thousand year book." See Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 43; 471n40.

served this purpose. In 1927 during the later years when monk Huiming (1860–1930) served as the abbot of Lingyin, the monastery clergy decided to update its "myriad-years records" in homage to Huiming' contribution.[200] The monastery had the notable monk Taixu write a preface for Lingyin's "myriad years records." Taixu indicated that the monastery is like a minor republic (*xiaominguo* 小民國) as it possesses sovereignty, land, and people—everything that a state requires. In Taixu's words, other than the monastic gazetteer tradition of *zhi*, "myriad-years records" are another separate tradition of chronological writing and insider records of the monastery. There is, unfortunately, no accessible copy available right now but the preface reveals how the Buddhist clergy value the importance of such material.

Another preface written for the updated "Myriad-years records" in the same year was by Tanxuan 談玄 (1905–1942), a monk who was also affiliated with the monastery for over a decade.[201] Tanxuan was known for traveling to Japan and bringing back Buddhist esoteric texts as well as a portion of the Buddhist canon in 1925 and 1934. These conducts earned him extensive popularity. He studied Pure Land doctrines with Yinguang at Mount Putuo, then followed Guxu Dixian 古虛諦閑 (1858–1932) at Ningbo's Guanzong monastery to study Tiantai. After that, Tanxuan visited Lingyin monastery and studied Tiantai teaching and the *Lotus Sutra* with the abbot Huiming and received dharma transmission from him.[202] He soon became an instructor at Lingyin Buddhist Academy upon his return from Japan.

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[200] On Huiming, see *Lingyin xinzhi* 2/8a.

[201] In various sources, however, the passing year of Tanxuan is not clearly stated. See, for example: Shi Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindaishi* (Taipei: Zhongguo Fojiao wenhua guan, 1974), 434-436.

[202] On Huiming, see Leguan, "Lingyin Huiming shangren waizhuan," *Jueqingbao* 54 (1930), 15; see also, Taixu, "Lingyin Huiming Zhao heshang xingshu," *Haichaoying* 11:5 (1930), 1–2.

Therefore, given Tanxuan's accomplishments at a relatively young age and the fact that he received Huiming's recognition, the Lingyin clergy might have felt that he as a promising scholar monk and could be an ideal person to represent the monastery' diversity and comment on the monastery's revised insider records. Tanxuan's writing was apparently based on a collection of previously selected writings but he indeed highlighted the notable abbots who arguably marked the revival history of Lingyin monastery. One information noteworthy is that in Tanxuan's preface, instead of following the gazetteer tradition of praising the three abbots (Huili, Yongming Yanshou, and Jude Hongli), he instead mentioned three other abbots all with the exact same dharma name—Huiming—who were pivotal in restoring the monastery: Huiming of the Kaibao (968–976) period during Northern Song, a second Huiming of during Huangqing (1312–1313) reign of the Yuan, and lastly the Huiming of the Republican period who started his abbacy from 1918. Since the history of Lingyin is a list of eminent monks, Tanxuan's latent purpose is perhaps to shed light on the last Huiming, who was Tanxuan's mentor and contributed wholeheartedly to the monastery and the Buddhist community.[203]

Based on the significant amount of records and writings in the gazetteer, Jutao Yiguo and his disciples could be regarded as the major figures in the second version of the monastic gazetteer. Jutao Yiguo served as the abbot of the monastery for a long time, which allowed him to accept plenty of disciples over the years. These records depict the monastery's development from Qianlong down to the Jiaqing period. One note-worthy aspect is that this version retrieved the writings on and by Jude Hongli and Huishan Jiexian. Shuokui, who was Jude's disciple and served as abbot for thirteen years, also had his

[203] Monk Leguan (1902–1987) also wrote about how monk Huiming became the abbot of Lingyin monastery.

"dharma talks" extensively included in this version. These materials as a whole fill in the one-and-a-half century gap of the history between the compilation of the first and third monastic gazetteers.

Often collected in an individual fascicle in monastic gazetteers, "dharma talks" (*fayu* 法語) exist in all three Qing period Lingyin monastic gazetteers. These records were delivered by the abbots and addressed to either monks, imperial members, literati, or common people. Based on the compiler's selection, these "dharma talks" may be broadly defined, and covered a wide range of information. They not only include writings that involve Chan rhetoric, but also monastic affairs that engage external affairs, such as serving as an announcement or declaration, but polished with Buddhist concepts.

The third Lingyin monastic gazetteer is comprised of six abbots' dharma talks. The majority are by Huotang Zhengyan, Huishan Jiexian, and Shuokui Yuanzhi, and another three abbots have one included.[204] Their talks highlight the development of the monastery across a century and shed light on the monastery's development immediately before (Huotang Zhengyan) and after (Huishan Jiexian) Jude Hongli's tenure. This arrangement is perhaps designed to present the monastery's ruin before Jude Hongli, and how his glorious legacy passed on after his death. A number of these records are not seen elsewhere; therefore, they are valuable to both the history of the monastery and the abbot who addressed these statements. The arrangement also serves the hidden purpose of reestablishing the Sanfeng school that Jude Hongli brought to the monastery by providing an official account of the abbots. As mentioned above, Huotang Zhengyan was Lingyin

[204] They are Chan master Qingsong 清聳 during the Five Dynasties period, and Dihui Huili and Yushan Delin during the Qing period.

monastery's abbot before Jude Hongli arrived, and still was alive when Jude Hongli passed away in office during his last post at Jingshan monastery. Many of Huotang Zhengyan's talks in the gazetteer were addressed to Jude Hongli, and his last talk among them commemorate Huishan Jiexian succeeding Jude Hongli's abbacy. Interestingly, Huotang Zhengyan did not directly mention Jude Hongli's name in the talk, instead using "Monk Yunmen" to indicate to him and again praise his contribution to the monastery. Huotang Zhengyan did not forget to stress the difficulty of "preserving the established" over "creation" but also restated that Hangzhou elite have long been confident with Huishan Jiexian's ability when he was still heading the clergy during Jude Hongli's tenure.

Huishan Jiexian's first listed work in his dharma talks is a preface that he wrote for the "Biography of Jidian," arguably the monastery's most popular historical figure who never served as the abbot but has long been regarded as the monastery's greatest icon in the past few centuries.[205] Huishan Jiexian's purpose of writing this preface was explicit: differentiating the significance of Jidian and the numerous people who imitated him over time. Huishan Jiexian argues that since the "stages of realization" (*guodi* 果地)[206] between Jidian and his avid imitators are fundamentally distinct from each other, Jidian's supernatural performances are completely disparate from those fraudulent performances that deceive ignorant beings.

The purpose of Huishan Jiexian's preface was to claim the monastery's authority for discourses related to Jidian and to justify the legitimacy of his legends that originated from the monastery. Huishan Jiexian's preface ends with a description stating he is aware that the Jidian stories were continuously written into novels, and even though they were written in

[205] *Yunlin si xuzhi*, 4/8b-9b/164-166.

[206] *Yunlin si xuzhi*, 4/9a/165.

vernacular language, they were all "telling the truth" 事事皆實.[207] Jiexian's preface was written for the publication of an official Jidian biography that was free of vernacular language and certified by the monastery where Jidian became a monk. Furthermore, the official biography of Jidian does not merely serve the purpose of claiming the rights over Jidian, it was also diplomatic. Huishan Jiexian wrote that this new biography will again enhance the relationship between Lingyin monastery and Jingci monastery, where Jidian also stayed for a long period of time.[208]

The third Lingyin monastic gazetteer records one rare dialogue between Yushan Delin 玉山德琳 and Emperor Qianlong, which reveals much information, including the procedures when the abbot hosts an emperor's visit, imperial gifts to the monastery, and the emperor's test for the abbot. In the dharma-talk section of *Yunlin si xuzhi* in which Yushan Lin's conversation with Emperor Qianlong in the February of 1765 is recorded, it presents a line-by-line dialogue between the emperor and the abbot, which is rather rare compared to monastic gazetteers. This conversation includes the monastery's transmission of the abbacy, how the "succession" actually worked in Lingyin monastery's case, and the monastery's stance towards the state. Given that this conversation is stated as a "dharma talk," there is, however, not as much Chan-style dialogue. Emperor Qianlong asks one question at a time and Yushan responds in a short sentence.

Based on thsee records, Emperor Qianlong clearly does not have a vivid memory of his previous visits in 1751, 1757, and 1762, but he did ask Yulin about the abbots who hosted him in the past. According to Yulin's response, they were Yulin's master Jutao Yiguo, and

[207] *Yunlin si xuzhi*, 4/9b/166.

[208] *Yunlinsi xuzhi*, 4/8b-9b/164-166.

his younger fellow monks Deyuan and Dequan, who were also both Jutao's disciples. Qianlong later did not further ask the reason behind abbacy transition, but he did ask who promoted (*ju* 舉) Yulin. After Yulin said it was Xiong Xuepeng 熊學鵬 (1697-1776, *jinshi* 1730) who nominated him. "So it was Xiong," Qianlong replied, correlating the recommender with the monks, and therefore replied "henhao" 狠好(very well).[209] After having a tea ceremony using imperial tea leaves, Emperor Qianlong left the monastery. Emperor Qianlong's mother and the Empress each visited the next two days and allocated the monastery 54 and 5 taels of gold, respectively. Emperor Qianlong came to the monastery again three days after his first visit. He asked if he can conduct "meditative practice" (*canchan* 參禪), and *huatou*" 話頭 he confers. After Yushan replied "myriad things return to one"萬法歸一, Emperor Qianlong further asked, "To what does the one return to?" "The Son of Heaven of the Great Qing State" 歸何處. 大清國裏聖天子.[210] "Is this really your opinion?," Emperor Qianlong asked. Yushan replied "Namaḥ Immeasurable Life" 南無無量壽佛 (Amitāyus), one of the most important buddhas that Emperor Qianlong worships; thus, the emperor was pleased by Yushan's appropriate response, which result in earning the monastery more imperial gifts. [211]

[209] *Yunlinsi xuzhi* 4/46a-50b/239-248. This dialogue was prominent enough that the most recent monastic gazetteer also included in the fascicle on anecdotes. See Leng Xiao, *Lingyin xinzhi* 9/5b-6b.

[210] This set of verses is from a well-known case raised by Zhaozhou 趙州 (Congshen 從諗, 778-897) recorded in the *Biyan lu* 碧巖錄 (Blue Cliff Records).

[211] Leng Xiao, *Lingyin xinzhi* 9/6b.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown that, as one of the "Five Mountains" since the Southern Song dynasty, Qing-period writers still occasionally restate Lingyin monastery's prominence in relevant writings; when the abbots are discussing the historical development of the monastery, they intentionally emphasize Lingyin monastery's leading role in the Hangzhou urban area. In addition, after the passing of the "first generation abbot" Jude Hongli, the monastery was competing for whether his relics should be kept in Jingshan monastery, where Jude Hongli passed away, or Lingyin monastery. In the first monastic gazetteer when the monastery was still entitled as "Lingyin," Jude Hongli's main disciple Huishan Jiexian was the abbot who approved the final version of the gazetteer. The Sanfeng school was still active and Lingyin monastery was one of the hubs where the school's teaching was practiced and succeeded. This gazetteer extensively included the history of Jude Hongli's lineage and praised Jude Hongli's contribution that led the monastery return to its past glory days.

West Lake has long been Hangzhou's main tourist attraction.[212] As the epitome of Hangzhou Buddhism and the tourist attraction of the area, the monastery hosted multiple visits from the emperor, and was also granted a new title "Yunlin" later in his reign. Unfortunately, the monastery—like many other monasteries—suffered from fires, which devastate most of its main buildings. Receiving generous restoration donations also motivated the monastic clergy to work with notable local officials and literati to update the monastic gazetteer so as to mention their gratefulness toward the donors. Even though the

[212] Xiaolin Duan, *The Rise of West Lake: A Cultural Landmark in the Song Dynasty* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2020).

monastery was known as Lingyin for centuries, their effort to respond to the court made them change their name and gazetteer titles to Yunlin. The third monastic gazetteer still used this title and kept the spirit of the second one: adding to or continuing the monastery's history from the first version.

As mentioned in chapter 1, the structure and content of the first version published in 1672 possess the character of a "general history" (*tongshi* 通史) as it includes the monastery's pre-Qing history until several years after Jude Hongli's passing. As presented in the gazetteer titles, the following two versions adjusted their role to serve as "supplementary" and "continuation" to the first gazetteer. Based on the content of the fascicles, there was a single or a group of featured individuals in these monastic gazetteers, primarily represented by their works, or genealogy of the hidden transmission of how the monastery clergy passed on the lineage yet hid it from the public. There are two major factors that influence these arrangements: externally, the political atmosphere and financial support, and internally, the monastery's process of recollection and compilation of an aspirational history.

There was, however, information omitted instead of added due to the political atmosphere. Jude Hongli and Huishan Jiexian, the main figures of the first gazetteer, disappeared in the second gazetteer as the literary persecution was still under way, reaching its peak in the early Qianlong period. The monastic gazetteer's focus turned to other rather irrelevant or less-sensitive information and presented a unique form of monastic-gazetteer compilation that rarely covers the abbots or masters who were pivotal to the monastery, but rather covers overlooked predecessors from centuries ago. The gazetteer's content obviously hesitates to cover excessive description of the "contemporary" history during that time and changed the edition to cope with external support and expectation.

After the peak of literary persecution marked by the passing of Emperors Qianlong

and Jiaqing, the monastery survived persecution but was not granted the opportunity to compile a further updated monastic gazetteer. This time, all the omitted materials in the previous gazetteer that the new compilers regard as reflecting the genuine story of the monastery were updated and supplemented to produce the final product. The third version published in 1829 includes a chart of the dharma transmission or abbacy succession and clear description of the tenure of each abbot who served since the Yongzheng period. It distinctly presents that the monastery is now restating the relationship between dharma transmission and abbacy succession as one of the main features in the monastery's history.

In more recent records, including Juzan and Shengyen's accounts of Lingyin's abbacy succession, detailing each abbot during each period is no longer the main concern. Only a few major abbots were continuously mentioned in the writings that come afterward. Even though serving as the abbot of this major monastery certainly was an honor and was the goal for many ambitious monks, not all monks who served as abbots achieved supplementary accomplishments (other than becoming the abbot itself) that would gain them more mention in the history of the monastery.

Chapter Four

"They Were Here": Remembrance of Notable Individuals at Lingyin Monastery

The origin of the monastic-gazetteer genre derived from secular historiographical writing (*zhi* 志), a genre that covered a specific topic and eventually developed into records of a subject, place, or a group of people. Taking one of the prefaces of a Lingyin monastic gazetteer as an example, it mentions that the tradition of compiling monastic gazetteers derives from the local gazetteer tradition, though specifically focusing on a single (in most cases) or occasionally a group of monasteries. As Buddhist monastic gazetteers are records related to Buddhist places, it is understandable that they involve knowledge related to Buddhism. In one of the prefaces of the Lingyin monastic gazetteer, the author humbly admits that, as they are "not familiar with affairs within the Dharma gate" 不諳法門事. This made the task of compiling a monastic gazetteer more difficult for them.[213]

Like local gazetteers, monastic gazetteers provide a basic understanding of the monastery, which includes the monastery's geographic layout, the foundation of the monastery, and important figures related to the place. The major difference between local and monastic gazetteers is that the latter includes and lists its abbots and their dharma transmission in the earlier part of the book, while the former often places religious figures in the latter half. Notable non–Buddhist individuals, including both patrons and visitors who have visited the monastery are also categorized into one fascicle. Moreover, there is often

[213] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, preface, 11.

another fascicle (usually in the latter half or the last fascicle) of the gazetteer in which poems by some of these individuals are included. Local gazetteers always place biographies of notable monks of the region—known as "transcendent beings and Buddhist monks" or *xianshi* 仙釋—at the latter half of the book; conversely, monastic gazetteers place biographies of non–Buddhist individuals in the latter half of the monastic gazetteer. The Lingyin monastic gazetteers present a series of changing concerns about how the gazetteer compilers place the non–Buddhist individuals in the monastery's history and how the compilers arrange the notable individual's position to promote the monastery as an attraction for more future visitors to come.

Individuals and their Place in the Lingyin Monastic Gazetteers

Information on individuals and their poems separately compiled in different fascicles in the monastic gazetteer provide the readers several pieces of information.is a compilation of collect all traces of notable individuals, and include their activities into the monastic gazetteer. This is one of the methods monasteries use to attract more visitors to stop by and to give tribute to those who have once visited the monastery. However, not all non–Buddhist readers appreciate this arrangement: for instance, the commissioners of the *Siku Quanshu* (Siku Guanchen 四庫館臣).[214] Most of the monastic gazetteers published before the *Siku* were included in the final list, though not published in their full book length but

[214] The commissioner's criticism usually focuses on the content and style of a monastic gazetteer. For example, for Jingshan monastic gazetteer, the commissioner's comment is "redundant" (*rongta* 冗沓); as for Ashoka monastic gazetteer, "these numinous tales are dated and therefore cannot be thoroughly verified" 有是異聞, 年祀綿遠, 亦無從而究詰也.

rather their "preserved title" (cunmu 存目). The commissioners still wrote short abstracts (*tiyao* 提要) of them for the emperor's (and later potential reader's) reference or interest. In most of these abstracts written for monastic gazetteers, the commissioners only list the outline of the gazetteer rather than actually writing any criticism or even giving generic comments. This is somewhat understandable since Buddhist-related materials are usually considered to be trivial compared with other classics. As Wang Fansen has pointed out, later reprints of the books tend to include the abstracts written by the commissioners to present its authority as a "*Siku* level" publication[215], even if the commissioner only wrote general comments. We see this arrangement in the 1888 reprint of the first two Lingyin monastic gazetteers published by Ding Bing 丁丙 (1832–1899), a Zhejiang literati who was known for his book collections. Ding's reprint became the more popular version of these monastic gazetteers. [216]

Up to today, there are six extant monastic gazetteers of Lingyin monastery. The earlier three were published before late Qing (before the Opium War or the 1840s), and the

[215] About the tendency of listing the *Siku* abstract in front of the reprinted version to enhance the credibility of the re–publication, see Wang Fansen, "Quanli de maoxiguan zuoyong—Qing dai wenxian zhong 'ziwo yayi' de xian xiang" 權力的毛細管作用：清代文獻中「自我壓抑」的現象, in Wang, *Quanli de Maoxiguan Zuoyong: Qingdai de Sixiang, Xueshu yu Xintai* 權力的毛細管作用：清代的思想、學術與心態 (Taipei: Lianjing Chuban Gongsi), 494. For an English version, see: Wang Fan-sen, "Political Pressure and the Cultural Sphere in the Ch'ing Dynasty," in Willard J. Peterson, ed., *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 9: The Ch'ing Dynasty to 1800, Part 2* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 606-648.

