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Chao Zhang

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Thanks to scholars' efforts over the past thirty years, the vivacity of the Chan Buddhism under the Song Dynasty is today a consensus in academia. The obsolete theory of the "intellectual impoverishment" of post-Tang Chinese Buddhism has been considerably tempered with more attentive readings of sources, whether recently discovered or not, which bear all witness to the genesis of new styles of writing, iconography, ritual or institution. Formerly charged with being the originator of the school's decline, Chan iconoclasm turns out to be the fruit of a rhetorical and mythological construction of the Song monks. While scrutinising the sanctified images of the masters-patriarchs, we now perceive some monks with a rather conventional profile, who, just like their rivals from other currents, methodically applied themselves in a common monastic practice, including scripture reading and memorial services for Buddhist divinities, granted prime importance to letters, and cautiously looked over their connexions with secular authorities. Substantial research has already

¹ My thanks go first to Professors Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典, Florin Deleanu, and Mr. Hori Shin'ichiro 堀伸一郎, whose unstinting support during my research stay at the International Institute for Buddhist Studies allowed me to carry out this study. I am also greatly indebted to Professor Ogawa Takashi 小川隆 for the inspiring discussions we had on the occasion of the presentation of a preliminary version of this work during the seminar "Ichiya Hekigan" at the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia at the University of Tokyo. Last but not least, Didier Davin, my longstanding colleague and interlocutor, helped me to find out more exact translations of Chinese sources. I would also like to express my gratitude to him.

revealed that one of the major expressions of the Song Chan's creativity consists in the reinvention of the school's anterior history, especially that of the period called "classical", with the aim of legitimizing its superiority in sectarian competition. What I would like to expose in the present study concerns another aspect of Song Chan dynamics, which has often escaped researchers' attention, namely, the proliferation of Chan historiography forms and the making of the contemporaneous Chan history.

While most recent works on Song Chan history have heavily relied on texts belonging to a category called "genealogy literature", that is the *Records of the transmission of the lamp* (*denglu* 燈錄) collections, they have failed to notice the diversity of Chan historic sources from this period. In fact, inspired by the expansion of secular historiography throughout the Song, Buddhist historians established several new genres in the field of Buddhist history writing and improved those which already existed in previous epochs.² The Chan school actively got involved in this literary movement: in addition to a further formalization of the "lamp histories", it also launched a series of novel styles, such as "annals" (*biannianti* 編年體), "sectarian biographies" (*sengbaozhuan* 僧寶傳), "miscellanea" (*biji* 筆記 or *suibi* 隨筆), "individual chronological biographies" (*nianpu* 年譜), and "genealogical charts" (*tu* 圖). This phenomenon might be explained by complex causes. First, the Chan clergy was then composed by more and

² For a survey on Buddhist historiography under the Song, see Chen Yuan 陳垣, *Zhongguo fojiao shiji gailun* 中國佛教史籍概論 (First edition, Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1955; I have consulted a more recent edition Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2001), 77–89, 94–124; Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮, "Sōdai ni okeru bukkyō shigaku no hatten 宋代における佛教史學の發展," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 3, 2 (1955): 631–633; Jan Yün-hua, "Buddhist Historiography in Sung China," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 114.2 (1964): 360–381; and Cao Ganghua 曹剛華, *Songdai fojiao shiji yanjiu* 宋代佛教史籍研究 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2006).

more members with a literati background, whose literary proficiency and historic consciousness enabled a better mastery of history writing. Second, during the Song, the Tiantai school was the first to produce Buddhist “annals-biography” (*jizhuanti* 紀傳體) works, the most ancient of which are the lost *Record of the Origin of the Tiantai Sect* (*Tiantai zongyuan lu* 天台宗元錄) and the *Legitimate Succession of Buddhism* (*Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統). By adopting this most important dynastic histories form, which recalled a strong sectarian sentiment, these writings mostly strived to defend Tiantai’s orthodox status, especially against the Chan lineage promoted by its genealogies. Such a challenge aroused among the Chan community a fascination for historiography as well, and probably brought about the compilation, by a Chan monk named Zuxiu 祖琇 (d.u.), of the first “annals” work of Chinese Buddhism, *A General Chronological Commentary of Buddhist Religion Compiled during the Longxing Era* (*Longxing fojiao biannian tonglu* 隆興佛教編年通論, 1164). Third, the coating of religious history in secular forms furthermore allowed Chan propaganda to cater to the taste of rulers and government officials, to whom historiography also showed great appeal for the purposes of upholding imperial rule. Finally, founded during the Late Tang and the Five Dynasties, genealogical history indeed showed originality and efficacy until then. However, during the Song, with the rise of self-understanding within the Chan community and the profusion of contemporaneous historical documents, this genre alone was no longer sufficient to stabilize the entire collective memory. In order to update its identity and to assemble a variety of heterogeneous sources, Chan also urged more self-narrative styles. As a result, the genres that thus developed met a variety of poselytic demands fashioned by the new times and supplied information that was sometimes complementary, and sometimes even contradictory. Chan miscellanea literature, as an example, was born precisely under these circumstances. One part of its accounts dealing with a core problematic of the Chan school, the religious

transmission under the Song, is virtually excluded from the genealogy collections. A close reading of these sources leads us to a better understanding of the polyphonic expression of Song Chan historiography.

Chan Miscellanea

I presented in a previous article an overview of this rather overlooked genre of the Chan school and will thus limit myself here to a brief recapitulation of its main components and distinguishing features.³

Inventory of Chan Miscellanea Works

- i. *Records from the Chan Groves* (*Linjian lu* 林間錄), Huihong 惠洪, 1107.
- ii. *Unofficial Record from Lake Luo* (*Luohu Yelu* 羅湖野錄), Xiaoying 曉瑩, 1155.
- iii. *Chan Master Dahui Pujue's Arsenal for the Chan School* (*Dahui Pujue Chanshi zongmen wuku* 大慧普覺禪師宗門武庫), dictated by Zonggao 宗杲 and compiled by Daoqian 道謙, 1186.
- iv. *Memoirs and Sayings of the Host of the Thatched Cottage "Nestled in the Clouds" of Gan Mountain* (*Ganshan yunwo Jitan* 感山雲臥記譚), Xiaoying 曉瑩, 1189–90.
- v. *General Discussions from the Chan Monasteries* (*Conglin gonglun* 叢林公論), Huibin 惠彬, 1189.
- vi. *Splendour of the Chan Monasteries* (*Conglin shengshi* 叢林盛事), Daorong 道融, 1197.
- vii. *Precious Mirror for the Usage of Humans and Gods* (*Rentian baojian* 人天寶鑑), Tanxiu 曇秀, 1230.
- viii. *Random Notes of Kuya* (*Kuya manlu* 枯崖漫錄), Yuanwu 圓悟, 1262.

³ Zhang Chao, "Aperçu sur les *biji* ou les miscellanées du bouddhisme Chan," *Études chinoises* XXXIV (2015): 105–132.

- ix. *Adversaria of the Mountain Hermitage* (*Shan'an zalu* 山菴雜錄), dictated by Wuyun 無慍 and compiled by Juding 居頂, 1375.

Founded by the Linji branch at the beginning of the 12th century, this literary and historiographical tradition flourished from the end of the Northern Song until the Ming at least. It resulted simultaneously from the movement of the “Lettered Chan” (*wenzi chan* 文字禪) within the Chan school and the development of the miscellanea genre of Chinese Classical literature during the Song period.⁴ Each Chan miscellanea collection is constituted by a great number of notes, that is to say, from nearly one hundred to two hundred entries. They are relatively short, on average between one hundred fifty and two hundred characters, and each is

⁴ During the 11th century, the communicative capacities of language, formerly denied, came to be fully approved by the Chan school, which promoted a spiritual practice centred particularly on the reading and interpretation of texts. This “linguistic turn” is usually called “literary Chan” or “lettered Chan” in modern research. On the definition and the historical presentation of this movement, see Zhou Yukai 周裕鐸, *Wenzi chan yu Songdai shixue* 文字禪與宋代詩學 (Beijing: Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998), 25–42; and *Chanzong yuyan* 禪宗語言 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1999), 94–139, 140–141. See also Robert M. Gimello, “Mārga and Culture: Learning, Letters, and Liberation in Northern Sung Ch’an,” in *Paths to Liberation: The Mārga and its Transformations in Buddhist Thought*, ed. Robert E. Buswell Jr. and Robert Gimello (Honolulu, University of Hawai‘i Press, 1992), 380–381. On miscellanea genre of Chinese classical literature during the Song period, see Herbert Franke, “Some Aspects of Chinese Private Historiography,” in *Historians of China and Japan*, ed. W. G. Beasley and Edwin G. Pulleyblank (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 116–117; Zhang Hui 張暉, *Songdai biji yanjiu* 宋代筆記研究 (Wuchang: Huazhong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1993); Liu Yeqi 劉葉秋, *Lidai biji gaishu* 歷代筆記概述 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2003), 93–132; Zheng Xianchun 鄭憲春, *Zhongguo bijiwen shi* 中國筆記文史 (Changsha: Hunan daxue chubanshe, 2004), 276–444; Fu Daiwie, “The Flourishing of *Biji* or Pen-Notes Texts and its Relations to History of Knowledge in Song China (960–1279),” *Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident*, Hors série (2007): 103–130.

independent from every other. They primarily record the religious experience of some thousands of Chinese Buddhist clergy and laymen living between the 10th and the 14th centuries. They thus contain an abundance of information about the doctrine, the history, the institution, the rituals and the aesthetic thoughts of the Chan School of this period. Entirely composed by monks of the Linji branch in a highly technical language, these writings seem to target the religious and lay elites of the Chan community. Most of the works have several Chinese and Japanese editions. Except for the third work, which was included in the *Jiaxing zang* 嘉興藏 canon as of the Ming dynasty, all the others could be found in the *Zokuzōkyō* 續藏經 collection. The first two works were also included in *The Emperor's Four Treasuries* (*Siku quanshu* 四庫全書) collection, under the section “Masters” (*zibu* 子部), where they represent, together with eleven other works, the entirety of Chinese Buddhist writings of the imperial era.⁵ Otherwise, among the nine works listed here, the first, the second, the fourth, and the sixth to the ninth are commonly called the “Seven books” (*qibushu* 七部書), which probably embody the prototype of the genre.⁶

As a component of Buddhist historiography of imperial China, these miscellanies also inform us of the development of the historical writing of Chinese Buddhism, as well as its conception of history. With regard to the

⁵ For editorial studies of several of these works, see Shiina Kōyū 椎名宏雄, *Sō Gen ban zenseki no kenkyū* 宋元版禪籍の研究 (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1993), 624–630, 633–635, 638–643, 646–648.

