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A Geographic History of Song-Dynasty Chan Buddhism: The Decline of the Yunmen Lineage

ABSTRACT:

For a century during China's Northern Song era, the Yunmen Chan lineage, one of several such regional networks, rose to dominance in the east and north and then abruptly disappeared. Whereas others suggested the decline was caused by a doctrinal problem, this essay argues that the geopolitics of the Song–Jin wars were the primary cause. The argument builds upon a dataset of Chan abbots gleaned from Flame Records. A chronological series of maps shows that Chan lineages were regionally based. Moreover, Song-era writers knew of regional differences among Chan lineages and suggested that regionalism was part of Chan identity: this corroborates my assertion. The essay turns to local gazetteers and early-Southern Song texts that record the impacts of the Song–Jin wars on monasteries in regions associated with the Yunmen lineage. Finally, I consider reasons why the few Yunmen monks who survived into the Southern Song did not reconstitute their lineage, and discuss a small group of Yunmen monks who endured in north China under Jin and Yuan control.

KEYWORDS:

Chan, Buddhism, geographic history, mapping, spatial data

In 1101, the recently installed emperor Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100–1126) authored a preface for a new collection of Chan 禪 religious biographies, *Record of the Continuation of the Flame of the Jianzhong Jingguo Era* (*Jianzhong Jingguo xudeng lu* 建中靖國續燈錄, hereafter *Continuation of the Flame*).¹ The emperor praised the old “five [Chan] lineages, each excelling in a family style 五宗各擅家風,” a semimythical system promulgated by the Chan tradition itself to assert a shared identity among the ramifying branches of master-disciple relationships. Huizong’s preface

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¹ Morten Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen* (Honolulu: U. Hawai’i P., 2008), p. 13, begins with Huizong’s preface to foreground the absence of the Caodong lineage, and further discussion on pp. 24 and 81.

then described growth of the Chan family lines “just as rivers will fork and meander, and a tree’s limbs and leaves will reach out and flourish, and so today only two traditions prosper in the whole world, Yunmen and Linji 源派演迤, 枝葉扶疏, 而雲門、臨濟二宗, 遂獨盛於天下.”² The emperor named the Yunmen 雲門 as the foremost of the two Chan lineages in the known world. Merely decades later, however, it began a precipitous decline, and few today have heard of this once-important lineage network.

This essay develops a geographic history to explain the decline of the Yunmen lineage. As shown in what follows, during the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), Chan lineages existed as regional networks that persisted across generations. I challenge the still commonly-held idea that the Yunmen lineage’s disappearance was caused by a deterioration of doctrines and religious practices.³ Instead, I argue that spatially-bounded regional changes in the conditions of patronage drove its decline.

My argument about decline depends on first illustrating that Chan groups were regional networks during the Northern Song. I will use “network” to refer to the abbots who were members of a lineage as well as to the patrons of the abbots, in addition to the material investments in the public Chan abbacies that were made by patrons. Below, the important notions of network, abbacy, patronage, public, and others, are clarified in relevant contexts within my discussion. The geographic distribution of Chan abbots can be analyzed from a dataset of Chan genealogies that were provided in Song-era works generically called “Flame Records” (*deng lu* 燈錄).⁴ From this dataset, I have created maps in order to visualize the shifting geographical distribution of Chan abbots during the tenth to twelfth centuries.⁵ The shift can be

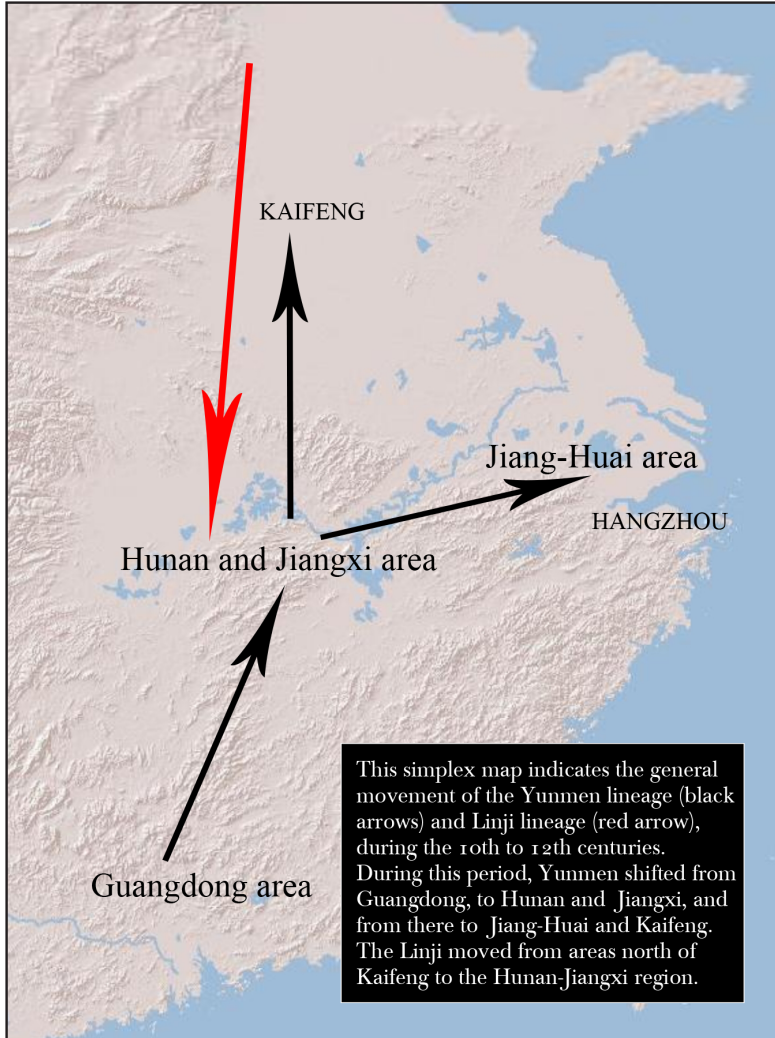
² Foguo Weibei 佛國惟白, *Jianzhong Jingguo xudeng lu* (hereafter, cited as *Xudeng lu*; in Kawamura Kōshō 河村孝照 et al., eds., *Shinsan Dai Nihon zoku zōkyō* 新纂大日本續藏經 [Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1975–1989; hereafter, ㄗㄗ]) 78.640.c8–641.A19. In the system of citations that I use, the preceding refers to vol. 78, p. 640, third register, line 8, going to p. 641, first register, line 19.

³ Important exceptions include Robert Gimello, “Mārga and Culture” in Robert Buswell and Robert Gimello, eds., *Paths to Liberation* (Honolulu: U. Hawai’i P., 1992), p. 428, nn. 76 and 77, who suspected the demise of Yunmen was correlated with the Song-Jin wars. Yang Zengwen 楊曾文, *Song Yuan Chan zong shi* 宋元禪宗史 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2006), p. 131, notes the likely role of the Jin invasions in the end of the Yunmen lineage. Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*, pp. 50–53, anticipates some arguments here.

⁴ The dataset is accessible at “Geodata for Song Dynasty Chan Abbots with Heirs - v. 1.0,” (2018), Harvard Dataverse <<https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/XANKXX>>

⁵ On Song “Flame Records,” see T. Griffith Foulk, “Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice,” in eds. Patricia Ebrey and Peter Gregory, eds., *Religion and Society in T’ang and Sung China* (Honolulu: U. Hawai’i P., 1993), pp. 151–56. On rendering *deng* as “lamp” or “flame,” see *ibid.*, p. 200, n. 20.

described briefly as follows (see map 1). The Yunmen lineage network started in the deep south, near and around modern Guangdong and southern Hunan provinces, where it remained for about sixty years.⁶



Map 1. General Movement over Time of the Yunmen and Linji Lineages

⁶ Modern province names are used in lieu of Song era circuits, except where Song-era place names are under direct discussion. I use “Jiang-Huai” to refer to the regions around the Huai and lower Yangzi rivers, parts of Jiangsu, Anhui, and Zhejiang commonly referred to as Huainan 淮南, and Jiangnan 江南, and do not use Jiang-Huai narrowly for the area only between the Huai and Yangzi.

It curved northeasterly into the Jiangxi area over the next sixty years, corresponding to the founding of the Northern Song. Finally, during the reign of emperor Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1022–1063), specifically after he took back control from the regent, empress Liu 劉后, who managed affairs from 1022–1033, the network became concentrated in eastern and northern areas of the Northern Song empire. Yunmen was then gathered in areas of modern Anhui, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang—namely, the Jiangnan and Huainan regions, which I will refer to as Jiang-Huai, as well as in the northern area of the capital city at Kaifeng 開封. At this same time, the Linji 臨濟 lineage, which had previously been based in the north, became concentrated in modern Jiangxi and Hunan.⁷ In other words, the Linji and Yunmen lineages changed places during the reign of Renzong. This new geographic pattern of patronization of abbots continued until the dramatic violence that took place during the fall of Kaifeng in 1127 and the political transition to the Southern Song (1127–1279).

One may raise doubts about using maps based on Flame Records, in part because Flame Records played a central role in the Chan “myth-making process” that by means of a spiritual genealogy connected each living Chan master to the Buddha.⁸ I will, however, show that such records are sources for a spatial history of contemporary historical actors. I will also show that during this time, other kinds of literati writings provided contemporary accounts of Chan lineages as regional phenomena. In the second half of this paper, I examine the impacts of the Song–Jin wars on those areas in which the Yunmen network had thrived. I conclude that the violence that occurred in Kaifeng, and down through eastern China into Zhejiang, was the primary cause of a disruption to the Yunmen lineage and its patrons. This sudden event was followed by unfavorable conditions for the fostering of patronage in the early Southern Song, and thus the Yunmen lineage was thought by its Song contemporaries to have come to an end in the twelfth century. Song-era Flame Records, however, excluded Chan monks in the Jin 金 dynasty (1115–1234). Given that circumstance, I continued the place-based, spatial, explanation to account for the survival of a branch of Yunmen-lineage monks in the north under the Jin and then under Mongol rule.⁹

⁷ Abe Chōichi 阿部肇一, *Zōtei Chūgoku Zenshūshi no kenkyū* 増訂中国禅宗史の研究 (Tokyo: Kenbun, 1986), pp. 217–78, noted the geographic conditions of Yunmen monks in the Northern Song, and on pp. 295–367 suggested regionalism was responsible for certain tendencies in Huanglong Linji.

⁸ T. Griffith Foulk, “The ‘Ch’an School’ and Its Place in the Buddhist Monastic Tradition,” Ph.D. diss. (U. Michigan, 1987), p. 28.

⁹ See Liu Xiao 劉曉, “Jin Yuan beifang Yunmen zong chutan” 金元北方雲門宗初探, *Lishi*

Overall, the following examination of the connections between Chan lineage groups and their associated regions offers new perspectives on the rise and fall of Chan lineages.

ON THE YUNMEN AS LINEAGE

To understand the Yunmen lineage during the Northern Song period, one must look beyond its name. The lineage claims a spiritual descent from the monk Yunmen Wenyan 雲門文偃 (862–949), who was revered for his radical teaching style and celebrated for his posthumous whole-body relic.¹⁰ Yunmen Wenyan and his heirs thrived thanks to the patronage of the Liu 劉 family that ruled the independent kingdom of Southern Han 南漢 (917–971).¹¹ They first flourished in the deep south, near and around modern southern Hunan and Guangdong provinces, then over the course of about sixty years this network curved north-easterly into the Jiangxi area, and finally, after another sixty years, it moved northerly, into areas of modern Zhejiang, Anhui, and Henan provinces. By around 1100, the Yunmen lineage was identified with China's eastern and northern regions, and neither Guangdong nor Jiangxi. A spatial history must account for changes in local and regional conditions during this period in order to illustrate the significance of this shifting regional identity.

When I say that Chan lineages were also regional networks, the model in mind is the intergenerational tendency of heirs to disperse to monasteries near their teachers. During the Song, only a master who headed a large public monastery was able to train members of the next generation of Chan masters. If a disciple became an abbot, at that time he publicly declared his genealogical identity and drew religious authority from this spiritual lineage. When viewed down through the family tree, as done in the appended maps, Northern Song Chan lineages appear to have clustered around central actors, namely, charismatic teachers who trained large numbers of future abbots, and whose students received appointments at nearby temples. This is in part because a student only achieved “full membership” in a Chan lineage when

yanjiu 歷史研究 (2010), pp. 70–82, and more recently Xing Dongfeng 邢東風, “Hongluosi sengshi xiaokao” 紅螺寺僧史小考, *Beijing shehui kexue* 北京社會科學 10 (2017), pp. 4–12.

¹⁰ On the life of Yunmen, see Urs App, “Facets of the Life and Teaching of Chan Master Yunmen Wenyan (864–949),” Ph.D. diss. (Temple U., 1989). On whole-body relics, see Justin Ritzinger and Marcus Bingenheimer, “Whole-body Relics in Chinese Buddhism,” *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies* 7 (2006), pp. 37–94. Yunmen's body was annually brought to the Southern Han capital, *ibid.*, p. 77.

¹¹ Benjamin Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs* (Honolulu: U. Hawai'i P., 2015), pp. 72–75.

appointed abbot of a Chan public monastery 十方禪院, a prerequisite for an entry in the Flame Records and inclusion in the genealogies.¹² An abbatial appointment in the public system was distinct from the managerial structure and affairs that went on at independent private temples. These independent temples were known as “vinaya temples” 律寺 because their succession was said to be regulated by vinaya codes, and selections followed a hereditary system 甲乙. Abbatial succession at private temples was controlled in-house and did not rely on the Chan lineage system associated with public monasteries. The public system was also distinct from that of merit cloisters 功德院 and tomb temples 墳寺 that were controlled by aristocratic families.¹³ Public monasteries on the other hand were state-controlled and the abbatial succession could not go to a direct hereditary heir. Instead, abbatial succession was governed by imperial laws that required subsequent appointments be given to a member of some collateral branch. Often, dharma-nephews or dharma-cousins followed one another, all belonging to different branches of a single lineage. Only direct heirs were ruled out. In addition to Chan public monasteries, the public abbatial system eventually included exclusive “public monasteries of the teachings” (*shifang jiaoyuan* 十方教院) for the Tiantai and Huayan lineages, and later on public monasteries for the revived Vinaya School (*shifang lüyuan* 十方律院). (These large monasteries dedicated to the Nanshan Vinaya lineage were distinct from the smaller independent temples known as “vinaya temples”).¹⁴ The public appointment system led to robust material support from the imperial government and coincided with the flowering of Chan culture. Under this system, a lineage could not make new “full members” without vacant public Chan abbacies and support from government officials who together with local stakeholders controlled invitations to new appointments. Patronage for heirs may have

¹² Much in this section draws on the foundational work of Morten Schlütter. On stepping “into full membership of a Chan transmission lineage” with the appointment to a public abbatial seat, see Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*, pp. 65–66, and idem, “Vinaya Monasteries, Public Abbacies, and State Control of Buddhism under the Song (960–1279),” in William Bodiford, ed., *Going Forth* (Honolulu: U. Hawai‘i P., 2005), pp. 136–60.

¹³ T. Griffith Foulk, “*Chanyuan qinggui* and Other ‘Rules of Purity’ in Chinese Buddhism,” in Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright, eds., *The Zen Canon: Understanding the Classic Texts* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2004), pp. 276–81.