[216] The "Digital Archive of Chinese Buddhist Temple Gazetteers" database mainly funded by Chung-Hwa Institute of Buddhist Studies with a contribution from the Jingshan monastery uses Ding Bing's reprint version republished by Mingwen shuju.

recent three of them were published in 1947 (revised version published in 1982), and 2003. Before the publication of *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 武林靈隱寺志, there were still previously compiled monastic gazetteers of Lingyin monastery, but up to this date, no earlier version exists, this inevitably makes *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* the earliest existing monastic gazetteer of the monastery, setting a general outline for future monastic gazetteers. In the fascicle on these non–Buddhist individuals, they are instead called "patrons" (*tanyue* 檀越; Sanskrit *dānapati*) or "personages" (*renwu* 人物).[217] The difference between the two is whether the person made a significant donation, of either land or money, to the monastery. Those who have been considered as "patrons" of Lingyin monastery are mostly emperors who granted plaques or a building, such as major halls or statues of the Buddha, bodhisattvas, or wealthy people who helped plant a flock of pine trees that later become attrations of Lingyin monastery. The list of donors also includes magistrates of other provinces, showing that Lingyin moastery is a religious site known nationwide where patrons can display their contribution, earn reputation and merit at the same time.

Even though generally lacking interest in Buddhist-related texts, the *Siku* commissioners still did show some interest in some monastic gazetteers. Taking the abstract of the Lingyin monastic gazetteer as an example, the commissioners especially raised issues regarding the non–Buddhist people who were included in the gazetteer. The commissioners

[217] In *Lingyin xinzhi* the editors changed "tanyue" into a more generic "individuals" but still mainly included officials or laymen who protected the monastery since the early Qing period. Nine individuals including Li Wei 李衛 (1680-1738), Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849), Xue Shiyu 薛時雨 (1818-1885), Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣懷, Huang Yuanxiu 黃元秀 (1884-1964), Fan Gunong 范古農 (1881-1951), Zhang Zongxiang 張宗祥 (1882-1965), Ma Yifu 馬一浮 (1883-1967), and Zhang Zaiyang 張載陽 were included. See *Lingyin xinzhi*, fascicle 4.

stated that stories related to these individuals are "fictional, therefore its significance remains uncertain"事涉創造, 於義未安.[218] Indeed, as Lingyin monastery has a long history that dates to the Third century, the compilers of the monastic gazetteer included many figures that do not have as much solid proof to support that they actually have visited the monastery.

Contrary to the commissioner's criticism, the compilers were candid with the information they provided in the monastic gazetteer. In some entries, the compilers concede "it is said that he (the figure) once visited our monastery and left poems (somewhere) but now they are unfortunately lost." As the monastery has suffered multiple fires and destructions over its long history, the landscape of the monastery changed over time, records on these changes were mostly kept in external records in the visitors' personal collected works. Therefore, compiling a monastic gazetteer involves substantial effort. Some of this information is often vague and unreliable but does serve as evidence when reconstructing the monastery's history.[219]

Compilers of the gazetteer, of course, are aware of these doubts. Interestingly, in the foreword of the fascicle on non–Buddhist individuals, Sun Zhi—the compiler of the first extant Lingyin monastic gazetteer—wrote that "West Lake is the eye (of Hangzhou), and since I am at Lingyin, I know Feilai Peak 飛來峰 is its eyebrow, the rest are all under the eyebrow and eye…therefore whoever visits Wulin (Hangzhou) definitely visits Lingyin" 西

[218] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, "Siku tiyao."

[219] See, for example, Meir Shahar, "The Lingyin Si Monkey Disciples and The Origins of Sun Wukong," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 52:1 (Jun. 1992), 193–224.

湖是其眼…余在靈隱, 乃知飛來峰是其眉, 其他總在眉目之下…遊武林者, 必到靈隱.[220] This analogy and statement claims that those who visited Hangzhou certainly must have passed by or visited Lingyin monastery, and "those who have visited all regret that they've came late and are furthermore fearful that they will be leaving soon"遊者無不悔來之晚, 又恐去之速也. This entails that all visitors must have enjoyed their stay but also show repentance that they did not come early enough at the right time to this place to meet previous visitors they have long revered.

Before Sun Zhi's Lingyin monastic gazetteer was first published in 1672, an earlier version by Bai Heng 白珩 (d.u.) was already circulating during the Wanli 萬曆 (1573–1620) period, but is now lost.[221] It is said that Sun and his student Xu Zeng readjusted Bai's monastic gazetteer, restructured and cut off a number of contents, and eventually compiled the earliest extant Lingyin monastic gazetteer. Since the publication date is in early Qing, most of the individuals included are pre-Qing figures.[222] Sun's divides the fascicle into two parts chronological order; the second part is on individuals who have visited Lingyin in a historical order. The main contribution that Sun and Xu made is that they concluded Lingyin monastery's relationship with the external world in a succinct arrangement. Mentioning the main donations and constructions made over the years before the Qing also offer the historical background of the cities and places where the individuals visited and participated

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[220] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 5/259.

[221] The author of a modern annotation of the *Lingyin sizhi* mentioned the Bai version is now lost.

[222] Lingyin monastery underwent several major reconstructions during the early Qing period. The monastery received nationwide donations from multiple Qing provincial magistrates. See *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, especially 5/251–6.

in a creation of a literary tradition, which eventually made these places become a pilgrimage site for later visitors.

Places They Visited in Lingyin Monastery

Based upon the criteria that the Lingyin monastery gazetteers developed over the years, anyone who has ever made poems titled "Lingyin poems" will normally qualify to be included as an individual recorded in the monastic gazetteer. As for the specific sites they visited in Lingyin, their poems especially describe their visits to popular sites such as Feilai Peak, Nine Li of Pines 九里松, and also Cold Springs Pavilion 冷泉亭. To manage the amount of poems included into the monastic gazetteer in a reasonable scale was a huge challenge for the compilers. Those who gained a spot in the individual biography fascicle also reflect their lifetime fame as a literary celebrity during the time or their significant importance to the monastery.

For instance, Feilai Peak is closely related to the origin of Lingyin monastery because Huili, the first abbot of the monastery, thought the peak looked like a huge rock back in India where he was from, therefore, he decided to establish a monastery (which the later became Lingyin monastery) right in front of it. Both Nine Li of Pines and Cold Springs Pavilion were sites named in the Tang dynasty.[223] When Yuan Renjing 袁仁敬 (c. 676–733) served as the Regional Inspector (cishi 刺史) of Hangzhou, in 724, he designated Hangzhou citizens to plant nine *li* of pine trees, and this site eventually become a notable route before reaching the Lingyin monastery grounds 元簫 (d.u.), who also served as the Hangzhou Regional Inspector, built the Cold Springs Pavilion, though the pavilion became more

[223] About Huili's biography, see *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 3/130.

famous after Bai Juyi wrote the plaque and a commemoration of it.[224] Besides the monastery hall itself, visitors especially made poems at these three spots mentioned above.

Who are these previous visitors? Based on the visitors who have short biographies listed in the monastic gazetteers, they are mainly notable individuals who have once visited the monastery, or those who made poems about sites in the monastery. Some of them studied at the monastery before receiving an official position, or were friends with particular monk members of the monastery, or were just buried around the monastery.[225] Major monasteries like Lingyin monastery have a larger library opened to the public.[226] The gazetteer compilers provide a short description of the individual's relationship with the monastery, even for single or short-term visits.

The *ZengxiuYunlin xuzhi* 增修雲林續志, the sequel to he *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, kept similar arrangements for which patrons and individuals are listed together. As Emperor Kangxi visited Lingyin monastery and renamed it into Yunlin monastery, this edition became the first of the two monastic gazetteer that developed a specific fascicle recording the relationship between the monastery and the court. Li E 厲鶚 (1692–1752), the main compiler of *Zengxiu Yunlin xuzhi* was a notable local scholar of Hangzhou, the monastic

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224 About Yuan, see *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 5/267.

225 Such as Xu Shuang 徐爽, a late Northern Song hermit who was famous in Hangzhou and was buried at Lingjiu 靈鷲 (near Lingyin) after his death; and Zhu Bian 朱弁, a early Southern Song official who was buried at Nine *li* of Pines following Emperor Gaozong's order. See *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 5/276.

226 See Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, "Tangren dushu shanlin siyuan zhi fengshang: jianlun shuyuan zhidu zhi qiyuan" 唐人讀書山林寺院之風尚: 兼論書院制度之起源, *Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Lishi Yuyan Yanjiusuo jikan* 30 (1959) 689-728.

gazetteer that he compiled mainly follow the first gazetteer but readjusted the order of the fascicles. Writings related to Emperor Kangxi have been arranged as the first fascicle, called *chen'en* 宸恩—emperor's grace—and the fascicle in which patrons and individuals were included in the first gazetteer were abridged or omitted. The commissioners wrote in the abstract that the first Lingyin monastic gazetteer "still has a lot omitted and missing" 脫漏尚多[227], therefore, the commissioners vouched for Li's edition without any criticism as this new monastic gazetteer's mission was mainly expanding the content that the first gazetteer was missing. These adjustments show that the monastery's major patron is now the court rather than its previous supporters, such as local elites and commoners. However, more relatively obscure figures whose poems are related to the monastery were included in the *Zengxiu Yunlin xuzhi* compared to the first gazetteer, showing that the monastery might have received more donations to include secondary materials into the new gazetteer.

Later, in the third gazetteer, the *Yunlinsi xuzhi* 雲林寺續志, the first fascicle remains as the writings related the court, and mainly is chenyin 宸音—emperor's voice—but now Emperor Qianlong's 乾隆 voice rather that of his grandfather Kangxi. The first Lingyin monastic gazetteer includes the most individuals in the fascicle, but it is highly probably that their visits are "fictional." Most individuals who were active before the Five Dynasties, including many in the Tang, do not have solid evidence other than adjacent. For example, Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–363) "was said to live in the Ge Village in Wulin Mountain (where Lingyin monastery is)"[228]; notable poet Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385–433) was raised by a

[227] *Zengxiu Yunlin sizhi*, "*Siku* tiyao," 1a/3.

[228] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 5B/3b/264.

person named Du Mingfu 杜明甫 who lived in Lingyin. The monastic gazetteer only focused on the Du family's relationship with Lingyin and nearly did not mention anything of Xie's connection with Lingyin.[229] Obviously, for the compilers, as long as notable individuals before the Tang were once physically present around Lingyin, this would meet the requirement for entering the fascicle and being read and remembered by the readers of the gazetteers. The landscape of the monastery changed drastically over the centuries and only limited sites and records can serve as proof to support the claim that those individuals once actually visited the monastery. The monastic gazetteer candidly listed the evidence still preserved at the monastery and left the judgments to the readers. Nevertheless, the monastery constantly holds the perspective that every person who has been to Hangzhou will likely stop by Lingyin monastery. What is important is whether or not the gazetteer will include them in the list of individuals, and how the compilers write their connection with the monastery.

In short, the history of individuals related to the monastery after Tang poet Bai Juyi became more detailed and traceable is if they actually left "Lingyin poems" or any other evidence related to the monastery during their stay, such as commemoration, calligraphy, or painting. However, there are still some cases that do not have as solid proof of presence, such as Lu Yu 陸羽 (733–804), the author of *The Classics of Tea* (Cha Jing 茶經), who is said to have written an epitaph on Lingyin, though "unfortunately did not hand down to present" 惜不傳.[230] Famous Northern Song hermit Lin Bu 林逋 (c. 967–1028) lived nearby Lingyin

[229] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 5B/264–6.

[230] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 5/270.

in Mount Gu 孤山 but made poems related to Lingyin monastery.[231] Famous Northern Song Reformist official Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989–1052) once wrote a commemoration for the notable monk Ciyun Zunshi's 慈雲遵式 (964–1032) new hut and there "was said to be a bed that Wenzheng Gong [Fan] slept in before" 相傳有文正公臥榻, though no further details about that bed is provided in the gazetteer.[232]

The monastic gazetteer selection of individuals is mainly given in chronological order; nationally known people and local level individuals are arranged in this fashion rather than listing them based on their fame. Thus the length of the descriptions of these individuals are not as balanced, but easy enough for the readers to gain a better understanding of who has more to do with the monastery. After the military general Yue Fei 岳飛 (1103–1142) was executed during Emperor Gaozong's reign, his cohort Han Shizhong 韓世忠 (1089–1151) decided to retire and travel around the West Lake area to relieve his grief. According to *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, Han especially enjoyed the environment around the Cold Springs Pavilion, and built another Pavilion on the middle of the Feilai Peak. Han also saw himself as a Buddhist layman.[233] In the Yuan dynasty, literati such as Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322), Yu Ji 虞集 (1272–1348), and Huang Jin 黃溍 (1277–1357) were all included in the monastic gazetteer as they all have poems related to or made for Lingyin monastery. Prominent Ming thinker Wang Shouren 王守仁 (Yangming, 1472–1528) was also included in the fascicle as the compilers deciphered that one of his poems mentioned some place

[231] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 5/271.

[232] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 5/272.

[233] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 5/277.

apparently "between Ling (Lingyin) and Zhu (Tianzhu)" 靈竺間.[234] As for other Ming and early Qing individuals, some of them are officials who left literary works and were actual patrons to the monastery, while most of them mainly left less than two poems.

The second monastic gazetteer of Lingyin monastery, the *Zengxiu Yunlin xuzhi*, followed this method for those who made poems related to Lingyin monastery they filtered out and selected notable individuals in the past, and made the fascicle on individuals shorter and turned descriptions into a standardized format. Only the individual's name, origin, official titles, and major achievements are mentioned, and end with "(he) has made poems on Lingyin" 有靈隱詩. The major difference between *Zengxiu Yunlin xuzhi* and the first gazetteer is that it successfully applied this filter and was able to include more individuals who were previously not listed in the first gazetteer, such as Tang dynasty's Li Shen 李紳 (772–846), Li Deyu 李德裕 (787–850) and Yuen Zhen 元稹 (779–831); and Song dynasty's Li Gang 李綱 (1083–1140), Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126–1204), Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126–1193), Lou Yao 樓鑰 (1137–1213), and Zhou Mi 周密, all known as notable literati or scholar officials. Yuan dynasty's Wang Yun 王惲 (1227–1304), Fu Ruojin 傅若金 (1303–1342), Yu Que 余闕 (1303–1358), Li Xiaoguang 李孝光 (1285–1350), Zhang Yu 張昱 (c. 1289–1371), and Ming's Bei Qiong 貝瓊 (1314–1379), Gao Qi 高啟 (1336–1374), and Zhang Yu 張羽 (1333–1385) were all newly added into the updated gazetteer. Interestingly, pre-Ming figures tend to have more description than the later Ming and Qing visitors as the compilers added some information related to their official career or their relation to local

[234] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 5/284.

history into their biographies. The monastery actually preserves their poems to prove that they have visited the monastery, and the monastery is proud to have had them as visitors.

Taoguang's Story and Responses to It over Time

Bai Juyi's 白居易 (772-846) poems to Taoguang, and Taoguang's reply were also included into Juzan's little monastic gazetteer compiled during the 20th century. These "brilliant" pieces mark Juzan's selection of authors and poems that best represent the monastery. These highlights of the monastery also supports his attempt of coming up with an abridged Lingyin's monastic gazetteer. There is a long tradition of "returning poems" in Chinese literature history. People follow a previous rhyme in a poem made by another person and make their own poems to show courtesy to that person. This courtesy is also known as "seconding the rhyme" (*ciyun* 次韻). This is literature activity practiced among a group of people that one follows another to make poems that rhyme with the previous person's poem. The title of these poems also refer to the place or occasion they are at when making these poems. There are cases that people try to show honor to a previous famous poem (often made by famous poets) and follow the rhyme of that poem. Take the poems on Lingyin monastery for example, in addition to those who made poems during their visits to Lingyin monastery, some individuals left "Taoguang poems" (taoguang shi 韜光詩) instead of naming their poems as "Lingyin poems."[235]

Taoguang was a Tang monk who wandered from Sichuan to Lingyin monastery following his master's guidance "stop when you encounter a 'nest'," and later established a hut in a village by the name of Chaoju 巢居 ("Dwell in the Nest"). Between 821 and 824,

[235] Poems named in Taoguang are still widely seen in those collected in *Yunlinsi xuzhi*.

during Emperor Mu of Tang's reign, the famous poet Bai Juyi was the Regional Preceptor (*cishi*) of Hangzhou. Bai's friendship with Yuan Zhen made them both known as celebrities, though Bai's literary relationship with Buddhist monks has been overshadowed by his other friendships.[236] During Bai's career in Hangzhou, he left several poems for Taoguang when he visited Lingyin monastery, showing their friendship. The format and rhyme of Bai's poems later became popular among visitors, and therefore a long thread of poems made by later visitors following the format of poems based on the occasion when they visited Lingyin monastery. In the earliest monastic gazetteer, there are several poems titled "Visiting Taoguang hut" or "Taoguang poems." It is obvious that visitors come to Lingyin monastery in memory of Bai and Taoguang's friendship and follow the rhymes of Bai's poems as the monastic gazetteers kept a record of these poems. Even the emperor—Qianlong—joined this thread and intentionally wrote from both Bai and Taoguang's perspectives, using a "simulate" (ni 擬) arrangement to imitate the exchange of poems.

In Shen's gazetteer, he cited one story of the Southern Song period from the famous *Wulin Jiushi* 武林舊事, a *biji* (jotting records) written by Zhou Mi 周密 (1232–1298), and said that one anonymous monk once performed a "planchette writing" ritual at the Taoguang Hut 韜光菴, "inviting" ten Tang poets including seven literati and three monks, and "asked them to write one poem."[237] The result was magnificent, mainly on the scenery of Lingyin monastery. However, although this story is recorded, no poems made by those ten Tang poets were kept. This story's significance is that even Buddhist monks practiced

[236] For Bai's friendship with his literati friends, see Anna Shields, *One Who Knows Me: Friendship and Liteary Culture in Mid–Tang China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), especially pp. 115–132, 173–199.

[237] *Zengxiu Yunlin sizhi*, 7/4a/333.

spiritual rituals to invite authoritative poets to come up with poems that can describe the scenes of the monastery. Even though there was this attempt, the gazetteer compilers still admit that no poems were extant. Therefore this story rather reflects that the place where the "poem writing" ritual was performed provides a connection to the past when they visit this hut named after monk Taoguang: visitors will be connected with the Tang poet's observance of the monastery if they stay at the right place.

