

¹⁶ For thorough studies of Shen-hsiu's biography based on the primary sources, see Lo Hsiang-lin 羅香林, *T'ang-tai wen-hua shih* 唐代文化史 (Taipei, 1955), pp. 105–58; and Ui Hakuju 宇井伯壽, *Zenshū shi kenkyū* 禪宗史研究 I (Tokyo, 1939), pp. 269–75. For a discussion of Empress Wu's patronage of Buddhists, and a sketch of Fa-tsang's life, see Kamata, *Chūgoku Kegon shisōshi no kenkyū*, pp. 120–34.

¹⁷ That is “the gate of perceiving non-difference” (*liao wu-i-men* 了無異門) or “the path of spontaneous, unimpeded liberation” (*tzu-jan wu-ai chieh-t'uo* 自然無礙解脫). See Ui, *Zenshū shi kenkyū I*, pp. 449 & 509.

¹⁸ For a summary of the essentials of P'u-chi's biography, see Ui *Zenshū shi kenkyū I*, pp. 279–83.

¹⁹ Ui, *Zenshū shi kenkyū I*, pp. 307–8.

²⁰ The best study so far of such uses of the *Avatamsakasūtra*—indeed, the only concerted treatment of the relationship between Hua-yen and Ch'an—is Takamine Ryōshū 高峯了州, *Kegon to Zen to no tsūro* 華嚴と禪との通路 (Nara, 1956), especially pp. 35–43 & 67–75.

²¹ Kamata, *Chūgoku Kegon shisōshi no kenkyū*, pp. 475–500.

²² See Tsung-mi's *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü* 禪源諸詮集都序, in Kamata's excellent edition and Japanese translation, *Zengen shosenshū tojo, Zen no goroku* 禪の語録, 9 (Tokyo, 1971), pp. 131–140.

²³ Ch'eng-kuan was the first ever to use the term “*tsung*” (宗) in connection with Hua-yen. See his *Hua-yen-ching shu* 華嚴經疏 (T1735:35.529b6) and his *Hua-yen-ching sui-shu yen-i ch'ao* 華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 (T. 1736:36. 292c8).

²⁴ T. 1873:45.602b23–c3. I have translated this passage relatively freely because the sometimes florid jargon of Hua-yen, exemplified by phrases of this passage, resists literal rendering. Even so, I am not certain that the whole of my translation of this obscure passage is correct. The precise date of this work is not known, but it is surely from the earlier part of Fa-tsang's career, i.e., from the period prior to about 680 A.D. I owe my acquaintance with it to Kobayashi Jitsugen 小林實玄, “*Kegon zammai kan no kenkyū*,” *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 24 (1975), 324–27. Kobayashi himself uses the passage to reveal a stage in the development of Fa-tsang's own views of meditation.

The Early Ch'an Monastic Rule: *Ch'ing kuei* and the Shaping of Ch'an Community Life

Martin Collcutt

I. INTRODUCTION: THE NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF CH'ING-KUEI

If the integrity of the Zen ideal of “looking within and realizing the Buddha” has been kept alive in the ongoing meditative quest of countless generations of seekers after enlightenment and in the “mind to mind” transmission from master to disciple, the cohesion, over the centuries, of Ch'an (Zen) as a distinct school within the Mahāyāna Buddhist tradition has been preserved by the framework of Ch'an monastic codes known as Regulations for the Pure Community, or Pure Regulations (*ch'ing-kuei*, 清規 *J. shingi*). Here I would like to introduce two of the earliest Ch'an codes and use them to illuminate the early Ch'an monastic life and the sectarian development of Ch'an between the T'ang and Sung dynasties.

Before looking at the origins of the regulations known as *ch'ing-kuei* we should, perhaps, have some general idea of what they were and why they have been so important in the Ch'an tradition. At the outset we should distinguish *ch'ing-kuei* from the Buddhist precepts contained in the Śīla and Vinaya. *Ch'ing-kuei* generally include articles stressing the importance to Ch'an monks and the Ch'an monastic life of the strict observance of the Śīla and Vinaya: both the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna precepts. They also frequently provide detailed prescriptions for the ordination ceremonies at which the precepts were formally taken. *Ch'ing-kuei*, however, are both broader and narrower in their scope than the prescriptions for the spiritual lives of all Buddhist monks and nuns contained in the Śīla and Vinaya. Compiled by Ch'an leaders to serve as guides to proper monastic practice for succeeding generations of monk-administrators, *ch'ing-kuei* cover the whole range of activities and organization, economic activities, and buildings and their layout of mature Ch'an monasteries. Likewise, it is through *ch'ing-kuei* that we can best trace the development of the forms of the Ch'an religious life of meditation, labor, regular community assemblies, and

private meetings between the abbot and individual monks seeking his guidance. And it is from *ch'ing-kuei* that we learn of the kinds of practical problems facing Ch'an and Zen monk-legislators in their efforts to regulate the community and its relationship with society at large.

Ch'ing-kuei did for the Ch'an schools what the Benedictine and Cistercian rules did for those orders in medieval Europe: gave them their distinctive imprint and provided a source of institutional vitality and continuity. The Saint Benedict of the Ch'an tradition was the T'ang dynasty monk Pai-chang Huai-hai 百丈懷海 (720–814) whose regulations are accepted as the starting point of an independent Ch'an monastic tradition. Moreover, it is no accident that the most important and comprehensive surviving *ch'ing-kuei* were compiled in the Northern and Southern Sung dynasties when Ch'an had assumed a dominant position in Chinese Buddhist circles. *Ch'ing-kuei* were at once the source and product of this sectarian maturity and independence.