⁶ Ono Genmyō 小野玄妙, ed., *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* 佛書解説大辭典 (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1933–1936, 1964–1967, “Supplement” by MARUYAMA Takao 丸山孝雄, 1975–77), vol. 8, 383; Ishii Shūdō 石井修道, “Jūichi shu sōdai zenmon zuihitsu shū jinmei sakuin 十一種宋代禪門隨筆集人名索引,” *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō* 駒沢大学仏教学部研究紀要 42 (1984): 175; Chen Shiqiang 陳士強, “Zhongguo gudai de fojiao biji 中國古代的佛教筆記,” *Fudan xuebao* (*Shehui kexuebao*) 復旦學報(社會科學報) 3 (1992): 110.

formal Buddhist historiographies Chan miscellanea distinguish themselves in form and in substance. First, in terms of the organisation of the entries, Chinese Buddhist histories or biography collections present, in general, a certain order, which could be chronological, as with *A General Chronological Commentary of Buddhist Religion Compiled during the Longxing era*, or thematic, as with the *Biographies of the Eminent Monks* tradition (*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳), or even genealogical, as with the many *Records of the transmission of the lamp*. In contrast, in the case of Chan miscellanea, the arrangement of the notes is completely random. In fact, several authors underline that their accounts, transcriptions of sayings, observations and reflexions arise mostly from their own memories or earlier personal notes. In this way, it is not a question of a writing that follows a pre-set framework, but rather a compilation of scattered fragments. I have argued that it is highly possible that Chan miscellanea originally constituted a kind of reminder or biographical database for Chan historians preparing the writing of formal histories.⁷ Secondly, compared to the major Chan historical works, the miscellanea contain a multitude of previously unseen sources. The authors declare to have written the notes with the help of a variety of materials, such as official biographies, obituaries, anecdotes, public sermons, private conversations, personal experience, lost epigraphs, etc. The objective is to reveal the unknown doings and sayings of Chan personalities. Furthermore, by adopting the miscellanea genre, a writing form reputed for facilitating the expression of personal opinion, the authors often relate controversial people and affairs, invite readers to reflect upon them, or expose their own viewpoints. These problematized writings therefore eliminated the common laudatory monotony of formal religious

⁷ Zhang Chao, "Formation des paradigmes religieux entre essai et hagiographie: étude de deux *biji* du bouddhisme Chan des Song du Sud (1127-1279)," (PhD diss., École pratique des hautes études, 2014), 333-334.

hagiography and triggered public opinion and criticisms, through their circulation amidst monks of diverse branches. As a result, they made it possible to remedy certain institutional dysfunctions, doctrinal controversies and moral deviations of the contemporaneous Chan community. In this sense, Chan miscellanea could be considered to have played a self-regulation role and to have formed a positive social area within the school.⁸ That is the reason that these works sometimes include unique traces of the missing link of our understanding of the Chan school, or illustrations which can shed light on a subject avoided by the formal histories, as for example the tensions and controversies over religious lineage that I am broaching below.

Religious kinship and institutionalization of the Chan lineage

According to tradition, until Huineng 惠能 (ca. 638–713), the presumed sixth Chinese patriarch of the Chan School, only one of several disciples could receive the legitimate transmission and be called “patriarch” (*zu* 祖), whereas the others are named “*dharma* heirs from collateral lines” (*pangchu fasi* 旁出法嗣).⁹ However, from the 8th century, it was generally recognized that one patriarch could have several legitimate *dharma* heirs. With this arborescent development, various lineages begin to take shape, and around the end of the first millennium AD, some distinct identities emerged within the Southern branch and were retrospectively identified as

⁸ To a certain extent, this pre-modern Chinese religious social area reminds one of Jürgen Habermas’ “public sphere”. Jürgen Habermas, *L’espace public: Archéologie de la publicité comme dimension constitutive de la société bourgeoise* (Paris: Payot, 1978).

⁹ See for example *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* 傳法正宗記, T. 2078, *juan* 9, “Brief biographies of *dharma* heirs from collateral lines” (*Panchu luezhuan* 旁出略傳), 763c-766b.

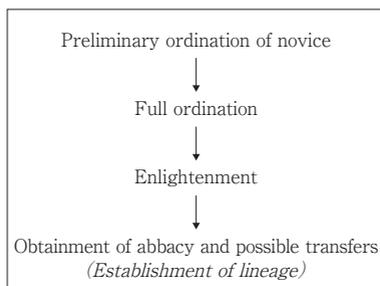
the Five Traditions (*wuzong* 五宗) or Five Houses (*wujia* 五家): Fayan 法眼, Yunmen 雲門, Weiyang 滄仰, Linji 臨濟 and Caodong 曹洞.¹⁰ Under the Song, the entire genealogical literature, rising to fame through the emblematic five “lamp histories”, is underpinned by a sophisticated architecture built up from hundreds of branches and offshoots.¹¹ Despite their hagiographical and proselytical nature, these works demonstrate to a great extent the protraction of the Chan sectarian ramification in the pre-modern period¹².

¹⁰ For an outline of the Five Houses, see Hosaka Gyokusen 保坂玉泉, “Goke shichishū no kichō wo nashita kyōge betsuden no shisō 五家七宗の基調を成した教外別伝の思想,” *Komazawa Daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 駒澤大学研究紀要 14 (1956): 1-16. Morten Schlütter convincingly shows that although the earliest source to formulate this fivefold scheme was the 10th century Chan work *Ten Normative Treaties on the Chan School* (*Zongmen shigui lu* 宗門十規論), distinct sectarian identities could not have been in place only after the promotion of the *Records of the transmission of the lamp* during the Northern Song. Morten Schlütter, *How Zen became Zen: The Dispute over Enlightenment and the Formation of Chan Buddhism in Song-Dynasty China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008), 17-26.

¹¹ These five collections are: a. *Records of the Transmission of the Lamp from the Jingde Era* (*Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, 1004), b. *Expanded Record of the Transmission of the Lamp from the Tiansheng Era* (*Tiansheng guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄, 1036), c. *Continuation of the Record of the Transmission of the Lamp from the Jianzhong Jingguo Era* (*Jianzhong Jingguo xudeng lu* 建中靖國續燈錄, 1101), d. *Essentials of the United Records of the Transmission of the Lamp of the Chan School* (*Zongmen liandeng huiyao* 宗門聯燈會要, 1183), e. *Comprehensive Record of the Transmission of the Lamp from the Jiatai Era* (*Jiatai pudeng lu* 嘉泰普燈錄, 1204). In addition to the works listed above, Song Chan genealogy also covers the following collections: a. *Precious Flowers of the Transmission of the Lamp* (*Chuandeng yuying ji* 傳燈玉英集, 1034), b. *Record of the Dharma Transmission of the Orthodox Lineage* (*Chuanfa zhengzong ji* 傳法正宗記, 1061), c. *Assembled Essentials of the Five Records of the Transmission of the Lamp* (*Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元, 1252).

¹² On the relation of the emergence of the genealogy genre to lineage claims, see Albert Welte, *Monks, Ruler, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), which focuses on three texts

But how was a *dharma* line formed in concrete terms? In other words, what were the conditions a disciple had to fulfil with the aim of obtaining legitimate transmission and then becoming a part of the patriarchal genealogy? Were there any codes or rituals accompanying this change of status? Concerning the Song period, the sources relative to this subject are fortunately ample. We know that the following four steps make up the ideal clerical development of a Song Chan monk:¹³



Concerning *dharma* transmission, one point is crucial. It is often thought that as soon as a disciple awakened under the guidance of a master (the 3rd step on the diagram), he gained *dharma* heir status and entered the line of the master. In fact, enlightenment is not a sufficient condition to institute a transmission relationship. This relationship actually rests upon

in particular, two of which are from the Song: the *Anthology from the hall of the patriarchs* (*Zutang ji* 祖堂集, 952), the *Records of the transmission of the lamp from the Jingde era*, and the *Expanded record of the transmission of the lamp from the Tiansheng era*. See also Elizabeth Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs. Qisong and Lineage in Chinese Buddhism* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), which deals with historical writings of the Chan monk Qisong 契嵩 (1007-1072), including the *Record of the Dharma Transmission of the Orthodox Lineage*.

