

Writing Oneself into the Tradition

The Autobiographical Sermon of Chan Master Jizong Xingche (b. 1606)

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The Context: Women Monastics in the Seventeenth-Century Revival of Linji Chan

In his pioneering study of the autobiographical tradition in premodern China, Pei-yi Wu points out that, while Chinese Chan masters would seem to have all of the traits needed for writing about themselves, including “boldness, ebullience, exaltation of the individual, disdain for conventions and rules, and frequent contemplation of the self,” it was not until the Song dynasty (960–1279) that they were able to “escape from the rigid canons of Chinese historiography and speak directly about their own inner religious experience.”¹ The first Chan autobiographer, according to Wu, was the Linji 臨濟 Chan monk Zuqin Xueyan 祖欽雪巖 (1216–1287), a man he suggests “must have been a more than usually self-assured master, fully conscious of his place in the annals of Buddhism and confident that his line would be perpetuated.”² Zuqin did not, however, “write” his autobiography; rather, he “narrated his life story while ostensibly delivering a sermon.”³ Zuqin’s account established the model for many subsequent autobiographical sermonizers, so much so that the great Linji Chan master Zhongfeng Mingben 中峰明本 (1263–1323) felt obliged to “take a strong stand against self-revelation” in an effort to “shame and intimidate the contemporaries who falsely boasted of attainment of illumination or verification of such attainment, fraudulently claiming great wisdom in order to deceive the

common people.”⁴ This, according to Wu, led to the demise of the autobiographical sermon. “My search in the vast collection of Buddhist sermons,” Wu writes, “has not yielded any more digressions on the sermonizer’s own spiritual experience beyond [Mingben’s] time.”⁵

There did appear, however, to have been a revival of just this sort of autobiographical sermon in the seventeenth century, most of which can be found in the discourse records of masters associated with the important, albeit ultimately short-lived, revival of Chan Buddhism. In fact, most of these sermons are associated with dharma successors of the primary figures behind the Linji side of this Chan revival: Miyun Yuanwu 密雲圓悟 (1566–1642) and his dharma brother Tianyin Yuanxiu 天隱圓修 (1575–1635).⁶ That this should be so is perhaps not so surprising given that a major element in this Chan revival involved a return to the Chan literary forms popular in the Song dynasty, in particular the so-called encounter dialogues, with their representations of dramatic exchanges between master and disciple, accompanied by lively language and, at times, shouts and blows. While many participated and even delighted in such exchanges, others dismissed them as empty theater, a confirmation of the depths to which Chan had descended rather than a sign of its renewal. According to Wu, a major contributing factor behind the appearance of autobiographical sermons in the Song dynasty was the growing popularity of theater during this period.⁷ He suggests that just as on the dramatic stage, “even the most humble and self-effacing have to make their appearances, each baring some of his or her private self,” so the Chan master, while his performance was conducted on the platform rather than on the stage, might also have felt empowered to reveal more of himself than was customary. The performer on the stage, as Wu points out, “is nothing if he fails to project himself though his words.” Unlike the historian or the biographer, he cannot hide behind “the convention of the selfless compiler, mute and invisible.”⁸ Whether or not the theatrical performances described in Song dynasty Chan literature corresponded to the actual practice of most Chan masters is arguable.⁹ Even more arguable is whether the “private self” thus revealed was any less constructed than the self when it was purposely effaced or kept hidden.¹⁰ Nevertheless, it may be that this renewed interest in performative Chan contributed to the relative proliferation of autobiographical sermons in the seventeenth century.

Another major element of Miyun Yuanwu’s revival was a renewed emphasis on official verification of the enlightenment experience and direct master-to-disciple transmission, which resulted in a significant increase in the number of disciples officially designated as dharma successors. This, too,

elicited considerable criticism and accusations of “indiscriminate transmission,” especially, perhaps, since among those receiving dharma transmissions were a small but significant number of women. In the eyes of many, such women were living proof of “indiscriminate transmission,” and those among them who went so far as to ascend the platform and “act like a Chan master” were even more despised. Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664), for example, bemoaned the audacity of some women who not only claimed dharma transmission from eminent masters but—and this is what offended him the most—they “stick out their heads and expose their faces almost as if they were acting in a play” (*chutou loumian, jicheng xishi* 出頭露面, 幾成戲事).¹¹

There were those who greatly admired these women, however, and who went to considerable lengths to defend them, especially since a precedent had been set by the eminent Song dynasty Linji Chan master Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163), who had conferred dharma transmission on at least three women, the most famous of whom were Chan masters Miaodao 妙道 and Miaocong 妙總 (1095–1170). There are extant sermons by both Miaodao and Miaocong, and the latter has also left a sizeable collection of religious poetry.¹² It is not until the seventeenth century, however, that we find an autobiographical sermon by a woman that fits the model established by Song dynasty masters such as Zuqin Xueyan. This sermon can be found in the official *yulu* 語錄 of Chan master Jizong Xingche 繼總行徹 (b. 1606), which were printed in 1656 and later preserved in the Jiaxing Buddhist canon.¹³ Because there is so little detailed biographical material available about religious women from the premodern period, I have elsewhere used this sermon, along with other pertinent material, to piece together the general outlines of Jizong’s life and teachings.¹⁴ My primary aim here, however, is to show how this text may also be read as an autobiographical sermon, by means of which Jizong as a woman Chan master sought to write herself into what was almost exclusively a male tradition.

Woman Chan Master Jizong Xingche and Her Autobiographical Sermon

Jizong Xingche, whose secular name was Liu, was born in 1606 to a highly educated and apparently quite wealthy family from Hunan. Indications of Buddhist devotion can be found on both her father’s and her mother’s sides: as a young girl, for example, she accompanied her maternal grand-

