

Construction of the Genealogy of Eccentric Monks Based on the Historical Materials of Chan Buddhism in the Song Dynasty— From Enlightened Masters in Chan Buddhism, Sages, to Saints

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Regarding the Chan Buddhism lamp records from the Song Dynasty and starting from *Jing De Zhuan Deng Lu*, the category of “enlightened masters in Chan Buddhism” 禪門達者 was listed separately, meaning a separate category was established for eccentric monks who pretended to be crazy, had unknown inheritance and miraculous deeds, and were difficult to classify. The following lamp records named this category of eccentric monks as “sages” 散聖, or “saints” 應化聖賢, which constructed another historical genealogy for the special Chan Buddhism eccentric monks. Moreover, the early lamp records included mostly idiosyncratic mad monks from previous dynasties. Since the Southern Song Dynasty, Chan Buddhism historical materials included many sages from the current dynasty. Therefore, this study mainly examines how the genealogy of Chan Buddhism eccentric monks was constructed in Song Dynasty Chan Buddhism lamp records, including quotations, and organizes the images of eccentric monks in the Song Dynasty, as written in Chan Buddhism historical materials, in order that the meaning of existence of these enlightened masters, sages, saints, etc., included in the genealogy of Song Dynasty eccentric monks in the history of Chan Buddhism can be reflected.

Keywords: genealogy of eccentric monks, enlightened masters in Chan Buddhism, sages in Chan Buddhism, saints in Chan Buddhism, Song Dynasty

Introduction

Eccentric monks have long existed in the history of Chinese Buddhism. There were various monks during the Southern Dynasties, such as Beidu 杯渡 and Baozhi 寶誌, who were unpredictable in their performances of stupidity, wisdom, and behaviors, which violated the precepts. However, they sometimes showed miraculous powers to enlighten people. The Japanese scholar, Kazunori Funemoto 船本和則, conducted research on the sacred eccentric monks in the Later Liang and Later Tang Dynasties (Funamoto, 1983). During the Tang Dynasty, increasing numbers of mad monks similar to Baozhi appeared, including Hanshan 寒山, Shide 拾得, Fenggan 豐干, Budai 布袋 Monk, Puhua 普化 Monk, et. al. I have investigated the mad monks of the Tang Dynasty and found that they wandered around the world pretending to be crazy, breaking the barriers between the real world and the transcendent world, and between the secular and the holy, thus, eliminating the traditional monastic system. Through their external appearance of foolishness and madness, drinking alcohol and eating meat, violating the precepts, and saying hidden prophecies, they used various miraculous powers to transform all

sentient beings (Huang, 2010). In the Song Dynasty, starting from *Jing De Zhuan Deng Lu* 景德傳燈錄, the category of “enlightened masters in Chan Buddhism” was listed separately, and called “sages” or “saints” in the following lamp records. A separate category was established for eccentric monks who pretended to be crazy, had unknown inheritance, and were difficult to classify; in other words, another historical genealogy was constructed for eccentric monks. How was the genealogy of eccentric monks in Chan Buddhism constructed and developed? Who were included in it? What kind of personality traits did they present? Moreover, the lamp records in the early Song Dynasty mainly included the eccentric monks from the previous dynasties. Since the Southern Song Dynasty, the image of eccentric monks from the current dynasty gradually appeared, and even the Chan Buddhism quotations in the Southern Song Dynasty included many sages from the Song Dynasty. At present, the academic research regarding the eccentric monks of the Chan Buddhism historical materials from the Song Dynasty needs to be further explored. Therefore, this article sorts the historical materials regarding the eccentric monks in the lamp records and quotations of the Song Dynasty, and examines the genealogical construction and existence meaning of eccentric monks in the Chan Buddhism documents of the Song Dynasty.

Independent Construction and Categorization of the Genealogy of Eccentric Monks in the Lamp Records of Chan Buddhism in the Song Dynasty

Gan Tong 感通 of *Song Gao Sen Zhuan* 宋高僧傳 collects the enlightenment experiences of various practitioners, such as Hanshan, Shide, Wanhui, Sangha, et al., who presented themselves with different behaviors and appearances and were unpredictable and profound in Buddhist practices. In the last paragraph of this book, the “Commentary” 論曰 says, “In order to preach the Dharma, they often appeared as Buddhist male monks; or they used strange deeds to educate sentient beings. While the behaviors of these eccentric monks were sometimes beyond the scope of human understanding, they were also different from the supernatural powers of gods and ghosts. These holy monks used the method of resonance or enlightenment, as *Da Zhi Du Lun* 大智度論 said, “wisdom obtained through the power of meditation”, to transform all living beings (Zanning (Song Dynasty), 1993, p. 577).”¹

Song Gao Sen Zhuan Volume 20 “Tang Cheng Ding Fu Puhua Chang” 唐真定府普化傳 says,

The authors of the Chan Buddhism lamp records classified some Chan monks in Chan Buddhism who showed the ability to predict the future, such as Chan Master Puhua, in a specially established [sages] category to distinguish them from the authentic figures in the Chan lineage. (p. 511)

