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The Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery:
An Annotated Translation and Study of the *Chanyuan qinggui*

A Dissertation
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of
Yale University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Yifa

Dissertation Director: Professor Stanley Weinstein

November 1996

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Abstract
The Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery:
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Yifa
1996

My dissertation includes the first complete translation into a Western language of *Chanyuan qinggui* 禪苑清規 (*Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery*, henceforth abbreviated as *CYQG*), a twelfth-century text regarded as the earliest Chan monastic code still in existence. This comprehensive monastic code, written for use in the public monastery, provides us with a wealth of information about life in the Buddhist monasteries of Song China. The code offers very specific guidelines for itinerant monks, emphasizes the importance of studying under masters at various monasteries, prescribes the proper protocol for attendance of a retreat, and details the procedure for requesting an abbot's instruction. A significant portion of the text is devoted to the administrative hierarchy within the monastery, including a list of each position's duties and powers. An equal amount of attention is given to the interaction of the monks of these various ranks, especially with regard to the decorum at tea ceremonies, chanting rituals, and monastic auctions. The recorded observations of Japanese pilgrims attest to the fact that *CYQG* was adopted as the standard of discipline by monasteries throughout twelfth- and thirteenth-century China.

Although historians have traditionally considered the Chan monastic code to be an innovative step that was not based on any pre-existent legacy, in my translation and close study of *CYQG*, I have found that a great deal of its source material is based directly on the Vinaya and on the works of the Vinaya advocate Daoan (312-385) and the Lū master Daoxuan (596-667), a comparison that has yet to be made by modern scholars. At the same time, however, *CYQG* includes elements foreign to the original Vinaya texts, elements representing the incorporation of Chinese governmental policies and traditional Chinese

etiquette. In short, after a thorough investigation of *CYQG* and the later monastic rules it inspired, I hope to demonstrate both a clear sense of continuity traceable to the original Vinaya texts as well as an adaptation to the surrounding Chinese culture.

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**For my spiritual teacher and my parents, on their seventieth birthdays;
and in recognition of my monastic order's thirtieth anniversary, and my parents' fiftieth.**

May, 1996.

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Abbreviations

AOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
BKN	<i>Bukkyōgaku kenkyūkai nenpō</i> 佛教學研究會年報
BS	<i>Bukkyō shigaku</i> 佛教史學
BYQG	<i>Chanlin Beiyong qinggui</i> 禪林備用清規
CBQG	<i>Chixiu Baizhang qinggui</i> 敕修百丈清規
CHSS	<i>Chokushū Hyakujō shingi sakei</i> 敕修百丈清規左屬
CSJ	<i>Chu sanzang jiji</i> 出三藏記集
CYQG	<i>Chanyuan qinggui</i> 禪苑清規
DSL	<i>Da Song sengshi lue</i> 大宋僧史略
DSW	<i>Dabiqiu sanqian weiyi</i> 大比丘三千威儀
DXQZ	<i>Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan</i> 大唐西域求法高僧傳
DZDL	<i>Da zhidu lun</i> 大智度論
DZZ	<i>Dōgen Zenji zenshū</i> 道元禪師全集
FYZL	<i>Fayuan zhulin</i> 法苑珠林
FZTJ	<i>Fozu tongji</i> 佛祖統紀
GJZ	<i>Gozan jissatsu zu</i> 五山十刹圖
GSP	<i>Genben Shuoyiqieyou bu pinaiye</i> 根本說一切有部毘奈耶
GSP(A)	<i>Genben Shuoyiqieyou bu pinaiye anjushi</i> 安居事
GSP(B)	<i>Genben Shuoyiqieyou bu baiyi jiemo</i> 百一羯磨
GSP(C)	<i>Genben Shuoyiqieyou bu pinaiye chujiashi</i> 出家事
GSP(J)	<i>Genben Shuoyiqieyou bu pinaiye jiechinayishi</i> 羯恥那衣事
GSP(N)	<i>Genben Shuoyiqieyou bu nituona mudejia</i> 尼陀那目得迦
GSP(O)	<i>Genben Shuoyiqieyou bu pinaiye posengshi</i> 破僧事
GSP(P)	<i>Genben Shuoyiqieyou bu pinaiye pige shi</i> 皮革事
GSP(S)	<i>Genben Shuoyiqieyou bu pinaiye song</i> 頌
GSP(Y)	<i>Genben Shuoyiqieyou bu pinaiye yaoshi</i> 藥事
GSP(Z)	<i>Genben Shuoyiqieyou bu pinaiye zashi</i> 雜事
GSZ	<i>Gaoseng zhuan</i> 高僧傳
HKDK	<i>Hokkaidō Komazawa Daigaku kenkyū kiyō</i> 北海道駒澤大學研究紀要
IBK	<i>Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū</i> 印度學佛教學研究
JDQG	<i>Conglin jiaoding qinggui zongyong</i> 叢林校定清規總要 (<i>Jiaoding qinggui</i> 校定清規)
JA	<i>Journal asiatique</i>

<i>JIABS</i>	<i>Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies</i>
<i>JXXL</i>	<i>Jiaojie xinxue biqiu xinghu lüyi</i> 教誡新學比丘行護律儀
<i>JYQG</i>	<i>Jiaoyuan qinggui</i> 教苑清規
<i>KBK</i>	<i>Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō</i> 駒澤大學佛教學部 研究紀要
<i>KBR</i>	<i>Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō gakubu ronshū</i> 論集
<i>KDBKN</i>	<i>Komazawa Daigaku daigakuin Bukkyōgaku kenkyūkai nenpō</i>
<i>KZKN</i>	<i>Komazawa Daigaku Zen kenkyūjo nenpō</i> 禪研究所年報
<i>LBWL</i>	<i>Lebang wenlei</i> 樂邦文類
<i>LYSG</i>	<i>Lüyuan shigui</i> 律苑事規
<i>MN</i>	<i>Monumenta Nipponica</i>
<i>Mochitsuki</i>	<i>Mochitsuki daijiteni</i> 望月大辭典
<i>Morohashi</i>	<i>Dai kanwa jiden</i> 大漢和辭典, ed. Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋徹次
<i>MSL</i>	<i>Mohe sengqi lü</i> 摩訶僧祇律
<i>NBZ</i>	<i>Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho</i> 大日本佛教全書
<i>NJNZ</i>	<i>Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan</i> 南海寄歸內法傳
<i>PNMJ</i>	<i>Pini mu jing</i> 毘尼母經
<i>RRQG</i>	<i>Ruzhong riyong qinggui</i> 入眾日用清規
<i>QTS</i>	<i>Qingyuan tiaofa shilei</i> 慶元條法事類
<i>SBS</i>	<i>Shina Bukkyō shigaku</i> 支那佛教史學
<i>SFL</i>	<i>Sifen lü</i> 四分律
<i>SGJY</i>	<i>Shimen guijing yi</i> 釋門歸敬儀
<i>SGK</i>	<i>Shūgaku kenkyū</i> 宗學研究
<i>SGSZ</i>	<i>Song Gaoseng zhuan</i> 宋高僧傳
<i>SJLP</i>	<i>Shanjian lü piposha</i> 善見律毘婆沙.
<i>SJZ</i>	<i>Shisan jing zhushu</i> 十三經注疏
<i>SK</i>	<i>Shūkyō kenkyū</i> 宗教研究
<i>SKKK</i>	<i>Sōtōshū kenkyūin kenkyūsei kenkyū kiyō</i> 曹洞宗研究院研究生研究紀要
<i>SOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>SSL</i>	<i>Shisong lü</i> 十誦律
<i>SSYL</i>	<i>Shishi yaolan</i> 釋氏要覽
<i>STGK</i>	<i>San Tendai Godaisan ki</i> 參天台五台山記
<i>SXC</i>	<i>Sifen lü shanfan buque xingshi chao</i> 四分律刪繁補缺行事鈔
<i>SXCZ</i>	<i>Sifen lü xingshi chao zichi ji</i> 四分律行事鈔資持記
<i>T</i>	<i>Taishō shinshū daizōkyō</i> 大正新修大藏經

<i>WFL</i>	<i>Wufen lü</i> 五分律
<i>XGSZ</i>	<i>Xu Gaoseng zhuan</i> 續高僧傳
<i>YZS</i>	<i>Yakuchū Zennen Shingi</i> 訳註禪苑清規
<i>ZBKK</i>	<i>Zen bunka kenkyūjo kiyō</i> 禪文化研究所紀要
<i>ZD</i>	<i>Zengaku daijiten</i> 禪學大辭典
<i>ZSS</i>	<i>Zenrin shokisen</i> 禪林象器箋
<i>ZTSY</i>	<i>Zuting shiyuan</i> 祖庭事苑
<i>ZZK</i>	<i>Dai Nihon Zokuzōkyō</i> 大日本續藏經

Conventions

I have based my translation of *Chanyuan qinggui* on the critically edited text found in *Yakuchū Zennen shingi* (*YZS*) by Kagamishima Genryū 鏡島元隆, Satō Tatsugen 佐藤達玄 and Kosaka Kiyū 小坂機融 (Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmūchō, 1972; repr. 1985). I have followed the punctuation and paragraph divisions given in *YZS*, but have also made corrections when deemed necessary. Given that *YZS* often identifies several textual variants, I have alerted the reader to the relevant manuscript whenever a significant choice was made on my part. I cite the corresponding page in *YZS* throughout my translation, identifying the page number in boldface and brackets (e.g. [18]). Readers wishing to refer to the text of *CYQG* published in *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* (*ZZK*) are asked to make use of the Finding List included at the end of my dissertation. The original work contains a great deal of interlinear commentary. In my translation, such interlinear commentary has been distinguished from the rest of the text through the use of a smaller, ten-point font.

Although my translation of *CYQG* is intended to be as true to the letter of the original as possible, a great number of the terms used in the Chinese text can be understood only in their historical context. As so many of these terms would be unfathomable even to the modern-day native speaker of Chinese, a translation into contemporary English called for great caution, even creativity. Generally, it is hoped that the scholarly-minded reader will judge my work as a translation that attempts to convey everything recorded in the Chinese manuscripts and forgive any irregularities in the flow of the English text in the name of deeper comprehension and loyalty to the original.

Relying upon the vocabulary list in Roger Jackson's "Terms of Sanskrit and Pāli Origin Acceptable as English Words" (*JIAS* 5-2 [1982]: 141-142), which itself makes use of *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, I have decided not to italicize a number of commonly accepted Sanskrit and Pāli terms.

To facilitate reading comprehension, I refer to well-known sutra and Vinaya works, such as the *Four Part Vinaya* or the *Ten Section Vinaya*, by their English titles throughout my analysis and translation. However, in the footnotes I refer to such texts by abbreviations of their Chinese titles, e.g., *SFL* or *SSL*, respectively.

For transliterations of Japanese Zen names and terms, I have relied upon *Zengaku daijiten* 禪學大辭典 (Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1978; repr. 1991). For transliterations of Sanskrit names and terms, I have followed Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary* (New Haven: Yale University, 1953; repr. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1985); M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1899; repr. 1988); and Nakamura Hajime 中村元, *Bukkyōgo daijiten* 佛教語大辭典 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 1981; repr. 1985).

I have omitted the Chinese characters for the names of Chinese provinces and dynasties, since they will be apparent to readers who know Chinese. In writing modern East Asian place names such as Tokyo, Kyoto, or Taipei, I have made use of the common "postal spelling".

Introduction

Compiled in 1103, *Chanyuan qinggui* 禪苑清規 (*Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery*, henceforth abbreviated as *CYQG*) is regarded as the earliest Chan monastic code still in existence. This comprehensive monastic code, written for use in the public monastery, provides us with a wealth of information about the monastic life of twelfth-century Song China. The code offers very specific guidelines for itinerant monks,¹ emphasizes the importance of studying under masters at various monasteries, prescribes the proper protocol for attending of a retreat, and details the procedure for requesting an abbot's instruction. A significant portion of the text is devoted to the administrative hierarchy within the monastery, including the duties and powers of the various monastic officers. An equal amount of attention is given to the proper social deportment of the monks of these various ranks vis-a-vis each other, especially with regard to the decorum at tea ceremonies, chanting rituals, and monastic auctions.

This dissertation consists of two separate parts, the first of which provides the reader with an understanding of the historical and cultural context of the work. The second part consists of the translation of *CYQG*, accompanied by extensive annotation.

Part One is intended to convey the fact that a work as comprehensive as *CYQG* could not have risen up like a monolith during the Song era; it was, in fact, preceded in China by a long history of translations, adaptations, and formulations of monastic codes. This evolutionary history can be roughly divided into three stages: the introduction of the Indian Vinaya (*jieli* 戒律); the compilation of Saṅgha regulations (*senggui* 僧規)² by

¹ Here and throughout my dissertation I have opted for the term "monks" for the sake of convenience. The reader is meant to understand that the reference is most often to monks *and* nuns, and thus the word should be read as the equivalent to the noun "monastics." I have, at times, also made use of the term "clergy" which I regard as synonymous with "the monastic body," or "Saṅgha."

² Here I modify Tsuchihashi Shūkō's 土橋秀高 classification: *jielu*, *sengzhi* 僧制 and *qinggui*. See his "Chūgoku ni okeru kairitsu no kussetsu: sōsei shingi wo chūshin ni" 中國における戒律の屈折—僧制—

Chinese monks; and the composition of "Rules of Purity" (*qinggui* 清規) or comprehensive monastic codes such as *CYQG*.³

In my examination of the first stage (Section Ia) I discuss the introduction of the Indian Vinaya codes into China, including five complete Vinaya texts (*guanglü* 廣律), four of which were translated into Chinese as early as the fifth century. It was these Vinaya texts of five schools which provided the basic framework within which Chinese Buddhism formed its initial understanding traditional monastic discipline.

But even before these complete Vinayas had been introduced into China, there were already partial and abbreviated versions of Vinaya texts that had been translated and brought to China. Furthermore, monks who came to China from the West, i.e., from India and Central Asia, served as living instructors, for they carried with them the knowledge and habits of the Indian Buddhist orders. Nevertheless, both the Indian Vinaya as well as the Indian and Central Asian monks arriving in China often represented differing schools of disciplinary philosophy. These monks came to China haphazardly, arriving at different times and settling in different regions. The result was a lack of any unified monastic code for Chinese. However, it was not long before a number of Chinese monks first recognized the need to consciously collect and systematize whatever Vinaya texts were available and, supplementing them with their observations of foreign monks' practices, compile them into unified monastic codes.

In my discussion of the second stage (Section Ib), I consider the important role played by the Chinese monks who first attempted to create rules specifically suited to monastic life in China. The first such set of Saṅgha regulations on record is the work of Daoan 道安 (312-385), who compiled a set of rules for his own monastery. Significantly,

清規を中心に—, in his *Kairitsu no kenkyū* 戒律の研究 (Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō 永田文昌堂, 1980), 887-924. But the term *sengzhi* also traditionally refers to governmental law and policy relating to the clergy. To avoid confusion, I refer to those regulations compiled before the Chan rules of purity as *senggui*.

³ The term "*qinggui*" was used originally to refer only to monastic codes produced by the Chan school; however, after the Song Dynasty it was adopted by other monastic schools.

many of the practices established by Daoan became the model for the later monastic codes, such as *CYQG*. As I will illustrate, Daoan's profound respect for monastic discipline was inherited from his master and subsequently transmitted to his own disciples. Among these pupils, monks such as Huiyuan 慧遠 (334-416) became renowned in their own right for their meticulous adherence to the Vinaya precepts, combining them, however, with their own indigenous Saṅgha regulations to form a set of rules tailored to meet the needs of the individual monasteries in China.

The influence of Daoan's respect for monastic discipline can also be seen in other regulatory codes, such as the works of Lü master Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667), which, in turn, also had their effect upon the composition of future monastic codes. This interest in monastic discipline also animated the Tiantai school, whose founder, Zhiyi 智顛 (538-597), and whose successor three centuries later, Zunshi 遵式 (964-1032), developed Saṅgha regulations of their own.

But before any discussion of these works, it is necessary to consider the importance of the alleged first monastic code, the so-called *Baizhang qinggui* 百丈清規, for chronologically it would predate many of the later Saṅgha regulations. This non-extant code, traditionally ascribed to Chan master Baizhang (749-814), has been a source of great controversy. Long thought to be the formulator of the first Chan monastic code, or Rules of Purity, Baizhang was considered the initiator of the movement for Chan independence from other Buddhist schools. However, many modern scholars have come to doubt that such a text ever existed. My own approach has been to trace the element of the Chan monastic codes to influences that far precede the time of Baizhang, and, at the same time, to dispute the methodology of those who claim that Baizhang's regulations were never formally codified.

The third stage of monastic regulations is represented by the Rules of Purity, the comprehensive monastic codes whose first extant representative is *CYQG* (Section II). I

hope to demonstrate a clear line of continuity between Chinese monastic regulations beginning with the original Indian Vinaya,⁴ moving through the Saṅgha regulations and finally culminating in *CYQG* and the many Rules of Purity that followed in its wake.

Furthermore, I argue that Changlu Zongze 長蘆宗頤 (?-1107?), the author of *CYQG*, was influenced not only by his own Chan tradition, the Yunmen 雲門 school, but by the thought and practices of the Pure Land school as well. This influence is borne out most clearly by *CYQG*, wherein the author incorporates Pure Land concepts and rituals into the funereal liturgy. In turn, Zongze's work was carried to Japan where it served as the model for generations of monastic codes, while in China *CYQG* continued to be the dominant influence upon the compilers of regulatory texts well into the Song and Yüan eras.

A full understanding of *CYQG* also must take into account a number of external factors which influenced in its composition (Section III). This monastic code was unmistakably shaped by its place within the history of competing branches of Chan Buddhism whose fortunes fluctuated. The Chinese government also left its mark on *CYQG*, as reflected by its conformity to state decrees concerning travel permits, the sale of tonsure or titular certificates, the election of abbots, the conversion of public monasteries into private ones, and the creation of monastic offices charged with governmental supervision of the order. Finally, it is important to consider the force of the cultural context within which the text was produced, we find the echoes of court protocol in monastic ceremonies, the borrowing of the tea ceremony from popular custom, and the introduction of various rituals-- e.g. circumambulation, expressions of humility-- from the three Confucian Books of Rites.

⁴ In *CYQG*, the examples of borrowings or influences from the Indian Vinaya are too numerous to discuss in this section. The reader is referred to the annotations of the *CYQG* translation itself for examples.

It is hoped that Part Two, the text translation, will prove especially valuable to Buddhist scholarship, given that until now there has appeared no comprehensive translation of *CYQG* into English. I have endeavored to be as literal as possible in my translating, attempting to preserve the letter, or at least the spirit, of the original Literary Chinese whenever feasible. Of particular importance are the annotations, which introduce a great deal of historical material that will elucidate the text and show the evolution of regulations within the *CYQG*. For example, the many borrowings and influences from the Indian Vinaya, too numerous and disparate to be discussed in Section II, are cited throughout *CYQG* in the footnotes. In this connection, the works of the Lü masters Daoxuan and Yijing 義淨 (635-713) are referred to frequently for the light they shed upon the earliest Vinaya translations produced in China.

I believe that a deeper understanding of *CYQG*'s place in the continuous evolutionary progression of monastic regulations, in conjunction with a reading of the text itself informed by the numerous borrowings and points of influence from Indian Vinaya and other early works, will lend itself to the conclusion that the Rules of Purity, long thought to have begun with the innovative work of Baizhang, were not, in fact, a Chan invention. It is my intention to show that with the exception of its attempts at accommodation with Chinese social and cultural norms, *CYQG* largely represents the continuation of a monastic tradition that is traceable to the very roots of Indian Buddhism.

Part One: *Chanyuan qinggui* in Context

I. The Evolution of Monastic Regulations in China

a. Introduction of the Buddhist Vinayas into China

With the introduction of Buddhism into China circa the first century C.E., Chinese men and women began leaving their familial households (*chujia* 出家) and taking the tonsure. The earliest recorded mention of any monastic personage is that of the feudal prince Liu Jun 劉竣 who became a monk and that of a woman named Apan 阿潘 who became a nun, both during the reign of Emperor Ming 明帝 of the Han dynasty (58-75 C.E.).¹ But, as it is believed that the Vinayas were not available in China at this time, most monks and nuns would only have taken the three refuges, and could not have received the formal precepts for ordination. Buddhist monks and nuns, therefore, distinguished themselves only by their shaven heads, and in practice they performed the observances in accordance with traditional Chinese sacrifice and worship.² It was not until the middle of the third century (Jiaping 嘉平 era, 249-253), when Dharmakāla 曇柯迦羅 came to China from central India, that monks and nuns were first properly ordained. Dharmakāla translated the *Sengqi jiexin* 僧祇戒心 (*Essence of Mahāsāṅghika Precepts*) from an Indic language into Chinese,³ thereby supplying the clergy with at least the specific goals of a formal ordination. However, deeming Chinese Buddhism to be at an early stage and not yet ready for the great complexity of a full Vinaya, Dharmakāla decided to translate only the basic rules for daily living, thus transmitting a truncated version of the Indian Vinaya. Dharmakāla's text enumerated the precepts themselves (*jieben* 戒本; *prātimokṣa*), but omitted any instruction regarding the actual procedures for many communal activities

¹ *Da Song sengshi lue* 大宋僧史略 1, T 54:237c21-23.

² *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (abbr. GSZ) 1, T 50:324c29-325a1.

³ *Sengqi jiexin* was lost during the eighth century. See *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 1, T 55:486c3-4.

(*jiemo fa* 羯磨法; *karmavācanā*) such as admission into the order, the ceremony for the reception of the precepts, the fortnightly confession (*upavasatha* 布薩),⁴ the protocol for large assemblies, and the execution of punishments. Translations of matters of procedure were entrusted by Dharmakāla to his fellow Indian monks, who subsequently took up the task in separate, supplementary translations.⁵ Although no such supplementary translations have been preserved, these instructions for ceremony procedure, used in conjunction with Dharmakāla's precepts, were what enabled the first Chinese clergy to be ordained in the proper fashion. This fact is attested to by the sixth-century collection of monks' biographies *Gaoseng zuan*.⁶ However, a later tradition based on the tenth-century history of Buddhist practices *Da Song sengshi lue* 大宋僧史略 (henceforth *DSL*) held that the source for Chinese procedural practices was the text entitled *Tanwu jiemo* 曇無羯磨 (*Dharmaguptaka Karmavācanā*), translated in 255 by the Parthian monk Tandi 曇諦. According to *DSL*, it was the combination of Dharmakāla's *Sengqi jiexin* and Tandi's *Tanwu jiemo* that enabled Chinese clergy to receive their precepts for the first time.⁷

There is another *karmavācanā* translation from the same Dharmaguptaka school entitled *Tanwude lübu za jiemo* 曇無德律部雜羯磨, which was translated by Saṅghavarman 康僧鎧, who came to China just a few years before Tandi. Both Dharmaguptaka *karmavācanā* texts are extant; however, Hirakawa Akira 平川彰 argues that these two texts were produced after the translation of the *Four Part Vinaya* (*Sifen lü* 四分律), i.e., after 410.

⁴ For English translations of Vinaya terminology, I have consulted I. B. Horner's *The Book of the Discipline*, 6 vols. (London: The Pāli Text Society, 1982-1986).

⁵ *GSZ* 1, *T* 50:324c27-325a5.

⁶ *GSZ* 1, *T* 50:325a2.

⁷ *T* 54:237c7-10.

Neither text was translated by Tandi and Saṅghavarman, but edited by people after. The same point is made by Ōchō Enichi 横超慧日 as well.⁸

Before the introduction of any complete Vinayas (*guanglü* 廣律),⁹ there appeared sporadically over the next century and a half a number of partial Vinaya translations. Among them, monk Tanmoshi 曇摩侍,¹⁰ with the collaboration of Zhu Fonian 竺佛念, completed three Vinaya texts, *Shisong biqiu jieben* 十誦比丘戒本 (*Sarvāstivāda Bhikṣu Precepts*), *Biqiuni dajie* 比丘尼大戒 (*Bhikṣuni Great Precepts*), and *Jiaoshou biqiuni ersui tanwen* 教授比丘尼二歲壇文 (*Essay on Instructing Bhikṣuni for Two Years*) around the year 379, all three of which belong to the Sarvāstivāda school. The manuscripts of the latter two texts were obtained and brought to Tanmoshi by Sengchun 僧純 from Kuchā. Nuns' precepts also were translated by the monks. Mili 覓歷 translated the five hundred precepts for nuns as did Huichang 惠常, while Fatai 法汰 (319-387) commissioned foreign monks to work on a translation of nuns' precepts that was never completed. However, all these texts were eventually lost, and the only surviving partial Vinaya translation from this era is the *Binaiye* 鼻奈耶 (*Vinaya*), which was translated by Zhu Fonian in 383.¹¹ Scholars believe that this text belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.¹² We do know of another Vinaya text (*jiejing* 戒經) of this school,* from Dunhuang, which was also introduced into China

⁸ See Hirakawa Akira, *Ritsuzō no kenkyū* 律藏の研究 (Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1970), 203 and Ōchō Enichi, *Chūgoku Bukkyō no kenkyū* 中國佛教の研究 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1958), 26.

⁹ Complete Vinaya generally include three parts: the *Sūtravibhāṅga*, an explanation of rules and punishments for monks and nuns based on the articles of *prāktimokṣa*; the *Skandhaka* (sometimes refers to as *Vastu*), a discussion of the rituals and interactions of daily monastic life based on the prescriptions of the *karmavācānās*; and the appendices, which usually summarize the points made in the two preceding sections, sometimes introducing general historical information. For a good general introduction to the Vinayas see the section "Vinayapīṭaka" in Étienne Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, trans. Sara Webb-Boin (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1988), 165-78; and for an excellent analysis of the formation of the Vinaya of each school see E. Frauwallner, *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature* (Roma: Is. M.E.O., 1956).

¹⁰ Sometimes Tanmoshi is also written as Tanmochi 曇摩侍.

¹¹ Hirakawa (*Ritsuzō*, 159) believes that the translation was taken at 383.

¹² Hirakawa, *Ritsuzō*, 161.

before the complete Vinayas and is thought to have belonged to the Sarvāstivāda school as well. It may be that this text from Dunhuang is the oldest translation of the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya.¹³

The first complete Vinayas appeared at the beginning of the fifth century when the texts of four separate schools were brought to China. The Sarvāstivāda Vinaya was introduced by Puṇyatāra 弗若多羅, who came to China from "Kaśmīra" (Jibin 罽賓)¹⁴ and was patronized by the ruler Yao Xing 姚興. In 404 Puṇyatāra began to recite the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya to Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 (344-413), who translated Puṇyatāra's words into Chinese, calling the work *Shisong lü* 十誦律 (*Ten Section Vinaya*). Puṇyatāra died having recited only two-thirds of the work. The task was completed by Dharmaruci 曇摩流支, who arrived from Kaśmīra with the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya in hand in order to assist Kumārajīva in finishing the translation. The final text totaled fifty-eight fascicles. In 406, Vimalākṣa 卑摩羅叉 (?-413), who taught Kumārajīva the Vinaya at Kuchā, came to Chang'an to assist his former pupil with the final proofreading and re-editing of the *Ten Section Vinaya*, resulting in the sixty-one fascicle version known to us today. Thus the first full Vinaya became available to the Chinese through the recitations of Puṇyatāra and Dharmaruci, the translations of Kumārajīva, and the editing of Vimalākṣa.

The second full Vinaya translation, the *Four Part Vinaya*, belongs to the Dharmaguptaka school, and was also translated at Chang'an, in the north of China. At Kumārajīva's urging, Yao Xing summoned Buddhayaśas 佛陀耶舍, a monk from Kaśmīra,

¹³ See Yabuki Keiki 矢吹慶輝, *Meisha yoin kaisetsu* 鳴沙餘韻解説 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1933), 351. Hirakawa (*Ritsuzō*, 167) believes that it was translated between 265 and 360 C.E.

¹⁴ The exact area corresponding to the designation Jibin has differed over time, but scholars long believed that in the fourth to fifth century the name indicated the region of Kaśmīra. Yet Enomoto Fumio 榎本文雄 argues that during this period the name Jibin encompassed a wider region, including not only Kaśmīra but Gandhara. See Enomoto Fumio, "Keihin: Indo Bukkyō no ichi chūshinchi no shozai" 罽賓—インド仏教の—中心地の所在, in *Tsukamoto Keishō kyōju kanreki kinen ronbun shū Chi no kaikō: Bukkyō to kagaku* 塚本啟祥教授還暦記念論文集「知の邂逅—仏教と科学」 (Tokyo: Kōsei Shuppansha, 199), 266. For the purpose of the present text, we have translated the Chinese place name "Jibin" simply as "Kaśmīra."

to Chang'an, where he was sponsored by Yao and treated like a teacher by Kumārajīva. Here, in 410 C.E., with the help of Zhu Fonian, Buddhayaśas translated the forty-fascicle *Four Part Vinaya*.

As mentioned above, a number of Chinese pilgrims were traveling to India at this time in search of a complete Vinaya. One such traveler was Faxian 法顯 (339?-420?), who first left for India in 399, before any full Vinaya had been translated in China. By the time Faxian returned in 414, the two Vinayas mentioned above had already been translated; nevertheless, the Vinayas that he brought with him were from different schools and their translation would offer a wealth of new material. Faxian returned with two texts--the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṅghika, found in the Aśoka Stūpa of Pāṭaliputra, the Magadha region of central India; and the Vinaya of the Mahīśāsaka, obtained in Sri Lanka. Upon returning, Faxian settled in the south at Jiankang 建康 (present-day Nanjing). After some time he asked the Indian monk Buddhahadra 佛陀跋陀羅 (359-429), who had come to Chang'an to work with Kumārajīva but later fled to the south to avoid conflict with Kumārajīva's disciples,¹⁵ to translate the Mahāsāṅghika text into Chinese. This task was completed, resulting in the *Mohe sengqi lü* 摩訶僧祇律 of 418; however, Faxian died before the second text could be translated. It was only after several years that the monk Buddhajīva 佛陀什, a student of the Mahīśāsaka school who had come to China from Kaśmīra in 423, took on the task of translating the Mahīśāsaka Vinaya or *Wufeng lü* 五分律 (*Five Part Vinaya*), completing the work in 424. In contrast to the first and second Vinayas, both these translations were carried out in the south of China, at Jiankang.

Thus, within a short period of twenty-six years, the Vinayas of four different schools came to be available to Chinese Buddhists. While there continued to appear

¹⁵ In the biography of Buddhahadra (*GSZ 2, T 50:335b13*), Huiyuan defends Buddhahara, who had been blamed by Kumārajīva's followers for his disciples' claiming supernatural powers and consequently was forced to flee. However, Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 believes that the conflict most likely arose over differing interpretations and approaches to dhyāna, i.e., meditation, between Buddhahadra and Kumārajīva. See Tang's *Han Wei Liangjin Nanbeichao Fojaoshi* 漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史 (Taipei: Luotuo Chubanshe, repr. 1987), I:307-10.

periodically a number of partial Vinaya texts in China, it was not until the eighth century that the full Vinaya of a fifth school would join the other four. This occurred when the Chinese pilgrim Yijing 義淨 (635-713) went to India and brought back the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya (*Genben Shuoyiqieyou bu lü* 根本說一切有部律), translating it himself around 700-703.¹⁶ From this point on, one can speak of China as home to the complete Vinayas of five schools (*wuda guanglü* 五大廣律), the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya being the most extensive. However, by the time that the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya was introduced during the eighth century, the *Four Part Vinaya* had already established its dominance throughout the Chinese Lū traditions. After the Song, the Chan school, which became predominant over all other forms of Chinese Buddhism, also used the *Four Part Vinaya* as its basis. Accordingly, Yijing's translation of Mūlasarvāstivāda has never received the attention it deserved.

The *Ten Section Vinaya*, being the first complete Vinaya introduced into China, and one that was carefully studied among the circle of Kumārajīva's disciples, became the most widely-used Vinaya text during the Southern-Northern dynasties of the fifth century. Vimalākṣa was the first to advocate the use of this Sarvāstivāda Vinaya in southern China, prompting Huijiao 慧皎 (497-544), an early historiographer, to proclaim, "It was due to the efforts of Vimalākṣa that the great propagation of the Vinaya was accomplished."¹⁷ After Vimalākṣa, the disciples of Kumārajīva dedicated themselves to the continued teaching of the *Ten Section Vinaya*, as did the disciples of Huiyuan, the monk who had originally invited Dharmaruci to China to supply the missing portion of the *Ten Section Vinaya* left untranslated by Puṇyatāra. Although the text of the *Ten Section Vinaya* was first translated at Chang'an, it was in the south, in the area of Jiankang, that it came to flourish.

¹⁶ See *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (abbr. *SGSZ*) 1, T 50:710b22.

¹⁷ *GSZ* 2, T 50:333c7.

The Dharmaguptaka *Four Part Vinaya* was translated at Chang'an and circulated in the North near the Chang'an and Luoyang areas, and with time the popularity of this Vinaya would largely supercede that of the Sarvāstivāda *Ten Section Vinaya*. Scholars seeking to explain this rise to prominence have pointed to the pre-existing tradition of *Karmavācanā* (jiemo 羯磨), the procedure for ordination used by Chinese monks before the introduction of complete Vinayas. The earliest translations of *Karmavācanā* were from the Dharmaguptaka school, making it more likely a full Vinaya would later be selected, one that would correspond most closely with familiar instructions and customs.¹⁸ The establishment of any custom requires the efforts of proponents of that custom, and one can find a succession of monks who advocated the use of the *Four Part Vinaya*. The monk Facong 法聰 (468-559), who initially studied the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṅghika, reasoned that since the *Karmavācanā* of the Dharmaguptaka was used mostly for procedural purposes, the full Vinaya text should correspond to this *Karmavācanā*; accordingly, he switched to the study of the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya. Facong's disciple Daofu 道覆 (n.d.) continued the work of his master by writing a commentary to the *Four Part Vinaya*. In turn, Daofu's disciple Huiguang 慧光 (468-537) carried on the tradition as a staunch advocate of these monastic rules. But perhaps the most emphatic and active advocates of the *Four Part Vinaya*, were Huiguang's disciples. More than a century and a half after Huiguang, Emperor Zhong 中宗 of the Tang (r.684) enacted a decree prohibiting the use of the *Ten Section Vinaya* which was still in circulation in the south of China. Thus, by the seventh century, the *Four Part Vinaya* had become the dominant text.¹⁹

¹⁸ Ui Hakuju 宇井伯壽, "Hyakujō shingi no rekishiteki igi" 百丈清規の歴史的意義, *Dōgen Zenji kenkyū* 道元禪師研究 (Tokyo: Dōgen Zenji Sangyōkai, 1941), 36-37; Kawaguchi Kōfū 川口高風, "Chūgoku Bukkyō ni okeru kairitsu no tenkai" 中国仏教における戒律の展開, pt. 1, *BKN* 5 (1971):134, n.l.

¹⁹ Tang, *Fojiaoshi*, 828-29.

The other two of the original four Vinaya texts, the *Five Part Vinaya* and the *Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya*, were never circulated widely. The *Five Part Vinaya* had almost no adherents, and the *Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya*, although studied by monks in the Guanzhong 關中 region (the present-day Shanxi 陝西 Province) in the north (even though first translated in the south), in time was replaced by the increasingly popular *Four Part Vinaya*.²⁰

²⁰ Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆, *Gisho Shaku-Rōshi no kenkyū* 魏書釋老志の研究 (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1974), 162.

Table: Introduction of Vinaya Texts Into China

Date	Text	Adherents	School
249	<i>Sengqi jixin</i>	Dharmakāla	Mahāsāṅghika
253 (?)	* <i>Tanwude lübu za jiemo</i>	Saṅghavarman (?)	Dharmaguptaka
254-255 (?)	* <i>Jiemo</i>	Tandi (?)	Dharmaguptaka
265-360	Vinaya text found in Dunhuang		Sarvāstivāda
371-372	<i>Shisong biqiu jieben</i> <i>Biqiuni dajie</i> <i>Jiaoshou biqiuni ersui tanwen</i>	Tanmoshi Zhu Fonian	Sarvāstivāda
(no date)	Texts on nuns' precepts	Mili Fatai Huichang	
383	<i>Binaiye</i>	Zhu Fonian	Sarvāstivāda
404-406	<i>Shisong lü</i>	Puṇyatāra Kumārajīva Dharmaruci Vimalākṣa	Sarvāstivāda
410	<i>Sifen lü</i>	Buddhayaśas	Dharmaguptaka
	* <i>Tanwude lübu za jiemo</i>		Dharmaguptaka
	* <i>Jiemo</i>		Dharmaguptaka
418	<i>Sengqi lü</i>	Buddhabhadra	Mahāsāṅghika
424	<i>Wufen lü</i>	Buddhajīva	Mahīśāsaka
700-703	<i>Genben Shuoyiqieyou bu lü</i>	Yijing	Mūlasarvāstivāda

* The dates and the authors of these works are disputed. See p. 8 of the present chapter for Hirakawa's argument.

b. The Saṅgha Regulations Compiled Before *Chanyuan qinggui*

Daoan's Regulations

In contrast to the study of doctrine, which traditionally has been the main focus of Buddhist scholarship, Saṅgha regulations and monastic practices have been only rarely investigated. But from its very inception, Chinese Buddhism grew out of a concern not only with spiritual doctrine, but also with practical matters of everyday behavior. In their zealous search for an adequate set of daily regulations, monks not only sought out pre-existing Indian models, but developed their own models, instituting standards more suitable to their communities.

During the Southern-Northern Dynasties, the eminent monk Daoan occupied one of the most important historical positions in the earliest stages of Chinese Buddhism. Scholars have long focused on his achievements in developing the doctrines of dhyāna (meditation) and prajñā (wisdom); however, his contribution to the development of Saṅgha regulations deserves greater attention. Daoan created a set of guidelines for Buddhist communal living well before the appearance of the first four complete Vinayas, leading Zanning 贊寧 (920-1001) to praise him as "the pioneer of saṅgha regulations" 僧制之始 in China. The monastic practices codified by Daoan were used not only in his day, but have remained a constant standard of practice until the present time. It is through the work of Lü master Daoxuan, that we can see the full extent of Daoan's influence in many matters of monastic practice, a legacy long underestimated or neglected by Buddhist scholars.

Because Daoan developed his Saṅgha regulations before the appearance of any of the complete Vinaya, it must be assumed that Daoan and others like him learned much of what they codified from those monks who had traveled to China from Western Buddhist communities, simply adapting these foreign rules to the specifics of Chinese life. In his formulation of monastic codes, Daoan was undoubtedly influenced by his teacher Fotudeng

佛圖澄 (232-348). Although he is most often remembered as the possessor of supernatural powers, there was clearly another image of Fotudeng, an image that unfortunately seems to have faded with time: that of a devout observer of the precepts, a man who never indulged in drink nor took a meal after noon in his one hundred and nine years of monkhood.²¹

Daoan, who studied under Fotudeng at Yedu 鄴都 (present-day Henan Province), wrote that while there were numerous monks undertaking translations of Vinaya texts, very few of them were able to make any comparative studies of the texts of different schools; only with the appearance of Fotudeng were monk-scholars able to carry out much-needed revisions and research.²² This attests to the fact that not only was Fotudeng a strict adherent of the precepts in practice, but he was regarded as an authority on the various Vinaya.

Daoan must have gained much of his devotion to the practice and study of the Vinaya from his teacher. However, when Fotudeng passed away in 348 and his patron ruler Shi Hu 石虎 (295-349) died the following year, the army of Ran Min 冉閔 (?-352)²³ invaded the Heluo 河洛 area (Henan province), forcing Daoan to escape from the north to Xiangyang 襄陽 (Hubei province). In the south, Daoan-- much to his regret-- was unable to continue his studies of the Vinaya.²⁴ For years he lamented the apparent lack of new Vinaya texts, particularly noting the absence of any Vinaya for nuns.²⁵

21 *GSZ* 9, *T* 50:387a11-12.

22 *CSJ* 11, *T* 55:80a29-b1.

23 Shi Hu was the third king of the Post Zhao, which was one of sixteen countries established by non-Chinese tribes in northern China during the Eastern Jin dynasty. Ran Min served as a commander of the Post Zhao army, but he overthrew the king and took the throne, naming his newly created state Dawei 大魏.

24 *CSJ* 11, *T* 55:80a28-b2.

25 *CSJ* 11, *T* 55:81b25. Also see Ōchō Enichi, *Chūgoku Bukkyō*, 75.

Eventually Daoan was "invited" (or captured) by his admirer, Fu Jian 符堅 (338-385),²⁶ and brought to Chang'an. Here Daoan came into contact with those foreign monks who had brought Vinaya texts to China and with those who were assisting in their translation. Following their work closely, he also wrote *Biqiu dajie xu* 比丘大戒序, a preface to Tanmoshi's translation of the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya text regarding bhikṣu precepts.²⁷ From the preface, we can see Daoan's abiding concern with the Vinaya and with the ethics of communal living. While Daoan did not live to see the introduction of a complete Vinaya into China, a random collection of various partial Vinaya translations was available at this time (although scattered across China). To facilitate their use, a streamlined set of guidelines was necessary that would compare all the materials available, filling in apparent lacunae whenever necessary. Taking his lead from the practices described by foreign monks, Daoan undertook just such a set of guidelines, calling it the "Standards for the Clergy and a Charter for Buddhism" (*Sengni guifan fofa xianzhang* 僧尼規範佛法憲章),²⁸ a work considered to be the earliest Saṅgha regulations intended as a supplement to the existing Vinaya. The work itself is no longer extant, and the oldest text to mention it, *GSZ*, tells us only that Daoan's regulations could be roughly grouped into three categories.²⁹ Fortunately, however, in his *Sifen lü shanfan buque xingshichao* 四分律刪繁補缺行事鈔 (henceforth *SXC*), Lü master Daoxuan of the Tang dynasty reports that Daoan was the major source of material for his own monastic code. Thus we can glean from Daoxuan's regulations much of Daoan's original work. Let us now attempt to discuss

26 Fu Jian was the king of Earlier Qin, one of sixteen non-Chinese countries in the north.

27 *CSJ* 11, *T* 55:80a.

28 The term "*sengni guifan fofa xianzhang*" is often understood as the title of Daoan's regulations; I suspect, however, that the term might be used here as a general description of the work's contents rather than as a title *per se*.

29 *GSZ* 5, *T* 50:353b24-27.

some aspects of Daoan's clerical regulations, using the brief descriptions of Daoan's work given by *GSZ* as our reference point.

- 1) The procedure for offering incense while circumambulating the hall (*xingxiang* 行香), taking one's seat, preaching the sutra, or giving a lecture. 行香定座上講經上講之法.³⁰

This description of the first group of topics codified by Daoan shows us that he concerned himself with rituals which were the subject of discussion long before and long after the time of his writings. The ritual of *xingxiang* is mentioned in the earliest Indian sutras and Vinaya. There is the story given in *Zengyi ehan jing* 增一阿含經 that a rich householder's daughter, having married into a non-Buddhist family who then challenged her Buddhist beliefs, called for the Buddha's help by offering incense in the direction of the Buddha. When Ānanda asked what this incense meant, the Buddha replied that the incense should be perceived as a messenger summoning the Buddha 此香是佛使.³¹

DSL indicates that in China the custom of *xingxiang* began with Master Daoan.³² Daoxuan's *SXC* gives a detailed description of the ceremony of *xingxiang*: "After the flowers are spread, the donors bow down three times, lift their incense, and stand holding their incense burners. Facing the seated senior monks they all kneel down and place the incense into the incense burners. The rector then announces, 'Offer the incense and preach the verse!' This ritual was adopted from Master [Dao]an. . . ." ³³ Much later, during the Tang, the travel diary of Japanese pilgrim Ennin 圓仁 (794-864) describes how laypeople

³⁰ 上講經上講 should be 上經上講. Cf. the same passage in *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (abbr. *FYZL*) 16, T 53:407a11 and *Sifen lü xingshi chao zichì jì* 四分律行事鈔資持記 (abbr. *SXCZ*) 1D, T 40:232b17.

³¹ *Zengyi ehan jing* 22, T 2: 661c-662a.

³² *DSL* 2, T 54:241c5.

³³ *SXC* 1D, T 40:36c5-7.

distributed incense to the monks while circumambulating the hall.³⁴ During the Song, according to Zongze's *CYQG*, the ritual of offering incense was held on many occasions, such as when laypeople came to the temple to sponsor a feast. Clearly, the incense rituals performed in Daoan's day continued into the Tang and Song dynasties.

In *GSZ*'s description of Daoan's regulations (as is so often the case with Classical Chinese writing), the absence of punctuation renders the meaning of each sentence ambiguous. Ōchō Enichi believes that the second and third phrases in the above quotation indicate that during mealtimes the monks were to "arrange Piṇḍola's seat" and after the meal they were to "chant and preach."³⁵ Ui Hakuju 宇井伯壽 and Tang Yongtong 湯用彤, however, hold that the same characters signify the "ascension to the high seat in order to preach the sutra."³⁶ Thus Ōchō focuses on the seat itself as the direct object of a transitive verb, whereas Ui and Tang assume an implicit subject who would himself ascend to the seat. It seems to us that the fifth character of this quotation, *shang* 上, meaning "up," implies an action taking place in or toward an elevated position, making the latter interpretation the more plausible one; and indeed we see from other texts that the monk usually does ascend to a high position in order to preach. In the earliest translated text regarding the manners of clergy, *Dabiqiu sanqian weiyi* 大比丘三千威儀 (henceforth *DSW*), the monks are described as ascending to a high seat to preach the sutra,³⁷ and Daoxuan writes that the Lū master always sits in a high seat while transmitting the precepts.³⁸ Later in the Chan tradition the abbot ascends to the highest seat in the Dharma

³⁴ See *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書 (abbr. *NBZ*) vol. 113:182. For more discussion of the ritual of offering incense see n. 111, fasc. 1.

³⁵ See Ōchō Enichi, *Chūgoku Bukkyō*, 184-85.

³⁶ Ui Hakuju, *Shaku Dōan kenkyū* 釋道安研究 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1956; rep.1979), 24; Tang, *Fojiaoshi*, 214.

³⁷ See *T* 24:917a12; also see Tang, *Fojiaoshi*, 214.

³⁸ *SXC*, *T* 40:36b19.

hall (*shangtang* 上堂) before preaching (as evidenced in *CYQG*),³⁹ all of which indicates a long tradition of ascension to elevated positions in order to conduct ceremonies.

Two texts attributed to Daoan which pertain to the ritual of chanting, *Daoshi yuanji* 導師緣記 and *An Fashi faji jiuzhi sanke* 安法師法集舊製三科,⁴⁰ indicate that in Daoan's day the rituals of reciting the sutra, giving lectures, and performing the precept observance were conducted as chants. According to *DSW*,⁴¹ once the signal was struck and the monks had taken their seats, they would chant the praise verse (*zan jibai* 讚偈頌), after which the sutra was recited. While we may not know with certainty what Daoan's practices for such rituals were, *GSZ* describes how Daoan's disciple, Huiyuan, would first ascend the high seat, lead the chanting, and then preach the sutra.⁴² This practice, presumably adopted from his master Daoan, remained an unchanging model for many generations. Most of the chanting ceremonies discussed in *CYQG* can be found in Daoxuan's earlier discussion on the ritual regarding the fortnightly confession in *SXC*, which, Daoxuan tells us, is directly indebted to Daoan's *upavasatha* text.⁴³ While we should not assume that these chanting rituals were Daoan's personal innovation, it seems clear that these ceremonies were being performed at his monastery.

- 2) The procedure for the daily practices to be performed throughout the six periods of the day, such as circumambulating the Buddha statue, taking meals, and the chanting at mealtimes.
常日六時行道飲食唱食法。

³⁹ YZS [72].

⁴⁰ CSJ 12, T 55: 92b13-14; also see Tang, *Fojiaoshi*, 214.

⁴¹ T 24: 917a16-17.

⁴² GSZ 13, T 50: 417c12-13.

⁴³ See the table at the end of section on Daoxuan's regulations.

Circumambulation of the Buddha statue (*xiangdao* 行道) as the means of worshipping has its provenance in Indian practice. The proper direction for circumambulation was clockwise, with the worshipper's right shoulder toward the Buddha. While the sutras often specified that three circumambulations were the standard number indicating respect for the Buddha, the actual number performed by Indian monks may have varied widely as they usually walked continuously for the duration of a set period of time.⁴⁴

As regards the mealtime rituals, the earliest extant monastic code, *CYQG*, indicates that before taking their meals, monks would chant the ten epithets of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas, a custom preserved in Chinese monasteries until the present day. The content of the chant is as follows: "The Pure Dharma Body Vairocana Buddha, the Perfect Reward Body Vairocana, the Śākyamuni Buddha with His Myriad Transformation Bodies, the Venerable Buddha Maitreya Who Will Descend and Be Reborn in This World in the Future, all the Buddhas in ten directions and three ages, the Great Holy Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva, the Great Practice Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, the Great Compassion Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, and All the Great Bodhisattvas. Great Prajñāpāramitā!"⁴⁵ Uī Hakuju asserts that this chant finds its origin with Daoan and his regulations.⁴⁶

According to the *Four Part Vinaya*, Indian monks chanted verses after their meals.⁴⁷ As Daoxuan tells us, however, this tradition was altered in China by Daoan, who began the practice of circumambulating with burning incense and chanting prior to the meal

⁴⁴ Both Daoxuan and Yijing have written on this subject. See Daoxuan's *Shimen guijing yi* 釋門歸敬儀 2, T 45:863a and Yijing's *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 (abbr. *NJNZ*) 3, T 54:225b.

⁴⁵ *YZS* [46-47].

⁴⁶ Uī, *Shaku Dōan*, 25. Uī does not cite his sources in reaching such a conclusion. I believe the topic is still in need of more research.

⁴⁷ It has also been noted by Yijing that during his travels in India and South Asia he observed no practice of prayer before the meal. See *NJNZ* 1, T 54:209b3.

instead. Daoxuan himself considered this change to be appropriate and adopted the routine for the Chinese Lü school.⁴⁸ This represents yet another monastic practice that even to the present day is thought to have originated with Daoan.

3) The procedure for the fortnightly confession, [including the process whereby nuns] send a representative [to invite a monk to come and preside over their observance], the ritual of repentance, and so on. 布薩差使悔過等法。

In the section of *SXC*⁴⁹ concerning the confession ceremony, Daoxuan makes reference to two earlier texts devoted to this subject (*chujia busa fa* 出家布薩法), one by Puzhao 普照⁵⁰ and one by Daoan. As Daoxuan relies most heavily on Daoan for his interpretations, one can glean much information from this work about Daoan's original views. The confession is a fortnightly ritual held separately by monks and nuns, usually on each new and full moon, in which the precepts are recited in their entirety. In his description of the actual ceremony procedure, the author of *SXC* specifically cites Daoan as his source. First, the monks or nuns are summoned together by a signal. The rector (*weinuo* 維那) begins with a ritual washing of the bamboo stick (*chou* 籌), which is traditionally used to count the number of participants at the ceremony. The precept master is then invited to ascend to the high seat and the monks offer water, flowers, and incense. Then those novices who have not yet received full ordination are requested to leave. Once this is done, the representatives of those monks or nuns who are unable to attend express the wishes of the absent parties (*shuoyu* 說慇). All of the precepts are then recited one at a time, after which any member of the clergy who has violated one of the rules must confess his or her transgression before the assembly, while those who have not broken any precept should

⁴⁸ *SXC* 3C, T 40:136b14-16.

⁴⁹ *SXC* 1D, T 40:34b22 & 35b11.

⁵⁰ Almost nothing is known about the biography of Puzhao, as *SXCZ* points out. See T 40:232b14-15.

remain silent. After this recitation and confession period, the novices are asked to return for the chanting of the verses of praise to close the ceremony.

In addition to those regulations directly ascribed to Daoan, a number of other monastic rituals are said to have their origin in incidents from Daoan's life. For example, *CYQG* states that before the assembly of monks may enter the bathhouse, the Holy Ones must first be invited to bathe, a ritual whose provenance is illustrated by an episode in *GSZ*'s biography of Daoan.⁵¹ The story begins with Daoan and his disciples standing before the statue of the Bodhisattva Maitreya taking a vow to be reborn in Tuṣita Heaven where Maitreya dwells, until his return to this world as a future Buddha. On the twenty-seventh day of the first month in the twenty-first year of the Jianyuan 建元 era (385 C.E.), a strange-looking monk arrives to take up residence in Daoan's temple. Since the dormitory is full, he is accommodated in the lecture hall. When the rector on duty that night rises and spots the guest passing in and out of the hall through the cracks of the window, he rushes to tell Daoan of this strange phenomenon. Daoan rises immediately and comes to greet the guest monk, asking him what the purpose of his visit might be. "To accompany you [i.e., to Tuṣita Heaven]," the guest replies. Daoan then asks, "I have come to realize and contemplate the great weight of my bad karma; is it possible that I may yet be liberated?" "Without doubt," the guest assures him, "However, to fulfill your wish you must invite the holy monks to bathe." The guest then demonstrates the ritual of inviting the Holy Ones to bathe. Having witnessed this, Daoan asks where he will be reborn. With a gesture of his hand, the guest points to the northwest corner of the sky. The clouds there immediately part to reveal to Daoan and others the full splendor of Tuṣita Heaven. Later, when Daoan prepares the bath according to his instructions, he suddenly sees an unusual child accompanied by dozens of other children entering the temple, playing, and entering the

51 T 50:353b27-c9.

bath. Feeling as though he were seeing a vision of his own future in heaven, Daoan realizes that he and his followers would receive what they seek.

A second longstanding monastic custom whose origins are connected with the life of Daoan is the placing of a statue of Piṇḍola in the dining hall of Chinese monasteries. Daoan is said to have dreamt once of a foreign monk with white hair and long eyebrows. This foreign monk tells Daoan two things. First, he reassures Daoan that his annotations to the sutras are correct. Second, he tells Daoan that he is appearing in Daoan's dream because he was forbidden by the Buddha to enter nirvāṇa and was condemned to dwell in the West. This mysterious monk then promises to help Daoan propagate the Dharma, suggesting that food be offered to him at shrines within the temple. Daoan, of course, complies with this request, and the tradition of the offering was born. It is not until the appearance of the *Ten Section Vinaya*, after Daoan's death, that his disciple Huiyuan realizes that the monk in his master's vision was Piṇḍola, who, according to the Vinaya, was forbidden by the Buddha to enter nirvāṇa for showing off his supernatural powers in front of laypeople.⁵² From Daoxuan's *SXC*, which identifies the Holy Monk as Piṇḍola, it is evident that, in its traditional offering of food to the Holy Monk, the Chinese Lü school has been following the precedent of honoring Piṇḍola first begun by Daoan.⁵³

There was yet a third area of monastic life upon which Daoan's ideas had a profound effect: the universal use of the surname *Shi* 釋. Before Daoan, the common monastic tradition was for each monk to accept the last name of his teacher. However, Daoan thought that all monks really had but one original teacher, the Buddha himself, and

⁵² GSZ 5, T 50:353b17-22. For the story of Piṇḍola see SSL 37, T 23:268c28-269b4 and John S. Strong, "The Legend of the Lion-roarer: a Study of the Buddhist Arhat Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja," *Numen* 16-1 (1979):50-88. For more discussion on the Holy Monk see n. 67, fasc. 1.

⁵³ The custom of honoring Piṇḍola was changed during the late Tang dynasty when the Tantric monk Amoghavajra 不空, who came to China from Central Asia, petitioned to the emperor that the image of Piṇḍola enshrined in the refectories of all monasteries be replaced by the image of Mañjuśrī, thus beginning the tradition of this Mahāyānist practice. See *Daizong chaozeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi Sanzang Heshang biaozi ji* 代宗朝贈司空大辨正廣智三藏和上表制集 2, T 52:837b5-6; see also Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism Under the Tang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 81.

out of respect for their spiritual origins, every monk should accept his name as their own. The term *Śākyamuni* Buddha, or *Śākya*, was known in Chinese as *Shijia* 釋迦, and it is from this name that Daoan borrowed the initial syllable, *Shi*, as the proper surname for all monks. This idea was later supported when it was found that in the *Zengyi ehan jing* 增一阿含經 the Buddha proclaims that just as four different rivers, when they empty into the same ocean, lose their former names, so should the monks of the four different castes, when they enter the monastic order, call themselves without exception the disciples of the Śākya Buddha.⁵⁴ And so it was that an idea that began with Daoan-- the use of the surname *Shi*-- became a tradition in Chinese Buddhism that has lasted for well over a millenium.⁵⁵

Assuredly there were more texts on Saṅgha regulations written by Daoan, but unfortunately these are no longer extant. In the early canonical catalogues, there are several other texts mentioned by title and attributed to Daoan. One such text is an annotation to the Vinayas (*Lüjie* 律解), and another is instructions for the striking of signal instruments (*Dajianzhi fa* 打鍵稚⁵⁶法).⁵⁷ Still more texts were attributed to Daoan in the later Song-era canonical catalogues: *Sishi liwen* 四時禮文 (*Instruction for the Four Daily Prayers*),⁵⁸ *Sengni guifan* 僧尼規範 (*Clerical Standards*), and *Famen qingshi ershisi tiao*

54 *Zengyi ehan jing* 21, T 2:658b26-c14.

55 GSZ 5, T 50:352c29-353a3.

56 The transliteration of *ghanṭā*, referring to the signal instrument, later became *jian chui* 鍵椎 in Yijing's translation. However, as Daoxuan indicates in *SXC1A*, T 40:6c3, this instrument was originally written *jianzhi* 鍵稚.

57 As explained by the compiler of *CSJ*, Sengyou 僧祐 (445-518), these two texts had traditionally been included in the catalogue of Daoan's works, but by the time of the canonical catalogue's compilation they had become lost, compelling Sengyou to relegate them to category of "missing works." See *CSJ* 3, T 55:18b26-27; also Ōchō, *Chūgoku Bukkyō*, 187.

58 In *Xinbian zhuzong jiaozang zonglu* 新編諸宗教藏總錄, a catalogue edited by the Korean monk Yitian 義天 (1055-1101). See T 55:1174c10.

法門清式二十四條 (*Twenty-four Pure Rules of the Dharma Gate*).⁵⁹ As these texts appeared in the catalogue by title only, their actual content remains obscure; and since the earlier *GSZ* and *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 (henceforth *CSJ*) make no mention of these writings, it may very well be that these works are simply excerpts from Daoan's larger compilation on clerical regulations, referred to by Sengyou as a still extant work entitled *Sengni guifan fofa xianzhang*. Conversely, it may be that Sengyou himself applied an umbrella title to a grouping of varied but related writings. Certainly there are no definitive answers at this point, but it is clear by the description in *GSZ* that Daoan and his order were already using a well-developed set of regulations and maintaining a highly disciplined monastery.

By advocating the Vinayas and his own clerical regulations, Daoan established a lasting model that "would be adopted by monasteries throughout the entire country,"⁶⁰ traces of which model can still easily be discerned in Daoxuan's *SXC* and the earliest surviving Chan monastic code *CYQG*. Just as Daoan learned respect for the precepts from his teacher, Fotudeng, so he transmitted this same spirit to his own disciples. Daoan's extremely strict implementation of discipline is illustrated by the following incidents involving two of his disciples, Fayu 法遇 and Huiyuan. Once, when one of Fayu's students drank wine and forgot his evening duty of offering incense, Fayu merely punished him (it is unclear exactly what the punishment was) without expelling him. When Daoan heard of this leniency, he had a cane delivered to Fayu from far away. As soon as Fayu received the cane, he understood his master's meaning. He immediately asked the rector of his temple to

⁵⁹ In *Longxing Fojiao biannian tonglun* 隆興佛教編年通論, compiled in 1165. See ZZK 2B-3-3:224b15. This statement was adopted by *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 6, T 49:524b19-20 and *Shishi jigu lue* 釋氏稽古略 2, T 49:784b13.

⁶⁰ *GSZ* 5, T 50:353b27.

flog him with Daoan's cane, all the while blaming himself for being remiss in his duties as teacher.⁶¹

Huiyuan's Attitude toward the Vinayas and His Rules

Huiyuan, whom we have already shown to be an advocate of the Vinayas, as evidenced by his invitation to Dharmaruci to finish the recitation of the *Ten Section Vinaya*, also rigidly adhered to the precepts by his deathbed refusal to drink alcohol, even though elder monks had advised him to take some fermented bean wine as medicine. The monks then offered him some rice juice, which he also rejected. Finally, the monks exhorted Huiyuan to drink some honey water. But before Huiyuan would drink, he insisted that the Vinayas be consulted by experts. The senior monks only managed to get halfway through the Vinayas when Huiyuan passed away.

This episode reveals not only Huiyuan's appreciation of the Vinayas, but his knowledge of them as well. The Vinayas give detailed instructions as to when and how wine may be taken as medicine; when the juice of grains and vegetables are considered legitimate; and when honey can be taken. When Huiyuan invited Dharmaruci to complete the translation of the *Ten Section Vinaya*, he had the opportunity to observe directly the translation process and to deepen his understanding of the precepts. The *Ten Section Vinaya* records an incident in which Upāli asks the Buddha whether monks are allowed to drink bitter wine after noon. The Buddha replies that wine is permissible if it is pure, without dregs at the bottom or the smell of alcohol. Upāli then asks about juice made from roots, twigs, stems, leaves, flowers, or fruit, all of which the Buddha approves so long as it is not intoxicating.⁶² Elsewhere in the text, honey is included among the four kinds of

⁶¹ GSZ 5, T 50:356a21-27.

⁶² SSL 53, T 23:396b1-4.

medicine considered conducive to digestion and therefore allowable for the sick.⁶³ Such medicines were permissible for a period of seven days.⁶⁴ The intake of such foods was restricted because they were considered too great a luxury for the monastic life. The *Ten Section Vinaya* indicates that it was usually the virtuous elder monks who received such offerings.⁶⁵ Honey was regarded as the "liquid not allowed after noon" (*feishi jiang* 非時漿); it could only be taken before noon and only by those who were sick and had received the offering.⁶⁶ Although *GSZ* does not specify the time of day when the senior monks advise Huiyuan to take some drink, one must assume that even the extremely cautious Huiyuan would only hesitate if it were past noon. Huiyuan either had a broad familiarity with the precepts without perfect retention (after all, strictly speaking, everything offered him was permissible to imbibe), or, more likely, he knew his own death was imminent and inevitable, and so sought to educate his fellow monks, to set a clear example of vigilance and profound respect for the Vinaya precepts.

Huiyuan's teaching of the Vinaya precepts was influenced not only by his teacher Daoan, but by another external factor--political pressure. Toward the end of the fourth century, during the East Jin, Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369-404), the son of Commander Huan Wen 桓溫 (312-373), seized power. At a time when numerous members of the clergy had ingratiated themselves into the imperial court in order to win favor and patronage, Huan Xuan took it upon himself to purge the Buddhist clergy. He wrote a letter to Huiyuan, whom he had always respected, to inform him of his decision. Huiyuan replied with a defense of the clergy, strongly advising against any governmental action. At the same time,

⁶³ *SSL* 8, *T* 23:61a11. The other three medicines allowable for the sick are: ghee (*su* 酥), sesame oil (*you* 油), and molasses (*shimi* 石蜜). According to the Pāli Vinaya, there are five kinds of medicine partaken of by ill monks: ghee, fresh butter, oil, honey, and molasses. See Horner, *Discipline*, II:131-32.

⁶⁴ *SSL* 27, *T* 23:194a6-7. Also see Horner, *Discipline*, II:131-32.

⁶⁵ *SSL* 8, *T* 23: 60c19-20; *SSL* 26, *T* 23:185a17-18.

⁶⁶ *SSL* 26, *T* 23:185b11-21. Cf. *MSL* 28, *T* 22:457b18-19.

Huan Xuan's intentions compelled Huiyuan to think that perhaps some form of renewed discipline was necessary, and that it would be better for it to come from within than from without. Accordingly, Huiyuan took on the role of editor, compiling an impressively voluminous number of regulations for the clergy (*guangli tiaozhi* 廣立條制).⁶⁷ While there is no existing information specifying the content and amount of his work, CSJ lists Huiyuan as the editor of *Fashe jiedu* 法社節度 (*Regulations for the Dharma Association*), *Waisiseng jiedu* 外寺僧節度 (*Regulations for Monks from Outside*), *Jiedu* 節度 ([*General*] *Regulations*) and *Biqiuni jiedu* 比丘尼節度 (*Regulations for Bhikṣuni*).⁶⁸ Collectively, his regulations were known as "[Hui]yuan's regulations" (Yuangui 遠規), and they soon became the standard for all later regulation. The sheer volume of Huiyuan's work demonstrates the extent of his concern for the Vinaya and serves to illustrate the spirit of respect for monastic discipline passed on from teacher to disciple through the generations, from Fotudeng to Daoan to Daoan's disciples, all of whom helped to lay the foundations for Chinese monastic life.

Regulations Compiled by Daoan's Contemporaries

We have seen how Daoan and his disciples established a system of discipline in the earliest stages of Chinese Buddhism; however, it must be added that many of Daoan's contemporaries throughout China were no less interested in creating enduring regulations. At a time of governmental transition in the South--during the Song, Qi, Liang, and Chen Dynasties--as well as in the North, there was no shortage of individuals seeking to use these windows of freedom to buttress the existing Vinayas with supplementary rules. Making use of the records still available, we will try to give the reader some idea of those

⁶⁷ GSZ 6, T 50:360b28.

⁶⁸ CSJ 12, T 55:84a.

living in either the Northern or Southern dynasties who created regulatory texts other than Vinaya translations.

One of Daoan's contemporaries, Zhi Dun 支遁 (314-366), also known as Zhi Daolin 支道林, was a monastic leader of his entire region, with a perpetual following of hundreds of students.⁶⁹ His primary goal was the integration of the Daoist philosophy of "profound learning" (*xuanxue* 玄學) with Buddhist *prajñā* thought. While other scholars of profound learning, or "pure talk" (*qingtan* 清談) tended to lead lives unfettered by regulations of any sort, Zhi Dun insisted on the observance of the precepts. After once witnessing a chick emerge from an egg, he became a lifelong vegetarian, a decision typical of his rigor and devotion.⁷⁰ He supervised his students with extreme dedication, codifying his rules for their behavior in his *Boretai zhongseng jiyi jiedu* 般若臺眾僧集議節度 (*Rules of Conduct for the Saṅgha Assembly on the Prajñā Platform*)⁷¹ during his tenure in the Dongan Temple 東安寺 as preacher of the *Prajñā sūtra*. Another monk, Sengqu 僧璩 (fl. 453-464), appointed as Saṅgha Rectifier (*sengzheng* 僧正) by the southern Song Court, worked on the *Ten Section Vinaya* and also compiled supplementary regulations for the fortnightly confession ceremony, the *Sengni yaoshi* 僧尼要事 (*Major Activities of the Clergy*), a text with a wide circulation at the time.⁷² In 489, during the Qi dynasty (479-501), which succeeded the Song Court in the South, the monk Chaodu 超度 compiled the *Lüli* 律例 (*Rules from the Vinaya*),⁷³ basing his work on the Vinayas themselves. During the Liang dynasty, Fayun 法雲 (467-529) was commissioned by the imperial court to compile a set of clerical regulations (*Sengzhi* 僧制), which became a popular model for later

69 GSZ 4, T 50:384c9.

70 GSZ 4, T 50:349b28-c1.

71 CSJ 12, T 55:84a5; see also DSL 2, T 54:241b8.

72 GSZ 11, T 50:401b8; *Da Tang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄 lists the work as *Shisong sengni yaoshi jiemo* 十誦僧尼要事羯磨. See T 55:261a21.

73 *Da Tang neidian lu* 4, T 55:263b29-c2.

works.⁷⁴ In 504, the monk Sengsheng 僧盛 edited the *Jiaojie biqiuni fa* 教誡比丘尼法 (*Admonitions for the Bhikṣuṇī*), closely following the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya.⁷⁵ As none of these texts are extant, we know their titles but can only guess as to their content.

In the courts of the North, there were a number of monks living after Daoan who, in the capacity of clerical officials, codified many of the regulations added to the Vinayas. The monk Sengxian 僧顯 was appointed as Controller of Clergy (*shamentong* 沙門統) and compiled the *Sengzhi sishi qi tiao* 僧制四十七條 (the *Forty-seven Articles of the Clerical Regulations*) by imperial decree in the year 493.⁷⁶ As we mentioned above, Huiguang encouraged the teaching of the *Four Part Vinaya* and wrote a widely-read commentary to it, for which he later came to be regarded as the founder of the *Four Part Vinaya* tradition. Recruited by the imperial court of the East Wei (534-543) as a clerical official and granted the title of Controller of the Nation's Clergy (*guotong* 國統), Huiguang never ceased to uphold the precepts himself. He also compiled *Sengzhi shiba tiao* 僧制十八條 (*Saṅgha Regulations in Eighteen Articles*) in hopes of streamlining and clarifying the rules for the Buddhist clergy as they existed at that time. His contribution to the "reformation of the [corrupt] spirit of the clergy and the spread of the Teaching"⁷⁷ was considered second only to Daoan's.

Regulations for the clergy came not only from monks themselves but also from a number of devout rulers and members of the nobility. Prince Wenxuan 文宣王 (459-494) of the Qi dynasty was one such individual, interested in the regulation and practice not only for the clergy but for laypeople as well. According to *CSJ*, his works include: *Sengzhi* 僧制 (*Saṅgha Regulations*; most likely edited by monks), *Qingxin shinü fazhi* 清信士女法制

74 *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (abbr. XGSZ) 5, T 50:464b5.

75 *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 11, T 49:97c2-5.

76 *Weishu* 魏書 114, vol. 8:3039.

77 XGSZ 21, T 50:608a.

(*Regulations for Sincere and Devoted Laywomen*),⁷⁸ and *Zaijia busa yi* 在家布薩儀 (*The Model of Confession for Laypeople*).⁷⁹ Emperor Jianwen 簡文帝 (r. 549-551) of the Liang dynasty edited *Baguanzhai zhi* 八關齋制 (*Regulations for the Overnight Retreat for Laypeople*), which contains the following regulations to be observed by laypeople during the fast and abstention day.⁸⁰

1. Those who sleep past the time of roll call must do a penance of twenty prostrations and must hold the incense burner while listening to the sutra preaching three times.
2. Those who are absent without permission must do a penance of ten prostrations.
3. Those who are absent and do not come back before the sutra is preached three times must do a penance of ten [more] prostrations.
4. Those who do not report to the rector about a neighbor falling asleep [during a ceremony] must do a penance of ten prostrations.
5. Those who make mutual agreements with a neighbor not to report [each other] to the rector when they fall asleep must do a penance of ten prostrations.
6. If the rector is negligent in checking for any violators [of these rules] and does not assign penance, the rector himself must do a penance of twenty prostrations [and must hold the incense burner while listening to the sutra preaching three times].
7. On the day of every new and full moon (*baihei* 白黑),⁸¹ the rectors should conduct a review of each other. If there is any mutual agreement among the rectors not to report [each other], both parties must do a penance of twenty prostrations.

⁷⁸ CSJ 12, T 55:85c22-23.

⁷⁹ SXC 1D, T 40:34b.

⁸⁰ *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 28, T 52:324c13-26.

⁸¹ In India the first half of the month is regarded as "black," while the second half is considered "white." Thus the terms "black and white" are used to refer to the new and full moons. See *Da Tang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 2, T 51:875c20-23.

8. Those who are unwilling to chant the praise at the end of the sutra preaching must do a penance of ten prostrations.
9. Those who request to register [for the retreat] and do not attend at their allotted time must do a penance of ten prostrations.
10. Those who register incorrectly for the retreat on a new or full moon day must do a penance of ten prostrations.

Zhiyi's Rules for the Guoqing Monastery

While power in China inevitably changed hands throughout the centuries, the transmission of monastic discipline remained unbroken. During the twenty-nine-year period between the Southern-Northern Dynasties and the Tang, the short-lived Sui dynasty reunified the nation. It was during this time that a set of regulations was written that is still in existence, evidence of an early prototype of the monastic code--a prototype that was in use two centuries before Baizhang, who was long reputed to be the formulator of the Chan monastic code. Master Zhiyi, founder of the Tiantai Mountain monastery, was highly respected by rulers of the Chen dynasty (557-589) and of the Sui dynasty. Aside from his lifelong devotion to the teaching of the Lotus Sutra, Zhiyi studied Vinaya with Lü master Huikuang 慧曠 in the early period after first entering the order. Zhiyi wrote a commentary on *Fanwang jing* 梵網經, the Mahāyāna sutra conferring the bodhisattva precepts. The crown princes of both the Chen and the Sui dynasties received the bodhisattva precepts from him and when Emperor Houzhu 後主 of the Chen dynasty (r. 583-587) attempted to purge the clergy, it was Zhiyi's opposition that prevented him.

Zhiyi laid out the *Lizhi fa shitiao* 立制法十條 (*Rules in Ten Clauses*), aimed at restraining the restlessness of novice trainees. These rules were included in the beginning of the *Guoqing bailu* 國清百錄 (*One Hundred Records of the Guoqing [Monastery]*), which was compiled by Zhiyi's disciple Guanding 灌頂 (561-632). In the preface, Zhiyi

expresses his concern over what seems to him a deterioration in the character of the members of his order. He states that when he first established his monastery on Mt. Tiantai in 575, the members of the order were self-disciplined and did not need the slightest words of encouragement. But when he returned to the mountain in 595, he deemed the minds of the newer members of his order to be like those of "monkeys and horses," and he immediately realized the need for a system of rules. These ten rules have been preserved and can be summarized as follows:⁸²

- 1) All members of the Saṅgha community are categorized into one of three groups: those who concentrate on sitting meditation in the common hall (*yitang zuochan* 依堂坐禪), those who practice repentance in separate sanctuaries (*biechang chanhui* 別場懺悔), and those who carry out Saṅgha matters (*zhi sengshi* 知僧事). Members of all three groups are equally deserving of the same supplies and personal effects. Those who do not desire to belong to any of the preceding groups should not be allowed to enter the Saṅgha community.
- 2) Those who are to concentrate on meditation must devote four periods of time to meditation (*sishi zuochan* 四時坐禪) and six periods of time to worshipping the Buddha (*liushi lifo* 六時禮佛). If they fail to fulfill these requirements, they must prostrate themselves and confess before the assembly.
- 3) During the period of worshipping the Buddha, the monks are required to put on "robes with scale-like strips" [i.e., *kāṣāya*]. They must chant in unison, maintaining their focus. Failure to do so requires the same punishment as mentioned above.
- 4) The purpose of "individual practice" (*biexing* 別行) is to separate oneself from the rest of the assembly so that one may engage in the four types of intensive samādhi [*sizhong sanmei* 四種三昧; i.e., continuous sitting, continuous walking, walking half the time and sitting half the time, and neither walking nor sitting]. However, if a monk separates himself

⁸² *Guoqing bailu* 1, T 46:793c-794a.

from the assembly and does not engage in one of the four types of vigorous meditation, he should be punished by having to serve as the rector on duty.

- 5) Those who carry out Saṅgha affairs must not misuse monastic property. If, after a proper investigation, it is proven that a member of the assembly has misappropriated communal property, he must be expelled from the monastery.
- 6) If not suffering from illness, each monk is required to attend the two daily meals in the dining hall. The eating vessels can be made of iron or clay. Materials such as bone, bamboo, painted gourds, or shell are not allowable. Behaviors such as striking one's bowl, sipping noisily, talking while eating, asking for extra food, or eating alone are not permissible. Transgressors should be made to prostrate themselves and repent before the assembly.
- 7) Every Saṅgha member, whether senior or junior, whether inside the monastery or outside, whether near or far, is prohibited from surreptitiously eating meat or fish or from drinking wine. Eating at the wrong time is also prohibited. If anyone violates these rules, he must be expelled. The only exceptions to be made are cases of medical necessity.
- 8) To emphasize the harmony of the Saṅgha, members are prohibited from quarreling or fighting. Those who have quarreled must be made to prostrate themselves before each other. Those who have engaged in physical fighting must be expelled.
- 9) Those who commit the gravest offenses should be punished in accordance with the Vinaya. In the case of a false accusation, the one who is accused should not be punished, while the one who has made the false accusation should be expelled.
- 10) Those who have violated one of the above nine rules but have since repented should be allowed to remain in or return to the community; but those who frequently violate the above rules or show no remorse should be expelled [and should not be allowed to re-enter the monastery].

Another text which has been ascribed to Zhiyi, the *Guanxin shifa* 觀心食法 (*Method of Contemplation during the Meal*), regards the proper decorum at mealtime.⁸³ In this work, the customs to be observed prior to the taking of a meal are described in detail: "After unfolding one's cushion, taking a seat, and listening for the rector to strike the signal bell, one collects one's hands and performs the Buddhist service (*foshi* 佛事) by offering a prayer for the unity of the Triple Treasures which prevails in the realms of all ten directions. Next, food is offered to all sentient beings. Offering food to the beings in the six realms symbolizes the six pāramitās [i.e., the six perfections].⁸⁴ Only then can one partake of the food oneself."⁸⁵ This section describing the rituals before dining is strikingly similar to the description given in the earliest Chan monastic code, *CYQG*. *Guanxin shifa* is thus concrete evidence that these mealtime rituals were established long before the time of Baizhang, and that these customs of the Tiantai school did not differ much from the customs of the later Chan school.

Zhiyi also wrote *Xun zhishi ren* 訓知事人, an admonition to the administrators of his monastery.⁸⁶ First he warns the members of his administration against the misappropriation of public property, and, second, he encourages them to "develop the mind" of dedication to service and personal cultivation. Zhiyi tells the story of a purity-keeper (*jingren* 淨人) who, after covertly listening to the master preach, keeps in his mind at all times the pure thoughts he has heard, even while he does menial labor, such as grinding grain or washing rice. Eventually he attains samādhi while stoking the wood

83 Ōno Hideto 大野栄人, "Tendai *Kanjin jikihō* no kenkyū" 天台「觀心食法」の研究, pt. 2, *Zen kenkyūjo kiyō* 10 (1981): 228.

84 The six realms between which the sentient beings transmigrate are: heaven, human being, *asura*, animal, hungry ghost, and hell. The six pāramitā which are carried out by a bodhisattva in order to attain enlightenment are: giving, the observance of precepts, forbearance, ceaseless effort, concentration of mind, and wisdom.

85 *Guanxin shifa*, ZZK 2-4-1:55c.

86 T 46:798c9-799a18.

stove. Note the way in which this anecdote emphasizes the value of spiritual cultivation as integrated with a regimen of physical labor within the monastery,⁸⁷ an idea which is here clearly shown to have existed well before the time of Baizhang.

In addition to these general rules for the monastic order, Zhiyi also compiled several articles specifically devoted to the practices of repentance: *Jingli fa* 敬禮法, *Puli fa* 普禮法, *Qing Guanshiyin chanfa* 請觀世音懺法 (*Procedure for Invoking Avalokiteśvara for Repentance*),⁸⁸ *Jinguangming chanfa* 金光明懺法, *Fangdeng sanmei xingfa* 方等三昧行法 (*Procedure for the Vaipulya Samādhi Repentance*) and *Fahua sanmei chanyi* 法華三昧懺儀 (*Procedure for the Lotus Samādhi Repentance*). This collection of rules for repentance was obviously intended as Zhiyi's instruction to those who had chosen to practice repentance in separate sanctuaries and was meant as a parallel to his rules for those who had chosen meditation, such as *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 (*Great Tranquility and Contemplation*), *Liu miao famen* 六妙法門 (*Six Wondrous Dharma Gates*) and *Xiuxi zhiguan zuochan fayao* 修習止觀坐禪法要 (*Essentials for Practicing the Meditation of Tranquility and Contemplation*). Worship and repentance are the major rituals of Buddhism, and the texts compiled for these two practices provide guidelines as to how they should be conducted. However, Zhiyi's compilation of instructions on these topics in no way implies that Tiantai was the first tradition in which these practices were performed. It is believed that the rituals of worship and repentance were carried out by other traditions at the time of Zhiyi.⁸⁹ As mentioned above, one text regarding the worshiping of Buddhas was attributed to Daoan himself.

⁸⁷ Ikeda Rosan 池田魯參, *Maka shikan kenkyū josetsu* 摩訶止觀研究序說 (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1986), 271.

⁸⁸ For some of the Tiantai text titles, I consulted Neal Donner and Daniel Stevenson, *The Great Calming and Contemplation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993).

⁸⁹ Shioiri Ryōdō 塩入良道 points out that Xinxing 信行 (540-594), the founder of the Three-Stage school (Sanjie jiao 三階教) and a contemporary of Zhiyi, also edited a text for the ritual of repentance. See his "Shoki Tendaizan no kyōdanteki seikaku" 初期天台山の教團的性格, *Bukkyō kyōdan no shomondai* 佛教教團の諸問題, edited by Nihon Bukkyō Gakkai (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1974), 137.

Daoxuan's Regulations for the Clergy

As we have shown, many of Daoan's monastic practices have come down to us through the works of Daoxuan, especially through *SXC*. But while Daoxuan clearly relied upon the guidance of Daoan, Daoxuan was also an innovator in his own right. He created new models for later monastic practices and rituals, and his influence on Chinese monasticism is far greater than many have realized.

Daoxuan was a prolific writer with works covering a wide array of subjects. His non-Vinaya works include biographies of monks, catalogues of the Buddhist canon, genealogies, and apologia. However, he is best remembered as the most prominent monk within the Chinese Lü tradition. The lineage he founded, named Nanshan 南山 after the mountain where he first sequestered himself, has survived as the main branch of the Lü school. At the beginning of the Tang, when the *Four Part Vinaya* rose to prominence over the other Vinaya texts, its study was carried out by three main Lü traditions: the Xiangbu 相部 lineage, represented by Fali 法礪; the Dongta 東塔 lineage, represented by Huaisu 懷素; and the Nanshan lineage, represented by Daoxuan--the name of each lineage being taken from the location of the home temple of its major advocate. Gradually, Daoxuan's Nanshan lineage came to dominate over the other two, becoming the mainstream of the Chinese Lü school, and it is the only branch still existing. In his time Daoxuan was so dedicated to the *Four Part Vinaya* that he produced five commentaries on it.⁹⁰ These enormously rich commentaries on the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya established his right to become the authoritative commentator on the *Four Part Vinaya*. The second deciding factor in the Nanshan sect's rise was that, unlike the other sects, which claimed that the *Four Part*

⁹⁰ The five texts are: *SXC* (compiled in 626 C.E.), *Sifen lü shi pini yichao* 四分律拾毘尼義鈔 (627 C.E.), *Sifen lü biqu hanzhu jieben* 四分律比丘含注戒本 (630 C.E.), *Sifen lü shanbu sui ji jiemo* 四分律刪補隨機羯磨 (635 C.E.), and *Sifen biquini chao* 四分比丘尼鈔 (645 C.E.).

Vinaya belonged to the Hīnayāna tradition, Daoxuan insisted that the doctrine of the *Four Part Vinaya* anticipated the spirit of Mahāyāna teachings (*fentong dasheng* 分通大乘).

In order to lend credence to this claim, Daoxuan supports his interpretation of the *Four Part Vinaya* by drawing not only from the *Vinaya* texts but also from the Mahāyāna precept sutras such as the *Pusadichi jing* 菩薩地持經, *Pusa shanjie jing* 菩薩善戒經, and *Fanwang jing*.⁹¹ Most distinctively, meat eating, which is allowed in the *Vinayas*, is rejected by Daoxuan. He justifies this position by citing the Mahāyāna precepts which explain that while allowing meat may have been an expedient stance in the past, the true Buddhist should abstain from meat out of compassion for all sentient beings. Daoxuan explains the apparent discrepancy between the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna texts by claiming heavenly beings reported to him the Buddha's intended teaching on the subject. The words of the Buddha were, "At the very beginning, when I [the Buddha] attained enlightenment, I did allow the *Vinayas* to permit the consumption of three kinds of pure meat. But [these three] meats are not of creatures from the four statuses of living beings; they are the meats of dhyāna, the food beyond comprehension which you cannot understand. Why are you slandering my teaching? In those sutras [such as] the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* and *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, I teach that one should abstain from all kinds of meat, and I forbid anyone who seeks to uphold the precepts to consume the flesh of any sentient being. If any evil bhikṣu claims that the *Vinayas* teach that it is permissible to eat fish or meat or to wear silk clothing, let his words be anathema."⁹²

91 See Kawaguchi Kōfū 川口高風, "Shiburitsu kyōjishō ni arawareta in'yō tenseki no kenkyū" 四分律行事鈔にあらわれた引用典籍の研究, *BKN* 9 (1975):59.

92 See Daoxuan's *Xuan Lüshi ganying ji* 宣律師感應記, quoted by Daoshi 道世 (?-668?) in *FYZL* 94, *T* 53:981a8-14. However, this account cannot be found in any of Daoxuan's three extant works regarding revelation from deities: *Lüxiang gantong zhuan* 律相感通傳 (667 C.E.), *Daoxuan Lüshi gantong lu* 道宣律師感通錄 (664 C.E.,) and *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* 集神州三寶感通錄 (664 C.E.). Since Daoshi was not only a contemporary of Daoxuan's but also the latter's colleague in Xuanzang's 玄奘 translation center, Daoshi's statement is probably accurate.

Daoxuan also expounded the now traditional view that the differences between the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna schools are only apparent. He claims that "there is no distinction in the intended spirit of the two vehicles of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. [They are designed as] medicine--each prescribed in accordance with the disposition [of a sentient being]--but both ultimately intended to eliminate the disease."⁹³ Accordingly, Daoxuan integrates the ideas of the Mahāyāna precepts with the Hīnayāna Vinayas, thereby paving the way for the Mahāyāna Lū school.

Among Daoxuan's great works on the *Four Part Vinaya*, *SXC* was the most influential in the development of this Dharmaguptaka Vinaya in China. *SXC* not only provides doctrinal interpretations to the *Four Part Vinaya*, it also shows that many of the practices described had been carried out for some time before. As we have shown above, Daoxuan's *SXC* preserves a great deal of Daoan's practices.

In turn, we will also see that many of the customs mentioned in Daoxuan's works are still practiced in the Chan school of the present day. The five contemplations (*wuguan* 五觀) recited before meals can be found in *CYQG*, but they are first enumerated by Daoxuan in his *SXC*. These five contemplations given by Daoxuan--and preserved (with only slight modification) by Chan monks in the Song and even in modern-day China and Japan--are as follows:

- One, to ponder the effort necessary to supply this food and to appreciate its origins;
- Two, to reflect upon one's own virtue being insufficient to receive the offering;
- Three, to protect the mind's integrity, to depart from error, and, as a general principle, to avoid being greedy;
- Four, [at the same time,] to consider the food as medicine and as nourishment for the body which prevents emaciation;

93 *SXC* 2A, T 40:49c1-2.

Five, to receive this food as necessary to attain enlightenment.⁹⁴

The conspicuous "hammer and stand" signal instrument placed in the center of the Saṅgha hall in Chan monasteries and struck by the rector does not actually have its origins in the Chan school at all. As indicated in *SXC*, the "hammer and stand" had been used by Daoxuan's order and most likely dates back to the time of Daoan. Daoxuan writes that in order to strike the hammer, the rector "first stands outside the gate, prepares himself, and presses his palms together. He then enters through the side door and approaches the striking position. First standing with his palms closed, he lifts the hammer with his right hand and touches it to the stand silently. He then strikes the stand with the hammer one time, being careful not to do so too loudly. After this he silently rests the hammer on the stand, holding the handle. Then he presses his palms together and makes the appropriate announcements. If there is a meal offering, a chanting benediction, or a prayer to be made, all must wait until the rector has announced the proper procedure. The hammer cannot be used for any other purposes, except to pacify the assembly."⁹⁵

Another practice cited in *SXC* that would become a monastic standard is the reception of the ten novice precepts. Comparing the precept ceremony as described in this text for the ritual of receiving the precepts by the novice (*shami shoujie wen* 沙彌受戒文) in the appendix to *CYQG*, which was used for tonsuring the postulants in Chan monasteries,

⁹⁴ See *SXC* 2C, T 40: 84a9-12; *SXC* 3C, T 40:128b3-c10; and *YZS* [52]. Daoxuan notes that the contemplations during mealtime can be divided into five categories as in the [*Lü ershier*] *Mingliao lun* [律二十二]明了論. However, the exact citation could not be located in the version of *Mingliao lun* collected in *Taisho shinshū daizōkyō* (T 24:665b-73a). Matsuura Shūkō 松浦秀光 argues that the five contemplations given by the *Mingliao lun* were compiled from fragments taken from other sutras or Vinaya texts. The diagram presented by Matsuura shows that the first contemplation was adopted from *Zengyi ehan* 12 (T 2:603c29) and the [*Sapoduobu pini*] *Mode lejia* [薩婆多部毘尼]摩得勒伽 6 (T 23:602b6); the second from the *PNMJ*; the third from the Vinaya; the fourth from the *Zengyi ehan* 12 (T 2:604a6), the *Bieyi za ehan jing* 別譯雜阿含經 1 (T 2:375a28), and the *SSL*; and the fifth from the *Zengyi ehan jing* 12 (T 2:604a2) and the *Bieyi za ehan jing* 1 (T 2:375a28). See Matsuura Shūkō, *Zenshū kojitsu gemon no kenkyū* 禪宗古實偈文の研究 (Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1981), 5.

⁹⁵ See *SXC* 3D, T 40:146b15-20. For a comparison of the use of the hammer and stand see *YZS* [221].

we find that, aside from a few minor additions at the beginning, the latter work seems to have wholly adopted the version put forth in the former.⁹⁶ Yet another example of Daoxuan's influence on later monastic practice is the admission by the Tiantai monk Zunshi that Daoxuan's *SXC* served as the primary model for his procedure for conferring the five precepts.⁹⁷

Besides *SXC*, Daoxuan wrote a number of other texts meant to supplement the Vinayas. *Jingxin jieguan fa* 淨心誠觀法 (*The Method of Abstention and Contemplating the Purity of Mind*) was written by Daoxuan during a summer retreat and sent to one of his disciples to encourage the members of his monastery to cultivate their minds. *Shimen guijing yi* 釋門歸敬儀 (*The Practice of Refuge and Veneration in Buddhism*) fully discusses the complicated etiquette of bowing and prostration in its eighth chapter. *Shimen zhangfu yi* 釋門章服儀 (*Practices regarding the Robes in Buddhism*) explains the making of the monk's robes. *Liangchu qingzhong yi* 量處輕重儀 (*Method for the Allocation of 'Light and Heavy' Objects*) reorganizes the rules given in the Vinaya regarding the distribution of a deceased monk's possessions. *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tu jing* 關中創立戒壇圖經 (*Discussion and Diagram of the Ordination Platform in Guanzhong*) provides a wealth of information on the ordination ceremony, including a section on the procedure of ascending the platform to receive the precepts.⁹⁸

Most of Daoxuan's works cited above are rather extensive in their detail; some are perhaps even too complex to be carried out in practice. However, Daoxuan also formulated a text which gives simple and straightforward rules regarding etiquette and courtesies, entitled *Jiaojie xin xue biqiu xinghu lüyi* 教誡新學比丘行護律儀 (*Exhortation on Manners*

96 Compare *SXC* 3D, T 40:150a9-b15 and *YZS* [297-318].

97 See the section "Zunshi's regulations," Section Ib.

98 T 45:815c-816b.

and Etiquette for Novices in Training; abbr. *JXXL*).⁹⁹ To remind newcomers that proper deportment was a necessity of spiritual life, Daoxuan composed this code as a manual for trainees.

This text contains lessons of etiquette entitled: 1) Entering the Monastery; 2) Standing before Teachers; 3) Serving Teachers; 4) Staying in the Monastery; 5) Lodging in the Halls; 6) Lodging in the Dormitory; 7) Interacting with Seniors Who Were Ordained Five or More Years Earlier; 8) Partaking of the Two Meals; 9) Leaving the Dining Hall after Meals; 10) Washing One's Eating Bowls; 11) Safeguarding One's Bowls; 12) Entering [i.e., interacting with] the Assembly; 13) Entering the Hall for Confessional; 14) Going to the Toilet; 15) Abstaining from Laughter on Six Occasions; 16) Entering the Bathroom; 17) Encountering Teachers without Standing Up; 18) Encountering Teachers without Prostrating; 19) Tending to Ailing Teachers; 20) Venerating the Seniors; 21)

99 Tajima Tokuon 田島徳音 has advanced two arguments casting doubt upon the authenticity of *Jiaojie xinxue biqiu xinghu liyu* (*JXXL*). First, Tajima points to the fact that we know this text only through its inclusion in the collection of Daoxuan's works compiled by Yuanzhao under the title *Nanshan Lüshi zhaunji lu* 南山律師撰集錄; hence, to accept Daoxuan's authorship is to trust Yuanzhao's editorial judgment. But since Yuanzhao lived and worked during the Song era, separated from the time of Daoxuan by a long period of chaos marked by the Huichang 會昌 suppression of Buddhism (840-846; when so many records were destroyed or lost) and the constant wars of the Five Dynasties period, it would be difficult for him to pinpoint the authorship of any text with certainty, and thus his decision to attach Daoxuan's name to *JXXL* becomes less credible. Second, we find a text identical to *JXXL* compiled under the title *Xingxiang fa* 行相法 in the collection *Nihon Biku Enchin nittō guhō mokuroku* 日本比丘圓珍入唐求法目錄, a catalogue of Buddhist texts brought to Japan by Enchin (814-891), who traveled in China from 853 to 858. Significantly, the work appearing in this collection bears no mention of Daoxuan as its author (See *T* 55:1100b29). What is more, this same work, again under the title *Xingxiang fa*, is found in another version of Enchin's catalogue, *Chishō Daishi shōrai mokuroku* 智證大師請來目錄, with its authorship ascribed to the monk Putong 普通 from the Temple Qixia 栖霞. The edition of *Chishō Daishi shōrai mokuroku* used by Tajima is kept in the Tentaigaku kenkyūshitsu 天台學研究室 in Taishō University. The version included in *T* 55:1106a25 indicates only the temple name "Qixia." See Tajima Tokuon, "Kyōkai ritsugi senjutsusha ni kansuru gimon" 教誡律儀撰述者に關する疑問, *Taishō Daigaku gakuho* 大正大學學報 2 (1927):97-110.

However, Hirakawa argues that since the first catalogue, *Nihon Biku Enchin nittō guhō mokuroku*, was compiled in 857 without a preface, the preface included in the second collection, *Chishō Daishi shōrai mokuroku*, compiled in 859, must have been a later addition. Thus, any claim that the monk Putong was the author becomes problematic, as he is mentioned only in the later edition. Accordingly, Hirakawa accepts the traditional view that *JXXL* was written by Daoxuan, and on this point I am inclined to agree with him. See Hirakawa Akira, "Kyōkai shingaku biku gyōgo ritsugi kaidai" 教誡新學比丘行護律儀解題, *Kokuyaku issai kyō* 國訳一切經, Shoshū bu 諸宗部 vol. 14:2.

Sweeping the Ground; 22) Using the Water Vase; and 23) Entering a Village. Each rule is discussed briefly.

The influence of *JXXL* is indeed far greater than scholars have hitherto been aware. The close parallels between Daoxuan's *JXXL* and Chan monastic code *CYQG* are rather striking, a subject which we will take up in the annotations to *CYQG* in the form of a table of comparison.¹⁰⁰ The legacy of *JXXL* can be found not only in the earliest monastic codes, but also in the later monastic code of Dōgen. The first twenty-two rules of Dōgen's *Tai taiko goge jari hō* 對大己五夏闍梨法 (*Etiquette of Interacting With Seniors Who Were Ordained Five or More Years Earlier*, from Dōgen's *Eihei dai shingi* 永平大清規), are taken one by one from the seventh lesson with the same title in Daoxuan's *JXXL* (with a few rules added at the end). The other forty of Dōgen's rules are analogous to those given in Daoxuan's twentieth lesson, "Venerating the Seniors," and other passages scattered throughout *JXXL*. Even if one assumes that Dōgen did not borrow his regulations from Daoxuan directly, whatever source he used was undoubtedly heavily dependent upon *JXXL*.

Another text entitled *Shimen jiseng guidu tu jing* 釋門集僧軌度圖經 (*An Illustration and Model for the Gathering of the Assembly in Buddhism*), although little studied, has been attributed to Daoxuan.¹⁰¹ In this short piece, the author demonstrates the proper method of striking the big bell: three short sequences is the signal to gather the assembly; a number of long sequences is the means of relieving the pain of those suffering in the evil realms. The latter reference is an allusion to the story of Candana Kaniṣka of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty, who had accumulated a great deal of evil karma in his previous life and was reborn as a thousand-headed fish, whereupon his heads were continually being severed one

¹⁰⁰ See the table at the end of section on Daoxuan's regulations.

¹⁰¹ This text was among those included in the *Chishō daishi shōrai mokuroku*, T 55:1107a2. In the afterword, the text is identified as a reprint based on the version revised by Yuanzhao in the Song.

at a time by a great wheel of swords. Since the wheel of swords only ceased when a monastery bell was struck, Kaniṣka requested that the monks continually strike the bell to alleviate his pain. Thus the bell in the temple is struck for long sequences in the morning and at night in order to stop the pains of all sentient beings who fall into the evil realms.¹⁰² *CYQG* shows that in the Chan monastery the duty of the "bell master" is to strike the bell every morning and evening, the explanation for which is this same story about Kaniṣka.¹⁰³ As *CYQG* makes clear, the bell is also used to gather the assembly.¹⁰⁴

As evidenced by the earliest surviving Chan text, *CYQG*, most of the regulations and practices of the Chan tradition can be found in the Lü master Daoxuan's work. This is a clear indication of the extent to which the Chan school shares its sources with the Lü tradition, a common heritage whose strongest link is seen in the voluminous amount of extant material originally written by Daoxuan.

The following table is intended to show the degree to which Daoxuan's works affected the composition of *CYQG*. The left column indicates various sections of two prominent works by Daoxuan, while the right column points out the parts of *CYQG* that would seem to closely correspond.

