

The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan:
Su Shi's Buddhist Writings and Their Resonances in the Late Ming

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the text and context of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* (*Dongpo chanxi ji* 東坡禪喜集), a collection compiled in the late Ming 明 (1368-1644) in two editions that mainly contains Buddhist writings of Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101). Su Shi was one of the most prominent poets and writers of the Northern Song 北宋 (960-1127). However, his multifaceted identities surpass his recognition as merely a poet and writer. Su Shi was also a celebrated calligrapher and painter; a statesman, a diligent Confucian scholar; and a renowned Buddhist enthusiast, which is the main focus of this thesis. This list, of course, is not all-encompassing. But the very richness of his identities and accomplishments has left a lasting influence for nearly a millennium.

In Chapter 1, I begin with a brief introduction to the development of Buddhism in the Northern Song, which was characterized by a high degree of integration of various schools and traditions and by interdependence with the central government. Then I proceed to examine different aspects of Su Shi's Buddhist engagement through a textual analysis of his own writings included in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, which have received little previous scholarly attention. His writings reflect his Buddhist involvement as well as the Buddhist context in the Northern Song, and demonstrate that “Chan” 禪 as used in the title of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* is not particularly relevant to the Buddhist context of the Northern Song. In Chapter 2, by examining the Buddhist revival in the late Ming, the late Ming literati's

enthusiasm for Buddhism in general and Chan Buddhism in particular, as well as their promotion of Su Shi's informal literary works, I argue that *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* is an outgrowth of this literary trend. In short, late Ming literati's particular affinity with Chan Buddhism detached it from its sectarian Buddhist context. In this context, the late Ming literati compiled such a collection of Su Shi's Buddhist writings, and used "Joy of Chan" to broadly refer to them.

In Chapter 3, I examine the reception of Su Shi from the Song 宋 (960-1279) to the Ming, by exploring the origin and evolution of the removed and added fascicles in the second edition of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, which are the most significant differences between the two editions. In Chapter 4, I investigate the life and writings of Su Shi in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. I begin by examining his Buddhist involvement in different stages in his life, especially the deeper connection to Buddhism in his later years, through a brief introduction to his life, with a focus on the three exiles he suffered. I then select some of Su Shi's writings included in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* and classify them into three themes—dreams, karma, and Buddhism and Confucianism—and use textual analysis to explore Su Shi's life, his Buddhist devotion, and his interpretation of Buddhist concepts.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Professor David Quinter, without whom this thesis would not have been possible. From the initial establishment of the research topic to its final completion, his guidance has been instrumental throughout the entire process. I am grateful for his kind support and encouragement in choosing such a research project, for his many enlightening comments and suggestions, and for his tireless efforts in meticulously reviewing this 60,000-word thesis. I am also thankful for his guidance throughout my study at the University of Alberta, where he has shown me the joy of Buddhist studies and academic research. My gratitude towards Professor David Quinter is beyond what my words can convey. I would also like to express my deep appreciation to Professor Daniel Fried and Professor Walter Davis for their valuable feedback on my thesis. I am thankful to them not only for serving on my thesis committee members but also for the knowledge and insights I gained from the courses they taught. Additionally, I extend my gratitude to Professor Xiaoting Li for her facilitating the thesis defense.

I have received much help during my study in the Department of East Asian Studies at the University of Alberta, and I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude. First and foremost, I would like to thank Professor Hiromi Aoki for her generous help and support, which extended beyond the three courses I took with her. I am also grateful to Professor Hyuk-chan Kwon and Mayumi Hoshi *sensei*, for the knowledge and language I acquired from their courses. I appreciate the

experience of working with Professor Kuo-Chan Sun, Li Yang *laoshi*, and Qian Tang *laoshi*. I would also like to thank Andrea Hayes, Sylvia Currie, and Gail Mathew for their administrative support. Furthermore, I would like to express my gratitude to David Sulz and other librarians at the Rutherford Library, whose assistance has been vital to my research. I am also sincerely thankful for the generous funding and scholarship provided by the Department of East Asian Studies and the Government of Alberta.

I would like to express my thanks to my fellows in the Department of East Asian Studies, Chengxiang Lin, Irene Xinlei Yang, Keisuke Harada, Xiaoxiao Dong, David Yutao Lu, Aling Zou, Leyi Zhou, and Christian Pak, for providing me with a community to belong to. I also extend my gratitude to my friends, Fiona Lu and Miguel Campos, for their kindness and encouragement, which have meant a great deal to me in completing my thesis and throughout my entire Master's program.

Lastly, I am deeply grateful to my parents, Lingmei and Yaowu, as well as my family, for their love and unwavering support.

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Introduction

The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan (*Dongpo chanxi ji* 東坡禪喜集) is a compilation composed mainly of Su Shi's 蘇軾 (1037-1101) Buddhist writings. It was compiled by the late Ming 明 (1368-1644) literati in two editions.¹ Su Shi, a prominent figure from the Northern Song 北宋 (960-1127) with a variety of identities, has been much studied from his time to the present. As a renowned Buddhist enthusiast, his involvement in Buddhism has also been examined in many studies, but this collection has gained little attention. However, given that this collection spans two eras—the Song 宋 (960-1279) and the Ming—and involves literati from these two areas, it is of great significance for research.

This thesis primarily focuses on Su Shi's Buddhist activities and connections. However, his identity extends far beyond that of a Buddhist enthusiast, which, compared to his other identities, is not the most widely recognized one. Su Shi was also a prominent poet, writer, calligrapher, painter, and statesman; a diligent Confucian scholar; and a Daoist enthusiast. Of course, this list is not exhaustive. From his time to the present day, his influence has been transmitted from China to Korea, Japan, and other parts of the world. His most outstanding identity is probably that of a poet and writer. The connection between him and Buddhism, which is the main focus of this thesis, is also largely examined through his writings. Su Shi left behind a

¹ The late Ming generally refers to the period from the beginning of the Wanli 萬曆 reign (1573-1620) in 1573 to the collapse of the Ming in 1644.

voluminous body of literary works. More than 2,700 poems (*shi* 詩), 4,300 prose texts (*wen* 文), and 320 song lyrics (*ci* 詞) by Su Shi are currently preserved (Kong 2006, 621-22).² The hundred or so of Su Shi's own writings included in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, though limited to those related to Buddhism, are only a small part of his literary output, and far from all of his Buddhist writings.

Accompanying such outstanding accomplishments was a very turbulent life. Reading through Su Shi's biography, one is struck by the continuous changes he suffered during his life, largely due to the factional disputes of the Northern Song. His political career began in the 1060s, after he obtained his *jinshi* degree in 1057.³ In 1069, Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086), the head of the reform faction, was appointed as the assistant administrator of government affairs (*canzhi zhengshi* 參知政事) by Emperor Shenzong of Song 宋神宗 (1048-1085), and the New Policies (*xinzheng* 新政) were implemented. From then on, Su Shi's life was associated with fluctuations brought about by political conflicts. From 1079 to 1100, the year before he died, he was exiled three times, each time further away from the capital Bianliang 汴梁,⁴ which means the punishments became harsher. Although he experienced the most successful period of his political career between 1086 and 1094, due to the changing political inclinations of the new ruler, such dramatic ups and downs could hardly be

² The song lyrics of Su Shi are minimally discussed in this thesis, as they are not found in Su Shi's Buddhist writings in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. However, Su Shi is one of the most eminent song lyrics writers in the Northern Song, and his contribution to the innovation of song lyrics in the Song dynasty is significant. For more discussion on Su Shi's song lyric creation, see Owen 2019, 195-227. Stephen Owen points out that, unlike his song lyric-writing predecessors in the Northern Song, Su Shi used this literary form as a medium for self-expression rather than a "social musical practice." I am following Owen for the translation of "song lyrics" (*ci* 詞).

³ See *The Comprehensive Annotation of The Collection of Su Shi's Poetry* (*Su Shi shiji hezhu* 蘇軾詩集合注) 2001, Appendix One, 2512.

⁴ Also known as Bianjing 汴京. Bianliang is in the present day Kaifeng 開封 in Henan 河南 province.

considered fortunate. Su Shi's passion for Buddhism is often associated with turbulence in his life, especially the three exiles in his later years. Connecting his tribulations with Buddhism can easily lead to certain implications, such as the idea that Buddhism served as a tool for Su Shi to seek liberation from his life difficulties.⁵ However, such an idea risks oversimplifying Su Shi's life, thought, and Buddhism itself at Su Shi's time. One possible understanding of this connection is that, with the accumulation of life experiences, one's thoughts may become more complex. Another possible understanding is that Buddhism's promotion of introspection and focus on the individual provided a different option for Confucian literati, in contrast with the emphasis on positive social engagement promoted by Confucianism. And certainly, Su Shi's close connection with Buddhism is inseparable from the broader prosperity of Northern Song Buddhism, including the high acceptance of Buddhism by the central government.

As a poet and writer who left behind a vast corpus of writings, Su Shi's writings offer us the most important means to study him. Su Shi's words allow us to glimpse into his life and thoughts, as well as the literary persona he shaped, through his own mediation. Similarly, *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* allows us to see Su Shi's involvement with Buddhism through his own lens, as well as those of the compilation's editors. In Su Shi's Buddhist writings in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, I suggest that the sincere sentiments expressed in his engagement with Buddhist teachings, while often despairing due to his particular circumstances, still

⁵ For example, see Wang and Zhu 2004, 137-38; Da 2009, 256.

have the power to move people in the twenty-first century. I marvel at the power of Su Shi's words, particularly when it is intertwined with Buddhism. This is what keeps me going in my study of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*.

Certainly, I am not the only one moved by Su Shi's Buddhist writings. *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* itself is a testament to this. A closer examination of the two editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* reveals that they are not merely collections of Su Shi's Buddhist writings compiled and printed by late Ming literati. During my research, the two editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* have brought many questions. Why were there two editions in the late Ming? What are the differences between them? Why did one edition include works falsely attributed to Su Shi? Why did the late Ming literati frequently mention "Chan" 禪, which is not specifically addressed in Su Shi's own writings in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*? What was the initial motivation of the first compiler, Xu Changru 徐長孺 (fl. 1580s), to collect Su Shi's Buddhist writings? Why did the writers of the prefaces and colophon of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* and Xu Changru come from the same county, and what kind of association did they have? These questions made me realize that the group of late Ming literati related to the two editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, as well as the broader Buddhist and cultural contexts of the late Ming, are as worthy of study as Su Shi himself. To research the two editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* in the late Ming is to build a bridge between Su Shi and the late Ming literati, and between the Northern Song and the late Ming.

In conclusion, the value of this research is fourfold: First, it contributes to the study of Su Shi, in particular, his Buddhist involvement. Second, it provides an opportunity to examine the Buddhist context in the Northern Song. Third, it explores why the late Ming literati turned their attention to Su Shi and Buddhism, thus investigating the broader cultural and Buddhist contexts of the late Ming, as well as their connections to the Northern Song. Fourth, it explores *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* itself, which has received relatively little previous attention, and thus examines the lens through which the Ming literati perceived Su Shi's Buddhist engagement.

Introduction to the Two Editions of The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan

The first edition of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* was compiled by Xu Yisun 徐益孫, who was better known by his style name Changru 長孺.⁶ In this edition, Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558-1639) wrote the foreword (*xu* 序), Lu Shusheng 陸樹聲 (1509-1605) wrote the inscription (*ti* 題), and Tang Wenxian 唐文獻 (1549-1605) wrote the colophon (*ba* 跋) and printed the edition around 1590.⁷ In the foreword and the colophon, Chen Jiru and Tang Wenxian both mentioned that Xu

⁶ See Greenbaum 2007, 296. The foreword and the colophon of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* mention that it is "Xu Changru" who compiled this collection. Xu Changru will be investigated further in Chapter 2. "Changru" 長孺 is also the style name of another late Ming literatus Yu Chunxi 虞淳熙 (1553-1621).

⁷ As Chen Jiru indicated, he made the foreword in the year of *Gengyin* 庚寅 in the Wanli reign, which was 1590. He also mentioned that Tang Wenxian "wished to print it to show people who share the same taste" (唐元徵欲刻之以示同志). Yuanzheng 元徵 was the style name of Tang Wenxian. See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* (*Dongpo chanxi ji* 東坡禪喜集) 2010, 7. Hereafter "*The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*" in the notes. Therefore, the printing of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* should be around 1590.

Changru selected Su Shi's Buddhist writings and compiled them into this collection.⁸

Xu Changru's edition contains 9 fascicles, which in order are: "Hymns" (*Song 頌*), "Eulogies" (*Zan 贊*), "The *gāthā*" (*Jie 偈*), "Inscriptions" (*Ming 銘*), "Records" (*Ji 記*), "Colophons" (*Shuhou 書後*), "Forewords, biographies, informal writings, [invitation] letters to venerable masters,⁹ and [miscellaneous] letters" (*Xu zhuan wen shu shu 序傳文疏書*), "Chronicles of the Joy of Chan" (*Chanxi jishi 禪喜紀事*), and "Records of Question-and-Answer with Foyin" (*Foyin wenda yulu 佛印問答語錄*).

The first seven fascicles consist of Su Shi's own Buddhist writings.¹⁰ The fascicle "Chronicles of the Joy of Chan" included commentaries and anecdotes about Su Shi's Buddhist involvement by literati and monks of the Song and the Ming. As the notes of some pieces indicate, their sources include "*Night Talks in a Cold Chamber*"

⁸ See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 7, 337.

⁹ "Shu 疏" can refer to various literary genres, including Buddhist scriptural commentaries. However, based on the two "shu" included in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*—"A Letter Inviting Chan Master Jingci Fayong to the Capital" (*Qing Jingci Fayong chanshi rudu shu 請淨慈法涌禪師入都疏*) and "A Letter Inviting Master Jie Again to Reside in the Shita Monastery" (*Chongqing Jie zhanglao zhu Shita shu 重請戒長老住石塔疏*)—I translate it in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* as "[invitation] letters to venerable masters." Jingci Fayong was a prominent master of the Yunmen Chan lineage. In Jason Protass's research, he uses a line from from "A Letter Inviting Chan Master Jingci Fayong to the Capital" (*Qing Jingci Fayong chanshi rudu shu 請淨慈法涌禪師入都疏*) of Su Shi to help show the central role played by a group of Yunmen monks from the Jiang-huai area in the administration of Chan public monasteries in the capital Kaifeng and to emphasize the strong regional network among them. See Protass 2019, 117-22.

¹⁰ As a basis for comparison for the texts in the *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, I use the widely cited *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* (*Su Shi wenji 蘇軾文集*, published in 1986, which has largely become a standard edition for Su Shi's prose texts. Every text in the first seven fascicles of Xu's edition can be found in *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986; see tables 1-7 in the Appendix. Considering Su Shi's vast body of works and their transmission and transformation over nearly a millennium, it is impossible to claim absolute certainty for what was authentically penned by Su Shi and what may be only apocryphally attributed to him or otherwise show the work of later hands. However, a comparison with *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* shows that, at least according to the standards of that collection, the first seven fascicles in Xu's edition do not contain significant apocryphal works. Additionally, another highly regarded modern collection of Su Shi's prose texts, gaining increasing use among researchers, is the more recent *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts with Collation and Annotation* (*Su Shi wenji jiaozhu 蘇軾文集校注*) in *The Complete Collection of Su Shi's Works with Collation and Annotation* (*Su Shi quanji jiaozhu 蘇軾全集校注*), published in 2010. However, while this latter collection valuably adds annotations on textual chronology and other issues, the basis for the texts themselves in this 2010 collection is still the 1986 *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* (see *The Complete Collection of Su Shi's Works with Collation and Annotation*, vol. 10, "The General Rule of *The Collation and Annotation of The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts*" (*Su Shi wenji jiaozhu fanli 蘇軾文集校注凡例*), 1). Therefore, when no major textual discrepancies arise that require additional reference, this thesis uses *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986 as the main source for comparison with the text versions as found in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*.

(*Lengzhai yehua* 冷齋夜話), a collection written by the eminent monk Juefan Huihong 覺範慧洪 (1071-1128); “*The Comprehensive Collection of Poetry Talks*” (*Shihua zonggui* 詩話總龜) compiled by Ruan Yue 阮閱 (fl. 1085-1123); “*Additional Records of Visiting the West Lake*” (*Xihu youlan zhiyu* 西湖遊覽志餘) compiled by Tian Rucheng 田汝成 (1503-1557); and other compilations. The last fascicle “Records of Question-and-Answer with Foyin” consists of Su Shi’s exchanges with Foyin 佛印 (1032-1098), who was a Buddhist friend of his. This fascicle is the only significant apocryphal material in Xu Changru’s edition of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*. And as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3, this fascicle was removed in the second edition of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*. Moreover, according to the “*Synopsis of the Overall Indexes of the Complete Library in Four Sections*” (*Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要), it is evaluated as “a dreadfully poor work among all apocryphal works.”¹¹

In 1603, Ling Mengchu 凌濛初 (1580-1644) and Feng Mengzhen 馮夢禎 (1548-1605) visited Wuchang 吳閶 together.¹² They read Xu’s edition of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* during this journey. Ling Mengchu made some edits to it, and Feng Mengzhen added punctuation and emphasis markings,¹³ wrote commentaries, and quoted commentaries from other literati, including Li Zhi 李贄 (1527-1602), Wang Shengyu 王聖俞 (n.d.), Chen Jiru, and others.¹⁴ In 1621, Ling printed this new

¹¹ See the “*Synopsis of the Overall Indexes of the Complete Library in Four Sections*” 1999, 744, “偽書中之至劣者也。” This fascicle will be further examined in Chapter 3.

¹² Wuchang is in the present day Suzhou 蘇州 in Jiangsu 江蘇 province.

¹³ In *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*, Feng Mengzhen added dots and circles beside the text to highlight some sentences or use them as *judou* 句讀 marks to indicate the end of a clause and sentence.

¹⁴ In the colophon written by Ling Mengchu for his edition of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*, he did not elaborate in detail on the editing work he carried out. Regarding the work he and Feng Mengzhen did respectively on this edition of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*, Ling stated in his colophon as follows: “There was

edition that had been edited.¹⁵ This edition consists of 14 fascicles which include most of the contents of Xu’s edition. They are: “Hymns” (*Song* 頌), “Eulogies” (*Zan* 贊), “The *gāthā*” (*Jie* 偈), “Inscriptions” (*Ming* 銘), “Colophons” (*Shuhou* 書後), “Records” (*Ji* 記), “Foreword” (*Xu* 序), “Biographies” (*Zhuan* 傳), “Informal writings” (*Wen* 文), “[Invitation] letters to venerable masters” (*Shu* 疏), “Miscellanies” (*Zawen* 雜文), “Letters” (*Shu* 書), “Records of Miscellanies” (*Zazhi* 雜誌), and “Chronicles of the Joy of Chan” (*Chanxi jishi* 禪喜紀事). The increase in the number of fascicles is mainly because, in Ling’s edition, the fascicle consisting of “Forewords, biographies, informal writings, letters to the venerable masters, and [miscellaneous] letters” (*Xu zhuan wen shu shu* 序傳文疏書) in Xu’s edition is split into six separate fascicles: “Foreword” (*Xu* 序), “Biographies” (*Zhuan* 傳), “Informal writings” (*Wen* 文), “Letters to the venerable masters” (*Shu* 疏), “Miscellanies” (*Zawen* 雜文), and “Letters” (*Shu* 書). Additionally, a minor modification was made by adding one text to the “Letters” (*Shu* 書) fascicle.¹⁶

much missing in the old edition of the collection of Su [Shi], therefore I slightly added [some content]. The Master (Feng Mengzhen) ...read over and made commentaries on the two collections of the *Joy of Chan*” (蘇集舊多挂漏而余蓋稍益之者也...先生...又點閱二禪喜集). See *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, 339-40. This colophon will be examined further in Chapter 2. In the “Statement of Publication” of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*, which was published in 2010 and based on the 1621 edition of Ling Mengchu, the work done by Ling and Feng respectively on this edition is described as follows: “Ling Mengchu made additions and revisions, and Feng Mengzhen provided commentaries and annotations. Ling’s printing craftsmanship is exquisite, and Feng’s commentary notes are graceful in handwriting.” See *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, the “Statement of Publication” (*Chuban shuoming* 出版說明). The other collection mentioned in “the two collections of the *Joy of Chan*” (*er chanxi ji* 二禪喜集) in Ling’s colophon refers to *The Collection of Shangu’s Joy of Chan* (*Shangu chanxi ji* 山谷禪喜集) printed in the Ming. It is a collection of Buddhist writings of Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105), who was a prominent literatus in the Northern Song and a renowned protégé of Su Shi. For more information on this collection, see note 78.

¹⁵ Regarding the dating of this edition, see *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, 340, at the end of Ling Mengchu’s colophon. The process from the origin to the re-publication of the new edition of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* is well documented in the colophon made by Ling Mengchu, which will be examined in Chapter 2. In this thesis, except when specifically showing the differences in Xu’s and Ling’s editions, *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* I use as reference is Ling’s edition that he printed in 1621. See *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, the “Statement of Publication” (*Chuban shuoming* 出版說明).

¹⁶ See Table 7 in the Appendix. It should be noted that, in the table of contents of the fascicle “Letters” in Ling’s edition, “A Letter Reply to Bi Zhongju” (*Da Bi Zhongju shu* 答畢仲舉書) is not shown, even though it is included in this fascicle. See *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, 271, 274-76.

In the first 13 fascicles in Ling's edition, which consist of Su Shi's own Buddhist writings, there are slight differences from the fascicles consisting of Su Shi's own writings in Xu's edition:¹⁷ First, the order of the fifth and sixth fascicles is reversed between the Xu edition and the Ling edition.¹⁸ Second, four texts were added to the first thirteen fascicles in the Ling edition: "A Eulogy Dedicated to the Arhat" (*Luohan zan* 羅漢贊) (one piece) is added to the fascicle "Eulogies," "A Record for the Pavilion of the Four Bodhisattvas" (*Si pusa ge ji* 四菩薩閣記) and "A Record of the Great Compassion Pavilion" (*Dabei ge ji* 大悲閣記) are added to the fascicle "Records," and "A Note on Recuperation Sent to Ziyou" (*Xiuyangtie ji Ziyou* 休養帖寄子由) is added to the fascicle "Letters" as just mentioned.¹⁹ Regarding the fascicle "Chronicles of the Joy of Chan," which mainly consists of anecdotes and commentaries on Su Shi's Buddhist involvement written by the Song and Ming literati and monks, seven pieces were added to Ling's edition, which will be further discussed in the Conclusion. The changes mentioned above do not make much difference; however, the most significant difference between Ling's and Xu's editions is the removal of the fascicle "Records of Question-and-Answer with Foyin" (*Foyin*

¹⁷ See tables 1-7 in the Appendix for a comparison between each text in the first thirteen fascicles of the Ling edition with the first seven fascicles of the Xu edition.

¹⁸ See Table 5 and 6 in the Appendix.

¹⁹ See Table 2, 5, and 7 in the Appendix for these four added texts, respectively. It should be noted that there are two texts called "A Record of the Great Compassion Pavillion" (*Dabei ge ji* 大悲閣記) in this fascicle in Ling's edition, but they are different texts. This will be addressed further in Chapter 1. In addition, "A *Gāthā* on Oil and Water" (*Youshui jie* 油水偈) and "A *Gāthā* on the Depiction of Hell" (*Diyu bianxiang jie* 地獄變相偈) are sometimes thought to be newly added pieces compared to Xu's edition (see Jiang 2010, 195), but this is not the case. Since Xu's edition of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* is hard to find in mainland China, this edition in circulation is mostly based on the 1689 edition printed in Japan (Jiang 2010, 195). In the nine-fascicle edition printed in Japan in 1689, "A *Gāthā* on Oil and Water" and "A *Gāthā* on the Depiction of Hell" are not shown in the table of contents, but they are included in the fascicle "The *gāthā*." See https://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/ha05/ha05_00528/ha05_00528_0001/ha05_00528_0001.html, pic. 10, 51. This is also the case of Xu's nine-fascicle edition on CBETA, which appears to be based on the Japanese 1689 edition. see https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/B26n0148_p0641a01?q=東坡禪喜集&l=0641a01&near_word=&kwic_around=30. However, it is not clear how this inconsistency occurred because the original edition by Xu is difficult to find.

wenda yulu 佛印問答語錄) in Xu's edition, and the addition of a new fascicle "Records of Miscellanies" (*Zazhi* 雜誌). These two fascicles will be investigated in Chapter 3. Unless otherwise indicated, Su Shi's own writings from *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* addressed in this thesis in the coming chapters are included in both editions, and translations from classical Chinese are my own.

From what has been introduced above, it is clear that Xu's edition formed an important foundation for Ling's edition, because the latter carried over most of the contents of the former. However, Ling's edition adopted the "red-black chromatography" (*zhumo taoyin* 朱墨套印) technique, with the main texts printed in black and the markings and commentaries printed in red, and it is famous for its exquisite printing.²⁰ This edition had been included in the "Complete Library in Four Sections" (*Siku quanshu* 四庫全書), the imperial canon in the Qing 清 (1636-1921), and was more widely circulated in later generations.

Review of Literature

There are very few academic works that specifically focus on *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. A short article written by Zhang Bowei 張伯偉, "The Cultural Value of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*" (*Dongpo chanxiji de wenhua jiazhi* 東坡禪喜集的文化價值), published in 2004 in the *Journal of Reading in China* (*Zhonghua dushu bao* 中華讀書報), briefly introduces the two editions of *The*

²⁰ See the "Synopsis of the Overall Indexes of the Complete Library in Four Sections" 1999, 922.

Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan compiled in the late Ming. This article is mainly to promote the publication of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* by Nanjing University Press (*Nanjing daxue chubanshe* 南京大學出版社) in the same year, rather than doing academic research. Therefore, this article lacks sufficient investigations. Nevertheless, it provides some important clues for the study of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. In *The History of the Study of Su Shi's Writings in the Ming Dynasty* (*Mingdai Suwen yanjiushi* 明代蘇文研究史) by Jiang Ping 江枏 published in 2010, he addresses *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* in a section of a chapter in the book, which for the most part follows the speculations and views of Zhang Bowei.²¹

Although there are no adequate studies on *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* itself, related research can provide much insight. I will broadly divide the related scholarly studies into three areas: studies on Su Shi, especially on his involvement with Buddhism; the Buddhist context in the Northern Song; and late Ming Buddhist and broader cultural contexts.

Studies on Su Shi

The earliest scholar to study Su Shi in English was probably Yutang Lin. His work on Su Shi's life, *The Gay Genius: The Life and Times of Su Dongpo*, was first published in 1947. However, this book contains stories and legends about Su Shi that

²¹ See Jiang 2010, 194-98, for the section specifically addressing *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. This section is contained in another work of Jiang published by the Fudan University Press (*Fudan daxue chubanshe* 復旦大學出版社) in 2020. See Jiang 2020, 548-552.

are historically questionable and does not address Su Shi's involvement with Buddhism. In Vincent Yang's book, *Nature and Self: A Study of the Poetry of Su Dongpo with Comparisons to the Poetry of William Wordsworth*, published in 1989, Yang selects poems and song lyrics of Su Shi and poems of William Wordsworth (1770-1850) for textual analysis, exploring the themes of nature and self expressed in Su Shi's poems and song lyrics and Wordsworth's poems, as well as the shift in their perspective from this-worldliness to other-worldliness. In this book, Yang also examines how Buddhism and Daoism influenced Su Shi's literary language and thought and are presented in his poems and song lyrics. In the book *The Road to East Slope: The Development of Su Shi's Poetic Voice*, published in 1990, Michael Fuller explores the development of Su Shi's poems in chronological order. He divides Su Shi's poetic creation into five stages: 1059-1060, his youth before his political career began; 1062-1065, his first official post in Fengxiang 鳳翔; his first tenure in Hangzhou 杭州 as vice prefect; his periods of service in Mizhou 密州, Xuzhou 徐州, and Huzhou 湖州 as prefect; and his exile in Huangzhou 黃州. The book delves into the characteristics and changes of Su Shi's poems during these different periods. More recent monographs on Su Shi in English are from Beata Grant and Ronald Egan, which were both published in 1994, and from Zhiyi Yang in 2015. In Grant's *Mount Lu Revisited: Buddhism in the Life and Writings of Su Shi*, she examines Su Shi's engagement with Buddhism in detail, how this engagement was shaped by the turbulence in his life, and how the turbulence was reflected in his writings. This book specifically studies Su Shi and Buddhism and employs both historical and textual

analysis. Although it makes only a brief reference to *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, the book is of great significance for understanding Su Shi's life and his Buddhist involvement. In *Word, Image, and Deed in the Life of Su Shi*, Egan takes a comprehensive approach to Su Shi's life and works, which he describes as "inclusive treatment of this many-faceted person" (Egan 1994, XV), with a focus on his aesthetic pursuits. One chapter of this book specifically addresses Su Shi's involvement with Buddhism, which included his interaction with monks and the expressions of Buddhist concepts in his writings. This study thus also provides important insights for this thesis. Zhiyi Yang's work, *Dialectics of Spontaneity: The Aesthetics and Ethics of Su Shi (1037-1101) in Poetry* (Yang 2015), is of great importance for understanding the aesthetic pursuits of Su Shi's poetic creation.

The chronologies and annotations of Su Shi's life and works in Chinese provide instrumental help for this thesis. *The Chronology of Su Shi (Su Shi nianpu 蘇軾年譜)* compiled by Kong Fanli 孔凡禮 and published in 1998, *The Chronology of Master Dongpo (Dongpo xiansheng xianpu 東坡先生年譜)* compiled by the Song scholar Wang Zongji 王宗稷 (n.d.), *The Chronicle of Dongpo (Dongpo jinian lu 東坡紀年錄)* compiled by the Song scholar Fu Zao 傅藻 (n.d.), and *The Complete Records of the Compilation and Annotations of the Poems of Master Wenzhong [Whose Family Name Was] Su (Su Wenzhonggong shi bianzhu jicheng zongan 蘇文忠公詩編注集成總案)* compiled by the Qing scholar Wang Wengao 王文誥 (b. 1764), enable this thesis to investigate Su Shi's life and the specific context of his writings.

Scholarly works by Wang Shuizhao 王水照, Zhu Gang 朱剛, and Zhou Yukai 周裕鍔 in modern Chinese provide much light on Su Shi's life and his literary output. *Commentaries and Biography on Su Shi (Su Shi pingzhuan 蘇軾評傳)*, co-authored by Wang and Zhu and published in 2004, provides a comprehensive study of Su Shi including his biography, scholarship, political struggles, philosophy, aesthetics, and other aspects of his life and thought. Wang's book, *Studies on Su Shi (Su Shi yanjiu 蘇軾研究)*, a collection of his papers on Su Shi which was published in 2015, includes various subjects such as the stages of Su Shi's literary work, textual analysis of his works, and the receptions of his works in China, Japan, and Korea. A chapter in this book briefly mentions the transmission of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* to Japan in 1689, although it was during a slow period for the printing of Su Shi's works in Japan due to the rejection of Song literature influenced by the literary theory of the Ming.²² Zhou Yukai's research mainly focuses on the Song literature and "lettered Chan" (*wenzi chan* 文字禪).²³ His studies on Su Shi include his influence on the rise and popularity of "lettered Chan" in the Song after his time and analysis of Su Shi's writings related to "lettered Chan." However, Zhou's study focuses primarily on Su Shi and Chan, largely leaving out other Buddhist schools and traditions. Furthermore,

²² See Wang 2015, 306-13. In this paper, Wang Shuizhao notes that Su Shi's literary works were very popular during the literary movement "Literature of the Five Mountains" (Jp. *Gozan Bungaku* 五山文學) in the 14th and 15th centuries among Zen monks. Wang also suggests that during this period, the connection between Su Shi and Chan Buddhism was more emphasized in Japan than in China. See Wang 2015, 311.

²³ The Song monk Juefan Huihong is generally considered to be the propagator of the term "lettered Chan" and the initiator of a movement going by that name (see Zhou 2017, 24; Protass 2021, 122). However, Jason Protass points out that it is a fallacy to identify Huihong as the initiator of this "movement," which never really existed (For more details, see Protass 2021, 121-57). Even so, Zhou points out that in a broad sense, the term "lettered Chan" refers to the activity of practicing Buddhism through the medium of words, such as compiling "recorded sayings" (*yulu* 語錄), annotating Buddhist scriptures, and writing poetry and prose. In a narrow sense, it refers to any poetry written by monks, as well as poetry written by literati that contains "Chan philosophy" (*chanli* 禪理). For more details, see Zhou 2017a, 28-39.

he tends to emphasize that Chan is Sinicized Buddhism, the essence of which is more of a philosophy rather than a religion.²⁴

Studies on Northern Song Buddhism

Buddhism in the Sung, edited by Gregory Peter and Daniel Getz, provides a very helpful introduction to Buddhism in the Song. John McRae's work, *Seeing through Zen: Encounter, Transmission, and Genealogy in Chinese Chan Buddhism*, offers important insights for the study of Song Buddhism in general and Chan in particular. In addition, research on Chan Buddhism in the Northern Song by Griffith Foulk, Robert Sharf, Robert Buswell, and Albert Welter, is essential for breaking down the romanticized image of Chan and placing it in the broader Northern Song Buddhist context.

Studies on the Buddhist and Cultural Contexts in the Ming

Jiang Wu's work, *Enlightenment in Dispute: The Reinvention of Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-Century China*, provides a study of the late Ming Buddhist revival, with a focus on the institutional revival of Chan Buddhism. Chen Yunü's 陳玉女 work, *Domains of Interactions between Monks and Lay People inside and outside the World of Buddhism in the Ming Dynasty (Mingdai fomen neiwai sengsu jiaoshe de*

²⁴ See Zhou 2017b, 2.

changyu 明代佛門內外僧俗交涉的場域), is important for the study of the Buddhist engagement with literati in the late Ming. The study of the gentry in Timothy Brook's work, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late Ming China*, provides significant insights into the new context of the literati in the late Ming—their close social network in the local arena, which is important for examining the compilation of the two editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. The research of Zheng Lihua 鄭利華 and Jiang Ping sheds important light on the reception of Su Shi's literary works in the late Ming.²⁵ Jamie Greenbaum's work, *Chen Jiru (1558-1639): The Background to Development and Subsequent Uses of Literary Persona*, on Chen Jiru, as well as *The Chronology of Wang Shizhen (Wang Shizhen nianpu 王世貞年譜)* compiled by Zheng Lihua, provide important insights and sources not only for the study of Chen Jiru and Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526-1590), but also for the social networking of the late Ming literati related to *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*.

Chapter Outlines

This thesis explores the text and context of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* in four chapters. The first chapter consists of five parts that examine the context of Su Shi's own writings in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. The first part

²⁵ For example, Zheng Lihua's work, "Su Shi's Poetry and Prose Texts and the Spiritual Orientation and Literary Interests of the Late Ming Literati" (*Su Shi shiwen yu wanming shiren de jingshen guixiang ji wenxue quzhi* 蘇軾詩文與晚明士人的精神歸向及文學趣旨), published in *The Cultural Heritage (Wenhua yichan 文化遺產)* in 2014, and Jiang Ping's work, *The History of the Study of Su Shi's Works in the Ming (Mingdai Su wen yanjiu shi 明代蘇文研究史)*, have provided much important insight into the reception of Su Shi's literary works in the late Ming. See Zheng 2014, 84-97, and Jiang 2010.

briefly introduces the development of Buddhism in the Northern Song, with a focus on its distinctive features, including the high degree of integration of various schools and traditions and their interdependence with the central government. Through that, we can see the general context of Su Shi's close engagement with Buddhism. The following four parts present Su Shi's involvement with four prominent Buddhist schools and traditions in the Northern Song: Chan, Tiantai, Pure Land,²⁶ and Huayan. Each part begins with a brief overview of a Buddhist school or tradition, followed by the examination of Su Shi's association with it, mostly using his own writings in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* to analyze this association.²⁷ Such a division does not imply clear boundaries between individual schools or traditions of Northern Song Buddhism, but rather serves to present the diverse aspects of Su Shi's Buddhist activities and connections. In addition, we will see how his writings reflect the Buddhist context in the Northern Song, as well as the fact that "Chan" 禪 in the title of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* is merely a rhetorical term adopted by the late Ming literati, and not necessarily reference to a particular Buddhist school.

The second chapter examines the context in which the two editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* were compiled and printed in the late Ming. This chapter consists of three parts. The first part introduces the Buddhist revival in the late Ming, with a focus on the contribution of the literati, which is defined as the gentry in

²⁶ Whether Pure Land was an independent school in medieval China is a controversial issue. For example, Robert Sharf points out that there was no distinct scripture or practice of Pure Land in China, nor was there a historical lineage: "Pure Land cosmology, soteriology, and ritual were always part-and-parcel of Chinese Buddhism in general and Chan monasticism in particular." For more details, see Sharf 2002, 282-331.

²⁷ The Huayan part is an exception. I have chosen one of Su Shi's writing that is not included in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*.

the late Ming context as Brook suggests. In this part, we can see the revival of Buddhism in the late Ming after a long period of decline. We will also take a brief look at how the social network of the literati in the local arena provided the environment for the compilation of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, which will be further explored in the third part. The second part examines the cultural context in which Su Shi's Buddhist writings drew increased interest from the late Ming literati through two aspects. The first aspect is the late Ming literati's involvement in Buddhism largely inspired by Wang Yangming's 王陽明 (1472-1529) School of Mind (*xinxue* 心學). The focus here is on Chan Buddhism, in which the literati's particular interest is revealed by the title of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. The second aspect is the late Ming literati's promotion of Su Shi's literary works more broadly. We can see the possible reasons for the rise of this promotion of Su Shi in the late Ming literary sphere, and the connections that *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* has with this literary trend. The third part takes a closer look at the origin of the two editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* by investigating the late Ming literati involved in the compilation and publication of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* and their social circles. We can also see that the compilation of the two editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* was a manifestation of the close networking of the late Ming literati in the local context.

The third chapter examines the most significant differences between the two editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*: the removed fascicle "Records of Question-and-Answer with Foyin" and the added fascicle "Records of Miscellanies"

in the second edition. Both Su Shi's own Buddhist writings and the apocryphal works attributed to him are included in these two fascicles. By investigating their sources and possible reasons for removal or inclusion, we can see the change in reception of Su Shi from the Song to the Ming.

The fourth chapter consists of two parts that investigate Su Shi's life and writings in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. The first part briefly introduces Su Shi's life, with an emphasis on the turbulence brought about by the variable political environment in the Northern Song, and his Buddhist involvement in different states in life, especially during his exiles to Huangzhou 黃州, Huizhou 惠州, and Danzhou 儋州 from the 1080s until the year before he died. The second part examines Su Shi's own writings in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* according to three themes: dreams, karma, and Buddhism and Confucianism. Exploring *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* under these three themes, we can further illuminate his own interpretation of various Buddhist concepts, his Buddhist engagement and devotion, the turbulence of his life, and the complexity of his thought.