In addition to Bai Juyi, the most famous individual of Lingyin monastery in monastic gazetteers is arguably Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036–1101). Also known as Su Dongpo 蘇東坡, Su Shi was off-and-on in Hangzhou for six years, and once served as the magistrate of Hangzhou, he not only built the famous levee (Su Ti 蘇堤) but also visited Lingyin monastery and left a number of poems at multiple sites in the monastery.[238] Correspondingly, Lingyin monastic gazetteers contain the most content on Su's contribution and his relationship with the monastery, stating that "what a bliss for Hangzhou people!" Monks of the Lingyin monastery later also established a shrine on Lingjiu 靈鷲 peak to worship Su Shi. Su's activities in Hangzhou and Lingyin monastery attracted visitors to visit the city and monastery, paying homage to Su's contribution to Hangzhou, and revisiting his traces at notable places such as Lingyin monastery. Visitors especially go to the Pavilion of Cold Springs also in rememberance of Su Shi.

[238] As for Su Shi's biography in Lingyin monastic gazetteer, see *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 5/274–6. The biography focuses more on Su's activity as Hangzhou's official than as a poet.

The Pagodas and Historic Sites based on the Gazetteer Editors

One of the other approaches to date the monastery's past is to look into when the main buildings and structures were built. The monastic gazetteer, of course, provides a fairly detailed list of entries on when the major halls, huts, and other abbeys were built, categorized by dynasties, or in Lingyin monastery's case, specific dates. Due to the destruction over the years, especially during the late Yuan and Ming-Qing transition, nearly all of the monastic buildings were devastated. The Lingyin monastic gazetteer listed that the rebuilds were mainly completed during Emperor Shunzhi's reign (1644-1661), which was during Jude Hongli's tenure as abbot.[239] Given this list of information, it is difficult to trace the original date of when these buildings were established under Hongli's guidance in this period. Yet the editors did provide additional information for interested readers to trace the monastery's past. This brings up the section on "old pagodas" 古塔. One general explanation of why these pagodas were preserved is that nearly all of the pagodas were made with stones rather than wood like the major buildings, which keeps them relatively safe from burning down from fire.

Before getting to the list of pagodas in the monastery, the editors traced back the history of pagodas all the way back to the tradition of cremation in the Western Regions (Xiyu 西域), and how stupas in India were established to house the Buddha's abundant relics. The introduction says that the first pagoda in China was established by Kang Senghui 康僧會 in 239 at Ashoka Monastery 阿育王寺 in Siming 四明 (present day Ningbo), where

[239] See *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 2/1b/78, and 2/2b-3b/80-82 which provides a detailed list of reconstruction of monastic main buildings and other facilities.

the Buddha's relic will "appear as different colors depending upon the person's natural capacity" 隨人根器，色光不一.[240] The editors provided more information regarding the criteria of building a pagoda: "From then after, once the monk died, they were cremated, and whenever there are relics, then it is allowed to build a reliquary pagoda" 後世僧歿荼毘，凡有舍利者，皆得建塔.[241] Starting from Huili, Lingyin monastery has had a substantial number of pagodas built over time, and these are thus well documented. Editors of the gazetteers also introduced the existence of monastic pagoda halls dedicated to the whole mummified relic of the monks (*roushen* 肉身). These pagodas thus became longer living materials to allow later generations to witness the development of the monastery as opposed to reading the monastery's legendary history on paper.

The pagoda of Huili, however, still based on the gazetteer records, was listed as a "Tang Pagoda" that collapsed in 1587 due to heavy rain, almost a century before the first gazetteer was published. People back in the days discovered a stele under this pagoda stating that it was erected in 975, shortly after the Song dynasty was established and Lin'an was still Wuyue kingdom's domain. It seems that the editors misdated the construction date in the Tang dynasty.[242] In 1590, Yi'an Rutong restored the pagoda and asked local literatus Yu Chunxi 虞淳熙 (1553-1621) to compose a commemoration article for the completion of the

[240] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 2/15a/105. On relics, please see John Kieschnick (2003).

[241] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 2/15a/105. Also see James Benn, *Burning for the Buddha: Self-immolation in Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), especially chapter 4 on Yongming Yanshou extended discussion on self-immolation, pp. 104-131.

[242] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 2/15a-15b/105-106.

pagoda, titled as the epitaph (*taming* 塔銘) of Master Huili.[243] Yu's writing, not surprisingly, does not provide any additional information other than the legends of Huili and dates related to his pagoda. The details seen in the entry of Huili's pagoda simply excerpted key dates from Yu's account. Therefore, the editors record this information to present the monastery's effort of reconstructing its past through rebuilding the pagoda and providing a brief narrative of its founder.

In the *Monastic Gazetteer of Wulin* entry on Lingyin monastery, Wu Zhijing did not mention any information on pagodas. Wu only mentioned that Huili constructed the *shanmen* 山門 (mountain gate), and "it is said" (*xiangchuan* 相傳) that Ge Hong 葛洪 or Song Zhiwen 宋之問 (c. 656-712) wrote the calligraphy for the plaque at the gate. Wu, however, was sure and clearly pointed out that there were four stone-made pagodas and all of them were established during the Wuyue period. The earliest date that Wu Zhijing mentioned was 1007 (fourth year of the Jingde reign; 1004-1007), when the monastery changed its name into Jingde Lingyin Chansi 景德靈隱禪寺, and monk Cizhao 慈照 reconstructed the Juehuang hall 覺皇殿 in 1308, which was burnt down in the Zhizheng 至正 period (c. 1341-1367) during the late Yuan.[244] The monastery's title was officially changed into Lingyin after its restoration in the early Ming period. Following this information, Wu Zhijing provided an abstract description of some major events that happened to the Lingyin monastery throughout the Ming, and continued with a series of authors and poems related to the monastery.[245] The earliest poem that Wu listed was also made by Song Zhiwen. Compared

[243] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 6b/29a-30a/387-389.

[244] *Wulin fanzhi*, 5/29a/108.

[245] *Wulin fanzhi* 5/29b-31a/108-109.

with the gazetteer records that might have adapted more legends and spurious myths to fill in the long gap in history, Wu provides a personal firsthand overview of the monastery by pointing out clearer dates of the constructions and listing the notable poems, Lingyin monastery's credible history can be dated back to the tenth century.

When turning back to the gazetteer records, the earliest existing pagoda of Lingyin monastery is perhaps Shenni 神尼 pagoda, built for bhikṣuṇī Zhita 智他 in 602 located at the pinnacle of Feilai Peak.[246] Her story of being asked to nourish the future Emperor Wen 文帝 (541-604; r. 581-604)—the founder of the Sui Dynasty—when he was an infant, ultimately caused him to build Buddhist pagodas everywhere. Emperor Wen even bhikṣuṇī's relic in a box to a numinous mountain (lingshan 靈山) and construct a pagoda. However, the gazetteer editors still moved the description of Huili's pagoda in front of the one for Zhita perhaps due to the prominence and importance of the individual in the monastery's history rather than respecting the bhikṣuṇī's relationship with the emperor. The other Zhenguan Pagoda is dedicated to monk Lingguan 嶺觀, a Sui dynasty Vinaya master who has no biography in the fascicle on patriarchs and abbots. The gazetteer's editors stated that the pagoda has long collapsed and was not restored until monk Ciyun 慈雲 invited literatus Wang Qinruo 王欽若 (962-1025) to organize it. When Ciyun passed away, it is said that a giant comet landed on the ground near the monastery. Thus, the clergy decided to establish Ciyun's pagoda on that spot.[247]

[246] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 2/15b-16a/106-107.

[247] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 2/17a-17b/109-110.

To the gazetteer editors, there is apparently a clear standard for Ciyun's dharma name is Zunshi 遵式 (964-1032) and he also established a hut in the Eastern Hills (Dongling 東嶺). In the entry on this residence, the editors mentioned that Ciyun was not included in the "Sangha" of Lingyin monastery because "[The fascicle on] the Sangha only records Lingyin monks. Although Ciyun's account is noble,the rules does not allow him to be listed" 僧伽止載靈隱僧, 慈雲行雖高, 例不得列.[248] It seems that even though Ciyun Zunshi's residence was nearby Lingyin monastery, he never established a solid official connection with the monastery, making him a dharma partner (*falu* 法侶) yet neither patriarch or abbot; a further explanation is that Ciyun received the Tiantai 天台 and Jingtu 淨土 (Pure Land) teachings rather than Chan, which makes him disciplinary-wise distant from the monastery. As for his residence (perhaps also the pagoda), however, the editors made another statement: "The two monasteries were originally divided from one, so how can we not list [the ruins]?" 所謂兩寺原從一寺分, 安可以不列也.[249] Thus, the places must be recorded because they were originally under one monastery's name; as for the individuals, unless they were ever officially tied with Lingyin, otherwise even if the person is as prominent as Ciyun, they ought to be included in a separate monastic gazetteer.[250]

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[248] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 2/23a/121.

[249] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 2/23a/121.

[250] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 2/23a/121. More on Ciyun Zunshi, see Daniel B. Stevenson, "Protocols of Power: Tz'u-yun Tsun-shih (964-1032) and T'ien-t'ai Lay Buddhist Ritual in the Sung," in Peter N. Gregory and Daniel A. Getz, Jr. eds. *Buddhism in the Sung* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), pp. 340-408.

Pagodas that the monastic gazetteer recorded were not solely dedicated to specific monks. For instance, erected in mid-Tianbao 天寶 (742-756) period of the Tang, the Beigaofeng Pagoda 北高峰塔 was said to have stored the Buddha's relics and was destroyed during the Huichang 會昌 persecution (840-845).[251] This pagoda was rebuilt multiple times by the Qian family of Wuyue Kingdom and later by monks. At the time when the gazetteer was published, the pagoda had just collapsed again nearly two decades ago in 1652.

The editors were especially detailed regarding the pagodas before the fall of the Northern Song dynasty. One possible explanation is that there are relatively lesser materials such as the epitaph text to support the detailed construction and historical meaning of these pre-Song pagodas. Thus, the editors felt obligated to provide more information than simply listing them as they did most post-Song pagoda entries. When the editors went on to introduce the pagodas starting from Southern Song period, in some cases, they mentioned where the pagoda was located, and whether the "big man"—Jude Hongli—of the monastery in the early Qing ever led the restoration of any specific collapsed pagoda. For example, under Jude Hongli's supervision, the monastery restored Pagoda of Yong'an Chan Master, a place where the notable monk Qisong dwelt after retirement. In addition, the gazetteer also included records of Pagoda of Shigu Chan Master, which is nearby Yong'an Hall, and the newly built Pagoda for Yueyong, a novice monk who traveled by foot in pursuit for "unsurpassed teaching" (*wushangyi* 無上義) and passed away shortly after his journey.[252] Monk Yueyong's case shows that the pagodas are not only built for patriarchs or abbots but also built for respectable individuals.

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[251] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 2/16b/108.

[252] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 2/19a/113.

These post-Northern Song pagodas were mainly dedicated to specific monks and there is no designated area in which these pagodas are established; they could be up at the peak of a mountain, the mountain side, inside a monastic hall, or by a creek near the monastery. The reason for these arrangements remains unclear. A potential answer to this phenomena, in addition to how the monastery arranged for Ciyun's pagoda, is that the selection might be based on the person's specific affiliation, such as whether they were trained as a Vinaya or Chan monk, or based on which place the monk was related to most during their lifetime, such as a specific hut (*an* 菴) or household (*hu* 戶) within or nearby the monastic compound.

In addition to monastic related pagodas, the Lingyin monastic gazetteers also listed "historic monuments" (*guji* 古蹟) in which other man-made structures are included.[253] Among all the monuments listed, only two stone pagodas are predicted as pre-Tang constructions. There are two stone-made pagodas built on the plaza of the monastery, both five to seven *zhang* 丈, both of which have a stone plaque stated as "Guangji Pu'en of Wuxing's True Body Treasure Pagoda" 吳興廣濟普恩真身寶塔, which indicates that these two pagodas stored the whole body relic of a monk named Pu'en (d.u.).[254] One aspect that the editors seem to regret is that "no year, date and months are noted" 無年代日月 but the only thing they can admit is that "The only old object in the mountain kept from the past is this pagoda"山中舊物所存, 唯此其塔 which means that everything else in the monastery's mountains is recently built. There is a dharani carved on both pagodas which also states that

[253] See Appendix.

[254] *Lingyin sizhi* 2/19b/114.

"dharani is the secret of the *Tripiṭaka*, and where the dharmakaya of the Buddha resides" 陀羅尼乃三藏之祕密, 佛之真身所在.[255] The text furthermore states that "the Buddhist pagoda includes the born-body, crushed-body, and the whole-body…. This is the true-body of the tathāgata. By combining the three descriptions, then the meaning of the true-body will be obtained" 佛塔有生身、碎身、全身, ...此真身如來也. 合三說而真身之義得矣.[256] The editors, however, were fairly candid as these pagodas do not have a clear date. The only proof that the pagodas were pre-Tang constructions is that the Buddha statues are all Liang dynasty productions, therefore they must be post-Huili products by Six Dynasty monks, potentially around the Liang-Chen transition.[257] Other non-Buddhist constructions are mostly pavilions established by notable literatus and later became attractions to visitors. These constructions, of course, mark that the monastery not only a place where literati pilgrimage to. The records on these sites in the gazetteer present that the editors were aware of them, also treating the development of each site as part of the monastery's past that eventually enters its history.

Changing Focuses in the Lingyin Monastic Gazetteer Records

Understandably, if the succeeding monastic gazetteers follow this method of filtering individuals, it will result in occupying a considerable amount of content, which is apparently not the main goal for the clergy and editors. Gradually, precisely highlighting the notable visitors rather than being comprehensive or thorough became the priority for the gazetteer

[255] *Lingyin sizhi* 2/20a/115.

[256] *Lingyin sizhi* 2/20a/115.

[257] *Lingyin sizhi* 2/20a/115.

editors. Instead of exhaustively including every visitor, they developed a solution in the *Yunlinsi xuzhi*, which is to completely omit the fascicle on individuals and replace it with other aspects that previous monastic gazetteers have overlooked.

Eventually, the fascicle on the notable individuals nearly vanished and was replaced by "patrons" and "Chan patriarchs" 禪祖. Names of non-Buddhist individuals, instead, are mostly found in the section of "noting names" (*timing* 題名) in which visitors kept their own name on carved stones when they visited individually or in groups.[258] This method of marking one who has once visited the monastery can be dated back to the Tang but first appeared in Lingyin monastery's third monastic gazetteer. This revision shows that the editors of the monastic gazetteer eventually decide not to restate or recollect existing information already published in the past, rather, they include previously overlooked information. However, it is apparent that the compilers listed these records without establishing biographies for the individuals as it might outnumber other sections in the monastic gazetteer. This arrangement is not uncommon in the gazetteer literature, and certainly does not entail that these visitors are not as important as before; it simply implies the number of visitors outnumbered what the monastery can manage, and the monastic gazetteer has turned its focus to actively responding to the emperors—its main visitor and patron—rather than endlessly including records related to countless visitors. The result of the publication represents a negotiation and selection process from which the notable visitors and selection process from which the notable visitors known to more readers are included.

[258] *Yunlinsi xuzhi*, 7/395–476.

In the recent two monastic gazetteers of the Lingyin monastery, the boundaries between patrons and common people blurred as the monastery wanted to keep the monastery's role seem neutral. The term "individual" becomes a neutral arrangement. Thus, the rearrangement of where these "individuals" ought to belong becomes a set of historiographical questions: to keep, or not to keep; to rearrange, or to rename. The constant support from the court and the attempt of including more details related to the monastery became the compiler's major concern. In the recent two monastic gazetteers, though the monastery seems to be following a historiographical approach and maintaining an unusual historical tradition of gazetteer compilation, they still made minor adjustments in order to make the monastic gazetteer seem less religious.

Monk Juzan 巨贊 (1908–1984) served as the abbot of Lingyin monastery when he wrote a "little gazetteer" of Lingyin monastery in 1947, and again when he recompiled an updated version in 1982. Between the two editions, China underwent a turbulent age through the 1950s to 70s, with religion being persecuted. Both Buddhist clergy and the religious sites suffered attacks under a series of political movements, especially the "Destroy the Four Olds" (Ch. 破四舊) campaign which happened during the early Cultural Revolution in 1966. However, Lingyin monastery did not suffer as much as it did under the Taiping Rebellion, also called Hong (Xiuquan) Yang (Xiuqing) movement.[259] In the 1982 edition of the gazetteer, Juzan repeatedly mentions and extends gratitude to the secret protection provided by Premier Zhou Enlai, who protected Lingyin monastery from being destroyed during multiple visits by the marauding Red Guards.[260] Therefore, in this sense,

[259] *Lingyin xinzhi*, 1/3a–3b; Leng Xiao, *Hangzhou Fojiao shi* (Hangzhou: Hangzhou shi Fojiao xiehui, 1993), 170.

[260] *Lingyin xiaozhi*, 1982 preface; pp. 16–7.

Lingyin is considered a special case in modern Chinese history, as it maintains an obscure relationship with the political center, but from which the connection is strong enough to maintain the monastery's position. Juzan's two editions of the "little gazetteer" marks the change of Lingyin monastery's destiny between these 35 years. One of the major changes between the two versions is that Juzan changed the language of the book from classical Chinese into colloquial (*baihua*) dailect

As for notable individuals related to Lingyin monastery, in the preface written for the 1947 edition, Juzan pointed out one can somewhat discover "Mojie's painting, Yuanliang's poetry, Tuizhi's *wen*, and Zizhan's *ci*" 摩詰之畫, 元亮之詩, 退之之文, 子瞻之詞 when visiting Lingyin. This entails that Lingyin consists of all the highest literary achievements, including Wang Wei 王維 (699–761), Tao Qian 陶潛 (365–427), Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824), and Su Shi's 蘇軾 work all in one place that visitors will not want to miss when visiting the monastery; Juzan added.[261] In the 1982 edition, Juzan openly admits that this new edition is rewritten to be a "tour guide manual" (daoyou zhiyong 導遊之用); therefore, making the content and its description more appealing to a wider audience who are also potential visitors/tourists to the monastery.[262]

As for works related to famous individuals, Juzan developed his own criteria and made a selection called "brilliant artistic works retrieved" 藝文擷英, only those works by

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[261] *Lingyin xiaozhi*, 1946 preface.

[262] *Lingyin xiaozhi*, 1982 preface. When Master Sheng Yen 聖嚴 (1930–2009) visited Lingyin monastery in 1993, he asked the monastery if they had compiled a new monastic gazetteer. Surprisingly Juzan's gazetteer was not considered as one. The most recent one was eventually published in 2003. Nine individuals who can be earliest dated back in mid–Qing are included in this edition.

outstanding individuals were selected and compiled in Juzan's gazetteer. Nearly all of the included individuals are fairly famous such that know them. Among the 21 works that Juzan included, 8 were made during the Tang, 4 were made during the Song, 1 was made in the Yuan, 4 made in the Ming, and 3 made in the Qing.[263] Juzan also came up with balancing the number between Buddhist monks and non–Buddhist individuals. Furthermore, this arrangement also shows that Juzan is more interested in inviting the readers to the monastery during the Tang–Song periods by listing more works by poets active during that time. As the monastery's name Lingyin came from the Tang official Luo Binwang, one of his poems is inevitably seen in this collection even though his actual presence remains dubious.[264] Currently Luo's biography seen in the Lingyin monastic gazetteer only provides indirect evidence that one monk was "likely" him, but there is no further proof other than poems.