¹⁴ On teachings monasteries, see Huang Ch’i-chiang “Elite and Clergy in Northern Sung Hang-chou,” in Peter Gregory and Daniel Getz, eds., *Buddhism in the Sung* (Honolulu: U. Hawai‘i P., 1999), pp. 305–10, and Huang Chi-chiang, “Üich’ön’s Pilgrimage and the Rising Prominence of the Korean Monastery in Hang-chou during the Sung and Yüan Periods,” in Robert Buswell, ed., *Currents and Countercurrents: Korean Influences on the East Asian Buddhist Traditions* (Honolulu: U. Hawai‘i P., 2005), pp. 242–76. To my knowledge, the earliest reference to a Vinaya School monastery is to Puning Temple; see *Zhiyuan ji* 芝園集 (ZZ 59.658.B5).

relied on the master's network of affiliations, and during the Northern Song at least these personal networks appear to have been effective at propagating regionally.¹⁵

The idea of a regional network departs from the "regional religious systems" proposed by Jiang Wu et al.¹⁶ The latter model emphasizes physical geography and the material circumstances of transportation, and it seeks to understand hierarchical core-periphery relationships. I use "regional," however, to emphasize the clustering of Chan lineages down through the successive genealogical generations in order to compare local situations involving both patronage and geopolitics. Chan lineages represented themselves as genealogies, or family trees. Chan masters may thus be seen as procreating when a disciple fledged from training and received his first abbatial appointment. Only a small fraction of disciples could receive abbatial appointments at one of the prestigious public monasteries, and thus extend the family tree by another generation. Generation here refers to genealogy, and not in the sense of time per se. A new generation would emerge as soon as a student became an abbot, and thus two "generations" of masters would be active at the same time. From available information, I estimate that the teachers in each generation on the family tree were actively training disciples for roughly twenty-five to thirty years. Visually speaking, each map, appended, corresponds to either two or three generations as indicated, for which an approximate span of years of activity is also indicated.

Additionally, the present study of the Yunmen lineage as having risen in prominence in mid- to late-Northern Song challenges recent interpretations of the rise of the Linji lineage, which occurred during early Song; it also connects with the recent work of Benjamin Brose. Brose fruitfully demonstrated how Chan lineage networks prospered as regional groups during the tenth-century period, in part because of the general political tendency towards independent regional governments – the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period.¹⁷ Earlier, Albert Welter asserted that "the legacy of Chan regionalism became passé" in the early Song following the political unification of Chinese territory, which coincided with preferential patronage of the Linji lineage by the early-Song court.¹⁸

¹⁵ Some questions one can ask of historical networks were posed by Charles Wetherell, "Historical Social Network Analysis," *International Review of Social History* 43, Suppl. (1998), pp. 125–44.

¹⁶ Jiang Wu, Daoqin Tong, and Karl Ryavec, "Spatial Analysis and GIS Modeling of Regional Religious Systems in China: Conceptualization and Initial Experiments," in Yongtao Du and Jeff Kyong-McClain, eds., *Chinese History in Geographical Perspective* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2013), pp. 179–96.

¹⁷ See Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs*, pp. 12–13 and 129–32.

¹⁸ A. Welter, *The Linji lu and the Creation of Chan Orthodoxy* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2008), p. 29.

This overlooked patronage and lineages outside of the capital. Because in future centuries the Linji lineage was dominant, Welter's meticulous studies have led other scholars to assume that the apparent rise to dominance of the Linji lineage in the early Song was permanent and unchanging.¹⁹ A united empire, however, did not immediately end people's regional identities and activities. Pace Welter, others have suggested that Linji's initial rise early in the Song was due exactly to the geographic proximity of a small group of Linji-lineage monks near the capital who were by no means an empire-wide network.²⁰ Regardless, any history of Chan focused solely on the Linji lineage will overlook the prominence – dominance, perhaps – of the regional group of Yunmen monks in various areas in eastern China along the Grand Canal and in Kaifeng during the latter two-thirds of the Northern Song.

There were intellectual concerns in the rise of the Yunmen lineage as well. Writings by individual monks of the Yunmen lineage during the mid- to late-Northern Song have contributed in a general way to Chinese Buddhist history. The formative Chan monastic code known as *Chanyuan qinggui* 禪苑清規 was compiled between 1099 and 1103 by Zongze 宗頤 (d. 1106), who was from the Hongji Chan Cloister 洪濟禪院 at Zhending 真定, in modern Hebei.²¹ Zongze also wrote the earliest Chan meditation manual.²² Moreover, writings by Xuedou Chongxian 雪竇重顯 (980–1052) were often reprinted and widely read, especially his verses that later formed the foundational stratum of the *Blue Cliff Record* (*Biyanlu* 碧巖錄) collection of the well-known pedagogical *gong'an* 公案.²³ Powerful essays by Qisong 契嵩 (1007–1072) became touchstones in Buddhō-Confucian debates, and his scholarship on Chan lineages was widely respected.²⁴ The importance of such individual members of the Yunmen lineage is widely recognized.

¹⁹ See, e.g., *ibid.*, pp. 7, 42, 110–11; A. Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2006), p. 207; and Mario Poceski, *The Records of Mazu and the Making of Classical Chan Literature* (New York: Oxford U.P., 2015), pp. 21, 32, 114, 138.

²⁰ An argument for the importance of geographic factors is made by Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs*, p. 125. See also Suzuki Tetsuo 鈴木哲雄, “Hokusōki no chishikijin no zenshū shikō no taipu” 北宋期の知識人の禪宗志向のタイプ, *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 51.1 (2002), pp. 44–50.

²¹ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China* (Honolulu: U. Hawai'i P., 2002). Based on recently recovered texts, it seems most likely Zongze died in 1106; Yang Jun 阳琚, “Song seng Cijue Zongze xinyan” 宋僧慈觉宗頤新研, M.A. thesis (Shanghai shifan daxue, 2012), p. 13.

²² Carl Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals of Zen Meditation* (Berkeley: U. California P., 1988), pp. 55–77.

²³ Steven Heine, *Chan Rhetoric of Uncertainty in the Blue Cliff Record* (New York: Oxford U.P., 2016), pp. 8–9. On life and works of Xuedou Chongxian, see Huang Yi-hsun 黃繹勳, *Xuedou qi ji zhi yanjiu* 雪竇七集之研究 (Taipei: Fagu wenhua, 2015).

²⁴ Elizabeth Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

Despite the above contributions by individuals who shared a lineage identity, a current scholarly argument has concluded that lineage is not an appropriate framework for Chan intellectual history of this period. Elizabeth Morrison wrote that Qisong's identity as an heir in the Yunmen lineage "seems to have meant relatively little for his religious and intellectual activities."²⁵ Likewise, Morten Schlütter argued that "different family loyalties" were not fundamental to doctrinal positions or teaching styles in the Northern Song.²⁶ These erudite analyses remain important corrections to traditional views of Chan history that assumed lineages existed to transmit their particular internal styles that harked back to namesake founders. If the monks of a lineage did not share the style of the founder, what was lineage identity good for? Morrison points to the benefits for Qisong of his belonging to the Yunmen lineage, such as access to lay and imperial patrons in Kaifeng. I agree with Morrison when she writes that lineages were "networks of religious 'kin' [that] cooperated in defending and developing their 'family' without necessarily sharing the 'style' of the lineage founder."²⁷ In this view, lineages in the Northern Song period were merely social networks that provided access to patronage.

Although the teaching styles of eponymous founders could mean relatively little to later members of Chan lineages, we should not conclude that lineage identity had no relationship to the intellectual history of the Northern Song. Lineage identities seem to have correlated with intellectual and ritual activities when we limit our analysis of lineages to micro- or mesoregional groups, that is lineage holders who are proximate in both time and space. Such coherent microregional groups likely included the Yunmen monks of Mount Lu 廬山 in the early- to mid-eleventh century, and separately the Huanglong 黃龍 Linji group that supplanted them. A comprehensive illustration of this principle is beyond the scope of this essay.

Instead, I am focused here on a mesoregional group of Yunmen monks who peregrinated between the Jiang-Huai and Kaifeng regions. This group emerged from the convergence of two microregional groups. The historically more significant microregional group in Jiang-Huai was constituted by descendants of Tianyi Yihuai 天衣義懷 (993–1064) – a disciple of Xuedou Chongxian. The other microregional group left Mount Lu for Kaifeng, led by Dajue Huailian 大覺懷璉 (1010–1090), who ministered at the court of emperor Renzong in 1050 and was ab-

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 8, 147.

²⁶ Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*, pp. 24–26.

²⁷ Morrison, *Power of Patriarchs*, p. 128.

bot of the first Chan public monastery in Kaifeng.²⁸ Thereafter, Yunmen monks from Jiang-Huai played a central role in the administration of Chan public monasteries in Kaifeng until the city's destruction in the Song-Jin wars.²⁹ Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101), hoping for a desired response, wrote that “the flourishing of Chan learning in the capital burst forth with the two masters [Yuanzhao] Zongben and [Yuantong] Faxiu, but Zongben retired to the mountains and Faxiu passed away 京師禪學之盛，發於本、秀二公。本既還山，秀復入寂。”³⁰ Su wrote the above to the popular Yunmen teacher Datong Shanben 大通善本 (1035–1109), who acquiesced and moved to the capital. Yuanzhao Zongben 圓照宗本 (1020–1100) had been Shanben's own teacher and Yuantong Faxiu 圓通法秀 (1027–1090) an avuncular figure.³¹ These and other prominent Chan teachers in Kaifeng belonged to the Yunmen lineage. Generations later, the last of the eminent Yunmen teachers in Kaifeng, Cishou Huaishen 慈受懷深 (1077–1132) served six years as the abbot of Huilin Chan Cloister 慧林禪院 within Xiangguo Monastery 相國寺. He obtained permission to retire in the autumn of 1126 and gave a final sermon only weeks before the deadly Jin attacks began in late autumn.³² These generations of the Yunmen lineage that thrived in eastern and northern areas of China during the Northern Song have their own coherent history that can be most fully understood when we consider it on its own terms, separately from the eponymous founder Yunmen Wenyan.

THEORIES OF DEMISE

At least four theories about the demise of the Yunmen school, or lineage, have found a place in modern scholarly literature. They describe its causation in terms of: 1. a certain passivity in the face of a take-over, 2. a betrayal of earlier teachings, 3. losses in a marketplace

²⁸ *Xudeng lu* 78.672.A21 states Huailian was at court in 1050. The Yuan-era history by Baozhou Jue'an 寶洲覺岸, *Shishi jigu lue* 釋氏稽古略 states that the summons to Ju'ne was issued in 1049. See also Huang, “Elite and Clergy,” p. 320.

²⁹ Huang Ch'i-chiang 黃啓江, *Bei Song Fojiao shi lungao* 北宋佛教史論稿 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1997; hereafter, Huang), pp. 93–132, 230–74, writes about the Yunmen lineage and the development of Chan monasteries in Kaifeng.

³⁰ “Qing Jingci Fayong Chanshi ru du shu” 請淨慈法涌禪師入都疏, in Kong Fanli 孔凡禮, ed., *Su Shi wen ji* 蘇軾文集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), p. 1908. Fayong is Shanben, per Su's preface to “Shuifu fa xiangzan” 水陸法像贊, in *Shishi tonglan* 施食通覽 (ZZ 57.115. B8). See also Huang Ch'i-chiang, “Bei Song jushi Yang Jie yu Fojiao: jian bu Song shi Yang Jie benchuan zhi que” 北宋居士楊傑與佛教，兼補宋史楊傑本傳之缺, *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 21.1 (2003), p. 262.

³¹ On Faxiu, see Gimello's ground-breaking “Mārga and Culture.” On Zongben, see Nagai Masashi 永井政之, *Unmon* 雲門 (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 2008), pp. 240–51.

³² Shanqing 善清 et al, *Cishou Huaishen Chanshi guanglu* 慈受懷深禪師廣錄 (ZZ 73.99. B11 and 107.C16).

of religious ideas, or 4. a combination thereof. I take these up in the following paragraphs.

In English-language scholarship, frequently the Yunmen lineage is described as shining brightly but briefly, before being “absorbed into the Linji school.”³³ The metaphor of “absorption” generally points to the attitudes of later Linji-lineage monks and does not refer to a social or institutional process. For example, in its writings, the later Linji tradition frequently discussed the radical personage of Yunmen Wenyan in a positive way, and revered a work titled *Yunmen guanglu* 雲門廣錄, a record of his sayings and doings.³⁴ Similarly, the verses by Xuedou Chongxian became part of the Linji lineage text *Blue Cliff Record*, noted above. However, members of the Yunmen lineage had also continued to read and study these same texts.³⁵ The metaphor of absorption is a description of a later attitude by Linji monks, does not describe causes of decline, and overlooks the activity of monks of the Yunmen lineage.

Some East Asian scholars, like Feng Xuecheng 馮學成, have attributed the decline of Yunmen to the introduction of Pure Land practices – which he calls Pure Land-ification (*jingtuhua* 淨土化).³⁶ This untenable argument contains a bias similar to the once-popular distinction between “joint practice” (*kenshū* 兼修) and “pure” (*junsui* 純粹) Japanese Zen, now understood to be based on anachronistic ideas about sectarian purity.³⁷ Unlike later on in Japan, Pure Land was not an independent sect during the Song. Further, Feng’s argument that Pure Land practices led to the decline of the Yunmen lineage is belied by the enduring popularity of such practices among later Chinese Chan groups, and the widely attested charisma of the very Yunmen teachers who propagated Pure Land teachings, including Zongben and Zongze.³⁸

³³ The notion that the Yunmen lineage, along with the those of Fayuan and Guizang, was “absorbed” by the Linji lineage is found in Robert Gimello, “Mārga and Culture,” pp. 420–21, n. 49, p. 425, n. 58; Thomas Kirchner, ed., *The Record of Linji* (Honolulu: U. Hawai’i P., 2009), p. 79; and Robert Buswell and Donald Lopez, eds., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 2014), pp. 1046–47.

³⁴ Heine, *Chan Rhetoric*, pp. 6–7, notes that *Yunmen guanglu* was the source for eighteen cases in *Biyanlu* 碧巖錄.

³⁵ *Yunmen guanglu* and texts by Xuedou Chongxian are in the working canon and given glosses in *Zuting shiyuan* 祖庭事苑, a lexicon with a colophon dated 1108. The author of the preface has been identified as a Yunmen monk; see Huang Yi-hsun, *Songdai Chanzong cishu Zuting shiyuan zhi yanjiu* 宋代禪宗辭書“祖庭事苑”之研究 (Gaoxiong: Fo Guang, 2011).

³⁶ Feng Xuecheng 馮學成, *Yunmen zong shihua* 雲門宗史話 (Guangzhou: Nanfang ribao, 2008), pp. 310–11.

³⁷ On the biases of “pure Zen,” see Carl Bielefeldt, “Filling the Zen-shū: Notes on the Jissū yōdō ki,” *CEA* 7 (1993), p. 225.