Chapter 1

Su Shi and Northern Song Buddhism

The first part of this chapter is a brief introduction to the development of Buddhism in the Northern Song. This part aims to place the main body of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*—a Ming-dynasty compilation of Su Shi's Buddhist writings—in context, to examine how the development of Northern Song Buddhism framed his perception of Buddhism or became the subjects of his writings in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. Some of the distinctive features of Buddhism at this time will be shown, such as the great extent of integration of different Buddhist schools, and the close interdependence of both central and local governments and Buddhism. We will see how significant these features are for the study of Su Shi and Buddhism in the Northern Song, and how they are embodied in his writings.

The following four parts introduce Su Shi and four prominent Buddhist schools and traditions in the Northern Song: Chan, Tiantai, Pure Land,²⁸ and Huayan respectively. The first half of each part briefly describes the development of the school or the tradition, and how it was revived during early Song, such as re-creating their own history, accommodating central and local government administration, and keeping open to integration with other schools and traditions. The second half of each

²⁸ It is disputed whether Pure Land Buddhism was an independent school in medieval China. See note 26.

part introduces Su Shi's connection with the school. Much of this content relies on the Buddhist writings of Su Shi in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* for analysis. As we will see, his writings not only represent his association with various Buddhist schools and traditions and his multifaceted identities, but also help demonstrate the context of Northern Song Buddhism.

Buddhism in the Northern Song

The establishment of the unified Song dynasty witnessed the gradual prosperity of Buddhism throughout the state, after the period of political turmoil and division during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period (907-979).²⁹ With the support of the imperial court, Buddhism started to flourish in the Northern Song period. The number of ordinations of monks and nuns, the establishment of monasteries, and the translation and writing of Buddhist texts increased significantly compared to the previous periods.³⁰ Schools such as Chan, Tiantai, and Huayan assumed their “fixed shape as fully wrought systems of doctrine or practice,” which the previous generations of Buddhism had not been able to achieve (Gregory 1999, 3). In addition, although Pure Land Buddhism “did not constitute anything resembling an independent tradition, much less a school” (Sharf 2002, 320), and “more a set of

²⁹ This does not imply that the divided regimes of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms periods led to a stagnation in the development of Buddhism. In fact, during this period, Buddhism, especially Chan Buddhism, flourished in several southern regimes, including Min 閩 (909-945), Nan Han 南漢 (917-971), Nan Tang 南唐 (937-975), and Wuyue 吳越 (907-978). However, in the north, the regime of Later Zhou 後周 (951-960) carried out a persecution of Buddhism under the reign of Emperor Shizong 世宗 (r. 954-959). For more on the development of Buddhism during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms periods, see Welter 2006, 8-15; for the development of Chan Buddhism during this period, see Welter 2006.

³⁰ For more information, see Grant 1994, 12-38. Also, see Gregory 1999, 1-20.

practices and attitudes” (Grant 1994, 13), it gained great popularity in both monastic and lay communities during this period. The refinement of Buddhism during this period, especially Chan, also served as a paradigm and profoundly influenced Buddhism in Japan and Korea.³¹

Buddhism and the Northern Song Court

Patronage from the Northern Song court is one of the main reasons for Buddhism’s prosperity in this period. As Albert Welter points out, during the early Song, the emperors made significant investments in translating and publishing Buddhist texts, considering them as an essential part of the literary learning they aimed to promote (Welter 2006, 15). Furthermore, many monasteries were built up, with the financial and policy support from the imperial court; yet at the same time, the monasteries had to receive government approval before they could be established (Grant 1994, 13). The division of monasteries into two categories—public and hereditary monasteries³²—was a new approach made by the imperial court to manage Buddhist institutions, and it had a profound impact on the development of Buddhism in later times in China (Schlütter 2008, 36).

The public monasteries were larger in size than hereditary ones and more widely spread across the country, and therefore the potential threat to the state was

³¹ For the Buddhist transmission to Japan and its influence, see Heine 2017; for the transmission to and influence on Korea, see Buswell 1992, 21-36, 149-60.

³² In using the terms “public monasteries” and “hereditary monasteries,” I am following Schlütter, which Schlütter adopted from Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism*.

greater. Out of concern for a stable government, the appointment was firmly under the control of the Song court. Sometimes the abbacy appointment was made directly by the imperial court, and sometimes this power was delegated to local officials to carry out. Such a policy of appointment made by the Song government provided more possibilities for contacts between the local officials like Su Shi and the monks from various Buddhist schools.

On the one hand, local officials were responsible for supervising the monasteries, such as appointing abbots and monitoring monastic affairs; on the other hand, they also needed to rely on the influence of Buddhism in the area to secure their tenure there. This is one of the reasons that the interaction between Buddhist monks and local officials would be extraordinarily close in the Song. Moreover, local officials took interest in Buddhism not only out of consideration for their own political career, but for private reasons as well, including devotion to charismatic masters and subtle texts. These officials, as Chi-chiang Huang puts it, “were personally drawn to Buddhism, and they patronized the religion both in their public capacity as officials and as individuals” (Huang 1999, 326-27).

While various schools flourished, Northern Song Buddhism was generally “terribly diffuse” (Egan 1994, 134). This is perhaps the most significant feature of Northern Song Buddhism, and a context that needs to be taken into account when studying the connections between Su Shi and Buddhism. At that time, public monasteries usually included a variety of schools; only the sectarian affiliation of the abbot of a monastery might give some indication of the sectarian identity of the

monastery (McRae 2003, 117). The basic structures of rituals and practices in public monasteries were “the common heritage of Buddhist monastic tradition at large” (Foulk 1993, 191-92). In addition, the biographies of monks in Northern Song show that they studied the doctrines of various schools with different Buddhist teachers before they finally settled on a particular school (Grant 1994, 15). In this circumstance, the monks did not usually identify themselves with a particular school or tradition. This is well exemplified by Su Shi’s writings to the monks included in *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*—the writings indicate at most which monastery they came from, but basically never emphasize their sectarian affiliation. While factional distinctions within Buddhism were not a major focus for Su Shi, his writings still contain discussions of the doctrines of certain schools or traditions. For instance, in the following part discussing Su Shi and Northern Song Chan, we will see Su Shi’s views on some distinctive and radical practice methods of Chan school, although he did not explicitly identify the specific school in his writings, as usual.

The following parts in this chapter will introduce Su Shi and the Chan, Tiantai, Pure Land, and Huayan traditions, respectively, by analyzing Su Shi’s writings in *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*. This classification is by no means a clear-cut division between Su Shi’s association with various schools or traditions. It is difficult to make such divisions, given the extent of integration of Buddhism in the Northern Song. It is just that there are certain elements of each tradition that allow for a clearer presentation of Su Shi’s connection with Buddhism. For example, how did Su, as a Confucian literatus, view some radical Buddhist teachings? How did he interact with

Buddhist masters? How did he apply Buddhist rituals to the death of his family? The four traditions were chosen because they had either independent religious identity at the time, were highly influential, or both. This can provide a more thorough context for the study of Su Shi and Buddhism in the Northern Song.

Su Shi and Northern Song Chan

Northern Song Chan

The development of Chinese Chan Buddhism reached what McRae describes as a “climax paradigm” in the Song dynasty,³³ and it came to dominate the various schools of Song Buddhism. Moreover, the history of Chinese Chan in previous generations has been interpreted largely through the lens of Song Chan; later development of Chinese Chan, and even Zen, Sōn, and Thien in Japan, Korea, and Vietnam, has been largely informed in terms of the Song Chan system (McRae 2003, 120). Chan was also one of the Buddhist schools most closely associated with literati. The same situation applied to Su Shi. Not only did Su Shi have many Chan monk friends, but he is officially listed under the lineage of the Huanglong 黃龍 branch, which, together with the Yunmen 雲門 branch, dominated Northern Song Chan (Grant 1994, 14-15).

Despite branding itself with a unique “mind-to-mind transmission” and adopting “a separate transmission apart from the teachings that is not based on

³³ For more details, see McRae 2003, 119-54.

scriptures” as its slogan,³⁴ Chan is the Buddhist school that produced the most texts in the Northern Song (Buswell 1987, 345; Grant 1994, 17). The reinvention of its own history through the copious production of texts can be considered one of the crucial reasons for its success in the Song. The “transmission of the lamp” texts allowed Chan to establish a special lineage, which it traced back to the historical Buddha. The earliest and most influential of them was *The Jingde Text of the Transmission of the Lamp* (*Jingde chuandenglu* 景德傳燈錄) compiled around 1004 (Foulk and Sharf 1993-1994, 178; Grant 1994, 17), which contains the stories and dialogues of over fifty-four generations of Buddhist teachers, beginning with the Buddha. Su Shi was well-versed in this collection, reading it repeatedly, and his knowledge of Chan legends was often admired by his contemporaries (Grant 1994, 17). By recreating its own history of Buddhist transmission, Chan established a connection with its Indian ancestors and legitimized its genealogical superiority; moreover, it claimed that the transmission of Buddha’s enlightenment represented “the very essence of Buddhism” and not merely a “school” of Buddhism (Gregory 1999, 9-10). The Chan school presented such a Buddhist transmission lineage to the Song court, which, as McRae points out, imitated the traditional Chinese family genealogical lineage.³⁵ This transmission lineage was approved as a certain standard within the Chinese Buddhist system, and such genealogical historical texts were sanctioned by the Song court and incorporated into the imperial Buddhist canon (Foulk and Sharf 1993-1994, 178).

Along with the endorsement of the Song court, emperors and prominent officials often

³⁴ For the translation of “不立文字，教外別傳” here, I am following Gregory. See Gregory 1999, 4.

³⁵ For more details, see McRae 2003, 145-50.

wrote prefaces for these texts. These factors contributed to the credibility of the genealogical texts of Chan (Ahn 2009, 4-5). In addition to the “transmission of the lamp” texts (*chuangdenglu* 傳燈錄), the texts produced by the Song Chan school also include “recorded sayings” (*yulu* 語錄) and “public case” (*gong'an* 公案) collections. These new forms of Chan literature played a major role in shaping Song literati’s understanding of Buddhism overall (Halperin 2006, 10-11).³⁶

Due to its prominence, the Northern Song literati interacted closely with Chan and were influenced by its ideology. I will next explore Su Shi’s views on some of the main teachings of Chan in the Northern Song, including both critiques and praise of those teachings, through an analysis of his related writings included in *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*.

Su Shi and Northern Song Chan

Although the iconoclastic image of Chan as presented in its own texts is largely a re-creation of history during the Song, it is not entirely out of nowhere. To some extent, this re-creation of history has a historical foundation, or in other words, it is part of the historical progression of Chan’s dynamic evolution. In a study of the development of meditation techniques of Chan, Buswell points out that Chan eventually achieved Sinicization and gained its religious identity by “condemning

³⁶ The “recorded sayings” are regarded as sermons, dialogues, and other writings of Chan masters recorded by their disciples. The “public cases” are often written in vernacular language, recording Chan masters using unusual teaching methods, including riddles, gestures, and even violence, to guide their disciples to achieve enlightenment. For the translation of “recorded sayings,” I am following John McRae and Jason Protass. See McRae 2003, 77; Protass 2021, 19. For the translation of “public case,” I am following Mark Halperin. See Halperin 2006, 11.

earlier Sino-Indian techniques as gradual while claiming that Chan taught more direct approaches to meditation” (Buswell 1987, 321). The “more direct approaches” were gradually developed in the middle Chan period,³⁷ during which time Chan began to advocate more radical and sudden ways to achieve enlightenment. This started to set the tone for the image of “iconoclasm” that was propagated in the Song. Su Shi often disagreed with the radical teachings and practices of Chan. Indeed, it is highly possible that the meaning and contents of these radical doctrines and practices changed from the time when they started to be developed during the “middle Chan” period to when they were represented in the Northern Song. Moreover, Su Shi’s own attitude toward them did not always remain the same. In general, however, he held a critical attitude towards the radical approaches and “sudden enlightenment” and seemed to prefer gradual cultivation.

Gradual Cultivation and Attaining the Way

In a piece of farewell prose to a monk Sicong from Hangzhou, who “read the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* and entered the Dharma realm of equanimous and vast wisdom,”³⁸ Su Shi emphasizes that gradual cultivation is the path to attaining the Way, and encourages Sicong to follow it, believing that there has been no such radical approach to attaining the Way as “emptiness” since ancient times:

³⁷ The term “middle Chan” refers to a specific period of time, roughly 750-1000. McRae defines this period as “from the appearance of the *Platform Sūtra* in 780 to the beginning of the Song dynasty in 972.” See McRae 2003, 13, 76.

³⁸ See *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, 240, “讀華嚴經，入法界海慧。”

If Sicong keeps on endeavoring day by day without halting, by listening, thinking, and practicing to attain the Way, then the teachings as complex as the Dharma realm of *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* with the equanimous and vast wisdom will all become as simple as a rustic house [to him], not to mention [the help from practicing] calligraphy, poetry, and the zither. Although it is difficult, [the process of] attaining the Way cannot be entered through emptiness. [Even] the Wheelwright Bian who crafted wheels and the Hunchback who caught cicadas can utilize their intelligence and skills [to attain the Way],³⁹ so there is no rudimentary method [to attain the Way]. If Sicong would like to attain the Way, practicing the zither and calligraphy, especially poetry, will help.

使聰日進而不已，自聞思修以至於道，則華嚴法界海慧盡為蓬盧，而何況書詩與琴乎。雖其苦之，學道無自虛空入者。輪扁斲輪，佝僂承蜩，苟可以發其巧智，物無陋者。聰若得道，琴與書皆與有力，詩尤其也。⁴⁰

In this writing, Su Shi gives the young monk Sicong some suggestions for attaining the Way. He emphasizes the unceasing gradual cultivation here. He points

³⁹ The Wheelwright Bian and the cicada catcher the Hunchback are metaphors from the *Zhuangzi*. The Wheelwright Bian is from a parable in “The Spinning of the Heavens” (*Tian dao* 天道), and the cicada catcher the Hunchback is from a parable in “Fathoming Life” (*Da sheng* 達生). For the translation of the titles, I am following Brook Ziporyn. See Ziporyn 2020, 118, 148.

⁴⁰ See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 239-41; see *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts (Su Shi wenji* 蘇軾文集) 1986, fasc. 10, 325-26.

out that the Way is achieved through specific, progressive practices such as listening, thinking, and studying. And he uses two metaphors from the *Zhuangzi* to support his point, although by giving them his own interpretations that are different from the original texts.⁴¹ In the *Zhuangzi*, the Hunchback's skill of catching cicadas and the Wheelwright Bian's skill of crafting wheels can each be employed skillfully and naturally. Although there is the possibility of being interpreted in different ways, the original text from the *Zhuangzi* places more emphasis on a kind of ineffable and unteachable natural law, which is one of the major themes that runs through the *Zhuangzi*. However, Su Shi's interpretation leans more toward diligent practice day after day, and he sees it as a method of obtaining the Way and thus suggests it to Sicong.

In addition to proposing what he considers to be the correct method of attaining the Way, Su Shi also rejects "obtaining the Way through emptiness." "Emptiness" (*xukong* 虛空) is a concept often found Chan teachings; for example, in the renowned *Platform Sūtra*. In the *Platform Sūtra*, it is taught that one can attain *prajñā* (wisdom) and ultimately enlightenment only by realizing the emptiness of all phenomena.

Furthermore, this realization is innate and cannot be attained through external

⁴¹ Su Shi uses these two metaphors to indicate "skillful means" and "gradual cultivation;" however, as explained in the following account, this implication is not emphasized in the original texts. In the commentaries on *Zhuangzi* by Cheng Xuanying 成玄英 (608-669) and Wang Pang 王雱 (1044-1076), who are Tang and Song commentators on the *Zhuangzi*, in *The Annotations and Commentaries on the True Scripture of the Southern Efflorescence* (*Nanhua zhenjing zhushu* 南華真經註疏) and *New Commentaries on the True Scripture of the Southern Efflorescence* (*Nanhua zhenjing xinzhuan* 南華真經新傳), there are no such implications either. See *The Annotations and Commentaries on the True Scripture of the Southern Efflorescence* 1998, 280-81, 371-73; see Kanseki Repository 漢籍リポジトリ, *New Commentaries on the True Scripture of the Southern Efflorescence*, pic. 007-014a, <https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0136/007>; pic. 010-013a, <https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0136/010>. Therefore, it is likely that this is an interpretation given by Su Shi himself.

efforts.⁴² This is inconsistent with Su Shi's insistence that "[the process of] attaining the Way cannot be entered through emptiness" (學道無自虛空入者) and the belief that one needs cumulative cultivation to attain the Way.

Su Shi's affirmation of the method of gradual cultivation is mentioned in other writings as well. For example, in a eulogy written for the calligrapher Li Kangnian's 李康年 (n.d.) small-seal style copy of the *Heart Sūtra* (Grant 1994, 21), Su stresses again the importance of gradual cultivation:

The cursive and the clerical styles have been used for more than a thousand years now, and [we] have been learning them since youth, so [we] can write them with ease ... [If] we suddenly have to write in large and small seal styles, it is like walking along a straight wall. It is like parrots wishing to learn how to speak; if they learn, they could do so, otherwise they cannot speak ... People have never left the world in the first place, but they wish to learn the supramundane teachings. Every action and every thought of theirs is defilement, yet they spend only a short moment learning meditation (*chan* 禪) and discipline (*lü* 律). If meditation and discipline could be achieved by "doing," how can meditation be achieved when there is "no doing"?

⁴² For example, see CBETA, *Liuzu dashi fabao tan jing* 六祖大師法寶壇經, "bo're di'er 般若第二," https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T48n2008_p0345b21?q=六祖大師法寶壇經&l=0345b21&near_word=&kwic_around=30, "All Buddha realms are ultimately identical to emptiness. The subtle nature of people of the world is originally empty, and there is no Dharma to be attained. The true nature is also empty, just like this... All *prajñā* wisdom arises from one's innate nature and not from the external" (諸佛剎土，盡同虛空。世人妙性本空，無一法可得。自性真空，亦復如是...一切般若智，皆從自性而生，不從外入)。

草隸用世今千載，少而習之手所安 ... 忽然使做大小隸，如正行走值牆壁 ...
譬如鸚鵡學人語，所習則能否則默 ... 世人初不離世間，而欲學出世間法。
舉足動念皆塵垢，而以俄頃作禪律。禪律若可以作得，所不作處安得禪。

43

This text shows Su's recognition of the necessity of "doing"—the skill can be acquired only through practice. It is consistent practice that leads to results. Just like by practicing the cursive and the clerical styles of calligraphy from childhood, one can write them easily. When it comes to Buddhist practice, people "spending only a short moment to learn *chan* 禪 (meditation) and *lü* 律 (discipline)" will not bring any results.

In the above analysis of Su's writings, it can be seen that he is primarily advocating a "gradual cultivation" approach to obtaining enlightenment and criticizing radical methods in general. In the following, I will discuss Su's critique and his own interpretation of "no-mind" (*wu xin* 無心), which is a Chan approach of radical practice for attaining enlightenment.

No-mind and Compassion

Despite "no-thought" (*wunian* 無念) or "no-mind" (*wuxin* 無心) being considered a radical practice, Su Shi does not seem to absolutely reject them, although

⁴³ See "A Eulogy of Small Seal Style [Calligraphy] of the *Heart Sūtra*" (*Xiaozhuan bo're xin jing zan* 小篆般若心經贊) in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 96-98; see also *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 21, 618.

he might have his own interpretations. “No-thought” is one of the first formulated “direct approaches,” and became a major characteristic of Chan. As Buswell points out, no-thought practice “had no explicit meditative connotations within the Indian tradition.” It is a creation of Chinese Chan Buddhism and had evolved into a sudden form of Chan cultivation (Buswell 1987, 331-32). In the *Platform Sūtra*, the definition of no-thought is “not to think even when involved in thought.” The attachment to thought is the problem rather than thought itself. That is to say, there is a distinction between the thing itself and the conception of the thing, which is often illusory and misleading (Buswell 1987, 331-34). Later Tang doctrines developed the concept of “no-mind,” which is similar to “no-thought,” that is, avoiding the attachment to thought rather than being “mindless like a rock or tree” (Egan 1994, 153). In other words, both “no-thought” and “no-mind” see the attachment to thought as the problem, rather than making an argument for abandoning thought. In Su’s writings, the word “no-mind” is used more often, possibly related to the evolution of the prevalence of these two terms.

In one writing, Su Shi criticized “no-mind” together with “no-speech” (*wuyan* 無言) and “nonaction” (*wuwei* 無為), which was advocated by some monks at that time:

Some of the [Buddha’s] disciples believe that maintaining the rules of abstinence and discipline are not as good as no-mind, that reading Buddha’s sutras is not as good as no-speech, and that reverently adorning stupas and

temples is not as good as nonaction. They have no mind within them, their mouths have no speech, their bodies have no action; all they do is stuff themselves and have fun. They are a great deception to the Buddha.

其徒或者以為齋戒持律不如無心，頌讀其書不如無言，崇飾塔廟不如無為，其中無心，其口無言，其身無為，則飽食遊嬉而已，是為大以欺佛者也⁴⁴

In this writing, Su does not elaborate on the understanding of “no-mind,” “no-speech,” or “nonaction,” but rather considers them to be the mistaken practice of some monks’ “doing nothing,” which he considers a misconception of Buddhism. He also does not say what he thinks the correct practice of “no-mind” should be, but seems to be emphasizing the importance of maintaining Buddhist discipline and negating the radical practice of “no-mind” as well as “no-speech” and “nonaction.” Su Shi’s advocacy of strict adherence to the Buddhist disciplines and his criticism of radical practices were inseparable from the Buddhist context of the time.

As has been discussed earlier, the rhetorical and pedagogical style that Chan developed from the “middle Chan” period provided it with a unique religious identity among other Buddhist schools. Its further growth during the Northern Song made

⁴⁴ See “A Record of the Great Compassion Pavilion” (*Dabei ge ji* 大悲閣記) in *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, 231-36. This text is not included in Xu’s edition of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*. Feng Mengzhen believes it is because it has the same title as another piece in both of the two editions, and Xu mistakenly thought they were the same one, so it was not included. See *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, 232. In *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts*, this piece is titled as “A Record of the Great Compassion Pavilion in Yanguan” (*Yanguan dabei ge ji* 鹽官大悲閣記). See *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 12, 386-88.

Chan highly influential among literati. Its distinctive pedagogy was further developed in the Northern Song—the “*gong’an*” was widely used in Chan teaching, especially in the Linji lineage, which was a prominent lineage in the Northern Song and interacted vigorously with the literati. Using *gong’an* as a teaching method was aimed at “directly pointing to the mind of each individual—that is, as a statement of immediate, contemporary relevance guiding one toward enlightenment” (Buswell 1987, 346). Although in the above writing, Su Shi expresses his criticism of the erroneous use of “no-mind” practice, he does not reveal his own interpretation of “no-mind.” However, in another writing dated 1075 to dedicate a “Great Compassion Pavilion” in Chengdu, which contains a sculpture of Guanyin Bodhisattva in it, Su elaborates his own understanding of “no-mind” and associates it with compassion:

I observe people in this world, they all have two eyes and two arms.

[However,] when things come to them, they are unable to respond, [so] they become frantic and confused and do not know what to do. Some of them wish to respond but engage in thinking, which is a reversal. The act of thinking is illusionary, and such behavior is like having no eyes and arms. [Guanyin] Bodhisattva has a thousand eyes and arms, but it is the same as having one eye and one arm. When things arrive, the mind arrives with them, and they never do any thinking. There is no matter to which [Guanyin] Bodhisattva should respond that they do not respond to... There is nothing encountered that is not carried out, and there is no doubt about what is carried out. Why is

it possible to have no doubts? Because [Guanyin] Bodhisattva has no mind
themselves. If there is still mind, there are a thousand minds in a thousand
hands. If one person has a thousand minds, they will be competing with each
other internally, [and there will be] no time to respond to things. If there are a
thousand hands without a mind, each hand can get to where it should be. I
bow my head to the Great Compassion Bodhisattva [Guanyin] and wish that
they will save all sentient beings. Let them all fulfill the practice of no-mind
and have a thousand hands and eyes.

吾觀世間人，兩目兩手臂。物至不能應，狂惑失所措。其有慾應者，顛
倒做思慮。思慮非真實，無異無手目。菩薩千手目，與一手目同。物至
心亦至，曾不做思慮。隨其所當應，無不得其當。… 所遇無不執，所執
無有疑。緣何得無疑，以我無心故。若猶有心者，千手當千心。一人而
千心，內自相攪攘，何暇能應物。千手無一心，手手得其處。稽首大悲
尊，願度一切眾。皆證無心法，皆具千手目。⁴⁵

In this writing, Su emphasizes “responding to things” in order to achieve
bodhisattva-like compassion. Certainly, the subjects of this writing are Guanyin
Bodhisattva and the Great Compassion Pavilion, but we can see how Su interprets mind
(or thought) as well as no-mind and combines it with compassion.

⁴⁵ See “A Record of the Great Compassion Pavilion” (*Dabei ge ji* 大悲閣記) in *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, 191-96; see also *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 12, 394-96. In *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts* 1986, this writing is titled as “A Record of the Great Compassion Pavilion in Chengdu” (*Chengdu dabei ge ji* 成都大悲閣記).

First, Su Shi believes that the mind or thought is not real, which is consistent with general trends in middle Chan thought. He has a negative attitude toward the act of thinking. In his opinion, engaging in thinking is a reversal of the truth, and the reason why Guanyin Bodhisattva is able to respond to things in a perfect way is that “they never do any thinking.” Second, Su Shi also mentioned “*xin*” 心 in the sentence “when things arrive, the mind arrives with them, and they never do any thinking (物至心亦至, 曾不做思慮).” There should be a distinction between “*xin*” here and the “*xin*” in “*wu xin*” 無心 (no-mind) which is mentioned below in the inscription: The latter refers to the engagement and attachment to thought, while the former refers to the thought itself.

The point Su emphasizes here seems to be that the purpose of having no mind is to respond to things better and to establish relationships with external things. There are two possible reasons why Su Shi interprets the concept of no-mind in this manner. First, it may be related to Su’s well-versed knowledge of the concept of “responding to things.” This concept originally meant that buddhas, especially bodhisattvas, would offer instructions to each individual according to their different needs. This is a prevalent view in Mahayana Buddhism and a common theme in mainstream sutras in China, such as the *Lotus*, the *Vimalakīrti*, the *Laṅkāvatāra*, the *Śūraṅgama*, and the *Avataṃsaka*, all of which Su Shi was familiar with (Egan 1994, 152). Therefore, it is understandable that the two concepts of “responding to things” and “no-mind” would be linked together. Secondly, it might be related to Su Shi’s identity, his temperament, or the literary persona he wanted to create. These factors are difficult to speculate

through historical records, but they are probably the most important reasons for the construction of his perception of “no-mind” and connecting it to compassion. It is likely that Su Shi, as an official, a literatus, and a man entrenched in Confucianism, would have interpreted and used “no-mind” in this way, and would have placed its ultimate destination in “compassion.” It is also possible that he was merely trying to create a certain kind of literary persona here.

Su Shi and the Tiantai School in the Northern Song

Northern Song Tiantai

During the Song dynasty, the Tiantai school was another highly influential Buddhist school in addition to Chan. Many of Su Shi’s Buddhist friends were affiliated with the Tiantai school. As with other Buddhist schools of the early Song, Tiantai was revitalized during this period. Zhiyi 智顓 (538-579), who completed the systematization of the doctrines of Tiantai, is considered the founder of the school (Grant 1994, 23-24).

The process of revival of the Tiantai school in the early Song paralleled that of Chan. As Gregory points out, “the fact that Tiantai was forced to develop in the shadow of Chan meant that it had to adapt Chan strategies of representation in its competition for privilege, prestige, and patronage” (Gregory 1999, 10). The prominent monks of Tiantai endeavored to find support from both local and imperial governments, recover Tiantai texts, and establish Tiantai’s identity as an independent

school (Gregory 1999, 5-6; Grant 1994, 24). In contrast to Chan, whose monastic institutions were spread throughout the country during the Song, Tiantai was more regional with its centers in Mingzhou, Hangzhou, and Mount Tiantai in Zhejiang province in southeast China (Gregory 1999, 10). During Su Shi's two terms of office in Hangzhou, as vice prefect and prefect respectively, he developed close contacts with some Tiantai masters, and he was one of the patrons of the Tiantai master Fanzhen 梵臻 (n.d.) in Hangzhou (Huang 1999, 313).

During the revitalization of Tiantai in the early Song, an internal split was a remarkable part of its history. Differences of opinions emerged regarding the authenticity of recovered texts, the interpretation of some teachings, and whether meditation practice was more gradual or sudden. Two factions were formed: the "home-mountain" (*shanjia* 山家) faction led by Zhili 知禮 (960-1028) and "off-mountain" (*shanwai* 山外) faction led by Wuen 晤恩 (912-986) and Zhiyuan 智圓 (976-1022). The split between home-mountain and off-mountain continued for the first three decades of the eleventh century, a period before Su Shi was born. *Shanjia* led by Zhili was generally considered to have won the controversy (Gregory 1999, 5-6; Grant 1994, 24-25). As Wang points out, the home-mountain faction was more welcomed among Song officials and literati than the off-mountain faction. An important reason for this was that Zhili was an excellent political activist who was able to harmonize the relationship between Buddhism and Confucianism, as many prominent Buddhist masters did (Wang 1989, 2-3). Zhili believes that "it is important to both establish oneself and to walk in the Way and follow the Buddha-truth.

Although Confucianism and Buddhism are different ideologies, they share the same path. One must first establish oneself and then proceed to walk in the Way and follow the Buddha-truth.” He also encourages Tiantai monks to read Confucian texts.⁴⁶ Grant also notes that being “particularly open to the idea of the compatibility of Confucianism and Buddhism” was a characteristic of Tiantai in Northern Song (Grant 1994, 30). Su Shi holds similar views to Zhili on the compatibility of Confucianism and Buddhism. This can be seen in a funeral oration he wrote to the eminent Tiantai master Biancai Yuanjing 辯才元淨 (1011-1091) in Hangzhou. Su Shi believes that:

Confucius and Laozi share different gates; followers of Confucius and the Buddha share different temples. Within Buddhism, Chan and Vinaya attack each other. I see the ocean, which has different directions of north, south, and east. Although there are different rivers and streams, they all end at the same destination.

孔老異門，儒釋分宮。又於其間，禪律相攻。我見大海，有北南東。江河雖殊，其至則同。⁴⁷

⁴⁶ See CBETA, *Siming fumenren jufashishu* 四明付門人矩法師書 in *Siming Zunzhe jiaoxing lu* 四明尊者教行錄, fasc. 5, “凡立身行道，世之大務。雖儒釋殊途，安能有異。必須先務其身，次謀行道 … 此外宜覽儒家文集。” <https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/search/?q=四明尊者教行錄&lang=zh>. Also see Wang 1989, 71.

⁴⁷ See “A Funeral Oration Dedicated to Longjing Biancai” (*Ji Longjing Biancai wen* 祭龍井辯才文), in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 253-54; see also *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 63, 1961.

“*Lishen*” 立身 (establishing oneself) is more of a Confucian concept, while Confucianism and Buddhism have their own interpretations of “*xingdao*” 行道 (practicing the Way). Both Zhili and Su Shi believe that Buddhism and Confucianism are two paths to a certain destination, and that they complement each other without having to abandon one for the other. Zhili believes that establishing oneself is a prerequisite for Buddhist practice, and that Confucianism can help to achieve that goal; Su Shi often emphasizes in his writings the integration of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism to reach a certain destination. This funeral oration was written in 1091,⁴⁸ in Su’s late years, and it may indicate that this was the view that he held after experiencing much turbulence in his life. It is difficult to specify exactly what this destination is, but in Su Shi’s writings, it is often clear that he was seeking a proper place that was not bound to a particular school of Buddhism, nor to any confines of Confucianism, Buddhism, or Daoism. It is possible that, as this is a universal problem human beings face, he was seeking a proper place in the world as a man of various identities. It is only his multiple identities and complicated persona that make the process of finding this place difficult.

The relationship between Su Shi and the home-mountain/off-mountain factions has not been specifically studied, most likely because Su lived at a time when the home-mountain faction was a dominant force of Tiantai in Hangzhou. Although as mentioned earlier, Su Shi was a patron of Fanzhen—a faithful supporter of Zhili and the home-mountain faction, it is difficult to prove Su’s position, as it is more likely

⁴⁸ See *The Comprehensive Annotation of The Collection of Su Shi’s Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2560.

due to the power of the home-mountain in Hangzhou and Su Shi's political considerations as an official rather than personal religious preference. Moreover, Fanzhen was by no means the only master Su Shi patronized. However, the split within Tiantai may not have been a concern for Su Shi and other literati. As Huang suggests, there was no reason for elite patrons to want to see or promote the sectarian schism (Huang 1999, 313-14).

A Portrait-Eulogy Dedicated to Haiyue Bian 'gong

In 1071, Su Shi served as the vice prefect at Hangzhou, which was his first term of office there.⁴⁹ At that time, Hangzhou was one of the centers of the Tiantai school. During Su Shi's tenure there, he became close to many Tiantai masters. As shown in the previous section, for example, he had a close association with Fanzhen and Biancai, who were both Tiantai masters. As Su Shi often did, he recorded his interactions with his Buddhist friends and expressed his admiration for them through his writings. *A Portrait-Eulogy Dedicated to Haiyue Bian 'gong* (*Haiyue Bian 'gong zhenzan* 海月辯公真贊) is a memorial to the Tiantai master Haiyue Huibian 海月慧辯 (1014-1073).⁵⁰ Huibian was already a renowned master of Tiantai before Su Shi's first tenure in Hangzhou.⁵¹ As the text indicates, this eulogy was written twenty-one years after Huibian's passing, at which time Su Shi was in exile in Huizhou 惠州:

⁴⁹ See *The Comprehensive Annotation of The Collection of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2520.

⁵⁰ For the translation of "zhenzan 真贊," I am following Wendi Adamek. See Adamek 2003, 36.

⁵¹ Haiyue Huibian was already a well-known Tiantai master in Hangzhou during the time when Shen Gou 沈遵 (1028-1067) assumed the position of prefect of Hangzhou in 1062. See Huang 1999, 306, 310-11.

The spread of Buddhism in Qiantang (Hangzhou) is the greatest under Heaven. People with morality and wisdom are among them, as well as vulgar and hypocritical ones, so it is difficult to manage. Therefore, in addition to the rectifier of the clergy (*sengzheng* 僧正) and the assistant rectifier of the clergy (*sengfu* 僧副), the position of the chief rectifier of the clergy (*du sengzheng* 都僧正) was adopted.⁵² This position is responsible for managing clerical documents, financial accounts, legal cases, and certificates;⁵³ dealing with visitors; and supervising the rectifier of the clergy and the assistant rectifier of the clergy. However, this position is merely a kind of monastic official, so those transcendent and unworldly people who live in the mountains do not bother to take it. Only those who have wisdom, elegant demeanor, and integrity, who can deal with the secular world but inwardly transcend the mundane world, can be competent for this position. This is indeed difficult. When I was serving in Qiantang (Hangzhou), master Haiyue, who went by the name of Huibian, was in this position. He had a pure and solemn appearance, and his anger or happiness was not detectable. Both monks and lay people were impressed by him, and I also enjoyed the association with him. At that time, there were many issues in the southeast region, so there were plenty of administrative matters to deal with, leaving little time for leisure. I was young and vigorous at the time,

⁵² For the translation of the terms “*sengzheng* 僧正,” “*sengfu* 僧副,” and “*du sengzheng* 都僧正,” I am following Huang. See Huang 1999, 311.

⁵³ For the translation of “*bu* 簿,” “*zhang* 帳,” “*an* 案,” “*die* 牒,” I am also following Huang. See Huang 1999, 311.

and I often felt uneasy with my position. Whenever I went to visit the master, I would sit quietly facing him. Just listening to his occasional words, my worries would dissolve like the flow of water.

錢塘佛者之盛，蓋甲天下。道德才智之士與夫妄庸巧偽之人雜處其間，號為難齊。故與僧職正副之外，別補都僧正一員。簿帳案牒奔走將迎之勞，專責正副以下，而都師總領要略…然亦通號為僧官，高舉遠引山棲絕俗之士，不屑為之。惟清通端雅，外涉世而中遺物者，乃任其事，蓋亦難矣。余通守錢塘時，海月大師慧辯者，實在此位。神宇澄穆，不見愠喜，而緇素悅服，余固喜從之遊。時東南多事，吏治少暇，而余方年壯氣盛，不安厥官。每往見師，清坐相對，時聞一言，則百憂水解。⁵⁴

This part presents the prosperity of Buddhism in Hangzhou, the monastic position the chief rectifier of the clergy held by Haiyue Huibian, and details of the duties of this position. It is clear that Su Shi appreciated master Haiyue's capacity for being able to both "transcend the mundane world" and "take care of worldly affairs." This made sense, considering the point at which Su Shi, as a government official, made this remark. Although there are various ways for monks to practice Buddhism, this quality of being both worldly and unworldly creates a close connection between Buddhism and literati. In addition, he also elaborates on his interaction with master Haiyue. His

⁵⁴ See "A Portrait-Eulogy Dedicated to Haiyue Bian'gong" (*Haiyue Bian'gong zhenzan* 海月辯公真贊), in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 92-93; see also *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 22, 638.

admiration for Haiyue is well expressed through other texts as well. For example, in the funeral oration dedicated to another Buddhist master Biancai, he considers Haiyue Huibian as one of the five eminent Buddhist masters in the southeast region.⁵⁵

In the latter part of the writing, Su Shi explains the origins of this eulogy, his dream about returning to Hangzhou when he was exiled in Huangzhou 黃州, and the content of the eulogy:

When I was in Huangzhou, I once dreamed that there was a Buddha hall on the side of the West Lake, with a plaque that read “Maitreya’s descent to this world.” My old friends, including Biancai and Haiyue, were walking in the Way [i.e., following the Buddha-path]. Twenty-one years after the death of Master Haiyue, I was exiled to Huizhou, and Master Jinghui of Tianzhu Monastery asked Canliaozi⁵⁶ to bring me a letter, saying, “[You,] the chief donor, promised to make a portrait-eulogy for Haiyue, but you have not fulfilled this wish for a long time. Why is that?” I hurriedly set out to make the following eulogy in honor of the master:

If everyone rushes to the secular world, then who will be the hermit? If

⁵⁵ In “Funeral Oration Dedicated to Longjing Biancai” (*Ji Longjing Biancai wen* 祭龍井辯才文), Su Shi considers the five masters in the southeast region, known as Wu 吳, as the following: Biancai, Huibian, Fanzhen, Dajue Huailian 大覺懷璉 (1009-1090), and Mingjiao Qisong 明教契嵩 (1007-1072). See *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, 254, “When I first arrived in Wu, I was able to see the five masters: they are the lecturers Biancai, Huibian, and Fanzhen, and Chan masters Huailian and Qisong. Twenty years later, only Biancai remained alive. Now that he has passed away, who should later generations look up to as their masters?” (我初適吳，嘗見五公。講有辯璉，禪有璉嵩。後二十年，獨於此翁。今又往矣，後生誰宗); see also *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 63, 1961.

