

## **Building a Pure Land Lineage: A Study of Zhida’s Play *Guiyuan jing* and a Translation of its Three Paratexts\***

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### **Abstract**

This article entails a study of the *Guiyuan jing* 歸元鏡 (Mirror of the Return to the Origin), a play written by the seventeenth-century Chinese Buddhist monk Zhida 智達, along with an annotated translation of the three paratexts that he appended to the play. Drawing on hagiographical accounts of three celebrated Buddhist masters who were ardent devotees of Amitābha Buddha, the play establishes a patriarchal line of the Pure Land tradition. By situating this play within multiple efforts to draw up lists of Chinese Pure Land patriarchates, I argue that the dramatic genre both drove and facilitated Zhida’s ambition to construct an unprecedented continuous Pure Land lineage. The play builds up this lineage by employing two key mechanisms: the historical transmission of the *Amitābha Sūtra* and the reincarnations of the three masters and their disciples. I also trace the possible sources for the plot of the *Guiyuan jing* from various genres, including Buddhist scriptures, masters’ biographies and their own writings, vernacular narratives, anecdotes, miracle tales, and other historical records. Furthermore, in his paratexts, Zhida explicitly expresses his ideal of using a play as an expedient device to promote the Pure Land teaching and awaken common people. The wide circulation of the *Guiyuan jing* among Buddhists from the Qing Dynasty to this day demonstrates the success of Zhida’s goal. Zhida’s *Guiyuan jing* and his accompanying paratexts

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provide us with a rare example of a Chinese Buddhist monk's engagement with playwriting and his opinions about theater, while also enriching our understanding of the Pure Land tradition in late imperial China.

**Keywords:**

*Guiyuan jing*, Zhida, Pure Land, lineage, theater

## 構建淨土傳燈譜系 ——智達劇作《歸元鏡》及其副文本譯介

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### 摘要

本文介紹明末清初僧人智達的戲曲作品《異方便淨土傳燈歸元鏡》，並注釋翻譯其所附三篇副文本：《戲劇供通》、《客問決疑》與《問答因緣》。在祖師傳記的基礎上，《歸元鏡》運用雙重敘事線索建立了淨土三祖世系，其一是《佛說阿彌陀經》的傳承，其二是祖師的師徒轉世。本文將《歸元鏡》置於諸多中國淨土祖師名錄的歷史脈絡之中，討論智達如何利用戲曲文體構建連續性的淨土傳燈譜系，並且追溯了《歸元鏡》情節的多種文獻來源，包括佛經、僧傳、祖師著作、通俗文學、筆記、靈驗記以及其他材料。此外，智達於副文本中明確表達了以戲曲為方便來弘揚淨土、覺悟眾生的理想。從清代至今，《歸元鏡》在佛門廣泛流傳，影響深遠，基本實現了智達的目標。智達的《歸元鏡》和三篇副文本為探討僧人的戲曲創作及戲曲觀提供了珍貴案例，亦豐富了我們對明清時期淨土傳統的理解。

### 關鍵詞：

歸元鏡、智達、淨土、譜系、戲曲

This article entails a study of the late-imperial Chinese Buddhist play *Guiyuan jing* 歸元鏡 (Mirror of the Return to the Origin) within the context of the Chinese Pure Land tradition. The *Guiyuan jing*—or, to use its complete title, *Yi fangbian jingtū chuandeng guiyuan jing sanzū shilu* 異方便淨土傳燈歸元鏡三祖實錄 (Transmission of the Lamp of the Pure Land as an Extraordinary Skillful Means: Mirror of the Return to the Origin, or the Veritable Record of Three Patriarchs)—was composed in the seventeenth century by a Buddhist monk named Zhida 智達 from Baoguo si 報國寺 in Hangzhou.<sup>1</sup> The *Guiyuan jing* is a significant text for two reasons. First, as it narrates the life stories of three Pure Land Buddhist masters, the *Guiyuan jing* reveals the monk-playwright’s ambition to reshape the Pure Land tradition by constructing an unprecedented continuous lineage. Second, as the only extant play written solely by a Buddhist monk in late imperial China, the *Guiyuan jing* and its paratexts provide us with a rare opportunity to examine a Chinese monastic’s engagement with playwriting and his opinions on theater.<sup>2</sup>

The primary goal of this article is to introduce this important work, which has not received much scholarly attention in the English language,<sup>3</sup> to a larger

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<sup>1</sup> Thus far, scholars have found no record of Zhida outside of the *Guiyuan jing*. Some previous scholarship has recorded it as a late Ming work. However, drawing on biographical information about its protagonist, Master Yunqi Zhuhong 雲棲祿宏 (1535–1615), and one of its preface writers, Meng Liangyin 孟良胤 (fl. 1650), scholars now largely agree that the *Guiyuan jing* was composed and first published in the early Qing. See Guo, *Ming Qing chuanqi zonglu*, 485; Huang, “Ribensuocang xijian xiqu jingyan lu,” 142.

<sup>2</sup> To my knowledge, there is only one other extant play written by a Buddhist monk from late imperial China: Master Zhanran’s 湛然 (1561–1626) *Yu’erfo* 魚兒佛 (The Fish Buddha). However, scholars have found that the original version of *Yu’erfo* was completely rewritten by the late Ming dramatist Qi Biaoqia 祁彪佳 (1602–1645). See Zhao, “Qi Biaoqia yu Ming zaju *Yu’erfo* de bianding ji kanke,” 136. In his catalogue of plays, Qi Biaoqia also mentions that Master Zhuhong once revised the renowned play *Pipa ji* 琵琶記 (*The Lute*). See *Yuanshan tang qupin* 遠山堂曲品, 7. However, Zhuhong’s revision of *Pipa ji* seems to no longer be extant.

<sup>3</sup> There is some English scholarship about parts of this play. For example, Chünfang Yü uses the *Guiyuan jing*’s illustrations as a springboard for discussing major events in Zhuhong’s life. Siji Wang mainly focuses on the episodes of ritual in the *Guiyuan jing*. Jennifer Eichman views an episode from the *Guiyuan jing* as an imaginative account of life at a late Ming nunnery. See Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*, xiv–xv, 13, 17, 21, 24; Wang, “Between Drama and Theater”; Eichman, “Zhuhong’s Communal Rules for the Late Ming Nunnery Filiality and Righteousness Unobstructed,” 237–41. My research is indebted to scholarship on

audience, and also to give a translation of three paratexts that provide more information about the monastic understanding of the relations between Buddhism and theater. I will begin with an analysis of the *Guiyuan jing*'s basic storyline and its historical reception by Buddhists from the Qing Dynasty to the present day. I will then provide a plot synopsis of the forty-two sections of the *Guiyuan jing* and identify the possible sources of these plots, including biographies of the three masters and other related works. Finally, I will provide an annotated translation of the three treatises Zhida appended to the main text, in which he expresses his ideal of using a play as an expedient means to promote the Pure Land teaching and awaken common people.

### A Dramatized Version of a Pure Land Lineage

The *Guiyuan jing*'s storyline centers on the transmission of the Pure Land Buddhist teachings by recounting the biographies of three masters from different periods in Chinese history: Lushan Huiyuan 廬山慧遠 (334–416), Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–975), and Yunqi Zhuhong 雲棲祿宏 (1535–1615). At the beginning of the play, Śākyamuni Buddha preaches the *Foshuo Emituo jing* 佛說阿彌陀經 (*Amitābha Sūtra*) at the Vulture Peak and transmits it to his disciple Śāriputra. Śāriputra then descends to the human realm in order to give the scripture to the first Pure Land master, Huiyuan, who passes it on to his disciple. This disciple is reborn as Master Yanshou later in the play. The plot then repeats itself: Yanshou transmits the scripture to his benefactor and disciple, who is later reborn as Master Zhuhong. Before his death, Zhuhong gives his monastic and lay disciples his celebrated combined commentary and subcommentary to the *Amitābha Sūtra*, entitled *Emituo jing shuchao* 阿彌陀經疏鈔, which will serve as the future vessel for spreading Pure Land teaching to the world.

In the *Guiyuan jing*, the tropes of textual transmission and human reincarnation construct a fictional yet coherent lineage of the Pure Land tradition. Scholars of Chinese Buddhism now largely agree that China did not have a Pure Land school, in the sense of a discrete social or institutional formation. Unlike Chan and Tiantai, Pure Land is not traditionally called a school because there is neither an established patriarchal lineage, nor a body of

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the *Guiyuan jing* in the East Asian languages. See Kōda, “Shinyū shi no *Kigenkyō*,” 129–62; Ogawa, “Jōdo no shineateki juyō no mondai,” 1–54; Yang, “Shindai no Jōdo geki,” 847–63; Shi, “Daoyi yiti de keneng xing,” 35–118; and Lin, “Mingmo Qingchu Jingtu sixiang dui xiqu de yingxiang,” 89–117.

universally recognized scriptures. Nonetheless, Zhida endeavored to solve these challenges by singling out the *Amitābha Sūtra* as the authoritative text and using reincarnation as a way to create a connection in his play between patriarchs who had no direct historical connection to one another. Through the *Guiyuan jing*'s storyline, Zhida thus traces the origin of the Pure Land tradition to the Buddha's preaching of the *Amitābha Sūtra*. Moreover, by weaving together biographical accounts of the three historically disparate masters, he establishes a patriarchal line through the dual mechanisms of transmission of the *Amitābha Sūtra* and the reincarnations of the masters and their disciples. (See Fig. 1)

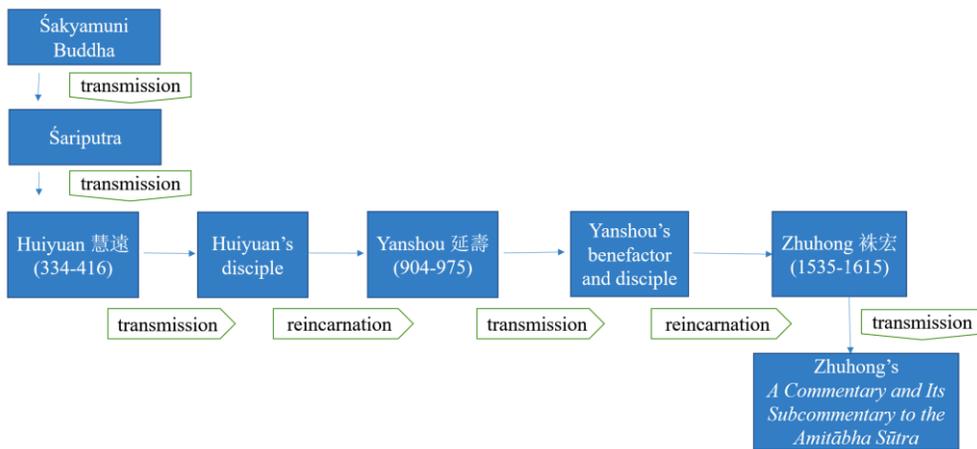


Fig. 1: The “Transmission of the Lamp of the Pure Land” in the *Guiyuan jing*

As revealed by its long title, the “transmission of the lamp of the Pure Land” (*jingtu chuandeng* 淨土傳燈) is the central plot point of the *Guiyuan jing*.<sup>4</sup> The term “transmitting the lamp” (*chuandeng* 傳燈) metaphorically refers to the transmission of Dharma, which can dispel the darkness of nescience and illuminate the mind. It is usually found in Chan literature, where it depicts a mind-to-mind transmission from one Chan patriarch to another. By adopting this term in the title of his play, Zhida exploits its double connotations of transmitting Dharma and passing on a lineage, which intertwine with each other in his play. The Dharma transmitted in the *Guiyuan jing* specifically refers to

<sup>4</sup> In fact, this play has another abbreviated title, *Chuandeng lu* 傳燈錄 (Record of Transmitting the Lamp). See *Yangzhou huafang lu* 揚州畫舫錄, vol. 5, 12b.

the *Amitābha Sūtra*. The patriarchs serve as “Dharma vessels for transmitting the lamp” (*chuandeng faqi* 傳燈法器) that contain and transfer the sūtra.<sup>5</sup> In order to connect the three patriarchs, Zhida fabricates the characters of Huiyuan’s and Yanshou’s disciples. Their reincarnated bodies become the conduits between the past and the future in Zhida’s Pure Land lineage. However, with the arrival of the third and final patriarch in his lineage, instead of choosing another human “Dharma vessel,” Zhuhong uses his text, *Emituo jing shuchao*, to eternally transmit the lamp to the world.<sup>6</sup> Thus, this lineage concludes with the circulation of Zhuhong’s exegesis of the *Amitābha Sūtra*, which echoes its starting point, Śākyamuni Buddha’s preaching of the *Amitābha Sūtra*.

Admittedly, the *Guiyuan jing* is far from the first attempt to establish a line of Pure Land patriarchs in the history of Chinese Buddhism. From the medieval period to the twentieth century, Buddhists drew up multiple lists of patriarchs who were considered to be central figures within the Pure Land tradition.<sup>7</sup> These lists, however, were not necessarily meant to be seamless. Charles Jones states that these lists were “never intended to represent a continuous lineage of masters and disciples,” but rather were meant more generally to help devotees to “understand the teachings and define the boundaries of the tradition.”<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, the list of patriarchs in the *Guiyuan jing* stands out, as the storyline clearly demonstrates the monk-playwright Zhida’s ambition to construct an unprecedented dramatized version of a continuous Pure Land lineage.