This is the first time the term “sages” appears in existing Buddhist literature. In other words, Chan monks were not famous for their deeds of meditation and enlightenment, but for their manifestations of “prophecy”. As this phenomenon was not the authentic tradition of Chan Buddhism, it was recorded in a separate category called “sages” to accentuate the alternative traits of this fraction. As a result, the establishment of the “sages” category can be said to be a special classification of eccentric monks within Chan Buddhism during the genealogy compilation. I checked the Chan Buddhism lamp history, which was completed before *Song Gao Sen Zhuan*, and found that *Zu Tang Ji* 祖堂集 Volume 17 includes the biography of monk Puhua, but does not refer to him as a

¹ The miraculous abilities produced through the practice of meditation are characteristics established from the early days of Chan. As the biographies of monks are based on a person’s most significant spiritual achievements or contributions as the criterion for classification, it is not a mistake to include some Chan monks in the enlightenment chapter. See Huang, J. J., *A Narrative Study of Zanning* (Taipei: Student Books, 2008), Chapter 2 “The Origin and Development of Chinese Monk Biographical Narrative Tradition”, pp. 79-80.

sage. The Chan history before *Zu Tang Ji* includes *Bao Lin Zhuan* 寶林傳 of the southern sect and *Zhuan Fa Bao Ji* 傳法寶紀, *Leng Qie Shi Zi Ji* 楞伽師資記, and *Li Dai Fa Bao Ji* 歷代法寶記 of the northern sect, and “sage” is never mentioned.

Thus, what kind of Chan monks are classified as sages? “散 (San)” means unconstrained. Compared with “正 (Zheng)”, it means loose, undisciplined, and free. “聖 (Sheng)” means the saint (Sanskrit ārya), which refers to those who have achieved holy wisdom, and those who are above the level of darśanamārga (path of seeing the truths). Although they appear as human beings with expedients, they will eventually achieve perfect holy wisdom; thus, this remains an honorific title for eminent monks or virtuous people. Therefore, the “散 (San)” of sages is not the looseness seen in the world. The sages are classified as “saints” due to their characteristic of “looseness”, showing that they represent a unique model and the meaning of sanctification. *The Fo Guang Dictionary of Buddhism* entry of “sages” says that although sages have profound enlightenment, they appear as Chan Buddhism monks who are little known in the world, such as Hanshan, Shide, Budai Monk, Clam Monk, et al. In India, there are manifestations of Śakra devānām indraḥ, Brahma, et al., who often stroll in the market and visit with beggars, emphasizing the characteristics of sages to adapt to the secular world (Shi, 1989, p. 4976).

On the one hand, neither the term “sages” nor the Puhua monk is found in *Jing De Zhuan Deng Lu*; on the other hand, Volume 27 includes 10 “enlightened masters in Chan Buddhism who did not frequently interact with people, but were famous at the time”, including Chan Master Baozhi 寶誌, Shanhui 善慧 Master, Chan Master Nanyue Huisi 南嶽慧思, Chan Master Tiantai Zhiyi 天台智顗, Sizhou Sangha 泗州僧伽 Monk, Wanhui Fayun 萬迴法雲, Tiantai Hanshan 天台寒山, Shide 拾得, Fenggan 豐干, and Budai 布袋 Monk, et al. Apparently, “enlightened masters in Chan Buddhism” are different from ordinary Chan monks and must be classified into a separate category. “Enlightened” means comprehensive understanding. In Buddhism, “enlightened masters” refer to those who have mastered the wisdom of prajna and transcended the bondage of life and death. The classification of this title focuses on the internal cultivation of monks, rather than their external identity. Even though the enlightened masters were hidden in the mountains, forests, or in the streets, over time, they became famous for their skillful adaptation and guidance of the world; however, the origin of their sect or their identity might remain unknown. Hence, a separate volume was created to classify them in a category different from other sects. If the term and figure of Chan “sages” have been in existence in Chan literature before *Song Gao Sen Zhuan*, the question now lies in why *Jing De Zhuan Deng Lu* never inherited the term, but rather created another term, “Enlightened masters in Chan Buddhism”, which indeed shares a similar trait, “the awakener of prophecy” 發言先覺. It can be inferred that they did not have a unified appellation and classification standard for eccentric monks; in other words, since such a standard had not been established, different lamp records recorded eccentric monks in different ways.

Moreover, is there any difference between “sages” and “enlightened masters”? The end of Vol. 30 of *Tian Sheng Guang Deng Lu* 天聖廣燈錄 says, “[enlightened masters in Chan Buddhism] are seen as [sages], such as Fotucheng 佛圖澄, Hanshan, and Shide. Therefore, they are classified here” (Li Zunxun (Ed.) (Song Dynasty), CBETA, X78, p. 574, b20). It is in this volume that the term “sages” first occurred in the Chan Buddhism lamp records, thus, linking the identity of “enlightened masters in Chan Buddhism” with the “sages” in *Jing De Zhuan Deng Lu*. In addition, the monks included in these classifications were similar.