⁵⁶ Canliaozi 參寥子 refers to Daoqian 道潛 (1043-1106), who was a close Buddhist friend of Su Shi. For more information about Canliao, see CBETA, *Additions to the Continuations of the Memoirs of Eminent Monks (Bu xu gaoseng zhuan 補續高僧傳)*, fasc. 23, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/X77n1524_p0520b20?q=參寥子傳&l=0520b20&near_word=&kwic_around=30. See Chapter 4 for more discussion of Su Shi and Canliao.

everyone leaves the secular world, then who will take care of worldly affairs? There is such a great being, with infinite compassion, who can be in both. [He is] neither defiled nor pure, neither Vinaya nor Chan. The only such person is Master Haiyue. When sentient beings see him, they will be freed from all kinds of bindings. The West Lake I dreamed of was a conjured celestial palace, and the Upper and Lower Tianzhu monasteries were as they always had been. The clouds and the full moon appear, and the portrait of the master is here. Who makes this eulogy? It is [myself,] Dongpo.

余在黃州，夢至西湖上，有大殿榜曰彌勒下生，而故人辯才海月之流，皆行道其間。師沒後二十一年，余貶謫惠州，天竺淨惠師屬參寥子以書遺余曰：“檀越許與海月做真贊，久不償此願，何也？”余矍然而起，為說贊曰：人皆趨世，出世者誰？人皆遺世，世誰為之？爰有大士，處此兩間。非濁非清，非律非禪。惟是海月，都武之師。庶復見之，眾縛自脫。我夢西湖，天宮化城。見兩天竺，宛如平生。雲批月滿，遺像在此。誰其贊之？惟東坡子。⁵⁷

In this part, Su Shi first presents a dream he had during his exile in Huangzhou, in which he returned to Hangzhou and the Upper and Lower Tianzhu Monasteries, and was able to see his old Buddhist friends including Haiyue Huibian and Biancai.

⁵⁷ See “A Portrait-Eulogy Dedicated to Haiyue Bian’gong” (*Haiyue Bian’gong zhenzan* 海月辯公真贊), in *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, 94-95; see also *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 22, 638.

Perhaps it was because he had experienced the frustration of being exiled to Huangzhou and Huizhou in the twenty-one years after Master Haiyue's death, or because composing a eulogy for Master Haiyue reminded him of Hangzhou, this writing is filled with memories and dreams of his days being "young and vigorous" in Hangzhou, and subtle sadness surrounds the lines. In the content of the eulogy, Su Shi once again expresses his admiration for master Haiyue's capacity to be able to "take care of worldly affairs" and "transcend the mundane world," and acclaims him as "neither defiled nor pure, neither Vinaya nor Chan." This is consistent with one of the Threefold Truths of Tiantai, which holds that, "all things lack inherent existence or self-nature" (Grant 1994, 24). Such a concept could be well embraced by Su Shi: whether it is the mundane world or the transcendent, the different schools of Buddhism, or the different ideologies of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism, he seems to never want to confine himself to a fixed position.

Su Shi and Pure Land Buddhism

Pure Land in the Northern Song

The foundations of Pure Land in China can be traced to a community of monks who gathered a group of literati to meet regularly with the goal of rebirth in the Western Paradise. The traditional first patriarch is attributed to Huiyuan 慧遠 (334-416) (Grant 1994, 31). Although the organization Huiyuan founded was not a formal one, the concept of a large group laymen participating and meeting regularly to attain

rebirth in the Western Paradise has continued through the development of the Pure Land school (Grant 1994, 31-32). Furthermore, the development of Pure Land has always been integrated with other Buddhist schools. As Leo T. K. Chan points out, “The Chinese Pure Land school was so amorphous and versatile that it accommodated itself easily and spread along paths of least resistance, coexisting with the dominant school of the time, Chan, as well as Tiantai, Huayan, and Vinaya schools” (Chan 1991, 26). The trend of integration continued into the Song dynasty, and with the flourishing of Buddhism in the Song, Pure Land Buddhism was able to develop rapidly.

In the Northern Song, the monks from various schools actively promoted the concept of “rebirth in the Western Paradise,” as well as other practices related to Pure Land Buddhism. Some of Su Shi’s Buddhist friends were among those enthusiastic advocates. For example, Biancai Yuanjing, an eminent Tiantai master who was closely associated with Su Shi (as explained in the previous section), had burned three fingers from his left hand and two fingers from his right hand, as a sign of his determination to be reborn in the Western Paradise (Grant 1994, 31). Zhanran Yuanzhao 湛然元照 (1048-1116), another Buddhist friend of Su Shi, who was a Vinaya master in Hangzhou, had established a Pure Land society called *Jingyeshe* 淨業社. This was one of the largest societies of Pure Land of the time, with nearly 20,000 members, including both monks and lay people. Pure Land societies like *Jingyeshe* were popular at that time, especially in Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces in southeast China, which usually consisted of monks, literati and commoners (Grant 1994, 32). As Yuanzhao

was quoted as saying in *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類,⁵⁸ in these Pure Land societies, “there is no difference between the rich and the poor, the old and the young. The members get together to practice Pure Land Buddhism: contemplation, holding to the name (of Amitābha’s), reciting sutras, or fasting. The development of Pure Land had reached an unprecedented stage at that time.”⁵⁹

It is worth noting that, Zhanran Yuanzhao’s efforts to promote the Vinaya were no less effective than what he had done for Pure Land, and perhaps the more significant identity of Yuanzhao is as a Vinaya master. Yuanzhao was an eminent scholar of the Four-Part Vinaya (*Sifenlü* 四分律), which became the core text of the Vinaya tradition of Chinese Buddhism by the Tang dynasty. It is probably not until the Song that the Vinaya tradition established itself as an independent school of Buddhism, due in large part to exponents such as Zanning 贊寧 (919-1001) and Yuanzhao (Grant 1994, 33). However, Yuanzhao’s monastic career started as a Tiantai monk, so he often applied the teachings of Tiantai to his interpretations of the Vinaya texts (Grant 1994, 33). The integration of various schools and traditions within Buddhism in the Northern Song was well reflected in Yuanzhao’s case.

Rebirth in the Western Paradise

The flourishing of Pure Land communities in Northern Song, together with the

⁵⁸ *Lebang wenlei* is a collection of Pure Land texts compiled in the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279).

⁵⁹ Quoted from Grant 1994, 32. See CBETA, *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類, fasc. 3, “由是在處立殿造像，結社建會，無豪財無少長，莫不誠歸淨土，若觀想若持名，若禮頌若齋戒……淨業之盛，往古無以加焉。” <https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T47n1969Ap0187b05>.

active participation of monks from various schools and literati, provided a context for Su Shi's involvement in Pure Land Buddhism. In addition, his mother was a devout practitioner of Pure Land Buddhism, which most likely led to his being exposed to the tradition at a young age. Su Shi also applied Pure Land rituals to memorialize his deceased family members. He was encouraged by his Buddhist friend Yuanzhao to donate his deceased mother's jewelry to a monastery and to have an artisan make a portrait of Amitābha Buddha to bless his late parents in the hope that they would be reborn in the Western Paradise. Su Shi recorded the event in his writing, as can be seen in *A Hymn to Amitābha Buddha* (*Amitufo song* 阿彌陀佛頌):

The Vinaya master Yuanzhao of Qiantang (Hangzhou) often persuades lay people to take refuge with Amitābha of the Western Paradise. I, Su Shi of Meishan, now devoutly present the earrings and hairpins left by my deceased mother, Lady Cheng of Shu Prefecture, and commission the artisan to paint a portrait of Amitābha to pray for the blessing of my late parents. I pray and bow with reverence one more time and dedicate a hymn as follows: ... I wish that my late parents together with all the sentient beings may dwell in the Western Paradise and that all they encounter is ultimate bliss.

錢塘圓照⁶⁰ 律師，普勸道俗歸命西方極樂世界阿彌陀。眉山蘇軾敬拾亡母蜀郡太君程氏遺留簪珥，命工胡錫采畫佛像，以薦父母冥福。謹再拜稽首而獻頌曰：…願我先父母，與一切眾生，在處為西方，所遇皆極樂。⁶¹

Su Shi offered his mother's relics and a portrait of Amitābha Buddha to pray for his late parents' rebirth in the Western Paradise. Such an act is a way of expressing devotion in Pure Land rituals, for the purpose of accumulating merit for oneself and especially one's deceased family, so that they can be reborn in the Western Paradise (Grant 1994, 32-33). This hymn to Amitābha Buddha is included in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. I did not quote the entire text here, but the quoted part does appear to be somewhat formulaic. In *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, we can see that Su Shi has many other formulaic writings, not only used for family death rituals, but also as hymns and eulogies dedicated to buddhas, bodhisattvas, and arhats. Some scholars have criticized Su Shi's formulaic Buddhist writings. Liu Naichang, for example, argues that "Su Shi's Buddhist writings consists mostly of Chan *gāthā*, eulogies for buddhas, hymns for arhats, inscriptions for monasteries and abbots' residences. They are nearly uniform religious texts and lack literary value" (Liu 1982, 197). As we will see in other Buddhist writings by Su Shi quoted in this thesis, Su

⁶⁰ Here Yuanzhao 圓照 refers to Zhanran Yuanzhao 湛然元照, who had close interactions with Su Shi. Zhanran Yuanzhao is the Vinaya master in Hangzhou who established the Pure Land society *Jingyeshu*, as discussed above. Su Shi often likes to write his name "Yuanzhao" 元照 as "圓照," as can be seen in his writings *Amitufo song* 阿彌陀佛頌. In both *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010 and *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, the name of Yuanzhao is shown as "圓照." However, it is easy to be confused by the fact that Yuanzhao Zongben 圓照宗本 is the name of a Chan master in Hangzhou. For more details, see Huang Huijing 黃惠菁 2015, 295-96.

⁶¹ See "A Hymn to Amitābha Buddha" (*Amitufo Song* 阿彌陀佛頌), in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 18-19; see also *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 20, 585.

Shi's Buddhist writings are not mostly "nearly uniform religious texts and lack[ing] literary value" as described by Liu; however, it is worth noting the formulaic nature of certain Buddhist writings of Su Shi in the study of his Buddhist writings.

The distinctive character of Buddhist writings, as opposed to non-Buddhist writing, in Su Shi's case largely lies in their being associated with Buddhist rituals and even serving as a form of Buddhist practice themselves. However, Su Shi was not just a lay Buddhist practitioner; he was also a writer, renowned literatus, and a government official. These multiple identities made his Buddhist writings more complex. When reading Su Shi's writings in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, we sometimes come across formulaic texts associated with Buddhist rituals, as the one quoted above. At other times, we see Su Shi's Buddhist writings as a way of socializing with prominent monks, or we find him discussing his own dilemmas, feelings, and insights in these writings. Therefore, Su Shi's Buddhist writings are by no means mostly "nearly uniform religious texts and lack[ing] literary value." While the formulaic nature of Su Shi's Buddhist writings may be more evident in specific genres such as hymns and eulogies, we can still see that Su Shi's multiple identities as a lay Buddhist practitioner, writer, literatus, and government official blend together in these writings, which makes it difficult to assert that they are only formulaic, even in these genres.

A similar memorial ritual performed by Su is recorded in a eulogy to Amitābha Buddha, which can also be found in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. In that eulogy, it can be seen that Su wishes for rebirth and peace in the Western Paradise for

his deceased wife Wang Runzhi 王閏之 (1048-1093), who was a devout Buddhist (Grant 1994, 57). Su Shi followed Wang Runzhi's last words, having his three sons commission a portrait of Amitābha Buddha to be dedicated to the Qingliang Monastery (*Qingliang si* 清涼寺) in Nanjing.⁶² The eulogy goes as follows:

When my wife, a buddha-disciple, was alive, she was surrounded by many worries. How could she fix her thoughts singlemindedly before the final moment of her life? [She] chanted the name of Amitābha Buddha, and like the sun rising from the horizon, [the light] could be seen everywhere. Moreover, she dedicated her own belongings [, having the sons commission someone] to paint such a portrait of Amitābha Buddha who has supreme and perfect [enlightenment]. Whoever sees it, hears about it, or rejoices in observing it will attain buddhahood, whether they are humans or gods, insects or birds. As long as one always keeps practicing the undifferentiated contemplation, one will find that sorrow and happiness, longevity and death do not exist in the first place. A sixteen-foot diamond-body image of the Buddha is not large, and how can thousands of buddhas in a square inch be considered small? The place where this mind finds peace is the Western Paradise, which can be reached with the

⁶² See "A Eulogy to Amitābha Buddha" (*Amitufo Zan* 阿彌陀佛贊), in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 55-56, also, *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 21, 619-20, "She left her last words, having the sons, Su Mai 蘇邁 (1059-1119), Su Dai 蘇迨 (1070-1126), and Su Guo 蘇過 (1072-1123), use her belongings to commission a portrait of Amitābha Buddha. The portrait was completed on the ninth day of the sixth month of the first year of the Shaosheng reign and was installed in the Qingliang Monastery in Jinling (Nanjing)" (遺言捨所受用, 使其子邁迨過為畫阿彌陀佛。聖紹元年六月九日像成。奉安於金陵清涼寺). Su Mai was the son of Su Shi and his first wife, Wang Fu 王弗 (1039-1065); Su Dai and Su Guo were sons of Su Shi and his second wife Wang Runzhi.

shutting of the eyes [upon death] and will not be tormented by afflictions.

佛子在時百憂繞，臨行一念何由了。口誦南無阿彌陀，如日出地萬國曉。
何況自捨所受用，畫此圓滿天日表。見聞隨喜悉成佛，不擇人天與蟲鳥。
但當長作平等觀，本無憂樂與壽夭。丈六金身不為大，方寸千佛夫豈小。
此心平處是西方，閉目便到無魔嬈。⁶³

Just as in a *Hymn to Amitābha Buddha*, in which Su Shi prays for his late parents to be reborn in the Western Paradise, a similar blessing for his deceased wife Wang Runzhi can be seen in this eulogy. Although it is not clear which school of Buddhism Su Shi's wife belonged to exactly, it is likely that, as with most lay people of the time, she did not have a specific affiliation, relying on Pure Land as a relatively simple practice for rebirth in the Western Paradise. In this eulogy to Amitābha Buddha, Su Shi mainly described his wife's dedication to Pure Land Buddhism before her death, such as chanting the name of Amitābha Buddha and offering her personal belongings and a portrait of Amitābha Buddha. This is similar to the practice of his mother before her death, although it is clear that his mother was a Pure Land practitioner, as mentioned earlier. It seems clear that the idea of "rebirth in the Western Paradise" had a great influence on Su Shi and his family, as it became part of their death ritual. This may be as Wang suggests, that the simple practices of Pure Land tradition and the goal of rebirth in the Western Paradise are appealing to the

⁶³ See "A Eulogy to Amitābha Buddha" (*Amitufo Zan*" 阿彌陀佛贊), in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 56-57; see also *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 21, 619-20.

majority of people (Wang 1989, 15). Interestingly, however, Su Shi himself was often mentioned by monks from later generations, as an example of a man who was gifted but failed to be reborn in the Western Paradise.⁶⁴

Su Shi and Huayan Buddhism in the Northern Song

Huayan Buddhism in the Northern Song

The founder of the Huayan school is considered to be the Tang master Dixin Dushun 帝心杜順 (557-640), who is attributed with the authorship of *Meditation on the Dharmadhatu* (*Fajie guanmen* 法界觀門), one of the central teachings of the Huayan school. However, it was Xianshou Fazang 賢首法藏 (643-712) who conducted the systematic completion of the Huayan doctrines (Grant 1994, 34). In the context of the growth of Buddhism in the early Song, Huayan Buddhism was also revived. The two masters who principally contributed to the revival of Huayan Buddhism in the Song are Changshui Zirui 長水子璿 (946-1038) and Jinshui Jingyuan 晉水淨源 (1011-1088).⁶⁵ The latter served as abbot in the Huiyin Monastery (*Huiyin si* 慧因寺) in Hangzhou from 1068 to 1085, during which time he was the leading authority of the Huayan school in Hangzhou and made Huiyin Monastery the

⁶⁴ For example, in a Qing Buddhist text “*One Hundred Questions about Buddha Recitation*” (*Nianfo baiwen* 念佛百問), one of the questions is why Su Shi devoted himself to Buddhism but failed to achieve rebirth in the Western Paradise. The answer is that he had too much intelligence, therefore, he deeply perceived faults. Eventually, he became someone who “tried to be clever and ended up stupid” (*nongqiao chengzhuo* 弄巧成拙). For more details, see Grant 1994, 180-81. Also see CBETA, *Nianfo baiwen* 念佛百問, no. 91, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/X1184_001.

⁶⁵ Changshui Zirui and Jinshui Jingyuan’s exegesis of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經), a classic of the Huayan school, not only contributed to the revival of the Huayan school, but also had a great influence on the teachings of the slightly later Chan monk Juefan Huihong 覺範慧洪 (1071-1128) and the Linji lineage of his time, as well as on the Chan Buddhism that followed. See Keyworth 2020, 1-30.

center of Huayan (Grant 1994, 35; Huang 1999, 323-24). In contrast to other Buddhist schools at that time, the Huayan school was supported by foreign patronage. The royal house of Koryŏ was the major patron of Huiyin Monastery during Jingyuan's abbacy, as Ŭichŏn (1055-1101, also known as Yitian 義天), the scion of the royal house, wished to further his understanding of the teachings of Huayan. Their generous patronage was an important factor in the growth of Huayan at that time (Huang 1999, 323-25).

Su Shi, Jingyuan, and Su Shi's Role as a Local Official

Although Su Shi served in Hangzhou during Jingyuan's abbacy of Huiyin Monastery,⁶⁶ his close interaction with Jingyuan is difficult to find in his writings. Rather, interestingly, in a report Su Shi wrote to the imperial court in 1089—the year after Jingyuan's decease—his negative opinion of Jingyuan can be found:

On the thirteenth day of the eleventh month of the fourth year of the Yuanyou reign, [I,] Su Shi, the prefect of Hangzhou, respectfully present this report ... The deceased monk Jingyuan of Huiyin Monastery was originally a mediocre man. It was only because of his frequent contacts with the sea merchants in Fujian that the merchants spread misinformation in Koryŏ, and therefore Yitian came from afar to study [Buddhism]. Huiyin Monastery received lavish

⁶⁶ Between the years 1071 and 1073, Su Shi was appointed as vice prefect of Hangzhou, during which time Jingyuan was the abbot of Huiyin Monastery. Then, between the years 1089 and 1090, Su Shi was appointed as prefect of Hangzhou. For more details, see Egan 1994, xviii.

patronage and profits as a result, but the government and private commerce in the Huai⁶⁷ and Zhe regions were disturbed on a large scale.

元祐四年十一月十三日，… 杭州蘇軾狀奏。… 惠因院⁶⁸ 亡僧淨源，本是庸人，只因多與福建海商往還，致商人等於高麗國中妄有談說，是致義天遠來從學，因此本院厚獲施利，而淮、浙官私遍遭擾亂。⁶⁹

This report from Su Shi was triggered by Yitian's desire to visit Hangzhou to pay his respects to Jingyuan after his death. In addition, the royal house of Koryŏ wanted to pay tribute to the Song court by offering two golden pagodas. Su Shi believed that this attempt by the royal house of Koryŏ was a potential danger to the security of the Song. In this report, he simply describes Jingyuan as "the deceased monk of Huiyin Monastery," and evaluates him as a "mediocre man," which contrasts starkly with the language he employs in his writings on Biancai, Huibian, or other Buddhist masters he associated with. It is true that it was not necessary for Su Shi to befriend every Buddhist monk in Hangzhou, but as a local official, he was harsh in describing a recently deceased leading authority in Huayan school as a "mediocre man." In addition to these descriptive comments, he believes that Jingyuan's improper connections with sea merchants in the Fujian area led to Yitian's coming from Koryŏ to study Buddhism, as well as the disruption in both government and

⁶⁷ Huai 淮 refers to the area around today's Jiangsu province, where the Huai River is routed. This area is in the northern part of Zhejiang, which is also a coastal area.

⁶⁸ "Huiyin yuan 惠因院" refers to the Huiyin Monastery (*Huiyin si* 慧因寺).

⁶⁹ See "The Second Report Respectfully Addressed to the Imperial Court on the Tribute of Koryŏ" (*Lun Gaoli jinfeng di'er zhuang* 論高麗進奉第二狀), in *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 30, 857-58.

private commerce in the southeast region. Whether this is consistent with the actual situation is questionable.

Fujian is another coastal province in the south of Zhejiang. Jingyuan's interactions with Fujianese sea merchants have left little record in history. However, it is known that Jingyuan spent most of his Buddhist career in Zhejiang and Jiangsu—he spent more than twenty years in Hangzhou⁷⁰ and prior to that, he lectured in Jiangsu. Furthermore, Jingyuan was invited from Jiangsu to Hangzhou—the capital city of Zhejiang—by Shen Gou,⁷¹ who was the prefect at the time (Huang 1999, 324). As for Yitian's reason for coming to Hangzhou, it may not be obvious that it is directly related to Jingyuan himself: before receiving instruction from Jingyuan, Yitian had met with other Buddhist masters of various schools, including Vinaya master Yuanzhao, who was a Buddhist friend of Su Shi, and the Tiantai master Cibian Congjian 慈辯從諫 (1035-1109). In fact, his meeting with Jingyuan was arranged by the Song court because Yitian wished to “further his understanding of Huayan Buddhism” (Huang 1999, 323).

In addition to this report, Su Shi presented the other two reports to the imperial court within a month of the issue of Koryō's attempt to offer tribute,⁷² and he strongly

⁷⁰ Jingyuan was invited to Hangzhou by Shen Gou around the year 1062. After that, he stayed at Hangzhou until his death in 1088. For more details, see Huang 1999, 306 and 324.

⁷¹ As mentioned in Tiantai section, Shen Gou assumed the position of prefect of Hangzhou since 1062.

⁷² In addition to “the Second Report Respectfully Addressed to the Imperial Court on the Tribute of Koryō” quoted here, also see “The Report Respectfully Addressed to the Imperial Court on the Tribute of Koryō” (*Lun Gaoli jinfeng zhuang* 論高麗進奉狀), and “The Report Respectfully Addressed to the Imperial Court on the Earnest Petition for the Return of the Koryō Monks from Quanzhou” (*Qiling Gaoliseng cong Quanzhou guiguo zhuang* 乞令高麗僧從泉州歸國狀), in *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 30, 847-49 and 858-59. The beginning of each report indicates the time they were written: they were respectively on the third day in the eleventh month, the thirteenth day in the eleventh month, and the third day in the twelfth month of the fourth year of the Yuanrou reign (year of 1089). For more discussion on Su Shi's political views on Koryō, see Wang 2015, 317-338.

discouraged the Song court from accepting the tribute for the sake of national security. These reports to the imperial court show Su Shi's other facet as a local official, and it is clear that he was a dedicated official who cared about the affairs of the nation and the region in which he served. This identity, along with that of a literatus and Buddhist enthusiast, makes his multifaceted persona more complete. This identity is quite consistent with his own description of himself as someone who "often felt uneasy with his position due to many issues to deal with in the southeast region" in "*A Portrait-Eulogy Dedicated to Haiyue Bian'gong*" in his later years in exile, when he recalled his official career in Hangzhou.

The above classification by schools does not suggest that they are the only connections between Su Shi and each school; it is an attempt to show the diverse relations of Su Shi and Buddhism, such as his views on Buddhist teachings, his interaction with Buddhist masters, and the influence Buddhist ritual had on his life. Moreover, the discussion in this chapter is a demonstration that Su Shi's connection to Buddhism goes far beyond "Chan," as the title of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* might suggest.

Chapter 2

The Context in the Late Ming

Generally speaking, the late Ming refers to the period from the beginning of the Wanli 萬曆 reign in 1573 to the collapse of the Ming dynasty in 1644. This was a period of tremendous social and cultural upheaval in the Ming dynasty, and the time frame during which the two editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* were

compiled. This chapter aims to explore the context in which *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* was published: Why did the late Ming literati compile two editions of it? And how did the cultural environment at the time lead the late Ming literati to turn their attention to Buddhism and Su Shi? This chapter consists of three parts that discuss these questions.

The first part will show how Buddhism was revived in the late Ming after a decline in the Yuan 元 (1271-1368) and early to mid-Ming periods. It will highlight the contribution of literati to this process, which is mainly defined as the gentry in the late Ming context. This is because of the importance of the gentry to the revival of Buddhism; more importantly, the social network of the gentry in local areas is an important circumstance in which the two editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* were compiled.

The second part will explore the cultural milieu of the late Ming from two perspectives: the literati and Buddhism, and the literati and Su Shi. First, it will focus on the relationship between Buddhism and Confucianism, particularly Chan Buddhism and Wang Yangming's 王陽明 (1472-1529) School of Mind (*xinxue* 心學). This is because the intimate relationship between Chan Buddhism and Wang Yangming's School of Mind is an important cultural phenomenon of the late Ming. As the title of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* indicates, the word *Chan* 禪 was used very broadly at the time, going beyond its Buddhist context. This part will also introduce the trend among the late Ming literati to promote Su Shi and compiled collections of his writings, and explore the reasons for this phenomenon.

The third part will investigate the compilers of the two editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. Xu Changru 徐長孺 (n.d.) was the first person to initiate *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. He searched for Buddhist writings by and about Su Shi and edited them into a collection.⁷³ As we can assume, one needs sufficient motivation to do this—an interest in and a good understanding of both Su Shi and Buddhism. However, Xu Changru left very limited historical records, and he never explicitly indicated his intentions in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. Nevertheless, we can find important clues in accounts of other literati related to Xu Changru. This part will also examine the other literati related to the two editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* and the possible reasons for their involvement in the compiling, editing, and printing of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. We can also see how they reflected the Buddhist and cultural contexts in the late Ming.

The Revival of Buddhism in the Late Ming

The Imperial Court of Wanli and Buddhist Revival

The development of Buddhism during the Yuan dynasty was more of a continuation of the Southern Song 南宋 (1127-1279). The Mongol court of Yuan did not restrict the development of Buddhism. However, the chaos of the war at the end of

⁷³ As explained in the introduction, although Xu Changru's edition mostly consists of Su Shi's own Buddhist writings, the fascicle "Chronicle of the Joy of Chan" (*Chanxi jishi* 禪喜紀事) is a collection of anecdotes and opinions written by later generations about Su Shi's involvement with Buddhism, and the fascicle "Records of Question-and-Answer with Foyin" (*Foyin wenda yulu* 佛印問答語錄) is considered to be an apocryphal work.

the Yuan led to the destruction of Buddhist monasteries and texts, and the great loss of monks and nuns (Chen 2010, 36). Buddhism entered a period of decline, and the establishment of the new dynasty did not lead to a revival. The first emperor of the Ming, Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328-1398), established more detailed regulations and stricter control over Buddhism than his Song and Yuan predecessors to secure the stability of his regime (Chen 2010, 35). The oppressive policies did not provide Buddhism with enough room for development. The successors of Zhu Yuanzhang from early to mid-Ming continued this pattern, resulting in the stagnation of Buddhism for a long period (Wu 2008, 22). In the start of the Wanli reign (1573-1620), this situation started to change.

Emperor Wanli (1563-1620) and his mother, the Empress Dowager Cisheng 慈聖 (1546-1614), who was a pious Buddhist, started to “promote Buddhism as a means to perpetuate their personal welfare” (Wu 2008, 22). As a powerful member of the imperial family and a devout Buddhist, Empress Dowager Cisheng offered great support to the restoration of Buddhism in the late Ming. She provided imperial donations for the renovation of many Buddhist institutions and patronized eminent monks such as Hanshan Deqing 憨山德清 (1546-1623) and Zibo Zhenke 紫柏真可 (1543-1603) (Wu 2008, 24-25).⁷⁴ Although the Buddhist revival was not a sudden

⁷⁴ Hanshan Deqing, Zibo Zhenke, along with Yunqi Zhuhong 雲棲祿宏 (1535-1615), and Ouyi Zhixu 藕益智旭 (1599-1655), are generally regarded as the so-called “four great monks of the late Ming” (*mingmo sida gaoseng* 明末四大高僧), and are considered to have greatly contributed to the revival of late Ming Buddhism. For example, see Yü 1998, for more information on the “four great monks of the late Ming” and their contributions to the Buddhist revival. For more information of the most renowned of the four masters, Yunqi Zhuhong, his contribution to the revival of late Ming Buddhism, close relationship with late Ming literati and elites, and advocacy of the syncretism of various Buddhist schools, see Eichman 2020 and Yü 2020. However, Marcus Bingenheimer argues that compared with the “four great monks in the late Ming,” who were non-sectarian and inclusive (of various Buddhist schools and of Daoism and Confucianism), the Linji Chan monk Miyun Yuanwu 密雲圓悟 (1567-1642), who was “deeply concerned with lineage and the legitimization it bestowed,” was more influential for the revival of institutional Buddhism in the 17th-century. See Bingenheimer 2023, 1-17.

transformation, and it is possible that the policies of the mid-Ming rulers prior to Emperor Wanli paved the way for the Buddhist revival during his reign, the Buddhist revival during the Wanli reign was remarkably prominent throughout the Ming dynasty.⁷⁵ Furthermore, the imperial patronage during the Wanli reign was evident in supporting and fostering this process.

Gentry and Buddhist Revival in the Late Ming

During the late Ming, due to the commercialization of the economy and the expansion of the imperial examination system, the gentry formed and enlarged. Understanding the features of the gentry and their patronage of Buddhism can provide us with a closer picture of the late Ming literati involved in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*.

Brook points out the widening separation of public (*gong* 公) and private (*si* 私) in the late Ming, which refers to the separation of the realm between the state and locality.⁷⁶ A preference for private over public was one of the features of the late Ming gentry. They were more willing to devote themselves to local affairs than to the state, and they formed close networks in the local context. The formation and expansion of the gentry, as well as the separation between public and private, were contexts that were not present in Northern Song Buddhism, therefore, Buddhism in the late Ming

⁷⁵ During the Longqing 隆慶 reign (1567-1572), directly preceding the Wanli reign, the suppression of Buddhism by the previous ruler for four decades during the Jiajing 嘉靖 reign (1522-1566) was lifted. This was beneficial for the revival of Buddhism during the Wanli reign. See Zhang 2020, 56. For more on the four decades of repression of Buddhism during the Jiajing reign, see Zhang 2020, 36-55.

⁷⁶ For more details, see Brook 1993, 21-23.

evolved in a remarkably different way.

The patronage of Buddhism by the gentry was a way of validating their authority and autonomy in the local arena. Their patronage of Buddhism takes the following three forms which usually happened together. First, they provided financial support. This is mainly through providing funding for the renovation of monasteries and land purchases (Brook 1993, 161-64). Second, they supervised the important affairs of local monasteries, including the appointment of the abbot (172-75). Third, they used their prestige in the local area and their literary skills, for example, composing writing in fine calligraphy for a monastery, to raise the reputation of the monastery (176).

Gentry and *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*

According to Brook's discussion of the gentry, I would suggest that the late Ming literati who participated in the compilation and publication of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* belong to this group: Xu Changru, the initiator and compiler of the first edition of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*; Tang Wenxian 唐文獻 (1549-1605), the publisher and the colophon writer; and Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558-1639) and Lu Shusheng 陸樹聲 (1509-1605), who wrote the foreword and inscription, all came from Huating 華亭 county.⁷⁷ As I will show in the third part of this chapter, there were literary and Buddhist exchanges among Xu, Chen, and Lu. In particular,

⁷⁷ Huating is in the present-day Shanghai area. For information on Xu's birthplace, see Greenbaum 2007, 264. For Chen's, see *The Standard History of the Ming Dynasty (Ming shi 明史)* 1974, fasc. 298, 7631; for Lu's, see *The Standard History of the Ming Dynasty* 1974, fasc. 216, 5694; for Tang's, see *The Standard History of the Ming Dynasty* 1974, fasc. 216, 5711.

Xu and Chen had very close interactions. Their joint participation in the first edition of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* is also an indication of their close network in the local context.

Although Ling Mengchu 凌濛初 (1580-1644) and Feng Mengzhen 馮夢禎 (1548-1605) did not come from the same county as Xu, Chen, Lu, and Tang did, they had close interactions, and their hometowns were close to each other in the northern Zhejiang province in southeast China. Moreover, Ling Mengchu's colophon in the second edition of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, which he edited in 1603 and reprinted in 1621, shows that the origin of his edition was a trip with Feng Mengzhen. During this trip, they read together the Xu edition of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, *The Collection of Shangu's Joy of Chan*,⁷⁸ as well as *The Jingde Transmission of the Lamp*. Moreover, Feng's contributions to the Jiaying canon (*Jiaying zang* 嘉興藏), which is a private edition of the Buddhist canon, is a testament to gentry's promotion of Buddhism in the late Ming. I will further examine these in the third part.

⁷⁸ *The Collection of Shangu's Joy of Chan* (*Shangu chanxi ji* 山谷禪喜集) is a collection parallel to *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. It contains Buddhist writings of Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105), who was a prominent literatus in the Northern Song and a renowned protégé of Su Shi. His style name is Luzhi 魯直, and his self-nickname is "the Valley Daoist" (*Shangu Daoren* 山谷道人). Tao Yuanzhu 陶元柱 (n.d.) compiled this collection in the Ming. See the "Synopsis of the Overall Indexes of the Complete Library in Four Sections" (*Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要) 1999, 923: "[It was] compiled by Tao Yuanzhu in the Ming. The dates of Yuanzhu's life and death are unknown. This is specifically a collection of selected writings of Huang Tingjian's on his thoughts on Chan. It was probably intended to be paired with *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* (明陶元柱編, 元柱始末未詳。是集於黃庭堅集中錄其闡發禪理者別為一書。蓋欲以配《東坡禪喜集》也。)" In 1621, Ling Mengchu printed these two collections together. See the introduction to *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* in *The Overall Indexes of Four Categorical Canons* 1999, 922: "In the year of *Xinyou* of the Tianqi reign, Mengchu printed [*The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*] together with *The Collection of Shangu's Joy of Chan* (濛初...至天啟辛酉與《山谷禪喜集》並付之梓。)"

Cultural Context of The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan

An understanding of the relationship between the literati and Buddhism, as well as the literati and Su Shi, in the late Ming is necessary for the study of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. In this part, I will first focus on the literati and Buddhism, particularly the School of Mind and Chan Buddhism. But why Chan in particular? The intertwining of the two was a distinctive intellectual trend in the late Ming that had a great influence on both Chan Buddhism and the literati. As important as this is, and the title of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* contains the word “Chan,” it is simply a collection of Su Shi's Buddhist writings, which rarely mentions “Chan” in particular. In addition, in the literati's commentaries in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, “Chan” is sometimes used broadly.⁷⁹ However, as the first chapter shows, among all the Buddhist traditions, Su Shi did not especially interact with Chan Buddhism versus other schools. The overly broad use of the word “Chan” in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* is an example of the late Ming literati's “appropriation” of the term—for them, “Chan” had taken on a certain connotation that departed from its original Buddhist context and became more of a cultural activity. Examining Chan and the School of Mind in the late Ming will help us to understand this phenomenon as well as this intellectual trend of the integration of Chan Buddhism and the School of Mind, which is one of the important cultural contexts of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*.

⁷⁹ For example, they use the terms such as “the taste of Chan” (*chanwei* 禪味) and “a good tale in the gate of Chan” (*chanmen jiahua* 禪門佳話) to loosely refer to Buddhism. See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 215, 227.

In the following section, I will introduce the trend of promoting Su Shi among late Ming literati. *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* is one of the works among the many compilations of Su Shi's writings. The literati's re-examination of Su Shi and their preference for his particular genres of writings was a manifestation of their pursuit of autonomy, freedom of mind, and their separation from the state.

Chan, the School of Mind, and Literati

Wang Yangming's School of Mind, which reached its peak during the Wanli reign, contributed much to the widespread interest in Chan Buddhism among late Ming literati. Wang's predecessors, Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085) and Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵 (1139-1192), paved the way for his theory by proclaiming the faculty of the mind.⁸⁰ By stating that "The mind is the principle. How can there be things and principles external to the mind under Heaven?"⁸¹, Wang denied the fundamental concepts of Zhu Xi's School of Principle, that "There is fixed principle in each matter and each thing,"⁸² and that the mind "can best be set in the right by investigating things" (Bol 2008, 188). Wang Yangming further states that "Knowing is the innate faculty of the mind, and the mind is able to know naturally: seeing their father, one naturally knows to perform filial piety; seeing their elder brother, one naturally knows to perform the etiquette of being a younger brother; seeing a child fall into a well, one

⁸⁰ For more details, see Bol 2008, 200-02.

⁸¹ See *The Complete Collection of Wang Yangming (Wang Yangming quanji 王陽明全集)* 1992, fasc. 1, 2, "心即理也。天下又有心外之事，心外之理乎？"

⁸² See *The Complete Collection of Wang Yangming* 1992, fasc. 1, 2, "朱子以為'事事物物皆有定理'。"

naturally knows to sympathize. This shows that ‘knowing the good’ (*liangzhi* 良知) does not need to be attained externally.”⁸³ Wang Yangming’s School of Mind and his theory of the knowing of the good were instrumental in guiding the literati to Buddhism, to the point that the late Ming literatus Tao Wanglin 陶望鄰 (1562-1609) commented, “Those who study Buddhism nowadays are all seduced by the two characters ‘*liangzhi*’ (knowing the good)” (Chen 2004, 51).⁸⁴

From what has been discussed, the similarities between Wang Yangming’s School of Mind and Chan Buddhism can be seen. First, Chan Buddhism also emphasizes the capacity of mind. By the Song dynasty, Chan texts advocate its unique “mind-to-mind” transmission, and that it “directly points to the human mind and enables [beings] to see their own nature and realize Buddhahood” (*zhizhi renxin, jianxing chengfo* 直指人心, 見性成佛) (Gregory 1999, 4). These all indicate that Chan Buddhism considers the mind to be the faculty for attaining enlightenment. Second, Wang Yangming believes that “knowing the good” (*liangzhi* 良知) is innate with mind and does not need to be attained externally. Although Chan Buddhism may not agree with the duality of good and evil, it claims that “this mind is the Buddha” (*jixin jiffo* 即心即佛), which means it believes that the ability to attain Buddhahood is innate.