¹³ For a detailed explanation of each step, see for example T. Griffith Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism," in *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China*, ed. Patricia Buckley and Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 161.

two other elements: first, the disciple must obtain an abbacy in a public monastery (*chushi* 出世 or *ruishi* 瑞世, the last step on the diagram), and second, he must decide his lineage for himself by announcing the name of his transmission master.¹⁴ According to the first condition, only disciples with a public abbacy could figure in the genealogy as “Chan Master” (*chanshi* 禪師) and then extend their lines by developing their own heirs. Other disciples, even enlightened, are in general designated by the title of their highest clerical position, which in most cases is the “chief seat” (*shouzuo* 首座) who has overall responsibility for discipline in the *samgha* hall and serves as leader of the great assembly of monks.¹⁵ As for the second condition, at the moment of his first public preaching at the monastery where the disciple is named abbot for the first time, usually called the “opening the hall” (*kaitang* 開堂) ceremony, he declares, among other things, from whom he received *dharma* and burns incense for this transmission master.¹⁶

Another important component of Chan succession is the “inheritance certificate” (*sishu* 嗣書, *sifa shu* 嗣法書, *fasi shu* 法嗣書). The sending of this rather secret document from the heir to the master often occurs just after the announcement of lineage. A good number of accounts show that at the moment of his first abbacy, the heir sends to his declared transmission

¹⁴ Tamamura Takeji 玉村竹二, *Nihon Zenshūshi ronshū* 日本禪宗史論集 (Kyōto: Shibunkaku, 1976–1981), vol. 2, 122 (1360).

¹⁵ Schlütter, *How Zen became Zen*, 66.

¹⁶ The ritual of incense combustion was called *nianxiang* 拈香, literally “taking of incense”, in the Chan literature. When it concerns the lineage declaration, the incense’s name varies from *sixiang* 嗣香, *chengsixiang* 承嗣香, *fasixiang* 法嗣香 (inheritance incense), *bao’enxian* 報恩香 (incense which pays a debt of gratitude), *huaixiang* 懷香 (incense contained in the bosom) to *xinxiang* 信香 (message delivering incense). See Mujaku Dōchū 無著道忠, *Zenrin shōkisen* 禪林象器箋 (Tokyo: Seishin Shobō, 1963), 317–319, 774.

master a letter containing the aforementioned certificate, which might have been formerly attributed to him by the same master following his enlightenment. This hypothesis relies on the accounts written by Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253) during his pilgrimage in Song China, presented in the chapter “Inheritance certificate” (*shisho* 嗣書) of his *Storehouse of the True Dharma Eye* (*Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼藏).¹⁷ However, in the most well-known *gong’an* 公案 collection of the Song, *Record of the Blue Cliff* (*Biyan lu* 碧巖錄), we have an account of the Southern Han (909–971) monk Haojian 顥鑒 (d.u.), a *dharma* heir of Yunmen Wenyan 雲門文偃 (864–949) which relates: “When first named abbot at the Balin monastery in the Yue prefecture, [Haojian] didn’t write an inheritance certificate, but just submitted three turning words to Yunmen 先住岳州巴陵, 更不作法嗣書, 只將三轉語上雲門.” It then seems that in this case, the certificate was not produced by the master but the disciple, and after his nomination.¹⁸ Due to a lack of known sources, these contradictions concerning the production and the use of this document can only be solved by future research. Otherwise, in a Qing “recorded sayings” (*yulu* 語錄) collection, *Record of the Essential Sayings of the Patriarchs* (*Liezu tigang lu* 列祖提綱錄, 1666), which inventively orders the teachings of masters by monastic activities and events, we have a section named “*Dharma* sayings while burning incense contained in the bosom” (*shao huaixiang fayu* 燒懷香法語). It lists diverse sermons given by new abbots at the moment of “opening the hall”.¹⁹

¹⁷ For instance, Schlütter argues that “the reports provided by Dōgen and the Chinese evidence suggest that a Chan disciple was issued an inheritance certificate when his training was considered complete. Probably the certificate was a necessary prerequisite for receiving a position as an abbot, as indicated by Dōgen [...] It would further seem that once a Chan monk received his first abbacy, he then sent his certificate to his master to receive validation of some sort”. See Foulk, “Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice,” 159–161; Schlütter, *How Zen became Zen*, 64.

¹⁸ *Biyan lu* 碧巖錄, T. 2003, *juan* 2, 154a. I would like to extend my gratitude to Professor Ogawa Takashi for bringing this source to my attention.

Later, when the inheritance certificate is put in the hands of the master by a monk-messenger, called a “special envoy” (*zhuanishi* 專使), the master would take advantage of the occasion to organize a didactic interview with the messenger, by which they propagate *dharma* together. These doctrinal conversations can be found in the recorded sayings of many Chan masters of the Song period. The *Record of the Essential Sayings of the Patriarchs* also includes some masters’ preaching on this occasion, under the section “Outline of the arrival of the inheritance certificate” (*tong sishu zhi tigang* 通嗣書至提綱).²⁰ The Northern Song monastic code, *Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries* (*Chanyuan qinggui* 禪苑清規), which is considered the oldest surviving Chinese Chan monastic code, ritualizes the reception of the inheritance certificate by defining a pattern of actions for several other clerical officials, who also participate the ceremony, including the chief seat, the rector (*weinuo* 維那), the director of affairs (*zhishi* 知事), the comptroller (*jianyuan* 監院), the secretary (*shuji* 書記), and the guest prefect (*zhike* 知客).²¹ It may occasionally happen that the master refuses the disciple’s certificate and invalidates the succession.²² In other cases, the master sends a written response to his heir, endorsing him and wishing him

¹⁹ *Liezu tigang lu* 列祖提綱錄, X. 1260, *juan* 23, 190–192.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, *juan* 20, 166.

²¹ *Chanyuan qinggui* 禪苑清規, X. 1245, *juan* 6, 540a; Yifa, trans., *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China: An Annotated Translation and Study of the Chanyuan qinggui* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 201–202.

²² As an example, when Huinan 慧南 (1002–1069), the presumed founder of the Huanglong 黃龍 sect, received the certificate of his disciple Huiyuan 慧元 (1037–1091), he declared not recalling the latter and suspended the succession. At the moment when Huiyuan arrived at the monastery of Huinan to prove his inheritance, the master had just died. See *Linjian lu*, *juan* 2, 274c; *Ganshan yunwo jitan*, *juan* 2, 678a. It should be mentioned that even without the validation of his master, Huiyuan was recognized as a *dharma* heir of Huinan in the formal history of the Chan school from the Song onward. See for example *Jitai pudeng lu zongmulu* 嘉泰普燈錄總目錄, X. 1558, *juan* 1, 273a.

the best.²³

In the formal histories of the Chan School, religious lineage of a *dharma* heir is presented as self-evident. All of the entries of the *Records of the transmission of the lamp* collections, for instance, are structured by a well-defined genealogy. Moreover, Chan patriarchs' biographies generally underline the awakening scene, wherein a disciple miraculously acquires the ultimate truth under the guidance of the person who always turns out to be his transmission master. In this way, *dharma* transmission is depicted as a univocal correspondence between one master and one disciple, primarily established by pure spiritual resonance. With thousands of such harmonious successions, Chan hagiographers strive to depict the vitality, stability and orthodoxy of the school. Nevertheless, some marginal sources, such as the Chan miscellanea, reveal numerous contested heritages and multilateral relationships between masters and disciples, thus presenting strong discordance with the idyllic scene produced by formal histories.

Disputed heritages

Some miscellanies concerning transmissions from the 11th century show that a choice of lineage considered as immoral could bring about serious, sometimes even fatal consequences to the disciple. For example, the *Chan Master Dahui Pujue's Arsenal*, dictated by one of the pillars of the

²³ See for example *Zimen jingxun* 緇門警訓, T. 2023, *juan* 6, 1072b, "Response of Master Chan Ying'an Hua to the inheritance certificate of Venerable Quan" (*Ying'an Hua Chanshi da Quan Zhanglao fasishu* 應菴華禪師答詮長老法嗣書); *Xiatang Huiyuan Chanshi guanglu* 瞎堂慧遠禪師廣錄, X. 1360, *juan* 3, 584, "Response to the inheritance certificate of Venerable Shanglan Sheng" (*Da Shanglan Sheng Zhanglao sishu* 答上藍乘長老嗣書) and "Response to the inheritance certificate of Venerable Zide Ben" (*Da Zide Ben Zhanglao sishu* 答資德本長老嗣書).

Song Chan school, Zonggao 宗杲 (1089–1163, better known by his honorific name Dahui 大慧), records a tragedy (case 1). Following a long period of study without success under the guidance of the Yunmen master Yingfu 應夫 (d.u.) at the Changlu 長蘆 monastery, a major centre of the Yunmen branch under the Song (now Jiangsu province, near Nanjing), the monk Jue 覺 left the place and went to the community of the Linji master Fayan 法演 (d. 1104), located in the Wuzu 五祖 monastery in what is now Hubei province. The latter finally brought him to awakening. However, when the monk Jue received his first appointment as abbot at the Kaisheng 開聖 monastery (Anhui province), he declared himself the heir of Yingfu, because of the prosperity of that master’s community. At the moment of the ritual of the “burning of incense”, he suddenly felt a pain in his chest, as though he had been punched several times. Later, anthrax developed in this part of his chest, and a hollow appeared. Then he made a cake with frankincense²⁴ and filled it back in the wound to stop the pain. After a long period without healing, he died.²⁵

Lineage diagram of case 1

(Officially recognized direct transmission relations are represented by two-directional arrows.

Officially recognized indirect transmission relations by dotted lines.