Daoxuan's works		<i>CYQG</i>	
<i>SXC</i>			
Section "Precept Preaching" (<i>shuojie</i> 說戒)	<i>T</i> 40:35b9-37b13	Section "Liturgy for Novice Ordination" (<i>shami shoujie wen</i> 沙彌受戒文)	<i>YZS</i> [297-318]

¹⁰² For the story of Candana Kaniṣka see *Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan* 付法藏因緣傳 5, *T* 50:315b5-6. The same story also appears in Daoxuan's *SXC* 1A, *T* 40:6c21-24.

¹⁰³ See *YZS* [154].

¹⁰⁴ See *YZS* [220].

Verse "Jiexiang" 戒香	T 40:36c9-11	Verse "Jiexiang"	YZS [298]
Verse "Chu shijie" 處世界	T 40:37a9	Verse "Chu shijie"	YZS [315]
Hammer and stand	T 40:35c	Hammer and stand	YZS [45]
Striking hammer	T 40:146b15-18	Striking hammer	YZS [221]
Story of King Kaniska	T 40:6c19-24	Story of King Kaniska	YZS [154]
Five Contemplations	T 40:84a9-12 &128b3-c10	Five Contemplations	YZS [52]
"The Six Awarenesses" (<i>liunian</i> 六念)	T 40:30b8-12	"The Six Awarenesses"	YZS [39]
<i>JXXL</i>			
Entering the Monastery	T 45:869b26-27	Attendance at Meals	YZS [42]
Serving Teachers	T 45:869c26		
Partaking of the Two Meals	T 45:871c8		
Serving Teachers	T 45:869c27-29	Small Sermon	YZS [83]
Staying in the Monastery	T 45:870a18-19	Small Sermon	YZS [81]
Partaking of the Two Meals	T 45:871b26	Attendance at Meals	YZS [54]
	T 45:871c16-17		YZS [43]
	T 45:872a1-3		YZS [52]
	T 45:872b2-4		YZS [48]
Going to the Toilet	T 45:872c29	Using the Toilet	YZS [233]
Entering the Bathroom	T 45:873a24-25	Using the Toilet	YZS [233]

The Question of the Authenticity of Baizhang's Monastic Code

Traditionally, Baizhang has been considered a revolutionary figure who fought for the independence of Chan monasteries from the influence of the other schools, most especially the Lü school. According to several accounts,¹⁰⁵ Chan monks lived within Lü school monasteries from the time of the first patriarch, Bodhidharma, until the sixth patriarch, Huineng, an arrangement which was seen as an impingement upon their freedom. Baizhang was said to have been troubled by this situation and determined to establish a Chan monastery which would be separate from the Lü monastic establishment. It has been claimed that Baizhang established a novel code of regulations primarily to serve as a means of declaring this independence. The alleged Baizhang code no longer exists; all that we know of it is derived from statements written by historiographers of the later Song, who describe the regulations and practices observed by Baizhang's order as follows:¹⁰⁶

- 1) Those who have a spiritual mentality and respectable virtues are called Elders (zhanglao 長老), a term used to refer to those from the West [i.e., India] who have great virtue and ordination seniority, such as Śāriputra.
- 2) If a monk reaches the rank of *huazhu* 化主¹⁰⁷ [i.e., abbot], then he resides in the room of "ten square feet" (*fangzhang* 方丈),¹⁰⁸ which is not unlike the room of Vimalakīrti and which [the abbot] should not consider his personal quarters. No Buddha hall need be built, but instead a Dharma hall shall be erected. This is because every current abbot should be considered a successor of the Buddha and the patriarchs, and should be honored as such.

¹⁰⁵ For example, see SGSZ10, T 50:770c22 and *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, T 51:251a6.

¹⁰⁶ *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T 51:251a.

¹⁰⁷ It is also worth noting that the term *huazhu* in the later text *CYQG* refers to the position of "fundraiser" rather than to the abbot.

¹⁰⁸ For further discussion see n. 86, fasc. 1.

- 3) All those who assemble in order to learn, regardless of number, regardless of rank --they all enter the Saṅgha hall and take their places in order of ordination seniority. [Inside the hall] are situated platforms and racks for personal effects.
- 4) Monks should lie on their right side during sleep, this being the most auspicious posture. Sleeping is only to be a brief rest between the long periods of sitting meditation. Proper deportment is required at all times.
- 5) Entering the abbot's room for instruction is at the discretion of the trainees. On such occasions, the juniors and seniors do not observe the ordinary customs associated with rank.
- 6) All the members of the monastery gather for morning sermons and evening meetings. The Elder (i.e., the abbot) enters the hall and ascends the seat, while the administrative staff and the disciples stand in a straight line, listening with complete attention. The guests and the master engage in debate and propagate their school's traditional teachings. All of these procedures should be carried out in the proper fashion.
- 7) Meals are served twice a day and must be available to everyone. But they are also to be frugal. This demonstrates, through the taking of meals, the accomplishments of the Dharma.
- 8) All members, whether junior or senior, must participate in communal labor (*puqing* 普請).
- 9) There are ten administrative offices, each one with a chief and several subordinates.
- 10) Those who pretend to be monks and create disturbances by mingling among the pure assembly should be singled out by the rector, have their bedding removed, and be expelled. The main purpose of this rule is to insure the purity of the assembly. Those who have committed grave offenses are to be caned by the rector, they are to have their robes, bowls, et cetera burned in front of the assembly, and they are to be expelled [from the monastery] by the side door. This is to show the shame and disgrace of their behavior to the assembly.

After Baizhang established his monastic code, the other Chan monasteries are said to have followed suit. Accordingly, as one historiographer claims, "It was Baizhang who initiated the independence of the Chan school" 禪門獨行由百丈之始.¹⁰⁹

Furthermore, Baizhang's famous maxim, "One day without work, one day without food" 一日不作一日不食, has given him the image of an advocate of the work ethic. This emphasis on labor provided Buddhist monks with a defense against the accusation that they were only parasites on society, but it also represented an open protest against the prohibition on agriculture laid out in the Vinayas, and therefore it stood as a challenge to the stricter interpretations of the Lü school. The partial deviation from the Vinayas undertaken by the Chan school was a result of both external social factors as well as internal doctrinal disputes.

As a result of Baizhang's alleged role in the schism between the Chan and Lü schools, he was commemorated as one of the great patriarchs of the Chan tradition, along with Bodhidharma and Huineng. This hagiographic portrait of Baizhang has been challenged by modern scholars. They claim that Baizhang's position as the pioneer of the Chan monastic code and the independent Chan monastery was a fictitious creation of the Song. While historical documents prior to the Song are obscure on this subject, scholars argue that the establishment of the Chan community was already well under way at the time of Baizhang, claiming that Chan masters before him, including the fifth patriarch Hongren (d. 674) and the sixth patriarch Huineng (638-713) had established Chan monasteries which were independent from the Lü school, and in which meditation was central and Saṅgha regulations were developed.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T 51:251b.

¹¹⁰ See Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 137. Collcutt refers to Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山, *Chūgoku zenshū shi* 中國禪宗史, Nishitani Keiji 西谷啟治 et al., eds., series *Kōza: Zen* 講座禪 3 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1968), 28. Also see Kondō Ryōichi, "Hyakujō shingi no seiritsu to sono genkei" 百丈清規の成立とその原型, *HKDK* 3: 19-48.

Furthermore, modern scholars have asserted that there is no solid evidence that Baizhang ever was the inventor of a monastic code. The text which contained the rules purportedly established by Baizhang is no longer extant. In fact, whether or not such a text ever existed is a topic hotly debated among scholars. Scholars disagree about whether the regulations were Baizhang's invention or merely a collection of longstanding customs¹¹¹ and, assuming the former, when this work disappeared. Piecing together references in extant materials, scholars have tried to reconstruct the original text. In order to discuss the various scholars' views, an introductory list of all the available sources of information on Baizhang's code in chronological order may prove helpful. Hereunder are listed the five major sources:

- A. The biography of Baizhang in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (*Biographies of Eminent Monks compiled in the Song*), by Zangning in 988.¹¹²
- A'. The section "Bieli Chanju" 別立禪居 in *DSL*, also compiled by Zangning in 999.¹¹³
- B. The *Chanmen guishi* 禪門規式 appended to the biography of Baizhang in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (*Transmission of the Flame compiled in the Jingde Era*), written in 1004.¹¹⁴
- C. The *Baizhang guisheng song* 百丈規繩頌 appended to *CYQG*, written in 1103.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ See Ue Hakuju, "Hyakujō shingi no rekishiteki igi" 百丈清規の歴史的意義, *Dōgen Zenji kenkyū* 道元禪師研究 (Tokyo: Dōgen Zenji Sangyōkai, 1941), 43; Narikawa Hōyū's article "Hyakujō ko shingi ni tsuite: Chokki hensanji ni mita" 百丈古清規について—「教規」編纂時に見た—, *IBK* 31-2 (1983): 338. For a contrasting view see Kondō, "Hyakujō shingi," 28. See also Okimoto Katsumi 沖本克己, who challenges Kondō's view and asserts that Baizhang's monastic code was formulated into a text: "Hyakujō koki ni tsuite" 「百丈古規」について, *ZBKK* 12 (1980): 51-61.

¹¹² *T* 50:770c-771a.

¹¹³ *DSL* 1, *T* 54:240a-b.

¹¹⁴ *T* 51:250c-251b.

¹¹⁵ *ZZK* 2-16-5:465b-469a.

D. The alleged preface to Baizhang's code, written by Yang Yi 楊億 (968-1024), appended to the *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* 敕修百丈清規, written in 1335.¹¹⁶

Ui Hakuju argues that *Jingde chuandeng lu* [B] did not borrow from *Song gaoseng zhuan* [A];¹¹⁷ and their similarity could only be the result of a direct, common source--namely, the text of Baizhang's code. It is the philological need for an *Ur-text*, Ui argues, which is the best proof that Baizhang's original work must have existed during the Song. Narikawa Hōyū 成河峰雄 holds a similar view,¹¹⁸ seconding Ui's belief that the Baizhang code was a unique prototype which was subsequently lost. Lending credence to this idea is the fact that the regulations given in the earlier text, the biography of Baizhang [A], are rather abbreviated in nature whereas the later *Chanmen guishi* [B] is much richer in detailed information--a fact which may indicate the existence of a common source. At the same time, there can be little doubt that both the passage in *Baizhang guisheng song* [C] and that in *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* [D] are copied from the *Chanmen guishi* in *Jingde chuandeng lu* [B].

Ui and Narikawa also argue for the existence of Baizhang's code¹¹⁹ based on the content of "A Letter from Chan master Yishan 一山 [Liaowan 了萬 (d.1312)]" (*Yishan Chanshi shu* 一山禪師書).¹²⁰ In this letter (exact date unknown) sent to his friend Yunwu Zixian 雲屋自閑, Yishan mentions that Huiji Yuanxi 晦機元熙 (1238-1319), who lives at Baizhang Mountain, had sent him an old monastic code of Huiji's monastery two years earlier, which Yishan identified as Baizhang's. After reading the code, Yishan had

116 T 48:1157c-1158b and ZZK 2-16-3:287b-288a.

117 See Ui Hakuju, *Zenshūshi kenkyū* 禪宗史研究, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1939-1943), 375-76.

118 See Narikawa, "Hyakujō ko shingi," 337.

119 Ui, *Zenshūshi* vol. 2:277-78.

120 T 48:1160a-b. For a helpful annotation to this letter by Dōchū see his *Chokushū Hyakujō shingi sakei* 敕修百丈清規左闕 (abbr. CHSS). In *Zengaku sōsho* 禪學叢書 edition, ed. Yanagida Seizan, vol.8 (Kyoto: Chūbun Shuppansha, 1979), 1030b-38a.

discovered many errors and therefore was intending to ask Huiji to collaborate on a revision of Baizhang's text, a task which was never undertaken.¹²¹ If one assumes that the content of this letter is accurate, the Baizhang code must still have been extant during the second half of the thirteenth century, that is, even after the compilation of *CYQG*. However, in the afterword to *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* (the Yuan version), we are informed that Baizhang's code had been lost by the time of compilation (1335).¹²² As Yishan, Huiji, and Yunwu corresponded during the era of Xianchun 咸淳 (1265-1274) and were regarded as "the three senior venerables of Xianchun" (*Xianchun san zunsu* 三尊宿), we can deduce that the original code must have been lost at some point during the sixty years between 1274 and 1335, i.e., some time after the Xianchun era but before the time of the compilation of *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui*.¹²³

However, Kondō Ryōichi 近藤良一 holds an entirely different view, asserting that Baizhang's alleged monastic code was not a written codification at all, but merely a body of customs transmitted by communal example and oral instruction. In support of his thesis, Kondō uses the earliest materials available--the inscription about Baizhang, written by Chen Xu 陳誦 in 818, four years after Baizhang's death, and *Zutang ji* 祖堂集, the earliest Chan record on "the transmission of flame", compiled in 952--pointing out that these works contain no mention of any written code. Furthermore, even the writings of Weishan Lingyou 澱山靈祐 (771-853), one of Baizhang's direct disciples, never refer to any such code. And finally, the four-character title "Baizhang qinggui" (Baizhang's Regulations of Purity), the standard way of referring to this monastic code, never appears in the early monastic codes such as *CYQG* (1103) and *Jiaoding qinggui* 校定清規 (1274)--a surprising omission if there were a well-known titled document available. Kondō also

¹²¹ *CBQG*, T 48:1160a18.

¹²² *CBQG*, T 48:1159b6.

¹²³ Ui, *Zenshūshi* vol. 2:377-78.

points out that the term "*qinggui*" was used by non-Buddhists during the Tang to designate "pure rules", or "rules keeping oneself pure," and was not a specific genre designating Buddhist monastic codified regulations.¹²⁴

Griffith Foulk takes this approach a step further: having studied the historical documents written during the Tang and Five dynasties periods, he finds no mention of any Baizhang monastic code; and having examined the works by Baizhang's disciples and contemporaries, he sees no evidence of any pivotal historical role for Baizhang in general.¹²⁵

Kondō and Foulk's arguments are worth considering; however, an *argumentum ex silencio* is hardly conclusive. The fact that the compilation of a *qinggui* is not mentioned by contemporaries or even by disciples does not necessarily mean it never existed. The case of Zongze may serve as an illustrative parallel. Not long after Zongze's death, his contemporary, Yuanzhao 元照 (1048-1116), wrote a preface to the collection of Zongze's writings entitled *Changlu Ze Chanshi wenji xu* 長蘆禪師文集序.¹²⁶ In this preface, which serves more or less as an obituary, Yuanzhao lists the works by Zongze-- neglecting, however, to mention *CYQG*.¹²⁷ In fact, none of the biographies of Zongze which appear in the various records of "the transmission of lamp" and none of the texts in the Pure Land collections (Zongze is exalted as one of the patriarchs of the Pure Land tradition) make any mention of Zongze's compilation of a monastic code. The extant biographies of Zongze, in chronological order, are as follows:

124 Kondō, "*Hakujō shingi*," 19-48.

125 See Griffith Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism," *Religion and Society in Tang and Sung China*, ed. Patricia B. Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 156-9; as well as his "The Daily Life in the Assembly (*Ju-chung jih-yung*) and Its Place among Ch'an and Zen Monastic Rules," *The Ten Directions* (spring/summer 1991): 25.

126 Collected in Yuanzhao's *Zhiyuan ji* 芝園集, ZZK 2-10-4:302b-c.

127 See "*Changlu Ze Chanshi wenji xu*" collected in Yuanzhao's *Zhiyuan ji*, ZZK 2-10-4:302b-c.

1. *Jianzhong jingguo xudeng lu* 建中靖國續燈錄18 (ZZK 2B-9-2:133c-134a; edited in 1101)
2. *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類 3 (T 47:193c13-24; edited in 1200).
3. *Jiatai pudeng lu* 嘉泰普燈錄 5 (ZZK 2B-10-1:51b-c; edited in 1202)
4. *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 27 (T 49:278c-279a; edited in 1269)
5. *Lushan lianzong baojian* 廬山蓮宗寶鑑 4 (T 47:324c16-325a7; edited in 1305)
6. *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元16 (ZZK 2B-11-4:317b-c; repr. in 1364)
7. *Xu chuandeng lu* 續傳燈錄 12 (ZZK 2B-15-3:202c-203a; edited in 1368-1398)
8. *Wudeng yantong* 五燈嚴統 16 (ZZK 2B-12-4:355a-b; edited in 1650)
9. *Jingtu shengxian lu* 淨土聖賢錄 3 (ZZK 2B-8-2:126b-127b; edited in 1783)

As we have already mentioned, none of these texts indicates that Zongze compiled a monastic code. However, because *CYQG* is still extant, and because the author clearly identifies himself in the preface to this work, we can assume with a fair degree of certitude that Zongze did in fact compile this monastic code. Analogously, the absence of any mention of Baizhang's monastic code cannot be taken as proof of its non-existence.

While Kondō does not deny the existence of "Baizhang's regulations," he believes they may never have been a written document, or, even if they were codified, that the resulting document was not given the title "*Baizhang qinggui*" at the time. This term does not appear until the second half of the twelfth century.¹²⁸ Despite the absence of a clear mention of Baizhang's code, the "Letter from Yishan" suggests to me that it is more probable than not that Baizhang's code existed in written form, but that the original text was not given the title "*Baizhang qinggui*." As we hope we have made clear, many monks before Baizhang had compiled supplementary regulations for their own orders, but it was not until long after Baizhang that a comprehensive set of rules and regulations was

¹²⁸ Kondō, "*Hyakujo shingi*," 22 & 28.

compiled and given the name *qinggui*; it would seem that *CYQG* is the earliest surviving text of this sort.

Why, then, was Baizhang's work seemingly lost? The answer may lie in the fact that written works regarding the rules and regulations of monastic practice have traditionally been given less weight by historians and scholars than philosophical and doctrinal texts. Regulations, which deal with daily activities, are apt to be taken for granted, or at least regarded as a less compelling subject. We see this phenomenon clearly demonstrated by the fact that the body of commentarial literature dedicated to the sutras is far larger than that devoted to the Vinayas. From Daoan to Huiyuan to Daoxuan, it has always been their philosophical works which have been the main focus of scholarly research. Daoxuan, for instance, has been studied primarily in the light of his *SXC*, with its complex annotations; whereas his *JXXL*, with its rules set out very straightforwardly, has rarely been explored despite its great influence on later monastic practice.

Another salient feature of Kondō's argument is that Baizhang's position as monastic code pioneer is due more to later political developments than to historical veracity:¹²⁹

. . . The Chan school successfully invented a history of transmission of flame in order to establish a distinct genealogy. The nature of the Chan school required that [its adherents] distinguish their tradition from others in order to imbue themselves with a special authority. One method of claiming such authority and marking the independence of their school was to emphasize the uniqueness of their regulations. Accordingly, Baizhang's monastic code was devised to fit this requirement.

Political necessity undoubtedly contributed to the exaggeration of Baizhang's historical significance; however, the question remains: why was Baizhang singled out and who would have had an interest in advocating his position?

¹²⁹ Kondō, "*Hyakujō shingi*," 28.

While Baizhang may not have been the sole originator of the Chan work ethic or monastic code, nor primarily responsible for initiating the movement for an independent Chan school; the regulations and practices depicted in the *Chanmen quishi* [B] and the biography of Baizhang [A] cited above, strongly suggest that Baizhang's order was a discipline-oriented community with a clear sense of codified rules. The respect for monastic rules that Baizhang instilled in the members of his monastery and the lasting legacy of this spirit have deservedly earned him the important place in Chan tradition which recent historians of monastic succession have tried to dispute. It is evident that Baizhang's successors carried on this tradition of respect from the fact that his disciples codified the following five rules immediately after their master had passed away, as recorded in the Chen Xu's inscription:¹³⁰

1. A fully-ordained monk should be placed in charge of [master Baizhang's] pagoda and a novice should be appointed to sweep the floor.
2. Nuns' quarters, nuns' tombs, or nuns' pagodas may not be placed within the boundaries of the monastery. Lay people are not allowed to inhabit the monastery.
3. Monks who come from outside seeking spiritual guidance and those postulants who join the monastery must look to the chief of the monastery [*yuanzhu* 院主, i.e., abbot] for all things. No other monk is allowed to receive disciples of his own.
4. Beyond the "platform" [*tai* 臺, i.e., the grounds of the temple] the monastery should not possess any estates or lands.
5. The resident members of the assembly are not allowed to accumulate personal money or grain inside or outside the monastery.

However, even if we assume that Baizhang did compile a written monastic code for his order, and that the rules depicted in *Chanmen quishi* [B] reflect those practices which

¹³⁰ See *Tang Hongzhou Baizhangshan gu Huaihai Chanshi taming* 唐洪州百丈山故懷海禪師塔銘, collected in *CBQG*, T 48:1157a21-27.

had been performed in his order, there is still no assurance that Baizhang was the formulator of a monastic code. Scholars have proven that independent Chan monasteries were established long before Baizhang's time and that therefore the practices in Baizhang's temple did not represent any innovation. Yet, since the Chan historiographers have spoken of the Chan independence movement as a break with the Lü school, I have undertaken a comparison of monastic regulations followed by the Chan and Lü schools. Careful study of the features of Baizhang's regulations and practices surprisingly reveals that each article can be traced back to a Vinaya text or to a source in common with the Chinese Lü school.¹³¹ In summary, the reputation of Baizhang as a pioneer of Chan monastic independence and advocate of the labor ethic has been weakened by modern scholarship. There remains a great deal of disagreement and speculation in regard to Baizhang's alleged monastic code: some believe it did exist, but was later lost; some argue it was never codified as a written document; and still others assert that the codification of Baizhang's regulations never occurred in any form. I maintain that Baizhang could have had a monastic text written for his order, as did many monks before him; however, this text was not given the title of "*Baizhang qinggui*." Nevertheless, whether his regulations were codified or not, none of the rules or practices ascribed to Baizhang are unique or represent a departure from other schools. The factors that influenced historiographers to designate Baizhang as a revolutionary remain in need of further investigation, but one may well have been Baizhang's ability to convey his profound respect for monastic discipline.

Zunshi's Regulations

As we have seen, when a given tradition became distinguishable from the school out of which it had developed, members would seek to establish a separate school with its

¹³¹ The details of this argument are presented in a paper to be published in a forthcoming festschrift for Stanley Weinstein.

own unique lineage. In a progression similar to that ascribed to Baizhang, the Tiantai monk Zunshi, one of the primary leaders of the Shanjia 山家 faction during the Song,¹³² came to feel that the lack of coherence and self-reliance in his lineage made the Shanjia faction dependent upon other Buddhist schools, and he resolved to create a new model:¹³³

I had observed before that among the hundreds of monasteries in the area of Qiantang 錢唐 (present-day Zhejiang Province) not one of them represented the teaching of the Shanjia school (*shanjia jiangyuan* 山家講院), and all the dharma teachers (*fashi* 法師) [i.e., monks of this school]¹³⁴ dwelt as dependents in the monasteries of other lineages. Thus host and guest were mutual hindrances; and [having this awkward, subservient situation] as the background for relations between master and disciple [of the Shanjia lineage] naturally breeds discord. How could [Shanjia followers] not be compelled to keep moving from place to place? And so it was then that I attempted to create [an independent order].

Having visited all the famous monasteries of the region, Zunshi selected the abandoned temple *Tianzhusi* 天竺寺 as his base. There he rebuilt the facilities and founded his own school in 1015. More than a decade after he had instituted his revival (in 1030 C.E.), Zunshi felt the need for a code of binding regulations which would help maintain order in his monastery.

¹³² The Chinese Tiantai school was divided into two factions, Shanjia 山家 and Shanwai 山外 ("Mountain Host" and "Mountain Outsider"), from the time of the Five Dynasties until the Song Dynasty, i.e., the tenth century. After most works were burned during the civil war and persecution at the end of the Tang dynasty, Chinese Buddhists were able to regain Tiantai works from Korea and Japan, facilitating a Tiantai revival. The conflict between these two factions involves differing opinions on the authenticity of Zhiyi's work and the interpretation of his philosophy. Zunshi and his colleague Siming Zhili 四明知禮 (960-1028) were the leaders among the Shanjia faction.

¹³³ *Tianzhusi shifang zhuchi yi*, ZZK 2-6-2:153d-154a.

¹³⁴ The monks in the Tiantai school are "dharma teachers," while the abbot of the Tiantai monastery is referred to as "the Dharma chief" (*fazhu* 法主).

In his *Tianzhusi shifang zhuchi yi* 天竺寺十方住持儀 (*Rules of the Abbacy in the Tianzhu Public Monastery*), Zunshi lists ten major principles as guidelines for his successors, summarized as follows:¹³⁵

- 1) The abbot should be knowledgeable enough to be relied upon by the assembly and virtuous enough to avoid fame and privilege;
- 2) There are five rules by which monks are to be protected from the difficulties of "external conditions": monks should be given equal access to material provisions and spiritual guidance; monks are not allowed to wander into the administrative staff's quarters; the fundraiser should be selected prudently; monks should not enter the city without permission; and monks should not slander each other;
- 3) The abbot is the only one with the authority to tonsure postulants; no other member is allowed;
- 4) The disciples of the abbot are divided into groups and assigned variously to listen to lectures in the hall, to serve the assembly to earn merit, or to practice chanting and self-cultivation. Those who fail to practice that which is assigned them will be expelled from the monastery;
- 5) The abbot should provide quarters for whomever contributes their labor to the monastery, and he should provide care for retired administrators;
- 6) In order to safeguard the welfare of postulants, one tenth of the income of the assembly should be collected and used for their sake;
- 7) No domestic animals, such as horses, cows, mules, roosters, cats, or dogs, are allowed in the monastery. There can be no possession of outside estates, no farming, nor any business for profit;

¹³⁵ See ZZK 2-6-2:153d-155a. The text as it appears in ZZK is not divided into paragraphs very carefully. After re-paragraphing, there are clearly a total of ten rules.

- 8) Monks should not misappropriate any public property. Any damaged or broken public property must be replaced. An inventory record should be kept in every hall;
- 9) All visitors should be treated equally and considerately. A guest master should always be on duty, and yet any monk other than the guest master may be obligated to help entertain guests;
- 10) If a candidate for abbot is not qualified, he should voluntarily yield to one who is qualified.

These regulations reflect a farsighted perspective on life in the Tianzhu monastery and betray Zunshi's efforts to prevent potential disruptions. The third rule is rather similar to the one established by Baizhang, which prohibits individual monks from accepting private disciples and creating factions within the monastery. Retired administrators were cared for, but also low-ranking postulants. The *CYQG*, compiled some seventy years later, describes Zongze's followers as being engaged in farming and business for profit, an assertion which is contradicted by these regulations.

In addition to these principles, which were intended for top-ranking members of the monastic staff, Zunshi also wrote a guideline for the assembly of monks, *Bieli zhongzhi* 別立眾制 (*Additional Rules for the Assembly*).¹³⁶ Eighteen rules are enumerated in this work, and the corresponding punishments for their violation are also given, ranging from prostrations (the most common) to monetary penalties to expulsion from the monastery.

All the minutiae of protocol for everyday living, such as how to take a bath or use the latrine properly, are described in Zunshi's *Fan ru yushi lüezhi shishi* 凡入浴室略知十事 (*Ten Things to Know When Entering the Bathhouse*)¹³⁷ and *Zuanshi shangce fangfa*

136 ZZK 2-6-2:155a-d.

137 ZZK 2-6-2:155d-156a.

纂示上廁方法 (*Compilation to Show the Correct Method of Using the Latrine*),¹³⁸ all of which have close counterparts in *CYQG*.

In addition to these practical regulations, Zunshi also devoted attention to the procedures for rituals and ceremonies. He wrote two texts on the conferring of precepts: *Shou pusa jie yishi* 授菩薩戒儀式 (*Procedure for Conferring the Bodhisattva Precepts*) and *Shou wujie fa* 授五戒法 (*Procedure for Conferring the Five Precepts*).¹³⁹ *Shou pusa jie yishi* became a model for the bodhisattva ordination and is referred to in the monastic code of the Tiantai school *Jiaoyuan qinggui* 教苑清規 issued in 1347. *Shou wujie fa*, as the author himself explains, was based on Daoxuan's *SXC*.¹⁴⁰ Zunshi also compiled several texts on the rituals for worshipping and repentance,¹⁴¹ which were based on works by Zhiyi and became the standard guides for these essential practices of religious life. In addition, Zunshi wrote about the rituals of releasing animals for merit (*fangsheng ciji* 放生慈濟) and the significance of offering food to all sentient beings (*shishi* 施食).¹⁴² He also wrote important essays—including *Jie jiurou cihui famen* 誠酒肉慈慧法門 (*Admonition against Eating Meat and Wine*) and *Jie wuxin pian* 誠五辛篇 (*Admonition against the Consumption of Five Alliaceous Vegetables*)—to emphasize the importance of these traditional Buddhist abstentions. Another of Zunshi's essay topics concerns the three robes of the clergy. In his article *Sanyi bianhuo pian* 三衣辨惑篇 (*Clarification of the Rules Concerning the Three Robes*), Zunshi insists that clergy robes should never be worn by laypeople, even by those who have received the bodhisattva precepts. He also disagrees with the use of the robe *luozi* 絡子 worn by monks during communal labor, asserting that there is no such garment

¹³⁸ ZZK 2-6-2:156a-d.

¹³⁹ These two works are collected in one of Zunshi's analects, *Jinyuan ji* 金園集 1, ZZK 2-6-2:109a-113.

¹⁴⁰ *Jinyuan ji* 1, ZZK 2-6-2:112a.

¹⁴¹ ZZK 2-6-2:128a. Only the titles of these texts are listed.

¹⁴² *Jiyuanji* 2, ZZK 2-6-2:116a-120d.

allowed in the Vinayas.¹⁴³ In this essay, Zunshi repeatedly refers to Daoxuan's *SXC* as the source for his arguments, illustrating the fact that even though two monks may be of different schools, the early models of monastic practice were nearly universal.

¹⁴³ However, Daocheng 道誠 cites from the Vinayas to defend the legitimacy of the *luozi*. See his *Shishi yaolan* 釋氏要覽 (abbr. *SSYL*) 1, T 54:270c; for further discussion see n. 36, fasc. 2.

II. Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery (*Chanyuan qinggui*)

a. Biography of the Author

CYQG was compiled during the Northern Song (960-1127) by the Chan monk Changlu Zongze 長蘆宗頤 (?-1107?),¹ about whom very little is known for certain. The earliest biography of Zongze is found in *Jianzhong jingguo xudeng lu* which, although written during his lifetime, presents few biographical details of the man. All later Chan texts making mention of Zongze rely on this first text and contain no new information. While Pure Land texts tend to portray Zongze in quite a different light, they too offer little biographical information. Following the same pattern as the Chan works, the earliest of the Pure Land texts to mention Zongze, *Lushan lianzong baojian*, sets the standard which all the later Pure Land works follow. However, considering the Chan and Pure Land works together, we can reconstruct the best possible portrait of Zongze, from which three defining characteristics emerge: first, he was a member of the Yunmen lineage, the most influential Chan school of the time; second, he was an advocate of Pure Land thought and practice, compelling Zongxiao 宗曉 (1151-1214), the author of *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類 (henceforth *LBWL*), to proclaim him to be Pure Land's fifth great teacher after Huiyuan, the first patriarch of the Pure Land school; third, he is remembered for his exalted sense of filial piety.

Having lost his father, whose surname was Sun 孫, when he was still young, Zongze was raised by a mother who depended on her brother for support. After an early period of Confucian studies, Zongze turned to Buddhism at the urging of Yuanfeng Qingman 元豐清滿, a monk in the Yunmen lineage. At the age of twenty-nine, Zongze was tonsured at the Yunmen temple of Fayun Faxiu 法雲法秀 (1027-1090) and later studied

¹ The second character of Zongze's name, "ze" 頤, has often been miswritten as "yi" 頤. For example, see the spelling given in *Lushan lianzong baojian* 4, in the edition of ZZK 2-13-1:26d12; and *Xu chuandeng lu* 12, ZZK 2B-15-3:202c16.

under Changlu Yingfu 長蘆應夫 (n.d.), Faxiu's Dharma brother. Although Zongze was for many years unable to make any significant progress toward enlightenment, it was said that one day, just as he was stepping onto the monastery stairs, he experienced a sudden awakening, a breakthrough which he described in a poem that won the immediate approbation of his teacher Yingfu.

As a member of the seventh generation after the founding of the Yunmen sect, Zongze can be assigned the following position in the school's genealogy:

- (1) Yunmen Wenyan 雲門文偃 (864-949; founder of Yunmen line) --> (2) Xianglin Chengyuan 香林澄遠 (908-987)--> (3) Zhimen Guangzuo 智門光祚 (d. 1031)--> (4) Xuedou Chongxian 雪竇重顯 (980-1052) --> (5) Tianyi Yihuai 天衣義懷 (993-1064)--> (6) Changlu Yingfu --> (7) Changlu Zongze

Given patronage by the government official Yang Wei 楊畏 (1044-1112) and favored by the court, Zongze was presented with the honorific title of *Cijue dashi* 慈覺大師 ("Master of Compassion and Enlightenment"). In his preface to the collection of Zongze's writings (*Chanlu Ze Chanshi wenji xu*), Yuanzhao describes Zongze as having presided over the abbacy of three separate monasteries,² without, however, specifying which three. In *YSZ*, the annotations to *CYQG*, Japanese scholars have identified these three monasteries as the following (in chronological order): Hongji Chanyuan 洪濟禪院 (in present-day Zhengding County, Hebei Province), Chongfu Chansi 崇福禪寺, and Changlusi 長蘆寺 on the Yangtze River.³ But several questions arise when one examines these assertions more closely. First, the Japanese scholar Shiina Kōyū 椎名宏雄 has asserted that the gazetteer of Liuhe County 六合縣 identifies Chongfu Chansi and Changlusi as one and the same

² *Zhiyuan ji*, ZZK 2-10-4:302c4.

³ See *YZS*, *kaisetu* 解說, p. 4.

monastery, located in present-day Liuhe County, Jiangsu Province.⁴ If we take this statement to be accurate, i.e., if these two monasteries were the same, there still remains the question of the identity of the third temple mentioned by Yuanzhao. However, after closely studying the contents of the Liuhe County Gazetteer on which Shiina bases his claim, we find no such correlation of the Chongfu Chansi and Changlusi monasteries. It may be that the name of Chongfu Chansi refers to a separate temple, but this is an unresolved question.

The chronology proposed by YZS is also problematic. In some of Zongze's biographies, we are told that from 1086 to 1094 Zongze resided in the Changlusi monastery, where he is known to have furnished a home for his mother in the east room next to the abbot's quarters. Later, during the compilation of *CYQG* in 1103 (or perhaps as early as 1099), Zongze was serving as abbot in the Hongji Chanyuan. This last date would lead us to believe that Zongze's term as abbot at the Hongji Chanyuan was chronologically later than his abbacy at the Changlusi, and was most likely his last abbacy, for Zongze could not have passed away long after 1103 (as we will see later). However, in his preface to the *Golden Light Sūtra* (*Jingguangming jing xu* 金光明經序),⁵ written at the early date of 1081, Zongze identifies himself already as the abbot of Hongji Chanyuan. If we assume this date to be correct, then Zongze must have been the abbot of the Hongji Chanyuan in 1081, i.e., *before* his abbacy at the Changlu Temple. It may be that Zongze served twice as abbot of the Hongji Chanyuan, before and after his abbacy at Chonglusi--a hypothesis that would make Yuanzhao's mention of three abbacies a slightly erroneous summation. Yet, it may simply be that the title "Abbot of the Hongji Chanyuan" was no more than a later scribal addition to the original 1081 document, a retrospective "correction."

⁴ Shiina Kōyū 椎名宏雄, "Sōdai no Shinshū Chōroji" 宋代の真州長蘆寺, *Chūgoku busseki kemmon ki* 中國佛蹟見聞記 8 (Tokyo: Komazawa Daigaku Chūgoku Shiseki Sankantan, 1989), 39-42.

⁵ T 16:335a.

While the exact dates of Zongze's life are unknown, the biography of *Xuechao Fayi* 雪巢法一 (1084-1158)⁶ informs us that Fayi studied with the elder Zongze when he was seventeen, that is, in the year 1100. Fayi writes that after a brief period, Zongze passed away and Fayi left to study with Chan master Tongzhao 通照 in 1107. Thus we can deduce that Zongze's death must have occurred at some point between 1103, when he is known to have been working on *CYQG*, and roughly 1107, when Fayi left to study elsewhere. This conclusion is also attested to by the preface to Zongze's discourse record, *Cijue Chanshi yulu* 慈覺禪師語錄, which was compiled as a posthumous tribute by Zongze's disciples in 1109.⁷

The existing information is also not completely clear as to Zongze's place of birth. Chan literature asserts that Zongze was born in Luozhou Yongnian 洛州永年 (present-day Hebei Province);⁸ while the Pure Land texts, edited later, state that he was born in Xiangyang. Among the Chan texts, *Jianzhong Jingguo xudeng lu* was written in 1101 by Foguo Weibai 佛國惟白 (n.d.), a contemporary of Zongze and the Dharma heir of Faxiu. Thus, as Weibai was closest to Zongze in terms of time and Dharma lineage, we can perhaps give the most credence to his version of the facts. Furthermore, this birthplace is corroborated by Yuanzhao in his preface to Zongze's analects, written soon after Zongze's death—testimony that points to Luozhou as the correct place of birth.

Although Zongze belonged to the lineage of Chan Buddhism, he became widely known as an advocate of the Pure Land school, making him a clear representative of an emerging trend that blended Chan and Pure Land teachings, a phenomenon which became prevalent during the Song era. Zongze held that "the recitation of Amitābha Buddha's name

6 *Xu chuandeng lu* 23, T 51:625c10 as well as *Da Ming gaoseng zhuan* 大明高僧傳 7, T 50:926c29.

7 See Shiina, "Chōroji," 44.

8 A minor correction of the identification given in Carl Bielefeldt's *Dōgen's Manuals of Zen Meditation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 66: the present-day equivalent location is Hebei province, not Henan (Pinying) or Honan (Wade-Giles).

does not hinder the contemplation of Chan; just as the contemplation of Chan does not hinder the recitation of Amitābha Buddha's name. While these two ways may seem divergent, ultimately they are one and the same path." Zongze also condemns the mutual casting of aspersions by advocates of the Chan and Pure Land schools, asserting that "Pure Land is in one's own mind and Amitābha Buddha is in one's own self-nature" (*weixin jingtu zixing mituo* 唯心淨土自性彌陀),⁹ and that "to recite the name Amitābha is to think of him without thought, to be born in the Pure Land without rebirth" (*nian er wunian sheng er wusheng* 念而無念生而無生);¹⁰ thus the true samādhi, or focal point, of Pure Land thought is to be "one who recites Amitābha's name the entire day but does not shun the principle of non-thought (i.e., non-recitation); one who eagerly awaits rebirth in the Pure Land but does not shun the teaching of non-birth."¹¹ Within his Chan monastery, Zongze organized a subgroup under the name "Lianhua shenghui" 蓮華聖會 (Holy Assembly of the Lotus) for those dedicated to the recitation of Amitābha's name. We can assume that Zongze took as his model the organization established by Huiyuan, who founded a society for those of his students dedicated to the practices of Pure Land. However, one cannot pinpoint Zongze's exact precedent for the more general idea of Chan and Pure Land, since co-practices such as this were fast becoming the hallmark of Song Buddhism, especially within the Fayen 法眼 and Yunmen lineages.

The section of Zongze's *CYQG* devoted to clerical funerals clearly reveals the influence of Pure Land thought and practice. In this chapter the dying monk is encouraged to dedicate himself to the recitation of Amitābha's name and to vow to be reborn in the western Pure Land,¹² while all the funeral rituals are accompanied by the ten recitations of

9 *Lianhua shenghui luwen*, T 47:178a20-21.

10 *Lianhua shenghui luwen*, T 47:177b23.

11 *Lianhua shenghui luwen*, T 47:177b27-28.

12 YZS [151].

Amitābha's name (*shinian* 十念).¹³ Those who chant before the dying monk are told to "begin with the praising of Amitābha's name," after which the text goes on to describe the method of chanting: "The rector then announces to the assembly, 'For Bhikṣu X we chant at length the names of Amitābha Buddha [and the bodhisattvas in the western Pure Land], that is, the four holy names.' The merit of the chant is then transferred to the dying monk."

Zongze also teaches his followers to recite Amitābha's name continuously, either verbally or through silent concentration, throughout the entire day. In his essays *Lianhua shenghui luwen* 蓮華聖會錄文 (*Essay on the Holy Assembly of the Lotus*) and *Nianfo fangtui fangbian wen* 念佛防退方便文 (*Essay on the Recitation of the Buddha's Name as the Means to Avoid Regression*), he urges monks to recite the name of Amitābha one hundred, one thousand, or even as many as ten thousand times in a succession, channeling the merit gained by this practice toward their efforts to be reborn in the Pure Land.¹⁴

The biographies of Zongze¹⁵ remark that Zongze's dedication to the Pure Land was so intense that even bodhisattvas attested to it. Reportedly Zongze once dreamt that a thirty-year-old man came to him asking to join his Great Lotus Assembly, and that when Zongze asked his name, he replied "Puhui" 普慧. After he had registered for the society, the young man added that his brother would also like to join. When Zongze inquired as to the

¹³ Both the *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經 1 (*T* 12:268a26-27) and the *Guan Wuliangshou Fo jing* 觀無量壽佛經 (*T* 12:346a19-20) assert that a dying person should recite with sincerity the name of the Amitābha Buddha for ten *nian* 念 ("instants"), after which he or she will be reborn in the Pure Land. However, interpretations of the word *nian* have varied. Tanluan 曇鸞 (476-542?) and Daochuo 道綽 (562-645) assert that one should recite the Amitābha's name for "a span of ten instants" (referring to the length of time one recites), while Shandao 善導 (613-681) holds that one should recite the name with "ten utterances" (referring to the number of recitations). Zunshi advocated that *shinian* should be practiced in the morning—that each day, after getting dressed, the practitioner should face the west, standing upright with both hands clasped, and continuously chant the name of Amitābha Buddha until he runs out of breath. This is counted as one *nian*. Thus, when repeated for ten breaths it is called "ten *nian*" (*shinian*). Thus the number ten refers to the number of breaths and not the number of times the name is repeated, as many have assumed. See *LBWL* 4, *T* 47:210b7-13.

¹⁴ See *LBWL* 2, *T* 47:178b11-12.

¹⁵ See *Lushan lianzong baojian* 4, *T* 47:324c29-325a7; see also *FZTJ* 27, *T* 49:278c23-27 and *Guiyuan zhizhi ji* 歸元直指集 1, *ZZK* 2-13-2:123b.

brother's name, he answered "Puxian" 普賢 and suddenly disappeared. Once he had awakened from his dream, Zongze informed the senior monks, who then explained to him that in the *Garland Sūtra* there are bodhisattvas named Puhui and Puxian who make a vow to propagate the Dharma.¹⁶ With great joy, Zongze interpreted his dream as a sign of encouragement and assistance from these two bodhisattvas, and accordingly, from that time forward, he listed Puhui and Puxian as the leaders of his Holy Assembly of the Lotus.

Zongze, in his assimilation of Chan and Pure Land ideas, was part of a larger trend that became one of the most prevalent phenomena of Song-era Buddhism. When Zongze opines "Pure Land is one's own mind and Amitābha is our own self-nature," he is actually quoting from the earlier work of Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904-975), the pioneer advocate of Chan and Pure Land integration in the Song period. In his *Wanshan tonggui ji* 萬善同歸集, Yanshou explains the sentence "Pure Land is in one's own mind" by citing the words from the *Da fangguang Rulai busiyi jingjie jing* 大方廣如來不思議境界經,¹⁷

All the Buddhas in all three ages do not have [corporeal] existence, but rather [to know them] depends on one's own mind. Once a bodhisattva can realize that all the Buddhas and Dharmas are merely the "measure of the mind" (*xinliang* 心量), he will attain the state of "great endurance to follow [the right direction]" (*suishun ren* 隨順忍), and he will enter the first stage in which he abandons his body and is instantly reborn in [Akṣobhya's] World of Wondrous Joy (*miaoxi* 妙喜) in the east, or in [Amitābha's] Pure Land of Bliss in the west. Therefore, one must recognize the nature and power of the mind before he can reach the realization that "Pure Land is in one's own mind."

Yanshou, like Zongze, also advocated the practice of ten recitations of Amitābha's name. Yanshou argues that the merit of the ten recitations can extinguish a lifetime of bad

¹⁶ See *Huayan jing* 華嚴經, "Li shijian pin" 離世間品, T 9:631 & T 10:279.

¹⁷ See *Wanshan tonggui ji* 1, T 48:966b29-c4, quoted from *Da fangguang Rulai busiyi jingjie jing*, T 10:911c20-25.

karma. Citing from sutra and commentary, he explains the importance of this ritual with an analogy: one hundred large stones may not sink into the ocean if they are put on board a great ship, but even the tiniest of pebbles, unsupported, will sink into the water; similarly, one who has accumulated bad karma and does not know to recite Amitābha's name will surely fall into hell. Likewise, Yanshou taught that concentration upon a noble thought at the moment of death was enough to eradicate even the greatest amount of bad karma.¹⁸

Yanshou's assertion that "Pure Land is in one's own mind" (*weixin jingtu*) and his teaching of the ten recitations of Amitābha's name (*shinian*) became the hallmark of the many Song monks who sought to assimilate Pure Land thought into the Chan teachings.

Among such monks were a great many members of the Fayan and Yunmen sects. Yanshou himself belonged to the Fayan sect, whereas Zongze was of the Yunmen lineage. Even Zongze's predecessor Tianyi Yihuai,¹⁹ and Yihuai's disciple, Huilin Zongben 慧林宗本,²⁰ were renowned for their Chan and Pure Land practices, a fact which illuminates a long line of ideological succession.

Nevertheless, the assimilation of Pure Land into Chan Buddhism was also adopted by monks of other Chan sects, such as Wuxin 悟新 (1044-1115) of the Huanglong 黃龍 line,²¹ or Zhenxie Qingliao 真歇清了 (1088-1151) of the Caodong line.²² Finally, Chan monks were not the only ones to assimilate Pure Land practices into their tradition. Monks in the Tiantai school, such as Siming Zhili, Zunshi, and Zongxiao, as well as many in the

¹⁸ *Wanshan tonggui ji* 1, T 48:967a11-24. Yanshou cites from *Nuoxian biqu jing* 那先比丘經, T 32:701c25-28.

¹⁹ *LBWL* 4, T 47:208a1.

²⁰ *FZTJ* 27, T 49:278c4-11.

²¹ *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元17, ZZK 2B-11-4:334c; *Zhushang shanren yong* 諸上善人詠, ZZK 2B-8-1:53b.

²² *Zhushang shanren yong*, ZZK 2B-8-1:53d.

Lü school, such as Yuanzhao and Jile Jiedu 極樂戒度, were endeavoring to make the same kind of systemic integrations.²³

The Pure Land practitioner Zongxiao is often cited as having referred to Zongze as the fifth great teacher after Huiyuan, the first patriarch of the Pure Land school—an accolade which should be regarded with some skepticism. In the past scholars have been apt to paraphrase this description too loosely, designating Zongze as the fifth patriarch of the Pure Land lineage. Such a reading is erroneous on two counts. Zongxiao calls Zongze a "great teacher," not a "patriarch." Furthermore, whether teacher or patriarch, Zongze is the fifth *after* Huiyuan, i.e., not including Huiyuan.²⁴ Thus, it can only be correct to say that Zongxiao identifies Zongze as the sixth great teacher of the Pure Land school.²⁵

Zongze was also known to be intensely devoted to his mother, and in his biography, it is recorded that after accepting the abbacy of the Changlu Temple he invited her to live in the chamber adjoining his. Zongze cared not only for his mother's physical well-being, but for her spiritual progress as well, encouraging her to dedicate herself to the recitation of the Amitābha Buddha's name. After seven years, his mother peacefully passed away, appearing the day before her death in her son's dreams to tell him that she had had a vision in which ten nuns were waiting to receive her. In the dream, Zongze reassured his mother that this was a sure sign of her rebirth in the Pure Land.²⁶

²³ For illustrations of these and other monks' devotion to Pure Land practices, see the section "Wansheng gaoseng zhuan" 往生高僧傳 (*Biographies of Eminent Monks Who were Reborn in the Pure Land*) in *FZTJ* 27, T 49:271c-272b, which provides useful lists of Chinese monks from all traditions, from the fourth to the thirteenth century. For a discussion of possible connections in the thought of Zongze, Zunshi, and Yuanzhao, see Kondō Ryōichi's article "Zennen shingi ni okeru Jōdo shisō: sono shisōshiteki kigen" 禪苑清規に於ける淨土思想—その思想史的起源—, *HKDK* 1 (1967): 25-43.

²⁴ *LBWL* 3, T 47:192c19-22.

²⁵ It should be noted that there is an alternate ordering of the patriarchs of the Pure Land school. The Japanese monk Genkū 源空 (1133-1212), in his *Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū* 選擇本願念佛集, lists the six patriarchs as Bodhiruci 菩提流支 (?-527), Tanluan 曇鸞 (476-542?), Daochuo 道綽 (562-645), Shandao 善導 (613-618), Huaigan 懷感 (n.d.), and Shaokang 少康 (?-805).

²⁶ I have reconstructed the details of this story by conflating *Lushan lianzong baojian* 4, T 47:324c20-23 and *FZTJ* 27, T 49:279a.

To express his ideas on the subject of filial piety, Zongze wrote an essay consisting of one hundred and twenty articles, entitled *Quanxiao wen* 勸孝文 (*Admonition of Filial Piety*), in which he distinguishes between the notions of "mundane filial piety" and "supermundane filial piety." He explains that attending to a parent's material welfare is what he calls "mundane filial piety," whereas the spiritual education of a parent--teaching him or her to recite the name of Amitābha and to focus on being reborn in the Pure Land--is what he calls "supermundane filial piety." Zongze asserts that mundane filial piety is the lesser of the two, for it benefits the parent only for the duration of one life, whereas supermundane filial piety is superior as it benefits the parent for countless lives.²⁷ He instructs his readers to arrange for their parents' last moments: to prepare beforehand a prayer describing the parent's good deeds which is to be read to the parent frequently in time of illness in order to fill his mind with serenity and joy; during the final moments, the image of Amitābha should be placed in front of the dying parent and incense should be burned while the parent lies or sits facing the west. The parent should then be led in the chanting of Amitābha's name in time to the striking of a small bell, with no other cries or laments to interrupt their concentration.²⁸

CYQG is the only complete work by Zongze that is still extant. However, in 1096 Zongze also compiled a four-fascicle liturgical text pertaining to the Water-Land Ritual (Shuilu fahui 水陸法會), only the preface of which has come down to us.²⁹ His discourse record was written down by his attendants as was the custom under the title *Cijue Chanshi yulu*, a work which is known to have existed as late as the first half of this century,

²⁷ See *Longshu zengguang jingtu wen* 6, T 47:271a22-b4. This text is again partially cited in *Lebang yigao* 2, T 47:249a7-9, and in *Jingtu jianyao lu* 淨土簡要錄, ZZK 2-13-2:106d.

²⁸ *Jingtu jianyao lu*, ZZK 2-13-2:106d.

²⁹ See *Shishi tonglan* 施食通覽, ZZK 2-6-3:222a.

although its present whereabouts are unknown.³⁰ Zongze's analects, *Weijiang ji* 葦江集, have also been lost, but are often quoted in other works, with the result that much of their contents has been preserved indirectly.³¹ Furthermore, Yuanzhao's preface to collection of the Zongze's writings, as mentioned before, has come down to us, and it is this preface which describes the writings as a collection of didactic essays intended for both monastics and the laity. Finally, Zongze also wrote a great number of essays on Pure Land teachings which were published separately and which have been largely preserved in the Pure Land canon.

³⁰ Zongze's discourse record, *Ciju Chanshi yulu*, was included in Korean scholar Ch'oe Nam-sŏn's 崔南善 collection entitled *Yuktang mungo* 六堂文庫. The text is said to have been later donated to Koryŏ University; however, when Japanese scholar Shiino Kōyū painstakingly searched the catalogue of donated books at Koryŏ University, he could not find this work, and its whereabouts have remained a mystery. See Shiino Kōyū, *Sō-Gen ban zenseki no kenkyū* 宋元版禪籍の研究 (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1993), 56, as well as his article "Chōroji," 38-39; and Ōya Tokujō 大屋徳城, "Kōrai chō no kyūzan" 高麗朝の舊契, in *Sekisui sensei kakōju kinen ronsan* 積翠先生華甲壽記念論纂 (Tokyo: Sekisui Sensei Kakōju Kinen Ronsan Kinenkai Kankō, 1942), 87, in which we are informed that this three-volume discourse record was compiled collaboratively by Zongze's attendants (Zuda 祖大, Pushi 普式, Faqiong 法瓊, Jingfu 景福, and Daojia 道決) and includes a preface written by Lü Xizhe 呂希哲 in 1109.

³¹ *Fofa daming lu* 佛法大明錄 7, collected in Komazawa University Library 103-28; *Shishi zijian* 釋氏資鑑 6, ZZK 2B-5-1:56c-d; and *Jingtu jianyao lu* ZZK 2-13-2:106d.

b. The Legacy of the Text

Various Editions

In the section of *CYQG* we have called "Chanting" (*niansong* 念誦), Zongze identifies the time of writing as the second year of Yuanfu 元符, i.e., 1099;³² however, in the work's preface, Zongze gives the date as 1103, or the second year of Chongning (leading compilers to call this prefatory work *Chongning qinggui* 崇寧清規). Thus, we can say with some confidence that *CYQG* must have been completed at some point between 1099 and 1103.

Not long after its completion, still early in the twelfth century, *CYQG* was brought to Japan, where it was preserved in the following six editions known to us today:³³

- 1) Kyū Iwasaki Bunko 旧岩崎文庫 edition, preserved in Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫.
- 1') Gozan 五山 edition, preserved in Daitōkyū Bunko 大東急文庫.
- 2) Kanazawa Bunko 金沢文庫 edition.
- 3) Hōei 寶永 edition, reprinted in 1709.
- 3') Kansei 寛政 edition, reprinted with punctuation in 1796.
- 4) Kōrai 高麗 edition, in the possession of Professor Kosaka Kiyū of Komazawa University.

The Kyū Iwasaki Bunko [1] and the Gozan editions [1'] are all but identical in content, and the Kansei edition [3'] was closely based on the Hōei edition [3]. Thus we can say that there are only four primary editions--namely, the Kyū Iwasaki Bunkō [1], the Kanazawa Bunko [2], the Hōei [3] and the Kōrai [4]. With the exception of the Kōrai

³² YZS [77].

³³ For a detailed discussion of the various editions of the *CYQG* see YZS, *kaisetsu*, pp. 5-11.

edition, versions [1], [2], and [3] are known collectively as the "circulating edition" (*genkōhon* 現行本) and all three are based on the same text, the *Chongdiao buzhu Chanyuan qinggui* 重雕補註禪苑清規 (*Reprint of the Revised CYQG*), a copy completed by Yu Xiang 虞翔 in the second year of the Jiatai 嘉泰 era in the Southern Song (i.e., 1202).³⁴ However, the Kōrai edition is a copy of a version reprinted in the second year of the Baoyou 寶祐 era (i.e., 1254), which in turn was known to be a close copy of a version completed in the first year of the Zhenghe 政和 era (i.e., 1111), that is, only eight years after the first publication of *CYQG*. Thus, as the Kōrai edition was based (albeit indirectly) on the version closest in time to the original work, we can also consider it closest in content to the first *CYQG*. After comparing the Kōrai edition with the three editions based on the 1202 reprint, that is, with the "circulating edition," we find differences not only of vocabulary, but also of overall structure.³⁵

In addition, there are five supplementary essays which appear in the "circulating edition," but are absent from the Kōrai, namely, *Zuochan yi* 坐禪儀 (*Manual of Meditation*),³⁶ *Zijingwen* 自警文 (*Essay on Self-Admonition*), *Yibai ershi wen* 一百二十問 (*One Hundred Twenty Questions for [Self-Reflection]*), *Quan tanxin* 勸檀信 (*Admonition to the Laity*), and *Zhaiseng yi* 齋僧儀 (*Method for the Sponsoring of the Monastic Feast*). The authenticity of some of these essays can be attested to by Zongze's contemporary Yuanzhao. Not long after the death of Zongze, Yuanzhao wrote a preface to Zongze's

³⁴ See *YZS, kaisetsu*, p. 6.

³⁵ For a table comparing the contents of the Kōrai edition with the circulating edition see *YZS, kaisetsu*, p. 8. It seems to me that the Kōrai's method of chapter division is more systematic and logical, grouping paragraphs together into fascicles by theme. For more information on the editions of *CYQG* see Kosaka Kiyū, "Kanazawa bunko bon *Zennen shingi* to Kōrai ban *Zennen shingi* to no kanren ni tsuite" 金沢文庫本禪苑清規と高麗版禪苑清規との関連について, in *Kanazawa bunko kenkyū* 192 (1972):1-8; Kagamishima Genryū, "Kanazawa bunko bon *Zennen shingi* ni tsuite" 金沢文庫本禪苑清規について, in *Kanazawa bunko kenkyū* 144 (1968):1-6; and Carl Bielefeldt, "Ch'ang-lu Tsung-tse's *Tso-Ch'an I* and the 'Secret' of Zen Meditation," in *Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism*, ed. Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: Hawaii University Press, 1986), 131.

³⁶ Thorough studies of *Zuochan yi* have undertaken by Carl Bielefeldt; see his article "Ch'ang-lu Tsung-tse's *Tso-Ch'an I*" and his book *Dōgen's Manuals of Zen Meditation*.

analects, in which he enumerated Zongze's writings, listing among his works three of the above five articles: *Zuochan yi*, *Zijingwen* and *Yibai ershi wen*. The other two essays, *Quan tanxin* and *Zaiseng yi*, are not listed; however, a text entitled *Zaijia xingyi* 在家行儀 (*Etiquette for the Laity*) is included, which, judging by its title, is probably very close to or even identical to *Quan tanxin* (*Admonition to the Laity*).

There are two basic explanations for this discrepancy between the "circulating edition" and the Kōrai edition are possible. Either these five essays were added to the 1202 reprint (the Southern Song edition) or the compilers of the text that came to be the Kōrai edition chose to omit them at an early stage. Kosaka believes that these five essays were included at the time when Zongze finished the compilation in 1103.³⁷ However, Yanagida Seizan thinks that at that time *Zuochan yi*, one of these five essays, was not included in *CYQG*.³⁸ He believes that the Eisai 榮西 (1141-1215) citation of Zongze's *Zuochan yi* was based on *Dazang yilan ji* 大藏一覽集, a text compiled by Chen Shi 陳實 at some time prior to 1157, which includes abbreviated excerpts from *Zuochan yi*.³⁹

But when we compare [1] Eisai's citations of *Zuochan yi* (see T 80:12a14-16) with [2] the *Zuochan yi* found in the "circulating edition" (see *YZS* [279-283]), we see that the former omits a number of details contained in the latter concerning meditation posture. Obviously the version of *CYQG* seen by Eisai during his travels in China between the years 1187-1191 would have predated the 1202 reprint on which the "circulating edition" was based. The textual variances between [1] and [2] can be explained in one of three ways: either [1] represents the original text of *Zuochan yi* to which more details were added for the 1202 reprint [2]; or Eisai's citations themselves [1] are an intentional abridgement of

37 See Kosaka, "Kanazawa bunko bon *Zennen shingi*," 8.

38 See Yanagida Seizan, Kajitani Sōnin 梶谷宗忍, and Tsujimura Kōichi 辻村公一, *Shinjinmei, Shōdōka, Jugyūzu, Zazengi* 信心銘・證道歌・十牛圖・坐禪儀, in the series *Zen no goroku* 禪の語録, vol. 16 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 1974; repr. 1981), 228.

39 See *Shōwa hōbō sōmokuroku* 3:1305a25-b19 and Yanagida Seizan, *Zazengi*, 229.

the original; or Eisai based his work [1] on some unknown intermediary text which in turn had drawn selectively from the original *Zuochan yi*. Yanagida implies that *Dazang yilan ji* would have been the intermediary link upon which Eisai had relied, since it would have been available to him at the time of writing.

However, when we compare the three texts--[1] [2] and [3] *Zuochan yi* in *Dazang yilan ji* (see *Shōwa hōbō sōmoku* 昭和法寶總目錄 3:1305a25-b1)--we see that Eisai's citations [1] are far more abbreviated in nature than [3] and that the section concerning meditation posture missing from [1] is included in [3]. It also possible that Eisai simply drew directly from *Zuochan yi*, for, as we will see in his other descriptions of *CYQG* below, Eisai was not averse to summarizing the contents of an original document. Scholars question whether Zongze's *Zuochan yi* ever circulated independently.⁴⁰ Since we are not sure whether Eisai cited *Zuochan yi* directly from *CYQG* or from *Dazang yilan*, it is not sufficient to conclude that *Zuochan yi*, including the other four essays, was not collected in the original version of *CYQG*, before the version of 1202. Still, the omission of five essays from the Kōrai edition remains unsolved.

The only commentary on *CYQG* is a recent work entitled *Yakuchū Zennen shingi* 訳註禪苑清規 (abbr. *YZS*) written by the Japanese scholars, Kagamishima Genryū 鏡島元隆, Satō Tatsugen 佐藤達玄, and Kosaka Kiyū. *YZS* relies upon the Hōei edition [3] as its standard, pointing out in footnote form any variations with four other editions ([1], [1'], [2], and [4]), such as alternate characters. For my own translation of *CYQG*, I am heavily indebted to this valuable comparative analysis.

The Influence of CYQG in Japan

Since the monastic code ascribed to Baizhang has not come down to us and since there are no other complete texts of monastic regulations in existence, *CYQG* is the oldest

⁴⁰ *YZS*, *kaisetsu*, p. 10.

surviving Chinese monastic code. Due to both the comprehensive scope of its content and to the dominance of the Yunmen tradition from which it came, *CYQG* quickly became the authoritative text of its time, adopted and closely followed throughout the Buddhist community.⁴¹ In addition, *CYQG* became the prototype which most of the subsequent compilers of monastic codes were to emulate in both China and Japan.

During his two pilgrimages to China, Eisai, the founder of the Japanese Rinzai school, bore witness to the widespread prevalence of *CYQG*. Returning to Japan after his second trip, he wrote the *Kōzen gokoku ron* 興禪護國論 (*Essay on the Promotion of Zen and the Protection of the State*), in which he praises Buddhism in Song China and suggests that *CYQG* be adopted as the standard in Japan. He describes for his Japanese readers not only the regulations laid out in *CYQG* but also the extent to which the actual practices within Chinese monasteries followed the spirit of this code. Thus Eisai's work is invaluable as testimony to the importance of *CYQG* in Song China, but it also stands as a rather rare record of the actual contemporary practices, information which Chinese writers neglected to document.

Eisai makes the following observations, subdivided into ten categories:

- 1) The Monastery Compound: the physical layout of monasteries throughout China is homogeneous in pattern, regardless of size. Each monastery is circumscribed by corridors with only one main gate leading into the compound. This gate--always guarded--is closed in the evening and reopened in the morning, in order to prohibit nuns, other women, or any uninvited malefactors from staying overnight.
- 2) Ordination: both Hīnayānist and Mahāyānist precepts are retained in the Chan school.
- 3) Upholding of the precepts: the fortnightly confession ceremony is held to maintain the purity of the Saṅgha.

⁴¹ *Kōzen gokoku ron* 2, T 80:9b6.

- 4) The acquiring of knowledge: every monk is expected to have a fair degree of familiarity with the sutra teachings, and to behave in an externally dignified manner.
- 5) Deportment 行儀: monks must uphold the precepts, including a vegetarian diet. The daily regimen is as follows:

Period of the Day (Chinese Terms)	Approximate Equivalent in Hours	Activity
"lamp lighting" <i>diandeng</i> 點燈	6 - 8 p.m.	worshiping
"people's rest" <i>rending</i> 人定	8 - 11 p.m.	meditation
third <i>geng</i> 更	11 p.m. - 1 a.m.	sleeping
fourth <i>geng</i>	1 - 3 a.m.	sleeping
fifth <i>geng</i>	3 - 5 a.m.	meditation
<i>mao shi</i> 卯時	5 - 6 a.m.	worshiping
dawn	6 - 7 a.m.	breakfast
<i>chen shi</i> 辰時	7 - 9 a.m.	studying
<i>yu shi</i> 禺時	9 - 11 a.m.	meditation
<i>wu shi</i>	11 a.m. - 12 p.m.	lunch
<i>wei shi</i> 未時	1 - 3 p.m.	bathing
<i>bu shi</i> 晡時	3 - 5 p.m.	meditation
<i>you shi</i> 酉時	5 - 6 p.m.	break

- 6) Demeanor 威儀: dressed in robes, monks greet each other by pressing their hands together and lowering their heads, regardless of their respective ranks. The monks remain together as a group while eating, walking, meditating, studying, reading, and

sleeping. Hundreds or even thousands may live in a single large hall, helping each other to maintain general decorum and discipline. But when one monk commits even the slightest infraction, the rector corrects him personally.

- 7) Clothing: the robes of all monks are in the uniform style of the "Great Country" 大國, i.e., China.
- 8) Disciples: only those who accept the wisdom of the monastic rules of discipline and are willing to diligently maintain a spiritual life are allowed to enter the order.
- 9) Worldly gain: monks are to focus on meditation without the distractions of farming or the accumulation of personal wealth.
- 10) Summer and winter retreats: the summer retreat lasts from the full moon of the fourth month to the full moon of the seventh month. The winter retreat lasts from the full moon of the tenth month to the full moon of the first month.

In addition, Eisai enumerates all of the annual monastic ceremonies and rituals held in the Song: 1) The imperial birthday: the monastery is required to chant the *Mahāprajñā pāramitā Sūtra*, the *Benevolent King Sūtra*, the *Lotus Sūtra*, and the *Golden Light Sūtra* (*Jingguangming zuisheng wang jing* 金光明最勝王經), etc. for thirty days before the emperor's birthday; 2) Chanting rituals: these are held on six days--the 3rd, the 8th, the 13th, the 18th, the 23th, and 28th of each month; 3) Worship of earth deities: these rites are performed on the second and sixteenth day of every month; 4) Repayment of gratitude: on the first day of every month the *Prajñā Sūtra* is recited to signify indebtedness to the present emperor; while on the fifteenth day of every month the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* is recited in gratitude to the previous emperor; 5) Various festivals are held each month (shown below); 6) During retreats the Lengyan ritual is held daily; 7) Each of the monks is expected to read one fascicle of a sutra per day. Thus, assuming one hundred monks in a temple, in the course of a year all the sutras would be read through (that is, in such a case, as many as

36, 500 different fascicles would be read). Sutra reading is usually sponsored by lay patrons; 8) In the True Word Cloister (*zhenyan yuan* 真言院), the Water-land service is held frequently, sponsored by lay patrons for the merit of the deceased; 9) The ritual in the Tranquility-Meditation Cloister (*zhiguan yuan* 止觀院) is held to practice the Lotus samādhi, the Amitābha samādhi, and the Avalokiteśvara samādhi; 10) A ceremony is held when the monks enter the abbot's quarters for instructions; 11) The ritual of confession is held every fortnight; 12) The abbot visits the assembly quarters every five days; 13) The members of the Saṅgha bathe every five days in the winter and every day in summer; 14) Feasts are held on the anniversary of the death of late emperor, the late abbot, and the current abbot's deceased parents; 15) Feasts and various rituals, such as the incense offering ceremony, are sponsored by government officials; 16) A ritual is held in which the Saṅgha members assemble to play music and turn the eight-spoked sutra store-wheel (*bafu lunzang* 八輻輪藏).

The following chart illustrates Eisai's descriptions of the twelve major monthly festivals:

Month	Service	Month	Service
1	Arahat Service (<i>luohan hui</i> 羅漢會)	7	<i>Prajñā Sūtra</i> Chanting Service (<i>bore hui</i> 般若會)
2	Relic Service (<i>sheli hui</i> 舍利會)	8	<i>Prajñā Sūtra</i> Chanting Service
3	Grand Service (<i>dahui</i> 大會)	9	<i>Prajñā Sūtra</i> Chanting Service
4	Buddha's Birthday Service (<i>fosheng hui</i> 佛生會) & Summer Retreat	10	Ordination Ceremony

5	<i>Golden Light Sūtra</i> Chanting Service (<i>zuisheng hui</i> 最勝會)	11	Winter Service (<i>dongjie</i> 冬節)
6	<i>Golden Light Sūtra</i> Chanting Service	12	Grand Service of Buddha's Names (<i>Foming dahui</i> 佛名大會)

In addition to relying on his observations of Chinese rituals and ceremonies, Eisai undoubtedly depended on Zongze's *Zuochan yi* (*Manual of Meditation*) for much of his information when he discusses meditation in his *Kōzen gokoku ron*, as we have shown above.

The *Kōzen kogaku ron* strongly endorsed strict adherence to the Buddhist precepts but it was not in itself a monastic code. The earliest Japanese monastic code was compiled by Eihei Dōgen 永平道元 (1200-1253), the founder of another mainstream Japanese Zen tradition, the Sōtō school. Dōgen also traveled to China, and during his five years there (1223-1227) he visited the Tiantongsi 天童寺, where his enlightenment was certified by Rujing 如淨 (1163-1228). In 1227, Dōgen returned to Japan to establish the Sōtō school, for which he developed a monastic code that came to be known as the *Eihei shingi* 永平清規.⁴² This code is a collection of six separate works, all of which survive:

Tenzo kyōkun 典座教訓 (*Instructions for the Monastic Cook*, 1237).

Tai taiki goge jari hō 對大己五夏閣梨法 (*Regulations for Interaction with Instructors Who Are Five Years Senior*, 1244).

Bendō hō 辨道法 (*Model for Practicing the Way*, 1246).

Chiji shingi 知事清規 (*Regulations for Administrative Officers*, 1246).

Fu shukuhan pō 赴粥飯法 (*Regulations for Attending the Meals*, 1246).

⁴² There are two English translations of *Eihei shingi*: Ichimura Shohei's *Zen Master Eihei Dōgen's Monastic Regulations* (Washington [no city]: North American Institute of Zen and Buddhist Studies, 1993) and Taigen Daniel Leighton and Shohaku Okumura's *Dōgen's Pure Standards for the Zen Community* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1996).

Shuryō shingi 眾寮箴規 (*Regulations for the Assembly Quarters*, 1249).⁴³

These texts were first delivered as lectures at several different Japanese temples between the years 1237 and 1249.⁴⁴ *CYQG*, still the dominant text when Dōgen was traveling in China, became a major influence on his subsequent thinking, and as we will see, he freely adopts large sections of *CYQG* in his own monastic codes as well as in his largest work, *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼藏.⁴⁵

Of Dōgen's six works on monastic regulations, *Fu shukuhan pō* contains the rituals connected with the two daily meals. When we compare this text with the section called "Attending the Meals" in *CYQG*, it becomes immediately apparent that the former is largely lifted directly from the latter. With the addition of an introductory paragraph of theoretical explanations, Dōgen's text copies entire sections word for word from *CYQG*, occasionally expanding on the original with material gained from Dōgen's own observations in Chinese monasteries, such as his detailed account of the Chinese custom of taking down the bowls from their place on the wall before eating, a ritual which *CYQG* finds it unnecessary to describe. Generally speaking, roughly eighty-five percent of *Fu shukuhan pō* is taken verbatim from *CYQG*.

Another of the six works, *Chiji shingi*, provides guidelines for the administrative offices, and here again prodigious use is made of *CYQG*. Most of the descriptions of the various officers' duties are drawn directly from the four sections of *CYQG* entitled "The Prior," "The Rector," "The Cook," and "The Superintendent."

⁴³ Leighton, *Dōgen's Pure Standards*, 15.

⁴⁴ For the textual history of *Eihei shingi* see Leighton, *Dōgen's Pure Standards*, 21-22.

⁴⁵ In "Sōdai Nit-Chū Bukkyō kōryū shi: *Zennen shingi* to *Eihei shingi*" 宋代日中仏教交流史-禪苑清規と永平清規, in *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū* 19-1 (1977):11, Nishio Kenryū 西尾賢隆 endeavors to give the exact number of citations from *CYQG*: twenty-nine in *Eihei shingi*, and fifteen in *Shōbōgenzō*. However, we find these counts to be underestimated, as many of the borrowings from *CYQG* are not explicit citations. Furthermore, Nishio bases his studies on only three of Dōgen's six extant texts. Clearly, the extent to which Dōgen borrowed portions of *CYQG* is far greater than has been acknowledged.

Dōgen wrote *Tenzo kyōkun* based to some extent on his experiences with the cooks he encountered in Chinese monasteries. This work is concerned with the preparation of the two daily meals and the relationship between food and Zen. Once again, Dōgen quotes frequently from the instructions for the cook given in *CYQG*; he even goes so far as to say that any monastic cook worth his salt, so to speak, should thoroughly study the guidelines given in *CYQG*.

Thus Dōgen's great dependence on *CYQG* for his own monastic code, especially for *Tenzo kyōkun*, *Chiji shingi*, and *Fu shukuhan pō*, is rather evident. However, Dōgen uses excerpts from *CYQG* not only in his *Eihei shingi*, but also in his work *Shōbōgenzō*. The entire section entitled "Receiving the Precepts" at the beginning of *CYQG* is adopted for *Shōbōgenzō* and divided into the sections "Shukke" 出家, "Jukai" 受戒, and "Shukke kudoku" 出家功德. Elsewhere in the text there are more than ten explicit instances of borrowings from *CYQG*.

Another link between Zongze and Dōgen which has been explored by scholars is the textual borrowing from Zongze's *Zuochan yi* by Dōgen's *Fukan zazen gi* 普勸坐禪儀 (*Manual of Zen Meditation*). While over a third of Dōgen's text is taken from Zongze's work, it is also clear that Dōgen does not agree with Zongze's philosophy of meditation. Instead, Dōgen sees his approach as a return to Baizhang, whom he considered to have represented the pure spirit of Chan. Just what Dōgen considered to be Baizhang's methods, and whether or not he had access to an existing text written by Baizhang from which he could have formed such an opinion, is uncertain.⁴⁶ At any rate, Dōgen's well-known methods of meditation, such as *shikan taza* 只管打坐 ("mere sitting") and *mokushō* 默照 ("silent illumination"), were clearly at odds with Zongze's Pure Land-influenced forms of meditation, which emphasize first and foremost the recitation of Amitābha's name. Hence it

⁴⁶ See Carl Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals of Zen Meditation*, 60.

comes as little surprise that the rituals for the funeral prescribed in *CYQG*, centering around the recitation of Amitābha, were not adopted by Dōgen.

Another subject which constituted a major part of life in the Song-era monastery and which is given much attention in *CYQG*, but is not included in Dōgen's regulations, is the "monastic tea ceremony" (*jiandian* 煎點). However, unlike the recitation of Amitābha's name, this practice is less likely to have been deliberately neglected by Dōgen. When we examine the section "Ango" 安居 in *Shōbōgenzō*, we see that Dōgen borrows from the description of the tea ceremony in the *CYQG* held at the beginning and end of the summer retreat, changing only the dates written on the tea poster to match the Japanese calendar and the time of writing: the third year of Kangen (1245 C.E.). In fact, there is evidence that the Chinese tea ceremony was first introduced to Japan at Dōgen's monastery. Perhaps the reason for Dōgen's omission was a lack not of interest but of time. Dōgen passed away at an early age, fifty-three, leaving his *Shōbōgenzō* unfinished. Undoubtedly he had intended to discuss a number of subjects for which he ultimately did not have the time.⁴⁷

CYQG and Dōgen's writings can be used to complement each other. The comprehensive nature of the rules given in *CYQG* helps us to understand much of the Song-era monastic culture that came to permeate Japan, although such an influence would not have been recorded by Dōgen himself. Conversely, Dōgen's detailed descriptions of everyday life in a Chinese monastery help shed light on aspects of Buddhism during the Song that the author of *CYQG* might not have deemed necessary to depict.⁴⁸

The following table is meant to illustrate the influence of *CYQG* on Dōgen's writings. The two left columns list the various sections of Dōgen's texts that show clear

⁴⁷ As Leighton (*Dōgen's Pure Standards*, 21) points out, much of the material in *Eihei shingi* remains incomplete or unedited, evidence that Dōgen was unable to finish the text before his death.

⁴⁸ For example, see nn. 98 and 102, fasc.1.

signs of borrowing. The right columns indicate the corresponding sections of Zongze's *CYQG* and the exact pages cited or paraphrased.

<i>Eihei shingi</i>	page in <i>DZZ II</i>	<i>CYQG</i>	page in <i>YZS</i>
<i>Fu shukuhan pō</i>	348-349	Attending meals 赴粥飯	[42-43]
	350	Attending meals	[50]
	351-352	Attending meals	[46-48]
	352-353	Attending meals	[52-53]
	353-354	Attending meals	[54-55]
	355-356	Attending meals	[55-56]
	356-357	Attending meals	[58]
<i>Chiji shingi</i>	331-333	Prior 監院	[105-109]
	339-340	Rector 維那	[110-115]
	340-341	Cook 典座	[116]
	345	Superintendent 直歲	[119]
	341	Essay on Setting a Good Example (<i>guijing wen</i> 龜鏡文)	[269]
	341	Essay on Setting a Good Example	[270]
	342	Cook	[116]
	342	Essay on Setting a Good Example	[273]
	343	Cook	[116]
	345	Superintendent	[119]
	345	Essay on Setting a Good Example	[269]
	345	Essay on Setting a Good Example	[270]
	345	Essay on Setting a Good Example	[270]
	345	Essay on Setting a Good Example	[275]

<i>Tenzo kyōkun</i>	295	Essay on Setting a Good Example	[269]
	295	Cook	[116]
	296	Essay on Setting a Good Example	[273]
	300	Essay on Setting a Good Example	[276]
	300	Essay on Setting a Good Example	[276]
<i>Bendō hō</i>	318	Manual of meditation 坐禪儀	[279]

<i>Shōbōgenzō</i>	page in <i>DZZI</i>	<i>CYQG</i>	page in <i>YZS</i>
Shukke (Renunciation of the World)	597	Receiving the Precepts 受戒	[13]
Jukai (Receiving the Precepts)	619	Receiving the Precepts	[13]
Shukke kudoku (The Virtue of Renouncing the World)	617	Receiving the Precepts	[13]
Senmen 洗面 (Washing the Face)	431	Upholding the Precepts 護戒	[16]
Ango (The Training Period)	571	Commencement of the Summer Retreat 結夏	[85]
	574-576		[86-88]
	580-581	Closing of the Summer Retreat 解夏	[91]

Senjō 洗淨 (Rules for the Lavatory)	470 472 473	Using the Toilet 大小便利 Latrine Attendant 淨頭 Using the Toilet	[233] [153] [235]
Hotsu Bodai shin 發菩提心 (Awakening the Buddha- seeking Mind)	649	120 Questions 百二十問	[285]
Kie Bupposo bo 歸依佛法僧寶 (Taking Refuge in the Three Treasures)	667	120 Questions	[285]
<i>Fukan zazen gi</i>	<i>DZZ II:</i> 3-4	Manuals of Meditation	[279-283]

The Influence of CYQG in Song-Yuan China

As we have seen, when Japanese pilgrims traveled to China during the Song, they reported that *CYQG* was the authoritative monastic code within the Buddhist community, and Dōgen's testimony as to the text's dominance during the years 1223-1227 shows the fact that the code was still in wide circulation after more than a century. Given this prominence, it is not surprising that *CYQG* also served as inspiration for many of the monastic codes generated during the Song-Yuan period, more specifically from the twelfth century to the fourteenth century, the era during which most of the codes extant today were produced.

Given the authority accorded *CYQG*, one may wonder why there was a need to produce further monastic codes. One reason for the subsequent appearance of alternative codes was the nature of *CYQG* itself. Zongze's text was designed primarily for large-scale, public monasteries and may have been considered less suitable for smaller, private temples, thus necessitating the creation of smaller-scale codes, constructed to meet the specific needs of a given monastery. Furthermore, society itself was evolving, and rules often had to be altered to fit the changing social role of the monastery. Similarly, the composition of the Buddhist community was changing from within, and new sets of regulations were needed for many of the emerging sects, such as the Lü and Tiantai schools, both of which created their own monastic standards. While all of the codes created during the Song and Yuan eras were tailored to suit changing environments, they nevertheless relied on *CYQG* as their model and starting point, often excerpting large sections of the earlier code verbatim.

For those who dedicated themselves solely to the practice of meditation, a set of rules entitled *Ruzhong riyong* 入眾日用 (*Daily Life in the Assembly*)⁴⁹ was created in 1209

⁴⁹ This text is sometimes referred to as *Riyong* [xiao] *qinggui* 日用[小]清規 ([*Concise*] *Pure Regulations for Daily Life*), or *Riyong guifan* 日用規範 (*Standards for Daily Life*). An English translation of this text with introduction has been published by T. Griffith Foulk: "The *Daily Life in the Assembly* (*Ju-Chung Jih-Yung*) And Its Place Among Ch'an And Zen Monastic Rules," *The Ten Directions*

by Wuliang Zongshou 無量宗壽 (n.d.),⁵⁰ a fourth-generation monk in the Yangqi 楊歧 lineage of Linji master Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089-1163). Written while Zongshou occupied the position of the chief seat in the Saṅgha hall, this code was designed to regulate meditators' activities in the Saṅgha hall and the assembly quarters by providing strict guidelines prescribing the correct procedure for performing the most ordinary of daily tasks, such as getting up, washing one's face, putting on one's robes, unwrapping one's eating bowls, eating meals, reading sūtras, using the toilet, taking a bath, and lying down to sleep. Although this second oldest surviving monastic code does not cover all aspects of monastic life, even the treatment of this relatively narrow topic betrays the clear influence of *CYQG*. The text itself influenced future generations of compilers of monastic codes and was adopted verbatim by many subsequent codes.

The contents of *Ruzhong riyong* are excerpted in abridged form by the later *Ruzhong xuzhi* 入眾須知 monastic code, the author of which is unknown, but which, judging by information given in the section entitled "Chanting" (Niansong 念誦), can be dated around 1263.⁵¹ Notably, despite *Ruzhong xuzhi*'s dependence on *Ruzong riyong*, it contains far more entries than its immediate predecessor, including sections describing the protocol for sitting meditation, for entering the abbot's quarters, for tea ceremonies, for the inauguration of a new abbot, for funerals, for the auctioning of the robes belonging to deceased monks, and for the ordination of novices (*śrāmaṇera*). Such topics are not borrowings from *Ruzong riyong* but summaries of sections in the earlier *CYQG*.

Many of the Song-Yuan monastic codes, such as *Cunsi qinggui* 村寺清規 and *Huanzhu an qinggui* 幻住庵清規, were written for use in private monasteries. *Cunsi qinggui*, written in 1281 by Danliao Jihong 澹寮繼洪, seems to have been preserved well

(spring/summer 1991): 25-34. For information on the various versions of this text see Sakuma Ken'yū 佐久間賢祐, "Nichiyō shingi no kenkyū" 「日用清規」の研究, pt. 1, *KDBKN* 24 (1991):93-99.

⁵⁰ Nothing is known of Zongshou's biography, but one of his discourse records is preserved in *Zengji xu chuanglu* 增集續傳燈錄, ZZK 2B-15-5:389a-b.

⁵¹ ZZK 2-16-5:497b14.

into the eighteenth century, but has since been lost.⁵² Fortunately, *Huanzhu an qinggui* is still extant and provides us with an excellent example of a private monastic code. It was written in 1317 by Zhongfeng Mingben 中峰明本 (1263-1323), who, like Wuliang Zongshou, belonged to the Yangqi sect of the Linji school, the dominant school of the time.⁵³ As it was designed solely for Mingben's private "Mirage Hermitage," *Huanzhu an* 幻住庵, this set of regulations does not include any of the rituals performed in large public monasteries, such as the ceremonies for a new abbot's inauguration. Although it also makes occasional use of the material codified in *CYQG*, *Huanzhu an qinggui* is unlike the codes intended for public monasteries; *Huanzhu an* did not have the same logistical needs that large monasteries did, and accordingly its code did not require the extensive quotations lifted from *CYQG* by most large-scale monastic codes. Instead, *Huanzhu an qinggui* contains an unusual amount of original material, devised for the unique needs of that institution. The text is divided into ten entries: daily routines, monthly schedules, annual festivals, examples of prayers offered on various occasions, the storage of food and the repair of buildings, lineage customs (*jiafeng* 家風), titles and duties of administrative officers, personal cultivation, attending to the sick, and funerals. Within each of these categories, the very structure of the discussion often betrays its intended use for a private monastery. For example, the section on the major administrative officers includes descriptions of the abbot, the chief seat, the assistant abbot, the chief of storage, and the cook--a list that would be dwarfed by the extensive hierarchies of public monasteries. Like Zongze, however, Mingben advocated the synthesis of Chan and Pure Land teachings, and,

⁵² Dōchū (1653-1744) refers to the text's preface and postscript, knowledge which would seem to indicate that Dōchū possessed the work. See his *CHSS*:51c.

⁵³ For the biography of Zhongfeng see Chün-fang Yü, "Chung-feng Ming-pen and Ch'an Buddhism in the Yüan," in *Yüan Thought: Chinese Thought and Religion Under the Mongols*, ed. Hok-lam Chan and Wm. Theodore de Bary (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 419-77; see also Satō Shūkō 佐藤秀孝, "Gen no Chūhō Myōhon ni tsuite" 元の中峰明本について, *SGK* 23 (1981):231-36.

not surprisingly, his discussions of the rituals for the sick and the deceased, with their emphasis on the recitation of Amitābha's name, are largely adopted from Zongze's *CYQG*.

In contrast to the codes for private monasteries, the Song-Yuan codes compiled for public monasteries in the tradition of *CYQG* include *Jiaoding qinggui* (or *Conglin jiaoding qinggui zongyao* 叢林校定清規總要),⁵⁴ *Beiyong qinggui* 備用清規 (or *Chanlin beiyong qinggui* 禪林備用清規),⁵⁵ and *CBQG*. The first of these, *Jiaoding qinggui*, was compiled in 1274 by the monk Jinhua Weimian 金華惟勉, about whom very little is known. The most distinctive aspect of this text is its use of diagrams to illustrate the monks' positions during various monastic rituals, as well as its inclusion of examples of the public letters and documents used to announce activities such as tea ceremonies and feasts. This text does not comment on the duties of the administrative staff, focusing instead on rituals and ceremonies. For its discussion of matters of daily etiquette, it simply cites the entire text of *Wuliangshou riyong xiao qinggui* 無量壽日用小清規.

Thirty-eight years after the compilation of *Jiaoding qinggui*, in 1311, another monk of the Yangqi sect of the Linji school, Zeshan Yixian 澤山弋咸, produced a far more comprehensive monastic code. In his preface, Yixian reveals the painstaking methods used in this text's composition. Inspired by the monastic codes he saw in use at the Jingcisi 淨慈寺 and Lingyinshan 靈隱山 monasteries while he was studying in Jingcisi under Shilin Xingong 石林行鞏 (n.d.), Yixian began his own compilation of a code in 1278. Although he finished his work by 1286, he did not rush to circulate it. Instead he sought the advice of his master, Chengtian Juean 承天覺菴, and his Dharma relatives, Xixi Guangze 溪西廣澤 (n.d.), Yunfeng Xiu 雲峰秀, and Qianfeng Wan 千峰琬. Yixian then implemented his code

54 This text is also known as *Xianchun qinggui* 咸淳清規, after the era of its compilation; and is also referred to as *Wuzhou qinggui* 婺州清規, after its author's place of residence (present-day Zhejiang province). This text may in fact be identical with the work referred to elsewhere as *Bingyan qinggui* 屏巖清規. See CHSS:51a-b.

55 This text is also referred to as *Zhida qinggui* 至大清規, after the era of its compilation, and as *Zeshan qinggui* 澤山清規, after the author's place of residence (Shanxi province?).

on an experimental basis at the three monasteries where he served as abbot from 1295 to 1311. It was only then, after some thirty-three years of trial and improvement, that he wrote the preface for the code's publication, in which he concludes that his text is unworthy of primary use in a monastery and should be reserved for secondary reference only. Thus Yixian gives his life's work the humble title of "*Beiyong qinggui*" ("*Alternate Pure Regulations*").⁵⁶

Similar to *CYQG* but even more comprehensive in its scope, *Beiyong qinggui* covers all aspects of monastic life. Although it adopts a great deal from *CYQG*, it also expands upon topics not mentioned in the earlier code, such as the liturgical procedures for the rituals held on the imperial birthday and for the anniversaries of the deaths of Bodhidharma, Baizhang, and the Chan patriarchs; all these procedures would seem to indicate an increased role for chanting ceremonies in monastic life. The text also goes into great detail in prescribing the proper procedures for taking up residence in the monastery and meeting with the abbot, rules that were undoubtedly necessitated by an increased mobility among tonsured members of the Buddhist community and by a marked gain in the stature ascribed to the abbot--two changes which in turn reveal the growing size and importance of the Buddhist monastery in general. Clearly, it is the impressive scale and meticulously well-organized structure of *Baiyong qinggui* which lays the foundation for the later Yuan monastic code, *CBQG*.

CBQG is the best-known monastic code in China,⁵⁷ not only because it was compiled in accordance with a decree issued by the Yuan Emperor Shun 順帝 (r.1333-

⁵⁶ See the preface of *Beiyong qinggui*, ZZK 2-17-1:28d and its annotation by Dōchū in CHSS:1020d-1026b.

⁵⁷ Three annotated editions of *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* were completed by Chinese and Japanese monks. The earliest one is entitled *Hyōkujō shingi shō* 百丈清規抄, also known as *Untō shō* 雲桃抄, a contraction of the names of its two authors, as the text was dictated by Unshō Ikkei 雲章一慶 (1386-1463) and edited by Tōgen Zuisen 桃源瑞仙 (d. 1489) during the years 1459 to 1462. The second edition is entitled *Chokushū Hyakujō shingi sakei* 敕修百丈清規左編, annotated by Mujaku Dōchū (1653-1744). By consulting other sources, Dōchū intended his commentary on the text, written in the years 1699 to 1700

1368), but largely because it has come to be mistakenly ascribed to Baizhang himself, usually considered the original architect of the monastic code. Although the original title did incorporate the name of Baizhang, it was never intended to signify Baizhang's personal authorship. Rather, the title reflects the fact that the compiler, Dongyang Dehui 東陽德輝, was the abbot of the temple at Baizhang Mountain. The title of this code is meant as a tribute to the patriarch who first founded the monastery there. Under imperial sponsorship, Dehui collaborated with the abbot of the Jiqingsi 集慶寺, Xiaoyin Daxin 笑隱大訢, the Dharma heir of Huiji Yuanxi who, generations before, had also lived at Baizhang Mountain.⁵⁸ As the preface explains, *CBQG* was commissioned by the emperor during the Yuan, when the Mongols ruled China, because, it was assumed, the increasingly heterogeneous nature of the various monastic codes in China was a problem that needed remedying by the introduction of a single, authoritative text that could serve the entire Buddhist community. This ostensible need for uniformity, however, may have sprung less from a call for unity from within the Buddhist community and more from the desire of a foreign government to maintain control over the local population. After all, the vast diversity of codes throughout China had evolved for a reason-- to suit the differing needs of each monastery's requirements and traditions.

The compilation of *CBQG* began in 1335 and was completed in 1338. As Dongyang Dehui points out in his colophon, the code putatively written by Baizhang had been lost by the time of compilation, but three other codes--*CYQG*, *Jiaoding qinggui*, and *Beiyong qinggui*--are cited by Dehui as existing sources upon which he relied, with special indebtedness to *Beiyong qinggui*. When completed, *CBQG* was considered the most comprehensive monastic code of regulations ever assembled. The first chapters contain

but published only in 1718, to be comprehensive and definitive. The third work is entitled *Baizhang qinggui zhengyi ji* 百丈清規證義記,⁵⁷ written by the Chinese monk Yuanhong Yirun 源洪儀潤 in 1823.

⁵⁸ Huiji Yuanxi was the one who wrote *Yishan Liaowan* from Baizhang Mountain, asking him to revise Baizhang's text of monastic regulations--an event discussed above in the section "Baizhang's Monastic Code".

liturgies relating to prayers for the longevity of the emperor and prayers for the avoidance of natural disasters—an inclusion which marks an increased tendency to consider those rituals pertaining to the state and the imperial family as the first concern of the monastic code. We see a similar pattern in *Beiyong qinggui*, whose author, Yixian, had initially intended to place either the section "Receiving the Precepts" or "The Entrance of a New Abbot to the Monastery" at the beginning of his text, but altered his plans when his master suggested that the liturgical ceremony for the emperors take first position. The subsequent sections of *CBQG* present a schedule of various ceremonies involving the abbot. The positioning of this section highlights the ever-increasing importance of the abbot in monastic life. The text then discusses the titles and duties of the administrative officers. Here again the abbot is assigned greater significance, as his retinue of attendants is expanded into five groups, each of which is concerned with assisting a different aspect of the abbot's duties, namely, liturgical ceremonies, correspondence, entertainment of guests, personal property and medical care. The duties of the priory are also expanded and divided among two positions, a clear sign that the overall importance of the monastery was increasing as its hierarchy became more and more complex. Only following the description of administrative duties do we find the section pertaining to individual cultivation. In this section there are several entries, such as the receiving of precepts, the upholding of precepts, a manual for meditation and "Essay on Setting a Good Example" (*Guijing wen 龜鏡文*), which, along with numerous other sections and selected quotations, are adopted verbatim from *CYQG*.

It is worth noting that with the exceptions of Zongze, author of the earliest extant monastic code and member of the Yunmen school, and Weimian, author of *Jiaoding qinggui* and whose affiliation is uncertain, all of the early compilers of monastic codes were connected with the Yangqi sect of the Linji school. Not surprisingly, at the time of the compilation of *CYQG* during the Northern Song period, the Yunmen school was the

dominant tradition in China. When the subsequent codes were being compiled, during the Southern Song period, the Linji school, and more specifically the Yangqi sect, was most prevalent among Buddhist schools. One might hypothesize that in each era the school considered most important would draw the most practitioners and would therefore have the greatest need to develop a body of regulations. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that these texts, belonging as they did to traditions with important legacies, were themselves more likely to survive. In fact there were, undoubtedly, a number of different monastic codes circulating at the time, a fact attested to by the preface of *CBQG*.

The compilation of monastic codes is by no means unique to the Chan school, for the Lü and Tiantai schools also compiled sets of regulations for their monasteries. The Vinaya monk Xingwu Xinzong 省悟心宗 (n.d.) wrote *Lüyuan shigui* 律苑事規 in 1325, ten years before the publication of *CBQG*. In this work the author laments the fact that Chan monks have created monastic codes for their community, while the Vinaya tradition still lacks such standardized regulations. Indeed, Xinzong's task had begun twenty years before, as he had consulted not only with senior monks of the Lü tradition, but had also closely examined the monastic codes of the Chan school. As he indicates in his preface, he had also completed a separate text containing a Vinaya glossary entitled *Beiyong yaoyu* 備用要語 (*Key Auxiliary Terms*), intended as a supplement to the regulations. Unfortunately, however, the latter text has not survived.⁵⁹

Although, as the author concedes in his preface, this text does rely upon the authority of the Chan monastic code, it is also clearly intended to emphasize that which Xinzong considers unique to his own school's tradition. Its first chapter outlines those elements which the Lü school reveres as the trademark of its teaching, such as the ordination ceremony, the tonsure ceremony, the invitation of the precept-granting master, the reception of the five beginning precepts as well as the ten advanced precepts, the

59 ZZZ 2-11-1:1c4.

ascension of the platform for full ordination, the fortnightly confession ceremony, the retreat and the *pravāraṇa* ceremony (the confession on the last day of the retreat). All of these ceremonies concern the receiving of the precepts, which, it may be said, is the most integral element of the Lü tradition. Although the ceremony of tonsure and ordination for the novice is detailed in the appendix to the *CYQG*, the procedure for the full ordination ceremony is notably absent. This omission may be explained by the fact that a Chan monk, having been tonsured and having received the novice precepts at his own home temple, was then obliged to travel to a Lü monastery in order to receive full ordination, as was the practice in China as late as the nineteenth century. The absence of a full ordination rite in the Chan monastic code (as well as in the Tiantai code) undoubtedly reveals that school's reliance on the Lü precept masters.

After its initial discussion of the various ceremonies deriving from the Indian Vinaya, *Lüyuan shigui* then goes on to list the regulations for the liturgical prayers for the emperor and the patriarchs,⁶⁰ the tea ceremony, the administrative hierarchy, and the recitation of Amitābha's name at funeral, none of which differs from *CYQG*.

One particularly surprising feature of this Lü monastic code is its discussion of the positions of director of the farming village, garden chief, and tree master--duties were obviously associated with agriculture and horticulture.⁶¹ These pursuits were expressly forbidden in the Indian Vinayas. This would seem to indicate that as landholding and farming became a major source of income for most Chinese monasteries, the Lü school was no exception.

It used to be thought that the Tiantai monastic code entitled *Jiaoyuan qingui* was compiled by the Tiantai monk Yunwai Ziqing 雲外自慶 in the year 1347, ten years after the compilation of *CBQG*. In fact, this text stems from a much earlier code, perhaps even

60 Of course, the Lü school has its own lineage of patriarchs.

61 See *LYSG*, *ZZK* 2-11-1:33b-34a.

earlier than *CBQG*. Although the preface to this work tells us nothing about the author or the first date of composition, it does explain that the code's original manuscript had been kept in the Baiyun hall 白雲堂 at Shang Tianzhu Mountain 上天竺寺 but was destroyed in a fire. Concerned that the absence of a monastic code would contribute to a decline in ethical rigor, Ziqing took it upon himself to annotate and recompile the text based on his own personal copy, and it is this recompilation of 1347 that has come down to us today.