By the late Ming, the successor of the School of Mind had become more

⁸³ See *The Complete Collection of Wang Yangming* 1992, fasc. 1, 6, “知是心之本體, 心自然會知: 見父自然知孝, 見兄自然知弟, 見孺子入井自然知惻隱。此便是良知不假外求。”

⁸⁴ See *The Collection of the Cloister of Rest (Xie an ji 歇庵集)* 1976, fasc. 16, 2361: “今之學佛者, 皆因良知二字誘之也。” Quoted from Chen 2004, 51. At that time, some Buddhist masters, such as Zhanran Yuancheng 湛然圓澄 (1561-1626), were also reinforcing the connection between “*liangzhi*” (knowing the good) and concepts of Buddhism, especially Chan Buddhism, such as naturalness and sudden enlightenment. See Eichman 2016, 95-114.

radical. The Taizhou School (*Taizhou xuepai* 泰州學派)⁸⁵, one of its successors, was very close to Buddhism and they gave rise to an intellectual trend known as “Wild Chan” (*kuangchan* 狂禪).⁸⁶ It was a name given by the literati or monks outside of this intellectual movement to criticize the Taizhou School, and more generally, the synthesis of Confucianism and Chan Buddhism that was prevalent among literati.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, it seems that Taizhou School literati and their contemporaries showed general interest in Buddhism rather than Chan in particular.⁸⁸ The use of the word “Chan” was partly because of the association of Chan’s rhetorical iconoclasm with this rebellious Confucian intellectual movement, and partly because of the popularity of Chan among the literati, which gave it an overly broad designation, just like the use of the word in the title of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*. However, interestingly, the popularity of Chan among the literati had much to do with its iconoclastic image. Wang Yangming’s School of Mind built a bridge to Chan for literati by denying fixed external principle of Zhu Xi’s School and by claiming the innate faculty of mind. What attracted the literati was not the Chan in Buddhist context with its strict monastic disciplines, but the rhetorical iconoclasm and freedom that Chan advocates, with which they could find similarities in the School of Mind.

⁸⁵ Taizhou 泰州 is in present-day Jiangsu 江蘇 province in southeast China.

⁸⁶ Zhao Wei’s 趙偉 research shows that the term “Wild Chan” appears more frequently in texts after the late Ming, especially in the Qing Dynasty. See Zhao 2004, 93-99. For the translation of *kuangchan* 狂禪, I am following de Bary. See de Bary 1975, 188.

⁸⁷ Wild Chan was often criticized by the less radical literati or monks. For example, Ouyi Zhixu, who was later than the Taizhou School, once commented, “However, to grasp the words of Xiangshan without understanding his essence is to think without learning. This is to be trapped in a dangerous pit along with the Wild Chan of the present day” (然執象山之言而失旨，則思而不學，與今世狂禪同陷險坑). Xiangshan 象山 refers to Lu Jiuyuan. See CBETA, *Lingfeng Ouyi dashi zonglun* 靈峰蕩益大師宗論, fasc. 3, <https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/search/?q=靈峰蕩益大師宗論&lang=zh>.

⁸⁸ For example, Shengyan’s 聖嚴 research on the Buddhist writings of literati shows that some members from the Taizhou School focus on various Buddhist traditions such as Huayan and Pure Land, but not Chan particularly. See Shengyan 2006, 224-28.

Wild Chan is a continuation of Wang Yangming's School of Mind, but it was more aggressive. It aimed to eliminate the shackles of the School of the Principle. The most famous pioneer of this movement was Li Zhi 李贄 (1527-1602), many of whose commentaries on Su Shi's writings are included in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*.⁸⁹ He claimed to "remove the hypocrisy of Confucian ethics."⁹⁰ Like his cohort from the Taizhou school, he was greatly involved in Buddhism. He shaved his head and resided in a monastery, but did not follow monastic discipline (Wu 2008, 101). This is as *The Biographies of Laymen (Jushi zhuan 居士傳)* says of Li Zhi, "His thoughts were not restrained [by any school of ideology] and moved between Buddhism and Confucianism."⁹¹ This comment is also accurate for other literati involved in this intellectual movement of the synthesis of Buddhism and Confucianism.

The Promotion of Su Shi among Late Ming Literati

The promotion of Su Shi's literary works among late Ming literati was another manifestation of the intellectual environment of the time, in which freedom and spontaneity of mind were pursued.

In the early and mid-Ming, Su Shi's literary works were not well-received

⁸⁹ Li Zhi and the Taizhou School were contemporary with the publication of the two editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. Li Zhi's commentaries on Su Shi's writings are very frequently seen in Ling's edition of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. Most of them, however, are simply "interesting" (*qu 趣*), "very interesting" (*qushen 趣甚*), "exquisite" (*miao 妙*), or "an unusual event (*shiqi 事奇*)."

⁹⁰ See *The Biographies of Laymen* 2014, 366, "挾摘世儒情偽."

⁹¹ See *The Biographies of Laymen* 2014, 366, "其學不守繩轍，出入佛儒之間。"

among the literati.⁹² The literary restoration movement that began in the mid-Ming, influenced by Yan Yu's 嚴羽 (1200-1270) earlier theory of poetry, attached great importance to the "orthodox" tradition of poetry (Lynn 1975, 218). This tradition viewed poetry as the aesthetic counterpart to the Confucian discipline of self-cultivation rather than expressing the individual's mind (Lynn 1975, 255). In *Canglang's Remarks on Poetry* (*Canglang shihua* 滄浪詩話), Yan Yu criticizes Su Shi, "Since Dongpo and Shangu began to compose poetry by expressing their own minds, the [literary] style of the Tang poets has been changed."⁹³ Echoing Yan's theories, the literati of that period generally did not have a high opinion of Su Shi's literary work.

However, with the overall transformation of the cultural environment in the late Ming, the literati began to re-examine and accept Song literature as well as Su Shi. In particular, the Gong'an School 公安派,⁹⁴ pioneered by Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道 (1568-1610),⁹⁵ advocated the "spontaneous nature" (*xingling* 性靈) of literature and strongly promoted Su Shi (Jiang 2010, 133). Compared with Su Shi's formal and serious essays on history and politics, the late Ming literati preferred his leisurely and spontaneous prose texts that expressed his personal feelings (Jiang 2010, 117). Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526-1590), one of the main advocates of the previous literary restoration movement, changed his literary views in his later years. He collected Su's

⁹² For more information on the reception of Su Shi's literary works in the early and mid-Ming, see Jiang 2010, 1-86.

⁹³ Quoted from Zheng, "至東坡山谷始自出己意為詩，唐人之風變矣。" See Zheng 2014, 88. Shangu 山谷 refers to Huang Tingjian. For the translation of "*Canglang shihua*," I am following George Keyworth. See Keyworth 2020, 9.

⁹⁴ Gong'an 公安 is in present-day Hubei 湖北 province in south-central China.

⁹⁵ Yuan Hongdao was Li Zhi's mentee and was greatly influenced by Li Zhi. However, Yuan was much less radical. See Chen 2004, 43-45.

less formal writings as well as his chronology, biographies, commentaries on him, and his anecdotes, and compiled them into a collection by the end of 1581⁹⁶ as *The Unofficial Records of Su Zhanggong* (*Su Zhanggong waiji* 蘇長公外紀).⁹⁷ In the foreword he wrote for the *Records*, he spoke highly of Su Shi: “Of the four writers whose writings are now most outstanding under Heaven, only Master Su’s is the neatest and smoothest...Master Su is very talented and erudite, and his expression is very unstrained...All of the [other] three [writers’] peculiarities are able to be collected, but *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* of Master Su’s peculiarities is inexhaustible.”⁹⁸

In Wang Shizhen’s opinion, “*qi* 奇” (peculiar) and “*da* 達” (expansiveness) were the outstanding literary styles of Su Shi. Su Shi himself made a similar comment about the expansiveness of his writings:

Like ten thousand *hu*⁹⁹ of springs flowing unceasingly on the flat ground, even a thousand *li* a day is not difficult. When it curves with the rocks on the mountains and is given shape with the objects [it flows by], it is unknown [what shape it will become]. The thing one can know is that it often flows when it

⁹⁶ See Zheng 1993, 283. Zheng inferred from Wang’s letters that this collection of Su Shi was completed in 1581 or slightly earlier.

⁹⁷ See *The Continuing Manuscript of the Hermit Yanzhou* (*Yanzhou shanren xugao* 弇州山人續稿) 1970, fasc. 42, 2269-70, “[I] selected the Master’s chronology and biographies, and slightly preserved them; then I collected the Master’s random writings as well as the commentaries, anecdotes, and miscellanies [on the Master] by others, and compiled them into a collection of about ten fascicles” (取公之年譜及傳誌畧存之，而復叢公之小言與諸家之評隲紀述瑣屑亦一一附錄，約為十卷). *Su Zhanggong* 蘇長公 (the elder Master Su) refers to Su Shi. He was called so because he was the elder son of Su Xun 蘇洵 (1009-1066). His younger brother Su Zhe 蘇轍 (1039-1112) was called Su Shaogong 蘇少公 (the younger Master Su).

⁹⁸ See *The Continuing Manuscript of the Hermit Yanzhou* 1970, fasc. 42, 2267-68, “今天下以四姓目文章為奇，獨蘇公之作最為便爽...蘇公才甚高，蓄甚博，而出之甚達...凡三氏之奇盡於集，而蘇公之奇不盡於集。”

⁹⁹ “*Hu* 斛” and “*li* 里” were ancient units of measurement and length.

should flow and stops when it has to stop.

如萬斛泉源，…在平地滔滔汨汨，雖一日千里無難，及其與山石曲折，隨物賦形，而不可知也。所可知者，常行於所當行，常止於不可不止。¹⁰⁰

Su Shi's comment on himself is a vivid description of the aesthetic features of his writings, many of which do indeed seem spontaneous. Spontaneity and expansiveness are precisely the literary pursuits of late Ming literati.

In addition to Wang Shizhen, many literati in the late Ming had compiled collections on Su Shi.¹⁰¹ As mentioned earlier, late Ming literati preferred to compile Su Shi's leisurely and spontaneous prose texts that express personal emotions into collections, rather than the formal and serious essays concerning state politics. This reminds us of the growth of the gentry and their preference for private over public in the late Ming, as discussed earlier. Here are some examples that are relevant to this research: Li Zhi compiled *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan of the Transcendent Po* (*Poxian ji* 坡仙集) around 1589. Based on Li's edition, Chen Jiru revised and added more work from Su Shi to this collection and published it as *The Revised and Supplemented Collection of the Transcendent Po* (*Dingbu Poxian ji* 訂補坡仙集). Wang Shengyu 王聖俞 (n.d.) compiled *The Sketch of Su Zhanggong*

¹⁰⁰ See *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 66, 2069. Quoted from Zheng 2014, 91-92.

¹⁰¹ The growing of gentry and the prosperity of the publishing industry in the late Ming were also important contexts for the proliferation and popularity of Su Shi's collections at the time. Publishing books was one of the economic sources for many literati at the time who were unable to obtain an official position or were no longer interested in pursuing one. See Jiang 2010, 138. Also see Xu 2013, 133-39, for more details.

(*Suzhanggong xiaopin* 蘇長公小品) which was first printed in 1611.¹⁰² Many of the commentaries by Li Zhi and Wang Shengyu were included in Ling's edition of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* is also one of the works among this trend of the compilation of Su Shi's writings. What makes it distinctive is that it particularly selects Su Shi's Buddhist writings. Su Shi's high level of involvement with Buddhism provided a rich source for *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. Equally important, the intellectual environment of the late Ming, which pursued the freedom of the individual mind beyond Confucian orthodoxy, prompted the literati to seek inspiration from Buddhism and Su Shi, making the publication of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* possible.

The Literati Related to The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan

This part will examine the literati who participated in the creation of the two editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. As we will see, these individuals reflected the context of the late Ming: the expansion of the gentry, their close social ties, their cultural activities, and their close engagement with Buddhism. We will see that the close social network of late Ming literati was an important context for the compilation of the two editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*.

¹⁰² See Jiang 2010, 173-199. For more examples, see Liao 2010, 98-106, and Zheng 2014, 84-97. "Xiaopin" 小品 was a very popular style in late Ming. However, the definition of "xiaopin" in the literary realm is vague. Late Ming *xiaopin* are usually short in length, written in a leisurely style, expressing personal emotions, not involving political arguments, and not concerned with state affairs. See Jiang 2010, 115-16, for more details.

Xu Changru and the First Edition of The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan

Xu Changru is probably the most important figure to trace the origins of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. His selection of Su Shi's Buddhist writings to compile into a collection became the most important basis for different editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* of *Dongpo's Joy of Chan* that circulated in mainland China, Taiwan, and Japan in later generations. This leads to the question: what connection did he have with Su Shi and Buddhism that motivated him to compile such a collection? However, he left very limited historical records. In fact, he left the least traces among the literati related to the two editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. Nor did he leave any words in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* to express his thoughts. Nevertheless, due to the close networking in local areas of the late Ming literati, it is possible to find information about Xu in the accounts of other literati, especially Chen Jiru and Wang Shizhen.

Xu Changru, Chen Jiru, and Little Mount Kun

Xu Changru, Chen Jiru, Lu Shusheng, and Tang Wenxian, who wrote the foreword, inscription, and colophon for *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* and printed it, all came from Huating. The publication of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* is most likely the product of cultural activities within their common circle of associations. Among them, Xu Changru and Chen Jiru had a very close relationship.

Chen Jiru is one of the most famous hermits of the late Ming, and he is included

in the fascicle of “Hermitage” (*Yinyi* 隱逸) in *The Standard History of the Ming Dynasty* (*Mingshi* 明史).¹⁰³ However, his seclusion was called “open seclusion” (*tongyin* 通隱) by the literati of the time. He withdrew from official life but continued to have close associations with literati and government officials (Xu 2013, 137). As Greenbaum points out, the “hermit” was a public persona that Chen Jiru created for himself (Greenbaum 2007, 28). In 1586, at the age of twenty-nine, he announced that he would not continue to obtain higher degrees and pursue official positions.¹⁰⁴ In his “A Report of Farewell to the Scholar Costume” (*Gao yijin cheng* 告衣巾呈),¹⁰⁵ he declared his intentions:

I am almost thirty years old, and I am tired of the mundane world. Exploits of [Confucian] students are like flowing water, and what are scholarly honor and fame? Devoting a lifetime trying to figure them out is really like picking an empty flower’s [reflection] in a mirror; after spending half of life, they are willing to [merely] be a small grass that left the mountains.¹⁰⁶

某齒將三十，已厭塵氛。生序如流，功名何物。揣摩一世，真拈對鏡之空

¹⁰³ See *The Standard History of the Ming Dynasty* (*Ming shi* 明史) 1974, fasc. 298, 7631.

¹⁰⁴ It was the year he failed the provincial examination for the second time. See Greenbaum 2007, 18.

¹⁰⁵ *Yijin* 衣巾 refers to the costume of *shengyuan* 生員, who passed the primary level of the imperial examination.

¹⁰⁶ This comes from an allusion to Xie An 謝安 (320-385) of the Eastern Jin (317-420). He used to live in seclusion in the mountains, but later left the mountains and ended his hermit life to take up a position in the political group of Huan Wen 桓溫 (312-373). In the allusion to Xie An, the term “small grass” refers to a type of herb. It is called “great ambition” (*yuanzhi* 遠志) when it is in the mountain, but it is called “small grass” (*xiaocao* 小草) when it is moved from the mountain. Therefore, it is used to satirize leaving the mountain and taking up a political position. See *A New Account of the Tales of the World* (*Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語), 2013, 333, for the complete anecdote.

花。收拾半生，肯做出山之小草。¹⁰⁷

Chen Jiru's contempt for and rejection of pursuing an official position is clear in his writing. Like Chen, Xu Changru also gave up his pursuit after his mother's death.¹⁰⁸ In the funeral oration that Chen dedicated to Xu, he explains that Xu abandoned Confucian studies and pursuit for an official position after his mother's death.¹⁰⁹

Greenbaum notes that by the mid-1580s, "Chen had made his way into the highest circles of the socio-cultural elite in his area" (Greenbaum 2007, 17). It is likely that Xu Changru, Tang Wenxian, and Lu Shusheng were all included in those local elite circles. In addition, Xu Changru and Chen Jiru also had a close relationship with Wang Shizhen. Wang referred to them as his "friends and students" (*yousheng* 友生).¹¹⁰ In his "A Record of a Reading Spot at Little Mount Kun" (*Xiaokunshan dushuchu ji* 小昆山讀書處記), he describes the three of them visiting Little Mount Kun together, which was close to Huating county, and Chen and Xu liked it very

¹⁰⁷ Quoted from Xu 2013, 136-37.

¹⁰⁸ The exact time is unknown, but it was likely before they moved to Little Mount Kun in the late 1580s.

¹⁰⁹ Quoted from Yang, 2018, 70: "later [he] abandoned [his pursuit of Confucian official position] because of his mother, and shortly afterwards burned the official carriage and the silk pass under [his mother's] coffin" (後以慈背，尋焚公車，焚纁柩下). "*Gongche*" (the official carriage) refers to the government office in the Han dynasty, and was later used to refer to candidates who went to the capital to take imperial examination; "*ru*" (the silk pass) refers to the silk pass for entering and leaving the barrier during the Han dynasty. According to Yang, Chen used the allusion to the Han dynasty when people terminated their military service to describe Xu Changru's abandonment of his pursuit of a Confucian official position. However, due to the misinterpretation of the later generation, they mistook "*furu*" 符纁 (the silk pass) for "*rufu*" 儒服 (the Confucian robe), and therefore "burning the Confucian robe" passed down until it became a metaphor for abandoning Confucian studies and official pursuits. For more details, see Yang 2018, 68-71. In Greenbaum's book, he refers to both Chen and Xu's actions as "robe-burning." For example, see Greenbaum 2007, 18, 36, 263.

¹¹⁰ See *the Continuing Manuscript of the Hermit Yanzhou* 1970, fasc. 62, 3108, "友生徐孟孺陳仲醇遊焉其阡 (Friends and students Xu Mengru and Chen Zhongchun visited this site)." Mengru 孟孺 and Changru 長孺 are both Xu's style names. Xu Yisun 徐益孫 is his name. Zhongchun 仲醇 is Chen's style name.

much.¹¹¹ In the late 1580s, Chen and Xu moved to Little Mount Kun and started to live a reclusive life away from Confucian officialdom, while maintaining association with their literati friends (Greenbaum 2007, 72). *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* was likely compiled during their residence in Little Mount Kun.

Xu Changru, Chen Jiru and Lu Shusheng also had close relationships (Greenbaum 2007, 263). Lu was Chen's literary mentor (33), and both of them had associations with a monk Xuequan 雪泉 who was also from Huating (39). In addition, Greenbaum's research shows that Chen had frequent engagement with monks. He travelled with them and had written the foreword for a monk's poetry collection (39-41). Although Xu Changru is not mentioned much, it is likely that he also frequently interacted with monks considering his close relationship with Chen Jiru and their common circle of Huating literati. Chen left Little Mount Kun around 1610 (87), but when Xu left is unknown. We only know that Xu died at a young age before he was fifty.¹¹²

Xu Changru and Wang Shizhen

Wang Shizhen was another literatus who had a close relationship with Xu Changru. Investigating the interactions between Xu and Wang not only provides some clues to the origins of Xu's compilation of a collection of Su Shi's Buddhist writings,

¹¹¹ Quoted from Greenbaum 2007, 28. See *The Continuing Manuscript of the Hermit Yanzhou* 1970, fasc. 62, 3108-12. According to Wang Shizhen's record, this visit was in the spring in 1586. See *The Continuing Manuscript of the Hermit Yanzhou* 1970, fasc. 62, 3108.

¹¹² See Greenbaum 2007, 263. Greenbaum quoted from *The Transcript of What I Saw in Yunjian* (*Yunjian jumu chao* 雲間據目鈔) by Fan Lian 范濂 (n.d.). This work of Fan Lian was published around 1593, therefore it is possible that Xu died before 1593.

but also reveals once again the close social network among the late Ming literati, which was an important context for both editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. Wang referred to Xu as his “friend and student” (*yousheng* 友生). It is unknown when their interactions started, but it can be indicated from Wang Shizhen's letters to Xu that they were already closely connected before 1581, when Wang Shizhen finished compiling *The Unofficial Records of Su Zhanggong* (*Su Zhanggong waiji* 蘇長公外紀).¹¹³ Although only Wang's part of their correspondence has been preserved and passed down, and little of Xu's has remained, Wang's letters to Xu can still give some important clues to Xu's compilation of a collection of Su Shi's Buddhist writings. The following is a letter from Wang to Xu after he had finished compiling *The Unofficial Records of Su Zhanggong*. The letter shows that Xu had helped Wang pick out some errors in this *Records*, and Wang hoped that Xu could help in the revision:

[The compilation of] the records of Zizhan [Su Shi] was very hasty. I admire the qualities of him and his deeds, so I compiled this collection of him briefly.

However, last autumn I was busy attending my master,¹¹⁴ and my illness also deprived [my time to revise the collection],¹¹⁵ so I had no spare time to do the

¹¹³ See Zheng 1993, 283.

¹¹⁴ The master (*shi* 師) here refers to the Daoist master Tanyangzi 曇陽子 (1558-1580). Tanyangzi's original name is Wang Daozhen 王燾貞. She was the younger daughter of the prominent government official Wang Xijue 王錫爵 (1534-1610). Wang Shizhen visited Tanyangzi in the fourth month of 1580 and became a disciple of her; in the ninth month of the same year, Tanyangzi “ascended to heaven and became immortal” (*yuhua* 羽化). See Zheng 1993, 275-76. Tanyangzi promoted the harmony of Daoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism, which had influence on Wang Shizhen. As government officials, Wang Shizhen and Wang Xijue tried to advocate for her as a “Confucian-like” figure (*leiruzhe* 類儒者). For more details, see Wei 2013, 72-83.

¹¹⁵ Wang Shizhen was ill in the seventh month of 1580. See Zheng 1993, 276.

revision, and no one I could rely on to entrust this work. You have already picked out the mistakes for me, so I hope you would also correct them. It would be a blessing to the literary world if two or three gentlemen could print it.

蘇子瞻外紀殊草草，意似好其人與其事，聊為纂集。而昨秋奔走侍師，病復奪之，不暇掃敗葉，客又無可任者。公既為我摘出複誤，便希改正。如二三君子能梓之，亦是藝林一段佳事。¹¹⁶

This letter shows that Xu Changru had picked out some errors in the *Records* compiled by Wang. Wang further hoped that Xu could help revise the *Records*, and that “no one else could be relied on” to entrust them with this work. This suggests that Xu was very familiar with and interested in Su Shi’s works, which was a prerequisite for his being able to compile *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*. Certainly, his close association with Wang was also an important factor. It is noteworthy that, although Wang’s *Records* does not specifically include Su Shi’s own Buddhist writings in certain fascicles, one of the fascicles, “Dhyāna” (Channa 禪那), highly overlaps with the fascicle “Chronicles of the Joy of Chan” (Chanxi jishi 禪喜紀事) in Xu’s edition of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*. It consists of commentaries and anecdotes about Su Shi and his Buddhist involvement. As the source notes at the end of most of the pieces indicate, the authors of these contents are mostly literati and monks of the Song and Ming.¹¹⁷ The connections between these two fascicles, such as

¹¹⁶ See *the Continuing Manuscript of the Hermit Yanzhou* 1970, fasc. 182, 8303.

¹¹⁷ In an edition of Wang’s *Records* published in 1595 by *Yanshi zhai* 燕石齋, there are 37 pieces in the fascicle

whether Xu's *Collection* adopted this fascicle with slight edition, or whether Xu helped Wang compile this fascicle, remain to be further studied. This letter also indicated Wang Shizhen's involvement with Daoism, which can also be seen in his other letters to Xu. Like Buddhism, Daoism also became popular among the literati in the late Ming.

In a letter from Tu Long 屠隆 (1543-1605) to Xu Changru,¹¹⁸ he describes Xu as “desperately pursuing the Way [of Daoism].”¹¹⁹ Xu and Tu had practiced Daoism together.¹²⁰ It suggests that, like many literati of the late Ming, Xu Changru was involved in both Buddhism and Daoism, and probably to a large extent. This is as Chen Jiru states, “a complete man would borrow from all three teachings yet be devoted exclusively to none” (Greenbaum 2007, 37). Although the trend of integration of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism was already prevalent in the Song, there was a much better opportunity for such a forthright declaration by the literati in the late Ming, when more and more people like Chen Jiru, Xu Changru, and Tu Long formally announced their cessation of the pursuit of official positions. Another letter from Wang Shizhen to Xu Changru indicates that Xu had the idea of becoming a monk:

“*Dhyāna*.” Except for the last three pieces, which were added by the publisher as being noted at the end of each piece, as well as the 9th, 21st, 26th, 27th, 33rd, the rest all can be found in Xu's fascicle “Chronicle of the Joy of Chan.” The order of each piece is mostly consistent. There are 32 pieces in Xu's fascicle. Among them only the 2nd, 31st, and 32nd are not in Wang's fascicle. For the contents of the fascicle “*Dhyāna*” in the *Records* printed in 1595, see Harvard-Yenching Library, *Su Zhanggong waiji*, seq. 256-72, <https://curiosity.lib.harvard.edu/chinese-rare-books/catalog/49-990077556970203941>.

¹¹⁸ Tu Long also had close relationships with Wang Shizhen and Chen Jiru. He obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1577. Similar to Chen Jiru, he announced that he stopped pursuing Confucian official positions and became a “hermit” while maintaining close contact with literati and government officials. See Xu 2013, 133-39.

¹¹⁹ See *The Regular Script: A letter to Xu Yisun (kaishu yu Xu Yisun xinzhā)* 楷書與徐益孫信札) 2015, 96: “孟孺好道若渴。” Yisun 益孫 is Xu's name; Mengru 孟孺 and Changru 長孺 are both his style names. Tu Long signed this letter “The disciple of the Highest Clarity” (*shangqing dizi Tulong* 上清弟子屠隆).

¹²⁰ See He 2016, 198.

Since attending my immortal master and entering the temple [to receive the guidance from the master], [I] have been collecting branches of pines with Jingshi,¹²¹ boiling fresh spring water, and making chrysanthemum seedlings and bean curd to enshrine. [We] looked for you but could not find you. We were about to admonish you, until I received the letter from you. Your emotions are so open, genuine, and urgent that you want to escape from your family, surrender yourself [to the Buddha's teachings], and take the tonsure to sweep away all the [bad] karma. I immediately asked Jingshi [come over] to read your letter... This is as earnest as when the second patriarch stood in the snow and cut off his arm,¹²² but it goes so far that it loses [its original sincerity] ... The immortal master taught us to love and honor our sovereign and parents.¹²³

While your seventy-year-old mother is often [sick] in bed, how can you be so eager to abandon her and go to lodge in somewhere two hundreds *li* away? If there is an emergency and she knocks on the table to ask for congee and medicine, who will respond to her? If you abandon [your mother] and enter the realm outside the secular life, this is no way to comfort your mother.

自奉仙師入觀，即與荊老拾松枝煮新泉作菊苗荳角供，而覓足下不可得。

方共怪之，既得足下書。披瀝哀悃激迫之深，至欲逃家室賣身削髮以充婦

¹²¹ “Jinglao” 荊老 in the Chinese text below refers to Wang Xijue. His style name is Jingshi 荊石.

¹²² This refers to the second patriarch of Chan Buddhism, Huike 慧可 (487-593), seeking the Dharma from Bodhidharma (d. ca. 530).

¹²³ “To love and honor the sovereign and parents” (*aijing junqin* 愛敬君亲) is one of the teachings of Tanyangzi. See Wei 2013, 74.

除一力。即呼荊老誦之…此雖二祖立雪斷臂之懇，亡以大隄…仙師示誨愛敬君親。而足下七十老母時時臥牀第，奈何亟舍而棲托二百里之外乎。即緩急叩棊几呼粥藥誰與應者…一旦舍而就方外服，亦非所以慰哀慈也。¹²⁴

Since the contents of the letter written by Xu Changru are not known yet, or have not been preserved, we do not know what made him want to take the tonsure and abandon the secular life. As has been mentioned by Wang Shizhen, Xu's mother was still alive at the time, thus it can be surmised that this letter was written before Xu Changru decided to cease his pursuit of Confucian official positions and move to Little Mount Kun in the late 1580s. His correspondence with Wang Shizhen indicates that he was often troubled by worries: In another letter from Wang, he mentioned that Xu "was confused by some worries and wanted to eliminate them."¹²⁵ Wang tried to use "no-mind" and "the ordinary mind is the Way" of Chan's teachings to pacify Xu.¹²⁶

Although Xu Changru himself did not leave any records regarding the origins of his compilation of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, as shown above, within the context of the close social network of late Ming literati, we can infer some aspects of the circumstances behind the compilation. This inference is based on his association with Wang Shizhen, as well as his fellow natives from Huating county,

¹²⁴ See *The Continuing Manuscript of the Hermit Yanzhou* (*Yanzhou shanren xugao* 弇州山人續稿) 1970, fasc. 182, 8304.

¹²⁵ See *The Continuing Manuscript of the Hermit Yanzhou* 1970, fasc. 182, 8296, "足下既有所苦而欲空之。"

¹²⁶ See *The Continuing Manuscript of the Hermit Yanzhou* 1970, fasc. 182, 8296-97, "There is no profound truth in lifting hands, moving feet, putting clothes on, and eating food. It is the Way as long as thoughts that arise from external objects are not involved here. You are disturbed by thinking, and it just adds more tangles." 舉手動足著衣喫飯本無深理，只於此不涉攀緣思想亦道也。足下苦於此體究，又增一番葛藤矣。

who were the writers of preface, foreword, and colophon in his edition of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*.

Ling Mengchu, Feng Mengzhen and the Second Edition of The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan

Ling Mengchu's Reprint of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*

Ling Mengchu was a famous writer and an expert of book printing in the late Ming. His motivation for editing and printing the second edition of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* is clear in the colophon he wrote for it:

In the year of Guimao,¹²⁷ Master Kaizhi¹²⁸ invited me to visit Wuchang¹²⁹ with him... The Master asked me what books I was carrying in my book bag, and I showed him *The Jingde Transmission of the Lamp* and *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chans* of the *Joy of Chan* of Su [Shi] and Huang [Tingjian].¹³⁰ There was much missing in the old edition of *The Collection* of Su [Shi], therefore I slightly added [some content]. The Master appreciated the exquisite [printing] of *The Jingde Transmission of the Lamp* and wrote a colophon for it. Then he read over and made commentaries on the two collections of the *Joy of Chan*... When we returned from Wuchang, the two collections were both

¹²⁷ It was the year 1603.

¹²⁸ Kaizhi 開之 is the style name of Feng Mengzhen.

¹²⁹ Wuchang 吳閶 is in the present day Suzhou 蘇州 area in Jiangsu 江蘇 province.

¹³⁰ Ling Mengchu printed *The Collection of Shangu's Joy of Chan* together with *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* in 1621. See note 78.

finished...It has been nineteen years since then; the trees at Master's grave have grown tall and I am getting old. I reprinted *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* and feel that our trip to Wuchang was like yesterday. In the spring of the year of Xinyou of the Tianqi reign,¹³¹ I, Ling Mengchu who is from Wuxing,¹³² wrote this colophon.

歲之癸卯開之先生有吳閩之遊招余同往...先生問余奚囊攜得何書，余以景德傳燈錄及蘇黃禪喜集對。蘇集舊多挂漏而余稍益之也。先生愛傳燈錄之精好為書一跋又點閱二禪喜集...吳閩返棹二集皆卒...迄今已十九年，先生之墓木已拱而余亦竟有秋霜縷許矣。付之刻劂一新恍如昨游為之慨然。天啟辛酉春季吳與凌濛初跋並書。¹³³

Ling Mengchu's colophon clearly reveals his intention to edit and print the *Collection*, and represents the scenario of his joint work with Feng Mengzhen during their trip. However, he did not show his opinions of Su Shi, Buddhism, or Su Shi's Buddhist writings. As can be seen from his colophon, his main purpose in republishing *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* seems to have been to make it more complete and more finely printed. Commemorating Feng Mengzhen may also have been one of the reasons.

¹³¹ It was the year 1621.

¹³² Wuxing 吳興 is in the present day Huzhou 湖州 area in Zhejiang 浙江 province.

¹³³ See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 339-40.

Feng Mengzhen and the Jiaxing Canon

Feng Mengzhen had a turbulent official career. After twenty years of unpredictable relegations and reappointments, he quit his official position in the capital and moved to Hangzhou. After Feng Mengzhen withdraw from the imperial court, Buddhism became deeply involved in his daily life. Feng's diaries reveal that almost every day he engaged in Buddhist activities, such as visiting monks and monasteries, reading Buddhist texts, and discussing Buddhist teachings with friends (Zhang 2020, 130). Despite his unsatisfying career before, he befriended a wide circle of literati and built close contacts with eminent monks including Yunqi Zhuhong 雲棲祿宏 (1535-1615), Zibo Zhenke, Hanshan Deqing, and Mizhang Daokai 密藏道开 (n.d.). During the three years of mourning after his father's death, which was before his withdrawal from the court, Feng Mengzhen began to study Buddhism with Zibo Zhenke (Zhang 2020, 130). His connection with Su Shi is not clear, but his association with Buddhism is significant. In addition to having close interactions with monks and incorporating Buddhism into his daily life after resigning from the imperial court, he also made great contributions to a private edition of the Buddhist canon, the Jiaxing canon (*Jiaxingzang* 嘉兴藏). The Jiaxing canon contains the reprinted official edition of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka (canon) of the Ming, with many contemporary Buddhist writings included in the supplementary sections (Wu 2008, 25).

It was initiated by Zibo Zhenke on Mount Wutai 五台山, and was moved to Mount Jing 径山 in Jiaxing county in 1593 due to the shortage of funds and the

unfavorable weather conditions in northern China. Therefore it was also called the Jingshan canon (*Jingshanzang* 径山藏) (Wu 2008, 25; Chen 2010, 150-51).

Feng Mengzhen was one of the initial fundraisers for the Jiaying canon. He wrote articles to advocate this project among government officials and literati, encouraging them to patronize it. In addition to Feng, Wang Shizhen and Tang Wenxian were also among the initial fundraisers, and were the first patrons for the Jiaying Canon (Zhang 2016, 116-17). It is worth noting that Xu Changru was also a very early patron, when the project was still in Mount Wutai.¹³⁴ In addition to indicating Feng Mengzhen's connection to Buddhism, the Jiaying canon project well reflects the high level of literati involvement in Buddhism in the Jiangnan region in the late Ming. Feng Mengzhen's prestige among literati, his wide social circles, his close relationship with Ling Mengchu, and his engagement with Buddhism all point to possible reasons for his making commentaries for *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*.

¹³⁴ See Chen 2010, 177-79. The table shows that Xu Changru is on the list of patrons from Huating county during 1589-1592. Tang Wenxian is also on the list of patrons from Huating.

Chapter 3

The Removed and Added Fascicles

This chapter will examine the most significant differences between Xu Changru and Ling Mengchu's editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*: the removed and the added fascicles in Ling's edition. The first part will investigate the removed fascicle "Records of Question-and-Answer with Foyin" (*Foyin wenda yulu* 佛印問答語錄), the only significant apocryphal material in Xu's edition, and explore its source and the possible reasons for removal. This part will also discuss how Su Shi and Foyin possibly provided the basis for later times' depictions of them from the Song to the Ming, by analyzing Su Shi's own writings about Foyin in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. The second part will investigate the added fascicle "Records of Miscellanies" (*Zazhi* 雜誌). This fascicle is selected from a collection called *Records of Notes by Dongpo* (*Dongpo zhilin* 東坡志林). By studying its specific literary feature and time frame, we can learn further about Su Shi's condition and his Buddhist devotion in his later years. Overall, the removal or including of the two fascicles, as well as their origin, evolution, and circulation over the centuries, reflect the reception of Su Shi from the Song to the Ming. They can also help us to understand Su Shi better—his very complexity provides a rich source for the reception and representation of him by later generations for nearly a millennium.

The Removed Fascicle

The removed fascicle “Records of Question-and-Answer with Foyin” contains 41 pieces. It accounts for a fairly large portion of Xu’s edition of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*. In this fascicle, as the title indicates, most of the records are related to Su Shi’s exchanges with Foyin, except for one titled “A Good Match [for an Antithetical Couplet]” (*Jiadi* 佳對), which is about Su Shi and his younger brother Su Zhe 蘇轍 (1039-1112) making a couplet. In addition, this fascicle often involves Huang Tingjian, Qin Guan 秦觀 (1049-1100), who is another renowned protégé of Su Shi, and a fictional character, who is depicted as Su Shi’s younger sister and Qin Guan’s wife.¹³⁵ The genres of this fascicle are mostly riddles, verbal games played while drinking, comical jokes, and anecdotes. The language is colloquial, and the riddles and verbal games are often vulgar. Many pieces are simply wordplay, and the main purpose of them seems to be just entertainment, without any substantive points. Here is an example, which is typical in this fascicle:

Dongpo and Foyin were drinking together. Foyin said, “I am going to make a [drink] command, and I hope you can take it.” The command goes as follows: [If someone] is not miserly, [they] will not be wealthy; [If someone] is not wealthy, [they] will not be miserly. [If someone] becomes miserly, [they] will be wealthy; [If someone] becomes wealthy, [they] will be miserly. Being miserly is being wealthy; being wealthy is being miserly. Recognizing there

¹³⁵ Many scholars have done research on this fictional character. For example, see Yu 1999, 151-52.

was a sense of sarcasm, Dongpo replied: [If someone] is not malicious, [they] will not be bald; [If someone] is not bald, [they] will not be malicious. [If someone] becomes malicious, [they] will be bald; [If someone] becomes bald, [they] will be malicious. Being malicious is being bald; Being bald is being malicious.

東坡與佛印同飲。佛印曰，敢出一令望納之。令曰：不慳不富，不富不慳。轉慳轉富，轉富轉慳。慳則富，富則慳。東坡見有譏諷，即答曰：不毒不禿，不禿不毒。轉毒轉禿，轉禿轉毒。毒則禿，禿則毒。¹³⁶

In this text, there is no substantive meaning to analyze. It is merely “Dongpo” and “Foyin” making fun of each other with wordplay: Foyin uses “wealthy” and “miserly” to mock Dongpo, who is a government official; Dongpo uses “bald” and “malicious” to mock Foyin, who is a Buddhist monk.

The Removed Fascicle and The Secret Satchel from the Hall of Treasuring Yan

Then what is the source of this apocryphal fascicle? In Jiang Ping’s research, he believes that because most of this fascicle is the work by Chen Jiru, Ling Mengchu removed it (Jiang 2010, 195). As will be shown in this part, although this fascicle is not Chen’s work, it does have some connection with him. Chen Jiru edited a

¹³⁶ See CBETA, *Dongpo chanxi ji* 東坡禪喜集, http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/B26n0148_009.

collection called *The Secret Satchel from the Hall of Treasuring Yan* (*Baoyantang miji* 寶顏堂秘笈).¹³⁷ The first fascicle of this collection was printed in 1606, and it took nearly two decades to complete the whole collection.¹³⁸ In *The Secret Satchel from the Hall of Treasuring Yan*, a fascicle called “Records of Question-and-Answer” (*Wenda lu* 問答錄) is included, and its authorship is attributed to Su Shi.¹³⁹ It was collected from an edition printed by Zhao Kaimei 趙開美 (1563-1624) in 1601,¹⁴⁰ who was a famous book collector in the late Ming.¹⁴¹ It is worth noting that this fascicle in *The Secret Satchel from the Hall of Treasuring Yan* has a high degree of overlap with the removed fascicle in *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*. As will be shown, their similarity is so obvious that it is easy to assume a connection between them. Xu’s edition of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* was first printed in 1590, which suggests that Zhao Kaimei’s edition included in *The Secret Satchel from the Hall of Treasuring Yan* could not have been Xu’s source by any means. Then, is there another

¹³⁷ Scholars have different opinions about the extent of Chen Jiru’s involvement in the editing of *The Secret Satchel from the Hall of Treasuring Yan*. Greenbaum believes that Chen Jiru was “obviously closely involved in the initial selection of texts for inclusion, as they came from his own library. However, it seems that in the end his most important contribution was his name.” The publisher the Shen brothers, namely Shen Dexian 沈德先 (n.d.) and Shen Fuxian 沈孚先 (n.d.), kept Chen’s name in consideration of the commercial benefits brought by his prestige. For more details, see Greenbaum 2007, 194-95. Another scholar Sun Xinmei believes that due to Chen Jiru’s reputation, there were indeed instances where publishers merely borrowed Chen’s name. However, this is not the case with *The Secret Satchel from the Hall of Treasuring Yan*. Chen was involved in the process of providing the selection of the texts, proofreading, finalizing the texts, and publishing. See Sun 2019, 189-90. I am following Greenbaum for the translation of the title of this collection. See Greenbaum 2007, 192.