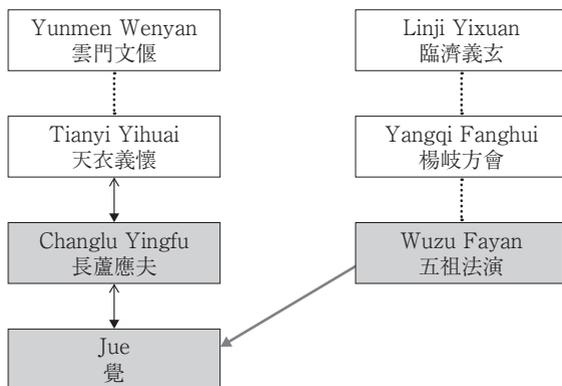
Non-official direct transmission relations by unidirectional arrows.

The protagonists of the story are highlighted in grey.

Likewise for the following diagrams.)

²⁴ *Ruxiang* 乳香 (Sanskrit *kunduruka*), also called *xunluxiang* 薰陸香 (probably a transliteration of the Sanskrit term), designates the resin of the plant *boswellia thurifera*. It often serves as incense for Buddhist ceremonies and as a remedy. Nakamura Hajime 中村元, *Bukkyōgo daijiten* 佛教語大辭典 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 1950), 1057c; Iritani Sensuke 入谷仙介 and Matsumura Takashi 松村昂, *Kanzan shi* 寒山詩 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1970), 268.

²⁵ See appendix, “Case 1”.



The Chan school often describes the transmission between master and disciple as being “from mind to mind” or “from heart to heart” (*yi xin chuan xin* 以心傳心). The affected organ of the monk Jue is indeed his heart, the place of the circulation of the ultimate reality. We are not sure whether this spectacular scene of retribution results from a somatization of the guilt that the monk feels over his choice of lineage, or from a reification of the rebuke inflicted by the public opinion of the Chan community. In any case, the account seems to condemn disciples who privilege mundane or worldly interests, such as personal reputation or sectarian prosperity, at the cost of an authentic spiritual transmission.

In other instances, the punishment appears less fatal, but could nonetheless be chronic. The late Song work *Precious Mirror for the Usage of Humans and Gods* quotes a supernatural story from a Chan writing that probably dates from the early 12th century (case 2).²⁶ It is said that Chan

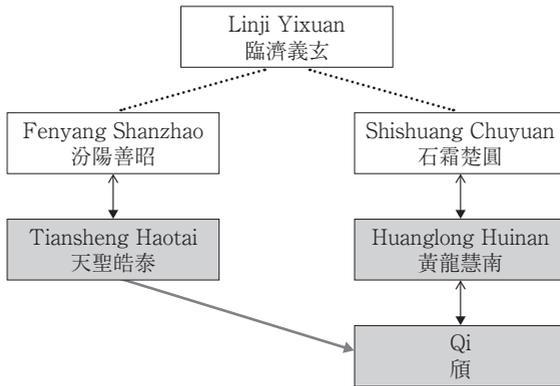
²⁶ The cited source is the *Record of Zhoufeng* (*Zhoufeng lu* 舟峰錄), which might be named after the Chan monk Qinglao 慶老 (d. 1143, alias Zhoufeng), a *dharma* heir of Zonggao and author of the *Supplements of the Biographies of the Treasury of the Chan Monastic Community* (*Bu chanlin sengbao zhuan* 補禪林僧寶傳).

Master Qi 頎, a native of Longcheng 龍城 in the Qin 秦 prefecture (now Gansu province), initially obtained *dharma* under the guidance of the Linji Reverend Haotai 皓泰 (d.u.), abbot of the Zhejiang monastery Tiansheng 天聖 (Huzhou city). He later went to the Jiangxi monastery Huanglong 黃龍, becoming a member of the community of another Linji master Huinan 慧南 (1002-1069). This person is supposed to be the founder of the Huanglong sect, one of the two most prominent Linji currents under the Song. Considering Qi's knowledge rather accurate, Huinan treated him respectfully and offered him the abbacy of the Xingguo 興國 monastery in the Quan prefecture (now Guangxi province). While opening the hall, Qi declared himself heir of Huinan. That same night, he dreamed of a god who transmitted to him the following message: "At the moment you fall critically ill, there will be the end of your involvement." Thirteen days later, he caught leprosy. Having withdrawn from his clerical position, Qi returned to his hometown, where he recuperated in the hermitage he built west of the city. A disciple of Qi named Keci 克慈 (d.u.), who had for a long time studied with Fanghui 方會 (992-1049), the putative founder of the other powerful Linji current, Yangqi 楊岐, was a distinguished figure of Chan. He came back to Qi's place and served his master with great filial piety. One day, Qi said to his disciple: "What I obtained came in fact from the Reverend Haotai. Later, when I saw master Huinan excelling both in doctrine and in practice, I thought highly of him and therefore opted for his lineage. Who could have predicted that I would be suffering from this nasty disease for half of my life? With good luck, I have now sufficiently paid my debts. Formerly, immortals often attained the way of immortality through nasty diseases. Perhaps because they were able to separate themselves from earthliness and to join up to the model of Yingyang.²⁷ That is why they

²⁷ Yingyang 潁陽, literally "north of the Ying river", is the place where the hermits Chaofu 巢父 and Xuyou 許由 had been supposed to dwell in high antiquity. The term

drew good out of evil. Without this disease, how could I have made it today? It is up to me to adopt either the ‘grasp’ or the ‘release’ method²⁸. I will be free anyway.” On these words, he let out a sigh, and then passed away after a long silence. At the moment of his cremation, a strange perfume diffused everywhere. His relics were countless.²⁹

Lineage diagram of case 2



The confession of the dying monk shows that he was completely

then turns out to refer these two mythic figures. *Houhan shu* 後漢書 (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1981), *juan* 83, 2755.

²⁸ “Grasp” (*bazhu* 把住) and “release” (*fangxing* 放行) refer to two opposite but complementary Chan teaching methods. The first takes hold of disciple’s illusions, until he no longer has any attachment to either external objects (*jing* 境), or himself (*ren* 人). A master should thus systematically contest his disciple’s words and acts. The second conversely consists in approving a disciple by a general acknowledgement of his spiritual level. By alternating these two methods, the master adjusts his teaching in accordance with the disciple’s peculiar aptitude. Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, 1091b; Zengaku Daijiten Hensanjo 禪學大辭典編纂所, ed., *Zengaku daijiten* 禪學大辭典 (Tokyo, Taishūkan Shoten, 1978), 1019a.

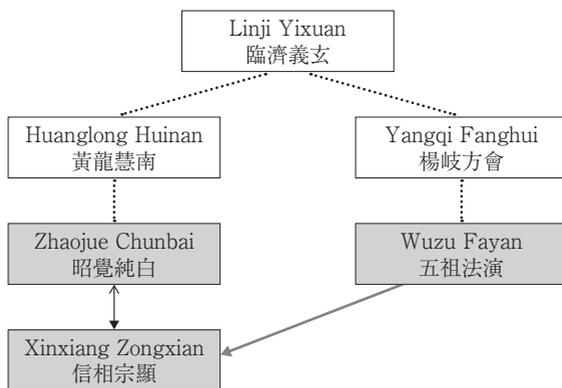
²⁹ See appendix, “Case 2”.

aware of the error he had committed, that is to say, that his choice of lineage was not based on the very act of *dharma* transmission, but on his admiration for an influential master. He not only resigned from the monastery where he declared the problematic lineage, but also willingly accepted corporeal suffering and sublimated it into an *upāya*. The extraordinary manifestations at the moment of his death are indeed the typical signs of highly accomplished Buddhist monks. Compared to the first case, this denouement seemingly reflects the author's empathy with the protagonist. However, some supernatural elements in the narrative, such as the appearance of the anonymous god in the dream of the monk and his prophecy, still suggest that the monk's fault was so undeniable that the punishment should be executed in the manner of a fate controlled by superior powers. As a result, the author's opposition to the lineage choice still seems clear.

Besides intense physical pains the disciple more often suffers moral attacks vis-à-vis his unusual choice of lineage. The *Unofficial Record from Lake Luo*, composed by Xiaoying 曉瑩 (ca. 1122–1200), a close disciple of Zonggao, offers an excellent illustration. This note (case 3) concerns a monk from the Sichuan region named Zongxian 宗顯, living in the second half of the 11th century. At the beginning of the account, we are concisely informed that the Linji monk Chunbai 純白 (1036–1094) was the “tonsure master” (*luofa shi* 落髮師) of Zongxian. Then, during his stay at the Haihui 海會 monastery (Anhui province), Zongxian then met Fayan, the betrayed master in the first case presented above, as well as his heir Keqin 克勤 (1063–1135), compiler of the *Blue Cliff Record*. It is said that after several doctrinal exchanges, Zongxian got on perfectly with the two masters. Later, having heard Zongxian's intention to return to his hometown, Fayan composed a stanza, expecting this disciple, who had stayed so long in his community, would not forget his teaching. However, having arrived at

Chengdu, Zongxian was made abbot at the local monastery Changsong 長松 by Chunbai, who was at that moment serving as abbot at the Zhaojue 昭覺 monastery in the same region. While opening the hall, Zongxian burned incense and announced: “On the one hand, the fine foundry,³⁰ on the other hand, the marvellous training. Having benefited from both, which one should I privilege? Haven’t you heard say: ‘In windy conditions, the heavy root (*ben* 本) differentiates itself from the light branches (*mo* 末)?’ It is in honour of the Reverend Chunbai that this incense is offered. Burned in the censer, it would spread until the edge of the universe and fill up all the ditches and ravines. It thus stifles every Chan monk of the world.”³¹

Lineage diagram of case 3



In his well-prepared statement with thorough justification, the master Chunbai, who initiated and trained the monk at the beginning of his

³⁰ *Lubei* 爐鞴: literally “oven and bellows”, a metaphor which compares the Chan spiritual training setting to a foundry where the disciple is shaped like a metal under extreme condition. Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, 1445. Zengaku Daijiten Hensanjo, *Zengaku daijiten*, 1323c.