father on a visit to the reliquary of the late Ming monk Hanshan Deqing 憨山德清 (1546–1623). Jizong was widowed at a young age, her husband having died while on an official posting in the Guangdong area. She subsequently devoted herself to religious practice and eventually took ordination in her early thirties under Linji Chan master Shanci Tongji 山茨通際 (1608–1645), who was then residing at the Luluo 綠蘿 Monastery on Hengshan 衡山 (Mount Heng) in Hunan Province. After Shanci's untimely death, Jizong made her way to Jiangsu where she became the disciple—and, ultimately, dharma heir—of Wanru Tongwei, who, like Shanci, was a dharma successor of Tianyin Yuanxiu. It is worth noting that Wanru's discourse records, compiled and printed after his death, include an autobiographical sermon: whether or not Jizong was actually present when it was delivered is impossible to determine, but it is likely that she knew about it. In any case, as we shall see, she was definitely familiar with other such autobiographical Chan texts including the well-known letter by Gaofeng Yuanmiao 高峰原妙 written to his teacher, who was none other than our “first Chan autobiographer,” Xueyan Zuqin.¹⁵ Needless to say, we will not find either in Jizong's sermon or in similar sermons by her male counterparts the “baring of the inner self” that Pei-yi Wu observes in Zuqin's thirteenth-century sermon. For, by the seventeenth century at least, such sermons were, like European Christian conversion narratives of the same period, composed “within a framework of already prescribed experiences and emotions.”¹⁶ Moreover, as was the case with her seventeenth-century counterparts in the West, a religious woman like Jizong who dared speak in public, and with authority, would have had little choice but to “cast her story in the culturally compelling plots, ideals of characterization, and speaking postures associated with male or ‘human’ selfhood.”¹⁷ This does not mean, however, that we should dismiss Jizong's sermon as mere spiritual ventriloquism. I hope to show, in fact, that what Sidonie Smith says of Christian conversion narratives by seventeenth-century English women may also be said of autobiographical sermons by seventeenth-century Buddhist women such as Jizong, namely, that while they “constructed the subject through a strict narrative and linguistic conventions in order to create a conforming, if transcendent version of selfhood, for women they could also offer an alternative space, a place from which to contest their socially sanctioned position of silence and submission.”¹⁸ Jizong's sermon was delivered early in her religious career and before she had achieved the fame that would lead one admiring preface writer to comment that:

The gentry officials all looked up to her with admiration; the four classes (monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen) flocked to her in droves, and there were none who did not wish to extend her an invitation to preach the dharma. Her blows and shouts were delivered with the power and swiftness of lightning; her preaching of the dharma was of benefit to sentient beings, and among those who filled her quarters, there were many who achieved deep insight.

士紳仰慕，四眾雲臻，莫不延請弘揚法道。棒喝交馳，雷奔電掣，說法利生，度籌盈室，會下多有省發者。¹⁹

The emphasis thus is primarily on the religious training and spiritual development that led to her enlightenment experiences and, ultimately, to being named an official dharma heir of Wanru Tongwei. The narrative, which is about two thousand characters in length, can be divided into three major sections. In the first part Jizong briefly talks about her life before meeting her teacher, Shanci Tongji. In the second and longest section, which is also the heart of the narrative, she describes her determined practice of *huatou* 話頭 meditation under Shanci's guidance and her eventual spiritual breakthrough. In the final section, she recounts her departure from Hengshan and her journey to the Jiangsu-Zhejiang area, where she met with several other eminent Linji masters, including Wanru Tongwei, and where she ultimately assumed the rank of Chan master.

Jizong's narrative begins in much the same way as those of her seventeenth-century male counterparts, with a request to ascend the platform and speak of her life for the edification of the assembled congregation. As convention dictated, her initial response is to emphatically refuse (*guci* 固辭) a move that, however genuine it might have been, also serves to defuse possible accusations of self-promotion. It also defines the sermon as an autobiographical act, which Ken Plummer defines as an "[occasion] when people are coaxed or coerced into 'getting a life.'"²⁰ In Jizong's case, the request comes from two literati laymen, both surnamed Wang 王. Although the two Wangs present their request as being on behalf of an audience made up mostly of women, they may be regarded as representative of a larger male audience that Jizong knew might consider her public self-revelation to be particularly reprehensible. Thus, before embarking on her narrative, she makes sure that her listeners understand that the only rationale for this unusual focus on herself is to provide both example and inspiration for others on the path:

The divine tortoise has no need to interpret omens; and when it has left behind its empty shell, it has no need to bore its way out; if the vermilion phoenix were to encircle the golden cage, it would be unable to soar up into the heavens. How much less someone like myself who has accomplished nothing to speak of? But if you do not know how to cultivate the Way, how then can you practice? [If you do not know] how to become a Buddha, then how can you become one? And if I do not relay information based on the facts, then how can I hope to be worthy of serving as a model?

靈龜無卦兆，空殼不勞鑽。丹鳳縈金網，趨霄恐不及。況我無狀，不知修道而無可修，成佛而無可成。不妨依實供通，要亦不堪取則。²¹

These sorts of self-deprecatory remarks can be found in the accounts of male monastics as well, reflecting in part the rhetorical Chan disinclination to speak of the ineffable, much less of the self that, supposedly, has been deconstructed and exposed as empty. Nevertheless, I would argue that while Jizong does not explicitly refer here to her gender, it is likely that this is what she means by “someone like myself.” In other words, her self-deprecation is also designed to allay the fears of those who disapprove of women speaking publicly. One is reminded of the medieval female mystic Julian of Norwich (1342–ca. 1416) who in her *Showings* compares her narrative to an “insignificant hazelnut” but then goes on to defend her efforts because they are for the benefit of a higher cause: “Because I am a woman, ought I therefore to believe that I should not tell you of the goodness of God!”²² As Domna C. Stanton observes, the usurpation of traditionally male prerogatives and upsetting of gendered expectations “generated a particular self-consciousness about the fact of writing often manifested in a defensive or justificative posture.”²³ It is also worth noting that, as a nun whose primary disciples were women, this “good news” was designed for them. Like Julian, Jizong is able to justify this inadequacy by the felt imperative to share the good news—that is, to show people how they might attain Buddhahood. Moreover, as a nun teaching women, the people for whom she wished to serve as a model were primarily women. Thus, in a sermon found elsewhere in her *yulu*, we find Jizong addressing her female disciples as follows:

It is said again that: “In practicing Chan one must look for enlightenment; if there is no enlightenment, there will be no

way by which one may escape the great sea of birth and death.” Nowadays [so-called] followers of the way mistakenly swindle by means of mouth and ear the denizens of the inner chambers when they tell them that they do not need to be enlightened in order to be liberated from life and death; glib and loquacious, they vilify the great wisdom of insight, and even go so far as to completely obscure its sacredness. This demonstrates a lack of gratitude toward the sages of the past. How can it not be lamented! Since you have taken refuge with me, then I hope you will seek the Great Way and urgently strive to distinguish between the different paths of clarity and blindness.

