The 'Găntōng Temple Stele'

An Annotated Translation of the 《感通寺碑》

LUDWIG M BRINCKMANN 路德

2025

The Yúnnán Papers

This text is part of a series of translations of historical Chinese texts concerning Yúnnán.

This series does not aim to present any new research but to allow an English-speaking audience to better understand Yúnnán's history and culture through original texts. The texts are heavily annotated, giving geographical, historical and cultural background information and references to contemporary academic discussions.

The texts in this series are currently in draft and undergoing revision. Those translations that have reached a certain state of maturity can be found on my website at

https://www.yunnanexplorer.com/translations/

This document was compiled on 18th September 2025.

The latest version of this document is available at https://yunnanexplorer.com/download/nanzhao/gantongsibei.pdf

© 2021–2025 Ludwig M Brinckmann All rights reserved.

This work is licensed under a Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0) and may be only be distributed in unmodified form and with this copyright notice included, see https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/.



This document is work in progress, this copy was compiled on 18th September 2025.

The latest version of this document is available at https://yunnanexplorer.com/download/nanzhao/gantongsibei.pdf

Because of the many links provided, this document works best as an electronic copy.

To contact the copyright holder for any queries or comments, please write to: ludwigbrinckmann@gmail.com or 微信 at ID: yunnanexplorer.

Contents

| 1 | Introduction | 5 | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------------|----|--|--|--|--|
| 2 | About this Translation | 6 | | | | |
| 3 | Annotated Translation | | | | | |
| | 3.1 'Biography of Chǎn Master Wújí'《无极禅师行实》 | | | | | |
| | About This Translation | | | | | |
| | 3.2 'Visiting Gǎntōng Temple' 《游感通寺》 | 17 | | | | |
| 4 | Glossary | | | | | |
| 5 | References | 24 | | | | |
| Inc | dex | 25 | | | | |
| Ill | lustrations | | | | | |
| | 1 The 《感通寺碑》 in the 《正德云南志》 | 7 | | | | |
| | 2 The《无极禅师行实》in the《滇南碑传集》 | 14 | | | | |
| | 3 The Poem 《游感通寺》 in the 《荡山志略》 | 16 | | | | |

1 Introduction

Gǎntōng Temple 感通寺, several kilometres south of the walled town of Dàlǐ 大理 on the lower eastern slopes of the Diǎncāng Mountains 点苍山 facing Lake Ěrhǎi 洱海, is an important early Buddhist temple in Yúnnán. While some historic sources (1) claim the temple dates back to the Hàn dynasty, the text translated here – the earliest known record of the temple's history – states the temple was founded during the Sòng dynasty by monks belonging to the Línjì School 临济派 of Chǎn Buddhism.

The text was originally recorded on the '*Gǎntōng Temple Stele*'《感通寺碑》, hence its name. It was written by Zhāng Dǎn 张统, *?-†1402, who served as adminstrator in Yúnnán for some thirty years.⁽²⁾

His biographical entry in the 'Wànlì Yúnnán General Gazetter' 《万历云南通志》⁽³⁾ records him as a benevolent adminstrator:

张统。字昭季,别号鷃庵,陕西西安 人。儒士。

洪武初,平云南,以统为右参政,升 左布政使。

凡云南贡赋、决令、坛祠、公署与夫典仪程度,皆所规定。

夷民心孚,远近奠安。 历任三十年,升吏部尚书。

滇人至今思之。

Zhāng Dǎn, *style name* Zhāojì or Yànān, from Shǎnxī's Xī'ān, a scholar.

At the beginning of the Hóngwǔ period he pacified Yúnnán and was then appointed Right Assistant Grand Councilor and promoted to Left Provincial Administration Commissioner.

Everything concercing Yúnnán's tribute and taxes, regulations, temples and ancestral halls, government offices, ceremonial protocols, and standards was decided by him.

The Yí people trusted him and order was established far and near. He served for thirty years and was promoted to minister at the Ministry for Personell.

The people of Diān remember him to this day.

According to Wáng Qí 王麒 and Huáng Zhèngliáng 黄正良 (2021), Zhāng Dǎn 张统 visited the temple in 1384 CE.

I have not been able to find any contemporary record of the stele, so I assume it was lost and the text only survives as transcripts from the Míng dynasty.

*l*6-7:凡云南贡赋、决令、坛祠、公署与夫典仪程度,皆所规定。] This passage is clearer in the 'Studies of Personalities by Province in the Current Dynasty'《本朝分省人物考》:「凡土地贡赋、法令条格、祀神坛祠、公署廨宇,与夫上下典仪、公用程度,皆出统裁定。」.

 r_9 : Y_i people Y_i is a common term for the native, i.e. non-Chinese population.

感通寺碑5

感通寺碑 10

⁽¹⁾ e.g. the 'Unofficial Gleanings of the Wànlì Era' 《万历野获编》, see below page 9.

⁽²⁾ Lián Ruìzhī 连瑞枝 (2020), p. 55 gives his death as 1402 CE and he himself mentions in this text that he arrived in Yúnnán at the beginning of the Hóngwǔ period, i.e. in or shortly after 1368 CE.

⁽³⁾ in 第九卷, see https://www.zhonghuashu.com/wiki/%E8%90%AC%E6%9B%86%E9%9B%B2%E5%8D%97%E9%80%9A%E5%BF%97/%E5%8D%B709, a copy is held at the National Library of China, see https://commons.wikime dia.org/wiki/File:NLC892-411999020157-87385_%E9%9B%B2%E5%8D%97%E9%80%9A%E5%BF%97_%E7%AC% AC8%E5%86%8A.pdf. A longer biographical entry, with some information differing from what is given above, can be found in the 'Studies of Personalities by Province in the Current Dynasty'《本朝分省人物考》(in 第一百零三卷, for a scan and a transcription see https://www.shidianguji.com/book/7515278914042724390/chapter/il6bimoojyntw?version=6, for another scan see also https://archive.org/details/02084187.cn/page/n19/mode/2up)

2 About this Translation

I became aware of the text and its significance through its mention in Lián Ruìzhī 连瑞枝 (2020), pp. 55–56, who notes this text as an indicator of the Hànification of the Bó 僰, i.e. the ancestors of what is now called the Bái ethnic minority 白族, at the beginning of the Míng dynasty.

The text survives in the 1510 CE completed 'Zhèngdé Era Yúnnán Gazetteer'《正德云南志》, see illustration 1,⁽⁴⁾ and also in the Jǐngtài period 'Illustrated Gazetteer of Yúnnán' 《云南图经志书》. For the latter, Lǐ Chūnlóng 李春龙 and Liu (2002), pp. 268–269 provides a critical edition, which appears to be the source of the text in Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 6, pp. 495–496.

A transcription of the text in the 'Zhèngdé Era Yúnnán Gazetteer'《正德云南志》is available at https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/%E6%AD%A3%E5%BE%B7%E9%9B%B2%E5%8D%97%E5%BF%97/%E5%8D%B743.

3 Annotated Translation

感通寺碑

'Găntōng Temple Stele'

The text proper begins with a reference to the 'Book of Changes' 《易经》, which in the section titled 《系辞下》 begins with an exploration of the term *mutual response* 相感, as the temple likely received its name from it. The passages from the 'Book of Changes' illustrate how much the Chǎn School 禅宗 borrowed from much earlier Dàoist thought as Buddhism evolved into a Chinese religion.

尺蠖之屈, 龙蛇之蛰, 观物者胥有取焉, 其相感之理然也。

感通寺碑5 是则风雷之在天,河岳之在地,明则有人,而幽则有鬼神,其理亦犹

是也。

得其理则能感,不得其理则不能感。

The coiling of the looper, the hibernation of dragons and serpents – those who observe things all take something from them, for this is the principle of *mutual response*.

Thus there is wind and thunder in heaven, rivers and mountains on earth; in the realm of the visible there are men, in the hidden realm there are spirits and deities – the principle is the same.

If one can grasp this principle, then one can bring about response; if not, then response cannot arise.

l 2: 尺蠖之屈,龙蛇之蛰] In the 'Book of Changes'《易经》:「尺蠖之屈,以求信也。龙蛇之蛰,以存身也。」, in the translation by James Legge: 'When the looper coils itself up, it thereby straightens itself again; when worms and snakes go into the state of hybernation, they thereby keep themselves alive.', see Legge (1882), pp. 389–390.