³¹ See appendix, “Case 3”.

religious existence, was compared to the root, whereas Fayán, who provided him with a remarkable teaching, but only recently, was compared to the branches. By insisting on the Chinese social consensus, which advocates ancestor worship, Zongxian manages to go between the horns of the dilemma imposed on him. Moreover, he even supposed that no member of the monastic community could possibly question his choice of lineage.³² Nevertheless, at the end of the note, where the author completes the account with his own comment, he all the same casts doubt on the authenticity of this succession and openly accuses Zongxian of having troubled the *dharma* transmission for personal gain.³³

In the previous case, the significance of the abbacy in a public monastery has already been raised in an ambiguous way: although in his confession, the monk Qi makes it clear that the reason for which he inherited Huinan's lineage is the religious achievement of the master, the account also mentions it was through Huinan that Qi got his first nomination of abbot at the Xingguo monastery. The present case goes a step further and makes the abbacy the focus of the narrative. From other contemporaneous sources, we know that it was in fact at the end of forty-or-so years of wandering in the regions sometimes far from Sichuan that Zongxian was finally appointed abbot for the first time. Numerous Chan writings also show that at that period, the renown of Chunbai, abbot of the prestigious Zhaojue monastery,³⁴ extended to the whole region of the Shu

³² This insistence on the "root" was probably shared within the Song Chan community, as a contemporaneous Yunmen master Shouyi 守一 (d.u.) also concurred with the preponderance of "the teacher who first clarifies the truth 最初發明之師", for this one would remind oneself of his origin. See *Jiatai pudeng lu*, *juan* 25, 444b.

³³ See appendix, "Case 3".

³⁴ Isshū Miura and Ruth Fuller Sasaki, *Zen Dust* (New York: Harcourt, Brace &

prefecture, where he was being venerated by many high-ranking civil servants. Among his lay disciples, we even find the powerful Cai Jing 蔡京 (1047-1126), named Chief chancellor several times by Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100-1126). Given that recommendation from the high or middle level government officials was a prerequisite for appointment to public Buddhist abbacies under the Song, it is thus fairly possible that Chunbai took advantage of his social network to provide a position to his favourite disciple.³⁵ This information, together with the account cited above, easily leads the reader to the deduction that it was for the sake of the abbacy Chunbai brought to him that Zongxian chose his lineage and failed his real spiritual mentor Fayan.

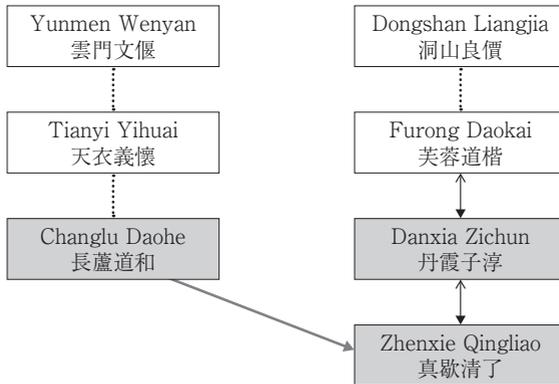
Around the beginning of the 12th century, owing to patriarchs such as Daokai 道楷 (1013-1118) and his disciples from the following two generations, the Caodong branch flourished again in the South. The *Splendour of the Chan Monasteries*, another miscellanea work from the end of the 12th century, especially offers notes on the disputed heritages of Caodong monks living during the first half of the 12th century. In a note devoted to an eminent monk of the Yunmen branch named Daohe 道和 (1057-1124), we can observe how he failed to win over another Sichuan monk to be his heir. This monk, named Qingliao 清了 (1088-1151), would however become a future key promoter of Caodong's "Silent illumination Chan" (*mozhao chan* 默照禪), to be his heir. It is said that Daohe was then abbot of the Changlu monastery in Jiangsu, previously mentioned in the first case, where his monastic assembly attained up to one thousand monks. After leaving the community of his Caodong teacher Zichun 子淳

World, 1966), 162.

³⁵ See for example Liu Changdong 劉長東, *Songdai fojiao zhengce lungao* 宋代佛教政策論稿 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2005), 95-119.

(1066–1119) in today’s Henan province, Qingliao first visited some renowned masters in the capital in the North, before going down to consult Daohe, who soon noticed the outstanding insight and talent of the young monk. Initially designating Qingliao as chief seat of his monastery, Daohe, after his retirement, offered him his own position of abbot, so as to incite the latter to inherit his line. The day when Qingliao took office, at the time of the ceremony called “taking of the robe” (*nianyi* 拈衣), that is when the new abbot puts on the *dharma* robe that he received from his predecessor, the monk declared himself heir of Zichun. Aggrieved, Daohe descended from his chair and tore off his successor’s robe. From then on, Qingliao, it is said, never again put on the *dharma* robe.³⁶

Lineage diagram of case 4



In another note from the same work, the author of the *Chan Master*

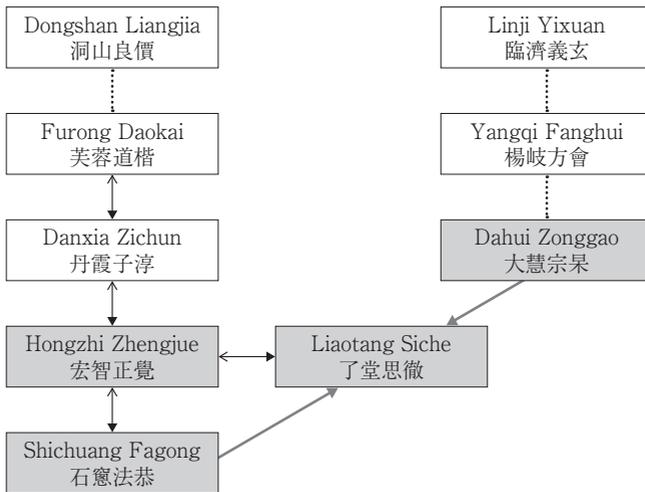
³⁶ See appendix, “Case 4”. This anecdote is well known by scholars. See Ishii Shūdō, *Sōdai zenshūshi no kenkyū: Chūgoku Sōtōshū to Dōgen zen* 宋代禪宗史の研究——中国曹洞宗と道元禪 (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1987), 262; Yang Cengwen 楊曾文, *Songyuan chanzong shi* 宋元禪宗史 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2006), 486; Schlütter, *How zen became zen*, 68.

Dahui Pujue's Arsenal, cited earlier as the source of the first disputed succession, the Linji master Zonggao was himself involved in a desperate transmission competition. The two main players of this anecdote were two disciples of Zhengjue 正覺 (1091–1157), another major figure of the Southern Song Caodong branch and a fellow student of Qingliao. The first disciple was called Fagong 法恭 (1102–1181), whose clerical career is exposed in the first half of the note. We are told that during his tenure at the Ruiyan 瑞巖 monastery (located in the urban area of today's city of Ningbo in Zhejiang), he achieved dramatic success. Then follows the second part of the account, which is however devoted to Fagong's fellow student, the monk Siche 思徹 (d.u.). This person is described as an absolute recluse who always kept himself away from the world. At the famous Tiantong 天童 monastery chaired by his teacher Zhengjue, Siche assumed the position of guest prefect. The Linji master Zonggao, alias Miaoxi 妙喜 was at that time at the height of his fame and abbot of the high standing Ayuwang 阿育王. As the crow flies, the three mentioned monasteries were only several kilometres from each other.³⁷ While Zonggao came to visit Tiantong, he discovered that the guest prefect had a quick mind and an exceptional intelligence. He took a secret delight and elaborated a scheme to get Siche to his own monastery. However, Siche appeared to be loyal to his teacher Zhengjue and kept himself from Zonggao's temptation. The next episode of the plot looks even more astonishing. Actually, Siche interested not only masters of a senior generation, such as Zonggao, but also his own *dharma* brother Fagong. In 1165, following the death of their common teacher Zhengjue, with the intention of inciting Siche to be his heir, Fagong handed over to him his abbacy at the Bao'en Guangxiao 報恩光孝 monastery (also near Ningbo). However, despite the initial worship and the later irritation of

³⁷ Zengaku Daijiten Hensanjo, *Zengaku daijiten*, "Zenshū shiseki chizu 禪宗史蹟地圖", 9.

Fagong, Siche declared himself heir of Zhengjue with clear conscience. Two years later, Siche won promotion at the Huazang 華藏 monastery (Jinhua city), but passed away prematurely just before he was to depart to take up his new position.³⁸

Lineage diagram of case 5



What appears striking in these two notes is that contrary to the Linji monks in the second and the third case, the Caodong disciples Qingliao and Siche accepted the offer of the abbacy, all the while refusing the lineage proposal, which is obviously the price of the benefit. Despite the sometimes violent opposition of the masters, the unilateral declaration of the disciples seems too high-handed to form a relation of transmission. Moreover, these

³⁸ See appendix, "Case 5". See also Satō Hidetaka 佐藤秀孝, "Minshū zuiganji no sekisō Hōkyō nitsuite 明州瑞巖寺の石窓法恭について," *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu kenkyū kiyō* 駒沢大学仏教学部研究紀要 65 (2007): 55-56; Schlütter, *How zen became zen*, 69.

accounts also show the extent to which a promising disciple with high-level spiritual achievement and potential in monastery management plays a crucial role in the perpetuation of the school, and could eventually inspire competition between masters of several branches, sects, or even generations.³⁹

The last miscellanies collection from the Song, the *Random Notes of Kuya*, compiled in 1263, presents few traces concerning the heritage controversy with regard to its predecessors. Although some notes allow for a glimpse of disciples' unusual choices of lineage, they are shown in a very brief way, as in the following extracts:

師事老佛心。後為空叟嗣。

The Master [Fazhou 法舟](d.u.) served the old Foxin [Bencai 本才](ca. 1092–1184) as his master. He later became heir of Kongsou [Zongyin 宗印](d.u.).⁴⁰

室久侍明極。後嗣無準。

[Shi 石] shi [Hui 輝](d.u.) served for a long time Mingji [Huizuo 慧祚](d.u.). Later, he appeared to be an heir of Wuzhun [Shifan 師範](1178–1249).⁴¹

³⁹ As to management abilities, according to Qingliao's *stūpa* epitaph, at the moment when he obtained the abbacy of the Ayuwang in 1136, the monastery was in a severe financial crisis. As soon as he arrived, he collected so many donations from his numerous adepts that he managed to pay off the monastery's debts. Two years later, during his tenure in Wenzhou, he orchestrated efficient constructions and reorganizations in a monastery newly qualified as a Chan institution. After that, he offered a painting of the renovated monastery to the court and in turn received a land grant of one thousand *mu*. Ishii, *Sōdai zenshūshi no kenkyū*, 501.