又云：參禪須求妙悟，若不妙悟，無由出離生死大海。今時道流，謬以口耳哄弄閨閣，不求妙悟而脫生死，祇益滑稽，謗大般若。以致埋沒己靈，辜負先聖，可不哀邪。汝既皈依山僧，希求大道，急將明昧兩岐，與我一時坐斷。²⁴

It is also worth noting Jizong's insistence that in telling her story, she is merely "relaying the facts." Although clearly central to all sorts of autobiographical writing, this "rhetoric of truthfulness" has been found by scholars to be especially pronounced in seventeenth-century English conversion narratives by women. The authors of *Her Own Life*, a study of these narratives, suggest that "the particularly female experience of vulnerability to persuasion leads to a defensive desire for accuracy of reputation—the commodity of truth—a desire heightened by the women's awareness of their own textuality."²⁵ In any case, although the self-deprecatory language of her opening remarks disappears completely in the sermon that follows, the justificatory impulse continues to shape Jizong's self-presentation, albeit in subtle ways. In true Chinese biographical mode, Jizong begins her personal life story by situating herself in a particular place and familial context: she was born in Hunan, she tells us, her father was surnamed Liu 劉, and her mother was surnamed Song 宋. But then she almost immediately switches to the hagiographic mode associated primarily with eminent monks:

One night, my father had a dream in which he agreed to the request of an old monk who came to him seeking lodging. After this, my mother found that she had conceived, and after carrying the child for twelve months, three cries were heard issuing from the womb, after which, on the night of the eighteenth day of the eighth month of the *bingwu* year of the Wanli reign period,

she gave birth. At that time, a white glow that overpowered both the light of the lamps and of the moon filled the room, something noted by all in amazement.

一夕父夢老僧索住處，許之。母遂有娠，懷十有二月。既而胎鳴者三，於萬曆丙午年八月十八日夜出生。時有白光燭室，燈月如蔽，眾皆調奇。

Descriptions of a semi-miraculous birth can, of course, be found in many hagiographical accounts; indeed, such a birth was regarded as proof of attributed eminence.²⁶ It is rather less common to find such descriptions in self-narrated accounts, although it is by no means unheard of: the seventeenth-century Linji Chan master Yuechuang Zheliao 月幢轍了, for example, in his autobiographical sermon tells his audience: “My mother dreamed that a monk gave her a peach and ordered her to eat it, after which she found she was pregnant.”²⁷ By engaging in this sort of auto-hagiography, I would suggest that Jizong is claiming eminent status for herself, a claim that contrasts sharply with her profession of inadequacy earlier. One could even say that by claiming to be the reincarnation of a monk, Jizong is also claiming legitimacy as a woman Chan master. In other words, she had proven herself as a male monastic in a previous life and is thus entitled to perform as one in the present life.

Jizong’s brief account of her childhood emphasizes, again quite formulaically, an early manifestation of religious tendencies, including a dislike for nonvegetarian food. She also tells her listeners:

When I became a little older, I took pleasure in reading Confucian texts and Buddhist sutras. I felt distaste for the dust and confusion of the world and I thought deeply about the matters of life and death.

稍長好看儒佛經，厭處塵繁，痛念生死。

Of course, male literati had long been inspired by their reading to abandon the worldly life. In Jizong’s case, however, this comment reflects the changed social and cultural climate of the seventeenth century, which saw the growing presence of highly educated women of the gentry class who no longer felt constrained to conceal their intellectual abilities and their passion for reading and writing. As we shall see, this love of reading (and writing) is a motif that runs throughout Jizong’s account, even when it comes into direct conflict with her spiritual aspirations.

This brings us to Jizong's account of a particularly critical life juncture: marriage. Again, it is important to remember that, given the demands and expectations of filial duty, marriage posed a challenge for men as well. For example, Jizong's slightly older contemporary Linji Chan master Fushi Tongxian 浮石通賢 (1593–1667) relates in his autobiographical sermon how when he was nineteen his parents desperately wanted him to marry. However, "I sighed and said, 'If I don't go now, it will be difficult to leave later.' And so I abandoned my parents [and left]" 嘆曰：此時不行，他日難脫矣。於是背親。²⁸ The main difference, of course, is that it was very difficult, if not impossible, for women to just leave home. Jizong's description of her predicament is made more poignant by its brevity:

I begged permission from my father to sacrifice myself and leave home. He would not consent. And so I was married into the Chen family. Only a few years later, my husband Chen died in his official post far away from home.

懇父捨身出家，父不允。後許字陳氏，不數年，陳君遊宦沒。

The possible emotional drama behind this laconic account can only be surmised, although a clue is provided by the use of the word *ken* 懇, which implies not only a request for permission but entreaty and supplication. Equally suggestive is her use of the term *sheshen* 捨身, which literally means to sacrifice the body (in order to save others) but could be read here as "to shed the female body"—that is, to leave behind her gender, not to mention a woman's expected social and cultural roles. Although raised in a family with strong Buddhist leanings and allowed, perhaps even encouraged, to read religious and philosophical texts, in the end, the will of the father and, by extension, Confucian expectations of the proper female life course won the day. Normally, it would have also signaled the end of the story if fate, in the guise of the early death of her husband, had not intervened. Widowhood could, at least in the case of elite women with some financial and familial support, allow for a relatively greater freedom to pursue intellectual and religious interests, and this is precisely what Jizong did. What she did not tell her listeners, however, although later one of her prefacers would, was that after her husband's death, Jizong took it upon herself to write an official memorial to the throne in the attempt to clear his name—an indication that he had perhaps died as a result of factional infighting. Nor does she make any mention of children, although one later gazetteer writer makes mention of there having been several. Instead, she moves directly from a description of herself as daughter, wife, and widow to that of herself

as dedicated and determined seeker of enlightenment. As noted earlier, the second part of Jizong's narrative constitutes its heart and justifies its being called a spiritual autobiography rather than just a *res gestae* or account of activities. It begins with an account of how Jizong built herself a small hermitage, presumably near or even within the family compound, where "from dawn to dusk, I would sit in quiet meditation." She describes her practice as being motivated not by despair over her husband's untimely death but by "a delight in observing the precepts and [religious] discipline." She soon finds, however, that quiet meditation is not getting her anywhere, and the spiritually ambitious Jizong decides to go in search of further religious instruction. It is possible, and even likely, that Jizong describes her early dissatisfaction through the lens of the seventeenth-century Linji Chan revivalists, who renewed emphasis on the strenuous practice leading to sudden enlightenment as opposed to quiet meditation or even the practice of *nianfo* 念佛 or Buddha recollection. Nevertheless, Jizong's decision to abandon the forms of religious cultivation considered appropriate to widows—namely, *nianfo* recitation carried out within the confines of the family home—speaks once again of her resolute rejection of expected female behavior.