In Vol. 29 of *Jian Zhong Jing Guo Xu Deng Lu* 建中靖國續燈錄, Chan Master Dadao Guquan 大道谷泉 (965-?) Nayue Bajiao Temple 南嶽芭蕉庵 wrote six “Ba Bi Song” 巴鼻頌. “Ba Bi” refers to evidence and

proofs, which is extended here to use “song” to depict the characteristics of six eccentric monks,² including “Chan Master” on the hilltop, “Monk” following strict commandments, “Zuozhu” 座主 holding Ruyi 如意 in the hands, and “Shantong” 山童 making tea for guests. In addition to the four abovementioned categories that can be easily distinguished, “Song” also classified eccentric monks into another two categories independent from Chan Master: “Dadao” 大道 and “Sages”.

Eccentric monks of “Dadao” category: monks who look like they have dementia when asked, carry a gourd to travel around, and sing wild songs to enjoy the world.

Eccentric monks of “sages” category: monks who make a performance when meeting an occasion, travel every corner of the world, and may appear and disappear unexpectedly. (Weibai (Ed.) (Song Dynasty), CBETA, X78, p. 818, c14)

Apparently, the category of the eccentric monks of “Dadao” appeared in the form of mad monks carrying gourds to travel around and singing wild songs to enjoy the world. The mad monks broke free from the appearance of Chan monks, amused themselves with wild songs, and traveled around the world, which was a subversion of the traditional image of Chan monks living in mountains and forests with the appearance of pretended dementia. While “Sages” could easily adapt to various local customs and circumstances to manifest different images, their Buddhahood would not be undermined or affected due to their adaptation. Based on the above, “Dadao” and “Sages” presented themselves in a similar manner. Literally, it seemed that “Dadao” emphasized the self-expression of pretending to play around the world, while “Sages” emphasized taking the time to save others.

Volume 27 of *Lian Deng Hui Yao* 聯燈會要 included sage Lingcheng 靈澄 (dates of birth and death are unknown), who had a free and uninhibited personality and was good at using poetry to warn people. Lingcheng was called a “sage” while actively practicing Chan, while Volume 7 recounted Puhua Monk, who was not called a “sage”. On the other hand, Vol. 29 separately created the category of “saints” and included 21 saints. “Saints” refer to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who incarnated themselves in the image of sentient beings for the latter’s benefit; for example, Avalokitasvara had 33 incarnations and could change itself without limits. Noteworthily, the included “saints” were mainly “enlightened masters in Chan Buddhism” in *Jing De Zhuan Deng Lu*, including Emperor Taizong of the Song Dynasty, and Hongzhou Xushi, and Qiantang Jiangshi, who were laymen. Others were renowned senior monks of past dynasties, including Buddha-pāla 佛陀波利, Yasa 耶舍, Prāti 波羅提, Chan Master Batuo 跋陀, Chan Master Nanyue Huisi, Chan Master Tiantai Zhiyi, Tiantai Fenggan, Daweiyou 大滄祐, Xianjingzhao 先淨照, Zhigong Monk, Budai Monk, Shanhui Dashi, Sizhou Dasheng, Wuzhuo 無著 Monk, Gongqi 公期 Monk, Zhiyi Daozhe 紙衣道者, Hanshan, and Shide.

In Vol. 24 of *Jia Tai Pu Deng Lu* 嘉泰普燈錄, the category of “saints” listed 10 people, including Qiansui Baozhang 千歲寶掌 Monk, Ancient buddha of Koubing Zaoxian 扣冰藻先, Jiuxian Yuxian 酒仙遇賢 Monk, His Holiness Nananyan Ziyān 南安巖自嚴, Fahua Zhiyan 法華志言, Zhizu Zhihua 知足智華, Fengfahua 風法華, and Li Tongxuan 李通玄, as well as two Taoist monks, namely Lyuyan Zhenren 呂巖真人 (Lyu Dongbin) and Yong-cheng Zhang 張用成. In addition to the mad monks and enlightened masters in Chan Buddhism in the Tang Dynasty, the most significant change was the first collection of eccentric monks in the Song Dynasty.

In “Xi Tian Dong Tu Ying Hua Sheng Xian Fu” 西天東土應化聖賢附 of Vol. 2 of *Wu Deng Hui Yuan* 五燈會元, the 14 saints in East China included Nezha 那吒, Batuo 跋陀, Jinling Baozhi, Shuanglin Shanhui,

² Xiaoying (Song Dynasty), Volume 2 of *Yun Wo Ji Tan* also includes Quan Da Dao “Liu Ba Bi Song”, but the text is slightly different. CBETA, X86, p. 672, b03.

Nanyue Huisi, Tiantai Zhizhe, Sizhou Sangha, Tiantai Fenggan, Tiantai Hanshan, Tiantai Shide, Mingzhou Budai, Fahua Zhiyan, Koubing Zaoxian, and Qiansui Baozhang 千歲寶掌.

