Chapter 5
Buddhist Illusion and the Landscape Arts

Truths are illusions that we have forgotten are illusions.
—Friedrich Nietzsche

Practice illusion by means of illusion.
—The Perfect Enlightenment Sutra

While the Kitayama Zen views of landscape paintings we have surveyed were grounded in the venerable Chinese Mahayana and Zen Buddhist traditions, they also developed their own distinctive vision of the landscape arts. Chinese Zen monks and nuns had modified classical Indian and Chinese Buddhist ontology to emphasize the two premises of the illusory, ultimately empty character of reality and the nondualistic interplay of the realms of samsaric suffering and the enlightened bliss of nirvana. [1] The Kitayama Five Mountains monks applied these premises to artistic creation and interpretation through such canonical Buddhist terms describing meditative states as "the samadhi of [seeing that all is] like an illusion" (C. *ju-huan san-mei*; J. *nyogen zammai*), and "the samadhi of playfulness" (C. *yu-ge san mei*; J. *yuge zammai*). In this and the final chapter we explore the central role played by these two Buddhist themes in the Kitayama religio-aesthetic vision of the landscape arts: Mahayana ontological and heuristic theories of illusion; and a mode of Zen enlightened activity characterized by unimpeded playfulness. It was through syncretic integration of these Buddhist theories of reality and of artistic interpretation with both Chinese painting theory and Taoist and other conceptions of landscape that the Japanese Zen monks developed their reading of landscape art.

The two themes of illusion and playfulness have a similar heuristic function in Buddhist thought. This can be seen in that they, to borrow from Robert Gimello's characterization of another Chinese Mahayana Buddhist school, "are so defined as to actually 'disarm' themselves, as they are being used, of the snares of craving and delusion with which conventional concepts are equipped."[2] Both illusion and playfulness entail an intrinsic sense of movement and transformation that erodes or breaks by means of disjunction and juxtaposition the rigid, clinging grasp of attachment and the rigid bifurcations of deluded, discriminatory thinking. In a similar

maneuver both themes also destroy metaphorically the possibility of any settling into a fixed conception of what they themselves mean, since they "offer no sedative dwelling place for the mind," and instead propel the mind onward toward liberation. [3] As we shall see shortly, the notion of "not abiding" is a fundamental one in the Kitayama Zen conception of illusion, one that they borrowed from the important Yüan Zen monk Chung-feng Ming-pen and adapted to landscape painting interpretation. In these ways the Kitayama Japanese monks used two notions that in much of Chinese intellectual history were marginalized and negative, and gave them positive valorization through their theories of cultural interpretation at the center of Kitayama society and politics.

Gido* Shushin* elaborates the significance of the illusory aspect of landscape gardens and paintings in an exchange with three fellow Five Mountains monks sometime around the year 1382· We can see from the nature of their interaction how important some form or another of landscape art is to Gido's* life. Because of the importance of this passage for our discussion, titled simply "Preface to Land-scape Poems and Painting," for the coming discussion, I quote it at length:

> I retired to live in the cottage of Great Compassion.[4] In the winter of that year [1382 or 1383], the eleventh month, hoeing by hand the abandoned fields, in a newly built humble dwelling, so to attempt a quiet retirement. I then spent my days enjoying these things. One day I had as a guest the venerable Kodo*. In a samadhi of playfulness (*yuge zammai*) he skillfully built an artificial mountain for me in a tiny space under the eastern eaves, conjuring up the appearance of a thousand precipices and ten thousand canyons.
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> At that time I noticed two monks coming through the new gate. When I greeted them on the pathway, they were two monks, friends of the Way from the western mountains, Gichu* Sho* [d.u.] and Kaichu* Mo [d.u.]. I led them in to relax in the Pavilion of the Southern [Plum] Branches. After taking our seats, Kaichu* brought out a scroll from his sleeve. When he spread it out before me, it was a recent painting of a small scene of mountains and valleys. Above the painting were three inscriptions, and after it were songs (*ke*) by a few more people. All of them were "outstanding people"[5] of the Zen forest known among their contemporaries for their high character and superior writing.
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> ...Kaichu* had specially set aside a space to the right of the painting, and bid me to write a preface, so I wrote the following: "In general when something is plentiful, then people hold it lightly; when something is scarce, then people treasure it. This is how human sentiment always is. Now I have secluded myself in a comer of the capital and forested canyons are scarce; here I have a temporary dwelling which I value highly: Is this not the same thing? With Kaichu*, this is not so. His home

> is in the mountains, and forested springs are plentiful. Now, his eyes are filled by evening vapors freshening the greenery and his ears are satiated by the voices of mountain streams. Furthermore, hundreds of valleys and thousands of caves, and the smokey clouds and grasses and trees appear vague and misty, tempering his vision and hearing: All this is [too plentiful] to describe, yet for Kaichu it is insufficient. Pettily, he had this short scroll painted and these inscriptions written out, taking this as highly valuable. But why?"
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> At this Kaichu * laughed and said, "Have you not read that Master K'ung of Tung-shan [Hsueh-feng Hui-k'ung][6] said, "Truly looking at these valleys and mountains resembles a dream, so on the contrary you should take ink and water and sketch the streams and mountains." I then wrote this preface to thank the two Chus for their good will.[7]

In this passage Gido* characterizes as illusory both the acts of making what seems to have been a small garden and a landscape painting. In the first instance, the small garden is described as having been "conjured up," literally "produced in an illusory manner" (C. *huan-ch'u*; J. *genshutsu*), by his friend Kodo* while in the important Buddhist mental sate of the "samadhi* of playfulness."[8] We shall see below that this term was applied in the Five Mountains monasteries not only to landscape paintings but also to other subjects, most typically the *chinzo** portrait.

Moreover, Gido* also utilizes a key Mahayana Buddhist term to give the mountains in the garden a status I have here translated as "artificial." The term *samvrti** in Sanskrit is taken from Buddhist ontological theory and often translated as "provisional," "worldly," or "conventional." In a philosophical context it indicates the transitory, causally produced, and ultimately unreal character of the mundane world as conventionally understood, and is generally contrasted with the terms "emptiness" or "ultimate," which designate reality as viewed from the standpoint of the ultimate.[9] Different schools disagree on the relative importance and the ultimate relationship between these two epistemological perspectives, but Gido* and, as we shall soon see, Chuho* seem to adopt a position close to that of the well-known Tendai (C. T'ien-t'ai) triad of emptiness, provisional existence, and the middle way, in which all three Visions of reality have equal value and interpenetrate each other.

The propagation by Japanese Five Mountains Zen monks of this strand in Mahayana Buddhist ontology is typical of the mainstream continental Zen schools of the T'ang and later as well as of other Japanese Zen traditions. We find similar ideas in the earliest texts associated with Zen, as well as in the school of Ma-tsu Tao-i, which would come to dominate T'ang and later Chinese Zen.[10]

When applied to the landscape arts, as it was in the circle of Gido's* Five Mountains Zen contemporaries, "artificial" had become a conventional term for hills in an artificial garden, as in the twentieth-century Zen rock garden. Gido's*

close friend Tesshu * Tokusai, for example, had entitled a poem "Artificial Landscape" describing a miniature rock garden comparable in size perhaps to the twentieth-century *bonsai*. What intrigues Tesshu*, as it does Gido*, is the viewer's surprise at finding an expansive scene in such a tiny space: "Who would believe that inside this jar there would be heaven?"[11] The Buddhist significance of this question of scale is found by Gido* and Tesshu* in the changeability of even that which might seem the most solid and reliable: the massive, rocky expanse of the natural landscape. Here we encounter the fundamental Buddhist conception of the transitory nature of all reality underlying much early Theravada* as well as later Mahayana and Vajrayana* ontology, epistemology, and psychology.

Yet Gido* saves his most complex discussion of the illusory character of the landscape arts to an exchange with one of the monks who have brought a painting by his retreat. In this exchange we can see the informal nature of much of Five Mountains Zen literature and Gido's* humility in his willingness to record the somewhat peevish response he gives to his friend Kaichu's* painting. In his educated reply, Kaichu* laughed and reminded Gido* of the verse by Hsüeh-feng Hui-k'ung (fl. after c. 1153), which reads in its entirety:

> All alone, in any place,
> one can achieve simplicity:
> An old man on verdant cliffs
> among layered peaks.
> Truly the view of these streams and mountains
> resembles a dream,
> So on the contrary you should take ink and water
> and sketch the streams and mountains.[12]

In this exchange we also get a sense of the playful quality of Kaichu's* remark from his reference to a poem by a monk whose poetry collection Gido* lectured on repeatedly, and whose popularity indicates that their contemporaries seem to have known quite well.[13] Yet Gido* readily acknowledges the serious Buddhist point: rivers and valleys themselves are dreamlike, suggesting that so is the distance between them and Gido's* retreat, about which Gido* had just complained that the forested canyons were so scarce. In such a Buddhist vision of the world, there can be little distinction between the sacred realm of the natural world and that of human civilization, such as we might find in many Taoist texts and in the often Taoist-influenced writings of the Sung and Yüan literati.

Gido's* guest makes a final point through his reference to Hsüeh-feng's poem, suggesting that precisely because the natural landscape is illusory art is the most appropriate medium in which to view it. The view shared by Gido's* guest and the Sung Zen monk Hsüeh-feng of the appropriateness of art for representing illusory reality seems to recur through the broad history of Zen aesthetics. We find, just to take one important Japanese example, comparable views on art other than land-

scape subjects held by Dogen *, who has been so influential in twentieth-century philosophy and thinking about Zen art. In a chapter from his magnum opus, *Shobogenzo**, entitled "Explaining a Dream in a Dream," Dogen* commented on the equivalence in truth value and in ontological weight of dream and awakening, and went on in other chapters to apply this logic to such phrases on the power of art as "Only a painted rice cake can satiate hunger."[14] We might say, then, that Gido* and his guest's views on the religious significance of landscape art participate in a Zen tradition of reading art as ideally suited for the representation of the changeable, illusory aspects of conventional reality.

Another aspect of the Gido* preface with which we began is the topic of miniature landscape gardens, which were a popular topic in Five Mountains literature. The Kitayama Zen monks frequently wrote prose prefaces on this topic even to each other, for we have one such document written by Isho* Tokugan for Taihaku Shingen.[15]

Chuho* En'i held a similar conception of landscape painting, as found in an inscription on a no longer extant painting, "Preface to a Painting Scroll of a Tray Landscape," which likewise combines a miniature landscape garden with the art of painting. Again I translate the full passage:

> The venerable Kengai ko [d.u.],[16] the head monk in the meditation hall of the eastern mountains, brought a painting scroll of a mountain on a tray, showed it [to me], and then asked me to inscribe a few lines. I replied, "You build a mountain before your stairs so you will never tire of viewing its blues and greens. You dig a pond in the front of the garden so you will always be able to wash in its ripples.[17] Even if what you toy with is small, it will still be enough to nourish the hills and valleys within.[18]
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> "If we compare this to living in the realm of the natural landscape, where you don't know which things should be the most outstanding, it is as far apart as heaven from earth. Now moving the landscape to your garden stairs is already artificial, still more if you give form to a garden on a tray, and still more if you sketch the tray [landscape] in a painting, increasing unendurably its artificiality. However, by nourishing [the hills and valleys] in your breast you remain composed and contemplating this from the perspective of its artificiality, then it is loftier than the Sung and Hua mountains[19] and flows as wide as [all] the rivers and lakes, always making dust fly and streams trickle. Or if you contemplate this from the perspective of its reality, then you can move Mt. Sumeru onto the tip of a tiny autumn hair or place Ch'uang-wang-ch'a[20] on a tray. Its [the painting's] unmoving form and baseless dimensions[21] on its own do not increase or decrease.[22] When self and other (*wu-wo*) have dissolved and the real and artificial (*chen-chia*) have vanished, then I will have already forgotten my words about them."[23]

> Kengai clapped his hands and said, "You have argued well, venerable one! Please use this to write a preface." [24]

Chuho* and his friend Kengai here playfully build on a conception of art as illusory to compound the unreality of art threefold, adding layer upon layer of artistic illusion onto the landscape subject until the artificiality and unreality of the subject "becomes unbearable."