Jizong's search for further spiritual guidance leads her to the Linji Chan master Shanci Tongji, who at the time was living at the Lülou Monastery on nearby Hengshan. Shanci was a dharma successor of Tianyin Yuanxiu, Miyun Yuanwu's dharma brother, and thus an important player in the Linji Chan revival. In fact, he was drawn to Hengshan, also known as Nanyue, in part because of its association with Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓 (677–744) and his famous student Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788), patriarchs of the Linji Chan lineage. Shanci even took it upon himself to gather together scattered accounts of eminent Chan monks in the Nanyue lineage, titled *Nanyue Chan denglu* 南嶽禪燈錄 (*Nanyue Chan [Lineage] Transmission of the Lamp*), which had been recently printed and put into circulation. It was this collection that fell into Jizong's hands just when she was looking for a teacher, and it was after reading it that she was moved to seek out its compiler—here again we see the literary foundation of the seventeenth-century Chan revival. Thus began several years of intensive religious practice under Shanci's guidance, first as a laywoman and finally as a nun.

As in Zuqin Xueyan's thirteenth-century sermon, Jizong also slows time down considerably when she records the successes and failures of her meditative practice. Pei-yi Wu, speaking of Zuqin's account, claims that it was precisely this "leisurely pace of narrative that made possible, perhaps for the first time in Chinese history, a baring of the inner self."²⁹ By the seventeenth century, as we noted earlier, this detailed description of religious practice had become largely conventional.

In general, the description of her religious practice adheres to the conventions associated with the practice of *huatou* investigation, also known as *kanhua Chan* 看話禪, to which Shanci introduced her as a replacement for her previous practice of *nianfo* recitation. This practice involved an intense investigation of a critical phrase (sometimes drawn from a well-known *koan* story or a public case, sometimes from other sources), a process designed to arouse an intense feeling of doubt, described sometimes as a ball of iron lodged in the throat. Ultimately, this almost unbearable doubt is shattered and dissolved, often by a seemingly insignificant event such as hearing the sound of a bell, leaving the practitioner forever transformed by a vision of nonduality.³⁰ In her account, Jizong describes two separate experiences: the first one rejected by Shanci as inauthentic, the second one pronounced to be a true experience of insight. In describing her practice, the first phase was conducted over a period of seven days and seven nights, while the second was over a longer period of forty-nine days. Jizong clearly draws on descriptions she has read about and thoroughly internalized. In describing what she thought was her first breakthrough, for example, Jizong notes that it was triggered by a passage in a collection of discourse records, “After one hundred years or thirty-six thousand days, coming and going, there is still this fellow” 百年三萬六千朝，返覆元來是這漢。³¹ It was these words, she tells us that “caused me to realize that the roots of karma are all illusory transformations and unreal, and the everyday and the ordinary are perfect as they are” 便知諸根行業，皆幻化不實。日用尋常，了無他事。 Although Jizong does not indicate the source of these lines, they are readily identifiable as being the last two lines of a self-eulogy composed by Wuzu Fayan 五祖法演 (1024–1104). Not coincidentally, it is these same two lines that Linji Chan master Gaofeng Yuanmiao, in the letter to his teacher Zuqin Xueyan referred to earlier, claims to have triggered one of his own early enlightenment experiences.³² This account is found, among other places, in Yunqi Zhuhong’s 雲棲株宏 (1535–1625) *Changuan cejin* (Strategic Advance through the Chan Gate), a collection of excerpts from earlier Chan masters designed as a handbook for practitioners, that Shanci had instructed her to study carefully. As mentioned earlier, Gaofeng Yuanmiao’s autobiographical account may not just have provided the lines but also served as a template later when Jizong recalled her second enlightenment experience:

Whether walking or sitting, I tirelessly investigated [the *huatou* I had been assigned] for forty-nine days and nights until suddenly I found myself in a state of consciousness lasting three or four hours in which I was not aware of having either a body or a

mind. Then by chance I heard a peal of thunder, and with the speed of [a bird] released from his cage, at that moment my doubts vanished like a silver mountain and iron walls collapsing into smithereens.

行坐參究，四十九晝夜不倦。忽然呆去三四時，不見有身心（器界）。偶聞雷迅如，在網羅中跳出相似。當下不疑，銀山鍊壁，一時粉碎。

Jizong's description of her excruciating struggle with her *huatou* echoes the description Gaofeng gives of his first breakthrough: "All of a sudden I was no longer conscious of either my mind or my body, and I saw in front of my eyes nothing but a huge, solid substance, like a silver mountain or iron wall."³³ In short, Jizong's descriptions of her enlightenment experiences, however authentic and potentially inspiring to others, were by no means original. But then again, neither were those of most of her male monastic contemporaries. It is worth remarking, however, on the extent to which Jizong's intellectual prowess and literary ability are highlighted by her account, even when they appear to point to her religious failures.

Composing a poem that demonstrates one's insight had by the Song dynasty become an important component of Chan practice. So it is not unusual that Jizong would compose poems to show her teachers. In her autobiographical sermon, she includes not one but four such poems, each of which she cites in its entirety. More interestingly, she also quotes Shanci's responses to these poems. His response to her first attempt is decidedly ambivalent:

Although the words of this *gatha* are beautiful, they are based on things remembered, studied and imitated. They are not words that reflect your personal witnessing, your personal enlightenment. If someone with enlightened eyes were to look at it, he wouldn't even think them worth a smile.

