

CONSTRUCTING THE CHAN TRADITION:
THE TWO-WAY TRANSMISSION BETWEEN
JINGSHAN TEMPLE AND KENCHŌ-JI TEMPLE

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ABSTRACT

How and why is a tradition constructed and reconstructed in different times and spaces? This thesis is an art-historical and anthropological study of comparing the establishment of Southern Song Chan tradition in Kamakura during the 13th century and the re-establishment of Southern Song Chan tradition in contemporary China, by analyzing the case study of Kenchō-ji temple in Kamakura, Japan and Jingshan temple in Hangzhou, China. Through field research in China and Japan, interviews and investigation of documents, visual materials, and archives, I illustrate how was the Southern Song Chan tradition constructed in Kenchō-ji temple's landscape and after almost 800 years, is being reconstructed in Jingshan temple's landscape.

This comparison leads to two main arguments. First, by comparing the landscapes of Kenchō-ji temple and Jingshan temple during the 13th century, I argue that the emphases and modifications of Southern Song Chan monastic elements in Kenchō-ji temple's layout show multiple incentives of the Shogunal government to introduce this foreign tradition. The construction of monasteries in Southern Song Chan monastic styles also served as an important basis for forming the samurai spirituality during the Kamakura period. Second, though the reconstructed Jingshan temple claims itself to be the restoration of the authentic Southern Song Chan monastic tradition, it is essentially a pastiche of Song, Ming, and Qing Chan monastic styles. Instead of being reconstructed as a religious pilgrimage centre, the historical and cultural aspects of Jingshan are much appreciated and Jingshan temple is reconstructed more as a Chan-themed recreational museum park. Adopting the reconstruction method of "structural

amnesia”, the revival of Jingshan temple is exploited as a development resource to meet the needs of Chinese modern audience. To conclude, both temples modified, manipulated, and emphasized on different aspects of the Southern Song Chan tradition in their landscapes with heterogeneity of incentives and propagandas. Either establishing a new “tradition” or restoring an old “tradition” is by no means a peaceful return to the past, but an urgent progression to meet the needs of the present and the future.

This thesis contributes to the emerging field of the revitalization of Buddhism in contemporary China through providing newer insights from both art-historical and anthropological perspectives. Furthermore, this thesis also provides insights into how cultures and traditions are transmitted and re-transmitted across national boundaries before and after the concept of “nation” is developed and national identity is formed.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Mingxuan Wang was born in Xi'an, China on November 14th, 1993. During her study in the Chinese University of Hong Kong (2012-2016) as an undergraduate majoring Japanese Studies, she had the opportunity to exchange in Kyoto University, Japan for an academic year (2014-2015). With the financial support of Monbusho JASSO scholarship, she conducted her field research on small-sized local temples in the Kansai area and completed her undergraduate thesis entitled *Fading Temple Buddhism: The Changing Mission of Buddhist Local Temples in Kansai*.

The growing interest of exploring more about Japanese and Chinese Buddhism brought her to North America to study Japanese religions with Professor Jane Marie Law at Cornell University's Department of Asian Studies and Japanese and Chinese art with Professor An-Yi Pan at Cornell University's Department of Art History since 2016.

For my parents: Xiao Chen and Shuqin Wang

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BAC Buddhist Association of China (中国佛教协会)

CCP Chinese Communist Party (中国共产党)

CPPCC Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (中国人民政协)

GJCNP Grand Jingshan Countryside National Park (大径山乡村国家公园)

PRC People's Republic of China (中华人民共和国)

PROLOGUE

Walking around some of the oldest and grandest Zen monasteries, namely Kenchō-ji temple and Engaku-ji temple, I suddenly had a “nostalgic” feeling, as the Southern Song Chan monastic architectural styles preserved in these temples seemed to bring me back to Southern Song Dynasty, China, even though I was physically in a foreign country. As a Chinese, I found this experience of “travelling through time and space” exciting and magical.

In the summers of 2017 and 2018, I had the precious opportunities to participate in the study trips to Kenchō-ji temple and Engaku-ji temple to experience the authentic Zen monastic life style with the lead of Professor Jane-Marie Law, Dr. Masaki Matsubara, Myō-san from Kenchō-ji temple and Ichidō-san from Engaku-ji temple.

Almost every aspect of life in Zen monasteries is highly codified and to some extent, conducting any behaviour in a monastery becomes a ritual. We were absolutely mindful and attentive from the moment we opened our eyes in the morning till that we closed our eyes at night: waking up, folding bed, walking to meditation hall, doing sitting meditation, having meals, doing samu (working meditation), having tea, going to bed... Through immersing myself into these activities, I found out how exacting and demanding the monks were when adherent to proper rituals, and how proud and diligent they held on to their Zen traditions.

Though it was a short period of stay, I got to experience things that I could never dream of: doing night meditation on the side of Kenchō-ji temple’s abbot garden while listening to the singing of frogs and pine trees; visiting Engaku-ji

temple's Ancestor Hall and observing Song style architecture and antiques that are no longer available in China; doing samu in Engaku-ji temple's most sacred place where ancestors saw the light of Buddha; climbing up to the top of Kenchō-ji temple's Mountain gate and observing the whole configuration and layout of the monastery... The more I experienced, the more I was fascinated in every aspect of Japanese Zen monasteries: the history, the people, the architecture, the regulations, the art, and the literature.

I started to wonder how was the whole Zen system established at the first place and how did it connect and trace back to the Chan monasteries in Southern Song China? How have both Japanese Zen monasteries and Chan monasteries developed themselves over the years and strived to keep the traditions while integrating to the changing social and cultural background?

INTRODUCTION

On a chilly winter morning of 2018, I visited Jingshan temple [J¹: Kezan-ji] with families. The temple is deep in the Tianmu Mountains located in a small county called Yuhang, seventy miles away from the city of Hangzhou, China. It took us over three hours to drive there, and as we hovered up around the narrow mountain path to the destination, the deepening green, the louder singing of birds and the crisp sounds of flowing streams seemed to be signs of us entering some place secluded, pure and sacred.

I was excited about this visit because Jingshan temple has been undergoing unprecedented reconstruction since 2008. Reconstructed with a combination of two hundred million RMB (USD 29 million) from Hangzhou Buddhist Association and numerous investments and donations from various parties, the large-scale reconstruction project is said to be accomplished in 2019. By that time, Jingshan temple will be the first large-scale temple to be reconstructed following the Southern Song monastic style in contemporary China as stated in the official plan of Jingshan temple's restoration.

The boom of Buddhism and increasing construction and reconstruction of Chinese Buddhist monasteries in recent decades partly explains this time- and money-consuming rebuilding process. But more importantly, Jingshan temple is one of the most significant religious institutions in Chinese Chan Buddhist history. However, due to its distant and rural location, frequent destructions by wars and natural disaster over the years, and shortage of funds to be fully reconstructed, Jingshan temple is by no means a popular tourist site in contemporary China and seems to have been underestimated and neglected for cen-

¹"J" is the abbreviation for "Japanese" in this thesis.

turies. Having a history of 1200 years, Jingshan temple reached its peak during the Southern Song Dynasty. In the years of the Jiading Emperor (1208–1224), its reputation even surpassed Lingyin temple and became the top mountain among the Five Mountains in China.² During its peak, Jingshan temple was not only the most important nationwide religious centre, but also a significant cultural centre, as many literary elites, such as Su Shi³, and even Song emperors would often visit Jingshan and leave their literary works to show their admirations. The popularity and significance of Jingshan could be reflected from the text of Lou Yue, a Southern Song literati:

The Empress Xian Ren and Song Gao Emperor visited Jingshan, left the calligraphy for the plaque hanging on Long You Building. Song Xiao Emperor also favored it and rewarded the name 'Xingsheng Wanshou Chansi (Chan Temple of Great Sacredness and Longevity)' for it. There is no doubt that Jingshan temple is the highest-rank monastery around the world.⁴

Under the lead of Jingshan's 34th abbot Wuzhun Shifan (1179–1249), there were over 3000 monastic architectural buildings constructed and over 3000 monks practiced within the Jingshan landscape. The prosperity and openness of Jingshan also attracted monks and pilgrims from home and abroad, including monks from Japan, which later greatly shaped and influenced the establishment and development of Zen Buddhism in Japan. Among the 24 schools of Zen Buddhism in Japan, 18 were originated from Jingshan temple.⁵ And it was also the

²Kuiguang Song, *Jingshan Zhi (The Record of Jingshan)*, 1624, accessed October 15, 2018, <http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/jingshansi/ui.html?book=g032>.

³Su Shi (8 January, 1037-24 August, 1101), also known as Su Dongpo, was a prominent Chinese writer, poet, painter, calligrapher, pharmacologist, gastronome, and a statesman of the Song Dynasty.

⁴Translated by the author.

⁵Shiqing Zhang, *Zhongguo Jiangnan Chanzong Siyuan Jianzhu (Chan Buddhist Temple Archi-*

birthplace of Japanese tea ceremony and Kinzan Miso and soy sauce, influencing Japanese philosophies, cultures and everyday life from many aspects. Most importantly, the monastic landscape of Jingshan served as the model of Chan temples' construction across East Asia during the 13th–14th century.⁶ For example, Kenchō-ji [C⁷: Jianchang-si] temple, the first large-scale Zen temple built in Japan, was constructed based on Jingshan temple's layout as recorded on the historic stele "*Kenchō Kōkoku Zenji Hi*": "On November 8th, Kenchō-ji temple was founded. Using Jingshan temple as reference, it is the first time that a great Chan monastic layout is ever copied (in Japan)."

Even recently, though destroyed and reconstructed many times in history, Kenchō-ji temple and other Zen monasteries still provides crucial information on restoring the original model of Chinese Southern Song Chan Five Mountains, as they have preserved many traces of Southern Song Chan monastic styles. This encompasses layout and architectural styles to the detailed design of a ritual table, and from monastic disciplines to detailed etiquette, all while nothing of Southern Song Chan monastic styles remained in China. Therefore, the recent reconstruction of Jingshan temple has also taken knowledge from Kenchō-ji temple as well as other Japanese Zen monasteries. It also re-imports select Southern Song Chan elements back into Jingshan's landscape⁸.

tectural Style of Jiangnan, China) [in Chinese], 1st ed. (Wuhan: Hubei Education, 2002), ISBN: 978-7-5351-3333-5.

⁶Zhang, *Chan Buddhist Temple Architecture in Jiangnan, China*.

⁷"C" is the abbreviation for "Chinese" in this thesis.

⁸There is no official document stating that the reconstruction of Jingshan temple used Kenchō-ji temple as a reference. I acquired this information from an interview with monk Pudu of Jingshan temple, as well as from the Hang Zhou municipal government's webpage for promoting tourism of Hang Zhou (In Chinese):

http://hznews.hangzhou.com.cn/chengshi/content/2017-11/10/content_6711017.htm

A crucial question to ask here is: since Zen has already fully been integrated with Japanese culture and developed independently for hundreds of years, how has the reconstruction of Jingshan temple used Kenchō-ji temple as a reference to re-establish the Southern Song tradition and Chan authenticity? Therefore, it is very interesting to examine how Jingshan temple has drawn on Japanese Zen traditions and Zen monasteries when it is under reconstruction, especially when the issue is also closely related to China's growing nationalism and the upsurge of creating shared Chinese cultural memory in recent decades.

This question can be partially explained by the theory of intercultural mimesis, a phrase raised by Charles Hallisey in one of his influential articles discussing the cultural interchange between "the West" and "the Orient":

We should consider occasions where it seems that aspects of a culture of a subjectified people influenced the investigator to represent that culture in a certain manner.⁹

The intercultural mimesis between Chinese Chan and Japanese Zen may be reflected from their interactions in different times and spaces. During the 13th–14th century, Japanese transplanted the whole Chan landscape (including monastic architectural buildings, Chan monastic regulations etc.) and established their Zen tradition. Along with its historical development, the Zen tradition has been continuously modified and redefined to serve the emerging needs of different audiences in different periods. The representation and reinterpretation of Zen ideology in Japan has in turn influenced the contemporary

⁹Charles Hallisey, "Roads Taken and Not Taken in the Study of Theravada Buddhism," in *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism Under Colonialism*, ed. Donald S. Lopez (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 33, ISBN: 0-226-49308-3.

re-establishment of Chan in China.

However, this is not only a study about intercultural communication and influence, it is also about an intentional process of interpreting, manipulating, and inventing “traditions”, which can be exploited as a development resource in both its tangible and intangible forms to serve heterogenetic purposes. Moreover, this study will also examine the invented Chan Buddhist tradition and the selected Buddhist cultural memory created by culturally enforced amnesia in China’s recent boom of Buddhist temples’ construction. I further argue that the recent reconstruction of Jingshan Chan temple emphasized and appreciated more on its cultural and secularized side of Southern Song Chan tradition. However, its initial role as a religiously significant Chan Buddhist pilgrimage centre is greatly weakened.

This paper then is an exploration of the revitalization of Chan Buddhist traditions in China using both anthropological and art-historical approaches, by analyzing the case study of the two-way transmission of Chan (Zen) through time and space between Jingshan temple and Kenchō-ji temple.

Overview

This thesis consists of three chapters. Chapter One is a brief historical background of the revitalization of Buddhism in Post-Mao China. This issue is complex since this development is motivated by different parties with different interests, such as the central and local government, Chinese religious circles and the increasing number of Buddhist followers in China.

Using an art-historical perspective, I also go deeper into the physical aspects of monastic styles that the recently-constructed temples have adopted, such as layout and architecture, since the changes of these art-historical aspects in monasteries often reveal important information about the emphasis, even purposes, of the revival of these monasteries. Moreover, among the prosperous but chaotic Buddhist revitalization in China, how has the Chan school, which used to enjoy the highest status amongst all the Buddhist schools in China during the Song and Yuan Dynasty but decayed from the Ming and Qing Dynasties onwards, reconstructed its religious and cultural identity under the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)? How does it meet the newly emergent spiritual and cultural needs of Chinese people? Finally, why is the case of Jingshan temple's reconstruction unique and important in the revival of Buddhist institutions?

Chapter Two discusses the first part of my case study, from Chan to Zen: the whole transplantation of Southern Song Chan landscape from Jingshan temple to Kenchō-ji temple during the 13th century. Since this is art-historical research, I believe it is necessary to first study the Southern Song Chan monastic styles, and Kenchō-ji temple and other Japanese Zen monasteries, where the Zen tradition was officially established in Japan in the first place. This provides crucial historical evidences for restoring Southern Song Chan monastic styles and references for the reconstruction of Jingshan temple.

I will also address the following questions in this chapter: what and how did Kenchō-ji temple draw upon Jingshan temple? What Chan traditions did Kenchō-ji temple keep and what did they discard? Other than the Chan tradition, how did Kenchō-ji temple place Chinese local cultures inside the Southern Song Chan monasteries? This includes placing monastic architecture influenced

by Confucianism, Daoism, and local Chinese beliefs into its landscape. Lastly, how did the emphases and modifications of Southern Song Chan tradition in Kenchō-ji temple's landscape reveal multiple incentives of the shogunal government establishing this foreign tradition?

Chapter Three then discusses the revival of Jingshan temple as a process of recycling Chan cultural fragments under new circumstances, and reuses them for present and future interests. Firstly, I carried out an art-historical research on the recently reconstructed Jingshan temple to see whether the style of reconstruction strictly follows the Southern Song monastic style. Also, what aspect is Jingshan temple trying to re-import from Japanese Zen monasteries and how does Jingshan temple deal with the different identities of Chan and Zen? And ultimately, I would like to examine the religious, cultural, political and economic purposes behind this time and money consuming reconstruction project and how it is related to cultural governance and the making of a cultural city as a result of cultural amnesia.

CHAPTER 1
CULTURAL AMNESIA AND INVENTED TRADITION: THE
REVITALIZATION OF BUDDHISM IN POST-MAO CHINA

It was approaching Chinese New Year when I visited Jingshan temple. Though the temple was just partially opened and still under reconstruction, a great number of tourists and pilgrims were already attracted to this newly reconstructed monastery. They laughed and chatted with their families and friends, enjoying their leisure time walking around this mountain temple with beautiful natural scenery under the warm winter sun. But one of the most important reasons for their visit, would be offering an incense to the Buddha and wishing for a prosperous and fortunate upcoming year for themselves and their families.

Making wishes while offering the first incense in temples during Chinese New Year is considered a very auspicious thing to do in contemporary China. Therefore, Chinese temples, especially famous temples in the cities, are always packed with people trying to offer their first incense at New Year's Eve. People are so enthusiastic that they will stay up all night standing in the freezing cold winter night. Someone even paid two hundred thousand US dollars just to buy the very first incense from some renowned temple and burn it there. Though this has been a long existing custom in China since the Song Dynasty as the Southern Song writer Meng Yuanlao noted in his collection of essays: *Dongjing Menghua Lu* (*The Eastern Capital: A Dream of Splendor*),¹⁰ it was never this popular in modern China until the most recent 20 years.

¹⁰Yuanlao Meng, *Dongjing Menghua-Lu (The Eastern Capital: A Dream of Splendor)* [in Chinese], 1st ed. (Yangzhou: Guangling Book Club, 2003), ISBN: 978-7-80694-007-5.

This is just one aspect of the recent revitalization of Buddhism in modern China. Along with the relaxation of religious policy at the end of the 1970s and growing large-scale Buddhist temple construction and reconstruction, the number of Buddhist followers and people interested in Buddhism has also increased dramatically. According to government reports and studies by the Religious and Social Research Center of Purdue University, Buddhism has become the largest institutionalized religion in China, with at least 180 million believers and practitioners and over thirteen thousand Buddhist temples in contemporary China. The actual number may be far larger than this as “the Buddhist conversion [C: *guiyi*] is much less formal than the Christian one, and the religious identity of the Chinese is not exclusivistic.”¹¹

What has happened to Buddhism in China in the recent decades? Why is the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), an atheistic government interested in promoting Buddhism? What factors and parties of interest impact upon this revitalization process? To address these questions, it is important to first look into the vicissitudes of Buddhism in the era of the People’s Republic of China (PRC).

1.1 Revitalization of Buddhism in China under CCP

Master Mingshan (1914–2001), a prominent monk who had witnessed the early years of the PRC, and the former Vice President of the Buddhist Association of China (BAC), published an article in 1983 about Chinese Buddhism’s 30 years of ups and downs. He concluded that there were three stages of Buddhism in mainland China since 1949. In the first stage, from 1949 to 1966, Buddhism

¹¹Zhe Ji, “Buddhism in the Reform Era: A Secularized Revival?,” in *Religion in Contemporary China: Revitalization and Innovation*, Adam Yuet Chau (New York: Routledge, 2011), 32.

and Buddhist activities were largely restricted by the CCP and were forced to change under the “socialist transformation”. Then from 1966 to 1976, Chinese Buddhism entered the second stage when it was considered as one of the “Four Old Things” [C: Sijiu] and encountered brutal eradication and repression during the Cultural Revolution. Finally, in the late 1970s, Buddhism gradually regained strengths since the CCP decided to “reform and open up” [C: Gaige Kaifang] the country. Chinese Buddhism was therefore able to survive and recover because of the enforcement of select relaxed religious policies and regulations.¹² In 1980, the Forth Congress of the Buddhist Association of China was held in Beijing, marking the official beginning of the revitalization and institutional reconstruction of Buddhism in China.¹³

Thirty-five years have passed since Master Mingshan made the first argument about the revival and revitalization of Chinese Buddhism; now we can observe that Chinese Buddhism has continued to revive and even thrive in the PRC. It has enjoyed increasingly high social status in contemporary Chinese society. Several factors have contributed to this large-scale construction and reconstruction of Chinese Buddhism, including the market economy, internal political issues, international relations, development of cultural industries, promotion of Chinese soft power and shaping the shared identity and nationalism among Chinese people.