The importance of *ch'ing-kuei* in the formation of the characteristic Ch'an monastic life is further emphasized by the fact that many leading Chinese and Japanese Ch'an masters devoted considerable energy to their compilation, recovery, explication, and enforcement. Subsequent generations of Ch'an monks have accorded the highest respect to these legislative precedents. In the Rinzai 臨濟 tradition, for instance, Pai-chang, as the first codifier, occupies a place in the Ch'an pantheon alongside Bodhidharma and the Sixth Patriarch. Ch'an monks of the Sung dynasty like Yang-i 楊億 and Tsung-tsê 宗頤 strove to revive and augment the pioneering activity of Pai-chang. In transmitting Sung dynasty Ch'an practices to Japan, the Japanese monks Yōsai, 榮西 Dōgen 道元, and Bennen 弁円 Enni 円爾 (Shōitsu) as well as the Chinese emigré monks Lan-ch'i 蘭溪道隆 and Wuhsüeh 無學祖元 all stressed the importance of *ch'ing-kuei* as the proper vehicle for a full and authentic transmission. They sought to recreate in Japan a mirror image of the Chinese practice of Ch'an monastic life by applying Chinese regulations, undiluted wherever possible, or by compiling new codes, based on Chinese *ch'ing-kuei*, to accord with the different social circumstances in Japan or to meet the special needs of a particular monastery or school. The transmission of Chinese Ch'an practice to medieval Japan was successful precisely because it was based on written regulations and not simply on personal observation and hearsay.

Of course Yang-i, Dōgen, and other Ch'an legislators did not see themselves as innovators. Their avowed aim was always to restate the essentials of Ch'an monastic practice, to root out abuses, and to return to the ideals of Pai-chang. Unwittingly, however, each restatement of the tradition sanctified recent practices born of changing religious, social and political conditions. Although the major Chinese and Japanese codes all obviously describe the same basic tradition, each code clearly reflects significant changes in the character of the institution. *Ch'ing-kuei* thus provide a unique source for tracing the institutional development of Ch'an after the T'ang dynasty.

II. THE COMPOSITION AND TRANSMISSION OF MAJOR CH'AN CODES

The accompanying table (fig. 1) is based on an article by Professor Imaeda Aishin of Tokyo University entitled "Shingi no denrai to rufu" (The Transmission and Diffusion of *Ch'ing-kuei*).¹ The table gives the titles of major Chinese and Japanese codes, dates of composition where known and, in the case of Chinese codes, the approximate date of transmission to Japan. It is immediately evident that there was a substantial amount of codification and recodification, with most of the activity occurring between the early twelfth century and the late fourteenth, and with only a minimal time lag between the compilation of Chinese codes and their introduction into Japanese Zen monasteries. For a detailed survey of the *ch'ing-kuei* tradition I refer the reader to Professor Imaeda's article. In this section I shall simply comment briefly on the significance of some of the major early codes.

The most famous Ch'an code is probably the so-called *Pai-chang Ch'ing-kuei* (*Hajō shingi*). Unfortunately, the code has not survived and there is even some doubt as to whether it ever existed. The nearest we can get to it is the *Ch'an men kuei shih* 禪門規式² included as part of the biographical entry on Pai-chang in the *Ching te ch'uan teng Iu* 景德傳燈錄. The most important Chinese code is undoubtedly the *Ch'an yuan ch'ing kuei* 禪苑清規³ compiled by Tsung-tsê in 1103. The importance of this code rests on the facts that it is the oldest surviving full-scale Ch'an monastic code (ten fascicles in the *Zoku-zōkyō* edition); that it synthesized existing, scattered regulations; that it provides an extremely detailed picture of all aspects of the life of the large Northern Sung dynasty Ch'an monastery; that it was widely used in its own day;

(Transmitted) Japan

Paichang ch'ing-kuei (?)

禪門規式

Ch'an-men kuei-shih (1004)

禪苑清規

Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei (1103). .c. 1200

入衆日用清規

Ju-chung jih-yung ch'ing-kuei (1209) c. 1300

校定清規

Chiao-ting ch'ing-kuei (1274). .c. 1300

禪林備用清規

Ch'an-lin pei-yung ch'ing-kuei. .c. 1330 (1311)

幻住庵清規

Huan-chu-an ch'ing-kuei (1317). .c. 1330

律苑清規

Lü-yüan ch'ing-kuei (1324)

勅集百大清規

Ch'ih-hsiu Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei (1336–1343) c. 1350

村寺清規

Ts'un-ssü ch'ing-kuei (1341)

教苑清規

Chiao-yüan ch'ing-kuei

榮西 出家大綱

Yōsai, *Shukke taikō* (1195)

道元 永平清規

Dōgen, *Eihei shingi* (1237)

蘭溪 常樂寺規式

Lan-ch'i, *Jōrakuji kishiki* &

建長寺規式

Kenchōji kishiki (1278)

聖一 東福寺

Shōitsu, *Tōfukuji jōjōgoto* (1280)Muhon, *Seido'in jōjō kishiki* (by 1298)

瑩山 瑩山清規

Keizan, *Keizan shingi* (1325)

清拙 大鑑清規

Ch'ing-cho, *Taikan shingi*

夢窓 臨川家訓

Musō, *Rinsen kakun* (1339)徹翁 大德寺法度德禪寺法度
Tettō, *Daitokuji hatto, Tokuzenjihatō*

正傳菴法度

& *Shōden'an hattō* (1368)

and that it served as the model for subsequent Chinese and Japanese codes. I shall examine the *Ch'an men kuei shih* and *Ch'an yüan ch'ing-kuei* in greater detail in the following section.