⁴⁰ *Kuya manlu*, X. 1613, 34b.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 38a.

By using expressions like “serve as his master” (*shishi* 師事) or “serve for a long time” (*jiushi* 久侍), the author of these notes seems to discreetly insist on the first master-disciple relations, and thus communicates his disagreement about the latter successions. According to the contemporaneous Chan sources, the branches of the masters Zongyin and Shifan had bigger reputations and included more *dharma* heirs than those of Bencai and Huizuo.⁴² This fact suggests that the final and instituted transmission relationships probably resulted from the more appealing resources represented by the latter two masters.

Final reflexions

The examples cited here are selections of the most gripping accounts concerning the question of religious lineage. In fact, each Chan miscellanea

⁴² The general table of contents of the *Jiatai pudeng lu* attributed four *dharma* heirs to Bencai officially and made no mention of Zongyin, who would be included in Chan genealogies only during the Qing Dynasty. But it should be mentioned that Zongyin was appointed abbot of the first-rank Ayuwang monastery in Zhejiang and inherited *dharma* from a major heir of Zonggao, Deguang 德光 (1121–1203). This person also served as abbot at Ayuwang, as well as another powerful Chan monastery, Lingyin 靈隱 (Hangzhou, Zhejiang). Moreover, due to his Japanese heir, Nōnin 能忍 (d.u.), Deguang was considered the origin of the Japanese Zen sect Darumashū 達磨宗. Whereas Bencai, inheriting the declining Huanglong lineage under the Southern Song, had been appointed to some seemingly local monasteries, such as Shangfeng 上封 at Mount Heng (Hunan), Dasheng 大乘 and Qianyuan 乾元 in the Fujian area. See *Ganshan yunwo jitan*, X, 1610, *juan* 1, 662b; *Jiatai pudeng lu zongmulu*, X, 1558, *juan* 2, 280c; *Jiatai pudeng lu*, *juan* 10, 352b. Compared to the Caodong master Huizuo, untraceable in the Song Chan histories, the Linji monk Shifan enjoyed a religious career as distinguished as that of Deguang and his branch also prospered in Japan. See *Wuzhun Shifan Chanshi yulu* 無準師範禪師語錄, X, 1382; *Wuzhun Heshang zoudui yulu* 無準和尚奏對語錄, X, 1383; *Jingshan Wuzhun Chanshi xingzhuang* 徑山無準禪師行狀, X, 1383A.

collection from the Song period contains this kind of information. Furthermore, when we look into the work of the Ming Dynasty, the *Adversaria of the Mountain Hermitage*, we will see that similar stories were repeated up to the Yuan and the Ming. It is thus very likely that these documents are not empty rhetoric, but mirroring one of the central concerns to which the Chan school paid attention throughout the pre-modern period. They demonstrate that from the Song, when the Chan school attained a new degree of institutionalisation, *dharma* transmission from master to disciple was normalized considerably, deviating from the spiritual to the formal sphere. The iconoclastic principal expressed by the famous motto of Linji (d. 866–867) “If you meet a Buddha, kill the Buddha! If you meet a patriarch, kill the patriarch!” (*Feng fo sha fo, feng zu sha zu* 逢佛殺佛, 逢祖殺祖) turns out to be pure rhetoric.⁴³ Chan succession appears to respect not only strict doctrinal criteria, mainly represented by a long period of training and its completion — the act of enlightenment, but also a ritual and administrative process, including elements like the possession of special inheritance documents, the obtainment of a public abbacy, and the ceremony of the burning of incense. Validated and maintained by the entire monastic community, this dual framework was imposed on each Chan monk who hoped for a clerical career.

Although openly discussed in the miscellanea works, the conflicts arising there usually pass unnoticed in the official Chan historiographies. For instance, because of early death or the absence of a *dharma* heir, we do not have any other sources on the lives of the masters Jue and Qi (1st and 2nd cases). Those who enjoyed greater renown, such as Siche and Fagong (5th case), were primarily represented by recorded sayings in their formal Chan biographies. In the case of Fagong, his *stūpa* epitaph (*taming* 塔銘)

⁴³ *Linji lu* 臨濟錄, T. 1985, 500b.

composed by the literatus Lou Yue 樓鑰 (1137–1213) is preserved in extra-Buddhist sources, in which nothing however makes it possible to deduce the transmission incident presented above.⁴⁴ As for Qingliao (4th case), a crucial figure of the Song Chan, all of his official biographies produced during the Song highlight the prosperity of the Changlu monastery following his succession and make no mention of the discordance between him and Daohe.⁴⁵ His *stūpa* epitaph written by Zhengjue, as well as a Chan biographies collection compiled under the Qing, even lauds the virtually filial affection linking the two monks.⁴⁶

The most curious contrast between the miscellanea and the official biographical writings probably lies in the 3rd case. After placing side by side the account of the *Unofficial Record from Lake Luo* (1155) and Zongxian's first genealogy biography included in the *Comprehensive Record of the Transmission of the Lamp from the Jiatai Era* (1204), we notice that the inter-textual differences basically reside in two places: first, the period of the monk's initial training under the guidance of Chunbai, and second, his first abbacy at the Changsong monastery.⁴⁷ Regarding the first point, the miscellanea work presents Chunbai as a mere "tonsure master" (also called *shouyeshi* 受業師, *benshi* 本師, *qinjiaoshi* 親教師), that is to say, a teacher who ordains novices and gives them precepts. What he offers is not spiritual guidance, but a monastic framework. Being a Chan *dharma* heir or not, every regular Buddhist monk is necessarily attributed a "tonsure master".⁴⁸ The genealogy version, conversely, portrays a rather

⁴⁴ Satō, "Minshū zuiganji no sekisō Hōkyō ni tsuite", 52–54.

⁴⁵ *Jiatai pudeng lu*, *juan* 9, 344; *Wudeng huiyuan juan* 14, 296–297.

⁴⁶ Ishii, *Sōdai zenshūshi no kenkyū*, 500; *Nansong yuan ming chanlin sengbaozhuan* 南宋元明禪林僧寶傳, X. 1562, *juan* 2, 595–596.

⁴⁷ See appendix, "Comparative table of Zongxian's biographies".

⁴⁸ Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, 638a, 791b; Zengaku Daijiten Hensanjo, *Zengaku*

classical episode of Chan doctrinal training between the two protagonists. The expression “awaken suddenly based on these words” (*yanxia dunwu* 言下頓悟) used in this version is in general a sign of *dharma* transmission in Chan literature. Furthermore, the text also mentions the long period (seven years), during which the disciple remained serving his teacher, following the previous awakening scene. This suggests both the spiritual completion of the monk and his loyalty vis-à-vis the master. As to the monk’s first nomination, contrary to the miscellanea work, which relates a theatrical self-defensive discourse of the monk, the genealogy supplies only the most rudimentary elements of the story, that is the name of the monastery where the monk was appointed. However, while mentioning that Zongxian attended Chunbai once again upon his return to Chengdu, this version continues to insist on the disciple’s gratitude towards the master and the legitimacy of this transmission. In the genealogy version, even though the main part of the miscellanea work’s plot remains intact and the two masters both go on stage, the author manages to reduce the discordance underlined by the miscellanea account and effectively harmonizes the succession between Zongxian and Chunbai. This statement shaped on the common narrative model of the Chan genealogy was thus adopted by the majority of Zongxian’s biographies.⁴⁹

By way of conclusion, I will address the issue of the cause of the confusion in the mutual recognition of Chan transmission links presented above. At first glance, the transmission system itself is responsible for the inequity of force between master and disciple. In theory, the formation of a

daijiten, 503b. On the “tonsured master” and the “tonsured families”, see Schlütter, *How Zen became Zen*, 55–58.