The dramatic genre both drove and facilitated Zhida’s attempt to build up this continuous lineage. For one thing, unlike a collection of biographies of various Buddhist masters, a late imperial Chinese play usually required a

<sup>5</sup> *Guiyuan jing*, Zhaoqing si 昭慶寺 woodblock edition, vol. 1, 23b, vol. 2, 11a. There are multiple editions of the *Guiyuan jing*, including woodblock prints, manuscripts, and a lithographic print (see bibliography). The content of the woodblock editions is largely identical, except for several places in the Beijing Longwang miao edition published in 1784. As the Zhaoqing si edition was published in photocopy and is the most accessible version for readers, in this article, I will mainly use this version when referring to the content of the play unless otherwise noted.

<sup>6</sup> 「燈傳大地應無盡。」 「所著《彌陀疏鈔》，實乃淨土慈航，傳燈正脈，當令普利群生，不可斷絕。」 「傳燈憑疏鈔，大地悉皈依，遍界流通，薪傳無已。」 *Guiyuan jing*, vol. 2, 46a, 51b, 52b.

<sup>7</sup> On the formation of the Pure Land patriarchate in China, see Getz, “T’ien-t’ai Pure Land Societies and the Creation of the Pure Land Patriarchate,” 477–523; Sharf, “On Pure Land Buddhism and Ch’an/Pure Land Syncretism in Medieval China,” 282–331; Jones, *Chinese Pure Land Buddhism*, 5–32, 173–77.

<sup>8</sup> Jones, *Chinese Pure Land Buddhism*, 176–77.

coherent story.<sup>9</sup> Thus, Zhida was compelled to compose a linear plot featuring the three masters that temporally spans the fourth century to the seventeenth century. In addition, Zhida took advantage of the framework of reincarnation, a narrative device common to many dramas and novels of late imperial China, in order to invent a fictional genealogy that is not found in any of the earlier biographical accounts of the three masters.

By constructing this dramatized lineage, Zhida aspired to establish the patriarchs as exemplars of Pure Land practices for common people, his goal being to persuade them to chant Amitābha Buddha's name and seek rebirth in the Pure Land.<sup>10</sup> Though his objectives were in perfect alignment with Buddhist norms, Zhida's contemporaries challenged his use of the dramatic genre due to the apparent contradictions between the sacred Buddhist teachings and the secular art form. In response to this challenge, Zhida wrote three treatises to justify his authorship and promotion of the play. Two primary rationales are offered therein. First, he argues that the writing and performing of plays can serve as an expedient device for spreading Buddhist teachings, since common people are enthusiastic about theater-going. Second, by comparing the vicissitudes of human life to the plots of a play, and the human realm to a stage, Zhida states that "theater is the Way [towards awakening] (*xiju jidao* 戲劇即道)." Thus, if one realizes the impermanence of human life and body by attending a play, then plays can lead to enlightenment.<sup>11</sup> Translations

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<sup>9</sup> The *Guiyuan jing*'s literary and musical styles are in accordance with the generic conventions of southern drama in the Ming–Qing dynasties, which is called *chuanqi* 傳奇. Nonetheless, Zhida claims that the *Guiyuan jing* is not a *chuanqi*, but rather a *shilu* 實錄 that faithfully documents the biographies of Buddhist masters. He also mandates a special etiquette for reading, performing, and watching his play. See Zhida, *Guiyuan jing guiyue* 歸元鏡規約 (Regulations for the *Guiyuan jing*), in *Guiyuan jing*, 1b–2a. However, we should note the discrepancy between Zhida's statement and his actual writing. As discussed above, Zhida did not completely rely on existing biographies; he also fabricated a fair amount of episodes. For a more detailed discussion on the distinct characteristics of the *Guiyuan jing* in its content and format, see Wang, "Interactions and Negotiations between Theater and Buddhism in Late Imperial China," 120–75.

<sup>10</sup> 「此錄本願，專在勸人念佛、戒殺、持齋，求生西方，以三祖作標榜。」 See Zhida, *Guiyuan jing guiyue*, in *Guiyuan jing*, 1a.

<sup>11</sup> Zhida, *Xiju gongtong* 戲劇供通, in *Guiyuan jing*, 1a–2a. Zhida's opinions about theater were shared by (and probably also inspired by) other Buddhist playwrights in the late Ming. For instance, in the preface to his *chuanqi* play *Tanhua ji* 曇花記 (Story of the Millennium Flower), Tu Long 屠隆 (1543–1605) also expresses his ambition of "using the play as Buddhist service" (*yi xi wei foshi* 以戲為佛事)

of these paratextual treatises are provided in the third section of this article, together with annotations specifying the Buddhist terminologies and scriptural sources that Zhida uses in the paratexts.

Zhida's goal of using a play to propagate Pure Land teaching saw eventual success in the wide circulation of the *Guiyuan jing* among Buddhists of later generations.<sup>12</sup> Throughout the Qing Dynasty, many Buddhist monasteries published multiple woodblock editions of the *Guiyuan jing*.<sup>13</sup> Several Qing anthologies of Pure Land texts, such as the *Jing zhong jing youjing* 徑中徑又徑 (Further Shortcut among Shortcuts [towards the Pure Land]) and *Lianxiu bi du* 蓮修必讀 (Essential Readings for Pure Land Practitioners), contain quite a few songs from the *Guiyuan jing*.<sup>14</sup> The prevalence of *Guiyuan jing* editions, and various songs selected from its pages, attest to its widespread readership. Furthermore, although some of Zhida's contemporaries criticized the *Guiyuan jing* as sacrilegious, Buddhist masters from later periods praised this play for its contributions in spreading Pure Land teaching. For instance, the late-Qing master Jixing Chewu 際醒徹悟 (1741–1810), who is hailed today as the twelfth patriarch of the Chinese Pure Land tradition,<sup>15</sup> wrote a poem to eulogize the *Guiyuan jing*'s ability to adapt to people's capacities and help them to visualize the three sages in the Pure Land.<sup>16</sup> Likewise, Master Hongyi 弘一

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and compares this world to theater. See Tu Long, *Zixu* 自敘, *Tanhua ji*, 2a–3b. For studies on Tu's playwriting and his religious cultivation, see Wang, "Tu Long chuanqi *Tanhua ji* zixu quanwen de faxian ji zuonian kaobian," 124–28; "Reconciling the Three Teachings: Tu Long's (1543–1605) Self-Cultivation and Playwriting," 1–37. In fact, the idea that "life is like a play" was quite prevalent in the late Ming and early Qing cultural milieu. For a study on this topic, See Gōyama, "Minmatsu shinsho ni okeru jinsei wa dorama de aru no setsu," 619–34.

12 The *Guiyuan jing*'s reception history is very rich. Here I briefly introduce the circulation of the play among Buddhist readers. The stage adaptations of this play are more complex and beyond the scope of current study. For more details about the publication, reading, and performance of the *Guiyuan jing* from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, see Wang, "Youyi yu xiuxing," 136–145.

13 For a study of the multiple editions of the *Guiyuan jing*, see Wang, "Fojiao xiqu *Guiyuan jing* banben yuanliu kao," forthcoming.

14 See X 1185, 409a10–410a24; X 1214, 849b12–c21.

15 For a discussion on Jixing chewu and his status in the Chinese Pure Land tradition, see Jones, *Chinese Pure Land Buddhism*, 138–40, 175–76.

16 「觸目已成三聖觀，和聲與種九蓮因。」Chewu, *Yue Guiyuan jing* 閱《歸元鏡》，*Mengdong chanshi yiji*, vol. 2, 49b. The "three sages" 三聖 here may refer to the three Buddhist patriarchs in the play, or to the "three sages of the western Pure Land" 西方三聖, namely, Amitābha Buddha and his two attendant bodhisattvas, Guanyin and Mahāsthāma-prāpta (Dashizhi 大勢至). Since the

(1880–1942) recommends the *Guiyuan jing* as a “primer for the Pure Land tradition” (*Jingzong rumen zhishu* 淨宗入門之書) in his letter to a friend.<sup>17</sup>

The popularity of the *Guiyuan jing* among Buddhist practitioners continues into the present day. It was reprinted by Taizhong lianshe 台中蓮社 (The Lotus Society of Taizhong) in 1990, and by Singapore Jingzong xuehui 新加坡淨宗學會 (Academy of the Pure Land Tradition in Singapore) in 1998, with a new title *Dacheng Jingzong juben Guiyuan jing* 大乘淨宗劇本歸元鏡 (Mirror of the Return to the Origin: A Play Script of the Mahāyāna Pure Land Tradition) for the latter edition. The *Dazangjing bubian* 大藏經補編 (Supplement to the Tripiṭaka), edited in 1986, includes the *Guiyuan jing*, which further elevates the status of this play as a canonical Buddhist treatise. Since its inception in the mid-seventeenth century, the *Guiyuan jing* has been widely accepted by Buddhists as a significant Pure Land text. Therefore, a study of this play and its reception not only illuminates its writer Zhida’s perspectives on Buddhism and theater, but also enhances our understanding of the broader context of the Pure Land tradition from the Qing Dynasty to the present day.

## The *Guiyuan jing*’s Plot and Its Possible Sources

The *Guiyuan jing*’s forty-two sections can be grouped into five constituent parts:<sup>18</sup> the introduction to the play and the opening of the main narrative (sections 1 and 2); episodes from Huiyuan’s life (sections 3–10); episodes from Yanshou’s life (sections 11–26); episodes from Zhuhong’s life (sections 27–41); the conclusion and grand reunion (section 42). Below, I will summarize the main content of each section and trace the possible sources of certain episodes. There have been several attempts to trace the sources of the *Guiyuan jing*’s plot, but their scope has mainly been limited to a few biographies of the three masters.<sup>19</sup> In my search for the sources, in addition to the biographies, I have

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second half of this couplet mentions the “nine levels of lotus seats” 九蓮, an alias of the western Pure Land, the “three sages” here more likely refer to the Amitābha triad.

<sup>17</sup> Hongyi, *Zhi Yao Shizi* 致姚石子, *Hongyi dashi wenhui*, 280.

<sup>18</sup> Zhida does not identify the forty-two acts as *chu* 齣 (acts), a term which is often found in *chuanqi* plays, but rather as *fen* 分 (sections), a term adopted from a common title for sections in Buddhist scriptures. See Zhida, *Guiyuan jing guiyue*, in *Guiyuan jing*, 1b.

<sup>19</sup> See Huang and Dong, *Quhai zongmu tiyao* 曲海總目提要, vol. 12, 1a–3a; Shi, “Daoyi yiti de keneng xing,” 36–61.

also looked into Buddhist scriptures, the Buddhist masters' own writings, vernacular narratives, anecdotes, miracle tales, and other historical records. These textual sources, which span a variety of genres, reveal the monk-playwright's rich reading experience.

The uneven attention given to the individual life stories of the three masters demonstrates that the play's focus is clearly on Zhuhong. The editors of the *Quhai zongmu tiyao* 曲海總目提要 (General Catalogue and Summaries of the Ocean of Dramas) directly states that Zhida in fact wrote the *Guiyuan jing* because of Zhuhong.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, as a monk in Hangzhou during the seventeenth century, Zhida would have been very familiar with Zhuhong's teachings and his life stories.<sup>21</sup> Both the content and the form of the *Guiyuan jing* reflect the profound impact of Zhuhong's teachings. In terms of content, the play's central plot features the transmission of the *Amitābha Sūtra*, the emphasis on which is in line with Zhuhong's promotion of the *Amitābha Sūtra* and his composition of an elaborate commentary on the text. More significantly, we know that Huiyuan did not promote oral invocation of Amitābha Buddha's name in particular, nor did he single out the *Amitābha Sūtra* during his life time.<sup>22</sup> It was Zhuhong who advocated both. By making Huiyuan favor the chanting of Amitābha's name and endorse the authority of the *Amitābha Sūtra* in *Guiyuan jing*, the playwright intends to establish Zhuhong as the orthodox spokesman for the Pure Land tradition.

Regarding the form of the play, Zhida's choice of the dramatic genre resonates with Zhuhong's compilation of the *Yanmo qudian* 諺謨曲典, a collection of folk proverbs and dramatic songs. Like the paratextual treatises that Zhida attached to justify his playwriting, Zhuhong in his preface to the

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20 「作者緣起，實為蓮池。」Huang and Dong, *Quhai zongmu tiyao*, vol. 12, 1b.

21 For a thorough study of Zhuhong and his massive influence on late imperial Chinese Buddhism, see Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*.