During Deng Xiaoping’s (1904–1997) period since the late 1970s, “controls on religion were relaxed, religious organizations were reopened, and public

¹²Mingshan Shi, “Bian’ge, E’nan, Fuxing: Zhongguo Fojiao Sanshi-nian (Reform, Distress, Revival: Thirty-year of Chinese Buddhism)” [in Chinese], in *Mingshan Wenxuan (Collections of Mingshan)* (Nanjing: Jingling Kejing-chu (Jingling Press), 2003).

¹³Ji, “Buddhism in the Reform Era: A Secularized Revival?,” 33.

religious practice began to slowly revive.”¹⁴ However, even though “freedom of religious belief” was reiterated in the revised Chinese constitution, religious groups and activities still encountered obstructions from the local government and suffered from strict political control.¹⁵

Things changed when the slogan “culture building the stage and the economy doing the performance” [C: Wenhua Datai, Jingji Changxi] was proposed. As CCP’s shift of focus from political civil war to the economic development, economic growth was greatly emphasized, and anything that possessed potential economic value was utilized in the economic construction process, among which, Buddhism was considered as an ideal source of revenue to encourage the development of tourism and the economy for the following reasons.

Firstly, along with the gradual revival of Chinese Buddhism and construction of Buddhist monasteries, large flows of money, specialists and ritual knowledge generously offered by overseas Chinese entered China. Many overseas Chinese businesspersons believed in Buddhism so they built temples and sponsored religious rituals in their coastal hometowns. They “considered the temple-construction process as a nostalgic search for authenticity and roots”, and a way to accumulate their “merits and virtues” [C: gongde],¹⁶ an important bargaining chips in exchange for a better hereafter.

Nevertheless, the local government, shocked by the large amount of money they could receive from overseas Chinese investment, treated it as a business

¹⁴Gareth Fisher, “In the Footsteps of the Tourists: Buddhist Revival at Museum/Temple Sites in Beijing,” *Social Compass* 58, no. 4 (December 2011): 514, ISSN: 0037-7686.

¹⁵Ji, “Buddhism in the Reform Era: A Secularized Revival?,” 33.

¹⁶Selina Ching Chan, “Temple-Building and Heritage in China,” *Ethnology* 44, no. 1 (2005): 76, ISSN: 0014-1828.

opportunity to develop the local economy. The local government thus worked hard on catering to overseas Chinese pleasure and promoting local religions as they believed “the visible presence of religion would impress overseas Chinese with the openness of Chinese society, spurring them to invest”.¹⁷

Moreover, the local governments were impressed by the economic benefits that could be extracted from the temple tourism: admission charges, souvenirs, incenses, accommodations, food, etc. in the local areas. As many scholars have pointed out (Chan, 2005; Yoshiko, 2009; Chau, 2011; Ji, 2011; Fisher, 2011, etc.), boosting the local economy is one of the key reasons that local governments support the development of Buddhism and become involved in constructing and reconstructing temples. As Fisher notes, “local officials are eager to promote the restoration, expansion, or new construction of Buddhist temples in the hope that they will attract economic development to their areas in the form of fee-paying tourists and pilgrims and, in the most lucrative cases, overseas investors with signified access to capital”.¹⁸

In recent years, there has also been a trend of dismantling the already constructed temples and reconstructing fancier monastic architecture and infrastructure in order to keep up with or lead the surrounding urban development. In these cases, the hidden incentive of constructing Buddhist temples and promoting Buddhist culture to boost local economies and urban development is more blatant. The reconstruction of Jingshan temple is a representative example of this situation. After the Cultural Revolution, Jingshan’s whole monastic

¹⁷Yoshiko Ashiwa, “Positioning Religion in Modernity: State and Buddhism in China,” in *Making Religion, Making the State: The Politics of Religion in Modern China*, Yoshiko Ashiwa and David L. Wank ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 63.

¹⁸Fisher, “In the Footsteps of the Tourists,” 514.

landscape was already constructed in 1988 to its pre-1949 grandeur in Ming and Qing style. However, in 2008, the local government and the Buddhist Association of Hangzhou decided to reconstruct the whole layout in Southern Song style, when the temple was in its golden age. In this way, Jingshan temple's tourism is expected to be greatly promoted so that the local economy will also be boosted (the reconstruction of Jingshan temple will be further discussed in Chapter 3).

The revitalization of Buddhism in China is not only an issue of boosting the economy, but is also closely related to politics. When Deng Xiaoping first allowed the revival of religions and religious activities in China, though he had no interest in religion itself, he acknowledged the importance of religion "when addressing ethnic relations, such as Tibetan problems, or international relations, such as Buddhist exchanges with Japan (in order to win investments and loans)".¹⁹ Based on that, some temples were revitalized with a strong emphasis on their political and diplomatic value. For example, Mount Wutai, which originally had both mainland Han Chinese temples and Tibetan temples, was revitalized and promoted by the government mainly to restore its bonds with Tibetans, improving the relationship between the central government and Tibet, thus solidifying national unity. According to Zhang's research (2016), Mount Wutai is also an example of reshaping China's international image and improving international relations through showing off their "preservation" and "encouragement" of multi-ethnic religions.²⁰

¹⁹Fenggang Yang, "Between Secularist Ideology and Desecularizing Reality: the Birth and Growth of Religious Research in Communist China," in *State, Market, and Religions in Chinese Societies*, Fenggang Yang and Joseph B. Tamney ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 23.

²⁰Chunyu Zhang, "Buddhist Revival in China: Values of the Development of Mount Wutai" (PhD diss., University of Alberta, 2016).

Another way of the CCP utilizing the revitalization of Buddhism to establish their benevolent international image and present China's soft power is by hosting worldwide Buddhist conferences. As Ji notes, the First World Buddhist Forum, co-hosted by the BAC and the China Religious Culture Communication Association in 2006, gathered more than 1000 Buddhist representatives from 37 countries, and with the main theme "a harmonious world begins in mind", was just a large-scale show in Buddhist terms for presenting to the world that China will arise peacefully and harmoniously, which echoed the CCP's propaganda of "building a socialist harmonious society".²¹

The Chinese government also realized the significance of Buddhist temples when trying to unify Chinese from Hong Kong, Taiwan and overseas, especially when the political conflicts between Hong Kong, Taiwan and mainland China have increased alarmingly in recent years. The case study of the construction of Wong Taisin in Jinhua, Zhejiang Province researched by Selina Ching Chan is a good example. The deity Wong Taisin, though originating from Jinhua, Zhejiang Province, China, was never famous locally until its fame among Chinese people in Hong Kong, Taiwan and overseas re-entered Jinhua and re-influenced the construction of temples enshrining this deity in Jinhua. As Chan argues, the enshrinement of Wong Taisin in Jinhua not only has brought them a huge amount of investment from overseas and promoted its local tourism and economic development, but more importantly, Wong Taisin temple also serves as a tie unifying Chinese living in different places,²² as Wong Taisin is the spiritual "root" of their Chinese identities.

At home, Buddhist temples, instead of being religious institutions and serv-

²¹Ji, "Buddhism in the Reform Era: A Secularized Revival?," 44.

²²Chan, "Temple-Building and Heritage in China," 77.

ing people's religious needs, often served more as tools for presenting the richness of Chinese history and culture to Chinese citizens in order to create shared national identity and generate their national pride. This can be reflected in the monastic styles that temples adopt when being reconstructed.

Depending on their locations in different parts of China, temples are often constructed or reconstructed in the styles that recall the city's golden age, regardless of the historical changes it had inherited and developed over the years. For instance, some temples in Xi'an, which was the most prosperous city in the world during the Tang Dynasty (618–907), tend to be rebuilt in Tang monastic styles (e.g. Qinglong temple); temples in Hangzhou, which it was the culturally and economically affluent capital of the Southern Song Dynasty (1127–1279), often adopt the Southern Song monastic styles when under reconstruction (e.g. Jingshan temple). Temples in Beijing, the capital of the Ming and Qing Dynasties (1368–1912), often use the Ming and Qing monastic styles (e.g. Jinshan temple). The most glorious and magnificent part of Chinese history can thus be reflected and experienced by tourists in these reconstructed temples.

As Pretes argues in his *Tourism and Nationalism*, "the viewing of heritage sights by domestic tourists is a key aspect in the formation and maintenance of a national identity, especially when nationalism is understood as an 'imagined community'. Tourist sites, in this case, Buddhist temples, may function in the same way as museums do in Benedict Anderson's classic study of nationalism: as places presenting the defining characteristics of nationhood and displaying historical evidence of its existence."²³

²³Michael Pretes, "Tourism and nationalism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 30, no. 1 (January 2003): 125–142, ISSN: 0160-7383.

Thus, by remembering the best part of historical memory and forgetting the others, this way of selective forgetting, as defined by Paul Connerton²⁴ on the concept of cultural memory as “structural amnesia”²⁵, has shaped Chinese people’s shared cultural memory and increased their pride and sense of belonging in their nation and their imagined national history.²⁶

The development of the cultural industries in Hong Kong and mainland China also had great impact on the revival of Chinese Buddhism. Since the 1980s, the prosperously developing culture industry in Hong Kong started to influence the mainland market significantly. As Ji points out, great film hits have shot scenes in the temples, such as *Shaolin Temple*(1982)²⁷, the revival of *Wuxia* (martial arts and swordsmen) literature, in which Buddhist culture played an indispensable role, and the increasing popularity of *Qigong*, which is “a collection of bodily skills for controlling one’s spirit, breath and behavior to achieve a state of physical and mental well-being”,²⁸ have all greatly boosted the public’s interests in Buddhist temples as well as cultures, which further promoted temple tourism in China.

²⁴Paul Connerton, *The Spirit of Mourning: History, Memory and the Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 41.

²⁵Paul Connerton investigated seven types of forgetting. They are “prescriptive forgetting”; “constitutive in the formation of a new identity”; “annulment”; “repressive erasure”; “structural amnesia”; “planned obsolescence”; and “humiliated silence”.

²⁶Benedict Richard O’Gorman Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso, 1991), ISBN: 978-0-86091-546-1.

²⁷*The Shaolin Temple* (1982), directed by Chang Hsin Yen and starring Jet Li in 1982, was a popular Hong Kong-Chinese martial arts film that was shot in the ruins of Shaolin temple in Henan Province, China and depicts Shaolin Kung Fu. Chinese people’s enthusiasm towards this film and Shaolin Kung Fu directly promoted the reconstruction of Shaolin temple and boosted local tourism and the economy.

²⁸Ji, “Buddhism in the Reform Era: A Secularized Revival?,” 35.

To conclude, no matter the economic, political or cultural factors for revitalizing Buddhism and Buddhist temples are revived more as a carrier for Chinese history and culture, rather than as religious and spiritual sanctuary. Some scholars, like Holmes Welch (1968) and Ji (2011), are very pessimistic about the revitalization of Buddhism in China and the future of Buddhism. They do not even think it is a real revival of Buddhism, and consider it nothing more than secularized reform and renaissance of Chinese history and traditional cultures with underlying political or economic interests.

Nevertheless, it was probably the only way for Buddhism to survive and justify its existence and reconstruction without touching any political taboos in the atheist party-state. The strategy of “Buddhism as culture”, had been already proposed by the former President of the revived BAC, Zhao Puchu²⁹, in 1986, who stressed that Buddhism was an important part of Chinese culture rather than feudal superstition, which would make great contributions to the cultural construction of a new socialist society.³⁰

Having said that, from the perspective of Buddhist philosophies, the revival of Buddhism in contemporary China seems not as pessimistic and conspiratorial as some scholars have described. In Mahayana Buddhism, there are four

²⁹Zhao Puchu (1907–2000) was known as the former President of the CCP-supported Buddhist Association of China (BAC), and a religious leader who promoted the revitalization of Buddhism in China. He also fostered the relationship between China and Japan and served as the Vice President of the China–Japan Friendship Association from 1958–1989.

³⁰*Zhao Puchu zai Hanyu-xi Fojiao Yuanxiao Gongzuo Zuotanhui shangde Jianghua (1986) (The Speech by Zhao Puchu on the Forum of Chinese Buddhist Colleges (1986))*, accessed November 17, 2018, https://fo.ifeng.com/special/zhongfoxieliushinian/fojiaojiaoyuliu-shinian/detail_2013_08/22/28912946_0.shtml.

levels of dharmadhātu [E³¹: realm of phenomena; C: Fajie], and the highest level of dharmadhātu is that, everything is interconnected and the essence of them is the same [C: Shishi-wu'ai]. Therefore, the chaotic conditions of Buddhist revitalization in contemporary China might just be the illusions of our mind, which will never hinder the way of Dharma.

Moreover, the current upsurge of Buddhist studies and cultures in China has brought more public attention to Buddhism. More and more Chinese people, especially youngsters, are genuinely interested in learning the Buddhist wisdom and Buddhist practices. As *South China Morning Post* reported in 2013, when Ci'en temple, a quiet Buddhist temple located in Tiantai Mountain, Zhejiang Province, decided to offer admission to civilians who wanted to experience a monk's life and thought only 20 people would willing to sign up, they were surprisingly overwhelmed by more than 500 applications, among which over 60 percent were youngsters.³²

Though the future of Chinese Buddhism is dim and uncertain, looking at the bright side, an increasing number of Chinese people are searching for the purity of Buddhism in this impure and chaotic Buddhist environment in China.

³¹"E" is the abbreviation for "English" in this thesis.

³²*Buddhist temple opens to all, is overwhelmed with applicants*, October 2018, accessed October 13, 2018, <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1276093/buddhist-temple-opens-all-overwhelmed-applicants>.

1.2 The Reinvented Chan Traditions – Chan Buddhism in Contemporary China

In the process of Chinese Buddhism's revival since the 1980s, the revitalization of the Chan Buddhist school as well as Chan ideology is an interesting topic worth studying. Despite the fact that Chan Buddhism had begun to lose its importance as a religion since the late Ming Dynasty, the ideology of Chan played an indispensable role in promoting the revival of Buddhism in Communist China.

First, let me briefly introduce the history of Chinese Chan Buddhism. The history of Chan Buddhism in China has been divided into different developing periods by scholars based on different criteria. In general, the origin of Chan Buddhism can be dated back to Sakyamuni [E: Gautama Buddha; C: Shijia Mouni; J: Shaka Muni] according to a Chinese legend, and it started to develop in northern China when Mahākāśyapa's 28th disciple, Bodhidharma, brought Chan teachings to China.

Later on, Chan Buddhism took its first clear contours during the period of the fifth patriarch Daman Hongren (601–674). And when the sixth patriarch Huineng (638–713) established the Southern school, Chan Buddhism began to become popular among Chinese people.³³ During the mid-Tang Dynasty to the Five Dynasties, the southern Chan school developed rapidly and was divided into five schools, which were Linji [J: Rinzai] school, Caodong [J: Sōtō] school,

³³John R. McRae, *Seeing Through Zen: Encounter, Transformation, and Genealogy in Chinese Chan Buddhism* (Berkeley, UNITED STATES: University of California Press, 2003), 17, ISBN: 978-0-520-93707-9.

Weiyang school, Fayan school and Yunmen school. Finally, Chan Buddhism entered its golden age during the Song Dynasty and was firmly established as the dominant Buddhist school in China. After the Southern Song Dynasty, the Linji school had become the mainstream and representative form of Chan Buddhism in southern China, while the Caodong school was active in northern China.³⁴

Though after the Yuan Dynasty, Chan Buddhism had started to fuse with other Buddhist schools and had somewhat lost its distinct characters, it was still one of the most important Buddhist schools in China since it had greatly shaped the landscape in the Southern Song Dynasty with its distinct monasteries. It had also influenced Chinese society with its Five Mountain cultures.

The decline of Chan Buddhism started during the late Ming Dynasty, when Pure Land Buddhism began to thrive in China. Moreover, the integration of three religions (Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism) that had developed since the Tang Dynasty, became the main trend of Chinese religiosity during the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Chan Buddhism gradually lost its distinctness and vitality and continued to fade away in Chinese history until Chan master Xu Yun (1840–1959), a prominent Chan monk in modern China, revitalized Chan Buddhism as well as Chan landscapes from ruins.

Chan Buddhism soon faced another challenge when the CCP took over China – how was Chan Buddhism going to survive and be revived in the Reform Era? Through discussing and comparing three representative cases of Chan Buddhist revitalization in modern China studied by various scholars, I argue that Chan Buddhism in modern China was not revived systematically, but rather sporadically, as Chan ideologies were carefully selected and mod-

³⁴Zhang, *Chan Buddhist Temple Architecture in Jiangnan, China*, 3.

ified in different periods of the PRC to “rebrand” Chan Buddhism for meeting the political and economic expectations. Also, as Chan Buddhism is a highly culturalized religion, the revival of Chan Buddhism in China is more culture/philosophy-oriented rather than religion-oriented.

In the early years of the PRC, the emphasis on labor of Chan Buddhism had been promoted. Master Juzan (1908–1984), a prominent Chan monk, along with twenty-one other progressive monks, sent a letter to Mao Zedong in the dawn of the Communist Party’s victory, suggesting Chan Buddhism’s compatibility with the Communist Party. According to Tymick’s research, Master Juzan would have liked to revive the Chan ideology proposed by Baizhang (749–814), who is famous for composing the “*Baizhang Monastic Regulations*” [C: Baizhang Qinggui] and his maxim, “A day of no work, a day of no eating”, shifting the focus of Buddhism to active participation in labor and productivity, which synchronized perfectly with Communist doctrine about practical labor. Tymick thus further argues that this approach transforming Buddhist temples not only “reformed a corrupted *sangha* by returning to the emphasis on labouring in the secular world, but also will achieve the ultimate goal of the bodhisattva, enlightenment of the masses”.³⁵

Tymick also criticizes that Welch’s view³⁶ of the CCP forced monks into being “good citizens” was a perfunctory misrepresentation of the facts, as he believed this transformation was voluntarily conducted amongst the Buddhist

³⁵Kenneth J Tymick, “Chan in Communist China: Justifying Buddhism’s Turn to Practical Labor Under the Chinese Communist Party,” *Illinois Wesleyan University* 15, no. 1 (2014), <http://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/constructing/vol15/iss1/9>.

³⁶Holmes Welch, *Buddhism under Mao* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), ISBN: 978-0-674-08565-7.

groups rather than via political oppression. I partially agree with Tymick's argument of viewing the transformation as a spontaneous Buddhist reform; nevertheless, the compromise that Buddhist groups were made to fit into the Communist party-state cannot be ignored.

After the ten-year catastrophe of the Cultural Revolution, the second-time Chan Buddhist ideology came to public attention and greatly promoted the revival of Buddhism in China was when master Jinghui (1933–2013) promoted his distinct brand of Chan Buddhism, the Life Chan (Shenghuo Chan), in the early 1990s.³⁷

The philosophy of Life Chan harmoniously integrated Chan ideologies, Chinese culture and one's daily life together. As explained by master Jinghui in 1993:

The so-called Life Chan is to meld the spirit of Chan and the wisdom of Chan into life, to realize the transcendence of Chan in life, and to manifest in life the realm of Chan, the spirit of Chan, and the wonder of Chan. The purpose of promoting Life Chan is to restore the lively nature of the Chan spirit, which is the result of melding Buddhist culture and Chinese culture. It is Buddhism with Chinese cultural characteristics. It is to apply the methods of Chan in the real life of the world in order to remove various problems, frustrations, and psychological obstacles in the life of modern people. It is to make our spiritual life more fulfilled, material life more dignified, moral life more righteous, emotional life more pure, human relations more harmonious, and social life more peaceful, so that we may approach the life of wisdom and life of perfection. (Chan 1993–1)³⁸

³⁷Fenggang Yang and Dedong Wei, "The Bailin Buddhist Temple: Thriving under Communism," in *State, Market, and Religions in Chinese societies*, Yang and Tamney (Brill, 2005), 63–87.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 70.