¹³⁸ See Greenbaum 2007, 192. Also see Sun 2018, 191.

¹³⁹ See *The New Edition of Book Series (Congshu jicheng xinbian* 業書集成新編) 1986, fasc. 90, 40.

¹⁴⁰ The time of print is as shown in Zhao Kaimei’s inscription recorded in *The Secret Satchel from the Hall of Treasuring Yan*, which will be discussed later. For more details on *The Secret Satchel from the Hall of Treasuring Yan* selecting Zhao Kaimei’s edition of the “Records of Question-and-Answer,” see Zhang 2004, 238. Also see *The New Edition of Book Series (Congshu jicheng xinbian* 業書集成新編) 1986, fasc. 90, 40, and the first page of the table of contents of this fascicle. *The New Edition of Book Series* contains several fascicles from *The Secret Satchel from the Hall of Treasuring Yan*.

¹⁴¹ Zhao Kaimei was born in Changshu, Jiangsu province, to a wealthy family of scholar officials. He had a passion for collecting, proofreading, and printing books; however, his interests were mostly with rare books which contained leisurely and unorthodox essays and ancient myths, rather than Confucian classics. Zhao followed Buddhism in his later years. See Xu 2019, 48-56; Huang 1990, 77-81.

possibility that the removed fascicle of Xu was Zhao's source, or even that Xu wrote that fascicle by himself? However, as the following will show, this is very unlikely.

Recognizing the similarity between the removed fascicle and Zhao Kaimei's edition is important for studying the former. Ling Mengchu's edition of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* is much more popular in later generations, in which the fascicle of "Records of Question-and-Answer with Foyin" was removed; as a result, this fascicle has received little attention and research on it is limited. In contrast, Zhao Kaimei's edition is more widely circulated and more research on it has been done, thus it can be relied on to examine the removed fascicle.

Comparing the removed fascicle with Zhao's edition of the "Records of Question-and-Answer" included in *The Secret Satchel from the Hall of Treasuring Yan*,¹⁴² the connections between them are as follows:

First, in the removed fascicle, the first 32 out of 41 pieces are basically the same as those in the "*Hall of Treasuring Yan*" edition, which has 27 pieces in total, and the order of each piece in the two editions are exactly the same. The difference in the number is because in the "*Hall of Treasuring Yan*" edition, some short pieces are combined into one. For example, "A Good Match [for an Antithetical Couplet]" mentioned above is not a separate piece in the "*Hall of Treasuring Yan*" edition. The last nine pieces in the removed fascicle, which do not appear in the the "*Hall of Treasuring Yan*" edition, are identical in content and language style to the former 32 pieces. They are mostly about the exchanges between Su Shi and Foyin making fun of

¹⁴² I will refer to it as the "*Hall of Treasuring Yan*" edition hereafter.

each other through riddles and verbal games. Considering the consistency of the 41 pieces in the removed fascicle, it is likely that Xu selected the texts from a single source.

Second, each item in the “Hall of Treasuring Yan” edition was slightly polished in a way that does not change the meaning of the text. For example, in the removed fascicle, there is a piece with the title “A Command [with the Theme of] ‘Hurry’” (*Jiji ling* 急急令), which describes a verbal game played while drinking. The opening lines are as follows:

Dongpo hosted a banquet in the main hall. He drank a few glasses of alcohol with Huang Luzhi¹⁴³ and Foyin. Dongpo made a [drink] command [with the theme of] “hurry.”

東坡在正堂置酒宴會。與黃魯直佛印三人飲酒數杯。東坡行急急令。¹⁴⁴

In the “*Hall of Treasuring Yan*” edition, the text is not titled separately but is combined with two other texts, under the title “Foyin Takes Dongpo’s [Drink] Commands” (*Foyin na Dongpo ling* 佛印納東坡令). It begins as follows:

¹⁴³ Luzhi 魯直 is the style name of Huang Tingjian.

¹⁴⁴ See CBETA, *Dongpo chanxi ji* 東坡禪喜集, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/B26n0148_p0778a05?q=急急令&l=0778a05&near_word=&kwic_around=30.

Su Zizhan hosted a banquet in the main hall entering the guests. Huang Luzhi and the Chan master Foyin were both there at that time. [They] had a few glasses of alcohol. Zizhan wanted to make a [drink] command [with the theme of] “hurry.”

蘇子瞻在正堂置酒會客。時黃魯直佛印禪師俱在。飲酒數杯。子瞻要行一個急急令。¹⁴⁵

It is clear that these literal changes have not made much difference. Similar subtle differences with the removed edition are evident throughout the entire edition of the “*Hall of Treasuring Yan*.”

Third, perhaps the major difference between the removed fascicle and the “*Hall of Treasuring Yan*” edition is the titles of each piece. Only three of them are the same. Since the sources for Xu Changru and Zhao Kaimei are not clear yet, it is unknown how these differences in the two editions occurred. However, based on their high level of overlap, it is possible that Xu and Zhao chose from the same source. If this is the case, it is likely that Zhao made these revisions to make the “Records of Question-and-Answer” more refined, considering his extensive experience in editing books.¹⁴⁶

The Possible Origin

¹⁴⁵ See *The New Edition of Book Series (Congshu jicheng xinbian 業書集成新編)* 1986, fasc. 90, 42.

¹⁴⁶ For more information on Zhao’s extensive experience in editing books, see Huang 1990, 78-80.

Based on the current research on Zhao Kaimei's edition of the "Records of Question-and-Answer," the origin of the removed fascicle can be investigated.

Zhang Zhenglang examines a handwritten copy collected in the *Naikaku Bunko* 内閣文庫 of Japan of the "Records of Question-and-Answer," which is based on "the Hall of Treasuring Yan" edition by Zhao (Zhang 2004, 238). Zhang concludes that it is a work from the middle of the Southern Song.¹⁴⁷ Zhang further points out that the "Records of Question-and-Answer" was originally a "Request for Discussion of the Reflection" (*shuocan qing* 說參請) from the Southern Song, which was a genre of Storytelling Scripts (*huaben* 話本) (240-41). The content of the "Request for Discussion of the Reflection" is about a guest and a host, often a monk (Qing 2012, 10), discussing and awakening to the Buddha truth with the reflection.¹⁴⁸ It is widely accepted that the origin of the "Records of Question-and-Answer (between Dongpo and Foyin)" was in the Southern Song, after Su Shi's time.¹⁴⁹

Although most of the current studies are based on Zhao Kaimei's edition included in *The Secret Satchel from the Hall of Treasuring Yan*, given the high degree of similarity between it and the removed fascicle, as well as the consistency of the 41

¹⁴⁷ Zhang bases his argument on two points: First, Zhang believes that the writing format of this handwritten edition is consistent with that of the Song Dynasty. Second, Zhang studied an anecdote in the "Records of Question-and-Answer," as well as a line from the "Records" that was quoted in another work of the Southern Song, and he deduced the period when the "Records" were written. Zhang notes further that the latest possible time for the "Records" to be finished was 1224, the last year of the reign of Emperor Ningzong 寧宗 of the Song dynasty. For more details, see Zhang 2004, 238-40.

¹⁴⁸ Quote from Zhang 2004, 239: "The 'Request for Discuss the Reflection' is about a guest and a host discussing and awakening to the Buddha-truth with the reflection (說參請者, 謂賓主參禪悟道等事)."

¹⁴⁹ For example, see Grant 1994, 102-03, 213. In the introduction to Foyin, Grant mentions the "Records" based mainly on Zhang's research. However, as with other studies, the removed fascicle is not addressed. Also see Hu 2003, 23; Huang 2012, 3-4; Qing 2012, 9. Nevertheless, some scholars hold different views on whether the "Records of Question-and-Answer" should be considered as a "Request for Discussion of the Reflection." Qing believes that the language of the "Records" is vulgar and that much of its content is a mockery of Buddhism, which is inconsistent with the feature of the "Request for Discuss the Reflection." It is more appropriate to consider the "Records of Question-and-Answer" as "riddles, discussions, and verbal games played while drinking" (*shangmi xingling* 商謎行令) and "texts for jokes and mockery" (*paidiao zhici* 俳調之詞). See Qing 2012, 9-12.

pieces in the removed fascicle, current studies present an important possibility for the origin of the removed fascicle.

Foyin in Su Shi's Writings

Although the “Records of Question-and-Answer” between Su Shi and Foyin is apocryphal, Foyin is not a fictional character and indeed had interactions with Su Shi. The friendship between Su Shi and Foyin is also a notable topic mentioned by scholars when studying Su Shi’s Buddhist involvement.¹⁵⁰ In Su Shi’s writings, he is often referred to as “master Foyin [who goes] by the name of Liaoyuan” (*Foyin dashi Liaoyuan* 佛印大師了元). While researching various editions of the “Records of Question-and-Answer” between Su Shi and Foyin, there is an issue worth considering: How was the relationship between Su Shi and Foyin in reality? Investigating this can help us further explore the origin of the “Records of Question-and-Answer,” as well as gain a more comprehensive understanding of Su Shi. To figure it out, perhaps the most direct way is to examine the writings of Su Shi and Foyin. Due to the research topic of this thesis, I will focus on Foyin in Su Shi’s writings that are included in *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*.¹⁵¹

In *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*, five texts by Su Shi mention Foyin, which is a relatively large weight within its limited contents. “A Eulogy to the Ceremonial Pilgrimage Robe” (*Mo’na zan* 磨衲赞) is dedicated to a robe bestowed on

¹⁵⁰ For example, see Grant 1994, 101-03; Egan 1994, 142.

¹⁵¹ These contents remain the same in Ling Mengchu’s edition of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*.

Foyin by the emperor, which is a tribute from Koryō. In this eulogy, Su Shi mainly expounds his ideas arising from the robe through Buddhist theories.¹⁵² “A Colophon of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*” (*Shu Lengjiajinghou* 書楞伽經後) mentions that Foyin suggested Su Shi have the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* copied by Su’s own calligraphy and printed. Foyin helped by having his attendant find skilled printing artisans.¹⁵³ These two cases seem to be normal interactions between a literatus and a Buddhist master who had a close relationship. Nevertheless, the other three are more revealing as to why Su Shi and Foyin would be used as the main characters in later times in those light-hearted texts.

In “Enshrining Grotesque Stones” (*Guaishi gong* 怪石供) and “Latter [Writing on] Enshrining Grotesque Stones” (*Hou guaishi gong* 後怪石供),¹⁵⁴ Su Shi describes the interactions relating to the stones between himself and Foyin: Su Shi often exchanged cakes for small stones with children who played by the river, and gradually collected 298 of them. He even appointed one shaped like a tiger or a leopard as the chief of the stones. Then he placed these stones in a bronze basin and filled it with water. Foyin saw them during his visit to Su’s residence, Su Shi then gave the stones to Foyin, who later engraved words on some of them. After hearing about the engraving, Su Shi laughed and said, “I exchanged cakes for the stones from children. I am ridiculous enough to exchange something edible for something useless. He

¹⁵² See *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, 98-100; see also *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 22, 635-36.

¹⁵³ See *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, 177-80; see also *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts* (1986), fasc. 66, 2085-86.

¹⁵⁴ See *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, 265-69; see also *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 64, 1986-87.

(Foyin) followed [my absurdity] and engraved [on the stones].”¹⁵⁵ “Enshrining Grotesque Stones” and “Latter [Writing on] Enshrining Grotesque Stones” reflect the relaxed and close relationship between Su Shi and Foyin. In addition, these two writings represent the easy-going and spontaneous natures of both Su Shi and Foyin. Such qualities provide the basis for the anecdotes and jokes about them in later times.

“A *Gāthā* on Playfully Replying to Foyin” (*Xida Foyin jie* 戲答佛印偈) is a four-line verse in response to Foyin. Nevertheless, what it responded to is unclear. This *Gāthā* is recorded in the biography of Foyin in *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamp [Records]* (*Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元),¹⁵⁶ with a few more lines, and an anecdote between Su Shi and Foyin is provided as the context.¹⁵⁷ However, in the biography of Foyin in *Transmission of Monk’s Treasure from the Chan Grove* (*Chanlin sengbao zhuan* 禪林僧寶傳), similar lines are recorded but given a different anecdote between Su Shi and Foyin.¹⁵⁸ These mix-ups suggest that it requires further research whether “A *Gāthā* on Playfully Replying to Foyin” was composed by Su Shi. Nevertheless, the fact that the biographies of Foyin in both *Transmission of Monk’s Treasure from the Chan Grove* and *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamp [Records]* contain a large number of anecdotes and exchanges between him and Su Shi suggests that the interactions between them were already an important subject in Chan texts in the Song

¹⁵⁵ See *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, 268, “予以餅易諸小兒者也。以可食易無用，予既足笑矣，彼又從而刻之。”

¹⁵⁶ For this translation, I am following McRae. See McRae 2003, 171.

¹⁵⁷ For more details, see CBETA, *Wudeng Huiyuan* 五燈會元, fasc.16, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/X80n1565_p0331b15?q=南康軍雲居山了元佛印禪師&l=0331b15&near_word=&kwic_around=30.

¹⁵⁸ For more details, see CBETA, *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* 禪林僧寶傳, fasc. 29, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/X79n1560_p0550c09?q=雲居佛印元禪師&l=0550c09&near_word=&kwic_around=30.

dynasty.¹⁵⁹ The close relationship between Su Shi and Foyin, as well as their light-hearted exchanges recorded in these two Chan texts, could have been the inspiration for works such as “Records of Question-and-Answer between Dongpo and Foyin.”

Different Attitudes on the Acceptance of “Records of Question-and-Answer”

The inclusion and removal of the fascicle of “Records of Question-and-Answer with Foyin” in the two editions of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* indicate that different literati have different attitudes towards it. Yet neither Xu Changru nor Ling Mengchu provided further explanation in *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*. In this section, I will investigate the possible reasons for Xu and Ling’s inclusion or removal of this fascicle by analyzing different opinions of literati towards Zhao Kaimei’s edition of the “Records of Question-and-Answer,” which highly overlaps with the removed fascicle.

Zhao Kaimei made the following inscription for the “Records of Question-and-Answer”:

Dongpo used mundane phenomena to joke about Buddha-dharma; Foyin used Buddha-dharma to joke about mundane phenomena. These two masters had no rules in their minds, so they were not restrained by any of them. They were uninhibitedly amusing, and they did not consider smoothness or difficulty as

¹⁵⁹ *Transmission of Monk’s Treasure from the Chan Grove* and *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamp [Records]* were compiled in 1124 and 1252 respectively. See Ge 2017, 231, and McRae 2003, 171.

success or failure. They were really the most hilarious. Even the comic entertainer Kun would lose what he was well-known for, [which was his hilarity,] if he was compared with them.¹⁶⁰ [I] printed *The Records of Question-and-Answer between Dongpo and Foyin*. In the ninth month of the year of Xinchou during the Wanli reign, I, Zhao Kaimei, Daoist Qingchang from Haiyu,¹⁶¹ made this inscription.

東坡以世法遊戲佛法，佛印以佛法遊戲世法。二公心本無法，故不爲法縛。而談諧謔浪，不以順逆為利鈍，直是滑稽之雄也。彼優髡視之，失所據矣。刻東坡佛印問答錄。萬曆辛丑九月日¹⁶²海虞清常道人趙開美識。¹⁶³

Zhao admired the amusing feature of Su Shi and Foyin as depicted in the “Records of Question-and-Answer,” believing that this was a good quality they possessed that showed they were not restricted by rules. On the one hand, Su Shi and Foyin indeed had such qualities that could provide the basis of these light-hearted exchanges for later generations; on the other hand, Zhao’s opinion was a demonstration of the literary and intellectual contexts in the late Ming, which often sought free expression and rejected seriousness and orthodoxy.

¹⁶⁰ “The comic entertainer Kun” (*You Kun* 優髡) refers to Chun Yukun 淳于髡 (386 BCE? – 310 BCE?). Chun Yukun is included in the “Ranked Biographies of Comedians” (*Huaji liezhuan* 滑稽列傳) in *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shi Ji* 史記) and is described as “amusing and eloquent (*huaji duobian* 滑稽多辯).” He used his ability of being amusing and eloquent to benefit the diplomacy of the Qi 齊 State. See *Records of the Grand Historian* 2014, fasc. 126, 3885-88.

¹⁶¹ Haiyu 海虞 is in the present day Changshu 常熟 in Jiangsu 江蘇 province.

¹⁶² In Zhang’s quotation, he believes that a character is missing before “ri 日.”

¹⁶³ See *The New Edition of Book Series* 1986, fasc. 90, 40.

Zhao's inscription represents an attitude of acceptance towards this unserious and vulgar collection of exchanges between Su Shi and Foyin. Through it we can speculate the reasons why Xu included the fascicle "Records of Question-and-Answer with Foyin" in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*: First, as with Zhao, he accepted and appreciated this literary genre that was not serious and was mainly intended for amusement. Another important reason was probably for commercial profit—the open and inclusive cultural environment of late Ming made such light-hearted texts as well as the humorous image of Su Shi popular among both the folk and many literati. Therefore, including such a fascicle in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* would increase its popularity. Third, it was also possible that Xu Changru wanted to show readers a more comprehensive image of Su Shi, which is different from what was shown through the previous fascicles of Su Shi's own writings in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*.

The reason for Ling Mengchu's removal of the fascicle can be investigated from the comment in the "Synopsis of the Overall Indexes of the Complete Library in Four Sections" (*Sikuquanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要) on Zhao Kaimei's edition of the "Records of Question-and-Answer" included in *The Secret Satchel from the Hall of Treasuring Yan*,¹⁶⁴ which overlaps highly with the removed fascicle and was even slightly polished:

The old edition attributed this fascicle to Su Shi from the Song. What was

¹⁶⁴ See Zhang 2004, 238.

recorded was all about the exchanges with monk Liaoyuan.¹⁶⁵ It is uninhibitedly amusing and extremely vulgar... The meaning of the texts is shallow. It was written by a villain who was from an isolated and rustic valley. It is a dreadfully poor work among all apocryphal works.

舊本題宋蘇軾撰。所記皆與僧了元往復之語。詼諧謔浪，及為猥瑣…詞義鄙陋。亦出委巷小人之所為。偽書中之至劣者也。¹⁶⁶

In this comment, criticisms such as “it is extremely vulgar” and “the meaning is shallow” could well represent another attitude of literati towards such content. Although Ling Mengchu did not explicitly state the reason for removing this fascicle, he probably held the same criticism. Perhaps in Ling’s view, the removed fascicle did not have the sophistication and depth that literati were used to appreciating.

The Added Fascicle

The Added Fascicle and Records of Notes by Dongpo

Another major difference between Xu and Ling’s editions of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* is the addition of a new fascicle, “Records of Miscellanies” (*Zazhi* 雜誌). Regarding this added fascicle, the commentary by Feng Mengzhen gives the following explanation: “All these pieces were selected from *Records of*

¹⁶⁵ Liaoyuan 了元 was another name for Foyin.

¹⁶⁶ See *Synopsis of the Overall Indexes of the Complete Library in Four Sections* 1999, 744.

Notes by Dongpo, and they are greatly related to Chan. Strangely, the old edition did not include these contents.”¹⁶⁷ Certainly, “Chan” here refers to Buddhism in general. Feng’s commentary points out that the source of this fascicle is *Records of Notes by Dongpo* (*Dongpo Zhilin* 東坡志林).¹⁶⁸ As will be shown, the literary genre of this collection and its specific time frame can help to investigate the added fascicle.

Records of Notes by Dongpo: A Collection of “Random Notes”

The *Records of Notes* originated in the Song dynasty. From the Song to the Ming, several editions of it appeared.¹⁶⁹ Unlike various editions of “Records of Question-and-Answer” between Su Shi and Foyin, the texts of the *Records of Notes* are generally considered to be authentic works by Su Shi.¹⁷⁰ It was originally intended as a collection of essays on historical figures and events that Su Shi wanted to make in his later years. But he died before *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* was completed. Later, starting from the Song, book editors selected from Su Shi’s works on daily life, travels, dreams, strange affairs, and other miscellaneous writings, and added them to the original collection, adopting the title “*Records of Notes*” (*Zhilin* 志

¹⁶⁷ See *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, 283: “此數則皆東坡志林中者于禪大有關會而舊本却不知錄，何也？”

¹⁶⁸ Hereafter the *Records of Notes*.

¹⁶⁹ According to Zhang and Xu’s research, the editions of the *Records of Notes* known so far are as follows: the one-fascicle and three-fascicle editions in the Song, and the five-fascicle and twelve-fascicle editions in the Wanli reign in the late Ming. The three-fascicle edition became rare or missing in the Huacheng 化成 reign (1465-1487) in the Ming. See Zhang and Xu 2002, 163-64.

¹⁷⁰ For example, see *Synopsis of the Overall Indexes of the Complete Library in Four Sections* 1999, 628, “Written by Su Shi from the Song (宋蘇軾撰).” Also see *Records of Notes by Dongpo* 1981, 1-2; Li 2017, 54-55. However, some scholars suggest that the five-fascicle edition of the *Records of Notes*, which is the most widely circulated one, contains a few apocryphal works. See Zhang and Xu, 2002, 168-70.

林) that Su Shi initially intended to use (*Records of Notes by Dongpo* 1981, 1-2).¹⁷¹

Regardless of whether Su Shi ever considered editing his less formal works inspired by everyday life into a collection, the *Records of Notes* became famous for its assembly of his miscellaneous writings and acts as a paradigm for the “random notes” (*biji* 筆記) of Song literati.¹⁷²

Afflictions and Buddhist Writings in Su Shi’s Late Years

It is not clear which edition of the *Records of Notes* Feng Mengzhen was referring to in the commentary. He supposedly indicated one that was available before 1590, when Xu’s edition of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* was printed. The edition of the *Records of Notes* that is still in circulation, and therefore can help to examine the added fascicle, is the one that was first printed by Zhao Kaimei in 1595. Since its publication, this edition became the most widely transmitted one because it is comprehensive and well-collated (*Records of Notes by Dongpo* 1981, 3).¹⁷³ The reprint of the *Records of Notes* in the late Ming is another example of the popularity of the less formal writings of Su Shi during that period. Although it is unknown from which edition of the *Records of Notes* Ling Mengchu selected the texts for the added fascicle, all eight pieces in it are included in Zhao’s edition.¹⁷⁴ The inscription of

¹⁷¹ The twelve-fascicle edition of the *Records of Notes* published in late Ming after 1595 does not include Su Shi’s original fascicle which addressed historical events and figures; rather, it only includes miscellaneous writings from everyday life by Su Shi. For more details, See Zhang and Xu, 2002, 173.

¹⁷² For example, see Fu 2007, 106; Zhang 2012, 47-48; Chan 1997, 46. However, the origin of the *Records of Notes* is not further discussed in these studies, and in some cases, it is considered to be edited by Su Shi himself. I am following Egan for the translation of “*biji*.” See Egan 2006, 63.

¹⁷³ The date of Zhao Kaimei’s edition of the *Records of Notes* is indicated in its inscription. See *Records of Notes by Dongpo* 1981, “Foreword” (*Xu* 序).

¹⁷⁴ The eight texts in the added fascicle can be found in the second fascicle in Zhao’s edition of the *Records of*

Zhao's edition of the *Records of Notes* suggests that it consists of works by Su Shi during the Yuanyou 元祐 (1086-1094) and Shaosheng 紹聖 (1094-1098) reigns.¹⁷⁵ This indicates the time frame of the added fascicle. The Yuanyou and Shaosheng reigns are not two random periods—they were almost the last years of Su Shi's life, and during the Shaosheng reign, Su Shi was in exile in Huizhou 惠州 and Danzhou 儋州, the most southern parts of the state of the Northern Song.¹⁷⁶ In 1100, Su Shi was “allowed to return to the mainland” (Egan 1994, xix); in 1101, two months after he arrived in Changzhou 常州, his temporary destination, he died of illness.¹⁷⁷

Su Shi's turbulent political career, especially the frequent exiles in his later years, has been the subject of much discussion among later generations. Using Su Shi's writings to explore his later life may be one of the reasons for the compilation of the *Records of Notes*.¹⁷⁸ The tribulations of Su Shi's later years are often related to his Buddhist devotions. In the colophon that Tang Wenxian wrote for *The Collection of*

Notes. The first four can be found in the section “Buddhism” (*Fojiao* 佛教); the fifth, sixth, and seventh can be found in the section “Daoism and Buddhism” (*Dao shi* 道釋); and the last one can be found in the section “Strange Events (First Part)” (*Yishi shang* 異事上). See Table 8 in the Appendix for the page numbers of the eight pieces in this added fascicle in both *Records of Notes by Dongpo* 1981 and *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986. Although there are eight pieces added, the table of contents in Ling's edition shows that this fascicle contains seven pieces. See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 281, “凡七則.” As will be shown in the Conclusion of this thesis, similar counting errors are found in another fascicle in Ling's edition. In addition, different from the *Records of Notes by Dongpo* 1981 and *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, all eight pieces in the added fascicle in Ling's edition of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* are not titled. Moreover, among these eight pieces, only one title is the same in both *Records of Notes by Dongpo* 1981 and *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986. Some annotations for these eight pieces in *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986 also mention the differences in titles compared to *Records of Notes by Dongpo*. However, despite the differences in titles across these three collections, their texts do not show significant differences except for minor variations in characters and the inclusion of the ending notes in one text.

¹⁷⁵ See *Records of Notes by Dongpo* 1981, “Foreword” (*Xu* 序), “The five fascicles of the *Records of Notes* by Master Dongpo recorded the events that he experienced during two decades in the reigns of Yuanyou and Shaosheng” (東坡先生志林五卷, 皆紀元祐、紹聖二十年中所身歷事).

¹⁷⁶ Huizhou and Danzhou are in the present day Guangdong 廣東 and Hainan 海南 provinces, respectively.

¹⁷⁷ For more details on Su Shi's last two years before death, see Egan 1994, xviii-xix; Kong 1998, fasc. 39-40, 1319-1418.

¹⁷⁸ The Yuanyou reign was the most successful period of Su Shi's political career, and during the following Shaosheng reign, he experienced successive exiles. Therefore, in addition to using Su Shi's informal works to present his later years, another possible reason for the compilation of the *Records of Notes by Dongpo* was to investigate these two periods which were dramatically different. This needs to be further studied.

Dongpo's Joy of Chan, Tang believes that during his later years, Su Shi used Buddhist scriptures as a means of relieving his sorrows, when he was exiled to the “poor and remote villages.”¹⁷⁹

In a writing in the added fascicle, the desperation of Su Shi in his later years is revealed. He started with an anecdote about a Chan master to tell of his own situation:

The Chan Master Shou from Qiantang was originally an official in charge of taxation in the northern town. Whenever he saw fish and shrimp, he bought and then released them, thus exhausting the wealth of his family. Later, he stole money from the government and used it to release animals. [He was] sentenced to death after being caught. He was taken to the market to be executed. [At this time,] King Qian of Wuyue Kingdom sent someone to inspect: If he was as sad and scared as normal people, he would be killed; if not, he would be freed. The Chan master was tranquil and calm, without any unusual look. So [King Qian] released him. Later he renounced the secular world and obtained the pure dharma-eye... To learn the way to escape from the cycle of birth-and-death, [one] has to go to a fatal situation once, which is equivalent to thirty years of practice. I scampered off like a rat to the island, and I gradually came close to the fatal situation, thus I should have realized the state of an arhat.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 336, “In the later years, when [Su Shi] suffered from exiles in the remote and poor villages, he used the Buddha-scriptures as means to throw off sorrow and pain (晚遇貶謫落窮鄉，遂以內典為擯愁捐痛之物).”

¹⁸⁰ Arhats are the “venerable ones,” disciples of the Buddha who have eliminated all afflictions and attained *nirvāṇa*.

錢塘壽禪師本北郭稅務專知官。每見魚蝦，輒買放生，以是破家。後遂盜官錢為放生之用。事發坐死。領赴市矣。吳越錢王使人視之。若悲懼如常人，即殺之，否則捨之。禪師淡然無異色，乃捨之。遂出家，得法眼淨……學出生死法，得向死地走之一遭，抵三十年修行。吾鼠竄海上，去死地稍近，當於此證阿羅漢果。¹⁸¹

This is probably a work written at the time of his exile in Danzhou, which was located on a southern island of the state. Su Shi uses an anecdote of a Chan master, Yanshou 延壽 (904-976), from the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms periods (907-979), to relate his own condition: He believes that his relegation to the island was distressing, and that what he was going through was almost a “fatal situation.”¹⁸² Although Su Shi talks about “learning the way to escape from the cycle of birth-and-death” and “realizing the state of arhat,” his frustration is evident. Su Shi’s later works are often infused with a sense of depression and hopelessness. As introduced in chapter one, “A Portrait-Eulogy Dedicated to Haiyue Bian’gong,” which was written in 1094 during his exile in Huizhou, is an example. When Su Shi recalls his time in position in Hangzhou two decades ago, his loss is shown between the lines. In another

¹⁸¹ See this writing in *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*, 2010, 288-89, *Records of Notes by Dongpo* 1981, 38, and *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 72, 2324. Including this piece, none of eight pieces in the added fascicle in Ling’s edition of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* are titled; this piece is titled “The [Rite of] Releasing Life, by Chan Master Shou” (*Shou chanshi fangsheng* 壽禪師放生) in both *Records of Notes by Dongpo* 1981 and *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts* 1986. Also, there are two places where there are some differences among the three collections: *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010 reads “事發主死 ([He was] sentenced to death after being caught)” and “得向死地走這一遭 ([One] has to go to a fatal position once).” In *The Records of Notes by Dongpo* 1981, it is rendered as “事發坐死” and “得向死地走之一遭.” *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts* 1986, has “事發坐死” and “得向死地上走一遭.” Regarding these differences, I am following *Records of Notes by Dongpo* 1981 here.

¹⁸² For more details on Yanshou, See CBETA, *Song Qiantang Yongmingsi Yanshou zhuan* 宋錢塘永明寺延壽傳 in *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳, fasc. 28, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T50n2061_p0883c11?q=%E5%AE%8B%E9%AB%98%E5%83%A7%E5%82%B3&l=0883c11&near_word=&kwic_around=30.

writing in 1085 about his encounter with his first mentor Zhang Fangping 張方平 (1007-1091) (Egan 1994, 139), he made the following description: “The Master is 79 at the time. All illusions [of him] have extinguished, and the light of wisdom is perfectly rounded; I, Shi, have also been aged with worries, and my entire mind is gloomy and cold.”¹⁸³

The Added Fascicle and Xu’s Edition of The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan

The added fascicle in Ling’s edition helps readers to further explore Su Shi’s state of mind in his later years, as well as his Buddhist involvement at the time. Feng Mengzhen’s commentary indicates that he felt surprised that these contents were not included in Xu’s edition of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan*. But it is understandable: First, it is possible that when Xu collected the texts, there was not a widely circulated edition of the *Records of Notes* available as a source. Second, in Xu’s edition, all of Su Shi’s own writings are classified according to literary categories. Each fascicle consists of a certain category; for example, “hymn” (*song* 頌), “eulogy” (*zan* 贊), “*gāthā*” (*jie* 偈), “inscription” (*ming* 銘), and so on. They are also formal in general, at least as their titles show.¹⁸⁴ This could be a specific editing

¹⁸³ See *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, 179, “公時年七十九，幻滅都盡，慧光渾圓。而軾亦老於憂患，百念灰冷”；see also *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 66, 2085. In *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts* 1986, “慧光” is written as “惠光。”

¹⁸⁴ Most of the contents in Xu’s edition, which is also the basis for Ling’s edition, are formal. They include eulogies and hymns dedicated to bodhisattvas, arhats, eminent Buddhist masters, or their portraits; inscriptions to monasteries and stupas; or prefaces and colophons to Buddhist sutras. But there are also jottings inspired by everyday life that are similar to those in the added fascicle. For example, see “A *Gāthā* on Jade” (*Yushi jie* 玉石偈) and “A *Gāthā* on Fever” (*Hanre jie* 寒熱偈). They are included in both editions. See *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, 122-25. Also see *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 22, 644, and fasc. 22, 647, for these two *gāthā*.

approach that Xu would like to adopt. Although Ling followed Xu's method of editing, he may have preferred to add a fascicle consisting of Su Shi's "random notes" on Buddhism to complete the content. Furthermore, there were voluminous writings by Su Shi, and it is unlikely that either Xu's or the Ling's edition would have completely covered all of those related to Buddhism.

The texts in Xu's edition do not have a specific time frame, yet quite a few of Su Shi's works from his later years are included. For example, "A Portrait-Eulogy Dedicated to Haiyue Bian'gong" (*Haiyue Bian'gong zhenzan* 海月辯公真贊) was a work from 1095;¹⁸⁵ "A Record for the New Sutra Hall in Chan Monastery of Chongde in Qianzhou" was from 1095.¹⁸⁶ Moreover, "Returning from the South Sea, [I] Passed by the Baolin Monastery in Qingyuan Gorge and Devoutly Dedicated Eulogies to the Eighteen Arhats Painted by Chanyue" was a series of eulogies written by Su Shi in 1100,¹⁸⁷ and "A Record for the Abbot of Nanhua Monastery" was a work from 1101, the last year of his life. Both of them are written on his way back to the north.¹⁸⁸

In fact, Su Shi's Buddhist works in general increased during his later years. This was due in large part to more leisure time brought about by the two successive exiles to Huizhou and Danzhou from 1094 to 1100, which gave him more time to

¹⁸⁵ See Kong 1998, fasc. 34, 1190.

¹⁸⁶ See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 201-05, "Qianzhou chongdechanyuan xinjingcang ji 虔州崇德禪院新經藏記"; see also *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 12, 390-91. The date of writing is shown at the end of the text.

¹⁸⁷ "Zi nanzhai gui guo Qingyuanxia baolinsi jingzan Chanyue suohua shiba da aluohan 自南海歸, 過清遠峽寶林寺, 敬贊禪月所畫十八大阿羅漢." See *The Comprehensive Annotation of The Collection of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2584. Qingyuan 清遠 is in the present day Guangdong 廣東 province. Also see this series of writings in *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 22, 626-30.

¹⁸⁸ "Nanhua zhanglao timing ji 南華長老提名記." See *The Comprehensive Annotation of The Collection of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2584. Also see this writing in *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 12, 393-94.

write and devote to Buddhism. These works will be investigated further in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Su Shi's Life and Writings in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*

This chapter consists of two parts. The first part will introduce Su Shi's life, with focuses on his sufferings and the turbulence caused by varying political circumstances in the Northern Song and his Buddhist involvement at different periods, especially the deeper connection with Buddhism brought about by the exiles. The second part will analyze Su Shi's Buddhist writings in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* according to three themes: dreams, karma, and Buddhism and Confucianism. The first two are important subjects in Buddhism; the third is a feature of Su Shi's Buddhist thought, especially in his later years. In this part, I will use textual analysis, combined with Su Shi's situation at the time, to examine Su Shi's interpretation of various Buddhist concepts.

Su Shi's Life and Buddhism

Early Political Career and Exposure to Buddhism

Su Shi was born in 1037 in Meishan 眉山 County, Meizhou 眉州,¹⁸⁹ the southwestern part of the Northern Song.¹⁹⁰ In 1057, he obtained the *Jinshi* degree in

¹⁸⁹ In the present day Meishan in Sichuan 四川 province.

¹⁹⁰ Su Shi was born in the twelfth month in the third year of the Jingyou 景祐 reign, which was January 1037 of the common calendar. See Wang and Zhu 2004, 596; *The Comprehensive Annotation of The Collection of Su Shi's Poetry* (*Su Shi shiji hezhu* 蘇軾詩集合注) 2001, Appendix One, 2505.

the capital Bianjing 汴京.¹⁹¹ Four months later, his mother Lady Cheng died, so he returned to Meishan to observe mourning for almost three years. In 1060, he returned to the capital and started his political career.¹⁹²

Su Shi's political career went well in the 1060s. During this period, he served in both provincial and central government positions. In 1066, he returned to Meishan again to observe mourning, after his father Su Xun's 蘇洵 (1009-1066) death, for another three years.¹⁹³ In 1069, Emperor Shenzong 神宗 (1048-1085) appointed Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086) as the assistant administrator of government affairs (*canzhi zhengshi* 參知政事) and started to implement the New Policies.¹⁹⁴ After that, Northern Song statesmen formed two factions—the reform faction headed by Wang Anshi and the conservative faction headed by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086). Su Shi was a member of the conservative faction. Thereafter, the power of the two factions shifted according to the inclination of the current imperial ruler.

In the early years of the implementation of the New Policies, Su Shi presented several reports on its disadvantages to the emperor. This caused resentment among the reform faction. He then asked for a provincial appointment to escape from the dispute. In 1071, he was appointed as the vice prefect (*tongpan* 通判) of Hangzhou, where he served until 1074.¹⁹⁵ From 1074 to 1079, Su Shi was appointed as the prefect (*zhizhou*

¹⁹¹ See *The Comprehensive Annotation of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2512. Bianjing is in the present day Kaifeng 開封 in Henan 河南 province.

¹⁹² See *The Comprehensive Annotation of The Collection of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2512-13.

¹⁹³ See *The Comprehensive Annotation of The Collection of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2518-19. For more details of Su Shi in the 1060s (from the fifth year of the Jiayou 嘉祐 reign to the second year of the Xining 熙寧 reign), see *The Comprehensive Annotation of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2514-19; Kong 1998, fasc. 4-fasc. 8, 77-172.

¹⁹⁴ For more information about the New Policies, see Wang and Zhu 2004, 69-72. For the translation of the New Policies (*xinfa* 新法/*xinzheng* 新政), I am following Egan. See Egan 1994, xiv.

¹⁹⁵ See *The Comprehensive Annotation of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2520.