The *Ju chung jih yung ch'ing kuei* 入衆日用清規,⁴ as the name implies, is a brief digest or primer intended to introduce novices to the daily life and proper attitude of mind of the Ch'an Buddhist monk. This introductory code of regulations was also appropriate to the new Zen monasteries that began to appear in Japan during the thirteenth century and seems to have been widely used there. According to Imaeda Aishin and other scholars both the *Chiao ting ch'ing kuei* 校定清規⁵ and the *Ch'an lin pei yung ch'ing kuei* 禪林備用清規⁶ were attempts to correct abuses and standardize monastic practice by synthesizing surviving *ch'ing-kuei* regulations with current practice of the Southern Sung and early Yüan dynasties. They are said to show a significantly more formalistic and secular bent than the *Ch'an-yüan* code, with their emphasis shifting from concern for strict monastic practice centering on meditation to interest in ceremonies and prayers for court intentions.

This secular trend reached a peak in the *Ch'ih hsiu Pai chang ch'ing kuei* 勅集百丈清規,⁷ commissioned by the Yüan court and intended as the definitive Ch'an monastic code to be used in the official monasteries of the Five Mountains (*wu-shan* 五山) system. Because of the name Pai-chang in its title this code is sometimes referred to as the Pai-chang code with the implication that it contains or reflects Pai-chang's original regulations. This is a serious error. The code was compiled more than five hundred years after Pai-chang's death in very different religious and social conditions and without reference to any documentary form of an original Pai-chang code. The *Ch'ih hsiu Pai chang* code can bear little, if anything, of the direct imprint of Pai-chang.

The *Huan chu an* 幻住庵 and *Ts'un ssü ch'ing kuei* 村寺清規 are brief house codes compiled for smaller monasteries. Professor Yanagida Seizan has suggested that the *Huan chu an* code was influential in Japan and may well have served as the inspiration for Musō Soseki's house code for Rinsenji, the *Rinsen kakun* 臨川家訓. By the Yüan dynasty the idea of compiling codes with the title "Pure Regulations" had spread to other branches of Buddhism, as evidenced by the appearance of the *Lü yüan* 律苑 and *Chiao yuan ch'ing kuei* 教苑清規.⁸ We can perhaps see this as an indication that revitalization and consolidation of Ch'an Buddhism in the Sung and Yüan dynasties, based in part on the enforcement of *ch'ing-kuei*, prompted similar reform efforts in other areas of Chinese Buddhism.

Looking at the transmission of Ch'an codes to Japan, we see that the latest Chinese codes were introduced to Japan shortly after their com-

pilation, sometimes within a decade. Bringing the newest *ch'ing-kuei* from China was as important to Japanese Zen pioneers as obtaining copies of doctrinal texts. Although all Chinese *ch'ing-kuei* were probably reprinted and lectured upon in Japan, two were particularly important in the development of the Zen schools in Japan: the *Ch'an-yüan* and the *Ch'ih hsiu Pai chang ch'ing kuei*.

The *Ch'an yüan* code provided the foundations for the first century of institutional development of Zen in Japan. It was cited by Yōsai and Dōgen. Many of Dōgen's own regulations were based directly upon it. Shōitsu 聖一, founder of Tōkuji 東福寺, is also said to have brought a copy of the *Ch'an yüan* code back to Japan and to have lectured on it. Emigré monks like Lan-ch'i Tao-lung had been trained under its regulations in China and stressed its importance in the establishment of true Zen monastic practice in Japan.⁹

The *Ch'ih hsiu Pai chang ch'ing kuei* served as the basic code for the centralized, politically regulated network of some three hundred official Zen monasteries known as the Five Mountains (*gozan* 五山) system that developed during the fourteenth century in Japan on the lines of the Southern Sung dynasty *wu-shan* system. The ceremonial, state-oriented tone of the *Ch'ih hsiu* code was in keeping with the official, politically oriented character of the *gozan* monasteries.¹⁰

Of Zen codes compiled in Japan, most were shorter than the major Chinese codes. In general they called upon the authority of Pai-chang and Chinese *ch'ing-kuei* while addressing themselves to problems arising from the promotion of Zen monastic life in a new environment. Of Japanese monks, Dōgen was the most active codifier. The *Eihei shingi* 永平清規,¹¹ contains detailed "Regulations for Monastery Cooks" (*Tonzo kyōkun* 典座教訓), "Procedures for Serving Meals" (*Fushuku hanpō* 赴粥飯法), "Regulations for the Reading Room" (*Shuryō shingi* 衆寮箴規), "Respect for Senior Monks" (*Taidai kohō* 對大已法) and "Guidance in the Pursuit of the Way" (*Bendō-hō* 辯道法). In addition, many sections of Dōgen's *Shōbō Genzō* 正法眼藏 are devoted to laying down the norms of monastic life. Keizan Jōkin 瑩山紹瑾 was one of the third generation leaders of the Sōtō 曹洞 line after Dōgen, and one of those responsible for shifting from Dogen's rather exclusive attitude of offering guidance only to those who actively sought him out and entered his community as monks to an active proselytizing effort to spread Zen teachings among warriors and peasants in northern Japan. In the *Keizan shingi* 瑩山清規¹² we can detect both the desire to be faithful to

Dōgen's regulations, and the Chinese traditions on which they drew, and the impulse to accommodate traditional Zen practices with popular Buddhist devotional activities in order to secure conversions. This change of direction was critical to the later development of Sōtō Zen in Japan.