To practice Life Chan in action, Master Jinghui held the Life Chan Summer Camp for young people who were interested in learning and experiencing Chan. The first Life Chan Summer Camp held at the Bailin temple, Hebei Province, in 1993 was a great success as it attracted 150 participants from over 20 provinces, and two thirds of them were college students, which was unprecedented in China as before this the majority of people interested in Buddhism were uneducated women.³⁹ The Life Chan philosophy and the summer camps promoted by master Jinghui thus not only increased the social acceptability of Chan Buddhism, but also boosted the reconstruction of Bailin temple and other surrounding Buddhist temples in Hebei Province.

As Yang and Wei argue, the Life Chan philosophy and summer camp could not succeed without the support from the central and local government, because Master Jinghui proclaimed a brand of Buddhism that emphasizes harmonizing self–other relations and being dedicated to or sacrificing for each other, which clearly accommodates Communist ideology.⁴⁰

In recent decades, with the wide spread and popularity of Life Chan among Chinese people, the ideology of Chan is further consumed as a high-end cultural and symbolic product to promote tourism and local economic development, and ultimately to achieve modernity. One example is the case of the Ecological Tourism Industrial Park of the Sixth Patriarch’s Hometown, a high-end leisure and recreation complex studied by Junxi Qian.

As Qian notes, the provincial and the county government made great effort to “refashion Chan into something attuned with harmonious society and si-

³⁹Yang and Wei, “The Bailin Buddhist Temple: Thriving under Communism,” 71.

⁴⁰Ibid., 85.

multaneously courting the modern consumers."⁴¹ In this Chan Industrial Park, tourists can experience sitting and walking meditation, practicing Qigong and Taiji, listening to Chan lectures, eating monastic vegetarian food, enjoying the hot spring, copying sutra, drink "Chan" tea, listening to "Chan" music, and sleeping on the "Chan" bed made of expensive rosewood, which cost sixty thousand RMB (USD 8,672) for a one-night stay.

In this case, the Chan ideology was viewed as a kind of lifestyle that would help people relax their bodies, ease their nerves, cultivate their Buddha mind, and escape from their daily stress and busy life. And ultimately, this would contribute to the advocacy of an "experience economy" in the plan of this Ecological Tourism Industrial Park.⁴²

From the revitalizing labor of the Chan ideology, to the promotion of the living attitude as the Life Chan, then to the economically-driven modern formation of a Chan lifestyle, the Chan traditions in China is always "in a process of being made and remade by the social actors in response to changing concrete, local circumstances."⁴³

In the recent revitalization of Chan traditions in China, the reconstruction of Jingshan temple is one of the newest and most unique cases worth exploring, as the temple is not only reconstructing Chan ideologies, but also the whole set of Southern Song Chan monastic layout and architectural styles, as well as select Southern Song Chan traditions, like the Jingshan tea ceremony. It is then

⁴¹Junxi Qian, "Redeeming the Chinese Modernity? Zen Buddhism, Culture-Led Development and Local Governance in Xinxing County, China," January 2017,

⁴²Ibid., 8.

⁴³Adam Yuet. Chau, ed., *Religion in contemporary China: revitalization and innovation* (Milton Park, Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 3, ISBN: 978-0-203-84053-5.

intriguing to explore the question whether the reconstructed Jingshan is just a Southern Song Chan theme park or a sincere restoration and appreciation of Southern Song Chan tradition? And what are the incentives of remaking the Southern Song Chan tradition in contemporary China impacted by cultural amnesia?

Behind this large-scale reconstruction of Chan traditions, a wide range of subjects are triggered and should be carefully explored, including history, international relations, religious studies, art, art history, architecture, environment and planning, economy and so on. And I believe this case study will contribute to the research of the revitalization of Chan Buddhist institutions, thought, and culture in contemporary China from both an art-historical and anthropological perspective.

Now, to better understand the revitalization of Jingshan temple in its Southern Song monastic style, let me first take you back to the temple in Southern Song Dynasty, and follow in the steps of Japanese monks and pilgrims who came to Jingshan to learn the whole Chan monastic landscape and transplanted it in Kenchō-ji temple, Kamakura.

CHAPTER 2

FROM CHAN TO ZEN: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW TRADITION

Kenchō-ji temple, built by the military leader Hōjō Tokiyori⁴⁴ and founded by the renowned Chinese émigré monk Lanxi Daolong [J: Rankei Dōryū] in 1253, was often considered as a counterpart of Jingshan temple in the East. With a similar physical layout and architectural style, a wide usage of Chinese language during teaching and meditating as well as Chinese émigré monks in Chinese-style clothes walking and living inside the monastery, Kenchō-ji temple, in the eyes of Kamakura residents at that time as recorded by the Kamakura monk Mujyū Ichien (1220–1311) in his *Zatsudanshū*, was just like an extra-dimensional space of China.⁴⁵

With the patronage of the Kamakura Shogunal government, Kenchō-ji temple, along with the later built Engakuji temple, Jufuku-ji temple, Jōchi-ji temple and Jōmyō-ji temple, had become the Kamakura Five Mountains⁴⁶ and dominated the socio-political landscape for centuries. Being the top one within the Five Mountain System, Kenchō-ji temple was expected to serve the leading role of Zen monasteries in Japan just like its Chinese counterpart, Jingshan temple.

In the following paragraphs, I discuss what the major historical and political incentives were that triggered the construction of an exotic Buddhist institution

⁴⁴Hōjō Tokiyori (1227–1263) was the fifth Shiken (regent) of the Kamakura Shogunate in Japan.

⁴⁵Shōsuke Murai, *Nihon chūsei no ibunka sesshoku* (*The Cross-cultural Communication in the Middle Ages of Japan*) [in Japanese], Shohan. (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2013), 36, ISBN: 978-4-13-020151-3.

⁴⁶The Japanese transplanted the system of Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries from China in 1299 and installed this system in both Kamakura and Kyoto.

and customs in Japan, and how the Japanese transplanted the whole foreign Buddhist landscape onto their own soil. Finally, by exploring the layout and architecture installed in Kenchō-ji temple, I provide insights to the question: is Kenchō-ji temple really an extra-dimensional space of Chinese Chan monasteries?

2.1 The Background of Founding Kenchō-ji Temple

The concept of Chan entered Japan very early. According to scholar Yokohama Hideya, Chan was introduced into Japan even before the Nara period.⁴⁷ However, Chan had a hard time surviving in the new environment, especially when confronted by the already dominated social and religious influence of the Tendai and Shingon schools. Zen buildings [C: Chanyuan, J: Zenin] in the early periods, therefore, were often constructed inside monasteries of other Buddhist schools for Zen disciples to practice Zen teachings.

Later, Zen pioneers such as Eisai, Dōgen and Ennin traveled to China and tried to introduce the authentic Chan of Southern Song China into Japan. They were trained and practiced in Chinese monasteries and achieved their enlightenment there. Although these Zen masters spent a difficult time bringing the Chan tradition onto Japanese soil and later became eminent Zen masters, their religious activities and influences were largely limited by the interference of the Tendai and Shingon schools.

The turning point of Zen's development in Japan happened when the emerging Japanese military leadership was searching for its spiritual ideal to promote

⁴⁷Hideya Yokoyama, *Zen No Kenchiku (The Architecture of Zen)* [in Japanese] (Tokyo: Shōkokusha, 1967), 15.

its legitimacy and integrity when challenged by the declining but still powerful aristocratic class.⁴⁸ Though the Samurai class had overwhelming political and military power over the Kouke regime, the insufficiency of histories and cultures of the Samurai class had become a crucial obstruction for further consolidating the orthodoxy of their regime.⁴⁹ And Chan, as the most popular religious ideology on the continent at that time, seemed to be an appropriate option.

The large-scale and official transplantation began around the beginning of the 13th century, when the new Shogunal government sent a group of Japanese Buddhist monks, craftsman and artists to China to learn about Chan, and strongly welcomed a Chinese Chan master to relocate to Japan and spread the Chan teachings. The bilateral exchange had reached its peak during the 13th and 14th centuries, with over 200 Japanese monks and countless traders, artists and craftsman visiting the continent.⁵⁰

One of the incentives behind this large-scale transplantation, as proposed by Heine,⁵¹ was Chan's emphasis on discipline. In Chan's teachings, one would see through his life by the strict and highly disciplined Chan practices, and this self-reliant way of reaching dharma and achieving a higher spiritual realm intrigued the political leaders with a military background. Moreover, Chan temples in the Southern Song Dynasty usually had high social prestige and were closely connected to the Song government, officials as well as the literati. Therefore, transplanting the whole Chan system into Japan was also a way of tightening up the

⁴⁸Steven Heine, *From Chinese Chan to Japanese Zen: a remarkable century of transmission and transformation* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018), 4, ISBN: 978-0-19-063750-7.

⁴⁹Masatoshi Takai, *Kenchō-ji Monogatari* [in Japanese] (Tokyo: Shikisya, 2011), 87.

⁵⁰Paramita Paul and Faculteit der Letteren, "Wandering saints : Chan eccentrics in the art and culture of Song and Yuan China" (Doctoral Thesis, 2009).

⁵¹Heine, *From Chinese Chan to Japanese Zen*, 4.

relations between government and religious institutions, thereby empowering government in full control over religious and cultural matters.

Hōjō Tokiyori, being the first political leader who realized the importance of introducing the whole authentic Chan landscape from the continent without any components and influences from other Buddhist schools, was the most important promoters of this Chan transplantation.⁵² In 1248, Hōjō Tokiyori warmly welcomed Rankei Dōryū into the new capital, Kamakura. To further promote the authentic Chan brought by Rankei, Tokiyori built Kenchō-ji temple, and allowed Rankei to be the founder of it in the year 1253. Kenchō-ji temple set a significant historical tone for the later development of Zen in Japan, because it was the first authentic Song-style Zen monastery, based on the model of Jingshan temple.

Kenchō-ji temple not only served as the bond between the political and the religious realm, but also the “training center” or “university” for the Samurai class. As mentioned by Takai, “Except young monks practicing in Kenchō-ji temple, there were also many samurais visiting and learning inside the monasteries. One of the reasons for Hōjō Tokiyori asking Rankei Dōryū to host the monastery, was to introduce the most advanced thoughts, knowledges and cultures of Asia directly from Rankei to the samurais and cultivate their mind and heart.”⁵³

Hōjō Tokiyori paid great attention to every detail of building Kenchō-ji temple to make sure the Song-style monastic landscape was transplanted without any mistake and negligence. As the *Official Document of Building Sennyū-ji Tem-*

⁵²Takai, *Kenchō-ji Monogatari*, 80.

⁵³*Ibid.*, 113.

ple states, “If the building regulations of monastery are not strictly followed, the Buddhist sect cannot be established; If the Buddhist sect are not established and the Buddhist monks are not strictly regulated, there is no way to promote the Dharma”, therefore, it was not only a problem of inheriting the proper physical monastic forms, but also closely related to the inheritance of the authentic and advanced Chan Buddhist philosophies as well as a crucial reference for whether Zen could become the spiritual backbone for the emerging military regime or not.

The construction of Kenchō-ji temple mainly followed the instructions of Rankei Dōryū, who had ample experiences of Chinese Chan monasteries, as well as the detailed records on the famous Chinese Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries made by Japanese monks, craftsman and artisans who traveled to China for learning the authentic Chan landscape. These illustrations were so detailed and elaborate: from layouts to individual architecture, from furnishing styles to decorations of latrines, from the robes of monks, walking and bowing manners to specific etiquette, every aspect of the Chinese monasteries was recorded.

Among these records, the most valuable and significant one is *The Illustrations of Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries* [C: Wushan Shicha Tu; J: Gozan Jisatsu Zu]. This is the earliest and most comprehensive ground plan of Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries of the Song Dynasty. Though there is no accurate record of when it was created, it could be roughly dated back to 1250.⁵⁴ And the surviving 2-scroll document owned by the monasteries of Daijōji in Kanazawa, Japan, is a mid-Muromachi period copy of the original thoughts.⁵⁵

⁵⁴Zhang, “Buddhist Revival in China: Values of the Development of Mount Wutai,” 31.

⁵⁵Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: the Rinzai Zen monastic institution in medieval Japan* (Cam-

The illustrations include full ground plans of several Chinese Mountains⁵⁶, such as Tiantong Temple and Lingyin Temple; ground plans of individual buildings from various monasteries: the Monk Halls, Lecture Halls, bath house, wash-stands etc.; elevations of buildings; diagrams of furnishings and ceremonial objects; diagrams of agricultural equipment and sample documentary and calligraphies.⁵⁷

The Illustrations of Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries thus served as important historical material for analyzing the construction of Japanese Zen monasteries and restoring the grand images of Southern Song Chinese Chan monasteries. Many scholars and architects, for example, Martin Collcutt, Sekiguchi Kinya, Steven Heine, Yokohama Hideya, and Zhang Shiqing, have conducted their research on this illustration.

Building on the summaries of the previous research, I compare *The Ground Plan of Kenchō-ji temple*⁵⁸ [J: Kenchō-ji Sashizu] in 1331, *The Illustrations of Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries*, the Southern Song text *The Record of Reconstructing Jingshan Temple* [C: Jingshan Chansi Chongjian-Ji], composed by Wu Yong

bridge, Mass.: Published by Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University ; distributed by Harvard University Press, 1981), 173, ISBN: 978-0-674-30497-0.

⁵⁶The Five Mountains in Southern Song China were: Jingshan temple, Tiantong temple, Lingyin temple, Jingci temple and Ayuwang temple.

⁵⁷Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 174.

⁵⁸*Kenchō-ji Sashizu* is first-hand material for understanding and analyzing the original layout plan of Kenchō-ji temple. After Kenchō-ji temple was founded, it was destroyed by an earthquake in 1293 and then by a fire in 1315. In 1331, out of a rebuilding purpose, Tofuku-ji temple recorded the layout system of Kenchō-ji, which was the *Kenchō-ji Sashizu*. Though *Kenchō-ji Sashizu* was drawn 78 years later, and Kenchō-ji temple had already gone through destruction and reconstruction, *Kenchō-ji Sashizu* is still the earliest and the most reliable ground plan of the original Kenchō-ji temple.

and the Southern Song text *The Record of Jingshan Xingsheng Wanshou Chan Monastery* [C: Jingshan Xingsheng Wanshou Chansi-Ji]⁵⁹, composed by Lou Yue, to explore what Kenchō-ji temple paid the most attention to when transplanting the whole Chan landscape during the 13th century.

2.2 Emphases in the Transplantation of Southern Song Chan Monastic Layout

Even though some scholars argue that Hōjō's construction of Kenchō-ji temple was a faithful transplantation of Southern Song Chan monasteries, there were still some parts in the landscape that was especially emphasized and some deliberately omitted. By researching the similarities and differences of Kenchō and Jingshan's location, layout and architecture, I explore what the heterogeneous incentives were behind the choices made by Hōjō and Rankei, and these choices, in turn, reflected the social and political conditions in Japan during the Kamakura era.

Like its Chinese counterpart Jingshan temple, the site of Kenchō-ji temple was also selected to be on a mountain with the mountain named Kōfuku-san,

⁵⁹Although there were no records of Jingshan temple's layout in the *Illustrations of Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries*, these two Southern Song texts: *The Record of Reconstructing Jingshan* and *The Record of Jingshan Xingsheng Wanshou Chan Monastery* can also serve as first-hand materials for restoring the landscape of Jingshan temple during the Southern Song Dynasty. Also, it could be estimated from the texts that Wuzhun Shifan led the reconstruction of Jingshan temple in 1232, when a large number of Japanese monks, craftsmen, and artists traveled to China to learn Chan. Thus, the layout of Jingshan temple restored from these two texts is closely related to the transplantation in Kenchō-ji temple.

paying regard to the Chan monastic tradition of seclusion from the secular world. However, if we look closer, the site where Kenchō-ji temple was built, Yamanouchi, was much closer to the political center of the Kamakura Bakufu compared to the distance between Jingshan temple and the Song court. Kenchō-ji temple was in north Kamakura, which was the base for the Hōjō family and a vital military hub for protecting the city from the north.⁶⁰ Various reasons might have led to this selection of site, but it was a clear message of Kenchō-ji temple not only being the new religious center, but also serving the political needs of its military leaders and its close connections with the samurai class.

Jingshan temple, on the other hand, located 70 kilometers away from the Song court, was deep in the Tianmu Mountain [J: Tenmoku]. Being surrounded by five mountain hills, Jingshan was famous for its otherworldly and breathtaking natural beauty, which attracted a lot of literati to visit, meditate, drink tea and compose poems. Under the social atmosphere of valuing letters and belittling arms⁶¹ during the Southern Song Dynasty, the natural environment of Jingshan temple was much appreciated not only among the literati group, but also government officials and emperors. Moreover, since the middle of the Northern Song Dynasty, Chan had developed into a new direction, *literary Chan* [C: Wenzhi Chan], as Chan and literature were closely interconnected and inte-

⁶⁰Takai, *Kenchō-ji Monogatari*, 19.

⁶¹After Song Emperor Taizu Zhao Kuangyi (927–976) took over power by force and established the Song Dynasty, he was very alert about the increasing power of generals around him, being afraid of them replacing him using the same method as he did. Thus, he promoted and thought highly of literati in court instead of generals. And this tradition passed along the following Song emperors and created the social atmosphere of valuing letters and belittling arms. Some scholars argued that this practice directly led to the failure in the war with Mongolia and led to a loss of much of its land during the Southern Song Dynasty. Despite that, literature and art had greatly developed in this period.

grated, deeply influencing each other's development.⁶²

However, seeing the great Song Dynasty being defeated by Jin and Mongolian enemies due to the policy of brush over sword, the military leader of Japan had chosen the opposite way, prizing the sword over the brush as the samurai model.⁶³ Therefore, though they realized that mastering art and literature was a crucial way to build their self-esteem and face criticism from the aristocratic class, the primary purpose of building Kenchō-ji temple was not to stress the literary side of Chan, but the disciplinary side. Hōjō hoped that the installation of authentic Chan would cultivate the mind of samurai, and in turn the spirituality of samurai would influence the development of Chan in Japan.

Rankei Dōryū, unlike some of the Chinese monks who went to Japan with him, also stressed the importance of discipline when conducting Chan practice, rather than the literary aspect of Chan. He did not encourage his disciples to indulge in scholarship or literary activities.⁶⁴ As he stated in *Ikai Gōjō*, Article 4: "the practice of Zen does not lie in the study of four and six character parallel prose..."⁶⁵ Deeply influenced by the Chinese Confucius traditions, he displayed a willingness to accept the validity of the existing social order and man-made law. In his *Hōgo Kisoku*, which is now an important national treasure collected in Kenchō-ji temple, he clearly expressed his preference of spontaneously and strictly disciplining oneself as the proper way of practicing Chan.

A horse is not a smart one if it moves after noticing the horsewhip;
A monk is not a good one if he determines his mind for the dharma after being

⁶²Yukai Zhou, *Wenzi Chan yu Songdai Shixue (Literary Chan and Song Dynasty Poems)* [in Chinese] (Beijing: Higher Education Press, 1998), ISBN: 978-7-04-007305-8.