知州) in Mizhou 密州, Xuzhou 徐州, and Huzhou 湖州.¹⁹⁶ During his time as a local official, he had more opportunities to engage with Buddhism. As introduced in chapter one, a local official supervised the local Buddhist institutions. In particular, during Su Shi's tenure in Hangzhou, where Buddhism thrived, he befriended several eminent monks, including Haiyue Huibian, Biancai Yuanjing, and Zhanran Yuanzhao. Certainly, this was not Su Shi's first introduction to Buddhism. His mother was a devout disciple of Pure Land Buddhism, and his father had close associations with Yunmen Chan masters Yuantong Ju'ne 圓通居訥 (n.d.) and Weijian 惟簡 (1012-1095). All of these provided Su Shi with early exposure to Buddhism.¹⁹⁷ Overall, Su Shi's career did not appear to have any major setbacks so far. Meanwhile, the New Policies were carried out nationwide. Yet according to Wang and Zhu, in the Song, if an official served continuously at the provincial level without being appointed to the central government, it was a sign that their career was not going well (Wang and Zhu 2004, 79). In 1079, Su Shi experienced the first frustration in his political career.

¹⁹⁶ Mizhou, Xuzhou, and Huzhou are in the present-day Shandong 山東, Jiangsu 江蘇, and Zhejiang 浙江 provinces, respectively. For more details of Su Shi in the 1070s (the third year of the Xining reign to the second year of the Yuanfeng 元豐 reign), see *The Comprehensive Annotation of The Collection of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2520-38; Kong 1998, fasc. 9-fasc. 18, 172-470; Wang and Zhu 2004, 78-86.

¹⁹⁷ For more details, see Grant 1994, 40-43. Liu Shi 劉石 deduces from Su Shi's writings that Su Shi began reading Buddhist texts as early as around the age of thirteen. See Liu 1990, 87-93. In addition, Wang Shuhai 王樹海 and Li Minghua 李明華's study of Su Shi's early exposure shows that Su Shi's literary works related to Buddhism increased during his tenure in Fengxiang 鳳翔 (around 1062-1065, early in his political career; Fengxiang is in the present day Xiannxi 陝西 province) compared to the previous period when Su Shi was younger. For more details, see Wang and Li 2011, 29-34.

Exile to Huangzhou and Buddhist Devotions

In 1079, Su Shi was impeached by the Imperial Censorate (*yushitai* 御史台) for writing poems that satirized the Court.¹⁹⁸ He was arrested during his term in Huzhou and sent to the capital. After four months in prison, the verdict was that he would be banished to Huangzhou 黃州 as assistant militia commandant (*tuanlian fushi* 團練副使), a position set up specifically for exiled officials,¹⁹⁹ with no actual authority nor duties.²⁰⁰ Despite the frustration of his political career, Su Shi was freed from official duties in Huangzhou. This provided him not only more time to explore new literary styles,²⁰¹ but also the opportunity to connect more deeply with Buddhism. In “A Record of Anguo Monastery in Huangzhou” (*Huangzhou Anguo si ji* 黃州安國寺記), written in 1084, the last year of his stay there,²⁰² Su Shi described how he decided to turn to Buddhism at the beginning of the exile and his devout practice for years:

¹⁹⁸ This event is the well-known “Crow Terrace Poetry Case” (*wutai shian* 烏臺詩案). For more details on the literary inquisition against Su Shi and his defense, see Wang 2011, 29-65.

¹⁹⁹ See Zhang and Jin 2004, 102; Cheng 2011, 252. Huangzhou is in the present day Hubei 湖北 province.

²⁰⁰ See Egan 1994, 208; Wang and Zhu 2004, 88. For the translation of “*tuanlian fushi*,” I am following Egan. Egan, Wang, and Zhu point out that this position did not receive salary, and Su Shi faced financial difficulties in Huangzhou, based on Su Shi’s letters to friends and poems. See Egan 1994, 208-209; Wang and Zhu 2004, 88-89. According to Cheng, Zhang and Jin’s research, this position still receives partial salary. See Zhang and Jin 2004, 102; Cheng 2011, 252. For more details of the process from Su Shi’s impeachment to relegation, see *The Comprehensive Annotation of The Collection of Su Shi’s Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2531-38.

²⁰¹ The Huangzhou exile is considered to be a turning point of Su Shi’s literary style: a shift from his previous focus on political and historical essays to miscellanies and jottings, which are more casual and have a more personal touch (and were more popular among late Ming literati). See Wang and Zhu 2004, 89, Wang 2015, 13. Grant also points out that the Huangzhou exile is “a major turning point in his life,” and Su Shi’s poems during this period are generally considered to be among his highest quality. See Grant 1994, 104-05. Egan shares a similar view of Su Shi’s literary achievements during his Huangzhou exile and thinks that Su Shi explores new forms of literary expression during this period. See Egan 1994, 213.

²⁰² This record was written in the fourth month of the seventh year of the Yuanfeng reign, before Su Shi left Huangzhou to take up the position of the assistant militia commandant of Ruzhou 汝州 (in the present-day Henan province). Although the position remained the same, Ruzhou was close to the capital Bianjing. This transfer was a sign of Emperor Shenzong’s leniency toward Su Shi. See Kong 1998, fasc. 23, 612; *The Comprehensive Annotation of Su Shi’s Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2545; Wang and Zhu 2004, 97-98.

In the twelfth month of the second year of the *Yuanfeng*, I was convicted while holding the position of the prefect of Wuxing.²⁰³ The Emperor could not bear to execute me, so [he] appointed me as the assistant militia commandant of Huangzhou, so that I could reflect on my faults and reform myself. In the second month of the next year, I arrived in Huangzhou. The accommodation was roughly settled, and I had a little supply of clothes and food. [After that,] I closed the door and stopped socializing. I collected my soul, retreated from my thoughts, and sought a way to be renewed. Reflecting on my mind and deeds all along, none of them accorded with the Way. It was not just what led to my current conviction ... Then I sighed deeply and said, “the Way [I have learned] is not enough to control my spirit, and my nature is not enough to subdue my habits. If I do not eliminate the root, but [merely] remove the details, even if I can correct my faults now, I will surely commit them again in the future. Why do I not piously turn to the Buddha and sangha to wash off everything?” I found a fine monastery in the south of the town, called “Anguo Monastery.” There were dense and tall bamboo forests, ponds, and pavilions in it. I went there every one or two days. I burned incense and sat in silence and contemplated deeply on myself. I forgot the difference between the objects and me, and my body and mind both became empty. [I] tried to find the origin of my guilt, but I could not. Every thought-moment of mine was pure, and [all] the defilements fell off by themselves. The external and internal parts of my being became transcendent,

²⁰³ Wuxing refers to Huzhou.

with nothing to attach to. I was secretly delighted [by what I had achieved]. I went there in the morning and returned in the evening and continued for five years.

元豐二年十二月，余自吳興守得罪。上不忍誅，以為黃州團練副使，使思過而自新焉。其明年二月至黃。舍館粗定，衣食稍給。閉門卻掃，收召魂魄。退伏思念，求所以自新之方。反觀從來舉意動作，皆不中道，非獨今之所以得罪者…於是喟然歎曰，道不足以御氣，性不足以勝習。不鋤其本而耘其末，今雖改之，後必複作。盍歸誠佛僧，求一洗之。得城南精舍曰安國寺。有茂林修竹，陂池亭榭。間一二日輒往。焚香默坐，深自省察。則物我相忘，身心皆空。求罪始所生而不可得。一念清淨，染汙自落。表裏翛然，無所附麗。私竊樂之。旦往而暮還者，五年於此矣。²⁰⁴

Nominally, Su Shi's Buddhist devotion was initiated by a reflection on his political faults. But the achievements that Buddhist practice brought made him "secretly delighted." According to Su Shi's account, his years of practice in Anguo monastery led him to a state where he had no distinctions and no attachment, and everything ceased to exist: his body, his mind, and the origin of his offence ("[I] tried to find the origin of my guilt, but I could not" 求罪始所生而不可得). This seems to indicate that Buddhist practice had relieved his remorse for his previous political offence. In this writing, Su Shi did not discuss Buddhism any further, but only the

²⁰⁴ See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 213-16; see also *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 12, 391-92.

relief and joy that Buddhist practice brought him.

In addition, Su Shi's letters indicate that he read Buddhist sutras regularly during his exile in Huangzhou. In a letter to Zhang Chun 章淳 (1035-1106), Su Shi noted that during this period, he "only read sutras to pass the time."²⁰⁵ In another letter to Bi Zhongju 畢仲舉 (n.d.), Su Shi said that it was a benefit of the exile that he had the time to read Buddhist sutras. Moreover, although he also read Buddhist sutras before, he may gain a better appreciation now.²⁰⁶ Overall, the change of circumstances and more leisure time brought about by the exile allowed Su Shi to establish a closer connection with Buddhism.

Turbulence of Later Years

In 1085, Emperor Shenzong died, and the young Emperor Zhezong took the throne. The Grand Empress Dowager Lady Gao was the actual ruler. At this time, the imperial ruler began to incline toward the conservative fraction and gradually abolished the New Policies. Su Shi was promoted within a few months. In 1086, he was appointed to the Court. After serving in several positions at the Court, he was appointed as the prefect of Hangzhou in 1089. This was his second tenure there after

²⁰⁵ See "Two Letters to the Assistant Administrator of Government Affairs Zhang Zihou" (*Yu Zhang Zihou canzheng shu ershou* 與章子厚參政書二首), in *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 49, 1412, "Naturally, I read books during my idle time, and I only read sutras to pass the time" (閑居未免看書，惟佛經以遣日). This letter was written in 1080, the beginning of his exile in Huangzhou. See Kong 1998, fasc. 19, 477. In this letter, Su Shi also described the hardships and financial difficulties he faced in Huangzhou.

²⁰⁶ See "A Letter Reply to Bi Zhongju" (*Da Bi Zhongju shu* 答畢仲舉書), in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 274: "The two things mentioned, reading Buddha-texts and formulating medicines to save lives, [I] think are largely the benefits of the idleness [that comes with exile]. I used to read Buddha-texts, but due to the obscurity [of my mind], I could not grasp its subtleness" (所云讀佛書及合藥救人二事，以為閑居之賜甚厚。佛書舊亦嘗看，但闇塞不能通其妙). This letter was also written in 1080. See Kong 1998, fasc. 19, 488.

more than twenty years. From 1091 to 1094, he served as the prefect of Yangzhou 揚州, Yingzhou 潁州, and Dingzhou 定州,²⁰⁷ and held several prominent official titles at the Court. This decade was the smoothest period of his political career.²⁰⁸ However, in 1093, the Grant Empress Dowager Lady Gao died and the Emperor Zhezong began to take power on his own. The new ruler had new political inclinations, which was to lead to new frustrations for Su Shi.

From the fourth month of the first year of the *Shaosheng* reign (1094), Su Shi was demoted several times within two months. He was eventually appointed to the post of assistant military governor of Ningyuan 寧遠 (*Ningyuan jun jiedu fushi* 寧遠軍節度副使), “a purely titular title” (Egan 1994, 214), and was placed in Huizhou.²⁰⁹ In 1097, the Court once again demoted officials of the conservative faction who gained power during the Yuanyou reign, and Su Shi was exiled once more as the assistant prosecutor (*biejia* 別駕) of Qiongzhou 瓊州, and was placed in Danzhou.²¹⁰ By that time, he was left with only his youngest son, Su Guo, who accompanied him across the sea to Danzhou.²¹¹

The Huizhou and Danzhou exiles were much harsher than the Huangzhou exile. As mentioned in the previous chapter, they were in the southernmost parts of the

²⁰⁷ Yangzhou, Yingzhou, and Dingzhou are in the present day Jiangsu, Anhui 安徽, and Hebei 河北 provinces.

²⁰⁸ For more details on Su Shi from 1085 to 1094 (from the eighth year of the Yuanfeng 元豐 reign to the first year of the Shaosheng 紹聖 reign), see *The Comprehensive Annotation of The Collection of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2548-71; Kong 1998, fasc. 24-fasc. 33, 666-1186.

²⁰⁹ See *The Comprehensive Annotation of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2569. Similar to “assistant militia commandant,” this position was set up specifically for exiled officials. See Zhang and Jin 2004, 102; Cheng 2011, 252. For the translation of “*Ningyuan jun jiedu fushi*,” I am following Egan. Ningyuan is in the present day Hunan 湖南 province.

²¹⁰ See *The Comprehensive Annotation of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2575. Qiongzhou is in the present day Hainan province. Similar to “assistant militia commandant” and “assistant military governor,” “assistant prosecutor” was another position that was set up specifically for exiled officials. See Zhang and Jin 2004, 102; Cheng 2011, 252.

²¹¹ See *The Comprehensive Annotation of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2576.

Northern Song state, and Danzhou was even on a southern island. The Song rulers had the tradition of not executing civil officials, and exile was the main punishment. The more remote someone was exiled from the capital, the more severe the punishment was. This suggests that Su Shi received the most serious punishment (Wang and Zhu 2004, 86). The natural environment of Huizhou and Danzhou was uninhabitable at that time, disease was prevalent, and supplies were scarce.²¹² The years of living in the south, in Egan's view, contributed to the deterioration of Su Shi's health and essentially killed him (Egan 1994, 213).

As discussed in the previous chapter, Su Shi's Buddhist involvement in his later years was often related to his exile to Huizhou and Danzhou. He produced a large number of Buddhist writings during this period.²¹³ *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* is a demonstration of that; Su Shi's Buddhist writings selected in both *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* and this thesis are not intentionally chosen according to the time periods, but those written during Huizhou and Danzhou exiles account for a large portion. There are some opinions that Su Shi adopted both

²¹² For the harsh environment in Huizhou and Danzhou, see Egan 1994, 213; Wang and Zhu 2004, 117-18. In a letter to a friend, Su Shi described the life in Danzhou as follows, "This place has no meat to eat, no medicine for sickness, no houses to live in, no friends to associate with, no charcoal fire in winter, no cool spring in summer. However, it is difficult to list them all, and probably [this place] does not have anything" (此間食無肉, 病無藥, 居無室, 出無友, 冬無炭, 夏無寒泉, 然亦未易悉數, 大率皆無耳). This letter also mentions that Su Shi and his son Su Guo just finished building a house to live in with the help of local students. See "Three [Letters] to the Candidate Scholar Cheng" (*Yu Cheng xiucai sanshou* 與程秀才三首), in *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 55, 1628. However, this may not be Su Shi's constant attitude toward his exile in Danzhou. James Hargett points out that Su Shi's writings during his Danzhou exile can be divided into three phases, reflecting his different attitude towards his life there. Su Shi was content with his simple life in Danzhou after he had settled down. See Hargett 2000, 141-67.

²¹³ In a study by Lu Xuehui, Lu calculated the number of Buddhist, Daoist, and Confucian works of Su Shi in six periods, from 1055 to 1101, based on the works included in *The Complete Collection of Su Shi's Works with Collation and Annotation* (*Su Shi quanji jiaozhu* 蘇軾全集校注) 2010. The results show that the number of Su Shi's Buddhist works in the period 1094-1101, during which Su Shi was in exile in Huizhou and Danzhou, exceeds 300, making it the most numerous of the six periods, and far exceeding the number of Daoist and Confucian works of the same period. It is also worth noting that the number of Su Shi's Buddhist works during the period 1078-1085, when he was in exile in Huangzhou, is almost 300, also far exceeding the number of Daoist and Confucian works from the same period. See Lu 2017, 124-25.

Buddhism and Daoism as his guiding ideologies during his Huizhou and Danzhou exile, viewing them as a means of self-liberation from suffering.²¹⁴ However, from what we have already learned about Su Shi's life and works, he does not seem to have a particularly utilitarian attitude toward Buddhism, nor does he maintain an optimistic attitude towards his life. On the contrary, his pessimism about his own being is often seen in his works, especially during exiles in Huizhou and Danzhou during his later years. Considering the turbulence of Su Shi's life and the complexity of his thought, saying that he used Buddhism merely as a tool for self-liberation risks being overly optimistic and simplified.

In 1100, Emperor Zhezong died, and Emperor Huizong 徽宗 succeeded to the throne. The new ruler wanted to reconcile the factional conflicts and gave amnesty to the exiled officials. Su Shi was allowed to return to the mainland.²¹⁵ However, it is difficult to say whether the emperor's benevolence was a blessing for Su Shi at this time. During his journey, his appointment was changed a few times,²¹⁶ and he was eventually offered an idle position, supervising the Yuju Daoist Temple (*Yuju guan* 玉局觀) in Chengdu 成都, yet he did not have to stay there.²¹⁷ On his way back north, he was still considering where his destination should be. Finally, he decided to reside in Changzhou 常州, which was closer to his other two sons.²¹⁸ But the year-long

²¹⁴ For more discussion on Su Shi's attitude towards Buddhism, see Wang 2015, 16-18; Wang and Zhu 2004, 137-38. Da Liang 達亮 holds a similar view. Although Da does not specify the period of the Huizhou and Danzhou exiles, he believes that "Buddhism, together with Daoism, became weapons of spiritual liberation for Su Shi in his political difficulties." See Da 2009, 256.

²¹⁵ See *The Comprehensive Annotation of The Collection of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2581.

²¹⁶ See *The Comprehensive Annotation of The Collection of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2581-82.

²¹⁷ See *The Comprehensive Annotation of The Collection of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2584, "提舉成都府玉局觀，在外軍州任便居住。" Chengdu is in the present day Sichuan province.

²¹⁸ Changzhou is in the present day Jiangsu province. According to the Qing scholar Feng Yingliu's 馮應榴 (1741-1801) annotation on *The Chronicle of Master Dongpo* (*Dongpo xiansheng nianpu* 東坡先生年譜) compiled by the

journey further deteriorated his health, and by the time he reached Zhenzhou 真州, which was near the destination, he was already suffering severely from illness. Less than two months after arriving in Changzhou, he died.²¹⁹

In his younger brother Su Zhe's account, Su Shi was calm before his death. He told his three sons, "I have done no evil in my life, and I will definitely not fall [into the lower realms] after I die. Do not cry and make it mournful."²²⁰ In another record from the Song, Su Shi's calmness before death is again shown, and he is so calm that it is almost despairing: When his Buddhist friend Weilin 惟琳 (n.d.) reminded him not to forget about being reborn in the Western Paradise, he said, "It is not that there is no Western Paradise, but I can no longer exert my inner strength" (西方不無, 但箇裏著力不得). Another friend Qian Shixiong 錢世雄 (n.d.) said that he had been practicing religiously and that he needed to try harder at this point to be reborn in Western Paradise. Su Shi replied, "It would be wrong to try hard" (著力即差).²²¹

Song scholar Wang Zongji 王宗稷 (n.d.), Su Shi considered living somewhere in the region of Huai 淮 and Zhe 浙 (roughly the present day Anhui and Zhejiang provinces), and later considered going to Yingzhou 潁州 (in the present day Anhui province), where his younger brother Su Zhe lived. Later, he decided to go to Changzhou and borrowed a residence there. See *The Comprehensive Annotation of The Collection of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2585.

²¹⁹ Su Shi crossed the sea and left the island in the sixth month of the third year of the Yuanfu 元符 reign (1100) and arrived in Changzhou in the sixth month of the following year. See Kong 1998, fasc. 39, 1340 and fasc. 40, 1406. For more details on his travel in Zhenzhou and Changzhou, see *The Comprehensive Annotation of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2582-85. Zhenzhou is in the present day Jiangsu province.

²²⁰ This is from the epitaph for Su Shi written by Su Zhe, "An Epitaph for [My] Deceased Brother Zizhan [Who Was] the Duanming [Palace] Scholar" (*Wangxiong Zizhan duanming muzhiming* 亡兄子瞻端明墓誌銘). See *The Latter Collection of Luancheng (Luancheng houji 樂城後集)* 2009, fasc. 22, 1421, "吾生無惡, 死必不墜。慎無哭泣以怛化。"

²²¹ This record quoted here is from *The Chronicle of Dongpo (Dongpo Jinianlu 東坡紀年錄)* compiled by Fu Zao 傅藻 (n.d.) in the Song. See *The Comprehensive Annotation of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2586. Su Shi's interactions with Weilin and Qian Shixiong in the year before his death are much recorded in his poems and letters, including deciding on the destination of his return to the north. See Kong 1998, fasc. 40, 1388-1419, for more information. A simplified edition of this event is recorded in "A Postscript to Li Zhi's Essay of Condolence To Dongpo" (*Ba Li Zhi diao Dongpo wen* 跋李豸弔東坡文) by the Northern Song Chan master Juefan Huihong 覺範慧洪 (1071-1128). See *The Lettered Chan of the Stone Gate (Shimen wenzi chan 石門文字禪)* 1929, fasc. 27, 18.

Writings in The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan

Dreams

“Dreams” is a recurring theme in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. For example, in “A Eulogy for the Manifestation of Guanyin Bodhisattva in a Dream” (*Yingmeng guanyin zan* 應夢觀音贊) and “A Record of the Manifestation of an Arhat in a Dream” (*Yingmeng luohan ji* 應夢羅漢記), Su Shi recounted dreams where Guanyin Bodhisattva and an arhat manifested themselves.²²² In “A Hymn for Response to Kong Zijun” (*Da Kong Zijun song* 答孔子君頌) and “A Portrait-Eulogy Dedicated to Haiyue Bian'gong” (*Haiyue Bian'gong zhenzan* 海月辯公真贊), he described his own dreams as part of the response and eulogy.²²³ In “A *Gāthā* on the Portrait of the Previous Life of Wang Jinqing” (*Wang Jinqing qianshengtu jie* 王晉卿前生圖偈) and the *gāthā* part of “A Record for the Sutra Hall at the Shengxiang Monastery” (*Shengxiang yuan jingcang ji* 勝相院經藏記), Su Shi briefly discussed dreams using Buddhist concepts.²²⁴

This section will focus on “An Inscription for the Canliao Spring” (*Canliaoquan ming* 參寥泉銘) and “An Inscription for the Studio of Dream” (*Mengzhai ming* 夢齋銘), which are two longest works in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* discussing “dreams” with various Buddhist concepts. Both were written during Su Shi's later years.

²²² See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 59-60, 213; see also *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 12, 394.

²²³ See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 38-39, 92-95; see also *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 20, 592, and fasc. 22, 638. Su Shi's dream described in “A Portrait-Eulogy Dedicated to Haiyue Bian'gong” is discussed in Chapter 1.

²²⁴ See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 126-27, 196-201; see also *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 12, 388-390.

In “An Inscription for the Canliao Spring” (*Canliaoquan ming* 參寥泉銘), Su Shi discusses the relationship between dreams and reality, believing that they are non-dual. This writing was from 1091, at a time when Su Shi’s political career was proceeding well. He was about to end his tenure as the prefect of Hangzhou and leave for the position of *Hanlin* Academy Scholar (*hanlin xueshi* 翰林學士) at the Court.²²⁵ The discussion was led by a dream he had nine years before, when he had been in exile in Huangzhou and his Buddhist friend Canliao 參寥 (1043-1106) traveled from Hangzhou to visit him.²²⁶

When I was exiled in Huangzhou, Canliaozi visited me from thousands *li* away and stayed with me in the eastern town of Huangzhou for a whole year. I once travelled with him to the mountains in the west of Wuchang.²²⁷ At that time, I dreamed that we composed poems together, with lines such as “Cold Food” (*hanshi* 寒食), “Clear and Bright” (*qingming* 清明),²²⁸ “spring between the rocks,” and “the flame of burning the wood of pagoda trees.” The language was very beautiful, but I did not know what they were about. Seven years later, I served as the prefect of Qiantang (Hangzhou), and Canliaozi was also there. The next year, he chose to reside in the Zhiguo Monastery. In the following

²²⁵ See *The Comprehensive Annotation of Su Shi’s Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2558.

²²⁶ For more information about Canliao, see CBETA, *Additions to the Continuations of the Memoirs of Eminent Monks* (*Bu xu gaoseng zhuan* 補續高僧傳), fasc. 23, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/X77n1524_p0520b20?q=參寥子傳&l=0520b20&near_word=&kwic_around=30. Canliao and Su Shi had a close relationship, and he frequently appears in Su Shi’s writings. In the account of *Additions to the Continuations of the Memoirs of Eminent Monks*, Canliao was returned to lay life as a result of his correspondence with Su Shi during Su’s exile in the south.

²²⁷ Wuchang is in the present day Hubei provinces and is close to Huangzhou.

²²⁸ “Cold Food” (*Hanshi* 寒食) and “Clear and Bright” (*Qingming* 清明) are Chinese festivals in spring. “Clear and Bright” (*Qingming* 清明) is also a solar term. It is known as “Tomb Sweeping Day” as a festival.

year, a new residence was built [in the monastery]. I came there to bid farewell as I was about to leave the town on the Cold Food Day. Down to the residence, there is a spring that used to flow out between the rocks. This month, the rocks were cut open and the spring became clearer. Canliaozi collected new tea leaves, started a fire, boiled spring water, and made tea. [I] laughed and said, “These [all] appeared in my dream nine years ago. It has been a long time since Master Wei found it bizarre.”²²⁹ Everyone sighed in disillusionment, and they looked as if they knew their destiny and had nothing to ask for. Then I named it “Canliao Spring” and made the inscription for it as follows:

The rain from the sky and the rivers and lakes on earth are all composed of the four great elements. Great as Canliao [Spring] is, with a snap of the fingers, it can reach [all] eight directions of extreme distances. Retreating to this spring, its humility is a great benefit to others. I learned the Buddha-truth late in life and [realized that] my being is a dream. Reality is the dream, and the dream is reality. After nine years, the “spring between the rocks” and “the flame of burning the wood of pagoda trees” [in my dream] were verified [in reality]. What kind of mysteries are you searching for? This would be really damaging to your spirit.

²²⁹ “Master Wei” (*Wei gong* 衛公) refers to Wei Jie 衛玠 (286-312). He was confused by figuring out the origin of dreams. See *A New Account of the Tales of the World (Shishuo xinyu 世說新語)* 2013, 80. For the full anecdote, see note 235.

予謫居黃，參寥子不遠數千里，從余于東城，留暮年。嘗與同遊武昌之西山，夢相與賦詩，有寒食清明，石泉槐火之句。語甚美，而不知其所謂。其後七年，余出守錢塘，參寥子在焉。明年，卜智果精舍居之。又明年，新居成，而余以寒食去郡，實來告行。舍下舊有泉，出石間，是月又鑿石得泉，加冽。參寥子擷新茶鑽火煮泉而瀹之。笑曰，是見於夢九年，衛公之為靈也久矣。坐人皆悵然太息，有知命無求之意。乃名之為參寥泉，為之銘曰：

在天雨露，在地江湖。皆我四大，滋相所濡。偉哉參寥，彈指八極。退守斯泉，一謙四益。予晚聞道，夢幻是身。真即是夢，夢即是真。石泉槐火，九年而信。夫求何伸，實弊汝神。²³⁰

In this writing, Su Shi's dream was manifested in reality after nine years. From this, he comprehended that there was no difference between dreams and reality, and this leads to the implication of "knowing the destiny and having nothing to ask for" (知命無求). In the Confucian context, "knowing the destiny" (*zhiming* 知命), better known as "knowing the mandate," is a virtue for becoming a gentleman (*junzi* 君子), so that one can take up their mission and realize their ambition.²³¹ However, in Su Shi's elaboration of the relationship between dreams and reality, "knowing the destiny" (*zhiming* 知命) has a sad undertone of the disillusionment of dreams and

²³⁰ See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 161-63; see also *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 19, 566-67. In *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts*, it is written as "夫求何神." I follow this version in my translation.

²³¹ See *The Analects of Confucius* 2006, 190: "Confucius said, 'If one does not know the mandate, one cannot become a gentleman. If one does not know the ritual, one cannot establish oneself. If one does not know words, one cannot understand people' (孔子曰: "不知命, 無以為君子也。不知禮, 無以立也。不知言, 無以知人也。)" It is also referred to as "knowing the mandate of Heaven" (*zhi tianming* 知天命) elsewhere in the *Analects*.

subsequently, one “has nothing to ask for.” In the end, Su Shi says that if one is fascinated by the mysteries of dreams and tries to figure them out, one is only damaging their spirit in vain, since dreams and reality are non-dual.

In addition, this writing also shows the close relationship between Su Shi and Canliao. During his exile in Huangzhou, Canliao came all the way to accompany him for a year; Su Shi named the spring after Canliao and described in the inscription the grand transformation of the spring from the four great elements (just like the rain, rivers, and lakes), as well as its humility of retreating to become a spring in the Zhiguo Monastery, which is also a tribute to Canliao.

In “An Inscription for the Studio of Dream” (*Mengzhai ming* 夢齋銘), written around 1097 when he was in exile in Huizhou, Su Shi again discusses dreams.²³² “The Studio of Dream” was the name of the studio of Su Shi’s Buddhist friend Fazhi 法芝 (n.d.). In “An Inscription for the Studio of Dream,” Su Shi composed the narrative (*xu* 敘) part for the studio during Fazhi’s visit to him in Huizhou, after Su Zhe had made the inscription (*ming* 銘) part.²³³ In this writing, Su Shi explores the non-dual relationship between dreaming and being awake:

²³² The Qing scholar Wang Wengao 王文誥 (1764-?) notes that Su Shi composed this writing in the eleventh month in the third year of the Shaosheng reign; Kong Fanli believes that it should be the first month in the fourth year of the Shaosheng reign. See *The Complete Records of the Compilation and Annotations of the Poems of Master Wenzhong [Whose Family Name Was] Su (Su Wenzhonggong shi bianzhu jicheng zongan* 蘇文忠公詩編注集成總案) 1985, fasc. 40, 8; Kong 1998, fasc. 36, 1238.

²³³ This was Fazhi’s second visit to Su Shi during his Huizhou exile. In the autumn of the second year of Shaosheng (1095), about one year after Su Shi’s exile to Huizhou, Fazhi came to visit him and stayed for ten days. See Kong 1998, fasc. 34, 1210. Wang Wengao believes that the inscription part was made by Su Zhe in the previous year. See *The Complete Records of the Compilation and Annotations of the Poems of Master Wenzhong [Whose Family Name Was] Su* 1985, fasc. 40, 8; Kong 1998, fasc. 36, 1238.

The sages do not dream. Some people would say, “The King Gaozong, the King Wuwang, and Confucius all dreamed.”²³⁴ The Buddha dreams too. Dreaming is not different from being awake, and being awake is not different from dreaming; dreaming is being awake, and being awake is dreaming. Is this the reason why it says the sages do not dream?” Wei Jie asked Yue Guang about [the origin of] dreams, and Guang responded that “it is what people have in mind.” [Wei Jie] said, “What people dream about is something that they have never encountered physically and spiritually [when they are awake]. How could it be what they have in mind?” [Yue Guang] replied, “It is causality.”²³⁵ Some people asked about the meaning of causality. The Layman Dongpo says: The mind of people of the world is generated from the objects and is not ever independent. There is no thought-moment cessation in the generation and elimination of the objects. Between dreaming and waking, the object transmits to the other object. After several transmissions, it loses its origin, and people think [what they dream about] is what they have not encountered physically and spiritually [when they are awake]. Is this not the causality [resulting from the

²³⁴ There are several “*Gaozong* 高宗” and “*Wuwang* 武王” before Su Shi’s time. But the context suggests that Su Shi is referring to King Gaozong of the Shang dynasty 商 (roughly 16th-11th centuries BCE), Wu Ding 武丁 (?-1192 BCE), King Wuwang of the Western Zhou dynasty 西周 (1046 BCE-771 BCE), and Ji Fa 姬發 (1076 BCE-1043 BCE). They are also regarded by the Confucian classics as the great rulers of the pre-Qin period.

²³⁵ The full anecdote is as follows: “When Wei Jie was a child, he asked Yue Guang who served as assistant minister about [the origin of] dreams. Yue Guang replied, ‘It is what people have in mind.’ Wei Jie said, ‘What people dream about are something that they never encountered physically and spiritually [when they are awake]. How could it be what they have in mind?’ Yue Guang said, ‘It is causality. People would never dream of taking a carriage into a mouse hole or pounding garlic to feed an iron pestle. It is because [these things have never happened when they are awake, and thus] such thoughts will not be caused and develop in their mind.’ Wei Jie thought about ‘causality’ but could not figure it out all day long, so he became sick. After hearing this, Yue Guang ordered a carriage to take him to Wei Jie and explained it to him. Wei Jie thus got a little better. Yue Guang sighed, ‘This kid will never develop a serious illness in his mind.’” (衛玠總角時問樂令夢，樂云，是想。衛曰，形神所不接而夢，豈是想邪。樂云，因也。未嘗夢乘車入鼠穴，搗薑噉鐵杵，皆無想無因故也。衛思因，經日不得，遂成病。樂聞，故命駕為剖析之，衛既小差。樂嘆曰，此兒胸中當必無膏肓之疾)。 See *A New Account of the Tales of the World* 2013, 80.

transmission of the object to another object]? There was a man who slept after shepherding. From the sheep he thought of horses, from horses he thought of chariots, from chariots he thought of covers, and thus he dreamed of curved covers of chariots and ceremonial bands of the guard of honor. [Accompanied by the guard of honor,] he became a nobleman. Shepherds and noblemen are very far apart. But when thinking about the causality between them, there is nothing strange about it. [I,] the Layman met Fazhi in a dream. I wished [to have associations with him], and [when I woke up] in the morning, it came true. It has been twenty-four years now, and I have seen him five times.²³⁶ Every time we see each other, we look at each other and smile, not knowing where we are, what day it is, and who we are. [I] inscribed the studio in which Fazhi lives with “Studio of Dream,” and Ziyou made an inscription for it as follows:²³⁷

The Dharma body fills [the Dharma realm] entirely, and there is no distinction everywhere; the illusory body is false, and where it reaches is not real. I

²³⁶ For details of the five meetings between Su Shi and Fazhi, see *The Complete Records of the Compilation and Annotations of the Poems of Master Wenzhong [Whose Family Name Was] Su* 1985, fasc. 40, 8.

²³⁷ The order in which Su Zhe made the inscription, Su Shi made the narrative part, and Su Shi inscribed the Studio of Dream is confusing. But both Su Zhe’s own narrative for the inscription he composed and Wang Wengao’s annotation indicate that Su Shi inscribed the studio (presumably with his calligraphy on a plaque). See *The Latter Collection of Luancheng* 2009, fasc. 5, 1197, “My older brother Zizhan [Su Shi] inscribed the two characters the ‘Studio of Dream’” (予兄子瞻作‘夢齋’二字); *The Complete Records of the Compilation and Annotations of the Poems of Master Wenzhong [Whose Family Name Was] Su* 1985, fasc. 40, 8, “Probably the Master had inscribed the “Studio of Dream” on the plaque before” (蓋公向已為作夢齋榜). Based on Su Zhe and Su Shi’s narrative for the inscription part Su Zhe composed, Wang Wengao suggests that Su Shi inscribed the “Studio of Dream” first, and then Su Zhe composed the inscription part when Fazhi visited him in Gaoan 高安 (in present-day Jiangxi 江西 province), which was then named as “A Hymn for the Studio of Dream” (*Mengzhai song* 夢齋頌). Su Shi wrote this narrative when Fazhi visited him in Huizhou to elaborate on the meaning of Su Zhe’s writing, changed the genre “hymn” to “inscription,” and discarded the narrative that Su Zhe had composed previously. See *The Complete Records of the Compilation and Annotations of the Poems of Master Wenzhong [Whose Family Name Was] Su* 1985, fasc. 40, 8, “蓋公向已為作夢齋榜。俾所至懸之，未有說也。曇秀過高安，子由為之頌。公至是見之，復伸其頌中所蓄之意，發而為敘，因改頌為銘，而棄其原敘。”曇秀 Tanxiu refers to Fazhi. The previous narrative made by Su Zhe is as follows: “The excellent personage Tanxiu wandered around without settling, [so] my older brother Zizhan inscribed the two characters the ‘Studio of Dream’ to name the room where Tanxiu arrives. [I] made a hymn for it as follows” (曇秀上人遊行無定，予兄子瞻作‘夢齋’二字名其所至居室，為作頌曰：…). See “A Hymn for the Studio of Dream” (*Mengzhai song* 夢齋頌) in *The Latter Collection of Luancheng* 2009, fasc. 5, 1197.

observe people of the world who live in non-reality. They regard when they are awake as real and when they are asleep as being in dreams. What they dream about, they cling to [find connections with] what they encounter when they are awake. Their [deluded] obsessions accumulate firmly and become as high as hills. If they see the Dharma body, then they would know that [the distinction between] being awake and being asleep is not real. Knowing that it is not real, then [the distinction between] being awake and being asleep wouldn't arise. [Fazhi] roams around, but the studio [he lives in] does not move. [He travels] in all four directions, south, north, east, and west, and his Dharma body remains as it has always been.

至人無夢。或曰，高宗武王孔子皆夢，佛亦夢。夢不異覺，覺不異夢。夢即是覺，覺即是夢。此其所以為無夢也歟。衛玠問夢於樂廣，廣對以想。曰，形神不接而夢，此豈想哉。對曰，因也。或問因之說。東坡居士曰，世人心因塵而有，未嘗獨立也。塵之生滅，無一念住。夢覺之間，塵塵相授。數傳之後失其本矣，則以為形神不接，豈非因乎。人有牧羊而寢者，因羊而念馬，因馬而念車，因車而念蓋，遂夢曲蓋鼓吹，身為王公。夫牧羊之與王公亦遠矣。想之所因，豈足怪乎。居士始與芝相識於夢中，旦以所夢求而得之，今二十四年矣，而五見之。每見輒相視而笑，不知是處之為何方，今日之為何日，我爾之為何人也。題其所寓室曰夢齋，而子由為之銘曰：

法身充滿，處處皆一。幻身虛妄，所至非實。我觀世人，生非實中。以寤為正，以寐為夢。忽寐所遇，執寤所遭。積執成堅，如丘山高。若見法身，寤寐皆非。知其皆非，寤寐無為。遨遊四方，齋則不遷。南北東西，法身本然。²³⁸

One of the main points of the inscription made by Su Zhe is the distinctions that people of the world hold between being awaking and sleeping, and with that, between the real and dreams. If Su Shi's writing is an elaboration on the meaning of the inscription, as suggested by Wang Wengao,²³⁹ Su Shi begins by echoing Su Zhe's idea through the words of "some people": "Dreaming is not different from being awake, and being awake is not different from dreaming; dreaming is being awake, and being awake is dreaming," which is a mimic of the description of the non-duality of "form" (*se* 色) and "emptiness" (*kong* 空) in the *Heart Sūtra*.²⁴⁰

Next, Su Shi discusses in large part the "causality" between what people dream of and what happens when they are awake. He uses the example of the shepherd who dreamed of becoming a nobleman to answer the question that bothered Wei Jie: what happens when people are awake and what they dream of may seem far apart, but in fact they are linked by the unceasing mind of people of the world. Although "causality" is well explained, "causality," which is the unceasing mind between what

²³⁸ See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 155-57; see also *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 19, 575-76.

²³⁹ See note 233, 237.