³⁸ For an analysis of Pure Land taught by Zongben and his heirs, see Satō Seijun 佐藤成順, *Sōdai Bukkyō no kenkyū: Genshō no Jōdokyō* 宋代仏教の研究, 元照の浄土教 (Tokyo: Sankibō

Similarly, Nagai Masashi 永井政之 faults the later generations of the Yunmen lineage for turning their backs on their founder. Following Nagai, the demise of the lineage was the result of a three-fold failure by latter generations. First, they did not embody the ideal Chan master as seen in Yunmen Wenyan; second, they did not move away from heavy engagement with Pure Land and Confucian traditions; and finally they were too entrenched in relations with the court.³⁹ Nagai assumes that later generations of Chan lineages should be judged by how well they preserved the styles of their founders, and as a result casts successful innovations as failures. To the contrary, the departure from the radical teaching style associated with Yunmen Wenyan coincided with the most intense period of the Yunmen lineage's presence.

Like Nagai, the matter of Yunmen monks' successful relations with the Song court was the focus of a theory by Tsuchiya Taisuke 土屋太祐. In a Chinese-language monograph (an otherwise careful study of Chan intellectual history through the Northern Song), Tsuchiya proposed that "aristocrat-ification" (*guizuhua* 貴族化; Japanese: *kizokuka*) of the Yunmen leaders in Kaifeng bred resentment among the literati.⁴⁰

We can summarize by saying that the central causes of the decline of the Yunmen lineage of the Song are that its group aged and hardened. From the vantage of intellectual history, they did little with the founder Yunmen Wenyan's thought, there was very little innovation. ... On the other hand, the Huanglong group of the Linji lineage was supported by newly rising intelligentsia and worked hard to develop [itself] in Jiangxi.⁴¹

Here, Tsuchiya unfairly characterizes the decline of the Yunmen lineage as arising from a lack of gumption. Such biases can be traced back to term *kizokuka* itself. Japanese Buddhologists have used "aristocrat-ification" along with "secularization" (*sezokuka* 世俗化) and "politicization" (*seijika* 政治化) to connote worldly decadence as causes of decline in late-Heian Japanese Buddhism.⁴² Kagamishima Genryū 鏡島

Busshorin, 2001), pp. 259–78. See also Robert Sharf, "On Pure Land Buddhism and Ch'an/Pure Land Syncretism in Medieval China," *TP* 88 (2002), pp. 310–12; Ronald Egan, *Word, Image, and Deed in the Life of Su Shi* (Harvard U.P., 1994), pp. 142–44.

³⁹ Nagai, *Unmon*, pp. 200–1.

⁴⁰ Tsuchiya Taisuke (Tuwu Taiyou) 土屋太祐, *Bei Song Chanzong sixiang jiqi yuanyuan* 北宋禪宗思想及其淵源 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe 2008), pp. 144–45.

⁴¹ My trans. of Tsuchiya, *Bei Song Chanzong sixiang*, pp. 147–48.

⁴² Such narratives of cultural decline also echo the work of Tsuji Zennosuke 辻善之助 (1877–1955) on the corruption of the Buddhist priesthood (*sōryo no daraku* 僧侶の墮落) and the formalization (*keishikika* 形式化) of Buddhism; see *Nihon Bukkyōshi no kenkyū* 日本佛教史之研究 (Tokyo: Kinkōdō Shoseki, 1942), p. 517. On Tsuji, see Orion Klautau, *Kindai Nihon shisō to shite no Bukkyō shigaku* 近代日本思想としての仏教史学 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan 2012).

元隆 (1912–2001) may have been the first to use “aristocrat-ification” to describe Song-dynasty Chan as in a spiritual decline from an earlier pure Chan.⁴³ Such narratives of deterioration presume a mythic golden age when Buddhism existed free from the all-too-human realms of politics, class division, and economies.⁴⁴ John McRae, commenting on the exact institutional phenomena that Kagamishima and others took as signs of failure, argued “... precisely the opposite: that the institutional success of Chan was made possible by – and in fact represents proof of – its vitality as a spiritual discipline.”⁴⁵ If we adopt this view, it seems Yunmen-lineage monks were major actors in the vital world of Buddhism during the Northern Song.⁴⁶ We have much evidence of extensive correspondence between Yunmen monks and literati, and not much evidence for any resentments.⁴⁷ Theories of aristocrat-ification cannot account for the demise of Yunmen.

Finally, some of the explanations of demise assume a kind of religious marketplace and an invisible hand that selected winners. The most sophisticated of these was put forward by Huang Ch’i-chiang 黃啓江, who wrote that the Yunmen lineage late in Northern Song suffered an inability to “attract [talented] people 得人,” resulting in “a withering of talent 人才凋零.”⁴⁸ By contrast, the Linji and Caodong are said to have attracted the best and brightest students and thus seized the best abbatial positions. Huang also writes that Caodong monks displaced Yunmen monks at the public monasteries. Only one example, however, predates the Song-Jin wars – the abbatial succession in 1123 at Chongfu Chan Cloister 崇福禪院 on Mount Changlu 長蘆.⁴⁹ In his interpretation of the evidence, Huang ultimately attributes causation to the efficacy of different teaching styles – an argument that assumes a kind of marketplace of religious ideas in which teaching styles competed for patronage and disciples.⁵⁰

⁴³ Kagamishima Genryū 鏡島元隆, “Nansō Zenrin no ichi kōsatsu” 南宋禪林の一考察, *Kōmazawa Daigaku Bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō* 駒澤大學佛教學部研究紀要 19 (1961), p. 52.

⁴⁴ See a similar critique in Foulk, “The ‘Ch’an School’ and Its Place,” pp. 302, 322, 373–74.

⁴⁵ John McRae, *Seeing through Zen* (Berkeley: U. California P., 2003), p. 103.

⁴⁶ See Peter Gregory, “The Vitality of Buddhism in the Sung,” in Gregory and Getz, eds., *Buddhism in the Sung*, pp. 1–20.

⁴⁷ See the tables in Huang, pp. 252–53.

⁴⁸ See Huang, pp. 15–18, 226–27. Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*, pp. 68–69, also remarks on the apparent competition for good students.

⁴⁹ The history of the conversion of Chongfu Monastery at Mount Changlu is discussed by Huang, pp. 17–18, 279–81, and in Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*, pp. 68 and 99.

⁵⁰ Huang, p. 16, illustrates this with the story of Huanglong Huinan’s conversion.

I argue that the decline of the Yunmen lineage was not caused by poor spiritual discipline, weak doctrinal positions, or betraying the lineage's internal style of teaching. Instead, the decline of the Yunmen lineage as a place-based network was a casualty of the collapse of the Northern Song. I think the regional distribution of Chan lineages through patronage and the subsequent impacts of the Song-Jin wars are better understood through metaphors of ecological niches, and their growth and collapse. I hope this will be read alongside Brose's interpretation regarding the earlier decline of the Fayen 法眼 Chan lineage, which "might best be characterized as the demise of a network of affiliation, not necessarily the downfall of a particular style of teaching or practice."⁵¹ To develop my geopolitical argument, I next examine the sources I used to create my specific database for a spatial history of Chan lineages.

MITIGATING BIASES IN THE FLAME RECORDS GENRE

My spatial data were derived from Flame Records compilations, in other words, collections of religious biographies. These works were composed by monks of differing lineage identities. Each Flame Record was an anthology of religious lives of Chan masters organized by lineage. As presented in these texts, each member of the lineage was a recipient of the ineffable transmission of the Buddha's awakened mind, directly entrusted from master to disciple beginning with the seven Buddhas that preceded Śākyamuni in the distant past. Modern scholars have documented the historical construction of this lineage and its embellishments, manipulations, and reinterpretations during the Song. The portrayal of much of the lineage is best understood as a sacred history. By contrast, reliable historical and spatial information for Song-era Chan abbots was also preserved in Flame Records.

The *Record of the Transmission of the Flame from the Jingde Era* (*Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, hereafter *Transmission of the Flame*) is the first one of the five Song-era original compilations, which I compare, below, with a sixth, early-Ming, comprehensive anthology. It was based on a compilation by Fayen-lineage monk Daoyuan 道原 (fl. 1004). The text was published with revisions by scholar-official Yang Yi 楊億 (974–1020) and others in 1009.⁵² Based in large part on earlier precedents, such as the *Ancestors Hall Collection* (*Zu tang ji* 祖堂集), *Transmission of the Flame* prevailed and became a generic model from the Song and

⁵¹ Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs*, p. 131.

⁵² Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 116–21.

on.⁵³ Each subsequent Flame Record recapitulated essential portions of the Chan family tree from earlier texts, and then lengthened the branches to include the latest members of the Chan lineage. Some necessary repetition appears across texts, however, each anthology tended to emphasize its most recent generations.

The next Flame Records text, *Record of the Spread of the Flame from the Tiansheng Era* (*Tiansheng guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄, hereafter *Spread of the Flame*) was compiled by 1029 and issued in 1036. Welter has persuasively argued that the compiler Li Zunxu 李遵勗 (988–1038) showed sectarian favoritism towards the Linji lineage.⁵⁴ Lengthy teachings attributed to Master Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (d. 866), the namesake of the lineage, are featured prominently and the branches of the Linji lineage are positioned ahead of their contemporaries from other lineages. Because my maps visualize an entire generation at once, the length of any entry as well as the order of appearance in the Flame Records are inconsequential. On the other hand, if a compiler showed preferences that led to exclusions or inclusions, whether of certain subbranches or additional students, these biases are inherited by my dataset and appear in my maps.

After *Spread of the Flame*, the third Flame Record to be utilized here was compiled by a Yunmen monk, Foguo Weibai 佛國惟白 (fl. early 1100s). Its title is *Continuation of the Flame* (mentioned at the beginning of this article), to which Huizong added a preface. *Continuation of the Flame* contains petitions from the emperor's son-in-law Zhang Dunli 張敦禮 (n.d.) that requested an imperial imprimatur for the text.⁵⁵ *Continuation of the Flame* generally avoids repeating material found in *Transmission of the Flame* and *Spread of the Flame*. It largely contains biographies of those Chan abbots who lived after the previous collection was compiled seventy years earlier. Weibai also added abbots of the Yunmen lineage that were not in *Spread of the Flame*, mitigating some of the initial favoritism and exclusions.

Two Southern Song Flame Records were, as in the case of *Spread of the Flame* and *Continuation of the Flame*, compiled by monks of different lineages. *Outline of the Linked Flames* (*Liandeng huiyao* 聯燈會要)

⁵³ On the prehistory and “triumph” of the *Transmission of the Flame*, see Morrison, *Power of Patriarchs*, pp. 51–87.

⁵⁴ Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 186–206.

⁵⁵ A biography of Zhang is found in *Song shi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977) 464, pp. 13582–83. In 1068, Zhang was selected to marry the third daughter of emperor Yingzong 英宗 (*Song shi* 248, p. 8780). Zhang became embroiled in factional politics and earned the enmity of Zhang Dun 章惇 (1035–1105), resulting in exile in the early reign of emperor Huizong. See also Gimello, “Marga and Culture,” p. 427, n. 68.

was created by a Linji monk; its preface is dated 1183. *Record of the Widespread Flame from the Jiatai Era* (*Jiatai pudenglu* 嘉泰普燈錄, hereafter *Widespread Flame*) was compiled by Lei'an Zhengshou 雷庵正受 (n.d.); its preface is dated 1204. *Widespread Flame* simply begins with the Chinese Sixth Patriarch Huineng and as expeditiously as possible delivers the reader to biographies of Chan abbots in recent generations. Zhengshou is often thought to have been a member of the Yunmen lineage, but this is not entirely accurate. Throughout his life he revered one of the last Yunmen masters, Yuetang Daochang 月堂道昌 (1089–1171).⁵⁶ In a preface to *Widespread Flame*, his patron Huang Rulin 黃汝霖 (n.d.) asserted that Zhengshou had been privately recognized by Daochang as a potential heir.⁵⁷ However, Huang also noted that Zhengshou served prominent Linji-lineage masters, including Fohai Huiyuan 佛海慧遠 (1103–1176) – whose eulogy for Daochang is mentioned below. It was under Linji abbots that Zhengshou rose to “head seat,” a leading position among monastic officers.⁵⁸ We do not have any record of his rising to become the abbot of a public monastery. He was not an abbot, still only a “head seat” of a public monastery in Suzhou, when he completed *Widespread Flame*.⁵⁹ The opening rituals at one’s first abbatial appointment prescribed the announcing of one’s lineage identity and becoming a full member of a lineage, as mentioned above.⁶⁰ In *Widespread Flame*, Zhengshou did not include himself among Daochang’s heirs, clearly reflecting this status.⁶¹ At the same time, Zhengshou and his patrons go out of their way to assert a spiritual connection to the late Daochang, giving the impression Zhengshou would have joined the Yunmen lineage, even though most of his career as a monastic officer transpired under Linji teachers. In Zhengshou’s own petition to the court, he credits Daochang with first inspiring the project and the

⁵⁶ When Linji monk Fohai Huiyuan presided over Yuetang’s funeral, he lamented the death of the last teacher of the Yunmen lineage. Citations to Song-era texts are in n. 159, below.

⁵⁷ This assertion in the biographic “[record] of activities” (*xingye* 行業) for Zhengshou composed by Huang, in Zhengshou, *Jiatai pudenglu zong mulu* 嘉泰普燈錄總目錄 (ZZ 79.269. A14). Huang’s patronage is mentioned in the preface to *Lengjia jing jizhu* 楞伽經集註 (ZZ 17.228.B22) as well as in Zhengshou’s *Gebi ji* 閣筆記 appended to *Lengjia jing jizhu* (ZZ 17.281.C9–282.B14).

⁵⁸ Yifa, *Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes*, p. 188.

⁵⁹ Daorong 道融, *Conglin shengshi* 叢林盛事 (12th c.; ZZ 86.700.B9–17) gives Zhengshou’s rank as “first seat” (*shangshou* 上首). *Xu chuandenglu* 續傳燈錄 lists him as “head seat” (*shouzu* 首座) of Wanshou 萬壽 (T 51.672.A19; citations to *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* give the volume number, page, register, and line numbers). “Wanshou” was another name for the monastery in his *Widespread Flame* byline, according to *Wu du fa sheng* 吳都法乘, j. 30, in *Da zang jing bu bian* 大藏經補編 (Taipei: Huayu chubanshe, 1985), vol. 34, p. 927b.

⁶⁰ On the connection between an initial sermon (*kaitang* 開堂) and lineage identity, see Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*, pp. 66–68.

⁶¹ See Zhengshou, *Jiatai pudeng lu zong mulu* (ZZ 79.282.B7).

Linji abbot Huiyuan with supervising it.⁶² Perhaps because of his experiences with both lineages, *Widespread Flame* does not exhibit favoritism for Yunmen the way *Spread of the Flame* favored Linji. In sum, the five Flame Records just discussed were produced by monks with varying lineage identities, and did not consistently favor one lineage. Later records might also add material excluded from earlier records. Therefore, because my dataset incorporates information from all five Song Flame Records, this will diminish sectarian biases and exclusions in any individual Flame Records text.

In addition to the five Song-era Flame Records, I incorporated information in *Continued Records of the Transmission of the Flame* (*Xu Chuandenglu* 續傳燈錄, hereafter *Continued Transmission of the Flame*). In his preface dated 1401, the compiler Yuanji Juding 圓極居頂 (d. 1404) noted that when he sought to make a compendium of all five Flame Records, he also sought out additional records so that he could include members of the Chan lineage excluded from earlier texts.⁶³ Juding likely had access to many materials not extant today, and *Continued Transmission of the Flame* includes a number of additional heirs not present in the original five Flame Records. My dataset includes all Chan lineage abbots of public monasteries in any of these five-plus-one Flame Records. The dataset was constructed without the historically popular Southern Song compilation *Compendium of the Five Flame [Histories]* (*Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元) because that text reiterates Chan abbots already in earlier Flame Records without additional information.