⁶³Heine, *From Chinese Chan to Japanese Zen*, 8.

⁶⁴Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 67.

⁶⁵Translated by Martin Collcutt, 67.

trained.⁶⁶... The practice of Zen and the pursuit of the way is nothing other than grappling with the great problem of birth and death.⁶⁷

Therefore, as Heine has argued, the emphasis on discipline is a fundamental difference between Kenchō-ji temple and its Chinese counterparts,⁶⁸ which could also be reflected from the layout of Kenchō-ji temple.

In general, the layout of Kenchō-ji temple faithfully followed the basic building principles of Southern Song Chan monasteries, which had a significant emphasis on the central north–south axis, and valued the buildings in the center and the left more than others.⁶⁹ By comparing Jingshan temple’s partially restored layout⁷⁰ (Figure 2.1) and Kenchō-ji temple’s layout⁷¹ (Figure 2.2) during the 13th century, a general core plan could be concluded as below (Figure 2.3). Mountain Gate [C: Shanmen, J: Sanmon], Buddha Hall [C: Fodian, J: Butsuden], Dharma Hall [C: Fatang, J: Hatto], and Abbot House [C: Fangzhang, J: Hōjō] were often on the axis with Monk Hall [C: Sengtang, J: Sōdō] on the left side of Buddha Hall and Kitchen Office [C: Kuli, J: Kuri] on the right side. The main buildings were also organically connected with each other by corridors.

⁶⁶Translated by the author.

⁶⁷Translated by Martin Collcut, 67.

⁶⁸Heine, *From Chinese Chan to Japanese Zen*, 8.

⁶⁹Zhang, “Buddhist Revival in China: Values of the Development of Mount Wutai,” 40.

⁷⁰Jingshan temple’s core layout was restored by the author based on two Southern Song texts: *The Record of Reconstructing Jingshan Temple* [C: Jingshan Chansi Chongjian-Ji] composed by Wu Yong and *The Record of Jingshan Xingsheng Wanshou Chan Monastery* [C: Jingshan Xingsheng Wanshou Chansi-Ji] composed by Lou Yue. This layout only restored the core architecture mentioned in the texts.

⁷¹This Kenchō-ji temple layout was made by the author based on *Kenchō-ji Sashizu*.

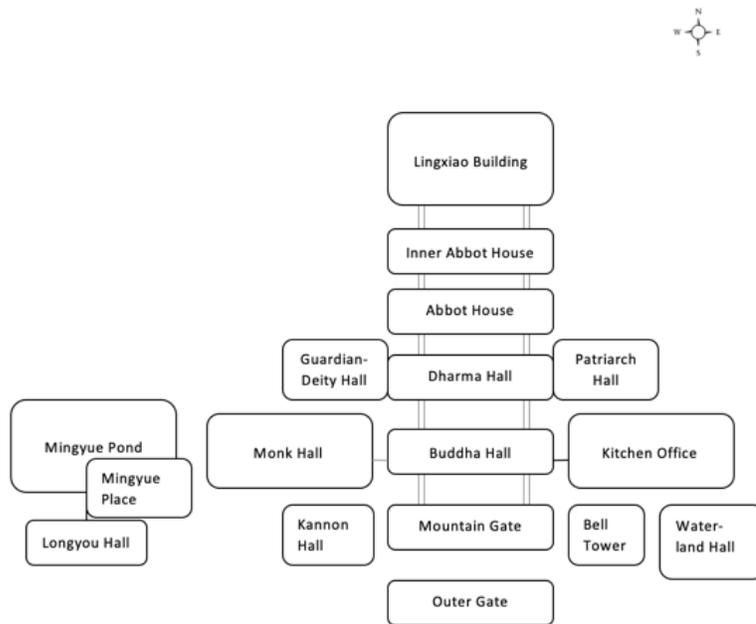


Figure 2.1: Partially restored ground plan of Jingshan temple in the 13th century.

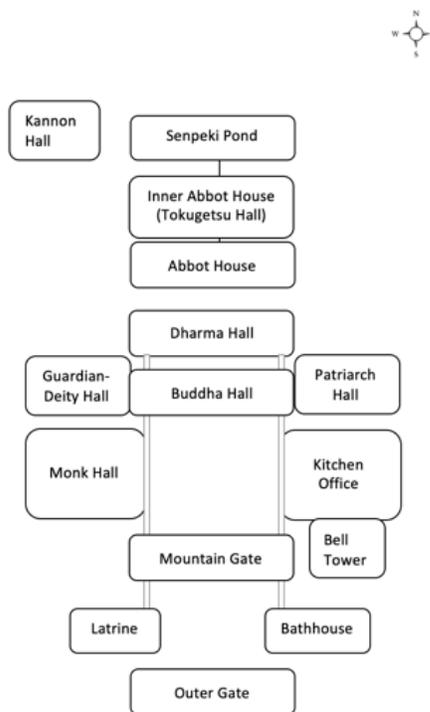


Figure 2.2: The ground plan of Kenchō-ji temple (Kenchō-ji Sashizu)(1331).

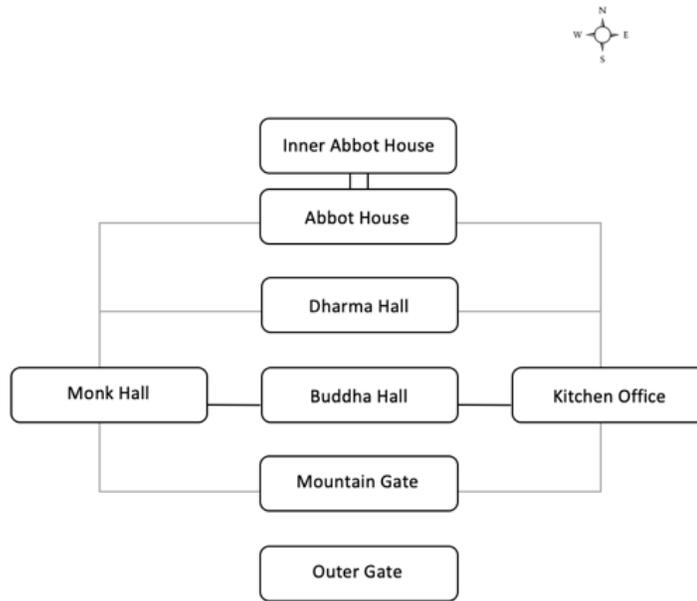


Figure 2.3: A general core ground plan of both Chinese Chan monasteries and Japanese Zen monasteries.

One of the obvious differences between the ground plan of Kenchō-ji temple and those of Chinese Chan monasteries, such as Tiantong temple and Lingyin temple, is that Kenchō-ji tended to be more vertically-oriented than its Chinese counterparts (See Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.4⁷²). One reason would be that Kenchō-ji temple was built in a narrow valley with limited space for enlarging itself.⁷³

Another important fact that cannot be ignored when comparing the ground plans was that when Japanese monks and craftsmen traveled to China and made records for these Chan temples, these large monasteries had already developed for five or six hundred years and had over thousands of disciples living

⁷²This Tiantong temple's ground plan was made by the author based on the material in *The Illustrations of Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries*.

⁷³Kin'ya Sekiguchi, *Gozan to Zen'in* [in Japanese], 1st ed. (Tokyo: Shōgakkān, 1983), 138, ISBN: 978-4-09-375013-4.

inside the institution, while Kenchō-ji temple had only been in development for 78 years, with far less disciples.⁷⁴ Some of the functional buildings in Chinese Chan monasteries, such as the Tailor Place and the Laundry, were not included in the ground plan probably because the needs for these places were less demanding.

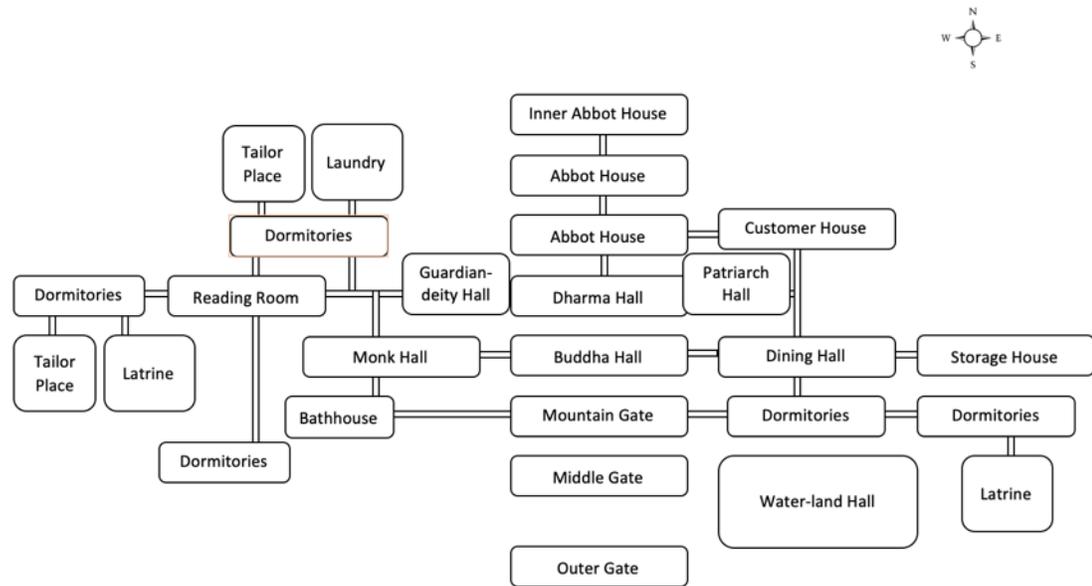


Figure 2.4: Tiantong temple's ground plan in 13th century.

One significant modification in the ground plan of Kenchō-ji temple was that the latrine and bathhouse were added as two of its main structural components in the front. Later, this layout system had evolved and was categorized as a unique Japanese development of Zen monastery's landscape, and got the name "Shichidō garan" [E: layout of seven halls] during the Muromachi period (1333–1572). Though there were different versions of seven halls according to various documents, Dharma Hall, Buddha Hall, Mountain Gate, Monk Hall, Latrine [C: Dongsi, J: Tosu], Kitchen Office and Bathhouse [C: Xuanming/Yushi,

⁷⁴Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 187.

J: Yokushitsu] were established to be the final version of Shichido garan after the mid-Edo period.⁷⁵ And these seven halls were the irreducible core and minimum skeleton of Zen monasteries.

In Chan monasteries, there was no clear regulation of the position of the latrine and bathhouse. Rather, their locations were function-oriented and usually located on the ending edge of the layout. Since the Five Mountains in China occupied vast spaces and usually had multiple dormitories, there were also multiple latrines located at the back of these dormitories (see Figure 2.4).

Many records about latrines and bathhouses found in *The Illustrations of Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries* could also verify the special attention given to latrines and bathhouses when constructing Japanese Zen monasteries. Not only the specific styles, like where things were located, were recorded in great details, but also the disciplines when using these facilities. For example, in the record of Jingshan temple's latrine, regulations like no talking, changing shoes when using the latrine, sitting properly so that one would not stain the two sides, cleaning oneself carefully with one's fourth and fifth fingers of the left hand, silently chanting sutras when washing hands, etc. were completely and faithfully copied and then transplanted.

Why would Kenchō-ji temple value the latrine and bathhouse this much in the Zen landscape? In a Chan or Zen monastery setting, the latrine and bathhouse were endowed with deeper meanings as being an extended practice field for monks in addition to the training in the Monk Hall and the Dharma Hall. As stated in Zong Ze's *The Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery* [C: Chanyuan Qinggui, J: Zenin Shingi] and Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō* [C: Zhengyan Fazang], only

⁷⁵Yokoyama, *Zen No Kenchiku (The Architecture of Zen)*, 68.

the monks with higher spiritual achievement could be assigned the work of cleaning the latrines and bathhouses. Bathhouses not only had the significance of washing away the dirt on the body and the heart as well as preventing diseases, but also played an important part in Buddhist traditions and cultures. Latrines had the laudatory title “hidden in the snow”, meaning that even the most trivial and secular things such as urinating and washing hands were disciplined by strict Chan regulations. Thus, the emphasis on latrines and the bathhouse inside the construction of Kenchō-ji temple’s layout could be understood when related to Hōjō and Rankei’s preference on strictly disciplining monastery life, especially when Rankei had even written about it in his *Hōgō Kisoku*, “Even on bath days or holidays do not allow your practice of Zen to relax for an instant.”⁷⁶

Within the layout of Kenchō-ji temple, the most important architecture would be the Buddha Hall, since it was the first monastic building constructed in the entire layout and considered as the center of the whole landscape.⁷⁷ Although Chan Buddhism, in its early period, was known for completely discarding Buddha Hall and Buddhist sculptures, at the time when the Japanese arrived in China and tried to learn the tradition, Buddha Hall had already gained significant importance in the Chan monastery system. During the Southern Song Dynasty, the Buddha Hall had already replaced the Dharma Hall and became the center of the whole Chan landscape.⁷⁸

Having said this, the Dharma Hall was still very prominent in Chan monasteries, since the two vital sub-buildings, Guardian Deity Hall [C: Tudi-tang, J:

⁷⁶Translated by Martin Collcut, 67.

⁷⁷Takai, *Kenchō-ji Monogatari*, 41.

⁷⁸Zhang, *Chan Buddhist Temple Architecture in Jiangnan, China*, 72.

Dojidō] and Patriarch Hall [C: Zushi-tang, J: Sōshidō], were often constructed on the two sides of the Dharma Hall, as observed in the layout of Tiantong and Lingyin temple. However, Kenchō-ji temple had these two sub-buildings installed on the two sides of the Buddha Hall, which might further emphasize the significance of the Buddha Hall.

An incentive for emphasizing the Buddha Hall can be found in Eisai's *The Promotion of Zen for the Protection of the Country (Kōzen Gokokuron)*. Eisai implied a contract between Zen monasteries and the ruling class: in return for official recognition, an independent Zen sect would contribute to the preservation of the country's well-being through the practice of meditation as well as rituals and ceremonies.⁷⁹ Since most of the rituals and ceremonies would be held in the Buddha Hall, as a multifunctional space in Chan monasteries, it had become increasingly significant throughout the Zen Buddhist history.

Another fact about Kenchō-ji temple's Buddha Hall that deserves special attention is the enshrinement of Jizō instead of Buddha as the main Buddhist statue [C: Benzun; J: Honzon], which is largely related to the history of the land where Kenchō-ji temple is located. Known as "hell valley", the land used to be an execution ground in the past, and thousands of prisoners and war criminals were executed and buried there. Before Kenchō-ji temple, Shinpei-ji temple was built there with Jizō enshrined as the main deity for comforting the souls of the dead. When Hōjō Tokiyori decided to build Kenchō-ji temple in hell valley, Jizō was kept as the primary deity in the Buddha Hall, even though there were no precedents for doing so in Chinese Chan monasteries.

Therefore, a question worth exploring is why Hōjō decided to intention-

⁷⁹Zhang, *Chan Buddhist Temple Architecture in Jiangnan, China*, 72.

ally build Kenchō-ji temple on the execution ground, especially since changing the main statue in a Buddhist monastery was a very serious decision to make, particularly when the replacement was Jizō. Though we would never know who made the decision, it was very likely to be a group decision made by Rankei, Hōjō, other Chan masters and shogunate officials after careful discussions. From the standpoint of Rankei and other Chan masters, they might have further considered more the history of the land itself, from a perspective of utilizing the Chinese philosophical idea, *Fengshui*.⁸⁰

However, as Takai argued in his book and the interview, from the view of Hōjō and other samurais the enshrinement of Jizō had other purposes. Since Kamakura during that time had numerous power struggles among samurais, the enshrinement of Jizō thus provided salvation for samurais' dead souls. For samurais, death was also a usual subject that they had to face every day, however, through worshiping Jizō, they did not need to worry about their death as Jizō would save them from purgatory. Worshiping Jizō might serve as the basis to forming samurai spirituality, seeing death as a way of rebirth, which had later become an important ideology of Bushidō. Moreover, by saving the souls of the good and the evil, friends and enemies, families and strangers through worshiping Jizō, Hōjō tried to show his compassionate mind of achieving universal salvation.⁸¹ More importantly, the installation of Jizō as the main statue reflected the fact that the transplantation of Chan into Japan was a selective and adaptive process.

⁸⁰Fengshui, known as Chinese geomancy, literally translates as “wind-water” in English. It claims to use energy forces of the universe, earth and humanity together to harmonize people with their surrounding environment.

⁸¹Takai, *Kenchō-ji Monogatari*, 43.

Another question to ask is: how did Japanese deal with other Chinese cultural elements in Chan monasteries other than Chan during the large-scale Chan transplantation? The grand Chan monasteries during the Southern Song Dynasty, like Jingshan temple and Lingyin temple, were not only a stronghold of Chan Buddhism, but also incorporated other aspects of Chinese cultures. With the process of their popularization and secularization, as well as the trend of the integration of the three religions (Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism), aspects of Chinese cultures, such as Kannon belief, Confucianism, Daoism, Chinese folk beliefs, and influences from the literati class could be found in the Chan landscape. Nevertheless, the content and architecture of Chinese local cultures and beliefs were not blindly imported into Japan – they were carefully selected and modified when being transplanted into the Kenchō-ji layout.

One of the most important features of Chinese Chan monasteries is that Kannon [C: Guanyin] had been attached to great significance. The Kannon belief has been very popular in China since the Northern and Southern Dynasties (220–589), and Chan monasteries also included them into its landscape. As observed in Tiantong and Lingyin temples' layout, Kannon Hall was usually located in the front of the whole layout on the right, and mirroring the Bell Tower on the left during the Southern Song Dynasty.

Kenchō-ji temple also incorporated Kannon Hall into its system but it was located far in the back next to the pond (see Figure 2.1). There were indeed quite a few Kannon statues in early Kenchō-ji's layout. The thousand-hand Kannon and Yuantong [J: Entsū] Kannon were enshrined in Kannon Hall. Another one might be found in Sendanrin, the hostel for the retired senior monk.⁸² There

⁸²Although there were no records of Sendanrin enshrining Kannon, according to Lingyin temple's layout, Kannon was enshrined in its Sendanrin. Thus, it could be speculated that

might also be a water-moon Kannon enshrined in the Tokugetsu Hall, as the hall had the name “approaching the moon” and was found next to a pond of water. Despite the fact that many Kannon statues were installed in Kenchō-ji’s layout in the first place, they were not rebuilt later in history when destroyed by natural disasters. Fortunately, as Takai told me during the interview, the statue of the thousand-hand Kannon was preserved and moved to be enshrined in Dharma Hall. The functions and importance of Kannon as well as Kannon Hall in Japanese Zen monasteries still remains a question since scholars have scarcely studied this topic and thus it deserves further research.

The Guardian-Deity Hall in Chan monasteries was deeply influenced by Daoism and it was vital in the entire Chan monastic layout. The building itself, as a worship hall, was also a common installation in monasteries of other Buddhist schools as well, but traditionally it usually enshrined Pasenadi in the center, and Jeta and Sudatta in the left and right. However, in Chan monasteries after the Song Dynasty, the Guardian-deity Hall usually worshiped deities from Daoism, such as the Yan Emperor and Huaguang Emperor.⁸³ Jingshan temple was known for worshipping the Black Dragon King [C: Lingze Longwang], a Buddhist and Daoist deity in its Guardian-Deity Hall, and many Song emperors would visit Jingshan to pay special tribute to this Daoist deity. When a fire destroyed Jingshan temple in 1199, the first building that was reconstructed from the ashes was the Guardian-deity Hall. As Lou Yue comments: “Being a fundamental component of Jingshan, the reconstruction of Guardian-deity Hall cannot wait even a day.”⁸⁴

Kannon might also be enshrined in Kenchō-ji temple’s Sendanrin.