Seen from the perspective of reality these art objects are clearly paradoxical in conventional terms, with the largest object in the Buddhist physical universe, Mt. Sumeru, fitting onto the tip of the conventional image of the smallest object in the Chinese literary tradition, the autumn hair. Seen in terms of artificiality, however, the painting also appears to have broken the bonds of common sense, for how can a painting of a small, artificial landscape be larger and wider than the greatest mountains and rivers in the world? Chuho* pointed out that these apparent paradoxes are not simple conundrums, but have a clear pedagogical purport: they are visions of the painting grounded in the ideal Buddhist standpoint, a standpoint which Chuho* defined as "when true and artificial have vanished." In this state of mind, he noted, self and other have dissolved, and questions of scale and movement have on their own ceased to be important.

Chuho*, like Gido* in the passage above, used the Buddhist term that I have again translated as "artificial" to suggest the religious significance of the artistic creation of the various landscape gardens. As discussed above, this term was used in Mahayana ontology to refer to reality viewed from the conventional or mundane perspective: appearing to exist in a net of causal relations and hence only provision-ally or temporarily. Chuho's* usage is close to Buddhist conceptions of the world as illusory or evanescent, which understand views that the world exists primarily as deluded and misleading in that they cause attachment and suffering. Here I have translated it with "artificial" in an attempt to suggest Chuho's* double meaning in this passage of human artifice as both produced through human effort and unreal or impermanent.

This notion of "artifice" or "fiction" had a long history in Chinese and Japanese thought, of course, but in much of this history it was given a quite negative valuation. In much Chinese philosophy and artistic theory, for example, fiction and things that appear dreamlike are rejected because they seem to question morality and standards of truth. Even in the early Zen tradition illusions are equated with dust, which may obfuscate the practitioner's innate Buddha Nature and so become an obstacle to correct understanding.[25] This tradition is carded on by the T'ang poet Han-shan, who, in a critique of a Buddhist canonical master, writes:

> Fools all shower him with praise,
> While wise men clap their hands in mirth,
> This hoax! The phantom flowers in the air!
> How could he escape from birth and death![26]

A similar strand may be found in early Japanese Zen Buddhist thought, where being "like an illusion" is used in attacking the views of teaching schools. [27] Yet the Kitayama monks were not alone in their positive affirmation of illusion and transformation, for this interpretive tradition also may be found in Zen Buddhist intellectual history; indeed, we have already seen how Dogen* found useful images pointing to the illusory character of reality, such as "a stone woman gives birth to a child."

Chuho's* application of the term "like an illusion" to landscape gardens was itself not new, moreover, for similar conceptions were found in Northern Sung poetry and in Sung-influenced Japanese Five Mountains literature by such influential early Five Mountains Zen monks as Kokan Shiren and Gido's* teacher Must Soseki. The Japanese Five Mountains monks used these images differently, and these differences are instructive. For example, Kokan's verses on illusory or paradoxical landscapes demonstrate a marked interest in these landscapes as manifestations in the present of Taoist lands of the immortals.[28] In contrast, Muso's* interpretation of this type of landscape garden was much closer in conception to Chuho's* notion of unreality. Muso* began one poem titled "A Rhyme on an Artificial Landscape," by pointing out the seeming paradox in such an artistic creation as an image of advanced spiritual practice:

> Without arousing a speck of dust, towering mountains soar;
> Never retaining a drop of water, rushing cascades plunge.[29]

Muso* agrees with Chuho* in playing on the double significance of the term, suggesting that human artistic creation is a subjective projection into the world of an artificial reality.

The general connotations of these landscape poems and prose pieces include an emphasis on the subjectively derived unreality and illusoriness of art by Gido* together with his teacher Must and his contemporary Chuho*, as well as other Five Mountains Japanese Zen monks. However, in a maneuver typical of many schools of Buddhism in the Chinese cultural sphere, these monks turned this aspect of artistic creation to positive Buddhist ends. In religious history, teachings like the Buddhist conception of illusion have been understood differently depending on a variety of factors: they have led to a rejection of the mundane world of appearance as deceptive and misleading in the pursuit of truth; or they have become the basis of an affirmation that the changeable world itself is the locus of ultimate religious meaning and value. Even within Mahayana Buddhism both tendencies may be found, for some Madhyamika* schools and in some *Perfection of Wisdom* texts the illusory, changeable world of conventional reality must be transcended, while, in the Yogacara* tradition and much Tathagatagarbha* practice, the same world itself is seen as manifesting ultimate truth. The Kitayama period Zen monks tended to agree more with the latter tendency in their understanding of Buddhist ontology, and associated illusion with the theory of nondualism which is found in both the

*Vimalakirti * Sutra* and in many Zen schools. In the prose passage quoted above, Chuho* began to develop this positive sense when, after pointing out that the artificial tray landscape shown in the painting is much smaller than the natural landscape, he wrote, "Even if what you toy with is small, it will still be enough to nourish the hills and valleys within." While we have already seen in chapter 4 the Chinese literati values in this characterization, for our present purposes it is a significant statement, given the emphasis we have found in Kitayama Zen on size as a potential marker of artificiality and unreality.

Yet in fully developing the positive implications of this landscape aesthetic, the reader may recall that Chuho* turned in that same prose passage to the "artifice" or "provisional existence" (C. *chia*; J. *ke*) of the world of changeable appearance and of artistic expression and its traditional Mahayana contrast with "ultimate truth" or "ultimate reality" (Ch. *chen*; J. *shin*). As Chuho's* argument draws to a climax, he follows the classic line of argument developed in the Chinese Sanron (C. San-lun) and Tendai (C. T'ien-t'ai) Buddhist schools in contrasting how the painting appears from these two perspectives. There Chuho* pointed out how, when viewed provisionally, the mountain landscape's height and width are undiminished while always "dust fl[ies] and streams trickle," yet when seen from the Buddhist perspective of the Real, dimensions become irrelevant and even great mountains fit like a *bonsai* "on a tray." In the next line Chuho* seemed to take the position of the Real as his own, when he pointed out that "Its unmoving form and baseless dimensions on their own do not increase or decrease." Here Chuho* made a dual reference to subjective and objective in characterizing the painting subject as "baseless," a common term for a tale without basis in fact, characterizing both the perceived artistic object and the subjective, enlightened state of mind in Buddhism. Yet Chuho* quickly turns from this analogy to a line of reasoning centering in the Middle Way of Mahayana nondualism with the assertion, "When self and other have dissolved and the real and provisional have vanished, then I will already have forgotten my words about them." By closing in this fashion, Chuho* made a statement not only about nondualism, but also about the inability of language to fully depict the character of the relation between the art object and the viewer.

It is significant that Chuho's* only direct comment on an art object in his closing discourse on Buddhist epistemology is when he lists the artistic placement of a mountain on a tray as an example of the world seen from "the perspective of the Real." This contradicts any assumptions that art functioned solely for Chuho* and other Kitayama Five Mountains monks as a form of expedient means (S. *upaya**; C. *fang-bien*; J. *hoben**), that they might have used to adapt Zen Buddhist teachings to the interests and levels of understanding of their disciples, lay students, and patrons from elite Japanese society. In Mahayana teachings, expedient means must utilize provisionally real aspects of concrete context or even objects of desire in the eyes of still unenlightened beings in order to reach the understanding level of their intended audience, as in the classic *Lotus Sutra* case of the father who offers his

children beautiful carts to ride out of the burning house of deluded sentient existence. The form taken by the formless or the provisional expression of ultimate reality is what would then be of primary interest to Chuho *, its form as found in the ever-changing and unreliable world of samsara itself. In this view the illusory form would itself have been neither true nor false for Chuho*, but simply the play of artifice and truth, of the provisional and the real. Yet in our prose passage Chuho* linked the conventionally unreal or empty (S. *sunyata**) with the transformations of scale seen in artistic representations of a landscape painting or miniature garden, not with the provisional reality of the sensory world in which dust flies and streams gurgle. In this sense he is suggesting that such art confronts the viewer with the sudden awareness of ultimate Reality in the Buddhist view, not a gradualist adaptation of conventional reality for Buddhist purposes. In both of these interpretations the artificiality and illusoriness of art were no longer something difficult or troublesome that is to be "endured"; rather, the terms of Chuho's* discussion of the perception of the artistic object have clearly shifted from those of a pejorative description of artistic illusion to those of an affirmation of the soteriological value of art.

Like the use in *koan** or public case texts of paradox to disrupt the conventional conceptual workings of the mind, Chuho's* rhetoric works to demonstrate that ultimate truth is beyond the conventionally defined spatial and temporal order of existence. From the standpoint of the Zen Buddhist monk, then, ultimate truth is found precisely where it is more than one pole in the opposition of truth and falsity, reality and illusory appearance. In this sense, when the "true and artificial" have vanished, practitioners have reached a point where the true and the artificial are no longer disjunct, but instead are interdependent and are meaningful only in non-dualistic, intimate relation to each other. While there are numerous examples in Buddhist philosophy of this affirmation of the interdependence of illusion and truth, what is distinctive about Chuho's* preface is his application of these conceptions to artistic expression. In doing so, Chuho* affirms the Buddhist value of the art object, and the religious value of the artifice of human creative expression.

In what traditions of religious practice and artistic interpretation might we place the Japanese Five Mountains monks in order to best understand the emphasis on illusion in their religious aesthetics? Conceptions of illusion have long been important in theories of spiritual cultivation, artistic creativity, and cultural interpretation not only in the West, but also in Asia. While the Chinese terms I have been translating as "illusion" are generally used in the Buddhist tradition as a translation of the Sanskrit term *maya** Wendy O'Flaherty and others have pointed out that in India the Sanskrit term had historically a wider range of meanings than the modern English term indicates.[30] *Maya** is produced by a god's expressive power of creation and manifestation,[31] yet this creative power was associated with not only the gods, but also with magicians and artists.[32] The term took on a cluster of meanings closely paralleling that of the English terms "craft" or "play" (*ludens*),[33]

and only gradually did it come to be associated primarily with the less positive connotations of marvelous illusion and magical deceit.

Some notion of existence as real in appearance and yet also illusory became important in a number of Indian philosophical traditions, including Buddhist philosophical schools. In some of the earliest Buddhist texts we find comparisons of the world of sensory perception to such images of delusion and transience as dreams, illusions, and the froth on water. [34] With the development of Mahayana texts in the first centuries C.E., these images take on a positive value, however, in which the illusions help the practitioner heuristically.[35] The most common of these images include the rope mistaken for a serpent, the illusory city in the sky, the dream, and the child of a barren woman, although different lists are found in the different textual traditions.[36] These images present a conception of the world as never being what it seems to be and continually changing in unexpected ways, and yet in many cases it is precisely these illusory images and unexpected changes that can lead the practitioner to the perception of the highest truths of the Buddhist tradition.