Juzan also renamed the gazetteer's title back into Lingyin instead of keeping the Qing period monastery's title Yunlin. This arrangement is to differentiate the alteration between Lingyin monastery in the Qing and under the Republican period. One other reason is that even though Lingyin has been renamed Yunlin—even a monastic gazetteer followed this title—Lingyin is still more widely known than its other granted names. It was at this time that Lingyin monastery restored from the Qing period to a new reign by embracing its previous yet more notable monastic title.

Individuals visited prestigious monasteries for multiple reasons, including leisure site-seeing, study, or simply following a previous individual's track in order to show patronage to

[263] *Lingyin xiaozhi*, 27–32.

[264] For Luo Binwang stories, see *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 5/267.

the past. Some of these individuals left tracks for tracing their routes, while others are said to have visited but do not have solid proof to support their presence. The Lingyin monastic gazetteers present a series of entries preserving, creating and expanding the history of the monastery's glorious past. If only considering the non-Buddhist individuals, more and more information was revealed in the subsequent gazetteers, including biographies of specific individuals, or just poems related to Lingyin monastery. These individuals and their records are added into the history of the monastery, even though not all records are fully credible, but authenticity is often not the major concern of the monastery and its monastic gazetteers; keeping the records itself, or making the readers understand that the monastery is aware of this information is a more crucial task for the monastery. The second and third Lingyin monastic gazetteer shows this tendency of including and adjusting the first gazetteer to maintain the tradition of compiling its story. The post-Qing monastic gazetteers adapted a more colloquial way of writing under the influence of the *baihua* movement, saving content for the more notable individuals rather than being thorough or complete regarding all the details.

These arrangements in each monastic gazetteer, surprisingly, do not repeat as much information already recorded in the previous gazetteers, but rather reflect the compiler's effort to unearth more or include overlooked materials in the past. The Lingyin monastic gazetteers especially present the change of Buddhist historiography based on what raw materials the monastic gazetteer's compilers have in hand, and what they eventually decided to include. Even though the monastery seems to be also proud to have once hosted these non-Buddhist visitors, the updated monastic gazetteers mainly included new information as readers interested in the past can go read the previous monastic gazetteers.

Another further interpretation is that as the second and third Lingyin monastic gazetteers were both compiled after a major restoration and renovation. This made the compilers consider that as the monastic buildings are new, to feature the outcome of these constructions, the narrative of these information also must be updated in order to present the development over the years have contributed to what the monastery has become right now. Even though the structure of Lingyin monastery's first three monastic gazetteers do not vary as much, the compilers of the sequels still argue that the version they are working on does have some difference to the previous one which makes them worth reading. In this sense, we can also assume that Juzan was quite candid in his prefaces written in 1946 and 1982, saying that he intends to turn the monastery into a tourist-oriented site and therefore the records provided in previous Lingyin monastic gazetteers will be overwhelming for interested readers, including those who may have visited the monastery, or those who would also become potential visitors.

Though not like the sequels, Juzan openly admitted that he sorted out information for the purpose of promoting Lingyin monastery as a tourist site; by reading his shorter gazetteer on the monastery will at least satisfy the basic expectation of one visitor coming to Lingyin monastery. Since space—or budget—is limited, Juzan left out much information compared with previous gazetteers, even compared to his first version. For example, Juzan's list of individual's selection offers an ideal list of visitors to trace back to Lingyin monastery's past. Comparing with the 1947 version, the 1982 version of *Lingyin xiaozhi* chapter on "brilliant artistic works retrieved" also shrank nearly by half from 39 into 21. The advantage of reading Juzan's versions will allow readers to figure out what information is more crucial to Juzan as an abbot of Lingyin monastery during the Republican government's last days in Hangzhou, and later shortly after the PRC started its economic reform in 1978. Instead of

being as detailed or as discreet as previous compilers, Juzan's concern was rather secular. Most of the information in the 1982 version gazetteer reads like reminders of what the readers might have heard in the past about the monastery but needed a more solid reference. Both Juzan's gazetteers were timely for the readers who wanted a quick grasp of understanding a notable monastery, not to mention the abbot is the one giving the credibility of the provided information, making the gazetteer more reliable.

In addition to how poems made by famous poets over time mark the prominent history of the monastery, looking into the total numbers of poems and calculating when they were composed, and tracking the poet who composed them might present how the editors of the monastic gazetteers weigh the importance of poems over time. This arrangement not only will manifest the role of poems in the monastery's historical narrative, but also will show how the poets were selected and conversely omitted.

When we look at the background of the poets who have had their composed poems included in the gazetteers, each version of the gazetteer has several features that are worth mentioning. Based on the arrangement of the fascicles on poems in the Qing period monastic gazetteers, the format of the poems—five or seven character octonary or verse—seems to matter more than the author's fame. The earliest gazetteer had the most organized layout among all, with the format coming first and listing the poets' active date proceeding the order. The second monastic gazetteer was a mixture of authors—including different active dates, scholar officials, emperors, and monks, with no clear agenda. Apparently the goal of this version was to include anything that the editors received from the monastic members and compile them in the order they received the information. The main contribution of the second monastic gazetteer fascicle on poems is, perhaps, that it includes the most poems among all the Lingyin monastic gazetteers. This reveals that the monastery

members were trying to provide the readers of this sequence the monastery's history through poems composed over the years between the first and second gazetteers.

In the first Lingyin monastic gazetteer, the *Wulin Linying sizhi*, there are roughly 194 poems included and the whole fascicle takes up around 18% of the whole gazetteer. There are around 37 poems made by monks included in the fascicle, half of which were composed by Huishan Jiexian, the abbot of Lingyin during that time.

The second Lingyin monastic gazetteer, the *Zengxiu Yunlin sizhi*, includes the most poems among all the extant monastic gazetteers which contributes to nearly one-third of the whole gazetteer, around 226 poems. Nevertheless, only roughly 10% of all the poems were composed by monks. These monks were mostly previous abbots of the Lingyin monastery, however, few of them were abbots during the Qing dynasty, but rather during the Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties, such as Ciyun Zunshi (964–1032), Juefan Huihong (1071–1128), Beijian Jujian (1162–1246), and Jianxin Laifu (c. 1319–1390), just to name a few. All of these monks are either famous for their contribution to Buddhology or simply notable for their ability to compose poems. This arrangement reflects that the monastic gazetteer editors were working on collecting and compiling more literary works from the past into the updated gazetteer and as a result lesser poems by Qing monks or visitors to the monastery were included. This organization of the gazetteer reflects the fact that the publication was fairly new compared with the first monastic gazetteer just published decades ago, therefore not as many Qing period works gained remarkable historical value to become assets to serve as cultural capital to promote the monastery.

Published slightly in 1829, over two decades before the foundation of Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, the portion of the fascicle on poems dropped dramatically down to 10% of the whole *Yunlinsi xuzhi* monastic gazetteer, with only around 50 poems included.

Roughly more than a quarter of them were composed by Jutao Yiguo, an abbot in the past who was extolled as the most important figure in the gazetteer by Jianneng Yiqian 見能儀謙 (b. 1775-?), the incumbent abbot during when the gazetteer was completed. When comparing with the previous two monastic gazetteer, it is apparent the editors renounced the idea of including more poems in the gazetteer as the number of poems would not contribute to the prominence of the monastery as they did before or simply because the significance of poems as well as their authors were undermined in this version.

When monk Juzan became editor for an updated gazetteer for the monastery, he included even fewer poems—down to only 34 works, and only 7 of them were made by monks. These works can be regarded as the essence of literary works in Lingyin's history based on Juzan's criteria. Nonetheless, Juzan managed to develop a separate fascicle to include 24 poems made by Quefei 卻非 (1873–1948), the abbot who just passed away before the gazetteer was completed, and 27 other poems by Juzan himself. This effort of compiling poems contributes to the Lingyin monastery's contemporary history and serves as the most effective method to commemorate Quefei's contribution to the monastery. On the one hand, it illuminates Quefei's previously overlooked literary works; on the other hand, printing fewer, yet meaningful poems serves the purpose of the monastic gazetteer being succinct as well as efficient.[265]

The publication of Juzan's updated gazetteer drew attention to the public; numerous Buddhist periodicals including *Haichaoyin* 海潮音 monthly posted updates regarding this new book on the prominent monastery, saying that it "not only serves tourism but also embodies the purpose of promoting the dharma." This supports Juzan's intention of making the

[265] On Quefei, see *Lingyin xinzhi* 2/8a-8b.

gazetteer more accessible to a general audience while also trying to maintain the religious tradition of a monastic gazetteer. He at least kept a record of notable monks and their conducts in the past.

In light of the patrons who contributed to the monastery in its historical past, unsurprisingly, not too many records on women are seen in the Lingyin monastic gazetteers as most accounts on active individuals were on monks, emperors, magistrates, and literati—all of them men. Limited traces of women, however, do appear in the third or last monastic gazetteer during the Qing period but not too many details about their activities are revealed.

This is due to the nature of the materials that contain records of women. The majority of these women in the monastery's history were patrons of the monastery, and it is noteworthy that most of them were the leaders of a group of patrons that donated the monastery Buddhist mortuary pillars (*jingchuang* 經幢). Normally the inscriptions only provide surface information that the donor was in fact a female by specifying one as a woman (*nü* 女) or sometimes giving their names.[266] As for the other donors who contributed more to the establishment of the pillar and therefore have their names on the pillar, these records also mention whether they were women by using the same specification method; particularly seen in the pre-Tang period as women were those who more often bear the responsibility of funding-raising for producing religious monuments to the monasteries.

[266] See, for examples, in the *Yunlin si xuzhi*, one woman last named Su was included in 7/11b/416, three women cases are included in 7/13b/420, one case was included in 7/14a/421, another case was in 7/14b/422, three cases related to women are included in 7/16a/425, and one case in 7/19a/431. Nearly all of these cases were in the pre-Song period, and traces of women are rarely seen in later records.

It is certain that establishing mortuary pillars and other stelle records on which names of female donors were engraved were not new practices. In Liu Shu-fen's study on mortuary pillars, she stated that Tang dynasty was the peak of erecting these pillars, and this practice continued until Ming and Qing periods.[267] Furthermore, it ought to be noted that both the amount and quality of the pillars in later time were not comparable to those in the Tang. [268] Though previously overlooked, the reason for including these pillar records into the gazetteer records were perhaps due to limited information provided in the descriptions carved on pillars eliminated more poems by visitors in the third gazetteer. The reason behind this arrangement was that adding more poems by visitors who came to the monastery and left poems during the High Qing period onwards would not effectively ornament the monastery's glorious history; however omitted materials editors added to the variety of records that show a hidden past of the monastery.

The gazetteer editors provided more information about the authors who were active in the pre-Song period and necessary information about the content of the Song period pillars. In the fascicle that includes these *timing* records, a wide range of forms on which the *timing* information engraved were included, including writings on a cliff, a Buddhist statue, a pillar, or a building such as a pavilion. Mostly patron names and Buddhist scriptures, many of these records do have years when they were established while most of them have an unknown date. Those with dates are listed chronologically, and those that are dated pre-Song received more attention, evidenced by the *timing* records themselves. This, again, supports the tendency that the more ancient the records are, the more effort the editors attempt to

[267] Liu Shufen, *Miezui yu duwang: Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jingchuang zhi yanjiu* (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chuban She2008), 1.

[268] Liu Shufen, *Miezui yu duwang*, 1.

keep the readers of the gazetteer informed about them. Keeping these records became the new focus of editors as many of them present an untold story from the past. Unlike Liu Shufen's analysis, instead, Lingyin monastic pillar records reached their peak of quantity during the Sung and dropped dramatically in the Yuan, and no more pillars during the Ming and Qing periods were listed. This, of course, does not indicate that there is no extant *timing* during this time period. Rather, it presents another example of editorial purpose of utilizing limited space to only include representable records that could fulfill the endeavor to compile overlooked materials in the past but not in an exhaustive fashion.

The editor stated that one of the *timing*s included in this fascicle was from the *Xihu zhi* (West Lake Gazetteer), compiled in the Yongzheng period. The editors used information in the West Lake Gazetteer and mentioned that two of these scripture pagodas (*jingta* 經塔) were moved to Fengxian temple. The temple's location could no longer be identified, but it is possible that the pillars should have been located adjacent to the west side of the West Lake as another writing stated such information. This entails that these stele records could be removed from its original location and relocated to a possibly irrelevant place and were eventually forgotten. This often happens when the monastery is abolished or combined with another one.

From the records kept in the fascicle on *timing*, there was a peak of establishing a series of *zaoxiang* 造像 (making statues) where *timing* are engraved and donated to Lingyin monastery during the Xianping period (998–1003) of Emperor Zhen of Northern Song, especially in its third and fourth year.[269] This phenomenon provides a side note to the development during that time; Emperor Zhen abolished tax from the past through which

[269] *Yunlinsi xuzhi*, 7/12a-13b/417-420.

the masses were allowed to give their surplus property as donations to monasteries in forms such as steles and pillars to accumulate good merit for themselves. As Lingyin monastery is a major monastery in the wealthy Hangzhou area, it unsurprisingly became a hub for these donations. However, due to lesser prominence of its donors, these materials were often overlooked materials in the monastery's history. The donation movement during this time period must have been a popular practice yet records on them heavily rely on whether the local or monastic gazetteer editors decided to include them in the publication.

Conclusion

Based on the several monastic gazetteers of Lingyin monastery, the group of notable visitors was constantly growing. As the selection filter developed over time, the list became larger and more specific in each of the following monastic gazetteers, which is also supported by solid literary evidence. However, the criteria became so specific that the compilers found it difficult and to some extent, unnecessary to come up with a complete but not superfluous list of individuals; therefore, in the third gazetteer compiled in 1829, the gazetteer replaced the fascicle with another method of considering another overlooked material that can reflect the monastery's genuine past: deciphering epitaph records that date from the Sui and Tang dynasties to present patrons' activities rather than over–focusing on selecting notable individuals from the excessive records of poems made by countless visitors.

In the 20th century, abbot Juzan came up with a compromise method, selecting several notable literary works written by famous literati or monks to present how these renowned visitors or monastic members described the monastery's famous sites in the past. Juzan further shortened this list in his second version and turned the gazetteer into a tour guide aimed for wider visitors' usage. From the development of gazetteer compiler's

selection criteria presented in the arrangement of content and style, the importance of individuals might not be "creation" as the *Siku* commission argued, but rather in a secondary position when compared to the presence of the emperor and the quest for materials that are more ancient. As Lingyin monastery gained more fame especially after the Tang dynasty, the gazetteer editors wanted to highlight the poems composed during that time. Thus, Ming and Qing visitors and their traces became secondary concerns when updating the gazetteer. The Taoguang story and ongoing "returning" or "continuing" poems over the years eventually reach their peak in the 19th century, and also developed into stories "remembering" how poets and their poems were made in the Tang. Both the emperor and literati joined this movement of tribute to the past, and the consecutive gazetteers actively recorded this trajectory. Mentioning this history of remembrance also points out the historiographical perspective that the compilers took, and how the more recent individuals' literary works served the purpose of aggrandizing the monastery's glorious past. The Lingyin monastic gazetteers present the strategy as well as the result of this perspective through applying a wide range of materials, utilizing recent visitors' records to echo the long literary tradition retained in a monastery's history.

Chapter Five

The Monastery as Chinese Buddhism's Future

When Venerable Shengyen 聖嚴 (1930–2009) visited China in April 1993, he especially focused on his trip to Hangzhou, and unsurprisingly wrote extensively on Lingyin monastery. In his travelogue later published in 1999, Shengyen mentioned that Lingyin during that time did not have an abbot but instead a *jianyuan* 監院 (interim supervisor) named Jiyun 繼雲 (1923–2015), who welcomed him during his visit. As a trained scholarly monk, Shengyen asked Jiyun if there is a more updated monastic gazetteer for Lingyin. Jiyun's response was "not yet," and as alternative, he gave Shengyen three books: *Hangzhou Fojiao shi* (A History of Hangzhou Buddhism) by Leng Xiao, *Lingyin yihua* (Jottings on Lingyin) by Teng Jianming and Yang Jianfei, and of course, Juzan's *Lingyin xiaozhi* (following the order Shengyen wrote).[270] Apparently Shengyen was planning to write on his journey to Chinese Buddhist places with the support of credible sources, preferably primary sources published or recognized by the monastery. He briefly evaluated these sources and observed: Leng's book was "informative yet disorganized"; Teng and Yang's book can be divided into two parts: the monastery's history and legends of pre- and post- 1949; based on previous monastic gazetteers and records, Juzan's account is overall "simple yet credible." Even though he was not entirely satisfied, these materials were already enough for Shengyen to complete his writing on the monastery's history. Interestingly, the three Lingyin monastic gazetteers compiled during the Qing period have been omitted when Shengyen was writing his account. The reason might be that he relied on the evaluation of the Qing period-

[270] Shengyen Fashi, *Bubu Lianhua* (Taipei: Fagu Wenhua, 1999), 200.

monastic gazetteers provided by these three recent works and he was rather focusing on recent development of the monastery.

Based on Shengyen's account, this chapter unpacks these post-Qing writings on Lingyin monastery and juxtaposes the style and content from the past with these more recently published commemoration writings, especially focusing on how concerns seen in Juzan's two accounts differ from previous writings on the monastery's history. The Lingyin monastery as seen through clergy's lens *de facto* embodies the revival of not only the monastery or lineage itself but also Chinese Buddhism as a whole when encountering new challenges such as the dynamic political atmosphere and in response to the question of religious modernity.

Another historical aspect of Lingyin monastery that Shengyen focused on was that the monastery had an overlooked Vinaya tradition.[271] There is a notable tradition that modern Buddhist monks seek to revisit the life of master Hongyi (1880–1942), a monk who had made an extraordinary turn from a worldly successful artist to a monk who gave up his career, family, and subsequently revived the Vinaya tradition as well as established himself as a syncretism of various Buddhist traditions such as Vinaya and Lingyin's past and present, Shengyen mentioned he felt like participating in a dharma assembly when thinking of Hongyi's life. Shengyen's knowledge of Hongyi came from reading the chronology of him: Hongyi went forth and became a monk under master Wulao at Hangzhou's Hupao (Running Tiger) monastery, and officially received the *Bhikṣu* precepts at Lingyin monastery two months later in 1918. Shengyen mentioned that Hongyi emphasized that he "entered Mt. Lingyin to beg for the precepts" 入靈隱山乞戒. Daoxuan's three works related to the

[271] Shengyen Fashi, *Bubu Lianhua*, 213-214.