Of Japanese Rinzai codes, those for Jōrakuji 常樂寺 and Kenchōji 建長寺, the first Japanese Zen monasteries in the pure Sung Ch'an style, were drawn up by Lan-ch'i Tao-lung and placed great emphasis on unremitting *zazen* 坐禪 as the central activity of monastic life. The *Taikan shingi* 大鑑清規,¹³ a simplified code, was compiled by Ch'ing-cho Cheng-ch'eng 清拙正澄, another emigré monk, especially to meet the needs of a new generation of monks and monasteries in Japan. Of the other codes listed, the *Rinsen kakun*¹⁴ was written by Musō 夢窓 for his small community at Rinsenji. Musō has acquired a reputation as a prelate who became too deeply involved in political and cultural interests for the good of his Zen. This code shows him in another light: as a stern Zen master and conscientious administrator.

III. THE PUZZLE OF THE PAI CHANG CH'ING KUEI

It is frequently stated that the actual code of monastic regulations compiled by Pai-chang in the T'ang dynasty survived until at least the Sung dynasty, when it was used as the basis for the *Ch'an yüan* and other *ch'ing-kuei*, and was then lost. Recently, however, some Japanese scholars, especially Kondō Ryōichi in his article "*Hajō shingi* no seiritsu to sono genkei" (The Establishment of the Pai-chang code and its Original Form),¹⁵ have begun to ask whether such a document as an original Pai-chang code ever existed. Kondō, for instance, argues that:

(1) There is no mention of a *Pai chang ch'ing kuei* in the *Ch'an yüan ch'ing kuei* (1103), although this important code claims to incorporate the essence of the regulations of Pai-chang. The Ch'an-yüan code does contain a section entitled "Eulogy on the Rules of Pai Chang" (*Pai chang kuei sheng sung* 百丈規繩頌). The rules listed in this section, however, are not a code traceable all the way back to Pai-chang himself but part of a section from the *Ching tê Ch'uan teng lu* (1004) dealing with the biography of Pai-chang and given the title *Ch'an men kuei shih*. To these regulations he found in the *Ch'uan teng lu*, Tsung-tsê, compiler of the *Ch'an yüan* code, added his own verse commentary and included the product as part of his own much more comprehensive code.

(2) Although the *Ch'an men kuei shih* claims to provide the essence of Pai-chang's rules, it makes no mention of any earlier documentary form of Pai-chang code, nor does the expression "ch'ing-kuei" appear.

(3) The brief *Ch'an men kuei shih* (1004) and the short biography of Pai-chang in the contemporary *Sung kao sêng ch'uan* 宋高僧傳 are the closest that we are able to get to the documentary origins of the elusive Pai-chang code. They also contain some of the earliest references to Pai-chang as codifier.

(4) Kondō Ryōichi also states that he has been unable to find any mention of a Pai-chang code in the Buddhist printed literature of the T'ang and Five dynasties period. Moreover, he argues that in the writings of Pai-chang's contemporaries and disciples there seems to be neither mention of a *Pai chang ch'ing kuei* nor even of Pai-chang having compiled any regulations. Even Pai-chang's memorial inscription composed in the year of his death (814) makes no mention of either a full scale code or of any individual regulations. Kondō argues that this contemporary silence is remarkable in view of Pai-chang's subsequent reputation, and in the light of the importance in Ch'an monastic tradition of Pai-chang's rule to the sectarian independence of Ch'an. Had Pai-chang been the codifier and architect of independence that he was later believed to be, it is inconceivable that his contemporaries and disciples would not have regarded this as one of his most noteworthy achievements and left some mention of the rules in question.

Before concluding that Pai-chang did not play the role of father of the Ch'an monastic rule and architect of Ch'an independence, however, we should perhaps remind ourselves that the attribution of the first Ch'an rule to Pai-chang by the *Ch'an men kuei shih*, which was compiled a little less than two centuries after his death, was very confident. It is possible that some regulations committed orally to his disciples and passed on in scattered manuscripts were salvaged and brought to the attention of Yang-i.

On the other hand, it is also important to note that even if Pai-chang was a codifier, he was certainly not the first Ch'an community legislator. A distinctive Ch'an community life was taking shape in the centuries prior to Pai-chang. The monks Tao-hsin 道信 (580-651) and Hung-jen 弘忍 (601-674), who were later given the titles of fourth and fifth Ch'an patriarchs, attracted large numbers of followers to their mountain retreats.¹⁶ To secure simple subsistence and maintain order, they were obliged to lay the foundations for a simple Ch'an monastic life based on

communal meditation and manual labor. Although Pai-chang may have added his stamp, or merely lent his name, to this developing corpus, he cannot be said to have initiated it. But, if Pai-chang did so much less than is commonly attributed to him, why is it that his name has been given such prominence in the Ch'an monastic tradition? Although there is no certain answer to this problem, we might speculate that, since Pai-chang was squarely in the Hui-neng succession, making him the father of Ch'an monastic life was a means of buttressing the claims to precedence of the Hui-neng line.

Leaving the Pai-chang puzzle unresolved, let us turn now to examine the *Ch'an men kuei shih* in more detail.