The arrival of Buddhism in China initiated a period of vigorous intellectual discussion and ferment, leading to new developments beginning in the third century within both the Buddhist tradition and the indigenous religions of Taoism and Confucianism. One important element of this discussion was the interest among the practitioners of Dark Learning (C. *hsuan-hsueh*) in Buddhist conceptions of illusory transformation and its relation with ultimate reality. These Buddhist teachings had a close affinity with such important images in the Taoist philosophical tradition as Chuang-chou's dream that he was a butterfly,[37] and led to similar questions concern-ing the nature of the relationship of ordinary reality and ultimate reality as well as perception and truth. Zen monks in later centuries both on the mainland and in the Japanese islands were drawn to these texts for similar reasons, and among the Kitayama monks Zekkai explicitly refers to the butterfly dream episode in one of his poems while the theme of dreaming is found scattered throughout the writings of other monks.[38]

The Buddhist significance of illusion is also important in another major benchmark in the development of Chinese Buddhism and the Zen school: the appearance of a number of apocryphal texts claiming to be translations of Sanskrit Indian sutras and commentaries. These texts appeared from around the fifth to the seventh or even eighth centuries, and included the *Awakening of Faith* or *Ta-cheng ch'i-hsin lun*, the *Vajrasamadhi* Sutra* or *Chin-kang san-mei ching, and the Ta-foting ching* or *Surangama* Sutra*, and most importantly for our purposes, the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra* (C. *Yüan-chüeh ching*; J. *Engakukyo**). As Peter Gregory has pointed out, these apocryphal texts lent legitimacy to the teachings of the new Zen school, which were taking form during the late seventh and early eighth centuries.

One of these texts provided an important textual basis for the Kitayama understanding of the positive heuristic value of Buddhist illusion, the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra*, which became important to Japanese Zen Buddhism by the

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. [39] While there seems to have been little significant reaction to the text in the fast century or so after its composition, it was raised to a prominent position in Buddhist philosophy when it was given a central role by the influential Hua-yen and Southern School Zen teacher, Tsung-mi. From the mid-eighth century it was used frequently by Buddhists from a number of different sects, most commonly in the Hua-yen, T'ien-t'ai, and Zen sects.

The *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra* was fast brought to Japan quite early in its history, as is known from a 736 court record of Buddhist sutras.[40] During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was being taught by members of the Daruma sect of Japanese Zen as part of the textual studies offered on Mt. Hiei, and the two monks traditionally designated as the founders of Japanese Zen, Myoan* Eisai and Eihei Dogen*, both seem to have known of the text. The Japanese Kitayama monks were also exposed to its teachings, for we know that Gido* and Zekkai both first heard lectures on the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra* during their studies.[41] It was through Gido's* lectures that many of the monks of the Kitayama era and other lay and ordained students of Zen, including the shogun Yoshimitsu, must have been introduced to its teachings.[42]

When compared to the other apocryphal texts, the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra* appears to be most closely related to the *Awakening of Faith*, which to a great extent it summarizes, simplifies, and modifies.[43] It follows the *Awakening of Faith* in virtually all of its central tenets, including the important teachings of innate enlightenment and of the original, pure, undefiled mind as the source of both wisdom and ignorance, as well as the importance of the practice of "transcending thoughts" or distancing oneself from thoughts" (C. *li-nien*; J. *rinen*). In these teachings we see the affirmation by Chinese Buddhists of this period of the equivalent value of both wisdom and ignorance or enlightenment and delusion, and a conception of any sharp distinction between enlightenment and delusion as being itself an illusion.

In its relatively strong emphasis on the doctrine of illusion, however, the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra* differs with the *Awakening of Faith*. While metaphors of illusion are found scattered through the *Awakening of Faith*,[44] the overall emphasis of the text lies more on the immanence of the enlightened mind in all sentient beings, which at times approaches a Yogacara* style realism of the mind. By contrast, the emphasis on illusion in the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra* is seen most clearly in the central image of the text, the "flower in the sky," a flower mistakenly seen in the sky and so thought to exist because of an eye disease. Such images guard against any perception of the mind as real in any ultimate sense, and yet the conception of illusion in this text is not ultimately a negative one. Like all magical transformations, the image of the empty flower in the sky really does appear to exist, just as reality does to deluded sentient beings, and yet the illusion most obviously does not truly exist, in the same way that any fool knows the magician's tricks are not to be taken as real. This emphasis on illusion and emptiness as found in the

Perfect Enlightenment Sutra is central to Chinese Zen from its earliest period. [45] This affirmation of the value of the illusory world and other themes important in the Zen tradition help explain the appeal the text held for Buddhist monks not only in eighth- and ninth-century China but also in the Japanese Zen tradition.

The Japanese monks' interest in the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra* can be found in their use of the central image of the sutra, the empty flower in the sky (C. *k'ung-hua*; J. *kuge**), which is found scattered through their writings.[46] To take one important example, Gido* Shushin used this image in the title of his diary, *Kuge* nichiyo* kufu* ryakushu** or "Abbreviated Collection of Daily Practice of the Flower in the Sky." Gido's* life as it is recorded in this diary, it is important to note, does not center on meditation or on *koan** practice, but on his activities in the most powerful political, social, and cultural circles of his day. This type of activity in the midst of the illusory world of mundane affairs characterizes the daily lives of the vast majority of Japanese Five Mountains monks of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the monks I am considering in the present study.

The Kitayama Japanese monks were particularly interested in the notion of illusion in the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra* as found in the phrase, the "samadhi like illusion" (C. *ju-huan san-mei*; J. *nyogen zammai*).[47] This phrase is found only once in the sutra, but it comes at a crucial point at the beginning of the second chapter, when the Buddha summarizes his answer to a question Samantabhadra poses about the practice of the doctrine of illusion with "the samadhi like an illusion." Samantabhadra is responding in his question to the characterization by the Buddha in the first chapter of all reality as illusory, using the image so important in the sutra of the flower seen in the sky by someone with an eye illness. If the body and mind, subject and object are all illusory, how can there be any practice, Samantabhadra asks, and if there is no practice, how is this not annihilation of all things[48] and how can bodhisattvas then save sentient beings? The Buddha responds to Samantabhadra's question by indicating that after practice has progressed to the point where there are no more illusions to avoid, there is no annihilation, and the bodhisattva must "practice illusion by means of illusion" (C. *i-huan hsiu-huan*). From this we can surmise that the "samadhi like illusion" addresses the fundamental issue of how the bodhisattva is to practice his insight and help sentient beings in the samsaric world of illusions.

While we may assume that this practice of the "samadhi like illusion" is a type of seated meditation practice, we find that it instead involves activity in the every-day, mundane world. The phrase is discussed, for example, in the *Mahaprajnaparamita* Sastra** (C. *Ta-chih-tu lun*), an important commentary to the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* (S. *Mahaprajnaparamita* Sutra*), which is generally attributed to the great Indian Mahayana philosopher Nagarjuna* (c. second century C.E.).[49] The text defines this samadhi in the following way:

> The samadhi like illusion, then, is like residing in the single place of the illusory person and everywhere pervading the world of illusory things

which have been created, such as the so-called four types of soldiers, [50] splendid palaces and walled cities,[51] gluttony and revelry,[52] and death and suffering. The bodhisattva is also this way, abiding in this samadhi and working the transformations of the world of the ten directions and every-where pervading it.[53]

This practice of the "samadhi like illusion" here is interpreted to be not a meditative state, but more appropriate to a bodhisattva's activity in the everyday world of man, the samsaric world of war, wealth, political power, sensual pleasures, death, and continued suffering. Based on the rendering in this important Mahayana text of the heuristic value of illusion, we may conclude that the T'ang Chinese popularity of the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra*, then, is not simply an interest in illusion in some abstract philosophical way but in affirming ordinary human activity as partaking of ultimate ontological status. It was this dimension of the Mahayana Buddhist heritage and of the Chinese Zen tradition to which Gido* and his visitors returned in their 1382 encounter at Rinsen-ji, and to which they and other Japanese monks turned for understanding their own busy lives in the Five Mountains Zen temples.

Before we turn to other specific examples of Kitayama usage of conceptions of illusion, I would like to introduce an important Chinese Zen interpretation of the doctrine of illusion that was well known among the Kitayama Japanese monks. While the Japanese Five Mountains monks were strongly indebted to a number of Chinese Zen teachers, on the subject of illusion one stands out as particularly important: the influential Yüan dynasty monk Chung-feng Ming-pen. Chung-feng taught a number of Japanese Five Mountains monks during their visits to the mainland, and a total of at least six of these monks received the transmission from him. After they returned to their homeland some Japanese monks who had studied under Chung-feng became known for refusing to serve in the Japanese Five Mountains temple system, instead establishing their own temples in the provinces, the most notable being Jakushitsu Genko*. Chung-feng's reputation also spread quickly in the Five Mountains temples in the first decades of the Nambokucho* or Northern and Southern courts period (1336-92), and this was also when the first Five Mountains Zen printings of his collected sayings and other writings were completed in Japan.[54] His influence is also seen in the writings and activities of a number of the most important Five Mountains monks, including those of the influential Chinese monk Chu-hsien Fan-hsien, the well-known poet Betsugen Enshi, and a painter and close friend of Gido*, Tesshu* Tokusai (d. 1366).[55] Perhaps most importantly for the Kitayama monks was the extremely high respect given Chung-feng by the individual monk that historians generally regard as the most important single monk for the establishment of the Japanese Five Mountains system, Must Soseki. Must, who was Gido's* teacher in Zen, modeled himself very closely on Chung-feng early in life until he took the abbacy of Nanzen-ji in 1325, through such activities as avoiding calls to head large Five Mountains temples

despite requests from his teacher Koho * Kennichi (1241-1316), the *bakufu* warrior government in Kamakura, and the emperor.[56] We can see the continuing interest in Chung-feng's writings up through the Kitayama period. For example, Gido* gave extensive lectures to his fellow monks and also to the shogun on Chung-feng's writings,[57] while as we have seen Kiyo* Hoshu* wrote out the text of Chung-feng's collected sayings.

When we examine Chung-feng's own biography, we see that he was known for having refused numerous requests of his contemporaries, including the emperor, to serve as abbot of the most important of the Chinese Five Mountains temples.[58] Instead, Chung-feng spent several years living a mendicant existence literally as part of the floating world while residing on boats. Beginning in 1298 he also resided in small hermitages for periods lasting a few years at a time, until moving on after the number of students who had taken up residence with him became too large. In this way he refused to take up administrative offices or abbacies in the large Zen temples of his day, many of which were located near important political and social centers, thereby implicitly rejecting a mode of activity in the midst of the mundane world.

The importance of the Buddhist teaching of illusion to Chung-feng can be seen in the name he gave to a number of his residences during these years, "Hut of Abiding in Illusion" (C. *huan-chu an*; J. *genjuan**). Some sense of his understanding of illusion and the motivations behind Chung-feng's lifestyle can be gathered from his explanation of the significance of this name as it was recorded by the influential scholar-official, Sung Lien:

> What is revealed by the clear water is the essence of illusion, what is reflected by the bright mirror is the traces of illusion. When illusion is extinguished and awakening reaches emptiness, this is the supreme height of transcendental awareness. We should abide in this samadhi which resembles illusion (*ju-huan san-mei*). Therefore, I will name the temple "Illusory Abode."[59]

Here Chung-feng used the same phrase that we have seen in the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra,* the "samadhi like illusion," to characterize the way in which those who have awakened should live. Chung-feng felt that the accomplished practitioner should continue to abide in this state even after illusion has been extinguished and through awakening the practitioner has achieved a state of emptiness.

