Returning Empty-Handed: Reading the *Yifanfeng* Corpus as Buddhist Parting Poetry

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Abstract The several dozen *jueju* 絕句 quatrains in a collection titled *Yifanfeng* 一帆風 were written by Buddhist monks associated with Xutang Zhiyu 虛堂智愚 (1185–1269) to send home Japanese pilgrim-monk Nanpo Jōmin 南浦紹明 (1235–1309). The recent recovery in Japan of an early hand-copied manuscript of *Yifanfeng* has allowed researchers to revisit the last decade of sinophone scholarship on this text. The current essay, based on close reading of the entire *Yifanfeng*, illuminates the broader use of occasional poetry within Buddhist monastic communities of the Song Dynasty (960–1279). The *Yifanfeng* parting poems apply Buddhist themes and Chan humor to the mode of parting poetry, notably deviating from Song Dynasty norms of parting poems. The parting verses use poetic forms to express religious ideals and to adorn the culmination of Nanpo's pilgrimage to China. A mode of poetry that was not the province of Buddhist monasticism, namely, poems of parting, nonetheless was used by Buddhist monks within the monastery in novel ways that are recognizably Buddhist. By studying the aesthetics of parting in the *Yifanfeng* poems, we can see an aspect of Chinese Buddhist culture that is both literary and religious.

Keywords Buddhist poetry, parting poetry, Sino-Japanese literary exchange, Chan Buddhism, *Yifanfeng*

Introduction

Poems of parting—*songbie shi* 送別詩, *songxing shi* 送行詩, or *zengbie shi* 贈別詩—are a well-known social and literary phenomenon in imperial China.[1] These are poems often written on the occasion of parting from friends, siblings, or lovers.[2] The focus of the present essay is the use of parting poems within

The Journal of Chinese Literature and Culture • 4:2 • November 2017
DOI 10.1215/23290048-4179541 • © 2017 by Duke University Press

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Buddhist monastic communities of the Song Dynasty (960–1279).[3] This essay argues that a mode of poetry that was not the province of Buddhist monasticism, poems of parting, nonetheless was used by Buddhist monks within the monastery in novel ways and in response to Buddhist monastic commitments.

The text known as *Yifanfeng* 一帆風 (approximate translation, "A Sail Full of Wind") is a compilation of forty-four poems (or sixty-nine poems in one expanded edition) attributed to forty-four (or sixty-nine) Chinese monks. The poems were written to send home the Japanese pilgrim-monk Nanpo Jōmin 南浦紹明 (1235–1309; hereafter Nanpo).[4] My primary concern is the Chinese monastic authors and their poetic practices. The poems apply Buddhist themes and Chan humor to the mode of parting poetry and use poetic forms to express religious ideals in response to specific occasions at the end of Nanpo's pilgrimage to China. My purpose here is to simultaneously attend to religious and literary aspects of these poems in order to understand the literary culture of the monastic community that authored them.

The first poem in the *Yifanfeng* collection is by monk Tiantai Weijun 天台惟俊 (fl. 1245–1269).[5] Weijun was a prominent officer in the community of Xutang Zhiyu 虛堂智愚 (1185–1269), serving as Xutang's assistant for many years.[6] Weijun was technically proficient at poetic composition. This couplet is from a poem by Weijun, a *jueju* (literally "cut-off lines," or a quatrain) that begins with first-line rhyme and progresses in observance of regulated prosody:[7]

	Tiantai Weijun 天台惟俊 / from poem #2	
	Since coming empty-handed from the East, ten winter frosts have passed,	空手東來已十霜
2	And now still empty-handed, you sail home.[8]	依然空手趁回檣

Though Weijun's poem is free of formal errors, the emotional timbre of this couplet is remarkably cheeky. It seems rude to tell a guest that he came with nothing, stayed a long time, and leaves empty-handed. The two-character phrase *kongshou*, "empty-handed," occurs twice in the initial eleven syllables. This may signal a clever play on words—a case for which is made further below—but it could also be a sign of a clumsy or rushed hand. Weijun may have been technically proficient with tonal meter, but this poem appears to show certain flaws, repeating a binome and altogether failing to express sadness at parting with his friend.

What sense is to be made of this and the other *Yifanfeng* poems? I argue that meaning emerges through reading these poems as subversive participants in the broader genre conventions of Chinese parting poetry. If this is correct, then one might assert the *Yifanfeng* poems constitute a subgenre, "Buddhist

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parting poetry." However, I am not proposing genre analysis as a matter of classification or a clarification of affinities.[9] Genre is good to think with when it is not about pigeonholes as much as about pigeons.[10] To this end, Carol Newsom observed that "texts do not 'belong' to genres so much as participate in them, invoke them, gesture to them, play in and out of them, and in so doing continually change them." If we foreground the relationship between a text and a genre, "the point is not simply to identify a genre in which a text participates, but to analyze that participation in terms of the rhetorical strategies of the text."[11] Following Newsom's insight, to read the *Yifanfeng* poems as Buddhist parting poetry means to understand how they negotiate literary, social, historical, and Buddhological contexts.

Parting Poems in Song-Era Literary Criticism

To some extent, the whole previous tradition of parting poetry may have weighed on Weijun's composition. The themes of parting are found in the earliest Chinese poetry, such as the heart-broken persona in the first of the anonymous lyrics known as *Gushi shijiu shou* 古詩十九首 (Nineteen Old Poems).[12] The anthologized *zujian* 祖餞 (parting banquet) poems of the Six Dynasties may have offered important precedents for the exchange of farewell poetry.[13] Such a longue durée approach is suggestive but not sufficient for a genre analysis of Weijun's poem. It would be more germane to focus on Song Dynasty prescriptive texts that can reveal contemporary concerns. Below I turn to such compositions by preeminent and aspiring literati that instructed their contemporary readers on critical viewpoints concerning the contours of genres and norms, often by commenting on newly anthologized Tang-era poems.

A form of literary criticism, known collectively as *shihua* 詩話 (remarks on poetry), became increasingly popular in the decades and then centuries after Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) composed *Liu yi shihua* 六一詩話 (Remarks on Poetry from the Retired Scholar with Six Single Things). Rather than treat a general theory of literature, Ouyang set out seemingly desultory comments on topics once regarded as banal. From the Song Dynasty onward, however, *shihua* developed into "the principle vehicle for the adjudication of literary standards and taste."[14] *Shihua* do not just describe exemplary poems but also prescribe models for how poetry ought to be written. *Shihua* of the Song Dynasty reveal the contemporary expectations against which the *Yifanfeng* poems were written.

Many mature *shihua* were organized by topic. Some dedicate sections to parting poems. For example, in fascicle 3 of *Shiren yuxie* 詩人玉屑 (Jade Chips of the Poets) by Wei Qingzhi 魏慶之 (fl. 1240–1244), there are ten exemplary couplets from the Tang Dynasty in a list titled "Songbie" 送別 (Sending Off).[15] *Songbie* poems are not formally distinct from other poems but are a mode

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recognized by their topic and contexts that are often noted in a title or prefatory note. The *Shiren yuxie* list includes a couplet from a poem by Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) titled "Arriving at Shitou Station, a Poem Sent to Minister Wang Ten":[16]

A man sobs as he recalls your favor; 人由戀德泣
A horse, too, whinnies when leaving the herd. 馬亦別羣鳴

In this couplet, sadness is emphasized as the natural response to parting. Though *Shiren yuxie* gives only these two lines, any learned person would know, or could easily look up, that the poem concludes as follows:

The cold sun has begun its twilight glow, 寒日夕始照
The squally river grows distant and gradually peaceful. 風江遠漸平
Quiet, none say a word, 默然都不語
I reckon they know the feelings of this moment. 應識此時情

The poet is surrounded by transient phenomena of the natural world moving away from him in near silence. Han's poem concludes with the entire landscape overwhelmed by the anguish of separation, as he projects his inner world of sadness upon the topography. As a result, the ordinary phrase "the feelings of this moment" refers to the form of despair that follows separation.

The *Shiren yuxie* also includes the following couplet by Chen Tao 陳陶 (ninth c.), from the poem "Presented When Parting at Pencheng":[17]

The spring waters are wide at Nine Rivers, 九江春水闊
And the evening clouds thick at Three Gorges. 三峽暮雲深

This parting poem emphasizes the insurmountable obstacles and distances that will soon separate the author from the recipient and prevent their reunion. It is a common theme to use distance as a symbol for the longing to be together. This is another topos that is inverted in the Buddhist parting poems below.

The *Canglang shihua* 滄浪詩話 (Canglang's Remarks on Poetry) by Yan Yu 嚴羽 (1191–1241?) was especially well received by later generations. Yan Yu regarded parting poems as especially provocative: "As for the best poems of the Tang, many are written when heading off to serve in border garrisons, being sent into exile, setting off on leisurely travel, or at another such moment of parting; time and again they can stir a man's feelings" 唐人好詩，多是征戍、遷謫、行旅，離別之作，往往能感動激發人意.[18] According to Yan Yu, the best Tang poems of parting are those that deeply affect the reader.

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There are many parting poems in the Tang and Song canon that exemplify this ideal of deeply felt sentiment. For example, Song Dynasty poet Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) wrote the following poem when taking leave of his beloved brother Su Zhe 蘇轍 (1039–1112). The second of two poems in "On Taking Leave of Ziyou at Yingzhou" includes the line:[19]

	If in life there were no partings,	人生無離別
6	Who would know the gravity of love and kindness?	誰知恩愛重

Su Shi's poem to his brother gives full-throated voice to the tender sadness of leaving loved ones. Nostalgia, longing, and shades of sadness from anguish to despair are characteristic of parting poems acclaimed in Song Dynasty *shihua*.

In one final example, Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (689–740) wrote "Sending Off Du Fourteen to Jiangnan" to see off his friend Du Huang 杜晃.[20] Meng's poem vividly depicts the pain of parting and the anticipation of separation.

	The lands of Jing and Wu link together where water serves as home;[21]	荊吳相接水為鄉
2	Now you set out as the spring river boundlessly is flowing.[22]	君去春江正淼茫
	Where will you moor this lonesome skiff tonight?[23]	日暮孤舟何處泊
4	Then even a glance at the horizon will break my heart.	天涯一望斷人腸

Meng Haoran imagines Du Huang as a traveler in the vast landscape. The traveler leaves in spring when snowmelt strengthens the big river. By sundown, Meng will wonder where his friend is. He believes that were he to look off in the direction where his friend Du Huang is traveling, he'd suffer wrenching pangs of separation. This oft anthologized quatrain deploys local geography, transient natural phenomena, metaphors of distance, and appropriate sorrow. Each of these elements typical to parting poetry are also deployed in the *Yifanfeng* poems to create iconoclastic and subversive.