IV. THE CH'AN MEN KUEI SHIH¹⁷

One of the earliest coherent descriptions of the Ch'an monastic life and rule still extant is this short section from the *Ching te Ch'uan teng lu* of 1004 which claims to give the essence of Pai-chang's regulations. Although we cannot tell exactly when the practices it describes crystallized, it does reveal the basic pattern of Ch'an monastic life that had taken shape between the T'ang and the Northern Sung dynasties. The *Ch'an men kuei shih* opens with a declaration of Ch'an independence:

Master Pai-chang felt that after the founding by the first Patriarch, Bodhidharma, from the time of sixth Patriarch, Hui-neng, and then on, members of the Ch'an school mostly resided in Lü sect monasteries where, although they had their own separate compounds, they did not act in accord with rules of their own on such matters as the exposition of Ch'an teachings by the abbot or the transmission of leadership. Because he was always concerned with this deficiency Pai-chang said: "It is my desire that the Way of our founders should spread and enlighten people in the hope of its lasting into the future. Why should our school follow the practice of Hinayana regulations?" One of his disciples said in interjection: "But there exist such Mahayana regulations as those included in the *Yoga-sāstra* (*Yü ch'ieh lun* 瑜伽請) and the *Necklace sūtra* (*P'u-sa ying-lo-ching* 菩薩瓔珞經). Why not rely on them and follow them?" The Master replied: "What our school believes should not be bound either by Hinayana or Mahayana. Neither should it arbitrarily differ from them. Our aim should be to take a broad view and synthesize it at the middle ground in establish-

ing the regulations and making sure of their being appropriate for our needs. Thereupon the Master initiated the idea of establishing Ch'an monasteries separately.

This opening section raises two interesting issues: the Ch'an attitude to the Vinaya and the question of the early Ch'an relationship with the Lü school.

On the question of the Vinaya we can detect both an emphasis on the importance of the precepts and regulations for monastic life, and an eclectic attitude towards them. Ch'an monks should pay heed to *both* the Hinayana and Mahayana regulations while developing their own practices. This reassertion of the importance of personal and monastic discipline was an important factor in the emergence of Ch'an as the dominant branch of Chinese Buddhism in the Sung dynasty and in its appeal to Japanese monks like Yōsai and Dōgen who had come to China initially in the hope of finding the means of reforming Japanese monastic practice in which the observance of the Vinaya and monastic discipline was sadly neglected.

With regard to the relationship between early Ch'an and the Lü school, Professor Shiina Hiroo, in an article entitled "Shotō Zenja no Ritsuin kyojū ni tsuite" (On the residence of Early Ch'an followers in Lü Compounds),¹⁸ argues that it is unlikely that the first generations of Ch'an adepts made much use of Lü monasteries. When settled Ch'an communities appeared in the fourth and fifth generations records suggest that they were independent of other branches of Buddhism and established in remote areas. In the seventh and eighth centuries there is evidence of Ch'an monks using Lü compounds but, according to Shiina, these were mainly monks of the Northern school who made use of the great monasteries in the capital as bases from which to spread their teachings. Monks of the Southern school, Shiina argues, including Hui-neng and Pai-chang, had always tended to build their own independent retreats, and this in turn stimulated a feeling of need for regulations appropriate to Ch'an monastic life. If those who are referred to by the *Chan men kuei shih* as "living in Lü compounds" were mainly monks of the Northern line their independence and freedom of activity were naturally limited. In this sense, Shiina suggests, the importance attached by the *Ch'an men kuei shih* to the compilation of regulations by Pai-chang can be interpreted not simply as an expression of Zen independence from other sects but also as a declaration of independence by the

Southern school against the practices of the Northern school, which had tied its fortunes to those of the great monasteries of the capital and their aristocratic patrons.

The *Ch'an men kuei shih* goes on to discuss the authority of the abbot as the vehicle of the true Ch'an transmission and stresses that, with this living embodiment of the Ch'an patriarchs as their guide, the monks need not build a Buddha Hall: that a Dharma, or Preaching Hall will be sufficient.

Those gifted with insight into the Way and possessing spiritual power that commands respect are to be given the title of Elder (*chang-lao* 長老), just as in India virtuous and experienced disciples of the Buddha were entitled Subhūti. As the "Master of Instruction" (*hua-chu* 化主), the Elder occupies a small room called the "ten foot square" (*fang-chang* 方丈). This is the same as Vimalakīrti's room, not a private chamber. Not to construct a Buddha Hall but only to erect a Dharma Hall (*fa-t'ang* 法堂) is to demonstrate the way in which the Buddha and the Ch'an patriarchs transmit to the Master of the present generation his exalted position.

The words *fang-chang*, an abbreviation for "a room of ten square (*fang*) feet (*chang*), were originally used in reference to the small hut in which the devout and learned layman Vimalakīrti, a follower of the Buddha Śākyamuni, feigned sickness as a means of attracting visitors with whom he would debate the problem of the "disease of existence." "Vimalakīrti's "silence like a clap of thunder" during his famous debate with Mañjuśrī, Bodhisattva of transcendent wisdom, had a particularly potent appeal to Ch'an followers. By the T'ang dynasty the term *fang-chang*, with its rich associations, was being applied to the abbot's quarters of the Ch'an monastery, heightening the image of the abbot as a source of transcendent wisdom.

This passage from the *Ch'an men kuei shih* also makes it clear that in pre-Sung Ch'an monasteries the Dharma Hall, in which the abbot lectured and engaged the community in debate, was the central building. The rejection of the Buddha Hall, traditionally one of the most prominent buildings in Chinese Buddhist monasteries, and one that was eventually incorporated into the characteristic Ch'an monastic layout, almost certainly derived from fears that the frequent use of a building intended for prayers and ceremonial functions would encourage exces-

sive dependence on faith as a means to salvation, detract from the energetic practice of meditation, and tie the community too closely to secular patrons by providing a setting for the frequent performance of memorial services for lay intentions. This rejection of the Buddha Hall is in keeping with the iconoclastic strand in Ch'an thought that is perhaps most graphically illustrated in the anecdote about the monk from Tan-hsia 丹霞 who burned a wooden statue of the Buddha to warm himself in winter.