From the perspective of the Zen genealogy, from *Jing De Zhuan Deng Lu* to *Wu Deng Hui Yuan*, the terms “enlightened masters in Chan Buddhism”, “sages”, and “saints” have similar meanings. In addition, most of the monks collected in these classifications overlapped, indicating no clear distinction among the three appellations in Zen literature. Although the standards and definitions for the selection of the monks slightly varied with the compilers and time, the construction of genealogy and the classification of a special category in the Zen lamp records in the Song Dynasty positively viewed and included such eccentric monks. These eccentric monks were included in the genealogy as an affirmation of their realization. Furthermore, the monks collected in Nianchang (Yuan Dynasty)’s *Fo Zu Li Dai Tong Zai* 佛祖歷代通載, namely “sages and eccentric monks from the branches of the main school”, sages and eccentric monks were separately classified. i.e., “sages and eccentric monks” were considered to have come from the “branches” rather than the “main school”.

Image of Eccentric Monks in the Song Dynasty in the Chan Buddhism Historical Materials

In addition to creating a separate category for eccentric monks, the genealogy of Chan Buddhism lamp records in the Song Dynasty also collected the deeds of eccentric monks in the Song Dynasty who inherited the spirit of mad monks in the Tang Dynasty. Vol. 22 “Lingjiu Mountain Temple of the Great Song Dynasty, Dian Dian Shi 點點師 Zhuan” in *Song Gao Sen Zhuan* mentions Diandianshi, an eccentric monk in the Northern Song Dynasty. His origin was unknown, and he traveled around towns and markets. As he maintained a crazy state and enjoyed providing guidance to other people, he was called an eccentric monk (Zanning (Song Dynasty), 1993, p. 571). Vol. 23 “Prajna Temple in Tiantai Mountain of Song Dynasty, Shi Yun 師蘊 Zhuan” mentions that Shi Yun had a candid personality, and the seemingly comical and crazy traits were actually the practice of “unremitting efforts in mantra” (p. 600). From the perspective of Buddhism, stupidity and madness are a state of cosmic ignorance that cannot grasp or understand the nature of the mind. However, eminent monks use stupidity, madness, and comical deeds as a means to cover up their practice.

Since the Southern Song Dynasty, “Painting of Sages” was a very common topic of painting. Beijian Jujian 北礪居簡 (1164–1246) painted “Ba Lao Rong [sages] Hua Zhou” 跋老融 “散聖” 畫軸,³ while in the early Southern Song Dynasty, the monk Fanlong 梵隆 painted the “Ten Sages”.⁴ Volume 5 of *Wu Zhun Shi Fan Chan Shi Lu Yu* 無準師範禪師語錄 mentions that Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1179–1249) wrote “Ba Neng Ning Fan 3 persons praised 12 sages” (Zonghui et al. (Ed.) (Song Dynasty), CBETA, X70, p. 273, a16) without naming the 12 sages. Chan discourse records by Xisou Shaotan 希叟紹曇, the disciple of Shifan, respectively praised the 12 sages, including: Zhutou 豬頭 Monk, Xianzi 蜺子 Monk, Yushanzhu 郁山主, Zhenghuangniu 政黃牛, Puhua 普化, Duanshizi 端師子, Yanfahua 言法華, Guquan 泉大道, Chuanzi 船子, Fenggan, Hanshan, and Shide (Facheng et al. (Ed.) (Song Dynasty), *Xi Sou Shao Tan Chan Shi Gauang Lu* 希叟紹曇禪師廣錄, Vol. 7 (CBETA, X70, p. 478, a01)). Among the 12 sages, although Xianzi Monk, Puhua,

³ See Shi Ju Jian (Song Dynasty), Vol. 7 of the *Collected Works of Beichien*, Vol. 1183 of the *Siku Quanshu*, p. 101 First Half. Lao Rong was Zhi-Rong, a painter monk in the Southern Song Dynasty who was good at painting cattle.

⁴ See Vol. 2 of the “Liu Yan Zhai Er Bi” written by Li Ri-Hua (Ming Dynasty): The ten sages named by Fanlong include Bodhidharma, Zhigong, Yanfahua, Changting Laozi, Chan Master Puhua, Hanshan Shide, Monk Shandao, Quan Daodao, Saint Jinhua, and Monk Hsiazhi. These sages who presented miraculous powers in Buddhism were used to match the ten saints of Xuan Guan. Vol. 867 of the *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu*, pp. 867–593 Second Half. The painter monk Fanlong studied under Li Gong-Lin.

Chuanzi, Fenggan, Hanshan, and Shide were in the Tang Dynasty, they were already mentioned in Chan lamp records.

Six representative eccentric monks in the Song Dynasty are introduced below:

1. Zhutou Monk (dates of birth and death are unknown):

There are limited historical materials regarding Zhutou Monk. In “Bo Zhai Bian” 泊宅編, it is recorded that there was a monk in Wuzhou, Jiangxi who preferred eating pig heads and could eat several pig heads at a time. His common name was Zhutou Monk, and his behaviors were unpredictable. Legend has it that he was the reincarnation of the ancient Buddha Dingguang (Fangshao (Song Dynasty), 2007, p. 84).