偈語雖佳，不離記憶揣摩，非親證親悟之言。明眼人見之，不值一笑。

While Jizong seems here to be recording a well-deserved admonishment, she manages also to lay claim to her intellectual powers and her talents as a writer: even Shanci declares her first poem to be beautiful, if ultimately spiritually shallow. We find a hint that this struggle between the writing

self and religious self was a major issue in Jizong's life in a letter addressed to Jizong by her fellow student (and one of Shanci's dharma heirs) Mizhan Dazun 爾瞻達尊 (1609–1663):

If you truly want to understand this great matter of life and death and [become] a good vessel of the dharma gate, then you must first cut off all empty words and apply yourself with greater diligence, strict until death without change; then your enlightenment will be like the turn of a palm, and who will be able to again cheat or beguile you? But if you [merely] utilize your broad learning and memory to engage in back-and-forth exchanges, it will be like cheating others and cheating yourself in order to live your life. Would that not be a case of forfeiting the true causes of leaving the household? I am afraid it will be hard to escape from this sin of slandering Buddhist wisdom.

實欲了生死大事，作法門良器，必要先斷虛詞，加之操履嚴密，至死不變，悟如翻掌，誰能欺惑汝哉？若只廣博記憶，應酬相似，欺人欺己，以當生平，不惟有失出家正因，謗般若罪恐難逃耳。³⁴

We also see this underlying concern with the literary in Jizong's descriptions of her exchanges, both before and after her enlightenment, with her teacher Shanci. She presents these in the form of encounter dialogues such as those found in Chan Buddhist compilations from the Song and onward. Many scholars today would insist that these dialogues are for the most part literary creations and can tell us little or nothing about the actual lives and teachings of their protagonists. Mario Poceski cautions against going to this extreme, especially in the case of monks from the tenth century and later, since such accounts were based on stories "already in circulation while they were still alive or soon after their death."³⁵ Nevertheless, Poceski agrees that they should be viewed as "one-sided depictions of what in all likelihood were contrived performances that fitted into preexisting templates of behavior deemed apt for Chan teachers, even if in them there was some scope for individual expression and creativity."³⁶ There is no question that Jizong's descriptions of her encounters with Shanci adhere closely to such preexisting templates—templates that, as we have seen, were particularly popular among the seventeenth-century Linji Chan revivalists. However, given the "scope for individual expression" and the fact that what we have

here is a woman describing her own encounters with her male master, these descriptions invite a closer examination. Perhaps the most important thing to note in this regard is that, after Shanci has acknowledged the authenticity of Jizong's enlightenment experience, the exchanges between them are described as being between equals rather than between master and disciple, who in this case were approximately the same age. We also see evidence yet again not only of the textual nature of the encounter but also of Jizong's own literary talent.

One such episode begins with Jizong presenting Shanci with a poem, again cited in its entirety. Shanci reads it but remains silent and does not say anything. Jizong then asks him the meaning of the lines "When the fragrant wind blows in from the south, the halls and pavilions become a bit cooler" 薰風自南來，殿閣生微涼. These lines, again not coincidentally, are the ones spoken by the Song dynasty Linji master Yuanwu Keqin 圓悟克勤 (1063–1135) that are said to have triggered the initial insight of his famous disciple, Dahui Zonggao. This time, Shanci simply admonishes her that she should know better, "You should slap your cheeks with the palm of your hand." Undaunted, Jizong responds with yet another poem:

The fragrant wind that blows in from the south—when will
it end?
The halls and pavilions are a bit chilly, only you yourself will
know.
In the fine weather, the butterflies flit about following the scent;
At dawn the roosters herald the sun as it rises from east to west.
From this moment I have penetrated the true meaning of things;
And the myriad affairs and objects of the cosmos break into
smile!

薰風南來有何極，
殿閣微涼祇自知。
晴蝶逐香翻上下，
晨雞闋日唱東西。
從今覷破真消息，
萬象森羅展笑眉。

Jizong's description of the dialogue that follows reflects a great spiritual self-confidence on her part, as well as a certain ambivalence on Shanci's part regarding her literary efforts:

Master Shanci approvingly said: "Where is the place where you know yourself?" I said: "A sliver of moon hangs in the heavens;

its glow shatters ten thousand mountains.” Master Shanci said, “If the mountains are already shattered, where then will you be able to rest your feet?” I said: “I turn a somersault and vault into the heavens, and pull heaven along by the nose-ring.” Master Shanci tossed the draft of the *gatha* back to me and I then left.

尚徵云：如何是汝自知處？某云：空懸一片月，爍破萬重山。
尚云：山既破，汝即今腳跟立在甚麼處？某云：翻身一擲騰霄漢，管教鼻孔自撩天。尚擲還頌稿，某便出。

The final section of Jizong’s sermon begins again in historical and biographical time as she tells her listeners how, when Shanci left his hermitage on Hengshan to take up residence at the Nanyuan 南元 Monastery in Changsha 長沙, she had planned to follow him. Here we are afforded a glimpse into the more personal emotional bond that appears to have been forged between master and disciple:

After he left, feeling that it was too soon to be separated from my teacher, I also planned on leaving the mountain [to join him], but then he unexpectedly passed away at Nanyuan. [We] then made sure that his holy remains were returned back to the mountain. We also arranged for the painting of his posthumous portrait.

尚去後，某覺離師太早，亦欲出山。適和尚示寂南元，復請靈骨入山，併追寫道儀。

What is worth remarking on here is the impression Jizong gives that it was she who not only was the one primarily responsible for overseeing the return of Shanci’s remains to the mountain, but that she also took upon herself the duty of finding someone to paint his portrait. This seems hardly likely, since this responsibility would have fallen to Shanci’s senior dharma heir, Mizhan Dazun, who had assumed the leadership of the Lülao Monastery after Shanci left for Nanyuan.³⁷ It is not impossible, however, that Jizong was charged to take some of Shanci’s personal effects to the Zhejiang/Jiangsu area, perhaps even some of the biographical materials that would go into the writing of his stupa inscription. As she tells her audience:

After the stupa had been built, then on the eighth day of the sixth month of the year 1650, I bowed and took leave of my teacher’s relic stupa and descended Hengshan. I then went to

Wuchang. The place where I was lodging went up in flames, and all of the texts that the monk had left me were destroyed, as was all of my own baggage. However, the monastics and laity of Hankou invited me to stay at Puti Cloister.