6

⁽⁴⁾ in 第四十三卷, the earliest copy I have been able to find is a 1553 CE carved edition for the Tiānyī Pavillion 天一阁 Library, available as a 1990 CE reprint in 《天一阁藏明代方志选刊续编》 (1990), vol. 71, available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:SSID-12344528_%E5%A4%A9%E4%B8%80%E9%96%A3%E8%97%8F%E6%98%8E%E4%BB%A3%E6%96%B9%E5%BF%97%E9%81%B8%E5%88%8A%E7%BA%8C%E7%B7%A8-71-%E6%AD%A3%E5%BE%B7%E9%9B%B2%E5%8D%97%E5%BF%97-2.pdf

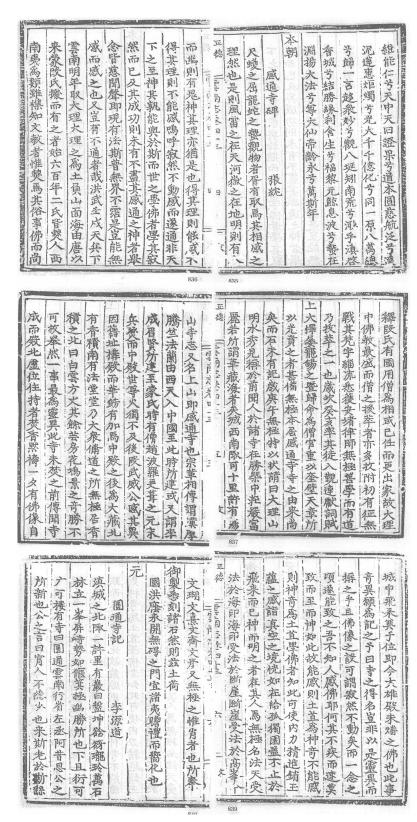


Illustration 1:

The《感通寺碑》in an early copy of the《正德云南志》

Source: 《天一阁藏明代方志选刊续编》(1990), vol. 71, pp. 835-840.

感通寺碑10 呜呼 寂然不动,感而遂通,非天下 之至神,其孰能与于此?

> 而世之学佛者,学其寂然而已。及其 成功,则未有不尽其感通之神者。

> 举念皆慈,闻声即现,有法斯普,无界不霑,是岂能无感而感之也,又岂有不通者哉?

Alas! Utterly still and unmoving, yet with response it connects to the causes for all things under Heaven. If this is not the most supreme spirit under Heaven, who else could partake in this?

But in the world, those who study Buddhism study stillness and nothing else. But when their practice is accomplished, there has never been one who did not fully manifest the divine power of responsive communication.

Reciting the compassion, the sound is immediately heard. Where there is the *dharma*, it spreads universally; there is no realm it does not moisten. How could there be a response from no response and how could there be those who are not reached?

The text continues with a short history of the Dàlǐ region, noting that Buddhism flourished in the Dàlǐ Kingdom 大理国, 937–1253 CE, i.e. well before the arrival of the Míng dynasty and the occupation of Dàlǐ in 1382 CE. So in a sense, this text suggests both a local heritage of the temple of Buddhism to at least the Sòng dynasty and also a lineage to the Línjì School.

洪武壬戌,天兵下云南,明年取大理

大理之为土,负山面海。

感通寺碑 25

由唐以来,蒙段氏据而有之者,始 六百年。二氏皆僰人,西南夷为类虽 杂,知文教者惟僰焉。其俗事佛而尚 释,段氏有国,用僧为相,或已任而 更出家,故大理中佛教最盛,而僧 之援萃者亦多。

收附初,有征无战,其梵字缁流,悉 获安堵。 In the Hóngwǔ *rénshù* year, the imperial armies descended upon Yúnnán and occupied Dàlǐ the following year.

The land of Dàlí is backed by mountains and faces the sea.

Since the Táng, the Méng and Duàn clans ruled it for six hundred years. Both clans were $B\acute{o}$ people. Even though the western and southern $Y\acute{\iota}$ were diverse, those of culture and education were only the $B\acute{o}$. Their custom was to attend to Buddhist matters and to venerate Shìjiāmóuní. When the Duàn clan ruled, they appointed monks as ministers and sometimes officials resigned to become monks. Thus in Dàlǐ the Buddhist teachings flourished to the greatest extent and their assemblies were manifold.

At the beginning of the pacification was a military campaign but no war, Buddhist temples and monks were all secure within their walls.

 l_{10} : 呜呼] I am a bit surprised that this is not written as $h\bar{e}$ 喝, the katsu shout popularized by the founder of the Línjì School Línjì Yìxuán 临济义玄.

l10—11: 寂然不动,感而遂通,非天下之至神,其孰能与于此] Again, a quote from the 'Book of Changes' 《易经》: 「易无思也,无为也,寂然不动,感而遂通天下之故。非天下之至神,其孰能与于此。」, in the translation by Legge: 'In (all these operations forming) the Yi, there is no thought and no action. It is still and without movement; but, when acted on, it penetrates forthwith to all phenomena and events under the sky. If it were not the most spirit-like thing under the sky, how could it be found doing this?', Legge (1882). In the translation by Richard John Lynn: 'The Changes is without consciousness and is without deliberate action. Being utterly still it does not initiate movement, but when stimulated it is commensurate with all the causes for everything that happens in the world. As such, it has to be the most numinous thing in the world, for what else could possibly be up to this!', Lynn (1994), p. 63.

l 11: 此] In the 'Zhèngdé Era Yúnnán Gazetteer' 《正德云南志》: sī 斯, corrected according to Lǐ Chūnlóng 李春龙 and Liu (2002), p. 268.

r 21: In the Hóngwǔ rénshù year] 1382 CE.

 r_{32-33} : a military campaign but no war | i.e. victory was achieved without battle.

After this brief historic summary, the text introduces the Vinaya master Wújí 无极, yepers 无极, a notable monk who made a trip to the Chinese court in 1383 CE, i.e. immediately after the occupation of Dàlí by Míng troops in 1382 CE.

The 1930 CE's compilation of biographies from the Míng and Qīng dynasties 'Collected Epigraphic Texts from Southern Diān' 《滇南碑传集》 by the local scholar Fāng Shùméi 方树梅 contains a biographical entry on Wújí, which is translated below, see page 13.

律师无极,善学而有道,乃拔萃之 一也。

岁次癸亥,率其徒入觐,连献词赋。 上大怿,屡宠锡之。

暨归,命为僧官,重以奎璧天章,所 以光贲之者甚备。 Vinaya master Wújí, skilled in study and high in moral qualities, was one of the most outstanding.

In the *guǐhài* year, he led his disciples to court, repeatedly presenting poetry and prose. The Emperor was very pleased and conferred him many favours.

When he returned, he was appointed a monastic official, given the emperor's personal calligraphy and literary compositions, bestowing him the highest honours.

感通寺碑 40

感通寺碑 35

It is said, that the Emperor's poems were engraved on eighteen steles placed in front of the temple. The steles have been lost, but the text of the poems survives in the 'Brief Record of Dàngshān' 《荡山 志略》, a temple record from 1694 CE. (5)

The journey to the court by Wújí is corroborated by a corresponding entry in the 'Unofficial Gleanings of the Wànlì Era' 《万历野获编》 by Shěn Défú 沈德符:

云南大理府城南十里有感通寺,一 名荡山,汉摩腾竺法兰由西天竺入 中国时建,唐时南诏重新之。

山径曲折数十里,林樾蔽亏,佛堂 之外,有僧院三十六。

洪武十六年,寺僧无极入觐,献白 驹一、山茶一。上临轩之顷,山茶忽 发一花,上异之,赐御制诗十八章, Ten *li* south of the walled town of Yúnnán's Dàli prefecture lies Găntōng Temple, also called Dàngshān Temple. It was first built during the Hàn when Kāśyapa Mātaṇga and Dharmaratna came from India to China. During the Táng, Nánzhào rebuilt it.

Mountain paths wind for dozens of ll, overgrown with trees, there were thirty-six monastic quarters.

In the 16th year of Hóngwǔ, the abbot Wújí came to the court and presented a white steed and a camellia. Just when the emperor passed by, the camellia suddenly sprouted a flower, the emperor

感通寺碑 50

感通寺碑 45

 r_{37} : In the *quǐhài* year] 1383 CE.

r 40−41: given the emperor's personal calligraphy and literary compositions] according to the note in Lǐ Chūnlóng 李春龙 and Liu (2002), p. 294, *kuíbì tiānzhāng* 奎璧天章 is a metaphor for 皇帝手笔和词章.

r45-46: during the Hàn when Kāśyapa Mātaṇga and Dharmaratna came from India to China] Kāśyapa Mātaṇga 迦叶摩腾 and Dharmaratna 竺法兰 were two monks who are said to have arrived in China in 67 CE, founding the White Horse Temple 白马寺 in Luòyáng 洛阳. However, there is no evidence (and it is highly unlikely) that they came through Dàlǐ.

r 49: In the 16th year of Hóngwǔ] 1383

r50: a white steed] one can see the correspondence to the White Horse Temple 白马寺, where Kāśyapa Mātaṇga and Dharmaratna are said to have arrived with a white horse carrying Buddhist scriptures from India.