2. Yushanzhu (dates of birth and death are unknown):

There are limited historical materials regarding Master Yu, the Mountain Lord of Chaling. Vol. 6 “Master Yu, the Mountain Lord of Chaling” of *Wu Deng Hui Yuan* only mentions that after he became a monk, he never traveled anywhere else. He suddenly became enlightened when he fell while riding a donkey across a bridge, so he wrote a poem: “I have a divine pearl, which has been covered by dust for a long time. Now the light is shining out of the dust, shining through the infinite mountains and rivers”.

3. Zhenghuangniu (986-1049):

Wu Deng Hui Yuan, Vol. 10, “Wei Zheng 惟正 Chan Master” records that he had superb insights since he was young, his speech was unexpected, and he lived in the Pure Land Monastery in Hangzhou. He was a noble and simple man, strict with himself, respected by others, and not tired of the world. He enjoyed riding an ox for transportation, hung his alms bowl on the horns, and did not care about the eyes of the world. He was good at calligraphy, and his brushwork was superb. In winter, he did not use a stove, but used amur silvergrass as a blanket. In summer and autumn, he enjoyed appreciating the beauty of the moon. He sat cross-legged in a large basin on the upper reaches of the floating pond, rotated the basin by himself, and usually laughed out loud. Someone asked him: “You have the name of a Chan master, but you never talk about Chan. Why?” The master answered, “Words are limited, but the practice is endless. There are endless treasures in the world”. Therefore, he did not talk too often, was free-spirited and enjoyed taking pleasure in himself, and he deeply understood the truth of Buddhism.

4. Duanshizi (1031-1104):

The master witnessed pure nature after seeing the lion play, so he often wore a colorful shawl as a lion skin. As a result, the world called him “Duanshizi”. Vol. 1 of the *Luo Hu Ye Lu* 羅湖野錄 recorded that he was kind in nature, did not violate the precepts, was compassionate to others, and took care of the hungry and cold. He begged people for money and distributed it to all the hungry and cold (Xiaoying (Song Dynasty), CBETA, X83, p. 375, c13).

Liu Tao’s “Duan Chan Shi Xing Ye Ji” 端禪師行業記 describes his behavior as if he were playing in the world, free and open-minded. He enjoyed singing “Yu Fu Ci” 漁父詞, and he would sing until dawn on nights when the moon was bright in the sky. Every morning when it snowed, he would wear colorful clothes and go into the city to chase and play with the children, like an old naughty boy. Vol 2 of *Wu Shan Jing Duan Chan Shi Yu Lu* 吳山淨端禪師語錄 mentions: Although he had never studied poetry, he was able to say Buddhist verses that were popular among the people and had many profound meanings. Therefore, Duanshizi was compared to the likes of Puhua, Hanshan, and Shide (Shijiao (Re-ed.) (Song Dynasty), CBETA, X73, p. 83, c17) Vol. 19 “Chan Master Xi Yudian” 西余端禪師 of the *Chan Lin Sen Bao Zhuan* 禪林僧寶傳 records that he spoke

strangely and could predict future events and speak exactly what people were thinking. He once wrote a memorial for a dead chicken to commemorate the suffering it had as poultry during life and death, and gave the chicken carcass to the hungry to serve as a warning to the eaters. At that time, there was a monk named Huitou who used the name of mad monk to encourage people to eat meat. When he was eating meat, Master Duan asked him, “What is a Buddha when you are eating meat?” Monk Huitou was speechless, and Master Duan beat him on the head as a warning (Huihong (Song Dynasty), CBETA, X79, p. 530, a15).

Duanshizi’s diseased teeth had not healed for a long time, so he informed everyone that he would die tomorrow. He left a verse saying

Duanshizi, a man who is too lazy that his teeth rots before he dies. He accompanies everyone to the dining hall for breakfast and lunch. The kitchen can’t even make porridge and rice in time. It will be easier for him to die now, and he will not care about anything else if he can sleep forever. Firstly, there is no need for him to care about the officials, and secondly, there is no need for him to care about eating porridge or rice. (Huihong (Song Dynasty), CBETA, X79, p. 530, b22)

As soon as the fifth watch came, he died. After his death, the Tungwu named him a “sage”. Huihong praised that during that chaotic period, all monks only cared about making a living and talked about Chan with a lack of thorough understanding, which reflected how valuable the free and unruly traits of Zhenghuangniu and Duanshizi were (Huihong (Song Dynasty), CBETA, X79, p. 530, c02).