22 The kind of *nianfo* 念佛 Huiyuan practiced was the meditative recollection of the Buddha, and the scripture that he emphasized was the *Banzhou sanmei jing* 般舟三昧經 (*Pratyutpanna-samādhi Sūtra*). However, he has been widely accepted as the first patriarch of the Pure Land tradition in many lists of Pure Land patriarchs from the Southern Song Dynasty to the present. As Charles Jones argues, "It is not the historical Huiyuan who became the first patriarch; rather, it was a reimagined Huiyuan who ascended to that position." See Jones, *Chinese Pure Land Buddhism*, 160. The *Guiyuan jing* provides another example of the "reimagined Huiyuan" in a dramatized version. On the evolution of Huiyuan's identity from a scholar and meditator to a Pure Land patriarch, see Jones, *Chinese Pure Land Buddhism*, 148–68.

*Yanmo qudian* also indicates that dramatic songs can serve as expedient means for moralizing and spreading the Dharma.<sup>23</sup> Section 38 of the *Guiyuan jing* depicts Zhuhong transmitting this collection of popular literature to his disciple, and cites Zhuhong's preface to the *Yanmo qudian*. By doing so, Zhida not only promotes Zhuhong's teaching in a dramatic form, but also uses Zhuhong's words to legitimize his own choice of genre. Therefore, Zhuhong plays multiple roles in the *Guiyuan jing*—as the most important protagonist, as the paragon of Pure Land practices, and as the mouthpiece for the playwright. Given Zhuhong's exalted status in the *Guiyuan jing*, it is reasonable that the climax of the play's final section features Zhuhong's rebirth in the Pure Land and his reunion with other virtuous characters who passed away earlier in the play.

### **Section 1: *Chuangdeng zongxu* 傳燈總敘 (General Narration of the Transmission of the Lamp)**

This section serves as an introductory overview for the entire play. The Dharma protector Skanda, whose dramatic role is that of a *mo* 末 (old man role-type),<sup>24</sup> comes onto the stage and summarizes the plot of the *Guiyuan jing*: first, Śākyamuni Buddha preaches the *Amitābha Sūtra*, then Huiyuan establishes the “Lotus School” (*Lianzong* 蓮宗), next, Yanshou continues to spread the Pure Land teaching, and finally Zhuhong compiles the Pure Land literature.

### **Section 2: *Fangbian guiyuan* 方便歸元 (Skillful Means of Returning to the Origin)**

As the opening of the main storyline, this section dramatizes the Buddha's preaching of the *Amitābha Sūtra*. First, Śākyamuni Buddha's disciple Śāriputra comes onto the stage, describing the environment of the Vulture Peak, where Śākyamuni will deliver his sermon, and introducing some of Śākyamuni's other disciples who are also residing on the peak. Śākyamuni then comes onto the stage with his disciples and begins to preach about Amitābha Buddha's

<sup>23</sup> Zhuhong, *Yanmo qudian xu* 諺謨曲典序 (Preface to the *Yanmo qudian*), in *Yunqi fahui* 雲棲法彙, JB277, 33: 93b24–c11. For a discussion of Zhuhong's comments on dramatic literature and theatrical performance, see Wang, “Gaoseng yu suwenxue,” forthcoming.

<sup>24</sup> According to the convention of “opening the show” in *chuanqi* drama, an actor in the role of the *mo* or the secondary *mo* appears in the first act of a play, introducing the basic plot and the playwright's intention. See Li, *Xianqing ouji* 閒情偶寄, 78–81.

extraordinary skillful means for rescuing sentient beings by guiding them to rebirth in his Pure Land. Śākyamuni thereupon proceeds to praise the marvelous landscape of Amitābha's Pure Land and instruct sentient beings to hold this sūtra or recite Amitābha's name in order to be reborn in that land.<sup>25</sup> Upon hearing Śākyamuni's teaching, Śāriputra vows to bring the *Amitābha Sūtra* to the human realm in order to bring about the widespread liberation of sentient beings.

### **Section 3: *Shouzhu chuandeng* 受囑傳燈 (Receiving an Order to Transmit the Lamp)**

Shifting the scene to the human realm, this third section narrates the encounter between Śāriputra and a young man surnamed Jia, who later becomes Master Huiyuan. Śāriputra tonsures Jia, imparts the five precepts to him,<sup>26</sup> renaming him Huiyuan, after which he gives him the *Amitābha Sūtra* and enjoins him to spread the method of reciting Amitābha's name as widely as possible.

### **Section 4: *Zhutian hufa* 諸天護法 (Various Gods Protect the Dharma)**

Śāriputra orders six gods, a tiger, and a monkey to assist Huiyuan to build a monastery on Mount Lu. The tiger is told to guide Huiyuan across a creek to a building site for his future monastery at Incense Burner Peak (Xianglu feng 香爐峰).<sup>27</sup> The gods are charged with constructing the monastery, while the monkey is told to carve out paths, build bridges, and plant trees.

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<sup>25</sup> The depictions of the Pure Land and the Buddha's teachings are all based on the *Amitābha Sūtra*. See T 366, 12: 346b28–347b17.

<sup>26</sup> Novice monks were traditionally given a set of ten precepts, while the five precepts were devised for lay householders. However, in this section, Śāriputra imparts to Jia the five precepts, including “no killing” 不殺生, “no stealing” 不偷盜, “no debauchery” 不邪淫, “no false speech” 不妄語, and “no consumption of alcohol or meat” 不飲酒食肉. Interestingly, Zhida adds the rule of not eating meat to the conventional set of five lay precepts.

<sup>27</sup> The Incense Burner Peak (Xianglu zhifeng 香爐之峰) appears in Huiyuan's biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks). See T 2059, 50: 358b04–05. For a translation of Huiyuan's biography, see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 240–53.

## Section 5: *Diankai shenyun* 殿開神運 (Building the God Fate Hall)

Huiyuan arrives at Mount Lu in Jiangxi and converts a tiger to the Three Jewels (the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha). The tiger then guides him to cross a creek, which is later called the “Tiger Creek” (Huxi 虎溪), and leads him to a place for him to stay. While Huiyuan is meditating at that site, the gods build a monastery for him.<sup>28</sup> Huiyuan realizes that this must have been done by the Dharma-protecting gods under the Buddha’s command, and therefore names it “God Fate Hall” (Shenyun dian 神運殿).

## Section 6: *Qunxian jieshe* 群賢結社 (A Group of Worthies Forms a Society)

Huiyuan forms the “Marvelous Society of the Lotus School” (*Lianzong shengshe* 蓮宗勝社) on Mount Lu to spread the Pure Land teaching. A group of lay followers, including Liu Yimin 劉遺民 (352–410), Zhou Xuzhi 周續之 (377–423), and Zong Bing 宗炳 (375–443), join the society. Huiyuan preaches on the content of the *Amitābha Sūtra* to them.<sup>29</sup> The noted poet Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365–427) and the Daoist priest Lu Xiujing 陸修靜 (406–477) also want to attend the meeting, but they arrive late and only encounter Huiyuan after the meeting has finished. While Huiyuan is bidding Lu and Tao farewell, they compose a poem together about the harmonious relationship of the three teachings of Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism, which they respectively represent. During their congenial talk, Huiyuan unwittingly crosses the Tiger Creek, which he has never crossed before. The three men laugh and call this event “Three Laughing [Friends] at the Tiger Creek” (Huxi *sanxiao* 虎溪三笑).<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> This mythologized story does not appear in the *Gaoseng zhuan*. However, in the Dunhuang manuscript *Lushan yuangonghua* 廬山遠公話 (Tale of the Honorable [Hui-]yuan of Mount Lu), there is a similar plot about mountain gods and spirits helping Huiyuan to build his monastery. See *Dunhuang bianwen ji*, 168–69.

<sup>29</sup> The *Gaoseng zhuan* records the gathering of Huiyuan and his lay disciples on Mount Lu. See T 2059, 50: 358c18–28. For an introduction to Huiyuan’s lay followers, see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 217–19.

<sup>30</sup> Scholars have proven that due to the age difference between Lu Xiujing and the two other men, this event cannot have taken place. This legendary story started in the Tang Dynasty and gained popularity as a motif in paintings after the Song Dynasty. See Xingyun and Ciyi, *Foguang dacidian*, 3512; Xu, *Songdai xushi hua yanjiu*, 133–44.

### **Section 7: *Zhenzhu qumo* 真主驅魔 (The True Master Expels Demons)**

Four characters perform as demons who embody the qualities of desire (*tan* 貪), anger (*chen* 嗔), ignorance (*chi* 癡), and sloth (*shui* 睡). They come onto the stage in a sequence and elaborate on their power to afflict people. They then enter Huiyuan's monastery and beg Huiyuan to take them in. Huiyuan summons three bodhisattvas, who personify morality (*jie* 戒), meditation (*ding* 定), and wisdom (*hui* 慧), to fight the four demons and expel them.

### **Section 8: *Fangxian ziqu* 訪賢自屈 (Visiting the Worthy and Humbling Himself)**

On his way to vanquish Yin Zhongkan 殷仲堪 (?–399), General Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369–404) passes by Mount Lu and invites Huiyuan to leave his monastery and take a government post. Huiyuan rejects the invitation and in turn persuades Huan not to attach himself to worldly affairs. However, Huan persists in his ambition to rule the country. Before he leaves Mount Lu, Huan tells Huiyuan that the imperial court has ordered the inspection of Buddhist monasteries in order to purify the saṅgha, but that Mount Lu will not be inspected.<sup>31</sup>

### **Section 9: *Fengzhi taiseng* 奉旨汰僧 (Inspecting Monks by Imperial Order)**

A low-ranking government official named Hu Tu 胡徒 receives the imperial order to inspect Buddhist monks. Hu starts the inspection by meeting the superintendent of monks, who bribes Hu with silver and tea leaves. Hu then proceeds to investigate the skills of four monks: an itinerant monk, an alms-collecting monk, an elderly monk, and a sick monk. The itinerant monk performs his skill of impersonating arhats. The alms-collecting monk demonstrates his skill of begging for money. The elderly monk and the sick monk have no skills to display. Hu Tu compels all four monks to leave the monastic order. The elderly monk and the sick monk finally decide to join the “Marvelous Society of the Lotus School” on Mount Lu.

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<sup>31</sup> The episode of Huanxuan and Huiyuan's meeting is based on the record in the *Gaoseng zhuan*. See T 2059, 50: 360b07–22.

### **Section 10: *Fayuan shouzhu* 發願受囑 (Arousing the Vow to Receive the Charge/Testament)<sup>32</sup>**

While Huiyuan is waiting for someone who can act as a “Dharma vessel,” the elderly monk and the sick monk come to Mount Lu. Upon hearing Huiyuan’s teaching, the elderly monk vows to concentrate on the Pure Land practices and bring about the widespread liberation of sentient beings. Huiyuan thus transmits the *Amitābha Sūtra* to him and predicts that he will become a Buddhist master and turn the Dharma wheel in the Wu and Yue regions after several rebirths. Having suffered during the monastery’s inspection, the sick monk vows to become a king who will protect the Buddha-Dharma. Huiyuan predicts that he will become the sovereign of a kingdom on the borderland when the elderly monk becomes a Buddhist master, and that both of them will be reborn in Amitābha’s Pure Land afterward. After passing on his testament and the *Amitābha Sūtra*, Huiyuan decides that he will enter into nirvana on the next day.

### **Section 11: *Mengyan jiaxiang* 夢驗佳祥 (Verifying the Propitious Signs in a Dream)**

As the scene shifts to hundreds of years in the future, the king of Wuyue, Qian Liu 錢鏐 (852–932), has a dream in which Skanda tells him that a great Buddhist master will appear in his country, and that the king must protect the Dharma. Qian Liu then orders his ministers to respect and protect the Dharma.

### **Section 12: *Huzhou fangsheng* 湖舟放生 (Releasing Living Creatures from a Boat on a Lake)**

One day in the spring, Wang Chongxuan 王冲玄, a Wuyue tax collector in Hangzhou, goes to the West Lake with his sister, where they will go boating and release living creatures together. Outside the Yongming si 永明寺, Wang and his sister use tax money to buy caged birds and fish for release. Wang then visits the Buddhist monks at the monastery, while his sister waits for him in their boat. A ruffian named Zhao Long 趙龍 sees her beautiful face and wants to rape her. At that point, Wang returns to the boat and saves his sister. Zhao

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<sup>32</sup> *Zhu* 囑 in the title of this section can refer to two things: the Buddha and Śāriputra’s original charge to transmit the *Amitābha Sūtra* and Huiyuan’s testament before he passes away.

becomes furious and decides to accuse Wang of using tax money to release caged creatures.<sup>33</sup>

### **Section 13: *Gongting juren* 公庭鞠認 (Interrogation and Confession at the Court)**

Zhao's allegations against Wang reach Xu Zixin 許自新, the magistrate of Hangzhou. Xu interrogates Wang as to whether he has been embezzling tax money. Wang confesses his crime, but defends himself by stating that he only uses the tax money to release animals out of compassion. Wang then preaches about the Buddhist teaching of the equality of all sentient beings to Xu, who is deeply moved by Wang's speech. While Xu is thinking about how to rescue Wang, he receives an order from the king to execute Wang for his embezzlement. Xu has no choice but to start preparing the execution ground. Wang says that he has no fear or regrets, because he has used his own life to rescue millions of sentient beings.