My use of spatial information from Flame Records as sources for a social history of Chan lineages departs from recent historiographic critiques of these texts. In an influential essay, T. Griffith Foulk depicted “the Song construction of the ‘Chan lineage’ (*chan zong* 禪宗) and its history” as “a body of religious mythology – a sacred history that served polemical, ritual, and didactic functions in the world of Song Chan.”⁶⁴ Some have elaborated that “the Song authors clearly made up much of the Tang material.”⁶⁵ In other words, Flame Records texts are not reliable for the study of China’s early-Chan institutional history.⁶⁶ The reliability of the details in Flame Records for social his-

⁶² Ibid., 79.269.C21–270.A7.

⁶³ Juding’s preface is in his *Xu chuandenglu mulu* 續傳燈錄目錄 (ZZ 83.1.A21–b2). A traditional biography of Juding may be found in Wenxiu 文琇, *Zengji xu chuandenglu* 增集續傳燈錄 (ZZ 83.346.B15–c8).

⁶⁴ Foulk, “Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice,” p. 149.

⁶⁵ Alan Cole, *Fathering Your Father* (Berkeley: U. of California P., 2009), p. 12.

⁶⁶ By contrast, Jia Jinhua, *The Hongzhou School of Chan Buddhism* (Albany, N.Y.: SUNY P., 2006), grounds her study in stele inscriptions.

tory has been thrown into doubt. If the lives of Chan masters are told in the Flame Records with “a predominance of precise indications of place over those of time ... [as] a composition of places,” then this was a literary device, perhaps the very thing that defines hagiography.⁶⁷ John McRae summarized this critical approach to Chan history with a pithy declaration that in Chan records “precision implies inaccuracy.”⁶⁸ However, Foulk did not deny the social and institutional realities of the Song-era monks who enacted such myths, as Elizabeth Morrison also noted, and therefore the texts should be studied for what they tell us about Song-era compilers.⁶⁹ In fact, recent scholarship has examined the self-serving motives of Song-era compilers of Flame Records, including the political contexts of textual production and the manner in which factions advantageously situated their own spiritual ancestors.⁷⁰ My essay, in contrast, focuses on these texts as records of their close contemporaries, people for whom compilers were unlikely to fabricate public abbotships. In short, these sacred histories contain a great deal of reliable spatial data about Song Buddhism.

A FLAME RECORDS DATASET

At this point, a short discussion of the dataset will anchor my general argument more firmly. Each biography in Chan Flame Records tells the life of one Chan master, usually including some combination of the following:

1. full name and titles of the master, including the temple where he was an abbot;
2. his place of birth;
3. his precocious childhood;
4. the circumstances of his ordination;
5. encounter with his master and experience of enlightenment;
6. numerous records of his career as a teacher, including sermons, dialogues with students, encounters with famous or powerful people; and
7. details of a noble and stoic death.

My dataset and analysis here focus on the spatial information contained in the monks' names per se and not other aspects of religious

⁶⁷ Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. T. Conley (New York: Columbia U.P., 1988), p. 280, quoted by Bernard Faure, “Bodhidharma as Textual and Religious Paradigm,” *History of Religions* 25.3 (1986), p. 191.

⁶⁸ McRae, *Seeing Through Zen*, pp. xix and 27.

⁶⁹ Morrison, *Power of Patriarchs*, p. 94, n. 8.

⁷⁰ See, e.g., Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 161–62, and Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*, pp. 6–7, 13–17.

biography.⁷¹ In addition, each Flame Record text is organized genealogically around successive generations in the Chan family tree, listing the successful heirs of each master.⁷² The “tables of contents” (*mulu* 目錄) compiled and printed along with the Flame Records include all heirs known to have ascended to a public abbacy, including those without a biographic entry in the main body of the Flame Records.⁷³ To be as inclusive as possible, I built my database from the Chan family trees in such tables of contents.

The appended maps conglomerate information about the Chan genealogy. Map 5, for example, shows information from Flame Records regarding three generations of Chan masters who were active as abbots between approximately 1120 and 1210. The four “generational” maps (that is, maps 2–5) are sequential and show four phases in Chan lineage regional history. If I could, I would animate these maps to show the spatial transitions as one moves down the family tree. Here, printed, each map is like a film “jump cut.” The sequence of maps shows successive periods, picking up on the family tree where the previous map left off.

Each map includes numerous circles, in thin black outline filled with tinted color. Each circle indicates several kinds of data. For example, one circle on map 5 corresponds to Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163) of the Linji lineage. In *Widespread Flame*, he is referred to by full name and title as “Dahui Pujue Zonggao of Jingshan [Monastery] in Lin’an Prefecture” 臨安府徑山大慧普覺宗杲 and seventy-five of his heirs are included underneath him in the family tree. After consulting Juding’s *Continued Transmission of the Flame*, we know Dahui had a total of ninety-four heirs who became full members of the Chan lineage. On map 5, a red circle is at the location of Jingshan monastery outside Hangzhou and is ninety-four points in size. The color red indicates Dahui and his disciples belong to the Linji lineage, and other colors were selected to indicate other lineages. The size of the circle indicates how many heirs he produced. Quantity of students is an imperfect measure of significance, but it does show who succeeded in training future abbots. For example, some teachers may have led congregations with

⁷¹ On the names of Song monks, see Zhou Yukai 周裕鍇 “Lüetan Tang Song sengren de faming yu biaozi” 略談唐宋僧人的法名與表字, *Foxue yanjiu zhongxin xuebao* 佛學研究中心學報 9 (2004), pp. 119–26.

⁷² Much scholarship has been published in the last several decades about the historical development of genealogically organized Chan religious literature. For a comprehensive overview, see Morrison, *Power of Patriarchs*, pp. 51–87.

⁷³ Extant editions of *mulu* attest that they were printed and circulated together with Flame Records in the Song dynasty. See Shiina Kōyū 椎名宏雄, *Sō Gen ban zenseki no kenkyū* 宋元版禪籍の研究 (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1993), pp. 223–26, 555.

hundreds or thousands of monks, but only a few elite disciples would go on to become abbots. Like guild systems with teaching lineages, many students may study under a master, some may reach a level of competence, and yet very few will become heirs with successful teaching careers that allow them to pass on the lineage to another generation. Heirs on the Chan family tree belong to this last category, those disciples who later had successful teaching careers. By considering these three items – toponym, generational information, and numbers of heirs – one extracts spatial and temporal data on those abbots who influenced the propagation of their own lineages. This information is important for understanding the regional histories of Chan lineages.

Many circles on each map are close to one another. This happens when several teachers were active in close proximity. For example, Map 4 shows seventeen teachers based in or near Kaifeng. A potential problem would arise if the largest yellow circle obscured and covered over the smaller circles, some yellow and some blue. To resolve this, I adjusted the tint of each circle to be semi-transparent. As a result, when more than one circle overlap (because more than one teacher was active in the same area), the tinted colors interact. The circles for Yunmen teachers are yellow. When Yunmen teachers overlap, the yellow circles interact to result in deeper shades of yellow. The circles for Caodong teachers are blue. When a Caodong and Yunmen teacher overlap, the circles interact to become greenish tints.

Data entry began with the lineages in the “table of contents” appended to *Spread of the Flame*. These data were compared with those in *Transmission of the Flame* and *Continuation of the Flame*. Frequently, later texts include additional heirs unnamed in earlier texts. The total count of disciples in the dataset reflects the composite number of heirs from all six above-named Flame Records texts. I repeated this process with *Continuation of the Flame*, which I compared with the Southern Song-era Flame Records, and again with *Widespread Flame*. Finally, the entire dataset was compared against the *Continued Transmission of the Flame*. Once the dataset reflected information from all Flame Records texts, I then generated latitudinal and longitudinal coordinates for the toponyms in Buddhist names. I looked up toponyms in the “Buddhist Studies Authority Database” of the Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts, which includes period-specific spatial information for historical place names.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ The *Authority* database (<http://authority.dila.edu.tw/place/>) is sometimes accurate regarding the archeological site, but often accurate only either to the peak of the mountain on which the temple lay to one side, or to the prefectural seat some dozens of miles away from the

Several irregularities in the data presented themselves. A toponym in the “table of contents” was sometimes ambiguous. In all but four cases, the main body of a Flame Record text could resolve the location of the temple. In several cases, the earlier and later Flame Records disagreed on a toponym, especially if the master was still alive at the time of the earlier compilation and continued to teach thereafter. I gave priority to the location where a master taught the highest number of students or where he resided longest, as best I could determine. As I have noted elsewhere, the dataset – and therefore the maps – does not represent well those masters who had peripatetic careers and trained students at numerous temples.⁷⁵ However, the usefulness of the data for considering regional trends can be tested against contemporary Song accounts of Chan lineages, as shown, below.

The dataset begins (see map 2) with Yunmen Wenyan’s generation and includes entries for all Chan masters who in the above six texts also have disciples of their own who are named therein. It is a dataset organized around abbots who successfully promulgated their lineage. Bare branches with no heirs are included among the disciples of their master, increasing the weight of his node in the network, but do not garner their own symbol on the map. By looking at where the abbots of each generation instructed many students, we can see the locations of large training centers at which future leaders of the lineage were educated.

This essay focuses on the fortunes of the Yunmen lineage, but the maps include those lineages active at the fall of the Northern Song regime, as well as the Fayuan lineage. The smaller Guiyang lineage that disappeared before the founding of the Song is excluded. The maps visualize the major centers for several generations on the family tree, which correspond to estimated start and end years. The dates provided below each map approximate the period of activity of a given generation on the Chan family tree, derived by consulting available biographies of monks in that generation.

temple location. For a project considering regional variation, this type of accuracy is adequate. However, I advise against the use of my data to track movement at local levels. During this project, I only once encountered and reported inaccurate geodata in the *Authority* database, and the *Authority* team promptly responded and corrected that information.

⁷⁵ Jason Protass “Towards a Spatial History of Chan,” *Review of Religion and Chinese Society* 3.2 (2016), p. 174.

MAPPING YUNMEN AND LINJI IN THE EARLY SONG

I divide my spatial analysis of Northern Song Chan lineages into four chronological periods that reflect changing patterns of patronage. (My article will present anecdotes and cases that show what patronage actually involved later on, beginning in the section “Yunmen Monks in the North”.) In the first stage (map 2), covering roughly 900–960, the Linji are in the north and Yunmen in the relatively deep south in Guangdong as well as in southern Hunan. This is the Five Dynasties period. In the second stage (map 3), from 960–1035, the center of activity shifts northwards towards the middle reaches of the Yangtze River in Hunan, yet Yunmen lineage monks are still south relative to their Linji peers. This map includes abbots from the start of the Song empire and ends shortly after the regency of empress-dowager Liu (mentioned earlier).⁷⁶ In the third stage, from roughly 1035 to 1120 (map 4), Yunmen grows in the north and east and Linji grows in Jiangxi and Hunan – the lineages have switched their broad, relative positions. This corresponds to Renzong’s personal, post-regency reign (1033–1063) as well as into most of the post-regency reign of emperor Huizong (1102–1126). In the fourth stage (map 5), from 1120 to 1210, from the denouement of the Northern Song through the mid-Southern Song, the remnants of the Yunmen lineage declined, and Linji grew into an empire-wide network.

Map 2 shows two generations of the Yunmen, Linji, Fayuan, and Caodong lineages: the generation contemporaneous with Master Yunmen, and the next generation on the family tree. Additional heirs of Yunmen’s own teacher Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存 (822–908) are the same color as Yunmen in this map.⁷⁷ The four lineage groups were more or less discrete regional traditions. Master Yunmen and his disciples thrived in the independent kingdom of Southern Han.⁷⁸ According to the Flame Records, many of Master Yunmen’s heirs remained in the Southern Han area or neighboring kingdoms. This is based on a fragmentary record and is not as reliable as those relevant to the Song-dynasty abbots, below.⁷⁹ In sum, the regional patterns of Chan

⁷⁶ Empress Liu maintained de facto power from 1019 until her death in early 1033. See John Chaffee, “The Rise and Regency of Empress Liu (969–1033),” *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 31 (2001), pp. 1–25.

⁷⁷ On the importance of Xuefeng in the development of Chan in the 10th c., see Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs*, pp. 50–56.

⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 74–75.

⁷⁹ For how these historiographic challenges bear on the study of Buddhism, see *ibid.*, pp. 8–12.

lineages during the Five Dynasties shaped Chan's development in the early Song.

Map 3 shows a different regional pattern among Chan lineages during the opening decades of the Song dynasty. It corresponds to three generations, which can be correlated to the start of the Northern Song through the end of the regency of empress Liu. During these generations of abbots, the main centers of the Linji lineage moved southward into central China and away from the capital, but some teachers remained in the north. The Yunmen lineage continued to exist mostly in the south and south-central locations. We see that the Fayuan lineage has decreased in prominence and did not further propagate beyond these three generations. The Caodong lineage has also receded and would almost disappear.

Yunmen lineage monk Xuedou Chongxian was a significant exception. He succeeded outside the south-central regions, and this led to more Yunmen lineage appointments in central east-coast China in the coming generations. Born in Sichuan, and having studied in Hunan with Yunmen teachers, Chongxian went on to serve as an officer in the large monasteries of Jiangnan.⁸⁰ From there, he received his first abbatial appointment in 1022, followed two years later by the appointment at Mount Xuedou 雪竇山 in Ningbo, where he stayed until his death in 1052. The itinerant wandering of this talented teacher was met with fruitful patronage. After Chongxian, monks of the Yunmen lineage prospered in the central-south and central east coast.