The *Ch'an men kwei shih* places great emphasis on the ordered, communal, meditation-centered life of the Monks' Hall for *all* monks. It provides a clear description of the layout and organization of the characteristic Ch'an Monks' Hall and stresses its central place, together with the Dharma Hall, in Ch'an monastic life:

Irrespective of their numbers or of their social status, those who have been permitted to enter the community to study should all reside in the Monks' Hall (*seng-t'ang* 僧堂) arranged strictly according to the number of summers since their ordination. Meditation platforms should be built [along the sides of the hall] and a stand provided for each monk to hang his robes and personal belongings. When resting monks should lay their headrests at an angle on the lip of the platform and lie down on their right sides with their hands supporting their heads in the posture of the Buddha reclining. They rest only briefly even though meditation sessions have been long. This should not be thought of as sleep but as reclining meditation. Thus [while resting] they still retain [in their spiritual observance] the four proprieties in walking, stopping, sitting, and lying down.

According to the *Ch'an men kwei shih* the principal components of Ch'an practice in the pre-Sung monastic life were meditation, where monks were free to set their own pace, private visits to the abbot's chamber for guidance, and public discussion between the abbot and the members of the community at frequent and regular assemblies in the Dharma Hall:

With the exception of regular assemblies and visits by individual monks who enter the Elder's chamber to ask for instructions, the learners should be left to their own diligence in their pursuit of practice and instruction. The community of the whole monastery should gather in the Dharma Hall for the morning and evening dis-

cussions. On these occasions the Elder "enters the hall and ascends his seat." The monastery officers as well as the ordinary monks stand in files and listen attentively to the discussion. For some of them to raise questions and for the master to answer, which invigorates and clarifies the essence of Ch'an teachings, is to show how to live in accord with the Dharma.

In early Ch'an communities these Dharma Hall encounters seem to have been lively, free-wheeling intellectual encounters. During the Sung dynasty, however, the assemblies were reduced in number and diluted in content, being transformed into set lectures by the abbot or senior monks.

The next section of the *Ch'an men kwei shih* continues the theme of communal equality by emphasizing the importance of equality in sharing out food and in contributing to the labor and organization needed to sustain the community:

Vegetarian congee meals should be taken equally by all at appropriate times twice a day. Insistence on frugality demonstrates how the Dharma and food complement each other in function. Carrying out the practice of labor (*pu-ch'ing* 普請) by all members of the community is to equalize efforts among high and low. Establish ten offices known by the name of "housekeeping units." Have one head monk for each unit to supervise many others. Each, as he is ordered, is to take charge of his respective duties. The monk in charge of the rice is listed as the Rice Steward, the monk in charge of the vegetable dishes is listed as the Vegetable Steward and all other officers likewise.

The Ch'an community life envisaged by these regulations was simple and austere, with strict enforcement of the Vinaya ideal of only two daily meals and the maintenance of the Ch'an ideal of manual labor for all members of the community from the abbot down. We are reminded here of the phrase attributed to Pai-chang: "a day without work should be a day without food." As with the monastic rule, the practice of labor seems to predate Pai-chang and go back at least to the third and fourth generation and the origins of settled Ch'an community life. The prohibition against the third meal was relaxed in the Southern Sung dynasty and the practice of communal labor became increasingly fossilized as Zen communities became more dependent on lay patrons.

This section also provides one of the first documentary glimpses of the Ch'an monastic bureaucracy. Although ten "offices" are mentioned by the *Ch'an men kwei shih*, only the names of three or four are provided in the text. Through later *ch'ing-kuei* we can watch Ch'an monastic bureaucracy grow and see how these ten officers were divided into two ranks, stewards and prefects, assisted by sub-prefects, who supervised the administrative, religious, and ceremonial functions of the monastery. We can assume that by the time the *Ch'an men kwei shih* was written the principles of annual rotation for officers and the return of former officers to the communal Monks' Hall, rather than setting up private retreats, were firmly established.

The *Ch'an men kwei shih* closes with the admonition that for those who disturbed the harmony of the community, broke the regulations, or neglected the precepts punishment should be swift and severe:

If there should be someone who falsely claims an official title, who falsely acts like an officer, thus confusing the good members, or who otherwise causes quarrels and disputes he should be disciplined at the Hall by the Registrar (*Wei-no* 維那) who should remove the offender's belongings from his place and expel him from the monastery. This is to maintain the tranquility among the good members. When a monk is guilty of a major breach of the regulations, he should, as a mark of his disgrace, be beaten with the Master's stick; have his robes, bowl, and other belongings burned before the assembled community; and then be expelled through a side gate.

The thorough enforcement of this disciplinary provision is based on four good reasons:

- (1) The community of pure members is not to be sullied, so that reverence and faithfulness will grow. (When a man's three actions are not good he should not be permitted to live with the community. Those who according to the regulations (*li*) would be appropriately dealt with by the "law of silence" should be expelled from the monastery so that, with the community of good members having become tranquil, reverence and faithfulness will grow.)
- (2) The image of the monk is not brought into disrepute, so that Buddhist precepts will be followed. (Punishments should be appropriately enforced. If a transgressor is allowed to keep his Ch'an robe and wear it, the community will inevitably regret [its misplaced leniency].

(3) The civil authorities are not to be bothered, so that litigation will be avoided.