One distinguishing feature of the Tiantai tradition described in *Jiaoyuan qinggui* is the unusual method of instruction during the summer retreat. In sharp contrast to the Chan monastery, where the abbot bears sole responsibility for the sermons as well as for private instruction, the abbot of the Tiantai school invites the chief lecturer (*dujiang* 都講), who must be generally well-versed in the Tiantai doctrine, to give the sermons.⁶² The rector (*weinuo*) was invited to preach from the Tiantai school's authoritative texts (*diandu* 點讀).⁶³ Thus teaching in the Tiantai monastery is more of a communal obligation, as is the reception of the teaching. After a lecture is given by either the *dujiang* or the rector, the audience is divided into three categories--senior monks, "capable ones" (*neng kandu zhe* 能看讀者; i.e., advanced junior monks), and beginners--and several monks are chosen from each group by lottery in order to engage in a public discussion of the sermon.⁶⁴ In addition, private written examinations (*suoshi* 鎖試 "locked examination") were given, much like those given in government service.⁶⁵

Like many of the Chan monastic codes, *Jiaoyuan qinggui* also places the rituals of praying for the emperor and the patriarchs in its first chapter, followed in order by the sections pertaining to the abbot's schedule, the administrative hierarchy, individual

62 *JYQG*, ZZK 2-6:380a-b.

63 *JYQG*, ZZK 2-6:380b.

64 *JYQG*, ZZK 2-6:380c-381a.

65 *JYQG*, ZZK 2-6-4:381a-c.

cultivation, and funerals. While the ceremonies of tonsure, observance, and *pravāraṇa* may be considered the distinguishing features of the Lü standards, the bodhisattva precept ordination is found only in the Tiantai monastic code.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Reference here is to *Shou pusajie yi shike* 授菩薩戒儀十科, written by Ciyuan Zunshi and collected in the *Jinyuan ji* 金園集, ZZK 2-6-2, 109ra-113vb.

III. Religious, Political, and Cultural Determinants

a. The Rise and Fall of the Chan Schools during the Last Years of the Tang, the Five Dynasties and the Song

At the beginning of the tenth century, after the collapse of the great Tang Dynasty, there followed a sequence of short-lived dynasties--the Post-Liang, the Post-Tang, the Post-Jin, the Post-Han and the Post-Zhou--each of which came to occupy the center area of the country, co-existing with eleven autonomous kingdoms nearby. This time of relative instability is known as the period of the Five Dynasties. After this eighty-year intermediary period, a unified state known as the Song arose. This new empire was not as powerful as the Tang, however, for the area of its territory was less than two-thirds that of the former empire, and it was constantly in conflict with enemy states to the north: the Kitan Tartars (Liao 遼) and the Tanguts (Xia 夏). In 1127, the Tartar Empire (overturned by one of its own subordinate tribes and renamed Jin 金) conquered the Song by capturing its emperor and forcing the Song court to migrate south. Thus, the Song entered its second phase, known as the Southern Song, a dynasty that co-existed with the Tartars (or Jin) in the north and the Tanguts in the northwest. In the thirteen century, Mongolia arose to the north of these three countries, and subsequently conquered the Tanguts, the Tartars, and finally the Song, all of which it unified in the 1280s into one empire, known as the Yuan 元. The ceaseless wars of these few centuries had an inevitable impact upon the government's policy toward Buddhism, as we shall see in the next section.

In the Tang, after the death of the fifth patriarch, Hongren, the Chan school was divided by two of his disciples: the branch formed by Shenxiu 神秀 (?-706) became known as the Northern School; the branch formed by Huineng, the Southern School. One of Huineng's disciples, Shenhui 神會 (684-758), asserted that his teacher's Southern School had the sole claim to orthodoxy. After the An Lushan riots occurred in the north, the

Northern School gradually died out, leaving the Southern School as the only recognized Chan tradition. In the period of the decline of the Tang Dynasty, two other of Huineng's disciples, Nanyue Huairang 南岳懷讓 (677-744) and Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思 (673-741), together with their descendants, formed the major genealogical traditions of Chan Buddhism. By the time of the Five Dynasties there were five distinct sects (*wujia* 五家) of the Southern School, namely: Weiyang 為仰, Linji 臨濟, Fayan 法眼, Yunmen 雲門, and Caodong 曹洞, the former two extending from the lineage of Huairang, and the latter three from that of Xingsi. Although all five co-existed from that time on, each one flourished alternatively at different times throughout the Five Dynasties and Song periods. The Fayan sect flourished first, during the era of the declining Tang and the Five Dynasties. The Yunmen sect then became the most prevalent school during the Northern Song period, especially between the reigns of Emperor Ren 仁宗 and Emperor Zhe 哲宗 (1023-1100). Zongze, the author of *CYQG*, was a member of this Yunmen lineage during its apogee. However, the prosperous Yunmen was gradually replaced by the Linji sect. By the time of the Southern Song, the Linji sect was the dominant force in Chan Buddhism. The Linji sect itself divided into two branches: the Huanglong 黃龍 and the Yangqi 楊岐, the latter of the two being the more prominent .

The patriarch of the Weiyang sect was Weishan Lingyou 為山靈佑 (761-853), the disciple of Baizhang, supposed architect of the first monastic code and member of the third generation in the Huairang lineage. One of Lingyou's disciples, Yangshan Huiji 仰山慧寂 (814-890), was very successful as an exponent of his master's teaching, and thus the sect's name was a combination of the first characters of the locations of the two patriarchs-- Weishan (present-day Hunan) and Yangshan (present-day Jiangxi). This sect was rather prosperous in its home areas of Weishan and Yangshan toward the end of Tang, but it never became a widespread phenomenon, and it was the first of the five sects to decline, disappearing completely by the Song Dynasty.

The Fayan sect was concurrent with Weiyang but achieved far greater success. The sect claims patriarchal descent from Wenyi 文益 (885-958), who, along with his successors, was sponsored by the local King Zhongyi 忠懿王 of the Wu-Yue 吳越 area (Jiangsu and Zhejiang). Accordingly, the sect became centralized in Zhejiang, extending to Fujian in the south. Fayan's teachings were propagated by his direct disciple Tiantai Deshao 天台德韶 (891-971) and Deshao's disciple, Yongming Yanshou (904-975). Yanshou was renowned for his integration of Chan thought with both Pure Land and the Doctrinal schools (*jiaozong* 教宗),¹ the influence of which can be seen in his two most famous works, *Wanshan tonggui ji* and *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄. It was Yanshou's work that paved the way for the Chan-Pure Land synthesis which came to prevail throughout the Song not only within the Fayan sect but in the Yunmen sect as well, as we have shown when discussing his influence on Zongze. Within a generation after Yanshou, the Fayan sect began to fade on Chinese soil, but its practices, and Yanshou's thinking, were carried to Korea where they continued to prosper.

At the beginning of the Song Dynasty, it was the Yunmen sect that grew to prominence within the Buddhist community. Its patriarch was Yunmen Wenyan 文偃 (864-949), who, under the patronage of King of Nanhan 南漢, who occupied of Guangdong during the Five Dynasties and established Mount Yunmen in Guangdong, where the sixth patriarch Huineng had once lived. Later the Yunmen sect moved north to the Fujian and Zhejiang areas, eventually spreading across all of China to become the predominant sect of the Northern Song period. The Yunmen sect produced many eminent Chan monks, such as Xuedou Chongxian, Tianyi Yihuai, Yuantong Faxiu 圓通法秀 (1027-1090), and of course Zongze, compiler of the monastic code which would serve as a model for generations, *CYQG*. Chongxian, who lived in the Zhejiang area, was famous for his *Xuedou songgu*

¹ The term "Doctrinal schools" here refers to all traditional Chinese Buddhist philosophical schools, such as those of the Tiantai, Huayan, and Faxiang schools.

雪竇頌古, in which he selected 100 out of the 1700 traditional Chan-Master-and-disciple question-and-answer anecdotes recorded in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, annotating them with critical verses at the end of each story. This work is considered the finest and most beautiful example of Song Chan literature and stood as a literary model for the entire Buddhist community. *Xuedou songgu* was later reworked by Yuanwu Keqin 圓悟克勤 (1063-1135), a Linji Yangqi monk, into the text known as *Biyān lu* 碧巖錄 (*Blue Cliff Record*), which is also regarded as a masterpiece of Chan literature.

Another eminent Yunmen figure is Fori Qisong 佛日契嵩 (1007-1072), whose work *Fujiao pian* 輔教篇 pioneered the integration of Buddhist and Confucianist thinking, yet another synthesis that would gain popularity during the Song era.

The dominance of the Yunmen sect lasted only until the end of the first phase of the Song Dynasty, as the Linji sect gradually became more prominent during the Southern Song. Largely responsible for the decline and fall of the various Chan sects was the powerful influence of state policy, as Suzuki Tetsuo 鈴木哲雄 has noted. After the Song defeat of the Nanhan court, the Yunmen sect was able to free itself of the restrictions which its Nanhan patron had held over it, allowing it to spread out over areas such as Hunan, Jiangxi, Jiangnan, and Zhejiang Provinces, where it became a mainstream sect during the beginning of the Song. In contrast, the Fayān sect never severed its close ties to its original patrons, the Nantang court and Wu-Yue. Thus when the Song took over, seeking to eradicate all signs of the former Five Dynasties influence, the Fayān sect could not survive long. One sect among the five, the Linji, did not bind itself to any particular court during the period of Five Dynasties, and as a result during the Song takeover there were no obstacles to its becoming another of the dominant sects of the era. Then, when many of the private succession-oriented monasteries began to convert to public monasteries, opting to choose their abbots through elections, the Yunmen sect, with its strong genealogical tradition of

abbacy inheritance, found it difficult to adapt to the changing atmosphere.² The Linji sect, conversely, with far fewer adjustments to make, emerged from the transition period as the dominant sect of Southern Song Buddhism.

The two prosperous sects of the Five Dynasties and the Northern Song periods--Fayan and Yunmen--shared the same patriarchal lineage, merging in the figure of Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存 (822-908). Since his legacy became a crucially influential part of later Buddhism, it is worth taking a moment to discuss Yicun's thought, the chief characteristic of which is a profound respect for monastic regulations. Yicun included a set of regulations in his discourse record, expressing his indebtedness to the regulations created by his late teacher, Furong Lingxun 芙蓉靈訓 (d. 851)³. Interestingly, Lingxun's teacher was Guizong Zhichang 歸宗智常 (n.d.), the direct disciple of Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709-788) and so also the Dharma brother of Baizhang. Although no recorded proof remains, it may be that the entire community surrounding Baizhang fostered a tradition of monastic regulations. At any rate, Lingxun built his monastery in 833 and established disciplinary order through a new set of regulations, of which nothing now exists other than the mention by Yicun. But we do know that Yicun was strongly influenced by his teacher, and that Yicun stressed the importance of monastic discipline, a legacy which, in turn, was carried on by his descendants,⁴ forming a unique phenomenon among the Buddhist community of the time. Yicun's direct disciple, Yunmen, was also engaged in the study of Vinaya in the early years of his monastic life. Given such a tradition, it becomes less surprising that Zongze, as a member of the Yunmen sect, would undertake the compilation of the earliest comprehensive monastic code.

2 Suzuki, *Tō Godai Zenshūshi* 唐五代禪宗史 (Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1985), 67-68.

3 See *Xuefeng Yicun Chanshi yulu* 雪峰義存禪師語錄, ZZK 2-24-5:487a.

4 See Suzuki, *Tō Godai Zenshūshi*, 465.

Another factor influencing Yicun's emphasis on regulations may have been the patronage afforded him by the layperson Wang Shen zhi 王審知 (862-925), an official of the Fujian area with deep-seated Confucian beliefs. Familiar with the rites of Confucianism, Wang was likely to have expected a similar sense of order within the Buddhist community, and he may have had some influence on Yicun's efforts to create a well-disciplined monastery.⁵

In addition to the Fayan and Yunmen sects, the third sect derived from the Xingsi lineage was the Caodong sect. Its name comes from the first characters of its first two patriarchs, Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (807-869) and Caoshan Benji 曹山本寂 (840-901),⁶ although Benji's lineage faded out after a few generations, while the lineage of Liangjie's disciple Yunju Daoyings 雲居道膺 (n.d.) became the sole bearer of the sect's tradition. Despite the appearance during the Southern Song of a number of eminent monks from the Caodong sect, such as Zhenxie Qingliao, Hongzhi Zhengjue 宏智正覺 (1091-1157), Tiantong Rujing 天童如淨 (1162-1227), and Wansong Xingxiu 萬松行秀 (1166-1246), the Caodong sect was never a prominent force in China. However, the sect did find fertile soil in Japan, when Rujing's Japanese disciple, Dōgen, returned home from China and instituted Caodong practices with great success.

The Linji sect flourished at the beginning of the Song Dynasty in the Zhejiang and Jiangsu areas. Although its patriarch, Linji Yixuan 義玄 (?-866), was active toward the end of the Tang Dynasty, the tradition underwent a renaissance at the hands of a seventh-generation disciple, Shishuang Chuyuan. Two of Chuyuan's disciples, Huanglong Huinan 黃龍慧南 (1002-1069) and Yangqi Fanghui 楊岐方會 (992-1049), worked together to propagate the Linji tradition, but their descendants moved to form two separate sects, the

⁵ See Suzuki, *Tō Godai Zenshūshi*, 468.

⁶ A second interpretation is that "Cao" refers to the sixth patriarch Huineng's *Caoxi* 曹溪. This interpretation is favored by those who wish to assign greater antiquity to the traditions of the Caodong.

Huanglong and Yangqi. The latter, which predominated during the Southern Song period, is the only Linji lineage that continues into the present day.

Yangqi's second-generation descendant, Wuzu Fayan 五祖法演 (1024-1104), Wuzu's disciple Yuanwu Keqin, and Yuanwu's disciple Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089-1163) were the most eminent monks of the Southern Song period. Wuzu was the only one of his generation to carry on the Yangqi transmission. As mentioned above, Yuanwu Keqin compiled *Biyān lu*, widely regarded as "the paramount text of the school" (*zongmeng diyi shu* 宗門第一書). Dahui Zonggao's staunch advocacy of the *gongan* 公案 (Jpn. *kōan*) tradition known as "Gongan Introspection Chan" (*kanhua chan* 看話禪) and his fierce attack against the practices of contemporary Caodong monks in "Silent Illumination Chan" (*mozhaō chan* 默照禪) initiated an era of combatative responses between the two traditions.⁷

Dahui's well-known affiliation with members of the aristocracy proved dangerous to him. He befriended Zhang Jiucheng 張九成, a Confucian scholar and second executive in the court Secretariat (*shilang* 侍郎) who openly advocated warfare with the Tartar empire. Prime Minister Qinquai 秦檜, who was seeking conciliation with the northern neighbors, viewed such a position unfavorably, and in 1141 he had Dahui exiled to the South. But after fifteen years, Dahui was rehabilitated and regained his clerical status, eventually holding the abbacy in the monasteries of Eyuwang shan and Jin shan, where his lineage was continued by many Dharma heirs. Wuliang Zongzhou, the author of *Riyong qinggui*, and Dongyang Dehui and Xiaoyin Daxin, co-authors of the Yuan-era *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui*, were all the descendants of Dahui Zonggao, while Zongfeng Mingben, the author

⁷ The relation between Dahui's *kanhua chan* and Hongzhi's *mozhaō chan* has been treated by Western scholars. For a discussion of Dahui see Miriam Levering's dissertation, "Chan Enlightenment for Laymen: Ta-hui and the New Religious Culture of the Sung" (Harvard University, 1978), and her article "Ta-hui and Lay Buddhists: Ch'an Sermons on Death," *Buddhist and Taoist Practice in Medieval Chinese Society*, ed. David W. Chappell (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 181-206. For work on Hongzhi, see my colleague Morten Schlütter's forthcoming dissertation and his article, "The Twelfth Century Caodong Tradition as the Target of Dahui's Attacks on Silent Illumination," *KZKN* 6 (1995):162-127[sic].

of an extant code for a private hermitage, and Zeshan Yixian, the author of *Beiyong qinggui*, were the descendants of Dahui's Dharma brother, Huqiu Shaolong 虎丘紹隆 (1077?-1136). All of these authors belonged to the same Linji Yangqi lineage. As we discussed in the previous chapter, it is in this Yangqi tradition that we find most of the authors of the extant monastic codes produced during the Southern Song and Yuan dynasties.

b. State Control of Chinese Buddhism⁸

The Song regulated Buddhism in China in ways that were unknown in Indian Buddhism: the issuance and sale of tonsure certificates; the ban on traveling without government permit; secular supervision of the selection of abbots; the systematization of clerical offices; and generally through government policies that subjected the clergy to secular laws above and beyond their own monastic regulations. The present chapter examines the policies of the Song government regarding Buddhism, focusing on the way in which the regulations of *CYQG* are supplemented by the Song edict *Qingyuan tiaofa shilei* 慶元條法事類 (hereafter, *QTS*),⁹ especially the chapter in *QTS* entitled *Dao Shi men* 道釋門 (Chapter on Daoism and Buddhism). This text provides us with a wealth of information about the Song government's attitude towards Buddhism and enhances our understanding of the monastic life of the day.

The Registration of Clergy and the Issue and Sale Of Tonsure Certificates

In order to bring the clergy under the supervision of the state, monks were required to register with the government, a law which allowed the authorities to control the number of tonsured individuals in any given region. Governmental registration of the clergy is said to have been initiated during the Tang in the seventeenth year of Kaiyuan 開元 (729 C.E.),

⁸ For further information on the complex topic of the Song government's policies concerning monastic Buddhism, see Takao Giken 高雄義堅, *Sōdai Bukkyōshi no kenkyū* 宋代佛教史の研究 (Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1975); Moroto Tatsuo 諸戸立雄, *Chūgoku Bukkyō seidoshi no kenkyū* 中國佛教制度史の研究 (Tokyo: Hirakawa Shuppansha, 1990); and Huang Minzhi 黃敏枝, *Songdai Fojiao shehui jingjishi lunji* 宋代佛教社會經濟史論集 (Taipei: Xuesheng Shuju, 1989). For the material in this chapter, I am greatly indebted to their works.

⁹ Actually compiled in the later Jiatai 嘉泰 period (1201-1204), *QTS* bears the name of Qingyuan because it was thought to be based on a set of statutes made in the era of Qingyuan (1195-1200). See Makino Tatsumi 牧野巽, "Keigen jōhō jirui no dōshakumon-Sōdai shūkyō hōsei no ichi shiryō" 慶元條法事類の道釋門—宋代宗教法制の一資料—, pt.1 in *SK new 9-2* (1932):68. There exists one work in a Western language on the text of *QTS*, see W. Eichhorn, *Beitrag zur rechtlichen Stellung des Buddhismus und Taoismus im Sung-Staat* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968).

when Emperor Xuan 玄宗 ordered all monks and nuns to register with the government every three years. Two copies of each register were made, one for the Department of Sacrifices and one for the local government.¹⁰ Later, during the Five Dynasties period, the court of Post-Zhou (r. 923-936) supplemented the comprehensive three-year registration (*quanzhang* 全帳) with an annual registration (*cizhang* 刺帳), which recorded only the newly ordained clergy each year. The Song government adopted the system instituted by Houzhou, requiring that one copy of both the annual registration and the three-year registration was kept by the local prefect, the imperial court, and the Department of Sacrifices.¹¹ Even probationary postulants, most of whom were untensured teenagers, were required to register. In contrast to ordained monks, the postulants were not considered exempt from taxes¹² and were usually eager to be tonsured as soon as possible. However, in Song China such decisions were no longer under the authority of the monastery, and each postulant was forced to wait for official governmental permission, to pass through the cumbersome state tonsure system (*gongdu zhi* 公度制), which allocated available slots by region.¹³ Any cleric not registered in accordance with the governmental edict would be forcibly laicized.¹⁴

Scholars have traditionally identified the sixth year of Tianbao 天寶 (747 C.E.), two decades after Emperor Xuan's registration edict, as the starting date of the issuance of

¹⁰ *Da Tang liudian* 大唐六典 4 (Taipei: Wenhai Chubanshe, 1962), 101c; and *FZTJ* 40, T 49:374b20.

¹¹ *QTS* 51: 481a & 483c-d. See Takao, *Sōdai Bukkyōshi*, 32.

¹² *QTS* 51: 480c.

¹³ For studies on the state tonsure system see Michihata Ryōshū 道端良秀, *Tōdai Bukkyōshi no kenkyū* 唐代佛教史の研究, in his *Chūgoku Bukkyōshi zenshū*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Shuen, 1975), 77-84. Also see two articles by Ogawa Kan'ichi 小川貫弋, "Hoku-Sō jidai no kōdosei to shibuchō" 北宋時代の公度制と祠部牒 in *Ryūoku shidan* 58 (1967):23-42, and "Sōdai no jukaisei to rokunen kaichō" 宋代の受戒制と六念・戒牒 in *Ryūoku daigaku ronshū* 385 (1968):48-70.

¹⁴ *QTS* 51: 480b.

tonsure certificates.¹⁵ However, this date has been questioned by Yamazaki Hiroshi 山崎宏 and Moroto Tatsuo 諸戸立雄, who both argue that the custom's inception pre-dated the imposition of forced registration, although they do not offer any specific alternative date.¹⁶ At any rate, it is clear that under the Tang the tonsure certificate was a prerequisite for a postulant obtaining a position in a Chinese monastery. From this point on the custom would persist throughout Chinese history. In fact, the requirements for the certificate became more and more severe over the years as the authorities relied increasingly on the regulation of certificates as a primary means of control over the Buddhist clergy.

The Song-era *CYQG* describes the procedure for obtaining a certificate as follows: "The server [i.e., postulant] must first apply for and receive a certificate of tonsure from the government. [Once he has received the document] he then places the certificate inside a double-layered box which he presents to the abbot, the administrators, and the chief officers [of the temple where he wishes to take up residence], bowing down and thanking each of them three times. This is the procedure to request the tonsure."¹⁷

The tonsure certificate, however, was also a source of revenue for the government, for beginning with the Song most of the clergy were required to pay a fee for the document, a policy which became one of the greatest burdens on the Song Buddhist community.

¹⁵ The date of 747 C.E. cited in Buddhist historical documents as well as in the works of many scholars is based on information given in *DSL 2* (T 54:246b8-10), which in turn was adopted from *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 49 (Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju, 1955), 860.

¹⁶ In defense of their argument, Yamazaki and Moroto point to the fact that Japan began issuing tonsure certificates in the fourth year of the Yōrō 養老 era (720 C.E.), twenty years before the supposed beginning of the custom in China. Since Japan adopted its legal and political systems, its brand of Buddhism, as well as important facets of its culture from China during the Sui-Tang period, it is unlikely that the issuing of tonsure certificates would be an exception, having originated in Japan and been adopted later in China. These scholars hold that in China the system of government-authorized tonsure and clerical registration had been established as early as the Southern-Northern Dynasties (fifth to sixth centuries), and it seems to us reasonable to assume that the government would have issued some form of identification for the clergy at this time.

See Yamazaki Hiroshi's *Shina chūsei Bukkyō no tenkai* 支那中世佛教の展開 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1971), 571-72; and Moroto, *Chūgoku Bukkyō seidoshi*, 216-32.

¹⁷ *YZS* [297].

When certificates were first issued by the Tang court, members of the clergy had to pass rigorous sutra examinations,¹⁸ thus ensuring a minimum level of proficiency in Buddhist scholarship in the monastic community. With time these standard were lost and the document came to be bought and sold on the open market. Although it was long believed that the sale of tonsure certificates began under the Song, evidence of this practice can be traced as far back as the reigns of Emperors Zhong 中宗 and Rui 睿宗 (684 C.E.) of the Tang dynasty.¹⁹ Nevertheless, it was during the Song period that the market for tonsure certificates burgeoned and the state's practice of selling tonsure certificates (which bestowed upon the recipient a considerable tax exemption) became a stopgap remedy for the government's fiscal crisis brought about by extensive military campaigns.

Beginning in 1067 C.E., tonsure certificates were classified into two categories: certificates with the recipients' names already written on them (*jiming dudie* 記名度牒) and blank certificates on which names could be written in by any given owner (*kongming dudie* 空名度牒).²⁰ The former were issued only to those who had passed examinations (as before) or were given as favors by the imperial family; however, the latter were simply sold to the public by central and local government officials.²¹ During the Northern Song period, the number of certificates sold on the open market fluctuated in accordance with the government's needs, sometimes being banned, other times directly fostered. However, as the Southern Song increasingly diverted its resources to finance wars with neighboring tribes, the need for immediate funds flooded the market with certificates, reaching its peak

18 The actual content of the examinations varied through the years.

19 See Weinstein, *Buddhism Under the T'ang*, 60. Takao believes that in the Song period the sale of tonsure certificates first began in the era of Emperors Ren 仁宗 and Ying 英宗 (r.1023-1067) and simply became more widespread during the reign of Emperor Shen 神宗 (r. 1068-1085), the era traditionally held to be the incipient period for this practice. See Takao, *Sōdai Bukkyōshi*, 25.

20 See Huang, *Songdai Fojiào*, 385.

21 Both certificates were issued and sold by the Bureau of Sacrifices, but the printing took place at the Crafts Institute (*wensi yuan* 文思院), where it was overseen by the Directorate of Imperial Manufactories (*shaofu jian* 少府監).

under the Emperors Gao 高宗 (r. 1127-1162) and Xiao 孝宗 (r. 1163-1189). It is estimated that within one nine-year period (1161 -1169) the government sold more than 120,000 certificates,²² and the gain from the sale of tonsure certificates throughout the Song played no less a role in government finances than the collection of taxes on salt and commerce.²³

The price of blank certificates fluctuated greatly, generally increasing from year to year. Eventually, inflation drove the price to the point where a postulant of humble or even average social station could not afford to take the tonsure. In fact, many monasteries were compelled to take up collections for their postulants, soliciting donations from laypeople for the specific purpose of setting up an endowment fund so that the interest could be used to buy tonsure certificates. Thus, it is clear that taking the tonsure was by no means a simple process; rather, it was an undertaking far beyond the financial means of most individuals.²⁴ Despite the growing difficulty of procuring certificates, the numbers in circulation increased steadily, contributing to a steep decline in the cohesiveness and overall ethical and religious standards of the monastic community. *CYQG* bears witness to the excesses generated in these circumstances, when it warns monastic fundraisers to resist the temptation to embezzle monies for personal purchases of titulary or tonsure certificates or for the tonsuring of postulants as their own disciples.²⁵

22 See Takao, *Sōdai Bukkyōshi*, 26.

23 There exists a sizeable body of research on the sale of tonsure ordination. See Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆, *Chūgoku kinsei Bukkyōshi no shomondai* 中國近世佛教史の諸問題 (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1975), 1-92; Chikusa Masaaki 竺沙雅章, *Chūgoku Bukkyō shakaishi kenkyū* 中國佛教社會史研究 (Tokyo: Dōbōsha, 1982), 17-82; Takao Giken, "Dochō kō" 度牒考, *Rokujō gakuho* 六條學報 226 (1920):6-26; Sogabe Shizuo 曾我部靜雄, "Sō no dochō zakkō" 宋の度牒雜考, *Shigaku zasshi* 41-6 (1930):99-114; Yuan Zhen 袁震, "Liang-Song dudie kao" 兩宋度牒考; Lin Tianwei 林天蔚, "Songdai chushou dudie zhi yanjiu" 宋代出售度牒之研究; and Huang, *Songdai Fojiao*, 384-98.

24 See Huang, *Songdai Fojiao*, 387-388; Moroto, *Chūgoku Bukkyō seidoshi*, 463.

25 YZS [169].

In addition to the price of the tonsure certificate, which itself could be as much as one hundred thousand coins,²⁶ an extra application fee was imposed by the government. According to *QTS*, "When a postulant applies for a tonsure certificate or buys a blank certificate, he must pay 'tonsure money' (*piti qian* 披剃錢) in the amount of one string of coins (*yiguan* 壹貫; i.e., one thousand coins). Once payment has been received and approved by a government official, the certificate is granted. [At this time] the postulant must pay an additional 'writing fee' (*mifei qian* 糜費錢; lit., "surplus money") of one string of coins."²⁷ This edict stands as clear evidence of current certificate prices: postulants obtaining certificates through examination or imperial grant were still required to pay the above fees totaling two strings of coins, whereas blank certificate buyers paid the same two fees as well as the original price of the certificate.

Monks were also required to pay a separate (and undoubtedly less expensive) annual registration fee, referred to as *gongzhang qianwu* 供帳錢物 in *CYQG*.²⁸ The Yuan monastic code *CBQG* reveals that in the Song dynasty, "Buddhist and Daoist clergy registered with the government every year and paid 'money for exemption from adult service obligations' (*mianding qian* 免丁錢)." In return, the government would issue an exemption certificate ([*mianding*] *you* [免丁]由). Thus, in addition to his personal effects and his ordination certificate, a monk was required to carry current *mianding you* on his person when traveling."²⁹ It is often thought that the issuing of the *mianding qian* began in the fifteenth year of the Shaoxing 紹興 era (1145).³⁰ However, given that it is mentioned in

²⁶ According to the table provided by Huang, the cost of a tonsure certificate ranged from 50,000 coins to 1,500,000. The latter price occurred in 1212. See Huang, *Songdai Fojiao*, 389-393. Note that in Huang's table of contents: *qian* 千, *guan* 貫, and *min* 緡 all refer to one thousand coins.

²⁷ *QTS* 50:472d.

²⁸ *YZS* [113].

²⁹ *T* 48:1113c.

³⁰ *FZTJ* 54, *T* 49:473a4-6. During the Tang, the fee paid for the tonsure certificate was referred to as, literally, "money for the purchase of scented water" (*xiangshui qian* 香水錢); the *mianding qian* certificate

CYQG (compiled in 1103), we have proof that the actual collection of annual registration fees far predates the government edict which officially endorsed the practice.

Although it entailed exemption from state labor obligations, the lot of the monk or nun during the Song period was not without its difficulties. Entering postulants were compelled to save a great deal of money before they could purchase tonsure certificates, the poorest among them having to wait as long as twenty years before obtaining the document. And again, once they had received the certificate, they were still legally bound to pay two strings of coins as an application fee. Until the time that the postulant could save up this large amount, he was not exempt from taxes. Thus, while it is a common perception that monks and nuns were all given tax-exempt status, we have seen that a considerable number of them--those awaiting tonsure--continued to pay full taxes, and even those tonsured were subject to an annual exemption fee.

After receiving tonsure, the postulant graduated to the status of novice, and then had to wait to receive full ordination, when he would be issued an ordination certificate (*jiedie* 戒牒) by the Department of Sacrifice. At the same time, a document entitled "The Six Awarenesses" (*liunian*)³¹ containing the signatures of the ordination preceptors was issued by the monastery itself. It was these three documents--the tonsure certificate, the ordination certificate, and "The Six Awarenesses"--that became the standard papers needed to apply for travel permits.³²

The Issuing of Travel Permits

CYQG provides detailed examples of the format used by clerics when applying to the government for travel permits (*panping shi* 判憑式) and for extensions of the permit

was called "money paid for leisure" (*qingxian qian* 清閑錢). *FZTJ* 40, T 49:374b25; see also Weinstein, *Buddhism under the Tang*, 60.

31 For a detailed discussion of "The Six Awarenesses" see n. 91, fasc. 1.

32 *YZS* [39].

(*piping shi* 批憑式). The instructions stipulate that the cleric must "present his tonsure certificate, 'The Six Awarenesses' document, and his ordination certificate to the appropriate office for inspection in order to receive a permit for pilgrimage travel."³³ *QTS* indicates added that a reference from a superior was also needed. Any Buddhist monk (or Daoist priest) who wished to travel beyond the boundaries of his own local prefect had have a superior vouch for him. The superior referred to here would have been the traveling monk's teacher or, if this was not feasible, the abbot of the traveler's visiting monastery.³⁴ After presenting the documents to the local authorities, the monk was issued a permit which strictly prescribed the limits of his itinerary. This permit was to be kept on the monk's person during the entire journey and, along with the tonsure and ordination certificates, it served as the monk's standard form of identification. If a monk were to be found without these documents, or with forged facsimiles, he would be summarily placed in the custody of the local government.³⁵

It was required that the travel permit stipulate not only the monk's destination but also the trip's duration, as well as his intended places of lodging and any secondary area of travel. *QTS* explains that the maximum permissible length of a journey was usually ninety days, but in cases where the monk had to travel more than one thousand miles, the trip could be extended to half a year. If a monk's return was unavoidably delayed for more than thirty days, he could receive special permission to prolong his stay by petitioning the local government.³⁶ The rules concerning the petition to extend a journey are provided by *CYQG*.³⁷ If a traveler desires to prolong his visit in a monastery, he must turn in his

33 *YZS* [39].

34 *QTS* 51:479a. The term *bensi* 本司 in the text should be *benshi* 本師. Cf. *QTS* 51:478c.

35 *QTS* 51:479a-b.

36 *QTS* 51:479a.

37 For the application format see *YZS* [41].

original permit to the local government in exchange for updated documentation. The traveler must proceed directly and without delay to his destination; en route, the monk is not allowed to stay at any one inn or lodging longer than a single night, unless he has fallen ill.³⁸ *QTS* additionally prohibits any travel in the buffer zones between the areas under Song control and enemy territories.³⁹

The procedure for gaining entrance to a monastery is described in *QTS*. Within three days after a monk's arrival at a monastery, an administrator should ask to see the traveler's ordination certificate and travel permit, verify their authenticity, and transfer them to the local government. The travel permit was then destroyed.⁴⁰ According to *CYQG*, it was the duty of the rector (*weinuo* 維那) to inspect these certificates and permits, as well as any government documents, such as master title certificates. The rector also was charged with confiscating such documents when a monk died, and it was his responsibility to collect the annual registration fees. However, *CYQG* explains, the rector then handed these documents to the prior (*kusi* 庫司), who, in turn, submitted them to the local government.⁴¹ Thus, a visiting monk who wished to return to his place of origin would be required to apply for a new permit.

These bureaucratic policies regulating travel were strictly enforced; as *QTS* makes clear, any infraction of the rules carried with it a harsh punishment. For example, if the teacher's letter of recommendation was found to be a forgery, the possessor would be caned. Similarly, a caning would be given to any monk found traveling without having

38 *QTS* 51:479a.

39 The traveling monk is also prohibited from entering the three border districts of Chuanxia 川峽 (i.e., the Huainan 淮南 East District, the Huainan West District, and the Jing West 京西 District). This edict erroneously refers to this area as Zhouxia 州峽, rather than Chuanxia. See Makino, "*Keigen jōhō jirui no dōshakumon*," pt. 2, 55 and 57. An exception to this prohibition was made for those monks who were studying permanently in this area.

40 *QTS* 51:479a.

41 *YZS* [113].

registered at a particular monastery or without having first received full ordination. Any monk discovered beyond the borders of his district and outside the confines of his permit destination would be laicized, while a monk found traveling without any permit first would be caned one hundred times and then laicized.⁴² The severity of these punishments is ample evidence of the importance placed by the Song government on controlling the mobility of the Buddhist clergy.⁴³ Both *CYQG* and *QTS* reveal in painstaking detail the extent to which a monk's every move was scrutinized by the secular authorities.

The Granting of the Title of Master

A monk's chances of obtaining a higher position in his home monastery's administration increased if he traveled to numerous other monasteries, and such activity could even contribute to his becoming abbot. However, a simpler way to increase his fame and expand his career opportunities was to acquire an honorific title bestowed by the government. The Song government came to realize that it could use the "granting," or sale, of honorific titles as a means to increase revenue, so it offered two types of official recognition: the bestowal of a purple robe and the granting of the title of master.

It is recorded in *DSL* that the practice of bestowing purple robes began with Empress Wu 武后 (r. 684-704), who gave purple-colored robes to Falang 法朗 and eight other monks who "retranslated" the *Great Clouds Sutra* 大雲經, thereby smoothing the way for her assumption of the throne.⁴⁴ The granting of the title of master (*dashi* 大師) is believed to have begun in 870 C.E., the eleventh year of the Xiantong 咸通 era, during the

⁴² *QTS* 51:478c-d.

⁴³ See Kosaka Kiyū, "Sōdai jiin sōni seido to shingi: toku ni sekichō no kyōshin to gyōyū no hanpyō wo chūshin ni" 宋代寺院僧尼制度と清規一特に籍帳の供申と行遊の判憑を中心に一, in *KBK* 26 (1968): 103-117; also see Makino, "*Keigen jōhō jirui*," pt. 2, 55.

⁴⁴ *DSL* 3, T 54:248c. An award of purple cords with a golden seal (*zishou jinzhang* 紫綬金章) had already been the highest mark of honor for government officials; thus, the adoption of the purple vestment (excluding the seal) among monastics was merely an extension of a pre-existing secular custom. See Weinstein, *Buddhism under the Tang*, 192, n. 21.

reign of the Tang Emperor Yi 懿宗.⁴⁵ Even before this time, however, a special title (other than *dashi*) had been given to the monk Louyue 婁約 by the Emperor Wu (r. 502-547) of the Liang dynasty.⁴⁶ Both practices were maintained by succeeding dynasties as a means of showing favor to the clergy.

When these titles were first instituted, they were a universally-respected acknowledgement of an individual's virtue, wisdom, or career achievement. In the early Song period (969-979), the government endeavored to maintain the integrity of the title of master by requiring candidates to pass examinations at the imperial court on the sutras, vinayas, and commentaries. Those who passed such exams were known as "*shoubiao seng*" 手表僧, i.e., "monks who have gained audience with the emperor by their own hands."⁴⁷ Over the years, however, the examination system was quietly abandoned and replaced by a system of personal recommendation. Candidates could be recommended by the imperial family, by the nobility, even by high-ranking officials and monk-officers. It would not be long before this system became corrupted, and by the eleventh century the title of master was being bought and sold on the open market alongside the certificates of tonsure. The first clearly recorded sale of the title in the Song dynasty is dated 1071, but one can assume that this practice began at the same time as the sale of certificates of tonsure: 1067.⁴⁸ As with the tonsure certificates, the title of master had become a commodity due to the government's need to fund its constant wars.

Since the title of master carried no tax benefits, its market price was far lower than that of the blank tonsure certificate, often no more than one tenth the price. The price of the title--which had to be renewed yearly like the annual registration fee--also varied in

⁴⁵ DSL 3, T 54:249b8-11.

⁴⁶ DSL 3, T 54:249b1.

⁴⁷ DSL 3, T 54:249b20.

⁴⁸ See *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿, "Fangyu" 方域14-34, p. 7557; noted in Huang, *Songdai Fojiao*, 453.

accordance with the number of characters written on the certificate: the more characters, the greater the prestige and, accordingly, the greater its monetary worth. Titles could contain as few as two characters or as many as ten. Furthermore the price varied according to the sectarian affiliation of the recipient. For example, in 1145 a monk ordained in the Lü or Tiantai school who wished to purchase a two-character master title had to pay six strings of coins. Eight strings were required for a four-character title, and nine strings for a six-character title. A monk of the Chan tradition, however, need only pay three strings of coins for a two-character title, four strings for a four-character title, and six strings for a six-character title. Daoists priests, who could also buy such titles, paid roughly the same fee as Chan monks, except that a six-character title for them was even less expensive, costing only five strings of coins.⁴⁹

At the same time that these titles were being bought and sold, it is believed that they continued to be granted by imperial decree, although no doubt such royal favors came to lose much of their original prestige, if indeed they maintained any of their original significance at all. The corruption surrounding the conferral of monastic titles was a phenomenon that proved offensive not only to the outside public, but also to many within the Buddhist community. For instance, Dōgen's master Rujing railed against a system in which monks who had bought their tonsure certificates to begin with were now paying the government large sums of money for master titles in hopes of eventually attaining the rank of abbot.⁵⁰

The Election of a New Abbot in a Public or Private Monastery

The Song government kept tight control not only over the status and mobility of an individual monk, but also over the general protocol within monasteries, especially within

⁴⁹ Huang, *Songdai Fojiao*, 453.

⁵⁰ See *Shōbōgenzō* 39, "Shisho" 嗣書, *DZZ* I:342.

public monasteries. An example of this control was the election of an abbot, the proper procedure for which was carefully dictated by Song legal edicts.

Buddhist monasteries of the Song period could be divided into two categories: the public, or "ten directions," monastery (*shifang cha* 十方刹) and the private monastery, or "successive cloister" (*jiayi yuan* 甲乙院). These were distinguishable from each other by differing systems of succession. The public monastery invited renowned senior monks to serve as abbot, and there was no limitation on their sectarian affiliation; i.e., succession was not based on a master-disciple relationship, but rather was open to any meritorious candidate.⁵¹ In the private monastery, sometimes referred to as the "cloister of disciple tonsuring" (*dudi yuan* 度弟院), the abbot appointed one of his own tonsured disciples (or his Dharma brother) as the next abbot; thus transmission was based on direct succession.⁵²

According to *QTS*, should a vacancy for the position of abbot arise in a public Buddhist monastery, the administration of the local prefecture will entrust its own clerical officials in the local department of Saṅgha rectifiers (*sengzhengsi* 僧正司) with the task of assembling the heads of the public monasteries or temples in that prefect in order to select a Buddhist monk to fill the vacancy. Such a monk should be of senior status, one whose great virtue and cultivation commanded universal respect. The clerical officials then reported the selection to the prefectural government where their choice of candidates was duly considered and either approved or rejected. If the clerical officials were unable to locate a suitable candidate, they were to expand their search to include monks in neighboring prefects.⁵³

51 A definition given by Dōchū in his *Zenrin shōkisen* 禪林象器箋 (henceforward, ZSS): 7b.

52 ZSS:8a. For a further discussion of these two categories see Takao Giken, "Sōdai jiin seido no ichi kōsatsu" 宋代寺院制度の一考察. *SBS* 5-2 (1941):8-22; Huang, *Songdai Fojiao*, 305-13; Foulk, "The Ch'an School and its Place," 62-72.

53 *QTS* 50:476c.

This system is discussed in *CYQG*. After the demise of an abbot, "the administrative staff of the monastery should discuss the appointment of a new abbot and then issue letters to neighboring monasteries to report the vacancy and ask for recommendations. The senior monks of surrounding monasteries and monk-officials proposed candidates, but if their recommendations were not agreed upon by the assembly, the administrators had to meet with a government official, explain the situation, and ask for an alternative proposal. If the government entrusted the monastery to select an abbot unilaterally, the monastery should do so quickly in order to avoid having the abbot's position vacant for an extended period of time."⁵⁴

QTS also prohibits the establishment of retirement hermitages within the grounds of the monastery,⁵⁵ a policy intended to prevent retired abbots from exercising continued influence over the selection of future abbots. *CYQG*, once again reflecting state concerns, echoes this prohibition, adding that incumbent abbots should not use their position to construct such a hermitage.⁵⁶

In sharp contrast to the procedures followed in public monasteries, the election of an abbot of a private temple is also described in *QTS*, but is not mentioned in *CYQG*, a text intended solely for use at public monasteries. *QTS* divides private monasteries into two categories, on the basis of the line of succession: the first was "horizontal," with succession accorded to the former abbot's monastic siblings (i.e., monks of the same generation); the second was "vertical," with the abbacy passing to those disciples directly under the former abbot.⁵⁷ If the abbot of a monastery of the "horizontal" category passed away or was compelled to retire, then, according to *QTS*, one of the abbot's monastic brothers was

⁵⁴ YZS [263].

⁵⁵ *QTS* 51:486b.

⁵⁶ YZS [264].

⁵⁷ *QTS* 50:476d.

eligible to fill the position. If there was a brother and senior monk within the monastery who was eligible and recommended by the entire assembly, then he was to be assigned to fill the vacancy. Only if there is no qualified candidates in the current abbot's generation should the abbot's tonsured disciple or the abbot's brother's tonsured disciple to be chosen as successor.⁵⁸ In monasteries that operated on the system of "vertical" inheritance, the abbot's direct disciple was to succeed him. However, if in such a monastery there was no qualified disciple, then one of the abbot's monastic brothers was to be chosen.⁵⁹

The details of succession seem even more restrictive when one considers that the only ones eligible to become the new abbot were the abbot's brothers or disciples who were in the temple at the time the vacancy arose, or those who were traveling on official monastery business for less than half a year and who could return to the monastery in a relatively prompt manner. From among these eligible candidates the new abbot was selected on the basis of seniority. Those monks who had been away from the temple for a year or more, even if on temple business, as well as those who had been gone less than half a year but who were not conducting official monastery business, were not considered eligible candidates. The purpose of this rule was to prevent those monks who had been long absent from the monastery from suddenly appearing at the time of the vacancy with unmerited aspirations of becoming abbot.⁶⁰

Restrictions on Monastic Conversion from Public to Private Status and Vice Versa

The Song government looked far more favorably on public monasteries, which were more easily supervised, than on private ones. Regulations contained in Song edicts

58 QTS 50:476d.

59 QTS 50:476d.

60 QTS 50:476d.

made conversion from private to public status a painless process, whereas conversion from public to private was so arduous as to be virtually prohibited.

QTS explicitly encourages private monasteries to become public, explaining that when there is no one to succeed the leadership of a given private temple, or when a private temple is in a state of ruin with little hope of independent recovery, then conversion to a public institution may take place without any impediment whatsoever on the part of the state.⁶¹

However, conversion in the opposite direction is treated by *QTS* as tantamount to criminal activity. According to this Song edict, if the chiefs or disciples of a monastery or temple which had become a public institution arbitrarily entered into litigation in order to change their institution back into a private hereditary monastery, the institution's successor, that is, the candidate for the post of abbot (most likely the one responsible for the conversion request) would be punished by one hundred strokes of a cane. If a public monastery were simply to choose its successor unilaterally from among its own members, without reporting to the government for permission, thereby effectively acting as a private institution, the severity of the caning would be two or three times worse.⁶² Furthermore, not only did the government openly discourage members of a public institution from such acts, but it also offered a caveat to would-be abettors, warning that any official who allowed such clandestine activities to take place, whether out of negligence or corruption, would receive the same punishment of 200 to 300 cane strokes.⁶³

However, it was not only state pressure that led many monasteries to choose new abbots through elections rather than inheritance systems, that is, to convert their selection system to that of a public monastery. Elections helped to ensure the high quality of the

⁶¹ *QTS* 50:476c.

⁶² *QTS* 50:476a.

⁶³ *QTS* 50:476a.

abbot, and a highly respected abbot would in turn bring more prestige to the monastery as a whole, thereby attracting more monks and nuns. Thus, many monasteries seeking to grow in stature and size would convert to public status of their own accord. Such conversions became a prevalent phenomenon not only among Chan temples, but among others schools of the Song era as well, such as the Lü and Tiantai schools.

The public system did have some disadvantages. The moment of transition between old and new abbots was a potential point of instability. The new abbot could bring drastic change: the sudden institution of new rules or the abolishment of old ones. Or, squabbles could arise over what possessions the retiring abbot was allowed to take with him. That such problems did occur seems probable, since *CYQG* takes pains to describe the transition procedures so as to avoid such difficulties: "With the help of administrators, the retiring abbot must clearly write down all monies belonging to the monastery and any donations designated for the Saṅgha membership in the income records. A list of communal items used in the abbot's office must be transferred properly, along with the income record, all of which is then closed with the monastic seal. The abbot then asks the administrators to appoint someone to safeguard the abbot's quarters and the transferred items."⁶⁴

It is believed that the system of public monasteries, dependent as it was on the government's approval, ultimately proved too susceptible to corruption, prompting a movement towards reconversion to private status that gradually gained momentum during the Southern Song.⁶⁵ By this time, the government's conversion regulations had ceased to exert any prohibitive influence upon the Buddhist community.

There was also a third category of monastic institution in the Song period known as the "Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries" (*wushan shicha* 五山十刹). These were some of the most prestigious monasteries in the land and their abbots were appointed directly by

⁶⁴ YZS [264].

⁶⁵ Takao, *Sōdai Bukkyōshi*, 67.

the emperor.⁶⁶ A final, fourth category consisted of those monasteries founded by laypeople, usually members of the nobility, who donated their own estates for the building of "merit cloisters" (*gongde yuan* 功德院) in order to render their land tax exempt. In such cases, the abbot would simply be selected from the population of neighboring monasteries and was chosen directly by the layperson.⁶⁷

66 The Five Mountains referred to (1) Jingshan 徑山, (2) Lingyinsi, 靈隱寺 (3) Jingcisi 淨慈寺, (4) Tiantongsi 天童寺, and (5) Eyuwangsi 阿育王寺; all were located in present Zhejiang province. See Dōchū's ZSS: 3a. For the list of the Ten Monasteries see ZSS:5b-6a.

It is uncertain when this system was initially established. But traditionally scholars follow the record written by Song Lian 宋濂 (1310-1381) who claims the system was initiated in the Southern Song. In his inscription for monk Gufeng Mingde 孤峰明德 (1294-1372), *Zhuchi Jingci Chansi Gufeng De Gong taming* 住持淨慈禪寺孤峰德公塔銘, Song Lian mentioned that after the Song imperial court moved to the south Chan, avoiding the invasion by Tartars, i.e., the beginning of the Southern Song period, Shi Miyuan 史彌遠 (1164-1233), who served as prime minister from 1208-1233 and was granted a posthumous title Weiwang 衛王, petitioned to the emperor to establish this prestigious monastic system. See *Zhuchi Jingci Chansi Gufeng De Gong taming*, in *Song Xueshi wenji* 宋學士文集, "Hanyuan bieji" 翰院別集10, in *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 edition [80]:316a (Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1929).

This system was inspired by the secular bureaucratic system in which an official had to work his way up from lower levels and establish his fame in order to ascend to the top positions such as military general and civilian prime minister. The abbacies in these Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries were analogous to these positions. When a monk attained the abbacy in these monasteries, his achievement carried no less honor in the religious realm than that obtained by a secular man serving as prime minister in the government.

CYQG, compiled in Northern Song, does not reveal any information on the Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries, hence neither confirms nor contradicts the claim that the system was instituted later in the Southern Song.

The system was not only applied in the Chan school, but also later adopted in the Tiantai school. Most of the Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries were located in Zhejiang area as well. (A table listing these monasteries is provided by Huang, *Songdai Fojiao*, 315-316). See the thorough study by Ishii Shūdō 石井修道, "Chūgoku no gozan jissatsu seido no kisoteki kenkyū" 中國の五山十刹制度の基礎的研究, pt.1, *KBR* 13 (1982):89-132; pt. 2, *KBR* 14 (1983):82-122; pt. 3, *KBR* 15 (1984):61-129; pt. 4, *KBR* 16 (1985):30-82. Also Kusumoto Bunyū 久須本文雄, "Gozan seidoshi kō" 五山制度史攷, *ZBKK* 7 (1975): 137-153.

67 Merit cloisters were usually built beside the tomb of a noble family, or converted from their private family shrine, in order to gain the benefit of a tax exemption. The nobility maintained the right to appoint an abbot. For further discussion of the merit cloister see Chikusa Masaaki, *Chūgoku Bukkyō shakaishi*, 111-143; Takao, *Sōdai Bukkyōshi*, 71-73; Huang, *Songdai Fojiao*, 305-13.

The System of Cleric Officials

One of the Chinese government's most significant acts was the creation of an official hierarchy with oversight of Buddhist monasteries so that they could be kept under state control. Certain monks were selected as "officials" representing the government and entrusted to oversee the Buddhist community. This system of cleric officials began very early during the Post Qin (393-416), when the ruler, Yao Chang 姚萇 (330-393), appointed the monk Senglüe 僧暹 as Saṅgha Rectifier (*sengzheng*).⁶⁸ The use of cleric officials was then adopted by succeeding dynasties, and although the system and its titles varied with each dynasty, it remained firmly in place, with only a gradual decline in use, until the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911).⁶⁹

⁶⁸ DSL 2, T 54:242c18; GSZ 6, T 50:363b18.

⁶⁹ See Xie Chongguang 謝重光 and Bai Wengu 白文固, *Zhongguo sengguan zhidushi* 中國僧官制度史 (Xining: Qinghai Renmin Chubenshe 青海人民出版社, 1990), 256-277; Tian Guanglie 田光烈, "Woguo lidai sengguan zhidu lueshu" 我國歷代僧官制度略述, *Neiming* 內明 226 (1991):41.

Several studies in Japanese and Chinese examine in detail various aspects of the creation of a clerical hierarchy.

From Southern-Northern Dynasties to the Five Dynasties: He Guangzhong 賀光中, "Lidai sengguan zhidu kao" 歷代僧官制度考, in *Zhongguo Fojiao tongshi luncong* 中國佛教通史論叢, 193-299. In *Xiandai Fojiao xueshu congkan* 現代佛教學術叢刊 series, vol. 39. (Taipei: Dasheng Wenhua Chubanshe 大乘文化出版社, 1978). From Southern-Northern Dynasties to Song Dynasty: Hattori Shungai 服部俊崖, "Shina sōkan no enkaku" 支那僧官の沿革, pt.1. *BS* 2-5 (1912):65-81; pt. 2, *BS* 2-6 (1912):55-63; pt. 3, *BS* 2-8 (1912):55-64.

Southern-Northern Dynasties: Yamazaki Hiroshi 山崎宏, "Nanboku chō jidai ni okeru sōkan no kentō" 南北朝時代に於ける僧官の検討, *Bukkyōkenkyū* 佛教研究 4-2 (1940):63-92, and "HokuSei no sōkan shōgen jittō kō" 北齊の僧官昭玄十統考, *Shichō* 8-1 (1938):129-45.

Sui Dynasty and Tang Dynasty: Yamazaki Hiroshi, "Zuidai sōkan kō" 隋代僧官考, *SBS* 6-1 (1942):1-15, "Tōdai no sōkan ni tsuite: sōtō, sōroku, sōjō" 唐代の僧官に就いて—僧統・僧錄・僧正—, *Shichō* 9-2 (1939):18-68, and "Tō chūki irai no Chōan no kudokushi" 唐中期以來の長安功德使, *Tōhō gakuho* 東方學報 4 (1933):368-406; (in English) Weinstein, *Buddhism Under the Tang*.

Song Dynasty and Yuan Dynasty: Takao Giken, "Sōdai sōkan seido no kenkyū" 宋代僧官制度の研究, *SKS* 4-4 (1941):1-17; Fujishima Takeki 藤島建樹, "Genchō ni okeru kenshin to senseiin" 元朝における權臣と宣政院, *Ōtani gakuho* 大谷學報 52-4 (1973):17-31; Nogami Shunjō 野上俊靜, "Gen no kudokushishi ni tsuite" 元の功德使司に就いて, *SBS* 6-2 (1942):1-11 and "Gen no senseiin ni tsuite" 元の宣政院に就いて, *Haneda Hakase shōju kinen Tōyōshi ronsō* 羽田博士頌壽記念東洋史論叢, 779-95 (Kyoto: Haneda Hakase Shōju Kinenkai, 1950).

In the Song period, the department of Saṅgha Recorder (*senglu si* 僧錄司) was part of the central government located in the capital, and departments known as Saṅgha Rectifiers (*sengzheng si*) were instituted at the local level in each circuit. During this time clerical officials were selected from among those erudite monks who had passed the sutra examinations. The various positions in the department were the Saṅgha Recorders (*senglu* 僧錄), the Assistant Saṅgha Recorders (*fu senglu* 副僧錄), the Chief Seats of the Sutras, the Chief Seats of the Treatises (*jinglun shouzu* 經論首座), and the Secretaries (*jianyi* 鑒義). Within the local Saṅgha rectifiers department, the cleric officials were given the titles Saṅgha Rectifier, Assistant Saṅgha Rectifier (*fu sengzheng* 副僧正) and Saṅgha Judge (*sengpan* 僧判). In those areas where Buddhism was flourishing, a position entitled Metropolitan Saṅgha Rectifier (*du sengzheng* 都僧正) was added to the Saṅgha Rectifier.⁷⁰

However, in two of the most prestigious Buddhist monasteries of the time-- Wutaishan 五台山 and Tiantaishan 天台山, where each monastic complex was actually a collection of many individual sectarian temples--the government appointed separate clerical officials for these special districts. The Wutai shan system was called the Department of Saṅgha Rectifiers for the Ten Temples (*shisi sengzhengsi* 十寺僧正司), within which the positions of a Saṅgha Rectifier and several Assistant Saṅgha Rectifiers were installed;⁷¹

Ming Dynasty: Tatsuike Kiyoshi 龍池清, "Mindai no sōkan" 明代の僧官, *SBS* 4-3 (1940):35-46; Mano Senryū 間野潛龍, "Chūgoku Mindai no sōkan ni tsuite" 中國明代の僧官について, *Ōtani gakuhō* 大谷學報 36-3 (1956):53-62; Hasebe Yūkei 長谷部幽溪, *Min-Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū* 明清佛教教團史研究 (Kyoto: Dōbōsha 同朋舎, 1993), 77-92.

⁷⁰ The areas included the prefectures Wenzhou 温州, Hangzhou 杭州, Taizhou 台州, Huzhou 湖州, Chuzhou 處州 and Mingzhou 明州, which were all located in Zhejiang province. See Takao, *Sōdai Bukkyōshi*, 48.

⁷¹ The position of Saṅgha Rectifiers for the Ten Temples was attested by Jōjin 成尋 (1011-1081), who visited Wutaishan at 1072. (See *San Tendai Godaisan ki* 參天台 五台山記 [abbr. *STGK*] 5, *NBZ* 115:95b.) Nevertheless, this title had existed ever since the Tang, when Zhijun 智顛 (c. 791) was first granted this title (*SGSZ* 23, *T* 50:855c21-22). See Takao, *Sōdai Bukkyōshi*, 49.

while in the Tiantaishan, its own Metropolitan Saṅgha Rectifier, Saṅgha Rectifier, Assistant Saṅgha Rectifier, and Saṅgha Administrator (*sengsi* 僧司) were appointed.⁷²

Clerical officials were intended to serve as mediators between the government and the Buddhist community. In this capacity, clerical officials supervised novices' sutra examinations,⁷³ novices' ordination,⁷⁴ the registration of clergy,⁷⁵ the granting of purple robes and master titles,⁷⁶ the selection of abbots,⁷⁷ the changing of a monastery's status (i.e., from public to private, or vice versa),⁷⁸ and monks' travels.⁷⁹

The clerical officials in turn were being supervised by a separate division of the government. The title and nature of this supervisory division varied from period to period. In general, before 1078 (the first year of Yuanfeng 元豐 era), the supervisors were called the Commissioners of Good Works (*gongde shi* 功德使); from 1078 to the end of the Northern Song period, they were designated the Court for State Ceremonials (*honglu si* 鴻臚寺); and during the Southern Song they were referred to as the Department of Sacrifices.⁸⁰ As Takao points out, however, the Commissioners of Good Works and the Court for State Ceremonials may not have exercised direct power over local clerical

72 See *STGK*, NBZ 115:17b; Takao, *Sōdai Bukkyōshi*, 49.

73 *QTS* 50:470a.

74 *QTS* 50:475c.

75 *QTS* 50:469b.

76 *QTS* 50:477b-d.

77 *QTS* 50:476c.

78 *QTS* 51:487d.

79 *QTS* 51:478d.

80 Takao, *Sōdai Bukkyōshi*, 36.

officials, for not until the Southern Song period did the Department of Sacrifices control the registration of all monks and nuns.⁸¹

Clearly, many aspects of life in a Buddhist monastery of the Song period were under close governmental supervision, especially the ordination process, the election of abbots, and the mobility of travelers. The threat of punishment for any infraction of a state regulation in monastic life should not be underestimated as a decisive factor; the severity of these restrictions is reflected in the fact that the penalty for an offense as minor as traveling without a permit was forced laicization. Such a policy could only have been initiated by secular authorities, as it flies in the face of Buddhist tradition; Vinaya regulations call for a monk to be defrocked only in the case of having committed one of the four gravest offenses: sexual intercourse, murder, theft, and fraudulent claims to enlightenment. Monks in Song China were subject not only to the rigorous rules prescribed by the Vinaya and the monastic codes, but to the same state laws that bound all lay citizens as well.

⁸¹ Takao, *Sōdai Bukkyōshi*, 42.

c. The Influence of Chinese Culture upon Monastic Practice

Another of the major influences on the composition of Buddhist monastic codes were the customs prevalent in the surrounding Chinese culture, which, in turn, were heavily imbued with the ideals and practices of Confucianism. In adopting many aspects of governmental protocol, the Buddhist monastery came to function as a microcosm of the imperial court, with the role of the abbot being analogous to the position of the emperor, including the design of the abbot's residence and the method of his sermons in the Dharma hall. Furthermore, the hierarchical staff of the monastic administration was created in direct imitation of civil and military positions in the Chinese government. The rules of decorum for the highly-ritualized monastic tea ceremony have their direct precedents in the literature of Confucianism, and worship of the ancient legendary emperors as national deities in Confucian tradition also found its way into the ceremonies held in Buddhist monasteries. There can be little doubt that Chinese Buddhism borrowed many of its practices from secular society, whose social institutions, religious conceptions, and ritual protocol can be traced in large part to the ancient Confucianist scriptures known as the "Three Rites" (*Sanli* 三禮) or the "Canon of Rites" (*Lijing* 禮經).

The three works which constitute this canonical Confucianist collection are *Zhouli* 周禮 (*Ceremonial of the Zhou Dynasty*), *Yili* 儀禮 (*Book of Etiquette and Ceremonials*), and *Liji* 禮記 (*The Book of Rites*). The first text, *Zhouli*, describes the imperial system of officials and their various titles. The second work, *Yili*, describes the proper etiquette for numerous civil and social occasions, such as adulthood ceremonies, marriage ceremonies, social visits, district symposia, local or national archery meetings, banquets, the sending of envoys, and dinners sponsored for the commissioner. The third (and chronologically last) text, *Liji*, records a number of dialogues concerning political philosophy between

Confucius and his disciples and contemporaries.⁸² Thus all aspects of Confucian society are laid out in the three works: *Zhouli* describes the civil and military hierarchy surrounding the emperor; *Yili* provides concrete guidelines of etiquette for both the gentry and commonpeople; and *Liji* puts forth the political ideals for a ruler who governs a country and for the individual who governs himself.

Imperial System and the Monastic Practice

If we carefully examine the layout of the buildings in a Buddhist monastery of the Song period, paying special attention to the arrangement of details around the abbot, we see that it closely resembles the structure of the imperial court. First, the abbot's residency itself is modeled after the private quarters of the emperor, the original conception of which can be found in the Confucian Book of Rites. In most monasteries, the abbot's quarters (*fangzhang* 方丈) were built behind the Dharma hall, the two halls being bridged by an intermediary chamber known as the *qintang* 寢堂. The abbot would give public sermons in the Dharma hall on formal occasions, but withdrew to receive visitors and give more private sermons in the *qintang*,⁸³ and would retire to the rearmost quarters to sleep--an

⁸² The authorship of these three texts is unclear. Both *Zhouli* and *Yili* were traditionally assigned to Duke Zhou (d. 1105 B.C.E.), but modern scholars have contended that the former was written at some point toward the end of the Warring States 戰國 period (403-221 B.C.E.), while the latter was compiled later, during the so-called Spring-Autumn period 春秋 (770-403 B.C.E.). *Liji* is believed to have been written originally by the disciples of Confucius but, after being nearly destroyed, re-edited by scholars Dai De 戴德 (resulting in the name "The Book of Rites by Senior Dai;" *Da Dai li* 大戴禮) and Dai Sheng 戴聖 (resulting in the title "The Book of Rites by Junior Dai;" *Xiao Dai li* 小戴禮). The text available to us today was re-edited by Ma Rong 馬融 (79-166 C.E.), who added some chapters to the Dai Sheng's edition. Here we will not engage in a discussion of the authenticity of authorship.

Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-100 B.C.E.) in the Han Dynasty wrote commentaries on all three texts. Based on these commentaries (*zhu* 注), Jia Gonyan 賈公彥 (n.d.--T'ang Dynasty) wrote the treatises on both *Zhouli* and *Yili*; while Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648) annotated *Liji*. Jia's and Kong's treatises (*shu* 疏) are regarded as the authoritative commentaries (*zhushu* 注疏) on these texts.

In this dissertation, I am indebted to James Legge's translation of the *Liji* (*Li Chi: Book of Rites*. 2 vols [Oxford:Oxford University Press, 1885; repr. New Hyde Park, N.Y.:University Books, 1967]) and John Steele's translation of the *Yili* (*The I-li: Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial* [London: Probsthain & Co., 1917; repr. Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1966])

⁸³ YZS [79].

arrangement which was largely adopted from imperial custom. The character *qin* 寢 was originally used to refer to the rear part of an imperial ancestral temple, a meaning clearly explained by the annotation to the *Liji*: "The front part of the [ancestral] shrine is called the *miao* 廟; the rear part is called the *qin*."⁸⁴ More detailed annotation is given in its commentary: "The *miao* is where deities are received; it is considered a place of honor and therefore it is located in the front. The *qin* is where [the ancestral] clothing is kept; it is considered inferior and therefore it is in the rear. Attached to the east and west sides of the *miao* are two chambers, separated by partitions; the *qin*, however, is just one large room."⁸⁵

Furthermore, *Liji* indicates that the emperor's bedroom is called *xiaoqin* 小寢, whereas the hall outside his bedroom used for meetings with high-ranking ministers is referred to as *luqin* 路寢. The functions of the two chambers are made clear in the following description of daily imperial life: "(Their ministers and officers) entered (the palace) as soon as they could distinguish the dawning light, and the ruler came out daily (to the first court, inside the Khū gate [*zhumen* 朱門]), and received them. (After this audience), he retired, and went to the great chamber [*luqin*], there to listen to their proposals about the measures of government. He employed men to see whether the Great officers (were all withdrawn); and when they had left, he repaired to the small chamber [*xiaoqin*], and put off his (court) robes."⁸⁶

Another monastic building adopted from Confucian ancestral practices was the patriarch hall, referred to as *zhentang* 真堂 (hall of [patriarchal] pictures) and located in the west part of the compound behind the dharma hall and symmetrical to the earth hall. In the patriarch hall, also named the "hall of principles" (*gangji tang* 綱紀堂), the Bodhidharma

⁸⁴ *Liji*, in *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (abbr. SJZ; Taipei: Dahua Shuju, repr.1982), "Yueling" 月令, SJZ I:1362a.

⁸⁵ *Liji*, "Yueling," SJZ I:1362a-b.

⁸⁶ Legge, *Li chi*, II:3; *Liji*, "Yuzao" 玉藻, SJZ II:1474b.

statue was placed in the center; on its left were the second patriarch Huike, the founding abbot, and the abbots of the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth generations; on its right were Baizhang and the abbots of the first, third, fifth, seventh and ninth generations.⁸⁷ This arrangement is very much like the placement of ancestor statues in a traditional Chinese ancestral temple, as we see in *Liji*: "(The ancestral temple of) the Son of Heaven embraced seven fanes (or smaller temples); three on the left and three on the right, and that of his great ancestor (fronting the south):--in all, seven" 天子七廟、三昭三穆、與大祖之廟而七.⁸⁸ This system of ancestor worship, which arose in the Zhou dynasty, placed the primal ancestor in the center, and shrines representing the second, fourth, and sixth (i.e., even-numbered) generations were placed on the left and were called *zhao* 昭; whereas those of the third, fifth, and seventh (i.e., odd-numbered) generations were placed on the right and called *mu* 穆.⁸⁹

The patriarch hall was built not solely for commemorative decoration, but was used as the site of memorial services. Although *CYQG* does not provide any detailed information about the hall other than mentioning the term once, we can learn much about the building through the later monastic code, *BYQG*, which closely describes the memorial services for Bodhidharma, Baizhang, the founding abbots, and the former abbots held in the patriarch hall.⁹⁰

The administrative system in the Song monastery was clearly modeled after the Chinese governmental system. This imitation can be seen in both the hierarchical structure of the monastic staff and in the practice of the abbot ascending to the high seat in the

⁸⁷ See the example given in the schematic diagram of Temple Lingyin in *DJZ*, *CHSS*:1287 and 1319.

⁸⁸ Legge, *Li chi*, I:223; *Liji*, "Wangzhi" 王制, *SJZ* I:1335b.

⁸⁹ See also John Jorgensen, "The 'Imperial' Lineage of Ch'an Buddhism: The Role of Confucian Ritual and Ancestor Worship in the Ch'an Search for Legitimation in the Mid-T'ang Dynasty," in *Papers on Far Eastern History* 35 (1987): 110.

⁹⁰ *ZZK* 2-17-1:32d-33d.

Dharma hall to preach every five days. As indicated in *CYQG*, the monastic administrative staff (with the exclusion of the abbot) could be divided into two categories--administrators (*zhishi* 知事) and chief officers (*toushou* 頭首)--or, as the division is characterized in the later Yuan edition, *CBQG*, into two sections--the east and west sections (*dongxu* 東序 and *xixu* 西序).⁹¹ This binary structure was adopted from the two sections--civilian officials and military officers-- of the central government system. Even the custom of having administrators and chief officers form two lines on either side of the hall as the abbot ascends the platform in the Dharma hall closely resembles the positions of military officers and civilian officials when the emperor held audience in the imperial palace.

The abbot ascended the platform in the Dharma hall to give his sermon six times a month, that is, on the first, the fifth, the tenth, the fifteenth, the twentieth, and the twenty-fifth days.⁹² This custom was obviously adopted from the practice of Chinese government officials, more specifically corresponding to the military officers of the fifth grade or above, who made official visits to the emperor every five days. The *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 states:⁹³

Civilian and military officials of the ninth grade or above as well as the offspring of the two princes (*liangwang hou* 兩王後), hold an audience [with the emperor] on the new moon and full moon days [of each month]. Civilian officials of the fifth grade or above, auxiliary officials of the two departments (*liangsheng gongfeng guan* 兩省供奉官), investigating censors (*jiancha yushi* 監察御史), bureau vice-directors (*yuanwai lang* 員外郎), and Erudites of the Chamberlain for Ceremonials (*taichang boshi* 太常博士) hold audiences on a daily basis. Thus [these latter positions] are referred to as "officials of frequent audience" (*changcan guan* 常參官). Military officials of the third grade or above hold audience on every "third day" [i.e., the third, the sixth, the ninth, the thirteenth, the sixteenth, the nineteenth,

91 T 48:1111c-1112a.

92 YZS [79].

93 *Xin Tangshu* 48:1236; cited by ZSS:417b. English translations of the above titular terms were adopted from Charles O. Hucker's *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985; repr. 1989).

the twenty-third, the twenty-sixth and the twenty-ninth; nine days in total]; therefore, [these positions] are referred to as "officials of nine audiences" (*jiucan guan* 九參官). [Military officials] of the fifth grade or above and those posted on guard (*zhechong dangfan* 折衝當番) hold audiences on every "fifth day" and are thus called "officials of six audiences" (*liucan guan* 六參官).

The Monastic Tea Ceremony and the Book of Yili

From the Song monastic code *CYQG* it is evident that the tea ceremony, held for a variety of occasions, was considered a major component of social life inside the Chinese monastery. The abbot and the prior (*jianyuan* 監院) held tea services to commemorate the transfer of duties from old to new administrators or from old to new chief officers. At the commencement and closing of the summer retreat, the abbot, the prior (as the chief of administrators), and the chief seat of the Saṅgha hall (*shouzuozuo* 首座, as the leading position among the chief officers) all sponsored tea ceremonies in the Saṅgha hall. The abbot also held a tea service for visits by government officers.

The tea service was sponsored not only by the highest-ranking administrators, but by the junior monks as well. Even those who were not members of the administrative staff were responsible for holding a tea ceremony for the abbot and administrators. The abbot's Dharma heirs and select disciples (*rushi dizi* 入室弟子) also sponsored a tea ceremony for the abbot. Thus, generally speaking, tea ceremonies were of great importance for helping all members of the assembly become acquainted with administrators, and were so frequent that descriptions of the ceremony procedure, down to the most minute of details, constitute a central part of *CYQG* and of all the monastic codes to follow.

Nevertheless, during the Song Dynasty the tea service was not a practice unique to the Chan monastery, but was a crucial aspect of social life--secular and monastic--throughout China. It seems clear that the Buddhist community simply adopted a custom already predominant in the society around it. Due to the development of commerce and

industry as well as the growing trend toward urbanization, people in the Song enjoyed a far greater level of material comfort than had previously been known. Thus, the drinking of tea was no longer the mark of aristocracy, but became the habit of the common people, and this "democratization" of tea has attracted the interest of several scholars. In his excellent article on the prevalence of tea drinking in Song China, Japanese scholar Mizuno Masaaki 水野正明 demonstrates how the drinking of tea came to permeate people's daily lives. He asserts that although the drinking of tea had already grown quite popular by the end of the Tang, it was during the Song period that it became a complex and refined ritual. Tea products also became the preferred offering to the imperial palace, and they were, in turn, the emperor's most likely gift to others. Tea had become an indispensable item, as much a daily staple as rice and salt even for the peasant in the countryside.⁹⁴ Consequently, Mizuno holds that the tea service in Chinese Buddhist monasteries came about because of the general social prevalence of tea drinking, pointing out that with time many temples even began to grow tea on the temple estates in order to supply their need or for trade.⁹⁵ Lü and Tiantai monastic codes of the later Yuan also contain sections describing the protocol for the tea ceremony, indicating that other schools were affected by the prevailing tea culture and carried out practices similar to those found in Chan regulations.

But tea was not the only drink provided at tea ceremonies; monks were also offered *tang* 湯 ("sweetened drink"). More than simply hot sugar water, this drink could be brewed with various kinds of herbs, fruits, beans, and the like.⁹⁶ Another item made from herbs, nuts, and fruits and taken with tea or sweetened drink was herbal confection (*chayao* 茶藥). Both *tang* and this herbal confection were consumed daily throughout China of the Song

⁹⁴ Mizuno Masaaki, "Sōdai ni okeru kissa no fukyū ni tsuite" 宋代における喫茶の普及について, *Sōdai no shakai to shūkyō* 宋代の社會と宗教 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1985), 193-224.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 216.

⁹⁶ In Yijing's record we find that the offering of sweetened drink had been practiced previously in India. Yijing (*NJNZ*, T 54:223a) records that all visiting monks would be offered a soup drink made with ghee, honey, sugar, or one of eight kinds of syrup.

period. The ingredients and variations of the sweetened drink and confection have been studied by Japanese scholar Tanaka Misa 田中美佐, who concludes that the traditional Chinese conception of food as medicine first originated with these two items.⁹⁷

Although Buddhist monasteries adopted from the surrounding secular society the practice of drinking tea, the tea service within the monastery undoubtedly had its own influence on the outside world. Any visitor to the monastery would have been treated to the sweetened drink and tea ceremony, and would have seen the skillful production of tea on the premises. Thus the monastery helped to promote a ritualized conception of tea drinking that ultimately extended beyond its walls, and may have served directly as a major distributor of tea for the Chinese market as well.

we have noted, tea ceremonies were held for a wide variety of occasions, and the text of *CYQG* provides us with seven examples. Studying the descriptions of these seven ceremonies, we see that the basic protocol remains the same, with only slight variations to suit the given occasion. The extremely meticulous sense of tea service etiquette seen in the monastic regulations—including instructions on where each person should walk, who should bow or speak to whom and when, etc.—cannot be found in the original Vinaya; it is an invention of Chinese Buddhism that reflects a culture rooted in classical Confucian works, especially *Yili*.

As can be seen in detail in the present translation, *CYQG* offers many examples of "humble expressions," the ritualized verbal exchanges made at auspicious moments between members of the monastery. Characterized by hyperbole and extreme deference, the self-deprecating nature of these expressions can be seen in the following words spoken by the abbot as tea or sweetened drink is being offered to a visiting government official: "We would now like to offer our low-grade tea (or low-grade sweetened drink) and we will

⁹⁷ Tanaka Misa, "Sōdai no kissa kittō" 宋代喫茶・喫湯. *Shisen* 史泉 66 (1987):62-75 and "Sōdai no kissa to chayaku" 宋代の喫茶と茶菓. *Shisō* 史窗 48 (1991):279-85.

follow all of Official X's instructions." Only when permission was obtained from the official could the tea be served, and if the official should offer a compliment the standard reply would be, "This low-grade tea is merely a token of our sincerity. It is not worthy for you to touch."⁹⁸ At the end of the tea ceremony sponsored by the prior or chief seat, the host thanked the abbot by saying, "Today our humble low-grade tea (or, Today our inferior sweetened drink. . .) has received your grace, master, for out of kindness you have stooped to attend; and for this we are extremely grateful."⁹⁹ Similarly, after the ceremony sponsored by the assembly, a representative host expresses the assembly's gratitude with the words, "Today's tea (or, Today's sweetened drink. . .) is served specially for X and Y. The tea is of a low grade and the seats are uncomfortable. [For the fact that you came anyway] I am extremely grateful." And as a show of gratitude to the other guests, the host would repeat his feelings of gratitude: "Today the tea (or sweetened drink) was served especially for X and Y. [I am afraid that this ceremony] was not worth bothering you [i.e., the other guests] to accompany them."¹⁰⁰

Such formalized expressions of humility and indebtedness have clear precedents in the Confucian book of protocol, *Yili*, which offers dialogue containing similar language, as can be seen in the following example of a duke inviting foreign dignitaries to a banquet:¹⁰¹

The invitation is extended to them [through envoys] in the following form: "Our unworthy Prince has some inferior wine, and, wishing your honors to spend a little time with him, he sends me to invite you."

98 YZS [182].

99 YZS [187].

100 YZS [194].

101 For this English translation, I am indebted to John Steele, *The I-li*, I:145. The words in brackets are my own.

To this [the messengers sent back by the guests] reply: "Our unworthy Prince is a feudatory of yours, so let your Prince not incur disgrace by conferring benefits on us mere messengers. Your servants venture to decline."

The messenger [of the host] then replies: "My unworthy Prince insists on saying that the wine is of poor quality, and sends me to press the invitation on your honors."

To which the [messengers of the] guests reply: "Our unworthy Prince is a feudatory of yours, and your Prince should not demean himself by showing kindness to mere messengers. Your servants venture to persist in declining."

The messenger [of the host] again replies: "My unworthy Prince persists in saying the wine is of no quality, and he sends me to urge his invitation on you."

They then answer: "As we have failed to secure permission to decline, dare we do other than accept?"

From this brief dialogue alone we can discern rules of decorum that would later become standardized within the monastery as well. Some of these unspoken rules would include a depreciation of anything referring to one's personal estate, as well as a pattern of two humble refusals to attend an affair, under the pretense of unworthiness, followed by a seemingly reluctant acquiescence to a third invitation. These highly rhetorical dialogues, so typical of Confucian etiquette, are closely followed in *CYQG*, as when a candidate humbly refuses to accept a proposed abbacy out of respect for the soliciting monastery. Only when the envoys come with a third pressing invitation, *CYQG* instructs, should the abbot accept the new appointment.¹⁰²

We can also see the way in which *CYQG* requires extreme humility from the members of the Saṅgha in its instructions how to properly bow and where to walk during a tea ceremony. Once again, we find its sense of protocol closely analogous to the meticulous courtesies described in *Yili*. According to *CYQG*, during the tea ceremony held in the

102 YZS [251].

Saṅgha hall, the master of ceremonies [*xing fashi ren* 行法事人; lit., "the person who presides over the service"]¹⁰³ performs the ritual in the following manner:¹⁰⁴

After the midday meal, the bell is struck in front of the Saṅgha hall. Everyone is seated and the master of ceremonies stands by the south [i.e., left] side of the front gate facing the Holy Monk. With his hands clasped, the master of ceremonies slowly bows and, leaving his position, comes up to the Holy Monk and again bows. Having done this, he stands before the incense burner, bows, opens the incense case, and with his left hand lifts up the incense. Having completed this, he steps back slightly and again bows. Once he has done this he goes to the rear door and bows to the guest of honor. He then turns to the south, approaches the Holy Monk, and bows. Then he turns north and bows to the abbot. He then circumambulates the hall and comes to the first seat from the north [i.e., right] side of the rear door. Bending his body, he bows and then moves to the first seat on the south [left] side and, bending his body, bows. If the master of ceremonies then moves to the outside section of the hall, he should bow first to the right-hand section and then to the left, re-enter the hall, and approach the Holy Monk. He then bows, returns to his original position, bows, and then remains standing with hands clasped.

If we examine an excerpt describing the offering of wine to the guest of honor from the chapter "The Banquet" in *Yili*, the close parallels of walking and bowing become readily apparent:¹⁰⁵

The master of ceremonies walks to where he can wash his cup and stands to the south of the vessel, facing northwest. The guest of honor then descends, and, standing to the west of the westernmost steps, faces east. The master of ceremonies

¹⁰³ The master of ceremonies is usually the host of the ceremony. When the abbot sponsors a tea ceremony for the assembly, however, his attendant usually presides as the master of ceremonies in his place.

¹⁰⁴ *YZS* [184-5].

¹⁰⁵ Translation taken, with slight modifications, from Steele, *The I-li*, vol.1:125.

then begs pardon for the undeserved honor of his company, and the guest replies in the proper fashion. Then the master of ceremonies, facing north, washes his hands and, sitting down, takes the drinking cup and washes it. The guest advances slightly and declines the honor [of accepting the drink]. The master of ceremonies, still sitting, places the drinking cup in the basket and, rising, responds with the appropriate words, whereupon the guest returns to his seat. When the master of ceremonies finishes the washing, the guest, with a salute, ascends [the platform] followed by the master of ceremonies. The guest bows in acknowledgment of the washing, and the master of ceremonies, standing at the guest's right side, lays down the drinking cup and responds with a bow.

Clearly, the protocol for the tea ceremony depicted in Buddhist codes reflects the rituals described in Confucian works, which, in turn, stemmed from the ritualized practices carried out in the imperial court and among families of nobility. In fact, it is possible that a great deal of monastic ritual was adopted directly from the highest levels of Chinese society, as many of the most renowned monks were sponsored by the court or by aristocrats and thus may have been influenced by their benefactors. At the same time, many members of the gentry preferred to make social calls or extended visits to monasteries, and their presence may have had an effect upon the customs of daily monastic life.

Chinese Deity Worship and Festival Celebrations

CYQG indicates that on the day before the beginning of the summer retreat, that is, on the fourteenth day of the fourth month, monks are summoned before the earth hall for chanting. They pray for the protection of the Emperor of Flame (*yandi* 炎帝), one of the traditional Chinese deities. The rector leads the chanting with the following words: "I venture to say, the summer breeze now blows through the fields and the Emperor of Flames reigns over the region. When the Dharma King [i.e., the Buddha] 'prohibits the feet' (*jinzu* 禁足; i.e., prohibits traveling) [that is, during the summer retreat], it is time for the children of Śākya [i.e., the monks and nuns] to protect all living creatures. I respectfully

summon the assembly to gather solemnly at the spirit shrine (*lingci* 靈祠) to chant the great name of ten thousand virtues (*wande hongming* 萬德洪名) and transfer the merit to the rulers of all the halls, and to pray that they protect the monastery, allowing for a peaceful retreat."¹⁰⁶

On the day before the closing of the summer retreat, that is, on the fourteenth day of the seventh month, they pray to the White Emperor (*baidi* 白帝). They chant, "The golden wind now blows through the fields and the White Emperor reigns over the region. When the King of Enlightenment [i.e., the Buddha] brings the summer retreat to a close, it is the time of the completion of the Dharma year. We have reached the ninth *xun* 旬 (ten-day period) of the summer¹⁰⁷ without difficulty and all the assembly are safe. Let us chant the great names of all the Buddhas and repay our indebtedness to the rulers of all the halls."¹⁰⁸

The Emperor of Flame and the White Emperor are both included among the Five Heavenly Emperors (*wu tiandi* 五天帝) worshiped by the Chinese since ancient times. The text *Zhouli* mentions them--"The platforms for worshiping the Five Emperors were erected in the outskirts of the city,"¹⁰⁹--which the annotator Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 explains with the following words:¹¹⁰

The Blue [Emperor] is named Ling Weiyang and is also worshiped under the name Taihao; the Red Emperor is named Chi Biaonu and is also worshiped under the name Yandi; the Yellow Emperor is named Han Shuniu and is also worshiped under the name Huangdi; the White Emperor is named Bai Zhaoju and is also

¹⁰⁶ YZS [86].

¹⁰⁷ I.e., ninety days in total, or three months. As *CYQG* indicates, the summer retreat lasts from the fifteenth day of the fourth month to the fifteenth day of the seventh month.

¹⁰⁸ YZS [91].

¹⁰⁹ *Zhouli*, "Chunguan Xiaozongbo" 春官小宗伯, *SJZ* I:766a.

¹¹⁰ *Zhouli*, "Chunguan Xiaozongbo," *SJZ* I:766a. What follows is my translation: Legge does not provide an English translation of the annotations.

worshiped under the name Shaohao; the Black Emperor is named Zhi Guangji and is also worshiped under the name Zhuanxu.¹¹¹

Taihao (i.e., Fuxi shi 伏羲氏), Yandi (i.e., Shennong shi 神農氏), Huangdi, Shaohao, and Zhuanxu are the legendary emperors of ancient China. In another annotation to *Zhouli* made by Jia Gongyan 賈公彥, a list is given of the five emperors in five directions: the Blue Emperor is in the East; the Red Emperor is in the South; the Yellow Emperor is in the Center; the White Emperor is in the West; and the Black Emperor is in the North.¹¹² The South Emperor is in charge of the summer period. As *Liji* indicates, throughout the months of summer the reigning ruler is the Flame Emperor and its attending spirit is Zhurong 祝融;¹¹³ the months of autumn are the time of Shaohao 少皞, i.e., the White Emperor;¹¹⁴ the months of winter are ruled over by the Yellow Emperor;¹¹⁵ and the months of spring are the time of Dahao 大皞 [=Taihao].¹¹⁶

In addition to its own religious holidays, the Buddhist community also celebrated the popular festivals of secular society. Chinese tradition commemorates the lunar New Year¹¹⁷ and the Winter Solstice (*dongzhi* 冬至) as major festivals. The excitement of the New Year celebrations in the Song capital is illustrated by the work *Dongjing menghua lu* 東京夢華錄: "The Kaifeng government suspends its usual prohibition of gambling for the

111 蒼曰靈威仰，太昊食焉；赤曰赤熛怒，炎帝食焉；黃曰含樞紐，黃帝食焉；白曰白招拒，少昊食焉；黑曰汁光紀，顓頊食焉。

112 *Zhouli*, "Tianguan Dazai" 天官大宰, *SJZ* I:649b.

113 *Liji*, "Yueling," *SJZ* I:1364c, 1369a and 1370c. See Legge, *Li chi*, I:268, 272 and 276.

114 Its attending spirit is Rushou 蓐收. See *Liji*, "Yueling," *SJZ* I:1372c, 1373b and II:1379a. See Legge, *Li chi*, 283, 286 and 291.

115 Its attending spirit is Xuanming 玄冥. See *Liji*, "Yueling," *SJZ* II:1380c, 1382b and 1383c. See Legge, *Li chi*, 296, 302 and 206.

116 Its attending spirit is Jumang 句芒. See *Liji*, "Yueling," *SJZ* I:1353b, 1361a and 1363a. See Legge, *Li chi*, 250, 257 and 262.

117 According to the solar calendar, usually dated in the month of February.

duration of three days. Starting at daybreak, the gentry and common people greet and congratulate each other. In the streets and lanes, people sing and shout out their bets, which could be anything—food, livestock, fruit, nuts, or even charcoal."¹¹⁸ As *Dongjing menghua lu* informs us, the winter solstice was an even greater event: "The winter solstice in the eleventh lunar month reaches its peak in the capital. People would spend their savings or even take out loans just to appear for the holiday in new clothes. They would prepare feasts, worship ancestors, gamble (the government again suspends its prohibition), and greet each other with congratulations as during the New Year."¹¹⁹

Buddhist monasteries adopted these two traditional festivals and, in conjunction with the commencement and closing of the summer retreat, they constitute the four major monastic festivals (*sijie* 四節). Not surprisingly, the celebration of these two traditional holidays differed somewhat from the streets of the capital. On these days, the abbot held a tea or sweetened drink ceremony for the administrators and the chief officers and invited the assembly. In addition to the tea ceremony, the junior monks and other novices went to greet the abbot before the early meal; whereas the rest of the assembly greeted him after the abbot's sermon in the Dharma hall. At the day's end, all the Saṅgha members followed the abbot as he visited the various halls.¹²⁰

Other traditional Chinese festivals, such as *Duanwu* 端午 (the fifth day of the fifth month),¹²¹ *Qixi* 七夕 (the seventh day of the seventh month),¹²² and *Chongjiu* 重九 (the

118 See *Dongjing menghua lu* 6 (Shanghai: Gudian Wenxue Chubanshe 古典文學出版社, 1957), 33.

119 *Dongjing menghua lu* 10, 56.

120 YZS [92].

121 Duanwu commemorates the deeply patriotic poet-official Qu Yuan 屈原 (alive during the period of Warring States), who, when he fell out of favor with King Chu 楚王, was so grieved that he committed suicide, throwing himself into the River Miluo 汨羅 on the fifth day of the fifth month. In his memory, Chinese peasants began the practice of casting bamboo canisters filled with rice into the water as an offering.

Later, during the Han Dynasty, an officer named Ou Qu 歐曲 was said to have had a vision of a being calling himself the "Sanlü daifu" 三閩大夫 ("scholar officer of three regions;" that is, the spirit

ninth day of the ninth month),¹²³ were also celebrated within the monastery.¹²⁴ On these days the temples held eggplant-roasting feasts. The monastic code *CBQG* informs us that on the day of the *Duanwu* festival, the temple served specially-made calamus herbal tea (Changpu 菖蒲茶) in the Saṅgha hall, and Zhuyu herbal tea 茱萸茶 was served on the day of *Chongjiu*.¹²⁵

Thus, with the adoption of traditional holidays, as with so many aspects of monastic life, there was a clear sense of continuity from the culture of Chinese society to the practices of the Buddhist temple--a mutual influence of the secular and the sacred.

identified himself by the same title given to Qu Yuan), who complained that the offerings placed in the river are being stolen by dragons. The being suggests that the bamboo canisters be wrapped in bamboo leaves and bound with colored ribbons, which, he contends, would be sufficient to scare away the dragons. This story is said to be the provenance of the custom, still prevalent in China today, of eating rice dumpling wrapped in bamboo leaves (*Xu qixie ji* 續齊諧記, 7a-b).

¹²² This Chinese folk holiday celebrates a romantic meeting, the annual reunion between the heavenly weaving woman, Zhinü 織女, and the earthly cowherd, Niulang 牛郎, the two of them having been separated by the heavenly emperor who was angry because it was, according to heavenly law, forbidden for any divine being to marry a mortal.

The origin of this folk belief is unclear. However, the earliest reference to this legend can be found in *Xu qixie ji*, which relates the story of an immortal being in the time of Wuding 武丁 (1324-1265 B.C.E.) who, when he is summoned to the Heavenly Palace, tells his mortal younger brother the tale of Zhinü, who is permitted to cross a heavenly bridge once a year, on the seventh day of the seventh month, to meet her husband, the earthly cowherd Chianniu [=Niulang]. Since the appearance of this Wuding story, the legend of Zhinü and Niulang has become immensely popular (*Xu qixie ji*, 6b-7a).

¹²³ As both the day and the month are the ninth, this holiday is also referred to as *Chongyang* 重陽 ("Dual-Yang" or "Dual-Nine"), for the number nine, according to Chinese tradition, is considered a "Yang number." On this day it is customary to carry the Zhuyu 茱萸 herb to a high place, such as a mountaintop, in order to stave off any unseen potential disaster.

This custom originates with the story of Huan Jing 桓景, who studied for several years under Fei Changfang 費長房. One day Fei told Huan that on the ninth day of the ninth month a calamity would take place within the Huan household. He advised Huan to go home, tie a sack filled with Zhuyu herbs to his arm, and take the members of his family to a high place to drink chrysanthemum wine. Huan obeyed, and when the family returned to their house that night they found that all their domestic animals--the chickens, the dogs, the cows, and the goats--had died (*Xu qixie ji*, 6a).

¹²⁴ YZS [105].

¹²⁵ T 48:1155a5& 19.

Part Two: Translation with Annotation

Preface to the *Chanyuan qinggui*

Compiled by Zongze, Master Chuanfa Cijue 傳法慈覺, and Abbot of the Hongji Public Chan Monastery 十方洪濟禪院 in the Zhending Prefecture 真定府.¹

[3] The following is in regard to Chan monastic precedents. Although [in principle] there should not exist two differing sets of Vinaya [i.e., rules within Buddhism], there is a particular tradition (*jiafeng* 家風) in the school of *nazi* 衲子² [i.e., the school of Chan] which stands apart from the general, common regulations. [This tradition holds that for those individuals] who enjoy [the fruits of Dharma] on the way [to enlightenment], who are extraordinarily pure and exalted, [the general precepts need not apply]. But for those [monks who have not attained such lofty qualities, neglecting the Vinaya] is much like coming up against a wall³ [i.e., halting all spiritual progress] and, it can be said, it will

1 The Hongji Chan Monastery is in present-day Zhengding County, Hebei Province.

2 The word *nazi* literally means "person who wears a patched cassock." Dōchū (ZSS:702b) points out that the character *na* 衲 appears in earlier texts as 納, meaning "to receive." Monks relied entirely on the generosity of others, "receiving" from others all of their clothes. In the Vinaya texts the term consistently used is *nayi* 納衣 ("received clothes"), with one distinct exception (*T* 23:281a15) where it appears as 衲 ("to patch"). As its footnotes indicates, however, this may be considered a scribal error.

Monks' robes are indeed made by stitching (or "patching") together various pieces of whatever material may be found. (For the origin of cutting robes into strips in imitation of the rice paddy, see n. 3, fasc. 1.) Therefore, the initially erroneous *nayi* 納衣 was a natural mistake as the term "patched cloak" seemed equally suitable; and in fact 納 and 衲 eventually became interchangeable.

How the term "patched monk" came to refer exclusively to the Chan monk is explained by Dōchū. He simply notes: "Chan monks often wear [patched cassocks], therefore they are called 'patched monks'" (ZSS:702b). This connection alone is perhaps not very convincing. As monks in the Lū school are said to follow the Vinaya more strictly than those in the other school, they, too, must have worn patched robes, for this is what the Vinaya demands. A more plausible explanation may be that during the Song dynasty the Chan school predominated throughout China. The Chan school occupied all the leading monasteries in the nation and most prominent monks were Chan monks. Accordingly, what originally symbolized monks in general came to be associated wholly with the dominant Chan school.

3 The phrase "facing a wall" (*menqiang* 面牆) is taken from the *Lunyu* 論語 ([*The Analects of Confucius*], "Yanghuo" 陽貨, SJZ II:2525b). Confucius says, ". . . The man who has not studied the Chāunan and the Shāo-nan [Zhouan 周南 and Zhaonan 召南; i.e., two chapters from the *Book of Odes* 詩經] is like one who stands with his face up against a wall. Is he not so?" 人而不為周南、召南，其猶正牆面而立也與，that is to say, "in such a situation, one cannot advance a step, nor see anything." See Legge's translation, *Confucius: Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and The Doctrine of the Man* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1893; repr. 1971), 323.

result in a loss of respect in the eyes of others. Therefore, we have consulted with virtuous and knowledgeable monks (*kaishi* 開士)⁴ and collected texts from all directions in order to complement that which we already see and hear [i.e., our own monastic practices], listing it all in outline form with subtitles. Alas, the phenomenon of Shaolin 少林⁵ already can be compared to the wounding of healthy flesh which then grows infected.⁶ The introduction of new regulations and the establishment of Chan monasteries by the Chan Master Baizhang can be regarded [similarly]. This is not to mention [the further problems created by] the spread of monasteries to all regions, numerous even to the point of intolerability. The regulations have expanded accordingly, so that complications and problems have increased as well. However, in order to sanctify the temple [i.e., protect the monastery] and raise the Dharma banner [i.e., propagate the Dharma] there should not be a lack of [regulations] in the monastery. In regard to the *bodhisattva* threefold [pure precepts] (*sanju* 三聚 [*jingjie* 淨戒])⁷ and the seven categories (*qipian* 七篇) of the śrāvaka precepts,⁸ one might ask why

4 In the sutras "bodhisattva" is sometimes translated as *kaishi*, as *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集 1 (*T* 54:1060b24-25) indicates—a translation which seems to have started with Daoan: "Master [Dao]an called [bodhisattva] *kaishi* or *shishi* 始士. . . [that] means the mind begins to open or aspire." *SSYL* 1 (*T* 54:260c24) notes that the ruler of Early Qin Fujian bestowed upon virtuous and knowledgeable monks the title of *kaishi*. The author of the present text has clearly adopted this custom and here uses this term to refer to those with great virtue and wide knowledge.

5 It was said that Bodhidharma, an Indian monk who arrived in China c. 480 C.E., practiced wall-facing meditation for nine years at the Shaolin Monastery (present-day Songshan 嵩山 in Henan province) after his confrontation with Emperor Wu (r. 502-549) of the Liang. However, modern scholars believe that the earliest existing text to draw a clear link between Bodhidharma and the Shaolin Monastery is the *Chuan fabao ji* 傳法寶紀 (c. 713). In the earlier *XGSZ*, the biography of Bodhidharma records neither the encounter between Bodhidharma and Emperor Wu nor any account of his taking refuge at Shaolin. See Sekiguchi Shindai 關口真大, *Daruma no kenkyū* 達磨の研究 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967), 133; see also Foulk and Robert H. Sharf, "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 7 (1993-1994):172. Bodhidharma is traditionally regarded as the twenty-eighth patriarch in India and the first patriarch in China within the Chan school.

6 Zongze here presents the rhetorical argument that Bodhidharma need not have come from the West (i.e., India) to develop Chan Buddhism in China, because Buddhism was already flourishing in China in its earlier forms. Thus, the author suggests, it seems superfluous to add another school to the pre-existing state of Buddhism in China.

7 Reference here is to the Mahāyāna precepts which are observed by both clergy and the laity. The threefold pure precepts are: (1) *she lüyi jie* 攝律儀戒, the precepts of avoiding all evil actions; (2) *she shanfa*

the established laws must focus on such complicated details. But [the Buddha] established new teachings only when a given situation required it. It is our wish that the novice pay great heed [to these regulations], and as for the virtuous senior monks, we hope to have the fortune to present these rules to you for your approval. [This] preface written on the fifteenth day of the eighth month in the second year of Chongning 崇寧 (1103 C.E.).

[Prefatory Note to the Reprint]

In the past, when this text was published it gained great popularity. But, unfortunately, the [wood-block] characters have been worn down to the point of illegibility. Thus, we now present for circulation a new carving using larger characters. We hope that the collectors of such texts will grant us the honor of inspecting [this new edition]. Written in the *renxu* 壬戌 year of Jiatai 嘉泰 (1202 C.E.) by Yuba 虞八⁹ in order to propagate the teaching and sincerely to solicit comment.

jie 攝善法戒, the precepts of doing all good deeds; (3) *she zhongsheng jie* 攝眾生戒, the precepts of benefiting all sentient beings.