Framing the Problem: Chan Poems

Parting poems appear frequently in Buddhist writing. During the Song era, such poems were included in the *jisong* 偈頌 sections of Chan *yulu* 語錄 (recorded sayings), as well as in the *shiji* 詩集 (collected poems) of poet monks.[24] As used here in the Song, *jisong* only loosely refers to Sanskrit *gāthā*. In other, older contexts, most notably that of sutra literature, *jisong* is readily understood as a combination of *jita* 偈他 (a transliteration of *gāthā*) and *song* (a native Chinese

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word) and was how the Chinese referred to the gatha found in Buddhist sutras. However, beginning in the Tang, *jisong* was creatively used as a label for the Chinese poems (often *shi* carefully observing tonal meter) written by well-regarded Buddhist teachers.[25] This conferred on those poems the same religious reverence accorded Indic verse.[26]

The Song Dynasty witnessed a profusion of monks writing *shi* poetry. These Song-era monks are not the first, of course. There are examples of parting and other occasional poetry by elite monks before the Song Dynasty, including Jiaoran 皎然 (720–c. 795), the erstwhile monk Jia Dao 賈島 (779–843), and the Jiangnan poet-monks.[27] The poetry written in monasteries of the Song Dynasty, however, came to serve as a model for later dynasties as well as for Japanese Zen.[28] The Song witnessed the production of copious social poems by more monks on a much greater scale and with seemingly more frequency. There are many likely causes for this proliferation and the normalization of occasional poetry in Buddhist temples. Among the social factors that changed from the Tang to the Song, one of the most salient differences was the rise to prominence of a class of literati bureaucrats in positions of authority and the accompanying influence of literati tastes over cultural productions.[29] Literati passed through the gates of the imperial civil service examination system to become state officials, but many men who did not serve as officials also emerged from the new educational network.[30] More and more, men of the cloth shared in literati education and participated in the life of letters.[31]

At the same time, the Northern Song Dynasty gave rise to dramatic changes in Buddhist monastic culture.[32] The imperium sponsored the new construction or renovation of large temples.[33] These state-sponsored temples often had the finest teachers and the most resources. As pathways to advancement in the monastic bureaucracy, they were the centers of Buddhist learning and activity. Rituals for daily life in these large monasteries were encoded in *qinggui* 清規 (rules of purity), the indigenous Chinese Buddhist monastic rules, which stipulated behavioral norms for numerous mundane interactions.[34] Against these monastic regulations, the contents of a parting verse became an opportunity for individuation and variation.[35]

During Buddhist monks' lives, there were many occasions when a parting poem might be written. Monks wrote poems to send off students, visitors, and friends and composed farewell verses when taking leave of a sangha.[36] *Songbie* 送別 (sending off) and *libie* 離別 (leave taking) poems serve complementary functions, and their themes and emotional tones are similar.

The emotional timbre of the aforementioned *Yifanfeng* poem by Tiantai Weijun differs from the norms established by *shihua* above.[37] Outside the *Yifanfeng*, there are other examples of parting poetry by monks written on a particular occasion in the life of a monastic. The following leave-taking poem

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also expresses sentiments that are the exact opposite of normative expectations. Huanglong Huinan 黃龍慧南 (1002–1069) wrote the poem "Retiring from the Cloister and Leaving Mount Lu"[38] to mark his departure.[39]

	After ten years a mountain monk of Lu,	十年廬嶽僧
2	It takes just one day to emerge from the peaks.	一旦出巖層
	My old friends come to the river to bid farewell,	舊友臨江別
4	My lonely skiff marked with a crane sets out.[40]	孤舟帶鶴登
	Water does flow, following the twisting banks,	水流隨岸曲
6	And my sail fills when the wind soars.	帆勢任風騰
	Going and staying, fundamentally I am attached to neither,	去住本無著
8	A master of Chan severs all love and hate.	禪家絕愛憎

There is an apparent conflict between Buddhist ideals of nonattachment and the normative emotional response to parting. The final couplet of Huinan's poem fulfills the generic expectations of a parting poem by addressing the expected emotions while simultaneously challenging those standard expressions of sentiment. This poem contrasts the poems by Su Shi and Han Yu discussed above. Huinan states that neither coming nor going is fundamentally nostalgic. Nostalgia is not located in the act of parting itself. The minds of those who face separation create the sentiment accompanying leave taking.

Huinan's poem may be examined in terms of its literary themes and its performative functions, which interact to form a poetics of circumstance.[41] Huinan takes the riverside leave-taking scene as an allegory for an ideal Buddhist response to separation. The journey down the river becomes a metaphor for unwavering serenity as Huinan leaves one sangha and journeys to a new abbotship. Huinan asserts that a true master should be untroubled by grasping or aversion, and presents himself as a person who has successfully severed love and hate.

This parting message is addressed to Huinan's old friends from his ten years as abbot on Mount Lu, and it functions as a Buddhist teaching. Huinan uses the occasion of farewell as an example of impermanence. This is a beautiful orchestration of themes and function to express a Buddhist principle pertinent to the occasion.

Another figure from an orthodox Chan lineage, Xuedou Chongxian 雪竇重顯, similarly wrote a poem to mark his leaving of the community at Lingyin Temple in Hangzhou. After having spent three years as an officer in the Lingyin community, Xuedou was about to take up his first abbot's post at Cuifeng Temple 翠峯寺 in Suzhou. Though possessing the unexceptional title, "Taking Leave of the Chan Masters at Lingyin to Comply with the Invitation at Cuifeng,"

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the topic of Xuedou's parting poem is an inquiry into the nature of monks' parting poetry.[42]

	At times of parting, I don't bother to speak of feelings;	臨行情緒懶開言
2	Propagating cardinal tenets is also of no use.	提唱宗乘亦是閑
	A sea of worthy monks and venerable guiding teachers;	珍重導師并海眾
4	I cannot stand that my thoughts linger and bend toward this temple.	不勝依戀向靈山

Xuedou marked his leaving with a wonderful poem. The first premise is that most parting poems merely mouth platitudes and idle sentimentality. In the second line, however, Xuedou extends his critique to the kind of parting poetry that must have been in vogue among monks. We infer that chic monks' poems would replace sentimental truisms with Buddhist dogma. Such obvious philosophical posturing is also in vain, according to Xuedou, perhaps because it occludes the conventional reality of parting too completely. The second couplet turns from abstractions to the present moment of the poem. Xuedou extols the monks at Lingyin Temple and confesses his sentimental attachment to this community.

Xuedou thus uses a literary technique to creatively respond to the situation at hand. His orchestration of themes, techniques, and the function of the poem to mark his departure is particularly skillful. Xuedou is able to successfully participate in the mode (or genre) of parting poetry and still maintain his ascetic deportment. The monks' poems below, written by a single community to bid farewell to a Japanese pilgrim, similarly use sets of themes and literary techniques to respond to the problem of emotions in parting poetry.

The *Yifanfeng* Texts and Contexts

As a collection of poetry, *Yifanfeng* is unusual for being the work of many authors addressed to a single recipient. I interpret the *Yifanfeng* parting poems as a coherent corpus, the work of a single authorial community, written on the staged occasions of Nanpo's departure from China. As such, it is imperative to determine to what extent we can know whether the text is the work of a community. Fortunately, the *Yifanfeng* collection of poems has been the subject of a vigorous scholarly debate in China[43] and Japan.[44] Most recently, the discovery in Japan of an early manuscript copy of *Yifanfeng* has challenged some previous conclusions.[45]

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There are three distinct editions of *Yifanfeng*. Until recently, scholars have had to work from the *Yifanfeng* text of Edo-period (1603–1868) woodblock editions. The earliest complete copy is a 1664 Edo woodblock print by one Ryunbon Dōhaku 輪峰道白 (1636–1715) containing forty-four poems, forty-one *jueju* and three longer *guti* (ancient style) poems, all heptasyllabic.[46] I refer to this as Dōhaku's first edition.[47] A second expanded edition that reused Dōhaku's woodblocks was printed at an unknown later date. In this second edition, the colophons appear exactly the same except for a single emendation to reflect the number of poems that now appeared in the expanded *Yifanfeng*. This edition contains an additional twenty-five poems.[48] I refer to this as Dōhaku's expanded edition.[49] The circumstances surrounding the expanded edition are murky, and as a result there has been considerable suspicion and debate concerning the provenance of these twenty-five poems. I will review the arguments that lead me to believe the twenty-five poems were also authored by members of Xutang's community and addressed to Nanpo.

Dōhaku's editions played an important role in reintroducing the text to early modern readers. Furthermore, all modern editions have also relied on this text. Dōhaku's first edition was reprinted in 1922 by Sōfuku-ji 崇福寺 of Hakata and later included in *Gozan bungaku shinshū* 五山文学新集 (New Anthology of Gozan Literature).[50] The poems have also been republished in China as part of an ongoing effort to supplement the *Quan Song shi* 全宋詩 (Complete Poems of the Song Dynasty).[51]

Both of Dōhaku's editions open with a short piece of prose by one Shaoxi Huiming 苕溪慧明 dated winter of Xianchun 咸淳, year three (late 1267 to early 1268). This corresponds to the period after Nanpo's leave taking of Xutang at Jingshan in autumn 1267 but before his setting sail from Ningbo in early summer 1268. Judging from the content of Huiming's address itself, it seems to have been intended as a prefatory inscription for this collection of poems for Nanpo. The preface's title, however, "Yifanfeng xu" (Preface to *Yifanfeng*) may have been added or emended later.[52] *Yifanfeng* being the title of the corpus of poetry is attested at least as early as the time of Ikkyū Sōjun 一休宗純 (1394–1481), who read the collection, perhaps while abbot of Daitoku-ji 大徳寺, and wrote a seven-character quatrain titled "Dai Ippanfū go" 題一帆風後 (Inscribed at the End of *Yifanfeng*). One of his disciples also saw the *Yifanfeng*, which he described as a scroll.[53] These fragmentary colophons all predate Dōhaku's editions, and it is likely that they were written for a text that did not include the twenty-five supplemental poems.

There are formal differences between the initial forty-four poems and the supplemental poems that suggest they are not from the same source. For example, the author names found in Dōhaku's first edition are four-character names, whereas those in the supplemental poems are two-character names. This

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has raised the suspicion of some modern scholars. Hou Tijian,[54] for example, made the interesting suggestion that the twenty-five poems were a set of parting poems written by Japanese monks and mistakenly included in the expanded edition. Xu Hongxia,[55] however, positively identified some authors listed in the expanded edition as Song Dynasty monks and thus settled the question of nationality.[56] However, the possibility remained that the supplemental twenty-five poems had been written in Jiangnan one spring for some other Japanese monk, and then were brought to Japan and preserved separately until erroneously appended to the *Yifanfeng* several hundred years later.

Kinugawa Kenji demonstrated that the twenty-five supplemental poems were written for Nanpo, even though they were not part of a *Yifanfeng* ur-text that was given to Nanpo when he left Jingshan in autumn of 1267.[57] He noted that several poetic themes are used consistently across the two sets of *Yifanfeng* poems. These include general themes like images of the ocean and vessels,[58] as well as references to journeying. While the presence of these more general, universal themes alone would not be sufficient evidence to support a new hypothesis concerning the recipient, it is remarkable that these themes appear in great numbers throughout both sets of *Yifanfeng* poetry. The repetition of images, metaphors, and rhetorical strategies suggests that this community of monks had access to a shared fund of knowledge.