⁽⁵⁾ see Wáng Qí 王麒 and Huáng Zhèngliáng 黄正良 (2021).

叙其水陆往返之劳,仍敕撰记,略 曰:「此寺落成之时,住持者焚香默 祷,一夕有佛像自城中飞来,而奠 位于此,今大雄殿未燔像是也」。

感通寺碑 55

以上俱出太祖圣制,其为传信无疑。

感诵寺碑 6o

佛法之灵异如此,宜开天圣人之表 彰尊信,后世崇奉不衰也。

杨用修戍滇中,寓此寺最久,写韵 楼即其卧室。

感通寺碑 65

感通寺碑70

寺产茶甚佳。◎

was astounded. He granted him eighteen imperial poems, recounting the efforts of his journey by land and sea, and ordered that this was recorded. It roughly read, 'When this temple was founded, its abbot burned incense and prayed in silence and instantly an image of Buddha came flying from the walled town and came to rest at this spot. This image still stands today in the Dàxióng Hall.' Since the above was recorded by the sacred emperor, there cannot

be any doubt about it.

The mysteries of the *dharma* are like this, so it is only appropriate

The mysteries of the *dharma* are like this, so it is only appropriate that it was venerated and honoured by the original holy men and that its worship by later generations never faltered.

When Yáng Shèn defended central Diān, he resided in this temple the longest, sleeping in the Tower of Written Rhymes.

The temple also produces fine tea.

The text continues recording some anecdotes about the temple's early history.

无极本居感通寺,寺之由来尚矣, 而石未有记。

岁庚午,无极特以状请曰:大理山 明水秀,见称于前,闻人于诸寺在 胜概中,庄严富丽,若所谓华藏海 者矣。

城西南陬可十里许,有荡山寺,志 又名上山,即感通寺也。

宗輩相传,谓汉摩腾、竺法兰由西天 入中国,至此时所建。或又谓李成眉 贤所建。 Wújí originally resided at Gǎntōng Temple, but nothing is known about the temple's history as it was not recorded in stone.

In the <code>gēngwǔ</code> year, Wújí made a special petition, saying 'Dàlǐ mountains are bright and its waters beautiful, this has been noted since ancient times. It is said that this temple among the wonderful scenery is awe-inspiring and beautiful, just like the so-called "Lotus Treasure Ocean".'

About ten *lĭ* southwest of the walled town stands Dàngshān Temple, also recorded as Shàngshān, which is none other than today's Gǎntōng Temple.

According to the transmission of the ancestors of the lineage, it was founded at the time when during the Hàn Kāśyapa Mātaṇga and Dharmaratna came from India to China. But there is also a saying that it was founded by Lǐ Chéngméi.

163: 杨用修] this is Yáng Shèn 杨慎, his courtesy name was Yòngxiū 用修.

 $l65: \circledast \]$ Source text: https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&res=262295&searchu=%E6%84%9F%E9%80%9A%E5%AF%BA

寺.

10

r63–64: When Yáng Shèn defended central Diān, he resided in this temple the longest, sleeping in the Tower of Written Rhymes] This refers to a trip the exiled scholar Yáng Shèn 杨慎 undertook with his friend Lǐ Yuányáng 李元阳 in 1530 CE, the story is told in the 'Account of a Trip to the Diǎncāng Mountains' 《游点苍山记》.

r 68: In the $g\bar{e}ngw\check{u}$ year] 1390 CE.

r72: *Lotus Treasure Ocean'.] The term huácánghǎi 华藏海 is an allusion to the huácángshìjièhǎi 华藏世界海 from the 'Avataṃsaka Sūtra'《大方广佛华严经》. Cleary (1993), p. 202 translates it as 'Flower Bank Array ocean of worlds'. r79: it was founded by Lǐ Chéngméi] Lǐ Chéngméi 李成眉 is thought to be the founder of Chóngshèng Temple 崇圣

During the rule of the Méng clan 蒙氏, i.e. during the Nánzhào period, the text then mentions that a monk named Zhào Bōluō 赵波罗 took care of the temple.

至蒙氏时,有僧赵波罗更葺之。

During the rule of the Méng clan, there was the monk Zhào Bōluō who further repaired it.

This name is also mentioned in Xú Xiákè 徐霞客's travel record:(6)

已乃由寺后西向登岭,觅波罗岩。 [...] 波罗岩者, 昔有赵波罗栖此, 朝夕礼佛, 印二足迹于方石上, 故后人即以波罗名。

波罗者,乃此方有家道人之称。

Then going westwards from behind the temple, I climbed the ridge in search of Bōluō cliff. [...] The cliff was nammed after Zhào Bōluō who in ancient times lived there in seclusion, praising Buddha mornings and evenings, and left two footprints on the stones there. The term Bōluō is, in this region, a religious man who has a family.

感通寺碑85

感通寺碑 8o

The text then continues to put the blame of the burning of the temple to the failing Yuán dynasty.

元末兵燹,而中殿世尊火独不及。

后段武威公感其异,因旧址构殿, 而华饬有加焉。 During the ravages of war in the final years of the Yuán, alone [the statue of] the World Honoured One was spared by the flames. Later **Duàn Duke Wǔwēi** felt its magic, so he rebuilt a hall at the old location even more splendidly.

感通寺碑 go

It follows a description of the temple.

中殿之后为大藏,北有香积,南有法堂,堂乃大众修道之所。无极居香积之北,曰白云方丈。其馀芸房花坞,景之奇胜,不可枚举。

Behind the central hall was the scripture hall, north was the Xiāngjī hall, south was the *dharma* hall, where the people cultivated themselves. Wújí resided north of Xiāngjī hall, called the **Báiyún abbot's quarters**. As for the remaining quarters, flower beds and scenic spots, they were too numerous to count.

感通寺碑 95

The stele continues recording a miraculous event where Wújí's prayers made an icon come flying to the temple, evidence of the principle of *mutual response* 相感:

然一事最为灵异。此寺未焚之前,传闻寺成而殿北虚位,住持者焚香默 祷。一夕,有佛像自城中飞来,奠于 But there is one event that was most miraculous. Before the temple burned down, it was said that when the temple had been completed, north of it remained an empty spot where the abbot burned

r80: During the rule of the Méng clan $]\;$ i.e. during the Nánzhào period.

r80: the monk Zhào Bōluō] Zhào Bōluō 赵波罗's tomb sits in the mountains above Gǎntōng Temple, nearby is a small temple dedicated to him, Bōluō Temple 波罗寺.

r86: a religious man who has a family] This description suggests that the still current practice of the local Buddhist branch called Āzhàli 阿吒力 that allows its monks to marry was already established during the Míng dynasty. r8g: Duàn Duke Wǔwēi] probably a reference to Duàn Xìnjū Fú.

 r_{93} –94: Báiyún abbot's quarters] The term fāngzhàng literally means a 'a square zhàng', indicating a very small room. But in Buddhists texts, this term is associated with the abbot's quarters, since Wéimójié 维摩诘 resided in such a room, see the Vimalakīrti Sutra《维摩诘经》

⁽⁶⁾ Xú Xiákè mentions him in his entry on 15th April 1639.

感通寺碑 100

位,即今大雄殿未燔之佛也。此事奇异,愿为记之。

予曰: 寺之得名, 岂非以是灵异而称之乎?

感通寺碑105

且佛像之设,可谓寂然不动矣,而一念之顷,遂能致之,吾不知人感佛耶,何其不疾而速,莫致而至,而神如此?

感通寺碑 no 故能感则土苴为神奇,不能感则神 奇为土苴。

学佛者知此,可使内力精进,销五 蕴之感,诣真空之境,恍如在给孤 ^{感通寺碑 15} 独园,盖不止于飞来而已。

神而明之者,在其人焉。

incense and said quiet prayers. One night, a Buddha image came flying from the walled town and came to rest at that spot, which is today the Dàxióng Hall, where the Buddha was not consumed by fire. This is so strange, that I wish it to be recorded.

So I asked, 'When this temple was given its name, was it not because of this event?'

Furthermore, when an image of Buddha is installed, it may be said that **it is silent and unmovable**, yet with a single prayer it could be summoned to this place. I do not know, was it a man who moved Buddha? How can it be that without effort it happened in an instant, without devotion it still arrived, is this not a miracle?

So if one is able to respond, dirt and weed become divine and wonderous, but if one cannot respond, the divine and wonderous become dirt and weed.

If those who study Buddhism understand this, they can refine and strenghten their inner power, dispel [the attachement to] the *five aggregates*, and reach the realm of true emptiness, and suddenly they will be in the garden of Jetavana, not alone [a Buddha image] flying there.

The one who makes it divine and understands it clearly lies within the person itself.