²⁴⁰ See CBETA, *Bo're boluomiduo xin jing* 般若波羅蜜多心經, fasc. 1, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T08n0251_p0848b19?q=般若波羅蜜多心經&l=0848b19&near_word=&kwic_around=30, "Form is not different from emptiness and emptiness is not different from form; form is emptiness and emptiness is form" (色不異空, 空不異色, 色即是空, 空即是色).

is dreamed of and what happens while awake, is just a series of cognitive activities caused by “the object transmit[ting] to the other object” (塵塵相授). Moreover, if one attaches oneself to figuring out this process, one will only have their “deluded obsessions accumulate firmly and become as high as hills,” as Su Zhe points out in the inscription. In Su Shi’s view, the “object” (*chen* 塵) is what give rise to the mind of people of the world (世人心因塵而有), and in the context of his writing, the cognitive activities between dreaming and waking. In the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*, there is a similar description of “mind” as arising from the object: when Ānanda showed his mind to the Buddha, the Buddha told him that it was just “the deluded perception of the present objects” (前塵虛妄相想) that confused his true nature.²⁴¹

In the following part of his writing, Su Shi does not elaborate further on the non-duality of dreaming and being awake. But his depiction of his acquaintance and interaction with Fazhi—they met in a dream, and every time they see each other, they were unconscious of the perception of place, time, and self, and they were in a state of neither dream or being awake—shows that to him there is no distinction between dreaming and being awake.

²⁴¹ See CBETA, *Dafoding rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhupusa wanxing shou lengyan jing* 大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經, fasc.1, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T19n0945_p0106a27?q=大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經&l=0106a27&near_word=&kwic_around=30, “咄！阿難！此非汝心…此是前塵虛妄相想惑汝真性。”

Karma

In a letter of reply to an old friend,²⁴² Su Shi responded to his friend's idea about “bad karma” and explained his own thoughts on the pervasive existence of karma:

[You] wrote to me that living in the world, if one is able to be safe and stable without illness, have simple clothes to wear and have enough to eat, and not create bad karma, that would be the greatest satisfaction. [I] thought about these words over and over again and sighed with profound emotion. [No matter what] people in the world do, [even if it is just] lifting a foot or raising a thought, there is nothing that does not develop karma. It is not only killing an innocent person or taking something that is not their own that creates bad karma. [I] do not have the opportunity to discuss this [with you] in person, [so] just take [this letter] as a laugh.

來書云，處世得安穩無病粗衣飽飯不作冤業，乃為至足。三復斯言，感歎無窮。世人所作，舉足動念，無非成業，不必刑殺無罪，取非其有，然後為冤業也。無緣面論，以當一笑而已。²⁴³

²⁴² See the opening of the complete text of this letter in *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 56, 1671, “It has been more than ten years since we separated without realizing it. I did not expect that [you, my] old friend, would still remember me, and write to me from far away with such a deep concern for me” (忽奉別十餘年，不謂故人尚爾記錄，遠枉手教，存問甚厚).

²⁴³ See “A Letter Reply to Bi Zhongju” (*Da Bi Zhongju shu* 答畢仲舉書), in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 274-76; see “Two [Letters] Reply to Bi Zhongju (Huangzhou)” (*Da Bizhongju ershou, Huangzhou* 答畢仲舉二首，黃州) in *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 56, 1671-1672.

This letter was written in 1080,²⁴⁴ the beginning of his exile in Huangzhou. In the letter, Su Shi mentions that the exile offered him leisure time to read Buddhist sutras and that he gained a better understanding than before, as discussed earlier in this chapter. He also modestly declares that his knowledge of Buddhism is shallow. According to Su Shi's reply, his friend believes that not creating bad karma, which supposedly does not lead to evil retribution, is the greatest satisfaction of life. But Su Shi presents a more comprehensive view of karma. He points out that it is pervasive: any slight deed, thought or word of people in the world has consequences. Although there is a distinction between good and evil consequences resulting from the moral qualities of the deed, thought, or word, even if one avoids killing, stealing or other evil deeds, one cannot stop their deeds, thoughts, or words from constantly generating effects, and therefore cannot escape from cyclic existence.

In a hymn dedicated to Amitābha Buddha, in which Su Shi wishes that his late parents may dwell in the Western Paradise, he states that he has been creating beginningless karma and it was generated from a single-thought moment:

The Buddha fills worlds as numerous as the sands of the Ganges with great perfect enlightenment, and I emerge and submerge in the cycle of birth and death with distorted cognition. How could I be reborn into the Pure Land with [merely] an invocation [of Amitābha Buddha's name]? The beginningless karma I have been creating was originally generated from a single thought-

²⁴⁴ See Kong 1998, fasc. 19, 488.

moment. Since it was generated from a single thought, it should be eliminated by a single thought. When both generation and elimination no longer exist, then I could be the same as the Buddha.

佛以大圓覺充滿河沙界，我以顛倒想出沒生死中。云何以一念得往生淨土。我造無始業，本從一念生。既從一念生，還從一念滅。生滅滅盡處，則我與佛同。²⁴⁵

Su Shi believes that his “distorted cognition” makes it difficult for him to seek rebirth in the Pure Land by simply reciting the name of Amitābha Buddha. Moreover, the karma he creates is beginningless and is generated from a single thought-moment. Su Shi’s wording reminds us of the description of the “beginningless distorted cognition” in the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*: “The beginningless cognitive distortions that all sentient beings have, are just like a lost person mistaking the original positions of the four directions. They erroneously regard the four great elements as their original bodily form, and the six objects apprehended by cognition as their corporeal heart.”²⁴⁶ In this light, the distorted cognition is the delusion that distorts suchness. The *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* connects the beginningless cognitive distortion with karma, believing that the former causes sentient beings to create all

²⁴⁵ See *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, 18-19; see also *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 20, 585. Other parts of this eulogy are discussed in Chapter 1 here, in the discussion of Su Shi and Pure Land Buddhism.

²⁴⁶ See CBETA, *Dafanguang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyi jing* 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經, fasc.1, https://betaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T17n0842_p0913a24?q=大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經&l=0913a24&near_word=&kwic_around=30, “一切眾生從無始來種種顛倒，猶如迷人四方易處，妄認四大為自身相，六塵緣影為自心相。”

kinds of karma.²⁴⁷ In this writing, Su Shi uses “beginningless” to describe the karma he creates, and believes that it was generated from “a single thought-moment” (*yinian* 一念), which according to the context can be understood as a distorted thought that distorts suchness. This corresponds with the causality presented in the *Śūrangama Sūtra*. Su Shi points out that since his beginningless karma generates from a single thought-moment, it needs to be eliminated by a single thought-moment. Not only that, but when both generation and elimination cease to exist, he will be able to stop creating karma, stop suffering in the cycle of birth and death, and thus attain Buddhahood.

In another writing also from 1080, Su Shi specifically discusses the karma of words he creates. It is a record for the newly built sutra hall at the Shengxiang Monastery (*Shengxiang yuan* 勝相院) in Chengdu, which was close to Su Shi’s hometown, Meishan. The abbot of the Shengxiang Monastery, Weijian, had close associations with Su Shi’s father and Su Shi himself.²⁴⁸ At that time, Su Shi was already in Huangzhou, so Weijian sent his disciple Wuqing 悟清 (n.d.) to Huangzhou to ask for this writing.²⁴⁹ At the beginning of the writing, Su Shi describes the magnificence and ornamentation of the repository for the Dharma treasure. He then describes how people were giving alms and he wished to follow, but found he had

²⁴⁷ See CBETA, *Dafoding rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhupusa wanxing shou lengyan jing* 大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經, fasc.1, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T19n0945_p0106a27?q=大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經&l=0106a27&near_word=&kwic_around=30, “The beginningless cognitive distortion of all sentient beings [causes them to create various kinds of karma. Therefore,] the karmic seeds are naturally linked together [with mental disturbances and suffering]” (一切眾生從無始來種種顛倒, 業種自然如惡又聚).

²⁴⁸ For more information about Weijian, see CBETA, *Additions to the Continuations of the Memoirs of Eminent Monks* (*Bu xu gaoseng zhuan* 補續高僧傳), fasc. 23, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/X77n1524_p0517c04?q=二寶月大師&l=0517c04&near_word=&kwic_around=30.

²⁴⁹ See Kong 1998, fasc. 19, 486-87.

nothing to give except his karma of words:

Those who saw and heard of it at the time were eager to give alms. The rich gave of their wealth, the strong gave of their strength, and the skillful gave of their skills. They all relinquished what they were attached to and all kinds of afflictions to participate in the buddha-work, in order to be freed from the sea of suffering that is filled with affliction, turbidity, and evil. There is a layman whose ancestors were from Shu,²⁵⁰ and he has great affinities with this *bhikṣu*. He left his homeland and wandered in the regions between the Changjiang and Huai rivers. When he heard that this *bhikṣu* was participating in such buddha-work, he wanted to follow others and relinquish what he was attached to and his afflictions. He searched his whole person and his home for something to offer, but there was no such thing—just like the sprout of a burnt grain, like a child of a barren woman. He did not have a single thing to hand out. He muttered to himself, “All I have now is the beginningless karma of words that I have been creating: producing false and ornate words, and discussing right and wrong, the success and failure of the past and the present. Because of this karma, the words generated are as pleasing to the ears and eyes as the sound of bells and chimes, and as gorgeous as splendid patterns. Just like a person who is fond of gambling, [they think] they win every day, [but in fact] they become poorer day by day; I thought it was ingenious, but I did not know that it was karma. Today

²⁵⁰ Both Meishan and Chengdu are in the Shu 蜀 region, in the present day Sichuan province.

I relinquish this karma by making a *gāthā* on the repository for precious treasures. I hope that after making this *gāthā*, I will not [create any more karma of words] in this life, and that [all the karma of words] in my futures lives will be eliminated; that all kinds of karma, worldly affinities, delusions, and all noumenal hindrances will be cut off forever, and that in all lifetimes, I will not cling to this and abandon that, not hate this and cherish that, not permit this and prohibit that.”

時見聞者，皆爭施舍。富者出財，壯者出力，巧者出技，皆捨所愛及諸結業，而作佛事，求脫煩惱濁惡苦海。有一居士，其先蜀人，與是比丘有大因緣。去國流浪在江淮間。聞是比丘作是佛事，即欲隨眾捨所愛習。周視其身及其室廬，求可捨者，了無一物。如焦穀芽，如石女兒，乃至無有毫髮可捨。私自念言，我今惟有無始以來結習口業，妄言綺語，論說古今是非成敗。以是業故，所出言語，猶如鐘磬，黼黻文章，悅可耳目。如人善博，日勝日負。自云是巧，不知是業。今捨此業，作寶藏偈，願我今世作是偈已，盡未來世。永斷諸業塵緣妄想及諸理障。一切世間，無取無捨，無憎無愛，無可無不可。²⁵¹

Su Shi was exiled to Huangzhou for writing poems that were considered offensive to the Court. He thus may have a more direct understanding of the karma of

²⁵¹ See *A Record for the Sutra Hall at the Shengxiang Monastery* (*Shengxiang yuan jingcang ji* 勝相院經藏記), in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 196-201; see also *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 12, 388-90.

words at this time. After he was convicted for his words, he had planned to stop writing.²⁵² In a letter to Weijian, he said, “You have repeatedly asked me to write an inscription for the sutra hall. Since I had recently stopped writing, I did not want to compose it. But you wrote to request this, and Wuqing urged me day and night, so I finished and asked Wuqing to bring it to you.”²⁵³ In this record for the sutra hall, he also states that he wishes to relinquish the karma of words, and that he hopes not to continue it in this life and future lives. But apparently, he did not stop writing in this life; rather, as discussed earlier, his literary achievement reached a new peak during the Huangzhou exile. Nevertheless, whether in his letters to friends or in this record for the sutra hall, his fear of the possible consequences of words was evident at the beginning of Huangzhou exile, and his intention to stop writing did not seem to be just false. But the fear and intention to stop writing seem to be more directly derived from the obvious consequences in reality than from Buddhist subtle theories about “the karma of words”: In a letter to a friend that mentions his writing for the sutra hall, Su Shi notes, “The monk from Shu got my writing and returned. My misdeeds have increased again. I feel very grateful but ashamed ... Since I was convicted, I have not dared to write anything. ‘The Record of the Sutra Hall’ is full of the sangha’s words, so there is no reason for others to incubate [political charges against me], therefore I dared to write it.”²⁵⁴

²⁵² See “Sixty-Eight [Letters] to Teng Dadao” (*Yu Teng Dadao liushibashou* 與滕達道六十八首), no. 15, in *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose texts* 1986, fasc. 51, 1481, “得罪以來，未嘗敢作文字。”

²⁵³ See “Five [Letters] to Master Baoyue” (*Yu Baoyue dashi wushou* 與寶月大師五首), no. 3, in *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 61, 1888, “屢要經藏碑，本以近日斷做文字，不欲作。既來書丁寧，又悟清日夜煎督，遂與作得寄去。”

²⁵⁴ See “Sixty-Eight [Letters] to Teng Dadao” (*Yu Teng Dadao liushibashou* 與滕達道六十八首), no. 15, in *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 51, 1481, “蜀僧遂獲大字以歸，不肖增重矣。感怍之至…得罪以

Buddhism and Confucianism

One of Su Shi's significant identities is that of a Confucian scholar. When expounding Buddhist ideas, Su Shi often blended Confucian thought, as can be seen in his writings in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. Due to his affinity with Buddhist ideology, Su Shi's scholarship is criticized by Zhu Xi as "not pure Confucian learning."²⁵⁵ Zhu Xi's judgement is based on his particular standpoint, but it also reflects the prominence of the integration of Confucianism and Buddhism in Su Shi's thought. Moreover, by examining Su Shi's writing in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, we find that the emphasis on the similarities between Buddhism and Confucianism was particularly evident in his later years.

In a funeral oration written in 1091 for Longjing Biancai, an eminent Tiantai master in Hangzhou, Su Shi says, "Confucius and Laozi share different gates; Followers of Confucius and the Buddha share different temples...I see the ocean, which has different directions of north, south, and east. Although there are different rivers and streams, they all end at the same destination."²⁵⁶ In a record written in 1101

來，未嘗敢作文字。《經藏記》皆伽語，想醞釀無由，故敢出之。” Teng Dadao 滕達道 (1020-1090) was a statesman in the Northern Song.

²⁵⁵ This criticism can be found from correspondence between Zhu Xi and Wang Yingchen 汪應辰 (1118-1176), in which they discuss "Su's scholarship" (*Su xue* 蘇學). See *The Collection of Essays of Zhu Wengong [Who Was] Master Hui'an (Hui'an xiansheng Zhu Wengong wenji 晦庵先生朱文公文集)* fasc. 30, 1300, "As for Wang and Su, they both regarded Buddha and Laozi as saints. Their [learning] is not pure Confucian learning" (至於王氏、蘇氏，則皆以佛、老為聖人，既不純乎儒者之學矣). "Wang shi" (王氏) refers to Wang Anshi. Wang Anshi showed interest in Buddhism in his later years. Zhu Xi further criticizes Su Shi that "his cleverness in making far-fetched arguments, as well as his ability to discuss [issues] such as what the Buddha's teaching calls 'attaining Buddhahood' and Laozi's [teachings], are beyond the reach of Wang" (其穿鑿附會之巧，如來教所稱輪成佛、說老子之屬，蓋非王氏所及). See *The Collection of Essays of Zhu Wengong [Who Was] Master Hui'an* 2002, fasc. 30, 1304. Zhu Xi's criticism of Su Shi in various other aspects can be found in his correspondences with Wang Yingchen; see *The Collection of Essays of Zhu Wengong [Who Was] Master Hui'an* 2002, fasc. 30, 1300-04.

²⁵⁶ See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 253-54, "孔老異門，儒釋分宮...我見大海，有北南東。

for the abbot of Nanhua Monastery (*Nanhua si* 南華寺), during Su Shi's return to the north,²⁵⁷ he uses the similarities between Confucianism and Buddhism as the main topic.²⁵⁸ In this record, he first describes the difficulty of attaining Buddhahood, and then quotes Confucian philosophers Master Zisi 子思子 (483-402 BCE) and Mencius 孟子 (372-289 BCE) to show that it is not only for Buddhism that attaining the Way (*dao* 道) is difficult, "this is the case for both Confucianism and Buddhism."²⁵⁹

In 1094, shortly after his exile to Huizhou, he named his residence the Studio of Thinking Purely (*Siwuxie zhai* 思無邪齋), which was taken from the *Analects*.²⁶⁰ He then composed a writing for the studio, in which he compared "original enlightenment" (*benjue* 本覺) in Buddhism and "thinking purely" (*siwuxie* 思無邪) in Confucianism to better understand the former, and claimed that he had attained the Way:

The Layman Dongpo asked Ziyou about the Dharma, and Ziyou replied with the words of Buddha: "Original enlightenment is definitely illuminated [by itself]; [if one tries to] illuminate their mind [through external efforts], that is ignorance." [I,] the Layman, delightfully perceived it from the words of

江河雖殊，其至則同”；see also *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 63, 1961. This writing is also discussed in chapter one here, when examining the Tiantai school.

²⁵⁷ See Kong 1998, fasc. 40, 1374.

²⁵⁸ See "A Record for the Name Inscription for the Abbot of the Nanhua Monastery" (*Nanhua zhanglao timing ji* 南華長老題名記), in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 220, "I took the discussion of the coincidental similarities between Confucius and the Buddha's [teachings as the topic] and made this record" (乃為論儒釋不謀而同者，以為記). Also see this writing in *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 12, 393-94.

²⁵⁹ See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 218-19, "儒與釋皆然"; see also *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 12, 393.

²⁶⁰ See *The Comprehensive Annotation of The Collection of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2570.

Confucius, which says, “There are three hundred pieces in the *Book of Odes*, which can be summarized in one sentence, that is thinking purely.” To have thought is depraved, but to have no thought is like ashes and wood. What could I do to have only [my innate] thinking but no thoughts [on objects], so that I could attain the Way? Then I put on my scarf [and dressed formally], sat up straight and did not speak all day long. My eyes were wide open, but I could not see anything; I collected my mind and conducted mindfulness, and I did not have any thought. Thus I attained the Way.

東坡居士，問法於子由，子由報以佛語曰，本覺必明，無明明覺。居士欣然有得於孔子之言曰，詩三百，一言以蔽之，曰思無邪。夫有思皆邪也，無思則土木也。吾何自得道，其唯有思而無所思乎。於是幅巾危坐，終日不言，明目直視，而無所見。攝心正念，而無所覺。於是得道。²⁶¹

Ziyou (Su Zhe)’s reply can be found in the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*, in which it discusses the illumination of original enlightenment itself, and the fact that it would be delusional to brighten it by external efforts.²⁶² Su Shi found a similarity between this concept and the Confucian notion of “thinking purely” (*siwuxie* 思無邪): innate thinking is an inherent faculty, and not reliant on external objects. Therefore, it is attainable to “having only innate thinking” but “no thoughts on objects.” “*Siwuxie*”

²⁶¹ See *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, 152-53; see also *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 19, 574-75.

²⁶² See CBETA, *Dafoding rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhupusa wanxing shou lengyan jing* 大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經, fasc.4, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T19n0945_p0119c02?q=大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經&l=0119c02&near_word=&kwic_around=30, “性覺必明，妄為明覺。”

(思無邪) can be interpreted in other ways, such as in the more literal sense of “thinking without depraved thoughts.” But Su Shi draws inspiration from Buddhism and has his own interpretation of it, and claims that he has attained the Way.

In a writing from 1095,²⁶³ Su Shi once again uses “thinking purely” (*siwuxie* 思無邪) to perceive the Buddhist concept of the unconditioned dharma (*wuweifa* 無為法). He begins with “the Buddha attains the supreme correct enlightenment by having nothing to attain” (如來得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提，曰以無所得故而得).²⁶⁴ Then he uses the analogy of forgetting the voice to learn to speak and forgetting the pen to learn to write, to draw a conclusion from the *Diamond Sūtra* that “all sages are different from the ordinary people because they have obtained the unconditioned dharma”.²⁶⁵

Using what I know, [I can] deduce the unknown. When infants [are taught to] speak after birth, and to write when they are a little older, their mouths must forget their voices in order to learn to speak; their hands must forget the pen in order to learn to write. This is what I know. If their mouths could not forget their voices, then speaking would be even more difficult than writing a text; if their hands could not forget the pens, then writing and drawing would be even more difficult than engraving. [In this way,] when one forgets all [the

²⁶³ See *The Comprehensive Annotation of The Collection of Su Shi's Poetry* 2001, Appendix One, 2572.

²⁶⁴ See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 201, “A Record for the New Sutra Hall in the Chongde Chan Monastery in Qianzhou” (*Qianzhou Chongde chanyuan xin jingcang ji* 虔州崇德禪院新經藏記). Also see *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 12, 390-91, for this writing.

²⁶⁵ See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 203, “故金剛經曰，一切聖賢皆以無為法，而有差別”；see also *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 12, 390.

conditions they depend on], then all of a sudden, one becomes unself-conscious of their appearance, schemes, interactions with others, and changes in everything. To those who are unable to achieve this state, such superior wisdom, which is subtle and magnificent, is as transcendent as that of the Buddha. Therefore, it is said in the *Diamond Sūtra*, that “all sages are different from the ordinary people because they have obtained the unconditioned dharma.”

以吾之所知，推至其所不知。嬰兒生而導之言，稍長而教之書。口必至於忘聲，而後能言。手必至於忘筆，而後能書。此吾之所知也。口不能忘聲，則語言難於屬文。手不能忘筆，則字畫難於雕刻。及其相忘之至，則形容心術，酬酢萬物之變，忽然而不自知也。自不能者觀之，其神智妙達，不既超然與如來同乎。故金剛經曰，一切聖賢，皆以無為法而有差別。²⁶⁶

Here Su Shi explains the unconditioned dharma by comparing it to the process in which people learn to speak and write by forgetting the conditions of depending on their voices to speak and on pens to write. In other words, if one is too self-conscious of the sounds one makes, one cannot speak naturally; if one is too self-conscious of the pen, one cannot write naturally. Nevertheless, he says he is not a Buddhist and

²⁶⁶ See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 202-03; see also *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 12, 390.

does not know how to attain the unconditioned dharma in the Buddhist way. Then, as in the previous writing, he again looks to “thinking purely” (*siwuxie* 思无邪) for inspiration, and applies almost the same words:

I am not a disciple of Buddha, and I do not know where to enter [the method of attaining the unconditioned dharma]. I only heard it from Confucius, saying, ‘There are three hundred pieces in the *Book of Odes*, which can be summarized in one sentence, that is thinking purely.’ To have thought is a false view, but to equate good and evil and have no thought is like [merely being] ashes and wood. How can I have thought but not have false views, and have no thought but not be like ashes and wood?

吾非學佛者，不知其所自入。獨聞之孔子曰，詩三百，一言以蔽之，曰思無邪。夫有思皆邪也，善惡同而無思，則土木也。云何能使有思而無邪，無思而非土木乎。²⁶⁷

Su Shi does not further elaborate on the question he poses, but says he wants to spend his few remaining years to “lodge in the temple of the Buddha and sangha, read all the sutras, and comprehend Buddha’s implication” with the “mind of having nothing to think about,” so that he can “attain enlightenment by having nothing to

²⁶⁷ See *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, 203; see also *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 12, 390.

attain.”²⁶⁸ At this point, “thinking purely” (*siwuxie* 思無邪) and “have nothing to think about” (*wusuosi* 無所思) that derived from “thinking purely” are applied in a different way from the previous writing. In the previous writing, “*wusuosi* 無所思,” better to be understood as “have no thoughts on objects,” is used to emphasize “thinking” as an innate faculty as well as its independence from the external, and thus establish the connection between innate thinking and original enlightenment (*benjue* 本覺) in a Buddhist context. In this writing, “*wusuosi* 無所思,” better understood as “have nothing to think about,” is used to emphasize a sense of emptiness that comes from being independent from conditions, as shown by the unconditioned dharma in the *Diamond Sūtra*. In Su Shi’s view, by having the mind of “having nothing to think about,” he could better comprehend the Buddha’s teaching of the unconditioned dharma and therefore “attain [the supreme enlightenment] by having nothing to attain” (以無所得故而得).

It is evident from the above discussion that in his later years, Su Shi tended to emphasize the common ground between Buddhism and Confucianism, and to integrate them. An important basis for this feature of his thought is the cultural context in the Northern Song, with its acceptance of Buddhism and its promotion of the integration of Buddhism and Confucianism, as examined in chapter one. Similarly, the criticism of the excessive Buddhist involvement in Su Shi’s thought in later times is largely grounded in a rejection of Buddhism itself.

²⁶⁸ See *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* 2010, 203-04, “嗚呼，吾老矣，安得數年之暇。托於佛僧之宇，盡發其書，以無所思心會如來意。庶幾於無所得故而得者”；see also *The Collection of Su Shi’s Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 12, 390.

Another important condition for Su Shi's integration of Buddhism and Confucianism is, of course, his proficiency in both. His engagement with and devotion to Buddhism has been much discussed in this thesis. But to comprehend Su Shu more fully, we need to know that he was also a diligent Confucian scholar. For example, during his exile in Huangzhou, Huizhou, and Danzhou, he devoted himself not only to Buddhism but also to the exegesis of Confucian classics.²⁶⁹ But this is not the full picture. Su Shi was well versed in Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism, and he did not confine himself to any single ideology while often integrating them with his own insights. In particular, as this chapter shows, the exiles after the 1080s led him to a deeper connection with Buddhism, which contributed further to the richness and complexity of his thought. This is as Su Zhe commented on him:

Afterwards, he was in exile in Huangzhou. He closed the door and stopped socializing... Later, he read the Buddha's texts and deeply perceived the reality-nature; combined with [the teachings of] Confucius and Laozi, his eloquence was unimpeded, and [his knowledge] was profound and boundless.

既而謫居於黃，杜門深居...後讀釋氏書，深悟實相，參之孔老博辯無礙，浩然不見其涯也。²⁷⁰

²⁶⁹ For more details, see Wang and Zhu 2004, 92-95; 125-26; Hargett 2004, 4-22.

²⁷⁰ See "An Epitaph for [My] Deceased Brother Zizhan [Who Was] the Duanming [Palace] Scholar" (*Wangxiong Zizhan duanming muzhiming* 亡兄子瞻端明墓誌銘), in *The Latter Collection of Luancheng* 2009, fasc. 22, 1421-22.

This chapter has analyzed Su Shi's writings in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* according to three themes—dreams, karma, and Buddhism and Confucianism—to examine Su Shi's life, his engagement with Buddhism in different stages in his life, and his interpretation of Buddhist concepts such as karma, non-duality, the unconditioned dharma, and original enlightenment. Due to space constraints, I have focused just on these three themes; however, these are far from the entirety of what is covered in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. For example, emptiness and Buddhist devotion are also two themes that are shown in many of the writings in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*: The theme “emptiness” can be found in “A Record for the Studio of Tranquility and Permanence” (*Jingchangzhai ji* 靜常齋記), “A Record for the Marvelousness- Observation Hall” (*Guanmiaotang ji* 觀妙堂記), “A Hymn for A Fish-Skull Cap” (*Yuzhengan song* 魚枕冠頌), and “A Eulogy for the Six-Observation Hall” (*Liuguantang zan* 六觀堂贊), with different focuses.²⁷¹ The theme “devotion” can be found in a few series of eulogies, such as “Eulogies Dedicated to the Arhats” (16 pieces) (*Luohan zan* 羅漢贊), “Eulogies Dedicated to the Sacred Portraits of the Water-Land Retreat” (16 pieces) (*Shuilufaxiang zan* 水陸法像贊), and “Returning from the South Sea, [I] Passed by the Baolin Monastery in Qingyuan Gorge and Devoutly Dedicated Eulogies to the Eighteen Arhats Painted by Chanyue” (18 pieces) (*Zi nanhai hui guo Qingyuanxia Baolinsi jingzan Chanyue suohua shiba da aluohan* 自南海歸過清遠峽寶林寺敬贊

²⁷¹ See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 223-24, 220-22, 37-38, 101-02, for these four writings, respectively; see also *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 12, 363, fasc. 12, 404, fasc. 20, 593, fasc. 21, 607-08, for these four writings, respectively.

禪月所畫十八大阿羅漢).²⁷² In future research, I hope to investigate these and other

²⁷² See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 62-68, 68-76, 76-83, for these three eulogy-series, respectively; see also *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, fasc. 22, 624-26, fasc. 22, fasc. 22, 631-35, fasc. 22, 626-30, for these three eulogy-series, respectively. It is worth noting that, in Xu and Ling's editions of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, the content and order of the 16 pieces of "Eulogies Dedicated to the Arhats" (*Luohan zan* 羅漢贊) differ. In Ling's edition, the first eight pieces correspond to the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 6th, 10th, 13th, 14th, and 15th pieces in Xu's edition. The last eight of the 16 pieces of "Eulogies Dedicated to the Arhats" in Ling's edition cannot be found among the 16 pieces in Xu's edition. Above the third piece in Ling's edition, which is the first point of divergence between Xu and Ling's editions, Feng Mengzhen's annotation explains the source of the eight replaced pieces in Ling's edition and the reason for the substitutions: "The old edition mistakenly reused the ninth of the eulogies [in "Returning from the South Sea, I Passed by the Baolin Monastery in Qingyuan Gorge and Devoutly Dedicated Eulogies to the Eighteen Arhats Painted by Chanyue"] here, which was dedicated to the noble [Arhat] Gopaka painted by Chanyue... Now referring to the "complete collection" for correction (舊本誤重用後禪月所畫九戒博迦尊者贊...今攷全集正之). See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 63, for Feng's annotation. First, Feng's annotation reveals the reason for replacing eight of the 16 pieces in Xu's edition is the repetitive inclusion of pieces from the "Returning from the South Sea, [I] Passed by the Baolin Monastery in Qingyuan Gorge and Devoutly Dedicated Eulogies to the Eighteen Arhats Painted by Chanyue" (*Zi nanhai hui guo Qingyuanxia Baolinsi jingzan Chanyue suohua shiba da aluohan* 自南海歸過清遠峽寶林寺敬贊禪月所畫十八大阿羅漢). It should be noted that, the content and order of the 18 pieces of this eulogy-series ("Returning from the South Sea...") in Xu and Ling's editions are identical. Although eight pieces of Xu's edition have been replaced, only six of them are repetitions of the 6 pieces from the 18 pieces of the eulogy-series ("Returning from the South Sea..."). In addition to Feng Mengzhen's identification of the third piece in Xu's edition as a repetition of the ninth piece from the 18 pieces of the eulogy-series ("Returning from the South Sea"), piece no. 5, no. 7, no. 9, no. 12, and no. 16 in Xu's edition are all repetitions of piece no. 2, no. 12, no. 17, no. 11, no. 16, respectively, from the 18 pieces of this eulogy-series. Feng Mengzhen also notes each of these repetitions respectively in his annotations. Second, Feng Mengzhen's annotation reveals that the basis for the modifications in Ling's edition is the "complete collection" (*quanji* 全集). Further research is needed to determine which specific "complete collection" Feng refers to. An influential and widely circulated "complete collection" during that time was "*The Complete Collection of Master Wenzhong [Whose Family Name Was] Su*" (*Su Wenzhonggong quanji* 蘇文忠公全集) compiled by Mao Wei 茅維 (1575-?1645) in 1606 (For information about the publication time of this collection, see Chen 2018, 366). However, according to Ling Mengchu's colophon of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, Feng's annotations were made in 1603. Therefore, there should be another "complete collection" predating Mao Wei's "complete collection" that Feng refers to. However, examining the content and order of the 16 pieces of "Eulogies Dedicated to the Arhats" (*Luohan zan* 羅漢贊) in both *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986 and *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts with Collation and Annotation* (*Su Shi wenji jiaozhu* 蘇軾文集校注) in *The Complete Collection of Su Shi's Works with Collation and Annotation* (*Su Shi quanji jiaozhu* 蘇軾全集校注) 2010 provides a clue to explore the possible source of Xu's edition of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* for the future studies. The base text for *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts with Collation and Annotation* in *The Complete Collection of Su Shi's Works with Collation and Annotation* 2010 is the *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986 (see *The Complete Collection of Su Shi's Works with Collation and Annotation* 2010, vol. 10, "The General Rule of *The Collation and Annotation of The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts*" *Su Shi wenji jiaozhu fanli* 蘇軾文集校注凡例, 1), and the content and order of the 16 pieces of "Eulogies Dedicated to the Arhats" in these two collections are consistent, as well as with the content and order of the 16 pieces of "Eulogies Dedicated to the Arhats" in Ling's edition. See *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts with Collation and Annotation* in *The Complete Collection of Su Shi's Works with Collation and Annotation* 2010, fasc. 22, 2435-39, for the 16 pieces of "Eulogies Dedicated to the Arhats." In the annotation of the 16 pieces of "Eulogies Dedicated to the Arhats" in *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, comparing them with the 16 pieces of "Eulogies Dedicated to the Arhats" in an edition published in 1468 of *The Latter Collection* (*Houji* 後集), which is one of the collections of *The Seven Collections of Dongpo* (*Dongpo qiji* 東坡七集), the first eight in the 16 pieces of this eulogy-series here correspond to the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 6th, 10th, 13th, 14th, and 15th of the 16 pieces of "Eulogies Dedicated to the Arhats" in the 1468 edition of *The Latter Collection*. This is consistent with the differences of the 16 pieces of "Eulogies Dedicated to the Arhats" between Xu and Ling's editions. Considering that the Xu edition was printed in 1590, the edition of *The Seven Collections of Dongpo* published in 1468, or at least *The Latter Collection* among the seven collections, could be one of its sources. For more information about the 1468 edition of *The Seven Collections of Dongpo*, see *The Collection of Su Shi's Prose Texts* 1986, "Notes on Annotation and Collation" (*Dianjiao shuoming* 點校說明), 7. *The Seven Collections of Dongpo* has existed since the Southern Song, and throughout its circulation, has undergone the loss and changes of its texts. However, six of its collections, including *The Latter Collection*, were compiled by Su Shi himself during his lifetime, as also mentioned in Su Zhe's epitaph for Su Shi. Therefore, the overall reliability of *The Seven Collections of Dongpo* is generally considered higher. For more information about *The Seven Collections of Dongpo*, see *The Complete Collection of Su Shi's Works with Collation and Annotation* 2010, "Preface" (*Qianyan* 前言), 46-50, also see Chen

themes in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* further for a more thorough understanding of Su Shi's life, his involvement with Buddhism, and the differing receptions of his Buddhist activities in the Song through Ming dynasties.

2018, 342-90. For a reference to the six collections written and compiled by Su Shi himself during his lifetime in his epitaph written by Su Zhe, see *The Latter Collection of Luancheng (Luancheng houji 樂城後集)* 2009, fasc. 22, 1422, “[During his lifetime, he wrote] 40 fascicles of *Dongpo ji (The Collection of Dongpo)*, 20 fascicles of *Houji (The Latter Collection)*, 15 fascicles of *Zouyi (Discussions and Reports)*, 10 fascicles of *Neizhi (Academy Drafts)*, 3 fascicles of *Waizhi (Government Policy Drafts)*. His poems were initially similar to Li Bai 李白 (701-762) and Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770), and in his later years, he liked Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (?365-427). He made corresponding ‘Matching-Tao’ poems of almost all of Tao’s poems, which resulted in a total of 4 fascicles ” (有東坡集四十卷，後集二十卷，奏議十五卷，內制十卷，外制三卷。公詩本似李杜，晚喜陶淵明，追和之者幾遍，凡四卷). These became the six collections of *The Seven Collections of Dongpo (Dongpo qiji 東坡七集)*: *The Collection of Dongpo (Dongpo ji 東坡集)*, *The Latter Collection (Houji 後集)*, *Discussions and Reports (Zouyi 奏議)*, *Academy Drafts (Neizhi 內制)*, *Government Policy Drafts (Waizhi 外制)*, *Matching-Tao Poems (He Tao shi 和陶詩)*. For the translation of *neizhi* 內制 and *waizhi* 外制, I am following Michael Fuller. See Fuller 1990, 311.

Conclusion

This thesis examined the text and context of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, a collection mainly consisting of Su Shi's Buddhist writings, which was compiled in two editions in the late Ming. From the Northern Song to the late Ming, this collection bridges two periods spanning almost six centuries. An examination of the context of Northern Song Buddhism shows how the central government supported Buddhism, how Buddhism was supervised from the central to the local level, and how it developed with various schools and traditions largely integrated. These are the contexts in which Su Shi was able to engage closely with Buddhism, associate with his Buddhist friends, and establish deep connections with the teachings when faced with the turbulence and suffering of his life.

The texts in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* written by Su Shi are, on the one hand, a reflection of the contexts we examined, as well as a demonstration that the word "Chan" 禪 in the title of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* has little relevance to the context of the Northern Song Buddhism. On the other hand, they provide a closer picture of Su Shi's involvement with Buddhism. Through the lenses

of Su Shi himself and the late Ming editors, we see various connections between Su Shi and Buddhism in his writings in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. These connections include his understanding of Buddhist doctrines and concepts, his critique of certain practices, his interactions with Buddhist masters, and the use of Buddhist rituals in his life. Su Shi's life was rich in accomplishments and diverse identities, yet it was accompanied by constant turbulence. Even though it is filtered through the medium of words and the lens of late Ming editors, we still see his multifaceted identities portrayed in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, surpassing just the image of a devoted lay Buddhist. Moreover, through the fragments of Su Shi's various literary personas presented in these Buddhist writings, we glimpse a despondent image of him in his later years, after experiencing one exile after another.

The investigation of the late Ming literati's compilation of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* is partly a study of the reception of Su Shi. *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* itself is a lens through which we can gain insight into how late Ming literati perceive Su Shi's Buddhist engagement. Moreover, the collection's origin and evolution, including the inclusion and removal of the added and removed fascicles, helps show the reception of Su Shi from the Song to the Ming. *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* is part of the broader trend of the promotion of Su Shi in the literary field in the late Ming. An examination of this trend reveals that the literary appeal to late Ming literati was a manifestation of their pursuit of free expression of personal emotions, as well as the separation from state affairs. Similarly, their interest in the capacity of the individual's mind, which owes much to the

popularity of Wang Yangming's School of Mind, is embodied in their involvement with Buddhism, especially Chan Buddhism. This is as another part of what the investigation of the compilation of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* shows us: the great interest in Chan Buddhism of late Ming literati was largely due to the promotion of the innate mind of the individual in Chan texts, and the romanticized image of the iconoclasm of Chan that they fantasized. In this light, late Ming literati gave "Chan" a broader connotation that went beyond its sectarian Buddhist context, as shown by the title of and their commentaries in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*.

In order to obtain a deeper study of Su Shi, his Buddhist activities, the reception of Su Shi from the Song to the Ming, and the Buddhist and cultural contexts in the Northern Song and late Ming, future research on *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* can be conducted in the following aspects.