The success of Kinugawa's argument turns on one specific image that recurs throughout *Yifanfeng* but rarely appears in other parting poems. In both the supplemental poems as well as the first poems there is a particular image of Sudhana (Ch. Shancai 善財, often referred to as Shancai Tongzi 善財童子), the boy-pilgrim protagonist of the *Gaṇḍavyūha sūtra* (Supreme Array Scripture), known in Chinese as the *Ru fajie pin* 入法界品 (Chapter on Entering the Dharma-realm) in the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 (Skt. *Avataṃsaka sūtra*). Kinugawa discovered that this same image is found in a poem by Xutang himself, titled "Shancai" 善財 (Sudhana).[59]

	A tour of the southern lands ends in a moment;	歷盡南方只片時
2	After the winds of karma blew fog through one hundred cities.[60]	百城烟水業風吹
	Even here at the end there is no good friend;[61]	如今到處無知識
4	Who do you need to see when you let go your grip of the precipice edge?	撒手懸崖要見誰

The phrase "hundred cities" is explained in the Northern Song text *Zuting shiyuan* 祖庭事苑 (Chrestomathy from the Patriarchs' Halls) as an abbreviation of Sudhana's "travels to 110 cities and visits to fifty-two teachers."[62] This phrase

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was metonymy for Sudhana's entire pilgrimage. On the other hand, the image of fog does not derive from the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. In Tang poetry, *yanshui* depicts landscapes and can evoke a seemingly impassible wall or distance. In Song-era Buddhist writing, including other poems about Sudhana, fog becomes a metaphor for the bumbling world not-yet-awakened. Sometimes written out as *yanshui mangmang* 烟水茫茫 (boundless misty waters), it leaves the impression that ignorance is both thick and vast. The combination of hundred cities and fog is very unusual but recurs in *Yifanfeng*. The second couplet's iconoclasm transforms this poem from mere praise of Sudhana's achievement to an inquiry into the meaning of a journey. Similar ironic images of Sudhana's journey also appear throughout *Yifanfeng*, discussed at length below. The repetition of images and rhetorical strategies connects these poems to a community of authors based around Xutang.

The two sets of poems depict distinct seasonal scenes, signaling that the poems were written at different times, and quite possibly for different Japanese pilgrims. Again, Kinugawa found that the recipient of the twenty-five poems in Dōhaku's expanded edition could be none other than Nanpo. This conclusion is based on extraordinary textual similarities between a poem later written by Nanpo and the eighth supplemental poem by a monk named Dewei 德惟 (dates unknown).

	Casting off, the ship's bow spins north,	撥轉船頭向北看
2	Boundless high tide dashes against the coast.	全潮拍岸正漫漫
	The pilgrim Sudhana did not know he had it,	咨詢童子不知有
4	And walked in vain to a hundred cities through fog and cold.	空走百城烟水寒

The author of this poem, Dewei, was a close disciple of Xutang. Dewei was the editor of a portion of *Xutang heshang yulu* 虛堂和尚語錄 (The Recorded Sayings of the Venerable Xutang) and was honored in a poem by Xutang that survives in the Tokugawa Art Museum of Nagoya dated 1254.[63]

Though Dewei's above parting poem is found among the twenty-five supplemental poems, an uncanny borrowing occurs in a later poem by Nanpo, "Kannon san" 觀音贊 (In Praise of Kannon), written sometime after his return to Japan.[64]

	Clouds undulating, water boundless;	雲淡淡，水漫漫
2	The universal gate appears, do not slight it.	普門現，不相謾
	The pilgrim Sudhana did not yet know he had it,[65]	咨詢童子未知有
4	Walked in vain to a hundred cities through fog and cold.	空走百城烟浪寒

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The imagery in Nanpo's final couplet is borrowed directly from the parting poem by Dewei. Nanpo repeats the *manman* 漫漫 (boundless) also found in Dewei's poem. I agree with Kinugawa's conclusion that the most likely explanation for this exceptional similarity is that Nanpo personally knew Dewei's poem.

We have seen above how the supplemental poems share images and themes—most notably an antinomian reference to Sudhana—that tie them to one another and to Xutang. Many more examples of this type of sharing are given below. We have also seen an extraordinary similarity between a supplementary poem and a poem by Nanpo, which ties the supplemental set to Nanpo. In this way, the *Yifanfeng* can be understood as the work of an authorial community. Nonetheless, the supplemental poems express spring themes, whereas the first forty-four poems possess autumn images. This suggests that the supplemental poems written for Nanpo likely were written after Nanpo had taken leave of the community at Jingshan and was on his way home.

Several more extant parting poems to Nanpo were not included even in the expanded woodblock edition, testifying to the possibility of poems addressed to Nanpo not being included in the *Yifanfeng*. The physical form of these extant manuscripts differs from what may be surmised about those of the poems in the initial *Yifanfeng*. An example is the oft-reprinted calligraphy by Chinese monk Wushi Kexuan 無示可宣, a parting poem explicitly addressed to Nanpo that is now a registered *jūyō bunkazai* 重要文化財 (important cultural property).[66] In this piece, Kexuan introduces himself as Song Yin Jingwen zhushan Kexuan 宋鄞金文住山可宣 (abbot [of Huizhao Temple] on Jinwen Mountain in Yin County [Ningbo] of the Song), and autographed the poem from "*Da yuan jing*" 大圓鏡, the name of the abbot's quarters at Huizhao Temple 惠照寺, during *Xianchun wu chen xiameng xiahuan* 咸淳戊辰夏孟下澣 (the last week of the fourth month of 1268). This manuscript evidence places Nanpo in Ningbo at the beginning of summer of 1268.[67] The appearance of a single poem on an individual sheet of paper contrasts with the evidence provided by the manuscript from Daitō, introduced immediately below. The latter manuscript suggests that the original forty-odd poems were composed in pairs per one sheet of paper. Nonetheless, Kexuan's poem demonstrates that not every parting poem written to Nanpo was gathered in the earliest *Yifanfeng* copied by Daitō or in the initial woodblock edition.

The most plausible conclusion is that the supplemental poems were a set of poems written by monks in the Ningbo region where Nanpo waited for a summertime vessel to Japan. I will consider all sixty-eight poems to have been parting poems given to Nanpo. Building on this conclusion, I postulate that we conceive of the authors of the *Yifanfeng* poems as members of a loosely confederated community of monks who had trained under Xutang and thus a single

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authorial community. I interpret the text as a coherent corpus written on the staged occasions of Nanpo's departure from China. The event of Nanpo's leave taking stretched out over many months and included numerous occasions for parting poetry.

A recent discovery of *Yifanfeng* manuscript fragments can tell us more about the formation of the *Yifanfeng* as well as about the social lives of parting poems in Buddhist monasteries. In addition to the two editions of Dōhaku's woodblock, there is an important manuscript source of the *Yifanfeng* that survives in three fragments. The autographed fragment from this early fourteenth-century manuscript was recently found set within an eighteenth-century handscroll, together with previously unpublished colophons by scholars, including Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657–1725). This fragment is definitively in the hand of Nanpo's disciple Shūhō Myōchō 宗峰妙超 (1282–1337; also known as National Instructor Daitō 大燈国師, and hereafter simply "Daitō"), bearing his signature and seal. Legible photo-reproductions of two additional fragments were found in Taishō-era catalogs.[68] These three fragments together account for about three-fourths of the original handscroll, the earliest extant witness to the *Yifanfeng*.

It is most likely that Daitō's hand-copied edition was made directly from Nanpo's original documents. One of the Edo colophons appended to the scroll notes the loss of the original Chinese manuscripts in a fire at Kenchō-ji Temple of Kamakura.[69] The early history of the Daitō manuscript remains obscure.[70] The Edo colophons make clear that Daitō's copy of the *Yifanfeng* had been cut into three or four fragments sometime before Edo-period merchant Tani Yasutaka 谷安殷 (1669–1721) came into possession of just one fragment. Sometime prior, the uncut scroll may have been held by a temple in need of funds. The clean edges of each fragment make clear that the long scroll was carefully severed into three or four sections that could be mounted on hanging scrolls and that, if sold separately, would likely fetch more revenue for the temple or owner. Tani's fragment, now held in a private collection in Kyoto, has thirty lines of text constituting four poems and is mounted on a scroll with a series of colophons all dating to the 1720s.

In addition to Tani's fragment, two matching pieces of Daitō's *Yifanfeng* are known. Several years ago, Miyatake Yoshiyuki 宮武慶之 discovered Meiji- and Taishō-period photographs of two more fragments, one from the collection of Ikeda Seisuke 池田清助 and one from the collection of Masuda Nobuyoshi 益田信世. The manuscripts themselves have not been located and may have been lost in the war. Fortunately, the brushwork in these photographs is quite legible.[71]

Tani's fragment was the final extremity of the original manuscript. It contains the last three poems of *Yifanfeng*, followed by Xutang's verse (found at the head of all later editions), and finally, Daitō's autograph and seal. From the

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colophons he solicited, we can judge that Tani traveled between Edo and Kyoto and showed the specimen to members of the learned world, including Arai Hakuseki, who composed an erudite colophon praising Daitō's brushwork.[72] Four additional colophons composed by Zen monastic officers are dated between 1720 and 1721. The colophons make clear that the earlier publication of Dōhaku's woodblock editions in the mid-seventeenth century had reignited interest in the *Yifanfeng*.

Today, two distinct textual lineages survive. One lineage is Daitō's manuscript edition, which has no other known stemma. For the other line, Dōhaku's first edition from the Edo period is the earliest witness. The latter descends from the scroll found by Dōhaku; the whereabouts of the scroll is unknown. The two lineages probably descend from a single original set of texts brought from China by Nanpo and sometime later destroyed in a fire at Kenchō-ji.

The most striking comparison between the manuscript and woodblock editions is the order in which the poems appear. Though the differences are mostly random, there are two common points. Both sets of texts begin with the *jueju* and group the *guti* poems afterward; and both sets of texts repeat poems in pairs. For example, if one uses the sequence of poems from Dōhaku's woodblock to enumerate those in the Masuda fragment, the poems would be numbered 12, 13, 8, 9, 30, 31.[73] The sequence of poems presents a binary pattern, but the pairs themselves present at random. In all likelihood, there were two poems on one side of each sheet of paper of the original *Yifanfeng* ur-text, but the sequence of those sheets was not fixed. It is possible that Nanpo went around Jingshan Temple requesting the parting poems one by one, using each sheet twice. It is also possible that there was a single event at which sheets of paper circulated. Regardless, this initial corpus was distinct. It was separate from other farewell texts to Nanpo, such as Wushi Kexuan's poem. The first forty-four poems were read as a corpus at least as early as the time of Daitō's copying of the manuscript.

The internal coherence of the twenty-five supplemental poems suggests that a similar situation transpired in Ningbo during the spring. The supplemental poems originally were transmitted separately from the *Yifanfeng* and only later regarded as part of it. The supplemental twenty-five poems were given to Nanpo by a community of monks associated with their teacher Xutang. From this careful reading of the different *Yifanfeng* editions, we have new insights into the writing practices of this monastic community. Next, I will analyze the supplemental poems together with the forty-four poems as a single corpus of poetry given to Nanpo by his Chinese hosts, the broader Xutang community, during his journey home from China.

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Poetics of *Xingjiao* Practice and the *Gaṇḍavyūha*

The *Yifanfeng* texts are also social documents that reflect the immediate contexts in which the *Yifanfeng* corpus was created. For such parting poems, I suggest reading with a focus on the social logic imprinted on the texts. Occasional poems, common throughout the Chinese canon, use literary forms to enact social customs (welcoming a guest, seeing off a friend) or to mark everyday occasions (the giving of a small gift, a birthday, a moment of nostalgia). These poems serve as witnesses to the circumstances in which they were composed. Occasional poems are worthy of study for the scholar of religion as a means of understanding the social interactions of religious professionals and their expression of religious principles in the context of everyday occasions.