### **Section 14: *Changduan wenyin* 腸斷聞音 (Heartbroken [upon] Hearing the News)**

Wang's sister hears about Wang's death penalty and feels heartbroken. She and a servant run to the execution ground in order to see Wang for the last time.

### **Section 15: *Renxian linnan* 仁賢臨難 (The Benevolent Worthy Faces Disaster)**

Wang remains calm on the execution ground and persuades his sister and the servant not to cry. As he is about to be executed, the executioner's blade breaks

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<sup>33</sup> The Song literatus Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) records the story of Yanshou being sentenced to death for his use of tax money to buy caged animals for release. The king finds that Yanshou remains calm on the execution ground and thus releases him. Su comments that “the bodhisattva appears in the market place [which was often used as an execution ground] to liberate Yanshou.” See *Dongpo zhilin*, vol. 2, 2b–3a. A more dramatic version of this anecdote is recorded in *Yongming daoji* 永明道蹟 (The Religious Activities of Yongming Yanshou), a biography of Yanshou edited by the late Ming monk Dahe 大壑. See X 1599, 56a01–19. Zhida may have composed sections 12–16 of the *Guiyuan jing* based on this anecdote. He also developed more details and fabricated the characters of Zhao Long, Yanshou's sister, and Xu Zixin, about whom I have not yet found any historical records.

into three pieces. People notice that Guanyin Bodhisattva has manifested on the execution ground to rescue Wang. Moved by this miraculous event, Xu Zixin decides to report this scene to the king and appeal to have Wang released.<sup>34</sup>

### **Section 16: *Enzhan juanshi* 恩沾蠲釋 (Rewarded by Favor and Pardoned)**

Xu Zixin goes to the imperial court and reports Wang's case to a eunuch official. Xu elaborates on Wang's compassion for sentient beings, the miracle performed by Guanyin, and the evil motivation behind Zhao Long's accusation of Wang. The king thereupon issues an edict that pardons Wang and orders Zhao's execution. After that, he praises Wang for his benevolent activities, which resonate with the king's own compassionate mind.

### **Section 17: *Ge'en yunshui* 割恩雲水 (Cutting Worldly Ties and Becoming an Itinerant Monk)**

After being pardoned and released, Wang determines to leave home and become a monk. He entrusts Xu Zixin with the tasks of adopting his sister as a foster daughter and taking in his servant. Wang then bids farewell to his family and his benefactor Xu Zixin.

### **Section 18: *Qianli zhanfeng* 千里瞻風 (Travelling One Thousand *li* to Observe a Teaching Style)**

Having heard about the celebrated teaching style of the Chan master Cuiyuan 翠巖, Wang travels a thousand *li* to visit Cuiyuan and asks the master to tonsure

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<sup>34</sup> Being saved by Guanyin bodhisattva from disasters is a recurring theme in Buddhist miracle tales. The miracle that happens to Wang/Yanshou here is very similar to the story about a person who is rescued from execution by chanting the *Gaowang Guanshiyin jing* 高王觀世音經 (The Guanshiyin Sūtra of King Gao). This scripture is also called the *Guanshiyin zhedao chuzui jing* 觀世音折刀除罪經 (Sūtra of Guanshiyin's Breaking the Blade and Eliminating Sin), as the executioner's blade broke into pieces when the prisoner chanted this sūtra, according to the miracle tale. See T 2898, 85: 1425b06–1426a07; T 2060, 50: 692c22–693a09. For a discussion on this sūtra and miracle tales featuring Guanyin, see Makita, *Gikyō kenkyū*, 272–289; Yü, *Kuan-Yin*, 110–18, 151–94.

him.<sup>35</sup> Wang thus becomes the monk Yanshou 延壽. Cuiyan teaches Yanshou two methods: the Chan practice of “seeing one’s nature and attaining Buddhahood” (*jianxing chengfo* 見性成佛) and the Pure Land practice of reciting Amitābha’s name. He also preaches on his *Jingseng ming* 警僧銘 (Inscription for Admonishing Monks) for Yanshou.

### **Section 19: *Zhimi hufa* 指迷護法 (Pointing Out Illusion and Protecting the Dharma)**

The scene shifts to the Korean kingdom of Goryeo, where the king of Goryeo goes on a hunting trip outside the city and encounters a mad monk. The monk tells the king that, in his previous life, he used to be the sick monk who vowed to become a king and to protect the Buddha-Dharma on Mount Lu. He informs the king that his senior friend—the elderly monk—has now become Master Yanshou, who is spreading the Chan and Pure Land teachings in Hangzhou. The mad monk criticizes the king for harming animals and orders him to start protecting the Dharma. The king of Goryeo thereby dispatches ministers to send gifts and donations to Yanshou and to build a monastery in Hangzhou.<sup>36</sup> He also gives the throne to his son and leaves home to practice Buddhism.

### **Section 20: *Nianjiu guanlu* 拈鬮灌露 (Casting Lots and Pouring Nectar)**

Yanshou sets out to determine whether he should follow the Chan teaching or the Pure Land teaching as his chosen path of practice. He makes two lots, one that says “Chan” and one that says “Pure Land.” He casts the lots seven times, each time picking the Pure Land lot. Thus, he determines to single-mindedly practice the Pure Land method. Then, during Yanshou’s seated meditation, Guanyin comes into his quarters and pours nectar into his mouth in order to increase his rhetorical skills. Guanyin enjoins him to use these skills to spread the Pure Land teaching to the world.

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<sup>35</sup> The *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song Dynasty Biographies of Eminent Monks) records that Cuiyan was Yanshou’s ordaining master. See T 2061, 50: 887b03.

<sup>36</sup> The *Song gaoseng zhuan* records that the king of Goryeo sent many gifts to Yanshou after reading his works. See T 2061, 50: 887b12–14. Here, Zhida reverses the order of these two events.

## Section 21: *Kaiquan xianshi* 開權顯實 (Opening up the Expedient Teachings and Revealing the Truth)<sup>37</sup>

The king of Wuyue donates a hall to Master Yanshou and asks him to deliver a sermon.<sup>38</sup> Many government officials come to listen to him. Yanshou recites his verse *Siliao jian* 四料揀 (Fourfold Summary), which compares the different accomplishments of practicing Chan and Pure Land teachings either alternatively or jointly, and promotes the Pure Land practice as the more effective way.<sup>39</sup>

## Section 22: *Chengjian lizu* 懲奸禮祖 (Punishing the Scoundrel and Venerating the Patriarch)

The ruffian Zhao Long, now a headless ghost in the Underworld, visits King Yama in order to accuse Xu Zixin of accepting bribes and of making false allegations against Zhao. Xu Zixin has already become a monk and practices Buddhism at home. King Yama thus dispatches a servant to invite Xu to the Underworld. Xu relates to King Yama the details of the legal case between Zhao and Wang. King Yama puts Xu and Zhao in front of the “mirror of karma” (*yejingtai* 業鏡臺), which reveals all that they have done in prior lifetimes. The mirror demonstrates that Zhao is lying, so King Yama orders Zhao to be tortured in hell for five hundred eons. During the judgment of Zhao, there is an interlude in which Hu Tu, the official from Section 9, is punished for not believing in Buddhism and for compelling the monks to leave the monastic order. At the end

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<sup>37</sup> *Kaiquan xianshi* (“opening the expedient teachings and revealing the truth or real”) is a technical expression central to the *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (*Lotus Sūtra*). It came later to be used widely in Chinese Buddhist “classifications of the Buddha’s repertoire of teachings” (*panjiao* 判教), especially those of the Tiantai tradition.

<sup>38</sup> This “king of Wuyue” may refer to Qian Hongchu 錢弘俶 (929–988), the grandson of Qian Liu, who sponsored Yanshou to revive the Lingyin si 靈隱寺 in Hangzhou. See T 2037, 49: 857a20–22.

<sup>39</sup> In many Buddhist writings, this verse is attributed to Yanshou. However, as Heng-ching Shih has indicated, it first appears in Dayou’s 大佑 1393 work, *Jingtu zhigui ji* 淨土指歸集 (Collection of Crucial Points on the Pure Land), and in fact, it does not appear in any of Yanshou’s extant works. See X 1154, 379b20–c09. For a translation and discussion of this verse, see Shih, *The Syncretism of Ch’an and Pure Land Buddhism*, 144–46.

of this section, Xu notices that King Yama is venerating an image of a Buddhist patriarch, who turns out to be Yanshou.<sup>40</sup>

### **Section 23: *Hunyou diyu* 魂遊地獄 (The Spirit Journeys to the Underworld)**

King Yama orders a servant to guide Xu Zixin to observe various hells. Xu visits the Spirit-Vanishing Gateway (*xiaohun guan* 消魂關), the Slippery Oil Mountain (*huayou shan* 滑油山), the Home-Seeing Terrace (*wangxiang tai* 望鄉臺), the Evil Dog Village (*egou cun* 惡狗村), the Blood Pond (*xuehu chi* 血湖池), the Hell with Hills of Swords (*daoshan diyu* 刀山地獄), the Iron-Fence City (*tiewei cheng* 鐵圍城), and so on. The servant explains to Xu the different types of tortures in the hells, which kinds of people are being punished in each hell, and what good deeds one can perform in order to avoid the tortures.

### **Section 24: *Huiyang midao* 回陽覓道 (Returning to This World and Seeking the Way)**

Xu Zixin returns to the human realm from his journey to the Underworld. He tells his adopted daughter, who is Yanshou's sister, about the sufferings of the hell beings that he has seen there, and about King Yama's veneration of Yanshou. Thus, Xu determines to leave home and to respect Yanshou as his mentor. His adopted daughter also resolves to become a nun.

### **Section 25: *Daochuan haiwai* 道傳海外 (Spreading the Way Overseas)**

Two years earlier an envoy arrived in Hangzhou with orders from the king of Goryeo to present Yanshou with gifts and build a monastery called the Gaoli si (K., Goryeo sa 高麗寺). Now the construction is almost complete and the envoy is about to return to Goryeo. Yanshou asks the envoy to take two of his works, the *Zongjinglu* 宗鏡錄 (Record of the Axiom Mirror) and *Wanshan tonggui ji* 萬善同歸集 (Collection of Myriad Good Deeds Returning

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<sup>40</sup> Some Buddhist writings no later than the Yuan Dynasty already include the episode of a monk going on a journey to the underworld and seeing that King Yama is venerating Yanshou. For instance, see T 1972, 47: 293b26–c02; T 1973, 47: 325b02–04. In his influential work, *Jiesha fangsheng wen* 戒殺放生文 (Essay on Refraining from Killing and Releasing Life), Zhuhong also depicts this scene in the story of Yanshou. See *Yunqi fahui*, J B277, 33: 759b03–05.

Together), to the king of Goryeo.<sup>41</sup> Yanshou tells the envoy about the Chan and Pure Land teachings, as presented in his works.

### **Section 26: *Yizhu chuandeng* 遺囑傳燈 (Bequeathing the Testament to Transmit the Lamp)**

When Xu Zixin arrives at Yanshou's monastery, Yanshou has already been dead for several days. Yanshou foresaw that Xu would come and left Xu his written will and a copy of the *Amitābha Sūtra*. Yanshou's testament instructs Xu to spread the Pure Land teaching and predicts that Xu will be reincarnated as Master Zhuhong after several generations, and that they will ultimately reunite in the Pure Land. Worrying about his old age, Xu decides to transmigrate into another physical body in order to transmit the lamp, and thus immediately passes away while still standing.

### **Section 27: *Anchui jieyin* 暗垂接引 (Inconspicuously Conferring Guidance)**

Mahāsthāma-prāpta Bodhisattva comes onto the stage and explains that after several generations, now in the Ming Dynasty, Xu Zixin has already been reincarnated as the eighth patriarch of the "Lotus School," Master Zhuhong. However, he has not yet become a monk, as he needed to take care of his parents. Noting that both of his parents have recently passed away, the bodhisattva orders a guardian deity to break Zhuhong's favorite teacup, so that he will realize the illusory nature of worldly affairs and renounce the secular life.

### **Section 28: *Douji fayuan* 逗機發願 (Adapting to Capacities and Arousing the Vow)**

On Lunar New Year's Eve, Shen Fohui 沈佛慧 (who later becomes Zhuhong) is saddened by thoughts of his deceased parents and his late former wife. In order to cheer him up, Shen's current wife Ms. Tang 湯氏 asks the maid to make him some tea using his favorite cup. On the orders of Mahāsthāma-prāpta Bodhisattva, the guardian deity frightens the maid into breaking the cup. Shen becomes furious and scolds the maid. Ms. Tang persuades Shen that everything is impermanent. Tang's words awaken Shen, who realizes that the human body

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<sup>41</sup> For studies of these two works, see Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*; Welter, *Yongming Yanshou's Conception of Chan in the Zongjing lu*.

is just the same as the cup.<sup>42</sup> Thus, he determines to leave home and become a monk. However, Ms. Tang dismisses what she has just said as merely idle talk and tries to prevent Shen from leaving home.