Dharmagupta-vinaya, Hongyi said that he started his pursuit of the tradition after receiving a collection of Vinaya precepts authored by monk Lingfeng (Ouyi Zhixu 藕益智旭, 1599–1655) and Baohua (Jianyue Duti 見月讀体, 1601–1679) from a Buddhist layman Ma Yifu. Ouyi Zhixu and Jianyue Duti—both notable Vinaya masters during the late Ming period—compiled or wrote on Buddhist precepts and their implications in the Chinese Buddhist context. Shengyen highlighted Hongyi's devotion to the Vinaya.[272]

Deeply touched by the beauty of the precepts, Hongyi thereby made a vow to devote himself to reviving the vinaya tradition. As Shengyen confirmed that he is now exactly at the monastery where Hongyi pursued his goals, "the experience and feelings rendered me speechless." Shengyen continues with mentioning that his views on the vinaya and precepts were inspired by Hongyi's works. Upasampadā (ordination of becoming a monk) was from the tradition that Jianyue Duti established; his academic foundation was based on Ouyi Zhixu's works. He also absorbed knowledge related to the Pure Land teaching from reading master Yinguang's (1862–1940) works. Thus, there are multiple ties that strengthened the relationship between Lingyin monastery and both of Shengyen's dharma and academic genealogies.[273]

Earlier Accounts of the Monastery's Reconstruction

As a monastery with a long history, Lingying monastery has undergone multiple reconstructions over time. Qing period Lingyin clergy decided to compile a new gazetteer for remembrance of each major construction. In most cases, the clergy invites literati or

[272] Shengyen Fashi, *Bubu Lianhua*, 213-214.

[273] Shengyen Fashi, *Bubu Lianhua*, 214.

scholar-officials to write commemorations in which the significance of these reconstructions are remarked, and sometimes future vision of the monastery. Though often sharing the exact same details such as dates and individuals while merely differing in style, these writings are often the most detailed account of the monastery's history. They were first carved on stones, carefully preserved, and eventually included in the gazetteers as content.

The earliest reconstruction commemoration extant of Lingyin monastery's collected in the first gazetteer was written by Wang Yipeng 王益朋 (1655 *jinshi*).[274] In this writing, Wang provides a detailed account on how the new halls are designed, how they are related, as well as the meaning of these arrangements. that the state's institutional design places the ancestral hall at the east and the god of the soil (*sheji* 社稷; indicating to the society) at the west while Buddhists sets the samghārama (*qielan* 伽藍) at the left (east) and the patriarch hall at the right (west). Wang explains that the prominence of Lingyin as a tourist attraction inevitably will attract noble guests, and they must have a place in case they plan to stay overnight. The reason for having this residential area as well as placing it at the west rather than the east was to separate the visitors from the samgha daily monastic lifestyle.

Finally, based on Jude Hongli's plan, every Lingyin monastic infrastructure is surrounded the Directly Pointing Hall (Ch. 直指堂), an also restored building which is bigger than its previous establishment. Wang explains that the other rebuilds and new constructs are like stars surrounding the Directly Pointing Hall. In short, Jude Hongli's plan of restoring Lingyin monastery started from building the Canon Hall and ended with the completion of the Directly Pointing Hall. A possible interpretation is that the Canon Hall must be built first as the Buddhist scriptures need to be preserved, and eventually the

[274] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi* 7/1a-3a/407-411.

practitioner must—"directly point to one's mind" in order to "See one's (Buddha-) nature and attain Buddhahood" (*zhizhi renxin, jianxing chengfo* 直指人心，見性成佛). The title of the final Directly Pointing Hall refers to the Four Sacred Verses of Bodhidharma. Directly Pointing Hall first appeared in 1173 when Emperor Xiao of Song granted the abbot Xiatang Huiyuan the "Seal of Directly Pointing," thus becoming the new name of the dharma hall. The final product of this design under Jude Hongli's supervision, based on Wang, was unprecedented in Hangzhou's Buddhist history as no other monastery among the other 360 monasteries in the city shared the same feature. Therefore, Wang praised delete Jude Hongli's plan was successful and deserves a commemoration noting the development and especially the layout of the monastery.

This finally resulted in the third gazetteer (1829) editors developing a whole subsection under the fascicle on "literary works" titled "reconstruction" in which five commemoration writings are included. They are all written by local non-Buddhists, even though the length and description inevitably varies; however, the content and focus of these commemorations are similar. This information includes the establishment of the monastery, its rise and decline over time, the arrival of Jude Hongli to the monastery in the dawn of the Qing dynasty, sponsorship from the emperor, and the generous amount of court endowment. Fire, as well as natural decay, were the main things that harmed monastic infrastructures. If the main hall of the monastery is damaged due to these unexpected disasters, then a major reconstruction will be necessary since without the main hall the monastery will not be able to function regularly. It is possible that the monastery provided information or even a prompt to these authors in order to make sure that the writings address the desired image of the monastery. During the Qing period, Lingyin Monastery

received direct financial support from the court and has reconstructed its main buildings multiple times thanks to this source of funding.

As the Qing state regime weakened after the mid-Qing period along with the breakout of the Taiping rebellion that raided Hangzhou in the 1850s, there was a decades-long blank period in Lingyin monastery's recorded history before the 1880s.[275] The only traceable record was monk Guantong 貫通 (d. 1908) who served as the abbot during the Tongzhi reign (1862-1874), and Xizheng who succeeded his position and constructed several buildings in the early 20th century.[276] Xue Shiyu (1818-1885; 1853 *jinshi*) was one of the leading officials who once governed Hangzhou and tried to revive Buddhism after the fall of the Taiping movement.[277] The new monastic gazetteer that abbot Juzan compiled in 1947 was an attempt to recollect the lost Qing–period history and, furthermore, provide a future prospect of the monastery taking the leading role of not only reconstructing the Buddhist monasteries in China but also revitalizing "the future of mankind" as a whole. This section, titled "future establishment" (*jianglai jianzhi* 將來建置) however, was deleted in the 1982 version monastic gazetteer as it was considered "unnecessary."

Juzan also planned to raise donations to turn Lingyin monastery into a publisher promoting Buddhism by printing a variety of publications related to Buddhism, philosophy,

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[275] Gregory Adam Scott's recent monograph uses Buddhist journals published in the Republican era and beyond to explore the reconstruction of Buddhist monasteries between the Taiping Rebellion and the Cultural Revolution (1860s and 1960s), see Grogory Adam Scott, *Building the Buddhist Revival: Reconstructing Monasteries in Modern China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

[276] *Lingyin xinzhi* 2/7b-8a.

[277] *Lingyin xinzhi* 4/2a.

or Chinese history and culture. This plan was, however, disrupted after the political transition in 1949.

The cover's calligraphy of the 1947 *Lingyin xiaozhi* was written by Shen Honglie 沈鴻烈(1882–1969). Born in Hubei, Shen received education from Japan's Imperial Japanese Naval Academy (Kaigun Heigakkō, 1866–1945) in Hiroshima. After returning to China, Shen became a navy general first under warlord Zhang Zuolin 張作霖 (1875–1928) and then his son Zhang Xueliang 張學良(1901–2003) who were the leading militia power of Manchuria. After Zhang Xueliang led his force to join KMT's Nationalist Government, Shen started to work directly under Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石 (1889–1975). Even though Shen was said to dislike Chiang, he was even more hostile to the Chinese Communist Party. After a successful official career of his time under Chang Xueliang as the Mayor of Qingdao (in Shandong) during the 1930s, Shen became the 8th Chairperson of the Provincial Government of Zhejiang province from March 1946 to June 1948. It was during this time when Juzan completed the compilation*Lingyin xiaozhi*. Shen could be considered a Buddhist layman as he once commented or gave speeches on Buddhism, and was praised since he "protected (Hangzhou) Buddhist temples" during the Sino-Japanese war.[278] It was thus also reasonable and honorable to have Shen, the leading provincial official, to write the cover calligraphy for the newly published monastic gazetteer. As Shen was related to the KMT, due to the political climate after 1949, understandably, Juzan removed this cover in the 1982 version to avoid further political issues.

[278] *Juequn zhoubao* 1/22/6, "Shen Honglie jiangjun baohu Fojiao miaoyu (Hangzhou)," in *Juequn Zhoubao* 〈沈鴻烈將軍保護佛教廟宇（杭州）〉，《覺群週報》,v. 1, no.22, p.6, 1946-12-09, *MFQ*, vol. 101, p. 346.

This chapter examines how the commemoration authors in the past, and Juzan during the Republican period elaborated on the concepts of "reconstruction" and the "future" of a monastery. It argues that as the style of commemoration writing shifted over time, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist writers drastically changed their rhetoric in order to justify their purpose under different circumstances. The significance of writing on the partial or complete reconstruction of the monastery is that it not only bridges non-Buddhists to Buddhism, representing the monastery's future, but also leads them to envision the future of mankind. This also echoes the fact that mankind is the force that will revive a monastery from decline. Although the "future" is uncertain, the commemorations by all means were treated as manifestos to confront unexpected outcomes and for auspicious means.

When comparing the group of writers who were invited to author the preface for the monastic gazetteers and those who contributed to the commemoration writing section, there is significant overlap. This fact entails that the monastic gazetteer was not only a co-edited publication of clergy and literati but also a "souvenir" of friendship between the two groups of people. As one of the main editors of the first gazetteer, Sun Zhi's works are also widely seen throughout the Lingyin monastic gazetteer. A prolific writer, Sun's time at Lingyin was cherishable and he developed a whole fascicle on "miscellaneous writing" in which all his works on the monastery were included.[279] People who wrote prefaces for the monastic gazetteer previously wrote works on the monastery and were also friends with the clergy. This means that in the case of Lingyin monastic gazetteer preface authors, they were not invited to contribute solely due to their reputation but instead due to their familiarity with the clergy and monastery; Zhi and abbot Huishan Jiexian, Yan Hang 嚴沆 (1617–1678) who

[279] Sun Zhi, *Sun Yutai ji* (*Siku jinhuishu congkan*) 30/111-115.

wrote a lengthy commemoration to celebrate the restoration of the monastery in the early Qing period, later he also wrote a preface for the publication of the gazetteer.

In this commemoration, Yan unsurprisingly pointed out that it was Jude Hongli who led the restoration of the monastery and things could not have worked out the same way without his leadership. Yan focused on Jude Hongli's superb records of reviving other monasteries before his arrival to Lingyin and pointed out that the Lingyin restoration was especially his masterpiece "delivered by (numinous) deities and granted by ghost spirits" 神輸而鬼授也.[280] The personal reason behind him writing this commemoration, Yan commented, was because his own connection with the monastery started with his father's constant visits to the monastery with other friends. They not only attended Jude Hongli's dharma preachings but also enjoyed the monastery's natural scenery. As most authors of these commemorations do, Yan humbly wrote that having his "rough article" (*wuwen* 蕪文) carved on a stele and receiving laughter from the mountain spirit (*shanling* 山靈) is not because of its quality but due to previous records including the famous Lu Yu's commemoration went lost and other records are not as detailed.

When Timothy Brook discussed the development of Buddhist monasteries from the Ming to the Qing, he focused on policies and regulations that restricted Buddhism and the monasteries, especially after the Hongwu period.[281] From the surface, the leniency towards Buddhism (and Daoism) dramatically tightened in the latter years of Hongwu. Normally,

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[280] *Wulin Lingyin sizhi*, 7/3b/412.

[281] Timothy Brook, *The Chinese State in Ming Society* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005); On Ming state and Buddhism, see Dewei Zhang, *Thriving in Crisis: Buddhism and Political Disruption in China, 1522–1620* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020).

each monastery will experience a major reconstruction after sixty to seventy years. Based on *Wulin Fanzhi*, there was a movement of restoring Buddhist monasteries during the Hongwu period. After several decades, the wooden structures of these monastic buildings gradually decayed and often collapsed. Some of them underwent reconstruction. Brook mentions that Ming Buddhism experienced an unprecedented persecution in 1391, following a series of executive orders and tightened regulations from which Buddhism was devastated more than any previous major persecution; smaller monasteries were required to merge with larger monasteries which were then turned into larger *conglin* (forest). Their original sites were turned in Confucian academies, and their land were either confiscated by the government or went under a larger monastery's domain. Timothy Brook also mentions that starting from the Ming, more and more local elites were involved in local Buddhist-related affairs. Local elites were eager to participate in monastic affairs such as rituals, compiling monastic gazetteers, and even donating to the monasteries individually or on their family's behalf.[282]

In general, if the commemoration was not written for a specific building but for the renovation of a monastery as a whole, it usually states the details of the monastic buildings, including when they were rebuilt, their function, and their relationship with other monastic buildings. Overall the commemorations highlight the major developments of the monastery and often include more detail and dates that would help the reader understand the main events of the monastery.

The editors of the second Lingyin monastic gazetteer categorized a wide variety of writings into the fascicle on *yiwen*, writings on art and literature, including commemorations,

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[282] Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China.* Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University and Harvard-Yenching Institute: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 1993.

prefaces, announcements, eulogies, and biographies. The reason for listing the commemoratiovewritings first is perhaps because their content is more related to the monastery's history, while the other writings are rather focused on specific literary activities or monastic individuals. By reading through the commemorations the readers will ideally first gain fundamental knowledge of the monastery's historical past before going on to reading accounts on specific individuals in the past. The earliest writing collected in the gazetteer related to reconstructing the monastery was written by Lou Di during the Southern Song period.[283]

Apparently related to the influential Lou family based in Siming (or Ningbo), there are not as many records on Lou Di 樓杕.[284] That being said, Lou Di's commemoration collected in the monastic gazetteer was also not on Lingyin but on Lingjiu monastery, a monastery located between the two mountains where Lingyin and Tianzhu monasteries reside. Lou's account on how Lingjiu monastery was revived provides important information on how close Lingjiu and Lingyin were, resulting in Lingyin eventually succeeding Lingjiu's legacy. One other interesting account is that during Lou Di's time, Lingyin's founder Huili's stupa was still extant, indicating that its disappearance occurred after the Song period. Lou Di's commemoration states that in 1237, monk Xingguo (d.u.) was selected to revive the Lingjiu monastery from its ruined condition. The monastery, also titled Xingsheng, lost all its

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[283] *Zengxiu Yunlin sizhi* 5/1a-2a/99-101.

[284] Most of the Lou family records and thereby studies are surrounding Lou Yue (1137-1213) who left a massive amount of materials in his collected writings. On Lou's writing on Buddhism, see: Linda Walton, "Kinship, Marriage, and Status in Song China: A Study of the Lou Lineage of Ningbo, c. 1050–1250," *Journal of Asian History*, 18:1 (1984), pp. 35-77; especially p. 58 and p. 65. Though Walton only mentioned Buddhism as one of Lou family member's religious activities with no further discussion.

buildings over time, and from unknown support Xingguo was able to gradually restore the monastery from rebuilding its gate, two side halls, to the main hall. Lou Di visited and appreciated the landscape, witnessing the whole process; therefore he felt he should leave a record. Lou Di traced Xingguo's dharma lineage and mentioned that Xingguo was Beifeng Zongyin's 北峰宗印 (1149-1214) disciple and the dharma-brother of Huiyan Fazhao 晦巖法照 (1185-1273), thus it is not surprising that he had the capability and training to restore the monastery under such conditions.[285] Largely highlighting the context of how commemoration writings are structured, Lou's writing provides several messages including the history of Lingyin and how it was related to its adjacent monasteries, and how a monk from a prominent lineage would arrive and then revive the monastery. These writings, mostly composed by literati, unsurprisingly reflect their personal reflection on the monastery's layout and history, and sometimes even extend to their understandings of Buddhist teachings.

For example, Lou Di was candid that his interest was clearly just the scenic landscape of the Lingjiu and Lingyin territories, and that the fact that Buddhists were focused in restoring the monastery. But Zhang Han in the late Ming period was more interested in depicting how monk Deming was able to restore the monastery from the ruined state caused by decay and pirates during the Jiajing period. Compared with Lou Di praising Xingguo's hard work, Zhang Han was especially impressed with monk Yi'an Rutong's (1523-1595) ability to ascend the dharma hall and preach the *Śūraṅgama* (*Shoulengyan jing*) and *Lotus Sutras*. The purpose behind these dharma talks was to raise donations for the monastery's upcoming reconstruction plan. Yi'an Rutong's talks successfully raised the funds for bricks, pillars, and

[285] *Zengxiu Yunlin sizhi* 5/1a-2a/99-101.

tiles that eventually rebuilt the monastic buildings. Within three years, the monastery was back into its previous state.

As Mark Halperin has stated in his study on commemorations written for Song monasteries, these writings served multiple functions, including doctrinal discussions and discussion on the temple as a "place." Halperin explicitly pointed out that Tang "lay writers were to praise and defend the dharma and then 'return' the space to the *sangha*"; compared to Tang writers, "Song commemoration writers 'circulated' and analogized the Buddhist temple and its residents with a variety of distinctly this-worldly objects."[286] As for most Qing commemoration writers for the Lingyin monastery, they tend to follow a format with similar content that serves a specific focus. The commemorations collected in different gazetteer versions cover records and significance of the reconstructions during a separate time period. The first monastic gazetteer selection of commemoration materials mainly denotes the contribution of Jude Hongli, and nearly all of the constructions were built during the Shunzhi reign of the Qing.

At Lingyin monastery, one can see that the gazetteers do not always mention detailed information about which building of the monastery was restored or established, but simply reiterate the glorious history of the monastery and the agreed-on list of patriarchs who contributed to the revival of the monastery. One commemoration that Chang An 常安 (1683–1748) wrote in 1744 or 1745 highlighted Lingyin's history and especially how the Qing emperors interacted with the abbots.[287] A Manchu official in his later years, Chang An was appointed as the Zhejiang Governor the year before Lingyin monastery's major

[286] Mark Halperin, *Out of the Cloister*, 235.

[287] *Zengxiu Yunlin xuzhi* 5/5a-7a/107-111.

reconstruction his grandfather Emperor Kangxi visiting the monastery, thus he exempted the monastery's land tax to allow monks to the state attempted to tax the monastery in the future. In addition, after becoming Lingyin's abbot in 1786, Daqian Chongzhao 大千重照 (1744-1807) requested tax exemption from the court [288] After being approved, the monastery established an epitaph for the record, and the text was also included in the third monastic gazetteer.

One earlier event worth highlighting is that when Wang Yinggeng 汪應庚 (1680–1742) visited Hangzhou and met abbot Jutao at Lingyin in 1740, they "clicked at their first meeting," thus helping to establish a vinaya platform and tonsured 639 bhikkhu and bhikkhunī.[289] This number is exceptional that in most cases only around a dozen could enjoy this opportunity in each ordination ceremony. Moreover, Wang and his son donated 20,000 taels and gradually helped the monastery rebuild nearly every building, including the Buddha hall; Jutao invited literati to write the commemoration. Chang An said that Jutao was the main person who conducted this restoration and he was asked to commemorate the completion of the plan.