YUNMEN MONKS IN THE NORTH

Map 4 shows the spatial distribution of a further three lineage-generations of monks, now occurring during the latter half of the Northern Song, from emperor Renzong's post-1033 reign to the reign of emperor Huizong. Over these three generations, Linji and Yunmen effectively traded geographic places – north with south – and became regional networks in distinct areas. This new distribution continued across several generations. The first of these generations includes Dajue Huailian, who was called from Mount Lu to Kaifeng, and Tianyi Yihuai in the Zhejiang area. The charismatic Huanglong Huinan 黃龍慧南 (1002–1069), though slightly older, belonged to a contemporary generation on the Linji family tree. An erstwhile leading student of Yunmen masters on Mount Lu, Huinan converted to the Linji lineage at his abbatial opening

⁸⁰ Huang, *Xuedou qi ji*, pp. 16–33.

ceremony.⁸¹ From this generation until the end of the Northern Song, the Huanglong Linji branch held important abbatial seats in the Jiangxi region. As Yunmen monks went northward and eastward, further south in the Jiangxi area Chan was dominated by Huinan's Linji lineage. The renaissance of the Caodong lineage is also visible on map 4.⁸²

From other sources we learn that the northward movement of Yunmen lineage monks took place when two conditions were met. First, powerful northern patrons demanded a Chan teacher. Second, esteemed scholar-officials in the south could personally offer recommendations to help meet those demands. In 1049, the Kaifeng palace attendant Li Yunning 李允寧 (n.d.) wished to donate his personal residence and petitioned that it be converted to a Chan monastery.⁸³ The result of this offer was that by 1050 Dajue Huailian was the first abbot at the new Jingyin Chan Cloister 淨因禪院, the first public abbacy dedicated to Chan in the capital.⁸⁴ Prior to this post, Huailian had been on Mount Lu as an assistant to Yuantong Ju'ne 圓通居訥 (1010–1071).⁸⁵ Ju'ne had earlier been summoned to Jingyin Cloister, but Huailian had to go in the master's stead.⁸⁶ Huailian soon arrived in the capital and after a period of fasting performed opening rites for Jingyin Chan Cloister. Though the cloister was a former household, nonetheless Huailian was able to create the ritual space of a Chan monastery. According to contemporaries, the opening ceremonies were “in the style of rituals of southern Chan monasteries 効南方禪林儀範.”⁸⁷ This presumably refers to the Chan ritual in which a sermon is followed by a question-and-an-

⁸¹ Nishiguchi Yoshio 西口芳男, “Öryū Enan no Rinzaishū tenkō to Ryokutan Echō 黃龍慧南の臨濟宗転向と潞潭懷澄,” *Zen bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 禪文化研究所紀要 16 (1990), pp. 223–50; Juhn Ahn, “Who Has the Last Word in Chan?” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 37 (2009), pp. 9–14; and Huang Ch'i-chiang, *Bei Song Huanglong Huinan chanshi sanyao* 北宋黃龍慧南禪師三鑰 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 2015), pp. 17–34; pp. 117–37 discuss Huinan's epistles to Yunmen lineage masters.

⁸² On the “reinvention” of the Caodong lineage and their activities, see Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*, pp. 78–103.

⁸³ Zhipan 志磐, *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (T 49.412.B10–21). Li Yunning does not have a biography in *Song shi*. On the use of mansions as Buddhist monasteries in Kaifeng, see Huang, pp. 100–8.

⁸⁴ A public abbatial seat was distinct from earlier merit cloisters known as “chan cloisters 禪院.” Earlier Chan monks at court were not abbots of public monasteries, as discussed in Huang Ch'i-chiang, “Imperial Rulership and Buddhism in the Early Northern Sung,” in Frederick Brandauer and Chun-chieh Huang, eds., *Imperial Rulership and Cultural Change in Traditional China* (Seattle: U. Washington P., 1994), p. 161.

⁸⁵ For more on Ju'ne, see Abe, *Chūgoku Zenshūshi*, pp. 251–54.

⁸⁶ The affair is recounted in Huang, “Elite and Clergy,” p. 320; and in Morrison, *Power of Patriarchs*, p. 106.

⁸⁷ Recorded by Juefan Huihong 覺範慧洪 (1071–1128) in *Linjian lu* 林間錄 (pref. 1107; ZZ 87.260.A11–21), and again in Huihong's later *Chanlin sengbaozhuan* 禪林僧寶傳 (ZZ 79.528.B9–20).

swer dialogue with students.⁸⁸ This southern style appealed to the Renzong court and enabled Huailian to flourish in the capital. Despite his growing influence and successes as a Chan abbot in Kaifeng, Huailian remained suspicious of life in the capital.⁸⁹ When emperor Yingzong 英宗 (r. 1063–1067) finally permitted the master to retire to Ningbo, Su Shi was tasked with composing an inscription to commemorate the event. Su extolled Huailian's eloquence and deportment that had enabled him to propagate Buddhist teachings to scholar-bureaucrats and emperors alike. He called this talent unique among Buddhist teachers "of the north 北方," who taught technical doctrines that struck the ears of officials as "foreign and crude statements 蠻夷下俚之說."⁹⁰ Thus, Yunmen Chan monks began ministering in Kaifeng.

The development of patronage, which supported Chan abbotships in Kaifeng, began there in the capital city. Abbatial selections relied on personal recommendations by literati, and on this matter the monastic historian Zhipan's 志磐 (n.d.) *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (compiled 1258–1269) quotes an earlier text, known as *Ouyang waizhuan* 歐陽外傳, compiled by the monk Zuxiu 祖秀 (fl. c. 1100–1130).⁹¹ It asserted that Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) had been the pivotal supporter of Ju'ne. This is corroborated by writings in Ouyang's own collected works.⁹² Other sources indicate that Cheng Shimeng 程師孟 (1009–1086), then prefect of Nankang 南康, had already patronized Ju'ne and was responsible for recommending him to the capital.⁹³ Whether Ouyang or Cheng, members of the official classes brought a promising monk from Mount Lu to the attention of people in the capital. Itinerant scholar-officials, who maintained personal relationships across great distances, were important mechanisms in the movement of Buddhist abbots.⁹⁴ This further

⁸⁸ On the Chan abbot as a living buddha in the context of *shangtang* ritual sermons, see Robert Sharf, "How to Think with Chan *Gong'an*," in Charlotte Furth et al., eds., *Thinking with Cases* (Honolulu: U. Hawai'i P., 2007), pp. 232–35, and Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice," pp. 176–77.

⁸⁹ Huailian's "Ballad of White Clouds" ("Baiyun yao" 白雲謠) to see off Qisong 契嵩 from the capital offers some insights into Huailian's thoughts about life in Kaifeng; see Qisong, *Tanjin wen ji* 鐔津文集 (T 52.747.B15–19) and Tanxiu 曇秀, *Ren tian bao jian* 人天寶鑑 (ZZ 87.9.C14–16).

⁹⁰ "Chen kui ge bei" 宸奎閣碑, in Kong, ed., *Su Shi wen ji*, pp. 501–2.

⁹¹ *Ouyang waizhuan* is also known as *Ouyang Wenzhong Gong waizhuan* 歐陽文忠公外傳. Su Xiang 蘇庠 (1065–1147) wrote a preface, now lost. *Yunwo jitan* 雲臥紀譚 (ZZ 86.660.B7–c9) records additional details.

⁹² "Zeng Lushan seng Ju'ne" 贈廬山僧居訥, in Li Yi'an 李逸安, ed., *Ouyang Xiu quanji* 歐陽修全集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001), p. 811.

⁹³ Juefan Huihong, *Chanlin sengbaozhuan* (ZZ 79.542.C9) and Baozhou Jue'an, *Shishi jigu lie* (T 49.867.B14).

⁹⁴ Alfreda Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent* (Harvard

illustrates the well-documented phenomena of literati involvement in Buddhism in the provinces.⁹⁵

In general, after the Yunmen and Linji groups were established in these new regions, they continued to receive patronage for several generations. Networks of affiliation led to multi-generational relationships. As seen on map 4, Yunmen lineage abbots received the most patronage in the corridor between Kaifeng and Zhejiang. This region became the center of this network up to the end of the Northern Song. Patronage in Kaifeng included that of emperor Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1067–1085), who in 1080 ordered a total renovation of Xiangguo Monastery. Officials had feared potential fires that might spread uncontrollably through narrow alleys running among sixty-four small subtemples in the labyrinthine complex.⁹⁶ The grounds were reorganized into eight large subtemples, two of which – Huilin Chan Cloister (mentioned earlier) and Zhihai Chan Cloister 智海禪院 – were dedicated to public abbotships to be headed only by members of a Chan lineage. The first abbots to occupy these public seats were Yunmen lineage monks. Zongben arrived at Huilin in 1082 and Zhengjue Benyi 正覺本逸 (1023–1096) at Zhihai in 1083.⁹⁷ Thirty-five days after emperor Shenzong's death in 1085, Zongben was called from Huilin Chan Cloister to the imperial Funing Palace 福寧殿 where he gave a sermon and engaged in a question-and-answer dialogue with his students. These actions were said to have generated meritorious karma that was dedicated to the late emperor.⁹⁸ A later generation of Yunmen monks did likewise for emperor Zhezong 哲宗 (1085–1100), and empress-dowager Xiang 向

U.P., 2000), pp. 74, 83, and 114, documents numerous examples of the maintenance of social relations while in exile. On the this-worldly politics of being a “recluse” who awaits reinstatement, see Stephen Owen, *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics* (Madison, Wis.: U. Wisconsin P., 1985), pp. 29–31.

⁹⁵ Mark Halperin, *Out of the Cloister* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 2006), pp. 12, 227, suggests that sponsorship of local Buddhist projects offered literati in exile an acceptable means of asserting themselves and forging reputations.

⁹⁶ Xu Song 徐松, ed., *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957), *zhiguan* 25, pp. 9b–10a [2918–19], and cited in Wang Shengduo 汪聖鐸, *Songdai zhengjiao guanxi* 宋代政教關係 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2010), pp. 129–30. Though most Buddhist sources report 64 subtemples, *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995) 337, p. 8115, reports only 62.

⁹⁷ In 1082, the Linji lineage master Donglin Changzong 東林常總 (1025–1091) declined an order to head Zhihai Chan Cloister, and the subsequent year Yunmen lineage monk Benyi became the first abbot. See Zhipan, *Fozu tongji* (T49.416.33–10); Juefan Huihong, *Chanlin seng-baozhuan* (ZZ79.539.c15–18); and a mid-12th-c. compilation by Jiang Shaoyu 江少虞, *Songchao shishi leiyan* 宋朝事實類苑 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981) 44, p. 582.

⁹⁸ See Huibian 慧辯, ed., *Huilin Zongben chanshi bie lu* 慧林宗本禪師別錄 (ZZ73.85.b8–86.a2). Faxiu did likewise, *Xudeng lu* 78.700.b8–c8.

(1046–1101). These memorials marked a phase of direct imperial patronage for Chan masters in Kaifeng, many of whom belonged to the mesoregional Yunmen lineage group.

In addition, Yunmen Chan abbots received patronage at Fayun Monastery 法雲寺, a public abbacy constructed by Zhang Dunli and his wife in 1082.⁹⁹ The latter was imperial princess Shoukang 壽康 (1051–1123), third daughter of the Yingzong emperor and an important patron of Chan in the imperial city.¹⁰⁰ Fayun Monastery was administered by several generations of Yunmen-lineage abbots, including Foguo Weibai who, as discussed, compiled *Continuation of the Flame* while abbot of Fayun Monastery.

The success of Yunmen abbots in Kaifeng was not the result of a favoritism that promoted them exclusively. In fact, spanning several decades, the imperial court invited both Linji and Yunmen monks to these abbatial posts in Kaifeng. In general, Linji and Yunmen abbots maintained amicable relationships – sponsoring and serving in rituals for one another.¹⁰¹ Unlike Yunmen-lineage abbots, however, Linji monks in Kaifeng did not produce many heirs and thus had only a thin presence. In the twelfth century, Caodong monks, too, were invited to Kaifeng. Although individual monks moved across regions frequently, Chan lineages across generations mostly propagated within separate regional networks in the latter half of the Northern Song.

LITERATI ACCOUNTS OF REGIONAL CHAN GROUPS

A description of lineages as regional networks based on geographic information in the Flame Records can be corroborated by Northern Song literati writing. Somewhat ironically, a testimony to Yunmen predominance in eastern regions is found in the epitaph for a Linji-lineage master Xianzhi Zhaoqing 顯之昭慶 (1027–1089).¹⁰² Zhaoqing was from Quanzhou 泉州 and first ordained in Zhangzhou 漳州, both in Fujian. He later studied near Mount Lu with Huanglong Huinan,

⁹⁹ *Xudeng lu* 78.827.B17.

¹⁰⁰ Though princess Shoukang is referred to as Yueguo Dazhang gongzhu 越國大長公主 in Buddhist texts, she had many titles; see *Song shi* 248, p. 8780.

¹⁰¹ Huailian supported the Linji-lineage monk Jingyin Jingzhao 淨因淨照 (1014–1093) as his successor at Jingyin, and in turn Jingzhao selected Yunmen-lineage monks as the first abbots of Chan Cloisters at Xiangguo; see *Xudeng lu* 78.687.A3, and Juefan Huihong, *Chanlin seng-baozhuan* (ZZ 79.543.A1–b9). Prominent Linji monks served in roles using the “announcement mallet” (*baichui* 白槌, also written 白椎) at rituals led by Yunmen monks, and vice versa.

¹⁰² Qin Guan 秦觀, *Huaihaiji jianzhu* 淮海集箋注, ed. Xu Peijun 徐培均 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1994), pp. 1081–86. A later biography available in Tairu Minghe 汰如明河, *Buxu Gaosengzhuan* 補續高僧傳 (ZZ 77.421.C17–422.A15).

whom he regarded as his teacher. Sometime later, Zhaoqing traveled through eastern China and arrived in Gaoyou 高郵, modern Jiangsu. There, he befriended the local elites and was asked to serve as abbot of a local institution named Qianming 乾明.¹⁰³ He soon retired from Gaoyou to the secluded Huiji Cloister 惠濟院 in a hot-spring mountain village near Wujiang 烏江, west of modern Nanjing. Zhaoqing did not produce heirs, and was a bare branch on the family tree. But despite that fact, he nonetheless received important visitors. Two Gaoyou elites, Qin Guan 秦觀 (1049–1100) and Sun Jue 孫覺 (1028–1090), together with poet-monk Daoqian 道潛 (1043–after 1111), journeyed in summer of 1076 to visit Zhaoqing and bathe in the hot springs.¹⁰⁴ Later, Qin composed a memorial epitaph for Zhaoqing upon the latter's death; it was titled “Qing chanshi ta ming” 慶禪師塔銘.

Since the Tang, Chan masters of only the Yunmen and Linji lineages have flourished in the world. At this time, the descendants of Yunmen have dispersed and seized the large monasteries throughout the Huai and Zhe regions. As for descendants of Linji north of the Yangzi, there is only this one master [Zhaoqing]. For this reason, some followers of Yunmen did not approve of him. The master learned about this and laughed, saying, “This is exactly why I am a descendant of Linji.”¹⁰⁵

自唐以來，禪家盛行於世者，惟雲門、臨濟兩宗。是時雲門苗裔分據大剎，相望於淮浙之上。臨濟之後，自江以北，惟師一人，故雲門之徒，或不以師爲然，師聞而笑曰：“此吾所以爲臨濟兒孫也。”

In this epitaph, Qin Guan alludes to the broad regional division between the two main Chan lineages during the mid-Northern Song, perhaps in order to frame a memorable witticism attributed to Zhaoqing. Qin notes that Linji and Yunmen monks existed in separate geographic spaces, and seldom encountered one another. Zhaoqing alone was a Linji monk in this Yunmen area. We are not told whether it was his teachings, deportment, or dialect that led the local Yunmen monks to reject him as a Chan teacher. In response, Zhaoqing stated that such small-mindedness was a good reason to identify with the Linji lineage. Important for my purposes here, Qin's spatial division matches what my

¹⁰³ These details are from Qin's epitaph. “Qianming” in Gaoyou is not qualified as a *si*, *yuan*, or *an* in my sources.

¹⁰⁴ See a series of matching poems written by the three gentlemen while journeying, in *Huaihaiji jianzhu*, pp. 354–55. In addition, Qin Guan composed a prose record of the journey titled “You tangquan ji” 遊湯泉記, *ibid.*, pp. 1244–50, and a prose-poem “Tangquan fu” 湯泉賦, *ibid.*, pp. 13–19. The latter includes a colophon by Su Shi.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 1081–86. Corrected from Protass, “Towards a Spatial History of Chan,” p. 179.

dataset has revealed visually in the maps. We see Yunmen in the Jiang-Huai area, and Linji southwest of there – in Jiangxi and Hunan.