### Section 29: *Qibi gouchen* 七筆勾塵 (Crossing Out Worldly Affairs with Seven Strokes of the Pen)

On Lunar New Year's Day, Shen's neighbor, Madam Xu 徐媽媽, visits the Shen family. Hearing that Shen has decided to leave home, Madam Xu elaborates on the responsibilities and pleasures of secular life in order to discourage him. However, Shen recites seven verses that "cancel out" seven kinds of worldly affairs, including filial piety, marriage, offspring, wealth and fame, family property, literary talents, and sensual pleasures.<sup>43</sup> Shen's explanation convinces Madam Xu. He asks her to accompany Ms. Tang, who also plans to take up Buddhist practice after Shen leaves home.

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<sup>42</sup> According to the epitaph for Zhuhong written by Hanshan Deqing 憨山德清 (1546–1623), before he became a monk Zhuhong realized the impermanence of life and death when his wife Ms. Tang broke a teacup on New Year's Eve. See Deqing, *Guhang Yunqi Lianchi dashi taming* 古杭雲棲蓮池大師塔銘 (Stūpa Epitaph of Master Yunqi Lianchi from Ancient Hangzhou), in *Yunqi fahui*, J B277, 33: 194b26–29. However, in the *Guiyuan jing*, Zhuhong's renunciation of the secular world is no longer the result of his own determination, but rather is arranged by the bodhisattva and inspired by his wife. For a comparative analysis of this episode in different biographical accounts of Zhuhong, see Wang, "Gaoseng yu suwenxue."

<sup>43</sup> These seven verses were attributed to Zhuhong by many Buddhist writers in the Qing Dynasty and also by some contemporary scholars. However, they do not appear in any of his extant writings. Deqing's epitaph states that Zhuhong wrote a lyric titled *Yibi gou* 一筆勾 (Crossing Out with One Stroke of the Pen). Yu Chunxi 虞淳熙 (1553–1621), one of Zhuhong's lay disciples, records that Zhuhong "wrote a song to deliver his intention" (*zuoge jiyi* 作歌寄意). Neither has specified the lyric or song that Zhuhong composed. See *Yunqi fahui*, J B277, 33: 194b29; Yu Chunxi, *Yunqi Lianchi zushi zhuan* 雲棲蓮池祖師傳 (Biography of Patriarch Yunqi Lianchi), in *Yu Deyuan xiansheng ji, wenji*, vol. 9, 5b. For a discussion of the reception history of these verses in the Qing Dynasty, see Wang, "Gaoseng yu suwenxue."

### Section 30: *Hufa soushan* 護法搜山 (The Dharma Protector Searches the Mountain)

Several hundred years ago, the Chan Master Lion-Subduer 伏虎禪師 dwelled at a monastery on Mount Yunqi in Hangzhou. The master predicts that Zhuhong will rebuild the monastery and orders the Dharma protector Zhao Xuantan 趙玄壇 to prepare the site for him. Zhao sweeps the monsters and demons away and orders the mountain spirit to dispatch tigers to protect the mountain.<sup>44</sup> When the mountain spirit transmits this order to the tigers and asks them not to hurt people, the tigers complain that they would starve to death without eating some human beings. The mountain spirit thereupon permits them to eat five kinds of people: those who do not respect Buddhist monks, those who are not filial to their parents and bully children and the elderly, those who rape women and slander kind people, those who specialize in forging silver, and henpecked men.

### Section 31: *Dongchang fawu* 東昌發悟 (Attaining Enlightenment in Dongchang)

After leaving home, Zhuhong is tonsured by Master Xingtian 性天 and then travels three thousand *li* 里 to visit Masters Bianrong 徧融 and Xiaoyan 笑巖, both of whom teach him to recite Amitābha Buddha's name. However, Zhuhong has not yet achieved awakening. On his journey back to Hangzhou he passes through Dongchang, where he stops to meditate under a tree. During his meditation, the Buddha appears, bearing a censer, and then suddenly departs. Next comes Māra, bearing a halberd, who also leaves. Finally, Māra and the Buddha switch masks, with Māra putting on the mask of the Buddha, and the Buddha donning Māra's mask, and both circle the stage. Coming out of his meditation, Zhuhong suddenly awakens to the truth that both the Buddha and Māra are merely reflections of his own mind.<sup>45</sup> After attaining enlightenment, Zhuhong continues his journey to the south. On his way back, he encounters two monk-swindlers, who steal all of his belongings.

<sup>44</sup> According to Deqing's epitaph, Zhuhong rescued local villagers from the danger of tigers on Mount Yunqi by chanting sūtras and providing food for the tigers to eat. See *Yunqi fahui*, J B277, 33: 194c10–13.

<sup>45</sup> Deqing's epitaph records Zhuhong's experience of studying with multiple mentors and his enlightenment in Dongchang, which is based on Zhuhong's poem titled *Su Dongchang Xie jushi jia yougan* 宿東昌謝居士家有感 (Thoughts while Staying Overnight at Layman Xie's Place in Dongchang). See *Yunqi fahui*, J B277, 33: 194b29–c05, 113a23–25.

### **Section 32: *Yibo huanyuan* 衣鉢還元 (The Robe and the Bowl Restored)**

The two monk-swindlers fight over how to divide Zhuhong's belongings and go to the government office in Nanjing to sue each other. The official happens to be Zhuhong's brother, Shen Huai 沈淮. He finds Zhuhong's ordination license in his belongings and interrogates the two swindlers about Zhuhong's situation. The two swindlers confess their crime and are imprisoned. Shen Huai starts to look for Zhuhong.

### **Section 33: *Bingmo shuangkun* 病魔雙困 (Dually Trapped by Sickness and Demons)**

After losing all his belongings, Zhuhong takes up temporary residence at the Wagan si 瓦棺寺 in Nanjing, where he unexpectedly becomes severely unwell.<sup>46</sup> The abbot and his disciple at the Wagan si do not want to take care of him and throw him out of the monastery. Dying on the cold ground, Zhuhong asks an old monk to deliver a message to his brother Shen Huai. The old monk then informs the abbot and his disciple of the relationship between Zhuhong and the official Shen Huai. The two monks hurriedly move Zhuhong back indoors and beg for his forgiveness. Then Shen Huai comes to the monastery, urges the two monks to wait upon Zhuhong until he recovers, and tells Zhuhong that his belongings have been found.

### **Section 34: *Anzhu tanjing* 庵主談經 (The Abbess Discusses the Teachings)**

Ms. Tang, who has left home as a Buddhist nun and is now Abbess Zhujin 祿錦 at the Xiaoyi an 孝義庵 in Hangzhou, preaches to her disciples about the sufferings of the female body and assures them that women can also be reborn in the Pure Land if they rely on Amitābha's power. She then criticizes several kinds of nuns who do not recite Amitābha's name, but only want to make money or indulge in secular pleasures. In the end, Zhujin delivers her *Ni xun* 尼訓

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<sup>46</sup> Deqing's epitaph records Zhuhong's serious sickness in Nanjing. See *Yunqi fahui*, J B277, 33: 194c06–07. Zhida may have fabricated the characters of the swindlers in order to enrich the plot.

(Admonitions for Nuns) to her disciples in order to discipline their behavior and help them in their Pure Land practice.<sup>47</sup>

### **Section 35: *Enzhan huayu* 恩沾化雨 (Rain Arrives in Response to [Zhuhong's] Favor)**

Because it has not rained for two months, the residents of Fan Village (Fancun 梵村) are worried about their grain and beg Zhuhong to pray for rain. At first, Zhuhong states that he only knows how to recite Amitābha's name and does not know how to pray for rain. The villagers insist on their request, so Zhuhong tries to pray for rain by reciting Amitābha's name, which actually succeeds in bringing the rain. Amazed by Zhuhong's magic power, the villagers donate money to build a monastery for him and assist in its construction.<sup>48</sup>

### **Section 36: *Qingjian zhuqiao* 請建朱橋 (Requests for Building the Zhu Bridge)**

The magistrate of Hangzhou, Yu Liangshu 余良樞 (*jinshi* 進士 1571), consults with Zhuhong about reconstructing the Zhu Bridge, which was destroyed by floods. Zhuhong agrees to raise donations and suggests that each person needs to donate only eight cents, because what is most important in the act of donation is the mental power of the donor rather than the amount of money given. Zhuhong will also send an official note to deities in the ocean asking them to suspend the tides so that the reconstruction can be completed.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> For a study of Zhujin's nunnery and the rules set by Zhuhong, see Eichman, "Zhuhong's Communal Rules for the Late Ming Nunnery Filiality and Righteousness Unobstructed," 224–75.

<sup>48</sup> This episode is based on Deqing's epitaph. See *Yunqi fahui*, J B277, 33: 194c13–18.

<sup>49</sup> Zhuhong wrote an essay about this event, titled *Chongxiu Zhuqiao yuan shu* 重修朱橋緣疏 (Essay on the Circumstances of Rebuilding the Zhu Bridge). Deqing's epitaph also records this event. See *Yunqi fahui*, J B277, 33: 102a20–b12, 195a03–10.

### **Section 37: *Chaoshen qingzhi* 潮神請旨 (Tide Deities Petition for the Decree)**

Two tide deities, Wu Zixu 伍子胥 and Old Man Zhang 張老相公,<sup>50</sup> receive Zhuhong's note and go to the Palace of the Dragon King in order to petition him to issue a decree suspending the tides. The Dragon King says he also received an instruction from Guanyin Bodhisattva commanding him to support Zhuhong's career. Thus, the king issues a decree suspending the tides for three months.<sup>51</sup>

### **Section 38: *Zhuchuang chuifan* 竹窗垂範 (Setting a Model by a Bamboo Window)**

In order that other people may benefit from the Pure Land teaching, Zhuhong is in the process of editing the *Emituo jing shuchao* (Commentary and Subcommentary to the *Amitābha Sūtra*) and his other writings while seated by a bamboo window. Recalling that Cao Luchuan 曹魯川 (d.u.) attacked the practice of reciting Amitābha's name, stating that it is only for fools, Zhuhong defends this method as the most effective of expedient devices.<sup>52</sup> Zhuhong's servant then comes to him with his newly published work, the *Yanmo qudian*.

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50 For discussions on the popular cults of tide deities, see Gao, "Chaoshen kaolun," 148–55; Li and Wang, "You'e bianshan," 33–38; Zhu, "Jinshi Jiangnan Zhang lao xianggong xinyang de fasheng ji bianqian," 367–78.

51 Deqing's epitaph also mentions the suspension of the tides (but for several days rather than the dramatic three months found in the *Guiyuan jing*), marveling at Zhuhong's magical skills: "In the past, King Qian of Wuyue shot ten thousand arrows at [the tide] in order to make it retreat. [Yet,] Master [Zhuhong] stopped the tide with the power of one mind. What was his technique?" 「昔錢越王以萬弩射之不迴，師以一心力當之，何術哉？」 See *Yunqi fahui*, J B277, 33: 195a08–10. The episode in the *Guiyuan jing* responds to Deqing's question about Zhuhong's technique by dramatizing Zhuhong's power to command the tide deities.

52 Zhida probably wrote this episode based on Zhuhong's debate about Pure Land teaching with Cao Luchuan, a lay Buddhist follower from Suzhou who mainly studied the teachings of Huayan and Chan, as recorded in their exchange of letters. See *Yunqi fahui*, J B277, 33: 95a05–18, 118a18–121b10. For an analysis of their divergent doctrinal interpretations, see Araki, *Unsei Shukō no kenkyū*, 111–21; Eichman, *A Late Sixteenth-Century Chinese Buddhist Fellowship*, 43–44. For a discussion on late imperial Chinese Pure Land Buddhists' defense of their practices, see Jones, "Apologetic Strategies in Late Imperial Chinese Pure Land Buddhism," 69–90.

Zhuhong and his servant discuss how folk literary forms can serve to propagate the Dharma to ordinary people.<sup>53</sup>

### **Section 39: *Puji youhun* 普濟幽魂 (Universally Rescuing Departed Souls)**

Because of famine and plague, Zhuhong has been conducting the Buddhist rite for deliverance of creatures of water and land (*shuilu daochang* 水陸道場) for seven days and nights.<sup>54</sup> On the final night, Zhuhong performs a yoga ritual for feeding hungry ghosts (*yuqie yankou* 瑜珈餓口). He ascends a high seat in order to feed nectar to various kinds of ghosts, including deceased civil and military officials, young women, and criminals, and to help them to be reborn in the Pure Land.<sup>55</sup> Guanyin Bodhisattva appears in order to show Zhuhong's marvelous "full moon form" (*manyue xiang* 滿月相) to the ghosts.