The text continues with the lineage of Wújí 无极, which can partly be 'corroborated' in other sources. (7)

· The earliest monk mentioned below is here named as Gāofēng 高峰, this was likely Gāofēng Yuánmiào 高峰原妙, *1238—†1295, a monk significant enough to be mentioned in '*The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*', see Buswell and Lopez (2014), p. 314. He was a monk belonging to the Yángqí School 杨岐派, a continuation of the Línjì School 临济派.

l 113–114: 五蕴] In the 'Zhèngdé Era Yúnnán Gazetteer' 《正德云南志》 edition yùyùn 玉蕴, which makes no sense.

r106: it is silent and unmovable] this picks up on the Chǎn 禅 concept of $jìr\acute{a}nb\grave{u}d\grave{o}ng$ introduced at the beginning of the text.

⁽⁷⁾ I am aware of the writing of John R. McRae: 'In the most basic historical terms, though, we should recognize that the homologizing impact of the Chan lineage diagram represents a profound distortion of the subject matter. This is McRae's second rule of Zen studies: "Lineage assertions are as wrong as they are strong." In more formal language, this means that lineage assertions are problematic in direct proportion to their significance. That is, every time we read that the masters of such-and-such a group are related to each other in a lineal succession, the statement is probably inaccurate in some sense, and the more important it is to the religious identity of the individuals involved, the less accurate it will be. If nothing much is made of the relationship, the lineage assertion is more likely to be correct than if a great deal rides on it. Almost always, of course, the figure at the end of the list, or even that individual's students, has the most at stake in making such assertions. And if his religious identity must be defined on the basis of a lineal succession, if his historical status depends on being the recipient of the cumulative charisma of one particular set of predecessors, then it always seems that some significant distortion of the facts has taken place. Of course, my use of the word facts should remind you of the first rule, which remains relevant here: The presentation of reality in lineage schema represents a certain type of myth-making, and what is not "true" per se is inevitably more important!', McRae (2003), p. 8.

- · One of Gāofēng Yuánmiào's disciples was Duànyá Leyì 断崖了义, here mentioned in the short form Duànyá 断崖, he has an entry it the Chǎn School genealogical collection 'Complete Book of the Five Lamps' 《五灯全书》.(8)
- · For the teacher of Wújí called Hǎiyìn 海印 I have not been able to find additional sources.

无极名法天,受法于海印,海印受法于断崖,断崖受法于高峰。

今文瑚、文熹、文齐、文彦, 又无极之惟肖者也。

所奉御制,悉刻诸石。然则兹土荷国 洪荫,永开无碍之门,宜诸夷瞻礼 而向化也。 **Wújí's** [monastic] name was Fǎtiān, as he had received the *dharma* from Hǎiyìn, Hǎiyìn had received the *dharma* from Duànyá, Duànyá had received the *dharma* from Gāofēng.

Today, Wénhú, Wénxī, Wénqí, and Wényàn are those who most closely resemble Wújí.

The imperial orders they received have all been carved in stone. So this land in the shade of the lotus country forever opened the unobstructed gate, so it is fitting that the Yi cherish it and turn towards transformation.

感通寺碑125

感通寺碑120

3.1 'Biography of Chǎn Master Wújí'《无极禅师行实》

The Chinese Republic period collection of biographical information 'Collected Epigraphic Texts from Southern Diān' 《滇南碑传集》 by the local scholar Fāng Shùméi 方树梅 contains a biographical entry on Wújí 无极,⁽⁹⁾ the abbot of Gǎntōng Temple mentioned in the text above.

The biography is attributed to Yáng Jiézhòng, an official who served in Dàlǐ during the Yǒnglè reign, 1402–1424 CE. (10)

About This Translation

I found this text through its mention in Lián Ruìzhī 连瑞枝 (2020), p. 161. The text is included in the 'Collected Epigraphic Texts from Southern Diān'《滇南碑传集》, for which a scan is available online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:HWSH-9910010825F02_%E6%BB%87%E5%8D%97%E7%A2%91%E5%82%B3%E9%9B%86.pdf, see illustration 2, and in an annotated edition as <empty citation > I found this entry through its

无极禅师行实 *'Biography of Chǎn Master Wúji'* 杨节仲 By **Yáng Jiézhòng** 禅师名法天,号无极,乃大理府城 The Chǎn Master's *dharma* name

The Chan Master's dharma name was Fătian, his sobriquet Wújí, an

r120: Wújí's [monastic] name was Fǎtiān] He is unrelated to the much more significant Indian monk Dharmadeva 法 天, -†1001.

r2: Yáng Jiézhòng] the author of this text, no other information available

⁽⁸⁾ In《五灯全书》第五十一卷, see https://zh.wikisource.org/zh-hans/%E4%BA%94%E7%87%88%E5%85%A8%E6%9B%B8/%E5%8D%B7%E7%AC%AC%E4%BA%94%E5%8D%81%E4%B8%80

⁽⁹⁾ The exact publishing date of the collection is unclear, it is 1940 CE or shortly after, see the entry in 图书季刊 (《滇南碑传集之印行》(1940)).

⁽¹⁰⁾ This information is given in the 'Collected Epigraphic Texts from Southern Diān' 《滇南碑传集》.

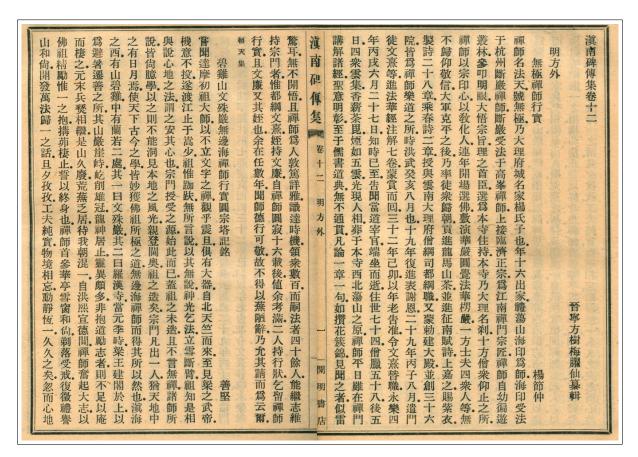


Illustration 2:

The《无极禅师行实》 in the《滇南碑传集》

 $Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File: HWSH-9910010825F02_\%E6\%BB\%87\%E5\%8D\%97\%E7\%A2\%91\%E5\%82\%B3\%E9\%9B\%86.pdf$

名家杨氏子也。

无极禅师行实5

年十六出家礼荡山海印为师。海印受法于杭州断岩禅师,断岩受法于高峰禅师,上接临济正宗,为江南禅门宗匠。

无极禅师行实 15

禅师自幼遍游丛林,参叩明眼,大悟宗旨,理之首臣,选为本寺住持。本寺乃大理名刹,十方僧众仰止之所,禅师以宗印心,以教化人,连年开场选佛,敷演华严、圆觉、法华、楞严,一方士夫四众人等,无不归仰敬信。

offspring of the distinguished Yáng clan in Dàlǐ superior prefecture. He left home to become a monk at the age of sixteen, taking Dàngshān Temple's Hǎiyìn as his teacher. Hǎiyìn had received the *dharma* from Hángzhōu's Chǎn Master Duànyán, who had received the *dharma* from Chǎn Master Gāofēng, linking them to the orthodox Línjì School, making them eminent masters of Jiāngnán's Chǎn School.

From an early age, the Chǎn Master travelled widely through the monastic communities, he was inquisitive and bright, had a thorough understanding of the doctrines, paid attention to the foremost officials, and was chosen as the abbot of this monastery, a famous temple in Dàlǐ, venerated by monks from all directions. The Chǎn Masters' teachings were imprinted in his heart, he educated other people, year after year he held assemblies to select

16: 断岩禅师] a variant writing for Duànyá Leyì 断崖了义

大军克平之后,乃率徒众归朝,贡进龙马、山茶,并进《征南赋》诗,上嘉之,赐紫衣,制诗二十八章,《乘春诗》二章,授与云南大理府僧纲司都纲职,又蒙敕建大殿,并创三十六院,皆为禅师乐道之所,时洪武癸亥八月也。

十九年,复进表谢恩,二十九年丙子八月,遣门徒文熹等,进《法华经注解》七卷。蒙赏而回。

三十二年已卯,以年老告准,令文 熹替职。

永乐四年丙戌六月二十七日,知时已至,告闻当道宰官,端坐而逝。住世七十四,僧腊五十八。后五日,四众云集,香新茶毗,烟如五云,光现人相,葬于本寺西北荡山之原。

禅师平日虽在禅门讲解诸经,圣意明彰,至于儒书道典,无不通贯,凡论一章一句,如赞花簇锦,见闻之者,似雷惊耳,无不并悟。

且禅师为和人敦笃详雅。议达时机。 領眾數百。而嗣法者四十餘人。

能继志维持宗門者,惟都纲文熹。

Buddhas, expounded the 'Flower Adornment Sutra', the 'Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment', the 'Lotus Sutra', and the 'Śūraṅgama Sutra'. Officials, scholars, monastic community from the region – there was no-one who did not venerate and trust him.