Chung-feng did not disdain all contact with the samsaric, mundane realm that we have seen is associated with this "samadhi like illusion," despite the emphasis in postwar scholarship on his reputation for rejecting the mundane world of political affairs and administrative duties. An examination of Chung-feng's relations with contemporary secular authorities reveals substantial interaction with those active in the secular world. As Yü points out, Chung-feng was following in the tradition of Yang-ch'i (J. Yogi*) line Chinese Zen monks in teaching important public officials.[60]

Chung-feng counted among his disciples at one time or another several of the most powerful secular officials of his day, including the high official and well-known calligrapher and painter Chao Meng-fu, [61] the literatus Feng Tzu-chen, a retired king of Korea, King Bon, and the highest Yüan government official in south China during the second decade of the fourteenth century, Beg Bupa, while the noted Yüan poet Wu Chi wrote a eulogy for Chung-feng.[62] Chung-feng himself was not averse to cultural practice, for he is known to have exchanged poetry with some of the most prominent poets of his day and to have been skilled in the an of calligraphy. While Chung-feng did refuse appointment to be abbot of major Chinese Five Mountains temples, his extensive interaction with these secular scholar-officials suggests that his philosophy of abiding in illusion did not imply in his view that good Buddhists should withdraw from the world of human society.

We can get a sense of Chung-feng's philosophy of "abiding in illusion," which will be useful for understanding Kitayama Japanese Zen views of illusion, from an essay Chung-feng entitled "House Rules for Abiding in Illusion."[63] In this essay Chung-feng began with the self-referential characterization of himself and his lecture as also illusory: "This illusory man [Chung-feng] one day occupied his illusory room and took his illusory seat grasping an illusory whisk. At that time his illusory disciples came and gathered in clouds."[64] This depiction of Buddhist teaching is not unique to the teachings of the Zen sect, for closely comparable ideas may be found in the widely influential *Vimalakirti* Sutra,* the latter reading, "It is as if an illusory person were to teach the Dharma to illusory people,"[65] or in such *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra* passages as, "Practice illusion by means of illusion."[66] Here we see that Chung-feng followed the type of Mahayana teachings found in the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra* in maintaining the emptiness of emptiness, and the illusoriness of illusoriness.

In his essay Chung-feng then turned to a remarkably clearly argued epistemological discussion of illusion, which I quote at length due to its importance for understanding the Kitayama Japanese views. Chung-feng points out that everything depends on illusion, and our interaction with things occurs only through dependence on illusion:

> One [disciple] asked, "Why is a pine straight, a bramble crooked, a swan white, and a crow dark?" The illusory man stood his whisk up and said to the gathering, "When my illusory whisk stands, it does not stand on its own but relies on illusion to stand. When it lays down, it does not lay down on its own but relies on illusion to lay down. When it is grasped, it is not grasped on its own but relies on illusion in order to be grasped. When released, it is not released on its own, but relies on illusion in order to be released.
>
> "When you clearly observe this illusion, it includes the ten directions [of all space] and fills the three temporal realms [of past, present,

and future]. When something stands up, it does not stand; when some-thing lays down, it does not lay down; when something is grasped, it is not grasped; when something is released, it is not released. In this way understanding penetrates without obstruction, and you can again see that the pine relies on illusion to be straight, the bramble relies on illusion to be crooked, the swan relies on illusion to be white, and the crow relies on illusion to be dark. Separated from this illusory seeing, pines are fundamentally not straight, brambles are actually not crooked, swans already not white, and crows still not dark. Consequently it is apparent that this illusion blurs your sense of sight and produces illusory seeing. This pervades your consciousness and gives rise to illusory discriminiation, so that you see that straight is not crooked and white is not dark. Everywhere judging the myriad dharmas, you become attached to the nature of the many existences. From the beginningless beginning down to the present, you are bound and tied by birth and death." [67]

By associating the doctrine of illusion with the perception that all discrimination is false, Chung-feng again follows some schools of Mahayana Buddhism, including Yogacara*, and the teachings of such philosophically oriented Zen masters as Tsung-mi.

At this point Chung-feng turned in his essay to what was in essence a reading of the entire Zen tradition in terms of illusion as the basis of teaching, under-standing, and practice:

Even the great practitioner [Shakyamuni] of the snowy mountains suffered from this, so that his eyes were unable to see. Thus when he came from his mother's womb, he then walked seven steps, looked to the four directions, and pointed to heaven and to earth. This sensationalism virtually destroyed[68] the supreme principle [of Buddhism] which has been manifested for a hundred thousand kalpas in the pure aspect of all humans. If we thoroughly realize this most wonderful foundation, from the viewpoint of illusory dharmas it comes to nothing at all.

Venerable Yun-men said, "If at that time I saw [Shakyamuni being born], I would kill him with one blow simply to plan for great peace on earth." Even though he tried to cover gold with yellow, alas he only added another layer of illusion.... From that time on, since one man told an idle story, ten thousand have transmitted it as fact. Illusion mutually influences illusion through give and take without end. Then we come to [the founding Zen patriarch Bodhidharma at] Shao-lin [temple] facing an illusory wall, [the second patriarch Hui-k'o] putting to rest his illusory mind, ... [the sixth patriarch Hui-neng] writing an illusory verse,... [Pai-chang's] hanging his illusory whisk, ... or [Lin-chi's] hitting with his illusory hands. Above all there was one man [Lin-chi] who acted like

> a lunatic, who displayed one illusory shout like angry thunder from a blue sky. Illusory shining and illusory functioning or illusory guest and illusory host were mutually interpenetrated in all directions by giving and taking affirmation and denial with myriad appearances and multiple forms without limit. [69] Even now in all directions old blind monks come forth from this school and succeed to this teaching, receive empty [teachings] and echo them,... refine their words and calculate their actions, enhance their character and elevate their appearance, are strict with their commands and increase their temples. But there has absolutely never been anyone who was able to go beyond illusion."[70]

Here we see how in this passage Chung-feng interpreted all Buddhist and Zen Buddhist history based on this single, central teaching of illusion.

For Chung-feng illusion was also the one measure of true understanding, which he described as unobstructed and unstoppable:

> Illusion! Its significance is perfect, its principle is complete, its essence is great, its function is pervasive. Together with the myriad Buddhas and patriarchs, it works at all times through kalpas as [numerous as the grains of] dust and sand without end. [Nevertheless,] there are some that cannot completely understand this great illusion beyond words and images.... Above all, they do not know their predecessors' deep and penetrating great illusion.... One turn of this wheel is like water going out a break in [in a dike] or like the wind going through an empty sky, rejecting all kinds of treatment and leaving no room for choice, responding to their capabilities and entrusting to their abilities.[71]

True understanding for Chung-feng was to base all perception and action in the realization that all is illusion, and only then can Zen practitioners avoid the poison of discrimination and choice. In this passage Chung-feng capably shows how vital in Yüan Chinese Zen was the classic Mahayana *Perfection of Wisdom* notion of the emptiness of even such key concepts of emptiness, and the illusory character even of the most respected propagators in his own school of the teachings of the truth of illusion.

It is apparent, then, that the teaching of illusion was central to Chung-feng's thinking about Buddhism, and about the teaching and practice of the Zen sect in particular. In his Buddhist vision, illusion is an all-pervasive teaching, and is applied not only to all existences, but to the very acts of teaching and practicing the doctrine of illusion itself. For Chung-feng, abiding in illusion and the "samadhi like illusion" were fundamental images of life in the midst of the natural landscape, the realm of livelihood for his mountain retreats that still encompassed the danger of discriminative views for its Buddhist residents. Chung-feng was careful to keep his world of illusion at what he saw as a healthy distance from the secular world of

contemporary politics, and also from the administration of large Five Mountains temples that were closely fled to the secular authorities. In this sense, as we shall see, Chung-feng was less affirmative in practice of the world of ordinary society and mundane experience than were the Japanese Kitayama Zen monks.

One important way in which the Japanese monks applied this conception of illusion to their life in the large metropolitan Five Mountains Zen temples of the capital can be seen in their use of illusion to interpret artistic activity, particularly artistic expression of the theme of the natural landscape. By adapting the Mahayana Buddhist theme of illusion to their lives in the vast Five Mountains monastic complexes in the capital, they were able to maintain a fundamentally Buddhist orientation in their extensive social, cultural, and even political interaction with influential secular figures that their metropolitan lifestyle necessitated.

I shall begin a discussion of the views of the landscape arts in the Kitayama period with a look at Gido * Shushin's* views of the relationship of illusion to the natural world and also to artistic representation of the natural landscape. Gido* discussed his conception of "illusory abode," which we have seen was a theme developed by Chung-feng, in a eulogy[72] written for the well-known painter of ink landscapes, Ue* Gukei.[73] Gido* noted at the beginning of the eulogy that Gukei hung a sign over his door reading, "Illusory Hut" (C. *huan-an*; J. *gen'an*) and recorded a conversation he had with Gukei. Here Gido* alludes to Chung-feng's well-known "Hut of Abiding in Illusion." Gido* then quoted Gukei as saying that in the Hua-yen school "the bodhisattvas' samadhi of abiding in illusion (*huan-chu san-mei*) [is] where they see that all the myriad worlds are like illusion and yet they abide in them."[74] Gido* then remarks that by Gukei's living in his illusory hut, all the realms of the sacred and mundane come to be defined by his Buddhist practice.[75] Gido* elaborates on Gukei's statement in his eulogy:

> Due to the power of [seeing the world] as illusion, the ten thousand forms variously come forth: some are illusory Buddhas and patriarchs, some are illusory demons and spirits; some are illusory grasses and trees, some are illusory mountains and rivers; long ones, short ones; square ones, round ones; flying ones and running ones; ugly ones and beautiful ones. In this way these myriad illusions all through [your] wisdom[76] contemplation, diversely manifest the cosmic and the minute.[77] Even if the worlds were destroyed, your hut would stand solid; even if the empty void were exhausted, your hut would be as before. Therefore now you, a man of the Way, just as an illusion are residing [here].[78]

Gido* agrees with his friend Gukei that by recognizing everything as illusion the bodhisattvas can abide in the samsaric realm without the impermanence of the world affecting them. Here we have a Zen Buddhist philosophy of "abiding in illusion" that is comparable to and based on that found in the writings of Chung-feng Ming-pen.

The Japanese monks further adapt Chung-feng's ideas to apply them to the natural landscape, for in Gido * and Gukei's lifestyles the enlightened bodhisattva sees the samsaric realm of the natural landscape as just as much a manifestation of illusion as all other aspects of experience in the world. Gido* shifts from the Buddhist flavor of his prose eulogy to end with a poem in which he shows how the Five Mountains monks integrated Zen thinking with Sung dynasty literary allusions. In the poem Gido* compared his own act of writing Gukei's eulogy to the famous analogy in a Su Shih poem of the transience and unknowability of human life to the track of a goose in muddy slush. The last two lines of the poem read:

> [I,] Empty flower, write a eulogy:
> Goose tracks in the muddy snow.