At least two elements of a parting poem may be in some relationship to one another: the world of the text—its symbols, metaphors, and narrative arc—and the world behind the text, or a poem's function on the occasion of parting. To approach both elements, an occasional poem should be read (1) closely as a text and (2) in the context in which it served as a token of a particular occasion. The next sections will use this analytic structure to address the *Yifanfeng* parting poems.

One of the values of the *Yifanfeng* collection of parting poems is that it represents a community of authors writing on a single occasion. It collects the farewell poems addressed to a single recipient written by many different authors, a phenomenon elsewhere attested by orphaned colophons.[74] The poems found in a *yulu*, by contrast, are by a single author addressed to many recipients.

The *Yifanfeng* poems, written on the occasion of the departure of the visiting monk Nanpo, respond to the end of a stage of *xingjiao* 行腳 (itinerant practice). *Xingjiao* is a prominent part of the development of a Chan monk, also referred to as *youfang* 游方 / 遊方 (wandering the realm). During this period of itinerancy, monks travel long distances to study with great teachers. Many poems now in *yulu* were written to be presented to students on the occasions of leaving for a period of *xingjiao* practice.

Like other parting poems, Buddhist occasional verses invoked the contexts in which they were written. These poems often address the bare facts concerning the departing student, and may state how long the student stayed to study, where they plan to go next, or a few words about spiritual insights (or lack thereof). However, in parting poems for *xingjiao* students, the coming and going of a student could serve as a metaphor for the student's understanding of the dharma. *Xingjiao* was an arduous physical practice that could double as an allegory for the spiritual journey a student underwent before awakening.

This entry from the Song Dynasty Chan chrestomathy *Zuting shiyuan* explains the religious purposes of *xingjiao*:

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> *Xingjiao* is to go a great distance from one's home, to walk through the world, to slough off sentiments and burdens, to seek a masterful benefactor, and to seek the dharma and confirm one's awakening. This is why studying with many teachers and wandering in all corners is best, just like Sudhana's southern pilgrimage and Sadāprarudita's eastward pilgrimage,[75] previous sages who went in search of the dharma. What Yongjia described [in *Zhengdao ge*] as "wandering among rivers and seas, wading through mountain streams, / seeking teachers to inquire of the way is the practice Chan," how could it not be so?
>
> 行脚者，謂遠離鄉曲，脚行天下，脫情捐累，尋訪師友，求法證悟也。所以學無常師，徧歷為尚，善財南求、常啼東請，盖先聖之求法也。永嘉所謂，游江海、涉山川，尋師訪道為參禪。豈不然邪?[76]

The *Zutiing shiyuan* attests that the symbolism of *xingjiao* practice resonated with the imagery of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, known in Chinese as the *Ru fajie pin* chapters of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* (Ch. *Huayan jing*).[77]

The *Gaṇḍavyūha* concerns the story of a merchant-banker's son named Sudhana (Shancai Tongzi), who, after listening to a sermon by Mañjuśrī (Wenshu 文殊), aspires to awakening and liberation. On the advice of Mañjuśrī, he sets out to the South to visit *shanzhishi* 善知識 (spiritual friends; Skt. *kalyāṇamitra*). Sudhana endures an epic journey, travels to 110 cities, and encounters fifty-three spiritual friends—images repeated in *Yifanfeng* poems. Sudhana's journey culminates when he meets the bodhisattva Maitreya (Mile 彌勒), who shows Sudhana the pure *fajie* 法界 (dharma realm; the namesake of the *Ru fajie pin*) and reveals that his entire journey has consisted of manifestations of the power of Mañjuśrī.[78]

In general, this pilgrimage has been understood as an allegory of progress along the bodhisattva path. Awakening is extremely difficult and rarefied, though entirely possible, given enough lifetimes of focused training and dedication. Sudhana is the model practitioner. As the *Gaṇḍavyūha* ends, Sudhana has a visionary experience of Samantabhadra (Puxian 普賢) awakening sentient beings. His identification with Samantabhadra at the very conclusion of the text reaffirms his role as the model practitioner who will live in the world embodying this wisdom. In some classic Chan texts, including the *Linji lu* 臨濟錄 (Record of Linji), references to Sudhana's pilgrimage were employed in the context of urging students to seek truth with great sincerity and effort. In many Chan texts, Sudhana was a model of great practice.

A radical new interpretation of this narrative appeared in Chan texts beginning in the early Song Dynasty. In this new reading, emphasis is placed on the significance of Maitreya's sending Sudhana back to Mañjuśrī. Sudhana cycles back to the beginning of his journey, encountering Mañjuśrī once more.

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The result is the same as the cause. This interpretation rebukes Sudhana's gradual progression along the path. It sees that Sudhana was never apart from the wisdom of Mañjuśrī, or "separate from the one mind."[79] These new ways of seeing Sudhana's pilgrimage accord with Chan subitism.[80]

There is a structural parallel between this way of seeing Sudhana's pilgrimage and certain Chan models of awakening. Sudhana began his journey to the South with Mañjuśrī and in the end returned to Mañjuśrī. Now back where he began, Sudhana envisions fulfilling the vows of Samantabhadra. The importance of this ultimate return to the source may be understood in light of the oft-quoted saying attributed to Qingyuan Weixin 青原惟信 (fl. Northern Song).[81]

> The master ascended the hall, and said, "Thirty years ago, before this old monk had studied Chan, I saw that mountains are mountains, and I saw that water is water. Then, sometime later with my own eyes I saw a *spiritual friend*, and there was some progress through the gate: I saw that mountains are not mountains, and I saw that water is not water. And now, I have come to a place to rest, and, like before, I see that mountains are just mountains, and I see that water is just water. Great assembly! These three ways of seeing things, are they the same? Are they different? If there is a monk or lay person who can get this, then you could say you had seen this old monk with your own eyes."
> 上堂曰：老僧三十年前，未參禪時，見山是山，見水是水。及至後來親見知識，有箇入處，見山不是山，見水不是水。而今得箇休歇處，依前見山只是山，見水只是水。大衆，這三般見解，是同是別？有人緇素得出，許汝親見老僧。

Qingyuan Weixin's sermon describes the spiritual path in three phases. First, there is the ordinary way of seeing things. Things appear to be what the seer is conditioned to see. In terms of Sudhana's pilgrimage, this first stage may refer to Sudhana before encountering Mañjuśrī. Second, there is an encounter with a spiritual friend and one grasps the nature of emptiness. Things are not what they appeared to be. For Sudhana, this represents almost the entirety of his epic pilgrimage after encountering Mañjuśrī and giving rise to *bodhicitta*. In other Chan texts, this often appears as a restless spiritual urgency that drives itinerant practice. Lastly, there is a return to the mundane world with the wisdom to understand the mechanisms of karma and liberation. Similarly, Sudhana's pilgrimage concludes with his return to Mañjuśrī and the visionary enactment of Samantabhadra awakening beings. Qingyuan Weixin's sermon provides a model for understanding how Sudhana's pilgrimage may be used as an allegory of Chan *xingjiao*.

Explicit allusions to Sudhana's pilgrimage are found in the *Yifanfeng* parting poems. Nanpo was returning to Japan after his study in China. The

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authors of these poems drew analogies between Nanpo's returning home and the climax of Sudhana's pilgrimage.

> Chicheng Xinghong 赤城行弘 / poem #5
> On a southerly voyage to seek the ultimate truth, 南詢端的便知休
> you knew when to stop;

Sudhana ceased his southerly searching when he had reached his goal. Similarly, when Nanpo began his return to where he began his journey, this signified that he had reached a certain understanding. We may interpret this reference to Sudhana's southerly pilgrimage in the terms of Qingyuan Weixin's sermon. This poem suggests that Nanpo had surpassed the stage of seeing that mountains are not mountains and understood that mountains are just mountains.

Dewei's poem translated above likewise is an example that explicitly links Sudhana's pilgrimage to Nanpo's period of study and his ocean-bound vessel heading back north to Japan.[82] The first two lines of Dewei's poem adhere to standard expectations of a parting poem: "Casting off, the ship's bow spins north, / Boundless high tide dashes against the coast." These lines describe the local scene of the Ningbo port where Nanpo will depart, and the enormous landscape into which he will disappear. The couplet is at once general and specific. The images of ocean, coast, and boats are not exclusive to Buddhism, but some readers could interpret these lines as expressing a subtle Buddhist truth. Such a reading would be encouraged by the subsequent couplet.

The second half of the poem shifts and seizes this moment of farewell to describe Nanpo's departure in explicit terms of Buddhist principles: "The pilgrim Sudhana did not know he had it, / And walked in vain to a hundred cities through fog and cold." The remainder of this essay is dedicated to exploring the implications of two elements found in this couplet of Dewei's poem. I will examine how Buddhist principles are at play in the *Yifanfeng* poems and explore the subversive nature of Chan humor in these parting poems.

Buddha Nature and Emptiness in Parting Poems

Above, I wrote about the adaptation of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* as a theme in *Yifanfeng* parting poems. In this section, I will examine the Buddhist principles of Buddha nature and emptiness. Dewei's curious remark, "The pilgrim Sudhana did not know he had it," probably refers to Buddha nature (Ch. *foxing* 佛性). In Chan practice, when one knows for oneself the immediacy of Buddha nature, this marks a dramatic turning point in one's spiritual journey.

As Buddha nature is universal, it follows that all beings in Japan also must be imbued with Buddha nature. By this reasoning, if one wishes to know Buddha nature, then there is no reason to leave Japan to go to China. Nanpo traveled to

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China to discover that he had possessed Buddha nature all along. Recalling Sudhana's pilgrimage, what Sudhana was looking for did not exist only in the South. Both Sudhana and Nanpo traveled great distances to discover that what they sought did not require them to go anywhere at all.

The following lines *from Yifanfeng* use the occasion of Nanpo's departure to invoke the universality of Buddha nature.

Xiangshan Keguan 象山可觀 / poem #29

As for Buddha dharma, we know for certain there is neither there nor here; 佛法固知無彼此

4 Everywhere under heaven the wind and snow feel cold. 普天風雪一般寒

The next couplet invokes Sudhana's pilgrimage to the South to convey that Nanpo stopped seeking truth outside himself.

Chicheng Xinghong 赤城行弘 / poem #5

Seeking the ultimate truth in the South, you knew when to stop; 南詢端的便知休

2 In the sky above there have never been two suns. 天上原無兩日頭

This single sun that shines everywhere is a metaphor for Buddha nature.

The next couplet also emphasizes the sameness of Buddhist truth in all places. This couplet twists the normative standards of a parting poem. Normative parting poems emphasize the great distance between friends as a reason for sorrow. This poem instead concludes:

Jiangnan Cirong 江南慈容 / poem #12

Light during the day, dark at night—the same through world! 晝明夜暗一寰宇

4 Who says our ancestral homes are separated by ocean cliffs? 誰道家山隔海涯

The initial image "light in the daytime, dark at night" invokes the third stage of Qingyuan Weixin's sermon, "mountains are just mountains." Things are what they are. This is followed in the second line by a disruption of the expected expression of nostalgia associated with distance. For one who has perceived Buddha nature and seen the dependent co-arising of phenomena, sentiments associated with distance do not necessarily have much emotional purchase.