Most authors who wrote commemorations for the reconstruction of the Lingyin monastery were less famous. They were often simply friends of the monastery who once studied at the libraries, or notable local elite or incumbent local officials who had fewer literary records on or related to them.

Perhaps one of the only exceptions was Sanbao 三寶 (Samboo, ca. 1718–1784). An active Manchu official during the Qianlong period, Sanbao was the Governor of Zhejiang

[288] *Lingyin xinzhi* 2/5b.

[289] *Zengxiu Yunlin xuzhi* 5/6a/109.

from 1773 to 1777. He was invited to write the commemoration for Lingyin monastery in 1777 after the monastery completed a major reconstruction. Unlike other local authors who vouched for the monastery's claim of its long and precise history, Sanbao was rather conservative regarding the establishment date of Lingyin. Instead, he was only confident to state that Buddhism came to China during Emperor Ming of the Han's reign, and thereafter, "Buddhist monasteries flourished in notable capitals...among the most significant spot is around West Lake of Qiantang, and Lingyin was the superior one in the various mountains around the West Lake." Apparently, Sanbao was aware that there was no solid evidence to support the claimed establishment date of the monastery, so he chose the most generic way to address the background of how Buddhism prospered in Hangzhou. He followed up by mentioning that "before the Five Seasons the rise and decline is undiscussable" implying that any history before the Five Dynasties (907–960) remains dubious.[290] However, Sanbao said that the Qian family of Wuyue Kingdom indeed revived the monastery after it went into ruin during the Tang. After Yongming Yanshou served as the abbot during the Wuyue period, the monastery's history in the Song became clearer with evidence supporting the dynamic

[290] See *Yunlinsi xuzhi* 2/2a/63. In addition to printed official records and religious publications, the main resource of reflecting religious movements before the Tang was information carved on stone, or as known as stele records. The reason behind this blank history of Lingyin was perhaps partially due to Cao Cao's (155-220) order of banning steles (*jinbei ling* 禁碑令) as he regards this activity both luxurious and extravagant. As a person who championed "simple burial" practice, Cao Cao ordered to avoid any postmortem activity that would generate major expense. Eastern Jin and the Southern Dynasties succeeded Cao's policy and therefore affected Buddhist community activities which resulted in scarce materials related to the monastery's development. For an overview on epitaph or stele records. See Qiu Jian-zhi, "Jin Bainian lai de muzhi qiyuan yu fazhan yanjiu zhi huigu," *Early and Medieval Chinese History* 3:2 (December 2011), 157–188; especially 176–177.

change of the monastery's landscape over time. This includes how the adjacent monasteries merged into one, and how Song Emperors visited the monastery and granted its most well-known nameSanbao especially named Ming abbots who expanded or revived the monastery, specifically monk Yi'an Rutong who preached sutras to the public in 1582 in order to raise donations for the reconstruction of the monastery that was destroyed due to a fire caused by lightning.

Fire, natural decay, and mismanagement, were some of the main reasons the monastery went into decline. The last reason is, however, often hidden away from the major narrative of the monastic history, as this involves criticizing specific individuals. In one stele written on the reconstruction of the monastery after 1828 by an unknown author who questioned: "I'm only pondering why this monastery deeply hidden in a wooded valley, away from the city and market, has frequently been destroyed by fire since the Song—does this have something to do with the clergy's carelessness, or there is [a matter of] fate existing within?"[291] Even though this observation was mentioned to lay out the arduous effort and contribution of the incumbent abbot, the relationship between human error and unwanted disaster happening to the monastery clearly once came across the author's mind.

As a non-Sinitic governor appointed by the court, like other authors of the commemorations written for the monastery, Sanbao again tirelessly writes on any Qing emperor activity related to the monastery, including Emperor Kangxi's and Qianlong's visit to the monastery, and how the court sponsored reconstruction or renovation of the monastery over time. Sanbao in the meantime was able to comment on the monastery from an outsider's view due to his distant cultural connection and his superior political position.

[291] *Yunlinsi xuzhi* 2/8a/75.

During his tenure as the Governor of Zhejiang, he was aware that Lingyin monastery underwent a renovation in 1728 based on Governor-general Li Wei's 李衛 (1688–1738) advisory. Later, in 1775, the clergy of Lingyin (titled Yunlin during that time) reported to Sanbao that the Buddha hall structure collapsed and submitted a request to Sanbao asking to apply the Li model to reconstruct the monastery. Sanbao consulted with Xu Shu 徐恕 (d. 1779; *jinshi* 1751) who previously served as the Provincial Administration Commissioner (Chengxuan Buzheng Shi Si 承宣布政使司 or Fan Si 藩司) of Zhejiang how to operate the reconstruction process. After the clergy proposed a budget, Sanbao followed the model and Xu's advice, and led the fundraising activity which resulted in receiving 7,400 *liang* for the reconstruction. Here Sanbao apparently was impressed as he noted that there was an "extraordinary monk" who raised another "thousand of gold," followed by the clergy masterfully arranged the money to reconstruct the court-endowed Buddha hall, Emperor Stele Pavilion, and other major monastic structures.

One commemoration mentioned that since the reconstruction expenses of Lingyin monastery during the Jiaqing period were beyond the budget plan, the committee in charge of the reconstruction struggled to raise more funding for the project. In addition to support from the court, the clergy also managed to bridge connections with salt merchants and officials who managed salt trade. The new solution was *fen* or 3% of each salt certificate (*yanyin* 鹽引) to restore the monastery.[292] Eventually the whole restoration construction cost 137,000 *liang* but the commemoration written by Liu Binshi 劉彬士 (1770–1838)

[292] More than one commemoration highlighted this funding that contributed to this major reconstruction: *Yunlinsi xuzhi* 2/5b/70; 2/7a/73; 2/12a/83.

underscored the whole process was fast and concrete, and therefore did not damage the "people's livelihood" as much. Furthermore the whole project established a sacred territory that help its visitors realize the Avataṃsaka dharma realm.[293] In addition, Zhu Jiayou 朱嘉猷 mentioned that this is perhaps because the monastery purchased the land adjacent owned by common people and rebuilt the main gate and walls burnt down in 1827. Therefore, on top of the main reconstruction of the monastic halls, along with the complete renovation of the monastery outskirt area, the monastery looks more complete and scenic without other previous non-monastic structures involved.

Liang Tian 梁田, who was in charge of this major reconstruction, also wrote a commemoration on how this whole project was carried out. Even though the content mostly overlapped with the other commemorations, Liang Tian did praise the whole collaboration process between the monastery and other forces including the court, government officials, and merchants, adding his own words to how grateful he was to witness the outcome.[294]

Other than keeping a record for readers thousands of years to come, Liang Tian also added important information especially to the monastery, which is noting the land, its number and area along Feilai Peak that the monastery purchased.[295] Even though these lands were not as large, this assured that the monastery's assets are officially secured and has actual printed evidence to support their future claims over these properties.

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[293] *Yunlinsi xuzhi* 2/8a/75.

[294] *Yunlinsi xuzhi* 2/14a/87.

[295] *Yunlinsi xuzhi* 2/14b/88.

Century-long Gap in Monastic History

After the publication of the third monastic gazetteer, the Lingyin monastery experienced a century without extensive records. Not too much information remained from the second half of the 19th century, and the monastery did not have extensive records of its history during the Republican era as well. After the fall of the Qing empire in 1911, the monastery lost its main financial supporter to fund their reconstructions and even compilation of monastic gazetteers. The main source of Buddhist monasteries' history is perhaps reading through the Buddhist periodicals published during that time. In the 1920s, like several other Buddhist societies such as Hongci Buddhist Academy, Lingyin monastery planned to start a Buddhist study association mainly training interested members to study Buddhist philology (*xiaoxue* 小學). The background and goal addressed in the "call for applications" of this study group was published in a main Buddhist journal *Haichaoyin* (Hai Ch'ao Yin Monthly), presenting how the program is designed and coursework that spans over three years.[296] Even though it is not mentioned, the article should have been drafted or sanctioned by the abbot Huiming who received "the request from both halls" and thereby established the group at the monastery. It seems that the both halls (*liangxu* 兩序) were the same household members in the monastery's history. They served as the board committee and still had power to grant permission to the administrator (abbot) to initiate the program. The applicants to this program eventually receive admission to the group, which was capped at 20 members. It is worth mentioning that the monastery's finances were able to support the program since, based on one of the entries, all textbooks including Buddhist scriptures were entirely free, and the members also received 1 *yuan* as stipend each month. The

[296] *Haichaoyin* v.5, n.1, 11-12; *MFQ* 158/175-176.

program article proposed at the end that the monastery only plans to gain official recognition after it proved to be operating efficiently. This suggests that the program was rather experimental, since the monastery planned to continue college-level education right after this three-year program.

However, currently there is no extensive information on whether this program was successful. A later call for applications *Haichaoyin* and *Shijie Fojiao jushilin linkan* (Magazine of the World Buddhist Lay Association) titled "General Regulations of the "Illuminate Teaching Academy" at West Lake's Lingyin Monastery" might expound the monastery's ambition of expanding the philology study group into a more established academic oriented program.[297] Named after the dharma name "Illuminate Teaching" of a past abbot, Qisong, the academy is a "reorganization" (*gaizu* 改組) of the previous study group, and the incoming class was expanded to 40 students. Compared with the previous study group regulation, the new academy's regulation is more concrete and the three-year program is a balance of the "this worldly" studies (*shijian xue* 世間學) and the Buddhist three teachings: precepts, meditation, and wisdom. Other than practicing meditation (*xiguan* 習觀) and reciting the Buddha's name (*nianfo* 念佛), the academy has developed a list of Buddhist scriptures as textbooks for each of the three teachings. On top of free textbooks and the 1 *yuan* stipend, each admitted student also received free accommodation at the monastery, but leaving the compound was strictly prohibited except prior notice. The recommender will be questioned if the student does not abide by the monastery's regulations. In short, based on the "General Regulation" description, the Illuminate Teaching Academy was closer to a Buddhist schooling style than the earlier proposed philology study group as the latter did not

[297] *Haichaoyin* v.5, n.10, 21-23; *MFQ* 160/335-337; and *Shijie Fojiao jushilin linkan* 7, 9-10; *MFQ* 7/9-10.

have as strict regulations. However, since there are no further announcements on the "general regulations" published in any future journals, the enrollment may not have met expectations. Certainly common in the Republican period, the proposal and call for application announcements are widely published in Buddhist periodicals but not too many programs persisted due to various reasons. Lingyin suffered unsuccessful attempts to revive Buddhist studies through establishing academic institutions.[298]

After Huiming's death in February 1930 and another major fire in 1936, which burnt down several buildings including the main hall of the monastery, Lingyin monastery went into the phase of raising donations to restore the monastery rather than expanding its educational sectors. In the narration written for the passing of Huiming, Taixu mentioned that after the Taiping rebellion, Lingyin struggled for decades to find an abbot to revive the monastery until the arrival of Huiming.[299] Starting from preaching the dharma at other places and farming at monastery adjacent landsLingyin's precious Feilai Peak property and eventually resecured the rights to this indispensable asset. This was a famous case of how modern Buddhist clergy fought for monastic property through lawsuits, presenting how the monastery strategically moved on from listing imperial granted steles on tax-exemption and developing Republican property laws to protect private assets.

[298] When looking up "general regulations" in the Republican period periodicals, nearly no "general regulations" by the same monastery recurred in following year issues, indicating that program enrollments might not be as promising.

[299] Taixu, "Lingyin Huiming Zhao heshang xingshu," *Haichaoyin* 11/5/1-2; *MFQ* 175/325-326.

Another highlight of Lingyin monastery was in 1931 when an American journalist "Qianghe" (Ch. 強和) made it to the Buddhist periodicals.[300] Rather than leaving any traces of his original name, the column solely focused on a "foreigner's" decision to become a Buddhist monk at the monastery. Even though more news featured this eye-catching event, none of them provided any further information regarding this foreign monk, and Juzan's monastic gazetteer simply left no information. The monastery had suffered quite a bit between the 1930s and 1940s and not only foreigners, but even regular monks were forced to flee to other places rather than remaining in Lingyin monastery, or even in Hangzhou.

Juzan's Vision of the Monastery's Future

Juzan's two versions of gazetteers marked Lingyin Monastery's development during the 20th century. Juzan was also in different positions between these two periods. He was striving to become a monk who would Taixu's humanistic Buddhism through the name of Lingyin monastery; later, he was turning Lingyin monastery into a Buddhist tourist attraction. Comparing the two versions reveals both Juzan and the monastery's situation during that time period and which information that Juzan felt was profound yet safe to convey. As Juzan served as a crucial individual to Lingyin monastery and modern Chinese Buddhism, shedding light on how Juzan strived to become a monk and his later relationship with the monastery will elucidate Lingyin monastery's development between these crucial

[300] Rui Hongchu, "Lingyinsi zhi Waiguo heshang" 靈隱寺之外國和尚, *Foxue Banyuekan* 16; or *MFQ* 47/150. A more famous case was when a British man who became a monk. See: "You yi Waiguoren zai Zhongguo wei seng" 又一外國人在中國為僧, *Haichaoyin* 12:9, 65-72; or *MFQ* 179/79-86.

times, which also embodies Chinese Buddhism in the transition from Republican to Post-Mao era.

Juzan before Juzan

A Jiangsu province native, Juzan was originally named Pan Chutong 潘楚桐. He studied at private school when he was young, later entered Jiangyin Normal School, planning to become a teacher. After graduating in 1927, he got into Daxia University 大夏大學 (The Great China University, closed in 1951) in Shanghai the same year, became an activist, and left the university and returned to his hometown and became a principal of an elementary school. In 1930, he was wanted by the Republican government and fled to Hangzhou as he led the schoolteachers on a strike. After hiding at a Buddhist monastery near West Lake for a while, in March 1931, he received Taixu's (1890–1947) recommendation and became Quefei's disciple at Lingyin monastery. Pan Chutong's first dharma name was Chuanjie Dinghui 傳戒定慧 but later changed into Juzan. Based on his own account, Juzan wanted to become a monk as early as 1927, but conditions were not ideal enough for him to proceed. After visiting Lingyin monastery and encountering Taixu, Taixu asked him to write a statement of purpose (on why he is going forth and becoming a monk).[301] Juzan admitted that at that time his knowledge of Buddhism was still limited and only gained some surface understanding through reading books of the Lingyin's library collections. His statement consists of four parts in which one section is on "reforming Buddhism." A Buddhist reformer himself, Taixu was impressed with Juzan's statement, provided positive feedback, and brought him to the Minnan Buddhist Academy 閩南佛學院 in Xiamen, Fujian. Juzan studied at the academy for a couple months and was forced to leave for Shanghai since the

[301] Zhu Zhe ed. *Juzan Quanji* (Beijing: Zongjiao Wenxian chubanshe, 2008), 3985.

Buddhist Academy was taken over by student activists, in addition to his father urging him to return home. This was how Juzan started to study at Daxia University.[302]

After becoming a monk at Lingyin monastery, Juzan later studied Buddhism in Hangzhou, Nanjing, Chongqing, and Xiamen. Starting from reading Yogacara scriptures, he received personal guidance in Nanjing China Neixue Academy 中國內學院 from Ouyang Jingwu 歐陽竟無 (1871–1943), and subsequently took a position at Sichuan Sino-Tibetan Doctrinal Academy to start teaching. It is said that within the following five to six years, Jczan read more than seven thousand fascicles of canonical scriptures, and expanded his knowledge on Sanlun (Madhyamaka), Tiantai, Chan, and Pure Land Buddhism. He took extensive notes on Buddhist scriptures and started publishing his interpretation in Juzan's endeavor was raised by notable Buddhist leaders such as Master Hongyi and scholars such as Xiong Shili 熊十力(1885–1968). In 1937, Juzan left China Neixue Academy and followed Taixu to teach at Xiamen's Minnan Buddhist academy. As the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out a couple months later in the same year, Juzan was forced to flee south to Guangdong and Hunan via Hong Kong, and on the way he promoted patriotism and fought against Japanese invasion. He had the opportunity to meet with Hunan local intellectuals and eventually met Ye Jianying 葉劍英 (1897–1986), a leading figure of the Chinese Communist Party. Juzan gained reputation as a "patriotic monk" (*aiguo sengren* 愛國僧人) at this time and he formed a society that united Buddhists and Daoists and promoted religious patriotism. In 1939, after reading Juzan's statement calling on everyone to stand up and save the nation, Zhou Enlai, later premier of the PRC, was deeply moved and wrote a calligraphy for

[302] Zhe Zhe ed. *Juzan Quanji*, 3985.

Juzan.[303] This was probably when Juzan and Zhou first met. At that time, Juzan would not know how Zhou's influence would help him to protect Lingyin monastery from being damaged during the tumultuous years of the Cultural Revolution. In 1940, with monk Dao'an 道安, Juzan co-founded the influential Buddhist periodical *Shizihou* 獅子吼 (Lion's Roar) and started to write short pieces to engage Buddhism with the discourse of saving the nation (*jiuguo* 救國), and the new Buddhist movement's vision.[304] These attempts show Juzan's active role of participating in making Buddhism relevant in the war and playing a crucial position backing up the nation's military force. Due to the situation of the war, in 1942 Juzan moved to Guangxi province; during the peak of the war in 1944, Juzan was forced to flee and remained to teach at Wuxi Guoxue Professional School. He also continued to publish and write on Buddhism.

In October 1946, shortly after arriving at Lingyin Monastery, Juzan finished a monastic gazetteer for Lingyin monastery literally titled *Little/Shorter Record of the Lingyin Temple*. In the preface of the second version he wrote in 1982, he said that the first two thousand copies sold out quickly, showing that this very own version written by the monastery's abbot has received wide publicity.[305]

Juzan had his own understanding of an ideal Buddhism in the future. In the chapter on the "Future of Lingyin monastery," Juzan made a series of brief evaluations of Buddhism state in other regions:

> Japanese [Buddhism] is too lax, Tibetan [Buddhism] is in a special condition that does not fit here. Ceylon and Burma [Buddhists] claim that they follow the primitive

[303] Zhe Zhe ed. *Juzan Quanji*, 3987.

[304] Zhe Zhe ed. *Juzan Quanji*, 3987-3988.

[305] Juzan, *Lingyin xiaozhi* (1982), preface.