This is an allusion to the first lines of the famous Su Shih metaphor for human existence in his poem, "Rhyming with Tzu-yu's 'Remembering Old Tunes at Mien-ch'i'": "Do you know what the place is like where human life is going?/It must be like a flying goose's footsteps in the muddy snow:/By chance it leaves a foot [mark] in the mud,/But when the goose flies off, how then can you tell if it's gone east or west.?"[79] Gido's* use of this conception again echoes Gukei's comments recorded at the beginning of the eulogy, when Gukei instructed Gido* to "grasp your illusory brush and write an illusory eulogy." Here we see that for the Japanese monks, as it was for Chung-feng, the conception of illusory abiding is self-referential: the act of teaching illlusoriness and writings about illusoriness is itself illusory. We have just seen a similair movement at the beginning of Chung-feng's *House Rules for Illusory Abiding*, where he wrote, "This illusory man [Chung-feng] one day occupied his illusory room and took his illusory seat grasping an illusory whisk." This is, of course, an important heuristic point to be remembered by Buddhist monks such as Gido* and his contemporaries, who were more like Vimalakirti* perhaps than Chung-feng in their willingness to enter fully into the realm of samsara, teaching powerful secular authorities not in mountain retreats but in the challenging environment of the metropolitan Five Mountains monasteries. By alluding, however, to Su Shih's concrete yet ultimately expansive image in his poem Gido* makes a point about much more than Zen religious pedagogy narrowly defined: he is also making a statement about the illusory act of literary composition and the significance of the natural landscape as a part of that religious pedagogy and practice. Gido's* allusion to Su Shih's poetry reminds us that he and his Kitayama students were active in circles extending far behond the limits of their narrowly construed roles as religious figures, and their conceptions of Buddhist practice were influential in these arenas of the arts, politics, and society.

We find conceptions of the illusory character of art and of the Zen Buddhist tradition itself in Kitayama thinking about an important artistic practice that had long been central to the Zen tradition: the painting of *chinzo** or *chinso** portraits.[80] Above these portraits Zen teachers conventionally wrote inscriptions, in which the

teacher portrayed commonly referred to the painted image of himself at the end of his inscription as "truth" or, interpolating, "true likeness" (C. *chen*; J. *shin*). [81] However, on occasion monks also refer to their images in these inscriptions as "illusory substance" (*genshitsu*) or "illusory form" (*genst*),[82] and the Kitayama monks followed this custom.[83] These two terms both play on the dualism implicit in each of the paired opposites, "reality" and "illusion," implied in any statement about the ultimate, true identity of a Zen teacher. This use of the term refers on the one hand to the notion that both body and mind are illusory, a teaching found in many Mahayana texts but that is strongly emphasized in the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra*. The context of its usage in the *chinzo** inscriptions suggests, however, that the writers of the inscriptions were also referring specifically to the painted image itself. We can see this, for example, in Wu-chun's inscription on the *chinzo** he gave to Enni Ben'en: "They painted my illusory substance and asked me to inscribe [the painting]."[84] The Kitayama monks were effective in propagating this view of the self and of artistic portraiture at the highest level of Muromachi Japanese society. This is seen in the shogun Yoshimochi's inscription on his own father Yoshimitsu's portrait, which was used in Yoshimitsu's memorial services.[85] Here the Buddhist notion that the self is just as illusory as the objective world goes hand in hand with conceptions of artistic representation as based in illusion and not in truthful representation, a view that was influential in the most elite levels of Kitayama culture and society.[86]

Japanese monks in the second half of the fourteenth century often applied this same conception to the act of painting more generally, as is perhaps best seen in their use of such terms to refer not to the painting of figure or devotional paintings with subject matter explicitly linked to Zen Buddhist teaching and practice, but to the painting of landscape subjects. For example, Gido* uses the term "generating illusion" (C. *huan-ch'u*; J. *genshutsu*) to describe the artist in the act of painting. We find his use of this term in an inscription on a no longer extant landscape painting by Ue* Gukei: "The tip of the brush gives off illusions in a ten-thousand form pattern."[87] By choosing not to use more conventional terms, such as "generating a sketch" (*shashutsu*) or "generating a portrayal" (*bytshutsu*), Gido* suggests with this term that artistic activity is the production of illusion. By this he meant that just as all of the myriad illusions derive from the mind, or from the "wisdom contemplation" as he argued above in his "Eulogy for Illusory Hut," art also derives from the human imagination and is illusory.

Kitayama conceptions of art as illusory and fictive were not modeled on Chinese Buddhist concepts alone, but also provide evidence for a syncretic interest in artistic theory based in mainland literati aesthetics. In particular the Kitayama Japanese monks syncretically integrated Buddhist views of illusion with Sung and later Chinese aesthetics that emphasized the importance of rejecting formal likeness in favor of other artistic cum moral and spiritual qualifies. As we saw in chapter 1, the Sung literati interest in the spiritual and moral dimension to painting led to a

rejection of formal likeness as a criterion of aesthetic judgment. In a famous comment, Su Shih compared the views of those who are interested in verisimilitude in art to the views of a child, and negatively associated representation as an aim of art with the work of professional artists. [88] Such statements as this were part of the growth of the general conception of literati art as contrasted with the art of professionals, begun in the Northern Sung around the time of Su, in which the professional painter's comparatively realistic depiction and reliance on payment was contrasted with the amateurism and deeply meaningful personal expression of literati art.[89] Literati artists and writers of artistic and cultural theory began at this time to emphasize the artist's innermost self at the center of the meaning of a painting. Su's views continued to be influential during the Southern Sung dynasty in the writings of such literati as Ch'en Yü-i (1090-1138), who was never as popular as Su among Kitayama Japanese Five Mountains Zen writings and art. Ch'en Yü-i formulated one classic statement of literati painters in a famous line: "If the meaning is there, don't seek for outward likeness."[90] By the Yüan dynasty these views became very widespread, as seen most clearly in the writings of such theorists as T'ang Hou (fl. c. 1322-29), Wu Chen (1280-1354), and Yang Wei-chen, and this interest in the expression of the artist's inner moral and spiritual state became a definitive characteristic of literati painting generally.

The most important result for our present concern of the new emphasis in literati aesthetics and criticism on personal meaning was the growth of an interest in paintings in which the artist had distorted reality in a manner that expressed his own inner development. The ability of the artist to depict something that could not exist in the phenomenal world was proof to Chinese art theorists of the unreality of art, and it is on this point that there is considerable overlap with Buddhist conceptions of illusion. But in an age when it was precisely inner spiritual significance that defined the highest art, this fabricated character of artistic practice became a highly valued aspect of artistic creativity, rather than a negative defining trait of art as it was in other periods of East Asian cultural and aesthetic theory.

One of the best-known paintings exhibiting this "unreal" character of art depicted a banana palm with its leaves covered in snow, and was titled *Yüan An Lying in the Snow* by the widely loved T'ang poet Wang Wei, who was held up as an ideal of the new literati art during and after the Sung. This painting depicted a conventionally defined impossibility, since the educated literatus knew that the sensitive banana plant lost all its leaves in the harsh winds of the fall and winter. The well-known Northern Sung artistic critic Shen Kua (1031-95), who at one time owned the painting, had the highest praise for Wang Wei's ability as seen in the painting to "penetrate their subtle principles and mysterious creation," concluding that in producing the artwork Wang's creation "partook of the divine, and eminently obtained the ideas of nature."[91] In his passage describing the painting Shen Kua borrows well-known lines from an Ou-yang Hsiu poem making the same point about realistic depiction: "Ancient paintings depict ideas and not forms;/ ... Few

are those who understand abandoning form to realize ideas,/No less in looking at painting than in poetry." [92] Shen Kua's high opinion of Wang Wei is based on his ability to capture the "ideas" (C. *i*) of the natural world, an aspect of art that was frequently opposed to its "forms" (C. *hsing*). Similar high evaluations of Wang Wei's art can be also found in the writings of Su Shih, who praised Wang for having found the key to his art "beyond appearances."[93] Art that violated expectations and conventional associations was not well tolerated in highly precedent-conscious Chinese elite society, but in the hands of a master like Wang Wei, willingness to take such risks came to be considered the mark of genius. Most importantly for our purposes was the development of a broad-based interest among the Sung literati in what today might be termed "unrealistic" art that violates the norms of court cultural practice.

A comparable interest in inner artistic expression and meaning over and against external appearances is also found in the Kitayama monks' writings on painting, at times with direct reference to Wang Wei's paintings. In one important example of a preface on an extant painting, Taihaku Shingen begins his 1415 preface to the painting *Small Cottage by a Mountain Stream* (fig. 3.2) with high praise for both Ch'en Yü-i's poetry and Wang Wei's image of the banana palm in snow: "Composing a poem on plum blossoms blazing heat was [Ch'en Yü-i's] divine marvelousness; painting a plantain in snow was [Wang Wei's] natural instinct."[94] Ch'en Yü-i, who I noted above followed Su Shih in advocating the primacy of inner meaning over formal representation, associated himself in one of his own poems with this painting by Wang Wei. Taihaku borrowed and built on lines from this poem by Ch'en, which read as follows: "A banana palm beneath the snow: Wang Wei's painting;/The plum blossoms under fiery skies: Ch'en Yü-i's poem."[95] Ch'en Yü-i was of course comparing the seeming paradox of his own notion of the plum, a tree known conventionally for its blossoms in very early spring, which is blooming in the summer heat to Wang Wei's banana in the winter snow. It should be noted that it is not change per se that captures Ch'en's (and Taihaku's) interest, change being of course a central part of conceptions of the transiency of the world, but the violation of expectation and literary convention with regard to the natural progress of the seasons. Another example of a similar view from the Kitayama period can be found in an inscription by Gyokuen Bompo* on one of his bamboo paintings, where he remarks that "The third month is made into autumn, and the eighth month [made into] spring."[96] Here we see the Kitayama monks picking up on what is by the fourteenth century a well-established theme in continental literati culture and developing it for their own purposes. Taihaku in turn took up this tradition, which centered on literary and visual images of bird and flower subjects, and applied it to a Japanese ink landscape painting, which as a scroll combining painting with poetry integrated Ch'en's poetic illusion with Wang's in painting.

While Taihaku followed in the footsteps of these giants of continental culture, he also added a new layer of interpretation by characterizing Wang's painting as

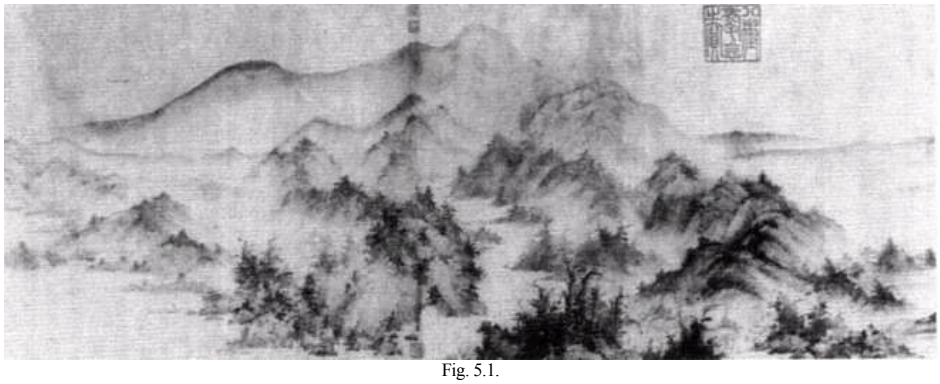

Fig. 5.1.
Dream Journey along the Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers. By a Mr. Li (d.u.).
Inscriptions by Ke Pi (d.u.) and eight others. Handscroll. Ink on paper. 30.3 x 403.6 cm.
National Treasure. 1170. Tokyo National Museum. Detail.