### **Section 40: *Banzhu xixing* 頒囑西行 (Passing on a Testament and Going to the West)**

Before his death, Zhuhong invites several lay disciples, including Song Huaqing 宋化卿 (d.u.) and Xu Yuhu 徐裕湖 (d.u.), to Mount Yunqi to pass on his last will and testament. He states that his text of the *Emituo jing shuchao* will henceforth serve as the vessel for transmitting the lamp of Pure Land teaching to all sentient beings. He also urges his disciples to focus on the practice of

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<sup>53</sup> This discussion in the *Guiyuan jing* is based on two of Zhuhong's essays, *Yanmo qudian xu* and *Jiyue* 伎樂 (Music and Drama). See *Yunqi fahui*, J B277, 33: 93b24–c11, 38b27–c10.

<sup>54</sup> For a study of Zhuhong's transformation of the *Shuilu* ritual, see Stevenson, "Text, Image, and Transformation in the History of the *Shuilu fahui*, the Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land," 45–48.

<sup>55</sup> This episode is based on the *Yuqie jiyao shishi yigui* 瑜珈集要施食儀軌 (Ritual Proceedings from the Yoga Collection for Feeding Hungry Ghosts) re-edited by Zhuhong himself. This ritual manual includes a long paragraph to be chanted by Buddhist masters during the ritual for feeding hungry ghosts. Zhida adapted this paragraph into four songs in the tune named *Tangu diao* 嘆孤調 (Melody that Laments the Lonely) in this section of the *Guiyuan jing*. See X 1080, 262c18–263b03. For a study of Zhuhong's redaction of the yoga rite, see Lye, "Feeding Ghosts," 358–77.

reciting Amitābha's name.<sup>56</sup> Then, Amitābha comes to guide Zhuhong, and Zhuhong passes away.

### **Section 41: *Mituo jieyin* 彌陀接引 (Amitābha's Guidance)**

Amitābha guides Zhuhong to his Pure Land. Zhuhong sees the marvelous birds, flowers, and forests, and finds that two songs that he wrote about the suffering of the secular world and the ultimate bliss in the Pure Land are being sung here.<sup>57</sup> On their way, Amitābha tells Zhuhong about the rewards of the bodhisattvas in the Pure Land, the sufferings of sentient beings in the secular world, and the great blessings of Śākyamuni Buddha.

### **Section 42: *Tongsheng Anyang* 同生安養 (Reborn together in the Pure Land)**

Masters Huiyuan and Yanshou, the layman Liu Yimin, the king of Goryeo, Yanshou's sister, and Abbess Zhujin together welcome Zhuhong to Amitābha's Pure Land. Then, Guanyin Bodhisattva comes with Śākyamuni's edict announcing the different levels of achievements of the Buddhist masters, laymen, and their family members, as well as the different grades of the Pure Land that they occupy. Then they sing together in praise of the blessings of rebirth in the Pure Land and beseech the audience also to recite Amitābha's name. This final section ends with a *gāthā* verse dedicating the merit of the *Guiyuan jing* performance to all sentient beings, and praying that all those who see or hear it will ascend to the Pure Land of ultimate bliss with their current bodies and within their current lifetimes.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> This episode is based on Zhuhong's own testament, which is both included in the collection of his works and recorded in his biography by his disciple Shi Guangrun 釋廣潤. See Zhuhong, *Zai zhu* 再囑 (Another Testament), and Shi, *Yunqi benshi xing lue* 雲棲本師行略 (A Brief Biography of the Ordaining Master Yunqi), in *Yunqi fahui*, J B277, 33: 174b07–13, 200a17–23.

<sup>57</sup> These two songs are included in the *Yanmo qudian* compiled by Zhuhong. See Xie, ed., *Quan Ming sanqu*, 3518. The late Qing Pure Land anthology, *Lianxiu bidu*, also includes these two songs and titles them *Yunqi qu* 雲棲曲 (Songs by Yunqi). See X 1214, 848a14–18. For a discussion of these songs and their authorship attribution, see Wang, "Gaoseng yu suwenxue."

<sup>58</sup> The final section of the 1784 Beijing Longwang miao edition differs significantly from all other editions. Although the basic plot of this edition is still Zhuhong entering the Pure Land and reuniting with everyone, the editor heavily revised how this plot is represented. There are two prominent changes. First, Zhuhong's rebirth

## A Translation of Zhida's Three Paratexts

### *Xiju gongtong* 戲劇供通 (Theater for [the Purpose of] Attaining Enlightenment)<sup>59</sup>

[I] have heard that some patriarchs awakened to the Way upon listening to elegies and that some awakened to the Way upon listening to beggars' songs. How, therefore, could it be that theater cannot [inspire people to] awaken to the Way? I contend that theater is the Way [towards awakening]; however, the people of the world have become accustomed to [theater] and are not aware [of the fact that theater is the Way].

Now, contemplating [this fact], is it not the case that parents, wives, children, relatives, friends, and kinsmen are [our] fellow performers? Wealth and fame are nothing but costumes that adorn [us]. Fields and houses are nothing but stages for performance. With regard to flourish and decay, gain and loss, separation and reunion, and living and passing away, they are nothing but vicissitudes within a performance [of a play]. In this [play], fierce and fractious people, benevolent people, gentlemen, and lesser men exchange toasts with each other—they are but a troupe of [theatrical characters,] the male (*sheng* 生), the female (*dan* 旦), the painted face (*jing* 净), and the clown (*chou* 丑). Right after they leave their mothers' wombs, it is time for the performance to begin; when their coffin-lids are closed and all things are finished, then it is the end of the show. That being the case, [within] this world of the human realm,<sup>60</sup> how can there be anything that is not a play?

[What I have discussed] has still not exhausted [the meaning of “theater as the Way”]. Furthermore, think about a person [who performs in the play]. That

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in the Pure Land is demonstrated through a spectacle of him appearing inside a prop in the shape of a huge lotus flower on stage. Second, it is Amitābha rather than Śākyamuni who issues the edict, and instead of having Guanyin deliver it, Amitābha announces it in person and then preaches to the audience about the practice of reciting his name. See *Guiyuan jing*, 1784 edition, vol. 2, 54a–60a. For comparative analyses of the 1784 edition and other editions, see Wang, “Interactions and Negotiations between Theater and Buddhism in Late Imperial China,” 159–171; “Youyi yu xiuxing,” 141–42.

<sup>59</sup> The title of this paratext in some editions is *Xiju rongtong* 戲劇融通 (Blending in Harmony with Theater). See *Guiyuan jing*, 1897 edition, vol. 2, 46a; 1910 edition, vol. 2, 46a.

<sup>60</sup> *Jambūdvīpa* 閻浮. This term is a transliteration of the Sanskrit word that refers to the great continent south of Mount Sumeru in Indian mythical cosmology. The term has various implications, of which the most important is “the human realm.”

person, within a single body, now [appears as] a man and now [appears as] a woman, now [becomes] wealthy and now [becomes] poor, now [appears as] a civil official and now [appears as] a military general, now [becomes] old and now [becomes] young, now lives and now dies, now [becomes] a human being and now [becomes] a beast. [Their bodily appearance] is constantly changing and is not permanent; [their] sorrow and joy are uncertain. [If we] compare [this performer] with the sentient beings in the ocean of suffering, who transmigrate in the six destinies, change their appearances, and receive [different] forms according to [different] species, how can they be any different? Sentient beings chase falsehood due to their delusion, receive retributions according to their karma, and sink into the destinies of suffering in vain—there is no truth [in their lives]. That being the case, life, death, and retribution, from the distant past to the present day, are just like a play. So why would one be suspicious of secular plays?

[What I have discussed] has still not exhausted [the meaning of “theater as the Way”]. Furthermore, examine the performers’ Way [of performing]. [As for] those people, if they were to find themselves on stage, were they to laugh, they would not have a joyful mind; were they to cry, they would not have a sorrowful mind; were they [to appear to be] irritated, they would not have any sense of affliction; were they to beg, they would not have the yearning of greed; if a man and a woman were to have sexual intercourse, they would not have thoughts of delusion and obscenity; were they to fight and curse, they would not be angry; were they to kill, they would not feel hatred. [Despite the fact that the performers] recklessly play with [their appearances], when it comes to the “master [—actor within],”<sup>61</sup> [they are] calm and unmoving. Once the gongs and drums stop, they manifest their original appearances,<sup>62</sup> unrestrainedly and naturally, which has the flavor of great liberation. [If we] compare [the performers] with patriarchs, who respond to issues according to circumstances, and bodhisattvas, who rescue sentient beings according to their species, indeed, how are they different?

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<sup>61</sup> *Zhuren* 主人, as a Buddhist term, can refer both to the notion of a self-subsistent individual personality and to one’s true mind. Here, Zhida is using it as a pun, referring both to one’s true mind and to the true identity of a performer in contrast to the roles that they play on stage.

<sup>62</sup> *Bendi fengguang* 本地風光, which literally means “the local scenery,” is a frequently used Chan metaphor for the original clarity of one’s true mind. Here, Zhida is using it as a pun in a similar fashion to his use of *zhuren* 主人 as explained in the previous footnote.

Alas! Inside the theater, marvelous Dharma is preached every day, but the worldly people are not aware of it and only [use theatrical performances] to [add to the fun of] drinking alcohol, joking, and bantering. Those performers turn the Dharma wheel every day, but they are not aware of it themselves and merely [use theatrical performances] in order to make a living. Worldly people rely on performers to awaken [them from] delusions, while performers again are deluded by the delusions. Therefore, these deluded people [who are the performers] again delude those deluded people [who as worldly spectators watch theatrical performances]. In this boundlessly long eon, there is no appointed time for going beyond [delusions]; how sorrowful!

### ***Kewen jueyi* 客問決疑 (Dispelling a Guest's Suspicion)**

A guest asks this Idle Old Man:<sup>63</sup> “The *Guiyuan jing*, which was written by my teacher [i.e., Zhida], could indeed please the eye and admonish the mind. Nonetheless, various good people often secretly dispute this, considering that there is nothing more blasphemous to sages and disrespectful to the virtuous than composing a play based on Mahāyāna scriptures and [the biographies of] unrivaled patriarchs and freely performing and loudly singing it in taverns and brothels to [add to the fun of] drinking alcohol, joking, and bantering. I am also confused about this. I dare to consult [you] as to whether this is really the case?

This old man says: “Yes. There are indeed such remarks. Nevertheless, these people awaken faith with the mind of a beginner; their attachments to the Buddhist teachings are not yet dissolved.<sup>64</sup> They only know to worship the Buddha, while not knowing [that they need] to requite the favors [of the Buddha]. They tenaciously observe the conventional teachings while not recognizing [the need to employ] expedient means. No wonder they suspect and slander [my play]. However, who [among them] is aware that spreading the teachings and bringing benefit to sentient beings is intended precisely to requite the Buddha's favors, and skillfully concocting expedient devices is intended precisely to spread [the teachings] and to bring benefit to sentient beings? Now,

<sup>63</sup> Lanweng 懶翁 refers to Zhida himself, whose style name is “Xiuxian laona lanrong daoren” 休閒老衲懶融道人 (Leisurely old monk, idle and harmonious follower of the Way). See Zhida, *Guiyuan jing guiyue*, in *Guiyuan jing*, 2b.

<sup>64</sup> *Fazhi* 法執 has two meanings: first, the attachment to the real existence of phenomena, in contrast to the attachment to the reality of the self (*wozhi* 我執); second, the attachment to the Buddhist teachings. According to the context, the term in this paragraph refers to the beginning practitioners' attachment to the teachings.

[my purpose in] composing this play is precisely to rely on those illusionist [performers] [in order to] demonstrate the true teachings. [By doing so, this play] caters to [the common people's] interest and attracts them to watch and hear [its performance], [thereby] causing them to arouse the thought of reciting the Buddha's name and seeking rebirth in the Pure Land. Just as the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 (*Flower Ornament Sūtra*) says, 'First hook and induce [sentient beings] with desire, next let them enter the Buddha's wisdom.'<sup>65</sup> It is precisely because of this. Thus, it is said, 'Returning to the origin has no second path, [yet] skillful means have many methods.'<sup>66</sup>

The guest says: "What is to be done about [the fact that] there are many people [among the audiences] who do not believe [in Buddhism] and only a few people who convert [to it]?"

This old man says: "The twelve divisions of the Buddhist canon are all preached by the Buddha's golden mouth; can everyone revere them? In the

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<sup>65</sup> The original passage in the *Guiyuan jing* is 先以欲鉤牽，次令人佛智。In fact, this is a quotation from the *Weimojie suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經 (*Vimalakīrti Sūtra*) with some textual variations, which states: "First hook and induce [sentient beings] with desire, then let them enter the Buddha's Way/wisdom," 先以欲鉤牽，後令人佛道/智。The final character varies in different editions of *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* as "Way" 道 or "wisdom" 智。See T 475, 14: 550b07. Zhida uses the *Flower Ornament Sūtra* as his source, perhaps because Chengguan 澄觀 (738–839) cites this sentence from *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* in his *Dafangguang fo Huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏 (*Commentary on the Flower Ornament Sūtra of the Great Vast Buddha*). In his quotation, Chengguan uses "wisdom" 智 as the final character: "First hook and induce [sentient beings] with desire, then let them enter the Buddha's wisdom," 先以欲鉤牽，後令人佛智。See T 1735, 35: 932a26 (emphases mine). However, the 1784 edition of the *Guiyuan jing* correctly states that this quotation is taken from the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*. See *Guiyuan jing*, 1784 edition, 1a. Notably, Zhuhong also cites this line from the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* in his *Yanmo qudian xu*, in order to illuminate the function of popular literature to enlighten people. See *Yunqi fahui*, J B277, 33: 93c06.