(4) Domestic concerns of the monastery are not to be leaked to the outside world, so that the fabric of the sect will be kept intact. (When monks from all directions come to live together, who can distinguish which ones are virtuous and which mundane? Even in the Buddha's own day there were six bad monks. In our own less fortunate generation it is surely too much to expect their complete absence. Some monks upon seeing one of their companions doing something wrong would blindly follow his example or engage in sarcasm. It is not even realized that in letting monks go lightly and the Dharma be infringed upon, the harm is very great. Today, even in those Ch'an monasteries which have relatively little difficulty in enforcement, they should follow the community regulations laid down by Pai-chang and settle matters after due consideration. They should also make regulations to prevent abuses [as if the monks] did not seem to be virtuous people. Rather have detailed rules so that no one will violate them. Do not have violations without having disciplinary teaching. One should think of the contribution made by Ch'an master Pai-chang in protecting the Dharma. How great it has been!

V. THE CH'AN YÜAN CH'ING-KUEI: CH'AN MONASTIC LIFE IN THE NORTHERN SUNG DYNASTY

Important as it is, the *Ch'an men kwei shih* provides only a brief and tantalizing glimpse of early Ch'an monastic activity. For a more comprehensive picture, at a later state of development, we have to turn to the earliest surviving full-scale *ch'ing-kuei*, the *Ch'an yüan ch'ing kwei* compiled by Tsung-tse in 1103 and widely used in Northern and early Southern Sung monasteries.

The more than seventy sections of the code open with the statement that "The practice of Zen begins with the precepts." The code then proceeds to deal with entry to the monastery, registration, etiquette on meeting the abbot, duties of the various monastic officers, conduct of tea ceremonies, funeral services, and meditation. It closes with a commentary on the *Ch'an men kwei shih*. The Ch'an-yüan code provides invaluable information on almost every aspect of life in the large Northern Sung monastery. Unfortunately, detailed analysis of the code is beyond the scope of this short article.¹⁹ Here I can do no more than point

out some changes that had taken place in Ch'an monastic life in the century since the composition of the *Ch'an men kuei shih*. We can group these changes under the headings religious life, institutional development, and economic activity.

(a) *The Religious Life*

As we have seen, the principal components of the Ch'an religious life mentioned in the *Ch'an men kuei shih* were meditation, private interviews, public assemblies, and communal manual labor.

The *Ch'an men kuei shih* did not specify times for meditation, leaving it to the assiduity of the individual. This could be interpreted to mean that meditation was not emphasized. It is equally likely, however, that monks were still sufficiently dedicated in their practice for it not to be a matter of special comment. The *Ch'an yüan ch'ing kuei*, likewise, does not lay down set times for meditation. During the Southern Sung dynasty, however, it was stipulated that communal meditation sessions should be held four times daily; at dawn, dusk, late evening, and midnight. The term "four hours" or "fours periods" of meditation first appears in a Ch'an *ch'ing-kuei* in the *Ch'an lin pei yung* code compiled in 1311. That this practice had been established well before this code was compiled is clear from the fact that both Yōsai and Dōgen, who were in China a century earlier, used the expression *shiji no zazen* ("four hour's meditation") in their writings and accepted the practice as traditionally sanctioned. Although "four hour's meditation" remained the ideal, by the fourteenth century in many Chinese and Japanese Zen monasteries only three daily sessions of meditation were being held, with prayers or sutra reading substituted for one of the hours. In the *Rinsen kakun* (1339), for instance, Musō Soseki lamented the fact that since the Mongol invasion threat to Japan, when the energies of all temples and shrines had been harnessed in a frenzied prayer effort for national survival, time devoted to *zazen* had been reduced to only three "hours."

On the subject of assemblies in the Dharma Hall, the *Ch'an men kuei shih* stressed that they were to be held frequently. It is possible, though by no means certain, that daily assemblies were held in early Ch'an communities. By the time the Ch'an-yüan code was compiled assemblies were being held twelve times each month. The "great assemblies" were normally held in the Dharma Hall on the mornings of the first, fifth, tenth, fifteenth, twentieth, and twenty-fifth days of each month. A si-

milar number of evening assemblies, known as "small assemblies" were held in the abbot's chamber at his convenience. In the Northern Sung dynasty they were normally held on the third, eighth, thirteenth, eighteenth, twenty-third and twenty-eighth days of each month: i.e. the threes and eights. If the abbot were busy or indisposed the assembly would be "released." From later *ch'ing-kuei* we learn that by the Yüan dynasty morning and evening assemblies were being held much less frequently, with evening assemblies, for instance, being held three times a month on the three eights: the eighth, eighteenth and twenty-eighth days.

There seems to have been a similar reduction over time in the emphasis on the value of labor as an integral part of the Ch'an religious life. The Ch'an work ethic still finds expression in the Ch'an-yüan code. In the section describing the duties of the *Wei-no* (Registrar) the code states that except for monks charged with guarding the Monks' Hall and Reading Room, all monks must engage in manual labor. The abbot is excused if he is unwell, or has official guests. Otherwise he too should share in labor with the community. Labor in the Ch'an-yüan code was probably stressed as a religious value—conducive to enlightenment—rather than as a strict economic necessity. By the Sung dynasty most Ch'an monasteries were integrated with the local secular economy and dependent for survival not on the labor of the community but on donations from wealthy patrons, rents from lands farmed by tenant cultivators, and income from the sale of lumber or milled monastery produce. Although no longer strictly vital to the economic life of the monastery, the ideal of labor was still very much alive in the Northern Sung dynasty. In later centuries, judging from subsequent *ch'ing-kuei*, it was increasingly neglected. In Japan it was stressed by Dōgen but figured less prominently in the writings of monks of the *gozan* schools.