"natural instinct" and Ch'en's poem as "divine marvelousness." These are terms of high praise taken from literati painting theory [97] that Taihaku used to praise images that are possible only in a world defined by the magical illusions of human creativity, comparable illusions to those that Mahayana Buddhists believed were the source of all phenomenal appearances. It was through the affirmation of these illusions that Gido*, Taihaku, Bompo*, and their predecessors on the continent developed conceptions of art that found deep philosophical and religious meaning in the productions of the human imagination.

Literati views of art as fabricated and illusory were widespread in influence, extending well beyond the limits of Chinese literati and court circles to become influential among Buddhist monks and their secular patrons and companions in Sung and Yüan China. The Chinese Zen monk Hsüeh-feng's views on the appropriateness of mountains for art due to its illusory character, as quoted earlier in this chapter by Gido's* visitor, focus on what seems to have been a common subject of interest in Southern Sung continental culture. We can judge this from similar comments made in inscriptions on a painting done for the otherwise unknown Buddhist monk Yun-ku (fl. c. 1140-70), a contemporary of Hsüeh-feng.[98] The inscriptions on the painting *Dream Journey along the Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers* (fig. 5.1) were completed in 1170 and 1171, and inscribed for Yun-ku by some ten of his lay disciples so that he could enjoy wandering among the mountains now that he was too old to leave his hut.[99] In the inscriptions we see a good deal of discussion of the issue of illusion and art, including the following comment: "The great earth and the mountains and rivers are illusion, and painting is an illusion of an illusion, while this explanation of illusion is yet another illusion."[100] This reading of a land-scape painting as an illusion posing as yet another illusion is quite close to Hsüeh-feng's conception of painting cited by Kaichu* and Gido* above. It also shares with Chung-feng and others' views the insistence that illusion is self-reflexive, an important pedagogical point when we remember that these literati and also the Japanese Zen monks functioned in society as advisors and instructors. Moreover, this passage characterizes painting in terms of its illusory nature, but instead of contrasting this with the world of appearances, this illusory quality to art is thought to make it the perfect medium for representing the seeming reality of the illusory world as understood in Buddhism'. The teachings of Hsüeh-feng and the beliefs of Yun-ku's lay disciples together suggest that this tradition of interpreting landscape and landscape painting as images of Buddhist illusion had become influential in the social circles shared by continental Zen monks and literati by the mid-twelfth century, only some half century after Su Shih's death and the spread of literati interest in artistic illusion.

Inscriptions on the same painting show interest in the related theme of the relationship between illusion and truth or conventional reality and ultimate reality that Chuho* applied to the complex layering of painting and miniature garden above. In an 1171 inscription by Chang Ch'uan-pu (d.u.), after noting that several of the

other inscriptions discuss the issue of truth (*chen*) and illusion (*huan*), Chang, like Chuho *, argued for the nondualism of illusion and reality.[101] Chang suggested that it was not necessary to judge according to these two criteria, for they were intimately related: "Illusion is born in opposition to truth, and truth operates relying on illusion."[120] To describe a more appropriate attitude for understanding painting, he cited a line from Su Shih's comments on the famous painter of bamboo Wen T'ung's method of painting, "When the hare leaps up as the falcon swoops down, if there is the slightest hesitation then all will be lost."[103] The state of mind of the hare in such a situation may be compared to Chuho's* "vanishing of the self and other," and certainly represented a very high state of religious practice that goes beyond the distinction between truth and illusion, reality and appearance. This resistance to an overemphasis on either illusion or truth, two poles of Buddhist ontology, and a preference for some middle path, are characteristics of both much of Zen soteriology and a Tendai Buddhist-style Three Truths theory in which these two are combined with the principle of the Middle. The same refusal to discriminate between the two falls within the affirmative Mahayana Buddhist tradition of refusing to designate any ultimate difference between form and emptiness, right and wrong, or between samsara and nirvana.

The Japanese Kitayama monks were probably not as familiar with the views of Yun-ku and his lay disciples as they were with those of Hsüeh-feng, so we cannot assume any direct historical influence. Yet they shared a common interest with both of these Chinese predecessors in developing a conception of landscape themes in artistic practice that addressed the fundamental values of both the worldview of their lay colleagues and their own religious vision. The continued interest in this issue of truth and illusion in subsequent artistic theory can be seen in a line from a poem written by the important Yüan literati painter Ni Tsan to the monk-painter Fang Yai (fl. fourteenth century), with whom he seems to have had a close spiritual relationship:

> I ask my master Fang I,
> What is illusion, what is real?
> From the ink well I take some ink drops,
> To lodge in my painting a boundless feeling of spring.[104]

In this poem Ni Tsan answers his own question with the "boundless feeling of spring" that, we might surmise, somehow bridges the contradictory impulses of illusion and the real. As in Chuho's* preface, Ni Tsan and Chang's considerations of illusion in art make the rubric "illusory" central to an understanding of the meaning of art while moving in the direction of the characteristically nondualist logic of the affirmative strain in Mahayana Buddhist ontology.

An example of this application of nondualist ontology to aesthetics with direct historical connections to the Japanese Five Mountains Zen tradition is found in a painting inscription by the late Yüan and early Ming Chinese Zen master, Chien-

hsin Lai-fu (1319-91). This inscription is found not on a landscape painting but on an image of Manjusri *, the Buddhist bodhisattva of wisdom, wearing a hemp robe.[105] Chien-hsin began his inscription by telling the viewer how the image was to be perceived: "The body is not short or long ... and the form is not ultimately [real] or conventionally [real]."[106] The teachings of Chien-hsin were important to the Kitayama monks, for they were transmitted to Japan in the late 1360s and mid-1370s when interest in recent developments in continental Zen continued unabated but relatively few monks were returning to the Japanese islands from the continent. More importantly for the early landscape poem-and-painting scrolls, Chien-hsin's teachings were brought back to Japan by one of Gido's* disciples, the Japanese monk Iko* Tokuken,[107] who as we saw in chapter 2 was the most important monk in the circle active under Gido's* leadership in the early years of the Japanese *shigajiku* in Kamakura. Iko's* importance to the Kamakura monks surrounding Gido*, and perhaps to Gido* himself, would have been strengthened by his extended, direct contact with the mainland Zen tradition. While the Japanese Zen interpretation of the teaching of the nonduality of truth and illusion is not necessarily derived directly from Chien-hsin, his application of the teaching to the interpretation of painting is important for understanding the aesthetics theories applied to early landscape poem-and-painting scrolls by the Kitayama monks in the 1370s.

We see how Gido* himself applied his thinking on the nonduality of illusion and math in a discourse he wrote on the name "Dream Mountain" (C. *mengshan*).[108] In this essay Gido* set up a somewhat forced analogy of dream with the play of the demonic spirit of man and of mountain with the unmoving. He then pointed out that neither one of these had any meaning without its polar opposite, and concluded, "Dream and mountain are merely the single awakening from sleep, and not two. It is unknown which dreams and which awakens. Mountains or dreams? Right or wrong? We cannot judge [which is which]."[109] Here Gido* applied the principle of nonduality to the illusory quality of landscape, and refused to discriminate between the dualism of dreaming and awakening or of truth and reality. This argument is consistent with his views in the dialogue described previously between Gido* and Kaichu* about the similarity of mountains and dreams. Yet here Gido* applies it not just to an art object but to the very naming of the identity of a close companion of his, the artist Gukei, now known primarily for his landscapes. As Chuho* and Shunoku did in their arguments for the nondualism of ultimate and conventional reality in painting, Gido* applied this same principle to the natural landscape while bringing the full weight of the Buddhist tradition to bear on this mode of artistic interpretation. These passages are significant in their suggestion of a Five Mountains Zen tradition of interpreting dreams in a non-Freudian and yet nonrationalistic manner, comparable perhaps to the contemporary popularity of dreaming in local branches of the Soto* school of Zen and in other aspects of contemporary Japanese elite culture.[110]

In this act we can see that Gido * and his contemporaries understood the land-scape not only as a realm to be explored in free moments from their administrative duties in the capital, but also as something crucial to their own identities in a fundamental way. This use of the landscape to understand their own sense of self is comparable to the application of landscape to their self-images we have already seen in the discussion of "achieving in the mind" and the hermit at court. The distinctive and I would suggest fundamentally Buddhist aspect of this conception of the world and of the self is the Kitayama Zen emphasis on the theme of illusion in understanding the significance of the "reality" of the landscape. Through applying Buddhist conceptions of illusion to the natural world in these and other passages, Gido*, Chuho*, and their fellow Five Mountains Zen monks developed a fundamentally Buddhist mode of interpreting their own lives in metropolitan monasteries together with landscape paintings, small gardens, and other of the landscape arts. By seeing the landscape as illusory in this distinctive sense, they freed themselves of any attachments to what might be seen as a traditional sense of worship of the idyllic mountains and pastoral fields that characterizes some nature-based religious movements. Instead, illusion became for these Kitayama monks a basis for the unimpeded, free-roaming practice of enlightenment in the midst of ordinary life of elite Japanese society. They accomplished this difficult intellectual and personal task through the Buddhist ideal of the playfulness of enlightened nondualistic activity in a world that is at once both real and illusory, and it is to this ideal of playfulness that we now turn.

70. *GBZ*, 3:2233.

71. For a closely comparable argument by Chuho * En'i that self-cultivation centering on the mind is at the base of learning how to "make one's recluse hut anywhere," see his "Explanation of Reflecting on the Mind Hut," *GBZ*, 3:2535-36.

5. Buddhist Illusion and the Landscape Arts

1. Faure, *Rhetoric*, 66-67. While Faure suggests in this section that Zen disavowed Buddhist canonical ontology, I here follow David Chappell's argument for continuity between early Zen texts and the Buddhist canonical heritage in "Hermeneutical Phases in Chinese Buddhism," *Buddhist Hermeneutics*, ed. Donald S. Lopez Jr. Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism, 6 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), 193-94.

2. Gimello, "Apophatic," 133.

3. Ibid.

4. Gido's* cottage was located at the time along the banks of the Katsura river in the Sankai-in subtemple of Rinsen-ji temple; the temple was the bead-quarters of the Muso* school that dominated the Five Mountains Zen system.

5. This term is found in the *Mencius*, where it refers to the most talented individuals in the kingdom who are pupils of the true sagely gentleman, or *chun-tzu*.

6. Hsüeh-feng Hui-k'ung (fl. c. 1153) was the author of the *Tung-shan Wai-chi* or *Tung-shah K'ung Ho-sheng Wai-chi*, which was widely read among the Japanese Five Mountains monks. This monk and Gido's* knowledge of him are discussed further below.

7. *GBZ*, 2:1725.

8. While we will return to this important theme of playfulness in our next and final chapter, here we might merely note the close relationship Gido* suggests between such a state of mind and the artistic production of illusion.

9. Analysis of this term in Indian Buddhist philosophy may be found in Nagao Gadjin, "An Interpretation of the Term 'Samvrti*' (Convention) in Buddhism," in *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun-Kagaku Kenkyusyo* (Kyoto: Institute for Humanistic Studies, 1954), while Junjiro* Takakusu gives an English introduction emphasizing the various philosophical interpretations of the term in Chinese and Japanese Buddhism in his The *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975 [1947]), 103ff., 134-42.

10. For an example in an early text, see *Daruma no goroku*, 2, Zen no goroku, vol. 1, ed. and trans. by Yanagida Seizan (Tsukuma Shobo*, 1969), 31. For this concept in the Ma-tsu line of Chinese Zen, see "Verse on not falling into distinction between sagely and common" by Tung-shah Liang-chieh, trans. by William Powell, *The Record of Tung-shan*, Kuroda Institute Classics in East Asian Buddhism (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 66.