The same poetic logic in terms of Buddha nature was also applied to the principle of emptiness. All phenomena are empty of self-existence (自性) and

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arise in dependence upon each other. This is a basic teaching of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, the provenance of Sudhana's pilgrimage story for Song Dynasty readers. At a fundamental level, there is no difference between emptiness in Japan and emptiness in China.

Several *Yifanfeng* parting poems respond to Nanpo's *xingjiao* with expressions of emptiness. For example, this next line focuses on the emptiness of coming and going.

Jiangxi Daodong 江西道東 / poem #3
2 Coming, no traces; going, the same; 來無蹤跡去還同

The theme of this passage is the emptiness of mover and movement, like Nagarjuna's verses on *Gatāgataparīkṣā* (Analysis of Going and Not-Going) in the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (Verses on the Middle Way). Such ideas were more likely to be known to Song Dynasty authors from the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* (維摩詰經) or *Śūraṅgama sūtra* (大佛頂首楞嚴經).[83] However, the significance of this poetic line derives primarily from the context of composition. The writing and giving of this expression of emptiness are actions in response to Nanpo's return home.

The next passage affirms that Nanpo practiced *xingjiao* with an understanding of emptiness.

Siming Zhiping 四明志平 / poem #39
You wandered throughout mountains and rivers with eyes empty; 江山歷盡眼頭空

These poems use the ordinary social custom of presenting a poem to see off a guest, but instead of expressing nostalgia or longing, the writers convey Buddhist ideals. Though the form appears similar to normative parting poems, the function of the *Yifanfeng* poems must be understood within the context of Chan *xingjiao*. Without their circumstances, these poems could be read simply as statements of Buddhist principles.

Chan Humor—"All That Way for Nothing"

Chan is notorious for its humor.[84] Many stories about Chan masters involve incongruities: iconoclastic behavior, seemingly contradictory statements, and even flat-out heresies. A good Chan master also may have a sharp wit, but his witty repartees are not just for amusement.[85] The subversion of expected norms points to a Buddhist principle, an aspect of Chan practice. Chan humor may or may not be liberative per se, yet at the least it illuminates how Song Dynasty monks continued to seriously engage with classical Buddhist ideas of salvation.

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In the *Yifanfeng* parting poems, several humorous tropes are repeated frequently. In the aforementioned passage, "Sudhana did not know he had it," the writer alludes to the principles of Buddha nature and emptiness and the imagery of Sudhana's pilgrimage. He immediately disrupts any sense of reverence with his next words, "And walked in vain to a hundred cities." This iconoclastic allusion to Sudhana's pilgrimage is a joke being made on Nanpo.

Tongue-in-cheek, many of the *Yifanfeng* parting poems jest that Nanpo was determined to make a dangerous voyage across the seas to discover that he already possessed Buddha nature. The monks suggest that he came all that way for nothing, that his trip was in vain. If he had understood this principle before he had set out, Nanpo could have saved himself the voyage. Several of the *Yifanfeng* poems tease Nanpo that his coming to China was based on this mistaken understanding.

Xishu Zhengyin 西蜀正因 / poem #21

2 You mistakenly came to China to suffer seeking an answer. 錯向中華苦訪尋

Chicheng Yiwei 赤城義爲 / poem #30

2 Mistakenly coming to China, mistakenly seeking people; 錯入唐朝錯見人

Nankang Yongxiu 南康永秀 / poem #35

Confused before ever lifting a foot over the side of the boat— 脚頭未跨舡舷錯

4 Who could have been told the breadth of the sea or the vastness of mountains? 海濶山遥舉似誰

Read literally, these verses claim Nanpo made his trip in error and should not have come. However, it is nearly impossible to imagine such sentiments would be addressed in earnest to a distinguished departing monk. Nanpo lived in Xutang's community for ten years, served as a monastic officer, and was in daily proximity to these monks; the poems' directness of expression signals this intimacy.[86] This directness can be read as a form of affectionate play. It is possible to read these passages as a mark of respect for their recipient, or even confirmation of Nanpo's spiritual attainment. Only one possessing a certain understanding of Buddhist principles would get such a harsh joke.

Passages from many other *Yifanfeng* parting poems crack the same joke:

Qingzhang Benyin 清漳本因 / poem #11

In the Great Kingdom of the Tang, there never was Zen; 大唐國裡本無禪

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2 Nonetheless, you came southward resolutely to seek it. 剛要南來探一回

Lize Qingda 笠澤清達 / poem #16
Your home is in Japan—what was there to search for? 家在扶桑何所求

Jinhua Zhiduan 金華智端 / poem #18
Did you know your home was in Japan? 誰知家住在扶桑
2 You traveled great distance, ten thousand *li*, to come to China. 萬里迢迢入大唐

Lu'nan Deyuan 瀘南德源 / poem #19
For several years you've lived in this southern kingdom, 幾年經歷在南朝
2 How could it be necessary to suffer to seek the great way outside oneself? 大道何須苦外求

Guhong Jingxi 古洪淨喜 / poem #22
2 Why would such knowledge be in China? 知識何曾在大唐

Siming Zuying 四明祖英 / poem #34
The southern country never had Buddha dharma; 南國自來無佛法
4 Don't bother to say you spent the summer in residence on Mount Jing. 莫言今夏在凌霄

Dongjia Congyi 東嘉從逸 / poem #42
The Great Tang was always right next to your feet. 太唐元在脚頭邊

Again, the *Yifanfeng* poems convey that Nanpo's leaving Japan to seek the dharma in China resulted from mistaken understanding. The ultimate principle Nanpo sought could be known in Japan. On the surface, these verses appear to be overly direct, and in some cases outright rude and mocking. And the verses are right: if Nanpo had understood dharma before he left, he would have had no need to journey to China.

The above lines can be read in several different ways. They might be instructions for Nanpo, pointing to the principles of Buddha nature and emptiness. Or they might be in-jokes with Nanpo that affirm Nanpo's success in gaining insight after coming to China.[87] The presentation of these humorous passages by Nanpo's Chinese dharma brothers itself might suggest that they

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believed he had reached the end of his *xingjiao* with enough insight to grasp the meaning of the poems. If so, then the parting verses suggest that Nanpo, like Sudhana reaching the end of his pilgrimage, on the eve of his return to his origins could see the erroneous understanding that had brought him to China in the first place. Subverting the conventions of *songbie* poetry allowed the authors and recipient to enact the Chan monk's insight. Reading iconoclastic poems as meaningful in-jokes can best explain how a single collection of parting poems would appear to contain poems both valedictory and tongue-in-cheek.

The Chan humor found in the *Yifanfeng* parting poems is not simply funny. Chan humor expresses the radical implications of emptiness and the apparent contradictions of deluded beings possessing the Buddha mind. Chan teachers use words in doubled meanings to convey concepts that are unfamiliar, and often impenetrable by conventional thinking. The *Yifanfeng* poems repeatedly use the words *empty-handed* (空手) and *nothing* (空) to simultaneously invoke their conventional meanings of lack, and their more profound implications of Buddhist emptiness.[88] This dual usage allows the authors to subvert the conventional norms of a parting poem and reappropriate its social function in a Buddhist monastic setting.

Conclusion

The *Yifanfeng* parting poems reflect the intersection of Chinese literary history and Buddhist monasticism. The works in the *Yifanfeng* use the same literary forms as contemporary conventional parting poetry but are distinctly Buddhist in terms of themes and functions. One of the salient themes of the *Yifanfeng* parting poems is their invocation of Buddhist principles, especially emptiness and Buddha nature, to acknowledge the departure of a monk. Symbols of *xingjiao* are used as metonymy, and iconoclastic allusions to the *Gaṇḍavyūha* are deployed to discuss the serious religious significance of successful itinerant study. Further, the *Yifanfeng* poems bid farewell without longing or nostalgia and thus deviate from norms seen in anthologies and Song Dynasty *shihua*. This cool equanimity appears not to be limited to the *Yifanfeng* and to be characteristic of parting poetry in other Chan monastic communities.

As the *Yifanfeng* poems are a type of occasional poetry, the circumstances of composition are essential to understanding the corpus. The *Yifanfeng* poems respond to the circumstances of *xingjiao* itinerant study, a practice woven into the fabric of Song Dynasty monasticism and that generated many occasions of arrival and leave taking. The poems were written by monks to see off another monk who had lived, worked, and studied in their monastic community for almost a decade. These monks' parting poems are situated within the double occasion of a ritual departure at the end of a long pilgrimage and a personal farewell to a familiar colleague.

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In the *Yifanfeng* poems, Buddhist monks used the standard forms of parting poetry but adapted genre conventions to meet specific Buddhist monastic ideals. Nonetheless, this doesn't require the definition of a new genre of "Buddhist parting poetry." If we are indeed more interested in pigeons than in pigeonholes,[89] then our goal has been to make sense of the extant monks' poetry instead of focusing on taxonomies.[90]

The repeated use of similar images and themes throughout *Yifanfeng* implies that the community of monks living under Master Xutang had developed their own shared language and working vocabulary to write in verse about Buddhist practice. The *Yifanfeng* corpus warrants more study that may reveal further insights into the literary cultures of Buddhist monasteries.

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Notes

1. Matsubara, *Chūgoku ribetsu shi*, surveys the origins of parting poetry from the Six Dynasties to the High Tang. Now available in Chinese translation from Zhonghua shuju, 2014.
2. Cai, "Sheng Tang songbie shi," 27–32.
3. There has been a renaissance of Chinese-language scholarship on Buddhism and Chinese poetry in recent decades. Such research has focused especially on the influence of Buddhism on mainstream poets, on the so-called poet-monks, and on literary relationships between monks and literati. An important call to move away from pure intellectual history and follow the cultural turn was Xiao, *Tangdai shige yu chanxue*, i–iv. Recently, Huang Qijiang has published several volumes in support of his hypothesis that there was a transformation of Buddhist monastic culture during the mid–Southern Song, evidenced by increased literary production, in which the cultural practices of what he terms *wenxue seng* 文學僧 (literary monks) became part of mainstream monasticism (Huang Qijiang, *Yiwei Chan*, 38–39). Huang suspects the *Yifanfeng* participated in this culture (ibid., 7).
4. Nanpo is also known as Daiō Kokushi 大應国師 (National Instructor Daiō). For more on Nanpo, see Araki, *Daiō*. The later Rinzai Zen tradition celebrated Nanpo as the founder of the prominent *Ō–Tō–Kan* lineage.
5. On the broader Song-era practices of collecting parting poems for a traveler, see Cong Ellen Zhang, *Transformative Journeys*, 113–16.
6. Weijun was also known as Dongzhou Weijun 東州惟俊 and was the compiler of one section of Xutang's *yulu*, titled *Wuzhou Yunhuang shan Baolin Chansi yulu* 婺州雲黃山寶林禪寺語錄 (The Recorded Sayings of Baolin Chan Temple at Yunhuang Mountain in Wuzhou). Weijun also wrote a poem to the Zen pilgrim Mushō Jōshō 無象靜照 (1234–1306), one of the matched-rhyme poems in the collection *Mengyou Tiantai ji* 夢遊天台偈 (Verse of a Dream Voyage to Tiantai), in Tamamura's *Gozan bungaku shinshū*, 6:640–41. Master Xutang also wrote a farewell poem to monk Jōshō, the original manuscript of which survives and is reprinted in *Kamakura*, 99, 216. For more on Weijun, see Satō, "Kidō Chigu," 65–70.