⁴⁹ Only a generalist biography collection of the Ming, *Supplemented Continuation of the Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Buxu gaoseng zhuan* 補續高僧傳), integrated the criticism of the miscellanea account. *Buxu gaoseng zhuan*, X. 1524, *juan* 8, 421b.

lineage depends, on the one hand, on the endorsement of the master, who recognizes the disciple's enlightenment following the transmission, and, on the other hand, on the positive feedback of the disciple concerning this endorsement, that is to say, that he grants that his spiritual inheritance indeed comes from this very master. However, several cases shown in the present study attest to the fact that the disciple actually holds more power at the moment of his genealogical insertion: in spite of masters' opposition, the unilateral choice of disciples turns out to be sufficient to decide their *dharma* line. This disciple's triumph over his master is astonishing, not only given the fundamentally patriarchal Chinese society in which the Chan school developed, but also given Chan hagiographical lore itself, which highly promotes the masters-ancestors cult. Concerning the origin of the disciple's lineage declaration ritual, according to Mujaku Dōchū 無著道忠 (1653–1745), an eminent Japanese Zen philologist of the Edo period, it was initiated by an heir of Linji, named Cunjiang 存獎 (830–888).⁵⁰ Other sources, seemingly more rhetorical than historical, date back to an earlier epoch and provide assurance that from the generations just following Huineng, the monastic community had already updated its mode of transmission, by replacing the unique and the material token (only one *dharma* robe per generation) with multiple and allegorical performances (the ritual of incense burning and the verbal lineage declaration).⁵¹ Because of the lack of relevant documents from the Tang and the Five Dynasties, this subject still remains opaque at present. Nevertheless, it seems clear that at least as early as the 11th century, the disciple's declaration was largely practiced in the Chan school as means of determining one's lineage.

I then notice that a disciple gains his virtually monopolistic authority

⁵⁰ Mujaku, *Zenrin shōkisen*, 317.

⁵¹ *Liezu tigang lu*, juan 23, 190b; Mujaku, *Zenrin shōkisen*, 318, 774.

only after obtaining a public abbacy. According to their organizational structure, Buddhist monasteries recognized by the Song state could be divided into four main categories: hereditary monasteries (*jiayi* 甲乙 or *tudi* 徒弟), public monasteries (*shifang* 十方), monasteries whose abbot was directly designated by imperial order (*chichai* 敕差), and merit monasteries which was responsible for watching over the family graves of literati or imperial clans (*gongde fengsi* 功德墳寺). Having originated within the Chan school and adopting a structure as highly articulated as the secular bureaucracy, the second pattern was institutionalized during the Song and turned out to be the dominant one. Public monasteries were placed under higher state supervision, but benefited at the same time from more financial and political support from the both imperial court and the upper class. Actually, these religious organisations functioned as a state institution and multiplied constantly under the Song. While their size and administrative grade kept increasing, the religious authority and the social influences of their abbots, who were both symbolic leaders and the pivots of monastic functioning, were also extending. This expansion would peak at the end of the Southern Song and the beginning of the Yuan with the imperial promotion of a hierarchy organized on three levels: from the top “five mountains” (*wushan* 五山), to the “ten monasteries” (*shisha* 十刹), all the way to several dozens of “prime rank monasteries” (*jiasha* 甲刹). This hierarchy bestowed the most privileged status upon powerful Chan public monasteries.⁵² Concerning the nomination of a public abbacy, during the two Song dynasties, it experienced a process of standardization and could be summarized as followed: abbots of public monasteries were elected in accordance with negotiation between, on the one hand, delegates of the

⁵² It is noteworthy that the Jingshan, Tiantong and Ayuwang monasteries involved in the miscellanies presented above were ranked in the “five mountains” list (occupying respectively the 1st, the 4th and the 5th place), whereas the Huanglong, Changlu and Wuzu monasteries featured as “prime rank monasteries”.

monastic community, and on the other hand, central or local government officers. However, the state, after all, had the final say. Otherwise, according to the sectarian affiliation of their abbots, the Song Buddhist monasteries could also be named Chan, “Teaching” (*jiao* 教 or *jiang* 講) or Vinaya (*lü* 律). As the chief representative of the second category, the Tiantai school also acquired a considerable number of public Tiantai Teaching monasteries throughout its long-term struggle against the Chan.⁵³

It was against this background that the Chan lineage extension system hinging on a public abbacy stabilized. In this way, this pattern appears to be a concession or a skilful adaptation made by the Chan

⁵³ For an overview of Song Buddhist policies and monasteries, see Hu Shi 胡適, *Hushi xueshu wenji Zhongguo foxue shi* 胡適學術文集 中國佛學史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 610–616, 621–625; Takao Giken 高雄義堅, *Sōdai bukkyō shi no kenkyū* 宋代仏教史の研究 (Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1975), esp. 57–74. Chikusa Masaaki 竺沙雅章, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakai-shi kenkyū* 中国佛教社会史研究 (Kyōto: Dōhōsha Shuppan, 1982), 83–144; Ishii, “Chūgoku no gozan jissetsu seido no kihon teki kenkyū 中国の五山十刹制度の基礎的研究 1–4,” *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu ronshū* 駒沢大学仏教学部論集 13 (1982): 89–132, 14 (1983): 82–122, 15 (1984): 61–129 (R), 16 (1985): 32–82 (R); Tamamura Takeji 玉村竹二, ed., *Fusō gozanki* 扶桑五山記 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1983), 11–12; Huang Mingzhi 黃敏枝, *Songdai fojiao shehui jingjishi lunji* 宋代佛教社會經濟史論集 (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1989), esp. 241–348; Xie Chongguang 謝重光 and Bai Wengu 白文固, *Zhongguo sengguan zhidushi* 中國僧官制度史 (Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1990), 155–195; Foulk, “Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch’an Buddhism,” 163–167; Liu, *Songdai fojiao zhengce lungao*, esp. 131–379; Schlütter, *How Zen became Zen*, 31–54; Wang Zhongyao 王仲堯, *Nansong fojiao zhidu wenhua yanjiu* 南宋佛教制度文化研究 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2012), esp. 156–326. Otherwise, though it primarily treats Chinese Buddhist institutions of the 20th century, Holmes Welch’s *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900–1950* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967) also sheds important light on some fundamental elements of the monastic structure inaugurated under the Song.

monastic community faced with the intervention of secular authority, as well as a vital measure to win the sectarian competition. In his critical reading of Song Chan monastic institution, T. Griffith Foulk shows the following facts through which Chan's mythological *dharma* lineage managed to impact the structure of Chinese Buddhist institution: first, rulers of the Five Dynasties and early Song reserved the public abbacies for monks who were recognized as Chan *dharma* heirs; second, some monastic rituals common to all Buddhist traditions were dressed a special rhetoric by Chan abbots, so that they seemed to be characteristic of the Chan school; last, the suggestion appeared under the Song that the Tang Chan master Baizhang 百丈 (749–814) invented a singular Chan monastic code also supported the Chan school's domination of Buddhist monastic institution. In this regard, we can consider the Song Chan inheritance system as another means by which Chan institutionalized its *dharma* lineage and the orthodoxy it embodied. As public abbacies incorporated an absolute preoccupation for the collective interest of the school and furthermore enabled monks to gain individual power inside and outside the Chan, this administrative requirement naturally turned out to be a primordial account for all Chan monks desiring a career. It could then likely interfere in lineage development and therefore be regarded as a deep cause of diverse controversies over Chan transmission. It is noteworthy that while the two first cases show that contested choices of *dharma* lines in the 11th century might destroy a disciple's body and soul, with horrors such as sudden death or painful chronic disease, the notes from later periods appear more tolerant towards the controversial protagonists, who suffered, at worst, only moral reproaches. It would seem that this transformation of the attitudes of the miscellanea authors goes hand in hand with the gradual popularization of public monasteries during the Song: once the indispensability of a public abbacy became a matter of consensus to the whole Chan community, lineage choices based on this criterion won more tacit approval

from its members.

Lastly, Chan monks' high level of mobility in the Song period could also create the instability of the transmission tie. In Chan language, the itinerant practice is called "wandering on foot" (*xingjiao* 行腳), "travel in four directions" (*yofang* 遊方), or "clouds and water" (*yunshui* 雲水). As an ideal of religious practice from the start of the school, "wandering" is considered an exercise of detachment regarding places, people and doctrines. It thus embodies open-mindedness and spiritual liberty. One well-known model of an itinerant Chan monk is "Zhaozhou (778-897) who wandered until eighty years old" (*Zhaozhou bashi xingjiao* 趙州八十行腳).⁵⁴ On the diagram of Chan monks' careers shown at the beginning of this paper, we can see that travel determines the success of almost every step of clerical development: before enlightenment, a disciple travels over a large area, in order to encounter "the master" with whom he could share a special affinity so as to accomplish his spiritual training; once awakened, given the lack of a vacant abbacy, the disciple generally becomes itinerant once again to accumulate various ecclesiastic experience and weave a social network necessary for obtaining an abbacy; finally, even once an abbot, the monk would be very likely to move from one prefecture to another for transfers and possible promotions.⁵⁵ In this way, Chan itinerant

⁵⁴ *Shishi yaolan* 釋氏要覽, T. 2127, juan 3, 298b; *Zuting shiyuan* 祖庭事苑, X. 1261, juan 8, 240a; Mujaku, *Zenrin shōkisen*, 100.

⁵⁵ The duration of Buddhist public abbacies varied from five to seven years during the Song. Liu, *Songdai fojiao zhengce lungao*, 112-113. On Chan rules of monastic travel, see Kosaka Kiyū 小坂機融, "Sōdai jiin sōni seido to shingi 宋代寺院僧尼制度と清規," *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu kenkyū kiyō* 駒沢大学仏教学部研究紀要 26 (1968), 103-117; Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 78-80. On the role of Chan wandering in the institutionalization of public abbacy, see Kanai Noriyuki 金井徳幸, "Sōdai jiin no seiritsu kiban: Jūji to kōyūsō 宋代寺院の成立基盤——住持と行遊僧," in *Tōyōshi ronshū* 東洋史論集, ed. Rishō daigaku tōyōshi

monks remind us of Song civil servants, whose profession is also marked by regular and compulsory traveling.⁵⁶ Much as in the secular world, Chan mobility certainly has its virtues: it enables the disciple to take advantage of various resources and therefore increases his possibility of awakening and of securing an appointment. It obliges masters to develop an effective teaching to attract the most promising talent. It also multiplies connexions between branches and sects of different regions and thus boosts the doctrinal dynamic. However, this pluralism of *dharma* transmission also complicates master-disciple relationships. Faced with requests from several influential masters, the disciple sometimes confronts a real dilemma.

kenkyūkai 立正大学東洋史研究会 (Tokyo: Risshō daigaku tōyōshi kenkyūkai, 2003), 1-18; “Sōdai zensatsu no keisei katei: Jippō jūji no hōseika 宋代禪刹の形成過程——十方住持の法制化,” *Komazawa daigaku zenkenkyūjo nenpō* 駒沢大学禅研究所年報 15 (2003): 221-238.