⁸ Here *śrāvaka* (*shengwen* 聲聞, "a hearer") refers to the Hīnayāna precepts establishing the rules of monastic discipline. According to *SFL* 17 (*T* 22:678b9-11), these precepts are arranged— in order of the gravity of each offense, into the following seven categories: (1) *pārājika* (for more details see n.10, fasc. 1); (2) *saṃghāvaśeṣa* (cf. n. 11, fasc. 1); (3) *sthūlātyaya*; (4) *pātayantika* (cf. n. 13 and 14, fasc. 1); (5) *pratideśanīya* (cf. n. 15, fasc. 1); (6) *duṣkṛta*, misdeed or an offense of wrong action; (7) *durbhāṣita*, an offense of bad speech. However, another kind of classification, which is also designed by the *SFL* 59 (*T* 22:1004c8-9), is to divide them into five categories (*wupian* 五篇); namely, categories 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6 above.

⁹ Yuba is most likely the eighth son in the Yu family, probably Yuxiang 虞翔, who appears as the publisher at the end of the present text. *CYQZ* provides nothing about him except for his official position. The most striking information we have about Yuba is the account given in *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 3890 (*Zhiguan* 職官 71-12, 3977d) indicating that he was demoted in rank three full grades for failing to quell the rebellion instigated by Li Jin 李金 (?-1165) in the year 1162.

Fascicle One

Reception of the Precepts

[13] All the Buddhas of the three ages [past, present, and future] say, "One must leave home and join a monastic order to attain the Buddhahood." The twenty-eight patriarchs of the Western Heaven [India] and the six patriarchs of the Land of the Tang [China]¹ who transmitted the seal of the Buddha mind were all śramaṇas (*shamen* 沙門; mendicants). If one solemnly purifies [oneself by observing] the Vinaya, then one can become an influential paragon of virtue in all Three Realms (*yanjing pini hongfan sanjie* 嚴淨毘尼洪範三界).² Therefore, both meditation and the quest for the truth (*canchan wendao* 參禪問道) begin with [receiving] the precepts. If one cannot abstain from error and avert evil, how can one become a Buddha or a patriarch?

To receive the precepts, [the future monk] must prepare three robes,³ bowls, a [sitting] mat ([*zuo*]ju [坐]具; Skt. *niṣīdana*) and new, clean clothes. If he has no new

¹ The *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳, compiled by monk Zhiju 智炬 (also known as Huiju 慧炬) in 801 C.E., is considered the first text to proclaim the tradition of the twenty-eight patriarchs in India and the six patriarchs in China. Zhiju consulted the genealogical texts of the early Tang dynasty when he designed this Chan lineage of transmission. This design has been adopted by the succeeding genealogical texts, such as the *Shengzhou ji* 聖朝集 (898), *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 (952), and *Jingde chuandeng lu* (1004). This schematic lineage was then firmly established by Qisong 契嵩 (1007-1072), who wrote the *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* 傳法正宗記 (1061) specifically in order to support the claims made by the *Baolin zhuan*. For a detailed discussion see Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定, *Hōrinden no kenkyū* 寶林傳の研究 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1973).

Philip B. Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Six Patriarch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967) discusses the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs (8-9) and the biographies of the six patriarchs (3-23).

² See *Da Foding Rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhu pusa wanxing shou lengyan jing* 大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經 (henceforth *Lengyan jing* 楞嚴經) 1, T 19:106b13. The Three Realms within the cycle of birth and death are: (1) the Sense-Desire Realm (*yujie* 慾界, Skt. *kāma-dhātu*); (2) the Subtle-Matter Realm (*sejie* 色界, Skt. *rūpa-dhātu*); (3) the Immaterial Realm (*wuse jie* 無色界, Skt. *ārūpya-dhātu*).

³ The three robes are *saṅghāṭi* 僧伽梨, *uttarāsaṅgha* 鬱多羅僧, and *antarvāsaka* 安陀會. These robes must be made of cloth strips sewn together: the *saṅghāṭi* robe consists of nine strips of cloth, the *uttarāsaṅga* robe is made from seven, and the *antarvāsaka* robe from five; therefore they are also called 九條衣, 七條衣, and 五條衣 respectively. When a monk receives a piece of good cloth, he should cut the material into strips and then sew the strips together.

clothes, he should [at least] wash all his clothes before ascending the ordination platform. It is not permissible to borrow the robes or the bowls.⁴ [During the ordination ceremony,] he must concentrate and should not let his mind wander to other topics. [For someone who is on the way to Buddhahood,] imitating the manner of the Buddha, upholding the Buddha's precepts, and receiving the Buddha's joy (*shouyong* 受用)⁵ are not trivial, insignificant matters. How can [he undertake these activities with] a light mind [i.e., thoughtlessly]? If his robes and bowls are borrowed, then, although he ascends the [ordination] platform to receive the precepts, he cannot truly obtain the precepts. If he does not obtain the precepts, then for all his life he will be a person without the precepts, he enters the Gate of Emptiness

For the origin of the use of strip robes, the Vinayas give the following explanation. Once the Buddha pointed to a nearby rice paddy and told his attendant Ānanda that a monk's robe should resemble the pattern of the cultivated rice paddy. He asserted that the disciples of all the Buddhas in the past wore robes patterned after rice paddies. In addition, the Buddha explained, a robe made of separate strips would deter the designs of would-be bandits. See *SFL* 6, *T* 22:855a-b; *MSL* 28, *T* 22:454c-5a; *SSL* 27, *T* 23:194c-5a. The monk's robe became regarded as the "robe of the merit field" (*futian yi* 福田衣), indicating that the donations to monks made by lay people resemble the sowing of seed in the rice paddy. Someday this seed will be ready for harvest, just as the donors' merit will eventually reach its fruition.

⁴ The three robes (in addition to the bowls) are the minimal obligatory belongings of the initiate who begins ordination. The Vinaya texts (*SFL* 35, *T* 22:814c23; *WFL* 17, *T* 22:119b20; *SSL* 21, *T* 23:155b-c) indicate that during the ordination process the instructing preceptor must first ensure that the initiate has in his possession the three robes and his bowls before the initiate may begin learning the precepts.

In *SFL* 34 (*T* 22:811c14-21; also see in *WFL* 17, *T* 22:119b18-20), a story is recounted in which a man who has neither bowl nor robe is given full ordination. When he is then told to go to the village for alms, he replies that he does not have the necessary bowls or a robe to wear. Thus, the Buddha gives the rule that any person without bowls or robes should not be allowed to receive full ordination. The text includes another episode in which a monk borrows bowls and robes from others in order to receive full ordination. After the ordination, the owner asks that both the bowls and the robes be returned, leaving the monk naked and ashamed. The incident is reported to the Buddha, who then gives the rule that monks should not borrow bowls or robes for ordination.

⁵ This joy is obtained by a Buddha who has perfected all virtues and merits. His body, dwelling in a Pure Land and experiencing the permanent joy of Dharma, is regarded as the "enjoyment body," which is also referred to as the Reward Body (Skt. *sambhoga-kāya*; *baoshen* 報身), one of the Three Buddha Bodies. The other two bodies are the Transformed Body (*nirmāṇa-kāya*; *yingshen* 應身), which has manifested in this world in response to the need of all sentient beings, and the Dharma Body (*Dharma-kāya*; *fashen* 法身), which signifies the essence of Buddhahood.

(*kongmen* 空門; i.e., joins the monastery)⁶ as an impostor, and in vain does he usurp the donors' offerings. If beginners who are unfamiliar with the law and precepts are not given such instructions [e.g., not to borrow robes and bowls] by a teacher, then they will be caught in the same trap [of living as impostors]. And so now, with bitter mouth [i.e., humbly imploring], I dare to wish that you will inscribe [this caveat] in your minds. After receiving the śrāvaka precepts, [the initiates] should receive the bodhisattva precepts:⁷ this is the gradual path of entering the Dharma.

Upholding the Precepts

[16] After a monk has received the precepts, he must always uphold them. A monk would rather die with the law than live without the law.⁸ Such are the Hīnayāna [precepts as listed in] the *Four Part Vinaya*:⁹ Four "defeat" (*pārājika* 波羅夷),¹⁰ thirteen "formal meeting" (*saṃghāvaśeṣa* 僧伽婆尸沙),¹¹ two "undetermined offenses" (*budīng* 不定),¹²

⁶ Since the doctrine of *kong* (śūnyatā; "emptiness") is regarded as the ultimate truth in Buddhism, therefore the Buddhist monastery is also referred to as the Gate (or the House) of Emptiness. Cf. n. 49, fasc.1.

⁷ For a detailed discussion of the śrāvaka precepts and the bodhisattva precepts, see the following nn. 10-18. See also nn. 7-8 in the preface.

⁸ For the phrase 寧捨身命終不捨戒 see *Da baoji jing* 大寶積經 90, T 11:516c11.

⁹ For the introduction on the text *Four Part Vinaya* (*Sifen lü*) see Section Ia.

¹⁰ The *pārājika* are those offenses which result in permanent expulsion from the order, that is, those of the utmost gravity. These four gravest offenses are unchastity, stealing, taking life, and falsely claiming to have attained enlightenment. See *SFL* 1, T 22:568c-579a; *WFL* 1-2, T 22:2b-10a; *SSL* 1-2, T 23:1a-13c, *MSL*, T 22:229a-262a. For the Pāli Vinaya pertaining to *pārājika* see the section "Defeat" in Horner, *Discipline*, vol. I:1-191.

¹¹ The *saṃghāvaśeṣa* are serious offenses that do not require expulsion from the Saṅgha. These violations can be atoned for by immediate confession before the assembly. See *SFL* 2, T 22:579a-600b; *WFL* 2-3, T 22:10b-22c; *SSL* 3-4, T 23:13c-28b; *MSL*, T 22:262a-289c; the section "Formal meeting," in Horner, *Discipline*, vol. I:192-329.

¹² Skt. *aniyata*. These are the two transgressions for monks (not applicable to nuns) for which the precise nature of the offense and the consequent punishment are undetermined. These are when a monk sits alone with a woman in an open space or in an enclosed space. The punishment depends on the given situation. See *SFL* 5, T 22:600b-601b; *WFL* 4, T 22:22c-23a; *SSL* 4, T 23:28c-29c; *MSL*, T 22:289c-291a; the section "Undetermined," in Horner, *Discipline*, vol. I:330-40.

thirty "forfeiture" (*naihsargika* 尼薩耆),¹³ ninety "expiation" (*pāṭayantika* 波逸提),¹⁴ four "confessed" (*pratideśanīya* 波羅提提舍尼),¹⁵ one hundred "myriad [infractions] to learn" (*zhongxue* 眾學)¹⁶ and seven "methods of adjudicating disputes" (*miezheng* 滅諍).¹⁷ The Mahāyāna [precepts appearing in] the *Fanwang jing* (*Brahmā's Net Sūtra*) include ten major offenses and forty-eight minor offenses.¹⁸ Every monk must study them and [memorize them so that he can] chant them fluently. He must know what to obey and what constitutes an offense, when exceptions can or cannot be made (*chifan kaizhe* 持犯開遮). He must follow only the Golden Mouth and the Holy Words [i.e., teaching given by the Buddha], not commonplace people. Prohibited foods, ([For example,] onions (*cong* 蔥), leeks (*jiu* 韭), scallions (*xie* 薤), garlic (*suan* 蒜), chives (*yuansui* 園葵),¹⁹ wine, meat,²⁰ fish, rabbit, cake made with

¹³ *Pāṭayantika* literally means "causing to fall [into an evil existence, if not repented and expiated." (The two kinds of *pāṭayantika* are the *naihsargika pāṭayantika*, which consists of thirty offenses that require forfeiture of property, and the *pāṭayantika*, which consists of ninety offenses (see the following n. 14). See *SFL* 6, *T* 22:601c-633c; *WFL* 4-5, *T* 22:23a-37b; *SSL* 5-7, *T* 23:29c-61c; *MSL* 8-11, *T* 22:291a-324b; the section "Forfeiture," in Horner, *Discipline*, vol. II:1-163.

¹⁴ Each of these ninety offenses requires simple expiation. See *SFL* 11, *T* 22:634a-695c; *WFL* 6-9, *T* 22:37b-71b; *SSL* 9-18, *T* 23:63b-130c, *MSL* 12-12-21, *T* 22:324c-396b; the section "Expiation," in Horner, *Discipline*, vol. II:164-416 and vol. III:102.

¹⁵ "Requiring confession." These offenses primarily concern food. See *SFL* 19, *T* 22:695c-698a; *WFL* 10, *T* 22:71c-73c; *SSL*, *T* 23:131a-133b; *MSL* 21, *T* 22:396b-399b; the section "Confession," in Horner, *Discipline*, vol. III:103-19.

¹⁶ These are minor offenses. *SFL* 19-21, *T* 22:698a-713c; *WFL* 10, *T* 22:73c-77b; *SSL* 19-20, *T* 23:133b-141b, *MSL* 21-22, *T* 22:399b-412b; the section "Training," in Horner, *Discipline*, vol. III:120-52. In Pāli Vinaya, there are only seventy-five rules for this category.

¹⁷ Skt. *adhikaraṇa-samatha*; "the settling or appeasement of disputed questions." *SFL* 47-48, *T* 22:913c-922c; *WFL* 10, *T* 22:77b; *SSL* 20, *T* 23:141-147b; *MSL* 23, *T* 22:412b; the section "Legal questions," in Horner, *Discipline*, vol. III:153-55.

¹⁸ The ten major offenses are (1) killing; (2) stealing; (3) engaging in sexual conduct; (4) lying; (5) buying and selling intoxicants; (6) finding fault with the four groups within Buddhism (i.e., monastics and lay people who have taken the bodhisattva precepts as well as fully ordained monks and nuns); (7) praising oneself while calumniating others; (8) being avaricious while being incharitable; (9) being angry and refusing an apology from another; and (10) slandering the Three Treasures. The minor transgressions include consuming any intoxicant, eating meat, eating any of the five malodorous/alliaceous vegetables, and refusing to attend the sick (*Fanwang jing*, *T* 24:1004b-1009b).

¹⁹ These prohibited vegetables are known as the five alliaceous vegetables (*wuxin* 五辛). However, the list of forbidden vegetables varies from text to text. For example, *Fanwang jing* 2 (*T* 24:1005b14) lists

dasuan 大蒜 (a large type of garlic), *gecong* 葷蔥, *cicong* 慈蔥, and *lancong* 蘭蔥 (three types of onions), as well as *xingqu* 興栗 (a Central Asian vegetable); while *SGSZ* 29 (*T* 50:890b) lists *suan* (garlic), *cong* (onions), *xingqu*, *jiu* (leeks) and *xie* (scallions); and *Honyaku myōgi taishū* 翻譯名義大集 (entries 5731-34 & 5815) lists *suan* (garlic), *cong* (onions), *xiaogen cai* 小根菜 (another type of onion), *jiu* (leeks), and *xingqu*.

There exist two separate accounts of the events that prompted the Buddha to prohibit nuns and monks from eating garlic. In *SFL* 25 (*T* 22:736c-737b), Bhikṣuni Thullanandā led a group of nuns and female novices to a garlic patch to harvest some garlic. Although they were permitted by the owner to take five heads of garlic everyday, they succumbed to temptation and pulled up all the garlic in a single day. This resulted in complaints by the layman, which in turn led the Buddha to prohibit nuns from eating garlic from that day on. The original prohibition of monks' consuming garlic is found in *SFL* 52 (*T* 22:956b14-19), in which a monk, after having eaten garlic, tried to avoid sitting close to the Buddha when the latter was preaching. Thus, the first account bases the prohibition on the economic welfare of laymen, whereas the second cites the offensive odor caused by the ingestion of garlic as the cause.

See also *SSL* 38, *T* 23:275b12-24 (for the story of the monks); *SSL* 44, *T* 23:317a28-b24 (for the story of the nuns); *GSP(Z)* 6, *T* 24:230a (for monks); *GSP* 17, *T* 23:997a (for nuns); Pāli Vinaya: Horner, *Discipline*, vol. III:243-245 (for nuns); Horner, *Discipline*, vol. V:195-196 (for monks). *WFL* 12 (*T* 22:86c) prohibits nuns from eating garlic for both reasons of odor and lay economy; while it prohibits monks from eating garlic only on account of the odor (*WFL* 26, *T* 22:176a). *MSL* 31 (*T* 22:483b) prohibits monks from eating garlic for both reasons, but it prohibits nuns from doing so for purely economic reasons (*MSL* 38, *T* 22:530b). The same prohibition appears in the commentarial literature: *PNMJ* 4, *T* 24:826c-827a; *Shanjian lü piposha* 善見律毘婆沙 16, *T* 24:788a9 & 18, 800a15.

However, the above accounts still reserve a place for the use of garlic for medicinal purposes. After purifying oneself of the garlic odor, the recovered monk or nun is then allowed to resume communal living. See Horner, *Discipline*, vol. V:196; vol. IV: 271.

However, among the five forbidden vegetables, garlic is the only one mentioned as prohibited in the Indian Vinayas. In fact, the Pāli Vinaya specifically indicates that the eating of an onion is not an offense. See Horner, *Discipline*, vol. III:245.

Chinese Buddhists are prohibited from eating the five alliaceous vegetables largely on the basis of the Mahāyānā sutras, such as *Fanwang jing (Brahmā Net Sūtra)* and *Lengyan jing*. *Fanwang jing* (*T* 24:1005b6-16) prohibits anyone who has taken the bodhisattva vows from eating the five alliaceous vegetables, along with the drinking of wine or the eating of meat. The *Lengyan jing* 8 (*T* 19:141c5-8) prohibits the consumption of the five alliaceous vegetables on the grounds that "eating these five alliaceous vegetables cooked will stimulate sexual desire and eating them raw will generate anger. Those who eat these vegetables, even though they may be able to recite all the sutras, will be disgusting to all heavenly beings and immortals of all directions because of their offensive smell and will be shunned by them. The hungry ghosts will lick their lips and therefore they will always remain with those ghosts."

20 The Indian Vinaya allow monks and nuns to eat meat, except under certain circumstances and with the exception of certain kinds of animals. The livelihood of the Buddhist clergy in India was based on begging; as a result, monks and nuns were constrained by the type of food they received. *SFL* 42 (*T* 22:866c11-12) indicates that "when the monks received fish, the Buddha gave them permission to eat various kinds of fish; [when they] received meat, the Buddha allowed them to eat various kinds of meat." However, as indicated in *SFL* 42 (*T* 22:872b6-18), the clerics were forbidden to partake of meat under three circumstances thought to make meat impure (*san bujing rou* 三不淨肉): when the cleric saw the animal being killed; when the cleric heard the cry of the animal being killed; or when the cleric was aware that the animal was being killed specifically to feed himself. The principle behind this rule is the nurturing of compassion. When one sees an animal killed or hears the sound it makes when it is killed, this image or sound causes one to associate oneself with the inherent violence of the act, hindering the generation of

milk (*rubing* 乳餅), cheese, maggot larvae (*qicao luan* 蠅蛆卵),²¹ pig fat, or goat fat—all of these items should not be eaten. Even at times of sickness, a monk should sacrifice his body even to the end of his life, rather than consume wine or meat, thereby destroying the precepts.) and foods consumed at the wrong time [i.e., in the afternoon] ([For example,] light snacks, "medicine stone" (*yaoshi* 藥石, i.e., supper),²² fruit, rice soup, bean soup, and vegetable juice—any food not consumed at the midday meal

compassionate thought within the eater. In the third case, the clergy is forbidden from being a motivating factor in the killing of the animal. See also Horner, *Discipline*, vol. I: 298.

The Vinaya also stipulate that the meat of certain kinds of animals should not be consumed. *SFL* 42 (*T* 22:868b10-869a18) notes that the clergy are forbidden to eat the flesh of elephants, horses, dragons, dogs, and human beings. The rationale for this rule is as follows. The elephant and the horse are used by the king's military and have a special status. The dragon possess a supernatural power which can destroy a nation. Dogs can smell those who eat dogmeat and will chase them. Finally, the clergy should not eat the meat of their own kind.

A slightly different list found in *SFL* 59 (*T* 22:1006a19-21): elephant, horse, human being, dog and beast. The text states that the clergy should also refrain from eating lion, tiger, leopard, and two species of bear (*xiong* 熊 and *pi* 貍). *MSL* 32 (*T* 22:487a23-25) lists ten kinds of prohibited meat: human being, dragon, elephant, horse, dog, bird, eagle, pig, monkey, and lion. According to the text, dogs, birds and eagles were known to chase monks who had eaten their kin. We can assume the same reason applies to the prohibition against pig, monkey and lion. Cf. Horner, *Discipline*, vol. I:98.

However, the Mahāyānā sutra *Fanwang jing* (*T* 24:1005b6-16) prohibits any kind of meat. These prohibitions were also supported by other sutras. The *Niepan jing* 11 (*T* 12:432c27-28) notes, "One should not eat meat, drink wine, nor eat the five alliaceous vegetables." The same notion is also found in *Lengqie jing* 楞伽經 4 (*T* 16:513b-514b) and *Ru lengqie jing* 入楞伽經 8 (*T* 16:562b10). The prohibition against meat-eating was thought to prevent the destruction of the seed of great compassion, since a bodhisattva considered all sentient beings as kin. *Yangju moluo jing* 央掘魔羅經 4 (*Angulimālika*, *T* 2:540c), classified as one of the Mahāyānist Prajñā texts, also forbids meat-eating.

21 Used as an eye medicine. The biography of Sheng Yan 盛彦 in the *Jinshu* 晉書 88 ("Liezhuan" 列傳 58, 2276-7; cited in Morohashi, vol. 10:106a) relates a story in which one of Sheng's servants, having been whipped by her master, fed baked maggots to Sheng's blind mother out of spite. After unknowingly eating the maggots, the mother was miraculously cured of her blindness.

22 More precisely, this term means "herbal medicine and stone probe." Since meals after noon are prohibited by the Vinaya, the consumption of a meal at an "improper" time had been justified by referring to it as "medicine;" in accordance with this term, one could conceive of eating after noon purely in terms of physical sustenance, rather than as the satisfaction of a desire.

However, it is clear that in *CYQG* all kinds of eating after noon, for any purpose whatsoever, were disallowed. Permission to partake of a meal after noon appears only in the *Ruzhong riyong qinggui* 入眾日用清規 (henceforth *RRQG*; compiled in 1209), and this practice was then followed in a number of later monastic codes.

Although commonly associated with Buddhist ceremony, the term *yaoshi* was not originally monastic and can be found in the following citation from the earlier secular text *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (SJZ II:1977c): "Mengsun's severe treatment on me [had a salutary effect] like medicine (*yaoshi*)" 孟孫之惡我、藥石也. In the annotations to *Zuozhuan* the word *yaoshi* is given a second interpretation as

(*zhai* 齋) or early meal (*zhou* 粥) is considered untimely food.) should not be eaten. The evils of wealth and sensuality are more [dangerous] than a poisonous snake²³ and thus should be greatly avoided. [The monk should be] compassionate and [he should] think of every sentient being as a newborn infant (*cinian zhongsheng youru chizi* 慈念眾生、猶如赤子).²⁴ His words must be true, and his thoughts and speech should be in harmony. He must study the Mahāyāna [teachings] and develop the inspiration for great dedication and deeds. When the *sīla* are pure [i.e., when the precepts are obeyed] the Dharma will become manifest. If the skin did not exist, then where would the hair be placed 皮之不存、毛將安傅?²⁵ Therefore, in the sutra it is written that the precepts must be rigorously upheld as though to protect a precious gem 精進持淨戒、猶如護明珠.²⁶

Preparation of Personal Effects

[20] Before [a monk] comes to the monastery he must prepare his personal effects (*daoju* 道具; "equipment of Dao"),²⁷ namely: a mountain hat (*shanli* 山笠),²⁸ a walking

"mineral medicine," referring to the ingestion of alum shale and other minerals for health reasons. However, one must also consider a passage from the earlier text, *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 ("Qin'er" 秦二, [Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chuabanshe, 1985], 147), which depicts the strategies of statesmen during the Warring States period (475-221 B.C.E.): "[The famous physician] Bianque was furious and threw away his stone probe. . . ." 扁鵲怒而投其石. . . This suggests that in ancient times the administering of herbal medicine may have been preceded by a stone probe (the prodding of the body at various points with a sharp stone, somewhat akin to later acupuncture); thus we prefer to translate the word as "herbal medicine and stone probe."

²³ In Buddhist literature, women are typically represented as poisonous snakes. For example, see the *Daaidao biqiuni jing* 大愛道比丘尼經 1, T 24:949b22. The *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (abbr. *DZDL*) 14 (T 25:166a) insists that it is better for a man to catch a poisonous snake than to touch a woman.

²⁴ For this phrase see the *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (*The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*; henceforth *Fahua jing* 法華經) 4, T 9:35b19; also *DZDL* 14, T 25:167b5-6.

²⁵ For the origin of this idiom see the *Zuozhuan*, *SJZ* II:1803b, written in the fourteenth year of Xizong 僖宗.

²⁶ For this phrase see the *Fahua jing* 1, T 9:4c19.

²⁷ Many of the personal effects listed here are also indicated in the Vinaya texts. In *WFL* 20 (T 22:138a18-22), when Upāli asks the Buddha how many items of clothing monks may possess, the Buddha answers that monks may possess three robes, undergarments, an overcoat, bath clothes for rainy weather, cloth to protect wounds, mosquito nets, cloth for walking meditation, cloth used to block wall lice, a bed sheet, a sitting mat, a hip-protecting cloth, cloth to protect the lower legs, a head-protecting cloth, a cloth

stick (*zhuzhang* 拄杖),²⁹ a precept knife (*jiedao* 戒刀),³⁰ a tonsure certificate canister (*cibutong* 祠部筒),³¹ a bag for his bowls (*bonang* 鉢囊),³² a sack for his shoes (inside which is

to clean the body, a cloth to clean the hands and face, a bag for needle and thread, a bowl sack, a shoe bag, and a filter bag.

According to *MSL* 3 (*T* 22:245a5-8), the monk's personal items include three robes, a sitting mat, a cloth to bandage wounds, bath clothes for rainy weather, a large, medium, and small bowl, a bowl bag, a bowl sack with a strap (to hang over the shoulder), a filter bag, two kinds of waist belts, a knife, a copper spoon, a bowl stand, a needle tube, a water vessel, a bath vase, an oil bottle, a tin walking stick, leather shoes, an umbrella, and a fan.

²⁸ The episode from which the permission to wear hats is derived can be found in *MSL* 32 (*T* 22:488a9-11; also see *GSP(Z)* 6, *T* 24:231c8). After completing a summer retreat at Stupa Mountain 塔山, the Elder Aniruddha went to pay homage to the Buddha, who was sojourning in Śrāvastī. However, when Aniruddha arrived with all his clothes soiled, he complained that monks were not allowed to use umbrellas, forcing him to be soaked by rain whenever he walked for alms. From that moment on the Buddha allowed monks to use umbrellas. The umbrella could be made of bark, leaf, or bamboo. The practice of wearing hats most likely evolved from the use of bamboo umbrellas.

²⁹ *GSP(Z)* 6 (*T* 24:229c8-12) includes an episode revealing the origin of the monastic walking stick. While the Buddha was sojourning atop Vulture's Peak, a number of aged monks fell when they were ascending the mountain to see him, prompting the Buddha to instruct them to use walking sticks while in the mountains. Generally, walking sticks may also be used by those who are ill. A similar rule, holding that old and ailing monks are allowed to use walking sticks as well as a bag to hold their bowls during alms, is found in *WFL* 26 (*T* 22:175b15). Another item similar to the walking stick and mentioned in the Vinaya is the "stick with a tin-end" (*xizhang* 錫杖). According to *SFL* 52 (*T* 22:956a7), some unenlightened monks were scared by centipedes and other insects. The Buddha told them to shake tin sticks in order to scare the insects away with the noise.

An elaborate description of the functions of the stick with tin-end is recorded in *GSP(Z)* 34 (*T* 24:375a21-28). In order to inform donors of the time of almsgiving, monks had taken to pounding upon the donors' doors, which soon elicited the donors' complaints. In response, the Buddha told these monks to affix a ring as big as the mouth of a cup to the end of their sticks and to attach small rings to the big ring. Thus the monks could simply shake their sticks, using the sound as a signal to would-be donors inside. On one occasion, when a dog barked at some mendicant monks, they used their sticks to hit the animal. The Buddha, however, told them that they should not strike the dog, rather they should simply lift up their sticks to scare it away. But in another instance, when a certain dog appeared to be particularly malicious, the more the monks tried to scare it, the angrier it became. The Buddha then taught the monks to appease the dog by feeding it a lump of rice. In yet another related story, when monks would shake their sticks in front of non-followers' houses, no one would emerge, causing the monks to become exhausted by their futile solicitations. The Buddha told them that they need not shake their sticks continuously, but merely two or three times; if the noise is met by no reply, they should simply move on. For a discussion of the various symbolic meanings of the stick, see *Dedao ticheng xizhang jing* 得道梯橙錫杖經, *T* 17:724a-5c.

³⁰ *WFL* 26 (*T* 22:174a1-5) states that monks were originally not supposed to possess knives, so they used sharpened bamboo to cut robes, ruining the material in the process. The Buddha then allowed the monks to store knives specifically for the purpose of cutting robes. He further stipulated that the knives be made the length of one finger and be affixed with a wooden handle. A similar story appears in *Genben Shuoyiqieyou bu pinaiye zashi* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事 (henceforth *GSP(Z)*) 3, *T* 24:217c-218a. Monks were tearing their robes by hand, thereby ruining them, after which the Buddha gave them permission to use knives. However, the Buddha insisted, monks should not decorate the knives with any kind of jewel,

placed a cloth used to wipe the feet), a pillow (*zhenzi* 枕头),³³ "bell-mouth" shoes (*lingkou xie* 鈴口鞋),³⁴ the cloth wrap used to protect the lower legs (*jiabing* 腳絆), the cloths used for the front and rear knapsacks (*qianhou baojin* 前後包巾), a white silk wrapping cloth (*baijuanfu* 白絹複),³⁵ a cloth belt (*baotao* 包條),³⁶ a "pillow sack" (*baozhen dai* 包枕袋),³⁷

and the knives must be made between two and six fingers long. A knife must be curved like a bird feather; it should not be straight with a sharp, pointed end.

The *Pini mu jing* 毘尼母經 (abbr. *PNMJ*) 3 (*T* 24:816a22-23) indicates the six functions of a knife: (1) to cut leather; (2) to cut fingernails; (3) to penetrate a wound; (4) to cut robes; (5) to cut off stray threads from robes; (6) to clean fruits, or to use in any number of tasks that may arise during the taking of a meal. See *SXC* 3B, *T* 40:127a1-2.

³¹ The use of *cibu* ("the Department of Sacrifices") for a tonsure certificate refers to the document's place of issue. In contrast to Indian custom, Buddhism in China was kept under governmental supervision in a number of ways: the issuing of tonsure certificate, the registration of monks and nuns, the required application for traveling, the bureaucratic system of cleric officials. Monks and nuns were subject to secular law rather than their own monastic regulations, i.e., the Vinaya. For further details see Section IIIb of the present work.

³² *SFL* 52 (*T* 22:953a28) states that the bowl bag was allowed because bowls are unwieldy to hold. In the Vinaya texts (e.g., *WFL* 28, *T* 22:180b3), in addition to the *bonang*, there is another type of sack used to hold the bowls which included an affixed belt to hang over the shoulder. This bag is called the *luonang* 絡囊. When the ailing and old monks returned from alms, they needed to rest their hands after holding their bowls for so long. For this reason, the Buddha allowed monks to make a bag for holding their bowls and instructed them to hang the bags under their armpits.

³³ The pillow referred to here was probably a wooden one of a type still used in China and in some Japanese monasteries today. It was small and foldable. In his *NJNZ* 3 (*T* 54:221a28-b7) Yijing indicates that the wooden pillow was used only in China. In India and southeast Asia, a pillow sack was stuffed with various kinds of soft materials: wool, linen, willow pollen, cotton, reeds, soft leaves, dried moss, hemp, beans, etc. In short, these were somewhat like the modern pillow. Yijing comments further that the wooden pillow was hard and allowed wind to pass below the neck, resulting in headaches.

³⁴ Here the term "bell-mouth" may refer to the outline seen when one views the front of the shoe's toe, which curved downward into points, resembling the shape of the bottom of the monastic bells used during the Song Dynasty. The illustration in *Butsuzō hyōshikigi zusetu* 佛像標幟義圖說 (*NBZ* 73:132) seems to corroborate this interpretation, although, as no sources give the precise origins of this term, one can only conjecture. Later, these shoes came to be termed "nose-high" (*bigao* 鼻高) shoes, a name which reflects a view of the pointed toe from the side.

³⁵ *YZS* punctuates this passage as 白絹複包 · 條包 · 枕袋, which is an error for 白絹複 · 包條 · 包枕袋. These terms are clearly indicated in the following section entitled "Packing." See *YZS* [22] & [25].

³⁶ According to the Vinayas (*WFL* 26, *T* 22:174b28; *SFL* 40, *T* 22:855c5), not only were monks allowed to possess "waist ropes," but they were prohibited from entering a village unless they had tied up their underskirt to prevent it from falling down. They were also permitted to make knots and hooks to secure their robes.

³⁷ *Zengaku daijiden* 禪學大辭典 (henceforth *ZD*; p.1138b) indicates that the *baozhen* was used for holding the pillow. However, we are told explicitly in the section titled "Packing" that the pillow was

a dust cover (*gaibao* 蓋包), a small cover made from tree oil (*xiao youdan* 小油單), a [larger] cover made from persimmon oil (*shiyou dan* 柿油單), a bed sheet (*buwodan* 布臥單),³⁸ a quilt (*mianbei* 綿被), three clean towels (one to cover the quilt, one for eating, and one for general use), a small pure [water] vessel (*xiao jingpin* 小淨瓶),³⁹ a bath towel (*yujin* 浴巾), a skirt for bathing (*yuqun* 浴裙),⁴⁰ and a lock and key for his storage compartment (*hangui xiaochao* 函櫃小巢).⁴¹ Possessing items such as tea vessels or [additional] clothing depends on the monk's financial position.

inserted under the cloth belt. Thus, while its purpose was not to hold the pillow, it is called the *baozhen* because, after one packs some items in it, such as the bath towel and skirt (see *YZS* [22]), the sack can be used to support the head like a pillow, or could in fact be placed on top of the pillow.

³⁸ To protect the body, the robe, and the bed, the Buddha allowed monks to use a bed sheet (*danfu* 單敷, "single sheet") to cover the mattress. Its size was the same as the mattress (*WFL* 20, *T* 22:138a9-14).

³⁹ It is referred to as *junchi* 君持 or *junchi* 軍持 (Skt. *kundikā*) in Vinaya texts. *SFL* (quoted in the *Zuting shiyuan* 祖庭事苑, abbr. *ZTSY*, *ZZK* 2-18-1:120d) relates a story in which a number of monks, after traveling without water for some time and at last arriving at a spring, drank the water immediately, too thirsty to consider whether or not the water contained insects. Consequently, they were criticized for the taking of life. The Buddha then set forth the rule that thenceforth monks should carry two bottles—one to be called the "pure" bottle, another to be called "soiled."

GSP (*T* 23:786a; *T* 24:247b) also indicates that vessels for holding water must be divided into these two categories. *Yijing* gives a more elaborate explanation in his *NJNZ* 1 (*T* 54:207c11), stipulating that the "pure" bottle be made of pottery or porcelain and the "soiled" one of copper or iron. The water in the "pure" bottle is to be drunk during the "improper" time, i.e., after noon; the water held in most other vessels is to be used during the "proper" time, i.e., in the morning; while that in the "soiled" bottle is to be used after the toilet. It is worth noting that the strainer—one of the six necessities of a monk—does not appear in the *CYQG*. *CBQG* 5 (*T* 48:1139c) mentions that in the first year of Chongning (1102), Zongze, the author of *CYQG*, devised a large strainer and attached it to the wooden threshold beside the wells in his Hongji monastery as well as in his other monasteries.

⁴⁰ *WFL* 26 (*T* 22:171b7) indicates that monks were in the habit of bathing naked, scrubbing each other's backs and emerging from the bath naked. These practices were censured by laypeople and reported to the Buddha. The Buddha then told monks to wear bathing clothes and prohibited them from washing each other.

⁴¹ The compartments are usually part of the facilities in the Saṅgha hall. They are located in the wall at the end of each platform. See illustration in *ZD*:175d.

Packing One's Belongings⁴²

[22] Inside the front knapsack are placed the monk's robes (which are covered with a handkerchief and wrapped in a sitting mat), the short gown (*pianshan* 偏衫; lit., "side clothes"),⁴³ lined jacket, and vest. These "pure" clothes (*jingyi* 淨衣) are placed in the front knapsack while the rear knapsack holds all "soiled" items (*chuyi* 觸衣) [i.e., that have had contact with bare skin]⁴⁴--the bedsheet, cotton clothes, and undergarments--which should be wrapped

⁴² GSP(Z) 15 (T 24:274b25-c3; quoted in ZTSY:120b) states that monks used to travel with the three robes over their shoulders so that the robes were often soiled by sweat and dust. The Buddha then taught them to make a sack to hold the robes. The size of the sack had to be three arms long (about six feet) and one and a half arms wide (about three feet) with an opening in the middle where the knot and hook are attached. In addition, the Buddha instructed that often-used clothes be placed on the top and rarely-used clothes on the bottom.

⁴³ The short gown is the combination of *sengqi yi* 僧祇衣 (Skt. *samkaksika*) and *hujian yi* 護肩衣 [i.e., "a piece of cloth to cover the left shoulder"]. The *sengqi yi* is a piece of cloth covering the left shoulder and left armpit, tied under the right armpit and worn under the three robes by both monks and nuns. The *hujian yi* is a piece of cloth to cover the left shoulder but is worn only by nuns. WFL 29 (T 22:187c3; also see MSL 40, T 22:546b25) provides the following explanation. When women, some of them from noble families, became nuns, they wore the monastic robes, which usually did not cover the right shoulder. Harassed by some laymen for their exposed shoulders, a group of nuns reported to the Buddha, who allowed them to wear an extra piece of cloth to cover their right shoulders.

However, when Buddhism came to China the Indian style of dress was not accepted by the Chinese, who have a deep-rooted, traditional sense of *li* 禮 (i.e., propriety). The exposure of any part of the body was regarded as barbarian and improper. The *Weilu* 魏錄, a missing text written by Zhu Daozu 竺道祖, reports that when imperial ladies saw monks with one arm exposed, they regarded it as an impropriety. The monks later made a cover for the right shoulder and sewed it to the *sengqi yi*. According to CBQG 5 (T 48:1139a), this is the origin of the short gown (*pianshan*). This account is also quoted in ZSS:695a-700a; under this entry Dōchū provides ample description of the origin and evolution of the short gown. It was the upper part of the monk's undergarments. Below, the monks wore the skirt. By the time of the compilation of CBQG (in the year 1336), the upper and lower parts had been sewn together as one long garment and given the name *zhiduo* 直襪. The illustration of the short gown and *zhiduo* can be seen in *Butsuzō hyōshikigi zusetu*, NBZ 73:131; also in ZD, 1114c for *pianshan*.

⁴⁴ Daoxuan's JXXL (T 45:873a24-25) indicates that the "pure" clothes must be placed on the "pure" pole, while the "soiled" clothes must be placed on the "soiled" pole. The concept of dividing items or subjects into two categories--pure and soiled (or impure)--is prevalent throughout the Vinaya texts. Two other examples appearing in Daoxuan's works are: (1) a ladle. The part that dips into the water is regarded as "pure," while the part used as the handle is "soiled" (*ibid*, 870c); (2) the bowl. The upper two-thirds of the outside surface are considered "pure," while the remaining part is "soiled" (*ibid*, 871b). In the section entitled "Packing" within the text of CYQG (see [24] and following n. 47), the walking stick is also divided into two parts--the "pure" head, which is the end without twigs, and the "soiled" head, the end with twigs. As we have already shown, water vessels were also classified by two types--"pure" and "soiled"--as given by Yijing (see n. 38).

However, the concept of purity and impurity (or pollution) can be traced back not only to the early Buddhist Vinaya, but also to Indian social custom. Indian society, or more specifically Indian Brahmanized society, has a deeply-rooted tradition of bifurcating all things into categories of "pure" and

first in the white silk cloth. Then inside the pillow sack are stuffed the bathing towel and bathing skirt. The Holy Image, the sutra, and the tea vessels are placed inside the hat.⁴⁵

[23] To properly pack [the rest of his belongings], the monk should tie his skirt over his short gown, put on the front knapsack over this, and tie his pillow sack to the knapsack. Then the rear knapsack is put on, after which the bowl bag is placed over the right shoulder hanging under the left armpit, with the mouth of the bowl against the body.⁴⁶ The shoe sack is slung over the left shoulder and hangs under the right armpit. Then the knife is inserted [under the skirt] below the right armpit [i.e., on his right side at the waist] and the certificate canister is inserted [under the skirt] below the left armpit. The certificate bag [canister?] is hung by a cord or a ribbon over the shoulder and fastened to the waist by a belt. It will be easier if [the monk] hangs, secures, and properly adjusts the certificate canister before putting on the rear knapsack. He then puts on and ties his cloth belt. Then he inserts the pillow, tea canister, and water vessel under the belt to the right and left of the front knapsack.

To properly don the hat, the right hand should be placed under the brim, and the hat is lifted up, turned, and placed on the head. It is best that the hat is placed level: it should not lean front to back nor side to side. [24] To remove the hat, the right hand should be lifted up to turn the hat and lower it. Then the right hand is used to hold the hat by the brim and keep it by the right shoulder. [The following illustrates] the proper way to hold the walking stick. [The handle of the stick] with twigs on it is considered the "soiled head" (*chutou* 觸頭), while [the end] with no twigs is the "pure head" (*jingtou* 淨頭).⁴⁷ This pure

"polluted." Indian Buddhism had adopted these concepts of purity and pollution from its native land. See Gregory Schopen, "On Avoiding Ghosts and Social Censure: Monastic Funerals in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 20 (1992):18.

⁴⁵ The hat was big enough to cover one's shoulders.

⁴⁶ This stands in direct contrast with the Daoxuan's rule that when travelling one should carry bowls with the mouths facing away from the body. See *JXXL*, Rule 11 in the section "Protecting the Bowls," *T* 45:872c13-14.

⁴⁷ *ZD* (p. 506a) interprets these two "heads" as two distinct walking sticks rather than the two parts of one stick. However, from the following sentence it is more logical to understand these heads as the two parts of one stick. The walking stick handle is usually regarded as the "soiled" part, while the bottom end

head should be kept in front of the body while walking and should be held in the right hand. When a monk doffs his hat, [the walking stick] should be in the left palm. If he should encounter someone on the road, he should use his left hand to hold the stick, take off his hat with his right hand and pull the hat and the top of the stick up close to his chest in order to bow [with his hands clasped and his body bent slightly] (*wenxun* 問訊).⁴⁸ When departing from a monastery, once he has said farewell to his fellow monks, the monk may don his hat only when he is beyond the eaves of the Triple Gate (*sanmen* 三門, i.e., the outer mountain gate).⁴⁹

[25] When entering a monastery, a monk must doff his hat outside the eaves of the Triple Gate. He should carry his walking stick in his left hand and let the top end drop. With his right hand he should carry his hat against [in front of] his right shoulder. If he should encounter a fellow monk [within the monastery grounds] he merely pulls his hat in front of his chest to show respect. If he is taking up residence in the monastery, then he goes to the south platform [i.e., on the left side] in front of the Saṅgha hall (*sengtang* 僧堂).⁵⁰ He takes off his hat and places it on the platform, then putting his walking stick on

of the stick--i.e., the "pure head"--was kept in front while walking. The term *jingtou* is later used in this text with a different meaning, i.e., it refers to the latrine attendant.

⁴⁸ Both *wen* and *xun* literally mean "to inquire" (*ZTSY* 5:69b). *MSL* (cited in *SSYL* 2, *T* 54:277b) notes that while paying homage, the monks should not be mute like goats but should "inquire" of each other, i.e., greet one another. *DSL* (*T* 54:239a3-5) indicates that when monks encounter each other, they bend their bodies and press their palms together, saying, "*Bushen* 不審" (literally, "not knowing;" i.e., "I do not know how you are and wish to inquire as to your well-being"). However, Dōchū (*ZSS*:383a), citing the descriptions given in monastic codes, argues that monks did not necessarily speak when performing the *wenxun* (Jpn. *monjun*).

⁴⁹ The idea that the outer mountain gate should be named the Triple Gate may be adopted from the *DZDL* 20 (*T* 25:207c10), which reads: "If the true form of all Dharmas [i.e., all phenomena] can be represented as a castle, then this castle has three gates--Emptiness (*kong* 空), Formlessness (*wuxiang* 無相), and Non-Action (*wuzuo* 無作)." These gates are also referred to as the Triple Gate of Liberation which leads to nirvāṇa. The same idea can be seen in *Fodi jinglun* 佛地經論 1 (*T* 26:395c17), which refers to the gates comprising the Triple Gate of Liberation as Emptiness, Formlessness, and Non-Desire (*wuyuan* 無願).

⁵⁰ Although most scholars translate 僧堂 as "monks' hall," I here consult Foulk's translation as "saṅgha hall" (though I choose "Saṅgha"), for Dōgen (*DZZ* II:400) points out that "the principle buildings within a monastery are the Buddha shrine, Dharma hall, and Saṅgha hall" 寺院之最要佛殿法堂僧堂也. The Saṅgha hall is the most important location within the monastery for the life of the monk. As is evident by this text, monks not only meditate and receive the abbot's regular sermon in this hall, but they also take

the top of the end of the platform (*chuangdang* 床當) (the word *dang* [should be pronounced] in the fourth tone) with the pure head pointing to the north. He takes out his water vessel, tea canister, and pillow and places them inside the hat. Then he unties his cloth belt and also puts it inside the hat. He places the shoe sack on the floor and he puts the bowl bag in front of the hat. He then unties the rear knapsack and the pillow sack and places them on the platform. He takes off his front knapsack and places it inside the hat or on top of the rear knapsack, taking out the *kāṣāya* [i.e., his three robes]⁵¹ and the sitting mat. He places the pillow, cloth belt, the pillow sack and front knapsack into the rear knapsack and ties it shut.

their two meals and sleep there. This building is generally located in the west section of the monastery complex, symmetrical to the storage hall 庫堂 located in the east section. The Saṅgha hall is usually designed with platforms arranged in rows. Halls may be large enough to accommodate thousands of people, as, for example, in the prominent monastery Tiantongshan. Here the Saṅgha hall, which was initially built by Hongzhi Zhengjue in 1132-1134, is "two hundred feet in length and sixteen *zhang* 丈 in width, i.e., one hundred sixty feet [one *zhang* being approximately equal to ten feet]." See *Tiantongsi zhi* 天童寺志, by Wen Ruiquan 聞叢泉 and Shi Dejie 釋德介 (Taipei: Guangwen Shuju, repr. 1976), vol. 1: 49-50; see also Yokoyama Shūsai 橫山秀哉, *Zen no kenchiku* 禪の建築 (Tokyo: Shōkokusha, 1967), 176. In the center of the hall, a statue of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī was enshrined as the Holy Monk. See n. 66 of this fascicle on the Holy Monk.

The Saṅgha hall is also referred to as the "cloud hall" (*yuntang* 雲堂)--where monks are said to gather like accumulating clouds (ZSS:33a), or where those who travel like the "clouds and the water" come to meditate. It is also known as the "Place for Choosing Buddhas" (*xuanfo chang* 選佛場)--the location for those who are candidates to become Buddhas. It is worth noting that in some prominent monasteries there is more than one Saṅgha hall within the monastic compound.

From Daoxuan's works (e.g., *SXC* and *JXXL*) it is evident that monasteries of the Lü school during the Tang Dynasty did not include any particular building named the Saṅgha hall which would have served as the center of monastic life. It seems that monks in the Lü school slept in the monks' dormitory (*sengfang* 僧坊), ate in the dining hall (*shichu* 食處 or *shitang* 食堂), and attended lectures in the lecture hall (*jiangtang* 講堂). A question we can consider here is when monks started to sleep in the Saṅgha hall. *CYQG* clearly shows that Chan monks in the Song slept in the Saṅgha hall; however, *CYQG* is not the earliest document showing the construction and function of the Saṅgha hall. The Tiantai monastic regulations *Tianzhusi shifang zhuchiyi* (ZZK 2-6-2:155c5), compiled by Zunshi, several decades before Zongze, has shown that the Saṅgha hall was the center location for monks' lives. Accordingly, the practice of sleeping in a Saṅgha hall may begin some time between the time of Daoxuan (596-677) and the time of Zunshi (964-1032). Note that the institution of the Saṅgha hall was adopted by all schools. The Lü monastic code *LYSG* (ZZK 2-11-1:33a15-b5) indicates that Lü monks in the Yuan Dynasty slept and ate in the Saṅgha hall. The monastic code attributed to Baizhang, *Chanmen guishi* (T 51:251a11; also *SGSZ T* 50:770c26), seems to indicate that the institution of the Saṅgha hall was one of Baizhang's invention. However, this *Chanmen guishi* was written later in the Song Dynasty, therefore it is not evidence that the institution of Saṅgha hall and the practice of sleeping within it start from the time of Baizhang.

51 "Kāṣāya" literally means "yellowish red." However, this meaning was later lost in the Chinese translation *jiasha* 袈裟 which simply became a generic term for Buddhist monks' robes.

Having done this, he carries a clean towel and his shoe bag to the rear washstand (*houjia* 後架)⁵² to wash his feet. He then puts on his socks and [bell-mouth] shoes [and returns to the Saṅgha hall], placing the shoe bag containing the straw [traveling] shoes under the platform. He should use the towel to clean his hands before he puts on his *kāṣāya*. He puts his certificate of ordination inside his sleeve. He then visits the rectory (*tangsi* 堂司)⁵³ to meet with (*xiangkan* 相看) [the rector (*weinuo* 維那)]⁵⁴ and take up residence (*guada* 掛搭). If there is a storage compartment in the Saṅgha hall the monk can collect all his luggage, place it in the compartment, and lock it, [with the exception of] his hat and stick, which are

52 Translated literally as "rear stand," the *houjia* is used for refreshing oneself. The rear washstand is generally located behind the Saṅgha hall. The *Shōbogenshō* (written by Dōgen, who based his observations on Tiantongshan) points out that the rear stand is a place for washing one's face, located close to the Saṅgha hall but west of the "illumination hall" (*zhaotang* 照堂), i.e., the illumination hall is between the washstand and the Saṅgha hall. See the section "Washing the Face" in *DZZ* II:428. Generally, the toilet (*dongsī* 東司) is built next to the rear washstand. The rear exit of the Saṅgha hall leads to the illumination hall, which in turn connects with the rear washstand, which is directly to the north of the toilet. Yokoyama Shūsai asserts that the standard Saṅgha hall is located on the right side of the Buddha shrine, adjacent to the west corridor and opening to the east. The rear washstand is usually located to the west of the illuminating hall, which is just outside the rear exit of the Saṅgha hall. This was the general format for monasteries during the Song Dynasty. See Yokoyama, *Zen no kenchiku*, 212. It is worth noting that there is not necessarily only one rear washstand in the monastery. In the diagram of Tiantongshan another rear washstand can be found in the east wing of the complex, close to the assembly quarters and connected to the toilet. We note that the term "illumination" hall does not appear in the *CYQG*; it may be a building which was incorporated later.

This arrangement appears clearly in a diagram of Tiantongshan in the *Gozan jissatsu zu* 五山十刹圖 (henceforth *GJZ*; *ZD* "Zuroku" 圖錄 p.12; also see *CHSS* II:1286), a collection of diagrams illustrating monastic architectural layouts, the placement of liturgical vessels, and the locations of various rituals performed in the major monasteries of Southern China during the Southern Song. It is believed that *GJZ* was first brought to Japan by Tettsū Gikai 徹通義介 (1219-1309) after his sojourn in Song China in 1259 and is now preserved in the Eihei-ji Monastery. Later, circumstances led the monks of Eihei-ji to trade the text of *GJZ* for a statue of Dōgen from the Daijō-ji 大乘寺 Temple. Thus today scholars know this collection of diagrams as the Daijō-ji edition. Another version of this text referred to as the *Dai Sō shozan zu* 大宋諸山圖 was brought from China to Japan by Shōichi Enni 聖一圓爾 (1208-1280) in 1241 and has been preserved in Tōfuku-ji 東福寺 in Kyoto. Although the two versions are nearly identical in content, the Tōfuku-ji version contains three fewer diagrams, as well as a number of differences in details, leading Yokoyama Shūsai 横山秀哉 to conclude that the two collections were copied from different sources. See his *Zen no kenchiku* 禪の建築 (Tokyo: Shōkokusha, 1967), 49. Basing his work on these two versions, Mujaku Dōchū (1653-1744) made a modified version entitled *Zenran zu kōka* 禪藍圖校訛, which was renamed *Dai Sō gozan zusetsu* 大宋五山圖式 and included in *CHSS* II:1269-1334. For all future references to the *GJZ*, I will provide page citations for both the *ZD* and the *CHSS*.

53 This term is sometimes used interchangeably with the word *weinuo* 維那 (i.e., Saṅgha hall rector), and can refer to either the person or his quarters.

54 For further details see the section "Rector" in fasc. 3.

returned to the [assembly] quarters ([*zhong*] *liao* [眾]寮).⁵⁵ If there is no storage compartment in the Saṅgha hall, then, after visiting the [assembly] quarters for the greeting (*renshi* 人事),⁵⁶ he follows the director of the assembly quarters (*liao**zhu* 寮主) and the chief seat [of the assembly quarters] ([*liao*] *shouzu* [寮]首座),⁵⁷ who will show him where [he may put his things]. After meeting [the chief of the assembly quarters and the chief seat], he places his bowls and quilt in the Saṅgha hall. His tea canister and words (*wenzi* 文字, i.e., sutra literature) he leaves on a desk in the [assembly] quarters.

Overnight Residence

[27] Once [a guest monk] has entered the gate [of the monastery], he first inquires where the overnight [quarters] (*danguo* [*liao*] 旦過[寮])⁵⁸ are located. After he has entered the hall [of overnight residence] and unpacked, he gets himself ready (*ju weiyi* 具威儀)⁵⁹ to

55 The text does not specifically indicate to which quarters the word *liao* refers; however, context would seem to imply the assembly quarters. Monks did not sleep in the assembly quarters, but rather in the Saṅgha hall. It was in the assembly quarters that desks were made available for studying. However, reading was not the only activity to take place in this hall: the monks took their break for tea here before they would rest in the Saṅgha hall; formal tea ceremonies were also held in the assembly quarters; and infrequently used personal belongings were stored here. Judging by later texts—as well as the practices in modern monasteries—one can assume that the assembly quarters came to function first and foremost as a study room or monastery library. However, in the *CYQG* we find that the place sanctioned for reading and storing sutras was not the assembly quarters, but the sutra-reading hall (*kanjing tang* 看經堂). Cf. [129].

56 Literally translated as "people's affairs." Dōchū (ZSS:399b) notes that this word has three meanings: (1) to greet; (2) to present gifts; (3) to present one's qualifications. The appropriate translation should be chosen by context.

57 In *CYQG* there are four positions referred to as "chief seat": (1) the chief seat in the assembly quarters, called *liao shouzu* 寮首座 (for details of his duties see [161]); (2) the chief seat in the Saṅgha hall, simply referred to as *shouzu* (for details of his duties see [124-6]); (3) the chief seat in the sutra-reading hall, referred to as *kanjing shouzu* 看經首座 (cf. *YZS* [131]); and (4) the chief seat emeritus, or *liseng shouzu* 立僧首座 (sometimes abbreviated as *liseng*), held by those who have honorably retired from high administrative positions. For the appointment of the chief seat emeritus see *YZS* [248] in fasc. 7.

58 Translated literally as "passing the dawn."

59 Dōgen (*DZZ* 1:420) indicates that when a student is going to visit the master he should "get himself ready," that is, don his *kāṣāya*, procure his sitting mat, properly arrange his shoes and socks, and bring a stick of incense. While incense should be brought when visiting the master, it is not a requirement for other social occasions. In general, the student should prepare whatever the given situation requires. In Daoxuan's *JXXL* (*T* 45:873a; cited in *ZSS*:402b), the first rule of entering the warm room, i.e., the bath house, is to prepare one's demeanor and to bring a sitting mat.

see the guest quarters (*kewei* 客位).⁶⁰ He then announces, "Temporary visit," and the guest master (*zhike* 知客)⁶¹ comes out for them for *chuli sanbai* 觸禮三拜 [i.e., to place a folded sitting mat on the floor in front of oneself and bow down, touching one's forehead to the sitting mat three times]⁶² to each other. The [guest monk's] words indicating a temporary stay are: "Passing by on this occasion I am most fortunate to be met by you." The guest master's reply is: "Taking the road up mountains and across streams, you have journeyed here with great difficulty."⁶³ Later the guest master goes to the hall of residence to return

60 The guest quarters are located within the overnight quarters. Their function is like that of a reception office, serving tea or sweetened drinks to guests, whether monks or laypeople (see [135] & [106]). When the fundraiser returns to the monastery, the administrative staff receives him at the guest quarters (see [171]). When a new abbot arrives at the monastery, he will stay at the guest quarters temporarily before taking up office. The *kewei* is not only an office but serves as a place of lodging as well. It should be noted that in some passages in the present text the term *kewei* appears to mean the guest seat, in contrast to the host seat.

61 For a detailed discussion see the section "Guest Master" in fasc. 4.

62 Yijing in *NJNZ* 3 (*T* 54:221a8) points out that the sitting mat was not originally used for the bowing gesture. The practice of displaying the sitting mat on the floor before bowing does not appear in the Vinaya texts and generally was not practiced in India. However, Daoxuan's work *JXXL* suggests that the sitting mat was indeed used for bowing down in the Chinese Lü school. Rules 18 and 19 pertaining to the "Procedure for the Twice-Daily Meals" (*JXXL*, *T* 45:871c) stipulates that one should take out and unfold the sitting mat during meals [for bowing]; and after bowing down one should collect one's sitting mat before ascending the platform to take one's seat. The *LYSG*, the later monastic code of the Lü school compiled in 1325 and adopted from the Chan codes, omits this practice of *chuli* altogether, asserting that the sole purpose of the sitting mat is to protect the body and the clothes from becoming soiled. Thus the practice of *chuli*, according to the *LYSG* (*ZZK* 2-11-1:18d), goes against the intent of the Vinaya.

Was the use of the sitting mat for prostration adopted from traditional Chinese practice? The section "The Evolution of Decorum" 儀禮沿革 in *DSL* 1 (*T* 54:238c28) informs us that "in the past, when foreign monks 梵僧 [i.e., from India and Central Asia] arrived here [i.e., China], they unfolded their sitting mats and bowed down on the top of them." Thus *DSL* implies that the custom was originally brought from India or the Western Region. Allowing that Yijing's travel route was through South Asia to eastern parts of India, and assuming that *DSL*'s information is reliable, and that we cannot find the source of this practice in China, we can infer that the custom was most likely introduced from North India, also known as the Western Region. However, Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, which Yijing translated into China, prevailed in North India, and *DSL*, compiled by Zanning, should be used cautiously.

DSL (*ibid.*) continues to explain the reason for *chuli*: "Later, in order to prevent excessive formalities, a senior monk, when seeing [a junior] unfolding his sitting mat, would immediately move to make a greeting. Thus the junior would unfold his sitting mat and attempt to bow a second time, only to be stopped by the senior once again. Accordingly, attempting to unfold one's sitting mat and starting to bow came to be considered as the fulfilment of the proper courtesy."

63 In his record, Yijing (*NJNZ* 3, *T* 54:223a9) reminds us that the Buddha taught welcoming monks to greet guest monks by saying, "Welcome" (*shantai* 善來, literally, "well come"). In India, at the time

the courtesy (*huili* 迴禮) [of the guest's visit]. If [the guest] meets with the abbot, [the guest master] must still go to the guest lodging to return the courtesy. If a guest decides to take up residence [on a permanent basis], then after one or two days he goes to visit the rectory.

Taking Up Residence

[28] [The new arrivals] should get themselves ready and place their certificates inside their sleeves. If there are more than two people [arriving], then one person who is well versed in monastic custom or is senior [to the others] in ordination will be selected as the group leader (*cantou* 參頭). The newcomers should then go to the rectory for a meeting [with the rector], first finding the server (*xingzhe* 行者)⁶⁴ and having him report to the rector, saying, "New arrivals visiting." When [the arrivals and the rector] see each other, they do *chuli sanbai*. Once the tea has been served and consumed, the newcomers stand up and step forward, saying, "We have been drawn to this monastery's spiritual tradition (*daofeng* 道風). On this occasion we have traveled here to remain at your side, and we greatly hope for your

when Yijing was a traveler there, it was the custom that whenever a guest monk visited, whether he was an acquaintance, a friend, or a disciple, the host monk had to greet him by saying "Welcome." The guest monks would wait for this greeting and then reply, "Most welcome!" (*ji shanlai* 極善來) If a host monk did not comply with this rule, he would violate not only monastic regulations 寺制, but also the Vinaya itself. Regardless of whether a guest monk was of senior or junior status, he was entitled to the same greeting.

64 "Server" was the title given to those who entered the monastery seeking the status of monk, but who could not be tonsured until they had carried out a number of menial tasks within the monastery. *Shanjian lü piposha* 善見律毘婆沙 [*Samantapāsādikā*, abbr. *SJLP*]11 (*T* 24:753a23-25) offers the following explanation: "Why are these people referred to as *pandupalāsa* 畔頭波羅沙? [Because they are] noble men who are attempting to 'leave home.' Before they obtain their robes and bowls, they willingly rely upon the inhabitants of the temple." 何謂畔頭波羅沙、善男子欲求出家、未得衣鉢、欲依寺中住者。

Servers in China, as Dōchū informs us (*ZSS*:296b), did not shave their heads, but had their hair parted in two and draped down their backs. They were obliged to observe the five precepts (in keeping with the third precept, the server, unlike the layperson, was not permitted to engage in any sexual activity). They were assigned various tasks in each of the departments and were given specific titles indicating their assigned duties (as is clearly indicated in *CYQG*), such as the food server (*gongguo xingzhe* 供過行者), the servers who perform various tasks in the kitchen (*chuzhong juci xingzhe* 廚中局次行者), the server who tends all the shrines and halls (*zhu diantang xingzhe* 諸殿堂行者), the server in charge of striking the bell (*dazhong xingzhe* 打鐘行者), the server in charge of the main gate (*menzi xingzhe* 門子行者), the server in charge of the fire (*huotou xingzhe* 火頭行者), the tea server (*chatou xingzhe* 茶頭行者), the server to the chief gardener (*yuantou xingzhe* 園頭行者), the server in the farming village (*zhuzhang xingzhe* 諸莊行者), and the vehicle server (*chetou xingzhe* 車頭行者). All servers were referred to as *tongxing* 童行, and the building in which they lived was known as "postulant hall" (*tongxing tang* 童行堂) or "hall for choosing monks" (*xuanseng tang* 選僧堂). See also n. 7, fasc. 2, and n. 128, fasc. 1.

compassion." The rector replies, "The monastery will receive many fortunes by your esteemed arrival." All the arrivals present their certificates to the rector in order of ordination seniority. Once the rector has collected the certificates and placed them in the trunk, the arrivals *chuli* one time, saying, "On this occasion we have received many fortunes by your warm treatment and for this we owe you our gratitude." The rector bows once and replies, "The treatment here is very strict. I hope that you will let the Buddhist teaching guide your thoughts." At this time no sweetened drink (*tang* 湯)⁶⁵ is served. The rector escorts the new arrivals out of his office, saying, "Please, Venerable Seniors (*Shangzuo* 上座),⁶⁶ return to the hall and take up residence."

[29] The new arrivals enter the Saṅgha hall through the south [left-hand] side of the front door and go before the Holy Monk (*shengseng* 聖僧).⁶⁷ With the group leader walking at

⁶⁵ In Yijing's record (*NJNZ* 3, *T* 54:223a26) we find that the Indians observed the custom of offering sweetened drink. Yijing records that when a guest monk came, he would be offered a soup made with ghee, honey, sugar, or one of eight kinds of syrup while he took his rest.

⁶⁶ The term *Shangzuo* (literally, "upper seat") is used in the present text by monks addressing each other. A monk typically refers himself as *biqu* 比丘 (*bhikṣu*).

⁶⁷ As Yijing opines (*NJNZ* 3, *T* 54:221b19), monks who lived during the time of the Buddha were allowed the opportunity to sleep in the same room with him, and therefore it is not inappropriate for monks to maintain an image of the Buddha in their sleeping quarters. Yijing observes that in India and South Asia, a holy statue was enshrined inside the Saṅgha residence. The statue was either placed in the window or in a shrine. This holy statue was meant to represent the image of the Buddha. The term Holy Monk occurs in Yijing's diary (*NJNZ* 1, *T* 54:209b4 & 4, 227a19): During the meal offering, after the monks have washed their hands and feet and are standing before the assembly, the donors first make an offering to the Holy Monk. During the ritual of the eulogy, after the Sutra master has descended from his "lion seat," the most senior monk pays homage first to the "lion seat" and then to the Holy Monk. Yijing does not specify precisely what the Holy Monk is.

The text of *CYQG* also does not indicate the identity of this image. Similarly, none of the later texts of monastic codes—*RRQG*, *Jiaoding qinggui* 校定清規, *Beiyong qinggui*, or *CBQG*—clarifies what exactly is meant by the Holy Monk.

However, in the Chinese Lū school the Holy Monk represents the arhat Piṇḍola 賓頭盧. Daoxuan's *SXC* 3C (*T* 40:135c24) notes that the way to decorate the seat of the Holy Monk should be in accordance with the instructions given in *Qing Bintoulu fa* 請賓頭盧法 (*T* 32:784b-c). The custom of placing Piṇḍola in the dining hall is said to have started from Daoan (312-385). For the detailed story of Daoan relating to Piṇḍola, see Section 1b.

FYZL (*T* 53:609c-611a) includes a section entitled "Holy Monk" which states that physical depictions of the Holy Monk did not appear until the Taishi 泰始 era (465-471) of the Liu Song 劉宋 Dynasty and were first created by Shi Fayuan 釋法願 at the Zhengshengsi 正勝寺 and Shi Fajing 釋法鏡 at

the north [right] end of the procession, they stand in their positions, fully unfold their sitting mats, and bow down three times. They then pick up their sitting mats and, starting from the place of the chief seat (*shouzuō* 首座) [in the Saṅgha hall], they circumambulate the hall one time, returning to the Holy Monk, before whom they bow. Once this is completed, they take their seats in order, beginning with the second seat from the lead seat (*bantou* 板頭)⁶⁸ [i.e., the third seat] of the platform to the south [left] of the front door. The rector records [information about all the arrivals] in the "platform register" (*chuangli* 床曆)⁶⁹ in the order of ordination seniority. When this is finished, he has a server carrying the chest containing the certificates [30] follow him into the hall. In some monasteries the rector first burns incense before the Holy Monk. The new arrivals stand up, remain in front of the platform and then

the Zhengxisi 正喜寺. This text also includes the episode taken from *SSL* describing Piṇḍola's punishment by the Buddha as well as the instruction given in *Qing Bitoulu fa jing*.

In Fazang's 法藏 (643-712) commentary to the *Brahmā Net Sūtra*, the *Fanwang jing pusa jieben shu* 梵網經菩薩戒本疏 1 (*T* 40:605b4-5), it is said that in India all the Hīnayānist temples treat Piṇḍola as the senior seat (i.e., the representative of monks) while in the Mahāyānist temples Mañjuśrī takes the senior seat. In China, the image of Piṇḍola enshrined in the refectory of all monasteries was replaced by that of Mañjuśrī, beginning when the Tantric monk Amoghavajra petitioned the emperor to support his own teachings. See *Daizong chaozeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi Sanzang Heshang biaozi ji* 代宗朝贈司空大辨正廣智三藏和上表制 2, *T* 52:837b5-6, and Weinstein, *Buddhism Under the Tang*, 81.

Another belief is that the Holy Monk in the Saṅgha hall is Kauṇḍinya 僑陳如, the first disciple of the Buddha. The basis for this view is the fact that ordination seniority has always played the deciding role in the arrangement of monks' seating. As *CBQG* 7 (*T* 48:1150b17) indicates, the post indicating the places of monks who took residence in Saṅgha hall for the summer retreat (*caodan* 草單) listed Kauṇḍinya before the abbot and the assembly of monks, leading Dōchū to infer that Kauṇḍinya is one of the best candidates for the figure represented by the Holy Monk in the Saṅgha hall (*ZSS*:119b & 115b). A second source which offers the same hypothesis is the *Keizan shingi* 壘山清規 2 (*T* 82:443b), a Japanese monastic code compiled in 1268, in which a diagram of ordination seniority created in imitation of the Tiantong shan temples indicates that the Holy Monk was Kauṇḍinya. The *Keizan shingi* therefore concludes that the Holy Monk in the monastery Tiantongshan was also considered to be Kauṇḍinya. See Matsuura Shūkō, *Zenshū kojitsu sonzō no kenkyū* 禪宗古實尊像の研究 (Tokyo: Shankibō Busshorin, 1976), 233-44.

I wish to introduce some caution regarding the statute about the Holy Monk. We cannot find any explicit evidence that Dōgen indicates in his writing that the Holy Monk was Mañjuśrī, therefore the modern claim that Holy Monk is Mañjuśrī may be a later interpretation based on the source pertaining to Amoghavajra's petition.

68 *Bantou* appears to have three separate but related meanings within the present text : (1) the lead seat of each platform; (2) the upright boards at the two ends of a platform; (3) the wall panel of platform.

69 The register indicates each monk's name, date and place of birth, and years since ordination, using the information given on his certificates. One copy is kept by the Saṅgha hall rector, another by the abbot (*CHSS* I:557b).

bow to each other. He returns the certificates to them in order. The rector goes to the lead seat of the platform, faces southeast, and do *chulis* one time. The new arrivals also do *chuli* one time. The rector then arranges for the monks to take up residence in order of ordination seniority⁷⁰ and [both sides] perform *chuli* one time [to each other]. The rector should always occupy the "upper arm" (*shangshou* 上手) [i.e., stand in the higher position]. If [the monks and the rector] are standing to the north [right] of the front door, the rector will face the northeast. If they are standing to the south [left] of the front door, the rector faces southeast. If they stand north of the rear door then the rector faces northwest. If they are south of the rear door then the rector will face southwest. Once [all the monks] have taken up residence, the rector exits the hall. In some [monasteries] [the rector] exits through the front door; in others, [he] exits through the rear door. The new arrivals escort the rector out of the hall. [If the rector] exits through the rear door, the new arrivals should not step beyond the threshold; if [he] exits through the front door, the new arrivals should escort him beyond the doorway. [Before he leaves,] the rector says, "Please, Venerable Senior X, Venerable Senior Y, [etc.,] go to X quarters to 'take off your robes' (*choujie* 抽解) [i.e. take your rest]." He then bows and leaves.

[31] The new arrivals return to the assembly quarters and seek out the chief of the assembly quarters, announcing to him, "New arrivals visiting." Once they meet him, they do *chuli sanbai* to each other. After the tea is served, all the monks, beginning with the group leader, stand up and step forward, saying, "The rector has instructed us to enter these

⁷⁰ The number of years since ordination plays the key role in deciding the order of precedence for every occasion, such as taking up residence in the Saṅgha hall, or gathering in the assembly quarters, at tea ceremonies, for chanting in the Buddha shrine, etc. This custom, still carried out in modern monasteries, can be traced back to the Vinaya texts. In the Vinaya, it is related that when monks did not know how to decide the order of members of the Saṅgha, some suggested that the decision be based on the caste system, others suggested appearance, still others personal achievement. The Buddha then told a well-known story. A bird, a monkey, and an elephant who all lived by a certain tree were arguing one day about who should be considered the senior of the group. The elephant recalled that when he was young the tip of the tree touched his stomach when he passed over. The monkey contended that when was young he could bite the tip of the tree. Finally, the bird announced that long ago he remembered eating some fruit and spitting out the seed from which this tree eventually grew. Thus the bird was regarded as the most senior. The Buddha then proclaimed that, analogously, those who received full ordination first, those who have been in the monastery the longest, are to occupy the senior seats (*SSL* 34, *T* 23:242c; also *WFL* 18, *T* 22:121a; *SFL* 50, *T* 22:940a18).

superior quarters and remain by your side." After this, the chief of the assembly quarters discerns all the details of their ordination seniority and assigns each of them, starting from the group leader, to a particular platform and reading desk. Then they all do *chuli* one time to each other. The newcomers stand in their positions and bow before the holy statue.⁷¹ Next, they circumambulate the hall and seek out the chief seat. [Once they have found him,] everyone does *chuli sanbai* to each other. They then gather their luggage and ask the chief of the assembly quarters and chief seat to make [long-term] arrangements.

[32] The newcomers go to the abbot's office (*tangtou* 堂頭)⁷² to see the attendant (*shizhe* 侍者) and, without bowing down, say, "We newcomers pay homage to the abbot. We wish to trouble you, attendant, to convey [this to the abbot]." If the abbot is visiting with guests or resting, then the attendant should detain the guests, offering them tea or sweetened drink. If there is no reason for delay, then there is no need for tea. The attendant [33] asks, "Are you, Venerable Seniors, select disciples (*rushi dizi*; 入室弟子 "enter-room" disciples) or Dharma relatives (*fajuan* 法眷; i.e., in the same Dharma lineage)?" If none of the monks is a select disciple or Dharma relative, then all the monks enter simultaneously to meet [the abbot]. If some of them are select disciples [or Dharma relatives?], they must wait until the [other] newcomers have finished their greeting before they meet with the abbot.⁷³ The attendant addresses the

⁷¹ The enshrined statue mentioned here could not be identified, and the text gives no further information as to its exact nature. However, the *RRQG* (ZZK 2-16-5:478b) states that the Holy Statue in the assembly quarters is Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin 觀音). Similarly, the diagrams in *GJZ* (ZD, "Zuroku," p.10 & *CHSS* II:1282-3) also clearly indicate that the image inside the assembly quarters is Avalokiteśvara. The reason for choosing Avalokiteśvara in the assembly quarters is given by Menzan Zuihō 面山瑞方 (1683-1769), who explains that because the assembly quarters is the place for reading (usually aloud), the hall is most often filled with audible voices. Avalokiteśvara (or rather, Avalokitasvara, *Guan shiyin* in Chinese, meaning "one who 'observes' voices in the world") would seem to be the most logical deity for such a location. See *Tōjō garan shodō anzōki* 洞上伽藍諸堂安像記, in *Sōtōshu zensho Shingi* 曹洞宗全書清規, ed. Sōtōshū Zensho Kankōkai (Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmichō, 1931; repr. 1972), 822.

⁷² This term may also refer to the abbot himself.

⁷³ Those who enter the master's quarters as the select disciples are the ones chosen to inherit their teacher's Dharma lineage. The section below in the present text entitled "Entering [the Abbot's] Quarters" illustrates the ceremony of entering the abbot's quarters for instruction (see [66]). Although *CYQG* does not specify whether there was a distinct procedure for the select disciples as opposed to other visitors to the abbot's quarters, Bodiford cites some traditions that would seem to indicate a privileged status for the select disciples within the monastic community in Japan. He writes:

abbot, saying: "X number of newcomers, [among whom are] X number of select disciples and X number of Dharma relatives, have come to pay homage to you." He then leads them in [to see the abbot]. The newcomers do *liangzhan sanli* 兩展三禮 [also termed *liangzhan sanbai* 三拜. That is, the newcomers unfold their sitting mats and attempt to bow down but are stopped by a hand movement from the abbot, who refuses the gesture as an excessive honor. They then unfold their mats a second time, attempt to bow down and are again restrained by the abbot. Finally, in lieu of a third attempt, they simply bow three times over their folded sitting mats. The abbot then returns the bows].⁷⁴ Those Dharma relatives who are senior to the abbot also must do *liangzhan sanli* to the abbot as a courtesy (*gongjie zhi li* 公界之禮).⁷⁵ However, the abbot should not accept this courtesy and should not do *chuli*. The abbot should merely say, "Soon I will visit your hall of residence and pay homage." The senior monks should be assigned to superior lodging, which the abbot will visit to return the courtesy. If those monks senior to the abbot are very close [as Dharma relatives], then the abbot fully unfolds his sitting mat and bows down nine times (*dazhan jiuli* 大展九禮). If he is refused in this courtesy, then he need only do *liangzhan sanli*. If

Medieval *rinka* lineage, however, practiced an informal private instruction, conducted in secret only for selected individual students, who would visit the abbot's quarters alone. In purpose and content these secret sessions were completely different from the sessions conducted as part of the group ceremony. During the regular visits to the Abbot's Quarters, the teacher counseled and encouraged each member of the community of monks, one at a time. The secret instruction sessions, however, were limited to senior disciples who would inherit their teacher's dharma lineage. For these disciples alone the teacher conducted lengthy initiations into the entire kōan curriculum and into that lineage's own set of questions and answers used for each kōan.

See William M. Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: Hawaii University Press, 1993), 148.

⁷⁴ To perform the formal *liangzhan sanli*, first of all one fully unfolds the sitting mat, places it on the floor, expresses congratulatory words or the purpose of the visit, bows down three times, and collects and folds the sitting mat. Second, one unfolds the sitting mat again, expresses a seasonal greeting, and bows down three times. Finally, without unfolding the sitting mat, one bows down three times. As *DSL* points out (*T* 54:238c29-239a2, see n. 61 above), in order to prevent excessive formalities, the senior will stop the junior monk from performing repeated prostrations. Thus the *de facto* procedure is, first, to unfold the sitting mat the first time without bowing down and to express directly the purpose of visiting; second, to unfold the sitting mat again without bowing down and to deliver the seasonal greeting; third, merely to bow three times with the sitting mat touching the ground (*chuli sanbai*). The common courtesy of prostration, as indicated in the present text, can be classified into three degrees of veneration: nine bows with a fully unfolded sitting mat, *liangzhan sanli*, and *chuli sanbai*.

⁷⁵ The term *gongjie* in this text may refer to a practice carried out "commonly," to an item that is considered "public" or "common" property, or to a fixed day of reception.

this, too, is refused, then he should simply do *chuli sanbai*. If these Dharma relatives are somewhat more distantly [related], the abbot will do *liangzhan sanli* or *chuli sanbai*. If they are [the abbot's] direct Dharma relatives, then, whether they are senior or junior to the abbot, the administrators (*zhishi* 知事),⁷⁶ the chief officers (*toushou* 頭首),⁷⁷ junior monks (*xiaoshi* 小師; i.e., novice of fewer than ten years)⁷⁸ and servers all extend a greeting to them. The select disciples and the junior Dharma relatives all fully unfold their sitting mats and bow down nine times or *liangzhan sanbai*. Then the group leader slightly bends his body and steps forward, saying, "We are drawn to the abbot's virtuous reputation (*daoji* 道價). Today we have been granted the opportunity to see the abbot's venerable visage--for this we are extremely joyous." He then withdraws and returns to his original position. [The group leader] unfolds his sitting mat again, extends the appropriate seasonal greeting (*hanxuan* 寒暄), [and then continues], "I humbly wish upon your honorable body and your daily life ten thousand fortunes." [The various seasonal greetings are:] first month--first spring, still cold; second month--second spring, gradually becoming warm; third month--third spring, very warm; fourth month--first summer, gradually becoming hot; fifth month--second summer, poisonously hot; sixth month--third summer, extremely hot; seventh month--first autumn, still hot; eighth month--second autumn, gradually becoming cool; ninth month--third autumn, frosty and cool; tenth month--first winter, gradually becoming cold; eleventh month--second winter, rigidly cold; twelfth month--third winter, extremely cold. The select disciples then say, "We have not been treated to the abbot's compassionate instruction for a long time but today we are granted the opportunity to see your venerable visage." The Dharma relatives say, "We have not

⁷⁶ The section of administrators includes four offices: the prior, the rector, the cook, and the superintendent. For the detailed discussion of the appointment and termination of administrators see *YZS* [96-101] in fasc. 2 and *YZS* [120-1] in fasc. 3.

⁷⁷ The section of chief officers includes six positions: the chief seat in the Saṅgha hall, the scribe, the library director, the guestmaster and the bathmaster. For a detailed discussion of the appointment and termination of chief officers see *YZS* [122-3] in fasc. 3 and *YZS* [176] in fasc. 5.

⁷⁸ Yijing observes that in India a monk who has been ordained for fewer than ten years is called *dahara* (*duoheluo* 鐸曷羅), translated into Chinese as *xiaoshi*. After ten years, he is called *sthavira* (*sitaxueluo* 悉他薛羅); Chinese *zhuwei* 住位), meaning "remaining in the position," for he is then considered able to live without depending on his teacher (*NJNZ* 3, T 54:220a21-22).

received the abbot's Dharma protection for a long time, but today we are granted the opportunity to see your venerable visage. For this we are extremely [joyous]." The seasonal greeting which follows is the same as above.

[35] After the service of tea and sweetened drink, the new arrivals meet with the attendant, the prior (*kusi* 庫司),⁷⁹ the chief seat, the scribe (*shuji* 書記),⁸⁰ the sutra curator (*zangzhu* 藏主),⁸¹ and the guest master, saying, "On this occasion we are most fortunate to have the opportunity to be by your side." They then extend a brief seasonal greeting. Then all present *chuli sanbai* to each other. If one of the newcomers previously has been a temporary guest, then when he comes to the guest master's quarters he does not have to bow down. The newcomers also greet those monks who are staying [in the monastery for meditation] on an extended basis (*jiuzhu* 久住). If the bath master (*yuzhu* 浴主)⁸² holds a major tea ceremony (*jiandian* 煎點)⁸³ it will be possible [for the newcomers] to meet him. [At these ceremonies,] they also meet with fellow monks in the same lineage and bow down to each other. For three days, they remain in the assembly quarters or in the Saṅgha hall and wait for the summons to these ceremonies. They should not wander about the monastery, forcing others to look for them. Rather, they should rise early in the morning to prevent those people who come to summon them from waking up others. In some [monasteries], when the abbot, administrators, and chief officers visit the [newcomers'] hall of residence in order to return the courtesy, the newcomers merely bow and withdraw without sitting. When the administrators and chief officers visit, they stand in guest positions: only the abbot may stand in the host position. The newcomers step outside the door [of their

79 This term can refer to either the person (i.e., prior) or the office (i.e., priory). For further details see the section of "Prior" YZS [105-109] in fasc. 3.

80 See the section "Scribe" in fasc. 3.

81 See the section "Director of the Library" in fasc. 3.

82 See the section "Bath Master" in fasc. 4.

83 There are two types of tea ceremonies--*jiandian*, the tea and refreshment ceremony, and *chatang* 茶湯, the tea ceremony. In addition to these two terms, *CYQG* also uses the terms *diancha* 點茶 and *diantang* 點湯. For a detailed discussion of these four terms, see YZS [177] in fasc. 5.

hall] to greet them and to see them off. If a newcomer needs to leave the monastery, he must first fulfill the [Saṅgha] hall regulations [according to which he must remain in the monastery for at least] half a month (*tangyi banyue* 堂儀半月). [During this period] he must attend the "enter-the-hall" tea ceremony (*dian ruliao cha* 點入寮茶) or the chanting in the shrine during the holy festivals (*shengjie* 聖節).⁸⁴ Before he leaves he must inform the chief of the assembly quarters and his neighbors [to the right and left of him in the Saṅgha hall].

[37] When people renowned for their virtue (*mingde* 名德) come to the monastery to take up residence, the abbot, the rector, and the guest master escort them to individual lodgings (*duliao* 獨寮). If monks of slightly lower standing [come to the monastery], they are escorted by the rector. [Or, if they have already taken residence in the assembly quarters,] they are moved from the assembly quarters [to individual accommodations]. Those monks retiring from the positions of prior (*jianyuan* 監院),⁸⁵ chief seat, and library director are assigned to individual lodgings. They should extend their gratitude to the abbot for their lodgings either by fully unfolding their sitting mats [and bowing down] or by *liangzhan sanbai* or *chuli sanbai*. The form of courtesy chosen depends on the situation. Next they give thanks to the rector--some bow, some do *chuli sanbai*. On the day of moving, they go to the abbot's quarters (*fangzhang* 方丈)⁸⁶ and the rectory to return their

84 I.e., the emperor's birthday.

85 A detailed discussion of the prior is given in fasc. 3.

86 The *Chanmen guishi* (*Jingde chuandeng lu* 6, T 51:251a8-9) notes that "when a monk reaches the rank of abbot, he resides in the quarters called *fangzhang*, named after the room of Vimalakīrti. . . ." *Fangzhang* literally means "ten-foot square." *FYZL* 29 (T 53:501c8-13) records the way in which this title came about. In the year of Xianqing 顯慶 (656-660), Wang Xuance 王玄策, under the emperor's edict, explored the Western Region, eventually reaching central India. There he visited the city of Vaiśālī where he saw the ruins of Vimalakīrti's residence. In the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* it is written that the layman Vimalakīrti was a person of great achievement and high character. His tiny room was said to have supernaturally accommodated thirty-two thousand visitors. During his visit to the ruins of Vimalakīrti's home, Wang measured this small room with his official tablet (*hu* 笏), calculating the area to be the equivalent of ten tablets. Accordingly, Vimalakīrti's room obtained the name "ten-foot square" or "*fangzhang*," and all masters' quarters came to be called by this name.

A *hu* was a tablet held in front of the chest during an audience with the emperor. The material used for this tablet was chosen in accordance with one's official position. According to the *Liji* ("Yuzao," *SJZ* II:1480b), a *hu* was about two feet and six inches in length by three inches in width. However, it can

residence [i.e., give official notice of the move to the monastery]. The courtesy extended at this point depends on the situation, as above. The lock and key must be presented to the rector in person before moving.

[38] If the new arrivals previously have served as administrators, chief officers or fundraisers (*huazhu* 化主) in this monastery, then they will take up residence in the retired quarters (*qianzi liao* 前資寮). Administrative officers from other monasteries (*zhufang bianshi* 諸方辨事), personages renowned for their virtue, those with official titles, and those known as national masters (*mingfu shiming* 命服師名)⁸⁷ should take up residence in the superior quarters (*shangliao* 上寮). If the arrivals number more than two monks, they need not visit [the abbot's quarters individually] in order to thank him before returning to their hall of residence [but may do so as a group]. If, before the end of the summer retreat (*jiexia* 結夏),⁸⁸ that is, before fulfilling the requirement of the [Saṅgha] hall regulations, a monk has [to leave due to] an emergency, he must report to the rector to ask for leave; if he leaves without permission he will be subject to the monastery's penalty. If [a monk] should ask for leave to travel in the mountains for more than half a month, then [when he returns] he must present his certificate and follow the [Saṅgha] hall regulations again [i.e., go through the Saṅgha hall orientation process again].

be inferred from *FYZL* that Wang's tablet was only one foot long. It should, however, be kept in mind that although the term for the unit of "foot," *chi*, is the same throughout the centuries, the actual length varied from dynasty to dynasty.

⁸⁷ "Mingfu," taken from the *Shijing* 詩經 (*Book of Odes*, "Xiao nancai" 小南采, *SJZ* I:426a), originally refers to the garment that a duke would receive from the emperor 服其命服 which, in ancient times, represented his official status. The literal translation of "mingfu" in *ZD* (p. 1218b), "to follow an order," is erroneous.

⁸⁸ *SFL* 37 (*T* 22:830b-c) describes an episode in which six notorious monks were criticized for the unnecessary killing of insects and plants by their continued travel during the summer months, when all non-Buddhist mendicants had ceased their traveling. The Buddha then established the rule that thenceforth monks should retreat for three months during the summer and should refrain from traveling throughout this period. See also *WFL* 19, *T* 22:129a; *MSL* 27, *T* 22:450c; *SSL* 24, *T* 23:173b; *GSP(A)*, *T* 23:1041a-b. *CYQG* indicates that for Chan monasteries the beginning and ending dates of the retreat should be the fifteenth day of the fourth month and the fifteenth day of the seventh month, respectively.

[39] The application for a traveling permit (*panping shi* 判憑式)⁸⁹ [is written as follows]:

"Monastery X [the monk's monastery of origin]. Brown (or purple) robe⁹⁰
 Monk X [name]. The following official document (*wenzhang* 文帳) registered
 in year X, owned by Monk X, and acquired in Monastery Y [i.e., the current or
 most recent monastery of residence]. I now carry with me my tonsure
 certificate, [the document of] "Six Awarenesses" (*liunian* 六念),⁹¹ and my
 ordination certificate to present to this office (*shiya* 使衙) for inspection. I
 hereby wish to apply for a permit (*gongping* 公憑; "document attested to by the
 government") in order to travel to location X (*ditou* 地頭) for a pilgrimage. I
 humbly beg Government Official X to deign to carry out this request. I humbly
 await Your orders or instructions. Sincerely written in year X, in month X (and
 stamped with the monastic seal) on day X, by X(give all appropriate titles here, e.g.,
 Abbot of X Temple)."

[41] The application for modification or extension of the passport (*piping shi*
 批憑式) [is written as follows]:

Initial information is given in the same format as above [after which the
 application continues:] "Monk X. I humbly beg [Your permission] for the
 [following] undertaking. Previously I applied for a travel passport in month X

89 For further information regarding the application for the traveling permit see Section IIIb.

90 Those monks who wore brown robes were the ordinary monks. Those who wore the purple robes had received honoraria from the government. For a detailed discussion of the granting of the purple robe, see Section IIIb.

91 In Daoxuan's *SXC* 1C (T 40:30b-c), in the section entitled "Conditions for Ordination" 受戒緣集, it is stated that the list of the "Six Awarenesses" was given to initiates after the bestowal of robes, bowls, and sitting mats. The Six Awarenesses were: (1) one should know the present date; (2) one should know whence one's meals will come each day; (3) one should know the year of one's ordination; (4) one should be mindful of one's robes, bowls, and righteously-received alms; (5) one should clearly know when one eats alone and when one eats with others; (6) one should know one's present state of health. Daoxuan's list is itself adopted from *Mohe sengqi lü da biqiu jieben* 摩訶僧祇律大比丘戒本, T 22:549a. In contrast to the tonsure and ordination certificates which first arose in China, the list of Six Awarenesses is mentioned far earlier in the Vinaya texts as a document bestowed during ordination. During the Tang Dynasty, monks and nuns carried the tonsure and ordination certificates on their person while traveling. It was not until the third year of Xianping 咸平 (1000) in the Song Dynasty that the list of Six Awarenesses became the third mandatory identifying document, serving as a passport for travel within China (cited in *YZS*, note in p. 40).

on day X in location X for permission to make a pilgrimage to location Y, but due to weather (or disease) I was unable to make the journey. I fear violating the passport expiration date and so I humbly beg Your permission to modify [this document]. I dare not act without Your permission so I humbly await Your instructions. Written sincerely in year X, in month X (without the monastic seal) on day X, by X(give all appropriate titles here, e.g., Abbot of X Temple)."

Attendance at Meals

[42] The seating for meals should be arranged according to ordination seniority. In the early morning, after the *kaijing* 開靜 [lit., "opening of the quiet"; i.e., the breaking of silence when all first rise from sleep]⁹² and before the three [strikes of the bell signaling] mealtime,⁹³ the monks sit in their dining seats (*shiwei* 食位)⁹⁴ and wait for long [three sequences of striking] metal sheet (*changban* 長板).⁹⁵ When they have heard the end of

92 *Kaijing* may also refer to the break from meditation. The signal of *kaijing* in the early morning is to rouse everyone from sleep, while in the evening it marks the break from evening meditation and reading.

There are two *kaijing* signals—big and small. According to *YZS* [131], the peal of the small bell in front of the kitchen signifies the "opening of small quietness" [i.e., when only some monks are to be awakened]. The cloud-shaped metal sheet (*yunban* 雲板) is struck for the "opening of big quietness" [i.e., when all the monks are to be awakened]. Only up to this moment, monks can fold their comforters and roll up their mosquito nets. While the bell for small *kaijing* is struck for one sequence, the metal sheet is struck for three sequences. See also *ZSS*:725b-28a.

93 According to the Vinaya texts, the striking of a bell to indicate mealtime was already established as a practice during the time of the Buddha. Initially, monks were not in the habit of arriving in unison to receive their meals. This lack of order tended to frustrate those laypeople who were offering the food. Thus the Buddha pronounced that a regular mealtime should be arranged (*WFL* 27, T 22:179a-b). When Rahula, the son of the Buddha, complained that the senior monk Sāriputra consistently received the best food offered by laypeople, the Buddha established the rule that food should be distributed equally to all. He further decreed that a special instrument should be used as a signal to summon all monks to the meals (*ibid.*, 179c).

94 Within the Saṅgha hall, the monk's dining seat for meals and his sleeping seat (*beiwei* 被位 "quilt seat") for meditation and sleep are not always the same. During mealtime, some monks may be out of the hall performing other duties. For the sake of convenience in serving food, the monks may have to change their seats in order to sit together and fill any empty spaces. Cf. *YZS* [158].

95 *ZSS*:736b-737b.

third [sequence] strike,⁹⁶ they stand up and take down their bowls [which hang on the pillars behind them]. Previously it was the rule that the monks should not wait until after the third sequence [i.e., they must take down their bowls before the end of the third sequence]. They then place their bowls before them on the side of the upper shoulder (*shangjuan* 上肩, i.e., the shoulder closest to the center of the room). After the wooden fish (*muyu* 木魚)⁹⁷ is struck, no monk is allowed to enter the hall. Those who enter from the front should use the south [left-hand] side door (*nanjia* 南頰), stepping through with the right [left (?)] foot.⁹⁸ In order to show respect for the abbot, they do not enter through the north [right-hand] side door (*beijia* 北頰). Those who enter from the rear door and sit in the upper section (*shangjian* 上間; i.e., right section)⁹⁹ enter through the north [right-hand] side of the door and step in with the left foot. Those who [enter from the rear door and] sit in the lower section (*xiajian* 下間; i.e., left section) enter through the

96 I.e., the three sequences of strikes. Daoxuan's *SXC* 1A (T 40:6c11-12) clearly states that three sequences (*santong* 三鐘) is also called *sanxia* 三下 (lit., "three times"). *WFL* 18 (T 22:122c19; also see *ZSS*:736b) indicates that the signal should be struck for three sequences.

97 The wooden fish is a long piece of wood carved in the shape of a fish and was used as one of the signaling instruments. For details on the source see n. 9, fasc. 6.

98 In *JXXL* (T 45:872b), Daoxuan points out that when exiting the hall after a meal, one steps through the threshold with the leg closest to the nearest side of door. In *SXC* 1B (T 40:23b18-20) Daoxuan stipulates that if one is to sit on the west side of the hall, he enters through the west side, stepping through with the left leg. He also exits through the west side, but with his right leg, the leg closest to the near side of the door. If one sits on the east side, the procedure is just the opposite, entering with the right leg and exiting with the left.

As this is the universally accepted procedure, the wording in the above text of *CYQG* appears to be erroneous. It should be that the "left" foot, the one closest to the left side of the door, steps through first. In his *Fu shukuhan pō*, Dōgen adopts this section of the *CYQG*, but changes the above sentence to read "left foot." See *DZZ* II:349, line 3.

In *MSL* 34 (T 22:502a8) it is specified that an attendant disciple, having risen from bed before the others, "steps with his right foot first" into the master's door, then bows to touch his head to the master's feet and inquires whether the master has slept well. If one assumes that the correct procedure is being followed, this means that the disciple steps through the right side of door. While *MSL* does not precisely stipulate which side of the door must be used, it does reveal the fact that there was in effect some regular custom restricting the way of entering the hall or the teacher's room.

99 The two divided sections and all doors are oriented, i.e., labeled right and left, etc., according to the perspective facing in through the front door. If the Saṅgha hall is located in the west of the compound and faces the east, then the *shangjian* will be on the north side, while *xiajian* will be on the south.

south [left-hand] side and step in with the right foot. The entering monks bow before the Holy Monk and take their seats.

[43] To ascend his platform (*chuang* 床)¹⁰⁰ the monk should first bow to his neighbors. Then, using his right hand to gather [the material of] his left sleeve, he presses [the left sleeve] under his [right ? left?] armpit. He then uses his left hand to gather the right sleeve and slightly lift it up. Next, he uses both hands to pull up the front part of his *kāṣāya* and holds it up with his left hand. He then mounts the step [at the foot of] the platform (*tachuang* 踏床),¹⁰¹ sits on the edge of platform,¹⁰² removes his shoes [and neatly places them aside]. Using his right hand for support, he first pulls his left leg onto the platform

¹⁰⁰ Daoxuan mentions that the platform (*chuang*) had previously been in use in China, but was exclusively for scholar officials (*daifu* 大夫). Not until the Eastern Jin (317-419) did the use of the platform come to prevail in Buddhist monasteries. By Daoxuan's time, i.e., the seventh century, most temples were equipped with platforms. In China before the Eastern Jin, so-called "rope mats" (*shengchuang* 繩床), which were used to accommodate the assembly, were placed like straw mats on the floor. This is what originally gave rise to the sitting, which was needed as a cover to place over the mat (*SXC* 1D, *T* 40:35b). Platforms which sleep more than one person were not a Chinese invention. As indicated in *SSL* 61 (*T* 23:466b25-26), Upāli once asked the Buddha how many people could be accommodated by a single platform (*changchuang* 長床, "long bed"). The latter replied that in order to be considered a platform it should hold at least four people. *SFL* 50 (*T* 22:938a16-18) also includes another related incident: once, when it was realized that the monastic hall could accommodate no more people if each was to have his own bed, the Buddha suggested that three senior monks might share one "bed seat." If the hall was still deemed to be filled beyond its capacity, the Buddha continued, platforms should be constructed.