After the Imperial Armies pacified the region, he led his disciples to the court to present tribute, offering a fine steed, camellias, and the poem 'Ode to the Pacification of the South'. The emperor praised this and granted him a purple robe, and wrote twenty-eight poems, and two poems titled 'Riding into Spring', and appointed him as monastic administrator of the Buddhist administrative office for Yúnnán's Dàlǐ, and by imperial decree a grand hall was constructed and thirty-six cloisters were established, all for the Chǎn masters to joyfully practice, that was in the 8th month of the guǐhài year of Hóngwǔ.

In the 19th year, he sent another memorial to express his gratitude. In the 8th month of the 29th year, bǐngzǐ, he dispatched his disciple Wénxī and others to the court to present seven juàn of annotations to the 'Lotus Sutra'. They were rewarded and returned. In the 32nd year, yǐmǎo, he petition for approval to retire and it was ordered that Wénxī take over his duties.

On the 27th day of the 6th month of the 4th year of Yǒnglè, knowing that his end was nigh, he informed the local magistrate, sat upright and passed away. He had walked on this earth for seventy-four years and had been in the monastic community for fifty-eight years. Five days later, the assembly convened, made offerings and cremated his body. The smoke rose like five coloured clouds, and light appeared among the people. He was buried northwest at the source of Dàng mountain.

Even though the Chǎn Master mainly expounded the scriptures, revealing and illuminating their sacred meaning, the classics and Dàoist texts, there was nothing he was not proficient in. Whether he discussed a chapter or a phrase, his eulogies were like a brocade of flowers. Those who saw or heard him were like struck by lightning and there was no-one who was not enlightened.

Moreover, the Chǎn Master was harmonious in nature, sincere and steadfast, gentle and refined in his conduct. He discussed and determined the proper timing of actions, leading a community of several hundred people, of whom more than forty were *dharma* heirs. The only one to carry on from him upholding the lineage was the

无极禅师行实 20

无极禅师行实 25

无极禅师行实 30

无极禅师行实 35

无极禅师行实 40

无极禅师行实 45

无极禅师行实 50

无极禅师行实 55

 r_{30-31} : the 8th month of the *guǐhài* year of Hóngwǔ.] 1383 CE.

r 32: In the 19th year] 1386 CE.

 r_{33} : 8th month of the 29th year, $b\check{i}ngz\check{i}$] 1396 CE.

r36: 32nd year, yǐmǎo] 1399 CE.

 r_38 : On the 27th day of the 6th month of the 4th year of Yŏnglè | 12th July 1406.

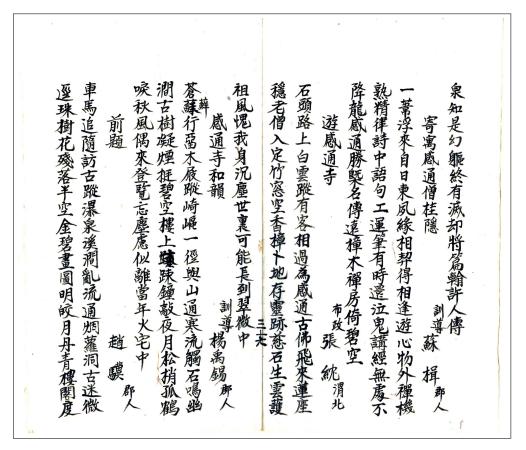


Illustration 3: The Poem《游感通寺》 in the 1694《荡山志略》

 $Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/co/%E8\%95\%A9\%E5\%B1\%B1\%E5\%BF\%97\%E7\%95\%\\ A5_-_\%E6\%B8\%85_\%281644-1911\%29.pdf$

自师圆寂十六载后,值余考满,二 人持行状,乞留禅师行实。且文廉又 其係此

无极禅师行实 6o 其侄也。

余在任数年。闻師德行可敬。故不得 以芜陋辞,乃允其請而为云尔。

无极禅师行实 65 朝天集

monastic administrator Wénxī.

Sixteen years after the masters passing, when I was facing my official evaluation, two men brought a draft account, asking me to compile a biography. Furthermore, Wénlián was his nephew.

I had served for many years. Having heard that the master's virtue and conduct were truly worthy of respect, I could not allow myself to use coarse language. Thus, I granted their request and composed this writing.

From the Records of a Tribute Journey.

3.2 'Visiting Gǎntōng Temple'《游感通寺》

Zhāng Dǎn 张统 also left a poem about his visit to Gǎntōng Temple, recorded in the '*Illustrated Gazetteer of Yúnnán*' 《云南图经志书》.⁽¹¹⁾

《游感通寺》 'Visiting Gǎntōng Temple'

不头路上白云踪, On the stone path, white clouds leave their traces, 有客相过为感通。 Travellers pass by on their way to Gǎntōng Temple. 古佛飞来莲座稳, The ancient Buddha's flying lotus seat rests firm,

老僧入定竹窗空。 The old monk meditates, the bamboo window empty.

香樟布地存灵迹 , Camphor trees cover the sacred site,

慈石生云护祖风。 Stones of compassion birth clouds, guarding the fierce wind.

愧我身沉尘世里, Ashamed am I, my body deep in this dusty world,

可能长到翠微中。 Can I grow to these emerald heights?

 l_{59} : 文廉] This might be a miswriting of a name, either here or on the text of the stele, he seems to be one of Wújí's disciples.

游感通寺5

^{165:} 朝天集] This text is printed smaller and set off as an attribution.

*l*₇: 祖] This seems to be a miswriting.

r 65: Records of a Tribute Journey It is unclear what records this text has been extracted from.

⁽II) And also in the 1694 CE 'Brief Record of Dàngshān' 《荡山志略》 compiled by Huáng Yuánzhì 黃元治, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1984), pp. 726–727. See illustration 3, the version seems to have some clerical miswritings.

4 Glossary

- longing to Mìjiào 密教, – see page 11
- Báimǎ Sì 白马寺: White Horse Temple, im- Chéngchūnshī 《乘春诗》: 'Riding into Spring', portant early Buddhist temple in Luòyáng 洛阳, founded in 68, - see page 9, 18
- Bái zú 白族: Bái ethnic minority, officially recognized ethnic minority in China, main settlement area around Ěrhǎi, page 6, 18
- Běncháo Fēnshěng Rénwù Kǎo 《本朝 分省人物考》: 'Studies of Personalities by Province in the Current Dynasty', Míng 明 biographical compendium, – see page 5, 18
- Bōluō Sì 波罗寺: Bōluō Temple, small temple above Gǎntōng Sì 感通寺, named after Zhào Bōluō 赵波罗, – see page 11, 18
- Bōluō Yán 波罗岩: Bōluō cliff, locality above Gǎntōng Sì 感通寺, - see page 11, 18
- **Bó** 僰: ancient tribal group in Yúnnán, page 6, 8
- Bùzhèngshǐ 布政使: Provincial Administration Commission, , , see Hucker (1985), 4770 – see page 5, 18
- Cānzhèng 参政: Assistant Grand Councilor, 'Lit., to take part in governance.', , see Hucker (1985), 6868 – see page 5, 18
- Cāngshān 苍山: Cāngshān, mountain range west of Ěrhǎi, - see page 18
- Chǎn 禅: Chǎn 禅, Buddhist school, - see pages 5, 12-15, 18
- Chǎnzōng 禅宗: Chǎn School, main Buddhist school in China, - see pages 6, 13, 18

- **Āzhàlì** 阿吒力: Bái Zú 白族 Buddhist sect, be- **Chén Wénxiū** 陈文修: compiler of the 《云南 图经志书》,
 - poem name, see page 15, 18
 - Chóngshèng Sì 崇圣寺: Chóngshèng Temple, main temple north of Dàlǐ 大理, in front of it are the Three Pagodas 三塔, - see page 10, 18
 - Dàfāng Guǎngfó Huáyánjīng 《大方广佛 华严经》: 'Avatamsaka Sūtra', , page 10, 18
 - **Dàlǐ** 大理: , see pages 5, 8-10, 13-15
 - Dàlǐ superior prefecture 大理府: Dàlǐ Prefecture, later name of the Dàli administrative region, - see page 14, 18
 - Dàlǐ Guó 大理国: Dàlǐ Kingdom, successor state to Nánzhào, ruled by the Duàn 段 clan, 937—1253, 937–1253 CE – see page 8,18
 - Dàngshān Sì 荡山寺: Dàngshān Temple, another name for Gǎntōng Sì 感通寺, see pages 9, 10, 14, 18
 - Dàngshān Zhìlüè 《荡山志略》: 'Brief Record of Dàngshān', Dàlǐ 大理 local gazetteer, compiled by Huáng Yuánzhì 黃元治, printed in 1694, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1984), pp. 726–727, - see pages 9, 17, 18
 - Dào 道: Dào, key Dàoist concept, often translated as 'the way', - see pages 6, 15, 18
 - **Diān** 滇: one of the earliest polities known to China in present-day Yúnnán, later also a geographical term for the region, page 5, 10, see 滇国