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7. All passages of poetry quoted from the *Yifanfeng* are based on a comparison of the Edo woodblock editions and the Daitō manuscript. I provide the name of the author and a poem number. Poem numbers follow the sequence in the woodblock editions and are written "poem #" for the first forty-four beginning with Xutang's verse as "poem #1," and then "suppl. #" for the latter twenty-five supplemental poems. I use David Branner's reconstructed Middle Chinese (based on the Song Dynasty *Guangyun* rhyme book) accessible on his *Yintong* website and follow Sargent on metric analysis, *Poetry of He Zhu*, 8–10, based on the work of the late Qi Gong 啓功.
8. In my translations I introduce internal line breaks denoted by indentations where I think it improves the English line. These breaks generally correspond with a caesura between fourth and fifth words in the heptasyllabic Chinese line.
9. As suggested by Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism*, 247–48.
10. Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 37; my paraphrase alludes to Claude Lévi-Strauss.
11. Newsom, *Book of Job*, 12.
12. A comprehensive bibliography of translations and scholarly studies of Nineteen Old Poems can be found in Knechtges and Chang, *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature*, 1.289–92. The first poem in the collection begins, "Xing xing chong xing xing" 行行重行行 (Wandering and wandering, again wandering and wandering), often taken to be the voice of a woman longing for her husband who travels far from home.
13. Raft, "Space of Separation," 278–79, in introductory remarks to his discussion of "letter poems," writes about *zujian* as functional verse. "The banquet is not itself a point of focus in such banquet poems. Rather, the parting scene is present as a fulcrum for the elevation of a few carefully chosen words . . . that may shape memories of the past and influence relationships of the future. The poem, presumably presented in its author's calligraphy, becomes a talisman consecrated at the parting ceremony."
14. On the development of the *shihua* genre, its position in Song literary society, and qualities particular to the form, see chapter 2 of Ronald Egan, *Problem of Beauty*. Egan hypothesizes that it was the relative freedoms of the *shihua* as a new literary mode that made it so popular with literati.
15. Wei, *Shiren yuxie*, 75–76. A comprehensive and creative study of the *Shiren yuxie* that extends to the book's place within the *shihua* genre and relationship to print culture, circulation, and libraries, is Zhang Gaoping's *Shiren yuxie*.
16. "Ci Shitou yi ji Jiangxi Wang Shi zhongcheng gelao" 次石頭驛寄江西王十中丞閣老 (Arriving at Shitou Station, a Poem Sent to the Elder Vice Censor-in-Chief Wang Ten [Zhongshu] of Jiang [nan]xi Circuit); see Han, *Han Changli shi*, 1187–88. This poem was written in 820 when Han Yu was returning to the capital from exile. In the text of the poem he states that he has just passed Yuzhang Cheng 豫章城, another name for Nanchang. A Shitou Station is known to have existed nearby. The recipient of this poem was Wang Zhongshu 王仲舒 (762–823).
17. For the full poem, see "Pencheng zengbie" 溢城贈別 (Presented When Parting at Pencheng), in *Quan Tang shi*, 745.8478. Pencheng 溢城 (City on the Pen) is one of the old names for the city of Jiujiang 九江, which is on the southern shores of the Yangzi River in Jiangxi Province where the mouth of the Pen River opens.
18. Guo, *Canglang shihua jiaoshi*, 198.
19. "Yingzhou chu bie Ziyou" 潁州初別子由 (On Taking Leave of Ziyou at Yingzhou), in Su, *Su Shi shi ji*, 278–81. See also Yoshikawa, *Sōshi gaisetsu*, 165–66. Cf. Burton Watson's English translation in Yoshikawa, *Introduction to Sung Poetry*, 107.

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20. Meng, "Song Du shisi zhi Jiangnan" 送杜十四之江南 (Sending Off Du Fourteen to Jiangnan), *Meng Haoran*, 266–67. My understanding was enriched by Kroll's discussion of other poems written in the region of Lake Dongting; Kroll, *Meng Hao-jan*, 72–77.
21. One well-established variant *shui lian xiang* 水連鄉 emphasizes the river as connecting Chu and Wu.
22. Earlier Chinese editions have *miaomang* 渺茫 for boundlessly flowing; both phrases have the same *ze ping* 仄平 meter.
23. *Guzhou* 孤舟 here follows the *Tang shi xuan*, whereas older Chinese editions have *zhengfan* 征帆; all are even tones. The final three words *hechu po* 何處泊 are commonly given as *po hechu* 泊何處; either sequence is regulated.
24. Parting poems in the Buddhist canon are numerous, appearing in almost every *yulu* from the Song onward. The y*ulu* genre emerged in the early Northern Song and continued to develop well into the Ming and Qing periods. A *yulu* purported to record the sayings and activities of a master and came to be a composite of the many distinct genres employed by an abbot in the course of carrying out their religious profession. For many *yulu*, the concluding fascicles functionally are a collection of poetry under the header *jisong*. For more on the history of *yulu*, see Yanagida, "'Recorded Sayings' Texts."
    The ubiquity of parting poetry among Song and Yuan monks is conveyed by the *Jōwa ruiju soon renpōshū* 貞和類聚祖苑聯芳集 (Jōwa-era [1345–49] collection of verse from the ancestral garden arranged by type; hereafter *Jōwa-shū*), compiled by Japanese monk Gidō Shūshin 義堂周信 (1325–1388) from the Song- and Yuan-era books circulating in fourteenth-century Japan. *Jōwa-shū* contains several thousand complete poems by Song and Yuan monks, mostly five- and seven-syllable *jueju*, organized into sixty-five sections. The *songxing* (sending off) section has 204 poems, second only to the 262 *zan* 讚 (encomia). Compare these to the seven poems about *wudao* 悟道 (awakening). I suspect that a quantitative analysis of the poems in *yulu* would yield similar results.
25. The earliest unambiguous designation of *shi* poetry as *ji* that I am aware of is in the *Platform Sūtra*. Shenxiu's verse is a perfectly regulated *jueju*; the prosody of Huineng's response is in shambles. Predating the naming practices of Song-era *yulu*, poet monk Qiji 齊己 (860–940) wrote a preface to the *jueju* by the Caodong teacher Longya Judun 龍牙居遁 (835–923), stating that "although [Longya's works] are formally similar to *shi* poetry, their purport is not that of poetry"; *Chanmen zhu zushi jisong* (Gatha of the Ancestral Teachers of the Chan School), in *XZJ* 116:921, a13. The use of gatha (though not *shi*) as an independent, creative genre of Chinese poetry begins at least in the Tang. Bai Juyi composed a series of *ji* in four-syllable lines. On the other hand, early monks' *shi* were called *shi* and not gatha. In other words, an author's identity alone does not determine the genre.
26. In consideration of the widespread practice during the Song, one may note the theoretical advances in the tenth century that made such naming practices plausible; see Yanagi, *Eimei Enju*. Another possible explanation is that the naming practice was an editorial decision by the compilers of *yulu* in reaction to literati who frequently looked down on the poetry of religious teachers as doggerel. By reframing *shi* poems by one's master as *jisong* verse, the criteria of excellence could have been withdrawn from the hands of lay poets and planted firmly inside the walls of the monastery. For more, see Protass, "Buddhist Monks," chs. 1 and 2.
27. Williams, "Taste of the Ocean," includes a comprehensive review of previous scholarship on Jiaoran. On Late Tang poet-monks, see Mazanec, "The Invention of Chinese Buddhist Poetry."

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28. Hata, *Shige sakuhō*, 69–71. Hata includes a section on *sōan* 送行, a type of poem to be written after the completion of the ninety-day summer retreat or whenever a student graduates or leaves; he illustrates the mode with two examples for Japanese monks headed off to Yuan China, written by Daichi Sokei 大智祖継 (1290–1367), who himself had spent ten years in China. The phrase *songxing* 送行 is also used in the Song Dynasty to refer to parting poems.
29. Gregory and Ebrey, "Religious and Historical Landscape," sets the Tang-Song transition as a framework for making sense of both the changes and continuities in religious traditions.
30. Among the many important works published on Song history, some particularly helpful for thinking about the education of young men destined to become monks include Bossler, *Powerful Relations*, and Bol, "Sung Examination System."
31. Levering, "Monk's Literary Education."
32. This research is indebted to earlier reevaluations of Song Buddhism, especially the 1999 collection of essays *Buddhism in the Sung*. In the introductory essay, Gregory underscores the importance of overturning earlier misconceptions, stating that "far from signaling a decline, the Sung was a period of great efflorescence in Buddhism and that, if any period deserves the epithet of the 'golden age' of Buddhism, the Sung is the most likely candidate" (Gregory, "Vitality of Buddhism," 2). The Song witnessed not only a profusion of temples, people in monasteries, and literary projects but also the qualitative development of new Buddhist poetics like those in the *Yifanfeng*. See also Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice," on the importance of the Song as a period of creativity.
33. For a comprehensive review of the new system of large monasteries and abbotships, see Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*, 31–77.
34. See Foulk, "*Chanyuan qinggui*," for the social history and genre norms of *qinggui* texts.
35. Yifa, *Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes*, 176, translates the ritual protocol to see off an honored guest as described in *Chanyuan qinggui*. Note that the abbot is to recite a verse from the high seat in the Dharma hall for the benefit of the departing guest. In Song Dynasty *yulu* preserved in the Taishō and Zokuzōkyō canons, one can find myriad parting poems written for occasions that I suspect may have been like the social rituals described in *qinggui*. Not all extant parting poems, of course, were composed during or in advance of such formal events in the monastery. Many were written in response to requests (often marked by *qiu* 求 or a synonym in the poem's title).
36. This nonexhaustive list of the uses of poetry in monasteries emerges from perusing the titles of parting poems preserved in Song Dynasty *yulu*.
37. A similar tension between monastic aspirations to equanimity and the emotions of poetry can also be seen in the poetry of Daocan 道璨 (1213–1271) about longing for home; Huang Qijiang, *Wuwen yin*, 56–64.
38. Huinan had been the abbot of Tong'an Chongsheng Chan Cloister 同安崇勝禪院 and then Guizong Temple 歸宗寺, both on Mount Lu, before moving to the newly renamed Jicui 積翠 on Mount Huangbo 黃檗山 (in Yifeng County 宜豐縣 near Nanchang 南昌).
39. "Tui yuan bie Lu shan" 退院別廬山 (Retiring from the Cloister and Leaving Mount Lu), in *Huanglong Huinan Chanshi yulu* 黃龍慧南禪師語錄 (The Recorded Sayings of the Chan Master Huinan of Huanglong), *T.* 47, no. 1993, p. 635, c13–16. Cf. translation in Charles Egan, *Clouds Thick, Whereabouts Unknown*, 114.
40. Imagery associated with cranes is rich and variegated. The image of the noble crane as solitary and aloof *guhe* 孤鶴 (individual crane) may be pertinent here, as the author boards a lonely skiff (*guzhou*). I have taken this phrase to be related to *hezhou* 鶴舟, found in Tang

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and Song poetry, to refer to a craft adorned with cranes. Hence the crane here may be synecdoche for a skiff.

41. My investigation of a poetics of circumstance, marked by intentional play between themes within the poem and the social and ritual functions of the poem as an object, was inspired in part by an analysis of Stéphane Mallarmé's *vers de circonstance*, in Sugano, *Poetics of the Occasion*.