As we learn from this section, in Chan monasteries, monks would take their two meals on top of the platforms in the Saṅgha hall. However, Yijing criticizes this practice, asserting that while the custom in China is for monks to sit in rows and consume their food in a cross-legged position, such practices are unheard of in India, where monks sit on small chairs (seven inches high and one square foot on top) with their legs dropping to the floor. Yijing argues that when Buddhism was first introduced to China, monks ate while sitting on such chairs, but beginning in the Jin dynasty the error of sitting on platforms with crossed legs was introduced. Even monks who came to China from India, Yijing contends, whether Indian or Chinese, were never able to correct this practice. According to the sacred tradition established by the Buddha, the platform should be one and a half feet in height. However, in China the platforms in all the temples are higher than two feet. Thus it is not appropriate to sit on such a platform, Yijing concludes, for to do so is to violate the precepts (*NJNZ* 1, *T* 54:206c-207a).

¹⁰¹ *GSP(Z)* 14 (*T* 24:270a; also quoted in *ZSS*:811a) shows that the Buddha allowed monks to set up a (stationary) step at the foot of their platform or a (portable) stool below their chair.

¹⁰² The above interpretation that the monk should sit on the edge of the platform is adopted from Dōgen's more precise description, whereas *CYQG* is less clear, merely stating that the monk sits "inside" the platform.

and then his right leg.¹⁰³ He should lift up his body and sit upright, with his left leg on top of his right leg. He should use his *kāṣāya* to cover the knees and should not expose his undergarments.¹⁰⁴ He should not let his robes drape over the edge of the platform.¹⁰⁵ He must sit back so as to allow a space [on the platform in front of him roughly large] enough for one bowl in order to preserve the purity of this area. [The space in front of the platform is used for three things:] first, it is where the *kāṣāya* is placed; second, it is where the bowls are displayed; and third, [the monk sleeps with his] head in this direction--therefore, [this space] is called [the place of] three purities (*sanjing* 三淨).

[44] The prior, the rector, the superintendent (*zhisui* 直歲),¹⁰⁶ and the attendants are in the outer section of the hall on the right-hand side. The guest master, the bath master, the coal master (*tantou* 炭頭), the itinerant preacher (*jiefang* 街坊),¹⁰⁷ and the director of the infirmary ([*yenshou* 延壽] *tangzhu* 堂主)¹⁰⁸ are in the outer section of the hall on the left-hand side. Three drum sequences are struck to indicate that the abbot is approaching the hall. Then the administrators and chief officers bow [to the abbot] from their positions. After the bell in front of the Saṅgha hall is rung, the assembly descends from the platforms. The abbot enters the hall, bows to the Holy Monk, and then bows with the assembly simultaneously. The abbot then assumes his position, but before he sits down he bows once again. Thereafter the assembly may ascend the platforms. The attendants and novices

¹⁰³ Cf. *SSL* (quoted in *SXC* 1B, *T* 40:23b14-15): the proper method of descending from the platform is to slowly lower one leg first, then the other. One then stands up in a peaceful and composed manner. The method of ascending the platform is the same, in reverse.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. *JXXL* (*T* 45:871c), Rule 22 for mealtime: while in the seated position, the monk should be careful not to expose his undergarments.

¹⁰⁵ Note: 垂衣 "坐" 床緣 should be 垂衣 "於" 床緣. See Dōgen's correction in *DZZ* II:349, line 14. Cf. *JXXL* (*T* 45:871c) Rule 23 for mealtime: . . .while sitting on the platform, the monk should not let his robes drape over the edge of the platform.

¹⁰⁶ See "Superintendent" in fasc. 3.

¹⁰⁷ See the section "Traveling Preacher" in fasc. 4.

¹⁰⁸ See the section "Director of the Infirmary" in fasc. 4.

(*shami* 沙彌; *śrāmaṇera*) who have followed the abbot [into the hall] now exit the hall and stand in line outside. They wait there until the monks have taken their seats, at which time they all bow simultaneously; an attendant enters [the hall], moves the table [in front of the abbot], bows, and exits. Then the rector enters the hall, bows before the Holy Monk, burns incense, and stands beside the octagonal stand with a hammer (*zhenchui* 砧槌).¹⁰⁹ At this point the monks display their bowls. In the Hongji 洪濟 tradition,¹¹⁰ there is an additional strike of the hammer, and [the rector] announces, "All present will now chant the Heart Sutra three times and then transfer the merit of this chant to X [donors' names]." Various other monasteries add a hammer strike only when they offer the Earth Porridge (*tudi zhou* 土地粥) [the food offered to the earth guardians during the early meal].

[46] [The following is the procedure for] the feasts arranged for auspicious or inauspicious occasions. After circumambulating [the Saṅgha hall] with burning incense (*xingxiang* 行香),¹¹¹ [the donor] genuflects in the hall with the incense burner [in his

¹⁰⁹ The striking stand and hammer in the Saṅgha hall was not an invention of the Chan school. It was used at the time of Daoxuan and most likely can be traced back even earlier, to Daoan's time. Daoxuan's *SXC* 1D (*T* 40:35c26) also describes the use of this stand and hammer. According to this text, the duty of the rector is to stand at the "place of striking the quietness" (*dajing chu* 打靜處) during the ceremony of precept instruction. It may be inferred that the stand itself represents the "quietness"; thus to hit the stand is to "strike the quietness." Another possible interpretation is the idea that this signal is struck in order to pacify or quiet (*jing*) the assembly (*ZSS*:742b). This second interpretation is more plausible, since the rector stands with the roll-call stick on his left and the hammer in his right. For more information see Section Ib; regarding the proper way to employ the hammer see *YZS* [221] in fasc. 6.

¹¹⁰ I.e., Zongze's monastery.

¹¹¹ The term *xingxiang* indicates the holding of burning incense while circumambulating of the hall. *DSW* 1 (*T* 24:914b4-7) stipulates that monks should sit down before receiving the incense offering. *GSP* 8 (*T* 23:666b3-12) describes the practice of holding the incense burner and circumambulating the pagoda (Skt. *caitya*): After the monks have received a drink, a senior householder bows down before the monks' feet, holding an incense burner. He then leads all the monks outside to circumambulate the pagoda. After they have all returned to their original positions, the senior householder kneels down in front of a senior monk. The senior monk preaches the Dharma to him. The next day after taking a bath, the householder again holds the incense burner before the senior monk and announces to the assembly that he would like to donate the use of his home for the monastery's summer retreat. Daoxuan's *SXC* 1D (*T* 40:36c5) also gives a detailed description of the ceremony of *xingxiang* and claims that the ritual of *xingxiang* in China can be traced back to the time of Daoan.

Daoxuan (*SXC* 3C, *T* 40:136b) points to the instruction given in *SFL* that monks should perform the verse after the meal. It has also been noted by Yijing (*NJNZ* 1, *T* 54:209b3) that during his travels in India and South Asia he observed no practice of prayer before the meal. However, this tradition was altered

hands]. The rector strikes the hammer one time and speaks. [He begins by reciting a verse, which may be one of the following:] "I pay homage to the Bhagavat,¹¹² / To the perfect sutra, / And to the Mahāyāna bodhisattvas, / For their merit is beyond conception," or, "The treasures of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha / Comprise the most wondrous field; / Whenever one takes refuge in this field, / Reward is ever manifest," or, "If the water is clear, the autumn moon will be reflected; / If one prays with great sincerity, one's merit field will grow, / For the Enlightened Buddha / Is the only true place of refuge." While [the rector] stands beside the hammer, it may be more advisable not to chant a long verse. [The rector then continues,] "This morning a feast has been arranged [for donor X] and so here in cloud hall (i.e., the Saṅgha hall) now I shall now respectfully read a prayer (*shu* 疏)

in China by Master Daoan, who began the practice of circumambulating with burning incense and chanting the verse before the meal. Doaxuan himself considered this change to be appropriate and adopted the same routine for the Chinese Lū school. *JXXL* (T 45:871c) Rule 24 for the mealtime reads: "At the time of *xingxiang*, monks should not cross their hands. Hands should be outside [the sleeves] with the palms pressed together. Monks should not laugh or joke."

Xingxiang also became a ritual performed by the imperial family and aristocrats during visiting their visits to monasteries. And when an emperor or empress passed away, the ceremony of offering incense for the national mourning, named *guoji xingxiang* 國忌行香, would be considered a crucial ritual. When the Japanese pilgrim Ennin (794-864) went to China, he observed the practice of *xingxiang* performed in the Kaiyuan temple 開元寺 (present Jiangsu 江蘇 Province) and recorded the ceremony in detail in his diary (*Nittō guhō junrei kōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記, the third year of Kaicheng 開成 [838], NBZ 113:182). The following is taken from Edwin Reischauer's translation (*Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* [New York: Ronald Press, 1955], 61-62):

Early in the morning the monastic congregations gathered in this monastery and seated themselves in rows in the flanking building on the east, north, and west. At 8 a.m. the Minister of State and the General entered the monastery by the great gate. . . . In front of the hall were two bridges. The Minister of State mounted the eastern bridge and the General the western bridge, and thus the two of them circled around from the east and west and met at the center door of the hall. They took their seats and worshiped the Buddha.

After that, several tens of monks lined up in rows at both the east and west doors of the hall. Each one held artificial lotus flowers and green banners. A monk struck a stone triangle and chanted, "All be worshipful and reverence the three eternal treasures. After that the Minister of State and the General arose and took censers, and the prefectural officials all followed after them, taking incense cups. They divided, going to the east and west, with the Minister of State going towards the east. The monks who were carrying flowered banners preceded him, chanting. . . .

For two interesting articles on Buddhist cleric ceremonies, see Ōtani Kōshō 大谷光照, "Tōdai Bukkyō no girei: toku ni hōe ni tsuite" 唐代佛教の儀禮—特に法會に就いて, pt. 1, *Shigaku zasshi* 46-10 (1935):1183-1231; pt. 2, *Shigaku zasshi* 46-11 (1935):1377-1405; Ono Katsutoshi 小野勝年, "Ennin no mita Tō no Bukkyō girei" 圓仁の見た唐の佛教儀禮, in Fukui Kōjun, ed., 福井康順, *Jikaku Daishi kenkyū* 慈覺大師研究, 171-208 (Tokyo: Tendai Gakkai, 1964).

112 "The one who has victoriously passed beyond" is one of the ten designations for the Buddha.

on [the donor's] behalf. I beg [the Buddha's] compassionate witness." After reading the prayer the rector continues, "Now that this prayer has been given, I wish that the unbiased Holy Eyes [of the Buddhas] will bestow their clear and illuminating vision upon me [to discern my sincerity]. Now we must depend on the venerable assembly to begin the chanting." After some time [they start] the chanting with "The Pure Dharma Body. . ."¹¹³ If [the rector] strikes too quickly with the hammer, it is as if he strikes the Buddha's feet. If he strikes too slowly, it is as if he strikes the Buddha's head.¹¹⁴

[48] [The following is the procedure for] feasts arranged on a regular basis [i.e., not on special occasions]. The rector strikes with the hammer and announces, "We gaze upward and wish that the Three Treasures might grant us their wise approval." There is no need for further prayer to the Buddha. A short time after the "ten recitations of Buddhas" (*shisheng fo* 十聲佛) [i.e., the recitation of the ten epithets of the Buddhas],¹¹⁵ the hammer is struck once and the chief seat offers food. During the porridge¹¹⁶ [i.e., the early meal], [all

¹¹³ Here reference is to the chanting of the ten epithets of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas. "The Pure Dharma Body" is the beginning of the first sentence, which, in full, reads, "The Pure Dharma Body Vairocana Buddha." Regarding the content of these epithets, see the discussion in the section "Daoan's Saṅgha regulations," section Ib. See also *DZZ* II:351; Matsuura, *Gemon*, 9-57.

¹¹⁴ Each strike of the hammer should correspond to one chanting of the Buddha's name. If the hammer is struck not at the right word but during mid-sentence, it is considered akin to striking the Buddha's head or feet. Cf. *JXXL* (T 45:871c) Rule 26 for the mealtime: When one chants, one [recitation of the name of the] Buddha must [be simultaneous with] each bow. One must not chant too quickly or too slowly; one must chant with careful precision.

¹¹⁵ For the ten epithets of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas, see the section "Daoan's Saṅgha regulations," Section Ib. and n. 112 above.

¹¹⁶ The origins of the eating of porridge are given in the Vinaya texts. *SFL* 13 (T 22:655c) states that once, when a *brāhmaṇa* had prepared porridge made with sesame oil, sesame, milk, water, ginger, pepper, and *pippalī* (a kind of pepper) and wanted to offer this to the Buddha and his monk disciples, the monks refused, insisting that the Buddha would not allow them to consume porridge made with such luxurious ingredients. When news of this reached the Buddha, he proclaimed that monks should be allowed to partake of porridge made with sesame oil and various herbs. The Buddha further explained the five benefits of taking porridge (see also next note).

A similar story appears in *SSL* 14 (T 23:100a24 & 26, 188c14; also *Binaiye* 鼻奈耶 8, T 24:886c), in which it is the layperson Ajita who prepares eight kinds of porridges to offer the monks. In *MSL* 29 (T 22:462c6-24), it is Nanda's mother who, after consuming some of the porridge herself, offers this salutary food to the monks, prompting the Buddha ultimately to proclaim ten great benefits accrued to the eater of porridge (see the next note). *GSP(O)* 5 (T 24:121c28-122a3) does not record the same story. However, it

present] chant, "This porridge has Ten Benefits. /¹¹⁷ These benefits accrue to the practitioners. / As a reward [for this meal], the donor will ascend to heaven, / And attain final happiness." Then they chant, "This porridge is exceedingly great medicine, / And shall satisfy hunger and quench thirst. / Both donor and receiver shall become pure and tranquil, / And shall attain the ultimate truth." During the midday meal, [the monks] chant, "The food with three virtues and six tastes (*sande liuwei* 三德六味), /¹¹⁸ Is offered to the Buddha and the monks. / The human and heavenly beings in this Dharma realm, / Receive the offering as well." The words praising the rice are: "The donor and the receiver / Shall obtain the "Five Endurances" (*wuchang* 五常), /¹¹⁹ [i.e.,] physical appearance, strength, longevity, mental peacefulness, / And unhindered eloquence." All the aforementioned words are [chanted] in full, loud voices. After the offering of food has begun, the server who announces [each course] (*heshi* 喝食)¹²⁰ enters

depicts the Buddha as taking porridge shortly before his attainment of nirvāṇa, clearly implying the power of this food.

117 The Ten Benefits of porridge are indicated in the *MSL* 29 (*T* 22:462c22-23). Porridge is considered conducive to (1) appearance, (2) strength, (3) mental happiness, (4) longevity, (5) clear pronunciation, (6) eloquence, (7) overnight digestion, (8) reduced flatulence, (9) the quenching of thirst, and (10) the suppression of hunger. Numbers one through five from above are listed as the Five Merits (*wufu* 五福) in the *Shishi huo wu fubao jing* 施食獲五福報經 (*T* 2:854c-855a), which includes a detailed description of these benefits.

These same five benefits are listed as the "five endurances" (*wuchang* 五常) in Daoxuan's *JXXL* (*T* 45:872b3). *SFL* 13 (*T* 22:655c25-26) holds that porridge has five benefits, (*wushi* 五事, literally "five matters") which are overnight digestion, reduced flatulence, the quenching of thirst, the suppression of hunger, and reduced constipation. The same term (*wushi*) is used in *SSL* 14 (*T* 23:100a29-b1 & 26, 188c19-21), which adds to the above numbers seven through ten the alleviation of "coldness below the navel." It would appear that *MSL* has combined the two opposing sets of five benefits --*wufu* (or *wuchang*) plus *wushi*--into one list of ten benefits.

118 Food should be prepared with three "virtues"--it should be soft, clean, and correctly prepared--and six "tastes"--bitter, sour, sweet, spicy, salty, or mild. This phrase, "three virtues and six tastes," appears in the southern version of the *Dabo niepan jing* 大般涅槃經 1 (*Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*; henceforth *Niepan jing* 涅槃經; *T* 12:606b1-3).

119 The Five Endurances given by Daoxuan in *JXXL* (*T* 45:872b3) are the same as those listed above. Here it is worth noting that *YZS* (n. in p. 49) confuses these Five Endurances with the *wuchang* defined by the Confucian tradition.

120 In *WFL* 27 (*T* 22:179b19-23) a story is told in which several monks had started to eat their food without having waited until everyone had been served. When laypeople criticized this behavior, the Buddha instructed them to wait until all monks had received their food. On another occasion, a number of monks had been given their food and sat waiting, not knowing when to begin. The Buddha then ordered that one person should announce loudly, "*Samprāgata!*" (*sengba* 僧跋). The word "*samprāgata*" is translated by Daoxuan as "[food will be] served equally" (*SXC* 3C, *T* 40:137b18). However, Yijing's interpretation (*NJNZ* 1, *T* 54:209c14) differs. He insists that this term should be thought of as a secret word (like a

[the hall]. The meal announcements should be in a clear voice and the names of the courses must not be misspoken. If there is any error, the proper custom of receiving the food cannot be carried out and the server must make the announcement again. If the food is served too quickly the [monks] being served will be in undue haste. If the food is served too slowly the [monks] will have to wait [between courses] and will grow restless. Once the food has been distributed, the rector strikes with the hammer once more. The chief seat then presses his hands together in honor of the food¹²¹ and [all the monks] engage in contemplation. After the contemplation, the assembly begins to eat. Behind the screen to the rear of the Holy Monk the rector turns to bow to the chief seat to invite him to have the donated money distributed, and then returns to his position, where he strikes with the hammer again as a signal to the chief seat to begin distributing the money. The announcement is made, "The material goods [given by the donors] and the Dharma [offered by the monks] / Are completely equal. / The perfection of *dāna* (i.e., offering) / Is accomplished." The supply master (*kutou* 庫頭)¹²² or the rector then distributes the donation (*xingchen* 行襯)¹²³ to one person at a time. [The money] should be placed in front of each monk with a light hand [i.e., gently] in order to show respect. The monks press their hands together (*hezhang* 合掌) while receiving the money. [Throughout the feast,] they should not try to steal any glances at the donations. Moreover, they are

mantra). He refers to the story in which the Buddha, along with other monks, received poisonous food and ordered monks to chant "*saṃprāgata*" (Yijing's transliteration: 三鉢羅佉哆) before taking the food. After the chanting, all the poisonous food was immediately transformed into healthy fare. This same episode can be found in Yijing's translation of *GSP(N)* 8, *T* 24:445b8; also see *SSL*, *T* 23:464b-c.

¹²¹ In *YZS* this term appears as *jieshi* 接食, meaning "receiving food." However, in the Korean version of the *CYQG*, the term appears as *yishi* 揖食, meaning "in honor of the food." Here I have followed the Korean text. Cf. *YZS* [52].

¹²² For discussion of the position of supply master see the section "Supply Master" in fasc. 4.

¹²³ In *WFL* (cited in *SXC* 3C, *T* 40:137c10) the offering of robes and goods after the meal is called *dachen* 嗔曠 (Skt. *dakṣiṇā*). *Dachen* refers not only to the offering of material goods by the donors, but also to the giving of Dharma by the monks. *SFL* 49 (*T* 22:935c11-12) describes how the Buddha instructed that monks should not leave silently after receiving meals; rather, they should perform *dachen*, or chant even a single verse, for the donors' sake. In *SSL* 10 (*T* 23:71a4) *dachen* appears as the preaching of Dharma; however, *dachen* is later used to refer to the offering of material goods or money by the donor. Yijing records in his *NJNZ* 1 (*T* 54:210a11) that there existed the custom of distributing gifts after the meal.

forbidden to make noise by throwing their money onto their seats. They should wait until the end of the feast before taking [the donations].

[50] To correctly display [a nest of] bowls, the monk should first bow and untie his cloth bundle (*fupa* 覆帕). He takes out the bowl wiper (*boshi* 鉢拭)¹²⁴ and folds [the cloth] into a small shape. He then takes out his spoon and chopstick bag and places them horizontally, close in front of himself. Next the clean towel (*jingjin* 淨巾) is used to cover the knees, after which the cloth bundle is completely opened and the three corners [closest to him] are folded over and neatly joined together at the center, while the [far] corner is allowed to drape over the edge of the platform. He then uses both hands to unfold the mat (*bodan* 鉢單). With his right hand facing down, he holds the corner of the mat closest to him [on the right side] and places it over the top of the bowls [in front of him]. Then, with the left hand facing up, he [reaches under the mat] to pick up the bowls and places them on the left side of the mat. Using the fingertips of both hands, he takes out the [other three] smaller bowls (*fenzi* 鉢子)¹²⁵ [which are stacked together] and places them [on the mat] one at a time without making any noise. If his seat is narrow he should display only three of his bowls. He then opens the bag to take out his spoon and chopsticks (*chijin* 匙筋).¹²⁶ When

124 Dōgen describes the bowl wiper as a towel fourteen inches in length. See *DZZ* II:350.

125 According to *SFL* 39 (*T* 22:848b27), the Buddha instructed that the nest of bowls should be made in the following way: ". . .the *jianci* 饑瓷 stacked into the small bowl, the small bowl into the second bowl, and this second bowl into the big bowl." The origin of the use of four bowls can be found in *WFL* 15 (*T* 22:103a23-27). After attaining enlightenment, the Buddha continued to enjoy the bliss of meditation. When five hundred merchants offered him honey, the Buddha suddenly perceived that all the buddhas in the past had received such offerings in bowls, as will all the buddhas in the future. And now, he, too, would receive food by a bowl. When the four guardian deities divined his thought, each one offered him a stone bowl which contained natural and pure fragrances. The Buddha accepted all four bowls with equal gratitude. He stacked them upon his left palm and with his right hand pressed them into one.

126 Monks in the Chinese Lü school had already been using chopsticks and spoons. See Daoxuan's *JXXL* (*T* 45:872a), Rules 37, 38, and 49 pertaining the mealtime.

As it generally had been the lay Indian custom to eat directly with the hands, such was also the practice among Indian Buddhist monks. However, when Buddhism was introduced to China, the practice of eating with the hands seemed unsuited to Chinese custom, so that monks and nuns immediately adapted the local use of chopsticks and spoons to monastic practices. The use of chopsticks was also maintained by Japanese and Korean Buddhists. In his *Fu shukuhan hō* (*DZZ* II:353-4), Dōgen provides the following defense of the use of chopsticks:

removing these items, he should take out the chopsticks first. When replacing them, he should put in the spoon first. He places the chopsticks and spoon horizontally behind the first bowl, with the handles to the side of his upper shoulder. The brush (*boshua* 鉢刷) he places on the edge of the mat to the side of the lower shoulder with the handle facing out. He then waits for the offering of food to all sentient beings (*chusheng* 出生).¹²⁷

When we look to the Buddhist customs in ancient India, we see that the Tathāgata and his disciples took their food by using their right hands to fashion rice into round balls. They used neither spoons nor chopsticks. The sons of the Buddha [i.e., we] must remember that all the emperors, *cakravartin*, and kings took their food by rolling it in their hands. We should realize that this method is respectable. In India, all monks, aside from those ailing monks who were allowed to use spoons, would use their hands to eat. They had not heard of chopsticks, nor had they seen them. Chopsticks were used only in the countries to the east of China. Today, people use chopsticks because of regional [i.e., national, cultural] custom. As we are the descendants of the Buddha and the patriarchs, we must comply with Buddhist custom. Nevertheless, the custom of taking food by the hand has become obsolete and as we do not have the teachers with whom to consult, we use spoons and chopsticks, as well as bowls, for the sake of expediency."

¹²⁷ Daoxuan notes in *SXC* 3C (*T* 40:137a11) that the offering of food to all sentient beings can be done before taking the meal (after the chanting) or after taking the meal. Since neither the sutras nor the commentaries specify which time is appropriate, Daoxuan says that it can be done either way. However, *SXCZ*, the commentary on the *SXC*, indicates that in accordance with the *Baoyun jing* 寶雲經, it is more reasonable to offer food before the meal. This sutra states that after receiving alms, but *before* eating, a monk divides his food into four shares: one share for those accompanying him, one for those less fortunate, one for the spirits, and one for himself (*T* 16:231c; cited in *SXCZ*, *T* 40:402c).

For a detailed depiction of *chusheng* cf. *JXXL* (*T* 45:872a) Rules 45-48, which discuss mealtime: (45) If the food for the offering to all sentient beings is cake it should be the size of half a coin; if it is cooked rice, it should not contain more than seven grains. Other foods should not be offered in excessive quantities; (46) The food for the offering to all sentient beings must be prepared properly; (47) One should not return leftover food into the food container for the offering to all sentient beings; (48) To properly offer food to all sentient beings one should place one's food close to the edge of one's platform and allow the purity-keeper (*jingren* 淨人) to collect the proper amount. One should not physically lift up one's own food to offer it. The purpose of this rule is to prevent the monk's hand from being soiled by the food offering.

Food offered to the sentient beings need not be copious in amount, for the spirits or the demons can expand what is given, thereby preventing monks from wasting laypeople's donations (*SXCZ* 3C, *T* 40:403a11). The *DZDL* 32 (*T* 25: 300c12-13) states, "When spirits or ghosts receive a mouthful of food, the food will multiply a thousand-fold."

As Daoxuan indicates in his *SXC* 3C (*T* 40:137a12), the provenance of the food offering ritual can be found in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. The spirit Kuangye 犢野, who lived solely on a diet of human flesh, used to demand that the people of the neighboring village offered him human sacrifices. But when Kuangye was defeated and converted by the Buddha, he swore never to kill again. However, as he had always survived on flesh and blood, he asked the Buddha to reassure him that wherever he found the Buddha's disciples he would be fed. The Buddha consented. Those of the Buddha's followers who refuse Kuangye food, those who do not make food offering to the spirits, can no longer be considered the Buddha's disciples (*Niepan jing* 15, *T* 12:703a6-26).

[52] The serving should be done by the purity-keepers (*jingren* 淨人; i.e., the untunsured servers);¹²⁸ monks should not serve themselves with their own hands.¹²⁹ The

Another divinity to receive food offerings is Hārītī 呵利底母 (Guizi mu 鬼子母). Yijing (*NJNZ* 1, *T* 54:209b) observes that in India and southeast Asia, during the meal, food is offered to the Holy Monk before being distributed to the monks. After all the food has been distributed, one dish of food is offered to Hārītī. Yijing explains the origin of this custom as follows:

The old lady [i.e., Hārītī] in the previous life swore to eat up all the children in the city of Rājagṛiha. Because of her evil vow, she was reborn as a *yakṣa* 藥叉 [i.e., evil spirit] and gave birth to five hundred children. [As a *yakṣa*, she returned to the city and] began eating [other people's] children [and feeding them to her own]. People reported this to the Buddha, who then hid her youngest child. She searched far and wide [for this missing child] and finally she came to the Buddha. The Buddha asked her: "Do you love your children? You have five hundred children and now that you have lost but one you feel pity. What about those people [whose children you have eaten] who had only one or two children?" The Buddha thereupon converted her and she received the five precepts to become a *upāsikā* (female lay follower). She then inquired of the Buddha, "From now on how can I feed all my five hundred children?" [The Buddha replied,] "The temples and places where monks live will offer food every day to feed you." Accordingly, in all the temples of the West, in their doorways or on the side of their kitchens, there is an image of a mother embracing a child with several children at her knees. Here, every day, food is offered in abundance. The figure of this old woman is one of four divine guardians. This figure [of Hārītī] has a great deal of power. Those who are ailing or without offspring come to offer her food so that their wish will be fulfilled.

An account of [Hārītī] is given in the Vinaya: "In the Divine State [i.e. China] [Hārītī] appeared under the name Guizi mu (i.e., the mother of demon children)." For the story regarding Hārītī, see the sutra *Guizi mu jing* 鬼子母經, *T* 21:290c-1c and *Mohe moye jing* 摩訶摩耶經, *T* 12:1006c18-1007a6; Guizi mu appears in *SFL* (*T* 22:782b & 911a and 950b) as the goddess of fertility.

The present text CYQG apparently adopted the Kaungye version of the story. See YZS [53] for the verse chanted during the food offering. Nevertheless, the verse chanted by monks and nuns in Chinese monasteries today during *chusheng* indicates that both Kuangye and Hārītī receive offerings. In addition, the *suparṇin* bird 金翅鳥, who used to eat dragons but now lives on offerings, is included in the ritual of food offering (*Da loutan jing* 大樓炭經 3, *T* 1:288b-c). The verse is as following: "May the *Suparṇin* bird, with its great wings, the spirit Kuangye, and Rākṣasī Hārītī be filled with sweet dews."
大鵬金翅鳥、曠野鬼神眾、羅刹鬼子母、甘露悉充滿。

¹²⁸ This term has been adopted from the Vinayas. In the Vinaya texts the role of the purity-keeper (Pāli *kappiya-kāraka*) is to serve as mediator, keeping monks and nuns away from those activities which are improper for them to undertake yet which need to be fulfilled. Thus, the *jingren* are the keepers of purity for the sake of others; they maintain the purity of others (*SSYL* 3, *T* 54:303b26). *GSP* 5 (*T* 23:651c24-25), however, offers another definition of the term *jingren*: "At that time, the monks would explain to these people [i.e., to the purity-keepers] that they are only allowed to undertake pure tasks, whereas impure deeds are forbidden them. Thus, as they carry out only those tasks deemed pure, they are known as the 'people of purity.'" 時苾芻眾告諸人曰、清淨之業應可作之、不清淨事皆不應作、作淨業故曰淨人。

The recruitment of purity-keepers into the order, according to *SSL* 34 (*T* 23:250c17-251a14), is said to have originated when King Bimbisara encountered the Elder Mahākāśyapa laboring alone in the mountains, covered in mud. Out of compassion, the King vowed to send a few servants to help him. After five hundred days had passed, the King encountered Mahākāśyapa for the second time and suddenly remembered his promise. As if to make up for lost time, the King sent five hundred captured bandits to the

order to serve as purity-keepers. In order to prevent these bandits from stealing or robbing monks' belongings, the king established a village for these five hundred people, providing them with everything they might need. After learning of this, the Buddha instructed monks to appoint a leader among the purity-keepers and to teach them the following duties: the construction of pagodas; the accommodation of visiting monks; cooking; the apportioning of distributable items; the tending of elder, senior, and junior monks, as well as various other tasks. And finally, the Buddha added that a superintendent who is capable of management should be appointed from among the laypeople.

Similar accounts appear in three other Vinaya texts—*WFL* 5 (*T* 22:30c25-31a11), *MSL* 30 (*T* 22:467b20-27), and *GSP* 5 (*T* 23:651a28-652b29). However, the Elder in these variants is identified as Pilindaka. Here the five hundred purity-keepers are not captured bandits, but members of families from a nearby village. *WFL* 5 (*T* 22:31a4) refers to them as the *shouyuan ren* 守園人 ["garden keepers"], whereas *MSL* 30 (*T* 22:467b23) calls them *yuanmin* 園民 ["garden people"], and *GSP* 5 (*T* 23:651b24-25 & 651c26) applies to them the title of "service givers" (*jishiren* 給侍人).

The duties of purity-keepers which save monks and nuns from "soiled" or improper contact or activity can be listed as follows: The purity-keepers receive any money donated to the monks or the nuns, especially the money for robes (*SFL* 8, *T* 22:619c1; *SSL* 7, *T* 23:51b22; *T* 24:764c). They have even been known to loan out the belongings of pagodas (such as the grounds of a pagoda) for interest (*SSL* 56, *T* 23:415c11-12) or to accept monks' "illegitimate" money, trading it for items the monks may need (*WFL* 6, *T* 22:37a22-23; *Sapoduo pini piposa* 薩婆多毘尼毘婆沙 [*Sarvāstivādivinaya-vibhāṣā*] 4, *T* 23:526c5-6). They prepare food—washing, cutting, and cooking (*SFL* 43, *T* 22:875b17-c & 876a17; *WFL* 22, *T* 22:147b14-26 & 152c1; *T* 24:740c). They distribute the mealtime food, porridge, and fruits (*GSP* 36, *T* 23:826b2; *GSP*(Z) 30, *T* 24:356c22 & *SJLP* 7, *T* 24:721a5). They chop wood for the beams of the buildings (*WFL* 6, *T* 22:42a3; *SSL* 61, *T* 23:467b26; *SJLP* 11, *T* 24:753b1), remove weeds (*WFL* 25, *T* 22:168a9; *SSL* 57, *T* 23:419b4), and handle those items which appear to have been lost (*WFL* 9, *T* 22:65c17-23; *SSL* 15, *T* 23:108c3). They also play the role of witness when monks personally preach to women in order to allay any potential suspicion (*SSL* 41, *T* 23:299b15 & 50, 363c19). The *jingren* or "purity-keepers" may be male or female (*GSP*(Z) 30, *T* 24:356c20; *GSP* 33, *T* 23:806c24). Depending on their duties, purity-keepers are also referred to in the Vinaya texts as *shou sengyuan ren* 守僧園人 ("Sāṅgha garden caretakers") or *shouyuan ren* 守園人 (Skt. *ārāmika*; "gardeners;" *GSP* 5, *T* 23:651c26; *GSP*(N) 5, *T* 24:433c16), *zhishi ren* 執事人 (*vaiyyāvṛtyakara*; "staff members;" *GSP* 20, *T* 23:734c20 & 22, 741b16), *zhi sishi ren* 知寺事人 (*SJLP* 13, *T* 24:764c14-17) and *sijia ren* 寺家人 ("people in the temple;" *GSP* 22, *T* 23:741b18). See Jonathan Alan Silk, "The Origins and Early History of the *Mahāratnakūta* Tradition of Mahāyāna Buddhism with a Study of the *Ratnarāśīsūtra* and Related Materials" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan University, 1994), 219.

However, these distinctions are only approximate in nature, and the first three terms are often used nearly interchangeably. For further information on the distinction among these Sanskrit terms regarding monastic supervision, see Silk's dissertation, "The Origins and Early History of the *Mahāratnakūta*," 215-254.

In the Vinaya the status of the purity-keeper's position is between that of a lay person and a novice. These texts would seem to indicate that the purity-keepers are usually a lay person; however, their close relationship with monks or nuns makes them far more involved in temple life than lay followers are (*SJLP* 7, *T* 24:721a4). At the same time, it should be noted, in the Chinese monastic tradition, the purity-keeper, while still untensured, does indeed leave home and join the order and is therefore considered fully monastic.

In the present text, the terms postulant (*tongxing*), server (*xingzhe*), and purity-keeper (*jingren*) are used interchangeably; however the first term is used only as a title indicating general status, whereas the latter two refer to specific duties. The name of server is usually given in conjunction with a more specific occupation, e.g., food delivery servers, rectory servers, etc., whereas the title of purity-keeper refers only to those who serve the meals. (Cf. n. 63, fasc. 1 and n. 7, fasc. 2.)

purity-keeper must serve the food skillfully in accordance with custom. Foods such as soup and porridge [i.e., liquids] should not be allowed to soil the monks' hands or the rims and sides of the bowls. Two or three dabs of the ladle should be used to dispense [the food]. The purity-keepers serve food only intermittently; while waiting [i.e., when not serving], they bend their bodies and place their hands together in front of their chests. The quantity of food meted out to each person depends upon individual request.

To correctly receive [the dispensation of] food the monk should hold the bowl with both hands and lower his hands close to the mat. The bowl should be held level.¹³⁰ The monk should gauge the amount of food served him; he should not [request too much and] leave unfinished food. He must wait until the distribution of food has ended and the rector has struck with the hammer (*bianchui* 遍槌)¹³¹ before he lifts up his bowl to make the offering. After the hammer has struck, he presses his hands together in honor of the food and performs the five contemplations (*wuguan* 五觀),¹³² which are: one, to ponder the effort

For more information on the purity-keeper see Gregory Schopen, "The Monastic Ownership of Servants or Slaves: Local and Legal Factors in the Redactional History of Two *Vinayas*," *JLABS* 17-2 (1994):145-73; R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, *Robe and Plough: Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Medieval Sri Lanka* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1979), 99-100; and six articles written by Matsuda Shindō 松田真道, "Indo Bukkyō kyōdan ni okeru zaizokusha āramika no kōsatsu (jo)" インド仏教教団における在俗者 āramika の考察序, *SK* 54-3 (1981):264-265; "Indo Bukkyō kyōdan no yakushoku no kigen" インド仏教教団の役職の起源, *SKKK* 15 (1983):114-131; "Indo Bukkyō kyōdanshi ni okeru jōnin no kōsatsu" インド仏教教団史における浄人の考察, *SKKK* 14 (1982):137-154; "Daitō saiiki ki ni miru Indo Bukkyō no jōnin" 大唐西域記にみるインド仏教の浄人, *BKN* 16 (1983):53-61; "Shitsujinin veyyāvaccakara to shuonnin āramika" 執事人 veyyāvaccakara と守園人 āramika, *IBK* 30-1 (1981):124-125; "Zenshū kyōdan no jōnin" 禪宗教団の浄人, *SGK* 25 (1983):202-205.

129 The same rule is found in *JXXL* (*T* 45:872a); see Rule 37 pertaining to mealtime.

130 See *JXXL* (*T* 45:871c), Rule 11 pertaining to mealtime: the bowl should be held neither too high nor too low, but level with the chest.

131 For the origin of the rules concerning the proper time to begin eating, see n. 93.

132 The custom of contemplating the five virtues did not originate in Chan practice. The same statement of five contemplations is given in Daoxuan's *SXC* 2C (*T* 40: 84a9-12 and 3C, 128b3-c10). In the twentieth section, "Method of Offering Food" 對施興治篇, Daoxuan notes that the contemplations during mealtime can be divided into five categories as stated in the [*Lü ershier*] *Mingliao lun* [律二十二] 明了論. I am unable, however, to locate the exact citation in the version of *Mingliao lun* in *Taisho shinshū daizōkyō* (*T* 24:665b-73a).

necessary to supply this food and to appreciate its origins; two, to reflect upon one's own virtue being insufficient to receive the offering; three, to protect the mind's integrity, to depart from error, and, as a general principle, to avoid being greedy; four, [at the same time] to consider the food as medicine and bodily nourishment that prevents emaciation; five, to receive this food as necessary for attaining enlightenment. After this comes the offering of food to all sentient beings. [53] Before the completion of the five contemplations the food cannot be considered one's own portion and [therefore] cannot be offered to the sentient beings. [While the monks perform the offering of food to all sentient beings, they chant] the following verse: "All spirit beings and deities, / Now I offer you this food. / May [this food] be spread in all ten directions / For all spirit beings and deities to share."¹³³

[54] When eating, the monk brings the bowl to his mouth and not his mouth to the bowl.¹³⁴ The top half of the outside of the bowl is considered pure, while the bottom half is considered soiled.¹³⁵ The thumb is placed inside the bowl [i.e., on its rim], and the second and third fingers are placed outside [i.e., on the bottom], while the fourth and fifth are not used at all.¹³⁶ The method of holding smaller bowls is the same. When lifting or placing the bowls, or when picking up the spoon or chopsticks, the monk should not make any noise.

Matsuura Shūkō argues that the five contemplations given by the *Mingliao lun* were compiled from fragments taken from other sutras or Vinaya texts. The diagram presented by Matsuura shows that the first contemplation was adopted from *Zengyi ehan jing* 12 (*T* 2:603c29) and the *Sapoduo bu pini modelejia* 薩婆多部毘尼摩得勒伽 6 (*Sarvāstivāda vinaya-mātrkā*, *T* 23:602b6); the second from the *PNMJ*; the third from the Vinaya; the fourth from the *Zengyi ehan* 12 (*T* 2:604a6), the *Bieyi za ehan jing* 別譯雜阿含經 1 (*T* 2:375a28), and the *SSL*; the fifth from the *Zengyi ehan jing* 12 (*T* 2:604a2) and the *Bieyi za ehan jing* 1 (*T* 2:375a28). See Matsuura, *Gemon*, 5.

¹³³ This verse may have been adopted from the *Shishi fashi* 施食法式 (*ZZK* 2-6-3:215c), compiled by the Tiantai monk Zunshi 遵式 (964-1032), which, in turn, appears to be a re-rendering of the verse which appears in the Tantric monk Bukong's *Shi zhu egui yinshi ji shui fa* 施諸餓鬼飲食及水法, *T* 21:466c.

¹³⁴ See *JXXL* (*T* 45:871c), Rule 35 pertaining to the mealtime: ". . . One must lift the bowl up to one's mouth."

¹³⁵ Similar concepts were adopted in both the Chan school and the Lü school. In *JXXL* (*T* 45:871b26) Rule 7 pertaining to mealtime, Daoxuan indicates, "The upper two-thirds of the outside of the bowl is considered 'pure,' the lower third is 'soiled.'"

¹³⁶ The fourth and fifth fingers of both hands are considered the "soiled" fingers (*chuzhi* 觸指). They are used to wash away fecal waste.

The following rules were written in the *Four Part Vinaya*.¹³⁷ The mind should be righteous to receive the food.¹³⁸ Soup and rice can be served only up to the level of the rim of the bowl.¹³⁹ Soup and rice should be eaten together¹⁴⁰ and eaten in order,¹⁴¹ and the monk must not stir or pick at his food before eating it.¹⁴² Unless the monk is ill, he may not request [extra or special] soup and rice.¹⁴³ He must not use his rice to cover his broth and then request more.¹⁴⁴ He must not compare [his own food] with [the food in] his neighbor's bowl and hold a grudge in his mind.¹⁴⁵ His mind should be focused on the food in his own bowl.¹⁴⁶ Food should not be eaten in large clumps,¹⁴⁷ and the monk should not open his mouth in anticipation of each bite.¹⁴⁸ The monk should not talk with food in his mouth.¹⁴⁹ He should not roll the rice into balls to throw into his mouth,¹⁵⁰ nor should he

¹³⁷ The following rules are quoted from rules 26-47 of the "Hundred-Myriad Rules to be Learned" 百種學法 in *SFL* 20, *T* 22:702b-709a; corresponding sections can also be found in *MSL* 22, *T* 22:403c-407b; in *WFL* 10, *T* 22:74c-75c; and in *SXC* 2C, *T* 40:90b-c.

¹³⁸ *T* 22:702c14.

¹³⁹ *T* 22:703b9-10.

¹⁴⁰ *T* 22:703c11.

¹⁴¹ *T* 22:704a9.

¹⁴² *T* 22:704b10.

¹⁴³ *T* 22:704c14.

¹⁴⁴ *T* 22:705a12.

¹⁴⁵ *T* 22:705b15.

¹⁴⁶ *T* 22:705c13-14.

¹⁴⁷ *T* 22:706a10. Cf. *JXXL* (*T* 45:872a), Rule 44 pertaining to the mealtime.

¹⁴⁸ *T* 22:706b6.

¹⁴⁹ *T* 22:706c2.

¹⁵⁰ *T* 22:706c22-23.

spill rice [onto the floor].¹⁵¹ He should not chew with his cheeks bulging full¹⁵² and he should not make noise when he chews.¹⁵³ He should not make inhaling noises,¹⁵⁴ lick his food,¹⁵⁵ or wave his hands as he eats.¹⁵⁶ He is not allowed to spill rice,¹⁵⁷ nor may he hold the eating vessels with soiled hands.¹⁵⁸ All of the above [rules] are written in the precepts and must be followed.

[55] The monk should not scratch his head [while eating] lest his dandruff fall into his bowl. He should not shift his body back and forth, scratch his knees, sit squatting, stretch and gape, or make noise blowing his nose. If he needs to sneeze he should cover his nose¹⁵⁹ and if he wants to pick his teeth he should cover his mouth. Fibrous vegetable

¹⁵¹ T 22:707a14-15. Cf. *JXXL* (T 45:872a), Rule 52 pertaining to the mealtime: if one spills the broth, juice, or rice onto one's napkin, one should not pick it up to eat it.

¹⁵² T 22:707b, 16-17. Cf. *JXXL* (T 45:871c), Rule 35 for the mealtime: . . .one should not allow the cheeks to bulge with food as would a monkey hiding [its food].

¹⁵³ T 22:707c11-12.

¹⁵⁴ T 22:708a4.

¹⁵⁵ T 22:708a25.

¹⁵⁶ T 22:708b16. Cf. *JXXL* (T 45:872a), Rule 44 pertaining to the mealtime.

¹⁵⁷ T 22:708c7.

¹⁵⁸ T 22:708c29.

¹⁵⁹ *MSL* 35 (T 22:513c6-10) presents some guidelines with regard to sneezing in the meditation hall. While in the meditation hall the monk should not sneeze with deliberate loudness. If he feels that he might sneeze, he should attempt to thwart the reaction by holding his nose with his hand. If he still cannot avoid sneezing, he should do so only when covering his nose in order to prevent soiling his neighbors. The monk who has sneezed should remain silent afterward. However, if he is a senior monk, [the junior] should say "Salute to you" (*henan* 和南, *Vandana*). If he is a junior monk, [the senior] should not say a word.

As to how a monk's neighbors should respond to his sneeze, the Vinaya texts provide some interesting insight. *SFL* 53 (T 22:960b11-13) relates a story in which the Buddha once sneezed, after which a few monks began to say, "[May the Honorable One have a] long life." This was soon followed by all the monks, nuns, and laypeople present haphazardly echoing this phrase. Accordingly the scene became chaotic, prompting the Buddha's censure. *SSL* 39 (T 23:276b21-25) offers a slightly different version. After the monks had responded in unison, "[May the Honorable One have a] long life," the Buddha asked the monks whether he would indeed obtain longevity because of their words. The monks replied, "No." "Then from now on you should not say so," responded the Buddha, thus forbidding the use of this salutation after sneezes (the same episode is expanded in *GSP[Z]* 10, T 24:248a18-249a21). However, *SFL* 53 (T 22:960b13-19) continues the story. Once a layperson sneezed and, since the monks were forbidden to

stalks and fruit pits or stones should be placed hidden behind the bowls so as to avoid displeasing a neighbor. Even when a neighbor has leftover food in his bowls or an extra piece of fruit and offers it, the monk should not accept it. If his neighbor is especially bothered by drafts, he should not use a fan. If he himself is bothered by drafts, he should ask permission from the rector to eat outside the hall. If he has a need of any sort he should gesture silently and should not beckon [the server] in a loud voice. After he has finished eating, if there is anything left in his bowl he should use the bowl wiper to clean it and then eat it. When he receives the water, the monk should wash the largest bowl first and then the other bowls in order [from largest to smallest]. He should not wash the smaller bowls inside the large bowl. Then he wipes the bowls in order to [56] dry them. In addition, the spoon and chopsticks should be washed and placed inside their bag. The water for the bowls should not spill onto the floor around the platform. The *mantra* (*zhenyan* 真言; lit., "true words") pronounced while the water from the bowls is poured out is "Om mahorase svāhā." The two thumbs are used to stack all the bowls inside each other. With the left hand facing up, the monk puts the bowls into the center of the cloth. Then with the right hand facing down, he holds the corner of the mat closest to him [on the right side] and puts it on top of the bowls. He then folds the mat and places it back on top of the bowls. Next he picks up the corner of the cloth closest to the body to cover the bowls. Then he pulls the corner of the cloth draped over the end of the platform toward himself to cover [the bowls]. He folds the clean towel and places it, together with the bag containing the spoon and chopsticks and the bowl brush, on top of the [now covered] bowls and covers them with the bowl wiper.

respond, the only reply was silence. The layperson complained that the monks did not extend to him their blessing of longevity. The Buddha then allowed monks to give a blessing only when laypeople sneeze. The same account is recorded in Pāli Vinaya see Horner, *Discipline*, vol. V, 195.

Thus, *MSL* indicates that when a senior monk sneezes, the junior should say "Salute to you"; whereas when the junior sneezes, the senior remains silent. A different rule is given in *Genben sapoduobu liishe* 根本薩婆多部律儀 13 (*T* 24:599b8-11). The text states that when a senior monk sneezes the junior one should say, "*Vandana* 畔聯" while when the junior one sneezes the senior says "*Ārogya* 阿路祇 (lit., 'without sickness')." Indeed, not to say these things after a sneeze is to commit a misdemeanor. However, for those such as elderly women or *mahalla* 莫訶羅 [i.e., old and ailing laymen or monks] it is no transgression to say aloud, "May you have a long life."

After the monks have put their bundles back in order, when they hear the hammer strike to exit the hall, they will all chant the verse for the completion of the meal: "After the meal, the body is full of physical energy/ And quakes with a power like the heroes [i.e., the Buddhas] whose [power] permeates all ten directions in the past, present, and future./¹⁶⁰ [One can now] revert causes and transform effects (*huiyi zhuanguo* 回因轉果)¹⁶¹ and [therefore] one need no longer be preoccupied by [one's inabilities]/ Let all sentient beings obtain supernatural power [through this strength]."

[58] Now the abbot exits [the hall] and [each monk] stands up and hangs his bowls, making sure the bowls and his residential unit are neat and in order. He squats down and crouches on the platform. Then, holding the back of his clothes with his left hand, he slowly slides over the edge of the platform letting his feet drop to the ground; he should not step off the platform [from a standing position]. When a grand tea ceremony (*dazuo chatang* 大座茶湯)¹⁶² is held in the hall, the custom of entering and exiting the hall, ascending and descending from the platform, is the same as above. If, after the early meal, there is to be a hiatus from the abbot's regularly scheduled sermon (*fangcan* 放參),¹⁶³ the abbot exits the hall and the bell is struck three times to signal a hiatus from the abbot's sermon. If there is to be a morning sermon, there is no need to strike the bell. If [the abbot] will be ascending the platform in the Dharma hall for the sake of the feast host [i.e., if the

¹⁶⁰ A possible translation variant : ". . .quaking with a power that [rivals] the heroes [i.e., the Buddhas] in all ten directions in the past, present, and future."

¹⁶¹ According to the Dōchū's annotation (*CHSS* II:818b-c), to "revert causes" means to move from *shijue* 始覺 [i.e., the enlightenment attained after cultivating religious practices] and return to *benjue* 本覺 [i.e., the original state of enlightenment]. This is the wisdom that leads one to exit the cycle of birth and death. To "transform effects" is to exit *benjue*, and move back to the state of *shijue*. This is the compassion that encourages one not to dwell in nirvāṇa. If one is able to "revert" or "transform" back and forth freely, it is because one is full of physical strength and energy after enjoying a meal.

¹⁶² As the later text *CBQG* 7 (*T* 48:1152c) indicates, *dazuo chatang* is the tea ceremony held for the chief seat and the assembly. It is sponsored by the priory during the season of the four festivals, i.e., the commencement and closing of summer retreat, Winter Solstice, and New Year.

¹⁶³ The word "*can* 參" literally means "to inquire." A student inquires about the truth by consulting his teacher. The *CBQG* 2 (*T* 48:1119b29) interprets *can* to mean the time when the abbot gathers the assembly and preaches the dharma. Here "*fangcan*" obviously refers to the occasions when monks were relieved from the morning sermon.

sermon is to be for the feast donor], then after the three strikes of the bell, the bell to signal a hiatus from the abbot's sermon must also be struck. After the grand tea ceremony has finished, the abbot bows before the Holy Monk and exits. Then the bell is struck three times as a signal to exit the hall. If the prior or the chief seat sponsors the major tea ceremony in the hall, then, after escorting the abbot out, the host returns to the hall, stands before the Holy Monk and bows first to the right section and then to the left. When the teacups and stands (*zhantuo* 盞臺) have been collected, the bell is rung three times as a signal to exit the hall. At this point the assembly can descend from their platforms. The manner of exiting the hall is the same as that of entering.

Attending the Tea Ceremony

[59] When the monastery holds a special tea ceremony (*tewei chatang* 特為茶湯) it is a very solemn occasion; those invited should not be arrogant or careless. After being invited, the monks should remember to go to Hall X first, then to Hall Y, and then to Hall Z [i.e., they should not forget the ceremony schedule]. When they hear the drum and board signal they should leave in order to arrive early and they should remember their seating positions so as to prevent undue haste, misunderstandings, or any commotion.

[60] At the tea ceremony sponsored by the abbot (*tangtou chatang* 堂頭茶湯), the assembly is summoned and the attendant bows [to the guests of honor] to invite [them] to enter. Following the chief seat [into the hall], the monks stand in their positions. Once the abbot has greeted them, the monks gather their *kāṣāya* and take their seats calmly and peacefully. Having taken off their shoes, they should not place them haphazardly. When they withdraw their legs, they should not make any noise with the chair. They should sit upright, with straight bodies, and they should not lean on the backs of their chairs. The *kāṣāya* should cover their knees and the sitting mat should be draped in front [over the edge of the platform]. They should clasp their hands solemnly and greet the abbot. The monks

should always use their short gowns to cover their sleeves and should not expose their wrists. When the weather is hot each monk may clasp his hands outside his sleeves. When the weather is cold he may clasp his hands inside the sleeves, using the thumb of his right hand to hold down the left sleeve and the second finger of his left hand to hold the right sleeve. The attendant bows, burns incense, and generally presides over the service on behalf of the abbot; therefore [the guests of honor] should treat him with respect and prudence. The monks calmly pick up their teacups and stand holding them with both hands in front of their chests. They should not drop their hands too low nor raise them too high. It is most desirable if, looking to [the neighboring monks on] the right and left, each monk is holding his teacup at the same level.

[61] First, the guests of honor should look to the master [abbot] and greet him, and then they greet their neighbors to the right and left and have tea. The guests should not blow on their tea and should be careful not to drop their teacups. They should not slurp or make any noises. When they pick up and put down their tea [with each sip], the teacups and tea stands should not clink together loudly. If the teacups are put down first, they should be placed behind the tray. The teacups should be placed in order, and not haphazardly. The right hand should be used to pick up the confection (*chayao* 茶藥; "tea medicine")¹⁶⁴ and to

¹⁶⁴ *Chayao* refers to various kinds of confections especially made of medicinal herbs. An excellent article on tea and confections is Tanaka Misa's 田中美佐 "Sōdai no kissa to chayaku" 宋代の喫茶と茶薬, *Shisō* 48 (1991):279-285. Tanaka examines the term *chayao* (Jpn. *sayaku*) as it appears in historical records and in the diary of the Japanese monk Jōjin *San Tendai Godaisan ki* 參天台五台山記, as well as in *CYQG*, in order to discern the word's meaning. She notes that the word *chayao* appears in the historical records as two separate terms, "tea and medicinal herbs" (*ibid.*, p. 280). Jōjin's diary describes his visit to China where the monks served tea, confections, and nuts (or fruit, "*guo* 果"), all of which were considered *chayao*. In the *CYQG* the term appears as a single word, meaning "confection taken with tea."

Tanaka (283) argues that during the Song-Yuan period the so-called *xiangyao* 香藥 ("fragrant medicine") and *shiyao* 食藥 ("food medicine") were actually confections made of various medicinal herbs or fruits, each of which has its salutary benefits. Tanaka concludes that there is a long-standing Chinese orientation regarding medicine and food as coming from the same source. As the confection taken with tea consisted of medicinal herbs it was indeed beneficial to the health, and so, although *chayao* may not be a monastic invention, it does reflect the idea prevalent in Buddhist temples that food is a primary source of medicine (285). This concept is in turn reflected in the monks' referring to supper as *yaoshi* (medicine stone), for monks are said to partake of supper solely to sustain their health and not to please the palate.

hold it up. The guests wait until they have all been assigned their places, greet each other, and only then may they eat. They should not try to throw [the confection] into their open mouths, nor they should chew loudly. When the ceremony has ended and [the guests] leave their seats, they should calmly lower their feet, bow, and follow the assembly to the exit. The guests of honor [62] come forward one or two steps and bow to the host to extend their gratitude for the tea. [When exiting,] they must walk in a dignified and orderly manner, not walking too fast, taking large steps, shuffling their feet, or making noise on the floor. If the host sees the guests off, the guests should turn to bow to show their respect before withdrawing. They then go to the storage hall (*kuxia* 庫下) and various other quarters in the proper order for tea ceremonies.

[63] If a monk is invited to the tea ceremony sponsored by the abbot but cannot attend due to abrupt illness or being forced by the need to urinate or defecate, he should ask someone attending the ceremony to inform the attendant and have his seat removed. If [the abbot were] to expel from the monastery [every transgressor], exhaustively enforcing all the regulations [i.e., if he were to severely punish monks whenever they are absent], then there would be no assembly at all. The abbot should not grimace and show his anger to the assembly. At the tea ceremonies sponsored by [the new arrivals], held in order of seniority at the assembly quarters (*liaozhong laci* 寮中臘次), as well as at the tea ceremonies held in various quarters, [those attending] should not laugh or talk aloud.

Invitation [to Give Instruction on] the Causes and Conditions [of Attaining Enlightenment] (*Qing yinyuan* 請因緣)¹⁶⁵

[64] In some [monasteries], [the abbot's instruction is held] after half a month of training in the hall and, in other [monasteries], it follows the tea ceremonies and lasts one or two days, but when [the instruction] is scheduled depends on the abbot's discretion. Before they may enter the abbot's quarters, the assembly of monks must meet with the [abbot's] attendant to request an audience with their master. Only after the attendant has informed the abbot do the monks enter the abbot's quarters. Beginning with the group leader, all the monks face north, standing motionless while one at a time they light incense. Then the group leader steps forward and bows to the abbot, after which he moves to the southwest corner of the abbot's seat, bows, and says, "For us, X [group leader's name] and fellow monks, the questions of life and death are extremely significant. All things are impermanent and fleeting. So we humbly request the abbot's compassion to give us instruction on the causes and conditions [of attaining enlightenment]." If the abbot assents, the group leader returns to his position and together with the rest of the assembly fully unfolds his sitting mat and bows down three times. The monks then pick up their sitting mats and move to the west side of the abbot's seat where they face east, bow one at a time and remain standing.

[65] After the request [to instruct them] on the causes and conditions, all the monks, beginning with the group leader, return to their positions, fully unfold their sitting mats, bow down three times, bow, and leave. In some [monasteries] they bow down three times to make the invitation, and six times to show their gratitude, for a total of nine bows. In other [monasteries] they bow six times to make the invitation and six times to show their gratitude, for a total of twelve bows. The

¹⁶⁵ The *qing yinyuan* refers to the beginning of the period of time when the abbot's room will be open for students to enter and make their inquiries. Thus while this "opening ceremony" is held only once, the ceremonies of entering the abbot's room continue afterward on a frequent basis. The *qing yinyuan* ceremony is referred to as *gaoxiang* 告香 ("an inquiry and offering of incense to the master") in the later texts *JDQG*(1274), *BYQG* (1311), and *CBQG* (1335). However, the *RRQG* (1209) retains the term *qing yinyuan*. *JDQG* 2 (ZZK 2-17-1:16b10) mentions that previous tradition forbids monks from engaging in the practice of entering the abbot's room to request instruction without having first held the *gaoxiang* ceremony.

monks' words of invitation are: "We humbly request the abbot's compassion in granting his permission. We are extremely joyous." The monks' words of gratitude are: "We, X [group leader's name] and fellow monks, are most fortunate in this life to have received the abbot's compassionate [permission to receive his] instruction on the causes and conditions [of attaining enlightenment]. We are extremely grateful." After descending [i.e., exiting the abbot's quarters] the assembly goes to the attendant's quarters to extend its gratitude to him. In some [monasteries], the monks will perform *chuli* one time to each other; in others, they merely bow. In some [monasteries], once the assembly is standing motionless, the group leader alone burns incense to extend the invitation and returns to his position, where he and the assembly fully unfold their sitting mats, prostrate themselves three times, and bow. Then the assembly as a whole turns to extend their invitation. After this invitation, the monks, beginning with the group leader, all burn incense one at a time, face the abbot while standing in their own positions, fully unfold their sitting mats, and prostrate themselves three times (in some monasteries they do this six times). Execution of the above procedure depends on each school's tradition. The monks must inquire of the attendant [as to the proper protocol] and should then proceed accordingly. They should not insist upon their own methods, thereby earning the abbot's disdain. If among those monks who have recently taken up residence there is a monk who has previously met the abbot when the monk entered the abbot's room [i.e., if there is a monk who has listened to the abbot's private instruction in the past], then he must burn incense, inform [the abbot that this is not his first time], and ask the abbot [for permission to stay], saying, "I beg the abbot's compassion in allowing me to enter his room as I have done previously." If he receives permission to enter he should fully unfold his sitting mat and bow down three times, saying, "I humbly receive your kindness in granting me permission and I am extremely grateful." He then withdraws, bowing down three more times. If [the abbot] exempts him from this [last] courtesy, then he simply unfolds his sitting mat and performs only the first three bows.

Entering [the Abbot's] Quarters (*rushi* 入室)¹⁶⁶

[66] [Appointments to meet with the abbot in his quarters] are sometimes arranged section by section¹⁶⁷ or quarter by quarter; or sometimes scheduled for every other day; or sometimes fixed on a certain day, with some [appointments] in the morning and some in the evening. Whatever arrangement is chosen depends on the given abbot.¹⁶⁸ When the time comes for the monks to enter the abbot's quarters, the attendant has the server put incense [into the incense case] and arrange the cushions used for bowing in the center of the room. In some monasteries it is not necessary to bow down and therefore the cushions need not be set out. Once this is done, [the attendant] informs the abbot. When [the abbot] gives instructions for [the monks] to enter his quarters, a placard is suspended outside, reading, "Enter the Room." To summon the assembly, in some [monasteries] the drum is beaten, in still others the board is struck, and in others the "Enter the Room" placard is struck. The abbot takes his seat [inside his quarters] while his attendant stands outside the abbot's quarters on the east side

¹⁶⁶ *ZTSY* 8 (ZZK 2-18-1:118c) indicates that the practice of entering the room to ask for instruction had been carried out since the time of the Buddha, as is recorded in *Ehan jing*. However, the exact passage referred to can be found in *Epidamo dapiposha lun* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論 26 (*Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā*; T 27:135b29-c2), which relates a story in which the Buddha announces to the monks that he would retreat for two months for meditation. During this period, the monks would be excused from requesting instruction, as the Buddha himself did not want to be disturbed by visits of any sort save food deliveries and the cleaning of his abode. Thus from this text it can clearly be inferred that entering the Buddha's room had already become a regular practice.

Dōchū (ZSS: 443a), however, tends to adopt Dahui's argument that the practice of entering the room of a master for instruction began in the eighth century with the monk Mazu 馬祖 (709-788). But according to Yijing (635-713) in *NJNZ* 4 (T 54:233a15), when he was an adolescent during the fifth *geng* 更, i.e., the early morning, he would enter the room of his teacher, Huizhi 慧智, for the instruction (*jiushi canqing* 就室參請).

A diagram displaying the proper way of entering the abbot's room is provided by Dōchū in his ZSS:647b. He also indicates that outside the abbot's quarters a statue of Bodhidharma is enshrined. Although this statue is not mentioned in *CYQG*, it is referred to in *CBQG* 2 (T 48:1120c21).

¹⁶⁷ *Lang* 廊; literally, "corridor by corridor."

¹⁶⁸ This kind of interview with the abbot was not originally established with an eye to regular appointments. As indicated in *Chanmen guishi* (T 51:251a14), the practice of entering the room to request instruction was subject to the learner's discretion. However, it is written in the later *JDQG* 2 (ZZK 2-17-1:16b13) that this practice was arranged for the days of the month ending in the number three or eight (e.g., the third, the thirteenth, etc.) with some additional exceptions. By the time of the compilation of *CBQG* 2 (T 48:1120c19), the appointed meetings were firmly fixed on these "three" and "eight" days.

with his hands clasped. When a group begins to gather and stands [waiting outside the abbot's quarters], in some [monasteries] they form a single line and face east, in other [monasteries] they form two lines and face each other. The attendant enters the abbot's quarters and bows [to the abbot] in the center [of the room], goes to the east side of the abbot's seat, and stands behind the incense table. He then faces south, bows, lifts up the incense with his left hand and bows [again]. Having done this, he returns to the center of the room, [faces the abbot], and bows. He then exits [the quarters], [approaches] the assembly, and bows to invite them to enter. After this the attendant returns to his own quarters.

[67] As each person enters the [abbot's] quarters he should turn his body slightly and bow. [Outside the quarters,] the assembly stands with hands clasped, moving forward in order one by one. It is not permissible to disrupt the assembly's peace of mind by cutting in front of the line. [Each monk] should enter [the abbot's quarters] stepping with his left foot through the right-hand door.¹⁶⁹ He should bow facing the abbot and move with hands clasped to the southwest corner of the abbot's seat where he bows [again] and remains standing. [To begin his inquiry,] he first bows, and then reveals the subject of his query (*toulou xiaoxi* 透漏消息). He should not be long-winded, nor should he speak of worldly or trivial matters, thereby detaining the assembly. After he has revealed his question [and received the abbot's reply], he bows, steps back facing the abbot, and bows down [again]. In some [monasteries] one bow suffices; in other [monasteries] the monk bows three times; in others he fully unfolds his sitting mat; and in others he does *chuli*. He then turns around to the east [to his right] to exit. He should step with his left foot through the left-hand door to avoid a collision with the monk entering next. Having exited the abbot's quarters, he faces the direction of the abbot and s. He then approaches the assembly, bows and exits [the hall]. In

¹⁶⁹ Here the right- and left-hand sides are determined by the orientation of the abbot sitting within; thus they are the opposite of the entering monk's left and right (see the diagram "Entering Room" in ZSS:647b).

those [monasteries] where the monks form two lines, the assembly enters the hall in double file and each line goes to the opposite wall where they turn to face east and west [i.e., face each other]. The monks enter the abbot's quarters from each line in [alternating] order. In some [monasteries] [the entering monk and the abbot] discuss the previous *koan* (*juhua* 舉話) or [they] engage in conversation (*tonghua* 通話) or [the monk] asks for further instruction (*qingyi* 請益):¹⁷⁰ separate times are allocated for these three methods of inquiry. In other [monasteries], any or all [of the three methods] are employed in one session.

[68] After all the monks have finished consulting with the abbot, the attendant enters the quarters, rolls up the cushion and withdraws. As a courtesy, when entering the quarters the monk is supposed to burn incense. To properly burn the incense he should enter the abbot's quarters facing the center, bow, and move to the incense table with hands clasped. There he should stand facing south, bow again to the abbot, lift up the incense with his right hand, and then move toward the center to bow and remain at the corner of the abbot's seat. However, because this practice lengthens the time for each monk and therefore detains the [waiting] assembly, it is no longer done. In some [monasteries], a cushion is set up outside the door [where the monks] bow down one time and withdraw. [This custom is an attempt] to avoid delaying the assembly. The monk entering the abbot's quarters should wear clean clothes, without stains or dirt. His manner should be within the bounds of proper decorum and his movements should be easy and calm as a show of respect for the abbot. The abbot should inform the attendant that unless there is an urgent guest or some important business, the attendant should not interrupt the abbot while the monks are entering his quarters. The abbot should also order the attendant not to talk, make any noise, or create a disruption among the assembly [during the interview].

¹⁷⁰ For the term *qingyi* see the *Liji* ("Quli" 曲禮, SJZ I:1240a; Legge, *Li chi*, I:75): "When requesting (instruction) on the subject of his studies, (the learner) should rise; when requesting further information (*qingyi*), he should rise." 請業則起請益則起.

Fascicle Two

Ascending [the Seat in the Dharma] Hall (*shangtang* 上堂)¹

[71] On the fixed dates (*gongjie* 公界)² [when the abbot is] to ascend [the seat in the Dharma] hall to give the morning sermon (*zaocan* 早參), there is no hiatus from the abbot's scheduled sermon after the early morning meal. At dawn, [after the signal for] the "opening of the quiet" [is given], the chief seat leads the assembly to the [Saṅgha] hall. When the first sequence of the drum is heard, the chief seat and the assembly enter the Dharma hall (*fatang* 法堂).³ They stand in "wild geese formation" [*yanxing* 雁行; i.e., in a single file or

¹ The *YZS* [79] specifies that the ceremony in which the abbot ascends to his seat in the Dharma hall to preach was held on the "fifth day." This "fifth day" can be interpreted in two ways: (1), each day of the month ending in a five, i.e., the fifth, the tenth, the fifteenth, and the twenty-fifth day; or (2), every five days, i.e., the first, the fifth, the tenth, etc. However, according to the later *JDQG* (*ZKK* 2-17-1:15b), "Four days--the fifth, the tenth, the twentieth, and the twenty-fifth--are known as *wucan shangtang* 五參上堂 [the ascending of the hall on the 'fifth' day]." This supports the second interpretation. The number of "fifth days" was eventually reduced from six to four because the first and the fifteenth of each month coincided with the new moon and full moon, respectively, when prayers were offered on the emperor's behalf. However, it is important to note that in the *CYQG* this practice was still being carried out every five days.

This custom was apparently adopted from that of Chinese government officials, as I have shown in Section IIIb.

² The term *gongjie* has several possible meanings: (1) a public or commonly owned item; (2) a common practice; or, (3) a fixed date. Here the third meaning is employed, and the fixed dates referred to are the fifth, the tenth, the twentieth, and the twenty-fifth of each month.

³ This is the hall where the abbot expounded the Dharma on occasions called *shangtang* (held four times a month) and where the inauguration of the new abbot took place. The *Fo benxing jijing* 佛本行集經 (T3:883c; cited in *ZSS*:21a) discusses the establishment of the Dharma hall. Initially monks lectured outside in the open areas and thus were hindered by cold and heat. The Buddha then gave them permission to build roofs over their heads. Later he allowed them to build walls to protect themselves from dust. When he saw that the floor inside was not level, the Buddha told the monks to make it level and to keep the floor neat and clean. The establishment of the Dharma hall and the imperial sponsorship of a lavish Dharma hall figure are discussed, respectively, in the following Vinaya texts: *SSL*15, T23:105b12 and *GSP*(Z) 37, T24:393b-c.

The importance assigned to the Dharma hall in the traditional Chan monastery surpasses even that of the Buddha shrine. The *Jingde chuandeng lu* 7, T51:251a9 states that when Baizhang, who established an independent Chan School, built his monastery, "There [was] no Buddha Shrine [on the grounds], only a Dharma hall." The Buddha shrine came to be considered less important because the abbot was thought to be the representative of all buddhas and patriarchs and therefore was to be honored as a manifestation of the Buddha in the present.

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straight line]⁴ in order [of seniority], each with his side to the center position. The position closest to the Dharma seat is the most senior. The chief seat, the scribe, the sutra curator, the guest master, and the bath master form their own row in front of the assembly, standing in order. The remaining chief officers simply take their positions among the assembly. The retired elderly abbots (*tuiyuan zhanglao* 退院長老)⁵ take their seats in front of the chief seat, leaving two empty positions between them and him. These retired elderly abbots stand facing south, but with their sides turned slightly to the center. At the sound of the second sequence of the drum the four administrators⁶ enter the hall, walking in order of their respective ranks. They stand at their "bowing mats" (*baixi* 拜蓆) by the Dharma hall door on the south side and face the Dharma seat. The prior takes his position on the east [side of the hall].

[72] When the postulants (*tongxing* 童行)⁷ hear the first sequence of the drum they form a row in front of the storage hall (*kutang* 庫堂)⁸ and stand waiting. At the second

According to the *Wujia zhengzong zan* 五家正宗贊 (ZKK 2B-8-5:459c) the Chan monk Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑 (or Jianxing 見性, 782?-865) would dismantle the Buddha Hall shrine but maintain the Dharma hall in every monastery where he served as abbot. Nevertheless, we will see that the important role played by the Buddha shrine meant that it was never disposed of entirely. In later Chan monastic complexes, the Buddha hall continued to be built in the center location. As we have mentioned, Dōgen took the position that the Buddha shrine, Dharma hall, and Saṅgha hall should all be regarded as principle buildings within the monastery (DZZ II:400).

4 *SSL* 40 (T 23:289b14) relates how the Buddha, when he saw monks entering the hall in a haphazard fashion, instructed them to walk in "wild geese formation." *SFL* 49 (T 22:935a20-1) notes that if a donor arrived to extend an invitation, monks should walk in wild geese formation with the senior monks in the front. Rule 8 of *JXXL* (T45:872b12), which deals with exiting the hall after the meal, states, "After exiting the hall gate, monks walk on one side of the corridor, maintaining wild geese formation." A similar custom was observed in secular Chinese society. The *Liji* ("Wangzhi" 王制, *SJZ* I:1347b; Legge, *Li Chi* I:244), notes that "A man kept behind another who had a father's years; he followed one who might be his elder brother more closely, but still keeping behind, as geese fly after one another in a row. Friends did not pass by one another, when going the same way." 父之齒隨行、兄之齒厲行、朋友不相踰。

5 *ZTSY* 8 (ZKK 2-18-1:113c) notes that the abbot of the Chan monastery was called *zhanglao*, the senior one.

6 I.e., the prior, the rector, the cook, and the superintendent.

7 Historical usage of the term *tongxing* has been inconsistent and vague. Tang-era documents indicate that the word is a combination of *tongzi* 童子 "boy [postulant]" and *xingzhe* 行者 "[adult] server." However, a Song legal document found in *QTS* 50 (p. 469) seems to assert that the word is derived from *Daotong* 道童 "Daoist boy" and *xingzhe* 行者 "Buddhist postulant," sometimes interchanging *tongxing*

sequence they follow the administrators [into the Dharma hall] to attend the sermon. [Inside the Dharma hall] they bow to all present and move to the east [side of the hall] where they stand facing the west. The position farthest to the north should be the most senior position. The postulants attending the sermon must wear shoes and socks. At the third sequence of the drum the attendant informs the abbot that it is time to enter. Everyone bows

with the title *xingtong* 行童, an inversion of the former. In any case, a *tongxing*, in either the Buddhist or Daoist hierarchy, was undoubtedly a person who had entered the order for a probationary period but had not yet become a formal priest. In the present text, *tongxing* is used to refer to Buddhist postulants only, including both the servers (*xingzhe*) and the purity-keepers (*jingren*). It was customary for the postulant to enter the monastery without shaving his head and to take the tonsure at a later date. A postulant was given a religious name and was registered with the government but, as *QTS* 51 (p. 480) stipulates, he was still obliged to pay a labor tax (*shending* 身丁) as long as his head was unshaved.

There were basically two channels by which a postulant (or anyone else) could take the tonsure, one being to pass the sutra examinations, the other being an imperial decree. Both of these customs were almost completely replaced by the practice of trading tonsure certificates on the open market when the Song government decided to begin selling vast numbers of tonsure certificates. For more discussion on the sale of tonsure certificates, see Section IIIb. Once he had been tonsured and had taken the ten precepts, the postulant became a novice and was then required to undergo full ordination (two hundred and fifty precepts) in order to become a monk (*daseng* 大僧 or bhikṣu). During the first ten years after full ordination, the monk was considered a junior monk (*xiaoshi*). *SJLP*, a commentary to the Pāli Vinaya, states that any man living in the monastery for a probationary period was called *paṇḍupalāsa* (*T* 24:753a23-25).

Moroto argues that the system of postulancy did not become prevalent until the end of the Tang and Five Dynasties (about the tenth century C.E.). Before this period, in the Southern-Northern dynasty, postulants did exist, but most monks simply entered the monastery and had their heads shaved immediately. The system of postulancy was first created solely by the central government in response to the fact that a great many citizens were taking the tonsure to avoid the state's compulsory labor law. [Note: tax exemption was not yet in effect for monastics. See Moroto, *Chūgoku Bukkyō seidoshi*, 439.] The government began to assume control of the tonsure process, rather than allow the monasteries themselves to monitor the number of admittants. Quotas were allotted to the monasteries, restricting the number of people who could be tonsured in a given time period. Furthermore, any individual who wished to become a monk first had to receive permission from the government, and was required to register again after doing so in order to be eligible for labor exemption status. Private tonsure was strictly outlawed. The resulting backlog of tonsure candidates, and the delays caused by each step of the mandatory process, insured that at any given time a large group of monastic applicants could be found within the monastery waiting for official permission. Hence, the status of postulant was born. See also Moroto's thorough discussion on the system of postulants, 233-275; for a discussion of government regulation of the Buddhist postulancy in the Song period, see Tsukamoto Zenryū, "Sō jidai no zunnan shikyō tokudo no seido" 宋時代の童行試經得度の制度, in his *Chūgoku kinsei Bukkyōshi no shomondai* 中國近世佛教史の諸問題. For a discussion of governmental regulation before the Song period, see the article by Fujiyoshi Masumi 藤善真澄, "Tō Godai no zunnan seido" 唐五代の童行制度, *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 21-1 (1962):1-26.

⁸ The storage hall functioned not only as a storage space, but more importantly as a kitchen. Some scholars have preferred the translation "kitchen hall." In *CYQG*, terms such as *kuxia* 庫下 and *kusi* 庫司 tend to be used interchangeably with *kutang*. But these three terms also seem to have had subtle distinctions. Judging from context, one may conclude that *kusi* is the title of the position and the office, whereas *kuxia* refers to the department, and *kutang* is the building itself. In later monastic texts, terms such as *kuli* 庫裡, *kuyuan* 庫院, and *chuku* 廚庫 also appear.

simultaneously [to the abbot] and the abbot ascends the [Dharma] seat ([*fa*]zuo [法] 座) and stands in front of the chan chair (*chanyi* 禪椅). First [73] the attendant bows. The attendant who carries the incense (*shaoxiang shizhe* 燒香侍者) now ascends the Dharma seat on the east side not far from [the Dharma seat] and stands facing the west with his side to the center. Then the chief seat and the assembly turn to face the Dharma seat, bow, and return to their positions. The administrators then step forward and bow, standing opposite and facing the chief seat. [The one standing closest to] the Dharma seat is the most senior. Then the novices and the postulants turn to face the Dharma seat, bow, and return to stand in their positions. In the tradition of Lushan Yuantong 廬山圓通⁹ the postulants enter the Dharma hall single file, bow, and stand in the east section divided into three rows. The administrators then bow and remain standing. At this point the three rows of postulants, beginning with the southernmost position, walk one after the other toward the Dharma seat and stand [in an east-west row in front of the abbot]. After they bow [again], the easternmost position leads the postulants back to their original positions [in three rows on the east side of the hall] where they bow [once more] and remain standing. The guest master leads the donors (*shizhu* 施主)¹⁰ to stand at the upper shoulder of the administrators [i.e., in front of the administrators; in a position closer to the Dharma seat and therefore higher in honor]. The administrators (*zhushi* 主事)¹¹ as well as the assembly remain

9 The reference here is to the lineage of Fayuan Faxiu (1027-1090), who received the honorary title of Chan Master Yuantong from Emperor Shenzong 神宗. He is reported to have stayed at the Qixian 棲賢寺 Monastery in Lushan (present day Jiangxi province). Faxiu was one of the Dharma heirs of Tianyi Yihuai and is of the same generation as Zongze's master Changlu Yingfu. Before going to study with Yingfu, Zongze was tonsured under Faxiu.

10 Skt. *dānapati*. Yijing (NJNZ 1, T 54:211b10-12) makes the following comments on the Chinese translations of this term. "The Sanskrit *dānapati* is [best] translated [into Chinese] as *shizhu* 施主—*dāna* as *shi*; *pati* as *zhu*. *Tanyue* 檀越, another Chinese translation of *dānapati*, is incorrect from the start. [This improper translation came about by] omitting the syllable *na* from *dāna*, and then transliterating *dā* into [Chinese] as *tan*. Finally the word *yue* ("to transcend") was added, meaning that through donations, one may transcend one's [own] poverty. Although a wonderful translation, [*tanyue*] is still quite different from the original text."

11 The meaning here is the same as *zhishi* 知事. See SSYL, T 54:301c.

standing in the straight line with their sides to the center, listening [to the abbot's sermon]. When the abbot descends from the Dharma platform [to exit the Dharma hall after the sermon], all those present bow simultaneously and, beginning with the chief seat, [enter and] circumambulate the [Saṅgha] hall. Everyone then remains standing [in the Saṅgha hall] until the abbot enters.¹² Then the administrators circumambulate the hall.

[74] If the monastery serves tea [after the sermon] the abbot sits in his position and the administrators stand outside the door. After the tea is finished, the abbot stands up and the bell to exit the hall (*xiatang zhong* 下堂鐘)¹³ is rung. If there is to be no tea, the administrators circumambulate the hall and exit, merely waiting for the abbot's bow before withdrawing. Sometimes, after the three strikes of the bell to exit, the abbot ascends the platform inside the hall. In the morning, according to custom, there is a break from the sermon; [but if the abbot is scheduled to preach, then] after the sermon there is no circumambulation [of the Saṅgha hall].¹⁴

[75] Whenever [the abbot] ascends [the seat in the Dharma] hall all must attend, with the exception of the chief of the assembly quarters and the Saṅgha hall monitor (*zhitang* 直堂).¹⁵ Whoever violates this rule will suffer the monastery's penalty. It is best to avoid [this offense]. If [a monk is detained because of] some other business or an emergency, and not due to his own indolence, then he may arrive a little late. But if the abbot has already ascended his seat [in the Dharma hall] he should not enter, and he should avoid letting the abbot see him. All those who attend the sermon should not wear hats or

¹² In this passage describing the ceremony as it moves from one hall to another, it is unclear precisely which action takes place in which hall. In the above translation we offer what seems to us the most plausible interpretation.

¹³ The bell is struck in a series of three sequences. Cf. *CBQG* 2, T 48:1119b11 and n. 96, fasc. 1.

¹⁴ This sentence is unclear; the above translation is merely one possible interpretation.

¹⁵ For a detailed discussion of the monitor's appointment and duties, see the section "Saṅgha hall monitor," *YZS* [158] in fasc. 4.

sleeve-like cowls (*touxiu* 頭袖; lit., "head sleeve"),¹⁶ including the abbot. If a person should ask an [unintendedly] amusing question, no one should burst out laughing or even break a slight smile. They should maintain a demeanor of sincerity and solemnly listen to the [abbot's] profound teaching.

Chanting

[76] On each day of the month ending in a three or an eight [i.e., six times a month] after the midday meal the server in the rectory (*tangsi xingzhe* 堂司行者) informs the abbot [that there is to be chanting] and hangs the poster [announcing the chanting]. When the time comes [the server] prepares, scatters water, sweeps [i.e., cleans], and arranges the incense and the lighting in the [Saṅgha] hall, in the great shrine (*dadian* 大殿),¹⁷ and in the earth hall

¹⁶ The use of the sleeve-like cowl is generally said to have originated in an encounter between a master and an emperor, but the versions put forth by the Chan and the Tiantai traditions vary as to the time and place of the incident. The Chan account of the cowl's origination, according to Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1177-1249), involves Emperor Dai 代宗 (r. 763-779) of the Tang dynasty and the first patriarch of the Jingshan lineage, Chan master Faqin Guoyi 法欽國一 (714-792), who was highly respected and patronized by the emperor. On one particularly cold occasion, the emperor is said to have cut off the sleeve from his embroidered garment and wrapped it around the master's head. See *Wuzhun Fan Chanshi yulu* 無準範禪師語錄 6, ZZK 2-26-5:483a.

The Tiantai school offers a similar story in connection with its founder Zhiyi 智顛 (538-597), who was favored by Emperor Yang 煬帝 (r. 605-616) of the Sui Dynasty. The *Shūhō zasshū* 宗鳳雜集 (cited in ZSS:694a-b), a missing Japanese Tiantai text, records an episode in which Emperor Yang, who at that time (591 C.E.) was still the Prince Guang, invites Zhiyi to come and give him the bodhisattva precepts. Due to the cold weather, the emperor takes the colorful sleeve from his imperial garment and wraps it around the master's head during the ceremony, somewhat like a hat. However Dōchū comments that this incident is not found in any Chinese records.

SFL 41 (*T* 22:866a2-3) states that during the winter some monks caught cold and reported this to the Buddha. The Buddha allowed them to wear hats. The same text (*SFL* 40, *T* 22:858a9-10) indicates that when monks caught a cold, had a headache, and reported this to the Buddha, he allowed them to wrap their heads with a hat made of wool or cotton (*karpāsa* 劫貝). *DSW* 1 (*T* 24:916b17-18) states that one should not wear a hat while worshipping the Buddha.

¹⁷ This may be an abbreviation for the Great Hero Treasure Shrine (i.e., the Buddha shrine) (*daxiong baodian* 大雄寶殿). It is recorded that Master Baizhang erected only a Dharma hall in his monastery and neglected to build a Buddha shrine, and that Master Deshan Xuanjian (782?-865) actively dismantled the Buddha shrine wherever he served as abbot—both of which would seem to indicate not only the reduced importance of the Buddha shrine in the Chinese tradition but also active opposition to its presence. However, as this shrine was symbolic of the Buddha's manifestation inside the monastery, it could not be cast aside so readily. Thus, we still find that in Song texts and in diagrams of the Song monastery, not only is the Buddha shrine still in existence, but it is located in the very center of the monastic compound.

(*tuditang* 土地堂)¹⁸ before striking the bell to summon the assembly. The assembly and the administrators congregate, and the abbot burns incense, moving from the earth hall to the great shrine to the Saṅgha hall. Only in front of the Buddha Statue does he performs three prostrations. The abbot, the administrators, and other members of the assembly take their positions on the right-hand side. On the left-hand side are the chief seat and those in his section. The rector strikes the bell seven times (*lianzhong* 斂鐘)¹⁹ and leads the chanting.

[77] On the third, thirteenth, and twenty-third of each month [the monks] chant, "May the spirit of the emperor live forever, / And may the Dao of the emperor forever flourish. / Let the sun of the Buddha grow brighter, / And let the wheel of Dharma eternally turn. / May [the guardian deities of] the monastery (*qielan* [*shen*] 伽藍[神])²⁰ and

See the diagrams of Tiantongshan, Lingyinshan, and Wannianshan 萬年山 in *GJZ* (*ZD zuroku*, p.12-13; *CHSS* II:1286-8).

GSP(Z) 26 (*T* 24:331b28-c1) relates a story in which the Buddha, in order to convert a non-Buddhist, uses his supernatural powers to step upon the [floor of the] fragrant shrine (*xiangdian* 香殿), causing the earth to shake. Yijing, in his translation, comments on the meaning of the term "fragrant shrine":

In the West, ["fragrant shrine"] refers to the hall in which the Buddha dwells and is given the name *gandhakuṭī* (Skt.), *gandha* meaning "fragrance" and *kuṭī* meaning "room." Thus [*gandhakuṭī*] can be translated as "fragrant room," "fragrant platform," or "fragrant shrine." So as not to desecrate the honorable face [of the Buddha], one should refer to him only by the name of the place in which he dwells, just as here [in China] one refers to [the emperor only by honorific titles which indicate the emperor's location, such as] *wangjie* 王階 or *bixia* 陛下 ("Imperial Stairs"). To refer to [the place in which the Buddha dwells] simply as the Buddha hall or the Buddha shrine is to disregard [the great deference] intended [by the title as used] in the West.

¹⁸ The earth hall was the shrine of the guardian deities of the temple. However, precisely what image was enshrined in this building is not known. Cf. n. 21 below.

¹⁹ It is said that *lianzhong* was performed differently in the Lü school than in the Chan school. In the former, the bell was struck in a tightly rolled trill while in the latter it was struck for seven clear strokes. *SXC* 1A (*T* 40:6c14-5) describes the Lü tradition: ". . . Thus one strikes softly with the hammer. As the number of strikes increases, the strikes themselves should diminish in intensity until at last a quiet roll is achieved." *SXCZ* 1A (*T* 40:186c4), in its annotations to *SXC*, indicates that "*lian*" means "to finish [striking] with a quiet roll." In the Chan tradition, *JDQG* 1 (*ZKK* 2-17-1:9d) indicates that to *lianzhong* is to strike seven times. Dochū (*ZSS*:724a) remarks that seven strikes made in a tight roll could also be referred to as *lianzhong*. Daoxun's *JXXL* (*T* 45:871c) Rule 10 for the mealtime reads: "Waiting until the sound of *lianzhong*, the monk must fasten his towel [to his robe (for use as a napkin)] and hold his bowl, keeping the handle of his spoon turned toward his body." Rule 23 reads: "After entering the hall and before the striking of *lianzhong*, a monk should bow down and collect his sitting mat."

²⁰ *Qielan* is an abbreviation of *sengqie lanmo* 僧伽藍摩 (Skt. *saṅgha-ārāma*), meaning "monastery." Here the word *qielan* refers to the guardians of the monastery. It is said that three shrines were erected within Chinese monasteries: the first was the "demon temple" (i.e., the temple for Haritī which in Chinese

[the guardian deities of] the earth (*tudi* [*shen*] 土地[神])²¹/ Protect the Dharma and comfort all humans, / And may the donors from the ten directions/ Increase their merit and wisdom. // For all these hopes we chant [the following]: 'Pure Dharma Body. . .' (and so on).²² On the eighth, eighteenth, and twenty-eighth of each month they chant, "We announce to all that from the day the Great Master Tathāgata (*Rulai dashi* 如來大師) entered *parinirvāṇa* until this day--the second year of Yuanfu 元符 (1099 C.E.) in the imperial Song--it has been 2047 years. (Add one year for each year that passes.) Another day has passed, / And our lives have been reduced commensurately; / We are like fish trapped in water [that is slowly shrinking]. / How can there be any pleasure at all [in such an existence]?²³ One must [live] vigorously, / As if one's head were on fire and needed to be extinguished immediately. / Simply contemplate the impermanence of all things / And take care to avoid idle delay. // May the Guardian deities of the monastery and the earth/

is rendered as *Guizi mu*); the second was the *qielan* temple (also referred to as the earth temple), in which the eighteen guardian deities are enshrined; the third was the Piṇḍola temple (*SXC* 3C:137a15-17; *SSYL* 3, T54:303b). *Qi Fo ba pusa suoshuo datuoluoni shenzhou jing* 七佛八菩薩所說大陀羅尼神咒經 4 (*T* 21:557c, lists eighteen divine guardians who protect the monastery. Their names are: sweet voice, divine voice, heavenly drum, ingenuity, praise of beauty, profundity, sound of thunder, lion's roar, wonder, divine echo, human voice, Buddha's slave, praise of virtue, wide eyes, wonderful eyes, profound hearing, profound sight, and penetrating vision.

21 *CYQG* does not specify which deities are considered guardians of the earth. Various names are used at different monasteries. For example, in the Jingshan 徑山 Monastery the earth guardian is referred to as *Lingze longwang* 靈澤龍王 ["Dragon King in the Swamp of Miracles"]; in the Lingyin Monastery it is called *Lingjiu shanwang* 靈鷲山王 ["King of Vulture Mountain"]; in the Xuefeng 雪峰 Monastery it is named *Songshan* 松山 ["Pine Mountain"]; in the Xingsheng Monastery 興聖寺 it is called *Qiansheng xiaowang* 千聖小王 ["the Prince"] (cited in *ZSS*:143b-144a). Cf. Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 182.

22 This is the ritual chanting of the ten epithets of the Buddhas and bodisattvas, beginning with the first name: "The Pure Dharma Body Vairocana Buddha." See "Daoan's Saṅgha regulations" in Section Ib.

23 The verse 是日已過·命亦隨滅·如少水魚·斯有何樂 can be found in the verses of the *Faqui jing* 法句經 1 (*T* 4:559a). The story to which this line refers is first found in the *Chuyao jing* 出曜經 3 (*T* 4:621b-c). In this text it is told that the Buddha once lived in the Anāthapiṇḍika Garden inside Prince Jeta's forest in the region of Śrāvastī. Near this forest there were three fish trapped in shallow water. The fish realized the peril posed by the decreasing water and knew that they must return to the depths of the ocean. However, a standing boat obstructed their passage to deeper waters. The first fish gathered all its strength and leapt over the boat. The second fish managed to circumnavigate the vessel, passing through the grass. But the third fish exhausted all its energy in trying to escape and was caught by a fisherman. The Buddha witnessed this struggle through his divine eyes and, in order to preserve the right Dharma, he gathered the assembly and preached this gatha as an instructive caveat, illustrating the impermanence of all life.

Protect the Dharma and comfort all humans, / And may the donors from ten directions/
 Increase their merit and wisdom. // For all these hopes the monks chant [the following]:
 'The pure Dharma Body. . . ' " (and so on).

[78] When the chanting has ended the abbot goes to his position first. Beginning with the chief seat, the assembly circumambulates the hall and remains standing. The attendants follow the assembly in circumambulating the hall until they reach the left-hand side of the front door where they stand in the empty spaces at the head of the section. The administrators form a single file and follow at the end of the line. The novices do not circumambulate but stand outside the hall facing the Holy Monk. When the administrators and abbot exit, [the novices] bend their bodies to bow [to them]. The temporary arrivals (*zhandao* 暫到) follow the assembly and stand inside the rear door. The retired elderly abbots, if they have taken up residence, stand next to the chief seat. If they have not taken up residence they stand in the guest section, which is on the north [right-hand] side of the rear door, facing the abbot. After their circumambulation, the assembly returns to the assembly quarters, bows, and has sweetened drinks. They then enter the Saṅgha hall, display their mats (*zhandan* 展單), and lower the door of the compartment (*xiazhang* 下帳).²⁴ If [the monastery is located in] the mountains or the forest the big bell is struck. When the abbot has exited the shrine the rector is left in charge of the bell. The assembly bow and continue to chant.

²⁴ *Zhang* is an abbreviation of *huzhang* 戶帳, that is, the screen of the compartment.

Informal Sermon (*xiaocan* 小參)²⁵

[79] Every five days the abbot ascends [the platform in the Dharma] hall to inspire [the monks] to rise up [filled by] the doctrine of the school's traditions (*jiyang zongzhi* 激揚宗旨). On each day of the month ending in a three or an eight there is chanting in order to repay the dragons and the heavenly beings. [The monks] invite [the abbot] to give instruction on the profound teachings and to explain [the links between] the present and the past (*faming jingu* 發明今古). The informal sermon concerns the admonitions peculiar to the monastery (*jiaxung* 家訓) and discipline. The informal sermon is conducted as follows: in the "early night" (*chuye* 初夜)²⁶ the bell is struck and seats are arranged in the abbot's front hall (*qintang* 寢堂; lit., "rear hall," since the room is also located behind the Dharma hall).²⁷ The administrators and the [abbot's] disciples are summoned. The master [abbot] and his audience engage in debate (*binzhu wenchou* 賓主問酬)²⁸ just as in the morning sermon.

²⁵ In contrast to the formal sermon which is given from the platform in the Dharma hall, the informal sermon is held in the abbot's private room. In *CYQG*, the informal sermon is described as an evening event and does not seem to be restricted to any particular day of the month. *ZTSY* 8 (ZKK 2-18-1:118d), a text contemporary with the *CYQG*, gives the following definition: "An informal sermon is any sermon given at a time not prearranged" (that is, not given according to the dictates of the regular monastic schedule). The later *CBQG* 2 (*T* 48:1119c11) indicates that the informal sermon can also be held in the Dharma hall. In addition, *CBQG* 2 (*T* 48:1119c5-7) refers to evening sermons held on certain special occasions as informal sermons. These special occasions are: (1) the arrival of a new abbot at the monastery; (2) the visit of an official donor to the monastery; (3) a special invitation for the abbot to give a sermon; (4) a funeral service; or (5) any of the four festivals.

²⁶ According to Indian custom, the day was divided into daytime and nighttime, each of which was then divided into three phases. The three phases of daytime were: morning (approximately 6:00-10:00a.m.), midday (10:00a.m.-2:00p.m.) and sunset (2:00-6:00p.m.); the three phases of the night are: early night (6:00-10:00p.m.), middle night (10:00p.m.-2:00a.m.) and late night (2:00-6:00a.m.).

²⁷ *Qin* originally refers to the rear part of an imperial ancestral temple. The *qintang* is located between the Dharma hall and the abbot's quarters. The abbot would give his sermon in the Dharma hall on formal occasions, but withdrew to meet people and give sermons in the *qintang*. He would sleep in the abbot's quarters (*fangzhang*), a practice which was largely adopted from imperial custom. For further details see Section IIIc.

²⁸ The first use of this term appears in *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 20 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng Chubanshe, 1987), 384; cited in *ZD*:1057a.

[80] [During the informal sermon,] in addition to the *tichang* 提唱 [propagation of the doctrine of the school's tradition],²⁹ all inappropriate behavior, no matter how insignificant--from the administrators and chief officers down to the novices and postulants-- should be [discussed and] brought into accordance with the [monastic] precepts (*zhengui* 箴規). Each of the so-called "chiefs of the monastery" (*shanmen zhushou* 山門主首) must take responsibility for his own section. The chiefs should not confuse their respective duties but should always seek out peaceful relations. The chief seat must remain in the [Saṅgha] hall from morning until evening, arriving at the morning sermon and the two daily meals before [the others]. Unless there is an urgent need to mobilize the assembly, the administrators should perform their duties themselves, utilizing their own best talents to help the monastery flourish. Although [the assembly and the administrators may interact] as guest and host for the time being, at some distant point in their lives [the former administrator] may come to regard [the former assembly members] as their teachers.³⁰ Therefore [the present-day administrators] should not become complacent about their [previous] achievements or hard work, thereby gradually developing arrogance and idleness within themselves. Even the fellow monks in the Cloud hall should practice diligently day and night, always asking questions. The monks should sculpt and polish each other; they should fully understand the regulations; and they should know the workings of the monastery by rote.

²⁹ This term is an abbreviation of *tigang changdao* 提綱唱道, meaning to focus on the major teachings and expound on them.

³⁰ Dōgen's adapts this sentence in his *Shuryō shingi* 眾寮箴規 (*DZZ* II:363), interpreting the line quite differently in meaning and replacing the word "teacher" with "the Buddha and the patriarchs" (*fozu* 佛祖) so as to lend emphasis to his interpretation. He writes, "Once [the assembly and the administrator have interacted] as guest and host for even one day, [the administrator] will be regarded [by the assembly members] for the rest of their lives as the Buddha [is regarded by] the Patriarchs [i.e., their relationship will forever be that of master and disciple]." See Shinohara Hisao 篠原壽雄, *Eihei daishingi: Dōgen no shūdō kihan* 永平大清規：道元の修道規範, (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1980), 359.

[81] When a monk travels to visit [other] monasteries (*youfang xingjiao* 遊方行腳)³¹ he should pack and carry his own luggage [on his person]. But, if he is delivering a letter [for his monastery and is not merely on personal business], he may also carry also carry a cage[-like trunk]. Once he has performed his duty he must return to the monastery without delay. If the monk stays overnight in a private residence he should not use the opportunity to soak his clothes.³² [When traveling on the road,] he should not let his arms hang down or swing his body from side to side. He should not have a springy gait, and [when resting] he should not sit in a squatting position or stand with arms akimbo. His demeanor should not be arrogant or wild, and he should not speak with the use of his hands. When walking he should step heel-first. His gaze should be solemn and respectable, and his eyes should be fixed no more than one *xun* 尋 [approximately eight feet]³³ ahead of him. Inside [any monastic] hall, the monk should not cross in front of the Holy Monk or the center platform (*chuantang* 穿堂), and should not walk on the passage from the right section to the left, or vice-versa (*xingdao* 行道). When reciting a sutra or mantra, it is better to chant silently and avoid making noise with the prayer beads.