- **Diān Guó** 滇国: kingdom of Diān, historic polity in Yunnan, centered around Diānchí, flourishing at the time of the Hàn dynasty, see page 19
- Diānnánbēichuánjí 《滇南碑传集》: 'Collected Epigraphic Texts from Southern Diān', collection of historic biographical material by Fāng Shùméi 方树梅 in thirty-two volumes, an important work because it contains many later lost sources, see pages 9, 13, 19
- Diān Zàijì 《滇载记》: 'Historical Records of Diān', Míng 明 period historical work by Yáng Shèn 杨慎, completed 1525, see page 19
- Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山: Diǎncāng Mountains, mountain range west of Dàlǐ 大理, see page 5, 19
- Dūgāng 都纲: monastic administrator, title in the Míng 明 administrative system for Buddhism, see pages 15, 16, 19
- Duàn Shì 段氏: Duàn clan, ruling clan of the Dàlǐ Kingdom, — see page 8, 19
- Duàn Sīlián 段思廉: eleventh ruler of Dàlǐ kingdom, ruled 1044–1075 CE, ruled 1044–1075 CE see page 19
- Duàn Xìnjū Fú 段信苴福: prince Duàn Fú, uncle of Duàn Xīngzhì 段兴智, he carried the title Duke Wǔwēi, – see page 11, 19
- Duàn Xīngzhì 段兴智: Dàlǐ kingdom ruler, ruled 1251-1254 CE, ruled 1251-1254 CE see page 19
- Duànyá Leyì 断崖了义: Chǎnzōng 禅宗 monk, disciple of Gāofēng Yuánmiào 高峰 原妙, – see page 13, 14
- **Ěrhǎi** 洱海: Lake Ěrhǎi, highland lake in western Yúnnán with the center of Nánzhào

- on its western side. It was also called Xīěr 西洱, Xīěr Hé, — see page 5, 19
- **Fǎ** 法: *dharma*, the Buddhist teachings, see pages 8, 10, 11, 13–15, 19
- **Fǎhuájīng** 《法华经》: 'Lotus Sutra', key Buddhist sutra, – see page 15, 19
- **Fǎtiān** 法天: another monastic name of Wújí 无极, not to be confused with the more important Fǎtiān 法天, *1432-†1406 – see page 13, 19
- **Fătiān** 法天: Dharmadeva, monk and translator, -†1001 see page 13, 19
- Fāng Shùméi 方树梅: Yúnnán scholar, see page 9,13
- **fǔ** 府: prefecture, administrative unit during the Yuán Cháo 元朝, see page 9, 19
- **Gǎntōng Sì** 感通寺: Gǎntōng Temple, important temple on the slopes of 苍山, (● 25.65N 100.17E) see pages 5, 9–11, 13, 17, 19
- **Gǎntōng Sì Bēi** 《感通寺碑》: '*Gǎntōng Temple Stele*', stele text at Gǎntōng Sì 感通寺, composed by Zhāng Dǎn 张纨,—see pages 5, 6, 19
- Gāofēng Yuánmiào 高峰原妙: Chǎnzōng 禅 宗 monk, see Buswell and Lopez (2014), p. 314, *1238-†1295 see pages 12-14, 19
- **Gěigūdú Yuán** 给孤独园: garden of Jetavana, Buddhist sacred place, — see page 12, 19
- Gōng 公: duke, '(1) Duke, from high antiquity the highest title of nobility after wang, normally reserved for members of the ruling family; ... Commonly prefixed with territorial names, ... (2) The Honorable or His Honor, polite term of indirect address applied to someone considered deserving of respect', , see Hucker (1985), 3388 see page 19

- Guìzhōu 贵州: province in south-west China, Lǐ
- Hǎiyìn 海印: teacher of Wújí 无极, - see page 14
- Hàn Cháo 汉朝: Hàn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 202 BCE-220, - see page 5, 20
- **Hàn** 汉: Hàn, main ethnic group of China, also name of early dynasty, - see pages 6, 9, 10, 20
- Hángzhōu 杭州:, - see page 14
- **hào** 号: sobriquet, assumed literary name, see page 13, 20
- Hóngwǔ 洪武: sole reign period Míng emperor Zhū Yuánzhāng, 1368–1398, - see pages 5, 8, 9, 15
- Huáyánjīng 《华严经》: 'Flower Adornment Sutra', important sutra, also known as the Avatamsaka Sutra, - see page 15, 20
- Huáng Yuánzhì 黃元治: Qīng dynasty official, compiler of the 《荡山志略》, see page 17
- Jiāyè Móténg 迦叶摩腾: Kāśyapa Mātaṇga, Indian Buddhist monk, said to have come to China in 67 during the Hàn dynasty together with Zhú Fǎlán 竺法兰, - see pages 9, 10, 20
- Jiànnán 剑南: Táng dynasty commandery in present-day Sìchuān,
- Jiāngnán 江南: , – see page 14
- Jǐngtài 景泰: Míng 明 emperor, ruled 1449-1457 CE - see page 6, 20
- sutra name, see page 15, 20

- 李成眉: eminent monk, Chéngméi founder of Chóngshèng Sì 崇圣寺, see Wáng Qí 王麒 and Huáng Zhèngliáng 黄 正良 (2021), - see page 10
- Lǐ Yuányáng 李元阳: Míng 明 Dàlǐ 大理 scholar, see Xing (2022), Daniels (2020), p. 141, *1497-†1580 - see page 10, 20
- **Lìbù** 吏部: Ministry for Personell, important ministry, , see Hucker (1985), 3630 - see page 20
- Lìbù Shàngshū 吏部尚书: minister at the Ministry for Personell, , - see page 5, 20
- Línjì Pài 临济派: Línjì School, one of the southern Chǎnzōng 禅宗 schools, pages 5, 8, 12, 14, 20
- **Línjì Yìxuán** 临济义玄: founder of the Línjì Pài 临济派, -textdied866, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Linji_Yixuan. - see page 8, 20
- Lushī 律师: Vinaya, referring to Buddhist monastic discipline, - see page 9, 20
- Luòyáng 洛阳: capital, - see page 9
- Mán 蛮: historically a generic term for non-Chinese people in the southwest,
- **Méng** 蒙: clan name of the ruling family of Nánzhào, - see page 8
- Méng Shì 蒙氏: Méng clan, ruling clan of - see page 11, 20 Nánzhào,
- Mìjiào 密教: esoteric Buddhism, branch of Buddhism, - see page 20
- Mín Guó 民国: Chinese Republic, republican period of China, 1912-1949, - see page 13, 20
- Léngyánjīng 《楞严经》: 'Śūraṅgama Sutra', **Míng Cháo** 明朝: Míng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1368–1644, - see pages 5, 6, 8, 11, 20

- **Míng** 明: Míng, usually referring to the Míng 明, - see page 9, 21
- Míng Zhèngdé Dì 明正德帝: Míng emperor Zhèngdé, Míng emperor Zhèngdé, ruled 1505–1521 CE – see page 21
- Nán Yí 南夷: Southern Yí, general term for non-Chinese people south of China, see page 21
- Nánzhào 南诏: southern zhào, regional power with its center on Ěrhǎi during the 8th and 9th centuries, - see pages 9, 11, 21
- Qīng dynasty 清朝: Qīng dynasty, last dynasty of imperial China, 1644-1912 BCE, see page 21
- Sāntǎ 三塔: Three Pagodas, temple complex north of Dàlǐ 大理 called Chóngshèng Sì - see page 21, see 崇圣寺
- Sēnggāngsī 僧纲司: Buddhist administrative office, Míng 明 religious administration, - see page 15, 21
- Shănxī 陕西: north-western region and - see page 5 province,
- Shàngshū 尚书: minister, 'minister, head of a top-level administrative agency in the central government's Department of State Affairs', , see Hucker (1985), 5042 page 21
- Shěn Défú 沈德符: Míng 明 scholar, author Wénshū 文殊: Mañjuśrī, oldest and most of the《万历野获编》, - see page 9
- Shìjiāmóuní 释加牟尼: Śākyamuni, Chinese name for the historic Buddha, – see page 8, 21
- **Sìchuān** 四川: Chinese province,