⁸³Zhang, *Chan Buddhist Temple Architecture in Jiangnan, China*, 88.

⁸⁴Yue Lou, *Jingshan Xingsheng Wanshou Chansi-ji (An Essay of Jingshan Xingsheng Wanshou Chan temple)* [in Chinese], accessed November 29, 2018, <http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/>

In Japan, the Guardian-Deity Hall, though not as important as its counterpart in China, was kept within the Zen monastic layout. The Yan Emperor and four other Daoist deities were enshrined in Kenchō-ji temple's Guardian-Deity Hall probably because of Rankei Dōryū's personal preference. According to *The Records About the Founder of Kenchō: Daigaku Zen Master Rankei* [J: Kenchō Kaisan Daikaku Zenshi Rankei Washō Gyōjō] collected in *The Detailed Records of Zen Community* [J: Zenrin Shōkisen] (1741), the Yan Emperor visited Rankei's dream and encouraged him to promote Chan Buddhism in Japan. However, when Kenchō-ji temple was destroyed in a fire, the Guardian-deity Hall was not rebuilt; instead, it was absorbed into the Buddha Hall as altars at the back of the hall.⁸⁵

Patriarch Hall, corresponding with the Guardian-Deity Hall on the left of Buddha Hall, was another important building for worship in the Chan monasteries. Patriarch Hall was built under the influence of a prominent Confucian idea: respect your ancestors and teachers. Unlike the Guardian-Deity Hall, Patriarch Hall was a unique development of Chan monasteries, and was also greatly valued within the Chan monastic system. Later in Kenchō-ji's history, Patriarch Hall was also absorbed into Buddha Hall as altars, but the thought of respecting ancestors and worshiping the root has carried forward and further developed into another important architectural element in the Zen monastic system: Ancestral Hall [J: Kaisandō]. Unlike enshrining Bodhidharma as the primary patriarch in the Patriarch's Hall, Rankei Dōryū was enshrined at the center of the Ancestral Hall in Kenchō-ji temple.

Besides Confucianism and Daoism, the Chinese folk religion has also signifi-

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⁸⁵Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 191.

cantly influenced the landscape of Chan monasteries. During the Song Dynasty, because of the changes in the nature and function of Chan monasteries, they had evolved into unique secular institutions along with the increasing interactions with the outer world. The Water-land Hall, where the water-land ceremony was usually conducted, was indispensable architecture in the Chan monastic system and best reflected the secularization of Chan monasteries in the Southern Song Dynasty.

The water-land ceremony, as a ritual of deceased souls' salvation, was the most popular and important ritual in the Chan monasteries. Secular people from all walks of life could participate. It was also one of the most important sources of monastic income. Since taking care of over two or three thousand monks in big Chan monasteries like Jingshan and Tiantong required a large amount of money, the income received by conducting the water-land ceremonies was crucial and the Water-land Hall had become an indispensable part in the Chan monasteries. Therefore, the Water-land Hall was often located in a conspicuous position before entering the Mountain Gate, which was very convenient for secular people to access (see Figures 2.2 and 2.4).⁸⁶

Though being an important presence in Chinese Chan monasteries, Japan did not transplant the Water-land system at all. One of the reasons might be that there was no such need of holding the water-land ceremony in Japan. More importantly, as recorded in *Taiheiki*, Zen monasteries, by the 14th century, were known for wealth and opulence, and they did not have the financial urgency for holding such secular activities. They had a large amount of cash donations from samurais, nobles, and emperors in their early period.⁸⁷

⁸⁶Zhang, *Chan Buddhist Temple Architecture in Jiangnan, China*, 71.

⁸⁷Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 253.

And Kenchō-ji temple was especially favored by the Hōjō regent and for decades enjoyed political and financial privileges. Lastly, many monks criticized the secularization of Chan monasteries since it was a betrayal to the original Chan spirituality. Paying too much attention to forms instead of content, and institutions instead of monks, was one of the hidden troubles of Chan monasteries in the Southern Song Dynasty. This might be another reason that the Japanese chose not to introduce the Water-land system.

Along with the secularization of Song Chan monasteries, they had become popular tourist destinations over time and the gardenization of Chan monasteries could also be observed. A Chinese-style pavilion was often built alongside the garden for tourists to rest in while enjoying nature. It was also an important soul-soothing place for the literati class, government officials, and even emperors to drink tea, meditate, meet with friends and write poems.⁸⁸ For example, the Song Gao Emperor (1107–1187) often relaxed in the Cold Spring Pavilion [C: Lengquan Ting] of Lingyin temple after his retirement.

Despite the pavilion being one of the most common forms of architecture within the Chan monasteries, it was never introduced into Kenchō-ji temple's layout probably because the primary purpose of building Kenchō-ji temple was not to introduce the literary side of Chan⁸⁹. Kenchō-ji temple was also expected to be a "university" for educating samurais and an international communication center for training their own ambassadors and welcoming foreigners from abroad.⁹⁰ Thus, the political and diplomatic attributes of Kenchō-ji temple were

⁸⁸Zhang, *Chan Buddhist Temple Architecture in Jiangnan, China*, 58.

⁸⁹The literary side of Chan had been valued more and more later in the development of Zen monasteries along with increasing bilateral interactions with the continent, such as the development of Five Mountain Literature [J: Gozan Bungaku].

⁹⁰Murai, *Nihon chūsei no ibunka sesshoku* (*The Cross-cultural Communication in the Middle Ages*)

stressed more than attributes relating to leisure.

That said, it did not mean that the Japanese had less interest in nature within the monastic landscape. On the contrary, elements of nature have been much appreciated and valued and therefore the skillfully contrived incorporation of nature could be found in Kenchō-ji's layout. From the illustration *Kenchō-ji ground plan* [J: Kencho-ji Sashizu] (1331), it could be observed that two rows of huge cypresses were planted in the front of the Buddha Hall, adding sacredness to the path towards the main deity, Jizō. Though Kenchō-ji temple was destroyed many times in history, the path of cypresses has never been replaced.⁹¹

Another important natural installation of Kenchō-ji temple was the pond, Senpeki pond (Dipping the green pond), at the back of the Abbot Hall, made and named by the founder Rankei Dōryū. The pond not only provided a steady source of water for putting out a fire, which was one of the primary causes for devastating damage to all the wooden architecture in monasteries, but it also served as a scenic spot within the monastic landscape. By installing the pond at the back, mountain views could be borrowed, adding more layering to the entire scenery.

Since the concept of “garden” existed in Japan even before Heian period⁹² and had already developed for hundreds of years independently from the Chinese garden, the backyard garden in Kenchō-ji temple, as Sekiguchi⁹³ argued,

of Japan), 216.

⁹¹This can be observed in illustrations such as *Kenchō-ji Sashizu* (1331) and *Tsuneyama Genkōzu* (1678), as well as in contemporary Kenchō-ji temple's ground plan.

⁹²Kenkichi Ono and Walter Drew Edwards, “*Wa-Ei Taisho*” *Nihon Bijutsu Yogo Jiten* (A Dictionary of Japanese Art Terms, Bilingual “Japanese & English”) [in Japanese] (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1998), ISBN: 978-4-8087-0658-6.

⁹³Sekiguchi, *Gozan to Zen'in*, 139.

might have been a new attempt of combining the characters of a Chinese Chan-style garden and traditional Japanese-style garden. However, since the garden was made by Rankei Dōryū, a Chinese monk who had just arrived in Japan, this argument has not been validated enough to verify that Rankei was influenced by the Japanese-style garden when creating the Senpeki pond garden. Nevertheless, the appearance of Senpeki pond garden is crucial in the history of the Japanese garden as it serves as the basis for further development of Japanese Zen garden's aesthetics.

From analyzing the emphasis of Kenchō-ji temple's layout when it was built during the 13th century, heterogeneous incentives behind the transplantation of the Chan monastic system into Kamakura can be observed. After 800 years, it has recently been decided that Kenchō-ji temple's Chinese model, Jingshan temple, will have its landscape rebuilt in the hopes of restoring the prosperity and grandeur in the Southern Song dynasty. Kenchō-ji temple and other Japanese Zen monasteries have thus become important historical references for this reconstruction. Regarding this backtracking from Zen to Chan, we can query: what are the incentives of restoring a past tradition that has been lost for centuries? I will further discuss this question in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

FROM ZEN TO CHAN: A REVIVAL OF AN OLD TRADITION

As Chau concludes, a particular religious tradition can be revitalized when three conditions are met. First, when the substantive symbols, rituals, knowledge, texts, ritual paraphernalia and other material culture, ritual specialists, methods of transmission, networks are viable or traceable; second, when there are people who have the interest and desire to mobilize elements of this religious tradition; third, when the political and socioeconomic environment is conducive to such mobilization.⁹⁴

All three conditions are met in the case of Jingshan temple's restoration of the Southern Song Chan tradition. Jingshan's Southern Song landscapes and regulations are at least retrievable from both Chinese and Japanese historical records and materials, and Kenchō-ji temple, Tōfukuji temple and other Zen monasteries, that kept some essence of Southern Song Chan monastic style, can also be used as reference for Jingshan's reconstruction. More importantly, under the social environment of Buddhist temples' revitalization and reconstruction, not only is the historical and cultural significance of Jingshan increasingly valued by people at home and abroad, Jingshan's economic and political potential value has also recently been deemed important.

With the mass investment of labor, time and money, the restoration of Jingshan temple is a grand project that requires multidimensional research. And different dimensions can reflect different attitudes and emphases of this reconstruction project. I would like to divide this chapter into three main parts: the first part examines whether Jingshan temple has strictly followed the authen-

⁹⁴Chau, *Religion in contemporary China*, 3.

tic Southern Song Chan monastic styles; the second part focuses on reference to Japanese Zen monasteries and introduction of Japanese Zen elements during the reconstruction process; the last part explores the reconstructed Jingshan temple being exploited as a development resource in both its tangible and intangible forms.

Though these three parts are talking about different dimensions of the reconstruction of Jingshan temple, they are organically connected to show the complex and contradictory mindset of the recent revival of Chan Buddhist institutions, cultures and thought in China. They also show the ways of using cultural amnesia to craft “invented traditions and memories” among Chinese people, which can be interpreted as a renaissance towards Chinese traditional culture and their past national glory. However, in most cases, the renaissance of traditions is set up for pursuing further modernization.

3.1 When Southern Song Fantasy Meets Reality

Since the general Southern Song Chan monastic landscape can be roughly restored through historical materials, an interesting question to explore thus becomes whether or not the reconstructed Jingshan temple strictly followed the Southern Song style. As I have argued before, the Chan monastic layout and architecture are functional and expressive, and the change of the place or sequence of architecture reveals important message about the emphasis of certain Buddhist ideologies within this landscape. Therefore, let me first take you around the newly reconstructed Jingshan temple as I visited it.

As soon as we arrived, Monk Pudu, the head of Jingshan temple’s Liai-

son Department, warmly welcomed us and treated us with some Jingshan tea. Since the temple was still undergoing construction and was just partially open, thanks to Monk Pudu, we got to visit some places in the monastery that were not opened to the public. At the time when I visited there, the main architecture on the central North–South axis had almost been completed, including the Mountain Gate, Buddha Hall, Kannon Hall and Lingxiao Building. The Sutra Hall (Dharma Hall) is supposed to be accomplished by 2019. On the east side of the central axis, the Monk Hall has also been completed. The whole Jingshan temple monastic plan that is going to be accomplished by 2019 is illustrated in Figure 3.1.

When comparing Figure 3.1 with Figure 3.2, which is the restoration of Southern Song Chan monastic layout from Southern Song literati Lou Yue and Wu Yong’s texts, many distinctions could be observed. First and foremost, the importance of Kannon Hall has been greatly emphasized, and it has replaced Abbot House on the central axis.

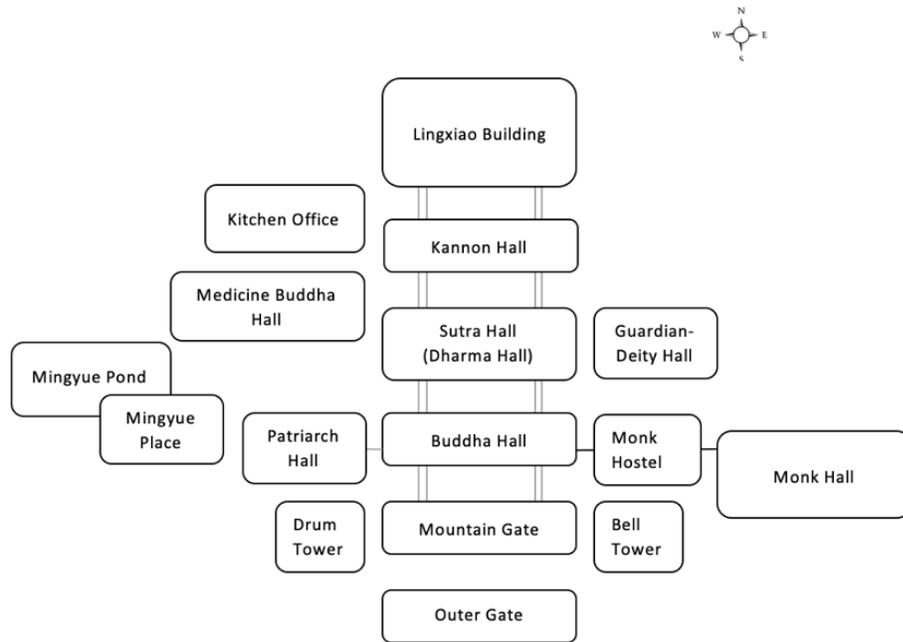


Figure 3.1: Contemporary ground plan of Jingshan temple's reconstruction (to be completed by 2019).

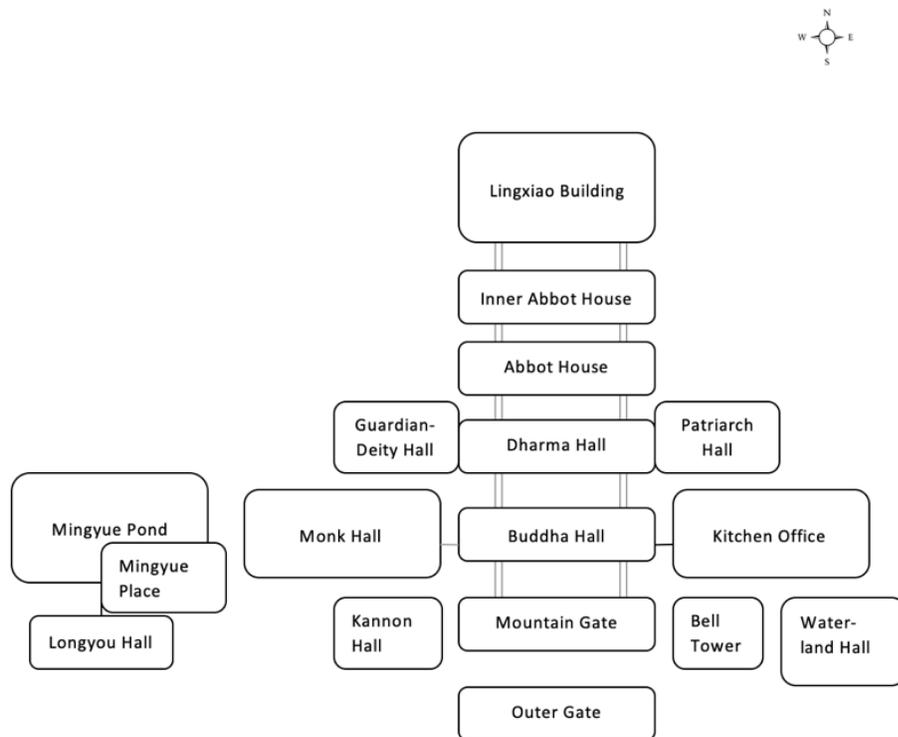


Figure 3.2: Partially restored ground plan of Jingshan temple in the 13th century (the same as Figure 2.1).

Moreover, the reconstructed Mountain Gate, though continuing to use the Southern Song name “Nine Phoenix Mountain Gate [C: Jiufeng Shanmen]”, functions both as Mountain Gate and Heavenly Kings Hall. Heavenly Kings Hall is usually the first architectural structure in a Pure Land [C: Jingtū; J: Jyōdoshū] temple and has begun to appear in Chan monasteries when Chan and Pure Land were being practiced together after the Southern Song Dynasty. Since Maitreya [C: Mǐ’le, J: Miroku] is enshrined at the front and Skanda [C: Weituo, J: Idaten] is enshrined at the back of Jingshan temple’s Mountain Gate, which is the same installment of deities as in the Heavenly Kings Hall [C: Tianwang Dian], I argue that this building serves as Mountain Gate on the surface, while essentially serves as Heavenly Kings Hall.

Another difference worth mentioning is the changes of functions of the Monk Hall. As one of the most crucial monastic buildings within the Chan monastic layout, the Monk Hall used to have multifunctional roles: being as meditation center, dining hall and dormitory in the Southern Song Dynasty. Nevertheless, the recently reconstructed Monk Hall only served as a meditation center and the other two functions take place in two different monastic buildings. Also, unlike the Southern Song layout of Jingshan temple in which the Monk Hall is on the left and Kitchen Office is on the right of the central axis, the locations of the two buildings are opposite in the reconstructed layout. The reasons for this requires further research.

Lastly, we can discover more Ming and Qing Chan monastic architectural elements in Jingshan temple’s layout when comparing with the layout of Lingyin temple (see Figure 3.3). Lingyin temple is another grand Chan temple, which was designated as one of the Five Mountains during the Southern Song Dynasty.

The contemporary Lingyin temple is preserved in Ming and Qing Chan monastic styles. Through comparing the similarities of the contemporary Jingshan and Lingyin temples' layouts, we can find out that the installation of the Medicine Buddha Hall, as well as the symmetric installation of Bell Tower and Drum Tower in Jingshan temple, are all features of Ming and Qing Chan monastic layout. From the above analysis, we may safely conclude that the reconstructed Jingshan temple's layout is a pastiche of Song, Ming and Qing monastic traditions.

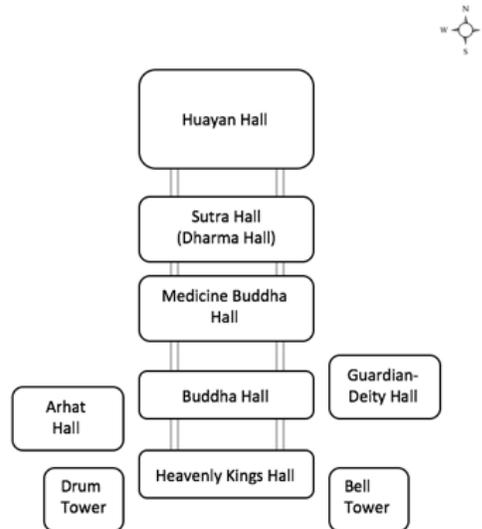


Figure 3.3: Contemporary partial ground plan of Lingyin temple, Hangzhou.

One of the reasons for Jingshan's mixed and reinvented Chan traditions is that the original Southern Song Chan traditions may not meet the needs of monks and tourists anymore. For instance, for a long time in Chinese Buddhist history, the Monk Hall has no longer served as an eating and sleeping place for practicing monks, thus it may be difficult to suddenly change the function of the Monk Hall in this particular temple. Also, as the worship of Maitreya

and Medicine Buddha has been very popular in China since the Ming Dynasty until today, paying tribute to them has become one of the must-dos in temple tourism. This later developed tradition of enshrining Maitreya and Medicine Buddha cannot be dismissed even as Jingshan temple is in the reconstruction phase, drawing on Southern Song monastic traditions.