[81] At the time of the morning sermon and the evening invitation [to instruction] (*chencan muqing* 晨參暮請) [the monk] should simply clasp his hands in a dignified manner. Under his short garment he should wear undergarments so as not to expose the

³¹ *GSP(B)* 7 (*T* 24:484b11-14) indicates that a monk is not permitted to travel the world until he has been ordained for five years and has gained knowledge in five dharmas (*wufa* 五法). These five dharmas are: (1) knowledge of what constitutes an offense; (2) knowledge of what does not constitute an offense; (3) knowledge of all the minor offenses; (4) knowledge of all the grave offenses; (5) memorization and understanding of the Vinaya texts.

³² The reason for this restriction is unknown--it may be an effort to prevent any possible suspicion connected with a monk's disrobing in a private residence, or it may simply be an echo of the Vinaya's strict admonition that a monk remain in possession of his robes at all times of overnight travel. Among those precepts pertaining to the use of robes, the prohibition of overnight travel without personal possession of one's robes is the rule most often emphasized (*SFL*, *T* 22, 603a-4b & 632b; *WFL*, *ibid.* 24a-b & 31c-2b; *MSL*, *ibid.* 293c-4a; *SSL*, *T* 23:388c; *GSP*, *T* 23:712b-c).

³³ *ZTSY* 3 (*ZKK* 2-18-1:36c) indicates that a *xun* is equivalent to six feet. However, Morohashi (vol. 4:37a) states that a *xun* may be as long as seven or eight feet.

body.³⁴ His "bell-mouth" shoes should be worn correctly with socks. Straw sandals are permissible [without socks], but the bottom edge of the pants must not be allowed to hang loose: it should be bound with a *jiaoban* [gaiter-like cloth protecting the lower leg]. When sitting, [the monk] should withdraw his legs; he should always pull up his clothes [before taking a seat]; and he should clasp his hands in front of his chest with the right palm on top. When pressing the hands together to bow, the fingers of each hand should be contiguous and the palms should be touching. It is inappropriate to read the sutra dressed only in *chayi* 袈衣³⁵ [i.e., with the *kāṣāya* over the left arm] or *guazi* 掛子.³⁶ When [a monk] blows his

34 In *Shimen guijing yi* 釋門歸敬儀 2 (T 45:862a25-27), Daoxun contrasts the different ways of showing respect in China and India. In India, to expose one shoulder and bare one's feet is considered a show of respect, while in China respect is shown by dressing as fully as possible, including a scarf on the head and shoes on one's feet.

35 Dōchū (ZSS:716a), citing the *Zhenzitong* 正字通 (*shenji xia* 申集下, p.11b) claims that *chayi* are undergarments (*xiefu* 褻服). The precise meaning of *chayi*, Dōchū insists, had been unclear in Japan until the arrival of the *Zhenzitong* text, which gives a specific definition of the term.

However, as we see in *Eihei shingi* (DZZ II: 317- 319), Dōgen uses the word *chayi* (Jpn. *shae*) rather differently. *Shae* is used by Dōgen as a verb meaning to fold the *kāṣāya* over the left arm, as opposed to placing it on the shoulder, or simply as a noun referring to the *kāṣāya* itself (see Shinohara, *Eihei daishingi*, 103). Dōgen's *Bendōwa* (DZZ II:317-318) gives the following description: "In the evening, the monks *shae* [=chayi] and enter the hall. They retrieve their cushions from their own units in preparation for meditation, but they do not display their bedding. There is also the time-honored method of half-unfolding the mattresses, that is, the *kāṣāya* is taken from the arm and placed on the quilt before meditating."

Another example is given in the same text (DZZ II:319): "Sometimes the director of the assembly quarters will *shae* [i.e., wear his *kāṣāya* upon his arm] before burning incense. Sometimes he will put his *kāṣāya* upon his shoulder before burning incense." It would seem that the term *chayi* was originally intended to refer to the undergarments themselves, but that its meaning evolved until it referred more to the practice than to the garment. When Dōgen traveled to China and observed the practices being carried out at that time, he adopted the Chinese *kāṣāya*-folding practice of *chayi* for his own monastic code. At any rate, it seems to us most unlikely that *CYQG* would find it necessary to prohibit the wearing of undergarments alone while meditating or reading sutra, as such an act would be unthinkable in this highly formalized and communal milieu; rather, this must be a caveat against informal positioning of one's *kāṣāya* while engaged in sacred activity.

36 This item of clothing is also referred to as *luozi* 絡子 or *gualuo* 掛絡. *CBQG* (T 48:1145b) identifies the *gualuo* as the five-strip robe. Worn by Chan monks for communal labor, it is called the *gualuo* ("hanging clothes") because it hangs down from the neck. However, because of the way it covers both shoulders without leaving one shoulder exposed as was the Indian custom, the propriety of the *gualuo* was brought into question by both the Lū and the Tiantai schools. The Lū school criticized the fact that the *guazi* covers both shoulders, unlike the more appropriate *kāṣāya*, which covers only the left shoulder, exposing the right. In his *Sanyi bianhuo pian* 三衣辨惑篇 (ZZK 2-6-2:127d; cited in ZSS:691a-b), Tiantai monk Zunshi condemned the *gualuo* with greater vehemence, insisting that the garment be burned.

nose, spits, defecates, or urinates, how can he do so facing the direction of the pagoda? When sleeping, [the monk] should lie on his right hand side [with his head on his right hand and with his left hand placed on his left hip as though] carrying a knife (*daidao youxie* 帶刀右脇).³⁷ While attending a sermon he should stand in a straight line [with his fellow monks] with his side to the center, listening [to the sermon] carefully. [The monk's] bedding and clothes should always be kept neat and orderly. He should not arbitrarily remove any mattress that does not belong to him. His mattress and comforter should be displayed and folded with care and mindfulness. He should not ascend his platform with his back to the other monks lest he should be ridiculed for it. He should not stand or walk on his platform: this practice is incorrect. Before he lies down to sleep his *kāṣāya* should be placed close to where he lies down [specifically, next to his pillow], folded and covered by a clean towel. Before [lying on] the pillow [i.e., going to sleep] he should not remove the clothes from his upper body in case of an emergency, such as a robbery. When sitting on

However, Daocheng 道誠, the author of the *SSYL* 1 (*T* 54:270c), defends the *guazi* as legitimate monastic dress, citing the authority of *GSP(B)* 10 (*T* 24:497b1-3), the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*. He argues that there are three types of five-strip robes mentioned in the Vinaya—upper, middle, and lower. The upper robe is three arm lengths long and five arm lengths wide. The lower one is half the size of the upper, and any robe that measures between these two sizes is considered a middle robe.

According to *GSP(B)* (*ibid.*), the Buddha further instructed that there are two additional kinds of five-strip robes, one measuring two arms in length and five in width; the other two arms in length and four in width. The latter two robes are referred to as *shouchi yi* 守持衣, and as a minimum should be large enough to cover the three "wheels" of the body, that is to say, these robes must be large enough to cover the navel above and the two knees below. Daocheng argues that the size of contemporary *guazi* differs very little from these latter two robes. Thus, as long as the *guazi* is made from five strips, has one dimension longer than the other, and is pleated or sewn, it, too, should be considered legitimate apparel which should not be criticized. The *guazi*, he insists, is worn by Chan monks every day and in no way is it a violation of the Vinaya. Moreover, if one cannot wear a *kāṣāya* all the time (for instance, during communal labor), it is far better to wear a *guazi* than no form of *kāṣāya* whatsoever. For an illustration of the *guazi* see Mochitsuki, 1257c.

³⁷ Lying on one's right side traditionally has been regarded as the only legitimate sleeping position for the Buddhist. For example, see *Zhong ehan jing* 中阿含經 8 (*T* 1:473c13 & 20, 560a3). The reference to sleeping as though carrying a knife stems from the practice of warriors of the time, who carried their knives on their left sides and therefore always slept on their right. Baizhang's biography (*GSZ* 10, *T* 50:770c27) mentions that one of Baizhang's regulations stipulated that a monk must lie sideways with his head upon the pillow and with only his side touching the bed, as though he were carrying a knife.

his platform, he should not lean his head against the wall panel (*bantou* 板頭) [behind him]. When walking in the corridor, he should avoid laughing or talking too loudly.

[83] [The following is inappropriate behavior in the monastery:] congregating in the hall; shuffling one's feet after nightfall; releasing the curtain [noisily behind oneself as one enters or exits] instead of [quietly returning it] by hand;³⁸ making noise with the bucket and ladle while washing; making noises while blowing one's nose or spitting, which would disturb the assembly of purity (*qingzhong* 清眾); making medicine pills; leaning on the railing in the venerable shrines (*zundian* 尊殿); being publicly naked at the bathhouse; taking on duties in excess of those required by one's position, thereby interfering with the affairs of the monastery as a whole; spreading gossip; creating unnecessary complications [out of simple situations]; not being sincere or mournful during the funeral of a deceased monk; inflating the value of auctioned items [when serving as auctioneer]; not following the precepts (*shiluo* 尸羅; Skt. *śīla*) for one's spiritual cultivation; vying for the more honorable seat [during assemblies] (the seating should be arranged according to ordination seniority); never being satisfied with the meals, talking only of the offerings at other monasteries; failing to attend tea ceremonies once one has been invited; complaining about the abbot's insufficient courtesy; appropriating property that has been [temporarily] entrusted to one's care; and becoming overly friendly with the younger generation while scorning the venerable and virtuous [elders].

[84] Monks leave their home-temple masters (*shiseng* 師僧) and parents [and travel] far away to practice meditation and seek enlightenment. If [such a monk] has a body and mind without the Dharma, how can he transcend the secular and enter the sacred? Even if a monk has some partial understanding of the world and considers himself learned, this is not a reason for him to turn up his nose [arrogantly] (*bikong liaotian* 鼻孔撩天). And even if a

³⁸ Holding the curtain as one passes and releasing it slowly is a practice intended to prevent noise. Rule 34 in Daoxuan's *JXXL* (*T* 45:869c) reads as follows: "When releasing the curtain, one should not let it drop but should return it by hand."

monk really has studied widely and has become rather erudite, it is still fitting for him to keep his feet on the ground. If someone (*you di* 有底)³⁹ fears the knife and evades the arrow [i.e., if he shirks responsibility or is unwilling to face dangers]; if he will not take on the monastery's burdens; if he is not willing to live and die at the same time [as his fellow monks]--then it can be said that he is ungrateful to his virtuous predecessors. Furthermore, whenever a person is leaving his home [i.e., to join a monastery], travelling, entering the assembly, practicing meditation, partaking of meals, drinking tea or sweetened drink, attending the morning service and evening instruction--at all times he must follow the regulations of the assembly in his words, his actions, and his demeanor. [The abbot] should educate and lead [his disciples] (*tisi* 提撕) with a patient hand (*wei qu* 委曲). If he keeps his mouth sealed then the profound principles will fall to the ground [i.e., if he fails to instruct, the teachings will die]. When [a member of] the younger generation receives the Dharma medicine [*fayao* 法藥; i.e., hears the master's teaching], he should carve it into his bone and inscribe it in his heart. He should try his utmost to cultivate even the smallest traces of goodness and should endeavor to remedy even the slightest imperfections. All of the above principles are the very reason the informal sermon is given.

Commencement of the Summer Retreat (*jiexia* 結夏)

[85] If an itinerant monk should want to go on a [monastery's] summer retreat, he must take up residence in that monastery half a month in advance. This principle ensures that he will not be in haste for the welcoming tea ceremony (*chatang renshi* 茶湯人事).

[86] On the fourteenth day of the fourth month, after the midday meal, the poster announcing the chanting (*niansong pai* 念誦牌) is put up. In the evening the administrators prepare incense, flowers, and other items needed for the service (*fashi* 法事; "Dharma

39 See *Zengo jiden* 禪語辭典, ed. Koga Hidehiko 古賀英彦 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1991), 29a.

things" or "Dharma affairs")⁴⁰ in front of the earth [hall] to summon the assembly to the chanting. The words recited [by the rector before the chanting] are: "I venture to say, the summer breeze now blows through the fields and the Emperor of Flames (*yandi* 炎帝)⁴¹ reigns over the region. When the Dharma King [i.e., the Buddha] 'prohibits the feet' [i.e., prohibits traveling; that is, during the summer retreat], it is the time for the children of Śākya [i.e., the monks] to protect all living creatures. I respectfully summon the assembly to gather solemnly at the spirit shrine to chant the great name of ten thousand virtues (*wande hongming* 萬德洪名) and transfer this merit (*huixiang* 回向) to the rulers of all the halls (*hetang zhenzhu* 合堂真主) [in all monasteries], and to pray that they protect the monastery, allowing for a peaceful retreat. Now we must depend on the venerable assembly to chant at length. . . ." [After this chanting,] the rector continues, "Let us transfer the merit of chanting to the dragon and the deities, [that is,] to the earth guardians who protect the right Dharma. We humbly wish that the light of the deities will develop this merit, help the monastery to flourish, and give the blessing of selflessness. Now we must depend on the venerable assembly (*zunzhong* 尊眾) to chant [again] '[All the Buddhas in all] ten directions. . . .'"⁴² Briefly the Dharma instruments are played as the monks chant, after which the drum is struck and they leave for the [Saṅgha] hall. The administrator has the server wait until he hears the announcement of the second chanting service (*fashi* 法事) before he strikes the drum. The rectory prepares beforehand the diagram indicating the

⁴⁰ The term *fashi* in the present text has three meanings: (1) the Dharma service; (2) a monk who is appointed to preside over the Dharma service; (3) the items used in the Dharma service. The context suggests that the third definition is used here.

⁴¹ Reference here is to one of the Five Heavenly Emperors (*wu [tian] di* 五[天]帝) which have been worshiped since ancient times. For further details see Section IIIc.

⁴² Reference here is to the chant: "[Pay homage to] all the Buddhas in all ten directions and in all three ages, all the great Bodhisattvas, and the Great Perfection of Wisdom" 十方三世一切諸佛、諸尊菩薩摩訶薩、摩訶般若波羅蜜。 See YZS [315].

monks' seniority (*jiela pai* 戒臘牌),⁴³ at which time fragrant flowers are offered. All of this is arranged in front of the Saṅgha hall. All those present circumambulate the hall in order and sit

⁴³ This diagram indicates the year of ordination of all monks attending the summer retreat and their positions within the hierarchy of ordination seniority. One cannot discern the exact appearance of this document from the present text; however, an illustration of this diagram first appears in *Keizan shingi* (T 82:443b). In the upper center of the illustration there is a circle with the character *jing* 鏡 ("mirror") written inside it. Below this circle, there is a rectangular shape with the words *qingjing dahuizhong* 清淨大海眾 ("Assembly of purity, in number vast as the ocean"). Below this line appears the character for the Holy Monk, written as *Kaundinya*. There are then four characters—*yuan* 元, *heng* 亨, *li* 利, and *zheng* 貞—written in each of the four corners, and placed in order so as to indicate a counter-clockwise direction. Surrounding the center the names of all the participants, beginning with the abbot, are then arranged in counter-clockwise order.

These same four characters, "*yuan*, *heng*, *li*, and *zheng*" are cited as the fortune resulting from the first hexagram in *Zhouyi* 周易 (*The Book of Changes*; *Qian zhuan* 乾傳, SJZ I:13a): "Qian (represents) what is great and originating, penetrating, advantageous, correct and firm" 乾·元亨利貞. In Legge, *I Ching: Book of Changes* (New Jersey: University Books, Inc., 1964; repr. 1972), 57.

In the diagram found in the *Keizan shingi*, which is based on a diagram from Tiantong shan, the Holy Monk is identified as *Kaundinya*, the Buddha's first disciple, whose senior position in the original Saṅgha set the pattern for the way in which the seats in the hall are arranged in order of ordination seniority. However, in Japanese diagrams of ordination seniority beginning with the text of *Shō Eihei Shingi* 小永平清規 (compiled in 1718; *Sōtōshū zensho Shingi*, p. 391), *Kaundinya* appears to have been replaced by *Mañjuśrī*. This is because *Mañjuśrī* came to be considered a symbol of the Mahāyāna tradition as a whole. Cf. n. 66 in fasc. 1.

The origin of setting a "mirror" for meditation can be found in the following quotation from *SXC* 3B (T 40:127a3-4), which is in turn a citation from *DZDL* 91 (T 25:705b; *SXC* 3B's citation involves some slight alterations): "[A bodhisattva will] provide the meditator with [his own] method of meditation, with a Chan stick, a Chan ball, a Chan tablet (*chanzhen* 禪鏡), a skeleton, Chan sutras, a good teacher, 'good illumination' [or 'mirror': *haozhao* 好照], clothes, etc." The *SXCZ* 3B (T 40:387b) comments on the term "*haozhao*," noting that some claim the illuminating mirror is suspended in the meditation halls in order to aid the exercise of the mind 以助心行, while others believe the mirror is meant to reflect a clear image, and still others hold that the mirror is intended to increase the amount of radiant light in the hall.

Going back still further, we find that the placing of a mirror in the temple or meditation hall is mentioned in the sutra *Lengyang jing* 7 (T 19:133b-c). When Ānanda asked for the Buddha's advice on the proper decoration for the practice hall to be in keeping with the Buddha's regulations, the Buddha replied that the ground must first be purified and leveled and a sixteen-foot wide octagonal altar should be built. A lotus flower made of gold, silver, copper, and wood is placed in the center of the altar. Bowls containing water are then set inside the lotus. Then eight round mirrors are arranged around the bowls. Outside the mirrors (or the lotuses) another sixteen lotus flowers are arranged. Sixteen incense burners are placed between the lotus flowers. Various cakes and excellent drinks such as milk, sugar[water], and honey[water] are offered on the altar. Then banners are hung, the images of Buddhas and bodhisattvas are suspended from the walls, and images of the guardian deities are placed on both sides of the gate. Moreover, eight mirrors are suspended in the air, facing the other eight mirrors in the center of the altar, so as to reflect the light and the images. In explaining the phrase "Assembly of purity, in number vast as the ocean," this same sutra states that if someone among the practitioners within the practice hall is impure, then the accomplishments of the laws will be difficult to achieve (*Lengyan jing* 7 [T 19:133c10]).

For the above sources I am indebted to Matsuura Shūkō's excellent book, *Zenshū kojitsu sonzō no kenkyū* 禪宗古實尊像の研究 (Tokyo: Shankibō Busshorin, 1976), 500-507.

in their own positions. One of the administrators presides over the service. Originally the prior presided over the service, with the rector substituting when the prior was unavailable. Before the chanting, a poster should be presented to the chief seat to invite [him as well as the assembly]. The poster should read: "Tonight the priory will sponsor a tea ceremony in cloud hall [i.e., Saṅgha hall] especially for the chief seat and the assembly, simply to symbolize the commencement of the summer retreat (*jiēzhi zhiyi* 結制之儀). I humbly wish that you will all kindly descend to provide us with your illuminating company. Sincerely written by Prior Bhikṣu X et al."

[88] On the day of the fifteenth, before the early meal, the administrators, chief officers, junior monks, and the [abbot's] Dharma relatives come to the abbot's quarters to greet [him]. If the abbot relieves them of this formality the night before, they need not come. After [the abbot] ascends [the platform in the Dharma] hall, the administrators step forward and do *liangzhan sanli*. For the first [bow] they unfold their sitting mats, saying, "As this retreat disallows the use of feet [i.e., prohibits leaving the monastery], we shall be afforded the opportunity to tend [the abbot's] towel and water vessel [*huofeng jinping* 獲奉巾瓶; i.e., to become closer to the abbot]. We hope to depend on the abbot's Dharma power for support and we hope there will be no difficulties." The administrators again unfold their sitting mats, extend the seasonal greeting, and perform *chuli sanbai*. The abbot [replies] by saying: "We are most fortunate to have this opportunity to participate in a retreat together. I hope to depend on your Dharma power to foresee and alleviate all difficulties." The [greetings] of the chief seat and the assembly follow this same pattern. Next the chief seat and the assembly do *liangzhan sanli* before the abbot while the junior monks, the attendants, the postulants, the [abbot's] Dharma relatives, and the novices stand to one side so as to avoid performing this courtesy at the same time. When everyone has finished this courtesy, the administrator returns to the storage hall and stands in the host position. Then the chief seat leads the assembly into the priory to greet [the administrator]

with a *chuli sanbai*. At this point the junior monks, the attendant, the Dharma relatives, and others go to the Dharma hall to pay homage to the abbot. Then the chief seat stands before the Saṅgha hall facing south while the assembly faces north. They do *chuli sanbai* to each other, circumambulate the hall in order of ordination seniority, and remain standing. The administrators then enter the hall, approach the Holy Monk, fully unfold their sitting mats, prostrate themselves three times, stand up, and do *chuli sanbai* before the chief seat. The assembly bows down in return, and the administrators circumambulate the hall and exit. The abbot enters the hall burning incense, fully unfolds his sitting mat, bows down three times, and stands up. At this time the junior monks conceal themselves, standing behind the Holy Monk [thus shielding themselves from inadvertently being the object of the abbot's bow]. The Dharma relatives follow the assembly. [In front] of the chief seat he will do *chuli [sanbai]* again and [the assembly] will do a prostration in response and circumambulate the hall in the same manner indicated above. The junior monks wait until the assembly stands up from the prostration in return before standing in their positions and waiting to bow.

[89] The abbot exits the hall and all bow down to each other three times, beginning with the chief seat, saying, "We are most fortunate to have this opportunity to make a retreat together. I fear that my thoughts, words, and deeds (*sanye* 三業) are inferior and so I beg your compassion." Then everyone, beginning with the chief seat, returns to their hall of residence. If this hall is the assembly quarters, then all beginning with the director and chief seat of the assembly quarters do *chuli sanbai* to each other. The words of gratitude exchanged are the same as those in the [Saṅgha] hall. Then the abbot visits each quarter one at a time beginning with the storage hall. The assembly follows him [90] and escorts him to the abbot's quarters and retires. All the monks then greet each other at their own discretion. The abbot's office, priory and chief seat in order sponsor tea ceremonies in the Saṅgha hall.

Then the abbot's office sponsors a tea ceremony for the administrators and the chief officers, inviting the chief seat and the assembly to accompany them.

[90] The next day is the special [tea ceremony] sponsored by the priory for the scribe, the chief officers, and those under them. Then the chief seat and the assembly are invited to accompany them. After this the chief seat sponsors a tea ceremony in the Saṅgha hall for the administrators and the chief officers, inviting the assembly to accompany them. The rest of [the officers], beginning with the rector and followed, for example, by one of the chief officers, the retired senior abbots, and the chief seat emeritus (*liseng shouzuo* 立僧首座),⁴⁴ sponsor tea ceremonies for the administrators or chief officers in their own quarters.

Closing of the Summer Retreat (*jiexia* 解夏)

[91] On the fourteenth day of the seventh month, in the evening, there is chanting and sweetened drink is served. On the next day, the ascending [of the platform in the] hall, the greetings, the visiting of various quarters, and the tea ceremonies--all is done in the same manner as during the commencement of the summer retreat. Only the words on the posters are different. [For example,] the poster written by the priory is the same except for the following small modification: ". . . to symbolize the closing of the summer retreat." The monks then chant in front of the earth hall. [The rector's words are:] "I venture to say, the golden wind now blows through the fields and the Emperor of White (*baidi* 白帝)⁴⁵ reigns over the region. When the King of Enlightenment (*juehuang* 覺皇; i.e., the Buddha) brings the summer retreat to a close, it is the time of the completion of the Dharma year. [We have

⁴⁴ The *liseng shouzuo* is a retired high-ranking monk serving as auxiliary chief seat. For a detailed discussion of this position, see the section "Appointment of Chief Seat Emeritus."

⁴⁵ One of the Five Emperors.

reached] the ninth *xun* 旬 [ten-day period] of the summer⁴⁶ without difficulty and all the assembly are safe. Let us chant the great names of all Buddhas and repay our indebtedness to the rulers of all halls. Now we must depend on the assembly. . . ." (The remaining words are the same as the remarks for the commencement of the summer retreat.) The words of gratitude given by the administrators are: "It is with humble joy that we [acknowledge] that the Dharma year has been completed without any difficulty. This is due to the protection of the abbot's power of Tao. For this we are extremely grateful." The abbot's words of gratitude in response are: "We must give thanks to the support of the Dharma power of X [person's name] and the others that this Dharma year is complete. For this I am extremely grateful." The words of gratitude from the chief seat and the assembly of the Saṅgha hall as well as from the director of the assembly quarters and those below him in the assembly quarters are as follows: "On this ninth [xun of] summer we have come to depend on each other. I fear that my thoughts, words, and deeds are inferior. For having disturbed the assembly I humbly beg your compassion." Then the administrators and chief officers make the announcement: "Those brothers [i.e., fellow monks] who wish to travel must wait until the tea ceremony has ended, only after which may they go where they wish." If there is an emergency or some other urgent business, this rule may be suspended.

Winter [Solstice and New] Year Greeting

[92] If the abbot wishes to exempt [the assembly] from the festival greeting, then he must post [this information] in front of the Saṅgha hall on the day before the festival. That evening the priory serves sweetened drink (*diantang* 點湯) in the [Saṅgha] hall. The poster for the Winter [Solstice] includes the phrase ". . . simply to symbolize our congratulations on the Winter Solstice." The poster for the New Year includes the line ". . . simply to

⁴⁶ I.e., ninety days in total, or three months. As *CYQG* indicates, the summer retreat is held from the fifteenth day of the fourth month to the fifteenth day of the seventh month.

symbolize our congratulations on the changing of the year." The beginning and end [of these posters] read the same as those posters described above. The abbot then [announces] his sponsorship of a tea ceremony in the Saṅgha hall. The words of the poster [announcing this ceremony] are the same as above. The next day the abbot sponsors tea in his own quarters especially for the administrators and the chief officers, and all the assembly are invited to accompany them. The next day the administrators hold a tea ceremony in the priory especially for the chief seat and those under him. Then all [the officers] in order, beginning with the chief seat and the rector, have special tea ceremonies in their respective halls of residence. If [the abbot] does not exempt the assembly from [the Winter Solstice or New Year] greeting, then before the early meal the junior monks and the others must go to greet [the abbot]. After the abbot ascends [the platform in the Dharma] hall, the assembly greets him and visits the various halls.

[Abbot's] Visit to the [Assembly] Quarters (*xunliao* 巡察)⁴⁷

[93] In the [Saṅgha] hall a poster is hung to announce a visit to the assembly quarters (*xunliao pai* 巡察牌). The director and chief seat [of the assembly quarters] arrange the seats, incense, flowers, and tea or sweetened drink [in the assembly quarters] and wait for the abbot to approach, at which time they strike the board to summon the assembly. The assembly stands in a line in order outside the [assembly] quarters, facing the door of the quarters to bow [when the abbot appears]. They then follow the abbot into the quarters. The director of the assembly quarters burns incense and the assembly bows [to the abbot], after

⁴⁷ This section refers specifically to the visit to the Assembly hall. However, the term *xunliao* used in *CYQG* sometimes refers to visits to various other quarters. Also referred to in Eisai's *Kōzen gokoku ron* 3, T 80:15a24.

MSL 5 (T 22:262b4-8) indicates that the Buddha visited the monks' quarters (*sengfang* 僧坊) every five days. There are five purposes for the Buddha's regular visits to the monks' quarters: (1) to discern whether the śrāvaka disciples are engaged in worldly affairs; (2) to discern whether they are involved in secular discussions; (3) to discern whether they are indulging in sleep, which hinders the practice of meditation; (4) to visit ailing disciples; and (5) to inspire joy in the junior monks and novices by the example of his own dignified demeanor.

which tea or sweetened drink is served. After the abbot has given his sermon (*shuoshi* 說事; "explanation of matters"), at the point when he stands up the director of the assembly quarters steps forward, unfolds his sitting mat, and extends his gratitude with the words, "We humbly receive the abbot's Dharma-riding [*fajia* 法駕; i.e., exceptionally honorable] visit, and for this we are extremely grateful." They then extend [to the abbot] a seasonal greeting. If [the abbot] does not accept their bowing, then the assembly merely bows and escorts him out of the quarters. If it is not the occasion of the commencement or closing [of the summer retreat], a full moon, or a new moon day, then when the abbot has visited the [assembly] quarters it is not necessary to escort [the abbot] outside and follow him to the various quarters.

Reception [of A Senior Venerable]

[94] When a venerable senior [monk] (*zunsu* 尊宿) visits the monastery all the monks should gather in advance at the mountain gate to greet [him as he arrives]. All those present, together [with the guest], enter the Dharma hall, where the abbot, the administrators, and the assembly greet [the guest] in order [of seniority]. After the greeting, they escort the senior venerable to the guest lodging (*kewei* 客位). [The guest] then meets with the abbot. If he is not to stay at the guest lodging, he meets with the abbot immediately. The abbot then accompanies [the guest] in visiting all the quarters. They return to the abbot's quarters, have sweetened drink and [the guest is] dismissed. The abbot later goes to the guest lodging to extend his gratitude. If the guest and the host [i.e., the abbot] are not Dharma relatives they exchange letters of self-introduction (*menzhuang* 門狀).⁴⁸ That evening the night sermon [is given by the venerable guest]. The next day [the guest] ascends [the platform in the Dharma] hall and there is a special feast. If the guest is of the

⁴⁸ The *menzhuang* functions much like a name card. But unlike a card, the *menzhuang* is a letter whose size may vary. It indicates not only one's name but also the title and name of the person one is to visit. See ZSS:622a.

same seniority as the abbot or the abbot's juniors, then [the procedure] depends on the particular situation. The method for receiving government officials [is as follows]. Only when a circuit supervisor (*jiansi* 監司) or a district magistrate (*shouling* 守令) arrives should the entire assembly be mobilized to receive them. The administrator waits outside the triple gate; the chief seat and those under him wait inside the triple gate--thus the superior monks are outside. When seeing off officials, the chief seat and the assembly [form a line from the inside to the outside] with the superior monks on the inside. They should stand in an orderly fashion with no one standing out of line. When government officials are being greeted or seen off, the abbot remains in the Dharma hall.

Appointment of the Administrators

[96] The administrative section⁴⁹ includes the prior (in some places it also includes the assistant prior, *fuyuan* 副院), the rector, the cook (*dianzuo* 典座),⁵⁰ and the

⁴⁹ In the present text, the high-ranking administrative members of the monastery (excluding the abbot) can be divided into two parallel categories: the administrators and the chief officers. The former include four positions--the prior, the rector, the cook, and the superintendent; while the latter refers to the positions of the chief seat in the Saṅgha hall, the scribe, the director of the library, the guest master, and the bath master. The duties of these four administrators and five chief officers are elaborated in the following fascicles. However in general the one unifying characteristic of the four administrators is their supervision of economic matters, whereas the chief officers deal with relatively non-financial affairs.

The number of positions in each of these two categories is expanded in the descriptions given by the later text *CBQG*. In this text the administrators are referred to as the east section (*dongxu* 東序), and were expanded to include six positions. In addition to the aforementioned rector [1], cook [2], and superintendent [3], the role of prior was divided into two positions--the first assistant prior (*dusi* 都寺) [4] and the second prior (*jiansi* 監寺) [5]. The supply master (referred to as the *kutou* 庫頭 in *CYQG*) is renamed and now included in this section as the third assistant prior (*fusi* 副寺) [6]. The chief officers are considered part of the west section (*xiyu* 西序). There were now thirteen positions: chief seat of the front hall, chief of the rear hall, scribe, director of the library, guest master, bath master, director of the shrine, the abbot's five attendants (in charge of the burning of incense, secretarial matters, the entertaining of guests, robes and bowls, and medicine) and the Holy Monk's attendant. (For further details regarding the chief officers, see the section "Appointment of the Chief Officers," *YZS* [122] in fasc. 3.)

The term *zhishi* 知事, which is also an official imperial title, was without doubt adopted from the governmental system. Hucker explains that the term *zhishi* (or *chih-shih* in Wade-Giles) was used to refer to an administrative clerk within a governmental office. See Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles*, 162a, entry 1050. Hucker analyzes the word *zhi* 知 (W-G *chi*; lit., "to know, to take notice of"), which, beginning with the Han period (202 B.C.E.-220 C.E.), was commonly used as a prefix to an agent name adding the meaning of manager or administrator, often in the form *chih*. . . *shih* [i.e., 知…事] (managing the affair of. . .); i.e., Administrator of. . . ." See *ibid.* p.155a, entry 934.

superintendent. [When a new appointment is needed, the abbot] invites the administrators, the chief officers, the retired staff (*qianzi* 前資), and the senior retired staff (*qinjiu* 勤舊)⁵¹ to have tea. After the tea the abbot makes his request, saying, "Administrator X has announced his retirement. Now I must impose upon you all to deliberate on this matter. I know of no candidate for the post of administrator [implying the question, "Does anyone know of a suitable candidate?"]." He asks again, and then a third time, for candidate suggestions. When there are no replies, the abbot says, "In that case I should like to nominate X [name] for the position of administrator. What is your opinion on this suggestion?" When everyone consents to the appointment, the abbot sends his attendant to invite X and his acquaintances. The attendant invites the proper guests one at a time. Tea is served once more, after which the abbot stands up, saying, "Administrator X has announced his retirement. This position cannot be left vacant, so I should like to appoint [for example] Chief Seat X to the position of Administrator X. I hope everyone will cordially welcome his appointment. It is my wish that there be no objections: think first and foremost of the Dharma."

[97] After the appointment, [the new administrator] will do *liangzhan sanli* [to the abbot]. First, he unfolds his sitting mat, saying, "I, newly ordained, have hastily come to

The administrative system in the monastery was obviously closely modeled on the governmental system. A further example is the fact that the east and west bifurcation which appears in *CBQG*, was based on the two wings of the central government—civilian officials and military officers. Just as the administrators and chief officers stand in line at the two sides of the hall while the abbot ascends the platform in the Dharma hall, so, similarly, are military officials and civilian officers positioned in the imperial palace during audiences with the emperor.

50 For the duties of the cook see the section "Cook," *YZS* [116] in fasc. 3.

51 According to Dōchū's interpretation, the *qianzi* is a monk who has retired from the rank of the third assistant prior (*fusi*) or lower and has served three terms, whereas the *qinjiu* is one who has retired from a position ranking higher than *fusi*, such as the second assistant prior (*jiansi*) and the first assistant prior (*dusi*), and has served three terms. After retirement, a *qianzi* moves the quarter for retired staff (*qianzi liao* 前資寮), the former first assistant prior remains in individual lodging (*danliao* 單寮), and the former second prior retires to the *mengtang* 蒙堂 [lit., the hall of hiding one's illumination] (*ZSS*:179b; *CBQG* 4, *T* 48:1132a21-23). Accordingly, we may conclude that both the *qianzi* and *qinjiu* are retirees, while the latter is simply of a higher rank.

the monastery; everything here is unfamiliar to me, and so to receive your exceedingly generous appointment I am extremely awestruck." Then he unfolds the sitting mat a second time and extends a seasonal greeting, saying, "I humbly wish upon your honorable body and your daily life ten thousand fortunes (*qiju wanfu* 起居萬福)." He then does *chuli sanbai*. Then all the administrators congratulate the abbot by performing *liangzhan sanli*. [98] They unfold their sitting mats, saying, "It is the great fortune of the monastery and it gives us great joy that the newly appointed Administrator X has received your kind decree; we are extremely elated." They unfold their sitting mats, extend a seasonal greeting, and do *chuli [sanbai]* as above. Next, by way of mutual *chuli sanbai*, one by one they all congratulate the new administrator who thanks them in return. His words of gratitude are: "I am extremely ashamed to stain [the honor] of your recommendation." And then the words of congratulations [from the other administrator]: "Your capabilities are so great that you could carry all the burden of the assembly['s work]. [Knowing this] we have reason to celebrate." A chair is moved to the abbot [and placed] facing the center [after which] the sweetened drink is served. [When the abbot is prepared to] announce [the new appointment] to the assembly, the bell is rung to summon the assembly into the hall where the monks remain sitting. The rector burns incense before the Holy Monk and privately informs the abbot. The rector then circumambulates the hall, bows, and strikes with the hammer one time, saying, "I announce to you all, Former Administrator X has made known his retirement and this position cannot remain vacant. We have received the abbot's kind decree to appoint the Senior X (*mou shangzuo* 某上座) as Administrator X. I announce this to you with all sincerity." Then he strikes the hammer once, and the administrator, the chief officers, the retired staff, and the senior retired staff approach [the new administrator] to elicit his consent.

[99] After receiving his appointment, [the new administrator] does *liangzhan sanli* [to the abbot]. The words of gratitude are the same as above. The rector strikes the hammer

once, saying, "And now we are able to appoint X to the position of Administrator X. I announce this with all sincerity," and then he strikes with the hammer once more. The guest master leads [the new administrator] before the Holy Monk, and [the administrator] fully unfolds his sitting mat and bows down three times. He then folds his sitting mat before the chief seat and does *chuli sanbai*. The assembly bows in return, after which the guest master escorts the new administrator to circumambulate [the hall] and exit. The rector then makes the announcement: "Now I should like to invite the assembly to escort the administrator into the storage hall." If it is the rector that is being appointed, the guest master makes the announcement: "Now I should like to invite the assembly to escort the rector into the rectory." Then all the assembly, beginning with the abbot, escort him [i.e., the new administrator or rector] into the storage hall or the rectory. The abbot assumes the center seat [in the storage hall or rectory] and is approached by [the new administrator or rector] who does *liangzhan sanli* to him and escorts him to the exit. [The administrator or rector] then returns to his position, and exchanges *chuli sanbai* with his colleagues, with the chief seat, and with the assembly, after which he escorts the assembly to the exit. The attendant to the prior or the attendant to the rector then collects [the new administrator's or rector's] clothes and quilts, places them in a trunk, and returns to his own place [i.e., the priory or rectory] to make arrangements [i.e., to prepare the new administrator's or the new rector's quarters]. The guest master then leads the new administrator to begin visiting the various quarters. They visit the abbot's quarters first, where they sit in a prearranged way and have sweetened drink. Here the senior retired staff accompany them. After all the quarters have been visited in order, the former administrator transfers (*jiaoge* 交割) the records of money and silk⁵² to the new one while the abbot, [other] administrator, and chief officers are present. On the same day, or, sometimes, the next day, [the new administrator?] sponsors a tea ceremony and then withdraws.

52 Throughout Chinese history silk has often been used as currency.

[101] The next day the priory holds a special feast. The newly appointed administrator should act in accordance with the old customs and should not try to alter [his duties or powers] or inflate his own importance. If he should have his own idea [for a change in policy], he must wait to consult the abbot and his colleagues courteously, and if it is deemed feasible he may carry it out. If [his proposal] is not agreed upon, he should halt his plans. He should not violate public opinion by indulging his own ideas, thereby disturbing the assembly. The day after that the abbot holds a special tea ceremony in the [Saṅgha] hall for the new and old administrators. The poster for the tea ceremony reads as follows: "This morning after the meal the abbot will sponsor a special tea ceremony to extend gratitude to the new and old administrators X [their specific positions] in the cloud hall. The chief seat and the assembly are also invited to descend to join us with their illuminating company. This day X of month X. Respectfully written by Attendant X." The poster for this ceremony is posted outside the Dharma hall on the right-hand side. The new prior waits for the abbot and the chief seat to finish their tea ceremony before entering the hall and holding a tea ceremony for the chief seat and the assembly. The poster for the tea ceremony reads as follows: "This morning after the meal the priory will sponsor a special tea ceremony for the chief seat and the assembly in the cloud hall. All administrators are invited to accompany [them]. I humbly ask that you all kindly descend to provide us with your illuminating company. This day of month X, day X. Respectfully written by Administrator Bhikṣu X." Before the midday meal, [the new prior?] prepares a box and carries [in it] a poster for the tea ceremony, presenting it to the chief seat, saying, "It is my honor to inform (*shangwen* 上聞) you, Chief Seat, that this morning after the meal a tea ceremony will be held in the hall. Therefore I humbly request your kindness to descend to attend." Sometimes he does *chuli sanbai* (this action is performed only when inviting senior monks who have been abbots or chief seats emeriti), and sometimes he merely bows and exits. He then has the server place the poster for the tea ceremony outside the Dharma

hall on the left-hand side. He then has the servers invite the chief officers from all quarters, and [goes himself] to the abbot's office where he does *liangzhan sanbai*. First, he unfolds the sitting mat, saying, "This morning after the meal a tea ceremony will be sponsored in the hall specially for the chief seat. I respectfully invite you, Master 和尚 (Skt. *upādhyāya*; i.e., the abbot) and the assembly to provide [him] with your company. I humbly beg your kindness to give your assent." He then unfolds the sitting mat a second time to extend the seasonal greeting and then does *chuli sanbai*." [The new prior] invites his colleagues to enter the hall and accompany the assembly. The next day the special shift (*tewei jiaodai* 特為交代) [from old to new] administrators and [from old to new] chief officers in the Storage hall takes place, and the chief seat and the assembly are invited to be present. Then one by one tea ceremonies are sponsored by the administrator, the chief seat, and the chief officers for the new and old administrators. If the assistant prior, the cook, or the superintendent is in the storage hall, or if the rector is in the rectory, he holds the tea ceremony for the exchange of his colleagues [e.g., new and old administrators]. Only the abbot, the prior, and the chief seat will enter the hall for the tea ceremony.

Fascicle Three

Prior¹

[105] The duty of the prior is to manage the various affairs of the monastery, such as supplies and petitions to government officials, greeting such officials, [the ceremony of] circumambulating [the hall with] incense performed by the assembly, visits to donors, extending congratulations and condolences, financial loans, the annual budget, the monitoring of grain storage, bookkeeping, and providing for meals year by year. [The prior is entrusted with] the purchase of grain as well as the making of vinegar and other pastes and sauces according to the season. He should carefully tend to the production of oil and grinding. He must organize feasts for monastic assemblies with the utmost skill and effort. He must show attentive hospitality to guests from all four directions. Feasts such as the Winter [Solstice] feast, the New Year feast, the retreat-ending feast, the retreat-commencement feast, the eggplant-roasting feasts (*zhiqie hui* 炙茄會),² [which is held at the

¹ While the prior's (*jianyuan*) rank and authority is second only to the abbot's, the prior's tasks within the monastery are mainly financial in nature and, unlike the rector, he does not have the power to appoint candidates to various staff positions. In general, it would seem that power and authority below the rank of abbot were not structured in a stratified, top-down pattern, but were distributed laterally among several parallel positions. The models for the sharing of this power and the titles of the positions themselves undoubtedly varied from monastery to monastery. As is indicated by the present text, some monasteries of that time had also established a position of assistant prior (*fuyuan*). As I have discussed, later, during the Yuan dynasty, the position of prior was expanded by adding the first assistant (*dusi*), the second assistant (*jiansi*), and the third assistant (*fusi*) (*CBQG* 4 [T 48:1132a10]). Thus, the positions of the four administrators mentioned in the *CYQG* (1103) were expanded at the time of *CBQG* into six new positions.

ZTSY 8 (ZZK 2-18-1:118d), a text contemporary with or perhaps preceding *CYQG*, indicates that the title of *jiansi* had already appeared before the Southern Song dynasty. However, as *ZTSY*, citing *DSL* 2 (T 54:244c), points out, the Skt. term *vihārasvāmin* was first translated into Chinese as *sizhu* 寺主 ("temple master"), rather than *jiansi*, and had already become known as an administrative position. The first appointment of an administrative position in a Chinese monastery was at the Baima temple 白馬寺 during the East Han dynasty (58-220), although at that time the position had not yet received the title of *sizhu*. It was not until the East Jin dynasty (317-419) that the term *sizhu* came into regular use. *ZTSY* adds that it was only in the present era that the title of *sizhu* was renamed *jiansi*.

² The practice of roasting eggplants had been prevalent among Chinese monasteries since the Tang dynasty. The *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎 19 (vol. 277:158), written during the Tang dynasty, depicts monks roasting eggplants frequently, and testifies to the vegetable's delicious taste. One variety of eggplant, grown at the temple Ximingsi 西明寺, was especially brought from Korea, appearing lighter in color and shaped like an egg. The practice of roasting eggplants can also be found in Chan literature. Master Wuzu

ocasions of] Duanwu, the Qixi, the Chongjiu,³ the ceremony commemorating the first and last days of use of the heating stove,⁴ the Laba 臘八 Festival,⁵ and the feast marking the middle [i.e., the fifteenth day] of the second month,⁶ are managed by the prior, provided that the given ceremony is within the means [of the monastic budget]. If a festival requires work beyond his capabilities, the prior enlists the aid of others. He manages minor or routine affairs unilaterally, but for greater matters and for those cases where the reputation of the monastery may be at stake,⁷ he consults the administrators and the chief officers, and reports back to the abbot before carrying them out. He gently counsels those monks, excepting the abbot, who have violated the regulations or betrayed the customs (no matter how great or small the infraction), rather than remaining silent or chastising them with exceedingly harsh words. The prior should instruct postulants beforehand with skill and expediency [to prevent such incidents], and

Fayan's 五祖法演 (d. 1104) discourse record, or *Haihui lu* 海會錄 2 (T 47:657a9; cited in ZSS:337b-8a), states that on the day of the eggplant-roasting feast, the abbot would ascend the platform in the Dharma hall.

3 I have discussed the origins of these Chinese festivals in Section IIIc.

4 *CYQG* does not give the dates for these two ceremonies. However, *CBQG* 7 (T 48:1155a20 and 1154c26) indicates that the use of the stove in the Saṅgha hall began on the first day of the tenth month, and ended on the first day of the second month.

5 I.e., the eighth day of the twelfth month. This festival marks the day when the Buddha attained enlightenment. Various sutras differ on the date--the eighth day of the second month, the eighth of the third month, the eighth of the fourth month, the eighth of the eighth month, and the fifteenth of the third month. Dōchū (ZSS:506a) believes that Chinese monasticism adopted the tradition of the *Yinguo jing* 因果經, which holds that the correct date is the eighth day of the second month. However, the *Zhoushuyiji* 周書異記 (cited by Dōchū in ZSS:506a) states, "On the eighth day of the second month, in the second year of the reign of Emperor Mu of the Zhou dynasty 周穆王 [1000 B.C.E.], the Buddha attained enlightenment at the age of thirty. [This second month] is equivalent to the La month 臘月 [i.e., the twelfth month] of the present calendar [Dōchū's note: the (late?) period of the Zhou dynasty]." Accordingly, Chinese tradition has primarily adopted the eighth day of the twelfth month as the proper date of the Buddha's enlightenment. In modern Chinese Buddhism, on this day each temple prepares Laba porridge, i.e., rice soup cooked with various kinds of beans, to share with visitors and distribute to donors.

6 This feast day is regarded as the day when the Buddha entered *parinirvāṇa*. Present-day Chinese monasteries celebrate the Buddha's birthday on the eighth day of the fourth month; the anniversary of his enlightenment on the eighth day of the twelfth month; and his entrance into *parinirvāṇa* on the fifteenth day of the second month. Some temples adhere to the lunar calendar, while others have adopted the solar calendar.

7 Another interpretation of this phrase 體面生務 is given by Shinohara Hisao (*Eihei daishigi*, 202): "matters without precedent." He translates the final character 務 to mean "to create" or "to start." However, this word may also have the meaning "to wound" or "to injure" (Morohashi, vol. 2:251c), and the first two characters, 體面, are best translated as "reputation."

should not beat or whip them indiscriminately [after a transgression has been committed]. If a punishment is called for, he should carry it out (*xingqian* 行遣) openly before the assembly in the storage hall, the punishment not exceeding twenty strokes. The prior should be prudent in regard to unexpected events. In order for a server to be expelled from the monastery (*faqian* 發遣), his offense must be severe, and he should be questioned first and must admit to the crime. The prior should report the offense to the abbot who alone can rule on the expulsion. The final decision is not the responsibility of the prior. However, if inappropriate behavior does occur,⁸ [the monastery] should prevent this matter from attracting investigations by government officials. In selecting positions such as the traveling fundraiser (*jiefang huazhu* 街坊化主), the master of the farming village (*zhuangzhu* 庄主),⁹ the coal master, the paste master (*jiangtou* 醬頭; person in charge of pickling and preserving), the porridge master (*zhoutou* 粥頭), the traveling *Prajñā pāramitā Sūtra* preacher (*jiefang boretou* 街坊般若頭),¹⁰ the traveling *Garland sūtra* preacher (*huayantou* 華嚴頭),¹¹ [106] the bath master, the water master (*shuitou* 水頭), the head gardener (*yuantou* 園頭),¹² the mill master (*motou* 磨頭),¹³ and the lamp master (*dengtou* 燈頭) to assist the chief officers, the prior should consult the abbot leaving ample time for the appointment decision and should not delay. When donors visit the monastery the prior must arrange their seating and entertain them in a proper and courteous fashion. When there is a

8 As the text here is rather vague, another interpretation is equally plausible: "However, even if [the prior should carry out punishment] in an inappropriate manner, [the monastery] should prevent this matter from attracting investigations by government officials."

9 See YZS [146-7] in fasc. 4.

10 See YZS [141-2] in fasc. 4.

11 See YZS [141-2] in fasc. 4.

12 See YZS [145] in fasc. 4.

13 See YZS [143] in fasc. 4.

great feast the prior must consult the administrators and the chief officers beforehand to prevent any possible oversights.

[109] Such is the essential virtue of the prior: he should respect those who are capable and honorable, embrace the masses in general, be in harmony with his superiors, be friendly with his subordinates, and peacefully coexist with his colleagues. He should strive to please everyone. He should not use his position to slight or neglect others. He should not act according to personal whim, making others uncomfortable. If he is not sick or entertaining guests, the prior should be in attendance at the hall. One of his chief duties is to ensure that the servers deliver the food (*xingyi xingzhe* 行益行者)¹⁴ properly at the two [daily] meals. When the priory becomes low in funds it is the prior's responsibility to replenish the accounts; he should not approach the master [i.e., the abbot] or appeal to the assembly. If a given colleague is especially capable or virtuous, the prior should praise his worthiness before others. If a staff member is slow in his duties or if his personal behavior seems suspicious, the prior should tell him in private in hopes that this alone will inspire him to reform. [If the prior maintains these virtues, the resulting harmony] will make the Dharma last forever. When a staff member (*zhishi* 職事) commits a great offense and causes harm to the monastery, it is appropriate for the prior to inform the abbot in private. As to most quotidian activities [of his staff], he should simply observe the general progress and passively await positive results.

¹⁴ *Xingyi* is also referred to as *yishi* 益食 ("to serve food") by Faxian 法顯 (340-423?), who, in the diary recording his travels to India and South Asia (*Foguo ji* 佛國記, also *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳; T 51:857b8-11), reports that in Khotan 于闐 there was "a Mahāyānist monastery called Gomati 瞿摩帝 which could accommodate three thousand monks. When this great mass of monks heard the signal for mealtime, they would enter the dining hall in a dignified and utterly silent manner. When the purity-keeper served the food ("yizhi"), the monks would not call to each other, but merely used hand signals."

Incidentally, James Legge, in his translation of *Foguo ji, A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1965, p. 18 and n. 1) incorrectly translates *yishi* as "to require food," a mistake that may be due to his initial mistranslation of the term *jingren*, which he identifies as "a denomination for the monks as *vimala*, 'undefiled' or 'pure'" (a definition that we find inadequate, if not slightly misleading).

Rector¹⁵

[110] The Sanskrit term *karma-dāna* is translated into Chinese as *yuezhong* 悅眾 [one who brings joy to the assembly]. All matters concerning the members of the Saṅgha are the responsibility of the rector. The rector should be diligent and sincere in his courtesy towards the newly arrived monks who take up residence in the Saṅgha hall. He is to specially select the best lodging available for those administrative officials who come from other monasteries (*zhufang banshi* 諸方辦事) and for those personages renowned for their virtue. In determining the seniority of retired abbots, the rector should rely on their certificates of appointment (*zhuchi tie* 住持帖) and their inauguration documents (*kaitang*

¹⁵ Yijing (*NJNZ* 4, T 54:226b17-18) points out that the common translation of the Sanskrit term *karma-dāna* as *weinuo* is erroneous because it combines a lexical translation of the first character *wei* and a phonetic transliteration in the second character *nuo*. He theorizes that *wei* is taken from the Chinese word meaning "to enforce discipline," while the word *nuo* is transliterated from the Sanskrit *na*, which is the last syllable of *karma-dāna*. Instead, he retranslates the term *karma-dāna*, attempting to convey the precise meaning of the original word. *Karma* means "matters" or "affairs" and *dāna* means "to invest with authority" or "to grant"; therefore, Yijing reasons, *karma-dāna* means "to invest someone with authority over matters," which is best translated into Chinese as *shoushi* 授事. In India, Yijing observes, the *shoushi* is in charge of striking the signal instruments during ceremonies and supervising at mealtimes 監食. See Yijing's *Datang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 1 (abbr. *DXQZ*), T 51:5c.

In *SXC* (T 40:135b1-2), Daoxuan notes that the *Chuyao lüyi* 出要律儀 (a lost text) the theory puts forth the notion that the Chinese title *weinuo* is actually based on a different Sanskrit term, "[*vihāra-*] *pāla*" (*poluo* 婆羅), which can also be translated into Chinese as *sihu* 寺護 ("temple protector") or *yuezhong* 悅眾 ("one who brings joy to the assembly"). However, in *DXQZ* 1 (T 51:5c25-26), Yijing considers the term *vihāra-pāla* as wholly separate from *karma-dāna* or *weinuo*, translating it as *husi* 護寺 and describing its duties as the supervision, carried out in shifts, of monastic affairs 作番直典掌寺門 and the making of announcements to the assembly 和僧白事. While most scholars agree that the term *weinuo* is derived from the Sanskrit *karma-dāna* rather than from *vihāra-pāla*, the definitions and duties of these original terms have become blurred over the years, resulting in a vague overlapping of categories that defies simple identifications.

SSL 34 (T 23:250b) describes the initial establishment of the position of *weinuo*: "When the Buddha was living in the monks' hall within Prince Jeta's grove in the park of Anāthapiṇḍada, in the region of Śrāvastī, none of the monks knew the [correct monastic] schedule. No one struck the signal instruments to announce assemblies; no one cleaned the lecture hall or the dining hall; no one prepared the beds; no one taught [the purity-keeper] how to clean fruit or vegetables; no one guarded the bitter wine from insects 看苦酒中□□; no one served water during mealtimes; no one snapped his fingers [to silence the assembly] when all the monks spoke without order. This [chaotic] situation was reported to the Buddha, who announced that the position of the *weinuo* should be established." The Buddha further stipulated that there should be five qualifications for the *weinuo*. (1) The *weinuo* should not exercise his authority according to his own personal biases, (2) nor according to his personal anger, (3) fears, or (4) ignorance. Finally, (5) he should be able to distinguish the pure from the impure.

shu 開堂疏)¹⁶ so that he can arrange their dining seats in the three leading positions of each platform section [excluding the position of chief seat] in the Saṅgha hall. Worthies from every direction should be assigned by the rector to the same category of honor and placed in the first three seats in order of their seniority by years of ordination. Each winter and summer the rector is in charge of changing the mattresses, replacing the cool and the warm reed screens, hanging and taking down the curtains, and turning the stove on or off. He should prepare the registration list for the summer retreat (*jiexia jiejpai* 結夏戒牌) in advance. He must also tend to the lamps and the incense in the Saṅgha hall and must clean the various liturgical vessels before the assembly enter the hall. He often supervises the Holy Monk's attendant (*shengseng shizhe* 聖僧侍者),¹⁷ [the servers of] the rector, and the food-delivering servers (*gongtou xingzhe* 供頭行者).¹⁸ He prepares or sets up the dormitory gate, the windows, the mosquito nets (*chuangzhang* 床帳), and the miscellaneous moveable items in the hall. Frequently he must take special care to see that they are kept in order. The rector reports to the priory and the superintendent to replace such items when needed. [111] The rector must cooperate with the head of the infirmary in the giving of meals to sick monks, the supply of mosquito nets, and the delegation of tasks to the [hospital] servers. He must make sure the sick are not left unattended.

[112] The positions known as the low-ranking officers (*xiao toushou* 小頭首), such as the abbot's attendant (*tangtou shizhe* 堂頭侍者), the attendant to the Holy Monk, the director of the hall of longevity (i.e., the infirmary; *yanshoutang zhu* 延壽堂主), the stove master (*lutou* 爐頭),¹⁹ the the chief of the assembly quarters, the chief seat, the chief of the [hospice] pavilion (*gezhu* 閣主), and the director of the [great] shrine (*dianzhu* 殿主), are

16 See n. 45, YZS [256] in fasc. 7.

17 See YZS [155-6] in fasc. 4.

18 This position is also referred to as *gongguo xingzhe* 供過行者, which appears on YZS [150].

19 See YZS [157] in fasc. 4.

appointed by the rector. If, however, the donations to the shrines and pavilions are large and unmanageably distributed [due to an inordinate number of pilgrims visiting each location, then for the efficiency's sake] these positions should be appointed [centrally] by the abbot. If any person in the Saṅgha hall should commit a serious offense, the rector should report the matter to the abbot and that person should be expelled from the monastery (*chuzhong* 出眾). If the transgression is slight, the rector should merely transfer the person to other quarters (*yiliao* 移寮). If there is a quarrel [among members of the Saṅgha hall], the rector should with every possible courtesy try to bring about a reconciliation. In such a dispute, if the two refuse to yield to each other, then, according to the rule, they should be punished (*xingqian* 行遣). If any personal belongings are reported missing and the owner (*beizhu* 被主; "the sufferer [of a loss]") insists upon a search, the rector must announce to the assembly a search of the hall. If the missing item cannot be found, then the individual who made the [false] claim must be expelled or be transferred to another quarter. If the lost item is not valuable, the rector should try to assuage the owner in order to avoid a commotion among the assembly which could halt all progress in the monastery. The money donated to the Holy Monk is to be used only for acquiring incense, lamps, and liturgical vessels (*gongju* 供具). The money should not be used for other purposes. The rector takes the money from the collection box and allocates it to the *tangsi*, tallying the amount along with the Holy Monk attendant.

[113] The rector must wait for instructions from the government supervisor to post the list of monks' seniority (*daseng zhang* 大僧帳; "great monk register"). Monks' curriculum vitae (*jiaose* 腳色; "foot color")²⁰ and ordination certificates are to be collected and inspected by the rector. Following the traditional custom the rector also collects the

²⁰ The word *jiaose* originally denoted a curriculum vitae that was presented to the government when an individual sought employment as an official. In addition to the basic biographical data such as place of birth, date of birth, age, etc., this document included the candidate's genealogical background extending back for at least three generations (Morohashi, vol. 9:346b). The purpose of a monk's or a nun's curriculum vitae was to serve as a record of the monasteries which he or she has visited.

registration fees (*gongzhang qianwu* 供帳錢物).²¹ Although the collection of the official certificates is the task of the priory and could be carried out unilaterally, it is more appropriate and can be done in greater detail by the rector. The rector should examine each certificate for authenticity without haste when a monk is to take up residence in the monastery. [114] He is in charge of preparing the report to the government officials regarding sick monks, the managing of funerals for deceased monks (*jinsong wang seng* 津送亡僧),²² the auction of [deceased monks'] property (*guchang* 估唱),²³ and the confiscation of deceased monks' ordination certificates, certificates of the purple robe, or certificates of title within the government. The rector must then give these reports to the prior who in turn will give them to the government. He should not violate the official government regulations.

[114] When [the rector] recites a prayer or strikes with the mallet (*baichui* 白槌) he must be careful to do so clearly so as to generate good thoughts in the minds of the donors. The tea ceremony (*chatang* 茶湯) for newly arrived monks must be conducted by the rector with special care and no lack of courtesy. When there are newly arrived monks the rector gives the list of their ordination seniority to the attendants, the administrators, and the chief officers, [115] and he assigns the new monks a residence in the hall. One of the rector's most important duties is to know the order of ordination of the monks. [The record should read:] "Newcomer Shangzuo X: Ordained in X year; Next in seniority after monk X." The rector has each of the assembly quarters prepare two lists, one being a register of the monks' names in each section (*ruliao pai* 入寮牌), the other recording the seniority of the monks' ordination (*laci pai* 蠟次牌), both of which should be continually updated. Additionally, it is part of the rector's important duties to know without error the correct seating for the tea ceremony

21 For the registration fee see the discussion in Section IIIb.

22 For a detailed discussion, see the section "Funeral of a Deceased Monk," YZS [237-40] in fasc. 7.

23 For a detailed discussion of the auction, see YZS [240-2] in fasc. 7.

and to determine the rotation of the directors of the assembly quarters so as to avoid any disturbances at assemblies. Whenever the monks are summoned to communal labor (*puqing* 普請; "universal invitation"),²⁴ all must work except the chief of the assembly hall and the Saṅgha hall monitor. If without reason the abbot does not attend [the work session], the rector has the abbot's attendant expelled from the monastery, excepting cases of sickness or the entertaining of officials and guests.

²⁴ The principle of communal service can be found as early as the Vinaya. *WFL 25 (T 22:168b2-7)* relates a story in which, when a house donated to monks was flooded by water, each monk concentrated on bailing out water from his own room and protecting his own furniture. As none of the monks thought to protect the vacant rooms from flooding, the entire house was eventually inundated, forcing the monks to escape. The donor of the house complained that the monks were negligent in fleeing so readily. In response, the Buddha ruled that henceforward, when there are fires or floods, the monks should shout and strike the signal for everyone to come to the rescue. Any monk that did not rush to aid the others would be considered to have committed the transgression of *duṣkṛta* (evil deeds).

Also in *GSP(Z) 14 (T 24:267c1-8)*, it is recorded that an old monk, having heard the Buddha preach on the merits of sweeping, decided to give up meditation and chanting and dedicate himself wholly to sweeping the ground. Meanwhile, after overhearing the Buddha tell an administrator that it was best for young monks to spend their time in meditation and chanting, the young monks of this monastery refused to help sweep, deeming this chore inferior to more spiritual pursuits. Thus it was that the administrator was unable to ensure that the floors were adequately swept. Seeing this, the Buddha ordered that all monks should take part in the sweeping of the grounds. Thenceforth, on the eighth and fifteenth of each month the administrator would strike the bell to gather all members of the Saṅgha to sweep the ground. Dōchū remarks that abbots in the past regarded this custom of striking the bell to summon everyone to work, as first recorded in this Vinaya, was the beginning of communal labor in the Chan monastery (*ZSS:350a*).

Cook²⁵

[116] The cook is in charge of all the assembly's meals. He must exercise his mind of Dao and must always vary [the menu] so that everyone will receive enjoyment. He should not waste monastery food, and he should make sure there is no disorder in the kitchen. In selecting his kitchen help, he should choose people who are capable and assign them to appropriate positions. His orders should not be so severe so as to oppress his assistants, and yet not so lax that they will not fulfil their duties. During food preparation the cook must personally make sure the food is natural, carefully prepared, and clean. In buying the ingredients for a meal or choosing the menu he must consult the prior in advance. Sauces, vinegar, and pickled vegetables are also the responsibility of the cook, who must be careful not to miss the appropriate seasons [for making them]. In addition, he

²⁵ The word *dianzuo*, here translated as "cook," literally means "in charge of seating," and was applied to an administrative position described in the Vinaya text *MSL*. *MSL* 9 (*T* 22:280a20-24) states that when the Buddha was staying in Śrāvastī, a monk named Darva Mallaputra 陀羅摩羅子 received authority from all members of the Saṅgha to take charge of nine duties 僧拜典知九事. These nine duties, in order, are: to assign seating 典次付床座; to designate which monks attend the feasts; to assign lodgings; to distribute clothing; to allocate flowers and incense; to distribute fruits and vegetables; to appoint the water master (the person in charge of heating the water); to distribute cakes and miscellaneous food; and to assign a person to preside over the ceremony of *pravāraṇa* at the end of the retreat. Thus the title *dianzuo* is a simplified term, for this individual is in charge of much more than the seating, as is demonstrated by the above list of his nine duties (*DSL* 2, *T* 54:245a8-9). However, the term *dianzuo* itself does not appear in the Vinaya text *MSL*.

Among the Vinaya texts, Yijing's Chinese translation of the later Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya (*GSP*(Z) 19, *T* 24:295b12) is the only one in which the word *dianzuo* appears. This text records how the Buddha instructed the *dianzuo* to inform the donors of the number of monks who would attend any given feast. In Sasaki Shizuka's 佐々木閑 excellent article, "Tenzō ni kansuru ichi kosatsu" 典座に関する一考察, *Zen Bunka kenkyūjō kiyō* 19 (1993):59-76, Sasaki notes that the word *dianzuo* used by Yijing corresponds to the Sanskrit *upadhivārika*, meaning "guardian of material objects" 物品管理人. He also points out that the term *upadhivārika* does not appear in any other Vinaya text; therefore, he posits, it represents a wholly new administrative position, invented outright by the Mūlasarvāstivādāin sect (*ibid.*, 72-74).

Given that Yijing renders the word *dianzuo* not as "cook" but as "manager," one is prompted to ask when the meaning of "cook" arose and when the original meaning was lost. In *CYQG* the word *dianzuo* is used exclusively to designate the position of cook. As Sasaki points out, the word *dianzuo* had already come to be associated with the duties of the cook at the time of the writing of the *Zutang ji* (952), but the question of precisely when this lexical transition took place is still in need of further study (Sasaki, "Tenzō," 75). In the diary of his journey to Tang China, Ennin frequently mentions the title of *dianzuo*, indicating one of the administrative positions in the temple, not a cook in the kitchen. This meaning of the term is much like the one given in *DSL* (1019), which is itself adopted from *MSL*. It would seem, therefore, that the meaning of the term most likely underwent a change during the Northern Song. This serves as yet another example of how monastic administrative titles varied with time and place.

must tend the oven fires, [lighting and extinguishing them] at the proper times. The cook should mete out benefits and tasks [to everyone] equally. For the tasks that require cooperation with the prior, the superintendent, and the chief of storage (*kuzhu* 庫主); the cook should consult all three and should not claim more than his share of the power and duties. Whenever the stoves, pots, or miscellaneous cookware become broken or worn, he must replace them. He must teach the kitchen servers how to follow the regulations, such as [the proper way of] serving food (*xingyi* 行益) in the Saṅgha hall or delivering food (*gongguo* 供過) to various quarters. He acquaint them with proper etiquette, so that, for example, when they encounter teachers or senior monks they will stand aside and bow. The cook should select quick-witted servers to deliver food to the abbot's office, the administrators, and the chief officers. He must closely watch the servers to every quarter and carefully discern which workers may be incompetent or remiss. If an administrator or chief officer should like to keep a particular server [on his own staff], the cook should exercise expediency in respecting his opinion and not insist on rotating the server. The cook eats his food in the kitchen, but what he eats must not differ from the food served to the assembly. After preparing a meal, the cook faces the direction of the Saṅgha hall, burns incense, and worships. After completing this he can distribute the food to everyone.

Superintendent²⁶

[119] The superintendent is in charge of all the manual labor in the monastery. He oversees any construction, such as the replacement, repair, and decoration of the gates, doors, windows, walls, or any miscellaneous moveable items. He supervises the mill, the cultivated land, the farmhouse, the oil workshop, as well as the stables, saddles, horses, boats, and other vehicles. He cleans the monastery, plans the farming, patrols the mountain gate, prevents robberies, assigns work to the laborers, and rotates the tenants (*zhuangke* 庄客). He should be loyal and diligent, and should know the proper time [for each enterprise] and he should be aware of each situation. For large construction projects and big tasks he should ask the abbot for help with the planning, and then consult his colleagues, rather than simply exercising his own will.

Completion of An Administrator's Term

[120] When a staff member has finished his year of service he enters the abbot's quarters [i.e., goes to the abbot] in the evening to report his resignation. He will then do *chuli* three times and leave. The next morning during breakfast, after the rector has struck

²⁶ *DSW 2 (T 24:924b8-18)* lists the ten virtues or duties of the *zhisui*: (1) he must exert all his efforts for the sake of the three dharmas [i.e., three treasures]; (2) whenever a guest monk arrives at the monastery, he should greet the traveler and provide him with accommodation; (3) he should provide guest monks with beds as well as lamps for as long as three or even seven days; (4) if all the beds are full, he should be ready to yield his own bed to a guest; (5) he should frequently inquire as to his guests needs; (6) he should explain the local customs and culture to the guests; (7) he should be ever concerned about whatever provisions are low in supply; (8) if there is a quarrel among the guests, he should not come to the aid of either party, but should try to resolve the conflict and reconcile the opposed parties; (9) if guests should fall to quarreling, he should not publicly scold them or give them orders; and (10) he should not compete with the *moboli* 摩波利 (i.e., an administrative staff; no Sanskrit equivalent. Jonathan Silk gives a detailed discussion on this title in his dissertation "*Mahāratnakūṭa*," 245). Neither should he frequently malign the *moboli* among the assembly publicly, nor should he take any of those possessions held in common in order to indulge others. From the above list, the position of *zhisui* seems closer to that of the guest master than to that of the superintendent.

DSL 2 (T 54:245a9-10) indicates that the *zhisui*, as one of the monastic administrators, officially serve one year terms, although sometimes they serve only for a month, for half a month, or even for a day. No matter how long his term in office, it was each *zhisui*'s duty to bring comfort to the assembly. *DSL* also does not seem to consider the *zhisui* a taskmaster. It seems that the term *zhisui*, like the word *dianzuo*, has over time lost its original meaning.

[the stand] with the mallet, [the staff member] enters by the rear door. [When the rector] strikes [the stand] one time, [the staff member] says [(for example)], "Bhikṣu X [his name], in the past I received the abbot's kind decree allowing me the privilege of entering the priory in the service of X position. But now the power of my mind is exhausted so I am announcing to you that I am ready to return to the [Saṅgha] hall. I say this with all sincerity." He then strikes [the stand] with the mallet once more and turns from the Holy Monk to approach the abbot and does *liangzhan sanli*. The abbot then has [the attendant] remove the dining table, paying homage to the monk in return. After this he approaches the Holy Monk, fully unfolds his sitting mat, and bows down three times. He then circles the hall, exits, and does *chuli* three times to his colleagues outside.

[121] After the abbot, the administrators, and the chief seat have selected a new staff member, they escort the former staff member into the [Saṅgha] hall to take up residence. There he will do *chuli* three times before the abbot, who then [along with the administrators and the chief seat] accompanies him to the [assembly] quarters where he will once more do *liangzhan sanli* to the abbot. [The retired staff member] then escorts [the abbot, the administrators, and the chief seat] to the door. [When they have left,] he will bow to the assembly, which is then dismissed. Then he and the new staff member tour the various quarters together. After the lesser tea ceremony, he will return to his own quarters where there will be a major tea ceremony for him, his new replacement, and his old colleagues.

Appointment of the Chief Officers²⁷

[122] The chief officers include the chief seat [of the Saṅgha hall], the scribe, the director of the library, the guest master, and the bath master. The custom [in appointing monks to these positions] is the same as for the appointment of the administrators discussed previously. The [appointees] are escorted to their quarters by their fellow monks and led before the abbot where they do *liangzhan sanbai*. They then escort [the abbot] out [of the assembly quarters] and do *chuli* three times to all their fellow monks. After this the guest master takes them to visit each of the quarters just as was done for the administrators. Then follow three days of lesser tea ceremonies and feasts held [for all five positions], just as for the chief seat. The abbot sponsors a formal tea ceremony in the [Saṅgha] hall. The poster announcing the tea ceremony (*chabang* 茶榜) is, from beginning to end, the same as the aforementioned poster, with one revision, reading, ". . .Specially held for the new chief seat to extend the courtesy of congratulations." (If the former chief seat will also [be present], the revision should read, ". . .Specially held for the new and former chief seat to extend the courtesies of congratulations and gratitude.") The administrators and the assembly are also invited to provide their illuminating company." [123] The next day, the chief seat holds a major tea ceremony in the hall for the scribe (if the scribe is not [being replaced], then the ceremony is held for the next rank of chief officers) and the assembly. The invitation letter reads as follows: "For Chief Seat Bhikṣu X to open and receive. This morning, after the early meal, a major tea ceremony will be held in cloud hall specially for the scribe and the assembly. [I]

²⁷ The chief officers are the highest ranking administrative staff members of the monastery, equaled in rank only by the administrators (*zhishi*), who form a separate but parallel group. As mentioned above, the number of chief officers was greatly increased by the time of the later text *CBQG* 4 (*T* 48:1131a7). In addition to the remaining positions of scribe, director of the library, guest master, and bath master, the chief seat was expanded into the chief seat of the front hall and the chief seat in the rear hall (due to the increased number of members in the Saṅgha hall); other lower-ranking staff members were also recruited, such as the director of the shrine, the abbot's five attendants (in charge of incense, secretarial matters, the entertainment of guests, robes and bowls, and medicine), and the Holy Monk's attendant. Cf. the section "Appointment of the Administrators" in fasc. 2.

Note that the term chief officer as it appears in the present text is used not only to refer to the six major chief officers, but also at times to lesser chief officers who were appointed by the rector or the director of library.

should also like to invite all the administrators to join [us]. I hope to be fortunate enough to receive your kind assent to descend to illuminate our ceremony. X month, X day. Written by (his appropriate title given here) X." The envelope reads, "This letter is to invite the scribe and the assembly. Sincerely, sealed by (his appropriate title given here) X." This letter should be glued inside a small box. After the invitation is finished, the poster should be placed on the south [i.e., left] side of the Saṅgha hall door. Next the abbot should be invited to enter the hall to accompany [the guests]. Before the meal [the chief seat] should have the server invite the administrators and the chief officers. [After] the meal the long striking of the board summons the assembly. The chief seat stands before the Holy Monk, burns incense, fully unfolds his sitting mat, bows down three times, circumambulates the hall once, exits the hall, and bows to the monks in the outer [section of the hall]. In this outer section he merely sits with the prior and the rector to have his meal. However, he will still announce to [the assembly] that the second seat [i.e., the scribe] will perform the prayer before the meal (*zhoushi* 咒食) on his behalf. A major tea ceremony for those appointed by the abbot, such as the scribe, the director of the library, the bath master, the water master, the traveling preacher, and the coal master, are held in their respective sections. For those appointed by the rector, such as the abbot's attendant, the Holy Monk's attendant, the director of the shrine, the director of the infirmary, the latrine attendant, and the stove master, the monastery sponsors a three-day lesser tea ceremony. For those appointed by the director of the library--the sutra curator (*zangxia dianzhu* 藏下殿主), the traveling precentor (*jiefang biaobai* 街坊表白)²⁸--the monastery sponsors a lesser tea ceremony as mentioned above.

²⁸ From the present text, it is unclear what the precise duties of the *jiefang biaobai* were. *DSL 2* (T 54:242a15) states, however, that *biaobai* is also referred to as the *changdao* 唱導 ("chanting leader"). In the western regions, when the senior monks were invited to a feast, they chanted and prayed for the well being of the donors. This practice is said to have been started by Śāriputra, who was renowned for his eloquence.

Yijing (*NJNZ 4*, T 54:227a-b) describes the practice of *changdao* that was carried out at the Nālandā monastery in India. This monastery could accommodate more than three thousand people, and gatherings were rather difficult to organize. The monks, lodged in some three hundred rooms divided among eight buildings, would simply chant within the confines of their own quarters. The monastery's custom was to send a precentor whose peripatetic chanting could then be heard at sunset by all the monks. The purity-keeper (*jingren*) and acolyte 童子 would lead the precentor on his rounds, carrying with them a

Chief Seat

[124] The duty of the chief seat is to set a good example for all the monks, and to detect and deal with any infractions of the monastic code. In the Saṅgha hall, the placement of the seats, monks' belongings (*yidan* 衣單), and the hanging and displaying of bowls, as well as the consuming of porridge, rice, tea, or sweetened drink must be done [125] quietly, unobtrusively, and in unison. Whenever inappropriate behavior occurs in the Saṅgha hall, the chief seat announces it to the assembly before the meal in soft language. His words should be simple and direct. The chief seat should not eat in a hasty manner and should provide cordial company for all the monks. He must not finish his meal first, fold his arms, and look on the others, thus suddenly forcing them to eat quickly. If the food is prepared inappropriately or if the service is unbalanced--now too slow, now too fast--the chief seat should point out the problem to the people in charge of such things. His most important task is to ensure that it is peaceful and pleasant for everyone in the [Saṅgha] hall.

[125] Before a break from the abbot's schedule of sermons the chief seat enters the [Saṅgha] hall, burns incense before the Holy Monk, and sits at his place. The Saṅgha hall server makes an announcement to each of the quarters, saying, "The chief seat is now sitting in the hall." (In the Huilin lineage,²⁹ [the server] strikes a board three times in front of the [assembly] quarters to announce this to the public.) All the monks then enter the hall and sit according to their places facing each other. The Saṅgha hall server first informs the abbot [that the assembly is ready], then hangs the "*fangcan*" 放參 poster, rolling up the screen in the front of the hall. The server bows before the chief seat and whispers,

variety of flowers. As they passed by each building or shrine, the precentor would chant three or five verses loud enough to be heard throughout the monastery, completing the service only after sunset.

²⁹ Reference here is to the lineage of Huilin Zongben 慧林宗本 (1020-1099), who in 1082 was invited by the emperor to be the abbot of the Chan monastery Huilin, in the Da xiangguo Temple 大相國寺 in Luoyang 洛陽 (in present day Henan province). The designation of Chan Master Yuanzhao 圓照 was given by the emperor to Huilin, who was one of Tianyi Yihui's Dharma heirs, and the Dharma uncle of Zongze, the author of the present text.

"Heshang *fangcan* 和尚放參 [The abbot is giving no sermon today]." And then he bows before the Holy Monk, stands up, and cries out, "*Fangcan!*" and the bell to signal a break from abbot's sermon is struck. [All the assembly] display their mattresses and let down the screens covering [their compartments]. Finishing this, they return to the [assembly] quarters, bow, and can have sweetened drink at their own discretion. Or, if they are returning to the quarters chanting, they bow and have drink first, and when they finish this they return to the hall to display their mattresses and let down the screens covering [their compartments]. The window screen is to be lowered when the bell is struck at sunset and rolled up the next morning when the sky becomes light. In the hall the monks are prohibited from rolling up their mattresses, folding their comforters, or rolling up their screens before *kaijing*, so as to avoid disturbing others. After breakfast, that is, after *kaijing*, or before hiatus from the scheduled sermon in the evening, the monks are not allowed to unroll their mattresses, cover themselves with their comforters, and go to sleep. In the morning, [126] after the long sequence of the boards and the three strikes [which immediately follow] signaling breakfast, the monks may take down their bowls. When entering the hall while chanting the names of the Buddhas, the monks should not cover their heads. At the end of the striking with the mallet [that is, after the distribution of food into the bowls of each monk], the chief seat will do *yishi* 揖食 [clasp his hands with lowered head in an expression of gratitude for the food before him]. After this he leads the contemplation and after the contemplation he placidly offers food to all sentient beings. [All the monks] wait until the chief seat starts to eat before they begin. After they finish the meal they hang their bowls and step down from the platform. This they must do calmly and without haste. It is the chief seat's duty to closely observe and give instructions pertaining to all of the above.

Scribe

[127] The scribe (*shuzhuang* 書狀)³⁰ is in charge of writing all letters and prayers in the monastery. His characters should be precise and his language consistent. His envelopes should be folded correctly. His writing should be comprehensible to superiors and to inferiors (*zunbei* 尊卑), to people with evil minds and to those with pure minds (*chujing* 觸淨), to monks and to lay people (*sengsu* 僧俗). He must not issue any letter without due consideration, especially when corresponding with government officials. Each year he should prepare the letters for fundraising beforehand, and should be ready for any unexpected scribal demands. He should carefully inspect each letter to insure accuracy and to avoid any error in envelope folding or any omission of a donor's name or title. When writing letters on behalf of the monastery, he should use the monastery's pen and paper. When writing on the abbot's behalf, the abbot's pen and paper should be used. If the scribe is writing his own personal letter, he should not appropriate monastic property. Although it may be light like dust, it can accumulate to become a mountain. [That is, while such behavior may seem innocuous, over time it builds up bad karma for the individual.] It is far better to refrain [from misappropriation]. The scribe should not neglect the courtesy of having a lesser tea ceremony for newcomers. The posters for the announcement board beside the monastic gate and the prayers for the feasts should be made by him with a dedicated mind and should be written correctly. He should read widely--ancient and modern correspondence, poetry and prose--in order to improve his knowledge. If the language used by the scribe is refined and elegant and the style is well-suited [to the message], then a letter transmitting a message a thousand miles away can still represent the

³⁰ The scribe (*shuzhuang*) sometimes appears in *CYQG* as *shuji* 書記. Both terms were used interchangeably; however, according to the *Wuwen yinji longshou yanshu* 無文印寄隆瘦巖書, the term *shuji* does not appear in the old monastic codes, which use the title *shuzhuang* exclusively. The word *shuji* only came about in the medieval period (cited in *ZSS*:230b).

glory of the assembly (*qianli meimu yizhong guangcai* 千里眉目一眾光彩).³¹ However, he must not use pen and ink to spite or intimidate his colleagues with no consideration of the Dharma. Monks Chanyue 禪月³² and Qiji 齊己³³ may have obtained the title of poet monk; Jia Dao 賈島³⁴ and Huixiu 慧休³⁵ may have abandoned the monastery to become secular officials--but was that the original motive for them to become monks?

³¹ The first four characters, 千里眉目, mean, "a letter which carries its message a thousand miles away" (Morohashi vol. 8:190d and vol. 2:532b).

³² Chanyue was the name given to the monk Guanxiu 貫休. The biography of Guanxiu (832-912) was collected in the *SGSZ* 30 (*T* 50:897a-b; also *Sōden haiin* 僧傳排韻, *NBZ* 99: 300a). Guanxiu joined the order at the age of seven, and engaged in the propagation of the Lotus sutra and the *Dacheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論. However, he became renowned for his talent for poetry, painting and calligraphy. His style of calligraphy came to be known as the "Jiang style" 姜體 after his family name, Jiang. His poems rivaled those of the most famous poets of the Tang dynasty. He was treated with great honor by the Prince of the Wuyue 吳越 region (Nanjing) and was later invited to visit the Prince of the Shu 蜀 region (present-day Sichuan). He was shown great favor by the Shu Prince who gave him the sobriquet "Dede lai heshang" 得得來和尚. When Guanxiu died the Prince ordered him buried in the manner of a government officer. Guanxiu was also renowned for his paintings of the arhats. Cf. n. 30 in fasc. 4.

³³ The biography of Qiji also appears in *SGSZ* 30 (*T* 50:897c-8a; also *Sōden haiin*, *NBZ* 99:336a). Qiji was tonsured at a very young age. By nature he loved poetry and soon grew famous as a talented poet. Due to the misshapen appearance of a tumor in his neck, he was given the nickname "Poetry Growth" (*shinang* 詩囊). The collection of his poetry is entitled "*Analects of the White Lotus*" (*Bailian ji* 白蓮集). At the beginning of the Five Dynasties he was invited by Gao Jichang 高季昌 to the Longxing Temple 龍興寺 (in present-day Nanjing) and was honored as the rectifier of clergy (*sengzheng* 僧正) in 921. However, the life of an officer did not interest Qiji, who preferred to live frugally surrounded by nature. In the present text the single oblique mention of Qiji seems to imply that he lived not as a true monk was supposed to, but as one drawn in by the lure of secular poetry. In *GSZ*, however, Qiji is depicted as a religious figure worthy of veneration, one who disregarded fame and fortune and refused to associate with government officers.

³⁴ Jia Dao was a contemporary of Han Yu 韓愈, a famous Confucian scholar and officer. Jia was a monk in Fanyang 范陽 and later moved to Luoyang. He was saddened by the fact that the government prohibited monks from leaving the monastery after noon, and composed a poem in which he complained of this restriction. Han Yu came to sympathize with Jia and took it upon himself to tutor the monk in secular literature. Jia later decided to return to secular life, and was recommended for the career of scholar (*jinshi* 進士), although he did not pass the civil service recruitment examination. It is said that when he was engaged in the composition of a poem, he became so concentrated he failed to notice the presence of the nobility, often resulting in troublesome situations. Eventually Jia served in the local government as Assistant Magistrate 主簿 in the Changjiang 長江 region (*Xin Tangshu* 176, p. 5268). His poems were so revered that a statue was erected in his honor and given the name Jiao Dao Buddha 賈島佛 (*FZTJ* 41, *T* 49:384a).

³⁵ The reference here is unclear. *YZS*, in its annotations to the above text (see n. in *YZS* [129]), considers this personage to be the same Huixiu mentioned in the *XGSZ*. However, this identification is erroneous. The monk Huixiu described in *XGSZ* 15 (*T* 50:544b-5c) is said to be wholly devoted to the Vinaya practice and, more importantly, he is depicted as having shunned court life, repeatedly refusing (under the pretext of illness) to obey the emperor's summons to the capital.

Director of the Library

[129] The director of the library takes care of the golden scripture, sets up the desk for reading sutra, and prepares the tea, the sweetened drink, the oil and the fire, the incense, and the candles. He appoints the director of the shrine, selects the traveling precentor, and assists people in the [assembly] quarters and in the sutra hall. The procedure for requesting the use of a desk for the reading of sutras [is as followings:] first, one must go to the chief seat in the sutra hall (*kanjingtang shouzu* 看經堂首座) and ascertain whether there are any desks available for use; then, if any desks are available, one must go to the director of the library and inform him; finally, after the tea, the director of the library leads [those wanting to study] to the desks in the sutra-reading hall and they all do *chuli* to each other one time. After the director of the library has been escorted out, those wishing to read must unfold their sitting mats, place them on the floor before the holy statue,³⁶ and bow down three times. They must then stand up and do *chuli* one time to the chief seat. They will then circumambulate the hall one time and meet the sutra curator to request a time to read the sutras. It is not necessary to bow down. The [next] morning, after everyone has gotten up and before the evening hiatus from the abbot's sermon, the sutra curator strikes the bell for the reading of the sutras (*huijing* 會經 "meeting the sutra"). He checks the sutras first and then gives them to the readers. The monks who are reading the sutras must burn incense in the sutra hall and worship solemnly. While holding the sutras in their hands, the monks must not talk or laugh with others. The desk should not have sutras piled up on it nor should there be pens, ink, miscellaneous stationary items, or Chan literature alongside the sutras. [The readers] should personally light the lamp flame, add oil, and extinguish the lamp, in a courteous and meticulous manner so as to avoid any desecration of the holy

³⁶ The present text does not indicate which image is represented by the holy statue in the sutra-reading hall.

teaching. [They] must not entertain guests in the hall, and should someone come to visit, they must simply clasp their hands silently before each other and return to their quarters. [The readers] must not talk to people outside the hall window lest they disturb the others. Inappropriate times for reading the sutras include cloudy or humid days, when one's hands are not dried sufficiently, when sitting close to open flame, or when under direct sun.

[131] When returning the sutra, one must not bind it too tightly so as to damage it, nor too loosely so that [the pages] fall out of order. One must not lean on the desk, pressing on the sutra [with the elbows], nor should one hold the ribbon that binds the sutra in one's mouth. To properly open the sutra one must use two hands to hold the outer cover. The left hand should be face up and the right hand face down, the two hands directly opposite each other on either side of the book. The sutra should be placed on the desk without making a sound. To properly close the sutra the right hand should be face up and the left hand face down. Bring the two hands together in order to carefully close the sutra. Opening the sutra, folding the string, closing the sutra, tying the ribbon: each of these actions has its own perscribed method, thus one must ask the chief seat in the sutra-reading hall and those who are familiar with these practices [for specific instruction]. While sitting beside the desk, one should not tie or untie one's clothing, sew clothes (*bazhen* 把針), or look for lice. If a monk does not know a certain word, he should first look it up in a dictionary (*pianyun* 篇韻),³⁷ but if there are still questions, he can inquire of others. However, if he asks too frequently he may disturb others' reading of the sutras. If he must step away from the desk for a moment, he must cover the sutra. But he should not cover it with a folded *kāṣāya*. While reading sutra one should adjust the body and sit up straight. One should not make any sound nor move the lips. [While reading,] one should not let the mind wander to unrelated topics. During the evening at the time of *kaijing*, [the sutra reader] should return the lamp,

³⁷ Such reference works were arranged so that one could look up a character either by radical or by sound.

and follow all the others in retiring to the [Saṅgha] hall. He should not delay in returning the lamp when the others do, thereby perturbing the chief seat. In the evening the monks should remove the board used for extinguishing the lamps (*xiadeng ban* 下燈板) and add more oil. If a monk has some business to attend to and cannot return to the hall to continue reading the sutra, he should entrust the person at the next desk with the removal of his *xiadeng* board. When returning [i.e., vacating] the desk, the sutra reader should first report to the chief seat and the director of the library in the sutra-reading hall and have the sutra returned to its proper storage place. The monk should carry this out in whatever way they [i.e., the chief seat and the director of the library] suggest. It is the responsibility of the library director to educate the assembly concerning all the aforementioned rules. If any individual is negligent with regard to these rules, the director of the library should give him insightful instruction. The director of the library should keep all income and expense records separate and in clear order, and need only ask the abbot for his seal of approval.

Fascicle Four

Guest Master

[135] When government officials, lay patrons, venerable seniors, clerical officials (*sengguan* 僧官),¹ or people from any direction renowned for their virtue come to the monastery, the guest master first has his server inform the abbot's office and then leads the guests himself to see the superior [the abbot]. [The guest master] is also in charge of the guests' accommodations. If the guests are regular visitors the guest master shows them to the guest seats and simply offers them tea or sweetened drink. If the guests would like to visit the abbot's office, priory, or one of the various quarters, [the guest master] has his server take them. The guest master must keep bedding, mosquito nets, and various moveable items in order in the dormitory for overnight guests. The guest master should treat monks² who stay overnight with gentleness and solicitude.³ When lay patrons come to donate money for feasts, simply to visit, or to offer incense [lit., to circumambulate the hall with burning incense], they should always be escorted by the guest master. With visiting guests the guest master should be respectful and sincere and should not speak impetuously about insignificant things. He must praise the master [abbot], the administrators, and the chief officers with true words and say good things about all the assembly. Word of unpleasant matters at home need not be spread outside.

¹ For detailed discussion of the system of clerical officials in the Song, see Section IIIb.

² The word given in the text is 師僧, translated literally as "teacher monks"; however, *ZD* (p. 442c) gives two definitions of the term: (a) teacher; (b) an honorific title used to refer to monks in general. Here the latter interpretation seems more appropriate.

³ *CHSS* I:461b-c.

Supply Master

[136] The supply master is in charge of such things as the monastery's savings, grain, income, expenses, and annual budget. He must record immediately and clearly all monies received and payments made. He should know how much vegetable stock, rice, and wheat remain in supply. He should stay apprised of these amounts, and should purchase more when appropriate. Once every ten days the supply master reckons the accounts and together with the administrators stamps it with his approval. Once a month the account totals are given to the abbot to undersign. [137] The supply master should not arbitrarily hide precious items such as silver and gold. He should know the amount of currency [in the accounts] and must not loan it to anyone without permission. If the master or his colleagues make unreasonable requests for money, [the supply master] is not obliged to obey and should stand his ground. All the monastery's money down to the last cent is the property of all monks from all directions. How can the supply master make use of these funds according to his own selfish whims? Unless the monastery has permitted [him] to loan monies to a lay patron or to a powerful government official who has protected the Dharma, the supply master should not lend monastic property to anyone capriciously. When considering a loan of grain or money, unless it is to be a strict loan to the master or a colleague who would be able to reimburse the monastery from his own accounts, the supply master should not lend out monastic property without good reason. The supply master's server should be mentally astute and able to understand mathematical calculations. The supply master should entrust this position to one who is upright and incorruptible, whose words and actions correspond, and whose virtue is publicly recognized.

[138] When a monastery is located in the mountains or in a remote area somewhat distant from the city, [the supply master is obliged to] make sure that all the necessities used by monks--such as medicine, honey, tea, and paper--are stored in adequate supply. If the monks or postulants ask him to buy these necessities with excessive frequency, the supply

master should maintain the mind of Dao and should not lose patience. There must never be a lack of provisions for those monks who have fallen ill. Whenever [the supply master] needs to buy [medicine], he should do so without delay in order to meet the demands of the situation. If any leakage of the food in storage occurs, if this food becomes infested by birds or mice, or if the grain is in danger of rotting due to heat and humidity, the supply master must protect this monastic property and move the food to a better location. If the food has been stored improperly, it is the supply master's responsibility to report it to a colleague and remedy the situation.

Bath Master

[139] The day before setting up the bath⁴, the bath master scrubs down the bathhouse and begin boiling water. On the day of the bath, before mealtime, he posts the announcement for the "opening of the baths" (*kaiyu* 開浴), the "rinsing of sweat" (*linhan* 淋汗), or the "cleaning of the hair" (*jingfa* 淨髮). In the bathhouse the bath master decorates

⁴ The present text gives no indication of how frequently the monks were expected to bathe. A later text, *CBQG* 4 (*T* 48:1131b18-19), reports that in the winter monks bathed every five days and in the summer they bathed daily. According to the Japanese pilgrim Eisai, this was also the practice in the Song monasteries (*Kōzen gokoku ron*, *T* 80:15a27).

Taking a bath was considered essential for the monks' general hygiene; according to Vinaya texts, even at the time of the Buddha the practice was recommended by the physician Jīvaka. According to *WFL* 26 (*T* 22:171b), when a group of monks ate an excessive amount of rich food and become ill, the physician Jīvaka recommended that the monks bathe in order to alleviate their suffering, a proposal the Buddha accepts. In a separate but related story (*SFL* 39, *T* 22:845c2-3), the Buddha allows monks of a particular area to bathe more frequently so as not to violate local customs.

In the text *Wenshi xiyu zhongseng jing* 溫室洗浴眾僧經 (*T* 16:803a1-2), which provides valuable information on the bathing practices of Indian monks and their belief in its salutary effects, the Buddha stipulates that seven things should be provided at the bath house: fuel, pure water, bean pod soap, ointment for massage, ashes for body powder, willow twigs for toothbrushes, and underwear. After a bath, monks were able to cure themselves of seven kinds of sickness and donors of the bathhouse supplies would accrue seven kinds of meritorious karma. In China, monasteries opened their bathhouses to the general public, in the belief that the promotion of public health was part of their duties. See Michihata Ryōshū, *Chūgoku Bukkyō to shakai fukushi jigyō* 中國佛教と社會福祉事業, *Chūgoku Bukkyōshi zenshū* 中國佛教史全集, vol. 7 (Tokyo: Shoen, 1975), 165-69.

the area designated for the Holy Ones [the bodhisattvas],⁵ sets out clean towels, incense, flowers, lamps, and candles, and prepares "wind medicine" (*fengyao* 風藥)⁶ and tea sets for all the monks. After the midday meal he signals [the readiness of the baths] by striking the board. Then the bath master escorts the donors into the bathhouse to burn incense, worship, and invite the Holy Ones to enter the water.⁷ After waiting a moment [for the Holy Ones to bathe], the bath master invites all the monks by striking the bell (*dadie* 打疊)⁸ and drum. The first two sessions are for the general assembly of monks, the next is for the servers, the fourth and last is reserved for the abbot and the administrators. The correct procedure for striking the board in the bathhouse is as follows: the first [strike signals] hot water, the second [indicates cooler] water, and the third [indicates that the] bath is full.

⁵ The present text does not give a precise identification of the "Holy Ones" nor any details of the ritual of inviting the Holy Ones to bathe. The biography of Daoan (*GSZ* 5, *T* 50:353b27-c9) informs us that the ritual bathing of the Holy Ones began during the time of Daoan. For this account see Section Ib.

A fuller account of the practice of inviting the Holy Ones to enter the bath is given by Daoshi 道世. In his *FYZL* (*T* 53:544c-5a) he indicates that the invitees are: first, the Buddhas of ten directions in all three ages; second, the bodhisattvas; third, the arhats (specifically Piṇḍola); fourth, the manifested spirits of the six realms; fifth, the deities of the three realms 三界天眾, the dragon kings of the four oceans 四海龍王, the eight kinds of spirits 八部鬼神, all sentient beings 一切含識有形之類, and every crawling creature 蠕動之流. *CYQG* does not reveal whether the procedure it mentions is the same as the one depicted in the earlier *FYZL*, but at the very least scholars can safely rely on Daoshi's more detailed description for a general indication of the tradition.

However, the statue enshrined in the bathhouse seems to change in the Song and can be more precisely identified from this point on. The bathhouse of Tiantongshan, according to *GJZ* (*CHSS* II:1316 or *ZD zuroku* 26), was called the "Illuminated One" (*xuanming* 宣明), after a common epithet of Bhadrā-pāla, and at the entrance of the bathhouse stood a statue of Bhadrā-pāla, a monk who attained enlightenment while in a bathhouse. The account is given in *Lengyan jing* 5 (*T* 19:126a10-16): sixteen monks, led by Bhadrā-pāla, enter a bath house and while bathing they suddenly realize the cause of water (*huwu shuiyin* 忽悟水因), thereby attaining enlightenment. Many present-day temples suspend portraits of the sixteen bodhisattvas led by Bhadrā-pāla over the bathhouse entrances. Examples include the temples Daitokuji 大徳寺 and Myōshinji 妙心寺 in Japan (see Yokoyama, *Zen no kenchūku*, 223).

⁶ *ZD* (p. 1060a) defines this item as cold medicine. However, after consulting Jōjin's diary *Santendai godaisan ki* 6 & 7 (*NBZ* 115:435a & 456b), the Japanese scholar Tanaka Misa concludes that the word refers to a kind of confection taken with tea. See her article "Sōdai no kissa to chayaku" 宋代の喫茶と茶菓, *Shisō* 48 (1991):284-285. We find Tanaka's interpretation more convincing, for Jōjin (*NBZ* 115:456b) notes that this substance was to be consumed with tea. *CYQG* also mentions that tea sets were provided in the bathhouse, suggesting that the bath day was considered a complete break from the usual routine and that after their ablutions, monks were allowed to relax and drink tea.