<sup>66</sup> The original text in the *Guiyuan jing* is 歸元無二路，方便有多門。This is a quotation from the *Lengyan jing* 楞嚴經 (*Śūraṅgama Sūtra*), with some textual variations, which states: "Returning to the origin has no second nature, [yet] skillful means have many methods," 歸元性無二，方便有多門。See *Shoulengyan jing*, T 945, 19: 130a24. The sentence formulation in the *Guiyuan jing* also appears in a number of scriptures, including Zhuhong's writing. See *Yunqi fahui*, J B277, 33: 140c27 (emphases mine).

Lotus Assembly, there were yet five thousand people who left their seats.<sup>67</sup> How is it possible to make everyone convert to and believe in [Buddhism]? [What I am doing is] merely planting a cause and sowing a seed in those sentient beings without faith. Why so? People without faith mostly indulge in sound and form [i.e., sensual pleasures] as well as worldly fame and profit. They luxuriate in lasciviousness, lingering on for their lifetime. Until the end of their lives, they will not hear the name of the Buddha-Dharma. Their footprints will never reach the place of the Three Jewels. They also do not know who Amitābha is, [or] what the Pure Land is. Sinking into the ocean of suffering, [they] are very lamentable and pitiful.

Thus, this *Veritable Record*<sup>68</sup> is precisely a reed-ferry [across the ocean of suffering to the other shore of liberation] in the field of wealth and nobility. Relying on this skillful device [of the play], [I] lure these people to watch and hear [its performance]. Once [the play] passes through their organ of hearing, it will forever become the seed of the Way [that enables one to become awakened]. Just as the *Emituo jing shuchao* says: ‘Either believing or suspecting, either praising or slandering, [as long as] they know that there is that Buddha [i.e., Amitābha Buddha], then [this knowledge] becomes the root of goodness. In many eons and many lives, they will all be liberated.’<sup>69</sup> Now, the *Guiyuan jing* is also like this. As long as [the *Guiyuan jing*] lets its observers and listeners know that there is Amitābha Buddha, whose name they can recite, and the Pure Land, where they can be reborn, no matter whether they believe it or slander it, it has already sown the seed in their soil. Being nourished by rain and dew, after many eons and many lives, they will undoubtedly be liberated. But if they do not hear and do not know, then it will not become a seed.

Alas! [As the *Guiyuan jing*] explains and spreads the Pure Land [teachings], sages from the ten directions would be immeasurably delighted [by it]. Even if the three patriarchs rose again [i.e., resurrect], they would also feel immeasurable delight. How could they loathe it as [something] blasphemous and disrespectful? Let alone the fact that the Buddha-Dharma pervades

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<sup>67</sup> During the sermon in which Śākyamuni preached the content of the *Lotus Sūtra*, five thousand people left their seats because of their self-conceit. See T 262, 9: 7a07–11.

<sup>68</sup> *Shilu* 實錄 refers to the *Guiyuan jing*, which Zhida claims to be the “veritable record” of the three patriarchs’ life stories.

<sup>69</sup> The original text is 或信或疑，或讚或毀，知有彼佛，便成善根，多劫多生，俱蒙解脫. This quotation is cited from Zhuhong’s *Emituo jing shuchao*. See X 424, 616b13–14.

everywhere, and certainly will not abandon the theater. Bodhisattvas rescue every person, and they will certainly not choose between the pure and the defiled. These are explicit signs that they do not loathe it [i.e., the theater] as [something] blasphemous and disrespectful. The opinion [that composing this play is] blasphemous and disrespectful is ordinary people’s opinion that belongs to [the doctrines of] the two vehicles.<sup>70</sup> [This is because] their own minds are suspicious and fearful—how does this have anything to do with the buddhas and patriarchs?

Alas! Even if [composing the *Guiyuan jing*] commits the crime of being blasphemous and disrespectful, I [alone] will take responsibility for this crime. [Because the *Guiyuan jing*] allows everyone to recite the name of Amitābha Buddha and to be reborn in the Land of Bliss, even if I fall into hell, I will also feel immeasurable delight. How can there be any fear? Good man, you should not be suspicious. Just like Master Yongjia has said: ‘If [a person] deceives sentient beings with false speech, [I] swear that they will incur [the suffering of] having their tongue pulled out for innumerable eons.’<sup>71</sup> I am also like this. If I deceive or confuse the world with evil teachings and wrong views, I will also fall into the tongue-pulling hell.<sup>72</sup> Otherwise, [I] hope that Tathāgata will support and empower the [*Guiyuan jing*]. By dint of the Buddha’s majestic power, [the *Guiyuan jing*] should circulate generation after generation. All those who watch and hear it will have an audience with Amitābha. All those who praise it or slander it will be reborn in Amitābha’s Pure Land.”

Thereupon, the guest attains great awakening. He prostrates in obeisance and composes a verse: “I initially suspected that [the *Guiyuan jing*] was [just]

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<sup>70</sup> *Ercheng* 二乘 refers to the vehicles of the “voice-hearer” 聲聞 (*śrāvaka*) and the “solitarily enlightened” 辟支佛 (*pratyeka-buddha*). In Mahāyāna literature, they often represent the so-called Hīnayāna tradition, in contradistinction to the bodhisattva path.

<sup>71</sup> The original text in the *Guiyuan jing* is 若以妄語誑眾生，誓招拔舌塵沙劫。 This quotation is cited, with some textual variations, from a popular text, the *Yongjia zhengdao ge* 永嘉證道歌 (Yongjia’s Song of Realizing the Way), which is attributed to the Tang monk Yongjia Xuanjue 永嘉玄覺 (675–713). The two lines in the *Yongjia zhengdao ge* state: “If [a person] uses false speech to deceive sentient beings, they will [cause] themselves [to] incur [the suffering of] having their tongue pulled out for innumerable eons,” 若將妄語誑眾生，自招拔舌塵沙劫。 See T 2014, 48: 395c13–14. Notably, the 1784 edition of the *Guiyuan jing* has changed the word *shi* 誓 to *zi* 自 in this quotation. See *Guiyuan jing*, 1784 edition, 2b (emphases mine).

<sup>72</sup> *Niraya* 泥犁 is a transliteration of the Sanskrit word meaning “hell.”

a play, not knowing that it is a skillful device [for liberation]. The view of the Buddha and the view of the play intertwine in my mind. The evil activities are clearly produced—they all arise from my own mind. Now that I hear what [you,] my teacher, have said, it is as if I were just waking from a dream. All mundane and transmudane events are the same as dramas and illusions. As long as [something] may [serve to] rescue and liberate people, it becomes a supreme Dharma. It is just like treating a sick person: as long as [a medicine] can cure the illness, [it is a good medicine]. The speeds [of curing illnesses with different medicines] are not comparable; [one should] not inquire whether the medicine is expensive or cheap. The *Guiyuan jing* is also like this. It relies on illusory [displays] to adapt to the capacities [of common people]. As long as it plants the cause of [rebirth in] the Pure Land, how can there be [any distinction between] Dharma and non-Dharma? Now I deeply revere [the *Guiyuan jing*] and praise it without end.” The guest jumps and dances with delight. [Then he] makes obeisance and leaves.

### ***Wenda yinyuan* 問答因緣 (Questions and Answers about Causes and Conditions)**

**Question:** “Why did my teacher [i.e., you] arouse his mind to compose the *Veritable Record*?”

**Answer:** “I [was motivated to] compose it out of my heart of compassion. All sentient beings should [be able to] become buddhas. Because they are deluded by the five desires,<sup>73</sup> craving for and attached to [them], they wander in an alien land and suffer from transmigrating in the cycle [of birth and death]. Now, in accordance with their desire for sound and form, [I] guide them to believe in [the Buddhist teachings]. [This is] precisely [like] letting them follow [their old] path in order to return home, which is extremely convenient. [Thus, I composed the *Guiyuan jing*] because of [my] sympathy for all [sentient beings].”

**Question:** “To which method of teaching does the *Guiyuan jing* belong?”<sup>74</sup>

**Answer:** “[It] belongs to the Pure Land method of teaching, because the water, birds, and trees in the Pure Land all perform the voice of [the buddhas and bodhisattvas expounding] the Dharma.”

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<sup>73</sup> *Wuyu* 五欲 refers to the five kinds of desire that arise from attachment to five types of objects—form, sound, fragrance, flavor, and tactile objects—with which the five faculties—the eyes, the ears, the nose, the tongue, and the body—make contact.

<sup>74</sup> *Men* 門 refers to the method of teaching.

**Question:** “With what [doctrinal] message is the content of [the *Guiyuan jing*] affiliated?”

**Answer:** “[It] is an expedient device for instructing [sentient beings] and [thus] is affiliated with *upāya* (i.e., skillful means). [It] is also the explicit doctrine of the Mahāyāna,<sup>75</sup> unlike the tainted [doctrines] of the two vehicles.<sup>76</sup> This is because by reciting the Buddha’s name, one will definitely become a buddha, and because [a person who performs the action of] releasing living beings possesses a mind of great compassion.”

**Question:** “The *Guiyuan jing* is after all referred to as [nothing but] a play; how can it become a record of the patriarchs’ [lives]?”

**Answer:** “The marvelous principle is universally penetrating; one must not act as if [one is] shouldering a plank.<sup>77</sup> If one is obstructed by cognitive objects, cleaves to ignorance, and loses skillful means, they ultimately fall into the two vehicles and non-Buddhist [teachings]. Therefore, the patriarch says: ‘All the worlds in the ten directions are a theater; various buddhas appearing in the world is like silhouettes appearing [in a shadow play].’<sup>78</sup> This generally explains that [the buddhas and patriarchs] have no real Dharma to give to people. [All their teachings] are [like] using yellow willow leaves to stop crying [children].<sup>79</sup> [They use] skillful means and attain the samādhi of playfulness.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> *Liaoyi* 了義 refers to a definitive doctrine that needs no further interpretation or explanation.

<sup>76</sup> *Youlou* 有漏, literally meaning “leaking,” here refers to the doctrines of the two vehicles, which are flawed and tainted.

<sup>77</sup> *Danban* 擔板 is frequently used in Chan literature to criticize a biased viewpoint, because a person who shoulders a plank can only see what is in front of them and can never look back.

<sup>78</sup> Many Chinese Buddhist masters compared the world to a theater in their teachings. For a study on this topic, see Liao, “Chanmen shuoxi,” 335–64.

<sup>79</sup> *Huangye zhiti* 黃葉止啼 is a metaphor for the Buddha offering the transient joys of the heavens in order to curb evil. Because yellow willow leaves resemble gold, parents give them to their children in order to stop them crying.

<sup>80</sup> *Youxi sanmei* 遊戲三昧 originated as the abbreviated version of the *shizi youxi sanmei* 師子遊戲三昧 (samādhi of a playing lion), a term that frequently appears in many Buddhist scriptures. According to the *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論 (Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom), as one of the 108 kinds of samādhi, the “samādhi of a playing lion” refers to the state of concentration in which the Buddha playfully exerts his power of spiritual penetration in order to cause the earth to tremble and to rescue sentient beings. This state is called the “samādhi of a playing

For example, the various sages, such as Hanshan,<sup>81</sup> Shide,<sup>82</sup> Budai,<sup>83</sup> and Xianzi,<sup>84</sup> all broke free from the rattan rope of the sages and men of virtue,<sup>85</sup> overturned the private property of buddhas and patriarchs, broke the jar of pickles, and opened up a new and special way. This is playing with the skillful means of profound functions.<sup>86</sup> With regard to the Great Being of the Universal Gate [i.e., Guanyin Bodhisattva], [he/she] sometimes manifests as a man or as a woman, as a monk or as a nun, sometimes manifests as a prime minister or as an empress, sometimes manifests as a hungry ghost or as an asura, sometimes manifests as a beast or as a hell being.<sup>87</sup> [He/she] liberates sentient beings according to their different species, not being restrained by any rules or standards. This is playing with the skillful means of great compassion.

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lion” since the Buddha demonstrates his magical power as freely and leisurely as “a lion pouncing on a deer” 如師子搏鹿，自在戲樂。See T 1509, 25: 116c07–20. The meaning of the “samādhi of playfulness” became much broader in Chinese Buddhist and cultural traditions. According to the *Liuzu tanjing* 六祖壇經 (*The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*), a person who attains the “samādhi of playfulness” can “go and come at liberty, without any hindrance” 去來自由，無滯無礙。See T 2008, 48: 358c23. For a discussion of the changing meaning of the term *youxi sanmei*, see Wang, “Interactions and Negotiations between Theater and Buddhism in Late Imperial China,” 86–90.