5. Yanfahua (dates of birth and death are unknown):

Vol. 30 “A Record of Tungjing Chingde Temple, Monk Zhi Yan” 志言 of *Tian Sheng Guang Deng Lu* mentions that no one knew where he came from. However, he had a unique and ancient appearance. After reading *Yun Meng Lu* 雲門錄, he was enlightened and knew the past lives of all life. Because he tended to talk to himself and laugh alone, people called him “Crazy Yan” 言風子. The worldly people regarded him as a mad monk, but those who understood Buddhism regarded him as a sage like Fotucheng, Hanshan, and Shide (Weibai (Ed.) (Song Dynasty), CBETA, X78, p. 574, b12). Vol. 24 of the *Jia Tai Pu Deng Lu* records that Zhiyan was famous for his chanting of *The Lotus Sutra* 法華經. He had lived with a butcher and did not care about maintaining a vegetarian diet; however, as his prophecies of misfortune and good fortune often came true, his reputation spread far and wide (Zhengshou (Ed.) (Song Dynasty), CBETA, X79, p. 435, a21). Vol. 20 “Yanfahua” of the *Chan Lin Sen Bao Zhuan* praised him:

The Buddha Tathagata once warned all Bodhisattvas and Arhats: After I pass away, you will be corresponding incarnations and be born at the end of Dharma and present various images to save all sentient beings in reincarnation, may incarnate as a hermit, a layman, a king, an official, a boy or a girl, a prostitute, a widow, a thief, a butcher, etc. To guide all sentient beings to achieve liberation and will not regard yourself as a Bodhisattva or an Arhat to reveal the secrets of the Buddha. Until the end of your life, you can leave no hint that you are an enlightened person. (Huihong (Song Dynasty), CBETA, X79, p. 531, a12)

As a result, when Yanfahua was about to pass away, he said: I come from immeasurable kalpas and have already achieved my own pure land of Buddhahood. According to the needs of sentient beings, I use various methods to manifest various incarnations to save sentient beings here. Therefore, Yanfahua was the “Enlightened ones who come to the human world again”.

6. Nanyue Bajiao Temple, Master Guquan:

Vol. 15 “Hengyue Master Guquan” 衡嶽谷泉禪師 of the *Chan Lin Sen Bao Zhuan* recorded that when he was young, he was smart and had a character that could withstand the stigma. In his arrogance, he was disgusted by the common people, and after becoming a monk, he did not care about the precepts and did whatever he

wanted. Guquan was immediately kicked out of the Chan temple when he arrived, but he did not mind at all. The common people called him “Quan Dadao” 泉大道. After he secretly accepted Chan teachings from Fenyang Shanzhao 汾陽善昭 (946-1023), he returned to the south and wandered around Huxiang. He once wrote a verse for Chan Master Ciming 慈明: “It’s been about half a year since we’ve been apart, and I don’t know who I can talk to about Chan. In the same beautiful Xiang Mountains, you lie to your followers, and I enjoy my sleep”. Ciming smiled after seeing this verse. When Ciming and Huanglong Huinan 黃龍慧南 came to visit Guquan, Guquan admitted that it was difficult to have a good friend, and Huinan ridiculed his frankness. Guquan responded with a verse:

Venerable Kassapa experienced many calamities while meditating, and monk Budai also suffered many years of decline. Some people vowed to live like a sick stray dog in the human world rather than be reborn in heaven since they can even make fun of the white crane in the clouds. (Huihong (Song Dynasty), CBETA, X79, p. 522)

He was at ease with the lifestyle he had chosen, calling himself a “mad monk” and often reciting verses to guide all sentient beings. Vol. 29 “Verse Reciting” of the *Jian Zhong Jing Guo Xu Deng Lu* recorded the *Song of Downfall* written by him: “A mad monk has a free-spirited personality and can live anywhere. Sometimes he sings wildly, and suddenly he gets up and dances” (Weibai (Ed.) (Song Dynasty), CBETA, X78, p. 818, c09). He completely ignored the strange attitude of the world, and he only echoed the spirit of the “Three Saints of Tiantai”. He wrote the “Song of Dadao” 大道歌, which was his own personal experience of his unique monastic life (Weibai (Ed.) (Song Dynasty), CBETA, X78, p. 818, b18). He juxtaposed himself with Yan Hui 顏回 and Peng Zu 彭祖, revealing his concept that Chan, Confucianism, and Taoism are the same without any difference.

Master Guquan behaved heretically and was crazy and careless. He suggested that there is no difference between a brothel, a tavern, and a sacred Chan temple. While he deliberately violated the Buddhist precepts, he occasionally demonstrated miraculous phenomena. He once climbed to the top of Hengyue and lived in Lancanyan. He also once lived in Zhurong Peak, where he encountered a python that appeared from the pine demon and was coiled around him. Guquan tied the python around his waist as his belt, but the python suddenly disappeared in the middle of the night. Vol. 2 of the *Yun Wo Ji Tan* 雲臥紀譚 made a comment on him: “Although his words may seem uninhibited, they actually have a profound purpose” (Xiaoying (Song Dynasty), CBETA, X86, p. 672, b12). Huihong also praised him in Vol. 15 *Hengyue Quan Master of the Chan Lin Sen Bao Zhuan*: He was not greedy for life, not afraid of death, did not avoid humiliation and shame, and mixed truth and falsehood in one. At that time, Buddhist practitioners tended to revere the names of eminent monks. Guquan was not afraid of what others said, deliberately went against the grain, and acted as a mirror to correct the shortcomings of Buddhist practitioners. Therefore, he was honored as “Quan Dadao” (Huihong (Song Dynasty), CBETA, X79, p. 524, a16)