Zhang Lei 張耒 (1054–1114) wrote a memorial for the Yunmen-lineage monk Tianqing Zhizhen 天清智軫 (d. 1096) titled “Zhizhen chanshi ta ji” 智軫禪師塔記. Zhang indicates that he wrote it shortly after Zhizhen died in the late autumn or early winter of 1096. Zhang’s sense of spatial history is remarkably similar to what we have seen already.

When the great master Yunmen Kuangzhen Wenyan¹⁰⁶ first propagated his *dao* south of the Ling range, great worthies throughout the world straightened in respect. [When teaching] he never offered idle words, whether giving or seizing, approving or disapproving. Among Yunmen’s descendants, Xuedou Chongxian flourished in the southeast [Jiangnan], and though [Chongxian’s] dharma heirs are many, it is said that Tianyi Yihuai attained his *dao* with distinction. Since the death of Tianyi, his dharma heirs frequently appear in this one direction [of the world], and yet are standard-bearers for Chan learning in all four directions [of the world].¹⁰⁷

雲門匡真大師文僊，始以其道振於嶺表，諸方大士，無不斂衽。與奪可否，莫有閒言。雲門之後，至雪竇重顯，最盛於東南，其法嗣門人眾矣，而天衣懷義號為偏得其道。自天衣之歿，其法嗣往往出現一方，四方禪學之所折中。

Again, geography takes a prominent place in this Northern Song description of contemporary Chan lineages. Zhang strongly associates the Yunmen lineage with only one region.

Knowledge of the geography of Chan lineages is also found in twelfth-century writing. The literatus Wu Jiong 吳炯 (fl. 1120s–1140s) supposedly took refuge in a temple in 1130 to complete his book, *Wuzongzhi* 五總志, a record of conversations with other scholars as they fled the collapsed Northern Song. The following entry focuses on the differences between the poetry of Su Shi and Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045–1105), and the so-called “poetic schools” (*shi pai* 詩派) that regarded them as founders.¹⁰⁸ Though the geography of Chan lineages is mentioned incidentally, I foreground that aspect here.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ I use the word “*kuang* 匡” in the name, instead of the text’s original *zheng* 正; Kuangzhen 匡真 was one of Wenyan’s honorary names. I have also emended the Chinese text.

¹⁰⁷ *Zhang Lei ji* 張耒集, ed. Li Yi’an 李逸安 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), pp. 765–66. See Huang, p. 260.

¹⁰⁸ See chaps. 3 and 4 of Michael Fuller, *Drifting among Rivers and Lakes* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 2013).

¹⁰⁹ Wu Jiong’s comments are in his account of his escape from the north and records conversations with other fleeing scholars; see idem, *Wuzongzhi* 五總志, compiled during the Jian-

Master Su Dongpo died north of the Zhe (in Changzhou), while Huang Tingjian died south of the Yangzi (in Yizhou, Guangxi). As I see it, it's that Yunmen flourished in Wu, while Linji flourished in Chu. ... The way of Su and Huang is one, it is just that founders and heirs are not identical, that's all. Though people of Wu point at those of Chu and call them "the Jiangxi lineage," this does not settle the matter.

師坡者萃于浙右，師谷者萃于江右。余觀之，是雲門盛於吳，臨濟盛於楚。... 噫、坡、谷之道一也，特立法者與嗣法者不同耳。彼吳人指楚人爲江西之流，大非公論。

This text by Wu Jiong is valuable to us in part because it is not making an argument about Chan lineages. Wu's conception of the Yunmen and Linji lineages is introduced as a metaphor to explain subtle differences between schools of poetry. Wu points to two qualities illustrated by Chan lineages. They change over time from founder to heirs (even if their *dao* remains unchanged) and they thrive in relatively distinct regions. This is another example in which the Yunmen and Linji lineages are represented in terms of regional groups by a contemporary writer. Details about the creative association of Chan catchphrases with Song literati poetics have been given elsewhere.¹¹⁰

Literati sometimes thought of Chan lineages as regional networks in the mid- to late-Northern Song. Indeed, the geography expressed in literati accounts matches the spatial distribution recovered from the Flame Records, which were written by Chan masters. Map 4 presents a compelling visual argument for what is found in literati writing, and, vice versa, the latter offers non-sectarian evidence of the regionalism found in Flame Records. This regional pattern is found in two different types of sources, authored by two communities. My theory of the decline of the Yunmen lineage is predicated on the disparate geographic conditions for each lineage. The next section compares the fate of Buddhist institutions in these regions towards the end of the Northern Song.

yan 建炎 period (1127–1130) after the fall of Kaifeng. I interpret the places in Wu's comments based on the geography of the Five Dynasties period, not the early Chinese states; Zhu Yi'an 朱易安 ed., *Quan Song biji* 全宋筆記 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang, 2012) ser. 5, vol. 1, pp. 24–25.

¹¹⁰ See Richard Lynn, "Orthodoxy and Enlightenment: Wang Shih-chen's Theory of Poetic Enlightenment," in Wm. T. de Bary, ed., *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1975), pp. 217–69, and idem, "Sudden and Gradual in Chinese Poetry Criticism," in Peter Gregory, ed., *Sudden and Gradual* (Honolulu: U. Hawai'i P., 1987), pp. 381–427. See also Zhou Yukai 周裕鑑, *Fayan yu shixin* 法眼與詩心 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 2014), and Fuller, *Drifting*, pp. 155–67.

THE DECLINE OF YUNMEN

During the flourishing of the Yunmen lineage from the mid- to late-Northern Song, Yunmen monks held prominent abbatial positions from Kaifeng to Jiang-Huai. These areas of Yunmen-lineage activity, patronage, and propagation, were the very areas most severely destroyed during the Song-Jin wars of the 1120s and 1130s. The wars impacted Buddhist networks in these areas greatly. Map 5 displays the three further generations of abbots, in this case occurring after the fall of Northern Song, that is, during the early Southern Song. It illustrates the decline of the Yunmen lineage among Southern Song public monasteries.

The map is a visual guide to aid in my argument that there were three steps in the decline of the Yunmen lineage. First is the waning of the lineage's patronage in and around the capital during part of the reign of emperor Huizong. Second is the decimation of their regional network, especially the death or capture of patrons and the destruction of monasteries, during the Song-Jin wars. Third is the thinning out of the surviving portion of the network across Jin and Southern Song territory, destroying the ability of the lineage to cohere and propagate. But what I claim to be a thinning out may be a biased deduction, since the data from Southern Song-era Flame Records excluded, perhaps purposefully, Chan monks in Jin territory. Maps of the Flame Records correspond well with the first two steps and not with the third. Research of Yunmen monks under the Jin must rely on epigraphy and other materials beyond Song Flame Records.

Step 1: Changes in Patronage under Huizong

Following decades of cultural accomplishments and alterations to life in the imperial capital, the reign of emperor Huizong ended in debacle.¹¹¹ This complicated sovereign has been called “the only anti-Buddhist Song emperor.”¹¹² Such a vilification of Huizong's anti-Buddhist edicts of 1117–1119, while not a gross mischaracterization, overlooks the patterns of patronage during his long reign.

¹¹¹ See Patricia Ebrey, “Introduction,” in Patricia Ebrey and Maggie Bickford, eds., *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U. Asia Center, 2006), pp. 1–4, for dreadful details of the end of the Northern Song.

¹¹² Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*, p. 51. Schlütter cites Michel Strickmann, “The Longest Taoist Scripture,” *History of Religions* 17.3–4 (1978), p. 346, who also described the edicts as “active anti-Buddhist policy.” Strickmann drew on Tsukamoto Zenryū's 塚本善隆 characterization in “Tōkun kōtei to kūmei dochō seisaku 道君皇帝と空名度牒政策” (1941; rpt. in *Tsukamoto Zenryū chosaku shū* 塚本善隆著作集 [Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1975]) 5, pp. 79–92.

Huizong wrote a preface for the *Continuation of the Flame* in 1101. In 1103, he initiated a Buddhist patronage program, “a major expansion of the system of conferring names (and name plaques) on Buddhist and Daoist temples, which gave them both recognition and some privileges.”¹¹³ These temples known as Chongning 崇寧 monasteries, later renamed Tianning 天寧 monasteries in 1111, enjoyed several privileges – the granting of ordination certificates, tax exemptions, and land endowments.¹¹⁴ In return, monks at these temples conducted services annually on the emperor’s birthday that involved prayers for his longevity. This sort of patronage does not seem to have favored any particular Chan lineage.

On the other hand, early in Huizong’s reign, fortunes soured for the emperor’s son-in-law Zhang Dunli, a patron of the Yunmen lineage. As the brutal factional politics of the Northern Song reemerged, Zhang was demoted and exiled early in the Chongning reign-period (1102–1106).¹¹⁵ Chan institutions in the capital, disproportionately administered by the Yunmen lineage, must have suffered from Zhang’s fall. Although Huizong provided privileges and received prayers from the Chongning and Tianning Buddhist temples just mentioned, he withdrew patronage from previously established Buddhist institutions. Moreover, an edict in 1117 authorized the construction of Daoist “Divine Empyrean Palaces” (Shenxiao gong 神霄宮), first by converting existing Daoist temples of other types, and then by converting Buddhist temples if no Daoist temples were found in a prefecture.¹¹⁶ The conversion of several Buddhist temples is well-documented. Ishii Shūdō 石井修道 has noted that half of Puzhao Chan Monastery 普照禪寺 in Sizhou 泗州 was converted to a Divine Empyrean Palace while half remained a working public monastery.¹¹⁷ When Huizong personally visited there in 1126, he was moved to restore the entire grounds to use as a Buddhist monastery. By comparison, the famous Jiangtian Monastery 江天寺 at Zhenjiang 鎮江, better known as Jinshan 金山, underwent extensive reconstruction to become an elaborate Divine Empyrean Palace.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ Ebrey, *Emperor Huizong* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 2014), p. 150.

¹¹⁴ Shin-yi Chao, “Huizong and the Divine Empyrean Palace Temple Network,” in Ebrey and Bickford, eds., *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China*, pp. 339–43, and Ebrey, *Emperor Huizong*, pp. 149–51.

¹¹⁵ The details of Zhang’s political fortunes are summarized in his biography; *Song shi* 464, pp. 13582–83.

¹¹⁶ Chao, “Huizong and the Divine Empyrean Palace Temple Network,” p. 342.

¹¹⁷ From *Xingye ji* 行業記 in Zongfa 宗法 et al., ed., *Hongzhi chanshi guanglu* 宏智禪師廣錄 (T 48.120.114–25), discussed by Ishii Shūdō 石井修道, *Sōdai Zenshū shi no kenkyū* 宋代禪宗史の研究 (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1987), p. 310, and Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*, p. 98.

¹¹⁸ Ebrey, *Emperor Huizong*, p. 360.

The newly embellished site at Jinshan was soon devastated during the Song–Jin wars.¹¹⁹

We know of no widespread protest against Huizong's anti-Buddhist actions until 1119, when the throne tried to have Buddhist images adorned with Daoist trappings. The 1119 edict also prohibited new temple construction projects and forbade the expansion of temple land-holdings.¹²⁰ Many of these policies were soon reversed.¹²¹ While the short-term effects of this "anti-Buddhist campaign" were felt sorely in some locations, the policies do not appear to have harmed regional Buddhist networks. For example, the Xiangguo, Fayun, and Jingyin Chan monasteries in Kaifeng remained active beyond this period.

The policies of 1117–1119 may have constricted the financial well-being of Buddhist temples. Such withdrawal of patronage should be distinguished from active measures of oppression and violent destruction as seen during the Huichang persecution during the late-Tang dynasty. Huizong's reign did not favor the development of Chan temple institutions, but to describe the period as a persecution is also misleading. Some recent scholarship has reframed this matter as a period of focused top-down patronage of Daoism.¹²² Shin-yi Chao noted that "while many government officials appeared to be as enthusiastic as the emperor himself about the Divine Empyrean Palace project, some were much less so."¹²³ One form of passive resistance was to convert a small country temple to fill the quota, while other officials simply changed the name plaque and left the interior of a Buddhist monastery well alone. On the other hand, Patricia Ebrey notes cases in which zealous prefectural officials transformed numerous Buddhist temples into Divine Empyrean Palaces, a fact revealed by the existence of an edict of 1117 admonishing officials to not do precisely that.¹²⁴ Taken

¹¹⁹ *Jinshan zhi* 金山志 (1762; in Du Jiexiang 杜潔祥, ed., *Zhongguo Fosi shizhi huikan* 中國佛寺志史彙刊 [Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1980], ser. 1, vol. 38), j. 1, p. 6a-b [92].

¹²⁰ Ebrey, *Emperor Huizong*, pp. 359, 365–66.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 367, notes that these decrees were reversed between 1120 and 1121. Strickmann, "Longest Taoist Scripture," p. 350, follows Southern Song sources and links the brief severity of the "anti-Buddhist offensive" to Lin Lingsu. However, depictions of Lin Lingsu in primary sources vary widely, as discussed by Ebrey, *Emperor Huizong*, pp. 349–57. Chao, "Huizong and the Divine Empyrean," pp. 354–55, notes the Divine Empyrean network remained in place through Qinzong's abolition of unnecessary bureaus, with some edicts only rescinded in 1127, surviving past the influence of Lin Lingsu.

¹²² Ari Levine, "Terms of Estrangement: Factional Discourse in the Early Huizong Reign, 1100–1104," in Ebrey and Bickford, eds., *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China*, pp. 609–14, notes that Buddhism was not banned outright, but subsumed in a state Daoist bureaucracy and nomenclature.

¹²³ Chao, "Huizong and the Divine Empyrean," p. 345.

¹²⁴ Ebrey, *Emperor Huizong*, pp. 359–60.

all together, the evidence points to an uneven distribution of the impacts of Huizong's proscriptions against Buddhism. These pro-Daoist policies alone seem unlikely to have precipitated the decline of the Yunmen Chan lineage.

Step 2. The Song-Jin Wars

The most immediate cause for the decline of the Yunmen lineage was the Jin assault on Song territory from 1125 to 1130. The devastating invasion by Jin troops into the northern and eastern areas of the Song empire brought the Northern Song dynasty to a close. In early 1127, Jin troops again sacked the imperial city at Kaifeng, resulting in the decimation of its population.¹²⁵ The city fell after months of heavy siege, but destruction and barbarity endured thereafter for weeks. Imperial libraries and private collections were ruined.¹²⁶ Jin forces gathered and bound eminent monks of the capital, "capturing monks from every Chan cloister 令拘諸禪院僧," all to be sent to Jin territory.¹²⁷ Given the prominence of Yunmen monks in Chan temples of the capital, it is likely that Yunmen monks were disproportionately represented among this group.

The Yunmen lineage's patronage network had developed over many dozens of years, mostly by ministering to various needs of literati, aristocrats, and the imperial family. Moreover, its success was bound up with the monasteries of the capital city Kaifeng, itself. Thus when the invaders destroyed and imprisoned so many in Kaifeng, especially the thousands linked to the imperial court, the Yunmen patronage network collapsed.