11. *GBZ*, 2:1282.

12. This poem is preserved in Gido's * important collection of Sung and Yüan Zen verse, *Jowashu**, found in *Jukan* Jowa* ruiju* soen renposhu* Shinsen Jowashu**, *Dainihon Bukkyo* Zensho*, ed. Bussho Kankokai* (Bussho Kankokai*, 1912), 229, 432.

13. Gido* himself wrote out a text of this collection, which is no longer extant, and gave three series of lectures on the collection in 1371, 1380, and 1385. See Gido's* *Kuge**, 69, 102, 106, 212, 215, 217, and 340. Kawase concludes from the large number of Japanese Five Mountains printings that Hsüeh-feng's poetry collection underwent, totaling more than six in the Nambokucho* period alone, that it was one of the most popular literary collections among the Japanese Five Mountains monks. See his *Gozanban*, 401-3.

14. T.82, 2582: 161-63. Discussed and translated in Faure, *Rhetoric*, 218-19.

15. Modern Japanese translation in Imaizumi, *Togo* Seiwa*, 229-31. Useful studies for understanding miniature gardens in their Chinese intellectual, religious, and aesthetic context may be found in John Hay, *Kernels of Energy, Bones of Earth: The Rock in Chinese Art* (Chinese Institute of America, 1985); and Roll A. Stein, "Miniature Gardens in the Far East," in idem, *The World in Miniature: Container Gardens and Dwellings in Far Eastern Religious Thought*, trans. Phyllis Brooks (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990 [1943]), 1-119.

16. Biography unknown.

17. Mencius, 4.a.8.2-3:

> There was a boy who sang,
>
> "If the blue water is clear
> It is fit to wash my chin-strap.
> If the blue water is muddy
> It is only fit to wash my feet."
>
> Translated D. C. Lau, *Mencius*, p. 121.

18. See Bush, *Literati*, 44-47, on this theme in Sung literati theory. Ashikaga (*Kamakura, Muromachi*) discusses the related term, "to nourish the mind" (C. *yang-hsin*), in the writings of Kiyo* Hoshu*, pp. 365-66. See also chapter 6 below.

19. Mt. Sung and Mt. Hua were two of the largest mountains in China, and taken together were a common epithet for immense size.

20. I have been unable to identify this object, and must assume that it is a Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit name of a very large object, perhaps associated with Mt. Sumeru.

21. This phrase has two meanings: objectively, it indicates measurements of the size of the painting (and its miniature garden), with no basis in reality (since they are smaller than a real landscape); conceptually, it indicates the Buddhist conception of thought or judgment that is not based on sensory perception.

22. *Mencius*, 7.a.21.3 (trans. D. C. Lau, pp. 185-86): "That which a gentle-man follows as his nature is not added to when he holds sway over the Empire nor is it detracted from when he is reduced to straitened circumstances.... That which

a gentleman follows as his nature, that is to say, benevolence, rightness, the rites and wisdom, is rooted in his heart."

23. Chuho * is here suggesting by poetic allusion that he goes beyond even the poetic sage T'ao Ch'ien in transcending T'ao's well-known distinction between truth and falsehood, from T'ao Ch'ien's fifth verse on "Drinking Wine." The verse ends with the words, "In all this there's some principle of truth,/but try to define it and you forget the words" (translation by Burton Watson, *The Columbia Book of Chinese Poetry: From Early Trines to the Thirteenth Century* [Columbia University Press, 1984], 135).

24. Ibid.

25. McRae, *Northern School*, 147.

26. Translated by Burton Watson, *Hah-shah*, 102.

27. Bielefeldt, "*Jisshu**," 232.

28. See, e.g., his poem on "An Artificial Landscape," *GBZ*, 1:86.

29. Yanagida seizan, trans., *Muso* Kokushi goroku* Gendai goyaku Zen no koten 4 (Koronsha*, 1983), 145.

30. *Dreams Illusion and Other Realities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 117-19. For an important critique of the notion of dream and *maya** in Indian civilization, see also Ronald Inden, *Imagining India* (Oxford: Basil Black-well, 1990), 40, 55-56, 108.

31. Jan Gonda, *Change and Continuity in Indian Religion*, Disputationes Rheno-Trajectionae, 9 (The Hague, 1965), 166.

32. A discussion of the importance of *maya* in Indian conceptions of art can be found in O'Flaherty, *Dreams*, esp. chapter 6, "The Art of Illusion."

33. O'Flaherty, *Dreams*, 118 and 322n79, cites Arthur A. Macdonell's description of the parallel between what he calls the "moral ambiguity" of *maya** and the connotations of the English word "craft": old signification of occult power and magic, as in "witchcraft"; more recently skillfulness and art, as in "arts and crafts" or "handicrafts"; and also deceitful skill and wile, as in "crafty character." O'Flaherty also draws on Johan Huizinga's *Homo Ludens* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955) to mention the "cluster of meanings" of the English derivatives of the Latin word for play, "*ludo*," such as "de-lusion," "il-lusion," "e-lusive," to which for the present purposes we might add "(poetic) al-lusion" and "word play."

34. See, e.g., *Buddha's Teachings: Being the Sutta-Nipata* or Discourse. Collection*, trans. Lord, Chalmers, Harvard Oriental Series 37 (Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press, 1932), 195, 203.

35. For important Mahayana examples, see the discussion of dreams by Dharmodgata in chapter 31 of the *The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines*, trans. Edward Conze (Bolinas, CA: Four Seasons Foundation, 1973), 291-92, and the "Parable of the Conjured City" in *The Scripture of the Lotus·Blossom of the Fine Dharma,* trans. Leon Hurvitz (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 130ff. Images of illusion are especially central to the *Lankavatara**

Sutra, a text central to some schools of early Chinese Zen, discussed in D. T Suzuki, Studies in the *Lankavatara * Sutra* (Boulder, CO: Prajna* Press, 1981; orig. pub. Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1930), e.g., 114-121 and 392. English-language discussion of the Gandharva city in the sky as found in the *Lankavatara** is available in O'Flaherty, *Dreams*, 262, 271-75.

36. See Edward Conze, *Buddhist Thought in India* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), 222. Other images of illusion widely influential in East Asian Buddhism are those found in the "Expedient Means" chapter of the *The Holy Teaching of Vimalakirti**, 22. For a survey of Buddhist dream images, see Masaaki Hattori, "Yume no hiyu ni tsuite," *Indogaku Bukkyogaku* kenkyu** 3.1 (1954). For an extensive bibliography of materials on dreams in Chinese and Japanese culture, see Faure, *Rhetoric*, 212nn6-7 and 214n13; for Faure's critical discussion of stereo-types of Zen rationalism based on historical examples of dreaming in Zen as a source of shamanic revelatory insight, see pp. 209-30.

37. *The Complete Works of Chuang-tzu*, trans. Burton Watson (Columbia University Press, 1968), 49.

38. Modern Japanese translation by Kageki in Zekkai, *Shokenko**, 70-71.

39. Scholars now agree that the text was probably composed in Chinese by some unknown author or group of authors sometime at the end of the seventh or early in the eighth century. Full discussion of the early translation legends surrounding the text and different dates of the purported translation (ranging from 693 to 718) can be found in Yanagida Seizan, *Chugoku* senjutsu kyoten**, *ichi: Engakukyo**, Bukkyo* kyotensen* 13 (Tsukuma Shobo*, 1987), 268-72, and Mochizuki Shinko*, *Jodokyo* no kigen to hattatsu* (Tokyo, 1930), 244-45. English-language descriptions of the text may be found in Gregory, *Tsung-mi*, 54-58 and 167-70, and in Whalen Lai, "Illusionism (*Mayavada**) in Late T'ang Buddhism: A Hypothesis on the Philosophical Roots of the Round Enlightenment Sutra (*Yüan- chüeh-ching*)," *Philosophy East and West* 28.1 (Jan. 1978). An English translation is available in Charles Luk (Lu K'uan Yü), "The Sutra* of Complete Enlightenment," in *Ch'an and Zen Teaching: Third Series* (rpt. Berkeley: Shambala Publications, 1973 [1962]), 149-278.

40. In this brief summary I depend on Yanagida's discussion of the text's early use in Japan, *Engakukyo**, 263-68.

41. Gido* first heard lectures on the fifth day of the eleventh month, 1367 (*Kufushu**), while Zekkai fast heard lectures in 1350 at the age of fifteen. (See his chronology appended to his poetry collection, *Shokenko**, ed. and Japanese translation by Kageki Hideo, p. 185.)

42. There are numerous references to the text and to his lectures on the text throughout Gido's* diary, *Kufushu**. See, e.g., his lecture with other monks to Yoshimitsu on a number of sutras, including the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra* starting on the eighteenth day of the sixth month of 1382, at the temple that later was to become the important Five Mountains administrative temple Rokuon'in.

43. Yanagida, *Engakukyo**, 264-65.

44. See, e.g., the discussion of the relationship between enlightenment and nonenlightenment, where *The Awakening of Faith* says, "The various magic-like manifestations (*huan*) of both enlightenment and nonenlightenment are aspects of the same essence, Suchness." Yoshito S. Hakeda, trans., *The Awakening of Faith Attributed to Asvaghosha* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 46.

45. John McRae, *The Northern School*, 212-13 and 342n322.

46. While this image is very prominent in the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra*, it is, of course, not limited in use to the text, but is a common image of illusion, and is also found on the two standard lists of ten images of illusion mentioned above.

47. Of course, this phrase is found in Buddhist texts other than the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra*, such as the *Lankavatara * Sutra*. Evidence that the Kitayama Japanese interest in the term is not an original development but more likely reflects Southern Sung or Yüan dynasty Chinese Zen can be found in the use of the term by a Zen monk from outside the Five Mountains system, the important early Japanese Soto* master, Keizan Jokin (1268-1325), in his *Denkoroku**, 2 (T82.360b).

48. Nagarjuna's tetralemma and the problem of annihilationism have been discussed in a wide variety of sources; see, e.g., Conze, *Buddhist Thought in India*, 219 and 225.

49. *T* 25.416c. My translation is based on Yanagida's modern Japanese rendering in *Engakukyo**, 37.

50. The four types of soldiers in ancient India: those who ride elephants, horses, and chariots, and foot soldiers.

51. Splendid palaces refers to the capital, while walled cities can refer to any large city; these examples may also refer to the illusory cities in the sky, a common metaphor for illusion in Indian literature.

52. Literally, eating and drinking, singing and dancing. To classically trained Chinese and Japanese readers, the first of these compounds, "eating and drinking," would be recognized as common pejorative terms in the Chinese classics, where it is used for people who desire only to eat and drink. The second compound, "singing and dancing" is the object of one of the eight Buddhist precepts, which prohibits these two activities.

53. Yanagida, *Engakukyo**, 37.

54. Kawase Kazuma, *Gozanban* 1:420-21, points out that the alleged late Kamakura date of the earliest edition of Chung-feng's *Koroku** is doubtful, considering that the original edition was not completed in China until 1335, and that a date in the early Nambokucho* is more likely.

55. Chu-hsien was abbot of Kencho-ji* and Engaku-ji, among others, and his influence was extremely wide as a representative of continental Zen in Japan during a period when relatively few other Chinese masters were coming to Japan. Betsugen held the Five Mountains temple abbacy of Kennin-ji, while Tesshu* was abbot of Manju-ji* in Kyoto.