According to Jingshan's reconstruction plan, the ultimate goal of reconstructing Jingshan temple is to build two centers: the Chan and Tea Center and Cultural Communication Center; launch four activities: Chan tea in the spring, Chan meditation in the summer, Chan lectures in the autumn, and Chan practice in the winter; and restore twelve famous vista points within Jingshan temple's landscape, including "the grandeur of the double-storey Mountain Gate", "Clouds resting on the lotus pond", "The Benefactor Center", "Tea and bamboo walking path", "Patriarch Hall", "Bell Tower", "The Black Dragon King" (Guardian-Deity Hall), "The bright moon pond" and so on. Below is a picture of "Tea and bamboo walking path" I took when I visited there (Figure 3.4).

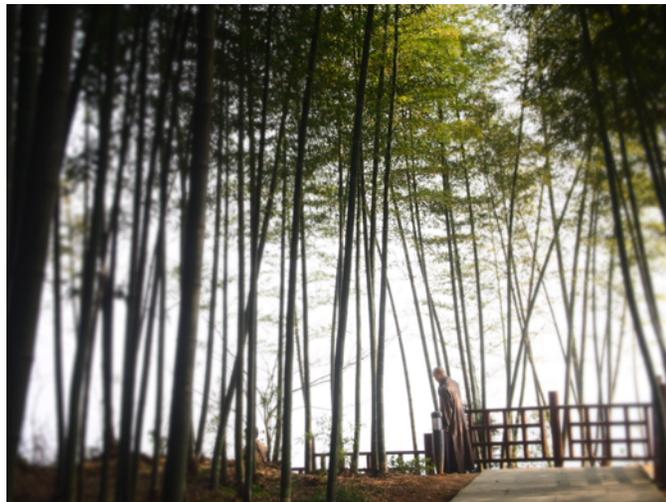


Figure 3.4: Tea and bamboo walking path – one of the twelve restored scenic areas within Jingshan's reconstructed landscape (photo shot by author on December 30th 2017).

Therefore, it can be known from the objectives of this reconstruction that it is not the Southern Song Chan religious traditions that are going to be revived, rather, the religiosity of Jingshan has been minimized while the cultural and recreational aspect has been emphasized and enlarged. The restored Southern Song style architectural elements, aesthetics and atmosphere have not only created nostalgia towards Southern Song prosperity and grandeur, but are also expected to serve mainly cultural, economic and political purposes.

To briefly summarize, the newly reconstructed Jingshan temple could be seen as a Chan-themed recreational museum park, which integrated elements of Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing Chan monastic traditions. This process of reproducing the past and reinventing the traditions can also be regarded as creating “guiding fictions”, a term defined by the historian Shumway, as an important component of creating shared national identity.

The guiding fictions of nations cannot be proven, and indeed are often fabrications as artificial as literary fictions. Yet they are necessary to give individuals a sense of nation, peoplehood, collective identity, and national purpose.⁹⁵

What kind of national identity and memory has been created through the guiding fiction of Jingshan? As Jingshan temple has also had close connections with Japanese monasteries throughout history, how does Jingshan frame the interactions with Japan into its landscape and what has Jingshan re-imported from Japanese monasteries? These are interesting questions to explore.

⁹⁵Pretes, “Tourism and nationalism,” xi.

3.2 When Pizza Effect Meets Nationalism

Jingshan temple has played a pivotal role in both Chinese and Japanese Buddhist history and has always been an important place for promoting cultural and Buddhist interactions between China and Japan since the Southern Song Dynasty.

Mutual communication had reached the peak when Wuzhun Shifan [J: Mujun Shihan] (1177–1249) was the abbot of Jingshan temple, during which Jingshan was also at its most prosperous time and reached the largest monastic scale in its history. Wuzhun not only had many Chinese disciples, such as Lanxi Dao-long [J: Rankei Dōryū], who founded Kenchō-ji temple and designed the first Chan monastic layout in Japan; Wuxue Zuyuan [J: Mugaku Sōgen], who became the abbot of Engaku-ji temple in Kamakura, and also Japanese disciples such as Enin Benen [C: Yuan'er Bianyuan], who later established Tōfuku-ji temple in Kyoto and greatly promoted the development of the Rinzai School in Japan. Later, when Xutang Zhiyu [J: Kidō Chigu] became Jingshan's abbot, his Japanese disciple Nanpo Shōmyō [C: Nanpu Shaoming], had also become one of the most influential figures in Japanese Zen Buddhist history.

Practicing and living in Jingshan temple for many years, these prominent Zen monks introduced Chan monastic architectural styles, Chan garden aesthetics, the Jingshan tea ceremony, Tang Style calligraphy, Chan paintings etc. from Jingshan temple to Japan. Later, these Jingshan-originated Chan thoughts and practices indigenously developed into unique Japanese Zen ideologies and aesthetics, like Japanese Zen garden aesthetics, the Japanese tea ceremony, Zen calligraphy and painting etc. and have played an important role in forming

Japanese aesthetics, spiritualities and values.

When Shaku Soyen first introduced Zen to the Western audience in the World Parliament of Religions in 1893, these Zen ideologies and aesthetics also began to attract the attention of the West. Shaku Soyen's student, Suzuki Daisetsu, who eventually became the leading scholar on Zen Buddhism in the West, further popularized Zen with a larger audience. This exotic religious belief, life attitude and aesthetics suddenly became a fashionable trend for people in the West to pursue, especially after World War II, which in turn greatly re-influenced the development and revitalization of Zen Buddhism in Japan.⁹⁶

This is an exact example of the "pizza effect", a term coined by the anthropologist Aghananda Bharati to describe "cultural exports that are transformed and reimported to the culture of origin"⁹⁷ in the fields of religious studies and sociology. Just as American-style pizza has become popular in parts of Italy, where pizza originated from, Japanese reevaluation of Zen ideology as well as self-understanding is influenced by Western perceptions.

The recent revitalization of Chan Buddhism, institutions and thought in China can be viewed as a "secondary pizza effect" to some degree, as an increasing number of Chinese people are beginning to explore and revalue the ideology of Chan that has been widely accepted and popularized in Japan and the West. They have also begun to realize the significance and urgency of preserving and revitalizing their traditional cultural property. In terms of Jing-shan temple's restoration of Southern Song Chan monastic styles and traditions,

⁹⁶Jørn Borup, "Easternization of the East? Zen and Spirituality as Distinct Cultural Narratives in Japan," 16 (2015): 70–93.

⁹⁷Christopher S. Queen, Charles S. Prebish, and Damien Keown, *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*, 1st ed. (London: Routledge, 2003), 33, ISBN: 978-0-7007-1594-7.

this “secondary pizza effect” cannot only be interpreted as a socio-cultural phenomenon, but also a socio-economic one, which is greatly related to the increasing interest of Chinese people travelling to Japan as well as the urge to develop tourism and the economy in recent years.

Let me briefly introduce the socio-economic background of the ongoing “secondary pizza effect” of the revival of Chan Buddhist institutions and thought in China. Since 2014, the number of Chinese tourists visiting Japan has dramatically increased. According to the data from the Japanese Government Tourist Bureau (JNTO), in 2014, the number of Chinese tourists increased by 83.3% and 107.3% in 2015. In 2017, the number of foreign travelers in Japan reached the highest record in history, 286.9 million, among which Chinese tourists comprised the largest national group (73.5 million).⁹⁸ Many reasons can explain this “Japan fever” phenomenon in contemporary China, for instance, an easier visa application for Chinese citizens, Japanese Yen depreciation, Chinese economic development, attractive tourist spots in Japan, delicious Japanese cuisine, similarity of cultures, familiar Kanji characters used in Japan etc.

One of the important reasons is contemporary Chinese young people’s high acceptance of Japanese culture. Born in the 1980s and 1990s, many of the urban Chinese have grown up watching Japanese animation, movies, playing Japanese games and reading Japanese novels. Thus, since childhood they have been quite familiar with Japanese culture.⁹⁹ When youth started to play a signif-

⁹⁸“Gaikokujin Kankōkyaku ga zōka-suru riyū! Ninki no Kankō supotto wa? (Reasons for the increase in foreign tourists! What are the popular tourist spots?)” [In Japanese], April 2018, <https://blog.pokke.in/foreigner-tourist/>.

⁹⁹Boyu Zhang, “Zhongguo Qingshaonian Dui ri Yishi Diaocha Baogao – Zhongguo Qingshaonian Nenggou Lixing Kandai Riben (Report on the Investigation of Chinese Teenagers’ View Towards Japan – Chinese Teenagers Can View Japan Rationally)” [in Chinese], *Riben Wenti*

icant role in consumption, we can see an increase in travelling to Japan as well as consuming Japanese cultural products in Chinese consumer market. Unlike their previous generations who mostly harbored hostility towards Japan, as far as many Chinese young people are concerned, politics and tourism are separate issues. Also, it is not only Japanese popular culture that caught their attention – a growing number of Chinese young people in a contemporary context are willing to appreciate and experience Japanese traditional culture, such as the Japanese tea ceremony, ikebana, kimono, Japanese gardens and so on.

As researched by *China Trend Express*, a Japanese website focusing on the recent trend in China, it was discovered that visiting Japanese temples is one of the top five things Chinese tourists hope to do when traveling in Japan. It is true that many Japanese temples are famous tourist attractions and even UNESCO spots, and tourists can often enjoy great and peaceful natural scenery in temples. However, one of the most important reasons for Chinese people to visit Japanese temples is to “find” traces of the prosperity of Tang and Song Dynasties, especially when visiting ancient capitals like Kyoto, Nara and Kamakura.¹⁰⁰ Chinese people are often greatly moved by what they see as they believe the authenticity of Tang and Song has been transformed into Japan and preserved very well since then.

This can be related to a very problematic but popular perception that has long existed among Chinese people: “Find Tang and Song Dynasty in Japan; Find Ming Dynasty in Korea”. Though this statement is not precise enough, it

Yanjiu (Japanese Studies) 3 (2009).

¹⁰⁰“Nihon no otera wa chūgoku-jin no iyashi no ninki supotto (Japanese Buddhist temples are the soul-comforting and popular spots for Chinese tourists)” [in Japanese], April 2018, <https://cte.trendexpress.jp/blog/20180423-inbound-ranking.html>.

still expresses Chinese people's regret of seeing their traditional culture being preserved elsewhere but lost in their own land, especially after the eradication of traditional Chinese culture during the Cultural Revolution.

Therefore, in the recent construction of traditional architecture in Chinese Buddhist temples and Tang- or Song-themed tourist sites, it is not uncommon to find them learning about and copying the atmosphere, architectural styles, natural settings etc. of Japanese temples in the name of restoring the past glory of the Tang and Song Dynasties while also pursuing gains from increasing tourism. However, some of the construction not only drew on the Tang and Song elements, but also copied the indigenous Japanese elements into the landscape. For instance, Guangming Chan temple in Sichuan province is said to have been reconstructed in Tang Dynasty Chan monastic Chan style; however, it is nearly a complete copy of the architectural style of Tōdai-ji temple, the head temple (J: Daihonzan) of Kegon (C: Huayan) School in Nara, Japan. We could directly observe the high degree of resemblance of these two monastic buildings (see Figure 3.5¹⁰¹ and Figure 3.6¹⁰²).

¹⁰¹*The Embarrassment of Chinese Archaized Building: Imitating Tang Dynasty Style or Japanese Style?* [In Chinese], accessed November 9, 2018, <http://www.manda8.com/jwh1/155044587.html>.

¹⁰²*Fichier:Tōdai-ji Kon-dō.jpg* — *Wikipédia*, accessed November 9, 2018, https://fr.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:T%C5%8Ddai-ji_Kon-d%C5%8D.jpg.



Figure 3.5: Guangming Chan temple, Sichuan, China.



Figure 3.6: Tōdai-ji temple, Nara, Japan.

Though Tōdai-ji temple did imitate Tang style monastic architectural styles when it was founded by the Emperor Shōmu (701-756), the contemporary Buddha Hall was reconstructed in 1709, and already incorporated many Japanese indigenous architectural styles and elements, such as *Karahafu* [C: Tang Pofeng], a traditional Japanese style decoration on the front gate of the architectural structure.¹⁰³

This behavior of incautiously copying Japanese traditional elements, like architectural styles, while claiming to be the restoration of authentic Tang and Song architectural styles can also be found in the recently developed tourist areas that aimed to promote the concept and ideology of “Chan lifestyle”. An example is Nianhua (Picking-the-flower) Town in Jiangsu Province (see Fig-

¹⁰³Karahafu is said to have been developed during the Kamakura period and became an important component of Japanese traditional architecture ever since. Although it is still a debatable topic whether Karahafu originated in China or Japan, the historical recordings are very scarce in China. Thus, many scholars have believed Karahafu to be an original Japanese innovation and development of Chinese Hafu.

ure 3.7¹⁰⁴), which was opened to the public in 2015.

In the advertisement of Nianhua Town on its official webpage, it claimed to be “the Chan-themed recreation area that represents the image and atmosphere of Tang and Song Dynasty, letting people to experience the relaxing Chan life style.” Nevertheless, when looking closer at the architectural elements, they are more like Machi-ya [C: Dingwu], a traditional Japanese wooden townhouse, rather than Tang or Song style Chinese buildings. Moreover, some street shots of Nianhua Town highly resemble a Japanese famous tourist spot: Sannen-zaka street in Kyoto (See Figure 3.8¹⁰⁵).



Figure 3.7: Nianhua (Picking-the-flower) Town in Jiangsu, China.



Figure 3.8: Tōdai-ji temple, Nara, Japan.

The zeal for restoring Tang and Song monastic architecture can be traced to the first Tang monastic style reconstruction, Monk Jianzhen’s Memorial Hall built in Yangzhou in 1973. This building was the result of a combined ef-

¹⁰⁴*The Town of Lingshan, Photograph of Nianhua Town* [in Chinese], accessed November 9, 2018, <https://dp.pconline.com.cn/photo/3629698.html>.

¹⁰⁵*Yasaka Pagoda Sannen Zaka Street Morning Foto de stock (editar ahora)468789482; Shutterstock*, accessed November 27, 2018, <https://www.shutterstock.com/es/image-photo/yasaka-pagoda-sannen-zaka-street-morning-468789482>.

fort of Chinese architects and scholars who were enthusiastic about restoring Chinese traditional architecture, as well as the reciprocation and appreciation of Japanese Buddhist groups, as Monk Jianzhen played an important role in spreading Buddhism to Japan throughout history.

Later, with the help of Japanese Buddhist individuals and groups, and local enthusiasts of Chinese traditional culture and architecture, other well designed and carefully studied Tang or Song style monastic architecture was also constructed or reconstructed. The reconstructed Tang monastic style buildings in Qinglong (Green Dragon) temple, Xi'an, in the 1980s is one good example. These reconstructed archaic buildings, have begun to activate Chinese people's cultural memory and imagination as well as stimulate the Chinese people's renaissance towards Chinese traditional culture to some degree.

However, as pointed out in the first chapter, along with Chinese economic development and the process of commodification in recent decades, the incentive for restoring traditional architecture or cultures is sometimes not pure anymore. On the one hand, it is undeniable that with the upsurge of Chinese people traveling to Japan, absorbing select exotic Japanese cultural and architectural elements might be economically more profitable for tourist development. On the other hand, from an art-historical perspective, the lax attitudes towards the reconstruction of Tang and Song style architecture makes people doubt the sincerity and authenticity when restoring traditions and cultures. The cases of Guangming temple and Nianhua Town are clear examples of copying the successful Japanese tourist and commodification model into China without thinking more deeply on a cultural level.

In the case of Jingshan temple, as it is also trying to be reconstructed in "au-

thentic” Southern Song style, how does it use Japanese Zen monasteries as references? What Japanese elements has it imported? After analyzing Jingshan’s reconstructed Chan monastic architecture, monastic garden, and restoration of the Jingshan tea ceremony, I argue that, unlike Guanming temple and Nianhua Town, the reconstruction of Jingshan temple carefully distinguished the elements that belong to Southern Song or Japan based on historical materials, from which we can observe their sincerity of restoring the lost Southern Song Chan civilization.

Nevertheless, on the one hand, some Japanese elements, like Japanese *Karesansui* garden style and the Japanese tea ceremony, are still incorporated into Jingshan’s landscape, partly functioning as symbols of transnational cultural communication but mostly functioning as the authentication and reassurance of Jingshan temple’s authority of Chan within a global community. They also serve as the best promotion of the brand: “Southern Song Chan style Jingshan temple”, at home and abroad to achieve reconstruction goals.

On the other hand, Jingshan also tries to distinguish the “Chan” it is reconstructing from Japanese “Zen”, which Jingshan used as reference to project its value of national identity. Along with the rising awareness of preserving cultural heritage and boosting national pride, Jingshan is reconstructed to re-establish its Chan authenticity worldwide and attempt to compete with its Zen counterparts in Japan.

First, let me show you the reconstructed style of Jingshan’s Chan monastic architecture. The reconstructed Buddha Hall (see Figure 3.11) will be used as a representative for exploring the overall Chan monastic architectural style that Jingshan temple adopted during reconstruction. I will use the following two ref-

erences to compare the similarities and differences to Jingshan's Buddha Hall. One is the Buddha Hall of Jinshan temple in China that was recorded in *The Illustrations of Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries* by Japanese monks during the Southern Song Dynasty (see Figure 3.9¹⁰⁶), which is a standard version of Southern Song Chan monastic architectural style. The other is the Relic Hall [J: Shari-den, C: Sheli-dian] of Engaku-ji temple, Kamakura, (see Figure 3.12), which was an important national treasure of Japan dating back to the early Muromachi period. The building used to be the Buddha Hall of Taihei-ji temple and was moved to Engaku-ji temple to serve as Relic Hall. It is also the most ancient and significant Buddha Hall model of extant Southern Song Chan monastic style architecture in Japan.

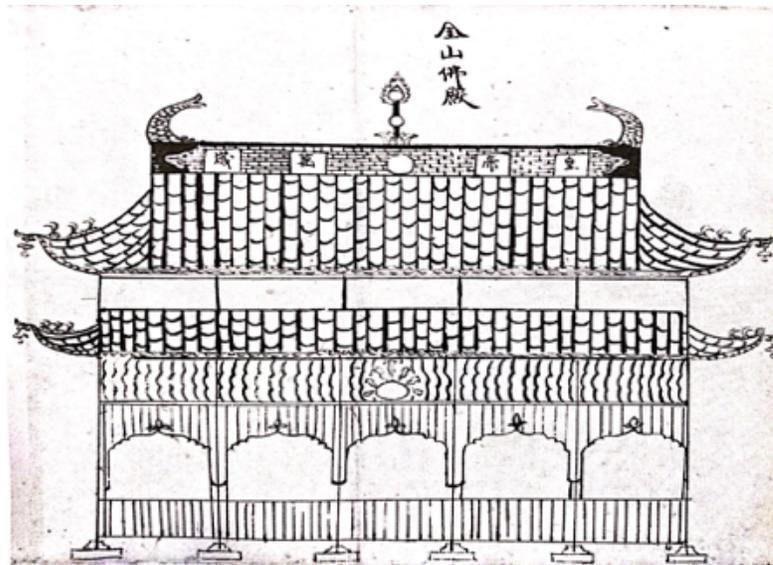


Figure 3.9: Buddha Hall, Jinshan temple from *The Illustration of Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries*.(1248)

¹⁰⁶Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan (Kyoto National Museum), *Zen no bijutsu (The Art of Zen Buddhism)* [in Japanese] (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1983), 196.