- 81 Hanshan 寒山 was an eccentric recluse and a prolific poet who practiced Buddhism on Mount Tiantai 天台山 during the Tang Dynasty. For a study of Hanshan’s poems and their Buddhist connotations, see Rouzer, *On Cold Mountain*.
- 82 Shide 拾得 was a monk who resided on Mount Tiantai during the Tang Dynasty. He was a close friend of Hanshan, and the two of them were known as a pair of “mad monks.”
- 83 Budai 布袋 was an eccentric monk from the Tang Dynasty noted for his cloth shoulder bag.
- 84 Xianzi 峴子 was an eccentric monk of the Caodong lineage of Chan from the Tang Dynasty. The four figures listed here are all famous for their violation of Buddhist precepts while attaining awakening.
- 85 *Tengsuo* 藤索 is equivalent to *geteng* 葛藤, which is a metaphor for entanglement and confusion. In Chan Buddhism, it specifically refers to undesirable verbosity, which is known as “entangled Chan” 葛藤禪 or “wordy Chan” 文字禪.
- 86 *Jiyong* 機用 is a Chan term referring to the various means adopted by Chan masters in order to instruct people in daily life, such as shouting while gesturing with a stick.
- 87 For the various manifestations of Guanyin in the *Lotus Sūtra*, see *Miaofa lianhua jing*, T 262, 9: 57a 22–b21.

[There are] various types of skillful means, which would be difficult to describe [even] in an entire eon. Thus, [one] must discern the patriarchs' profound functions and possess the hands and eyes of [the Bodhisattva of] the Universal Gate. Only then will they know the message of the *Guiyuan jing*. You should seek the Dharma-eye and the wisdom-eye<sup>88</sup> and pillow your heads on the sky, so that you can watch the sentient beings on the earth perform their miscellaneous dramas.”<sup>89</sup>

**Question:** “Are the records of the patriarchs in the *Guiyuan [jing]* unreal or real?”

**Answer:** “They are neither unreal nor real. Why so? If [one] explains [its] essence, then [even] a piece of fine dust does not stand—so it is not real. [If one] explains [their] function, then myriad things exist in full array—so they are not unreal. Now, as for the *Guiyuan jing*, it sometimes manifests the cardinal principle, sometimes manifests the phenomenal, sometimes intermingles phenomena and principle, [and] sometimes manifests both truth and falsity. It dually contains both without obstacle, not separating the essence from the function.<sup>90</sup> Thus, it is neither unreal nor real.”

**Question:** “What kind of samādhi did you use in order to establish the marvelous meaning of the *Guiyuan [jing]*?”

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<sup>88</sup> *Fahui eryan* 法慧二眼 are the second and fourth of the five levels of vision, respectively referring to the power to see all dharmas perfectly and the power to correctly analyze them.

<sup>89</sup> *Zaju* 雜劇 refers both to theatrical performances in general and to the particular genre of northern drama that was popular in the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368). Here, the term is used in its more general sense.

<sup>90</sup> Here, Zhida uses two analogous paradigms of “essence” (*ti* 體) and “function” (*yong* 用), “principle” (*li* 理) and “phenomena” (*shi* 事), in order to explain the dialectics of the real and the unreal. In East Asian philosophical texts, *ti* often refers to the mind’s fundamental nature, while *yong* often refers to the mind’s manifest appearances; *li* often refers to the underlying, absolute principle of existence, while *shi* often refers to the concrete daily affairs that express this principle. Zhida also adopts the term “no obstruction” (*wu'ai* 無礙) from the Huayan Buddhist concept of “no obstruction between principle and phenomena” (*lishi wu'ai* 理事無礙), which means there is no barrier between the two.

**Answer:** “There are five kinds of causes and conditions that combine to accomplish it. First, the Buddha-Dharma; second, the conventional truth;<sup>91</sup> third, the [skilled use of] words; fourth, the [mastery of] musical rhythm; fifth, popular appeal. [If] a single one of them is missing, then it will be impossible [to accomplish it]. Why so? [If] the Buddha-Dharma is missing, then [the *Guiyuan jing*] will not be a record of the patriarchs. [If] the conventional truth is missing, then [it] will ultimately become a fabricated story. [If] the [skilled use of] words is missing, then [its] language will be erroneous. [If] the [mastery of] musical rhythm is missing, then [its] tones will not be harmonious. If popular appeal is missing, then [it] will not be widely circulated. Therefore, the five conditions must combine to accomplish this skillful device [of the *Guiyuan jing*].”

**Question:** “How many merits does the *Guiyuan jing* have?”

**Answer:** “Its merits are inconceivable. For example, if a person offers the seven jewels of the chiliocosm for charity, the merits gained from this will be less than one ten-thousandth [of the *Guiyuan jing*’s merits]. Why so? It is because donating worldly properties is among the tainted causes, but reciting the Buddha’s name in order to be reborn [in the Pure Land] will achieve the uncontaminated result. If speaking in terms of using skillful means to spread the teachings and to benefit sentient beings, then the Solitarily Awakened (*pratyeka-buddha*) and Voice-Hearer disciples (*śrāvaka*) should also retreat for three *she*.”<sup>92</sup>

**Question:** “Can blessings really be produced for the people who are able to perform [the *Guiyuan jing*] and the place where [the *Guiyuan jing*] is performed?”

**Answer:** “The blessings and benefits are extremely great. The place where [the *Guiyuan jing*] is performed will immediately become a ritual sanctuary; the people who are able to perform [the *Guiyuan jing*] will ultimately become

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<sup>91</sup> *Shidi* 世諦 refers to the relative, conventional reality, as opposed to the “absolute, ultimate truth” (*zhendi* 真諦). Enlightened beings usually use *shidi* as a skillful means of rescuing sentient beings.

<sup>92</sup> *She* 舍 is a measure word expressing a distance of thirty *li*. “To retreat for three *she*” (*tuibi sanshe* 退避三舍) is a Chinese idiom which means “to concede before a powerful enemy or competitor in order to avoid conflict.” Here, Zhida is indicating that the *Guiyuan jing* can do a better job of using skillful means to spread the teachings and to benefit sentient beings than the followers of the Buddha’s Hīnayāna teaching.

buddhas. Why so? It is because [the *Guiyuan jing*] relies on the Tathāgata's majestic power and the power of the three patriarchs' vows. It is also because [the *Guiyuan jing*] can [assist] the living to attain longevity, increase their wisdom, and relieve their illness and sufferings. It is also because [the *Guiyuan jing*] can [assist] the deceased to remove their karmic hindrances, transcend the three unhappy destinies [of the animal, hungry ghost, and hell realms], and attain rebirth [in the Pure Land]."

**Question:** "Regarding those who arouse the mind to believe in [the Buddhist teachings because of] the *Guiyuan jing*, how many benefits can they acquire?"

**Answer:** "[Those who] arouse the resolve to convert [to Buddhism] have different levels of capacities for growth. Concerning their causal stages, there are roughly five kinds. First, those who are moved to compassion and immediately refrain from killing during the initial stage of watching and hearing [the *Guiyuan jing*] will have acquired the "hair" of the *Guiyuan jing*.

Second, those who watch and hear [the *Guiyuan jing*], arouse resolve, feel delighted and generate faith, and immediately observe the rules of abstinence and release various living beings will have acquired the "skin" of the *Guiyuan jing*.

Third, those who purify their minds, respond with joy, come to the realization that it is difficult to come across [the Buddhist teachings], deeply believe in the [teaching of] cause and effect, and recite the Buddha's name every morning and evening will have acquired the "flesh" of the *Guiyuan jing*.

Fourth, those who have pure faith in their profound minds, break away from their worldly ties, loathe the sufferings of the secular world,<sup>93</sup> single-mindedly recite the Buddha's name, and seek rebirth in the western [Pure Land] will have acquired the "bones" of the *Guiyuan jing*.

Fifth, [there are people] who look but see nothing, listen but hear nothing, solidly grasp [the point that] "Amitābha is [found in] their own natures," understand the "mind-only Pure Land,"<sup>94</sup> kick away the lamplight of three

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<sup>93</sup> *Sahā* 娑婆 is the transliteration of a Sanskrit word meaning "the secular world."

<sup>94</sup> *Zixing Mituo, weixin jingtu* 自性彌陀，唯心淨土 is one way of conceptualizing Amitābha Buddha and his Pure Land in the Chinese Pure Land tradition. According to this concept, there is no external Amitābha Buddha and no outside Pure Land; one should purify one's own mind in order to gain entry to the Pure Land. The other way is known as the western Pure Land. This position believes that the Pure Land literally exists to the west of this human world, and one should seek rebirth there by visualizing Amitābha's image or reciting his name. As Charles Jones indicates, the concept of "mind-only Pure Land" is "favored by the Chan (Zen)

patriarchs with a single foot, batter the shadow of the *Guiyuan jing* into pieces with a hammer, carry a pole with them for puppet play and perform according to circumstances,<sup>95</sup> smeared with mud and drenched with water,<sup>96</sup> guide and support [common people] with skillful means, manifest the realm of the Jewel King in their playful games,<sup>97</sup> [and] turn the great Dharma wheel within the tiniest particle. [People] like this will have acquired the “marrow” of the *Guiyuan jing*. It is only acquiring the marrow that will fulfill [my] original intention in [composing] the *Guiyuan jing*.<sup>98</sup> Alas, if there is no such person, then with whom can I get along?<sup>99</sup>

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School.” See Jones, *Chinese Pure Land Buddhism*, 43. In her article, Lin Zhili contrasts the *Guiyuan jing* to Tu Long’s play *Tanhua ji* in terms of their different attitudes towards Chan and Pure Land. She argues that *Tanhua ji* “falls into the conventional Chan idea that ‘the mind is the Pure Land,’” but the *Guiyuan jing* “promotes Pure Land and abandons Chan,” and encourages its audience to “seek rebirth in the western Pure Land.” See Lin, “Mingmo Qingchu Jingtū sixiang dui xiqu de yingxiang,” 97–102. Nonetheless, from his elaborate answer to the final question in this paratext, we notice that Zhida embraces both conceptions of “western Pure Land” and “mind-only Pure Land.” He even considers the latter superior to the former, as the “western Pure Land” belongs to the fourth level, while the “mind-only Pure Land” belongs to the fifth and also highest level of one’s spiritual achievement. Although the main text of the *Guiyuan jing* primarily advocates for the “western Pure Land,” this paratext shows a more complex picture of Zhida’s understanding of the Pure Land and his attitude towards Chan.

- <sup>95</sup> *Ganmu suishen, fengchang zuoxi* 竿木隨身，逢場作戲 is a metaphor for Chan masters responding according to circumstances, which is frequently used in Chan texts. For further discussions of this metaphor, see Liao, “Chanmen shuoxi,” 343–44, 347, 359; Lam, *The Spatiality of Emotion in Early Modern China*, 72.
- <sup>96</sup> *Tuoni daishui* 拖泥帶水 literally means that one has to throw oneself into the water, becoming soaked in water and covered in mud in the process, in order to save others from drowning. As a Chan metaphor, it connotes that an enlightened being has to descend to a lower level in order to teach sentient beings.
- <sup>97</sup> *Baowang* 寶王 is an epithet for the Buddha.
- <sup>98</sup> This entire answer is probably inspired by the famous story of Bodhidharma, in which he decides that his four disciples have respectively obtained the “skin,” the “flesh,” the “bone,” and the “marrow” of his teachings. Huike 慧可, who has obtained the “marrow,” became the “second patriarch” in the Chan lineage. See *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, T 2076, 51: 219b28–c05. Here Zhida borrows the four bodily metaphors and adds another one, “acquiring the hair,” which refers to the most superficial level in understanding his work.
- <sup>99</sup> *Wei siren, wushui yugui* 微斯人，吾誰與歸 is a quotation from the famous essay *Yueyanglou ji* 岳陽樓記 (On the Yueyang Tower) written by the Song literatus Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989–1052). See *Fan Zhongyan quanji*, 195. Zhida uses

## References

### Abbreviations

- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經. Tokyo: Taishōissaikyō kankōkai, 1924–1932.
- X *Shinsan Dainihon zokuzōkyō* 新纂大日本續藏經. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1975–1989.
- J *Mingban Jiaxing dazangjing: Jingshan zang ban* 明版嘉興大藏經：徑山藏版. Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1987.

### Editions of the *Guiyuan jing* 歸元鏡

- Woodblock print. Hangzhou: Yunqi si 雲棲寺, 1699.
- Woodblock print. Jiudian: Dashan hong'en si 大善弘恩寺, 1709.
- Woodblock print. Hangzhou: Baoguo si 報國寺, 1777.
- Woodblock print. Beijing: Xizhi men nei Longwang miao 西直門內龍王廟, 1784.
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- Manuscript. Copied by Songyin daoren 松隱道人, 1877. Based on a woodblock edition published by Maonao si 瑪瑙寺 in Hangzhou, 1844.
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- Manuscript titled *Expanded Guiyuan jing* 增廣歸元鏡. Including 84 acts, half of which were newly added. Photocopy in *Guben xiqu congkan wuji* 古本

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this quotation to express both his loneliness as a monk-playwright and his longing for a reader or spectator who can fully understand his intention.

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