42. "Fu Cuifeng qing bie Lingyin Chanshi" 赴翠峯請別靈隱禪師 (Taking Leave of the Chan Masters at Lingyin to Comply with the Invitation at Cuifeng), in *Mingjue Chanshi yulu* 明覺禪師語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Mingjue), *T.* 47, no. 1996, p. 706, b18–20. The topos of *fuqing* 赴請 is well established in monks' poetry; one should not read this as *qingbie* 請別 (asking leave). The punctuation in the Taishō edition is misleading. For a review of this event in Xuedou's career, see Huang Yixuan, *Song dai Chan zong cishu*, 85–86.

43. In China, scholarship on *Yifanfeng* began when the text was reprinted with an initial analysis by Chen Jie, "Riben ru Song seng." This article elicited a response from Hou Tijian, who held that the twenty-five supplemental poems should not be included in a supplement to the *Quan Song shi*. He suspected these poems could have been composed in medieval Japan and mistaken by later Japanese readers for Chinese poems (Hou, "Nansong Chanseng"). Chen and Jiang, *Jingshan wenhua*, 111–13, expressed similar doubts about the supplemental poems. In response, Xu Hongxia demonstrated that three of the authors of the supplemental twenty-five poems were known associates of Xutang's community. Xu was unable to prove if the recipient was Nanpo (Xu, "Ricang Song seng shiji"). Kinugawa Kenji built on Xu's argument using new evidence (Kinugawa, "Sōbetsu shishū").

44. In Japan, materials relating to Nanpo have been studied extensively by Nishio Kenryū and Satō Shūkō. Among their many essays, most helpful here have been Satō, "Kidō Chigu," and Nishio, "Nichū kōryū."

45. Three manuscript fragments were independently discovered in Kyoto by two separate groups in 2011. A seminar was held at Hanozono University beginning in 2011 to examine the significance of the manuscript fragments. A volume of annotated translations into modern Japanese is expected soon.

46. Dōhaku wrote a colophon wherein he detailed how in 1664 he found in "an ancient temple of the capital" "a complete scroll" of *Yifanfeng* containing forty-three poems plus one verse given to Nanpo by Xutang, which he deliberately moved and appended to the front of the collection. Presumably, Dōhaku found this manuscript at Daitoku-ji. There is an autographed colophon by the Obaku émigré monk Jifei Ruyi 即非如一 (1616–1671; Jap. Sokuhi Nyoitsu) dated 1664 and appended to Dōhaku's editions. Jifei, a noted poet and calligrapher himself, praised the *Yifanfeng* poems by comparing them to powerful waves that continue to travel through history long after Nanpo's encounter with the great worthies of Song China. Xutang's verse has been important for the Daitoku-ji tradition as proof of Xutang's recognition of Nanpo's awakening and for its prediction that "heirs will flourish in the east." In Daitō's manuscript there are several curious signs that this verse was not necessarily part of *Yifanfeng* but was appended by Daitō. Xutang's verse is at the end of the forty-three parting poems, not at the beginning as in other editions, yet it is before his signature and seal. On the manuscript itself, the verse is placed with empty white space at the top of each line. This may have been an act of reverence by Daitō. All the other poems occupy the full height of the paper. The organizing principle of the other forty-three poems—the forty *jueju* are followed by three long *guti*—would suggest that Xutang's seven-character *jueju* poem should have been organized together with the other

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seven-character *jueju*, not at the very end after the longer *guti* poems. The other *Yifanfeng* poems record only the author, and Xutang's verse includes a colophon after the poem. The colophon was later printed in the woodblock *Yifanfeng* as a prefatory note to the poem. All this suggests that perhaps Xutang's verse was originally separate from the *Yifanfeng* poems. Iriya Yoshitaka ("Daiō Kokushi") pointed out the unexpected consequences of closely attending to the grammar of the poem, concluding that the poem was written in Nanpo's own voice. A follow-up response and more, including an overview of earlier scholarship, is found in Nakase and Kinugawa, "Gidō sōbetsu."

47. My phrase "first edition" corresponds to the *chu ke ben* or *shokokubon* 初刻本 used in Chinese and Japanese secondary literature.
48. Dōhaku's colophon was changed so the number of poems (not including Xutang's) found in a temple went from forty-three to sixty-seven (though in fact there were sixty-eight poems). Unfortunately, the recompiler (perhaps Dōhaku himself) did not document the process of amendation. The earlier textual history of the twenty-five poems remains unknown.
49. My phrase "expanded edition" corresponds to *zeng bu ben* or *zōhobon* 増補本 in the scholarly literature.
50. Tamamura, *Gozan bungaku shinshū*, 7:925–30.
51. When first reprinted in China in 2007, the *Yifanfeng* was presented as a supplement to *Quan Song shi* by Chen Jie ("Riben ru Song seng"). *Yifanfeng* was not included in the 2012 compilation by Zhu and Chen, *Songdai Chanseng shi jikao*.
52. The words *yi fan feng* themselves mean something like "a sail full of wind" and are a valediction for safe passage, a wish for smooth or plain sailing. The phrase is perhaps familiar to readers today from the related cliché *yi fan feng shun* 一帆風順 or *yi fan shun feng* 一帆順風.
53. In his poem, Ikkyū attests that the *Yifanfeng* poems praise Nanpo's accomplishment but do so in a strange, perhaps even inelegant, way that he describes as *zenwa* 禪話 (Chan talk). This poem is found in the critical revised text of *Kyōun shū* by Itō Toshiko, 41, no. 645. An annotated Japanese translation is in Yanagida, *Kyōun shū*, 217. Ikkyū's disciple Nankō Sōgen 南江宗沅 (1387–1463) also composed a seven-character quatrain on the occasion of examining a hand copy of *Yifanfeng* (titled "On Viewing a Scroll of *Yifanfeng*, by Southern Song Elders to Send Off Nanpo"), in Tamamura, *Gozan bungaku shinshū* 6.254, no. 189.
54. Hou, "Nansong Chanseng."
55. Xu, "Ricang Song seng shiji."
56. Hou pointed out that the twenty-five supplemental poems all depict a springtime seaside scene. On the basis of these seasonal references, he argued they were a set of parting poems without any connection to the *Yifanfeng*, which had been written in autumn (Hou, "Nansong Chanseng"). However, Xu identified seventeen of the authors from *Yifanfeng*, including three monks who wrote poems now in the supplemental section, and found all to be associated with Xutang's community (Xu, "Ricang Song seng shiji"). This established the authorship of the supplemental poems as Song Chinese monks and so settled the debate among Chinese scholars concerning supplements to *Quan Song shi*.
57. Kinugawa, "Sōbetsu shishū."
58. Extensive references to the ocean are also found in Tang-era poems written in honor of people bound for Japan by sea, many of whom were monks. Buddhist monks made up most of the examples in Schafer, "Fusang and Beyond." Schafer's analysis emphasized the strange, especially sea monsters, and primal fear of the sea.

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59. The poem is preserved in Gidō Shūshin's *Jōwa-shū* but was not included by the Chinese compilers in *Xutang heshang yulu* (The Recorded Sayings of the Venerable Xutang). Gido's colophon dated 1388 explains his lifelong endeavor to collect and organize Song and Yuan monks' poems begun when he was a student during the Jōwa period (1345–49). Future research of the *Jōwa-shū* will find many more poems not preserved elsewhere.
60. "Winds of karma" *yefeng* 業風 appears as "leafy wind" *yefeng* 葉風 in *Jōwa-shū* and has been changed on the basis of the *Tentetsu shū* 點鐵集 (Flecks of Iron Collection). The mistaken character is found in later editions of *Jōwa-shū*, 2.3b, such as *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* (Gidō, *Jōwa-shū*, 143:31). The correct character in *Tentetsu shū*, 2.87a, in *Zengaku tenseki sōkan* (Gekiō, *Tentetsu shū*, 10:142), cites the *Jōwa-shū* as its original source. *Tentetsu shū*, by the Sōtō Zen monk Gekiō Sōjun 逆翁宗順 (1433– 1488), is a fifteenth-century compilation of couplets organized by rhyme word. Several Edo manuscripts of *Jōwa-shū* also survive, including two at National Diet Library. The poem is on 2.3a in the 1632 edition, which has an ambiguously printed character that looks like *ye* 葉 (leaf) and must be the source of the error in the *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* edition, whereas a second, later Edo edition prints the correct character *ye* 業.
61. "Good friend" *zhishi* 知識, short for *shanzhishi* 善知識, a translation of the Sanskrit *kalyāṇamitra*, is a spiritual teacher.
62. The number of teachers is given as either fifty-two or fifty-three, depending on whether one includes Samantabhadra after the second visit to Mañjuśrī. *Zuting shiyuan*, *XZJ*, 113:73, a13–17. For a comprehensive study of the *Zuting shiyuan* text, its history, and its significance, see Huang Yixun, *Song dai Chan*; see 135–36 and 253 for interesting comments pertinent to interpretation of Sudhana's pilgrimage.
63. In the manuscript Dewei is addressed as "Dewei Chanzhe" 德惟禪者. The text is a poem that is also found in *Xutang heshang yulu*, where Dewei is called "Dewei Shizhe" 德惟侍者. Xutang's autographed colophon on the manuscript is not in *Xutang heshang yulu* and states that the verse was given in response to Dewei's request before he set out for itinerant practice.
64. This poem is found in the recorded sayings of Nanpo, *Entsū Daiō Kokushi goroku* 圓通大應國師語録 (The Recorded Sayings of the State Preceptor Entsū Daiō), *T.* 80, no. 2548, p. 123, c18–19.
65. The text has been emended to read *zixun* 咨詢. The Taishō canon reads *chuixun* 吹詢, which is certainly a mistake.
66. This specimen has been printed several times, first in Tayama, *Zenrin bokuseki*, 1.44. In mid-century *jūyō bunkazai* 重要文化財 (important cultural property) documentation, the monk's name was erroneously thought to be Wuer Kexuan 無爾可宣. In all likelihood, the *shi* 示 was misread as a calligraphic *er* 尔. See Nishio, *Chūsei no Nitchū kōryū*, 28–33.
67. This dating given by Kinugawa, "Sōbetsu shishū."
68. In addition to the extant fragment, two matching pieces of Daitō's hand copy of *Yifanfeng* are also known. Miyatake Yoshiyuki 宮武慶之 independently of the Hanazono group discovered Meiji- and Taishō-period photographs of two more fragments, one from the collection of Ikeda Seisuke 池田清助 and one from the collection of Masuda Nobuyoshi 益田信世. The manuscripts themselves have not been located.
69. A colophon by Daishin Gitō 大心義統 (1657–1730), abbot of Daitoku-ji 大德寺, reports that the original *Yifanfeng* manuscripts carried by Nanpo from China were destroyed in a fire at Tengen-in 天源院 in Kamakura. Tengen-in is part of Kenchō-ji 建長寺 and was built as a memorial for Nanpo. Several fires plagued Kenchō-ji before the Edo; a fire in 1414 destroyed the entire temple complex. Tengen-in was one of the memorial stupas in

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recognition of Nanpo. After Nanpo returned from China, he became abbot of Sōfuku-ji 崇福寺 in Hakata in 1272. In 1304 Nanpo was called to Kyoto, and then in 1307 he was called by Hōjō Sadatoki 北条貞時 to Kamakura where he assumed the abbotship of Kenchō-ji. Following Nanpo's death in the twelfth month of Enkyō 1 延慶元 (1308), memorial stupas were erected at Tengen-in in Kenchō-ji, at Zuiun-in 瑞雲院 in Sōfuku-ji in Hakata (a large fire in 1586 destroyed the entire temple there, and the hall was rebuilt in 1612), and in Kyoto at Ryōshō-ji 龍翔寺 (now within Daitoku-ji temple grounds, Ryōshō-ji first burned down in 1378). See Nanpo's pagoda inscription, "Entsū Daiō Kokushi tōmei" 圓通大應國師塔銘, written by one Yanjun 延俊 (n.d.), abbot of Hangzhou's Zhong Tianzhu 中天竺, found in his *Entsū Daiō Kokushi goroku* at *T.* 80, no. 2548, p. 127, c4. See also the "Record of Tengen-an" 天源菴記 in *Chikusen oshō goroku* 竺僊和尚語録 (The Recorded Sayings of the Venerable Zhuxian), starting at *T.* 80, no. 2554, p. 445, b14.