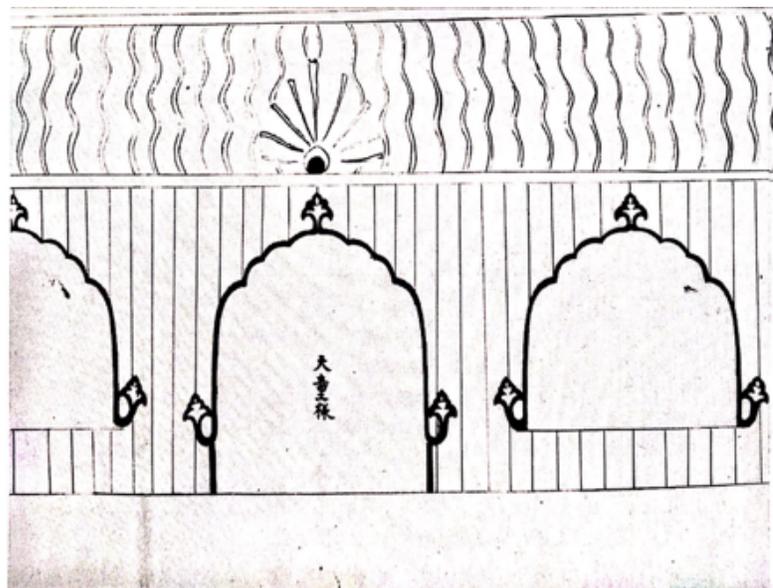


Figure 3.10: The window patterns of Tiantong temple from *The Illustration of Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries*.(1248)



Figure 3.11: Buddha Hall of the reconstructed Jingshan temple (photo shot by author on December 30th,2017).



Figure 3.12: Relic Hall, Engaku-ji temple, Kamakura, Japan.

One of the significant differences between the Buddha Hall of Jingshan temple and the other two Buddha Halls is that Relic Hall and Buddha Hall of Jingshan temple were completely made of wood [J: Mokuzō, C: Muzao], while the Buddha Hall of Jingshan temple was made of wood and cement. However, Muzao or Mokuzō is an important character of Southern Song Chan monastic architecture and using cement in monastic architecture is a very late tradition in Chinese traditional buildings. The pillars of Jingshan temple are also made of stone instead of wood, which is probably due to the moist climate in the region of Hangzhou, as stone pillars are easier to preserve and maintain.

Second, by comparing the roofs of three Buddha Halls, we can observe the similarities between the roofs of Jinshan's Buddha Hall and Jingshan's Buddha Hall. They both use the Wuding-style roof covering in scale tiles, which is the highest standard of Southern Song architecture's roof style. And though the main body of Relic Hall, Engaku-ji temple is in the Southern Song Chan monastic style, the roof of it is in the style of kokera-buki [E: roof thatched with

thin wood shingles], a traditional Japanese roof style that can be seen in many Japanese ancient buildings designated as national treasures.

Third, the decorations of windows and doors of Jinshan temple's Buddha Hall and Relic Hall are very similar. Figure 3.10¹⁰⁷ is a clearer version of this kind of decoration: wave-like window blinds and lotus-like door and window patterns, which were popular and widely used in many Southern Song monastic buildings. And though the Buddha Hall of Jingshan temple does not have these kind of decorations installed, the Mountain Gate as well as Monks' Hall of Jingshan temple have installed similar decorations.

To summarize from the above comparisons, we can learn that the Buddha Hall of Jingshan temple only selectively restored some Southern Song architectural styles, and instead of a faithful restoration of the authentic Southern Song Chan monastic style, it is rather a mix of Chan monastic architectural styles of Southern Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties. We can also discover that though the reconstruction of Jingshan temple's Buddha Hall used architecture in Japanese Zen monasteries as references, there is no Japanese architectural element incorporated. Elements of Chinese monastic style and Japanese monastic style are carefully distinguished in Jingshan's reconstructed buildings.

Apart from the monastic architecture, Chan monastic gardens are also organic and important components of the whole monastic institution. Nevertheless, since there are hardly any historical records left of what Chan gardens in Southern Song Chan monasteries were like, it is thus interesting to explore how Jingshan temple reconstructs Chan gardens in its landscape so as to restore the

¹⁰⁷Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan (Kyoto National Museum), *Zen no bijutsu (The Art of Zen Buddhism)*, 195.

Southern Song Chan atmosphere. As the temple is still under the process of reconstruction and many Chan gardens have not been built yet, I choose two representative models of Chan gardens that have already been built to examine their styles and aesthetics involved.

The first one is the pond garden within a group of monastic buildings (Figure 3.13). Although it is a small-size garden, we can observe some basic Chinese-style garden elements, such as an artificial mountain, pond, trees etc. The limited materials and space are aimed to imitate and present unlimited natural scenery with imagination. The second one is the garden at the back of the Monk Hall (Figure 3.14¹⁰⁸). Composed of gravel, pruned trees, arrangements of rocks and moss, this garden clearly incorporates the Japanese garden style, *Karesansui*¹⁰⁹ [E: dry landscape] into its design – or at least it tries to imitate the aesthetics and the Zen atmosphere created through installing *Karesansui*.

¹⁰⁸What does Jingshan temple under reconstruction look like? Let us have a look. [in Chinese], accessed November 9, 2018, www.sohu.com/a/210732713_823683.

¹⁰⁹The word *Karesansui* can be traced as early as Heian Period in the first manual of Japanese gardens *Sakuteiki (Records of Garden Making)*, written by Tachibana no Toshitsuna (1028–1094). And this style of garden making became popular during the Kamakura and Muromachi period along with the prosperous development of Zen Buddhism and Zen temples. *Karesansui*, being an indigenous garden aesthetic in Japan, is a way to express Japanese Zen ideologies as well as reflect Japanese aesthetics and values towards life. Though some scholars believe that the style of *Karesansui* was largely influenced by Chinese gardens, the installation of *Karesansui* in Chinese Chan temple gardens can be hardly found in Chinese historical records.



Figure 3.13: A garden in Jingshan temple (photo shot by author on December 30th 2017).



Figure 3.14: The garden at the back of the Monk Hall, Jingshan temple.

From these two gardens, we can see that Jingshan temple installed both a Chinese garden style and Japanese garden style when building its Chan gardens. However, as *Karesansui* was by no means an indigenous or popular gar-

den style in Chinese history, why is *Karesansui* installed in Jingshan temple's landscape? One of the reasons might be that, since it is hard to find historical materials about what an authentic Southern Song Chan garden looked like, the *Karesansui* garden was probably installed based on designers' personal aesthetic tastes. Moreover, being one of the most well established symbols of Zen worldwide and presenting the aesthetics of Zen explicitly through a combination of simple elements, *Karesansui* might be incorporated in Jingshan's landscape to enhance and reassure the Zen atmosphere within the newly reconstructed Chan landscape.

After discussing the physical aspect of Jingshan temple's reconstruction, I examine how particular dynamic aspects of Southern Song Chan monastic life styles or monastic regulations restored in Jingshan's landscape. According to my interview with Monk Pudu and researches on other secondary materials, the only Southern Song monastic regulations that have been restored relate to the Jingshan tea ceremony. Why just the Jingshan tea ceremony and how has it been restored? Before going more deeply into these questions, let me first briefly introduce some historical facts about the Jingshan tea and tea ceremony.

Apart from being one of the most significant Chan Buddhist temples at home and abroad, Jingshan temple is also famous for its Jingshan tea. It is said that Chan master Guoyi (714–792), the founder of Jingshan temple, planted the first tea plant around the Dragon Well¹¹⁰ in the temple, and its unique aroma became famous among monks and literati. The fame of Jingshan tea soon attracted many tea enthusiasts coming to visit Jingshan temple, including the Tea Saint Lu Yu (733–804), who admired Jingshan tea so much that he lived in seclusion

¹¹⁰Dragon Well is next to Guardian-Deity Hall, where the Black Dragon King is enshrined.

for many years in Jingshan, and wrote the famous *Tea Classics* in 760.¹¹¹

Tea is also an indispensable part of everyday life in Chan monasteries. According to Zong Ze's *Rules of Purity in Chan Monasteries* [C: Chanyuan Qinggui; J: Zenen Shingi], the practice of drinking tea was highly regulated in Chan monasteries, and many ideas, aesthetics, etiquettes arose from the tea practices in Chan monasteries. Among all of them, the Jingshan tea ceremony is the climax of tea culture during the Southern Song Dynasty.

The Jingshan tea ceremony, having a history of over 1200 years, was formed in the Tang Dynasty and became popular during the Song Dynasty. It is the highest standard of tea gathering that would be held when honored guests visited Jingshan temple. The tea tools as well as the movements of hosts making tea are also highly regulated.¹¹² Although there have been many debates over the restoration of the Jingshan tea ceremony,¹¹³ the modern restored version of Jingshan temple has more than ten procedures, including putting out a notice of holding the tea ceremony, hitting the tea drums, inviting the guests, offering incense to the Buddha, boiling water and making tea, dividing the tea, drinking tea while sharing Buddhist thoughts and wisdom, appreciating the host and

¹¹¹Qinghong Yu, *Jingshan de Zhongri Wenhua Jiaoliu (Sino-Japan Interactions of Jingshan temple)* [in Chinese], 1st ed. (Hangzhou: Tianma China, December 2004), ISBN: 962-450-521-7.

¹¹²Zhicheng Bao, "Jingshan Chayan de Zhuyao Tezheng he Renwen jiazhi (The Main Characteristics and Humanistic Value of Jingshan Tea Ceremony)" [in Chinese], no. 01 (2010): 46–49, ISSN: 1004-9223.

¹¹³Chan monastic architecture, monastic garden and restoration of Jingshan tea ceremony are chosen to be three representatives when I analyze the reconstruction of Jingshan temple. As Chan monastic architecture and monastic garden are showing the physical and objective aspect of this reconstruction, while Jingshan tea ceremony, as one of the most important ceremonies and regulations of Jingshan temple throughout the history, shows the subjective and dynamic aspect of Jingshan temple's reconstruction.

leaving. Figure 3.15¹¹⁴ below shows Jingshan monks dividing tea for tourists in the recently restored Jingshan tea ceremony.



Figure 3.15: Monks dividing tea for tourists in the Jingshan tea ceremony, Jingshan temple.

The Jingshan tea ceremony is also the origin of the Japanese tea ceremony, as recorded in *Ruijyū-meibutsu-kō* [C: Leiju-mingwu-kaō], a Japanese encyclopedia during the Edo period written by Yamaoka Matsuake (1726–1780): “The beginning of tea ceremony in Japan dated back to the Shōgen period (1259), when the abbot of Sūfuku-ji temple, Chikuzen-no-kuni, Nanpō Shōmyō went to Jingshan temple, and brought back Jingshan tea ceremony during Song Dynasty.”¹¹⁵ The tea ceremony was only practiced in Japanese Zen monasteries when first introduced into Japan, such as Yotsu-gashira tea ceremony practiced in Kenchō-ji temple, Tōfuku-ji temple, etc. But it later became popular across the nation and

¹¹⁴*The Origin of Japanese Tea Ceremony—A Splendid Representation of Jingshan Tea ceremony in Zhejiang* [in Chinese], accessed November 9, 2018, <http://news.takungpao.com/society/topnews/2017-05/3450165.html>.

¹¹⁵Shōmyō Yamaoka, *Ruijyū-meibutsu-kō* (*The Study of Collections of Famous Things*) [in Japanese] (Tokyo: Kondō Kappanjō (Kondō Press), 1905).

developed into unique Japanese aesthetic and culture.

Conversely, the Jingshan tea ceremony was completely lost over a long period of time. Along with the recent reconstruction of Jingshan temple, many tea enthusiasts at home and abroad are proposing to restore this long-lost tradition. With their concerted effort, most of the Jingshan tea ceremony has already been restored through historical materials and references of the Yotsu-gashira tea ceremony. In 2010, the Jingshan tea ceremony became a China's national intangible forms of cultural heritages. The local government of Yuhang has also greatly supported the restoration of the Jingshan tea ceremony. As noted in the official reconstruction plan, one of the emphases of Jingshan's reconstruction is to restore Jingshan's tea culture, and the reconstructed Jingshan temple is aimed to be a place for people to experience the connections between Chan and tea.

Moreover, the official reconstruction plan noted that, "Two garden-style architectural structures will be constructed for Jingshan tea ceremony and Japanese tea ceremony next to the lotus pond." Though these two architectural structures are still under construction and we do not know what they look like, the intention of introducing the Japanese tea ceremony into Jingshan temple's landscape is obvious. Nevertheless, even though it originated from the Jingshan tea ceremony, the Japanese tea ceremony had already developed its own aesthetic system and unique spirituality over hundreds of years. Why would Jingshan temple incorporate the Japanese tea ceremony?

One reason could be to create a space within Jingshan's landscape for showing the historical interactions and connections between Chinese Chan monasteries and Japanese Zen monasteries and facilitating their future religious and cultural communications. Another reason could be to present and promote

Sino–Japanese friendship, as the interactions between Jingshan temple and Japanese Zen monasteries have continued throughout history.¹¹⁶

Another reason, which I believe is more important, is to use the well-established and world-famous brand of the Japanese tea ceremony to promote the reputation of the Jingshan tea ceremony for generating more economic benefits. As noted in Jingshan’s official reconstruction plan, the whole Jingshan village where Jingshan temple is in will be marketed as Jingshan Chan Tea Cultural Village. It will be a multifunctional area that integrates tea production, presentation and experiences of tea culture and recreational tea activities. The brand of “the Jingshan tea ceremony, which is the origin of the Japanese tea ceremony” thus served as a cultural and spiritual core for promoting local tourist and economic development.

From the above discussion of Jingshan temple’s reconstructed Chan monastic architecture, Chan gardens and the restored Jingshan tea ceremony, we may safely draw a conclusion that though Jingshan temple has carefully distinguished Japanese Zen and the possible Southern Song Chan monastic elements during reconstruction, some Japanese elements, like *Karesansui* and the Japanese tea ceremony, have still been introduced into Jingshan’s landscape as a way to enhance Jingshan’s Chan atmosphere, and authenticate Jingshan’s indispensable role among the worldwide Chan/Zen communities. More importantly, by emphasizing relations with its Japanese counterpart, it is easier to publicize the

¹¹⁶Since 1983, representatives from Tōfuku-ji temple, Engaku-ji temple and Myōshin-ji temple have visited Jingshan temple many times to pay their tributes to the ancestral court, and Tōfuku-ji temple also provided financial aid for Jingshan’s reconstruction. Representatives from Jingshan temple, in return, also visited Japanese Zen monasteries and paid its tributes many times since 1994 (see Yu (2011) for more).

concept of “Jingshan Chan” and “Jingshan tea” and transform them into both tangible and intangible high-end cultural commodities, and thus further promote local tourism and the economy.

However, when I interviewed Monk Pudu about how Jingshan temple has referred to Japanese Zen and Zen monasteries during reconstruction, his answer was very interesting and full of meanings: “We do refer to some Japanese Zen monasteries when reconstructing, like Tōfuku-ji temple and Kenchō-ji temple. But the point is, when we Chinese do something very seriously, we can do much better than the Japanese.” His words showed his national pride in Jingshan’s reconstruction, as none of the Japanese Zen monasteries can compete with it in terms of size, cost and grandeur. Also, the fact that Jingshan’s reconstruction referred to Japanese Zen monasteries and Japanese historical materials, such as *The Illustrations of Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries*, is not mentioned in Jingshan’s official reconstruction plan at all. However, it is frequently mentioned in unofficial advertisements as one of the promotion highlights.

Monk Pudu’s attitude and the avoidance of mentioning the reconstruction reference from the Japanese sources in the official reconstruction plan have added a dimension of boosting Chinese nationalism in regard to the cultural memory created through Jingshan temple’s reconstruction. As Pretes remarks, “the viewing of heritage sights by domestic tourists is a key aspect in the formation and maintenance of national identity”.¹¹⁷ Therefore, Jingshan temple is very careful about distinguishing the Chinese “Chan” it is restoring from the Japanese “Zen” in order to build up national pride among Chinese people as well as to reclaim its indispensable role as the center of Chan civilization in the Jiangnan (south of the Yangtze River) region.

¹¹⁷Pretes, “Tourism and nationalism,” xi.

Moreover, the ambition of the reconstructed Jingshan temple is not only to become the leading Chan temple nationwide, but also to expand its influence as the ancestral sanctuary of Chan/Zen worldwide. In November 2017, the “Chan/Zen Buddhism Ancestral Temple Cultural Forum · Consecration of Buddha Hall Celebration” was held at Jingshan temple and attracted hundreds of scholars from China, Japan, and the U.S etc., which presented to the world the revival of Chan Buddhism and Buddhist cultures in China as well as the intention to re-establish Chinese Chan’s authority within the global Chan community.

As I have argued before, the newly reconstructed Jingshan temple, instead of being the revitalization of a religious institution, is more like a Chan-themed museum park that through creating “guiding fictions” of the temple’s narrative, redefines the cultural boundary, reinvents tradition, re-narrates shared cultural memory for Chinese people and manipulates the past to serve the needs of the present. Therefore, what matters most to the reconstruction of Jingshan temple, like Southern Song style Chan monastic architecture, Chan monastic gardens, the Jingshan tea ceremony etc., is not the realness and authenticity of the culture itself, but the marketable economic value. The local government has also employed the invented narration of Jingshan temple to consolidate its cultural governance, which I discuss in the following part.

3.3 When Tradition Meets Modernity

The reconstruction of Jingshan temple is not simply about restoring the past glory of Southern Song Chan Buddhism and culture – it also serves as the spiri-

tual and cultural basis for promoting the local industrial structural transformation and the modernization process. As Wang Jing points out, amidst the rapid economic development in China, the state's rediscovery of culture is usually deployed as new ruling technologies and can be simultaneously converted into economic capital. Therefore, culture has emerged as the top agenda for public policy makers, city planners, and both the central and local government.¹¹⁸

In the case of Jingshan, since February 2016, the local government has planned to build "Grand Jingshan Countryside National Park (GJCNP),"¹¹⁹ which occupies a vast, mountainous area of about 381 km₂ with the cultural theme of "Chan" and "tea". The GJCNP project is not only targeting to become one of China's Class 3A Tourist Destinations,¹²⁰ but is also intended to develop cultural industry, real estate industry and so on. Therefore, some interesting questions worth exploring here are: how has Jingshan temple positioned itself in the whole local development project, and how has the repackaged concept of "Chan" and "tea" reshaped the landscape of Chinese countryside through the entanglement of state, capitalists, society and culture?

The GJCNP project (see Figure 3.16¹²¹ below) includes the construction of

¹¹⁸Jing Wang, "Culture As Leisure and Culture As Capital," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 9, no. 1 (March 2001): 70, ISSN: 1527-8271, accessed November 7, 2018, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/27978>.

¹¹⁹The plan is a collaboration between the District Committee, District government, District Bureau of Religious Affairs, Tourism Investment Corporate Group and local government of Jingshan Town.

¹²⁰There are five Tourist Attraction Rating Categories of China. A (or 1A, the lowest level), AA (2A), AAA (3A), AAAA (4A) and AAAAA (5A, the highest level).

¹²¹*A New Spot for Yuhang people to visit! The Grand Opening of Grand Jingshan Country National Park on October 1st!* [In Chinese], March 2016, accessed November 18, 2018, www.sohu.com/a/61211677_349206.