The abovementioned six were eccentric monks that were classified as sages during the Southern Song Dynasty. Moreover, *Wu Deng Hui Yuan* and “Lian Deng Hui Yao” both included “Lingtan Lingcheng 泐潭靈澄 Sage”, who was the only one honored as “a sage” when he was included in the lamp records genealogy. According to the above examples, it can be concluded that the image of eccentric monks has two sides. On the one hand, eccentric monks were crazy and foolish; on the other hand, they might continuously engage in esoteric practices, or they might know things like gods, or they might give warnings from time to time and use different modes to save sentient beings with different foundations.

Spiritual Origins and Characteristics of Chan Buddhism Eccentric Monks in the Song Dynasty

Origin of the Title “Chan Buddhism Eccentric Monks”

The titles of enlightened masters in Chan Buddhism, sages, and saints were associated with Confucianism and Taoism in Chinese culture. In terms of vocabulary meaning, “da” 達 means “tong” 通, which refers to a person who has reached the point where all the ways are unified. The term “enlightened masters” originates from *The Adjustment of Controversies* 齊物論 of Zhuangzi 莊子: “There is no so-called creation and destruction of all things, they can all be unified into one. Only [enlightened masters] can understand the principle of unity”. “Enlightened masters” in Buddhism refer to those who have understood the ultimate reality and transcended life and death. The title “sages” is related to the origin of Taoist “sanxian”. 散仙 “Sanxian” in Taoism originally referred to immortals who had not yet been awarded the official immortal position, or people who did not conform to the image of ordinary immortals, and they were often prone to pretending to be crazy and stupid. The sages in Chan Buddhism also integrated the Taoist spiritual qualities of carefreeness and madness. “Saints” referred to people with noble moral character and outstanding talent in terms of moral status in Confucian cultivation, ranging from scholars and gentlemen to sages and saints. Saints in Buddhism were holy monks who incarnated into the world in response to the needs of all living beings. Therefore, the titles of Enlightened masters in Chan Buddhism, sages, and saints were not originated from the Buddhist tradition, but from the names of saints in the Confucian and Taoist cultivation system. Chan Buddhism placed these mad monks with eccentric behaviors to practice Buddhism among the people into an identity borrowed from Chinese Confucianism and Taoism. Such a classification system revealed the development direction of Song Dynasty Chan Buddhism integrating Confucianism and Taoism. In addition, Yong-cheng Zhang, the founder of the Taoist inner alchemy sect 內丹派, absorbed the concept of Chan mind cultivation to strengthen the foundation of the Taoist mind. He was included as one of the “saints” in Vol. 24 of Jia Tai Pu Deng Lu and can also be viewed as an example of the integration of the three religious trends in Song Dynasty Chan Buddhism.

Highlighting the Free-Spirited Nature of Eccentric Monks

Where did these Song Dynasty eccentric monks get their motivation for their crazy-looking actions? Perhaps it comes from the use of their inherent clear wisdom. They were sincere and authentic and did not need to pay attention to or cooperate with worldly values. They provided crazy words and wise criticism on the edges that were overlooked by the world, or they deliberately displayed their rebellious subjective consciousness in a feinting manner as a strategy to transcend the boundaries of rationality, which was a challenge to the existing authority and order of Buddhism and reflected a strong heretical attitude and rebellious spirit. Through their crazy behaviors, they broke the dualistic opposition between the sacred and the secular, which aroused awareness of the secular world in their daily lives.

In the Song Dynasty Chan Buddhism lamp history, the writings about eccentric monks tended to downplay their miraculous powers, and instead highlighted their subjective playful and free-spirited traits, thereby inspiring the awareness resonance of all sentient beings. They used parody or ridicule to criticize or enlighten others, which was completely different from actual lunatics who have no ability to think. When they were selected into the lamp history, the authenticity of their actions was affirmed, and their special actions of abandoning reason were viewed in a more religious perspective.

Conclusions

This study explored the historical data regarding Chan Buddhism eccentric monks in Chan Buddhism lamp records, quotations, verses, and other historical materials from the Song Dynasty. The term “sages” first appeared in *Song Gao Sen Zhuan*. Under the titles of “enlightened masters”, “sages”, “saints”, etc., the lamp records after *Jing De Zhuan Deng Lu* included eccentric monks with special adaptations in Chan Buddhism into the Chan Buddhism genealogy, which was equivalent to an affirmation of these non-Chan Buddhist sect Chan monks.