70. It seems likely that the *Yifanfeng* edition seen by Ikkyū was the Daitō manuscript, probably kept at Daitoku-ji, and not the original copies that seem to have been kept in Kamakura.

71. The three surviving fragments are roughly the same height, are in the same hand, and fit back together neatly. Altogether twenty-eight of forty-four poems are represented: twenty-four of the forty *jueju* poems, all three of the longer *guti* poems, and Xutang's one verse. Sixteen *jueju* (presumably thirty-two lines long) remain unaccounted for, a suitable quantity for a fourth fragment. The three fragments account for about 70 percent of the text, or 78 lines of a presumed 110 lines.

72. In the colophon, dated the eleventh month of the fifth year of the Kyōhō 享保 reign (1720), Arai contrasted these three poems in *guti* style with the first forty poems of the *Yifanfeng*, which are seven-character *jueju*, known to him from the woodblock edition. Arai concluded that the three *guti* poems were not originally from the *Yifanfeng* and had been added erroneously in the Edo woodblock. His reasoning reveals that Arai was unaware of the rest of the Daitō manuscript, which situates the three poems as part of the *Yifanfeng*, and thought he was looking at an independent text—not a fragment from a larger work. Nonetheless, Arai's comments reveal that he was familiar with the Edo first edition. Also of note, Arai disparages the Edo editor for moving the verse by Xutang that appears at the end of Daitō's manuscript to the front of the woodblock edition. This anticipates by several hundred years a similar criticism found in Nakase and Kinugawa, "Gidō sōbetsu."

73. The Ikeda fragment has eighteen lines constituting nine poems, and the Masuda fragment has thirty lines constituting fifteen poems. The Ikeda fragment includes poems 15, 24, 25, 16, 17, 4, 5, 26, and 27. The Masuda fragment includes poems 12, 13, 8, 9, 30, 31, 32, 33, 28, 29, 22, 23, 38, 39, and 40. The Tani fragment includes poems 42, 43, 44, and 1, plus Daitō's autograph and seal.

74. Similar to the *Yifanfeng*, "farewell scrolls of poetry" seem to have been fairly common in Southern Song and Yuan Chan monastic communities, judging from extant colophons. Though few scrolls survive, there are numerous bits of paratext like "Ba Xian shangren songxing shizhou" 跋賢上人送行詩軸 (Colophon to a Scroll of Parting Poems for Venerable Xian) by Tianru Weize 天如惟則 (d. 1354), which goes into detail about the thirty-five monks who authored poems (*Tianru Weize chanshi yulu* 天如惟則禪師語錄 [Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Tianru Weize], *XZJ*, 122:922, b11).

75. On Sadāprarudita's eastward pilgrimage, see Conze, *Perfection of Wisdom*, 277–90.

76. *Zuting shiyuan*, *XZJ*, 113:240, a1–4.

77. For art historical evidence that corroborates the popularity of Sudhana's pilgrimage during the Song Dynasty, see Wong, "Huayan/Kegon/Hwaŏm Paintings," and Fontein, *Pilgrimage of Sudhana*.

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78. For example, see this passage in the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 (*Avataṃsaka sūtra*), or *Dafangguang Fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (*T.* 9, no. 278, p. 783, b23–25): "[Maitreya says,] 'All the spiritual benefactors you have seen, all the ways of practice you have heard, all the modes of liberation you have entered, all the vows you have plunged into, are all the result of the magnificent numinous powers of Mañjuśrī'" 「汝先所見諸善知識，修菩薩行，滿足大願，得諸法門，皆由文殊師利威神力故。」.

79. For example, the tenth-century polymath Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–976) in his widely circulated *Zhu Xinfu* 註心賦 (A Commentary on the *Mind Rhapsody*), also given as *Xinfu zhu* 心賦注, wrote:

> The boy Sudhana journeyed south, throughout the dharma realm to visit fifty-three spiritual friends and obtain the *famen* from 110 cities. He began with a visit to his very first teacher, Mañjuśrī. At that time he was already awakened to his own mind. Afterward, he step by step visited many different spiritual friends. He said to each of them, "I have already given rise to the mind of awakening, but I am searching for the bodhisattva's graduated path of wisdom that leads to Maitreya and the attainment of Buddhahood in my next lifetime." Later, Maitreya instead instructs him to go back and revisit his initial teacher, Mañjuśrī. This signifies that the prior mind and latter mind are the same, without any difference whatsoever. From beginning to end, he never parted from the one mind. This is most extraordinary.
>
> 「善財童子南行。遍法界參五十三員善知識。得一百十城法門。為求菩薩之道。最先參見文殊初友。已悟自心。後漸至諸善知識。皆云我已先發菩提心。但求菩薩差別智道。及至彌勒。證一生成佛之果。後彌勒却指歸再見初友文殊。以表前心後心一等。更無差別。始終不出一心。離此別無奇特矣。」(*Xinfu zhu*, *XZJ*, 111:141, a11–16)

Note that the *Zhu Xinfu* survives only in a relatively late edition, and the identification of Yanshou as the author was regarded with suspicion until recently. Mikiyasu Yanagi used a recently recovered Northern Song biography of Yanshou as evidence of the authorship of the *Xinfu* as well as the auto-commentary. Yanagi, *Eimei Enju*, 46–47 n17.

80. *Subitism*, a reference to sudden awakening, was a term popularized by Paul Demiéville in his essay "The Mirror of the Mind." The sudden-gradual polarity had precedent elsewhere but assumed its greatest significance within China. The terms *dun* 頓 (sudden) and *jian* 漸 (gradual) were used throughout Chinese Buddhism not only to describe the nature of awakening but also to rank the different teachings of the Buddha that arrived hodgepodge in the vast corpus of translated Buddhist texts. Within this latter context, *sudden* and *gradual* resolved a hermeneutical problem, but the fluidity of the terms led to further developments of Buddhism within China that emphasized sudden awakening, or sudden practice. Chan Buddhism in particular is associated with the development of subitism.

81. *Jiatai pudenglu* 嘉泰普燈錄 (Record of the Spread of the Flame of the Jiatai Era), *XZJ*, 137:116, b14–18.

82. The harbor of Ningbo 寧波 opens to the north. From the vantage of the harbor, a traveler from Japan would travel south to alight at Ningbo and would set off north when returning home. Many parting poems to Japanese monks make a double entendre reference to this fact and its significance as an imitation of Sudhana's southern pilgrimage.

83. For example, the final section of the *Śūraṅgama sūtra* details an extended discussion of demons and deluded mental states associated with the five skandhas (beginning midway through the ninth fascicle [*T.* 19, no. 945, p. 147, b4] and running through the tenth fascicle). The Buddha teaches Ananda the dissolution of the five skandhas through profound *samādhi* that reveal ever more subtle strata of awareness. The relevant phrase here,

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which comes at the beginning of the section on the fourth skandha, describes the mind perceiving the world "coming without attachments and passing without any trace" 來無所粘過無蹤跡 (*T.* 19, no. 945, p. 151, b29–c4). Though this moment is midway through the progression, it is the opening passage of the tenth and final fascicle in all recensions of the *Śūraṅgama*. This is no coincidence, as this is a pivotal stage in the text's conception of awakening. What comes before is taming the mind and guarding against demonic influences; what comes after are the contemplation of profundities and reintegration. It might be worth considering how this is analogous to the second of three stages in Qingyuan Weixin's sermon quoted above in the body of this essay.

Another example familiar to Song readers is from the *Vimalakīrti sūtra*, the debate between Mañjuśrī and Vimalakīrti, which begins to heat up when the layman declares that Mañjuśrī has come without coming, and Mañjuśrī assents with statements about the emptiness of movement (*T.* 14, no. 475, p. 544, b16–17).

84. A juxtaposition of three representative studies of Chan humor will underscore the diversity of interpretations. A historical and cultural criticism that reveals the serious nature of humor in Chan can be found in Bernard Faure's discussion of the Chan master as a trickster figure (*Rhetoric of Immediacy*, ch. 6). Dale Wright has his fingers on the pulse of Buddhist ethics as he considers Buddhist wisdom and laughter (what he calls "comic wisdom") (Wright, *Six Perfections*, 258–62). Though in many ways retrograde to the state of the field of Chan studies, Conrad Hyers's broadly theological survey of Chan humor remains insightful (Hyers, "Humor in Zen").

85. Chan humor is not the only wit in Chinese history that serves a second layer of purpose. Readers of this journal might revisit David Knechtges's early, skillful application of the Freudian distinction between wit and humor (Knechtges, "Wit, Humor, and Satire"). For an updated introduction to humor and wit of Chinese culture (that excludes Buddhist aspects) see Myrhe, "Wit and Humor." More recently, Jocelyn Chey, in "*Youmo* and the Chinese Sense of Humour," examines the modern Chinese term *youmo* 幽默 (humor) and the many classical terms it has displaced.

86. These poems are especially funny in light of Nanpo's position as a respected member of Xutang's community. He had served as the *zhike* 知客 (Guest Hall officer). In Huiming's preface found in the woodblock edition, Nanpo is described as "tending guests" 典賓, and in the preface to the verse attributed to Xutang, Nanpo is called by his name and title Ming Zhike 明知客 (Guest Hall officer Ming). When Xutang died a few years later a messenger was sent to Kyoto to inform Nanpo, another sign of his stature in the community.

87. The preface by Huiming suggests this is how they are to be read.

88. For a similar usage of the term by another Japanese pilgrim, see Kodera, *Dogen's Formative Years*, 77–78; Heine, "Empty-Handed."

89. Again from Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 37; see footnote 10 above.

90. Rather than imagining the *Yifanfeng* poems as belonging to one genre, or hybrid subgenre, these parting poems are in a dialogue with genre conventions. This resonates with recent efforts to make sense of Elihu's speech in Job as an appeal to a genre: "As a way of framing a situation, a genre has a rhetorical and even an ideological force. One must not forget, however, that there are no such things as pure types. Texts invoke or participate in genres, often several at once; they do not belong to them. And with every instantiation of a genre, the performance adds to and thus modifies the generic repertoire, changing the contours of what passes for that genre" (Newsom, *Book of Job*, 221).

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Satō Shūkō 佐籐秀孝. "Kidō Chigu to Nanpo Jōmyō" 虚堂智愚と南浦紹明 (Xutang Zhiyu and Nanpo Jōmin). *Zen Bunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō* 禅文化研究所紀要 (Annual Report from the Institute for Zen Studies) 28 (2006): 15–43.

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