The Song-Jin wars severely impacted temples in the capital and Huainan regions, exactly those places where Yunmen had flourished in the preceding seventy years. The historical destruction of monasteries was recorded in later gazetteers, records that provide a sense of the uneven geographic distribution of violence. Kaifeng fared poorly. At least twenty-eight Buddhist monasteries and temples were "torched by

¹²⁵ The following is drawn from Ari Levine, "The Reigns of Hui-tsung (1100-1126) and Ch'in-tsung (1126-1127) and the Fall of the Northern Song," in Denis Twitchett and Paul Jakov Smith, eds., *The Cambridge History of China*, v. 5, pt. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2009), and Tao Jing-shen, "The Move to the South and the Reign of Gao-tsung (1127-1162)," in *ibid.*

¹²⁶ On the loss of books, see Hilde De Weerdt, "The Discourse of Loss in Song Dynasty Private and Imperial Book Collecting," *Library Trends* 55.3 (2007), and Thomas H.C. Lee, "Books and Bookworms in Song China," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 25 (1995), pp. 204-5.

¹²⁷ Xu Mengxin 徐夢莘 (Song), *Sanchao beimeng huibian* 三朝北盟會編 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), j. 81, p. 8b [610]. On the relative qualities of Southern Song histories, see James T.C. Liu, *China Turning Inwards* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1988), pp. 16-18.

Jin soldiers 燬於金兵” or otherwise destroyed, according to two local gazetteers.¹²⁸ Among those destroyed was Kaibao Monastery 開寶寺, located inside the city walls near Anyuan Gate 安遠門 and constituted by twenty-four subtemples covering some 285 *qu* 區 that surrounded the famous Iron Pagoda 鐵塔.¹²⁹ According to Southern Song sources, a heavy snow fell the night Jin forces set a large fire at Kaibao Monastery, Tianning Monastery 天寧寺, and 500 nearby households in 1127.¹³⁰ Only the Iron Pagoda remained standing after the Jin siege.

The physical destruction wrought by the Song–Jin wars did not stop at Kaifeng. Buddhist temples along the corridor to Zhejiang could not guarantee safety to those fleeing the front. Jin troops went south-easterly in pursuit of the last Song heir, who had been installed as emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 1127–1162). In his flight, Gaozong proceeded down the Grand Canal to fortified Yangzhou, before retreating to Hangzhou in 1129.¹³¹ Later in 1129, he relocated the imperial administration closer to the front near modern Nanjing. Before the end of the year, however, that city was besieged by Jin troops and quickly fell. In pursuit of the Song emperor, the Jin army overran city after city, including Changzhou, Hangzhou, and Shaoxing. Jin troops reached Ningbo as the emperor successfully fled by boat and was defended by the superior Song navy. Then, on their northerly retreat from Ningbo, Jin troops pillaged the cities of Hangzhou and Suzhou. The flight of the last Song heir and the pursuit of Jin troops left a trail of devastation.¹³²

Southern Song texts detail the impacts of the warfare on temples. In winter of 1130 as Song forces retreated to Wenzhou, the imperial retinue took refuge in Jiangxin Monastery 江心寺.¹³³ Yet Jin forces used temple buildings for shelter as well. In one incident, roughly a

¹²⁸ At least 28 temples were destroyed by Jin troops; more temples were destroyed in the Jin–Yuan war, and again in the Yuan–Ming war. See Li Lian 李濂 (1488–1566), *Bianjing yiji zhi* 汴京遺蹟志 (SKQS edn.) 10, pp. 1a–15b, and 11, pp. 24b–28a; and Song Jijiao 宋繼郊 (1818–1893), *Dongjing zhilue* 東京志略 (Kaifeng: Henan Daxue, 1999) pp. 247–65, 527–75. *Bianjing yiji zhi* 10, p. 21a, and *Dongjing zhilue*, pp. 576–604, document the destruction of Daoist abbeys.

¹²⁹ Li, *Dongjing zhilue*, pp. 531–33. An otherwise lost stele inscription from reconstruction efforts in 1551 states that the Iron Pagoda alone survived the wars that established Jin and Yuan control.

¹³⁰ This occurred on the 25th day of the 12th month of the first year of Jingkan (February 15, 1127); see Ding Teqi 丁特起, *Jingkan jiwu* 靖康紀聞 (CSJC edn.), pp. 18–19; Xu Mengxin, *Sanchao beimeng huibian* 96, p. 6b [708]; *ibid.* 76, p. 5b [550], appears to run together the temple names as Tianbao 天寶; anon., *Jingkan yaolu* 靖康要錄 (CSJC edn.) 14, p. 284, states that the fire occurred the previous day.

¹³¹ Tao, “Move to the South,” pp. 650–51.

¹³² A map illustrating these campaigns is in *ibid.*, p. 656.

¹³³ Li Xinchuan 李心傳, *Jiannan yilai xianian yaolu* 建炎以來繫年要錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), j. 31, pp. 607–8.

dozen Jin soldiers fell ill and were forced to convalesce in the Kaiyuan Monastery 開元寺 of Ningbo.¹³⁴ As each army commandeered temple structures and resources to support their war efforts, these temples also became targets of war. For example, the location of the large Chongfu Chan Cloister at Mount Changlu on the north bank of the Yangzi led to concern that the wooden temple structures would become an ample supply of ready hewn timber that could be used to construct vessels to cross the river. In 1129, before the quickly advancing Jin troops had an opportunity to take it apart for its lumber, the Song army razed most of the monastery's buildings.¹³⁵ Decades later, when Lu You 陸游 (1125–1210) passed Mount Changlu during the summer of 1170, he noted the area had been badly ravaged, except portions of the monastery. However, the monastery Lu saw was much diminished, home to only a fraction of its late-Northern Song monastic population.¹³⁶

Individual gazetteers from places including Zhenjiang, Shaoxing, and Ningbo confirm the widespread destruction of temples and infrastructure across the corridor from Kaifeng to Jiang-Huai.¹³⁷ For example, Ruiguang Monastery 瑞光寺, where Zongben had retired, was destroyed by soldiers during the Song–Jin fighting.¹³⁸ As shown above, a proportionately large number of monasteries in these regions were connected to the Yunmen network and its patrons.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 609.

¹³⁵ The dramatic events leading to the destruction of Chongfu Chan cloister in Changlu on the thirteenth day of the eleventh month of the third year of Jingkan (January 1, 1130) is narrated in Xu Mengxin, *Sanchao beimeng huibian* 134, pp. 12b–13b [976–77]. This is the same temple discussed by Huang and Schlütter as emblematic of the Caodong revival, noted above, n. 49.

¹³⁶ Compare the several hundred monks in residence in Lu's report with over 1,000 in the late-11th c., associated with Faxiu's tenure per Juefan Huihong, *Chanlin sengbaozhuan* (ZZ 79.543.c15–16), and 1,700 monks at the end of the Northern Song per Hongzhi Zhengjue's 宏智正覺 (1091–1157) memorial for Zhenxie Qingliao 真歇清了 (1088–1151), cited in Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*, p. 99. Lu You, *Ru Shu ji* 入蜀記 (*Record of a Trip to Shu*), Zhu Yi'an, *Quan Song biji*, ser. 5, vol. 8, pp. 169–70; Chun-shu Chang and Joan Smythe, *South China in the Twelfth Century* (Hong Kong: Chinese U.P., 1981), pp. 67–68.

¹³⁷ Chaps. from Song and Yuan gazetteers that document the destruction by the Jin forces include those in *Jiatai Kuji zhi* 嘉泰會稽志 (1201), rpt. in *Zhonghua shuju bianjibu*, 中華書局編輯部, ed., *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan* 宋元方志叢刊 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990; hereafter, *SYFZ*), vol. 7, j. 7; Lu Xian 盧憲, *Jiading Zhenjiang zhi* 嘉定鎮江志 (1213), *SYFZ*, vol. 3, j. 6 and 8 (and a Confucian temple in j. 10); Zhou Yinghe 周應合, *Jingding Jiankang zhi* 景定建康志 (1261), *SYFZ*, vol. 2, j. 44; Shi Nengzhi 史能之, *Xianchun Piling zhi* 咸淳毗陵志 (1268), *SYFZ*, vol. 3, j. 25; and Yuan Jue 袁桷, *Yanyou Siming zhi* 延祐四明志 (1320), *SYFZ*, vol. 6, j. 16 and 18.

¹³⁸ Wang Ao 王鑒, *Zhengde Gusu zhi* 正德姑蘇志 (1506), j. 29, p. 6b; rpt. Beijing tushuguan guji chubanshe, *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan* 北京圖書館古籍珍本叢刊 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1987), vol. 26, p. 416.

The wartime devastation of Baoyan Cloister 寶嚴院 is recorded in *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳臨安志, as seen in the following passage.¹³⁹

In 1130, when the Jin invaded, the entire Baoyan compound was torched. Only the Guanyin Hall was intact towering [over the ruins]. The Jurchens were startled by this miracle, and so they donated gold leaf to the dhāraṇī pillar and Buddha's tooth relic, repented their sins, and fled that very night. Thanks to Guanyin, people living within ten *li* of the temple suffered no harm. The halls and wings [of the temple] were rebuilt in 1142.

建炎四年金犯順院燬盡，而大士殿巍然獨存。金人駭異，奉泥金法幢佛牙舍利謝罪，夜遁去院旁數十里皆以大士得無恙。紹興二年重建殿堂廊廡。

The violence was so harmful to infrastructure that when a single building survived the fires at Baoyan Cloister, Jin troops thought it a holy intervention.

The region from Kaifeng to Jiang-Huai had been closely associated with the Yunmen lineage previously. By comparison, the Jiangxi area appears to have been largely unaffected.¹⁴⁰ A single column of Jin troops traversed Jiangxi in pursuit of the dowager-empress in 1129. Because of the location of the main theater of war, Buddhist monasteries in these two regions met with different fates. The post-war recovery was also unevenly distributed, and Huainan took decades longer to return to economic vitality.¹⁴¹ Chan lineages and their networks, too, fared differently in these regions.

In northerly areas that became Jin territory, some temple infrastructure that survived the Song-Jin wars was soon in disuse. In 1170, Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126–1193) went on a diplomatic mission to the Jin capital. He passed through Kaifeng and visited Xiangguo Monastery. He reported that the temple still bore a name-plaque with imperial calligraphy, but the rooflines were askew and rooftop ornaments missing. Statues lay covered in dust. In the courtyard, Fan saw a market with processed animal skins – “lamb-furs and wolf-caps” – but reported no religious activity.¹⁴² These once fertile grounds managed by generations

¹³⁹ Qian Yueyou 潛說友, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳臨安志 (1265–1274), *STFZ*, vol. 4, j. 81, p. 13b [4108].

¹⁴⁰ In reading through historical gazetteers from the Jiangxi area that correlate with the advance of Jin troops I found a very small number of temples affected by the Song-Jin war.

¹⁴¹ Tao, “Move to the South,” p. 699.

¹⁴² From Fan's poem with headnote titled “Xiangguo si,” in Fan Chengda 范成大, *Shihu jushi shiji* 石湖居士詩集 (SBCK edn.) 12, p. 3a, trans. James Hargett, “Fan Ch'eng-ta's Lan-p'ei lu,” *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* 16 (1984), p. 149, n. 132, together with the pertinent passage of Fan's embassy diary, *Lanpeilu* 攬轡錄.

of Yunmen abbots were fallow after the Song–Jin wars.¹⁴³

The Jin invasion had devastating impacts on many aspects of the Song empire, disproportionately grave in the areas of Kaifeng, the Huai river area, and into Zhejiang. Among Chan groups, the Yunmen lineage was most immediately affected. Many patrons had been removed to the north or killed, and monasteries were burned. Furthermore, what became of Yunmen lineage monks themselves? This question is addressed in the next section.

Step 3. Yunmen after the Northern Song

Following the wars, the Jin empire established control over territory north of the Huai River. A few Yunmen abbots traveled south to the new Southern Song dynasty, but were not able to reestablish a robust network, and so the lineage soon came to an end. Other Yunmen abbots remained in the north and won patronage from the Jin court. This northern Yunmen lineage survived until the late Yuan dynasty 元 (1279–1368). The surviving Yunmen networks were fragmented in separate areas and at the same time monks and patrons were reduced in numbers. After this, the Yunmen lineage declined.

Very few Yunmen teachers survived into the Southern Song. The most prominent line was led by Miaozhan Sihui 妙湛思慧 (1071–1145). Sihui was born to a wealthy family in Hangzhou and became a leading disciple of Shanben. Through the Yunmen network, his reputation reached emperor Huizong and he was appointed abbot of the prestigious Zhihai Chan Cloister of Xiangguo Monastery.¹⁴⁴ During the Southern Song he resided in monasteries in Fujian and was considered a member of the local elite. He fasted as death neared in 1145, and his entire body was preserved as a relic.¹⁴⁵ Fourteen of his disciples received enough patronage to become abbots of public monasteries in Fujian and Zhejiang. Those Yunmen lineage disciples in Fujian were not able to procreate further, likely because Fujian monasteries suffered under changes in Song fiscal policies.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Later, and a decade after a destructive fire in 1221, the monastery was destroyed in the Mongol siege of Kaifeng; Li, *Bianjing yiji zhi* 10, pp. 1a–b. See also Duan Yuming 段玉明, *Xiangguo si* 相國寺 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 2004), pp. 80–81.

¹⁴⁴ This story is in the preface for a recorded-sayings text by Huihong, in Juefan Huihong, *Zhu Shimen wenzi Chan* 注石門文字禪 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), j. 23, pp. 1376–78; ongoing circulation is indicated by fragments in Huishi Shiming 晦室師明, *Xu gu zunsu yuyao* 續古尊宿語要 (ZZ 68.397.A22), published in 1238.

¹⁴⁵ Zhengshou, *Jiatai pudeng lu* (ZZ 79.340.C23).

¹⁴⁶ Masaaki Chikusa 竺沙雅章, *Chūgoku Bukkyō shakai shi kenkyū* 中国仏教社会史研究 (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1982), pp. 159–69, 181–82, cited in Halperin, *Out of the Cloister*, pp. 9–10 and 244, n. 29.

Foremost among Sihui's disciples in Zhejiang was Yuetang Daochang, introduced above, who had already received an abbatial appointment in the late-Northern Song. The Gaozong court appointed him to be abbot of the monastery at Jiangshan 蔣山 (near modern Nanjing), which had been destroyed in the Song-Jin war. After leading a successful restoration project, he was ordered to oversee several monasteries in Hangzhou. He spent the longest period at Jingci Monastery 淨慈寺 from 1166 until his death several years later. Although the court was content to call on Daochang's administrative skills to restore and manage important monastic institutions, virtually none of his disciples received adequate patronage to ascend to control of a public abbacy. We already saw that Zhengshou, the compiler of *Widespread Flame*, wished to become an heir but did not have the opportunity to do so. Why did the Yunmen lineage not subsequently flourish? A significant factor was the new dynamics of patronage in the Southern Song. Whereas the number of public monasteries nearly doubled during the Northern Song, the total number of monasteries in Southern Song did not increase greatly.¹⁴⁷

The patronage patterns of individual emperors and literati at court were very significant. Emperor Gaozong did not show an interest in rebuilding Buddhist institutions. To the contrary, his court ordered the confiscation of monastic wealth to finance the new government during the early years of his reign.¹⁴⁸ Daochang observed that it was a struggle to administer monasteries during this period.¹⁴⁹ Eventually, the Southern Song court would sponsor larger Buddhist monasteries, including the Five Mountains system of imperial patronage that started in the Jiading reign-period (1208–1224).¹⁵⁰ But this occurred after the disappearance of Yunmen masters, showing that unfortunate timing was one reason for the Yunmen lineage's inability to recover in the Southern Song.