⁷ Cf. n. 5 above.

⁸ *Die* 疊 means "to strike the bell lightly." See *CHSS* I:383c.

[140] The following are the rules for entering the bath: The senior monks go to the upper hall and the junior monks go to the lower hall. Everyone must bring his own clean towel and basin. While bathing the monks should not be naked and preserve a sense of modesty.⁹ They should not laugh or talk loudly, nor should they make noise with their buckets and ladles. They should not spit or blow their noses, thus polluting the water. They cannot wash their clothes in the bath or hang them over the fire to dry out the lice. They must not enter the bath barefoot. They must not contaminate the pure water passage or the bath water in any way. The monks should respect each other and yield to their superiors. They should not behave unceremoniously with one another. If some violation of the regulations does occur, the bath master should try to reprimand the monks in an instructional manner, with soft words, rather than making an angry face and risking offense to the assembly. The bath master must prepare the bath in accordance with the seasonal schedule and cannot be remiss in his duties. On any given bath day he must be present to tend the fire and the candles in the proper fashion and to clean the bathhouse. Having finished this, he may rest. The account books [for the bathhouse] need only the stamp of approval from the abbot's office.

**Street Fundraisers, Water Master, Coal Master,
and Garland Sūtra Preacher¹⁰**

[141] Certain officers of the monastery are entrusted with the task of leaving the monastery to encourage potential lay patrons to "cultivate their fields of merit" [by giving to the monastery]. Within [the monastery] these monks help other monks to nurture the fruit

⁹ An alternative translation of this sentence is: "Monks should feel ashamed of their nakedness while bathing." However, the Vinayas indicate that monks should never bathe naked (*WFL* 26, *T* 22:171b11; *MSL* 35, *T* 22:508c-509b gives an elaborate description of the proper decorum for entering the bath).

¹⁰ In contrast to the fundraiser (*huazhu*), who travels to distant regions and spends long periods of time soliciting donations, monks in these positions spent only short periods of time traveling, soliciting in those regions close to the monastery and asking solely for food. Cf. the section "Fundraiser" in fasc. 5.

of Dao. These positions include the fundraiser for porridge (*zhou jiefang* 粥街坊), the fundraiser for rice and wheat (*mimai jiefang* 米麥街坊), the fundraiser for vegetables (*cai jiefang* 菜街坊), the fundraiser for paste (*jiang jiefang* 醬街坊), the water master (*shuitou* 水頭), the coal master (*tantou* 炭頭), the lamp master, the *Garland Sutra* (*Avatamsaka sūtrasūtra*) preacher, the *Prajñāsūtra* preacher, the sutra preacher (*jingtou* 經頭),¹¹ and the *Amitābhasūtra* preacher (*mitotou* 彌陀頭).¹² [142] If these monks' actions do not correspond to [the deeds of] the Holy Ones and if they do not exercise their own minds [of Dao], how can they repay the hopes of the people [whose donations they collect]?

**Mill Master, Chief Gardener, Director Of The Farming Village,
and Monastery's External Agent**

[Mill Master]

[143] The duty of the mill master¹³ [is as follows.] It is preferable for the drip sieve to be fine in order to sift out the small pebbles. The dust sifter [has no holes and] is for

¹¹ Unlike the other preachers, the sutra preacher does not lecture on any one specific sutra.

¹² The present text does not give a detailed account of the activities of any of the preaching positions. The best description of these traveling preachers can be found in the diary of Ennin (*NBZ* 113:252a), a Japanese monk who visited China during the Tang period. During the Tang, Ennin observes, the sermons given by traveling monks were called *sujiang* 俗講 ("lectures for laypeople"). In the capital city of Chang'an, the imperial court had given orders that monks from various temples should lecture on the *Garland Sutra*, *Lotus Sutra*, and *Nirvāṇa Sutra*. Such monks were required to explain the profound teachings of the sutra in the plainest of language so that the intended audience--the general public--could understand. Other wandering preachers, Ennin records, would be invited by a given monastery to speak, and their sermons could bring in large donations to the sponsoring temple. Throughout the Tang period, *sujiang* was performed during the three "observing months" (*zhaiyue* 齋月)--the first, fifth, and ninth months, and each time the preaching would last for one month. For the further reading on the *sujiang*, see Ōno Katsutoshi, *Nittō guhō junrei kōki*, vol. 3:343, n. 4; Michihata, *Tōdai Bukkyōshi no kenkyū*, 281-96.

¹³ In the Tang and Song, the operation of a grinding mill came to be one of the major enterprises of large monasteries. Due to the great expense involved in running a mill, only the largest of institutions--such as those run by aristocratic families or those supported by big monasteries--could afford their upkeep. These mills, usually driven by water-power or by animals, served not only for the use of the monastery, but were rented out to the public as well, thus ensuring that the mill became a major source of income for the temple. The present text, however, makes no mention of any function other than an internal one. For further information on the mill industry: during the Song, see Huang, *Songdai Fojiao*, 209-211; before or during the Tang period, see Michihata Ryōshū, *Chūgoku Bukkyō shakai keizaishi*, 100-108; Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History From the Fifth to the Tenth Century*, trans. Franciscus Verellen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 142-152; a review of the earlier French

coarser products; therefore, it is used only to wash away dust. When using the drip sieve a fan mechanism¹⁴ is used at the same time. The dust sifter must be struck three hundred times. New wheat does not have to be rinsed, but inferior wheat should be washed. [To wash this inferior wheat,] mix two *dou* 斗 [a unit of measurement, roughly equivalent to a peck] [of wheat] with eight *dou* [of unwashed, dry wheat] and place in the shade. In the ninth month [of the year], three *dou* should be washed, increasing the amount washed by one *dou* for each month until the twelfth month, when six *dou* should be washed. In the first month [of the year], five *dou* should be washed, decreasing the amount washed by one *dou* for each month, so that in the fourth month only two *dou* are washed. To mix [the wheat thusly] with a little moisture and to store it overnight so that in the morning [the consistency] is neither dry nor wet--this is the crucial method. Therefore, as the saying goes, "For the coarse product--the dust sifter; for the fine product--drip sieve; and rinse the wheat according to the four seasons." However, one must also monitor the moisture of the wheat, increase or decrease [the amount of wheat to be] washed, and place the wheat in the shade. If the wheat is too dry or too wet, it will be somewhat difficult to produce flour. Also, as part of the first and second [steps in the procedure], the wheat must be ground into a fine consistency, or else it will be difficult to obtain flour. Also part of the first and second steps, the wheat must be steamed in order to produce flour. The third step is to moisten the flour, and the fourth and fifth steps are to wash [and rewash] the flour. The finest sifter (*luo* 羅) should be used in the open position and should not be stepped on with the foot. The millstone should be covered with a cloth skirt to protect it from dust. The area around the stone should not be allowed to accumulate animal excretions. The [animal] tracks should kept dry and flat. The beasts of burden should be fed twice [a day]. One

edition of Gernet's book by D. C. Twitchett, "The Monasteries and China's Economy in Medieval Times," *SOAS* 19-3 (1957):533-35.

¹⁴ For an illustration of the fan mechanism see *Nongshu* 農書 16 ([Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975], *Siku quanshu zhenben bieji* 四庫全書珍本別輯 edition, vol. 174:9b). Generally, the descriptions of the various farming mechanisms given in *Nongshu*, fascs. 16 and 19, are useful for a understanding the mill operations given here.

should not be remiss in watering and feeding grass to the animals at the proper times. During the summer, the days are longer so it is easier [for the animals] to become thirsty; therefore, they can be watered an extra time. The [animal's] collar should be flat and even, and the bridle should be neat and untangled. Care should be taken that the harness is tied well to avoid rubbing or chafing. If an animal becomes sick, it should be treated as soon as possible. When the animals become fatigued, they should be allowed to rest. [The mill master] should work diligently to inspire the spiritual mind in his servers and workers.

[Chief Gardener]¹⁵

[145] The duty of the chief gardener (*yuantou* 園頭) is to fertilize the crops, erect boundaries between fields, sow the seed, cultivate the sprouts, irrigate the crops, and eliminate weeds--all of which must be done in a timely fashion. [The chief gardener] should consult experts in these matters for assistance. He must gauge the seasonal weather conditions to guarantee that there will be vegetables in supply all year round. He must give the best vegetables to the assembly and can sell only what remains as surplus. He must continually repair or replace his tools (*jiashi* 家事), and should try to maintain harmonious relations with the cook. Generally speaking, in the beginning of spring he should plant

¹⁵ Although farming is technically a violation of the precepts, a number of accounts in the Vinayas indicate that the monks of the time were cultivating fruits and vegetables. *SFL* 43 (*T* 22:875a-b) records an instance in which a group of monks who had planted vegetables later became unsure of the correctness of their actions and, not daring to eat them, went first to the Buddha to seek advice. The Buddha told them that since the seeds had grown into vegetables by themselves, the monks might eat them. Again later, when the monks replanted these vegetables to other areas, the Buddha once more allowed them to eat them, explaining that the vegetables had in a sense been reborn. The Buddha gave explicit permission for monks to plant and eat cucumbers, sugar cane, grapes, pears (*linai* 梨奈), *haritaki* 呵梨勒, *pixile* 鞞摩勒 (Skt?), *āmalaka* 阿摩勒 fruit, ginger, and long peppers (*pippali* 畢茛). *WFL* 22 (*T* 22:152b11-13 and 27-28) indicates that during times of famine, when it was not easy for monks to obtain food, the Buddha allowed them to plant fruits and vegetables.

In order to avoid the accusation--mostly by the Confucians--of being social parasites, the Buddhist monks of China began farming as a means of self-support. As is evident from the biographies of eminent monks, the activity of farming was never thought to detract in any way from a monk's honor. See the biographies of Dao'an (*GSZ* 5, *T* 50:351c6), Faxian (*GSZ* 3, *T* 50:337b27), and Tandi (*GSZ* 7, *T* 50:371a4), cited in Ikeda Rosan 池田魯參, *Maka shikan kenkyū josetsu* 摩訶止觀研究序說 (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1986), 271. The later monastic code *LYSG*, compiled by the Lü school, also reveals that monks of the Lü school engaged in agriculture and horticulture (*LYSG*, *ZZK* 2-11-1:33b-34a).

lettuce, turnips, and plantains. Before the festival of Hanshi 寒食,¹⁶ he should plant eggplant, gourd, cucumber, senna, gumbo, and basil. Radishes are to be planted in the middle of the fifth month, cucumbers in the middle of sixth month, and cole and spinach in the middle of the seventh month.

[Director of the Farming Village]¹⁷

¹⁶ This festival took place on the 105th (some say the 103rd or 106th) day after the winter solstice (December 22 or 23), placing it in the beginning of April, perhaps the third day of April. *Hanshi* literally means "cold-eating;" on this day the Chinese people were prohibited from using fire, thus compelling them to eat only cold food.

Tradition maintains that this custom arose from the tragic story of Jie Zitui 介子推 of the Spring-Autumn period (770-403 B.C.E.). Jie was living in exile with his king Jin Wengong 晉文公 in poverty and hunger. When they began to starve to death, Jie, thinking only of his monarch's survival, cut off pieces of his own flesh to feed the king. Upon their return from exile, the king was eventually able to regain the throne, forgetting, however, to show his gratitude to Jie. The latter expressed his disappointment in a poem and then sought solitude in the forest. Realizing his oversight, the king begged his former savior to return, but Jie refused. Finally, when his solicitations proved of no avail, the king decided to force Jie to show himself by setting fire to the forest; Jie refused to emerge, instead choosing death among the flames. Deeply grieved by his own actions, the king decreed that thenceforth no fires were to be lit on that day each year.

The first occurrence of the story of Jie Zitui is found in the *Hou Hanshu* 61 (p.2024), and no anecdote involving Jie or the king is recorded in any earlier dynastic histories, such as *Shiji* or *Zuozhuan*. However, the ban on the use of fire had been a custom since the Zhou dynasty. Thus the linking of the fire-ban to the story of Jie was most likely a later occurrence. According to *Jingchu suishi ji* 荆楚歲時記 ([Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju, 1936], Sibu beiyao edition, vol. 111: 5b-6a), Chinese observed this day as a holiday with the eating of cold wheat-porridge, the holding of cock fights, and playing on swings.

¹⁷ Farming villages were residential communities of tenants who cultivated the temple's farming lands in return for money or grain. In the early period of Buddhism the ideal monastic was mendicant; with time, however, monks began to live together in communities and a need for stable housing arose. Vinaya texts reveal that as the numbers within a monastic community increased, lay followers would donate increased quantities of items such as housing materials, gardens, farming land, and even slaves, to meet the Saṅgha's needs. (For examples, see *SFL* 43, *T* 22:875a22-23; *WFL* 26, *T* 22:174a24-26; *GSP(Y)* 15, *T* 24:74b9 & 568a1-3). When Yijing (*DXQZ*, *T* 51:6b20-22) made his pilgrimage to the Nālandā Temple in India, he discovered that there were two hundred villages belonging to one temple. The temple itself accommodated three thousand five hundred monks. The villages had been bestowed on the temple by successive emperors to support the needs of the temple.

In China, the earliest instance of a monastery receiving land grant from an emperor is in the North Wei 北魏 dynasty, when Emperor Xiaowen 孝文帝 bestowed estates on monastery Xuanzhongsi 玄中寺 (present-day Shanxi 山西 province, at Mountain Shibi 石壁山) in 495. See the inscription of pavillion Qianfoge 千佛閣 at Xuanzhongsi in Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定 and Sekino Tadashi 關野貞, *Chūgoku bunka shiseki kaisetsu* 中國文化史蹟解説 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1976), vol. 2, 57.

During the Tang and Song dynasties, the granting of lands to monasteries became a widespread practice, and the estates themselves became the major source of income for monasteries. In her book on

[146] [The following are] the duties of the director of the farming village (*zhuangzhu* 庄主). He must oversee the semi-annual taxes [paid to the government].¹⁸ Ploughing the soil, sowing seeds, hoeing weeds, harvesting, grafting, building dikes, and collecting fertilizer: all these activities must be done [by him] at the appropriate times. He should personally make sure his subordinates maintain and clearly mark the [field] boundaries. He should see that the animals are fed [well] and that the whipping of the animals is minimized. He should help the tenants¹⁹ settle in [the village], and should select good families. [He should arrange for] the seamstresses to work in an open, conspicuous place [so as to avoid any potential suspicion]. The records of grain and income should be kept in a precise fashion, and wine, meat, or onions should never be allowed to enter the monastery. [The director of the farming village] should not become engaged in the material expansion of his enterprise [i.e., he should not seek extensive social contacts or excessive profits]. He should delegate responsibilities in an expedient manner to his servers and workers. He must skillfully arbitrate between the south and [147] the north [i.e., during disagreements among the villagers]. He should exercise prudence so as not to hire poor workers or allow indolence. Monks who come to stay overnight [in the village] should be treated with respect and sincerity; [however, the director] should not use the monastery's

monastic economy in Song China, Huang lists six sources from which monasteries received or increased their estates: 1) a grant from the imperial family; 2) donations from monks and nuns or laypeople; 3) purchases from ordinary people; 4) development of an uncultivated forest or coast; 5) acquisitions of official estates or unattended lands; 6) long-term rentals from the government or from ordinary people. Huang also notes that some monasteries maintained estates located at great distances from the monastery. See Huang, *Songdai Fojiao*, 19-89.

¹⁸ In the Song, there were two kinds of taxes imposed on tenants: one by the landholder, the other by the government. Both taxes were collected by the landholder. See Sudō Yoshiyuki 周藤吉之, *Tō Sō shakai keizaishi kenkyū* 唐宋社會經濟史研究 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1965), 872. The monastery, in its capacity as landlord, paid taxes to the government twice a year, in summer (the sixth month) and in autumn (the eleventh month). See Kawakami Kōichi 河上光一, *Sōdai no keizai seikatsu* 宋代の經濟生活 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1966), 121; Huang, *Songdai Fojiao*, 102.

¹⁹ The tenant was also called *xiao zuoren* 小作人. Tenant farmer living in the villages were the main source of agricultural manpower; however, novices who had not yet received full ordination (such as the servers) and slaves also participated in farming. See Michihata, *Chūgoku Bukkyō shakai keizaishi*, 86 and 82.

money to offer gifts to monks from all directions.²⁰ If a cow or a mule should suddenly die, it must be buried deep in the ground. The horns and skin [of the cow] should be removed immediately and sent to the government.²¹ [The director of the farming village] should not wait until government officials personally come to inquire [about the livestock]. If [villagers allow] the animals to trample the fields or invade the grain supply, [the director of farming village] should only reiterate [the rules to the villagers] and give instructions not to let it happen again. He must not beat them, shout at them, or complain to government officials. After the fall harvest, [the director of the farming village] and the tenants divide the yield among themselves and estimate the total crops.²² The records kept should be precise and clear; [however, when conflict does arise,] the director should make concessions to [people] from all directions [i.e., he should be as yielding as possible with all his tenants]. If there is need for repair or construction, [the director] should notify the administrators in the monastery beforehand.

[Monastery's External Agent]

[148] The duty of the monastery's external agent (*xieyuan zhu* 解院主)²³ is to trade the monastery's grain. He must also keep abreast of the latest changes or replacements of

20 One function of the farming village was to provide lodging for both monastic and lay travelers.

21 Since horns and skin are the materials from which weapons were made, the Song government ordered the horns and skin of dead cows to be immediately transferred to the state as a kind of tax. This custom began in 952 during the post-Zhou dynasty (*Kawakami, Sōdai no keizai seikatsu*, 125).

22 *Sudō (Tō Sō shakai keizaishi, 872)* indicates that there were two methods of payment to the landlord: the first was the division of the harvest by a ratio (usually one-to-one), with a set percentage of the annual yield going to the landlord; the second was the payment of a fixed amount, regardless of the year's harvest. According to Huang's study of gazetteers and stone inscriptions, there was no set rule governing how temples and their tenants shared the harvests, with some monasteries demanding even more than fifty per cent of the yield. The agreements varied not only from temple to temple, but between each individual landlord and tenant. Some tenants also had to rent their animals (usually cows) from their landlord. The payment could be in money, grains, hemp, or any other agreed-upon form (*Huang, Songdai Fojiao*, 108-109).

23 *Xie* literally means "government office," indicating that this position was established to handle matters pertaining to the government. However, this position is not mentioned in later texts, perhaps

county officials, seek out news of any governmental pronouncements, and report back to the monastery. He sometimes collects donations and occasionally he entertains donors who have come from far away.

Director of the Infirmary And Latrine Attendant

[Director of the Infirmary]

[149] The monastery should hire a person with a broad mind, who is patient in all matters, who always maintains the mind of Dao, who will give peacefulness to a sick monk, and who knows the repercussions of the law of cause and effect--to be the temple's director of the Hall of Longevity [i.e., the infirmary]. Supplies for the infirmary, such as firewood, coal, rice, flour, oil, salt, pickled vegetables, tea, medicinal herbs, ginger, dates, black plums, and various miscellaneous items, must be obtained [from the devotees] by the director of the infirmary. If the director of the infirmary is incapable [of acquiring all of these], the monastery will furnish only the rice, flour, oil, and coal. When a sick monk [150] comes to the hall for recuperation and recovery, the director of the infirmary has his server make up a bed and make all other preparations in the proper fashion. He must cook the medicinal herbs, offer meals, inquire from time to time as to the patient's well-being, and make the sick monk feel as comfortable as possible. If the patient begins to suffer or becomes irritable, if he rejects his medicine or meals for the slightest of reasons, if he starts to moan or scream, or if he begins to defecate in an unhygienic manner, the director of the infirmary must continue to care for him with sympathy and should not allow feelings of disgust or aversion to enter his mind. If the patient wants wine under the pretext of needing to cook or soak his medicinal herbs with it, or if he wants fish, meat, onions, or scallions to nourish the body, the director of the infirmary must then educate the patient about the law of cause and effect and about the fact that this is prohibited by the precepts, in order to

because its duties were thought to overlap with those of other positions, such as the prior, the fundraiser, and the guestmaster.

strengthen the righteousness of the patient's mind and keep him from indulging in evil thoughts. He must severely prohibit the servers who deliver the food, the barbers, and the seamsters from smuggling wine or meat into the infirmary. If medicinal herbs must be blended with wine, they can be soaked outside the monastery or the wine may be mixed with an herbal paste to make pills. The cooking of onions with medicine or the blending of medicine with animal liver, kidney, fish or any meat is not permissible, not to mention the direct, unrestrained consumption of these foods.

[151] As long as the sick monk is strong enough to move about and can still take meals the director of the infirmary must persuade him to remain a vegetarian and refrain from violating the precepts. The woks and pots in the infirmary cannot be used to soften cloth by boiling; such an action would prevent them from being usable for the patients. The director of the infirmary cannot accept into the infirmary, or give meals to, people who have not come for recuperation. In some monasteries, they keep a strict log of the number of patients in the infirmary and use this record to ask the priory for supplies and donations. When a patient becomes critically ill the director of the infirmary should report to the rectory to keep it abreast of the situation and should remove the sick man to the pavilion of the critically ill. If the [critically ill] patient's eyes of Dao are not clear and sharp [i.e., if he has not yet attained a higher state] the director of the infirmary should encourage him to concentrate on the name of the Amitābha Buddha and hope to be reborn in the Pure Land. If he can, it is best for the director of the infirmary to lead his colleagues in chanting and striking the bell [in order to help the dying man's concentration]. Among the Eight Merit Fields, attending to the sick is first and foremost.²⁴ The Eight Merit Fields are: the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha (which are considered as one), father, mother, teachers, the poor, bridge-building, well-digging, and attending to the sick.²⁵ Moreover, when those monks who wander about

²⁴ See *Fanwang jing* 2, T 24:1005c10.

²⁵ The *Fanwang jing* does not clearly define the eight merit fields, and the interpretation of the meaning varies in different commentaries. *Zhiyi (Pusajie yishu 菩薩戒義疏 2, T 40:577c5-6)* interprets the list of eight to be 1) the Buddhas; 2) the sages; 3) the preceptors (*upādhyāya*); 4) the teachers (*ācārya*); 5) the monks; 6) the father; 7) the mother; and 8) sickness; based on a sentence 八福田諸佛聖人——師僧父母病人 in the *Fanwang jing* 2 (T 24:1007a15),

without roots like duckweed on the water become ill, who will give them sympathy? The only way for them to recover is to depend on the compassion of their fellow monks. The director of the infirmary's task is extremely important; how can he undertake it without the utmost sincerity?

[Latrine Attendant]²⁶

[152] In accordance with his duties, the latrine attendant lights the lamp at the fifth *geng* 更 (i.e. four o'clock a.m.),²⁷ and when the sun rises he collects the bamboo spatulas (*maochou* 茆簍; used as toilet paper)²⁸ and wash towels, and places them in water to soak. Then he must wash the latrines and sweep the floor, replacing the bamboo spatulas, the wash-towels, the ashes, [153] and the bean pod soap. He then cleans the hand- and face-

Fazang (*Pusa jieben shu* 菩薩成本疏 5, T 40:639a) relies on *Xianyu jing* 賢愚經, which states that offerings to the following five kinds of people will accrue unlimited merit: 1) people who know the dharma; 2) people who come from great distances; 3) people who must leave for distant parts; 4) starving people; 5) ailing people. To this Fazang adds the obligatory triple gem: the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha, bringing the total to eight. Fazang is critical of those interpretations wholly unsupported by the sutra, such as the following more civic-minded list of merit fields: 1) the building of roads and wells; 2) the building of bridges; 3) the paving of dangerous roads; 4) the feeding of parents; 5) offerings to monks; 6) offerings to the sick; 7) the rescuing of those in danger; and 8) the holding of unlimited feasts. Judging by the fact that Fazang deemed it necessary to criticize such a list, we may surmise that during the Tang period many had come to understand public works as virtuous undertakings.

The content of the eight merit fields given in the present text does not correspond exactly to the *Fanwang jing*, but represents a later construction. Also see Tokiwa Daijō, "Bukkyō no fukuden shisō" 佛教の福田思想, in *Shina Bukkyō no kenkyū* 支那佛教の研究 (Tokyo: Shūjunsha, 1943), 481.

26 For a detailed description of the decorum connected with the use of the latrine, see the section "Using the Toilet" in fasc. 7.

27 In accordance with the ancient Chinese conception of time, one night --from 8 p.m. to six a.m.-- was divided into five units (*geng*) of two hours each.

28 *PNMJ* (T 24:838b3-6; also see *WFL* 27, T 22:177b15-19; *MSL* 34, T22:504b5-8) explains that monks were allowed to use *chou*, which could be made of wood, bamboo, or reed, for cleaning themselves after excretion. Rock, grass, soil, soft bark, leaves, or rare woods were not allowed. The length of the *chou* was between four *āṅgula* 指 (about 3 inches) and one *vitasti* 椹 (about nine inches; for one *vitasti* is equivalent to twelve *āṅgula*). Dōgen (*Shōbōgenzō* 54, *DZZ* I:471) gives a similar description, writing that bamboo spatula were about eight inches in length, about the width of a thumb, and formed in the shape of a triangle, some being painted, some unpainted. Used bamboo spatulas were called *chuchou* 觸簍 ("soiled bamboo spatulas"); unused spatulas were called *jingchou* 淨簍 ("clean bamboo spatulas"). The soiled bamboo spatulas were thrown into a spatula bucket (*choudou* 簍斗), while the clean spatulas were put on a rack which sat on a board in front of the latrine.

washing hut (*shuixie* 水廩). After the meal, he washes the bamboo spatulas and towels. Having finished this,²⁹ he boils water and adds oil. He must ensure that there is a continuous supply of hot water so as not to disturb the mind of the assembly of monks. The latrine attendant carries out that which many people consider the most burdensome and disagreeable occupation. One can say that by his task the latrine attendant is practicing merit. Not all his bad karma can remain unextinguished or unredeemed; his merit cannot but gain in stature. How can his fellow monks enter the latrines with arms folded [idly] without feeling ashamed?

Shrine Director, Bell Master, etc.

[154] The shrine director (*dianzhu* 殿主), the pavilion director (*gezhu* 閣主), the pagoda director (*tazhu* 塔主), the director of the Arhat hall (*luohan tangzhu* 羅漢堂主),³⁰

29 The text gives the compound *wanhòu* 晚後 ("after night or evening"). We believe it should read *wanhòu* 完後, i.e., "after finishing."

30 The Arhat hall is said to enshrine sixteen or eighteen (or even as many as five hundred) Arhats. The origination of the practice of offering to the Arhats is given in Xuanzang's translation *Da eluohan Nanti Miduoluo suoshuo fazhu ji* 大阿羅漢難提蜜多羅所說法住記 (henceafter *Fazhu ji*; T 49:12c-14c). Through Nandimitra 難提蜜多羅, the narrator of the text, we are told that at the time when the Buddha was entering *parinirvāṇā*, he instructed sixteen arhats scattered throughout the cosmos to prolong their lives in order to maintain the Dharma. In addition, they were told to stay in the world and receive offerings from lay patrons, so that the latter could receive merit. The text also gives the locations (many of them legendary) of these sixteen arhats, each of whom was followed by his own retinue of arhats. As Nandimitra lived in Sri Lanka after the Buddha's death, Xuanzang's text reflects the popular belief that the sixteen Arhats also dwelled in Sri Lanka, or perhaps in India.

In China, belief in the sixteen arhats became popular after the Tang. Later the number of arhats was increased to eighteen, adding Nandimitra and Piṇḍola to the list. This addition was based not on canonical texts, but on Buddhist iconography. The most famous and earliest paintings of the eighteen arhats were those by the monk Guanxiu 貫休. Although eighteen figures are depicted in such early paintings, only seventeen separate identities can be determined. This is because the first of the original sixteen arhats, viz., 寶度羅跋羅墮闍, and the seventeenth arhat 寶頭盧 (i.e., one of the two figures later added) were in fact the same person—Piṇḍola—but were mistaken for two separate individuals because they were transliterated differently from Sanskrit into Chinese.

The later belief in five hundred arhats was simply a reflection of the popular reverence for the arhats, expressed through the honorable number of five hundred, which appears quite often in sutras and Vinayas and is sometimes given as the number of Buddha's retinue disciples or of those who gathered for the first council. In China, early descriptions of offerings to the five hundred arhats can be found in the collection of nuns' biographies, *Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳 4 (T 50: 945b21-2). The biography of the nun

the director of the water-land hall (*shuilu tangzhu* 水陸堂主),³¹ the director of the hall of [patriarchal] pictures (*zhen tangzhu* 真堂主),³² and the bell master are charged with dusting

Jingxiu 淨秀 (418-506) describes how she invited each of the five hundred arhats from Anavatapta to Karashahr for a feast.

The Arhat hall functioned not only as housing for the arhat statues, but also as the site of the routine offertory rituals. A detailed liturgical text of offerings to the arhats is found in Yirun's 儀潤 *Baizhang qinggui zhengyi ji* 百丈清規證義記 (ZZK 2-16-4:342a-345a). The names of the sixteen arhats as well as a list of the five hundred (a total of 501 names are given) are provided by Yirun.

For further information, see the excellent articles by Michihata, *Rakan shinkō shi* 羅漢信仰史, in his *Chūgoku Bukkyōshi zenshū*, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Shuen, 1975), 104-5; Sylvain Lévi & Édouard Chavannes, "Les Seize Arhat Protecteurs de la loi I & II," in *JA*, July-August and September-October (1916):7-50 and 189-304.

³¹ The ceremonies of feeding the hungry ghosts and spirits were held in the Water-land hall. The legendary origin of this ritual is given in the following anecdote from the *Jiu Mianran egui tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 教面然餓鬼陀羅尼神咒經 (T 21:465c-466b). One night a hungry ghost named Mianran 面然 (lit., "Burning Face") appeared before Ananda and told him that he would die after three days and be reborn as a hungry ghost unless he offered food to the countless hungry ghosts and immortals (i.e., spirits). If such an offering was successfully made, Ananda himself would live longer and Mianran would be able to ascend to heaven. Ananda appealed to the Buddha for help, and he responded by preaching the method of offering food to the hungry ghosts and spirits—a practice which was to be carried out from that time forward.

The earliest ritual offering of food to the hungry ghosts and spirits was not called "water-land," a term which does not appear until the Song period. The first extant text to use the term is Zunshi's *Shishi zhengming* 施食正名 (ZZK 2-6-2:118c), which notes that "the temples in the Wuyue (i.e., the delta of Yangzi River) erect a separate hall with a tablet inscribed 'Water-land,' which signifies that all the immortals receive their food from the flow of water, while ghosts [receive theirs] from the pure ground." As is also indicated in this text, the term "water-land" was later conventionally misunderstood as a reference to all the ghosts and spirits in the water and on the land to whom offering must be made.

The Water-land service is the most important of the ritual offerings of food to the deceased or the spirits. This practice of feeding the spirits began in China at the time of Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty, who went so far as to order monks to compile a text based on the sutras which could accompany the ritual. The service was held for the first time in the temple of Jinshan 金山寺 in the year 505. However, the text of the ritual was lost soon thereafter and the service was not performed again until the Tang dynasty, when the text was recovered by Daoying 道英 and the service was reinstated (*Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統, ZZK 2B-3-5:401c; *Fozu tongji* 33, T 49:321b-c).

During the Song dynasty this ritual was advocated by the famous scholar, Su Shi 蘇軾, who compiled *Shuilu faxiang zan* 水陸法像贊 (*Eulogy of the Iconographs in the Water-Land Ritual*; ZZK 2-6-2:222a-223a) in 1093. Zongze, the author of *CYQG*, consulted other versions of this ritual text and compiled his own four-fascicle text for the water-land ritual in 1096, a compilation which unfortunately is no longer extant (see Zongze's *Shuilu yuanqi* 水陸緣起, ZZK 2-6-2:222a). The existing text *Fajie shengfan shuilu shenghui xiuzhai yigui* 法界聖凡水陸勝會修齋儀軌 was originally compiled by the author of *Fozhu tongji*, the historian Zhipan 志磐 (d 1269), and later was re-edited by Zhuhong 株宏 (1532-1612). Based on Zhuhong's text, Yirun, an annotator of *CBQG* (c. 1823), re-edited the text as *Fajie shenfan shuilu pudu dazhai shenghui yigui huiben* 法界聖凡水陸普度大齋聖會儀軌會本, creating a work totaling six fascicles which is still used today in Chinese temples.

[their respective shrines], displaying the liturgical vessels, cleaning up as required, arranging the incense and lamps, and spreading the cushions after the abbot's sermon, in time for everyone to worship. In the book entitled *Fufazang yinyuan zhuan* 付法藏因緣傳, the King of Zha in the land of Kaśmīra³³ dies and is reborn as a thousand-headed fish, whereupon his heads are continually being severed one at a time by a great wheel of swords. The pain the former king feels is beyond description, but each time he hears the sound of a bell the swords do not descend [providing him with temporary relief].³⁴ Therefore, the striking of the bell in the morning and the evening is a practice not lacking in Buddhist significance. The monk Shi Zhixing 釋智興 (588-632) in the *Biography of Eminent Monks* (*Second series*) strikes the bell in the proper fashion and the sound of the bell vibrates to hell where the suffering beings are relieved.³⁵

For a study of the water-land ritual see the article by Makita Tairyō 牧田諱亮, "Sui Rikue shōkō" 水陸會小考, in his *Chūgoku kinsei bukkyōshi kenkyū* 中國近世佛教史研究 (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1957), 169-193.

32 For a discussion regarding the hall of patriarchs see Section IIIc.

33 The present text is erroneous; the correct reference is to King Kaniṣka, or, more precisely, King Candana Kaniṣka from Kuṣāṇa Dynasty. King Kaniṣka was a well-known historical figure of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty. See *Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan* 5, T 50:315b5-6.

34 T 50:317a. Also cited in *SXC* 1A, T 40:6c21-24.

35 In *XGSZ* (T 50:695b-c), the rector Zhixing is cited as the perfect example of someone who accrued merit through correct procedure and understanding. When the brother of one of Zhixing's fellow monks died while traveling, the deceased appeared to his wife in a dream, telling her that he had fallen into hell where he was tortured until Zhixing began striking the bell. The vibrations from this act had allowed him, along with others sufferers, to find relief and be reborn in a pleasant place. The dead man told his wife to donate ten bolts of silk to Zhixing, who, in turn, humbly refused the gift and redonated the silk to the assembly in the temple. When people asked Zhixing how it was that he was able to accomplish such a great deed by striking the bell, he replied that he had read the story of King Kaniṣka in the *Fufazang yinyuan zhuan* and knew about the merit of striking the bell from *Zengyi Ehan* 24 (T 2:676c26-9).

It may be worth noting that both sources, the *Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan* and *Zengyi Ehan*, appear in *SXC* 1A (T 40:6c), written by Daoxuan, who also wrote the *Biography of Eminent Monks: Second Series*. Furthermore, both of these two sources were themselves collected in *FYZL* 99 (T 53:1017a) and in *Zhujing yaoji* 諸經要集 20 (T 54:192a), both by Daoshi, who was Daoxuan's colleague working in Xuanzang's translation institute. Thus the two figures, working side by side, made use of the same two sources in their separate works.

Holy Monk's Attendant, Stove Master, and Saṅgha Hall Monitor

[Holy Monk's Attendant]

[155] The Holy Monk's attendant is required to set out the offerings of food, tea, incense, lamp, and candles to the Holy Monk. He should work with the server to the rectory in sweeping the [Saṅgha] hall, dusting the sutra closets and desks, and arranging the liturgical vessels. After offering money to the Holy Monk, during mealtime, the Holy Monk's attendant collects the donations for the Holy Monk and puts them into the collection pail. The collection pail is hung on the pillar next to the chief seat's position. The Holy Monk's attendant briefly shows the donations to the chief seat and deposits them into the pail. At the close of each of the two meals, he is also in charge of striking with the mallet signaling the monks' egress from the hall. He must wait until the abbot [who is the first to exit] returns his bowl to its proper place before striking this signal, and he then withdraws to stand behind the Holy Monk to avoid obstructing the abbot's bowing to the assembly. [156] The Holy Monk receives clothing and monetary gifts as donations. With the exception of *kāśāyas* [robes] and money, which the attendant collects with the rector and tallies in the records, all donations belong to [i.e., are entrusted solely to] the Holy Monk attendant. These include handkerchiefs, needles, thread, tea, medicine, and money given specifically for the reading of the sutra or for *jiyuan* 結緣 [small donations for the sake of the common bonds among all living things].³⁶

[Stove Master]³⁷

³⁶ The things listed here as belonging to the Holy Monk's attendant cannot be considered especially valuable, and yet the number of items given seems greater than would be appropriate for any one person to accumulate. It would seem to us plausible that, once the attendant had collected these articles, he redistributed them to all members of the assembly.

³⁷ *WFL* 26 (*T* 22:171b27b-c1) indicates that in times of particularly cold weather the Buddha allowed monks to light the stove outside the hall, bringing it into the hall once it had stopped giving off smoke; if the weather at a given locale was especially inclement, a stove might be installed directly inside the hall.

[157] Although the stove master is officially appointed by the rector, he is chosen by the *tantous* 炭頭 [monks in charge of coal]. On the first day of the tenth month he lights the heating stove and on the first day of the second month he extinguishes it. He prepares the stove before the break from abbot's sermon and adds coal each morning before breakfast. Gauging the room temperature at all times, he adds or removes coal to maintain the desired heat. When the weather is warm, adding too much coal is a waste of the donated fuel; and when the weather is freezing, adding too little will leave the assembly in the cold. The stove master should always sweep out all the soot from the stoves. When fellow monks gather around the stove, they should yield to each other [and not crowd or shove]. They should not draw out the ashes or poke at the fire, nor should they make noise with the fire tongs or chatter idly. They should not take advantage of the fire for personal household chores without permission.

[Saṅgha Hall Monitor]

[158] The rotation procedure for assigning the positions of Saṅgha hall monitor³⁸ begins with the second sleeping seat (*beiwei* 被位) [excluding the chief seat] in the upper section of the Saṅgha hall and moves by turns one sleeping seat at a time in a circle. The task monitor is to protect all the monks' personal effects. In the morning, after the long strikes of the board, when the monks have assembled [for the meal], [the previous day's monitor] approaches the senior monk ["senior" as an honorific title regardless of actual rank] who is on duty that day, holding the placard indicating "Monitor," bowing and saying, "Senior, you are on duty today." He then hands him the placard, again bows, and returns to his seat. If it is the case that one's eating seat (*shiwei* 食位) is not located near one's sleeping

³⁸ *MSL* 35 (*T* 22:512c16) indicates that the Buddha instructed all junior monks to take turns on guard duty in the meditation hall.

seat,³⁹ [then the previous day's monitor] should remember [who it is that occupies] the sleeping seat [next in line]. If the previous day's monitor does not know where his successor takes his meals, [e.g., if the successor] does not eat in the same Saṅgha hall, he should seek him out in a patient manner. Even if the successor is seated immediately to the side of the monk who has completed his shift, the previous day's monitor should descend from the platform in order to hand over the placard. The one who receives does not descend from the platform but merely does *wenxun* in acceptance. The monitor must always remain in the Saṅgha hall and keep watch over the upper and lower sections. If he has other business to attend to, he should entrust a close and reliable fellow monk with the duty of temporarily guarding for him. The monitor should not attend [ceremonies in] the Dharma hall. He should not accept invitations for chanting at the infirmary or outside the monastery, nor should he join tea ceremonies at any location. If the entire assembly is leaving the monastery, the monitor can leave [his post] only when the rector has given instructions to lock the hall. Until then, he cannot be away from his appointed position. After the break from abbot's sermon, he is relieved of his duty. If a loss occurs in the hall before this break from the abbot's sermon, it is the monitor's responsibility. Thus, the break from the abbot's sermon marks the outer limit of the watch.⁴⁰ If a monk wants to open a closet to retrieve his belongings, he must first inform the monitor. If a person does not report to him beforehand, the monitor should confront and question him. After the break from the abbot's sermon and before *kaijing*, fellow monks are not allowed to open any closet to take items out, but

³⁹ *Shiwei* was also called *bowei* 鉢位 "bowl seat," and was the place where the monk would sit in the monks' hall while taking meals. The order of the eating seats was arranged according to ordination seniority, excluding the sixteen head seats of the platform sections (that is, assuming sixteen sections: the numbers would vary depending on the size of the hall). For an illustration, see the diagrams in both *JDQG* 1 (ZZK 2-17-3:2d) and *CBQG* 7 (T 48:1151a). In contrast to the eating seats, the sleeping seats (or literally "comforter seats") were arranged according to seniority, but included the head seat of each section. A diagram showing the difference between eating seats and sleeping seats may be found in *BYQG* 3 (ZZK 2-17-3:40c-d). This diagram clearly demonstrates that the sleeping seats were arranged in a counter-clockwise order beginning with the side sections.

⁴⁰ *CYQG* does not give more information. However, *CBQG* 4 (T 48:1132a4 and *CHSS* I:548d) indicates that one of the Holy Monk's attendant's duties was to serve as the nighttime guard (*zhitang*), relieving the daytime guard of his duties.

putting their belongings into the closet is permissible. If anyone is seen violating this rule, his neighbor and other surrounding monks should try to stop him. Monks should not attempt to evade the monitor's authority or change their sleeping place without prior permission, thereby potentially disturbing the other monks' peace of mind.

Director and Chief Seat of the Assembly Quarters⁴¹

[Director of the Assembly Quarters]

[160] The director of the assembly quarters is appointed in accordance with a rotating schedule determined by the monks' chronological seniority in entering the assembly quarters. Some [monasteries?] have terms of duty for one month, some for half a month, some for ten days. Each director of assembly quarters takes care of the belongings of all the monks in his respective hall. He is accountable for the transference of all miscellaneous moveable items (as well as an inventory list) [to the director of assembly quarters who will succeed him]. He arranges tea services for newcomers and the formal tea ceremonies for the former and new staff. He is in charge of the stove and coal [in the assembly quarters], and should keep cold and hot water in supply. His duty is to clean the hall and serve his fellow monks in a respectful, diligent, and tireless manner. If anyone in the hall violates the rules, the director of assembly quarters should approach him with soft language, rather than loudly commanding or scolding him, which would disturb the assembly. If some item is needed, the director of assembly quarters should make use of the time when the abbot is visiting the assembly quarters to tactfully report the need. But he should not make such a request without good reason. The monks should not use the water containers to boil lice

⁴¹ In *CYQG*, the director of the assembly quarters seems to occupy a position superior to the chief seat of the assembly quarters. In the later *CBQG* 4 (*T* 48:1133a), the chief seat of assembly quarters is ranked higher than that of the director of assembly quarters, the title of the former being changed to "chief of assembly quarters" (*liaoyuan* 寮元). In this text, the director simply assists the chief and was therefore also given the title "assistant director of assembly quarters" (*fuliao* 副寮) or "*fuliao* candidate" (*wangliao* 望寮). This change can be seen as evidence of the later expansion of the administrative hierarchy of the monastery.

from or wash their clothes.⁴² The director of assembly quarters should prohibit solicitors and unauthorized people from entering the hall in order to prevent theft.

[Chief Seat Of The Assembly Quarters]

[161] The person appointed as the chief seat of the assembly quarters should be a senior monk of great virtue, who has lived in the monastery for a long time and is familiar with monastic etiquette. He should take up residence in the assembly quarters to guard the monks' personal effects in conjunction with the director of the assembly quarters [note: the rest of the assembly sleeps in the Saṅgha hall]. These two should also greet newcomers. In order to avoid unnecessary bother, [they should offer] only one portion of incense, medicine, and tea [to each newcomer]. Should fellow monks fall to quarreling, [it is the duty of the chief seat,] along with the director of assembly quarters, to placate them. They should not allow any monks into the assembly quarters before *kaijing*. After the break from the abbot's sermon, they should not allow monks to enter the storage room and arbitrarily open the trunks. Monks are allowed to open the trunks only in case of emergency, for instance to procure medicine or to obtain clothes during a sudden cold spell, and then only after informing the chief seat or the director of assembly quarters. The chief seat should not allow people uninvited by the rector to stay in the assembly quarters.

Abbot's Attendant

[162] If an abbot's attendant needs to be appointed, he should be young and physically strong, his words should be precise and clear, he should be righteous in observance of the precepts, and he should be [especially] quick-witted; then everything in the abbot's office will be accomplished with natural ease. The formal tea ceremony and

⁴² In his instructions for delousing or getting rid of fleas, as recorded in the Vinaya (*WFL* 26, *T* 22:171b20-24), the Buddha asks that these insects be carefully picked out and placed in the garbage or taken outside. Flea-infested mattresses should be placed outdoors to sun.

[163] the lesser tea ceremony should be held according to seasonal protocol. If the attendant ensures that the visiting guests' stay is pleasant and enjoyable, then the Senior One [the abbot] can propagate the Dao undisturbed. Although the abbot's attendants are appointed by the rector, they must first be selected by the abbot.

[163] On the occasion of a formal tea ceremony the duty of the "outside" attendant⁴³ is to inform the abbot beforehand, to hang a poster inviting the guests, and then to arrange the seating. The burning of incense, general protocol, personal behavior--all must be conducted according to proper etiquette. For the scheduling of the abbot's meetings with guests, the attendant should determine the most propitious opportunities, should inform the abbot at the right time, and should make cordial inquiries as to the availability of both parties. [The following tasks are all the charge of the "outside" attendant:] presenting letters requesting an appointment to the master [i.e., the abbot], asking the scribe to reply to these letters, [164] arranging for newcomers to meet with the abbot and participate in the welcoming tea ceremony with him, [forwarding] requests for sermons [to the abbot], [escorting monks who] enter the abbot's room for instruction, [scheduling] the chanting and the break from the abbot's sermon, and [preparing] the *jiexia laci pai* 結夏蠟次牌 [the list of seats in order of ordination seniority of the monks who will attend the summer retreat].

[164] The "inside" attendant tends to the abbot's robes and bowls, his records of expenditures and income, and the public items used by the abbot. He takes care of the abbot's tea, paper, and pen, as well as his winter and summer clothes, all of which should be kept in proper order and should never be in short supply. If any item is needed, the inside attendant should inform [the abbot] beforehand. If the attendant wants to auction the

⁴³ In the present text the abbot's attendants are classified into two categories--outside and inside--the former tending to the abbot's personal needs, the latter dealing with the abbot's public relations. In the later *CBQG* 4 (*T* 48:1131c9 and 15 and 28), the "inside" attendants are the medicine (nursing) attendants and robe-and-bowl (personal effects) attendants; whereas the "outside" attendants are: incense-burning (liturgical) attendants, secretarial attendants, and hospitality attendants.

abbot's personal effects [after the abbot's death], he should do so with the rector's cooperation.

[165] Although the duties of the "outside" and "inside" attendants are distinct, the two should work in harmony with each other. [For instance,] the task of serving tea to the abbot should not be assigned solely to one or the other attendant, lest one resent fulfilling this task more or less often than the other. At night when parting [with the abbot], or while greeting him before the early meal, the attendants should ask the abbot whether there will be any tea ceremony or other business to attend to the next day (or that day). Outside of their duties, the attendants should not engage in gossip about the administrators, chief officers, or members of the assembly. They should not repeat the abbot's [private] words to any other monk. While entertaining guests or conducting any business, the attendants' every action should be based on the principle of serving the master [abbot] as well as the public assembly, and in general they should not be afraid to take on a great deal of work. They should not discuss any perceived fault of the abbot in his absence. And they should not take on the role of the abbot by passing judgment on others, praising or criticizing members of the assembly. The attendants should always perform their duties with respect and diligence, they should serve the monastery with prudence in all matters, and they should be careful not to disturb the abbot's peace of mind.

Fascicle Five

Fundraiser

[167] The fundraiser is selected either when the attendants' quarters (*shizhe liao* 侍者寮) posts a list of the names of prefectures and districts [to which fundraisers are to be sent] asking for volunteer, or by direct decision of the administrators and the chief officers. The procedure for appointing the fundraiser is the same as that used for the appointment of the chief officers. Once the fundraiser has entered the hall of residence [to prepare for his journey],¹ he should assemble all the necessary letters and documents, tea and medicine, and those items which donors have asked for. He must be meticulous and focused at all times. [During] the transfer tea ceremony [wherein the former fundraiser is officially replaced by the new one], the [new] fundraiser should inquire about the events of previous year. The fundraiser should request the abbot's personal letters [to prospective donors] or letters [in general] at the proper time [before he departs]. If he must carry any item which is subject to tax,² he should have ready a clear record of his tax payments. He must choose skillful and careful people for his porters and servers. He should keep all monies in his personal charge and should not rely on his porters or servers in this regard, lest they should be tempted by thoughts of betrayal. If the fundraiser should meet a venerable senior, i.e., the abbot of another monastery, he should bow down to him after presenting him with a letter. If he should meet a respectable government official he should present both his self-introductory letter and a letter from his monastery.

¹ It seems likely that monasteries often had special living quarters where fundraisers could gather and prepare their materials before departure.

² In the Song dynasty, in addition to the semi-annual agricultural tax, there were taxes on luxury items such as salt, tea, wine, and silk.

[168] When visiting donors, the fundraiser should inspect his self-introductory letter, his other forms of identification (*guandie* 關牒),³ and other letters beforehand to insure they are free from error. [Beforehand], he should also prepare tea and any other items required to greet the donors. He should be patient and use gentle words to give instruction. If the donors should inquire about the monastery's state of affairs, he must answer truly and without thoughtless exaggeration. He should not depend on the power and authority of government officials. He must not become involved in any situation beyond the scope of his immediate business, especially if it could delay his return or prevent his turning over the position [to the next year's replacement]. Since the fundraiser is selected by the monastery to "hold the bowl" [collect "alms"; raise funds] on behalf of all his fellow monks, he must exert his entire mind and strength in expanding the annual list of donors (*dinian mulu* 遞年目錄). He may take a short break only if he should become sick and need to recuperate. [169] He should not merely travel the mountains [i.e., wander idly; sightsee]. Even if attending summer retreats would not hinder his fundraising progress, this would still detract [from the fundraiser's concentration in accomplishing his duties]. He must wait until he has completed his donation collections, presented his list [to the monastery], and returned to the assembly before he can resume personal activities at his own discretion. The names and titles of the donors should not be carelessly lost or omitted. Donated items or money should be collected and recorded in a precise fashion. The devotees' donations are meant for the field of merit [i.e., the entire Saṅgha], and only those foolish people who create bad karma will consider them their own money or possessions. Some [of the fundraisers] may spend the money on wine and women; some may save it for personal use; some may use it to buy a certificate granting tonsure or the title of master;⁴ or some may use the money to have a novice tonsured. Such

³ Literally, certificates of travel permit. Cf. YZS [39].

⁴ For a detailed discussion of the Song government's sale of tonsure certificates and conferral of the title of master, see Section III.

people do not understand that every penny of this money belongs to the body of monks as a whole. Even if a thousand Buddhas were to appear at once, [people who have behaved in this manner] would not be allowed to repent.⁵ Before they can ascend to heaven they must first descend into hell. Thus, generally the people in charge of such things [i.e., the fundraisers] should follow the honest path of incorruptibility.

[170] The memento (*ruyao* 乳藥; lit., "milk medicine") [brought from the region visited by the fundraiser and] given to the abbot, and the souvenir (*renshi zhi wu* 人事之物) given to the administrators and the chief officers, must be chosen according to the previous years' custom, in the way people have done it in the past. [The gift] should not be excessive, distorting the custom. However, if [the present is given] by a donor then no harm will result. When the fundraiser is far away from the Chan monastery, visiting the houses of devotees and families of donors everywhere, besieged by secular people, he may gradually merge [with secular life]. [Therefore,] he should always keep in mind his need to return to the monastery as soon as possible to practice the Dao. He should not allow himself to drift about outside [the monastery], falling into matters of money or women. He must remain extremely vigilant with himself. The monastery must inquire as to the day of his departure in order to observe the custom of seeing off the fundraiser. The day before he leaves, the monastery should prepare a tea ceremony and a feast. On the day of departure the abbot should ascend his seat [in the Dharma hall] and recite a verse to encourage the fundraiser's spiritual mind and then escort him to the gate of the monastery. The chief officers must also attend his farewell tea ceremony.

[171] When the fundraiser returns to the monastery he gives a brief greeting. The administrators, the chief officers, the retired staff, and his fellow monk acquaintances visit the guest lodge to express their gratitude and their joy to see that he has returned safely. The fundraiser then carefully unpacks and prepares the donated items and money. Having finished this, he seals the list of donors (*xiaoshu mulu* 小疏目錄) and the travel log (*jiaotou bu* 腳頭簿) He must maintain

⁵ 千佛出世不通懺悔。See *Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa dabeixin tuoluoni* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩大悲心陀羅尼, T 20:116a7.

these items meticulously to prevent losing any part of them, and if he is questioned when handing them over he must answer honestly., and together with the inventory of donations (*shili zhuang* 施利狀) The model [for the donation inventory] is as follows: "I, Bhikṣu X, fundraiser for this monastery, received in the past the abbot's kind decree and traveled to X location to ask for donations, such as *senggong* 僧供, etc.⁶ I now present the following list: I obtained X number of donations for *senggong* in the total amount of X *qian* 錢 [monetary unit]. I obtained X number of donations for *luohan* 羅漢 in the total amount of X *qian*. I obtained X number of donations for *zhou* 粥 in the total amount of X *qian*. Deducted from the above donations are X number of X items in the total amount of X *qian*. Also paid for were tea greetings and general travel expenses in the total amount of X *qian*. Subtracting the above expenses, the remaining balance is in the total amount of X *qian*. The aforementioned donations are meager in number, but I bow down and beg the abbot, the administrators, the chief officers, and the body of monks to accept them. [The above statement is] presented with all sincerity. Written by Bhikṣu X, fundraiser for this monastery, in the year X, in X month, on X day." At the end of the statement the following postscript is added: "Previously I borrowed money from the monastery in the amount of X *qian*. Now I return this money along with the donation inventory." and the list of gifts for the abbot. The model [for the list of gifts for the abbot] is as follows: "I, Bhikṣu in training X, have brought X number of X items and would like to sincerely present to [you] the abbot these mere mementos. Now I bow down and beg you to kindly accept them. [The above statement is] presented with all sincerity. Written by Bhikṣu in training X in the year X, in X month, on X day." If he is a junior monk [novice of fewer than ten years] then he should refer to himself as "Xiaoshi Bhikṣu X". He places them in a trunk and informs the administrators that he is ready to present the donation documents.

[172] First, the donated items are brought to the Dharma hall and put on display. The rectory informs everyone of this fact, while in the center of the Dharma hall a chair is placed and beside it a stand for incense. Then the drum is struck to summon the assembly.

⁶ The various titles given to donors, such as *senggong*, *luohan*, or *zhou*, were used to indicate the donors' level of financial support. Thus, the granting of a certain title implied the amount of the expected donation.

The abbot stands in front of the chair and his attendant burns incense. All those assembled then simply bow in their own places, because the donated items are [visibly] placed before them. The guest master will then make the proper announcements. The guest master comes forward and faces [the abbot], bows, and says, "Fundraiser X returning from Circuit X presents the donations." Then he escorts the fundraiser [173] before the abbot to bow and remain standing. The guest master takes the inventory of donations out of the trunk and gives it to the fundraiser who then presents it to the abbot. The fundraiser then bows, steps back, and stands aside. The abbot then passes the inventory through the scented smoke of the incense [symbolically offering it to the Buddha] and hands it to his attendant. The attendant gives it to the scribe or the rector or the guest master who reads it to the assembly. When he has finished, the fundraiser comes forward, faces [the abbot], bows, and remains standing. The guest master then takes the list of mementos from the trunk and gives it to the fundraiser, who then presents it to the abbot. The fundraiser then bows, steps back, and stands aside. Without waving it over the incense, the abbot hands it directly to his attendant. The attendant then gives it to the scribe [or the rector or the guest master] to read. [When he has finished this,] the fundraiser thanks the abbot by doing *liangzhan sanbai*. After the first unfolding of the sitting mat the fundraiser states, "These donated items are so very insignificant. I fear I now will offend you in offering them." After the second unfolding of the sitting mat he expresses a seasonal greeting and then does *chuli* three times. Next the administrators congratulate the abbot. Then the chief seat and the assembly congratulate the abbot and they all do *liangzhan sanli* before him. The congratulatory words are as follows: "The fundraiser was able to return without difficulty. We bow down and consider this cause for great celebration. We are most joyous." Then the abbot congratulates the assembly in return. The junior monks should withdraw at this time [to avoid being the object of the abbot's homage]. The chief seat, the assembly, and the administrators then congratulate each other by doing *chuli* three times. Their [congratulatory] words are as follows: "The fundraiser was able to return without difficulty. We bow down and consider this cause for great celebration."

[174] After this ceremony the abbot returns to his quarters, and the chief seat and the assembly (and the rest) return to their seats in the Saṅgha hall. The guest master escorts the fundraiser [to the Saṅgha hall] to stand before the Holy Monk where the fundraiser fully unfolds his sitting mat and bows down three times. The fundraiser then stands up in front of the chief seat and does *chuli* three times, saying to him, "On this occasion I was able to seek donations without [encountering] difficulties because I depended upon the protection of the chief seat and the assembly through the power of Dharma." Beginning with the chief seat, [all] return the bow to him. The chief seat says, "The assembly is so happy that you have begged alms (*"fenwei"* 分衛; *piṇḍapāta*) for us and have now returned. The donations are plentiful and we are extremely grateful." The guest master then leads the fundraiser in circumambulating and exiting the hall. They then go to the abbot's office where the fundraiser fully unfolds the sitting mat and bows down nine times. After bowing [the first] three times, he says to him, "On this occasion I was able to seek donations without [encountering] difficulties because I depended upon the protection of the abbot through the power of the Dao. For this I am extremely grateful." After bowing [another] three times he offers a seasonal greeting, bows three [final] times, and stands up. All those present take their seats and sweetened soup is served. The new and former fundraisers should be invited, accompanied by some of the senior, retired staff--fewer than twenty people in all. Next the guest master leads the fundraiser to visit the assembly quarters. In the assembly quarters the director and the chief seat will treat him to tea ceremonies and special feasts for three days. Then, without taking up residence in the Saṅgha hall, the fundraiser is led by the rector to stay in the [rear chambers of the assembly] quarters. In some monasteries the next day [the abbot] will ascend [his seat in the Dharma] hall and express his gratitude. In other monasteries the abbot ascends his seat after the presentation of the donated items and before the [formal] greeting. In still other monasteries the fundraiser will first sponsor a feast, after which the abbot ascends his seat in the Dharma hall. If [the abbot] is not invited to ascend his seat in the Dharma hall, there is no need for him to do so.

Completion of A Chief Officer's Term

[176] When the chief officer appointed by the abbot's office reaches his term limit of a year, he should resign in an expedient manner. Before the early meal he should visit the abbot's quarters for consultation, do *chuli* three times, and then withdraw. Those [lesser] chief officers appointed by the rectory, who have no term limits, should go to the rector to resign. Those chief officers appointed to serve under the director of the library should go to the library director to resign. When the six chief officers [appointed by the abbot] resign, the abbot sponsors a tea ceremony. The abbot, accompanied by the rector and guest master, etc., escorts [the chief officers] to their [individual] lodgings. [The chief officers] then do *liangzhan sanbai* and escort the abbot out. To the others [the chief officers] simply bow. The chief officers of lower rank than these six⁷ enter the hall of retirement (*qianzi liao* 前資寮) and take up residence (*choujie* 抽解; lit., "disrobe") there. The rector alone invites them to a tea ceremony and accompanies them to the hall of residence where the special tea ceremonies and feasts last for three days. For the chief officers appointed to serve under the director of the library the monastery sponsors the feast and the library director should also entertain them. Only the director and the chief seat of the assembly quarters do not sponsor any tea ceremonies.

The Tea Ceremony Sponsored by the Abbot's Office

[177] At the time of the night sermon or before the early meal the attendant informs the abbot saying, "Tomorrow (or, after the midday meal) a tea ceremony (*jiandian* 煎點)⁸ is

⁷ I.e., those lesser chief officers appointed by the rector or the director of the library.

⁸ *Jiandian* literally means "to cook the food until dry and use it to dip into the empty stomach" (ZSS:673a). *Dian* is an abbreviation of *dianxin* 點心, meaning "to dip into the empty stomach," that is, to serve a snack (ZSS:673b).

In the formal tea ceremony, not only tea was served, but also a snack, or, more precisely, a confection. In the lesser tea service called the *chatang* 茶湯, no confection was served. This minor difference can clearly be seen in the instructions of Chan master Furong Daokai 芙蓉道楷 (1043-1118) to his assistants; in which the *chatang* prepared for the new trainees included tea and sweetened soup but not a confection (*Jiatai pudeng lu* 嘉泰普燈錄 25, ZZK 2B-10-2; quoted in ZSS:673a).

going to be held for X." Before the midday meal the attendant supervises the servers in the preparation of hot water vessels (the water should be replaced and boiled), the teacups and stands, the tea trays (which should be washed and polished), the scented flowers, the seats, the "medicines" [i.e., confections], the seating chart, and the low-grade tea (*shacha* 煞茶).⁹ Once all these things are prepared, the invitations are carefully made. When inviting a guest the attendant should bow repeatedly, saying, "The abbot is going to hold a tea ceremony for X after the midday meal. When you hear the sound of the drum please come to attend." He then bows again and withdraws. His manner should be dignified and not mirthful or insincere. On the occasion of a special sweetened soup service the abbot should also be informed the previous night or before the midday meal. After the midday meal [the attendant] should supervise the servers in the preparation of the cups and stands and the sweetened soup, etc., as above. The invitation should be worded: "Tonight, after the hiatus from the sermon, the abbot will host a sweetened soup service for X."

[179] After the meal the attendant goes to the abbot's quarters and prepares the incense holder and the seats. Once the water vessels as well as the teacups and stands have been tended to, and the server has displayed the tea in the proper fashion (the incense stand is for the incense burner only; the incense case, the confection case, and the teacups should be placed separately elsewhere), the attendant should inform the abbot and the tea drum is struck. If the tea is not fully prepared before the drum is struck the assembly will have to sit too long and will become irritated. When [the attendant from] the storage hall strikes the drum or when the members of any residence strike the board, they must know this rule about not striking too early. All the guests assemble and

The term *diancha* 點茶 (meaning "to dip into the tea") appearing in this text also refers to the tea service. However, this term originated from the actual *method* of making the tea: the powdered tea is placed in a container, boiling water is poured in, and then some cold water is "dipped" in before the mixture is stirred with a whisk. See *Qiugong jiali yijie* 丘公家禮儀節I (based on *Wengong jiali* 文公家禮), in *Qiu Wenzhuang gong congshu* 丘文莊公叢書 (Taipei: Qiu Wenzhuang Gong Congshu Jiyin Weiyuanhui 輯印委員會, 1972), 13a.

⁹ Cf. YZS [183]. The sentence "if higher grade tea is served then sweetened drink should not be offered," would seem to indicate that average, lower-grade tea was probably served on most occasions.

the attendant enters and greets them (only then is the drum no longer struck). The guests enter the hall and take their seats in order, beginning with the chief seat. In the case of a guest not arriving on time, the attendant should send someone to collect him. The chief virtue, however, is to avoid disturbing the abbot's peace of mind; the attendant should not act with excessive haste. [The attendant] should wait until everyone has gathered before he invites the abbot to enter. If any guest is absent the attendant must wait for instructions from the abbot. Then he may withdraw the [extra] chair. If the abbot does not give any instructions, the attendant cannot withdraw the chair on his own initiative. Even if a guest is absent or the ceremony is not proceeding properly, the abbot should not show any expression [of his emotions] to those assembled lest he should make the guests uncomfortable. However, it is also permissible for the abbot to come out beforehand, stand in front of his chair, and wait for the assembly while the attendant greets the arriving guests. When the guests and the host are all standing in place, the attendant, who stands in the northeast corner of the banquet hall, steps forward and bows to invite the guests to be seated. The attendant then invites the guests to burn incense and bow in order of rank from senior to junior. The attendant responds to this courtesy and [bows] on behalf of the abbot. The invited guests should perform this one by one, each with a demeanor of respect and sincerity, not with arrogance or carelessness. After some time more incense should be lit.

[180] To properly burn the incense the attendant should stand beside the incense table, face east toward the abbot, bow, open the incense case and lift up the incense. He should lift up the case with both hands, and then use the right hand to place it into [the palm of] his left hand. He then uses his right hand to lift the lid off the case and place it on the incense stand. Then, again with the right hand, he lifts up the incense and faces the guest of honor [after which he places the incense in the burner] and lets it burn. He then uses his right hand to replace the lid and then uses both hands to return the case to the incense stand. He must do all this gently and carefully, making sure not to make any noise or let the case fall to the ground. After this he need not bow, but should simply adjust his sitting mat and clasp his hands. He then approaches the guest of honor and bows. In some

monasteries, when the guests have taken their seats, the attendant will stand beside the abbot and "invite the sitting mat" and "invite the incense" [i.e., have these items brought in and offered] in order to show solemn courtesy on the occasion. [However,] here [i.e., in the example of the present text] the attendant stands beside the incense stand and bows to the abbot to symbolize the courtesy of "inviting the incense". The attendant then turns and stands with his hands clasped. First he invites [the guests] to have tea and then he bows to encourage them to have more tea. Next he burns incense and invites them [to have still more tea]. After this, the confections are presented and the attendant invites the guests to eat them. Then he invites them to have tea again and then bows once more to persuade them to have more tea. After the tea is over the attendant will step forward and bow. He then [has someone] collect the teacups and stands. Finally he bows and departs from his post. The attendant instructs a server beforehand to be ready so that as soon as the guests stand up, he can immediately move the chair of the abbot. The guest of honor then comes forward one or two steps toward the abbot, bows in gratitude for the offered tea, and withdraws. The abbot then escorts all the guests to the door and each guest turns to bow to the abbot as he leaves. The attendant instructs the servers to remove all the chairs, seat cushions, fans, napkins, and the incense stand tablecloth. They then clean up the tea, teacups, and stands, check to see that all items are accounted for, and wash everything. Then the attendant and servers have tea themselves, after which they are free to do as they like. They should always avoid troubling the abbot and should simply respect his instructions.

[182] If the prefect of the monastery's own prefecture or the supervisor of the monastery's own circuit or the magistrate of the monastery's own district [comes to the monastery] the entire assembly must come out to greet him and also to see him off. The abbot will be the host. If the magistrate is from the monastery's own district the abbot must personally come out to greet him, but if he is not from that district the abbot need not do so. After his attendant has lit the incense, the abbot stands up, saying, "We would now like to offer our low-grade tea (or low-grade sweetened drink) and we will follow all of Official X's instructions." Only when they have obtained [the official's] permission can they begin serving tea. If he should receive a

compliment [from the government official], the abbot should merely say, "This low-grade tea is only to show our sincerity. It is not worthy for you to touch." All the officials who come to the monastery should be treated equally to tea and food. If an official asks about things unrelated to the Dharma it is not necessary to respond in special detail. When a lay patron or donor or official visits, incense need only be burnt once and the attendant should merely bow to the abbot. The custom is to serve just one round of tea and one sweetened drink. Should the abbot summon his attendant to serve another tea or sweetened drink, the attendant need not light more incense. When a lay patron visits the monastery only one tea and one sweetened drink need be served and it is not necessary to burn incense.

[183] The abbot should not arbitrarily invite monks to tea. But if a tea ceremony is unplanned or called together suddenly, the attendant should have a server arrange the seats, incense, tea, and confections, and after this he may invite the guests. When the guests and the host are seated the attendant will face the center, bow and light the incense using his right hand to lift it up. The attendant then steps back and bows to everyone. If a higher grade tea is served then sweetened drink should not be offered. If the guests have sat for a long time and more sweetened drink is requested, the attendant need not light more incense. For newcomers, temporary guests, or monks from other monasteries, the attendant should burn incense only once, bow to everyone, and serve only one tea and one sweetened drink. If the attendant is meeting an official for the first time, he should greet him with a sense of solemnity and need not avoid doing so in front of the abbot. But if the guests are monks or lay people who are frequent visitors the attendant should not greet them in the abbot's presence.

The Tea Ceremony Held in the Saṅgha Hall

[184] To summon the assembly to a tea ceremony in the Saṅgha hall, the abbot's office and the priory should use an invitation poster called the *bang* 榜, and the chief seat

should use a smaller poster called the *zhuang* 狀,¹⁰ both of which are kept by the server in a box. The [abbot's] attendant or the prior or the chief seat first presents the *bang* or the *zhuang* to the guest(s) of honor, and after this invitation he will post them on one of the doors of the Saṅgha hall entrances. The abbot's *bang* will be posted on the right-hand door, the administrator's or chief seat's on the left. The prior or chief seat will go to the abbot's quarters to cordially invite the abbot. After the long striking of the board, all the monks will assemble and enter the hall. [The attendant or the prior or the chief seat] lights the incense, fully unfolds his sitting mat, bows three times, circumambulates the hall, and invites the assembled monks [to the tea ceremony].

[184] After the midday meal the bell is struck in front of the Saṅgha hall. Everyone is seated and the person who presides over the Dharma [*xing fashi ren* 行法事人; master of ceremonies or host] stands by the south [i.e., left] side of the front gate facing the Holy Monk. With his hands clasped, he slowly bows and, leaving his position, comes up to the Holy Monk and bows again. [185] Having done this, he stands before the incense burner, bows, opens the incense case and with his left hand lifts up the incense. Having completed this, he steps back slightly and bows again. Once he has done this he goes to the rear door and bows to the guest of honor. He then turns to face the south, approaches the Holy Monk and bows. Then he turns north and bows to the abbot. He then circumambulates the hall and comes to the first seat from the north [i.e., right] side of the rear door. Bending his body, he bows and moves to the first seat on the south [left] side, and, bending his body, bows again. If [the host] then moves to the outside section of the hall, he should bow first to the right-hand section and then to the left, re-enter the hall, and approach the Holy Monk. He then bows, returns to his original position, bows, and then remains standing with hands clasped.

¹⁰ The only difference between the two posters is size. For the form and content of the invitation posters see YZS [188].

[185] After the tea is poured the host should have the sweetened drink poured, and then he goes to the front and bows [to the guest of honor], inviting him to drink the tea first. Then the water vessel is brought out and the host circumambulates the hall to encourage everyone to have more tea. As with the first round [of tea], he bows and circumambulates the hall, but now he does not burn more incense. After the tea drinking is finished, the guest of honor's cup is removed and the assembly drops [i.e., places] their cups on the platform, remaining seated with their hands clasped. As described above, the host again burns incense and bows to the guest of honor. Having done this, he goes before the Holy Monk and fully unfolds his sitting mat, bowing down three times. He then circumambulates the hall one time and stands in his position. After the confections are presented, the host steps forward, bows, and invites the guests to partake of their confections. Then tea and sweetened drink is served once more and the host bows again to invite them to have more tea. If the water vessel is again presented, the host just as before will bow and circumambulate the hall to encourage [the guests] to have more tea. When the tea drinking has finished, the host will resume his position.

[186] If the [abbot's] attendant is the one presiding, then, when the tea drinking is over, he must first bow as the teacups and stands are collected and removed. Then the guest of honor stands before the abbot and unfolds his sitting mat, saying, "I am extremely grateful to receive this special tea ceremony from the abbot now." He then unfolds the sitting mat a second time and offers a seasonal greeting, saying, "I humbly wish upon your honorable body and your daily life ten thousand fortunes." He will then do *chuli* three times and escort the abbot out of the hall. The attendant then stands before the Holy Monk and bows to the right section and then to the left. After this is completed, the bell to exit the hall is struck.

[187] When the priory or chief seat sponsors the tea ceremony, then, when the tea drinking is over, the abbot's cup is collected first and all the administrators or the chief seat

take their place before the abbot, unfolding their sitting mats and saying, "Today our humble low-grade tea (or saying, "Today our inferior sweetened drink. . .") has received your grace, abbot, for out of kindness you have lowered yourself to come [to us]: for this we are extremely grateful." They then unfold their sitting mats a second time and express a seasonal greeting, saying, "We humbly wish upon your honorable body and your daily life ten thousand fortunes." They then do *chuli* three times. After the third bow, the abbot need not bow in return but should simply bow to the assembly and express a parting courtesy. After this courtesy, [the administrators or the chief seat] escort the abbot out of the hall. The person who presides over the ceremony then re-enters the hall and, standing in front of the Holy Monk, bows to the right section and then to the left. At this point all the cups are collected, the host bows again, and the bell to exit the hall is struck. Then the chief seat exits the hall and outside he and the administrators do *chuli* three times to each other. If the chief seat is host and the scribe is guest of honor, then the scribe must also exit the hall first and outside he and the chief seat do *chuli* three times to each other, whereupon all are dismissed.

[188] The Poster for the Abbot's Tea Party Beginning the Summer Retreat [reads as follows]: "This morning after breakfast the abbot will sponsor a tea ceremony in the cloud hall. [This tea ceremony] is to be held especially for the chief seat and the assembly, and symbolizes the commencement of the summer retreat. In addition, all administrators are invited to provide their illuminating company. Today is X day of X month. Respectfully written by Attendant X."

The Poster for the Abbot's Tea Party Ending the Summer Retreat: [For this poster] the beginning and the end read the same as above. Only [the middle phrase] is changed to ". . .symbolizes the ending of the summer retreat."

The Poster for the Priory's Tea Party Beginning the Summer Retreat [reads as follows]: "This morning after breakfast the priory will sponsor a tea ceremony in the cloud hall. [This tea ceremony] is to be held especially for the chief seat and the assembly, and symbolizes the commencement

of the summer retreat. I humbly wish you all will kindly condescend to come. Today is X day of X month. Respectfully written by Priory Bhikṣu X."

The Poster for the Priory's Tea Ceremony Ending the Summer Retreat: [For this poster] the beginning and the end read the same as above. Only [the middle phrase] is changed to ". . .symbolizes the ending of the summer retreat."

The Letter for the Chief Seat's Tea Ceremony Beginning the Summer Retreat [reads as follows]: "Chief Seat Bhikṣu X, addressed to X who may open and receive [this letter]. This morning after breakfast [I] will sponsor a tea ceremony in the cloud hall. [This tea ceremony] is to be held especially for the scribe and the assembly, and symbolizes the commencement of the summer retreat. Moreover, all administrators are invited. I humbly wish you all will kindly condescend to come. X day of X month. Written by Chief Seat Bhikṣu X." On the outside of the envelope is written: "By this letter [I] invite the scribe and the assembly. Sincerely sealed by Chief Seat Bhikṣu X."

The Letter for the Chief Seat's Tea Ceremony Ending the Summer Retreat: [For this letter] the beginning and the end read the same as above. Only [the middle phrase] is changed to ". . .symbolizes the ending of the summer retreat." The poster for the tea ceremony sponsored by the abbot for the new and former administrators and chief seats and the poster for the tea ceremony sponsored by the administrators and chief seat have already been discussed in the section on the appointment of the administrators and the chief officers.

The Tea Ceremony Hosted by the Administrators or the Chief Officers

[189] The tea ceremony hosted by the administrators or the chief officers begins after the sound of the striking of the board. The host stands in his position to greet the assembly and make sure everyone is seated. Then the host himself is seated and after a short time he can withdraw his legs [i.e., sit in the lotus position].¹¹ After another brief

¹¹ Another possible interpretation: the entire assembly, including the host, sits with legs dropped to the floor, and after a while the host asks everyone to sit in the lotus position.

interval the host stands up, bows, and leaves his position to burn incense. He lifts up the incense with the right hand. He then bows to the guests of honor and, having done this, returns to the side of his seat where he bows to everyone. The host should not bow in front of his seat at this point. [190] He then returns to his position, bows, and sits down. After [the server] has poured out two or three cups [as he is making his way around the table], [the host] lifts [his cup] to greet the guest of honor (he need only greet the leader of the assembly) and those seated to the right and left of him. Then everyone begins drinking the tea. After drinking (if, as is sometimes done, any cups are to be removed at this point, only the host's cup may be collected), the host stands up, bows, leaves his position to burn incense, returns to his seat, and bows in the manner mentioned before. Next the confections are presented and all are invited to eat. Then the guests are invited to have more tea. When the tea drinking is done, the teacups are collected. When this is finished, the host bows, stands up, and sees the guests to the door. When the director sponsors a tea ceremony in the assembly quarters for the assembly, he invites the chief seat of his assembly quarters to be the guest of honor and presides over the ceremony himself. When a special tea ceremony for newcomers is to be held, the practice should be the same as the ceremony for the administrators. Non-incumbent chief officers should not invite administrators to have tea lest they should hinder public duties or arouse suspicions.

[191] The custom for the priory and all the chief officers in welcoming the newcomers is to give tea after the morning meal, and to serve sweetened drink and make one offering of incense after the [evening] hiatus from the abbot's sermon. But if sweetened drink is not to be served in the evening, then it may be served immediately following the morning tea without the guests leaving their seats.

The Tea Ceremony in the Assembly Quarters Hosted by the Senior Monks

[192] According to the custom for the tea ceremony [in the assembly quarters sponsored by the senior monks, the host] burns incense and bows first to the director [and then to each person in the director's section] and then starting from the chief seat [to each person in the chief seat's section]. Then the tea is poured, after which [the host] circumambulates the hall to encourage the guests to have more tea. After a short time, he comes forward and bows, saying, "The tea is of a low grade. Please forgive that we do not change the teacups [in the course of the ceremony]." Having said this he burns incense and again invites the guests to have tea. He circumambulates the hall again and bows. Next the confections are served, and then more tea is poured, after which the guests are encouraged to have still more tea. The above two instances when the host burns incense and bows to the guests as well as the display of gratitude at the end of the ceremony should be done in sequence according to the guests' seniority. For the second encouragement to drink the bow and circumambulation may simply be omitted. For the first encouragement it is sufficient to bow once, first to the right section and then to the left. The host thanks his guests for coming by saying, "Today our low-grade tea was specially received by the director of assembly quarters, the chief seat, and the assembly when you kindly agreed to descend to our hall." He then does *chuli* three times and circumambulates the hall once while the teacups are being removed. Then he bows and stands up. If [other senior monks] would like to invite guests to an informal tea ceremony, then, when all the monks are sitting in the assembly quarters, the sponsor burns one stick of incense, saying, "Someday we would like to respectfully invite the director of assembly quarters, the chief seat, and the assembly to come for tea. We humbly hope you will kindly descend to our hall." He then does *chuli* three times, circumambulates the hall and bows. On the day of the tea ceremony the sponsor will preside.

The Tea Ceremony Hosted by the Assembly

[193] For morning tea ceremonies, invitations should be extended the preceding day. For tea ceremonies after the midday meal, invitations should be made that morning. For evening sweetened drink, invitations should be made after the midday meal. If respectable senior monks (for instance, the chief seat emeritus, senior monks from other monasteries, or elder monks of the same lineage, such as the host's master's elder or junior colleagues or the host's own senior colleagues) are being invited, then one must fully unfold the sitting mat and bow down three times. If the guest should refuse such an honor, then it is sufficient to do *chuli* three times. If respectable monks of the next rank in seniority (for instance, fellow monks with higher ordination seniority and virtue) are being invited then one should do *chuli* three times. If fellow monks of equal seniority (or, in the same lineage, junior monks or the disciples of fellow monks) are being invited one need only bow.

[194] The host arranges the seats, incense, flowers, and seating chart at the proper time, and stands at the door to greet the guests. When the guests have taken their seats, he bows, saying, "Please withdraw your legs [i.e., assume the lotus position]." He then burns incense and bows to the guest of honor. Having done this, he bows and says, "Please put aside your sitting mats."¹² On exceedingly warm summer days he says, "Please [feel free to] use your fans." On very cold winter days he says, "Please [feel free to] cover your

¹² The sitting mat was normally draped over the left arm under the robe (*kāṣāya*). In the above passage, the putting aside of sitting mats, as well as the use of fans or the covering of heads, indicates that this ceremony was considered less formal and its participants were excused from certain stringent rules of monastic decorum.

The hanging of the sitting mat over the left arm under the *kāṣāya*, a practice still observed by Chinese monks and nuns today, is first recorded in Daoxuan's *Lüxiang gantong zhuan* 律相感通傳 (T 45:880c; ZSS:708a). According to this account, monks began by putting their sitting mats on their left shoulders, *over* their robes, in order to prevent their *kāṣāyas* from being blown away by the wind. However, when a non-Buddhist asked why, given that the *kāṣāya* was considered nobler and worthier than the sitting mat, the former was worn underneath the latter and not vice-versa, the monks changed their practice. From that moment on, monks were said to keep their sitting mats draped over their left arms but hidden beneath their *kāṣāyas*.

heads." Then three to five rounds of tea and sweetened drink are served. The host bows and says, "Please partake of the tea [and sweetened drink] first." Now the water vessel is presented and the host bows before the guest of honor, and bows again to encourage everyone to have more tea. Then, after the teacups have been removed, (If the teacups are not to be removed, the host will announce, "The tea is of a low grade. Please forgive that we do not change the teacups [in the course of the ceremony].") If the sweetened drink cups are not to be removed, the host will announce, "This sweetened drink is inferior. Please forgive that we do not change the sweetened drink cups [in the course of the ceremony].") he burns incense and bows to the guest of honor. Next, the confections are served, after which the host says, "Please partake of the confections." Then the tea and sweetened drink is served [again] and the guests are encouraged in the aforementioned manner to drink more tea. After the tea, the host shows his gratitude by saying, "Today's tea (or, by saying, "Today's sweetened drink. . .") is served specially for X and Y. The tea is of a low grade and the seats are uncomfortable. [For the fact that you came anyway] I am extremely grateful." For the most respectable senior monks, [the host] should fully unfold his sitting mat and bow down three times. In the evening before or after the hiatus from the sermon schedule he should go to these monks' residences to extend his gratitude. For respectable monks of the next rank in seniority as well as for fellow monks he should show his gratitude by saying, "Today the tea or the sweetened drink was served especially for X and Y. [This ceremony] is not worth bothering Z ["you"; those being addressed] to accompany them." The host should then do *chuli* twice, saying, "For fear of bothering you in the evening I dare not go to your quarters to extend my gratitude." He then bows to them once. He and all the company then bow to each other. After a short time, the host again bows and the teacups are collected. The host then bows once more, leaves his position and goes to the door to see the guests off.

The Tea Ceremony Hosted by the Assembly for the Elder Monks
[of the Same Lineage]

[196] If, when a tea ceremony is being held for elder monks of the same lineage, such as the host's master, the master's elder or junior colleagues, or the host's own senior colleagues, the seats in the host's quarter are deemed uncomfortable and bothersome to the assembly, then the assembly quarters should be requested for use. The invitation procedure has been discussed above. If there is only one guest of honor, then the director of assembly quarters sits in the center seat and a seat is placed [next to the director of assembly quarters] for the guest of honor. [After the guests are seated], the host turns to face the center and, using his left hand, lifts up the incense. He approaches the seats [of the director of assembly quarters and guest of honor] and, facing them, bows down. If there are two or more guests of honor, then these seats are placed facing the director of assembly quarters. The host lifts up the incense with his left hand and bows down at the edge of the banquet area. The words expressed, the host's demeanor, and everything else are identical to the customs for the tea ceremony in honor of the abbot, except that, after bowing down, standing up, and stepping forward to bow (he does not have to greet the guest of honor before he stands up), the host must do *chuli* three times at the edge of the banquet area and bow to the company one by one to express his gratitude. He then stands outside the door to see the guests off. At night the host will visit the senior monk in his quarters to thank him. He then goes to the director of assembly quarters and bows to express his gratitude. If the ceremony is held in the host's own quarter, then the guest of honor will sit in the center seat, burn the incense, and bow down from that location. After both parties have agreed to allow the assembly to use the hall for the tea ceremony, [the director of assembly quarters] should find some pretext to avoid attending. He should not [increase the complexity of the ritual with his presence, for his status would demand that he] occupy the center position.

making it inconvenient for the host who must then regard him as the most senior figure, bowing to him at each step, etc.

Fascicle Six

The Tea Ceremony in the Abbot's Honor Sponsored by Dharma Relatives or Select Disciples

[199] In the morning [the prospective host] should prepare himself and go first to see the [abbot's] attendant, saying, "I wish to trouble you to inform the abbot that it is our desire to sponsor a tea ceremony in honor of the abbot after the meal in the abbot's quarters." The attendant informs the abbot and then leads the host to meet him. After the host bows, he says to the abbot, "Please, Venerable Teacher, be seated." If the abbot is already seated, it is not necessary to invite him to sit. The host then fully unfolds his sitting mat and bows down three times. He then bends forward, saying, "This morning after the early meal we would like to hold a tea ceremony in your honor in your quarters. We humbly beg your kindness in giving us permission." The abbot replies, "I will follow your order with all sincerity. You need not bow down." Whether or not the abbot bows down in response depends on the [host's] seniority. The host then bows down three times. Some may further extend the invitation by fully unfolding the sitting mat and bowing down three times; others may simply unfold the sitting mat once. [The choice] depends on [the host's] seniority. After this, [the host] does *chuli* three times. Then [the host] bows and withdraws. He must consult with the attendant to arrange the seating and the seating chart. It is then his obligation to invite the other guests. The host should choose the company from among the senior chief officers and the senior monks of the same lineage as well as from the senior retired staff.

[200] After the meal, the host should go to the abbot's quarters to prepare the incense, tea, confections, teacups, stands, and water vessels, to make sure that nothing is left unprepared. Next, the guests assemble (The drum should not be struck to summon the guests.)¹ and the host greets them, as has them take their seats. When the correct number of guests

¹ As this is not an event to which all monks are invited, the drum, which is used to summon the entire assembly, need not be struck.

have arrived, [the host] enters the abbot's room to invite him to take the center seat. Once the abbot has withdrawn his legs, [the host] steps forward and bows. [He] then turns to the west and passes by the east side of the incense stand in order to face the southwest corner of the banquet area and bow. Having done this, he clasps his hands and stands with his side to the center seat. This posture [of deference to the abbot] indicates [the host's actual] guest status [within the abbot's quarters]. If the abbot is himself hosting the tea ceremony, then his attendant burns the incense and stands in the southeast corner of the banquet area on the host's behalf. [The host] should wait until everyone is seated and settled, and then slowly bow. He then leaves his position and goes to the side of the incense table where he remains standing. He bows to the abbot and uses his left hand to lift up the incense. After replacing the lid [of the incense case], without a bow, he clasps his hands, passes the east side of the incense stand, and turns to the north facing the abbot. Then he bows, returns to his original position, bows again and remains standing. After the tea has been poured for everyone, three to five cups of sweetened drink are served. Then the host comes forward to bow (this is the initial invitation to drink tea) and steps back to remain standing in his original position. The water vessels are then presented (On those occasions when the host is sponsoring the tea ceremony for his own master or for senior monks of his master's generation, the attendant pours the sweetened drink and [the host] personally should offer the tea to show sincerity and respect.) and the host steps before the abbot to bow in order to encourage him to have more tea. He then returns to his position and remains standing. After the tea drinking has ended, the teacups are removed. If the attendant has personally poured the tea, then he should personally collect the cups as well. Waiting until the teacups and stands are dealt with, [the host] should then burn incense as before and, facing the abbot, fully unfold his sitting mat and bow down three times. He then comes forward and bends his body, saying, "I would like to prolong your most honorable ["elephantine"] visit in order to offer you more of our low-grade tea. For this I humbly beg your kind permission," and then [the host] bows down three more times [to withdraw]. Or sometimes the host may fully unfold

his sitting mat, immediately express the above invitation, and then withdraw by again bowing down three times. Then the abbot replies, "I have already received your most diligent hospitality. There is no need for you to persist." Whether or not the abbot bows in response depends on the [host's] seniority. Waiting until the abbot has withdrawn his legs, [the host] bows and returns to his seat to remain standing. After the confections are served the host will step forward and bow (that is, invite the assembly to partake of the confections). The host then steps back to his position and remains standing. Then three to five cups of tea and sweetened drink are served (the host may personally pour the tea) and the host bows to invite the guests to drink tea. The water vessel is then presented and the host steps forward to bow in order to encourage the guests to drink more tea. He then returns to his position and remains standing.

[202] Once the tea drinking has ended, the abbot's teacup should be collected first. Sometimes [the host] may personally collect this cup. [The host] then fully unfolds his sitting mat and bows down three times before the abbot, saying, "Today the abbot has kindly descended to receive our low-grade tea. For this I am extremely grateful." The abbot replies, "I am extremely grateful for your moving hospitality and the tea you have served." Whether or not the abbot bows in return depends upon [the host's] seniority. The host then withdraws, after bowing down three times. However, it is also possible [for the host] to fully unfold the sitting mat, step forward, bow with bent body, utter the same words as above, and withdraw, bowing down three times. If the abbot does not bow in reply to the host's bow, then the host steps forward, bows, and, having done this, withdraws to the west side and stands with hands clasped and his side turned to the center. The abbot then gets up from his chair, takes leave of the assembly and returns to his room (at this time the assembly need not stand up). The host escorts the abbot [to his door], bows, and withdraws. If the abbot wishes to bow in return, he must do so during the host's third bow but before the host rises. If the abbot does not bow in return, he merely presses his hands together and bows to take leave of the assembly. If the administrators or the chief officers host the tea ceremony for the abbot in the Saṅgha hall the procedure will be the same. Without

withdrawing, the host escorts the abbot back to his room, bows, and then returns to his original position where he remains standing. There he thanks the assembly, saying, "Today's low-grade tea was especially for the abbot. But I am extremely grateful to have received the kind company of [names of those present]." He will then do *chuli* three times and bow standing in his position. After the teacups have been collected he bows and stands up to see the guests off. However, he escorts them only one or two steps beyond the banquet area as it is not proper for a guest to see off other guests [i.e., the host is only a "guest" because the abbot is the "official" host]. The host then goes to the attendant's quarters to extend his gratitude.

The Procedure for Burning Incense during the Tea Ceremony in the Assembly's Honor

[203] [The procedure] for the grand tea ceremony held in the Saṅgha hall in honor of the assembly [is as follows]: before the meal the host enters the hall and offers only one stick of incense to signal the invitation. After the meal, the tea is served or, in the evening, the sweetened drink is served. Before the first round [of tea] two sticks of incense should be offered. Before the second round one stick will suffice. When the abbot's quarters, the priory, and the other quarters hold tea ceremonies in their own halls, they follow all of these [incense-burning] practices with the exception of the invitation procedure. For ceremonies not held in the assembly's honor only one stick of incense should be offered.

The Presentation of Feasts

[204] To sponsor a feast, the host must first extend the invitation before the meal. [When it is time,] the long striking of the board will summon the guests. When all the guests have taken their seats, the host enters and approaches the table where he bows to the guest of honor. He then moves to the edge of the banquet area where he bows to the rest of the guests. After the food has been presented, the host burns incense and bows to the guest

of honor. Later a cash offering is made to each of the monks present, after which the host approaches the guest of honor and bows as before. If the abbot is sponsoring the feast then his attendant will preside [as host] over the ceremony. If the priory is the sponsor then the priory section's host representative will preside over the ceremony.

Giving Thanks for the Tea Ceremony

[205] [The procedure for giving thanks] after a feast or tea ceremony sponsored by the abbot's quarters [depends on the status of the guest of honor]. If the guest of honor is lower in seniority than the abbot, he should go to the abbot's quarters, fully unfold his sitting mat, and bow down three times. If the abbot refuses to accept [this gesture], [the guest of honor] may simply do *chuli* three times. If the guest of honor is of the same generation as the abbot or the abbot's senior, then in the evening he should go to the abbot's quarters and extend his gratitude by saying, "Today I have received special treatment in the form of your tea ceremony, for which I am extremely grateful." This is in accordance with the ancient adage, "The guest thanks the host for the tea but not for the food." The practice of bowing down depends on the particular situation. If the tea ceremony is sponsored by the administrators or the chief officers, the guest of honor need not go to their quarters to express his gratitude. If the tea ceremony is sponsored by [a monk] of the guest of honor's generation, then the guest of honor should go to express his gratitude before or after the time of the break from the abbot's sermon.

The Reading of the Sutra

[206] On those occasions when a donor sponsors a sutra reading by the assembly in the library (*zangxia* 藏下) or the Dharma hall, the superintendent arranges the chairs and desks. The cook sends food servers [to help], while the director of the library prepares tea, incense, flowers, lamps and candles. The rector then posts a list [of those invited to read] in

order of ordination seniority, and composes a chart allocating the sutra and arranging the seating. He must also invite the ācāryas, one to preside over the Dharma service (*fashi* 法事)² and one to lead the chanting (*zuofan* 作梵). The scribe writes the prayers to begin and end the ceremony and makes the poster announcing the sutra reading. The sutra curator then takes out the sutras and displays them.

[207] When the time comes, the rector rings the bell and everyone assembles and sits in their assigned seats for the reading of the sutra. The presiding ācārya blows the conch and strikes the gong. The guest master meticulously checks to verify that all is in order before leading in the donor to offer incense. The donor then kneels down carrying a small incense holder. The rector offers his praise [of the ceremony], reads the initial prayer, and recites the Buddhas' names, after which the chanting ācārya leads the chanting. When the chanting is finished, everyone opens the sutra. If any [monks] are ill, recuperating from an illness, or attending to business outside the monastery, the rector will keep [their share of] the money and wait for them to return to the Saṅgha hall or to [their section of] the monastery and reassign them to read the sutra. This [remuneration] is extremely beneficial. If an ailing monk requests the money being saved for him to read sutra later, the rector must give it to him. If there are sutras [and, therefore, donated funds] left over after the initial distribution, the extra sutras should be assigned according to the sutra-reading seniority list. If a donor wishes to offer a feast on the last day of the sutra reading, the rector should read the final prayer at that time. All the money donated by the donors for sutra reading is collected and distributed by the rectory. [208] Money is first deducted from the total to pay the postulants, the rector who recites the prayer, the scribe who writes down the prayer, [the sutra curator of] the library who provides the incense, candles and tea drink, the guest master who leads the incense offering, the presiding ācārya, and the chanting ācārya. The remaining funds are then counted and

² The term *fashi* in *CYQG* may refer either to the individual who presides over the ceremony or to the service itself, depending on the context.

distributed [to the readers]. The prior is in charge of the service in general and he should also show hospitality to the donors. The director of the library provides tea and sweetened drink for everyone and teaches them to cherish and protect the Holy Teaching.

[209] The proper way to read the sutra is illustrated in the section on the library director. The sutra should always be read with special care. If a monk cannot read the sutra, he should voluntarily approach the rectory to withdraw [his name from the list]. Once the sutra has been received, it should be read in the correct manner. It is better to finish [reading] earlier rather than later; not only does this accomplish the donor's will, but it prevents any lingering future burden.

The Grand Feast Sponsored by the Donor

[209] When a donor visits the monastery to sponsor a grand feast [to commemorate an auspicious or grave occasion],³ the prior should ascertain how many monks and lay people from outside the monastery are coming, as well as how much money is to be offered to the monks. He then informs the abbot and consults the cook to arrange the courses and prepare the ingredients. The superintendent sets up the tables and chairs either in the priory or in the Dharma hall. The amount of incense, flowers, and decorated curtains to be used depends on the financial resources of the donor. The scribe composes a prayer appropriate for the occasion. It is the rector's duty to arrange the seating chart.

[210] The abbot sits in the center seat. If the abbot is absent from the monastery the prior will take his place. The chief seat sits with the abbot in the front at the center (If a respectable senior monk is present, he will sit [with the abbot] at the center and the chief seat will sit at the abbot's left-hand side), and [the rest of the monks] sit in order of seniority beginning with the director of the library. The donors and lay people are seated in their assigned section. The prior, the

³ *MSL* 34 (*T* 22:500a-501c) contains a section on monastic feasts describing the various reasons that lay patrons sponsored blessing ceremonies (*jixiang hui* 吉祥會): a birth in the family, a move to a new home, a long-distance journey, a wedding, etc. A different ceremony--the "hungry ghost ceremony" (*egui hui* 餓鬼會)--was for grave occasions, namely, to bring solace to the recently deceased.

rector, and the superintendent sit near the drum. The rest of the chief officers and the senior monks of virtue are seated according to their seniority. If the guests sit [in two rows placed] far apart, they are seated facing each other. But even if [the two rows are placed] close to each other, on the same platform, the guests face each other. The most senior monks are seated in order beginning from the south end.

[211] The wooden fish (*yugu* 魚鼓; "fish-[shaped] drum")⁴ is struck to assemble the guests, and the bell is rung for the guests to take their seats. The guests and host bow and enter the hall together. Music is played before the holy statue while the guest master checks to verify that all is in order and leads in the donors to offer incense. [The donors offer the incense] from the abbot[*'s seat*] to the southeast corner of the banquet area, then from the center of the banquet [i.e., from the position of the chief seat or a respectable senior monk, beside the abbot] to the southwest corner of the banquet area, and then to all the others in as expedient a manner as possible.

[211] When the offering of incense is completed, the donor genuflects before the Holy Statue carrying a small incense holder. After the presiding *ācārya* chants and the rector reads the prayer and recites the names of the Ten Buddhas, the donors take their positions. If the Dharma instruments are not played after the incense offering, then the head of Dharma service is selected to chant the *Gongjing tou* 恭敬頭 ("We all respect and faithfully bow down to the eternal Three Treasures"—the *lüefan* 略梵 [the first line and title] by which people refer to this chant)⁵ and then recite the Buddha's name until the incense offering is finished. Then

⁴ Not a drum *per se*, but a piece of wood carved in the shape of a fish. Also referred to as *yuban* 魚板 see ZSS:751a.

⁵ Ono Katsutoshi (*Nittō guhō junrei kōki*, vol.2:155) maintains that the "three homages" may refer to the following verses of the *Da fanguang Fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 6 (T 9:430c27-431a2):

[I, with great respect,] take refuge in the Buddha and wish that all sentient beings may realize the great enlightenment and develop the ultimate mind.