建塔畢，乃於庚寅年六月初八日禮辭和尚骨塔，下衡山至武昌。遭寓處失火，和尚手澤俱焚，行李皆燼。漢口道俗請住菩提菴。

In the third and last sections of her sermon, Jizong recounts her visits to three Linji Chan masters, all of whom were dharma brothers of Shanci Tongji. Her travels take her first to Jinling 金陵 (present-day Nanjing 南京) and then to the Helin Monastery 鶴林寺 in Suzhou where she pays a call on Miyun Yuanwu's disciple, Muyun Tongmen 牧雲通門 (1599–1671). She then travels to Hangzhou where she visits Shanci's dharma brother Master Ruo'an Tongwen 箬庵同文 (1604–1655). In the stupa inscription he wrote for Shanci Tongji in 1652, Ruo'an notes that he was the man who knew Shanci the longest and the best. Jizong in fact stayed with Ruo'an for several months and even accompanied him when he left for two other monasteries: "I followed him to both so as to study with him from morning until night." Finally, Jizong returned to Yixing 宜興; here she went to the Longchi Monastery 龍池寺 outside of Yixing to pay respects to the stupa of Huanyou Zhengchuan 幻有正傳 (1549–1614), the teacher of both Miyun and Tianyin. There Jizong met with Wanru Tongwei, the monk from whom she ultimately received formal dharma transmission.

Jizong presents each visit in terms of an encounter dialogue, again a familiar convention in many Chan biographical accounts. Given its formulaically theatrical setting, then, what is worth noting is not so much what is said but rather the role played by the actors involved—in this case, three eminent male masters and a nun whose primary claim to fame is her association with these men's fellow monk, Shanci Tongji. Regarded in this way, what is striking is the way in which each encounter begins with the monk questioning Jizong's legitimacy and ends with the woman Chan master declaring, in no uncertain terms, her spiritual attainments. Here, for example, is how she describes her meeting with Ruo'an Tongwei:

The monk [Ruo'an] asked: "Are you the Jizong who was the student of the Master of Nanyue [Shanci]?" I said: "Yes, I am." He said: "What do you mean by abandoning your home and wandering about aimlessly?" I said: "Leaping and vaulting through

past and present, the brilliance is shattering both Heaven and Earth.” He said: “You have indeed abandoned your home to wander aimlessly.” I said, “I have leapt up and now stand on my own beyond the great void; from my nostrils emerge the upper lips of the stupa.” He said, “I have thirty blows which have not yet touched you.” I then shook out my sleeves and left the room.

尚問：莫是拜南嶽和尚底季總麼？某云：是。筭云：拋家亂走作麼？某云：輝騰今古，爍破乾坤。筭云：正是拋家亂走。某云：騰身獨立太虛外，鼻孔從教塔上唇。筭云：我有三十棒，未到你在。某拂袖便出。

The five different encounters with Wanruo Tongwei, the master who was to give her dharma transmission, reflect the same self-confidence. This can be explained by the fact that she had already had her enlightenment experience confirmed by Shanci. Here, for example, is how she presents one of these encounters.

The monk said: “What people have you been close to in the past?” “Master [Shanci] from Nanyue,” I replied. The monk said: “So where is he now?” I said: “The disc of luminous clarity atop the solitary peak shatters Longchi’s most all-encompassing purity.” The monk then struck me saying: “That is nothing but idle talk.” I said: “Lightly, lightly I drag my staff through Longchi, and in so doing cause the ponds to empty and cliffs to tumble.” The monk struck me again. I said: “That is like offering a glass [of wine] after one is already drunk.”

尚云：曾親近甚麼人來？某云：南嶽茨和尚。尚云：他即今在甚麼處？某云：一輪皎潔孤峰頂，爍破龍池徹底清。尚打云：閒言語。某云：輕輕曳杖龍池過，惹得傾湫倒嶽來。尚復打。某云：也是醉後添杯。

After a series of similarly triumphant encounters, Jizong appears to have decided that it was time to move on and also to bring an end to her sermon. This is how it ends:

The next day I went to take leave of the monk. I was preparing to return home to Nanyue, but the monk said: “It is very difficult for people on the path to study the way. So put an end to your

thoughts of returning to the mountains. When this old monk completes you, you will be able to liberate those on the path.” He then presented me with the dharma transmission records and the flywhisk. I strongly resisted since I wanted to return home, but the monk said, “It is best if you live in Jiangnan, where you will benefit the flourishing of the lineage.” When a master invited me to take up residence at the Pudu Convent, the monk ordered me to come live here.

次日辭尚, 欲歸南嶽。尚云: 下路人學道甚難, 回山之念且止。老僧完你底事, 可在下路度眾。遂付某源流拂子, 某力辭欲歸。尚云: 江南住住, 好適興化。一師請住普度菴, 即命往焉。

Concluding Remarks

As scholars of autobiography have noted, “autobiographical acts and texts are situated in a paratextual surround, what we might think of as the framing produced by their publication, reception, and circulation.”³⁸ This framing “shapes and situates the narrative by constructing the audience and inviting a particular politics of reading.”³⁹ In the case of Jizong’s autobiographical sermon, the paratextual surround is comprised of the many other texts in her *yulu* collection, including letters, poems, and sermons, many of which, like the one quoted earlier, are addressed to women lay followers as well as disciples. The other important paratextual materials are the four prefaces attached to this *yulu*, several of which were composed by well-known literati figures. Prefaces are, of course, also written with preexisting templates in mind, and their often hyperbolic language must be taken with a grain of salt. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that, while Jizong makes every attempt in her autobiographical sermon to construct a picture of herself as a male Chan master, the authors of these prefaces—all of whom knew Jizong personally—emphasize the fact that she is a woman, albeit a most extraordinary one. The Ming-loyalist-turned-Buddhist-layman Yan Dacan 嚴大參 (1590–1671), for example, emphasizes the rarity of a woman Chan master like Jizong by comparing her to an Udumbara flower, said to bloom only once every three thousand years. Yan was the person who, at Jizong’s own request, saw to the publication of the *yulu* in 1656. He is also the most effusive when it comes to his praise of Jizong’s writings and recorded sermons:

Reading them left me feeling as refreshed and joyful [as if I’d]
feasted on pears from the Ai family [orchard]; I felt as if I’d

entered into a shaded mountain path, unable to describe all of its beauty; like the bright sun shining and glowing in the middle of the sky such that it was impossible to look at it with the naked eye. I then had them carved and printed so that those with a discerning eye might witness the appearance of this Udambara flower, and those with some understanding might meet with a *kalyanamitra* (spiritual friend). I am very happy to write this preface.