- Sòng Cháo 宋朝: Sòng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 960-1279, 960-1279 CE - see pages 5, 8, 21
- **Táng Cháo** 唐朝: Táng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 618–907, - see page 21
- **Táng** 唐: Táng, Chinese dynasty contemporary with Nánzhào, 618-907, - see pages 8, 9, 21
- **Tiānyī Gé** 天一阁: Tiānyī Pavillion, oldest Chinese private library, - see page 6, 21
- Wànlì 万历: Wànlì Emperor, Míng emperor Wànlì, - see page 21
- Wànlì Yěhuòbiān《万历野获编》:'Unofficial Gleanings of the Wanli Era', late informal Míng 明 text, written by Shěn Défú 沈德 符, - see pages 5, 9, 21
- Wànlì Yúnnán Tōngzhì 《万历云南通志》 : 'Wànlì Yúnnán General Gazetter', 1691 completed provincial gazetteer, page 5, 21
- Wéimójié 维摩诘: Vimalakīrti, legendary erudite Buddhist layperson, engaged in a theological debate with Wénshū 文殊 narrated in the《维摩诘经》, see page 11, 21, see 维摩诘经 & 文殊
- Wéimójié Jīng 《维摩诘经》: Vimalakīrti Sutra, a scroll from the Dàlí Guó period, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, USA, - see page 11, 21
- significant bodhisattva, representing wisdom, – see page 21
- Wénxī 文 熹: successor to Wújí 无 极 at Gǎntōng Sì 感通寺, – see pages 13, 15, 16
- Wújí 无极: monk, - see pages 9-13, 17

- **Wújíchǎnshīxíngshí** 《无极禅师行实》: '*Bio-xìnjū* 信 苴: prince, graphy of Chăn Master Wújí', title of a section in the《滇南碑传集》, – see page 13, 22
- Wǔdēng Quánshū 《五灯全书》: 'Complete Book of the Five Lamps', Chǎnzōng 禅宗 genealogical compilation, - see page 13, 22
- Wǔwēi Gōng 武威公: Duke Wǔwēi, title given to the Duàn clan, see 《云南图经 志书》, – see page 11, 22
- Wǔyùn 五蕴: five aggregates, Buddhist doctrine describing the five components that constitute human existence and cause attachment and suffering, - see page 12, 22
- Xī'ān 西安: capital of Shǎnxī 陕西, - see page 5
- Xīěr 西洱: shorter form of Xīěr Hé, a reference to Ěrhǎi,
- Xīěr Hé 西洱河: Xīěr River, historic name for Ěrhǎi, now in use for the river that flows out of the lake, - see page 22
- **Xīnán Yí** 西南夷: western and southern Yí, a term first appearing in the denoting non-Chinese people in presentday Sìchuān, Guìzhōu 贵州 and Yúnnán. It is often translated as 'southwestern barbarians', but it seems to be a short form referring to both Xī Yí 西夷 and Nán Yí 南夷, see Yang (2004), pp. 5-6, - see page 8, 22
- Xī Yí 西夷: western Yí, , see page 22
- Xiānggǎn 相感: mutual response, ancient Chinese concept on the interaction of - see pages 6, 11, 22 things,
- Xiěyùn Lóu 写韵楼: Tower of Written - see page 10, 22

- a honorific meaning 'prince' (see Zhāng Xílù 张锡禄 (2015), p. 43), granted to the Dàlǐ 大理 Zǒngguǎn 总管, – see page 22
- Xú Xiákè 徐霞客: Míng 明 traveller, - see page 11
- **Yáng Jiézhòng** 杨节仲: Dàlǐ 大理 official during the Yǒnglè 永乐 period, – see page
- Yángqí Pài 杨岐派: Yángqí School, continuation of the Línjì Pài 临济派, – see page 12, 22
- Yáng Shèn 杨慎: Míng 明 scholar, originally from Sìchuān, exiled to Yúnnán in 1524, compiler of the 《滇载记》 and many other works. His Hào 号 was 升庵, *1488-†1557 - see page 10, 22, see 滇载记
- 夷: one of the collective terms for non-Chinese people in the south-west, page 5, 13, see 蛮
- **Yìjīng** 《易经》: 'Book of Changes', one of the oldest Chinese classics, - see pages 6, 8, 22
- **Yǒnglè** 永乐: Míng 明 emperor, ruling 1402– 1424, ruled 1402–1424 CE – see pages 13, 15, 22
- Yóu Diǎncāngshān Jì 《游点苍山记》: 'Account of a Trip to the Diancang Mountains', work by Yáng Shèn 杨慎, – see page 10, 22
- Yóu Găntōngsì 《游感通寺》: 'Visiting Gǎntōng Temple', poem by Zhāng Dǎn 张 统, recorded in the《荡山志略》, page 17, 22
- Rhymes, building at Gǎntōng Sì 感通寺, Yòu 右: Right, part of titles, senior to 左, see page 5, 22

- Yuán 元: Yuán, Chinese dynasty, 1271–1368, – see page 11, 23
- 《圆觉经》: 'Sutra of Perfect Yuánjuéjing Enlightenment', important sutra in Chanzōng 禅宗, - see page 15, 23
- **Yuán Cháo** 元朝: Yuán dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1279-1368, - see page 11, 23
- **Yúnnán** 云南: since the Yuán Cháo 元朝 a southwestern Chinese province, at the time of the Táng dynasty the name for the geographic region south of its Jiànnán district, - see pages 5, 8, 9, 15
- Yúnnán Tōngzhì《云南通志》: 'Yúnnán General Gazetter', generic name for a number of historical works on Yúnnán, page 23
- Yúnnán Tújīng Zhìshū 《云南图经志书》 : 'Illustrated Gazetteer of Yúnnán', Jǐngtài 景泰 period work on Yúnnán by Chén Wénxiū 陈文修, completed in 1545 CE, for a critical edition see Lǐ Chūnlóng 李春龙 and Liu (2002), - see pages 6, 17, 23
- Zhāng Dǎn 张统: Míng 明 administrator in Yúnnán, *?-†1402 - see pages 5, 17, 23
- **zhào** 诏: zhào, term for a local ruler or his – see page 23 realm,
- Zhào Bōluō 赵波罗: monk, namesake of the Bōluō Sì 波罗寺, also credited with renovating Chóngshèng Sì 崇圣寺, - see page 11
- **Zhēngnánfù** 《征南赋》: 'Ode to the Pacific- **Zuǒ** 左: Left, part of titles, junior to Yòu 右, ation of the South', ode presented to the

- emperor by the monk Wújí 无极, page 15, 23
- Zhèngdé 正德: reign period of Duàn Sīlián 段 思廉,
- Zhèngdé Yúnnán Zhì 《正德云南志》 : 'Zhèngdé Era Yúnnán Gazetteer', Yúnnán *gazetteer* from the Míng emperor Zhèngdé period, completed in 1510, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1981), find https: //zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E6%AD%A 3%E5%BE%B7%E4%BA%91%E5%8D% 97%E5%BF%97 – see pages 6, 8, 12, 23
- **Zhì** 志: *gazetteer*, term for official regional records, - see page 23
- Zhú Fălán 竺法兰: Dharmaratna, Indian Buddhist monk, said to have come to China in 67 during the Hàn dynasty together with Jiāyè Móténg 迦叶摩腾, see pages 9, 10, 23
- Zǐ 子: courtesy name, a courtesy name traditionally given to Chinese people upon reaching adulthood, - see page 10, 23
- **Zì** 字: *style name*, traditionally a name adopted at the age of twenty, - see page 5, 23
- Zǒngguǎn 总管: route commander, 'YÜAN: Route Commander: in collaboration with an Overseer headed a unit of territorial administration called a Route (lu), each supervising the governance of about 100.000 residents', , see Hucker (1985), 7110 – see page 23
- see page 5, 23

5 References

Buswell, Robert E and Donald S. Lopez (2014). 'The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism'. Princeton: Princeton University Press (cit. on pp. 12, 19).

Cleary, Thomas (1993). 'The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra'. Shambala (cit. on p. 10).

Daniels, Christian (2020). 'Upland Leaders of the Internal Frontier and Ming Governance of Western Yunnan, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries'. In: Daniels, Christian and Mǎ Jiànxióng 马健雄 (2020). 'The Transformation of Yunnan in Ming China'. Routledge (cit. on p. 20).

Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1981). 《明修九种云南省志概说》. In: 思想战线 3, pp. 70-78 (cit. on p. 23).

- (1984). 《云南史料目录概说》. 中国北京: 中华书局 (cit. on pp. 17, 18).
- (1998). 《云南史料丛刊》. 云南大学出版社 (cit. on p. 6).

Hucker, Charles (1985). 'A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China'. Stanford: Stanford University Press (cit. on pp. 18–21, 23).

Legge, James (1882). 'The Sacred Books of China'. Clarendon Press (cit. on pp. 6, 8).

Lǐ Chūnlóng 李春龙 and Jingmao Liu (2002). 《景泰云南图经志书校注》. Kunming: 云南人民出版社 (cit. on pp. 6, 8, 9, 23).