I take refuge in the Dharma and wish that all sentient beings may enter deeply into the sutras and gain wisdom [as vast as] the ocean.

begins the chanting of the *Rulai fan* 如來梵 ([which begins,] "The magnificent body of the Tathāgata..." and ends, "Therefore I take refuge and faithfully bow down to the eternal Three Treasures."),⁶ after which [the donor] kneels down before the incense holder, while [the rector] reads the prayer and recites the Buddha's name. The donors are then seated in the aforementioned manner. If instruments are not played then there need not be any recitation of the Buddha's name or reading of prayers. Then the rector strikes the bell and recites the *Gongjing tou*. When the donor has finished offering the incense, he genuflects before the Holy Statue

I take refuge in the Saṅgha and wish that all sentient beings may lead the assembly without hindrance.

〔一切恭敬〕自歸依佛、當願眾生、體解大道、發無上意、

自歸依法、當願眾生、深入經藏、智慧如海、

自歸依僧、當願眾生、統理大眾、一切無礙

Another possible verse suggested by Ono appears in Zhiyi's *Fahua sanmei chanyi* 法華三昧儀 (T 46:950b):

We all, with great respect, / Pay homage with one mind to the Buddhas who eternally dwell in all ten directions, / [We] pay homage with one mind to the Dharma that eternally dwells in all ten directions, / [And we] pay homage with one mind to the Saṅgha who eternally dwell in all ten directions."

一切恭敬、一心敬禮、十方常住佛。一心敬禮、十方常住法。一心敬禮、十方常住僧

⁶ The entire verse of the *Rulai fan*, which is taken from *Shengman shizihou yisheng dafangbian fanguang jing* 勝鬘獅子吼一乘大方便廣經, T 12:217a21-24, reads:

The magnificent body of the Tathāgata / Is unrivalled in this world, / Its ungraspability is beyond compare, / Therefore [I] now pay homage to it. / The existence of the Tathāgata is without limits, / As is his wisdom, / [Which is] the permanently existing dharma. / Therefore I take refuge [and faithfully bow down to the eternal Three Treasures].

如來妙色身、世間無與等、無比不思議、是故今敬禮。如來色無盡、智慧亦復然、一切法常住、是故我歸依

By comparing this passage with earlier accounts of monastic chanting, we can see that this Chinese ritual had remained largely unchanged for centuries. During the Tang period, Ennin (*Nittō guhō junrei gyōki*, NBZ 113:208a) recorded the following observations about a Korean temple which was located in Dengzhou 登州, China (the present day Shandong 山東 province) and which was heavily influenced by the Chinese methods of chanting: "After the bell was struck, the assembly was calm and silent. A monk in a low seat stood up and hit the hammer, chanting, 'We all respect and faithfully bow down to the eternal Three Treasures.' Then another monk began to chant the two verses beginning with 'The magnificent body of the Tathāgata. . .'"

The above is my own translation. See also Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, 155.

carrying a small incense holder. [212] Then the rector chants the *Rulai fan*, expresses the purpose of the feast, chants again, and then the donors are seated and the bell is struck to call order.

[213] The bell is struck once more and the chief seat presents the food, offers incense, and announces that eating may begin. During the Grand Feast the server does not make announcements. Instead he stands outside the banquet area after each course is served. The bell is again struck one time and the assembly clasp their hands [for a moment of] silent contemplation, after which the food is offered to all sentient beings. After the food is eaten the rector strikes the bell and the chief seat distributes the money [to the monks]. However, sometimes the donor distributes the money, and sometimes the administrator does it on the behalf of the chief seat. When the feast has ended, the head of Dharma service or the rector strikes the bell, chanting, "Though placed in this world, [one's mind] is in the emptiness...."⁷ He then reads a brief excerpt from the prayer explaining the purpose of the feast and thereby transferring the merit. Next, the names of the Ten Buddhas are chanted, the bell is struck, and all present stand up. In some [monasteries], the bell is rung twice, once to signal the chanting of verses to end the feast, and a second time to dismiss the guests. It is better to hold the Grand Feast earlier because it is not appropriate [to eat] after noon.

Egress and Entrance

⁷ The verse, taken from *Chao riming sanmei jing* 超日明三昧經, T 15:532a21-22, reads in its entirety:

Although located in this world, [one's mind] is in the emptiness, just as the lotus flower [, though growing in muddy water,] does not touch the water's surface. My mind is so pure and clean that it transcends [the material world]. Now I pay homage to the Ultimate Venerable One [i.e., to the Buddha].

處世界如虛空、若蓮華不著水、心清淨超於彼、稽首禮無上尊。

This verse was also chanted during the precept confession (*shuojie* 說戒) in the Lü school, see XSC 1D, T 40:37a9; also see *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki*, NBZ 113:207b; Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, 152.

[214] If after the early meal the assembly leaves the monastery on some business-- to attend a feast, chant, or greet venerable seniors, then the rector must make the announcement before the early meal. If [they are to leave] after the midday meal, then the rector must make the announcement during the midday meal.

[215] The procedure for making the announcement in the hall (*baitang* 白堂) is as follows: after the food has been distributed to everyone's bowls, or after the money has been distributed, the rector strikes once with the hammer, saying, "I now announce to you that this morning after the meal you will hear the sound of the bell. You should prepare your demeanor and personal effects for you are invited to attend a feast at X location. All chief officers in their respective quarters should roll up the curtains on their doors and attend. This I announce with all sincerity." The rector strikes with the hammer once [more], bows before the Holy Monk, bows before the abbot, and circumambulates [the hall] one time. If there are monks in the outer section of the hall, he should also bow to them (excepting those in the rear hall [which is a separate section behind the Saṅgha hall]).

[215] When it is time to leave, the bell is rung to summon the entire monastery to assemble at the mountain gate. The abbot leads the procession and behind him follow the chief seat, the scribe, the director of the library, the guest master, the bath master, the senior retired staff [, and the assembly], marching in order of ordination seniority. Behind the assembly are the superintendent, the cook, the rector, and the prior. The procession should be an orderly single file with no monk losing his place. [Those walking] should not gaze about to the right and left, talk, make jokes, chant loudly, or swing their arms [the arms should remain clasped in the front].

[216] Once they have arrived at their destination they may calmly remove their hats. The monks should wait until the abbot, administrators, chief officers, and the assembly have gathered together, when they will all greet the donor, after which they can take their seats. The monks should be solemn and quiet in order to inspire the donor's piety. If

anyone should need to relieve himself he should not simply [remove and] fold his *kāṣāya*, place it on his desk, and leave the group. Rather he should take leave of the assembly first, [remove his *kāṣāya* outside], and leave it in a clean place. After he is finished, he should wash his hands, put his *kāṣāya* back on, and return to the group. The chief virtue is to avoid disturbing the assembly of purity. When the donor is making preparations or offering incense or money, the monks should remain mindful and should not receive such offerings arrogantly or absentmindedly. They should not be looking at [the donor's] books or paintings, nor playing with children. No matter how pleasant or interesting the surroundings, the monks should not become distracted.

[217] After the feast, every monk should follow the abbot in returning to the monastery. No monk should remain behind to conduct business (such as buying clothes or medicinal herbs, visiting other donors, sightseeing or visiting a teacher-monk in another monastery, or any number of reasons too numerous to list) lest he should become the target of ridicule. If he does indeed have some business to attend to, he should wait until some other day and ask for the rectory's permission to leave. For those occasions when the monastery leaves to attend a chanting service or to greet the arrival of an honorable senior, the procedure follows this same general outline. Whether or not the chief officers of the respective quarters receive permission to leave depends on the given situation.

Signals to the Assembly

[217] Whenever the bell, drum, or fish-shaped board is struck, the monks must know what they are expected to do. At the fifth *geng* 更 [four o'clock a.m.] the big bell is tolled as a signal for the monks to wake up and rise from bed. The ringing of the small bell in front of the kitchen signifies the "opening of small quietness" [i.e., when only a number of monks are to be awakened]. The server who delivers food to each quarter and the lamp attendant

(*dengtou* 燈頭) [218] must rise before [the others]. The cloud-shaped metal sheet (*yunban* 雲板)⁸ is struck for the "opening of big quietness" [i.e., when all the monks are to be awakened]. All the monks rise at the same time, and only then can they fold their comforters and roll up their mosquito nets. Striking the long board tells the monks to take down their bowls (all the monks [having formed a line outside the hall beforehand] enter the hall at the same time) and striking the wooden fish⁹ is the signal for the gathered assembly to be seated quietly. Late arrivals are not

⁸ Although the radical for the character *ban* 板 means "wood," the *yunban* was not made of wood at all, but of metal, and therefore this *ban* is sometimes written as 版, a character which does not specifically signify a wooden material (ZSS:733b).

The *Sancai huitu* 三才圖會("Qiyong" 器用 12, II:1339) informs us that the striking of the metal sheet was a means of keeping time for the monastery. But according to *Tang liudian* 唐六典 10 (vol. 117:16a), the Chinese government had long employed individuals known as *dianzhong* 典鐘 specifically for the task of striking a bell to keep time for townspeople. Thus we can conclude that the monastic use of the *yunban* to mark time was adopted from the pre-existing secular practice of striking a bell.

⁹ Various extant sources provide us with interesting explanations for the fish-like shape of this instrument. *CBQG* 8 (T 48:1156a4-5) gives us the most straightforward explanation: as it was thought that a fish never closes its eyes, it was naturally adopted as a symbol of unrelenting vigilance and rigor. An early source for this idea is the *Liu Fu zhiyi* 劉斧遺遺 (cited in the later *Yunfu qunyu* 韻府群玉 2, p. 47b). This is generally considered the most reliable of the various sources and this interpretation is the most popular among monastics today (*CHSS* II:983c).

SSYL 3 (T 54:304a25-26) cites two sources for its differing versions of the instrument's provenance. In the biography of Zhang Hua 張華 given in *Jinshu* 36 (p. 1075), it is said that in the Wu region a stone drum emerged of itself from the ocean, but when it was struck it failed to produce any sound, prompting the emperor to ask Zhang Hua for his explanation. Zhang Hua suggested that a piece of paulownia wood be brought from Sichuan and carved into the shape of a fish. When this fish was then used to strike the stone drum, the sound could be heard for several miles.

SSYL's second explanation is taken from the *Gujin shiwen leiju* 古今事文類聚 ("Xuji" 續集 fasc. 23, p. 20a). This text tells the story of a large beast named Pulao 蒲勞 who, when struck by a whale, screamed out in fright. After this impressive incident, bells began to be fashioned in the shape of Pulao and striking instruments were carved in the shape of a whale. Mujaku Dōchū (*CHSS* II:983c), however, dismisses both stories, arguing that they refer to the origin of fish-shaped striking instruments, rather than to the fish-shaped drums in question.

The Tiantai monastic code *JYQG* 2 (ZZK 2-6-4:396a) cites an elaborate story allegedly adopted from *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā-sāstra*. A monk, who in his lifetime had betrayed his teacher by slandering the Dharma, was reborn as a fish with a tree growing from his back. Whenever the tree would sway in the wind it would cause the fish to bleed and feel pain. Upon seeing that his former teacher was crossing the ocean on a ship, the fish spitefully attempted to hinder the boat's progress. But when the teacher realized that this fish was his student in a former life, he induced the creature to repent of his previous life's actions and he performed the water-land ceremony on the fish's behalf. That night the teacher dreamt that his former disciple had been reborn once again, and that the tree from his back would somehow be donated to the temple. When he arrived at his monastery the next day, the teacher saw the monks of his assembly marveling at a wooden fish which had been found mysteriously hanging inside the temple. Having checked

allowed to enter the hall. Three striking sequences on the drum is the signal for the abbot to go to the [Saṅgha] hall, while the striking of the small bell in front of the [Saṅgha] hall¹⁰ is for the monks to descend from their bed platforms and wait to bow to the abbot.

[219] At the beginning [of the morning meal] the rector strikes [an octagonal stand inside the Saṅgha hall] once with the hammer for the monks to display their bowls.

Following the sound of the striking hammer the Heart Sutra is chanted three times. [The rector] strikes once more to signal the preparation of the porridge. Sometimes praise is also given and a prayer recited. The hammer is then used to strike ten times to begin the chanting of the names of the Ten Buddhas. Next, the rector strikes once with the hammer for the chief seat to distribute [more] porridge. The hammer is used to strike once again to finish meting out the porridge. After the morning meal has ended the hammer is struck one time for the monks to exit the hall. After the abbot has exited the hall, all the monks may hang up their bowls.

[219] The small bell in front of the Saṅgha hall is struck three times to signal a hiatus from the morning sermon schedule. If there is to be no hiatus from the sermon, then the drum inside the hall will be struck for [the abbot] to ascend [the center platform in] the hall. When the sermon and tea service are finished, the small bell in front of the [Saṅgha] hall is rung three times for all monks to descend from their bed platforms. At the time of the

the two versions of this text available in Chinese translation (*T* 27, no. 1545 and *T* 28, no. 1546), Dōchū (*CHSS* II:983d) was unable to find the source of this interpretation, and declares the story too obscure to be relied upon.

Perhaps the least accepted explanation of the origin of the wooden fish is the one relating to the life of Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-664) as recorded in *Zhigui qu* 指歸曲. It is said that on the way back from India to China, Xuanzang stopped at Sichuan, where he was invited to a funerary feast sponsored by a rich man whose three-year-old son had been thrown into the water by his malicious stepmother. Much to the dismay of all those present, Xuanzang demanded that he be given a large fish to eat. The rich man complied, asking that such a fish be caught and brought before their honored guest. Presented with his meal, Xuanzang cut open the stomach of the fish, whereupon the lost child was found still alive inside it. Xuanzang then instructed the rich man to have a piece of wood carved in the shape of a fish and hung in the temple. Again, Dōchū (*ZSS*:748b) finds this story unacceptable, pointing out that it has no basis in Xuanzang's illustrious biography and therefore could not be considered truthful.

¹⁰ To be precise, the signal instruments mentioned here were located in the outer vestibule of the Saṅgha hall: the board was hung on the wall and was taken whenever it was to be struck; the wooden fish was suspended from the ceiling on the left-hand side; the drum sat on the right-hand side; and the small bell was suspended on the right-hand wall. Very similar arrangements can still be seen in the Saṅgha hall at Eihei-ji.

midday meal, when three strikes of the board are heard, the monks take down their bowls. Then the big bell is rung to announce the beginning of the meal. For monasteries inside the city the bell is rung first and then three sequences [of the drum] are given. Monasteries in the mountains or forest give three sequences [of the drum] first and then ring the bell. The other signals--such as the long board, the wooden fish, the small bell in front of the Saṅgha hall, the hammer used by the rector, and [the signal] to exit the hall after the meal--all are sounded according to the same procedure as the early meal. Only in the case of a feast being offered by a donor is the hammer struck an additional time: [once after the distribution of food as usual], and once again to signal the offering of money.

[220] When the striking of the drum in the abbot's office or in the priory, or the striking of the board in any given quarters, is heard, all the monks assemble to attend the tea ceremony [at the location indicated by the signal]. If the drum in front of the kitchen is heard it is the summons for all monks to begin communal work. The bell in front of the [Saṅgha] hall is rung for the reception of respected officials or appointed administrators or for the funerals of deceased monks. The drum in the bathhouse (*yuxia* 浴下) is struck to signal the "opening of the baths" or the "rinsing of sweat." When the bell in front of the [Saṅgha] hall is rung three times in the evening there will be no night sermon. On the third and eighth days [i.e., each day of the month ending in 3 or 8] the big bell or the small bell in front of the [Saṅgha] hall is rung for chanting. All monasteries inside the city will strike the small bell to summon the assembly to recite the Buddha's name. The monasteries in the mountains or forest will strike the big bell first to summon the assembly, and then strike the small bell for the recitation of the Buddha's name. The sound of the big bell at sunset means the servers must go to the shrine for chanting. When the drum inside the hall is heard there will be an informal sermon. From morning until evening the bell and drum interact. Not only are they reminders for the assembly, but they themselves continuously preach the Dharma. So you, honorable people in the monastery, each of you should know the proper times for each activity.

[221] For the first wake-up call, the board is struck three times, each strike being progressively louder and stronger. [The small bell in front the kitchen is then given rolling strikes;] the sound should be smooth, progressing from slow to tight [i.e., fast] and from heavy to light. This is considered one complete sequence. After the end of the second sequence, there follows one sharp strike and then three slow strikes [of the board].

For the general wake-up call, the method is the same as that of the first wake-up call, but only one long sequence is struck.

For the striking of the long board and the wooden fish a light hand should be used to initiate the sound. The strikes then gradually grow louder and stronger and the sound should be smooth. The tempo then speeds and slows intermittently, at the same time the strikes become lighter or heavier, respectively. After the first sequence there is a pause. The most important principle is that the beats be precise so that the listener will not be confused. The third sequence ends with a sharp strike, followed by three slow strikes.

For the striking of the drum when [the abbot] ascends [the platform in the Dharma] hall to give an informal sermon, the face of the drum should first be tested by striking lightly three times. Then the sequence begins with a heavy hand and slow beats. The tempo then speeds and slows intermittently, while the strikes become lighter or heavier, respectively. The sound then rises smoothly with the strikes closer together and muffled, producing a rumbling like the first thunder in spring. The first sequence should be longer [than usual], with a short pause at the end. During the second sequence the beats should be even closer together. At the end of this sequence there is no pause and the third sequence begins immediately. The drum is then hit continually until the abbot ascends his seat, at which time the drumming stops, followed only by three strikes with the two sticks.

For the striking of the drum to announce the early and midday meals, three sequences are given, that is, the same pattern as when the abbot ascends the platform, except now the tempo is quicker.

For the striking of the drum to announce the opening of the baths, a tea ceremony, or a work period, one long sequence is given. A second and third sequence need not follow.

For the ringing of the bell in front of the Saṅgha hall signaling entrance into the hall, a light hand is used to begin. Then it gradually becomes louder and stronger until the abbot enters the hall, when the ringing stops.

For the ringing of the bell to announce a hiatus from the sermon, the board is struck three times, followed by two slow strikes.

For the ringing of the bell to announce chanting, the method is the same as for the first wake-up call. After the abbot has entered the hall and offered incense, when he is standing in the front section of the hall, the rector stops ringing the bell. When [the assembly] has finished chanting the Ten Buddhas' names, [the rector] strikes the bell twice and stops.

For the ringing of the bell signaling the descent from the platform, the board is not struck and the bell is rung twice at continual intervals.

For the ringing of the bell during the reception or farewell [of important personages], during the appointment of the administrators, and during funerals, only one sequence is necessary.

For the striking of the hammer by the rector, the rector must first bow. After he bows, he uses his right hand to grasp the handle and lift up the hammer. He then holds [the head of] the hammer against the surface of the [octagonal] stand, with the head pointing toward his body. On his left hand he extends two fingers and touches them to a corner of [the octagonal head of] the hammer before he begins slowly turning the handle as he strikes the stand. He then lowers the two fingers of his left hand against a corner of the stand. While it is being struck, the hammer should not be lifted more than five inches [from the stand] and, once it is struck in one particular area [of the stand], it should not be struck far from that original position.

For the tolling of the big bell, first the bell should be tested by three strikes with a light hand. Then the bell is struck slowly for eighteen rings. Then follow eighteen more strikes at a faster rate.

In this manner, there are three sequences of faster strikes, [each preceded by] three sequences of slower strikes, for a total of one hundred and eight strikes. The server on duty must offer incense, bow down and recite the verse before striking the bell. The verse [recited] reads, "When they hear the toll [of the monastery bell], [those beings] of the Three Paths 三塗¹¹ and the Eight Difficulties 八難¹² are [momentarily] relieved of their sufferings, and all sentient beings in the Dharma realm attain enlightenment." After this recitation is finished, then [all suffering] immediately stops.

[223] The drums inside the halls are in the attendants' care. The drum in the priory is the prior's responsibility. The cook is in charge of the board signaling early and midday meals, the wooden fish, and the [small bell and cloud-shaped metal sheet for] the opening of quietness. The small bell in front of the [Saṅgha] hall is taken care of by the rector. If there is no bell master, the big bell is also in the rector's charge. The cook should supervise the servers who strike the bells. If the aforementioned bells and drums are not struck in the correct manner, that is, too softly or too loudly, too quickly or too slowly, [the striker] must be taught that the best principle is to maintain a sense of harmony and smoothness.

The Delivery of Letters

[224] When a special envoy¹³ arrives at the monastery with a letter announcing a lineage inheritance (*chengsishu* 承嗣書),¹⁴ with an abbot's will (*yishu* 遺書),¹⁵ or with a

¹¹ The three paths refer to the three lowest states of existence: the path of heat, i.e., hell; the path of knives, i.e., the realm of hungry ghosts; and the path of blood, i.e., the realm of animals. Those who are reborn in hell, due to the hatred they harbored in their former lives, are tortured in the scalding of pots, pans, ovens, etc. Those who are transformed into hungry ghosts, due to avarice in their former lives, suffer the punishment of knives, sticks, etc. Those who become animals, due to the ignorance state in which they had lived, are placed in a world of bloody and vicious struggle.

¹² Those sentient beings who are born into the eight difficult circumstances are unable to see the Buddha or hear the Dharma. These eight states include the three realms mentioned above--the realms of hell, hungry ghosts, and animals; and 4) the heaven of longevity, i.e., the fourth level of the Subtle-Matter Realm; 5) the remote region of Uttara-kuru; 6) a state of blindness, deafness, or muteness; 7) a disposition towards secular prejudice, the pursuit of secular knowledge, and lack of belief in the Dharma; 8) one of the periods of absence of a Buddha, i.e., those reborn before or after the time of a Buddha.

¹³ The present text does not give any indication of who would be assigned as special envoy. *CBQG* 3 (T 48:1123c16-17), however, stipulates that only high ranking administrators, senior retired staff, the

letter announcing the appointment of a new abbot (*ryuan xianchi shu* 入院先馳書),¹⁶ the guest master should make the arrangements for him. After this, the procedure in the Dharma hall is the same as when the fundraiser presents the statement of donated items. When the scribe has finished making the announcements, the envoy will do *liangzhan sanbai* before the abbot. (He first unfolds the sitting mat, saying, "By delivering this special letter I

chief seat in the west hall (i.e., the chief seat emeritus), or second-rank chief officers could be appointed to this position.

¹⁴ A detailed discussion of the certificate of lineage inheritance is given by Dōgen in the section on "the certificate of transmission" (*shisho*) in his *Shōbōgenzō* 39 (*DZZ* I:337-347). A certificate of transmission indicated a direct transmission of the Dharma from master to disciple had occurred. The transmission of the Dharma refers to the passing on of true enlightenment, Dōgen explains, and just as all the Buddhas transmitted the Dharma from one to the other, so it was with the patriarchs, and so it is within the temple, each transmission perpetuating the essence of enlightenment.

The certificate of transmission received by Dōgen from his Chinese master Rujing when he traveled to the Song has been preserved in the Eiheiiji Temple. In the center of the certificate is written the name of Shakyamuni Buddha, surrounded by the names of all the patriarchs in clockwise order, from Mahākāśyapa, the foremost disciple of the Buddha, through the Chan patriarchs, to the name of Rujing, Dōgen's master, and finally to the recipient himself. Under the names of the Buddha and all subsequent lineage holders (with the exception of the recipient) are the four characters *botuo bodi* 勃陀勃地 (*buddha bodhi*; "the enlightenment of the Buddha"), indicating that the Buddha and the patriarchs, who have attained realization, are now transmitting the Dharma. A thin line is drawn through all the names in order to demonstrate the continuity of Dharma transmission. The attestation of Rujing is written at the bottom: "The life thread of the Buddha is connected when one attains enlightenment. With Dōgen, this connection has now been made complete" 佛祖命脈・証契即通・遺元即通. The document is then signed, "Rujing, abbot of the Tiantongshan monastery, in the third year of the Baoqing 寶慶 era (1227 C.E.) of the Song dynasty." The certificate was written on a silk brocaded scroll with a design of raised plum blossom, measuring about five feet, seven inches in length and fifteen inches in width. The manner of writing these certificates varied within the different sects, some temples simply using ink, while others wrote with blood from a finger or the tongue.

To receive a transmission certificate, a disciple was obliged to study under and ultimately be selected by a master who had himself inherited a given Dharma lineage. With time, however, certificates came to be obtained by other means (such as influence, bribery, or coercion), a phenomenon denounced by Dōgen (*DZZ* I:341), who was witness to a number of dishonorable practices. Some monks who studied under a renowned master would commission personal portraits or scrolls inscribed with the master's words and would then present these documents as certificates of transmission. There even arose among a number of monks the practice of visiting numerous famous masters in hopes of collecting as many certificates of transmission as possible, coveting these items solely for the sake of personal fame. See Muramatsu Tetsuo 村松哲雄, "Shisho no kōsatsu" 嗣書の考察, in *Jissen shūjō kenkyū kai nempō* 實觀宗乘研究會年報 6 (1937): 112-30; for an article in English on the Japanese Dharma transmission, see William Bodiford, "Dharma Transmission in Sōto Zen: Manzan Dōhaku's Reform Movement," *MN* 46-4 (Winter 1991):423-51.

¹⁵ When an abbot died, his will--or, more precisely, his farewell letters--would be sent to his dharma heirs in other monasteries, as well as to lay patrons and government officials. A detailed account of the procedure of issuing the abbot's will and the receiving of a will from a Dharma master is given in *CBQG* 3, T 48:1129c16-1130b7 and 2, 1123b24-c4.

¹⁶ For details see the section "Appointment of the Abbot" in fasc. 7.

am afforded the opportunity of seeing your honorable face. I am extremely honored." He then unfolds the sitting mat again to extend a seasonal greeting and to do *chuli* three times.) After this the administrators, chief officers, and assembly will express to the abbot their congratulations or consolations. For the appointment of a new abbot this last action [congratulation or consolation] is not necessary.

[225] The chief seat and the assembly stand before the Saṅgha hall (The chief seat stands outside by the right-hand door in the leading position and all the monks stand in a row on the left-hand side.) where they arrange the incense table. The special envoy hands the letter to the chief seat who passes it through the incense smoke and hands it to the rector to read it aloud. After this is done, the special envoy steps forward to bow to the chief seat and then withdraws to remain standing. Then the chief seat and the assembly enter the [Dharma] hall where they stand waiting. The special envoy enters the hall in the manner described in the section which discusses the fundraiser's entrance. The letter and the envelope are posted on the outside of the left-hand door. The guest master leads the special envoy to enter the storage hall and present the letter to the prior, who then passes it through the incense smoke and hands it to the rector to read it aloud. When this is done, a greeting tea ceremony is held. (When the letter in question is a routine letter of lineage inheritance or a will or a letter announcing the retirement of the abbot (*guowang xianchi* 過往先馳), it is simply delivered to the quarters of the abbot. When the letter is from the abbot himself, it should be delivered to the chief seat's quarters. When the letter is from the chief seat and the assembly, it is posted on the outside door of the left-hand section. When a letter is delivered to the prior in the storage hall, and for all of the situations listed above [i.e., for all private epistles], [the rector] need not read the letter aloud [to the assembly].) After [the delivery of the letter and tea ceremony (if appropriate),] the guest master escorts the envoy to each quarter of the monastery. If a fundraiser or novice of fewer than ten years visits the honorable senior [i.e., the abbot] to deliver a letter, he must present the letter first before bowing.

The Issuing of Letters

[226] When a letter is written, the characters should be precise and consistent. The writing should be logical and coherent, and the envelope should be sealed in the correct fashion. [Such a letter] will inspire benevolence and respect in the mind [of the reader]. If [the letter is written] in a hasty or absent-minded manner it will only waste paper and ink and will hinder the attaining of enlightenment. [A] If the letter is to be sent to a government official, [the author] should encourage him to be lenient and to protect the Dharma and the monastery. When an official judgment [involving the monastery] is pending (*dangmian panping* 當面判憑)[e.g., a punishment or the sentencing of an individual], [the author should request that] minor transgressions be overlooked, or, if there has been a gross offense [on the part of a particular monk], [the author] should encourage [the official] to protect the *kāṣāya* [i.e., safeguard the monastery as a whole]. [B] When writing a letter to a fellow monk, [the author] should encourage him to meditate, chant, burn incense, and realize the universal state of impermanence. [C] When addressing a letter to a honorable senior monk, [the author should write that] he prays for the senior monk to be able to carry his burdens, endure his sufferings, propagate the Dharma, and benefit all sentient beings. [D] When writing to a donor, [the author] should encourage the donor to practice charity and cultivate his merit. In all the letters mentioned above it is best not to write excessively about secular matters. The writing should be simple and succinct, but inspirational. After the letter is sealed it should be passed through incense smoke before being sent for delivery. [227] If a letter is not urgent or absolutely necessary it should not be sent; it is unsuitable to issue letters arbitrarily.

Received Letters

[228] If a letter is received from the most respectable among monks, the receiver should pass the letter through the incense smoke and pay homage by facing the direction of

the sender. After this courtesy, he himself should open the letter. If a letter is received from a monk of the second highest rank, the receiver should pass the letter through the incense smoke and open it himself. If the letter received is from a monk of equal rank, the receiver has the attendant or server open the seal. The receiver should open [the seal] at one end and gently take out [the letter]. He should not tear the envelope, which would be considered not only insincere, but indelicate. After the letter has been read it should be put in its proper place. The receiver should maintain feelings of gratitude and should not regard the letter as something insignificant. If a letter is received from an official it should be read with sincerity, and after it is read the receiver should immediately chant and pray for [the official's] merit and wisdom.

[The Abbot's] Hiatus from [Saṅgha] Hall Residency [Due to Illness]

[229] When the abbot is taking medicine [i.e., falls ill], if it is more than a routine sickness and lasts more than three days he should withdraw from his quarters to receive treatment and have his attendant inform the chief seat or the administrators. If the prior, an administrator, or any of the chief officers [should fall ill], he should have the server who routinely delivers food inform the rector and should request leave to stay in the infirmary (in some monasteries the infirmary is referred to as *Shengxing tang* 省行堂 [the "hall of contemplating the suffering resulting from the law of impermanence"]¹⁷ in order to recuperate. If the illness is not of a

¹⁷ The name "hall of longevity" was criticized by the lay scholar Zhao Lingjin 趙令矜, who preferred that the infirmary be called the *shengxing tang* 省行堂 (The Hall of Contemplating One's Deeds). In his *Nanyue Falun si shengxing tang ji* 南嶽法輪寺省行堂記 (collected in *Zimen jingxun* 緇門警訓 2, T 48:1051c), Zhao argues that the ailing monk should contemplate his past behavior and consider what changes should be made in his life, rather than automatically asking for or accepting medicine. Zhao considered the name "hall of longevity" vulgar and inadequate, insisting that the name *shengxing* would remind the patient to contemplate matters of life and death. This account may be considered indicative of the ferocity with which the secular community often criticized the clergy, sometimes even at the expense of a basic sense of humanity.

Daoxuan (*SXC* 3D, T 40:144a13-20) recorded that an infirmary was built within the Indian monastery located in Jeta's grove in the park of Anāthapiṇḍika, in the northwest part of the grounds. Named "hall of impermanence" (*wuchang yuan* 無常院), the infirmary served as a place where ailing monks were brought in order to remove them from their rooms, where they were thought to be more prone to

serious nature and will not impede the performance of his duties, then he should remain in his own quarters to recuperate. If the sickness continues, he should ask the abbot to appoint a replacement.

[230] Once the abbot has recovered from his illness he ascends the platform in the [Dharma] hall to thank the assembly for their concern. He then descends from his seat as the administrators, chief seat, and assembly greet him by doing *liangzhan sanli*. The [abbot's] words of gratitude are as follows: "Because I have improperly maintained my health I have had to impose upon you. Fortunately, I have received your Dharma power and so was able to recover." And then follows the reply: "We humble monks are so overjoyed to see that the abbot's Dharma health has improved. We are extremely elated." The abbot circumambulates the hall, pays homage before the Holy Monk, and greets the assembly. Next, he returns to his quarters to have tea with the assembly. When an administrator recovers from a sickness and is ready to return to his own quarters, he first expresses his gratitude to the abbot, and then goes to the administrators, the chief officers, and each quarter to exchange greetings. When a monk of the assembly begins to feel ill he asks the rectory--either in person or through a messenger--for leave in order to recuperate, and also informs the director of the assembly quarters, before entering the infirmary. After he has recovered and is ready to return to the Saṅgha hall, he first visits the rectory and then goes to the abbot to greet him. The monk's words of gratitude are as follows: "On this occasion I have depended upon your Dharma protection and therefore was able to recover. For this I am extremely grateful." Then the abbot replies: "I am pleased that your body has recovered. I am most overjoyed." Next he visits the administrators and chief officers' quarters and bows. The chief officers next in rank to the abbot decide whether tea should be served; there is no need for a special ceremony.

attachment to their belongings. A golden statue facing west was placed inside the infirmary (although the name is not given, we can assume it was a statue of the Amitābha Buddha), with the right hand lifted up and the left hand holding a colorful banner whose end was draped to the floor. The sick were arranged behind the statue where they could hold the end of the banner, a symbolic gesture signifying following the Amitabha Buddha to rebirth in the Pure Land.

Fascicle Seven

Using the Toilet

[233] If a monk needs to use the toilet (*dongsi* 東司)¹ he should do so in good time, not waiting until the last moment, allowing internal pressures to compel unseemly haste.²

He should first fold his *kāṣāya* and place it on his desk or on the clean pole, and bow

¹ No precise source can be found to explain the origin of the term *dongsi* (lit., "east office") as a designation for the toilet. As illustrated by the diagrams of Song temples in *DJZ*, the designation *dongsi* was used no matter what side of the monastic compound the latrine was located on. An anecdote demonstrating this apparent contradiction can be found in the *Dahui Pujue Chanshi zongmen wuku* 大慧普覺禪師宗門武庫 (*T* 47, 949b22-26): Once, after visiting Director (*langzhong* 郎中) Qian Yi 錢弋 had finished a long conversation with Master Zhenjing 真淨 (n.d.), he asked to be shown to the toilet. Zhenjing then had one of his servers lead Qian toward the westernmost part of the monastic compound, prompting the meticulous Qian to suddenly ask, "Since it is called *dongsi*, why do we walk to the west?"

Dōchū (ZSS:58a) hypothesizes that *dongsi* may be an erroneous transcription of the name *dengsi* 登司, the deity of the toilet. However, according to *Shiwu yiming* 事物異名 (cited by Dōchū), the name for the toilet deity from which *dengsi* was mistakenly derived is Guo Deng 郭登. The reader should remember, at any rate, that Guo Deng is but one of numerous appellations for the toilet deity. Very much like the earth guardian, the name for the toilet deity varied according to the text and can be traced to varying local beliefs. Other designations for the toilet deity include: Zigu 紫姑, Qian Yi 錢義, Xu Tianzhu 須天竺, Bei 卑, and Houdi 後帝. See *Shiwu yiming lu* 事物異名錄 28 (orig. 1788; repr. Taipei: Xinxing 新興 Shuju, 1969), 14a; also *Yiyuan* 異苑, (Taipei: Yiwen Yinshuguan, 1965), *Xuejin taoyan* 學津討源 edition 151:2b, 5a; *Gujin shiwen leiju* 古今事文類聚 (Kanbun 寬文 edition, 1661), vol. 47:25a; and the article by Minakata Kumagusu 南方熊楠, "Shishin" 廁神, *Minakata Kumagusu zenshū* 全集, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Kengensha 乾元社, 1952), 136-44.

The Vinaya *MSL* 34 (*T* 22:504a17) further stipulates that the toilet should not be located in the eastern or northern section of the monastery, but rather in the south or the west so as to be in the path of the prevailing winds. However, *GSP(Z)* 10 (*T* 24:247a19) states that the toilet should be erected in the northwest corner of the monastery; whereas *Genben sapoduobu liushe* 根本薩婆多部律攝 14 (*T* 24:606c25), a text from the same tradition as *GSP(Z)*, insists that the toilet be built in the northeast corner. Thus, it soon becomes apparent that no single compass direction can be taken as the universal standard, and that the most important factor for the placement of the latrine was simply good air circulation.

It is worth noting that, although the name is not given in *CYQG*, another term for the toilet in use in Chan monasteries was *xueyin* 雪隱, which can be given a number of rather elegant meanings. As to this word's derivation, there are two conflicting, but similar, accounts. The second half of the word, "*yin*," is said to be taken from the second half of the name of the Lingyin Temple 靈隱寺, while the first half, "*xue*," is thought to be derived from the name of either of two men who lived in this temple: Chan master Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存 (822-908), who attained enlightenment while he was cleaning the toilet; or, Chan master Xuedou Chongxian 雪竇重顯 (980-1052), who secluded and cultivated himself while working in the capacity of latrine attendant. The term *xueyin* was written on a tablet and hung before the latrine in the Lingyin Temple. See *Tōjō garan zakki* 洞上伽藍雜記, by Futaku 不琢, 1770; compiled by Keigan Eboku 荊巖慈璞, in 1775; collected in *Sōtōshū zensho Shingi*, ed. Sōtōshū Zensho Kankōkai (Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmūchō, 1931; repr. 1972), 852b; *ZD*:665b.

² See *SFL* 49, *T* 22:932a15; *MSL* 34, *T* 22:504a27 and c25; *JXXL*, *T* 50:872c27.

before leaving.³ He then puts on his *guazi*⁴ and places a clean towel over his left arm. He should not pass through the main shrine [on the way to the latrine.] When he reaches the latrine, he hangs his *guazi* and towel over the clean pole outside the latrine. He then rolls up his underskirt, folds his short gown, and places them on the pole in front of the latrine. He places the short gown on top of the underskirt and uses his belt to tie them together. One reason for this is to serve as an identifying mark [for his belongings];⁵ the second reason is to prevent his clothes from falling to the ground. He carries the water vessel with his right hand and, entering the latrine, removes his shoes and puts them in order [i.e., lays them side by side]. He softly pulls the door to close it and lowers the vessel with his hand. Before relieving himself he should snap his fingers three times to warn the ghosts who feed on excretions.⁶ He should not be dirty with mucous or spit, scattering it about, nor should he

³ See *SXC* 3D, *T* 40:148a17.

⁴ See n. 36, fasc. 2.

⁵ *MSL* 35 (*T* 22:509a20) states that monks would tie their clothes together with their belt and hang them over a pole. A monk's belt would then serve as the mark by which his belongings could be distinguished from others'. (As every monk would be issued the same type of belt, one can only conjecture that a name or at least some kind of identifying mark was added to each belt.)

⁶ As the *Vinayas* indicate, a monk should snap his fingers before going to the toilet. See *SFL* 49, *T* 22:932a18-19; *WFL* 27, *T* 22:177a15; *MSL* 34, *T* 22:504a28-29; *DSW* 2, *T* 24:925b27; *SXC* 3D, *T* 40:148a7; *JXXL*, *T* 45:872c29. The custom of snapping the fingers was intended either to purify the place or to alarm the spirits. The latter purpose is cited here (*CHSS* II:825a; *SXC* 3D, *T* 40:148a7).

According to the *Zhengfa nianchu jing* 正法念處經 16 (*T* 17:92a28 & 93b19-23), those who, as a result of their avaricious and spiteful nature, give unclean food to Buddhist monastics or to Brahmans (non-Buddhist priests) will be reborn in the realm of the excretion-eating hungry ghosts.

An anecdote regarding the finger-snapping practice is given in *Za piyu jing* 雜譬喻經 (cited in *Zhujiing yaoji* 諸經要集 20, *T* 54:190a23-25; the original source has not been found). A monk once entered the toilet without snapping his fingers. Deprived of the customary warning, the hungry ghost which dwelled inside had his faced soiled by excretion. The ghost became so furious that he wanted to kill the discourteous monk, but was prevented from doing so by the monk's impervious virtue, for he was a monk who had diligently upheld the precepts.

make any excessive noise.⁷ He should not use the bamboo spatulas to draw on the floor, door or walls,⁸ and he should not talk to or make jokes with the people next door.

[235] When cleaning oneself it is better to use cold water, for hot water can lead to "the intestinal wind" [i.e., piles or intestinal ulcers]. Holding the water vessel with his right hand, (while still protecting his thumb and index finger) the monk uses the water with his left hand. He should be careful not to splash the water and pollute the floor nor should he soil the edges around the toilet. He should not use more than one section of bamboo spatula.⁹ Some people, after using the bamboo spatulas, will wash them themselves before leaving. To wash his hands he should use ashes first and then dirt. He then goes to the washing stand behind the latrine and uses the bean pod soap,¹⁰ washing up to his elbows and also rinsing his mouth. According to the Vinaya,¹¹ he should chew the willow twig [to clean his mouth]. He then returns to retrieve his *guazi* and clean towel, bows, and puts on his *kāṣāya*. According to the Vinaya, if a monk is not clean or fully washed he cannot sit on the monks' platform bed, bow to the Three Treasures,¹² or receive bows from others.¹³ When a monk arrives at the door of the latrine and senses that someone is inside he should not cough, snap his fingers, or talk, in order to make him hurry.¹⁴ However, if he is in the latrine himself and realizes that

7 See *SFL* 49, *T* 22:932a26-27; *DSW* 2, *T* 24:925c2-3; *JXXL*, *T* 45:873a4.

8 See *DSW* 2, *T* 24:925c5; also see *WFL* 27, *T* 22:177b23-24.

9 For details regarding the bamboo spatula see n. 28, fasc. 4.

10 See *SFL* 49, *T* 22:932b20-21; *WFL* 27, *T* 22:177b22; *JXXL*, *T* 45:873a10-11.

11 In the Vinayas, the Buddha instructs monks to chew the willow twig, explaining the five benefits of such a practice: (1) it educes bad breath; (2) sharpens one's gustatory abilities; (3) balances the body's temperature; (4) aids digestion; and (5) improves eyesight. See *SFL* 53, *T* 22:960c; also *WFL* 26, *T* 22:176b; *MSL* 34, *T* 22:505b1; *PNMJ* 6, *T* 24:838b13-18; *DSW* 1, *T* 24:914a16-17. It is not, however, appropriate to chew the willow twig while using the toilet. See *SFL* 49, *T* 22:932a29; *WFL* 27, *T* 22:177b9; *MSL* 34, *T* 22:504b2.

12 See *DSW* 1, *T* 24:914a17-18; see also *MSL* 34, *T* 22:504b11.

13 See *Genben sapoduobu lüshe* 根本薩婆多部律攝14, *T* 24:607a27-29.

14 See *DSW* 2, *T* 24:925b28; see also *WFL* 27, *T* 22:177a15.

someone is waiting outside he should try to finish as soon as possible (at such times washing the bamboo spatulas would be inappropriate).¹⁵ If the monk is going to the place for urination, he should roll up his clothes, should squat down close to the toilet, and should not spit, blow his nose, or talk.¹⁶ He should always yield to senior monks.¹⁷ According to the Vinaya, the monk must also wash himself after urination or the offense [of uncleanness] will be the same as that mentioned above.¹⁸

The Monk's Funeral

[237] If a monk becomes seriously ill, the director of the hall of longevity must consult the rector, the prior, the chief seat, the library director, the scribe, and the guest master, and together they take down the patient's will and transfer his ordination certificate and personal effects to the rectory for safe keeping. The chief seat seals [this box of belongings] and keeps the key himself; and the administrator [i.e., the rector]¹⁹ report the situation to the officials. If the illness becomes critical, [the administrators] must inform [the officials] once again. If the monk passes away, [the administrators] must report the death to the officials and ask for permission to conduct a funeral. The deceased's ordination certificate, purple robe, or certificate of master title must be turned in to the government within three days [of the death].

[238] As soon as a monk dies he should be bathed, his head should be shaved, and he should be dressed in a *guazi*. His body should be placed in a sitting position in a large

¹⁵ See *JXXL*, T 45:873a8-9.

¹⁶ See *JXXL*, T 45:873a19.

¹⁷ See *JXXL*, T 45:872c28-29.

¹⁸ For a wealth of information on the proper use of the toilet, see *SFL* 49, T 22:932a14-b28 and 50, T 22:942b25-c8; *WFL* 27, T 22:177a5-b25; *MSL* 34, T 22:504a14-505a22; *DSW* 2, T 24:925b25-c11; *SXC* 3D, T 40:148a5-17; *JXXL*, T 45:872c27-873a16; *Shōbōgenzō*, 54.

¹⁹ See *YZS* [114], fasc. 3.

vessel which is set in a small shrine, and positioned in front of the hall of Longevity. Fragrant flowers should be arranged as an offering and a white banner should be made, on which is written a verse pertaining to the law of impermanence. "Mourning flowers for the Buddha" (*fosan hua* 佛喪花)²⁰ should be placed on the shrine, and [on a tablet] is written, "The spirit of the late honorable monk, X [his name]." The assembly is then summoned for chanting. That night, a service is held to chant precepts in order to transfer merit [to the deceased]. The last farewell [i.e., the funeral] is held the next day, in the morning or after the midday meal.

[238] On this day [the day of the funeral] the rector strikes one blow with the hammer after the distribution of porridge or money, and announces, "After [this] early meal (or, after [this] midday meal) the assembly will hear the sound of the bell. All monks should prepare themselves to attend the funeral. With the exception of the chief officers of each quarter, everyone must be present. This I announce with all sincerity." He then strikes the hammer once [more], bows before the Holy Monk, bows to the abbot, and circumambulates the hall once. If there are monks in the outer section he must bow to them as well, excepting the monks in the rear section. At the appropriate time the bell is rung and all assemble before the shrine containing the deceased. Then each person present, one at a time beginning with the abbot, offers incense. After the rector finishes the chanting the drum is struck and the shrine is lifted to begin the procession. [239] The assembly follows, some holding the banner, some holding the bell or the incense burner and incense stand for the service. The administrators in the priory should have sent a few servers beforehand [to help with preparations]. The superintendent leads the procession of shrine bearers and prepares the firewood before the altar. [The superintendent] takes care of all the particulars

²⁰ *SSYL* 3 (*T* 54:307c17-18) notes that white paper is used to make these *sāla* flowers, which are meant to represent the eight trees that surrounded the Buddha's death bed (with a pair of *sāla* trees joined at the roots in each corner) in Kuśinagara. After the Buddha passed away, one of each pair of trees faded away while the other four remained and flourished, thus symbolizing the polarities of "permanence and impermanence," "self and non-self," "happiness and unhappiness," "purity and impurity." See *Dabo niepan jing jijie* 大般涅槃經集解 2, *T* 37:384a26-b10.

[of the funeral rite]. When the procession has arrived at the pagoda area, everyone offers incense in turn, beginning with the abbot, while the Dharma instruments are played, chanting is performed, and a fire is lit. [The abbot] should then read a few [verses of] Dharma words. Everyone then chants the name of the Amida Buddha ten times. Then follows the playing of Dharma instruments and more chanting, after which the assembly is dismissed. Whether chanting follows the reading of the sutra depends on the discretion of the individual abbot

[240] If the funeral takes place in a city the monks should go and return in single file. They should not laugh or jest; rather they should remain silent, [mentally] reciting the name of the Buddha and the secret words [mantra] and transferring the merit to the deceased. All the monks should leave together and return together; no monk should remain behind. If a monk has some business to attend to he should ask the rector for leave at another time. The next day the director [of the hall of Longevity] and the rector perform the service and collect the ashes, placing them in the pagoda of "the universe" (*putong ta* 普同塔) or spreading them over water.

[240] A placard is hung announcing the auction [of the deceased monk's possessions]²¹ to the assembly. While the bell is rung, everyone enters the hall. First, there

²¹ The practice of auctioning a deceased monk's possessions is recorded in the Vinaya texts. *SFL* 41 (*T* 22:862c) describes the auction's origins with the following anecdote: A monk died while in debt, and the other monks of his monastery were at a loss as to how they might recompense the debtors. The Buddha told them that the deceased monk's clothing, other than his three robes, could be sold to raise the necessary money. If, however, a monk had no possessions other than the three robes, then even these items could be traded.

SSL 7 (*T* 23:53a) also indicates that the selling of clothing was permitted among members of the Saṅgha. During the auction, the buyer was allowed to change his mind until the third announcement of intended purchase.

Another Vinaya anecdote explains how the auction became a more regular, systematized custom (cited in *SSYL* 3, *T* 54:309b). Once when a certain monk passed away, another monk was chosen to gather his belongings for distribution among the assembly. However, when the monk in charge seemed unable to do so equitably, the Buddha made some suggestions. Once the assembly has gathered and consented to the process, the Buddha advised, an auction should be held, and the monetary proceeds from it should then be distributed equally among the members of the Saṅgha.

is chanting for the deceased monk,²² then the chief seat is invited to examine the seal of [the deceased's] property before opening it in front of the assembly.²³ The possessions should be displayed in the hall before the bell is rung. The items are auctioned one at a time,²⁴ after which

²² Cf. *GSP(S)* 3, *T* 24:652a13, where it is indicated that chanting was conducted before the distribution of the deceased's possessions.

²³ *PNMJ* 3 (*T* 24:815b10-12) provides a detailed protocol for the distribution of the deceased monk's possessions. First the deceased should be buried. When the funeral-goers have returned to the monastery, the entire assembly should be summoned. Once everyone has gathered, the possessions of the deceased should be placed in public view.

An impressive defense of this particular procedure can be found in *SSL* 28 (*T* 23:202c29-203a4), in which the assembly begins distributing a deceased monk's possessions before interring him. The spirit of the deceased, reluctant witness to these events, rises up in anger and berates the monks for dividing up his personal effects. The Buddha then instructs the monks as to the proper practice: the deceased monk should be buried first, after which the possessions should be distributed in a separate location; the possessions should never be divided in the presence of the deceased's body.

In *SXC* 3A (*T* 40:116a27-b2), Daoxuan offers several details which corroborate the above order of events. When a member of Saṅgha passes away, Daoxuan insists, the door to his room (where his possessions are kept) should not only be closed, but locked, and the key should be given only to the most trustworthy of his disciples. If there is no such disciple, the key should be entrusted to the administrators. Only when the body has been interred may the disciple (or administrator) remove the deceased's belongings and distribute them.

²⁴ *CYQG* does not give much detail as to the actual format of the auction. However, *CBQG* 6 (*T* 48:1149a5-12) describes the procedure in the following manner:

. . . The rectory server selects and hands the items to the rector one at a time. The rector then lifts up each item and calls out the identification number of the item, a description of the item, and its estimated value. If, [for example,] the [estimated value of] an item is set at one string of coins, the rector will start the bidding at one tenth of a string. The rectory server then repeats each of the rector's statements, and awaits a response from [a bidder in] the assembly. [The bids are then raised] incrementally until a full string of coins is reached, at which time the rector strikes the bell and announces, "[The bidding on] this item has now reached one string of coins." [Apparently this announcement indicates a ceiling beyond which bids cannot be raised.] This process is then repeated for each item until none remains. If there are two people who call out the same price [simultaneously], the rectory server will halt the proceedings by shouting, "Double break!" [signifying that neither final bid can be accepted.] The bidding on that item must then start over [perhaps in the hope that one of the bidders will rethink, negotiate or simply yield to the other].

The striking of the bell shows that each bid is finished, [after which] the rectory server asks the [final] bidder to give his name. The guest master then records the name and the attendant issues a document noting the item, its price, and the name of bidder to the delivery server, who then transfers [the document] to the bidder. [Once the auction has finished,] the delivery server collects all the items and places them into a trunk [i.e., the items are not at once given directly to the bidders]. . . . If the bidder does not come to claim the item within three days, the item can be resold at the original price.

the rector again leads the chanting. The abbot or the administrators should not be allowed to preside over the auction. The payments made by the rector [for the funeral, using funds raised by the auction,] should be reasonable and within customary limits. [241] He should not arbitrarily spend unusually large amounts. In addition [to the funeral expenses], money is needed to pay the assembly for the chanting of the sutras, to distribute to the temporary visitors who have come to attend the farewell funeral, and to give to those who attend the auction; [thus, the surplus funds] are divided into these three equal amounts. [This method of dividing funds] resembles the distribution procedure used when a lay patron sponsors a sutra reading [whereby, after initial expenses, donations are meted out in equal parts to all participants]. If there are many possessions [to be auctioned], part of [the net] proceeds should be used to sponsor a feast. On the seventh day [after the death]²⁵ the assembly is

The text comments further that since the commotion generated by the auction was deemed unseemly, a less competitive, or at least less noisy, lottery system was introduced, with prices set in advance.

²⁵ Within the Buddhist tradition there is a widespread belief in an intermediate existence (*zhongyou* 中有; Skt. *antarā-bhava*, also known as *gandharva*) which occurs after the moment of death and before the moment of rebirth. Theories about this period of intermediate existence vary, with some believing the period lasts seven days, others asserting that it has no fixed amount of time, and still others completely disavowing the possibility of any such period, claiming that rebirth is instantaneous. However, the Chinese tradition has developed its own variant, insisting that the intermediate existence lasts for "seven sevens," i.e., forty-nine days. In *Yuqie shidi lun* 瑜伽師地論 1 (Skt. *Yogācārabhūmi*; T 30:282a27-b4) it is written:

[After death], there is an intermediate existence. If it [i.e., the being after death] does not find the proper conditions for rebirth, it remains [in this realm] for the full seven days; whereas if it does find the proper conditions for rebirth, it stays for an unspecified number of days [i.e., for as many days as it takes before the end of the cycle of seven days]. If, at the end of the seventh day, it has still not found the conditions for rebirth, it dies [i.e., fades from all existence] and comes to be [i.e., reappears in the intermediate existence] for another period of seven days. Thus, the cycle of life and death repeats itself as long as the conditions for rebirth are not found, lasting up to the full seven sevens [i.e., seven periods of seven, or forty-nine days]. At the end of this period [of forty-nine days], it must decide where to be reborn. Furthermore, if this [being is unable to be reborn and] dies after [the first] seven days, it may still reappear [for the next cycle of seven days] in the same intermediate existence [where it has largely the same options for rebirth]. If, however, [the being's] karma has somehow been changed [e.g., if friends and relatives from his former life transfer merit to the deceased], the seed of this [being] will change, allowing it to reappear in another cycle [where it will have different options for rebirth].

Accordingly, Chinese Buddhists perform meritorious acts for forty-nine days after the death of a loved one in order to transfer good karma to the deceased which now wanders between life and death, in hopes of

summoned to chant the sutras and mantras. At this point [the rector(?)] also announces the expenses; a full account should be written down and hung at the rear of the hall for all to see. [The accounts placard] should be given the seals of approval of all administrators to as testimony to all that there have been no misappropriations.

[242] Other than [the enlightenment that comes of] spiritual cultivation, which is the chief goal for all those who have renounced the world [i.e., for monks], monks should seek to acquire nothing but their clothes and a bowl; they should not accumulate property, thereby developing a sense of avarice. A monk should prevent the possibility [after his death] that, on the day of his auction, the assembly should sit too long and become distressed [due to an excessive number of belongings to be auctioned]; on the other hand, it is improper to bequeath nothing, not even one's clothes and bowl, for to do so is to place a burden on the monastery [which must then pay the funeral expenses out of its own coffers]. The purpose of the auction is to create an atmosphere that supersedes the deceased's material attachments [that is, to illustrate to others the deceased's true detachment from material things], as well as [to help those present] develop a feeling of kinship with the deceased's spirit. The auctioneer should not announce [beforehand] that items will be auctioned cheaply and then, at the time of the auction, set high prices. If the possessions are priced too high, it may disturb the mood of the assembly and elicit ridicule. When the rector presides over an auction he should know the proper price of each item. New items, old items, and broken items should be clearly identified as such. The rector should base his asking price on an item's actual worth. Some items may be raised in price, others lowered, and still others left unaltered: in each case, [the rector] should make the proper adjustment. Even if there is a lack of bids and the asking price remains far lower than the worth of an item, the item should still be sold. However, if bids are raised too high the rector should give a caveat, reminding [the bidders]: "You should exercise greater caution. Although you may regret your bid

preventing their former loved one from being reborn into an evil realm. Quoted from *SSYL* 3, T 54:305b-c. The same theory of rebirth after forty-nine days is asserted in *Epidamo dapiposha lun* 70 (T 27:361b8-9).

[afterward], it cannot be changed." This is to avoid disturbing the mood of the assembly and to prevent any potential incidents. In order to avoid suspicion, neither the possessions of the assembly nor the monastery's property may be auctioned at the same time [as the deceased monk's belongings]. Only when monastic property or the property of the abbot's office is already scheduled for auction can the possessions of a member of the assembly be added to the list of items to be sold.²⁶

[243] Chanting for a Sick Monk

After he has praised the Buddha, [the rector begins], "This morning, the ailing Bhikṣu X [name of ill monk], in order to release the grievances of many [past] lives and to repent of the sins he has accumulated over the aeons, must now exercise great sincerity and rely on the assembly of purity to chant the Holy Names in the hope of expelling his misfortunes. Let him now depend on our deeply pious chanting of 'Pure Dharma body. . .'" [After the chanting] the merit [accrued] is transferred to the ailing monk. [The rector continues.] "We humbly wish that Bhikṣu X will be of one pure mind, that the four great elements [which constitute his body]²⁷ will be at rest, and that his physical life as well as his life of wisdom will be extended. May his corporeal body and his Dharma body be strong." If a monk is terminally ill, [the assembly aids the sick monk] in performing the ten recitations of the name of Amitābha Buddha.²⁸ Then chanting that follows begins with the praising of Amitābha Buddha. The rector then announces to the assembly, "For Bhikṣu X we chant at length the names of Amitābha Buddha [and the bodhisattvas of the Western Pure Land]: [i.e.,] the Four Holy Names."²⁹ The merit [of this chant] is then

²⁶ Auctions were not held only on the occasion of a monk's death, but could also be used to distribute the possessions of a living monk, for example, when an abbot feels he has accumulated too many belongings. See *YZS* [264].

²⁷ The four great elements constituting the physical body are earth (solid), water (liquid), fire (heat), and wind (breath).

²⁸ See the biography of Zongze, in Section IIa.

²⁹ The four Holy Names are: Amitābha Buddha, Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattva 大勢至菩薩, and all the bodhisattvas of the Pure Great Ocean 清淨大海眾菩薩 [i.e., all the bodhisattvas in the Pure Land].

transferred to the infirm monk. [The rector continues,] "We humbly wish that Bhikṣu X, whose connections [to the living] have not yet ended, will recover as soon as possible. Since his great life has reached the point of no return, we hope that he will be reborn in the place of peaceful sustenance [i.e., in the Pure Land]."³⁰ [The assembly] again chants the Four Holy Names, after which they encourage [the dying monk] to pacify his mind and purify his thoughts to keep them from wandering into secular matters like [unruly] vines.

[244] Chanting before the Shrine

As soon as the deceased monk has been placed in the shrine, the rectory asks the assembly to gather before the shrine when they hear the bell. Following the abbot, the administrators, chief officers, and the director of the infirmary offer incense one at a time. The rector strikes the bell and praises the Buddha, after which he says, "Life and death fade into endless alternations; heat and cold change eternally, one into the other."³¹ Life comes like a lightning strike across the distant sky; it ends like a wave that subsides into the vast sea. On this day [we commemorate] the deceased Bhikṣu X whose Karma in this world has ended. His great life is suddenly altered. To understand the impermanence of all phenomena, to enter nirvāṇa--this is true happiness.³² So we, with great sincerity, rely upon the assembly to solemnly come before the shrine and chant the great names of all holy ones in order to lift this pure spirit to the Pure Land. Now we depend on the assembly to chant 'Pure Dharma body. . . .' The merit of the chanting is transferred [to the deceased], [and then the rector continues,] "We humbly desire that [the deceased's spirit] will transcend to the pure realm and that his karma will fade into dust. May [his] lotus flower bloom in the 'highest class."³³ May he receive the Buddha's prediction [that this has been] his last life before attaining

30 恭敬歡喜去、遷到安養國。See *Wuliangshou jing* (T 12:273a27).

31 生死交謝、寒暑迭遷, see *Wu buqian lun* 物不遷論 in *Zhao lun* 肇論, T 45:151a9.

32 諸行無常、是生滅法、生滅滅已、寂滅為樂, see *Niepan jing* 14 (T 12: 450a16 and 451a1; or 13, T 12:692a13 and 693a1).

33 *Guan Wuliangshou Fo jing* (T 12:344c9-346a26) states that sentient beings are divided into three groups of three in accordance with their deeds--upper, middle, and lower--with each of these groups in turn being divided into upper, middle, and lower. If any sentient being, no matter what group it is in, recites

Buddhahood."³⁴ The rector continues, "Now we should like to trouble the venerable assembly to chant
"Ten directions, three ages. . . ."³⁵

[245] Chanting as the Shrine is Lifted

The words spoken [before the shrine is lifted are]: "Now we should like to carry this shrine to the location of the great cremation ceremony. We must depend upon the venerable assembly to chant the Great Names of All the Holy Ones to enable [the deceased's spirit] to climb up to the path of enlightenment." After the Buddha's name has been recited ten times, the procession begins.

[245] The Ten Recitations before the Pagoda

The words spoken in front of the pagoda are: "As the deceased Bhikṣu X has inevitably succumbed to annihilation, we now, in accordance with the law, must cremate his body. Let us burn this body which has propagated the Dharma for one hundred years and [its spirit] will enter the road toward *nirvāṇa*."³⁶ We must depend on the venerable assembly to assist [in this process]." After the ten recitations, [the rector] says, "By chanting the Holy Name, we have assisted [this spirit] to be reborn [in the Pure Land]. We hope with all sincerity that the mirror of wisdom will spread its light and the wind of genuineness will diffuse its glory [i.e., the Buddha's wisdom will illuminate the spirit of the deceased]. In the Bodhi garden the flower of enlightenment blooms; in the ocean of Dharma nature the mind polluted [by secular things] is cleansed. [246] We now pour three libations and burn incense in a single holder in order to assist [the spirit] to ascend on its journey to the clouds and to pay homage to the Holy Assembly."

[246] The chanting prior to the auction proceeds as follows: after the assembly is summoned the rector strikes the bell once, saying, "When the floating cloud disperses, its moving shadow is cast no more; and when the candle stub is finished, the flame, too, is extinguished. Through

the name of Amitābha Buddha with sincerity and faith, it will be able to be reborn in the Pure Land. Thus, the various means of rebirth in the Pure Land can also be classified into nine categories corresponding to the deeds of a sentient being's previous life.

34 一生補處。 See *Emituo jing* 阿彌陀經 (T 12:347b5)

35 See n. 42 in fasc. 2.

36 [十方薄伽梵] 一路涅槃門。 See *Lengyan jing* 5 (T 19:124c29).

this auction we illustrate [this notion of] impermanence. We must now depend on the venerable assembly to assist the spirit of the deceased Bhikṣu X to be reborn in the Pure Land." Then the chanting of "Pure Dharma Body. . ." begins. [The rector] then strikes the bell again and says, "This auction is conducted according to traditional custom. If [a purchased item] is deemed too new, too old, too short, or too long, it is the [purchaser's] responsibility. [The purchaser] should have the correct number of coins ready [i.e., one hundred coins on a string] Some use only seventy-seven, some seventy-five [instead of the standard string of one hundred],³⁷ and he should be careful that his money does not have "new tin" mixed in with it [i.e., he should check to see that his coins do not include low-quality currency].³⁸ After the sound of the bell [signaling that an item has been officially sold], [the buyer] should not express any regret. I announce this with all sincerity." When the auction has finished, the rector announces, "The merit performed by the assembly through this chanting and auction will now be transferred to the late X [name of the deceased] and will help his spirit to be reborn in the Pure Land. Now I should like to trouble the assembly to recite the names of the Buddhas of Ten Directions of the past, present, and future." The assembly should then recite the name of the Buddha with sincerity and should not laugh, talk, or fight among themselves.

[247] The tea ceremony that follows the recitation of the Vinaya and the tea ceremony that follows the auction are the responsibility of the priory. According to the Vinaya, neither the body [of the deceased] nor the deceased's clothes or possessions should

³⁷ This is more likely a caveat than an admonition against intentionally fraudulent practices, warning monks that such "counterfeit" currency is in wide circulation in the secular world and that monks may inadvertently have such incomplete strings of money in their possession.

³⁸ During the Song, two types of coins were in circulation: copper and iron. The copper coin was intended from the start to be somewhat more valuable than the iron, but when the value of the copper coin began to greatly outweigh that of the iron (most likely due to the use of copper for the forging of weapons in the ongoing wars waged against neighboring countries), there arose a nationwide shortage of copper coins. In some areas the local government went so far as to confiscate all copper coins in circulation and refrained from minting any more. Finally a national effort to deal with the shortage of copper was made: in 1102 Cai Jing 蔡京 ordered that copper coins should be made of copper mixed with tin. Thenceforth a string of coins (one thousand) was to be made of copper, black tin, and white tin in the ratio of 8:4:2. This new admixture was referred to as "mixed-tin money" (*jiayi qian* 夾錫錢), or simply, as above, the "new tin." See Kawakami, *Sōdai no keizai*, 213-14.

pass under the [Buddha's] pagoda; nor should the corpse be cremated beneath the [Buddha] pagoda.³⁹

Appointment of the Chief Seat Emeritus⁴⁰

[248] If a retired abbot, chief seat or library director has the approval of the assembly, he may be named chief seat emeritus. The [incumbent] abbot ascends his seat [in the Dharma hall] and announces [the appointment of the chief seat emeritus]. The administrators and the assembly then visit [the chief seat emeritus candidate's] hall of residence to extend a cordial invitation to him. The wording of the invitation should be: "The assembly has been hoping for your instruction for a long time. We humbly desire that you will kindly accede [to our request]." If the retired monk does not consent [to accept the position] he does not bow in return, and instead he replies, "I cannot save myself—how can I help others?" If he gives his consent, he returns the courtesy [i.e., bows] immediately, saying, "Since you have invited me with such persistence, I dare not continue to refuse." He then goes to the abbot's quarters

³⁹ *SFL* 21 (*T* 22:711b) offers an anecdote concerning the Buddha pagoda: once when six notorious monks carried a dead body through the Buddha pagoda, the guardian deities who protect the pagoda became offended. A dead body was considered impure, and to bring anything impure before the venerable Buddha pagoda, was considered a sacrilege. There is an entire section in this Vinaya dealing specifically with proper decorum in the presence of the Buddha pagoda. For instance, while one is below, facing, or in any way proximate to the pagoda, one must not urinate, excrete, blow one's nose, spit, or chew the willow twig. One should not wear slippers or sleep near the pagoda nor should one hide one's personal belongings within the pagoda.

According to the Vinayas, the first Buddha pagoda was erected while the Buddha was still alive. *SSL* 56 (*T* 23:415b27-c3) gives an account of a layperson named Anāthapiṇḍada who asked the Buddha for permission to erect a pagoda to worship the Buddha's hair and nails. The Buddha himself is said to have erected a pagoda for Kaśyapa, a Buddha of the past. In *MSL* 33 (*T* 22:497c24-26) King Prasenajit 波斯匿王, deciding to follow the example of the historical Buddha, also erects a pagoda in honor of the previous Buddha Kaśyapa.

⁴⁰ The chief seat emeritus is a retired high-ranking monk serving as auxiliary "chief seat." As the number of monks in a monastery increased, it was thought that retired senior monks could also prove helpful in transmitting their experience to the younger generation. This position was also called "chief seat of the rear hall" (*houtang shouzuō* 後堂首座) because this person would sit at the rear section in the Saṅgha hall. Later this position was also called "chief seat of the west hall" (*xitang shouzuō* 西堂首座). In Chinese tradition, a host will sit in the eastern part of a hall, while a seat in the west is reserved for the "guest." As most of the chief seat emeriti were chosen from other monasteries, they could be considered guests of a sort. *CBQG* 4 (*T* 48:1133c) gives a detailed description of the ceremony of appointing the chief seat emeritus.

to express his gratitude. Here proper etiquette depends [on the relative positions of those involved]. If the chief seat emeritus is of higher seniority [than the incumbent abbot], he thanks [the abbot] by saying, "Initially I intended to avoid all contact in order to conceal my shortcomings, but now that I have received your recommendation I dare not object." The abbot replies, "Your elephant-riding [most honorable] visit shall make the wheel of Dharma spin eternally. Although it is inappropriate to bother you [with such an appointment], please think first and foremost of the Dharma." If the chief seat emeritus is of the same seniority ranking as the abbot, then his words of gratitude are as follows: "I had planned to cultivate myself and [had wondered,] How can I be of benefit to others? Because your superior decree cannot be refused, [I must accept but still] I feel greatly humbled." The abbot replies, saying, "Although it is inappropriate to bother you [with such an appointment], please think first and foremost of the Dharma." If the chief seat emeritus is famous, with a virtue known in all ten directions, or if he is a junior monk still in training, he thanks the abbot by saying, "I have received the abbot's instruction and the assembly's request and so, although I do not have any deep attainment [in my spiritual practice], I dare not persist in refusing. I am extremely disconcerted yet grateful." The abbot replies, "Since you yet have surplus light to give, please think first and foremost of the Dharma." The chief seat emeritus visits the administrators to extend his gratitude, and the next day the abbot sponsors a special tea ceremony in the priory. Whether a feast is held depends on the discretion of the abbot.

Appointment of the Honorable Senior [i.e., the Abbot]

[250] It is recommended that one person from the priory or rectory be selected [as an envoy to invite the new abbot], as well as one of the chief officers, and several of the retired staff and senior monks--all of whom should be mentally capable, knowledgeable about the monastic institution and familiar with etiquette. Then the money for travel expenses, luggage, and a sedan chair, a boat, or any other necessary mode of transportation should be prepared. In addition, the envoys should assemble documents from local officials

and from the monastery; letters from monk-officers, from the senior monks of other monasteries, from [someone writing on behalf of] all the donors, from retired officials, from the [retiring] abbot [written] to the district of [his own] monastery as well as to the district [of his replacement], and from other officials; and the monastery's tea ceremony poster. All of these items must be prepared with care and correctly packed. One monk should be selected to be in charge of items such as money and the financial records. He should be neither extravagant nor excessively frugal in spending. [The envoys] should avoid inspections by government officials and should refrain from ostentation or conspicuous preparations; it is better [to travel] unannounced.

[251] One of the envoys should be sent ahead to the district [of the prospective abbot] to deliver the documents to the local government officials. All the [other] envoys take up residence at the [prospective abbot's] monastery and stay there [while awaiting an official response]. If [the officials] of this district refuse to release the abbot, the envoys should request a response letter [asking these officials to explain their refusal]. Then one of the envoys should return to his home district with this response letter; [meanwhile,] the other envoys should not return [until word is received from home]. If [the envoys waiting at the foreign monastery] receive a letter [from their own district officials] urging them to make a second request [for release of the abbot], the envoys should go to [the officials of] that district and ask again for discharge of the abbot. If there is no letter [from their own district officials] asking them to make a second request, they may return home to their own monastery. If [the officials of the prospective abbot's] district allow [the abbot's release], then [the envoys] present their invitation at the foreign monastery in accordance with proper etiquette. The envoys should first meet and consult with the temple administrators. They then meet with the abbot for a greeting tea ceremony. After the tea is served, the letter of invitation is cordially presented. [The envoys] should repeat their invitation three times, each time with mindfulness and diligence. The abbot may accept only after the third

invitation. Whenever Chan Master Fayun Yuantong 法雲圓通 received an invitation he would wait until envoys had been sent to him three times before accepting.⁴¹

The Letter of Appointment Received by the Abbot [Candidate]

[252] If an incumbent abbot is to be given a letter [inviting him to become abbot at another monastery], [the envoys] should go to the abbot's quarters and invite him three times. Even if the abbot has accepted the invitation so that the drum is struck and the assembly summoned, still he must make a show of refusing [the invitation] and must claim to accept only because he has no choice. The letter [of invitation] is passed through the incense smoke (at this point Dharma verses should be recited), after which the rector reads it aloud to the assembly. The abbot ascends his seat to propagate the Dharma (*juyang* 舉揚) [i.e., give a sermon one final time], and then descends to exchange doing *liangzhan sanli* of gratitude with the administrators, the chief seat, and the assembly, who congratulate him in return. The words of congratulation are: "It is a great honor [that you are ascending] to a more prestigious monastery. This news has brought intense joy to the monastery and has given your patriarchs and teachers cause for paternal pride. Heaven and earth shall celebrate together and we are extremely elated." The [abbot's] words of gratitude are: "Without permission I recklessly accepted this invitation and have stained [i.e., dishonored] the traditions of this school. When I look up I feel ashamed before all heaven; when I look down I feel ashamed before the entire assembly."

[253] If the person to be invited is not an incumbent abbot, [the envoys] should go to his hall of residence to extend the invitation to him three times. If [the candidate] accepts [the invitation], then the abbot of the monastery ascends his seat to announce [the news] and, along with the assembly, urges [the candidate to accept the outside appointment]. The candidate bows to the abbot and receives a letter from him. If the candidate has not "gone out into the world" (*chushi* 出世); [i.e. has never served as abbot of a monastery] in this

⁴¹ For the biography of Fayun, see n. 9 in fasc. 2.

monastery, then one of the envoys prepares a Dharma robe. After the invitation is read aloud, the envoy presents the robe [to the candidate, who] passes it through the incense smoke and puts it on. Dharma verses should be recited at this time. However, if [the candidate] has "gone out into the world" [i.e., often delivers sermons], [the robe] is not necessary. Then [the candidate] faces the Dharma seat and ascends it (and recites Dharma verses). He then gives a sermon, after which he descends and bows to thank the abbot. At this point, [candidates] sometimes fully unfold their sitting mats and bow down nine times, sometimes [they] do *liangzhan sanli*. The [candidate's] words of gratitude are as follows: "Throughout my spiritual career I have looked to the examples of my virtuous predecessors and have felt ashamed [by personal comparison]. However, since three invitations have been made with such insistence, it is difficult for me to refuse this superior decree. I am extremely disconcerted and moved [by this appointment]." The ensuing words of congratulations from the abbot are: "Since the awl has come out of the bag,⁴² it cannot escape from the rain [i.e., virtue and talent cannot be hidden]. It is most fortunate that you are undertaking this benevolent duty; indeed, it is worthy of celebration." Then the candidate and the administrators, chief seat, and assembly do *liangzhan sanli* to thank and congratulate one another. The candidate expresses his gratitude as follows: "Without permission I recklessly accepted this invitation and have stained [i.e., dishonored] the traditions of this school. You have bestowed upon me too great a compliment. I am extremely grateful." The congratulatory reply is as follows: "It is a joy [that you] have

⁴² An "awl in the bag" is an idiom used to refer to a person whose potential virtue or talent is clearly discernable, just as an awl, though hidden in a bag, can still be recognized by its shape. The expression finds its origins in *Shiji* 史記 76 ([Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1972], 2366). During the period of Warring States (475-221 B.C.E.), the Lord of Pingyuan 平原君 attempted to gather a group of twenty honored statespersons (*menke* 門客) to send as negotiators to the neighboring state of Chu 楚國. When only nineteen suitable candidates could be found, one of the lord's subjects, Mao Sui 毛遂, promptly recommended himself for the mission. At first the lord reacted negatively, skeptical of the man's qualifications. "Just as when one places an awl into a bag the point of the instrument can be seen at the bottom," the Lord observed, "so too would any of Mao Sui's talents have shown by now, since you have already spent years among the court-goers."

"Place me in the bag," Mao Sui insisted, "and you will see not only the point of the awl below, but even the handle protruding from above." Persuaded by the man's determination, the lord acceded to his request, and later, during a crucial moment in the negotiations, Mao Sui stepped forward and won over the representatives of the Chu state with his arguments.

received this invitation from earthly and heavenly beings which increases the honor of the light of the Buddha and the Patriarchs. We are utterly elated."

[254] [The newly-appointed abbot] visits the various quarters [of his former monastery to say goodbye]. After a day or two the envoys hang a poster announcing a tea ceremony for the new abbot, and the next day they hold a combined feast-tea ceremony. When it is time for him to leave [for his new monastery], whether or not he ascends the seat in the dharma hall to give a small farewell sermon depends on the situation. If the appointee was the incumbent abbot of his former monastery, he should not take any monastic property with him. If money or grain is to be transferred [to the next abbot] then it should be made clear what is owned communally and what is owned privately. [255] The abbot should not take the most capable servers with him, removing their names from the monastic registry when he leaves. He should also not accept too many farewell banquets from the monastery, and he should consult with others as to how large a retinue will travel with him so as not to create hardship for his former monastery. [Three] messengers are sent to deliver messages [to his new monastery] in advance of his arrival. He prepares all the letters and selects one messenger to deliver them to the officials and to donors to express his gratitude and announce his appointment. He selects two other messengers to travel to [his new] monastery and make all the preparations. On the day of departure the new abbot packs his belongings with the assembly [i.e., with his attendants and servers] and leaves. [if the newly-selected candidate is not the incumbent abbot of the monastery, his farewell procession is as follows:] [the incumbent] abbot follows behind the assembly, while the envoys, [other] monks, and laypeople who wish to give their farewell walk behind the new [departing] abbot.

The Newly Appointed Abbot's Entrance to the Monastery

[256] The new abbot should enter [his new] monastery carrying his luggage with his retinues following behind. If he encounters a welcoming party [on the road as he

approaches the monastery], he may take off his bamboo hat, put his walking stick aside, and bow; or, using his right hand to hold the brim of his hat, he may bend his body slightly. If they invite him to sit down for tea or drink, he should simply take off his hat and, leaning on his stick for support, sit down without unpacking his luggage. If he is met by senior monks, he may merely bow, saying, "As I am traveling on the road I cannot collect myself to bow down to you." If he is met by officials, he may simply clasp his hands and greet them, saying, "On the road my clothes make it inconvenient [to express my respects]; I hope I will not offend you." When he has entered the monastery through the mountain [main] gate, he should burn incense and Dharma verses should be recited. He then unpacks his belongings in front of the Saṅgha hall and goes to the rear washing stand to wash his feet. [The abbot] then enters the Saṅgha hall to offer incense before the Holy Monk. His attendants follow him as a group and fully unfold their sitting mats, bowing down three times [to the Holy Monk] and then circumambulating the hall together one time. Then the rector invites the abbot to assume the abbot's seat and does *chuli* three times to him. Once this is done, [the abbot] takes up residence [in the Saṅgha hall]. [After he has established his position in the Saṅgha hall,] the new abbot goes first to the Great Shrine, and then to the Earth Hall [of the Guardian Deity]. Next he visits the Hall of [the Patriarchs'] Pictures. [In each location] instruments are played, sutras are chanted, and incense is burned. The administrators then invite the new abbot into the abbot's quarters where he sits in his seat and gives a short speech (*xianshi* 顯示). After this, the administrators extend their gratitude and [the abbot] meets briefly with his guests. The drum is then struck and the abbot ascends [his seat in the dharma] hall. The procedure for expressing congratulations and gratitude [at this location] is the same as the procedure for the commencement and closing of the summer retreat.⁴³ The words of congratulations are: "We humbly greet your elephant-riding [i.e., most honorable] arrival. We are extremely joyous to obtain your illumination at the Dharma banquet." The words of gratitude are: "I regret that I am not a [worthy] vessel. I

43 See YZS [88-91] in fasc. 2.

have usurped [the leadership of] a famous monastery—for this reason I am most abashed." That evening [the abbot delivers] an informal sermon. In all, this ceremony lasts three days. The first morning after the final day of the ceremony the abbot pays a courtesy call to the [local] officials one at a time. [The abbot] also must choose a day for the inauguration ceremony (*kaitang* 開堂; "the opening of the [dharma] hall").⁴⁴ [The abbot] should wait until all of the greetings begin to subside before he [serves tea] especially for the envoys and for his retainers [who arrived with him]. Officials, donors, retired staff and senior monks should also be invited as groups. The retainers should be courteously provided for. Those messengers who arrived at the monastery before the others should have arranged a place for the arriving retinue to stay. After the ceremony the retainers disperse to the various [residential] quarters.

The Role of the Abbot

[257] [The abbot] represents the Buddha in his propagation of the Dharma and he sets an example for the administrators; therefore, he is called "Transmitter of the Dharma." Abbots are spread across the land, each occupying his own place and continuing the Buddha's Life of Wisdom; therefore, they are called "Dwelling and Holding (*zhuchi* 住持)."⁴⁵ They begin the turning of the Dharma wheel; therefore, they are called "[those who have gone] out into the world." [The abbot] has inherited the teaching of his lineage; therefore, he is also called "Transmitter of the Flame" (*chuandeng* 傳燈).⁴⁶ He has received

⁴⁴ This first of the ceremonies performed by a newly appointed abbot is called the *kaitang*. However, according to *Chunming tuichao lu* 春明退朝錄 1 ([Taipei: Yiwen Yinshuguan, 1966], *Jifu congshu* 畿輔叢書 edition vol. 72, 9b-10a), the term *kaitang* originally referred to the ceremonies held in the imperially supported translation houses of the Song. A ceremony also called *kaitang* of the "pre-reading" for newly translated sutras was held two months before its presentation to the court. A month later, i.e., a month before the presentation, the translators and editors would gather again to prepare the presentation, an event called "the closing of the hall" (*bitang* 閉堂). (Note: *ZTSY* 8 [ZZK 2-18-1:118a] contains a transcription error, writing *kaiting* rather than the correct *bitang*.)

⁴⁵ The term *zhuchi* indicates the abbots' role as a holding vessel for the Dharma, in which the Dharma may dwell safe from extinction. See *ZTSY* 8, ZZK 2-18-1:118a.

⁴⁶ See *Da bore boluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經 408 (referred by *ZTSY* 8, ZZK 2-18-1:113b): ". . . The Tathāgata preaches the essence of the Dharma to his disciples without contradicting with the nature of

the name of "Elder of Benevolent Manifestion" (Shanxian zunzhe zhanglao 善現尊者長老; i.e. Śāriputra). The abbot resides in the building known as "ten square meters" of Golden Grain Tathāgata (Jinsu Rulai 金粟如來; i.e., Vimalakīrti's previous life).⁴⁷ He calls himself the "Sprayer [of Water] and Sweeper [of Floors] (*sasao* 洒掃)." The chief virtue for the abbot is to ensure that the monastery is strict and pure. [His duties include] being asked by government officials for spiritual cultivation as well as to pray for the emperor's longevity. Therefore, the abbot must exercise his great mind, propagate the great Dharma, harbor great virtue, undertake great action, increase great compassion, accomplish deeds of great Dharma, and achieve great benefits. [258] The abbot has the right and authority to make important decisions when they are called for. It is difficult [to anticipate all potential problems] with the initial version of the monastic regulations; however, the operating principle should be to enforce the rules of prescription and prohibition in a strict and stern fashion. The abbot's [outward] image may be that of a righteous man, but it is far more important that he be truly respected. He should measure the ability of [potential] staff members in selecting the monks for each duty. He should clasp his hands and look up in expectation of a task being carried out, being careful not to impede others' elbow [that is, he should rule by way of suggestion or intimation and not by overbearing interference]. The abbot should attempt to streamline the monastic regulations. He should foster elite monks.

Dharma. Based on the teaching of the Buddha, the disciples of the Buddha cultivate themselves vigorously, and experience the reality of Dharma, therefore whatever they preach will not contradict the nature of Dharma. Accordingly, the teaching of the Buddha is like the *light which transmits and illuminates*" [emphasis mine].

⁴⁷ The author of *Shimen bianhuo lun* 十門辯惑論 1 (T 52:551b17-18), monk Fuli 復禮 (date unknown), notes that, according to Jizang 吉藏, the reference to Vimalakīrti's previous existence as the Golden Grain Tathāgata is based on the *Sīwei sanmei jing* 思維三昧經. However, since Jizang could not find this sutra in any of the canonical catalogues, he believed that, while the text may have existed in India, it was not translated into Chinese.

In both his works, the *Jingming xuanlun* 淨名玄論 2 (T 38:866b6) and *Weimo jing yishu* 維摩經義疏 1 (T38:915a15-16), Jizang refers to the Golden Grain Tathāgata as an epithet for Vimalakīrti's past incarnation. However, the two texts which the above works cite as sources for this epithet, *Faji jing* 發跡經 and *Sīwei sanmei jing*, cannot be found in the Chinese canon.

He should tirelessly give instruction, and then he will be the "eyes of human and heavenly beings."⁴⁸

The Funeral of the Abbot

[259] When the abbot passes away, his body should be placed in the abbot's quarters and fragrant flowers should be offered. Then verses from the abbot's last instruction should be written on two placards and suspended over the right- and left-hand side of the deceased's devotional shrine. One of the senior monks of the same Dharma lineage [as the abbot] should be appointed as "funeral master" (*sangzhu* 喪主). If there is no one of the same Dharma lineage then an abbot from a neighboring monastery should be invited. Next, the abbot's will should be copied, and [messengers] should inform the officials, the lay patrons, the monk-officials, the senior monks of neighboring monasteries, the junior Dharma heirs and monks in the abbot's direct lineage. Different monks are appointed to deliver each of these letters. Three days after the abbot's death his body is placed in the shrine according to the procedure for the funeral described above.

[260] When the body is placed in the shrine (*kan* 龕) an honorable senior is appointed to lift up the "seat of the spirit." At this point a few more Dharma [verses] should be pronounced. The shrine is placed on the west side of the dharma hall. On the east side the [abbot's] bed is made, beside which is placed the abbot's hanging stand and daily items. A painting of the abbot is suspended above the dharma seat.. In the dharma hall, white

⁴⁸ I.e., the teacher of human and heavenly beings. The biography of Chan master Lingshu Rumin 靈樹如敏 in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 11 (T 51:286c2-8) includes a story containing what may be the first use of this phrase. When Lingshu learns that a general in his region is planning a military takeover and is coming to his temple to ask for advice, he decides to pass away [lit. "sit transformed"]. The general arrives, learns of Lingshu's death, and becomes angry, asking the administrators when it was that Lingshu had grown ill. The administrators reply that the Chan master had not been ill at all, but that he nonetheless had left a letter for the general to read. The general then opens the letter, which simply reads: "The eye of human and heavenly beings is the chief seat in the hall" (*rentian yanmu tangzhong shangzuo* 人天眼目堂中上座). After contemplating the master's words, the general decides to abandon his plans, instead inviting Chan master Yunmen Wenyan 雲門文偃 (864-949), who occupied the first seat in the Saṅgha hall, to serve as the next abbot.

curtains, white flowers, lamps, candles and offertory items are used to decorate the devotional shrine. The junior monks stand behind and below the curtain, wearing mourning garments and guarding the shrine. After all the arrangements are made in the Dharma hall, the entire assembly, beginning with the funeral master, bows down to the picture of the abbot. Then the administrators, chief officers, "filial sons" (*xiaozi* 孝子),⁴⁹ and general assembly meet with the funeral master and offer condolences to each other individually. If outside guests come to mourn, the external guest master leads them to the Dharma hall and the internal guest master escorts them to offer incense and bow down before the abbot's picture. Then the guests meet with the funeral master, the administrators, and the chief seat, after which they approach the curtain to offer condolences to the junior monks. They then return to have tea with the funeral master and the external guest master escorts them out. If guests bring sacrificial offerings, they are displayed in front of the abbot's picture. If [the guests] do not bring with them a person to read a eulogy, then the rector or the scribe of the monastery reads it instead. At the farewell funeral, the big shrine is decorated in accordance with the circumstances, and the picture shrine, the incense shrine, the service, and the flower banner [are also prepared].

[261] On the day of "lifting up the shrine" [i.e., the day of the funeral] the monastery should sponsor a large feast in accordance with its financial capabilities and should offer more money than usual. When the time arrives a senior monk should be appointed to [symbolically] lift up the shrine. At this point a few Dharma [verses] should be read. The filial sons and the servers circumambulate the shrine, after which they form an escort [for the shrine], following behind the funeral master. The filial sons and the assembly walk in the center of the road in single file. The officials and the donors walk on the right- and left-hand sides parallel to the monks. Nuns and the abbot's blood relations follow at the end

⁴⁹ According to Chinese custom, a son in mourning is called a *xiaozi*. The term "filial sons" is thus adopted from secular practice and is here meant to refer to the disciples of the deceased abbot.

of the farewell procession. When the [deceased abbot's body] is cremated, a senior monk is appointed to light the fire. At this point a few more Dharma verses should be read. When [the ashes] are put into a pagoda, a senior monk is appointed to lower the shrine [into the pagoda] (more Dharma verses should be read) and a senior monk is appointed to spread the soil, and more Dharma verses should be read. After this ten recitations of the Buddha's name will be performed, as in the case of a monk's funeral, and the monastery distributes the money offered for the recitations. The monks return to the monastery and a senior monk is appointed to suspend the picture [of the late abbot] in the area next to abbot's front hall, and more Dharma verses are read. Beginning with the funeral master, each monk bows down before the painting, after which all the monks offer condolences to each other and then all are dismissed. The administrators, chief officers, filial sons, etc., offer incense before the picture in the morning and evening and offer two meals a day [to the late abbot] concurrent with the meals of the assembly. [262] [The assembly] waits for a new abbot to arrive at the monastery; at some point before that day comes the painting will be removed [from the abbot's front hall] and placed in the Hall of Pictures.

[263] At each stage of the funeral--when placing the body in the shrine, lifting up the shrine, lighting the fire, placing the shrine into the pagoda, spreading the soil, or suspending the picture--"milk medicine" [souvenir gifts] should be offered [to all funeral-goers]. [For his role in the ritual] the funeral master deserves to be paid well. Near the end of the funeral ceremony, the monastery should show its gratitude to the senior monks [who have performed the various funerary tasks] mentioned above. Next the appointment of a new abbot is discussed and the administrators issue letters [to neighboring monasteries] to explain the situation and ask for recommendations. Senior monks from surrounding monasteries and monk-officials may suggest candidates, but if their recommendations are not agreed upon by the assembly, the administrators must meet with a government official, explain the situation and ask for an alternative proposal. If the government entrusts the

monastery with the power to unilaterally select an abbot, the monastery should do so quickly so as to avoid having the abbot's position vacant for an extended period of time.⁵⁰

Retirement of the Abbot

[264] When the abbot begins to age or contracts a disease or if there should arise a particular reason [for him to retire], he should not insist on maintaining his position. He should pack his robes, bowls, and personal belongings beforehand. Together with the administrators, the [retiring] abbot must clearly write down in the income records what belongs to the monastery and what belongs to the monks. The communal items used in the abbot's office must be transferred properly along with the income record, all of which are then sealed with the monastic seal. The abbot then asks the administrators to appoint someone to safeguard the abbot's quarters and the [transferred] items. This [guardian] should take up residence in the attendants' quarters. If the abbot owns an excessive number of robes, bowls, and personal items, he should auction them before he retires, sponsor a feast for the assembly, and donate a portion of this money to the monastery to avoid any financial offense. The possessions he takes with him into retirement should be only those things he usually carries on his body as well as basic personal effects. If there is too much luggage it is likely to elicit ridicule or criticism. Gold, silver, silk, and taxed items, as well as any prohibited items [goods such as tea, wine, or salt, the sale of which is monopolized by the government] should not be carried [by the retired abbot]. [He] should neither give [personal] letters to government officials nor [should he divulge the location of] his hermitage [i.e., place of retirement].⁵¹ Furthermore, he should not plan his place of retirement beforehand [i.e., while still an active abbot]. If the abbot is traveling a great

⁵⁰ For a detailed discussion of the selection of abbot see Section IIIb.

⁵¹ Song law *QTS* 51 (486a) stipulated that no retired cloister or hut may be built within public monasteries.

distance from the region [where his current monastery is located], he should expediently arrange his travel certificate in advance.

[265] Once everything has been arranged, [the retired abbot] should have his attendant or a junior monk deliver the letter of retirement. After the letter has been tendered, the abbot should avoid [contact with members of] the monastery and should leave or take up residence in other quarters. After he has retired he will stay at numerous places as a guest. It is only appropriate for him to bring one attendant and one server; he should not maintain an entourage of followers, thereby imposing upon the households and monasteries he visits. [When visiting monasteries,] he must accept the refined as well as the coarse [food, customs, etc.]; in everything he should follow the practice of that particular assembly. He should not interfere with monastic affairs or criticize the master [host abbot], administrators, or chief officers. In addition, he should not mention [his own role as] abbot in the past or his previous accomplishments; nor should he voice any grievance he may be harboring. If, while visiting a monastery, the [host] abbot should ask [the retired abbot] to "ascend the seat" [give a formal sermon] or perform a small sermon, he may or may not accept, depending on the situation. Unless [the retired abbot] is recommended by the [host] abbot or courteously invited by the administrators and the assembly, he should not **[266]** have monks "enter his room" [i.e., he should not give private interviews or accept disciples]. Once an abbot has retired from his post, it is not appropriate for him to be a constant presence or to take up residence in his former monastery. Relations among people are a highly unstable matter; it is best to be extremely cautious [with regard to expectations of continued former relations]. If [the retired abbot] is ill or convalescing and therefore cannot move about without difficulty, the choice of whether to leave the monastery is his; [deciding to stay] will cause no harm.

Conclusion

In the past, historians of Chinese Chan have seen the establishment of *qinggui*, or monastic codes, as a decisive moment in the history of the Chan tradition, and the codes themselves as declarations of its independence from other Buddhist schools, especially from the Lü school. Traditionally, Baizhang was thought to have initiated this watershed movement by drawing up a set of innovative monastic rules, and *CYQG*, as the first extant comprehensive monastic code, was considered a continuation of this legacy. However, in translating and annotating the text of *CYQG*, I have found that most of the elements of the work have roots that reach much farther back in time than scholars have suspected. The purpose of the extensive annotations is to demonstrate the great degree to which the Vinaya serves as source material for Chan regulations such as *CYQG*. For instance, the Chan emphasis upon seniority of ordination as the key factor in determining seating arrangements or the order of monks' positions during their various activities, as well as stipulations as to which foot must be used first to enter a door or gate, are practices which have their origins in the Vinaya. The use of special objects to maintain vigilance during meditation in the Saṅgha hall and the striking of a signal instrument to summon the assembly are both found in the Vinaya. Chan rituals and ceremonies such as the auction of a deceased monk's possessions, the offering of food to all sentient beings, and the burning of incense while circumambulating the hall—likewise all have their clear precedents in the Vinaya. Even the use of four nesting bowls at mealtimes, often assumed to be unique to the Chan monastery, can be found in the original Vinaya texts.

In addition, many of the Chan practices described in *CYQG* can be linked to the Lü school. The works of Lü master Daoxuan (596-667) reveal that some of the major features of the Chan regulations were also common practices in the Lü school and had been carried out for much longer than historians had assumed. But as Daoxuan himself was largely

preserving practices which had been codified earlier by Daoan (312-385), through his works we can discern indirectly how many of the Chan monastic practices still carried out today can be traced back as far as the fourth century. For instance, the octagonal hammer with its pillar stand, which sits in the center of the Saṅgha hall in Chan monasteries, is not a Chan invention, but had been used long before by Daoxuan, who, in turn, inherited the practice from Daoan. In addition, the various verses chanted by Chan monks during Tang and Song times are described earlier in Daoxuan's *SXC*, the commentary to the *Four Part Vinaya*, and these, too, can be traced back to Daoan's time. Even the verse on the five contemplations chanted by Chan monks before meals up to the present day has its provenance in Daoxuan's *SXC*.

Much of this information serves to gainsay long-standing conceptions about the role of *CYQG* in the Chan school. I am in agreement with many modern scholars who have challenged the long-held belief that Baizhang's work signaled an era of Chan independence. I do not, however, share some of their other conclusions which are based on insufficient evidence. Some scholars have argued that the Chan school did not come into being with Baizhang's code and that its customs and traditions, many of which can also be found in the early records of the Tiantai school, are known to have predated any alleged innovation by Baizhang. Having thus downplayed the importance of Baizhang's work from an evolutionary perspective, these scholars go on to deny the existence of any monastic code written by Baizhang, basing their arguments on the fact that Baizhang's code is not mentioned in the historical documents of the time, nor in the works of Baizhang's disciples or contemporaries. In contradistinction to this conclusion, I argue that an absence of evidence is not in itself evidence of an absence, and by way of analogy I cite the case of Zongze, whose authorship of *CYQG* is incontrovertible, and yet whose monastic code is not mentioned in the many documents concerning his life's work.

The methodological focus of scholars who argue that Baizhang's code never existed has centered in a broad comparison of Chan and Tiantai texts, while I have endeavored to examine Chan regulations in the light of Chinese Vinaya translations and commentaries. Since the early historians did, in fact, see the Chan codes as a declaration of independence from the Lü school, I have attempted to examine the differences or similarities that existed between these two schools. Thus my method has been to trace the regulations and practices laid out in the *CYQG* back to the first Chinese translations of Vinaya texts and to works written by those Chinese monks prior to Baizhang who had advocated adherence to the Vinaya monastic practices. My aim in consulting the earliest documents available was to provide a concrete, point-by-point comparative analysis of *CYQG*.

However, it is also crucial to note that *CYQG* and the Chan regulations that followed it include elements foreign to the original Vinaya texts, elements representing the incorporation of Chinese governmental policies and traditional Chinese etiquette. For example, an examination of the Song legal edict *Qingyuan tiaofa shilei* (*QTS*) provides us with a greater understanding of *CYQG*'s discussion of the restrictions enacted by travel permits, the sale of tonsure and master title certificates, the conversion of private monasteries to public, and the election of the abbots. Popular Chinese custom also made its mark upon *CYQG*: for example, protocol associated with the tea ceremony within the Chan monastery is by and large a direct imitation of the model presented in the Chinese *Book of Rites*. Furthermore, the physical layout of the abbot's quarters and the Dharma hall, as well as the ritual associated with the abbot's sermon in the Dharma hall are plainly appropriated from the customs of the Chinese imperial courts. In short, after a thorough investigation of the Chan monastic rules, we gain a clear sense of both continuity traceable to the original Vinaya texts as well as adaptation from the surrounding Chinese culture.

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- wucan shangtang* 五參上堂: formal sermon in Dharma hall on the 'fifth' day, 207n .1.
- wuchang yuan* 無常院. See infirmary., 325n. 17.
- wuchang* 五常, 187n. 117.
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- xiajian* 下間: lower section, i.e., left section, 181.
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- xiangkan* 相看: meet with the superior, 166.
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- xiao jingpin* 小淨瓶: a small pure water vessel, 161.
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- xiaozhi* 孝子: "filial son," i.e., a disciple in mourning, 350.
- xiatang zhong* 下堂鐘: striking the bell to exit the hall, 211.
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- xingqian* 行遣: to carry out something, 239; punish, 244.
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- xixu* 西序: west section, i.e., chief officers, 134, 231n. 49.
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- xuanming* 宣明, "Illuminated One," name of bathhouse, 262n. 5.
- xuanseng tang* 選僧堂: hall for choosing monks, 169n. 64.
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