First, the texts written by Su Shi in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* need to be more fully analyzed, since this part is the heart of the content of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* and is a relatively abundant presentation of Su Shi's Buddhist writings. Following the approach of this thesis, more themes that are covered in Su Shi's own writings in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* need to be examined. For example, as mentioned in Chapter 4, "emptiness" and "Buddhist devotion" are two other Buddhist-related themes that are shown in a large number of his writings in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*. Similar to "dreams" and "karma," "emptiness" is an important, but very broad, subject in Buddhism. By

analyzing Su Shi's writings in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* that address emptiness, we can see his various interpretations of it. By an examination of Su Shi's writings on his "Buddhist devotion," we are able to see his involvement in specific devotional cults, which is rarely addressed in this thesis. For instance, his two series of eulogies dedicated to the Arhats, which respectively consists of 16 and 18 pieces in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, are well worth studying.²⁷³ In addition to examining more themes covered by *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, there are other methods of approaching Su Shi's texts in it. For example, classifying Su Shi's writings by genre would reflect the original editorial approach to Su Shi's own writings in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan*, which the second edition of *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* carried over. Furthermore, the genre of the texts affects what we see. For instance, the literary persona of Su Shi we perceive would be different in a hymn he dedicated to the Bodhisattva than in a personal letter he wrote to a friend. Another possible approach would be to classify the texts according to time periods. Based on Su Shi's involvement with Buddhism in different stages of his life, as studied in Chapter 4, I suggest that it can be divided into four periods: before the 1080s when his identity as a statesman was visible; the Huangzhou exile, when he experienced his first major frustration in life; the Yuanyou reign, during which his political career was smooth after the significant setback of Huangzhou exile; and the exiles to Huizhou-Danzhou until his death. Through the quantity and content of his

²⁷³ Several major works have been done on the arhat cult in China. For English-language scholarship on the arhat cult in China, see, for example, Joo 2007a, 2007b. Also see Bloom 2013, 2016, 2017. For an older but influential work, see de Visser 1923.

Buddhist writings at different periods, we can gain a more comprehensive picture of how his Buddhist engagement varies according to the turbulence in his life.

Second, the texts written by literati and monks after Su Shi's time included in *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* need to be studied to examine the reception of Su Shi from the Song to the Ming, in particular, different opinions of Su Shi's Buddhist engagement from different standpoints. These texts can be divided into three categories. The first category is the inscription made by Lu Shusheng, the foreword made by Chen Jiru, and the colophon made by Tang Wenxian. In contrast to the colophon made by Ling Mengchu examined in Chapter 2, Lu, Chen, and Tang all conveyed their views on Su Shi and his Buddhist involvement in the inscription, foreword, and colophon they composed. The second category is a fascicle called "Chronicles of the Joy of Chan" (*Chanxi jishi* 禪喜紀事) included in both editions, with Ling's edition adding seven pieces to Xu's edition.²⁷⁴ This fascicle consists of commentaries and anecdotes about Su Shi and his Buddhist engagement mostly made by literati and monks in the Song and the Ming. For example, some pieces are from "Night Talks in a Cold Chamber" (*Lengzhai yehua* 冷齋夜話), a collection written by the eminent Northern Song monk Huihong. And quite a few pieces are from a Song collection "The Comprehensive Collection of Poetry Talks" (*Shihua zonggui* 詩話總龜) compiled by Ruan Yue 阮閱 (fl. 1085-1123), as well as a Ming collection "Additional Records of Visiting the West Lake" (*Xihu youlan zhiyu* 西湖遊覽志餘)

²⁷⁴ There are 32 pieces in Xu's edition. Ling added one piece to his edition as the 26th, and added another six pieces at the end of the fascicle, including two pieces from "Records of Notes by Dongpo" (*Dongpo Zhilin* 東坡志林) and one piece from *The Unofficial Records of Su Zhanggong* (*Su Zhanggong waiji* 蘇長公外紀), making a total 39 pieces in his edition. But the table of contents of this fascicle in Ling's edition says that this fascicle contains 32 pieces. See *The Collection of Dongpo's Joy of Chan* 2010, 291.

compiled by Tian Rucheng 田汝成 (1503-1557). In addition, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the relations between this fascicle and the fascicle “*Dhyāna*” (*Channa* 禪那) in Wang Zhizhen’s *The Unofficial Records of Su Zhanggong* (*Su Zhanggong waiji* 蘇長公外紀) need to be further studied. The third category is the commentaries in Ling’s edition of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* made by Feng Mengzhen and other late Ming literati including Li Zhi, Wang Shengyu, and Chen Jiru.

Third, the transmission of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* to Japan in the late 17th century needs to be investigated. In 1689, the second year of the Genroku 元祿 reign (1688-1704) in the Edo 江戸 period (1603-1867), *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* was printed by Nakano Hakugen 中野伯元 (n.d.) in Rakuyō 洛陽 (Kyōto 京都). Although both Xu and Ling’s editions were available at that time, this Japanese edition was printed from the nine-fascicle edition of Xu.²⁷⁵ As Jiang suggests, this edition preserves Xu’s original edition, which is difficult to find in mainland China (Jiang 2010, 195). Research on this edition would allow us to explore the reception of Su Shi in Japan, as well as the Buddhist and cultural transmission between China and Japan in the 17th century. Overall, these aspects for future research can further reveal the richness of the understudied *Collection*, and enable deeper understanding of the diverse cultural contexts it reflects.

²⁷⁵ See https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/ha05/ha05_00528/index.html for the full content of *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* printed in 1689 in Japan.

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Appendix

Note: “Xu Changru’s edition” referred to here is from CBETA, and “Ling Mengchu’s edition” is *The Collection of Dongpo’s Joy of Chan* (*Dongpo chanxi ji* 東坡禪喜集) 2010, consistent with the thesis. The order of each item in the Xu and Ling editions follows the sequence of items in CBETA and the *Dongpo chanxi ji* 2010.

The First Fascicle in Xu Changru’s Edition	The First Fascicle in Ling Mengchu’s Edition	<i>Su Shi wenji</i> 蘇軾文集 1986
<i>Shijiawenfo song</i> 釋迦文佛頌	<i>Shijiawenfo song</i> 釋迦文佛頌, 17-18	<i>Shijiawenfo song</i> 釋迦文佛頌, fasc. 20, 586
<i>Amitufofo song</i> 阿彌陀佛頌	<i>Amitufofo song</i> 阿彌陀佛頌, 18-19	<i>Amitufofo song</i> 阿彌陀佛頌, fasc. 20, 585
<i>Guanyin pusa song</i> 觀音菩薩頌	<i>Guanyin pusa song</i> 觀音菩薩頌, 20-21	<i>Guanshiyin pusa song</i> 觀世音菩薩頌, fasc. 20, 586
<i>Shikehua Weimo song</i> 石恪畫維摩頌	<i>Shikehua Weimo song</i> 石恪畫維摩頌, 21-23	<i>Shikehua Weimo song</i> 石恪畫維摩頌, fasc. 20, 584-85
<i>Shibada aluohan song</i> 十八大阿羅漢頌 (18 pieces)	<i>Shibada aluohan song</i> 十八大阿羅漢頌 (18 pieces), 23-37	<i>Shibada aluohan song</i> 十八大阿羅漢頌 (18 pieces), fasc. 20, 586-91
<i>Yu zhenguan song</i> 魚枕冠頌	<i>Yu zhenguan song</i> 魚枕冠頌, 37-38	<i>Yu zhenguan song</i> 魚枕冠頌, fasc. 20, 593
<i>Da Kong Zijun song</i> 答孔子君頌	<i>Da Kong Zijun song</i> 答孔子君頌, 38-39	<i>Da Kongjun song</i> 答孔君頌, fasc. 20, 592-93
<i>Chanxi song</i> 禪戲頌	<i>Chanxi song</i> 禪戲頌, 39	<i>Chanxi song</i> 禪戲頌, fasc. 20, 595
<i>Da Ziyou song</i> 答子由頌	<i>Da Ziyou song</i> 答子由頌, 39-40	<i>Dai Huangbo da Ziyou song</i> 代黃檗答子由頌, fasc. 20, 592
<i>Dongpo geng song</i> 東坡羹頌	<i>Dongpo geng song</i> 東坡羹頌, 40-42	<i>Dongpo geng song</i> 東坡羹頌, fasc. 20, 595

<i>Shi douzhou song</i> 食豆 粥頌	<i>Shi douzhou song</i> 食豆 粥頌, 42	<i>Shi douzhou song</i> 食豆粥 頌, fasc. 20, 594-95
<i>Zuiseng Yuan song</i> 醉僧 圓頌	<i>Zuiseng Yuan song</i> 醉僧 圓頌, 43	<i>Zuiseng Yuan song</i> 醉僧 圓頌, fasc. 20, 584

Table 1. The first fascicles in Xu and Ling's editions

The Second Fascicle in Xu Changru's Edition	The Second Fascicle in Ling Mengchu's Edition	<i>Su Shi wenji</i> 蘇軾文集 1986
<i>Rulai chushan xiang zan</i> 如來出山相贊	<i>Rulai chushan xiang zan</i> 如來出山相贊, 55	<i>Ti Wang Ai hua rulai chushan xiang zan</i> 題王 靄畫如來出山相贊, fasc. 22, 623
<i>Amitufo zan</i> 阿彌陀佛 贊	<i>Amitufo zan</i> 阿彌陀佛 贊, 55-57	<i>Amitufo zan</i> 阿彌陀佛 贊, fasc. 21, 619-20
<i>Yaoshi liuliguang fo zan</i> 藥師琉璃光佛贊	<i>Yaoshi liuliguang fo zan</i> 藥師琉璃光佛贊, 57-58	<i>Yaoshi liuliguang fo zan</i> 藥師琉璃光佛贊, fasc. 21, 620
<i>Xiufo zan</i> 繡佛贊	<i>Xiufo zan</i> 繡佛贊, 58	<i>Xiufo zan</i> 繡佛贊, fasc. 21, 621-22
<i>Jingan xianjun Xu shi xiu guanyin zan</i> 靜安縣君許 氏繡觀音贊	<i>Jingan xianjun Xu shi xiu guanyin zan</i> 靜安縣君許 氏繡觀音贊, 59	<i>Jingan xianjun Xu shi xiu guanyin zan</i> 靜安縣君許 氏繡觀音贊, fasc. 21, 621
<i>Yingmeng guanyin zan</i> 應夢觀音贊	<i>Yingmeng guanyin zan</i> 應夢觀音贊, 59-60	<i>Yingmeng guanyin zan</i> 應 夢觀音贊, fasc. 21, 620
<i>Fu dashi zan</i> 傅大士贊	<i>Fu dashi zan</i> 傅大士贊, 60-61	<i>Fu dashi zan</i> 傅大士贊, fasc. 21, 620
<i>Guanyin zan</i> 觀音贊	<i>Guanyin zan</i> 觀音贊, 61-62	<i>Guanyin zan</i> 觀音贊, fasc. 21, 620-21
<i>Luohan zan (shiliu shou)</i> 羅漢贊 (十六首) (16 pieces)	<i>Luohan zan</i> 羅漢贊 (16 pieces), 62-68	<i>Luohan zan shiliu shou</i> 羅漢贊十六首 (16 pieces), fasc. 22, 624-26
<i>Shuilu faxiang zan</i> 水陸 法相贊 (16 pieces)	<i>Shuilu faxiang zan</i> 水陸 法相贊 (16 pieces), 68- 76	<i>Shuilu faxiang zan</i> 水陸 法相贊 (16 pieces), fasc. 22, 631-35

<p><i>Zi nanhai gui guo</i> <i>Qingyuan xia Baolin si</i> <i>jing zan Chanyue suohua</i> <i>shiba da aluohan</i> 自南海 歸過清遠峽寶林寺敬贊 禪月所畫十八大阿羅漢 (18 pieces)</p>	<p><i>Zi nanhai gui guo</i> <i>Qingyuan xia Baolin si</i> <i>jing zan Chanyue suohua</i> <i>shiba da aluohan</i> 自南海 歸過清遠峽寶林寺敬贊 禪月所畫十八大阿羅漢 (18 pieces), 76-83</p>	<p><i>Zi nanhai gui guo</i> <i>Qingyuan xia Baolin si</i> <i>jing zan Chanyue suohua</i> <i>shiba da aluohan</i> 自南海 歸過清遠峽寶林寺敬贊 禪月所畫十八大阿羅漢 (18 pieces), fasc. 22, 626-30</p>
<p><i>Yuguo si yushi yuan Liuzu</i> <i>hua zan</i> 與國寺浴室院六 祖畫贊</p>	<p><i>Yuguo si yushi yuan</i> <i>Liuzu hua zan yihsou</i> 與 國寺浴室院六祖畫贊一 首, 83-86</p>	<p><i>Yuguo si yushi yuan</i> <i>Liuzu hua zan</i> 與國寺浴 室院六祖畫贊, fasc. 21, 622</p>
<p><i>Mazu pangong zhenzan</i> 馬祖龐公真贊</p>	<p><i>Mazu pangong zhenzan</i> 馬祖龐公真贊, 86-87</p>	<p><i>Mazu pangong zhenzan</i> 馬祖龐公真贊, fasc. 22, 635</p>
<p><i>Biancai dashi zhenzan</i> 辯 才大師真贊</p>	<p><i>Biancai dashi zhenzan</i> 辯 才大師真贊, 87</p>	<p><i>Biancai dashi zhenzan</i> 辯 才大師真贊, fasc. 22, 639</p>
<p><i>Sengjia zan</i> 僧伽贊</p>	<p><i>Sengjia zan</i> 僧伽贊, 87- 88</p>	<p><i>Sengjia zan</i> 僧伽贊, fasc. 21, 619</p>
<p><i>Donglin diyidai Guanghui</i> <i>chanshi zhenzan</i> 東林第 一代廣慧禪師真贊</p>	<p><i>Donglin diyidai</i> <i>Guanghui chanshi</i> <i>zhenzan</i> 東林第一代廣 慧禪師真贊, 88-89</p>	<p><i>Donglin diyidai Guanghui</i> <i>chanshi zhenzan</i> 東林第 一代廣慧禪師真贊, fasc. 22, 623-24</p>
<p><i>Kulou zan</i> 骷髏贊</p>	<p><i>Kulou zan</i> 骷髏贊, 89-90</p>	<p><i>Kulou zan</i> 骷髏贊, fasc. 21, 602</p>
<p><i>Jinshan zhanglao Baojue</i> <i>shi zhenzan</i> 金山長老寶 覺師真贊</p>	<p><i>Jinshan zhanglao Baojue</i> <i>shi zhenzan</i> 金山長老寶 覺師真贊, 90</p>	<p><i>Jinshan zhanglao Baojue</i> <i>shi zhenzan</i> 金山長老寶 覺師真贊, fasc. 22, 636</p>
<p><i>Zifu Bai zhanglao</i> <i>zhenzan</i> 資福白長老真贊</p>	<p><i>Zifu Bai zhanglao</i> <i>zhenzan</i> 資福白長老真 贊, 90-91</p>	<p><i>Zifu Bai zhanglao</i> <i>zhenzan</i> 資福白長老真 贊, fasc. 22, 636</p>
<p><i>Jingyin Yingzhao Zhenlao</i> <i>zhenzan</i> 淨因淨照臻老真 贊</p>	<p><i>Jingyin Yingzhao Zhenlao</i> <i>zhenzan</i> 淨因淨照臻老真 贊, 91</p>	<p><i>Jingyin Yingzhao Zhenlao</i> <i>zhenzan</i> 淨因淨照臻老真 贊, fasc. 22, 636-37</p>
<p><i>Wuming heshang zhuan</i> <i>zan</i> 無名和尚傳贊</p>	<p><i>Wuming heshang zhuan</i> <i>zan</i> 無名和尚傳贊, 91- 92</p>	<p><i>Wuming heshang zhuan</i> <i>zan</i> 無名和尚傳贊, fasc. 22, 639</p>

<i>Haiyue Bian'gong zhenzan</i> 海月辦公真贊	<i>Haiyue Bian'gong zhenzan</i> 海月辦公真贊, 92-95	<i>Haiyue Bian'gong zhenzan</i> 海月辦公真贊, fasc. 22, 638-39
<i>Shi zhanglao zhenzan</i> 滉長老真贊	<i>Shi zhanglao zhenzan</i> 滉長老真贊, 96	<i>Shi zhanglao zhenzan</i> 滉長老真贊, fasc. 22, 637
<i>Guang daoren zhenzan</i> 光道人真贊	<i>Guang daoren zhenzan</i> 光道人真贊, 96	<i>Guang daoren zhenzan</i> 光道人真贊, fasc. 22, 640
<i>Xiaozhuan bo're xin jing zan</i> 小篆般若心經贊	<i>Xiaozhuan bo're xin jing zan</i> 小篆般若心經贊, 96-98	<i>Xiaozhuan bo're xin jing zan</i> 小篆般若心經贊, fasc. 21, 618-19
<i>Mo'na zan</i> 磨衲贊	<i>Mo'na zan</i> 磨衲贊, 98-100	<i>Mo'na zan</i> 磨衲贊, fasc. 22, 635-36
<i>Liuguan tang zan</i> 六觀堂贊	<i>Liuguan tang zan</i> 六觀堂贊, 100-01	<i>Liuguan tang zan</i> 六觀堂贊, fasc. 21, 607-08
<i>Dongguan Zifu si laobai zansheng zan</i> 東莞資福寺老柏再生贊	<i>Dongguan Zifu si laobai zansheng zan</i> 東莞資福寺老柏再生贊, 102-03	<i>Dongguan Zifu tang laobai zansheng zan</i> 東莞資福堂老柏再生贊, fasc. 22, 637
N/A	<i>Luohan zan</i> 羅漢贊 (1 piece), 103	<i>Luohan zan</i> 羅漢贊 (1 piece), fasc. 22, 630

Table 2. The second fascicles in Xu and Ling's editions

The Third Fascicle in Xu Changru's Edition	The Third Fascicle in Ling Mengchu's Edition	<i>Su Shi wenji</i> 蘇軾文集 1986
<i>Linggan guanyin jie</i> 靈感觀音偈	<i>Linggan guanyin jie</i> 靈感觀音偈, 109-11	<i>Linggan guanyin jie</i> 靈感觀音偈, fasc. 22, 641-42
<i>Wuming heshang song guanyin jie</i> 無名和尚頌觀音偈	<i>Wuming heshang song guanyin jie</i> 無名和尚頌觀音偈, 111-12	<i>Wuming heshang song guanyin jie</i> 無名和尚頌觀音偈, fasc. 22, 642
<i>Guan Cangzhen hua budai heshang jie</i> 觀藏真畫布袋和尚偈	<i>Guan Cangzhen hua budai heshang jie</i> 觀藏真畫布袋和尚偈, 112	<i>Guan Cangzhen hua budai heshang jie</i> 觀藏真畫布袋和尚偈, fasc. 22, 646

<i>Mufeng jie</i> 木峰偈	<i>Mufeng jie</i> 木峰偈, 112	<i>Mufeng jie</i> 木峰偈, fasc. 22, 647
<i>Song Haiyin chanshi jie</i> 送海印禪師偈	<i>Song Haiyin chanshi jie</i> 送海印禪師偈, 112-14	<i>Song Haiyin chanshi jie</i> 送海印禪師偈, fasc. 22, 645-46
<i>Nanping jishui jie</i> 南屏激水偈	<i>Nanping jishui jie</i> 南屏激水偈, 114	<i>Nanping jishui jie</i> 南屏激水偈, fasc. 22, 646
<i>Foxinjian jie</i> 佛心鑿偈	<i>Foxinjian jie</i> 佛心鑿偈, 114-15	<i>Foxinjian jie</i> 佛心鑿偈, fasc. 22, 648
<i>Song fo Yingtuo jie</i> 送佛應託偈	<i>Song fo Yingtuo jie</i> 送佛應託偈, 115	<i>Song fo Yingtuo jie</i> 送佛應託偈, fasc. 22, 641
<i>Song Shoushengcong zhanglao jie</i> 送壽聖聰長老偈	<i>Song Shoushengcong zhanglao jie</i> 送壽聖聰長老偈, 115-18	<i>Song Shoushengcong zhanglao jie</i> 送壽聖聰長老偈, fasc. 22, 642-43
<i>Zhu Shouchang Liang Wu chan jie</i> 朱壽昌梁武懺偈	<i>Zhu Shouchang Liang Wu chan jie</i> 朱壽昌梁武懺偈, 118-21	<i>Zhu Shouchang Liang Wu chan jie</i> 朱壽昌梁武懺偈, fasc. 22, 643
<i>Shi'er shi zhong jie</i> 十二時中偈	<i>Shi'er shi zhong jie</i> 十二時中偈, 121	<i>Shi'er shi zhong jie</i> 十二時中偈, fasc. 22, 645
<i>Wuxiang an jie</i> 無相庵偈	<i>Wuxiang an jie</i> 無相庵偈, 122	<i>Wuxiang an jie</i> 無相庵偈, fasc. 22, 645
<i>Yushi jie</i> 玉石偈	<i>Yushi jie</i> 玉石偈, 122-23	<i>Yushi jie</i> 玉石偈, fasc. 22, 644
<i>Hanre jie</i> 寒熱偈	<i>Hanre jie</i> 寒熱偈, 123-25	<i>Hanre jie</i> 寒熱偈, fasc. 22, 647
<i>Xi da Foyin jie</i> 戲答佛印偈	<i>Xi da Foyin jie</i> 戲答佛印偈, 125	<i>Xi da Foyin jie</i> 戲答佛印偈, fasc. 22, 648 (also see <i>Su Shi shiji</i> 蘇軾詩集 1982, fasc. 48. 2666)
<i>Yangsheng jie</i> 養生偈	<i>Yangsheng jie</i> 養生偈, 125-26	<i>Yangsheng jie</i> 養生偈, fasc. 22, 648-49
<i>Wang Jinqing qianshengtu jie</i> 王晉卿前生圖偈	<i>Wang Jinqing qianshengtu jie</i> 王晉卿前生圖偈, 125-27	<i>Wang Jinqing qianshengtu jie</i> 王晉卿前生圖偈, fasc. 22, 649
<i>Youshui jie</i> 油水偈	<i>Youshui jie</i> 油水偈, 127-28	<i>Youshui jie</i> 油水偈, fasc. 22, 643
<i>Diyu bianxiang jie</i> 地獄變相偈	<i>Diyu bianxiang jie</i> 地獄變相偈, 128	<i>Diyu bianxiang jie</i> 地獄變相偈, fasc. 22, 644-45

Table 3. The third fascicles in Xu and Ling's editions

The Fourth Fascicle in Xu Changru's Edition	The Fourth Fascicle in Ling Mengchu's Edition	Su Shi wenji 蘇軾文集 1986
<i>Zhengxiang yuan shijia shelita ming</i> 真相院釋迦舍利塔銘	<i>Zhengxiang yuan shijia shelita ming</i> 真相院釋迦舍利塔銘, 133-36	<i>Zhengxiang yuan shijia shelita ming</i> 真相院釋迦舍利塔銘, fasc. 19, 578-79
<i>Guangdong Dongguanxian Zifu si shelita ming</i> 廣東東莞縣資福寺舍利塔銘	<i>Guangdong Dongguanxian Zifu si shelita ming</i> 廣東東莞縣資福寺舍利塔銘, 136-40	<i>Guangdong Dongguanxian Zifu si shelita ming</i> 廣東東莞縣資福寺舍利塔銘, fasc. 19, 580-82
<i>Nanhai jun Changle yuan xinzuo jingcang ming</i> 南海軍常樂院新作經藏銘	<i>Nanhai jun Changle yuan xinzuo jingcang ming</i> 南海軍常樂院新作經藏銘, 140-41	<i>Nanhai jun Changle yuan xinzuo jingcang ming</i> 南海軍常樂院新作經藏銘, fasc. 580
<i>Dabie fangzhang ming</i> 大別方丈銘	<i>Dabie fangzhang ming</i> 大別方丈銘, 141-42	<i>Dabie fangzhang ming</i> 大別方丈銘, fasc. 19, 579-80
<i>Baoyue dashi ta ming</i> 寶月大師塔銘	<i>Baoyue dashi ta ming</i> 寶月大師塔銘, 143-47	<i>Baoyue dashi ta ming</i> 寶月大師塔銘, fasc. 15, 467-68
<i>Fayun si zhong ming</i> 法雲寺鐘銘	<i>Fayun si zhong ming</i> 法雲寺鐘銘, 148-49	<i>Fayun si zhong ming</i> 法雲寺鐘銘, fasc. 19, 561-62
<i>Shaobo dai zhong ming</i> 邵伯埭鐘銘	<i>Shaobo dai zhong ming</i> 邵伯埭鐘銘, 149-50	<i>Shaobo dai zhong ming</i> 邵伯埭鐘銘, fasc. 19, 562
<i>Su Cheng an ming</i> 蘇程庵銘	<i>Su Cheng an ming</i> 蘇程庵銘, 150-51	<i>Su Cheng an ming</i> 蘇程庵銘, fasc. 19, 569
<i>Qingyin tang ming</i> 清隱堂銘	<i>Qingyin tang ming</i> 清隱堂銘, 151	<i>Qingyin tang ming</i> 清隱堂銘, fasc. 19, 573-74
<i>Siwuxie zhai ming</i> 思無邪齋銘	<i>Siwuxie zhai ming</i> 思無邪齋銘, 152-53	<i>Siwuxie zhai ming</i> 思無邪齋銘, fasc. 19, 574-75
<i>Tanmiao zhai ming</i> 談妙齋銘	<i>Tanmiao zhai ming</i> 談妙齋銘, 153-54	<i>Tanmiao zhai ming</i> 談妙齋銘, fasc. 19, 576
<i>Dan xuan ming</i> 淡軒銘	<i>Dan xuan ming</i> 淡軒銘, 154-55	<i>Dan xuan ming</i> 淡軒銘, fasc. 19, 577
<i>Meng zhai ming</i> 夢齋銘	<i>Meng zhai ming</i> 夢齋銘, 155-57	<i>Meng zhai ming</i> 夢齋銘, fasc. 19, 575-76

<i>Pusa quan ming yishou</i> 菩薩泉銘一首	<i>Pusa quan ming</i> 菩薩泉銘, 157-160	<i>Pusa quan ming</i> 菩薩泉銘, fasc. 19, 564-65
<i>Zhuoxi quan ming</i> 卓錫泉銘	<i>Zhuoxi quan ming</i> 卓錫泉銘, 160-61	<i>Zhuoxi quan ming</i> 卓錫泉銘, fasc. 19, 566
<i>Canliao quan ming</i> 參寥泉銘	<i>Canliao quan ming</i> 參寥泉銘, 161-63	<i>Canliao quan ming</i> 參寥泉銘, fasc. 19, 566-67
<i>Shita jieyi ming</i> 石塔戒衣銘	<i>Shita jieyi ming</i> 石塔戒衣銘, 163-64	<i>Shita jieyi ming</i> 石塔戒衣銘, fasc. 19, 589
<i>Dajue ding ming</i> 大覺鼎銘	<i>Dajue ding ming</i> 大覺鼎銘, 164-65	<i>Dajue ding ming</i> 大覺鼎銘, fasc. 19, 558

Table 4. The fourth fascicles in Xu and Ling's editions

The Fifth Fascicle in Xu Changru's Edition	The Sixth Fascicle in Ling Mengchu's Edition	<i>Su Shi wenji</i> 蘇軾文集 1986
<i>Dabei ge ji</i> 大悲閣記	<i>Dabei ge ji</i> 大悲閣記, 191-96	<i>Chengdu dabei ge ji</i> 成都大悲閣記, fasc. 12, 394-96
<i>Shengxiang yuan jingcang ji</i> 勝相院經藏記	<i>Shengxiang yuan jingcang ji</i> 勝相院經藏記, 196-201	<i>Shengxiang yuan jingcang ji</i> 勝相院經藏記, fasc. 12, 388-90
<i>Qianzhou chongde chanyuan xin jingcang ji</i> 虔州崇德禪院新經藏記	<i>Qianzhou chongde chanyuan xin jingcang ji</i> 虔州崇德禪院新經藏記, 201-05	<i>Qianzhou chongde chanyuan xin jingcang ji</i> 虔州崇德禪院新經藏記, fasc. 12, 390-91
<i>Guangzhou Zifu si luohan ge bei ji</i> 廣州資福寺羅漢閣碑記	<i>Guangzhou Zifu si luohan ge bei ji</i> 廣州資福寺羅漢閣碑記, 206-10	<i>Guangzhou Zifu si luohan ge bei ji</i> 廣州資福寺羅漢閣碑記, fasc. 12, 396-98
<i>Jiancheng chanyuan wubai luohan ji</i> 薦誠禪院五百羅漢記	<i>Jiancheng chanyuan wubai luohan ji</i> 薦誠禪院五百羅漢記, 210-12	<i>Jiancheng chanyuan wubai luohan ji</i> 薦誠禪院五百羅漢記, fasc. 12, 392-93
<i>Yingmeng luohan ji</i> 應夢羅漢記	<i>Yingmeng luohan ji</i> 應夢羅漢記	<i>Yingmeng luohan ji</i> 應夢羅漢記, fasc. 12, 394
<i>Huangzhou Anguo si ji</i> 黃州安國寺記	<i>Huangzhou Anguo si ji</i> 黃州安國寺記, 213-16	<i>Huangzhou Anguo si ji</i> 黃州安國寺記, fasc. 12, 391-92

<i>Fangzhang ji</i> 方丈記	<i>Fangzhang ji</i> 方丈記, 216-27	<i>Fangzhang ji</i> 方丈記, fasc. 12, 399
<i>Nanhua zhanglao timing ji</i> 南華長老題名記	<i>Nanhua zhanglao timing ji</i> 南華長老題名記, 217-220	<i>Nanhua zhanglao timing ji</i> 南華長老題名記, fasc. 12, 393-94
<i>Guanmiao tang ji</i> 觀妙堂記	<i>Guanmiao tang ji</i> 觀妙堂記, 220-22	<i>Guanmiao tang ji</i> 觀妙堂記, fasc. 12, 404
<i>Fayun si libai shi ji</i> 法雲寺禮拜石記	<i>Fayun si libai shi ji</i> 法雲寺禮拜石記, 222-23	<i>Fayun si libai shi ji</i> 法雲寺禮拜石記, fasc. 12, 404-05
<i>Jingchang zhai ji</i> 靜常齋記	<i>Jingchang zhai ji</i> 靜常齋記, 223-24	<i>Jingchang zhai ji</i> 靜常齋記, fasc. 12, 363
<i>Qingfeng ge ji</i> 清風閣記	<i>Qingfeng ge ji</i> 清風閣記, 224-27	<i>Qingfeng ge ji</i> 清風閣記, fasc. 12, 383
N/A	<i>Si pusa ge ji</i> 四菩薩閣記, 227-31	<i>Si pusa ge ji</i> 四菩薩閣記, fasc. 12, 385-86
N/A	<i>Dabei ge ji</i> 大悲閣記, 231-36	<i>Yanguan dabei ge ji</i> 鹽官大悲閣記, fasc. 12, 386-88

Table 5. The fifth fascicle in Xu's edition and the sixth fascicle in Ling's edition

The Sixth Fascicle in Xu Changru's Edition	The Fifth Fascicle in Ling Mengchu's Edition	<i>Su Shi wenji</i> 蘇軾文集 1986
<i>Shu Sun Yuanzhong suoshu huayan jing hou</i> 書孫元忠所書華嚴經後	<i>Shu Sun Yuanzhong suoshu huayan jing hou</i> 書孫元忠所書華嚴經後, 169-71	<i>Shu Sun Yuanzhong suoshu huayan jing hou</i> 書孫元忠所書華嚴經後, fasc. 69, 2208
<i>Shu Ruokui suoshu jing hou</i> 書若達所書經後	<i>Shu Ruokui suoshu jing hou</i> 書若達所書經後, 171-73	<i>Shu Ruokui suoshu jing hou</i> 書若達所書經後, fasc. 69, 2207-08
<i>Shu jin 'guangming jing hou</i> 書金光明經後	<i>Shu jin 'guangming jing hou</i> 書金光明經後, 173-76	<i>Shu jin 'guangming jing hou</i> 書金光明經後, fasc. 66, 2086-87
<i>Shu lengjia jing hou</i> 書楞伽經後	<i>Shu lengjia jing hou</i> 書楞伽經後, 177-80	<i>Shu lengjia jing hou</i> 書楞伽經後, fasc. 66, 2085-86

<i>Jin'gang jing bawei</i> 金剛經跋尾	<i>Jin'gang jing bawei</i> 金剛經跋尾, 180-82	<i>Jin'gang jing bawei</i> 金剛經跋尾, fasc. 66, 2087
<i>Shu Liu Zihou Dajian chanshi bei hou</i> 書柳子厚大鑿禪師碑後	<i>Shu Liu Zihou Dajian chanshi bei hou</i> 書柳子厚大鑿禪師碑後, 182-84	<i>Shu Liu Zihou Dajian chanshi bei hou</i> 書柳子厚大鑿禪師碑後, fasc. 66, 2084-85
<i>Shu Zhengxin heshang ta ming hou</i> 書正信和尚塔銘後	<i>Shu Zhengxin heshang ta ming hou</i> 書正信和尚塔銘後, 184-85	<i>Shu Zhengxin heshang ta ming hou</i> 書正信和尚塔銘後, fasc. 66, 2084
<i>Shu Huang Luzhi Li shi zhuan hou</i> 書黃魯直李氏傳後	<i>Shu Huang Luzhi Li shi zhuan hou</i> 書黃魯直李氏傳後, 185-86	<i>Shu Huang Luzhi Li shi zhuan hou</i> 書黃魯直李氏傳後, fasc. 66, 2050

Table 6. The sixth fascicle in Xu's edition and the fifth fascicle in Ling's edition

The Seventh Fascicle in Xu Changru's Edition	The Seventh to Twelfth Fascicles in Ling Mengchu's Edition	<i>Su Shi wenji</i> 蘇軾文集 1986
<i>Song Qiantang seng Sicong hui Gushan xu</i> 送錢塘僧思聰歸孤山敘	(fascicle 7) <i>Song Qiantang seng Sicong hui Gushan xu</i> 送錢塘僧思聰歸孤山敘, 239-41	<i>Song Qiantang seng Sicong hui Gushan xu</i> 送錢塘僧思聰歸孤山敘, fasc. 10, 325-26
<i>Seng Yuanze zhuang</i> 僧圓澤傳	(fascicle 8) <i>Seng Yuanze zhuang</i> 僧圓澤傳, 245-48	<i>Seng Yuanze zhuang</i> 僧圓澤傳, fasc. 13, 422-23
<i>Nanhua zhanglao Zhongbian yishi</i> 南華長老重辨逸事	(fascicle 9) <i>Nanhua zhanglao Zhongbian yishi</i> 南華長老重辨逸事, 251-53	<i>Nanhua zhanglao Zhongbian yishi</i> 南華長老重辨逸事, fasc. 66, 2053-54
<i>Ji Longjin Biancai wen</i> 祭龍井辨才文	(fascicle 9) <i>Ji Longjin Biancai wen</i> 祭龍井辨才文, 253-54	<i>Ji Longjin Biancai wen</i> 祭龍井辨才文, fasc. 63, 1961

<i>Shi tongguizi wen</i> 拾銅龜子文	(fascicle 9) <i>Shi tongguizi wen</i> 拾銅龜子文, 254-55	<i>Shi tongguizi wen</i> 拾銅龜子文, fasc. 64, 1986
<i>Qing Jingci Fayong chanshi rudu shu</i> 請淨慈法涌入都疏	(fascicle 10) <i>Qing Jingci Fayong chanshi rudu shu</i> 請淨慈法涌入都疏, 259-60	<i>Qing Jingci Fayong chanshi rudu shu</i> 請淨慈法涌入都疏, fasc. 62, 1908-09
<i>Chong qing Jie zhanglao zhu shita shu</i> 重請戒長老住石塔疏	(fascicle 10) <i>Chong qing Jie zhanglao zhu shita shu</i> 重請戒長老住石塔疏, 260-61	<i>Chong qing Jie zhanglao zhu shita shu</i> 重請戒長老住石塔疏, fasc. 62, 1911-12
<i>Guaishi gong</i> 怪石供	(fascicle 11) <i>Guaishi gong</i> 怪石供, 265-67	<i>Guaishi gong</i> 怪石供, fasc. 64, 1986-87
<i>Hou guaishi gong</i> 後怪石供	(fascicle 11) <i>Hou guaishi gong</i> 後怪石供, 267-69	<i>Hou guaishi gong</i> 後怪石供, fasc. 64, 1987
<i>Da Fan shugong shu</i> 答范蜀公書	(fascicle 12) <i>Da Fan shugong shu</i> 答范蜀公書, 273-74	<i>Da Fan shugong shiyi shou</i> 答范蜀公十一首, no. 4, fasc. 50, 1447
<i>Da Bi Zhongju shu</i> 答畢仲舉書	(fascicle 12) <i>Da Bi Zhongju shu</i> 答畢仲舉書, 274-76	<i>Da Bi Zhongju ershou</i> 答畢仲舉二首, no. 1, fasc. 56, 1671-72
<i>Da Canliao shu</i> 答參寥書	(fascicle 12) <i>Da Canliao shu</i> 答參寥書, 276-77	<i>Yu Canliao zi ershiyi shou</i> 與參寥子二十一首, no. 19, fasc. 61, 1867
N/A	(fascicle 12) <i>Xiuyang tie ji Ziyou</i> 休養貼寄子由, 277-79	<i>Yu Ziyou di shishou</i> 與子由弟十首, no. 3, fasc. 60, 1834-35

Table 7. The seventh fascicle in Xu's edition and the seventh to twelfth fascicles in Ling's edition

The Added Fascicle in Ling Mengchu's Edition (<i>Zha zhi</i> 雜誌)	<i>Dongpo zhilin</i> 東坡志林 1981	<i>Su Shi wenji</i> 蘇軾文集 1986
no. 1, 283-84	<i>Du Tanjing</i> 讀壇經, 33	<i>Lun Liuzu Tanjing</i> 論六祖壇經, fasc. 66, 2082-83
no. 2, 284-85	<i>Gai Guanyin zhou</i> 改觀音呪, 34	<i>Gai Guanyin jing</i> 改觀音經, fasc. 66, 2082

no. 3, 285-86	<i>Sengjia heguo ren</i> 僧伽何國人, 35	<i>Sengjia tongxing</i> 僧伽同行, fasc. 72, 2323-24
no. 4, 286-87	<i>Yuan Hong lunfo shuo</i> 袁宏論佛說, 35	<i>Ji Yuan Hong lunfo</i> 記袁宏論佛, fasc. 66, 2083
no. 5, 287	<i>Zeng Shao daoshi</i> 贈邵道士, 36	<i>Shu zeng Shao daoshi</i> 書贈邵道士, fasc. 66, 2083-84
no. 6, 287-88	<i>Ji Fu Fo'er yu</i> 記蘇佛兒語, 37	<i>Ji Hepu laoren yu</i> 記合浦老人語, fasc. 73, 2380-81
no. 7, 288-89	<i>Shou chanshi fangsheng</i> 壽禪師放生, 38	<i>Shou chanshi fangsheng</i> 壽禪師放生, fasc. 72, 2324
no. 8, 289-90	<i>Taohua wudao</i> 桃花悟道, 48	<i>Shu Zhang Zhangshi shufa</i> 書張長史書法, fasc. 69, 2200-01

Table 8. The added fascicle in Ling's edition²⁷⁶

²⁷⁶ Regarding the differences in the titles of these eight texts in each of the three collections, see note 174.