“one town and five parks”, with “The First Town of Chan tea” as the spiritual core and top priority (where Jingshan temple is located), and five surrounding parks with different themes and purposes: Baizhang Bamboo Park, Luniao Canyon Park, Yellow Lake Ecological Agriculture Park, Ancient City Relics Park and Changle Forest Park.

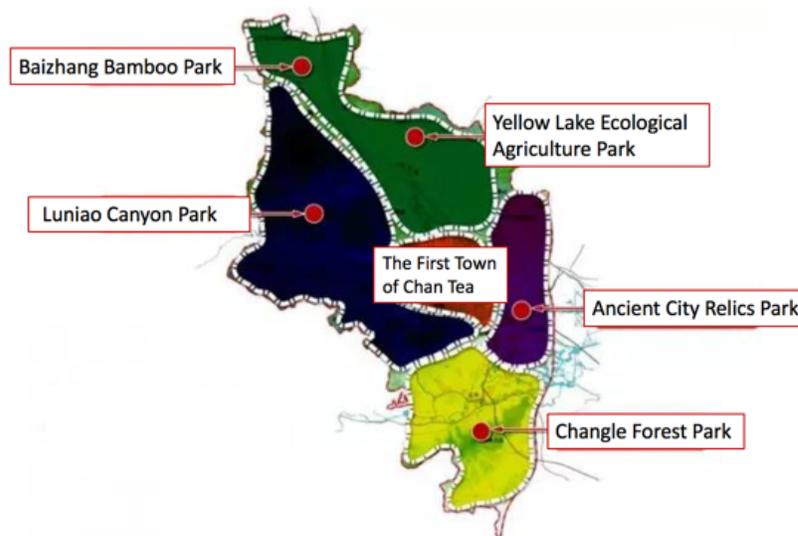


Figure 3.16: The official plan of the GJCNP project.

First of all, the concept of “Chan tea” has played a significant role in the whole project, as Jingshan Town has brand-positioned itself to be the “The First Town of Chan Tea”. To distinguish itself from other major tea production areas in China, Jingshan has greatly emphasized the Chan aspect of tea, as Chan in tea serves as a philosophy guiding modern living; tea in Chan, on the other hand, represents the rich historical and cultural connections between Chan and Jingshan tea, like Chan monks’ everyday consumption of tea, the Jingshan tea ceremony and so on.

Also, the facts that Jingshan is where Lu Yu wrote his Tea Classics and where

the Japanese tea ceremony originated have become a cultural magnets of tourist flows and have also played a part in promoting both its tea and tourism industries. According to a local government report (2016) of Yuhang's Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), tea plantation has expanded to nine surrounding towns and counties, with over 69 tea companies set up for producing Jingshan tea by 2016. Moreover, the local vacation facilities (such as hotels, hostels, restaurants and recreation venues) also largely improved their profit through renovating themselves with the theme "Chan tea".¹²²

Within the core area of "The First Town of Chan Tea", the reinterpretation of "Chan" to suit the cultural needs of the present has been taken to the next level. The core district of Jingshan has been divided into two parts: the mountain top area and mountain foot area, and different aspects of Chan have been emphasized to serve different developing strategies.

The mountain top area, where Jingshan temple is located, is marketed as a high-end meditation site targeting the upper and elite class. Chan meditation is thus packaged as cultural chic, helping the elite class to relieve themselves from everyday pressure and achieve a peaceful state of mind. In response to the high-end brand positioning of the mountain top area, over 64 farming households and tea companies that were originally located on the mountain top area were relocated to other places. Instead, the area will be replaced by a group of Chan-themed luxury hotels with fully serviced amenities.

The mountain foot area is marketed as "grassroots Chan" for the consump-

¹²²Weifang Han, *Suggestions about promoting the tourist development of Grand Jingshan Area* [in Chinese], accessed November 18, 2018, http://www.hzyhzx.gov.cn/wap/tian_detail.aspx?ProId=4740.

tion of ordinary people. The “grassroots Chan” promotes the idea of the Chan tea lifestyle, which aims at letting people enjoy a relaxing lifestyle through the cultural experience of Chan and tea. And the mountain foot area intends to integrate services of a Chinese way of maintaining good health [C: yangsheng], holding Chan and tea lectures, and ways to appreciate tea aesthetics, for the tourists. Therefore, many vegetarian restaurants and hostels, cultural creative districts, Chan and tea commercial streets etc. are installed one after another in the mountain foot area corresponding to the theme of “grassroots Chan”.

Except from “The First Town of Chan Tea”, other developing regions within the GJCNP project are also adopting the Chan ideology to promote their brands. For instance, Luniao Town, 50 kilometers away from the city of Hangzhou, promotes itself to be the first “cittaslow” in China. The concept of “cittaslow” was originally founded in Italy and spread to other developed countries as an emerging lifestyle of slowing down the overall pace and improving quality of life.¹²³ And Chan ideas, refashioned as an ancient Eastern wisdom that corresponds to this Western movement, both promotes the lifestyle of living in the present and leading a sustainable life.

Therefore, some hostels and hotels in Luniao Town have offered opportunities to conduct Chan meditation for people to slow down their pace of life and refocus on one’s body and mind. In this case, Chan meditation is interpreted more as a way for urban inhabitants to maintain their physical and mental health [C: yangsheng], a popular practice among the Chinese urban middle class, rather than as religious activities. With a forest-coverage rate of over 88% and a short distance away from metropolitan areas like Hangzhou and Shang-

¹²³Wendy Parkins and Geoffrey Craig, *Slow Living* (Berg Publishers, February 2006), 79, ISBN: 978-1-84520-160-9.

hai, Luniao Town thus becomes one of the ideal spots for short trips for urban inhabitants to take a pause from their busy life and become cured by nature and a slow lifestyle in the countryside.

However, along with the reconstruction of Jingshan temple and the progression of the GJCNP project, many local farming households and small corporations have been forced to relocate themselves. For instance, it is noted in the official plan of Jingshan temple's reconstruction that the village with an area of thirty thousand square meter to the southwest of Jingshan temple, and the original Jingshan resort near the southeast of Jingshan temple, must be pulled down or reconstructed as "their appearances have significant adverse impacts on the nearby sacred Buddhist landscape". In view of the vast area that the GJCNP project is covering and influencing, will this culture-promoted industrial and economic reform bring benefit to the local villagers, or promote local economic development at the cost of local villagers' well-being? Only time will tell.

After 800 years, Jingshan temple has finally regained its past glory and prosperity as it once achieved during the Southern Song Dynasty. Even though it claims itself to be the renaissance of a Southern Song religious and cultural peak of Chan Buddhism, adopting the reconstruction method of "structural amnesia", it is by no means a peaceful return to the past but an urgent progression to engineer modernity. At the end of the day, how many people will admire its true nature as a religious and cultural sanctuary, and how many people will admire its expectant marketable value as a cultural symbol?

Climbing up the Lingxiao building, the highest place of Jingshan temple, I got to overlook the splendid mountain scenery and the grandeur of the monastery under reconstruction. Though many years have passed, the moun-

tains are still there, standing like giant green saints and seeing the vicissitudes of time and space.

For thousands of years, they have witnessed Buddhist masters meditating in the caves and reaching enlightenment; witnessed Japanese monks walking a long way to the masters and learning from them; witnessed the splendid monastic buildings being constructed and destroyed by a fire; witnessed the Red Guard tearing down the monastic buildings and Buddhist sculptures; witnessed businessmen in a disguise of being sincere Buddhists coming here to make money out of religion; witnessed really sincere Buddhist pilgrims practicing and eager for Buddhist knowledge... People come and go; the mountains stay.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

To conclude, I briefly summarize the main arguments in this thesis and indicate research questions for further studies.

In the first chapter, I introduce the recent Buddhist revitalization in the Post Mao China and factors leading to this process. I argue the revitalization of Buddhism has been exploited by the CCP as a development resource in both its tangible and intangible forms to boost local tourism and economy, to improve international relations, to bond with overseas Chinese, Tibetan, Taiwanese and Hong Kong people, to create a harmonious international image, and to shape the shared national memory at home. Recently, as an increasing number of temples have been reconstructed in the styles that recall the city's golden age depending on their different locations in China, I further argue the contemporarily reconstructed Buddhist institutions often serve as crucial media to present nostalgia towards the most prosperous and peaceful historical periods in China. Thus, by adopting the reconstruction method of cultural amnesia, the national pride of Chinese people has been greatly boosted and their sense of belonging has been strengthened.

During the process of Buddhist revitalization, Chinese Chan Buddhism has also been revitalized. I argue different Chan ideologies were carefully selected and reinvented in PRC to meet the needs of different audience in different periods. In addition, since the ideology of Chan has already diffused into many aspects of Chinese culture throughout history, the cultural and secularized aspects of the revival of Chinese Chan Buddhism have been much emphasized. The reconstruction of Jingshan temple in Southern Song Chan monastic style is one of

the most significant and newest example of the Chinese Chan Buddhist revival. As Japanese Zen monasteries transplanted the whole Chan system from China during the Kamakura period, Jingshan temple has also referred to Japanese Zen monasteries for reconstruction.

In the second chapter, I examine the establishment of Southern Song Chan tradition in Kenchō-ji temple, Kamakura during the 13th century. First, I argue Japanese Zen monasteries, unlike Southern Song Chan monasteries, emphasize more on the disciplinary side of Chan rather than the literary side when transplanting the Southern Song Chan landscape. This can be reflected from the emphasis of latrine and bathhouse, which are two important Zen training centers that discipline monks, in the layout of Kenchō-ji temple.

Second, I argue that the construction of Kenchō-ji temple and the establishment of Southern Song Chan tradition in Japan form the basis for the samurai spirituality. As far as Hōjō Tokiyori was concerned, the construction of Kenchō-ji temple, was not only expected to be the bond between the political and the religious sphere, but also the “training center” and “university” for the samurai class. Therefore, I highlight the function of cultivating the mind of samurai as one of the incentives of the Shogunal government to establish this foreign tradition.

Finally, I illustrate that the architectural elements of Chinese local cultures and beliefs that were incorporated in Southern Song Chan monasteries, like Kannon belief, Confucianism, Daoism, Chinese folk beliefs as well as influences from the literati class, were selectively transplanted into the landscape of Kenchō-ji temple. Conversely, I ask the question that how has the recently reconstructed Jingshan temple dealt with the Japanese elements when

re-importing Southern Song Chan tradition from Japan?

In the last chapter, I demonstrate how has Jingshan temple in Southern Song Chan monastic style been reconstructed in contemporary China. First, I argue that not only are Japanese Zen monasteries layouts and architectural styles used as first-hand references for reconstructing Southern Song Chan monastic styles, but also some Japanese indigenous elements, such as *karesansui* garden, the Japanese tea ceremony are incorporated in the landscape of Jingshan temple. On the one hand, the widely-known Japanese Zen monasteries and the Japanese tea ceremony ensure the authenticity of Jingshan temple and the Jingshan tea ceremony, which can attract more tourists to achieve the maximum commercial value. On the other hand, Jingshan tries to distinguish the “Chan” that it is reconstructing from Japanese Zen because of the rising national pride in China. Through restoring the “authentic” Southern Song Chan tradition, Jingshan temple aims to retain its leading position in Chan communities at home and abroad.

Next, through studying Jingshan’s reconstructed layout and architecture, I argue that though Jingshan temple claims to be reconstructed in Southern Song Chan monastic style, it is actually reconstructed in a style mixing the Song, Ming and Qing monastic elements, as some of the important later historical developments in Chan monasteries cannot be overlooked.

At last, I study the surrounding commercialized construction and developing plans surrounding Jingshan temple. I argue the reconstruction of Jingshan temple is not just a restoration of religious and cultural icon, it is more about exploiting the potential economic and commercial value of the cultural icon to engineer modernity in the less developed countryside areas in China. Ul-

timately, this chapter asks whether this culture-promoted industrial reform will bring real benefit to the local villagers or promote local economy at the cost of local villagers' well-being?

4.1 Questions for Further Research

First, since this thesis mainly discusses the physical aspects of the construction or reconstruction of Chan and Zen monasteries, such as monastic layout, architectural structures and elements etc., it is, thus, worth exploring how the spiritual aspects of Chan and Zen monasteries, including monastic regulations, monastic celebrations, and holidays, are constructed or reconstructed. The modifications and reinventions of the spiritual aspects of Chan and Zen reveal crucial information about the emphasis on certain Buddhist ideologies within monasteries.

Moreover, as Jingshan temple and the surrounding areas are still under construction, a great number of topics arisen from this reconstruction project require further attention and research. For instance, as stated in the Jingshan's Official Reconstruction Plan, the reconstruction should pay great attention to preserving the surrounding environment and ecological system. In the GJCNP Project, there is an area particularly planned to develop ecological agriculture, namely the Yellow Lake Ecological Agricultural Park. However, it is inescapable that either the reconstruction of Jingshan temple where the main monastic buildings are mostly made of wood, or the construction of commercialized facilities such as tourist spots, hotels, commercial walking streets etc., will do harm to the surrounding environment and ecological system. Therefore, I ask how has the environment been preserved and the ecological agriculture

been developed along with the reconstruction of Jingshan temple?

Finally, as I argued before in this thesis, instead of being reconstructed as religious practice centers, the reconstruction of Buddhist temples in China focus more on the cultural and secular aspects of temples that aim to maximize the commercial value. However, is there a possible way to reconstruct Buddhist institutions that both religious and commercial pursuits can be achieved? According to the idea of “everything is interconnected and the essence of them is the same” [C: Shishi-wu'ai] in Mahayana Buddhist philosophy, the pursuit of Dharma and economic profit may not be mutually exclusive. This leads us to think about a better way to reconstruct Buddhism and Buddhist institutions given the socio-religious conditions in contemporary China.

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GLOSSARY

Pinyin	Chinese (simplified)
Baizhang	百丈
Baizhang Qinggui	百丈清规
Benzun	本尊
Caodong	曹洞
Chanyuan	禅院
Chanyuan Qinggui	禅苑清规
Ci'en-si	慈恩寺
Daman Hongren	大满弘忍
Deng Xiaoping	邓小平
Dingwu	叮屋
Dongjing Menghua Lu	东京梦华录
Dongsi	东司
Fajie	法界
Fangzhang	方丈
Fatang	法堂
Fayan	法眼
Fodian	佛殿
Gaige Kaifang	改革开放
Gongde	功德
Guangming-si	光明寺
Guiyi	皈依
Guoyi	国一
Hangzhou	杭州
Huaguang	华光

Huayan	华严
Huineng	慧能
Jiading	嘉定
Jiangsu	江苏
Jianzhen	鉴真
Jinghui	净慧
Jingshan Xingsheng Wanshou Chan-si	径山兴盛万寿禅寺
Jingshan-si	径山寺
Jingtu	净土
Jinhua	金华
Jinshan-si	金山寺
Jiufeng Shanmen	九凤山门
Juzan	巨赞
Kuli	库里
Lanxi Daolong	兰溪道隆
Leiju-mingwu-kao	类聚名物考
Lengquan Ting	冷泉亭
Lingxiao	凌霄
Lingyin-si	灵隐寺
Lingze Longwang	灵泽龙王
Linji	临济
Lou Yue	楼钥
Longyou	龙游
Luniao	鸬鸟
Mao Zedong	毛泽东
Meng Yuanlao	孟元老

Mingshan	茗山法師
Mi'le	彌勒
Muzao	木造
Nianhua-wan	拈花灣
Qigong	氣功
Qinglong-si	青龍寺
Sengtang	僧堂
Shaolin-si	少林寺
Shanmen	山門
Sheli-dian	舍利殿
Shenghuo Chan	生活禪
Shijia Mouni	釋迦摩尼
Shishi-wu'ai	事事無礙
Si-jiu	四舊
Song Gao-zong	宋高宗
Song Xiao-zong	宋孝宗
Su Shi	蘇軾
Taiji	太極
Tianmu-shan	天目山
Tiantai-shan	天台山
Tiantong-si	天童寺
Tianwang Dian	天王殿
Weituo	韋馱
Weiyang	湧仰
Wenhua Datai, Jingji Changxi	文化搭台，經濟唱戲
Wenzi Chan	文字禪

Wong Taisin (Cantonese Pinyin)	黄大仙
Wu Yong	吴咏
Wushan Shicha Tu	五山十刹图
Wutai-shan	五台山
Wuxia	武侠
Wuxue Zuyuan	无学祖元
Wuzhun Shifan	无准师范
Xian Ren	显仁
Xi'an	西安
Xuanming	宣明
Xu Yun	虚云
Xutang Zhiyu	虚堂智愚
Yan	炎
Yangsheng	养生
Yangzhou	扬州
Yuan'er Bianyuan	圆尔辩圆
Yuantong	圆通
Yuhang	余杭
Yunmen	云门
Yushi	浴室
Zhao Puchu	赵朴初
Zhejiang	浙江
Zhengyan Fazang	正眼法藏
Zong Ze	宗蹟

Romaji	Japanese
Bakufu	幕府
Bushidō	武士道
Butsuden	仏殿
Chikuzen-no-kuni	筑前国
Daihonzan	大本山
Daijōji	大乘寺
Dōgen	道元
Eisai	栄西
Engaku-ji	円覚寺
Ennin	円仁
Entsū	円通
Gozan Jissatsu Zu	五山十刹
Hatto	法堂
Heian	平安
Hōgo Kisoku	法語規則
Hōjō	北条
Hōjō Tokiyori	北条時頼
Honzon	本尊
Idaten	韋馱天
Ikai Gōjō	遺誠五条
Jizō	地藏
Jōchi-ji	浄智寺
Jōmyō-ji	浄妙寺
Jufuku-ji	寿福寺
Jyōdōshu	浄土宗

Kaisandō	開山堂
Kamakura	鎌倉
Kannon	觀音
Karahafu	唐破風
Karesansui	枯山水
Kegon	華嚴
Kenchō-ji Sashizu	建長寺指図
Kenchō Kaisan Daikaku Zenshi	建長開山大覺禪師蘭溪和尚行狀
Rankei Washō Gyōjō	
Kenchō Kōkoku Zenji Hi	建長興國禪寺碑
Kenchō-ji	建長寺
Kidō Chigu	虛堂智愚
Kinzan Miso	徑山味噌
Kofuku-san	興福山
kokera-buki	柿葺
Kouke	公家
Kōzen Gokokuron	興禪護國論
Kuri	庫裏
Machi-ya	町屋
Miroku	彌勒
Mokuzō	木造
Mugaku Sōgen	無學祖元
Mujyū Ichien	無住一円
Nanpō Shōmyō	南浦紹明
Rankei Dōryū	蘭溪道隆
Rinzai	臨濟

Ruijyū-meibutsu-kō	類聚名物考
Sanmon	山門
Sendanrin	梅檀林
Sennyū-ji	泉涌寺
Senpeki	蘸碧
Shaku Soyen	积宗演
Shari-den	舍利殿
Shichidō garan	七堂伽藍
Shingon	真言
Shinpei-ji	心平寺
Shōbōgenzō	正法眼藏
Shōgen	正元
Shōmu	聖武
Sōdō	僧堂
Sōtō	曹洞
Sūfuku-ji	崇福寺
Suzuki Daisetsu	鈴木大拙
Taiheiki	太平記
Tendai	天台
Tenmoku	天目
Tōdai-ji	東大寺
Tōfuku-ji	東福寺
Tokugetsu	得月
Tōsu	東司
Yamanouchi	山内
Yokushitsu	浴室

Yotsu-gashira

四つ頭

Zatsudanshū

雑談集

Zenin

禪院

Zenin Shingi

禪苑清規

Zenrin Shōkisen

禪林象器箋