¹⁴⁷ Wang Zhongyao 王仲堯, *Nan Song Fojiao zhidu wenhua yanjiu* 南宋佛教制度文化研究 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 2012), vol. 1, pp. 133–55, compares Northern and Southern Song monastic institutional and economic history. Though differing historical naming practices complicate the issue, Wang's tables indicate that in the Northern Song the total number of new temples nearly doubled, whereas there is almost no increase during the Southern Song.

¹⁴⁸ Wang, *Songdai zhengjiao*, p. 218, cited in Patricia Ebrey, "Song Government Policy," in John Lagerwey and Pierre Marone, eds., *Modern Chinese Religion I: Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan (960–1368 AD)* (Leiden: Brill, 2014) 1, pp. 92–93.

¹⁴⁹ Zhengshou, *Jiatai pudeng lu* (ZZ 79.367.B24–C5).

¹⁵⁰ The Five Mountains system began after a petition by Shi Miyuan 史彌遠 (1164–1233), according to the early-Ming historian Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–1381), and continued at least through the Yuan. See Ishii Shūdō 石井修道, "Chūgoku no gozan jussatsu seido no kisoteki kenkyū" 中国の五山十刹制度の基礎的研究, pt. 1, *Komazawa daigaku Bukkyō gakubu ronshū* 駒澤大學佛教學部論集 13 (1982), pp. 89–132, and Huang Minzhi 黃敏枝, *Songdai Fojiao shehui*

The relative fortunes of Chan lineages in the Southern Song can be correlated with the extent of their networks. The Yunmen lineage by the early-Southern Song was no longer a robust network of patrons, students, and collateral branches. Too few people lived in too few places and too far apart. By comparison, the Linji lineage persisted in the areas of Jiangxi and Sichuan and emerged as an important player in the administration of public monasteries in the region around the new Southern Song capital of Hangzhou. Linji became an empire-wide network, with numerous patrons in several regions. The Caodong lineage lies outside our scope of this essay, but it can be characterized in early-Southern Song times as a small network in Jiangnan, not an empire-wide network. This branch of Caodong came to an end during the Yuan.¹⁵¹

In addition, the elite who were supporters of Yunmen monks were no longer in positions of power. Members of Gaozong's court were absorbed with the consolidation of political legitimacy. Modern historians have also observed that early-Southern Song court factions were in part connected to ministers' places of birth.¹⁵² Abe Chōichi detailed how place-of-origin factionalism at Gaozong's court was connected to patronage of elite monks.¹⁵³ A Sichuanese clique that included Zhang Jun 張浚 (1097–1164) favored the Yangqi-branch Linji Chan master Yuanwu Keqin 圓悟克勤 (1063–1135), who hailed from the same hometown as Zhang. Moreover, officials in Hunan and Jiangxi lent patronage to the Huanglong branch of Linji.¹⁵⁴ Both of these groups were opposed to the faction led by Qin Hui 秦檜 (1090–1155), who was said to favor Tiantai over Chan.¹⁵⁵ Whatever remained of the Yunmen patronage network did not have a significant presence in the Southern Song court. The factions at court may have alienated the Yunmen lineage because of the lineage's connections with the fallen Kaifeng court.

jingjishi lunji 宋代佛教社會經濟史論集 (Taipei: Taiwan xue sheng, 1989), pp. 313–14.

¹⁵¹ However, a northern branch of Caodong descending from Wansong Xingxiu 萬松行秀 (1166–1246) continued until the Qing. See Yang, *Song Yuan Chan*, p. 632, Noguchi Yoshitaka 野口善敬, *Gendai Zenshū shi kenkyū* 元代禪宗史研究 (Kyoto: Zen Bunka Kenkyūjo, 2005), pp. 9–12, and Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2008), pp. 93–96. On the demise of Caodong in Jiangnan, see Yang, *Song Yuan Chan*, p. 497.

¹⁵² Teraji Jun 寺地遵, *Nansō shoki seijishi kenkyū* 南宋初期政治史研究 (Hiroshima: Keisuishsha, 1988), pp. 121–24. See also Liu, *China Turning Inwards*, p. 42.

¹⁵³ Abe, *Chūgoku Zenshūshi*, pp. 544–46.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 533, 545, 550, n. 24.

¹⁵⁵ Andō Toshio 安藤俊雄, *Tendai shisō shi* 天台思想史 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1959), p. 138. See also Miriam Levering, “Dahui Zonggao (1089–1163): The Image Created by His Stories about Himself and His Teaching Style,” in Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright, eds., *Zen Masters* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2010), p. 101.

Local elites and literati during the Southern Song were creating new dynamics of patronage.¹⁵⁶ The local popularity of Linji and Caodong monks in Jiangnan can in part be attributed to self-cultivation practices, especially among the literati. The idea that the Yunmen lineage declined because of a lack of such innovations is opposed by evidence that Yunmen monks did teach self-cultivation techniques to householders. For example, Zongze already in the late-Northern Song was teaching meditation and awakening for the laity.¹⁵⁷ In the early Southern Song, Daochang was popular with local Hangzhou elites, we are told, and announced at Jingci Monastery that he sought “to cause those gentlemen who sincerely yearn for the way to have a great insight, a great awakening, and to raise this branch of Yunmen so that everyone who has affinity for Buddhism will know about our lineage! 吾欲得真實慕道之士，令大徹大悟，起雲門一派，俾天下向吾教者，知有此宗。”¹⁵⁸ Yet, even though Daochang ministered to local elites and was widely respected, he was not able to propagate the lineage during the Southern Song. This was not from a failure to be relevant to the needs of literati patrons.

Another aspect of the failure to propagate was the inability to climb out of a demographic trough related to the way the numbers of lineage heirs and appointments worked. Two of Daochang’s heirs are known to have had public abbatial positions at small and insignificant monasteries. When Daochang died, his funeral was presided over by Linji-lineage monk Fohai Huiyuan, who in his eulogy announced the end of the Yunmen lineage.¹⁵⁹ Other contemporary texts suggested that the master had no heirs because his standards had been too high.¹⁶⁰ Huiyuan blamed incompetent students. We can also speculate that because the network dwindled to so few abbots, this made it unlikely that a single teacher could reconstitute the lineage.

Though part of the Yunmen lineage died away during the Southern Song, the lineage did survive in northern regions into the fourteenth

¹⁵⁶ A careful consideration of the new dynamics is given in Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*, pp. 74–76.

¹⁵⁷ See Zongze’s disciple Puhui 普惠 (n.d.), *Quan hua ji* 勸化集 (pref. 1104), in *E’cang Heishuicheng wenxian* 俄藏黑水城文獻 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996), vol. 3, pp. 82–126.

¹⁵⁸ Zhengshou, *Jiatai pudeng lu* (ZZ 79.367.c3–4).

¹⁵⁹ Narrated in Daorong, *Conglin shengshi* (ZZ 86.691.B21–c2), with the full funeral sermon in Qiji 齊己 et al., eds., *Xiatang Huiyuan chanshi guanglu* 瞎堂慧遠禪師廣錄 (ZZ 69.596.B2–16).

¹⁶⁰ Jingshan 淨善, *Chanlin baoxun* 禪林寶訓 (T 48.1035.C20–29), quotes a Song-era story about someone putting this to Daochang, with his response.

century under Jin and then Yuan rule. Yunmen monks in Jin territory are virtually absent in the writings of their contemporaries in Southern Song. Even the *Widespread Flame* by Zhengshou, who professed some preference for the Yunmen lineage, does not mention the Jin monks known to us from epigraphy and Khara-Khoto documents. Territory was lost in the Song–Jin wars, and this reduced the spatial imagination of Song Chan compilers. The Southern Song legal code *Qingyuan tiaofa shilei* 慶元條法事類 contains regulations concerning itinerant monks. An 1143 prohibition against monks' travels to Jin territory reads, "From this day forth, monastics may not go to Huainan and Jingxi circuits or the neighboring outer regions, provinces, and commanderies to go on itinerant wandering 敕今後僧道不得往淮南、京西路、鄰接外界、州、軍行遊."¹⁶¹ Whether or not such prohibitions in fact halted all real exchange, Yunmen and Caodong Chan monks in the Jin were excluded from the Southern Song *Outline of the Linked Flames* and *Widespread Flame*. Monks in the Yunmen lineage fell off the map, so to speak, because their network of affiliation fragmented outside the bounds of the Southern Song.

Recently, Liu Xiao 劉曉 has used epigraphic evidence to show that Yunmen monks were abbots at the Da Sheng'an Monastery 大聖安寺, inside the city of Yanjing (in what is present-day Beijing), beginning with Hongji Qiong 洪濟瓊 (n.d.), a disciple of Zongze.¹⁶² Hongji Qiong had traveled north and enjoyed patronage from the Jin court as early as the Tianhui era 天會 (1123–1137), and later moved to Hongluo Monastery 紅螺寺, also near modern Beijing.¹⁶³ Chan monks continued to receive patronage at Da Sheng'an Monastery at least into the mid-fourteenth century.¹⁶⁴ To my knowledge, no direct evidence survives of the teachings or rituals of Yunmen masters during the Jin regime in the north. Several texts by Qiong's master Zongze circulated in the north and were among the documents found outside the Xixia city of Khara-Khoto in the far northwest, and may yet provide insight into ongoing Yunmen-lineage activity in northern areas.¹⁶⁵ Brief biographies of several Jin-dynasty Yunmen monks in Flame Records style appear in the seventeenth century, however, the compiler Yuanmen Jingzhu 遠門淨

¹⁶¹ In Xie Shenfu 謝深甫, *Qingyuan Tiaofa shilei* 慶元條法事類 (Beijing: Yanjing daxue tushuguan, 1948), j. 51, pp. 1a–3b.

¹⁶² Liu, "Jin Yuan beifang Yunmen," pp. 72–73.

¹⁶³ Xing, "Hongluo si seng shi xiao lue."

¹⁶⁴ Liu, "Jin Yuan beifang Yunmen," pp. 78–82.

¹⁶⁵ Zongze's teachings in *Quan hua ji* were referenced above, n. 157.

柱 (1604–1654) lamented the unreliability of his sources.¹⁶⁶ Here, all traces of Yunmen-lineage activity ceased by the late-fourteenth century.¹⁶⁷ The Yunmen lineage had come to its demise.

CONCLUSION

Chan lineages developed as regional networks throughout the Northern Song. A place-based, that is, spatial, history can underpin a new way of thinking about their growth, stability, and decline.¹⁶⁸ It challenges the still-prevalent assumption that Buddhist social groups rose and fell according to a competition of ideas in a religious marketplace.

Mapping Northern Song Chan lineages reveals regional distributions of intergenerational networks of Chan abbots and their lineage heirs. The use of religious biographies in the genre called Flame Records in order to mark out a spatial history of Song-era Chan differs from using such texts to understand the history of the Tang, as was once done in the past. To corroborate my mapping of this one genre, I consulted imperial and literati texts that referenced regional identity incidentally.¹⁶⁹ Overall, mapping was instrumental in providing broader contexts for close readings of texts.¹⁷⁰ I turned also to inscriptions and local gazetteers to understand the destruction of monasteries in regions where Yunmen monks and their network of patrons had thrived.

What generalizations might we draw about Chan lineages in the latter half of the Northern Song? Using broad brushstrokes, we can say that the lineages proliferated contingent on regional networks of patrons and institutions. But when face-to-face in Kaifeng, monks of the Yunmen and Linji lineages were not bitter competitors, and instead they enjoyed mutual proximity and interrelations. Similarly, for many members of

¹⁶⁶ See Jingzhu's preface to his *Wudeng huiyuan xulue* 五燈會元續略 (ZZ 80.443B10–c7) (1648). Biographies appear in *ibid.*, j. 2; in Feiyin Tongrong 費隱通容, ed., *Wudeng yantong* 五燈嚴統 (1654), j. 16 (starting at ZZ 81.161A10); and in Jilun Chaoyong 霽崙超永, ed., *Wudeng quanshu* 五燈全書 (1693), j. 119 (ZZ 82.712C02–713A13). On these compilations, see Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 208–9.

¹⁶⁷ I exclude the 20th-c. revival of the Yunmen lineage initiated by Xuyun 虛雲, and active today.

¹⁶⁸ Brose discusses “place-based patronage” in *Patrons and Patriarchs*, p. 132. *Ibid.*, p. 208, n. 87, cites an earlier version of the present essay.

¹⁶⁹ For a productive critique of “distant reading,” see Matt Erlin and Lynne Tatlock, “Introduction,” in *idem*, eds., *Distant Readings: Topologies of German Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Rochester, N.Y.: Camden House, 2014), pp. 1–25.

¹⁷⁰ The “instrumental” is one of three uses of mapping explored by Barbara Piatti, “Literary Cartography: Mapping as Method” in Anders Engberg-Pedersen, ed., *Literature and Cartography* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2017), pp. 58–60, 65–67.

the literati like Su Shi, who wherever he went befriended local monks regardless of sect, proximity and personal connections were more important than lineage-based ideologies.¹⁷¹ For example, an epistle from the Linji monk Huanglong Huinan responding to a messenger from his Yunmen colleague Huailian, who had gone to Kaifeng, acknowledges the steep obstacle to friendship presented by distance.¹⁷²

Earlier this year ago I learned of your appointment to the imperial city. I was out begging in Nanchang at the time, and when I returned to the mountain you were already on the road. ... I remember we spent decades in the monastery together, but suddenly one morning we are as [far apart as] east and west, and there is no way to see you. How deep are my regrets. 早歲吾知有王城之命, 愚作豫章丐, 回山日, 師已登途 ... 翻思數十年林下之契, 一旦東西而莫我覩. 深所恨也.

Huinan remained in Jiangxi while Huailian was in Kaifeng ministering to the emperor, literati, and learned elites. As shown above, this geography mattered in the rise and fall of the Yunmen lineage. More work remains, and hopefully it will show details of how such geographic differences may have in fact shaped the history of religious teachings and practices after all.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Huang</i>	Huang Ch'i-chiang 黃啓江, <i>Bei Song Fojiao shi lungao</i> 北宋佛教史論稿
<i>SYFZ</i>	Zhonghua shuju bianjibu 中華書局編輯部, ed., <i>Song Yuan fangzhi congkan</i> 宋元方志叢刊
<i>Xudeng lu</i>	Foguo Weibei 佛國惟白, <i>Jianzhong Jingguo xudeng lu</i> 建中靖國續燈錄
ZZ	Kawamura Kōshō 河村孝照 et al., eds., <i>Shinsan Dai Nihon zoku zōkyō</i> 新纂大日本續藏經

¹⁷¹ Beata Grant, *Returning to Mount Lu* (Honolulu: U. Hawaii P., 1994), pp. 14–32.

¹⁷² “Ji Jingyin Dajue Lian Chanshi” 寄淨因大覺璉禪師, in Huang, *Bei Song Huanglong Huinan*, pp. 125–26. Surveying Huinan’s letters to monks outside his own lineage, Huang describes them as friendly yet serious in purpose, *ibid.*, p. 117.