⁵⁶ Miao Shumei 苗書梅, *Songdai guanyuan xuanren he guanli zhidu* 宋代官员选任和管理制度 (Zhengzhou: Henan daxue chubanshe, 1996), 254-268; Cong Ellen Zhang, *The Transformative Journeys: Travel and Culture in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010).

APPENDIX

Case 1: *Dahui zongmen wuku* 大慧宗門武庫, T. 1998B, 954c.

和州開聖覺老初參長蘆夫鐵脚，久無所得。聞東山五祖法道，徑造席下。一日室中垂問云：“釋迦彌勒猶是他奴。且道，他是阿誰？”覺云：“胡張三黑李四。”祖然其語。時圓悟和尚為座元，祖舉此語似之。悟云：“好則好，恐未實，不可放過，更於語下搜看。”次日入室垂問如前。覺云：“昨日向和尚道了。”祖云：“道什麼？”覺云：“胡張三黑李四。”祖云：“不是不是。”覺云：“和尚為甚昨日道是？”祖云：“昨日是，今日不是。”覺於言下大悟。覺後出世住開聖，見長蘆法席大盛，乃嗣夫，不原所得。拈香時忽覺胸前如擣，遂於痛處發癰成竅。以乳香作餅塞之，久而不愈竟卒。

Case 2: *Rentian baojian* 人天寶鑑, X. 1612, 4a.

頤禪師秦之龍城人。初得法於天聖泰和尚。晚依黃龍南禪師。南見其所得諦當，甚遇之，令住全之興國。開堂遂為南之嗣。至夜夢神告曰：“師遇惡疾即是緣盡。”言畢而隱。閱十三日果患大風。屏院事，歸龍城之西為小庵，庵成養病其中。頤有小師名克慈，久依楊岐，亦禪林秀出者。歸以侍病，奉禮至孝，乞食村落，風雨寒暑，盡師一世而後。頤一日謂慈曰：“吾之所得實在天聖和尚。晚見黃龍道行兼重，心所敬慕故為嗣之。豈謂半生感此惡疾！今幸償足。昔神仙多因惡疾而得仙道，蓋其割棄塵累，懷潁陽之風，所以因禍而致福也。吾不因此，爭得有今日事？如今把住也由我，放行也由我，把住放行總得自在。”遂噓一聲，良久而逝。闍維異香徧野，舍利無數。（舟峰錄）

Case 3: *Luohu yelu* 羅湖野錄, X. 1577, 390a.

西蜀顯禪師者，落髮師乃紹覺白公。有偈送之南遊曰：古路迢迢自坦夷，臨行不用更遲疑；佗時若到諸方日，為我分明學似伊。

既至海會，參禮演和尚。一日，演語曰：“我固知你見處，只是未過

白雲關。”是時圓悟為侍者，顯密以白雲關意扣之。圓悟曰：“你但直下會取而。”演自城歸，顯偕圓悟入城，相值於興化。演曰：“記得在那相見來。”顯曰：“全火祇候。”演顧圓悟曰：“這漢饒舌矣。”由是機語相契。久而辭歸蜀。演為小參曰：離鄉四十餘年，一時忘却蜀語；禪人回到成都，切須記取魯語。

顯旋成都。紹覺住昭覺，使顯應長松之命。開堂拈香曰：“一則爐韞功精，一則磨淬極妙。二功並著，理孰為先？不見道‘本重末輕，當風可辨’？此香奉為紹覺和尚。爇向爐中，令教普天布地，真溝塞壑，使天下衲僧無出氣處。”

嗚呼！言浮其實，欲隱彌露，無乃計之左乎。其與一宿覺蓋相萬也。至於登善戴嵩之筆，故叢林目為顯牛子。既以小技溷掩道望，以故情謬索師承而為後世矜式，其可耶？

Case 4: *Conglin shengshi* 叢林盛事, X. 1611, 705b.

長蘆祖照禪師道和莆陽人。初負篋至京，有中貴見之姿質不凡，以度牒與之。和不受，自謂同學曰：“吾大丈夫，豈可出他黃門之下？苟一旦受其恩，則終身被其攔絆。吾佛幸有廣大法門，又國家開發人之路，吾當自勉勵。”因銳志誦法華經，當年於試經得度為大僧，徧見諸方。

後住長蘆，座下常滿千眾。真歇了自丹霞會下來，時年尚幼。和見其敏利，令首眾。後退院與之，意其承嗣。及拈衣，乃云：“得法丹霞室，傳衣祖照庭；恩深轉無語，懷抱自分明。”和不樂，下座抵奪其衣。了自此終身不搭法衣，竟嗣丹霞淳。江湖有識者皆雅其不忘本也。

Case 5: *Conglin shengshi* 叢林盛事, X. 1611, 699b.

石窠恭禪師徧參諸方，久依黃龍忠道者，後依宏智。靖康中，自湖湘歸東越。忠以頌送之曰：閑思昔日戲沙洲，屈指于今四十秋；君到石窠閑借問，許多風月付誰收。恭出世越之報恩。後居瑞巖，其道大振。然克苦為人，布素以禦寒暑，事無細大必親臨之。叢林整齊，衲子望風而服。嘗有佛生日頌曰：五天一隻蓬蒿箭，攪動支那百萬兵；不得雲門行正令，幾乎錯認定盤星。叢林沸傳之。

有徹白頭者，三衢人，與恭同出宏智門。操履孤潔，不與世接。嘗典資於太白。妙喜見大俊敏，私喜之，以計誘其過玉几。徹秉志不渝，竟依老天童。乾道初，恭欲羅籠之以為嗣，退明之報恩，與之出世。住二年，四方龍象每歸之。然徹竟嗣宏智，恭以不樂，徹亦不卹。後遷婺之華藏，將發而示寂。臨行，書遺偈云：當陽一句，更無回互；月落寒潭，烟迷古渡。

是真得洞上之宗，惜其不久住世間耳。

Comparative table of Zongxian's biographies

<p><i>Luohu yelu</i> 羅湖野錄</p>	<p><i>Jiatai pudeng lu</i> 嘉泰普燈錄</p>
<p>西蜀顯禪師者，落髮師乃紹覺白公。有偈送之南遊曰： <u>古路迢迢自坦夷，臨行不用更遲疑。</u> <u>佗時若到諸方日，為我分明舉似伊。</u> 既至海會，參禮演和尚。一日演語曰：“我固知你見處，只是未過白雲關。”是時圓悟為侍者，顯密以白雲關意扣之。圓悟曰：“你但直下會取。”已而，演自城歸，顯偕圓悟入城。相值於興化，演曰：“記得在那相見來？”顯曰：“全火祇候。”演顧圓悟曰：“這漢饒舌矣。”由是機語相契。 久而辭歸蜀，演為小參曰： 離鄉四十餘年，一時忘却蜀語； 禪人回到成都，切須記取魯語。 <u>顯旋成都。紹覺往昭覺，使顯應長松之命。開堂拈香曰：“一則爐鞴功精，一則磨淬極妙。二功並著，理孰為先？不見道：本重末輕，當風可辨。此香奉為紹覺和尚。爇向爐中，令教普天市地，真溝塞壑，使天下衲僧無出氣處。”</u> (……)</p>	<p>(……) <u>往依昭覺得度，具滿分戒。後隨眾咨參。覺一日問師：“高高峰頂立，深深海底行。汝作麼生會？”師於言下頓悟曰：“釘殺脚跟也。”覺拈起拂子云：“這箇又作麼生？”師一笑而出。服勤七祀。</u> 南游至京師，歷淮浙。晚見五祖演和尚於海會。出問：“未知關候子，難過趙州橋。趙州橋即不問，如何是關候子？”祖曰：“汝且在門外立。”師進步一踏而退。祖曰：“許多時茶飯，元來也有人知滋味。”明日入室。祖云：“你便是昨日問話底僧否？我固知你見處，只是未過得白雲關在。”師珍重便出。時圓悟為侍者，師以白雲關意扣之。悟云：“你但直下會取。”師笑曰：“我不是不會，只是未諳。待見這老漢，共伊理會一上。”明日，祖往舒城，師與悟繼往。適會於興化，祖問師：“記得曾在那相見來？”師曰：“全火祇候。”祖顧悟曰：“這漢饒舌。”自是機緣相契。 遊廬阜回。師以“高高峰頂立，深深海底行”向所得之語告之。祖曰：“吾嘗以此事詰先師。先師云：‘我曾問遠和尚。</p>

遠云：‘猫有歆血之功，虎有起尸之德。非素達本源，不能到也。’師給侍之久，祖鍾愛之。

後辭西歸，為小參，復以頌送云：

離鄉四十餘年，一時忘却蜀語；

禪人回到成都，切須記取魯語。

時覺尚無恙，師再侍之，名聲藹著。遂出住長松，遷保福、信相。(……)

*Postdoctoral Fellow,
East Asian Civilisations
Research Centre
(CRCAO, Paris)
Research Fellow of 2016,
International Institute
for Buddhist Studies*