Furthermore, as marginalized figures in the group of holy monks, eccentric monks were in direct contrast to the lifestyle of the mainstream Chan monks. These eccentric monks listed in the genealogy, from Chan Master Baozhi in the Southern Dynasty to the Three Sages of Tiantai in the Tang Dynasty, and even the sages of the Song Dynasty, formed a historical context of eccentric monks. Although the sages in the Song Dynasty also showed the crazy attitude of playing around the world, compared with the miraculous deeds shown by the mad monks in the Tang Dynasty, they more frequently demonstrated the integration of secular and holy wisdom, which was not limited to the appearance of the eminent monk, and with a strong attitude of freedom. In particular, from the Confucian and Taoist connotations under the titles of “enlightened masters”, “sages”, and “saints”, as well as the inclusion of Taoist figures (e.g., Yong-cheng Zhang) into the sage genealogy, this study found that Chan Buddhism monks were gradually eliminating the image of being a model for practicing the Three Non-Outflow Studies and moving toward a folk character that integrated with the secular world. This research result may help the academic community pay more attention to and understand the existence of Chan Buddhism eccentric monks in the Song Dynasty.

Abbreviations

T: *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經

X: *Manji shinsan Dainihon zokuzōkyō* 卅新纂大日本續藏經

Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association 中華電子佛典協會: <http://www.cbeta.org/index.htm>

The CBETA Chinese Electronic Tripitaka is based on the (T) *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* ((c) Daizo Shuppansha) Vols. 1-55, 85 and (X) *Manji Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzōkyō* ((c) Kokusho Kankokai) Vols. 1-90.

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Appendix

Table 1

Enlightened Masters in Chan Buddhism/Sages/Saints in the Historical Materials in Song Dynasty Chan Buddhism

Serial No.	Source	Title	Figures included
1	<i>Song Gao Sen Zhuan Gan Tong</i> Vol. 20	Pu Hua Zhuan	Puhua
2	<i>Jing De Zhuan Deng Lu</i> Vol. 27	Ten enlightened monks in Zen Buddhism who refused to be involved in the secular world, but famous in their time	Baozhi, Shanhui Dashi, Nanyue Huisi, Tiantai Zhiyi, Sizhou Sangha, Wanhui, Hanshan, Shide, Fenggan, Budai Monk
3	<i>Tian Sheng Guang Deng Lu</i> Vol. 30	Sen Zhi Yan	Fotucheng, Hanshan, Shide
4	<i>Jian Zhong Jing Guo Xu Deng Lu</i> Vol. 29	Dadao Guquan's six "Ba Bi Song"	Zen Master, Monk, Zuozhu (座主), Dadao, Shantong (山童), Sage
5	<i>Lian Deng Hui Yao</i> Vol. 27	Lingcheng Sage	Lingcheng Sage
6	<i>Lian Deng Hui Yao</i> Vol. 29	The category of "Saints" lists 21 Saints	Emperor Taizong of Song Dynasty, Hongzhou Xushi Langzhong, Qiantang Jiangshi, Buddha-pāla, Yasa, Prāti, batuo, Nanyue Huisi, Tiantai Zhiyi, Fenggan, Daweiyou, Xianjingzhao, Zhigong, Budai, Shanhui, Sizhou Dasheng, Wuzhuo Monk, Gongqi Monk, Zhiyi Daozhe, Hanshan, Shide
7	<i>Jia Tai Pu Deng Lu</i> Vol. 24	The category of "Saints" lists ten people	Qiansui Baozhang, Koubing Zaoxian, Jiuxian Yuxian, Nananyan Ziyang, Fahua Zhiyan, Zhizu Zhihua, Fengfahua, Li Tongxuan, Lyuyan Zhenren (Lyu Dongbin), Yong-cheng Zhang Yong-cheng Zhang
8	<i>Wu Deng Hui Yuan</i> Vol. 2	"Xi Tian Dong Tu Ying Hua Sheng Xian"	Nezha, Batuo, Baozhi, Shanhui, Nanyue Huisi, Tiantai Zhizhe, Sizhou Sangha, Fenggan, Hanshan, Shide, Budai Monk, Fahua Zhiyan, Koubing Zaoxian, Qiansui Baozhang
9	Yanqi's <i>Zheng Dao Ge Zhu</i>	None	Baogong, Wanhui, Hanshan, Shide, Songtoutu, Fudashi
10	Li Rihua's <i>Liu Yan Zhai Er Bi</i>	Fan Long 10 Sages	Daruma, Zhigong, Yanfahua, Changding Laozi, Puhua, Hanshan, Shide, Shandao Monk, Quandadao, Jinhua, Xiazi Monk
11	<i>Wu Zhun Shi Fan Chan Shi Lu Yu</i> Vol. 5	Ba Neng Ning Fan San Ren Zan Shi Er San Sheng	None
12	<i>Xi Sou He Shang Guang Lu</i> Vol. 7	Shi Er San Sheng Zan	Zhutou Monk, Xianzi Monk, Yushanzhu, Zhenghuangniu, Puhua, Duanshizi, Yanfahua, Quandadao, Chuanzi, Fenggan, Hanshan, Shide
13	<i>Pushiji</i>	Xiaoyin Daxin <i>Painting of Yin Jichuan</i>	Twenty-eight Chan Buddhism sages under Bodhidharma and Baozhi