Lián Ruìzhī 连瑞枝 (2020).《僧侣士人土官:明朝统治下的西南人群与历史》. 社会科学文献出版社 (cit. on pp. 5, 6, 13).

Lynn, Richard John (1994). 'The Classic of Changes: A New Translation of the I Ching'. New York: Columbia University Press (cit. on p. 8).

McRae, John R. (2003). *'Seeing Through Zen: Encounter, Transformation, and Genealogy in Chinese Chan Buddhism'*. Berkeley: University of California Press (cit. on p. 12).

Wáng Qí 王麒 and Huáng Zhèngliáng 黄正良 (2021). 《大理感通茶历史文化研究》. In: 大理大学学报 6.3 (cit. on pp. 5, 9, 20).

Xing, Yuan (2022). 'Writing Yunnan into China: A Case Study on Li Yuanyang 李元陽 (1497–1580), a Yunnanese Scholar'. In: Asian Studies, pp. 1–20 (cit. on p. 20).

Yang, Bin (2004). 'Between Winds and Clouds: The Making of Yunnan (Second Century BCE to Twentieth Century CE)'. New York: Columbia University Press (cit. on p. 22).

Zhāng Xílù 张锡禄 (2015). 《元代大理段氏总管史》. Kunming: 云南人民出版社 (cit. on p. 22).

《天一阁藏明代方志选刊续编》(1990). 上海书店 (cit. on pp. 6, 7).

《滇南碑传集之印行》(1940). In: 图书季刊 2.3, pp. 517-518 (cit. on p. 13).

Index

67年, 9-45-9-46n 1368年,5 1382年, 8-20, 8-21*n*, 9-34 1383年, 9-34, 9-37*n*, 15-30-15-31*n* 1384年,5 1386年, 15-32n 1390年,10-68n 1396年, 15-33n 1399年, 15-36n 1402-1424年,13 1402年,5 1510年,6 1530年,10-63-10-641 1553年,6 1694年, 9-42, 17 1930年, 9-34 1940年,13

Āzhàlì 阿吒力, 11-86n

Báimǎ Sì 白马寺, 9-45-9-46*n*, 9-50*n*Báizú 白族, 6
Běncháo Fēnshěng Rénwù Kǎo 本朝分省人物考, 5, 5-6-5-7*n*Bó 僰, 6, 8-25R, 8-27R
Bōluō Sì 波罗寺, 11-80*n*Bōluō Yán 波罗岩, 11-83R

Cānzhèng 参政, 5-4R

Bùzhèngshǐ 布政使, 5-5R

Chǎn 禅, 5, 12-106*n*, 13-3R, 14-7R, 14-8R, 14-10R, 14-11R, 14-16R, 15-29R, 15-46R, 15-52R

Chǎnzōng 禅宗, 6-1, 13-119 Chéngchūnshī 乘春诗, 15-26R Chóngshèng Sì 崇圣寺, 10-79*n*

Dàfāng Guǎngfó Huáyánjīng 大方广佛华严 经, 10-72*n*

Dàlǐ 大理, 5, 8-20, 8-20, 8-22R, 8-23R, 8-30R, 9-34, 9-43R, 9-45-9-46*n*, 10-68R, 13, 14-4R, 14-15R, 15-28R

Dàlǐ Guó 大理国, 8-20

Dàngshān Sì 荡山寺, 9-44R, 10-73R, 14-6R Dàngshān Zhìlüè 荡山志略, 9-42, 17 Dào 道, 6-1, 15-48R Diān 滇, 5-12R, 10-63R Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山, 5 Diānnánbēichuánjí 滇南碑传集, 9-34, 13 Dūgāng 都纲, 15-27R, 16-57R Duàn Shì 段氏, 8-24R, 8-28R Duàn Xìnjū Fú 段信苴福, 11-89n Duànyá Leyì 断崖了义, 13-119, 13-119, 13-122R, 13-122R, 14-6n, 14-7R

Ěrhǎi 洱海, 5

Fǎ 法, 8-18R, 10-60R, 11-92R, 13-3R, 13-121R, 13-121R, 13-122R, 14-7R, 14-8R, 15-55R Fǎhuájīng 法华经, 15-19R, 15-35R Fǎtiān 法天, 13-3R, 13-120R, 13-120*n* Fāng Shùméi 方树梅, 9-34, 13 Fǔ 府, 9-43R

Gǎntōng Sì 感通寺, 5, 9-44R, 10-66R, 10-75R, 11-80*n*, 13, 17, 17-3R Gǎntōng Sì Bēi 感通寺碑, 5, 6-1R Gāofēng Yuánmiào 高峰原妙, 12-119, 13-119, 13-122R, 14-8R Gěigūdú Yuán 给孤独园, 12-116R

Hǎiyìn 海印, 14-6R, 14-6R Hàn 汉, 6, 9-45R, 10-77R Hàn Cháo 汉朝, 5 Hángzhōu 杭州, 14-7R Hào 号, 13-3R Hóngwǔ 洪武, 5, 5-3R, 8-21R, 9-49R, 15-31R Huáyánjīng 华严经, 15-18R Huáng Yuánzhì 黃元治, 17

Jiāyè Móténg 迦叶摩腾, 9-45R, 9-45-9-46*n*, 9-50*n*, 10-77R Jiāngnán 江南, 14-9R Jǐngtài 景泰, 6

Léngyánjīng 楞严经, 15-19R

Lìbù Shàngshū 吏部尚书, 5-10R Lǐ Chéngméi 李成眉, 10-79R, 10-79n Lǐ Yuányáng 李元阳, 10-63-10-64n Línjì Pài 临济派, 5, 8-10n, 8-20, 12-119, 14-9R Línjì Yìxuán 临济义玄, 8-10n Lǜshī 律师, 9-34, 9-35R Luòyáng 洛阳, 9-45-9-46n

Méng 蒙, 8-24R Méng Shì 蒙氏, 11-79, 11-80R Mín Guó 民国, 13 Míng 明, 9-34 Míng Cháo 明朝, 5, 6, 8-20, 11-86*n*

Sēnggāngsī 僧纲司, 15-27R Shǎnxī 陕西, 5-1R Shěn Défú 沈德符, 9-42 Shìjiāmóuní 释加牟尼, 8-28R Sòng Cháo 宋朝, 5, 8-20

Táng 唐, 8-24R, 9-46R Tiānyīgé 天一阁, 6

Wànlì Yěhuòbiān 万历野获编, 5, 9-42
Wànlì Yúnnán Tōngzhì 万历云南通志, 5
Wéimójié 维摩诘, 11-93-11-94n
Wéimójié Jīng 维摩诘经, 11-93-11-94n
Wénxī 文熹, 13-123R, 15-34R, 15-37R, 16-57R
Wǔdēng Quánshū 五灯全书, 13-119, 13-119
Wújí 无极, 9-34, 9-34, 9-35R, 9-42, 9-49R,
10-66R, 10-68R, 11-93R, 11-95, 12-98, 13,
13-3R, 13-119, 13-120R, 13-124R, 16-59n
Wújíchǎnshīxíngshí 无极禅师行实, 13-1R
Wǔwēi Gōng 武威公, 11-89R

Wǔyùn 五蕴, 12-114R

Xīān 西安, 5-1R Xīnán Yí 西南夷, 8-25R Xiānggǎn 相感, 6-1, 6-4R, 11-95 Xiěyùn Lóu 写韵楼, 10-64R Xú Xiákè 徐霞客, 11-000, 11-81

Yáng Jiézhòng 杨节仲, 13 Yángqí Pài 杨岐派, 12-119 Yáng Shèn 杨慎, 10-63R, 10-63n, 10-63-10-64n Yí 夷, 5-9R, 5-9n, 13-127R Yìjīng 易经, 6-1, 6-1, 6-2n, 8-10-8-11n Yǒnglè 永乐, 13, 15-38R Yóu Diǎncāngshān Jì 游点苍山记, 10-63-10-64n Yóu Gǎntōngsì 游感通寺, 17-1R, 17-3 Yuán 元, 11-87R Yuán Cháo 元朝, 11-86 Yuánjuéjīng 圆觉经, 15-18R Yúnnán 云南, 5, 5-3R, 5-6R, 8-22R, 9-43R,

Yúnnán Tújīng Zhìshū 云南图经志书, 6, 17 Zhāng Dǎn 张统, 5, 5-1R, 17 Zhào Bōluō 赵波罗, 11-79, 11-80R, 11-80*n*, 11-83R Zhèngdé Yúnnán Zhì 正德云南志, 6, 8-11*n*, 12-113-12-114*n* Zhēngnánfù 征南赋, 15-24R Zhú Fǎlán 竺法兰, 9-45R, 9-45-9-46*n*, 9-50*n*, 10-78R

Zì 字, 5-1R Zǐ 子, 10-63*n*

15-28R