> Buddhist system but over time the Vinaya and precept [traditions] were gradually loosening, and since begging for food is gradually becoming more challenging, it is still an issue whether the system can last; so how could we abruptly model ourselves after them? [306]

Juzan's suggestion was rather straightforward. In some other time, (the nation) ought to send out researchers to all the other nations to investigate their religious—not limited to Buddhist—systems, "adapting their advantages to supplement our shortcomings," and thereafter develop a rational system.[307] That said, in light of the circumstances during the time, Juzan also admitted that "it is not easy to discuss it right now," implying that the nation does not have enough resources to complete this painstaking task. One of Juzan's major goals was to establish the "doctrinal academy" (*jiaoli yuan* 教理院) or "Buddhadharma Institute." Juzan perhaps obtained the idea from Taixu's "Sino-Tibetan Institute of the World Buddhist Studies Center" 漢藏教理院. Juzan was once invited to teach at the institute for a few months before he relocated to Nanjing to join the faculty of the Neixue

[306] The original text goes as: 日本解放太過, 西藏情形特殊, 亦未可依. 錫蘭緬甸, 號稱奉行原始佛教制度, 而以時輪陵轢, 戒律漸弛, 乞食漸感困難, 則其制度能維續多久, 實成問題, 何能遽以為範. See: Juzan, *Lingyin xiaozhi* (Hangzhou: Lingyinsi, 1947), 51.

[307] Juzan himself travelled to Hong Kong and Taiwan in 1948 for a couple of months to investigate Buddhism's development in these regions; this entails that there was a blueprint in his mind of how to revive Chinese Buddhism, yet the first task is to understand the developments in different places, especially the state of Taiwanese Buddhism as Taiwan just reunited with Republic of China after the end of the WWII in 1945. Accounts on these visits were also published in a Buddhist periodical *Jueyouqing* reporting people and places that he has encountered during these trips. Like other fellow Buddhists, little could he predict that in the following years, the destiny of China, Lingyin monastery, and himself will all drastically change due to the rise of CCP's New China in 1949. See: Zhe Zhe ed. *Juzan Quanji*, 905-912.

Academy. Founded in 1932 in Sichuan and funded by the government and military, the Sino-Tibetan Institute was originally established to train Tibetan Buddhist specialists.[308] Other than Taixu, notable instructors of the institute included notable masters such as Fazun 法尊 (1902–1980), Guankong 觀空 (1903–1989), and Yinshun 印順 (1906–2005), just to name a few.[309]

After Quefei passed away in 1948, Juzan became the abbot of Lingyin monastery. Juzan's role as the abbot of Lingyin monastery indeed served as a credential that made him the deputy of the newly founded China Buddhist Association (Zhongguo Fojiao Xiehui) in the early 1950s. He has been controversial in PRC and KMT's Taiwan after he took the position. Comparing the 1947 and 1982 versions of Lingyin monastic gazetteers might be meaningful as they reflect Juzan's image in two different political contexts and thus his writing adjusted accordingly.

When Juzan wrote his first Lingyin monastic gazetteer in 1947, his purpose was the same as all editors of previous gazetteers—the previous ones were either "outdated, or poorly compiled." Juzan was in a more special position—the Qing dynasty ended more than three decades earlier, and the monastery was slowly reviving after the turbulent years of the Republican era (1912–1949), especially after the Sino-Japanese War which ended just a few years ago. Therefore, compiling a new monastic gazetteer to commemorate the monastery's restoration is an appropriate and timely move.

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[308] Gray Tuttle, *Tibetan Buddhists in the Making of Modern China*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

[309] On monk Fazun, see Brenton Sullivan, "Venerable Fazun at the Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Studies Institute (1932-1950) and Tibetan Geluk Buddhism in China," *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, no. 9 (2008): 199-241.

Juzan was born in 1908, several years before the fall of the Qing, and most of his education was under the influence of the May Fourth Movement (since 1919), science, democracy, and subsequently Marxism. Starting when he was in middle school, he was already involved in social movements including going on strikes and later inspiring others (mainly educators, such as middle school teachers) to go on strikes. Therefore, he was regarded as a troublemaker and got expelled from college. His connection with Buddhism as well as Lingyin monastery both started after he fled to Hangzhou to avoid surrendering to a warrant. Meeting Taixu during his time in Hangzhou was Juzan's most crucial life turning point. Taixu suggested he go to Lingyin monastery and follow Quefei to pursue his career as a monk.

When Juzan had the opportunity to revise the Lingyin monastic gazetteer, it was already in the early 1980s, only shortly before his passing in 1984. Between the two versions of the Lingyin monastic gazetteers, both the monastery and Juzan's life drastically changed as they both underwent the numerous political movements that peaked Juzan was treated as an "ideologically corrupted" (*sixiang fubai*; Ch. 思想腐敗) religious figure and was jailed for seven years. There is thus far limited elaboration on Juzan's thought during this time and afterwards evolved as materials are scarce or Juzan just simply avoided discussing any of these experiences until his last days. Even though Juzan left a number of writings on Buddhist doctrines or religion and philosophy in general, the two versions of his Lingyin monastic gazetteer do serve as ideal materials that showcase his vision of religion and what he thought about the future of Lingyin monastery and Buddhism as a whole.

From Monasticism to Tourism

When browsing several of Juzan's main collected works published on different occasions, most circulated versions all use the 1982 edition *Lingyin xiaozhi*, which was also included in Juzan's complete collected works published in 2008.[310] This makes it especially meaningful to compare what has been kept and what part has been altered or even omitted in the 1982 edition. After comparing the two versions, it is obvious that the Juzan's vision of the monastery's future, it is also his own reflection of China's westernization, modernization, and Buddhism's position after the two world wars.

Juzan started his discussion with "demonic obstructions" (*mozhang* 魔障) in the world. He asked questions such as: how do we reform human's ideas? What is the goal of it? Juzan points out that people have not clearly acknowledged the central issue of the turbulent times. He argues that "righteousness and profit are not well distinguished," and "when the two are not well distinguished, then righteousness will yield to profit."[311] Juzan explained that these are the fundamental reasons that Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) gained power, by claiming that they were standing up for justice and world peace. This all started when the Industrial Revolution occured in the Western countries, from which capitalism eventually developed. Thus, wherever there are living beings, there is profit to be made. Mass production competes with handcraft, major businesses compete with smaller businesses, the government competes with commoners, powerful nation states compete with weaker nation states. When merchant competitions are not enough, then wars are waged.

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[310] Zhu Zhe ed. *Juzan Quanji*, 2/649-673.

[311] Juzan, *Lingyin xiaozhi*, 41.

The "demonic obstructions" are not limited to foreign countries; Juzan quoted Hu Buzeng's 胡步曾 (Xiansu 先驌, 1894–1968) observation of China's "mal-virtue" (*e'de* 惡德) during that time.[312] A prominent botanist and once the Chancellor of Zhongzheng University (later Nanchang University of Jiangxi) during 1940–1944, Hu was one of the key figures who promoted Sinology (or known as *guoxue*) during the early 1920s with Mei Guangdi 梅光迪 (1890–1945), Wu Mi 吳宓 (1894–1978) and Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 (1893–1964); they all eventually studied at Harvard in the late 1920s. As Juzan quotes, Hu harshly criticized the Chinese people as "greedy and cruel, corrupt, indulging, conservative, unfaithful, unlawful, disorganized, and ruthless."[313] Juzan defended Hu's view, saying that these criticisms are "the true records of his genuine feeling, not allegedly revealing the ugliness of the household (nation)." Juzan explained that many other European and American scholars also hold similar opinions towards Chinese. These justifications provided by Hu and foreign scholars are all in support of Juzan's view that there are flaws embedded in Chinese intellectual thought. It is due to these thoughts "expanded to a certain extent" that resulted in the current despicable situation of China. By laying all these observations out, Juzan's actual intent was to briefly yet harshly criticize the nature of Confucianism and Daoism.

Juzan first went after Daoism from its very origin: its fundamental works of *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*. He said that *Laozi* taught its readers to "leave space for oneself, and never lose yourself to others,"[314] it therefore won praise from Legalists and Strategists. Juzan argues

[312] Juzan, *Lingyin xiaozhi*, 42.

[313] Juzan, *Lingyin xiaozhi*, 42.

[314] Juzan, *Lingyin xiaozhi*, 42-43.

that *Zhuangzi*, however, is based on materialism (*wuben* 物本). Thus, this will lead to "lack of free will," which will result in fatalism. Several chapters in *Zhuangzi* all present completely pessimistic naturalism. Juzan criticizes how the Daoists regard life as short and meaningless, and that Daoist practitioners instead seek for methods such as nuturing the body and Hedonism without pursuing the path to liberation.

Confucianism was Juzan's next target. Although Juzan praised Confucius and Menzi, he criticized that their thoughts were not transmitted and understood by latter followers. Juzan quoted Zhang Fangping 張方平 (1007–1091), who pointed out the limitation of the Confucian school during the Northern Song by saying that "The Confucian gate is fading and cannot contain heroes."[315] Here, perhaps, Juzan intentionally leaves out the words that followed: "all [heroes] instead went to the Buddhist household."[316] Readers who are familiar with these dialogues will immediately uncover the hidden implication behind this quotation. Often being used by Buddhist protagonists, this quotation serves as a useful weapon to embarrass their Confucian opponents. Furthermore, loyalty and filial piety are the foundation of benevolence and righteousness. These concepts are the foundation of Confucianism, however, given that Confucianism was dominant throughout Chinese history, Juzan questions what was going wrong as this world is still continuously packed with people lacking these qualities? Moreover, what will eventually happen to them? These questions all

[315] *Lingyin xiaozhi*, 43.

[316] *Fozu Tongji*, CBETA 2021.Q1, T49, no. 2035, p. 415b24-25. An earlier version, see: *Dahui Pujue Chanshi Zongmen wuku*, CBETA 2021.Q1, T47, no. 1998B, p. 954c23-25. All the available versions of this same quote do not have the term "hero" so this might be Juzan's personal creation.

create doubts that impede people from expanding their merciful mind and dwelling on qualities such as loyalty and filial piety.

In Juzan's perspective, there must be a well thought-out, systematic Buddhism in order to revive the world. In order to restore Buddhism in China, Juzan argues that Chinese Buddhists must model themselves after the Indian Buddhism that Xuanzang witnessed to "rectify the dharma pillar"—the ultimate plan is to duplicate Nalanda University in China. Juzan cited two quotations from *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* (The Continued Biography of Eminent Monks) 續高僧傳 and from *Da Tang Xiyu ji* (The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions) 大唐西域記, Xuanzang's account of his journey to India.[317] To help the reader understand, Juzan furthermore cited descriptions seen in *Da Tang Xiyu ji* to present how Nalanda University was built and thrived.[318] With its land donated and later sponsored by 500 merchants, Nalanda was able to thrive into an academy site where the Buddha delivered a series of dharma talks that lasted for three months. Later receiving imperial donation and thereafter becoming an internationally famed religious institute in India, the university attracted thousands of monks and became a place where people could witness how the precepts were practiced and how the samgha lived.[319] In short, based on Xuanzang's experience and his words, Nalanda has become the role model when it comes to defining a leading monastery.

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[317] *Lingyin xiaozhi*, 45-46.

[318] *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, fascicle 9. See BDK translation. Li Rongxi, trans. *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1995).

[319] *Lingyin xiaozhi*, 45-46.

Based on Xuanzang's account on Nalanda, Juzan came up with four observations when thinking of Buddhist monasteries in China: 1) the location must be appropriate and historical; 2) the architecture must be grandiose, beautiful, and artistic; 3) the samgha must be perfected in morality and learning that is worthy of being a role model during that time; 4) the precepts must be pure and absolute but it should not be handled lightly.[320] These qualities are excerpted from the two records that Juzan quoted. Juzan suggests that as long as a monastery contains all these credentials, mediocre students will thereby withdraw and capable people will join, sinister theory will cease to spread and correct order will be practiced. These suggestions all serve as the bases to promote Lingyin monastery as the candidate of reaching the Nalanda-standard seen in Xuanzang's description.

When Yang Huinan 楊惠南 discussed the differences between two mainstream developments in Chinese Buddhism, two movements occurred during the Republican period. Taixu's "humanistic Buddhism" (*Rensheng Fojiao* 人生佛教) movement; the second is reviving the "Indian Yogācāra" movement.[321] While initially prevailed due to its act of incorporating Confucianism values into reviving Chinese Buddhism and the latter failed from having not done so, both the "humanistic Buddhism" and the "Indian Yogācāra" movements failed to sustain longer as the political atmosphere drastically changed within the following few years. Nevertheless, Juzan's solution was different from both of these movements; Lingyin monastery became part of achieving this goal. In order to remove these obstructions, the practical solution starts from reconstructing Lingyin monastery. First

[320] *Lingyin xiaozhi*, 46.

[321] Yang Huinan, "Cong 'Rensheng Fojiao' dao 'Renjian Fojiao'," *Satyaabhisamaya: A Buddhist Studies Quarterly*, 62 (1990), 1-52.

proposed by Quefei, Juzan stresses Lingyin monastery should be: 1) cultivating the scenic landscape, 2) constructing the monastic halls, and 3) restoring the scale of the monastery.[322]

For "cultivating the scenic landscape," Juzan pointed out that Lingyin's natural landscape was promising before the Sino-Japanese war yet went unattended; therefore wilderness had gradually taken over the whole monastic landscape, leaving no scenic worth viewing. Juzan suggest planting more pine and cypress trees in the monastery, open up tracks, and establish a pavillion on Feilai Peak to provide a viewing point. Juzan's plan seems unusual in Lingyin history since most of the previous writing collected in former monastic gazetteers was commemorating the outcome of the revitalization rather than providing a vision as Juzan did in his writing and related actions.

Juzan's purpose of compiling the *Lingyin xiaozhi* was to 1) resume the interrupted monastic gazetteer tradition for the purpose of 2) raising money for future developments by selling this gazetteer, spreading the fund-raising information to the public. In contrast to the background of previous Lingyin monastic gazetteers which were mostly compiled and published based on celebrating the major reconstructions, Juzan's *Lingyin xiaozhi* published in 1947 can be treated as a proposal to attract potential donations from the public. As the Sino-Japanese War just ended two years before the publication of the book, based on the fact that the monastery's main donor used to be the imperial court, the clergy of Lingyin monastery can now only count on potential donations from the public. One major project that the monastery raised money for is to establish the "Lingyin chubanshe," or Lingyin Monastery Press. The proposal was inside the front cover, stating that "as the monastery is

[322] *Lingyin xiaozhi*, 46.

planning to publish the following titles, it is necessary to initiate a publisher" for this purpose:

> *New Buddhist Studies* 佛學新論
> *Record of Sayings of Twenty-two Chan Patriarchs* 二十二家語錄
> *Shakyamuni and his Disciples* 釋迦牟尼及其弟子
> *Origins of Chan Schools* 宗門源流考
> *A Study of Chinese Philosophy* 中國哲學研究
> *Yogacara Studies* 唯識論考
> *Buddhism and Chinese Thought* 佛教與中國思想
> *Pseudo Studies* 偽學考
> *Criticism of Modern Chinese Philosophy* 現代中國哲學批評
> *Rise and Decline of the Dynasties* 歷代興亡論
> *Newly Compiled Lingyin Monastic Gazetteer* 新修靈隱寺誌
> *Vinaya and Pure Rules* 戒律與清規[323]

This list of proposed publications covers a wide range of topics not limited to Buddhism but also related to popular topics that the public would possibly appreciate. The list shows that what Juzan and the Lingyin clergy thought was worth publishing and potentially profitable. It remains unclear if Juzan was planning to write all these proposed books on his own or look for experts in the field to author them. Among this proposed series, it was the plan to compile a "Newly Compiled Lingyin Monastic Gazetteer," which possibly entails the "little record" that Juzan wrote was not aimed as a formal gazetteer but rather an interim form of monastic gazetteer. Its main goal was to attract tourism as well as raise donations.[324]

A rough financial plan was also included in Juzan's proposal but could not be executed with the subsequent hyperinflation which worsened in the following year. The proposal aimed to raise an amount of 20 million *fabi* (currency valid from 1935 until May

[323] *Lingyin xiaozhi*, inside page.

[324] See a recent compilation on Buddhist tourism in Asia: Courtney Bruntz and Brooke Schedneck eds. *Buddhist Tourism in Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2020.

1948), and "deposit the money at banks or larger companies," using the monthly interests to to publish the books listed above, or other "valuable and in demand by modern society" publications related to Buddhism. The elevating hyperinflation forced the KMT/GMD Government to issue a new gold-based currency called *jinyuanjuan* with an exchange rate of 3,000,000 *fabi* to 1 *jinyuanjuan*. The once again failed *jinyuanjuan* currency exchange policy became the last straw that made the Nationalist government lose the support from the middle class—their main supporters—Juzan's proposal an unviable one.[325] The proposed "Lingyin Monastery Press" and its publication series which includes the formal new version of monastic gazetteer never became reality.

The most recent Lingyin monastic gazetteer was compiled in 2003 by Leng Xiao, a notable Hangzhou layman who is known for writing a series of monographs on Hangzhou Buddhism, including the *History of Hangzhou Buddhism* and its sequence *The Modern History of Hangzhou Buddhism*. The monastic gazetteer was also authorized by Yu Changxi (1919–2011), a Hangzhou local as well as the deputy of the Hangzhou Buddhist Association, and edited by monk Muyu (1913–2006), the abbot of the monastery since 1997. Eventually published in Hong Kong rather than Hangzhou with no specified explanation, the preface written by Yu Changxi mentions Tang poet Bai Juyi and another Northern Song literati scholar Zeng Hui's

[325] The 1947 version *Lingyin xiaozhi* that I requested via UCLA's ILL service arrived from the University of Michian's library. Juzan signed and donated this copy to the Shanghai Library Branch in Hongkou on January 20, 1948. It remains unclear how this copy eventually arrived in the States and became another university library's collection. The back cover of the book states the price of the book: 20,000 *fabi*, which was the lowest value of the currency's paper money at that time. It is somewhat ironic that the price was stamped instead of printed on the book—it reflects that publishers back then developed a method to adjust the price of a book under the hyperinflation period.

accounts to underscore the monastery's prominent role since a distant past.[326] The monastery developed a plan called the "Complete Project for Lingyin monastery" (Lingyinsi zongti guihua 靈隱寺總體規劃) to revive it so the old monastery could have a new exterior.[327] Supported by the government and the city's Buddhist Association, the monastery was following the plan under certain guidelines and supervisions

Even though a publication with up-to-date content written mostly in modern language tone, *Lingyin xinzhi* was printed using the thread-binding rather method than using modern bindings which makes the pagination occasionally unclear. The content of the *Lingyin xinzhi* is a combination of previous information from former Lingyin monastic gazetteers and adds notes in the back of each chapter biographing lives of specific individuals or providing short explanatory information to Buddhist terms.

The major difference between the *Lingyin xinzhi* and the previous versions of the monastic gazetteers is that the new edition intends to include every abbot's dharma name as long as anything is traceable. It divides the clergy into two categories: "abbots" and "notable monks." Those who contributed to the monastery's history are categorized as "individuals," and everyone included will deserve their own position in the gazetteer.