讀之如食哀家梨，令人爽口快心。又如入山陰道中，令人應接不暇。又如日當空，光芒閃爍，令人不得正眼相覷。余請付梓，使有目者共睹曇華出現，有識者咸欽知識相逢。余興然作敘。⁴⁰

One of the most well-known of Jizong's preface writers was the scholar-official and lay Buddhist Tan Zhenmo 譚貞默 (1590–1665).⁴¹ Tan, whose religious name was Fuzheng 福徵, was a lifelong lay disciple of Hanshan Deqing and is known particularly for his *Commentary on the Chronological Autobiography of the Old Man Hanshan* (*Hanshan laoren nianpu zixu shilu shu* 憨山老人年譜自敘實錄疏), which was published in 1650, thirty-three years after Hanshan's death. According to Sung-peng Hsu, the reason that Tan took so long to complete his commentary is that he was busy "investigating the events recorded in the *Autobiography* by questioning [Deqing's] followers and government officials familiar with the imperial court. He was surprised to learn that all the events could be verified or substantiated."⁴² Tan's preface to Jizong's *yulu* provides important biographical details about Jizong's family, in particular her grandfather's connections with his own teacher, Hanshan Deqing. Like Yan, Tan also emphasizes Jizong's exceptionality. He begins by quoting the remark attributed to Tang master Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 (d. 850): "I do not say there is no Chan, only that there are no teachers."⁴³ He then goes on to note that while the great master Mazu had eighty-four students, in the end very few of these ever attained enlightenment, much less eminence. This, Tan says, is an example of "there being many but in the end only a few, and because of there being so few, these are to be valued." Tan then applies this rationale to women like Jizong, who because they are so rare are to be that much more valued. He then proceeds to situate her not in the direct male lineage of Wanru Tongwei but rather in a parallel female lineage of Miaozong and Miaodao, the most well-known of the three women dharma heirs of Song dynasty master Dahui Zonggao. He describes this parallel lineage as follows:

Before Jingshan [Dahui] there was Foguo [Yuanwu Keqin]; before Longchi [Wanru] there was Tiantong [Miyun Yuanwu]. They were as close as bone and marrow, descendents of Linji. In the same way, Jizong's fine reputation is such that it most assuredly can compare with that of Wuzhuo [Miaozong] before and after; both are two great pillars of the Lineage Gate. In Master Jizong's advance to the top of the pole, in the great expanse of her preaching of the dharma, she harks back to Person of the Way Wuzhuo; truly, there have been few like her since.

徑山前有佛果，龍池前有天童，其為滴骨滴髓，臨濟兒孫。同是知繼總徽聲，固足爭光無著為先後，宗門兩大總持也。迺繼總師之竿頭進步者，在說法浩浩中，還視無著道人，實為得未曾有。

In other words, while in her autobiographical sermon Jizong makes every attempt to shed her gender and to situate herself squarely in the male lineage of Linji Chan master Shanci and his fellow male monastics, these prefaces make it impossible for her readers to completely forget or ignore her gendered status. In so doing, however, they encourage us to read her autobiographical sermon as having been composed by a woman, thus calling for more nuanced reading than similar sermons by male monastics. I would suggest then, that while Jizong's sermon clearly adheres closely to a preexisting (male) template, she exercised her agency by carefully selecting its elements and putting them together in a way that affirmed the authenticity of her experience, the strength of her resolve, and her eminent suitability as an exemplary Chan master. Indeed, she represents herself, whatever her inner insecurities may have been, much as Pei-yi Wu describes Zuqin—that is, as “a more than usually self-assured master, fully conscious of [her] place in the annals of Buddhism.” She also appears to have felt confident of having met the expectations of her audience, and by extension, her later readers, as we can see from the closing lines of the written version of this sermon:

After a long pause, she grasped her staff and raising it up high, said: “If you do not exert the strength that lifts tripods and uproots mountains, then it will be difficult to ride the ten-thousand-*li* black steed.” The assembly was satisfied and delighted, and making their obeisances, they left [the hall].

良久，拈拄杖卓一卓云：若無舉鼎拔山力，千里烏騾不易騎。眾歡喜，作禮而退。

Notes

1. Pei-yi Wu, *The Confucian's Progress: Autobiographical Writings in Traditional China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

2. Wu, *The Confucian's Progress*, 76. Zuqin may not have actually been the first to do this: as Miriam Levering has pointed out, descriptions of personal inner experiences can also be found in the sermons of Zuqin's predecessor, Linji Chan master Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163). See Levering, "Was There Religious Autobiography in China before the Thirteenth Century? The Ch'an Master Ta-hui Tsung-kao (1089–1163) as Autobiographer," *The Journal of Chinese Religions* 30 (2002): 97–122.

3. Wu, *The Confucian's Progress*, 76.

4. Wu, *The Confucian's Progress*, 91.

5. Wu, *The Confucian's Progress*, 91.

6. There are, for example, autobiographical sermons by Miyun's dharma successor Fushi Tongxian 浮石通賢 (1593–1667) and Linye Tongqi 林野通奇 (1595–1652), as well as by Tianyin Yuanxiu's dharma successor Wanru Tongwei 萬如通微 (1594–1657) and Wanru's student Jie'an Wujin 介菴悟進 (1612–1673). Most of these sermons can be filed under the category of *xingshi* 行實, which like the related term *xingzhuang* 行狀, was originally used to refer to a person's moral conduct, but which later came to refer more generally to a record of a person's activities and was usually compiled after the death of a master by his disciples.

7. Wu, *The Confucian's Progress*, 84.

8. Wu, *The Confucian's Progress*, 85.

9. See Mario Poceski, "Chan Rituals of the Abbot's Ascending the Dharma Hall to Preach," in Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright, eds., *Zen Ritual: Studies of Zen Buddhist Theory in Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 83–112.

10. As Sidonie Smith reminds us, "every day, in disparate venues, in response to sundry occasions, in front of precise audiences (even if an audience of one), people assemble, if only temporarily, a 'life' to which they assign narrative coherence and meaning and through which they position themselves in historically specific identities. Whatever that occasion or that audience, the autobiographical speaker becomes a performative subject." Sidonie Smith, "Performativity, Autobiographical Practice, Resistance," in Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, eds., *Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 108.

11. Qian Qianyi, "Zuotuo biquini Chaoyin taming" 坐脫比丘尼潮音塔銘, *Muzhai youxueji* 牧齋有學集 (*Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 ed.), "Bu" 補, 29b–30b.