56. Yanagida Seizan, *Zen no jidai: Eisai, Muso *, Daito*, Hakuin* (Tsukuma Shobo*, 1987), 126-28. Cf. Especially Muso's* verse composed on the occasion of Chung-feng's death, translated by Yanagida, 127-28.

57. Imaeda Aishin, *Chusei* Zenshushi**, 458 and 461n13.

58. I rely in this biographical sketch on Chün-fang Yü's biography in "Chung-feng Ming-pen," 419-30.

59. "Wu-men ch'ung-chien Huan-chu ch'an chi," in *Sung wen-hsien kung ch'uan-chi, SPPY* ed., 29:5a; trans. by Yü, "Chung-feng," 466-67n28.

60. Yü, "Chung-feng," 423.

61. Yü, "Chung-feng," 433-44 and 269n52, points out that Chao and Chung-feng refer to each other as master and disciple in letters they wrote to each other. For discussion of the circle of literati, poets, and artists in which Chao participated in the Hangchou area near some of Chung-feng's residences, see Marilyn Wong Fu, "The Impact of the Re-unification: Northern Elements in the Life and Art of Hsien-yü Shu (12577-1302) and Their Relation to Early Yüan Literati Culture," in *China under Mongol Rule*, ed. John D. Langlois Jr. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 371-433.

62. Discussion of these and other of Chung-feng's lay followers can be found in Fujishima Tateki, "Gencho* Bukkyo*," 14-26, and also in Nishio Kenryu's "Gencho* ni okeru Chuho* Minhon to soho dozoku*," *Zengaku kenkyu** 64 (Nov. 1985): 31-56.

63. *T'ien-mu Chung-feng Ho-sheng Kuang-lu, Dainihon Zokuzokyo** (also *Manji Zokuzokyo**), ed. Nakano Tatsue (Kyoto: Zokyo* shoin, 1905-12) (hereafter cited as Z.), 31.6-7. I rely for my translation on notes found in a woodblock print edition with commentary and a preface of 1387 in the Hanazono University Library, *chuan* 16, p. 1ff., and on minor character corrections suggested to me by Professor Iriya Yoshitaka.

64. *Chung-feng Kuang-lu, Z.*, 31.6-7.

65. Trans. Robert Thurman, *The Holy Teaching of Vimalakirti: A Mahayana Scripture* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), 25.

66. Yanagida, *Engakukyo**, 35.

67. *Chung-feng Kuang-lu, Z.*, 31.6-7.

68. Here Chung-feng used a slang expression for sensationalist or alarmist behavior, as when, for example, somebody thinks they see a ghost and is scared out of their wits and causes a big disturbance.

69. This and the previous sentence allude to important incidents and concepts in Lin-chi's *Recorded Sayings*.

70. *Chung-feng Kuang-lu*, Z., 31.6-7.

71. *Chung-feng Kuang-lu*, Z., 31.6-7.

72. *GBZ*, 2:1888-89.

73. English-language introductions to Gukei's art may be found in Richard Edwards, "Gukei," 169-78, and Ann Yonemura's entry in Shimizu and Yonemura,

Japanese Ink Paintings, 192-93; a definitive Japanese-language study is by Shimada Shujiro, "Gukei Ue * no sakuhin nishu*," *Kokka* 707 (1951): 83-90; also published in idem, *Nihon Kaigashi*, 112-23.

74. *GBZ*, 2:1888-89.

75. Literally come to be "communal property of the monastery" (*jojumotsu*).

76. Gido* here played on the character "e" or "wisdom" in Ue* Gukei's name.

77. "Great thousand" (*ta-chien*) is an abbreviation for *san-chien ta-chien shih-chieh*, a Buddhist term for the myriad worlds making up the cosmos; the term "hair tip" (*hao-tuan*) is a common epithet for the tiniest of things.

78. *GBZ*, 2:1888-89. Also translated in Edwards, "Ue* Gukei," 177-78.

79. Su Shih text with modem Japanese translation in Ogawa Tamaki, trans., *So Shoku*, Chugoku shijinsen, vol. 6, rev. ed. (Iwanami Shoten, 1983), 5-7.

80. An important revisionist discussion of the significance and usage of these portaits in Zen Buddhism may be found in T. Griffith Foulk and Robert Shaft, "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China," *Cahiers d'Extrême Asie* 7 (1993-94): 149-219.

81. Ibid., 160ff.

82. Examples of Chinese uses important to the Japanese Five Mountains monks of this term can be found on the *chinzo** inscribed by Wu-chun Shih-fan for Enni Ben'en, discussed below (text reproduced in *Zenso* to bokuseki—Shoichi* Kokushi o megutte* [Nara National Museum, 1986], pl. 1 and p. 17) and a *chinzo** of Wu-an Pu-ning (text reproduced in *Suiboku bijutsu taikei*, vol. 5, no. 27). I am grateful to Ebine Toshio, who first pointed this usage out to me.

83. See for example Kiyo's* use of the term *genso** on a *chinzo** recorded in *GBZ*, 3:2926.

84. *Zenso* to bokuseki*, pl. 1, p. 1; text transcribed p. 17.

85. Discussed by Shimao in *Hyonenzu**, p. 29; see also fig. 20.

86. Foulk and Sharf, "Ritual Use," 202-6, mention this general Zen-style notion in passing, but do not develop this point in any detail.

87. *Kugeshu**, *GBZ*, 2:1414. Cited in Akazawa, "Oei*," 1.26. I am again grateful to Ebine Toshio for pointing out Gido's* use of this type of term to me in an April 1986 personal communication, and also to the discussion by Ota* Takahiko's in 1987 lectures at Kyoto University on the significance of this term in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Japanese conceptions of painting.

88. Bush, *Literati*, 26, 32.

89. Bush, (ibid., 3) points out that literati painting and aesthetics was first defined in terms of social class and amateur status, and only later developed something approaching a unified style.

90. Trans. Bush, *Literati*, 110.

91. *Meng-ch'i pi-t'an, Chin-tai pi-shu*, Comp. Mao Chin (Shanghai: Po-ku-chai, 1922), 15:17.2a-b (composed c. 1090); my translation modifies Bush, *Texts*, 100.

92. *Ou-yang Wen-chung-kung wen-chi, SPTK*, 2:6.7b; trans. Bush, *Texts*, 203 and *Literati*, 23-24.

93. Chinese text in Bush, *Literati*, 29 (text no. 39, p. 188).

94. I based my translation on the text in Tanaka Ichimatsu, ed., *SBT 5*: *Kao **, *Mokuan, Mincho**, 198-99. A modern Japanese translation and discussion of Taihaku's preface by Onishi* Hiroshi is also found in ZGS, 216ff. The importance of this preface was fast indicated to me by Shujiro* Shimada in a personal communication, November 1985. See also his article, "Shosaizu," passim.

95. These are the last two lines of the third of three poems written with the title, "Three Poems Inscribed on Chao Shao-in's [Chao Tzu-yen, fl. c. 1129-62] Blue and White Hall," *Ch'en Yü-i chi*, ed. Wu Shu-in and Chin Te-hou (Beijing: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1982), 423.

96. *SBT* 5, pl. 77; text transcribed p. 170.

97. "Divine marvelousness" (C. *shen-miao*) is a term used in Chinese art criticism and in Buddhist texts to describe an accomplishment beyond the range of normal human capability. The term "natural instinct" (C. *tien-chi*) was used in Sung literati theory for unselfconscious artistic activity, and was also close in meaning to "spiritual communion" (C. *shen-hui*). (See Bush, *Chinese Literati*, 60-62.)

98. Valerie Malenfer describes the sociocultural context of Buddhist and literati relations underlying the production of this painting in her 1990 Harvard University dissertation, "'Dream Journey over the Xiao and Xiang': Scholar-Amateur Landscape Painting in Southern Sung China (1127-1279)."

99. Stylistic issues and the identity of the painter of this painting are discussed by Suzuki Kei in a two-part article, "Shosho* unyu* zukan ni tsuite," *Toyo* bunka kenkyujo* kiyo**, 61 (Mar. 1943): 1-63, and 79 (Mar. 1979): 1-84; see also Malenfer, "Dream Journey." I have used as my text for the translations the transcriptions found in Ishikawa Jun, et al., eds., *To* Gen, Kyo Nen, Bunjinga suihen*, vol. 2 (Chuo* Koronsha*, 1985), 147-48. I am grateful to Valerie Malenfer for discussing with me the inscriptions and the translations.

100. Found in the inscription by Chang Kuei-mou (d.u.), *To* Gen, Kyo Nen*, 148.

101. The sixth inscription, *To* Gen, Kyo Nen*, Bunjinga suihen 2, p. 148.

102. Ibid.

103. Translation modifies Susan Bush, *Literati*, p. 37, text 60.

104. Translated in Wen Fong, *Images of the Mind*, 120. A discussion of the early history in artistic criticism of the term "truth" (*chen*) and its relation to the terms "conventionality" or "artificiality" (*chia*) and "fake" (*wei*) through developments in the Kung-an school of Ming criticism can be found in Jonathan Chaves, "The Panoply of Images: A Reconsideration of the Literary Theory of the Kung-an School," in *Theories of the Arts in China*, ed. Susan Bush and Christian Murck (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 347ff.

105. Attributed to Hsieh Chien, published and inscription transcribed in *Gendai doshaku * jinbutsuga* (Tokyo National Museum, 1977), pl. 37.

106. Ibid.

107. Tamamura notes (*Denshu**, 19) that Iko* returned from the mainland in 1368 after a stay of two or three decades, where he was active at Kencho-ji* in 1368 and headed the meditation hall at Engaku-ji and lived again at Kencho-ji* around 1374. Iko's* literary collection and his collected sayings are unfortunately not extant. More biographical information is available in Ide Shosuke, "Iko*," passim.

108. *GBZ*, 3:1809.

109. Ibid.

110. See Bernard Faure, *Rhetoric*, 214ff., for description of these aspects. While he suggests that dreams are underdeveloped in Zen, the Kitayama monks provide an example of just such a interpretive tradition.

6. Buddhist Playfulness and the Landscape Arts

1. See, for example, the comparative study by Conrad Hyers, *Zen and the Comic Spirit* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974). For work on this topic by Buddhologists, see below. Discussion of the theme of playfulness in other Japanese Buddhist schools may be found in Yokoi Kiyoshi, "Yuge to Jodo*—*Ryojin* Hissho* o sozai to shite," *Zen bunka* 63 (1972): 44-50; and on its importance among marginal social groups with Buddhist affiliations, see Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, *The Monkey as Mirror: Symbolic Transformations in Japanese History and Ritual* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987).

2. The religious and social value of play has been the subject of a considerable academic literature. For my own early thinking on the topic, the following were formative: Roger Caillois, *Man, Play, and Games*, trans. Meyer Barash (Schocken Books, 1979); and Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*.

3. *Chuho* osho* goroku*, 2.4a.

4. See, e.g., *Mencius,* 7a.8, trans. D. C. Lau (p. 183): "Mencius said, 'Wise kings in antiquity devoted themselves to goodness, forgetting their own exalted position. How should wise gentlemen in antiquity be any different? They delighted in the Way, forgetting the exalted position of others."

5. I am grateful to Iriya Yoshitaka for introducing me to this subject in Zen verse.

6. Information on Ming-ts'an, who was important for the spread of the Northern School of Zen to the south, is available in English in McRae, *Northern School*, 68-70. For a discussion of the "Enjoying the Way" theme in Han-shan's poetry, and of a poem by Kuan Hsiu on the contemporary image of Han-shan, see Iriya Yoshitaka, *Kyudo* to etsuraku*, 13-15.