In the *Lingyin xinzhi,* a new category titled "interaction" (*jiaowang* 交往) is established to include notable non-Buddhist figures and governmental leaders who have once contributed to the monastery or those who have once paid the monastery a visit.[328] Specifically, it should be noted that *Lingyin xinzhi*'s content takes references extensively from

[326] Leng Xiao, *Lingyin xinzhi* (Hong Kong: Baitong Chubanshe, 2003), Yu's preface/1a.

[327] Leng Xiao, *Lingyin xinzhi*, 1/7a-7b.

[328] Leng Xiao, *Lingyin xinzhi*, chapter 5.

the monastic gazetteer that Juzan compiled, and another publication by Leng Xiao on Hangzhou Buddhism. *Lingyin xinzhi* is thus a history of Chinese Buddhism and Hangzhou local Buddhism seen through Lingyin monastery's lens. Leng Xiao quoted a statement by Zhou Enlai, saying that the reconstruction and protection of the monastery is crucial to not only Chinese Buddhism but also Asian Buddhism: "By reconstructing Lingyin monastery, not only we will fulfill the demand of domestic Buddhist's belief, but also we will strive for support from those Southeast Asian countries that also believe in Buddhism."[329] Zhou's statement was addressed in 1953 in a political meeting in Beijing in response to acknowledging the destruction of Lingyin monastery over the Sino-Japanese war and civil war in the 1940s. With Zhou Enlai's vouching statement, the Zhejiang province People's Committee proposed the plan to restore Lingyin monastery with a detailed budget that was promptly approved by the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government (fl. 1949–1954). This marks the beginning of the revival of the monastery from the 1950s until the May of 1966 when the Cultural Revolution started. Buddhism in *Lingyin xinzhi* was "falsely" regarded among "The Four Olds" (*sijiu* 四旧) and Lingyin monastery as a leading Buddhist institute immediately came to the Red Guard's notice.[330] In August the Red Guards besieged and threatened to destroy the monastery. It is said that local citizens including students from Zhejiang University and local workers and gardeners stood up to defend the monastery and the two parties had a raging debate. Zhou Enlai, here again, issued an order to "close down the monastery" two days later, to avoid any visitor or intruder from

[329] Leng Xiao, *Lingyin xinzhi*, 1/4a–5a.

[330] Leng Xiao, *Lingyin xinzhi*, 1/6a.

entering the monastery.[331] Even though the monastery infrastructures were able to avoid destruction, the main buildings remained free from immediate harm.

The main contribution of *Lingyin xinzhi* is that it covers the history of the post-1949 development of Chinese Buddhism under Communist rule and political circumstances in which Lingyin monastery was facing. Even though the previous Lingyin monastic gazetteer's main content was on the monastery's history during the early to mid-Qing period, the first chapter of *Lingyin xinzhi*, again, reiterates the monastery's history since the Ming-Qing transition but also covers its history in the Republican and the Communist period. The *Lingyin xinzhi* monastic gazetteer editors faced similar issues as Juzan—the lack of information during the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom movement during the 1850s to 1860s, before the fall of Qing in 1911 there was a half-a-century gap with no notable abbots or activities of the monastery worth mentioning. The main establishments of the monastery were destroyed until abbot Xizheng started to rebuild warehouses and the Buddha hall in 1910. Again, with the support from Sheng Xuanhui 盛宣懷 (1844–1916), the minister of foreign affairs, the wood logs planned to construct the Yihe Garden were instead shipped to Hangzhou to reconstruct Lingyin's main hall.[332]

Due to the political atmosphere, it is inevitable that *Lingyin xinzhi* praised the leadership of the CCP and downplayed the development during the Republican period. Other than ordaining the famous master Hongyi in 1917, abbot Huiming also reconstructed one of the Buddhist buildings and hosted the Ninth Panchan Lama's (Thubten Choekyi Nyima, 1883–1937) visit, though was never able to reconstruct the the main Buddha hall

[331] Leng Xiao, *Lingyin xinzhi*, 1/6a-6b.

[332] Leng Xiao, *Lingyin xinzhi*, 1/3.

during his tenure. During 1934, abbot Quefei hosted the Ninth Panchan again, yet in 1936 after a fire burnt down the Arhat hall, there was nearly nothing from the previous dynasties left except a wooden Skanda statue. In the following year, Lingyin and Tianzhu monasteries both became refugee shelters and the buildings were again burnt down on several occasions.[333] During that time, the just-established PRC was still trying to race for support from the countries that were also approached by the KMT party that just fled to Taiwan. As a communist regime, reviving the prominent religious institute of Lingyin monastery will convince Buddhist regimes to support them rather than the KMT that had gradually positioned itself as a Christian regime since the 1930s.[334]

The CCP treated the reconstruction project so seriously that when the woodworkers making the Buddhist statues questioned the whole project as "superstitious" and "idealism," members of the Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee rushed to the monastery and tried to illustrate the Party's religious policies and more importantly, the significance of making the Buddhist statues. The project resumed soon after the workers were patiently educated and thereby enlightened.[335] It was also during the 1950s that the "irrational" *zisun* system (internal transmission) that has been practiced in the monastery for centuries finally got abolished and turned into "ten-directions monastery system" (*shifang conglin zhi* 十方叢林制), by which the abbots are appointed rather than selected among the disciples of the incumbent abbot. It was during 1954 and 1957 when abbot Dabei 大悲 (1891-1971) actively led the sangha to

[333] Leng Xiao, *Lingyin xinzhi*, 1/3b-4a.

[334] More discussions on how the KMT orientated ROC as a Christian state, see: Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009).

[335] Leng Xiao, *Lingyin xinzhi*, 1/5b.

participate in various social reformation movements and turned in all the remaining land to the public (i.e., the government). As Lingyin's abbot and the deputy of the Chinese Buddhist Association, Dabei also led the religious campaign in 1955, visiting Southeast Asian countries such as Burma (Myanmar) to promote New China's religious policies.[336] Monk Xingkong 性空 (1904-1988) who started to actually manage the monastic affairs since 1955 officially became Lingyin's abbot during the Cultural Revolution period until his passing in 1988.[337]

[336] Leng Xiao, *Lingyin xinzhi*, 1/10a-10b.

[337] Leng Xiao, *Lingyin xinzhi*, 1/10b.

Conclusion

Han Chinese Buddhism during the Qing dynasty remains understudied in the field because it has been eclipsed by two more-popular topics of scholarly research: the "restoration of Buddhism" during the late Ming period; and "humanistic Buddhism" from the Republican period onwards. Existing scholarship on the Qing period largely focuses on the Qing court's interaction with Tibetan Buddhism, whereas developments within Chinese Buddhism have long been regarded as secondary and therefore have not received sufficient scholarly attention. Instead of examining Buddhism's development by presenting the growth of a specific Buddhist school or the life of an eminent Buddhist monk, reconstructing the history of a leading Chinese Buddhist monastery, such as Lingyinsi, might be a better approach to help us understand the state of Han Chinese Buddhism during this period. This is because looking at the history of a specific monastery inevitably includes topics such as institutional history, the relationship between state and religion, the lives of numerous individuals who participated in the building of the monastery, and its history over a long period of time. Even in these regards, there might be plenty of qualified candidates for study beyond Lingyinsi, my fous in this dissertation, because many monasteries were established long before the establishment of the Qing and still survived through the transition and turbulent years of the Qing regime down to the present.

The question here is perhaps how to determine which monasteries are more representative of this broader relationship between Buddhism and the state during the Qing. At least two reference standards stand out and ought to be considered: the prominence of the monastery and whether more materials related to the monastery are accessible. The latter also involves two layers: indirect historical materials recorded by monastic outsiders, and

clergy-certified monastic records. The genre of monastic gazetteer involves of both. Given the fact that monastic gazetteers are not included in the Buddhist canon and are also not treated as significant texts in secular literature either, they can therefore be regarded as a genre that is situated between sacred and profane.

Long claiming to be the "First Mountain in the Southeast" because it is located in Hangzhou, the major city in southeast China, Lingyin monastery acknowledges its own position as a leading regional monastery rather than as the most important one in all of China. Though listed as the second most prominent monastery among the Five Mountains in the Southern Song, and thereby constantly overshadowed by the more-influential Jingshan monastery, it is the place where the monk Jigong was ordained and also the place where the Qing emperors would visit on trips to Jiangnan or southern China. These historical facts all adorn the monastery's glorious history. The monastery was also financially funded by the Qing court, which demonstrates its position as a "public monastery," yet while still maintaining its independence in deciding its own abbots throughout the Qing without extensive court intervention.

Lingyin monastery also deliberately changed its name to "Yunlin" to please the emperor and its following two monastic gazetteers were also named after this new granted title. Even though it was known as "Lingyin" throughout its history, the monastic clergy back then happily adapted the new title, since it benefited from the court's endowment for major reconstructions at least until the mid-Qing period. The monastery only changed its name back to its original Lingyin after the fall of the Qing dynasty. This change not only means that its visitors still knew the name Lingyin better, but also implies that the monastery was aware that its major patron was no longer the court but these visitors.

The six extant monastic gazetteers of Lingyin/Yunlin monastery present the trajectory of these developments from Qing Emperor Kangxi's reign down until the present day. Each gazetteer's chapters and their content adjustments represent how the clergy responded to the secular world, and specifically to the court, its main patron. The monastery took advantage of Kangxi's visits and the newly granted monastic title by renaming the title of Lingyin monastery's later two monastic gazetteers. Here we see the practice of "invoking imperial ancestors' instructions," but in two coexisting traditions: the imperial succession and the Buddhist lineage. The practice, which is a translation of *zuzong zhi fa* 祖宗之法, became prominent especially from the Song dynasty onwards. Its successive dynasties, Yuan, Ming, and Qing all have their own "invoking imperial ancestors' instructions" set by the dynasty's founding emperor (or emperors). The instructions established a fundamental character of the dynasty that often consequently became burdens for the inheritors who succeeded the empire. As Deng Xiaonan pointed out in her study on the ancestral instructions during the Northern Song period, there has been a confluence of both the family (*jiafa*) and national instructions (*guofa*), and this practice had a long-lasting influence on the political system in late imperial China.[338] Even though there are still other counterarguments pointing out that the emperors might not have abided by their ancestors all the time, these instructions often served more as obstacles when they inevitably became outdated and could not fully adapt to the new occasions that the empires were encountering at the time.

[338] Deng Xiaonan, *Zuzong Zhifa: Bei Song qianqi zhengzhi lueshu*. Beijing: Shenghuo, Dushu, Xinzhi Sanlian Shuju, 2014.

The arrival of Jude Hongli and his tenure at Lingyin monastery coincided with the rise of the Qing dynasty under Kangxi's reign. The earliest Lingyin monastic gazetteer compiled during the early years of the Kangxi period praised the contribution of its main abbot Jude Hongli to the monastery. Emperor Kangxi visited Jiangnan after the young empire became more stable following the fall of the Southern Ming. Because Lingyin monastery was one of the most notable places in Jiangnan, Kangxi visited it whenever he was in Hangzhou. The second monastic gazetteer compiled during the Qianlong period was not only the first gazetteer titled Yunlin but also the first to collect works by Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong. In this gazetteer titled *Zengxiu Yunlin sizhi*, the editors tirelessly included every record they could find related to Emperor Kangxi to document that the monastery has cultivated a steady relationship with the court since his first visit. Here the fascicle on emperor records related to the monastery was not only paying homage to the court but also serving as a reminder to the court about its continuous patronage of the monastery. Based on the principle of following "imperial ancestors' instructions," as the monastery was granted a new title by the earlier emperor, it somewhat became an obligation for succeeding emperors to follow the pre-established instructions—that is, to financially support the monastery as long as it continued to use the title granted by the emperor who established the instruction. Thus, it became a tradition that must be sustained by later courts.

The transmission of Lingyin monastery's abbots over the Qing dynasty was a rare case in Chinese Buddhist history—nearly all of those successors came from the same specific dharma-line (or descended from the same dharma ancestor)—which supports the argument that the Lingyin clergy was in the process of historicizing, constructing its own dharma ancestral instruction tradition. The compilation of the monastic gazetteers is one way in which the dharma family's official history is created. This series of attempts were

illuminated in the Lingyin monastic gazetteers. Praising Jude Hongli in its first gazetteer was a reasonable arrangement since the monastery portrayed Lingyin's history in a way that would separate its past from the previous Ming dynasty, furthermore, it combined the monastery with the dharma lineage in which Jude Hongli succeeded Hanyue Fazang. The time when the first gazetteer was published also seems provident as it coincides with the establishment of the Qing. This arrangement perhaps explains why, although the previous records that served as the preliminary foundation of the gazetteer writing were briefly mentioned, they were nearly completely wiped out from the monastery's historical narrative because they did not serve the clergy's goals.

The gazetteer editors—mostly literati or officials closely related to the clergy—were constantly aware of not only the patriarchs in the glorious past but were also especially careful when promoting the Three Peaks (Sanfeng) teaching tradition established by Hanyue Fazang that was later passed on to the lineage of Jude Hongli and Huishan Jiexian. Based on how Jude Hongli was featured so prominently in the Lingyin monastic gazetteers, it can be said that without Jude Hongli the monastery would not have been revivied so quickly; but without Huishan Jiexian, Jude Hongli would not have been given the prominent role of being the abbot who revived Lingyin from its ruined state. The monastic gazetteer records show that the clergy of the Lingyin line who succeeded Hanyue Fazang's teaching were extremely wary and would implement almost any measures to avoid persecution of their school or the monastery where their school was based. This includes self-censorship and heavily editing the content included in the gazetteer materials. Perhaps the most notable political persecution towards Buddhism in the High Qing period was Yongzheng's persecution of Hanyue Fazang, his teachings, and his works. As one of Hanyue Fazang's main disciples, Jude Hongli and Lingyin monastery could have easily become a target, but

the monastery miraculously managed to escape such a calamity. The hidden story behind the Lingyin monastic gazetteers provides a lively example to explain how the monastery dealt with this foreseeable crisis.

In addition to their value in avoiding political persecution, the Qing-period Lingyin gazetteers also served as records to commemorate the past and to ensure future endowments from the court. Securing and expanding financial support was the main goal of compiling and publishing a monastic gazetteer. Lingyin monastery labeled itself as the "restricted place of the state" (*guojia jindi* 國家禁地) since the Song period, and warned monks not to attempt to sell monastic property to the rich and wealthy.[339] In addition to epitaph records kept at the monastery, the monastic gazetteer served as another method to preserve these court endowments. Mainly preserved in the third gazetteer (1829) and attached at the end of the fascicle related to emperors, these records could be traced back to the Kangxi period. What is noteworthy is the emperor acknowledged the fact that Lingyin and the adjacent Tianzhu monasteries have a long history of mismanagement; this is because, over a long period of time, the two were regarded as a pair and there was only one abbot in charge of all of their monastic affairs. Considering that Lingyin monastery housed a larger sangha, the emperor mandated that Tianzhu monastery should spare a total of 2,000 *liang* each year as alms for the Lingyin monks. This donation suggests that the court was aware that Lingyin and Tianzhu monks engaged in different professionalized practices: Tianzhu monks performed such rituals as praying for rain, while Lingyin monks instead focused on meditation, and the profit earned by Tianzhu monks from these rituals was shared with Lingyin monks in order to support the latter's meditation. This information listed in the gazetteer serve as an official

[339] Leng Xiao, *Lingyin xinzhi* 9/2a-2b.

record of Lingyin monastery's financial support, and a display of the monastery's privilege over other monasteries.

Understanding the full significance of a site requires the use of multiple sources. Taking Buddhist monasteries as an example, both commemorations written by literati and monastic gazetteers compiled by scholar officials and monks are crucial to reconstructing the image of a site. In the process of historical development, foreign visitors from Japan also kept diagrams that eventually offered credible evidence to strengthen the prevailing narrative regarding a site. Most of the writings in a gazetteer—both local and monastic—were compiled from external sources written in the past rather than composed contemporaneously by the compilers themselves. In addition to entries on the individual monastic sites that roughly map the territory of a monastery, prefaces written for the monastic gazetteers were the most direct, and perhaps more importantly, the most original materials that are associated with the monastery's history. They describe the development of that monastery—historically and spatially—up to that time and underscore what has been accomplished and what must be recovered. Over time, a monastery will not only suffer from deterioration of monastic buildings, but also it will suffer the loss of land that substantially supports their daily needs. The compilation and printing of a monastic gazetteer requires fairly large financial support; therefore, not all monasteries were able to compile even one gazetteer. Epitaphs were usually the most effective method to keep the record of the monastery's history, development, and its territories; but monastic gazetteers have been utilized as a means of keeping an extra copy of all the available epitaphs and to systematically sort all the materials that attest to the monastery's credentials and existing privileges. Thus, through the testimony of monastic gazetteers, the monastery is clarified as being a religious space and established as an institution with its own historical narrative, claimed rights, and

declared territory.

Appendix: Table of Contents of the Six Lingyin Monastic Gazetteers*

	Wulin Lingyin sizhi 武林靈隱寺志 (1672)	*Zengxiu Yunlin xuzhi* 增修雲林續志 (1744)	*Yunlinsi xuzhi* 雲林寺續志 (1829)	*Lingyin xiaozhi* 靈隱小志 (1948)	*Lingyin xiaozhi* 靈隱小志 (1982)	*Lingyin xinzhi* 靈隱新志 (2003)
1	開山始迹 founding stories 重興緣起 reconstructions 武林山水 landscape	宸恩 Imperial grace	宸音 Imperial voice	山水景物 landscape	山水景物 landscape	重興 reconstructions
2	梵宇 monasteries 古塔 old pagodas 古蹟 historic monuments	山水 geography 梵宇 monasteries 古蹟 historic monuments	重興 reconstructions 梵宇 monasteries	歷代沿革 historical development	歷代沿革 historical development	住持 abbots
3	住持禪祖 abbots and Chan patriarchs	禪祖 Chan patriarchs 法語 dharma talks	檀越 patrons 禪祖 Chan patriarchs	高僧事略 biographies of eminent monks	高僧事略 biographies of eminent monks	名僧 notable monks
4	法語 dharma talks	檀越 patrons 人物 figures	語錄 speaking records	將來建置 future plans	藝文擷英 literature	人物 figures
5	累朝檀越 patrons 歷代人物 figures	藝文 literature	藝文 literature 墨跡 calligraphies	藝文擷英 literature	遺聞軼事 anecdotes	交往 interactions
6	藝文 literature	詩詠 poems	詩詠 poems	遺聞軼事 anecdotes	附錄 appendix	古迹 historical sites
7	藝文 literature	遺事 anecdotes	題名 autographs	附錄 appendix	N/A	典藏 collections
8	詩詠 poems 遺事 anecdotes 雜紀 miscellaneous 山地 mountain assets	雜記 miscellaneous	遺事 anecdotes 糾誤 corrections 禪祖補遺附 addendum and appendix	N/A	N/A	藝文 literature
9	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	軼事 anecdotes

*This appendix does not include the prefaces of each Lingyin monastic gazetteer.

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