12. For more on these two women, see Miriam Levering's articles, "Miao-tao and Her Teacher Ta-hui," in Peter N. Gregory and Daniel A. Getz Jr., eds., *Buddhism in the Sung* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 188–219; "Dōgen's *RaihaiTokusui* and Women Teaching in Sung Ch'an," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 21.1 (1997): 77–110; and "Women Ch'an Masters:

The Teacher Miao-tsung as Saint,” in Arvind Sharma, ed., *Women Saints in World Religions* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 180–204.

13. We do not know how many other such sermons might have been in circulation, since most of the over thirty *yulu* of women Chan masters for which we have titles or references are no longer extant. But it is quite possible that they may have also contained similar autobiographical sermons.

14. As Grace Fong notes, late imperial women writers for the most part used poetry or self-prefaces to poetry collections to write autobiographically. A striking exception is Ji Xian 季嫺 (1614–1683), a Buddhist laywoman, author of an autobiographical account titled “Record of Past Karma,” which Fong calls the “only example of an autobiographical essay written by a woman that focuses on her religious experience.” See Ji, “Record of Past Karma,” trans. Grace Fong, in Susan Mann and Yu-yin Cheng, eds., *Under Confucian Eyes: Writings on Gender in Chinese History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 136.

15. For a complete translation of this letter, see Wu, *The Confucian's Progress*, 239–242 (Appendix A). A partial translation can also be found in J. C. Cleary's translation of the *Changuan cejin* 禪關策進. See J. C. Cleary, *Meditation with Koans* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1992), 51–53.

16. Elspeth Graham, Hilary Hinds, Elaine Hobby, and Helen Wilcox, eds., *Her Own Life: Autobiographical Writings by Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 4–5.

17. Sidonie Smith, *A Poetics of Women's Autobiography: Marginality and the Fictions of Self-Representation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 52.

18. Smith, *A Poetics of Women's Autobiography*, 34.

19. Unless otherwise indicated, the primary texts quoted in this chapter are found in the Jiaxing Buddhist canon 嘉興大藏經. For ease of reference I here provide citations to the digital version of this important collection, which is available through the Chinese Buddhist Tripitaka Electronic Text Collection, Taipei Edition 台北版電子佛典集成, <http://taipei.ddbc.edu.tw/jiaxingzang.php>. Jizong's four-juan *yulu* collection—which I refer to in subsequent notes simply as *Jizong yulu*—is titled *Jizong Che Chanshi yulu* 季總徹禪師語錄, 28.B211, http://taipei.ddbc.edu.tw/sutra/JB211_001.php. The text cited here, from a preface by Ming-loyalist-turned-Buddhist-layman Yan Dacan 嚴大參 (1590–1671), can be found at J28nB211_p0442b10-12.

20. As Ken Plummer notes, an autobiographical act is constituted at its most basic by the interaction among three components or kinds of people: the coxer, the producer, and the consumer. The coxer, according to Plummer's scheme, is basically, “any person or institution or set of cultural imperatives that solicits or provokes people to tell their stories,” as quoted in Smith and Watson, *Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader*, 64.

21. Jizong's autobiographical sermon (*xingshi* 行實) can be found in *juan 2* of her *yulu* (see no. 17), J28nB211_p0453b01-p0454b08.

22. Quoted in Domna C. Stanton, “Autogynography: Is the Subject Different,” in Smith and Watson, *Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader*, 139.

23. Stanton, “Autogynography: Is the Subject Different,” 139.

24. “Shi Xiang Hanlin furen” 示項翰林夫人, J28nB211_p0452a23—p0452b04.
25. Graham et al., *Her Own Life*, 25.
26. See John Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997).
27. *Yuechuang Liao chanshi yulu* 月幢了禪師語錄, J29nB237_p0450b09J29nB237_p0450b10. Yuechuang Zheliao was a dharma heir of Linji master Zhangxue Tongzui 丈雪通醉 (1610–1695), who in turn was a student of Miyun’s dharma heir Poshan Haiming 破山海明 (1597–1666).
28. *Fushi chanshi yulu* 浮石禪師語錄, J26nB185_p0616a04—05.
29. Pei-yi Wu, *The Confucian’s Progress*, 83.
30. For more on *kanhua* investigation, see Robert E. Buswell, “The ‘Short-cut’ Approach of *K’an-hua* Meditation: The Evolution of a Practical Subitism in Chinese Zen Buddhism,” in Peter N. Gregory, ed., *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*, Studies in East Asian Buddhism 5 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 321–77.
31. Gaofeng Yuanmiao’s discourse records became extremely popular after they were reprinted by Yunqi Zhuhong 雲棲祿宏 (1535–1615) in 1599. It is interesting to note as well that Gaofeng Yuanmiao was the subject of one of the many vitriolic battles conducted by Miyun Yuanwu and his followers. As Jiang Wu notes, this particular debate, which was carried out between 1636 and 1638, was between Miyun Yuanwu and the eminent Caodong master Zhanran Yuancheng 湛然圓澄 (1561–1626) and his student, Ruibai Mingxue 瑞白明雪 (1588–1638). The contested matter was whether Gaofeng Yuanmiao’s primary enlightenment (1266) was a single event or it was actually divided into two discrete events, the first leading gradually to the second. See Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, 307.
32. See Pei-yi Wu, *The Confucian’s Progress*, 240.
33. Pei-yi Wu, *The Confucian’s Progress*, 240.
34. “Fu ni Jizong” 復尼繼總, in *Shishuang Erzhan chanshi yulu* 石霜爾瞻尊禪師語錄, J27nB200_p0580b03—p058b07.
35. Poceski, “Chan Rituals,” 97.
36. Poceski, “Chan Rituals,” 99.
37. Mizhan Dazun held this position until 1646, after which he became abbot of the famous Shishuang 石霜 Monastery outside of Changsha.
38. Smith and Watson, *Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader*, 99.
39. Smith and Watson, *Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader*, 100.
40. “Jizong Che chanshi yulu xu” 季總徹禪師語錄敘, J28nB211_p0442b16-p0442b19.
41. “Jizong chanshi yulu xu,” J28nB211_p0441a01—p0442a11.
42. Sung-peng Hsu, *A Buddhist Leader in Ming China: The Life and Thought of Han-shan Te-ch’ing, 1546–1623* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1979), 7.
43. See Thomas Cleary and J. C. Cleary, trans., *The Blue Cliff Record* (Boston: Shambhala, 1992), 73 (Eleventh Case, “Huang Po’s Gobbler of Dregs”).