(b) *Institutional Development*

Major changes were also taking place in the institutional life of the Ch'an monastery during the Sung dynasty. There was, for instance, considerable growth in scale and organizational complexity. If we compare the *Ch'an men kuei shih* and the Ch'an-yüan codes we find that, whereas the former mentions only half a dozen or so buildings, the latter code describes nearly thirty. And where the *Ch'an men kuei shih* talked simply of ten offices, the Ch'an-yüan code describes a complex

monastic bureaucracy with the abbot assisted by two ranks of senior monk-officials, with five or six monks in each rank, and these in turn assisted by more than a score of sub-prefects.

(c) *Economic Life*

The accepted model for the economic activity of Ch'an communities in the T'ang dynasty is of isolated groups of Ch'an devotees supporting themselves mainly by self-sufficient agriculture that drew on the labor of the whole community, supplemented by mendicancy. T'ang dynasty Ch'an centers are thus thought to have differed from most other kinds of Buddhist monasteries which relied on income from rented lands, money-lending, grain and oil processing, and the sale of lumber, as well as donations from wealthy patrons. During the course of ninth century, however, according to Kondō Ryōichi in his article "Tōdai Zenshū no keizai kiban" (The economic basis of The T'ang dynasty Ch'an school), the typical Ch'an monastic economy began to shift from self-sufficiency in the direction of greater dependence on wealthy patrons, who provided not only cash donations but even gifts of estates with tenants attached, and of greater integration with the local secular economy. The Ch'an-yüan code provides an indication of the extent to which these changes had gone by the early twelfth century. It describes in detail the duties of several monk officials responsible for economic matters who had had no place in the simpler T'ang dynasty Ch'an administrative structure. These included the *Chien-yüan* 監院, or Bursar, who exercised general supervision over monastery finances; the *Hua-chu* who acted as a fund raiser for the monastery with local lay support groups; the *Chung-chu* 莊主, or Estate Overseer, who supervised the administration and collection of rents and taxes on monastery domains. From the attention given by the code to the duties of these officers it is clear that by the Northern Sung dynasty Ch'an monasteries had moved from isolated self-sufficiency to dependence upon patronage, tenancy, and integration with the local economy.

VI. CONCLUSION:

The aim of this paper has been to introduce Ch'an monastic codes and use them to throw light on early Ch'an community life. What do they reveal? As far as T'ang dynasty Ch'an is concerned, *ch'ing-kuei* provide insights rather than a comprehensive description. The loss, or

non-existence, of Pai-ch'ang's regulations, or of any other Ch'an code dating from the T'ang dynasty, prevents us from building up a reliable, detailed picture of the life of the earliest Ch'an communities. This can be done only by piecing together scraps of information from other contemporary sources. Although the *Ch'an men kuei shih* provides a vivid picture of a distinctive Ch'an monastic life, and claims to be in accord with the ideals of Pai-chang, we must remember that it is a later compilation which may contain post-T'ang as well as T'ang features. *Ch'ing-kuei* really come into their own as sources of information about Ch'an from the Northern Sung dynasty on. By careful comparison of Sung and Yüan codes we can trace, in considerable detail, the changing patterns of Ch'an monastic life and practice in Japan as well as China. From the *Ch'an yuan ch'ing kuei*, for instance, the larger Ch'an monasteries of the Northern Sung dynasty emerge as institutionally and economically sophisticated communities whose energies were still very much directed towards the stern practice of Zen. From later codes we can see how this delicate balance between institutional maturity and religious integrity and enthusiasm tended to slip in the direction of formalization and secularization as leading Ch'an and Zen monasteries were brought within the network of official organs of state.

NOTES

¹ Imaeda Aishin, "Shingi no denrai to rufu," *Chūsei Zenshū-shi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1970), 56-72.

² *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, Vol. 51, 250.

³ *Dai-Nihon zoku-zōkyō*, 2-16-5. See also Kagamishima Genryū, et. al., eds., *Yakuchū Zen'on shingi* (Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 1972).

⁴ *Dai-Nihon zoku-zōkyō*, 2-16-5. Also in *Kokuyaku Zenshū sōsho*, Series 2, Vol. 5.

⁵ *Dai-Nihon zoku-zōkyō*, 2-17-1.

⁶ *Dai-Nihon zoku-zōkyō*, 2-17-1.

⁷ *Dai-Nihon zoku-zōkyō*, 2-16-3.

⁸ Yanagida Seizan, *Rinzai no kafū* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1967), 126.

⁹ Imaeda, "Shingi no denrai to rufu."

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ōkubo Dōshun, ed., *Dōgen Zenji zenshū* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1970), Vol. 2, 295-367.

¹² *Sōtō-shū zensho*, Vol. 2, 435.

¹³ *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, Vol. 81, 61.

¹⁴ *Kokuyaku Zenshū sōsho*, Vol. 5.

¹⁵ Kondō Ryōichi, "Hajō shingi no seiritsu to sono genkei," *Hokkaidō Komazawa Daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, No. 3, 19-48.

¹⁶ Yanagida Seizan in *Kōza Zen*, Vol. 3, *Zen no rekishi, Chūgoku* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1967), 22–28.

¹⁷ This is a complete translation, broken only by my commentary, of the text in *Daizōkyō*, Vol. 51, p. 250–1. I would like to express my thanks to Professor James T.C. Liu of Princeton University for commenting on and improving parts of the translation. Remaining blemishes are the responsibility of the author.

¹⁸ Shiina Hiroo, “Shotō Zenja no Ritsu’in kyojū ni tsuite,” *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (1969), 325–27.

¹⁹ For a detailed commentary on this code see Kagamishima et. al., eds., *Yakuchū Zen’on shingi*.

Kondō Ryōichi, “Tōdai Zenshū no keizai kiban,” *Nihon Bukkyō Gakkai*, ed., *Bukkyō to seiji, keizai* (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1972), 137–151.

The “Recorded Sayings” Texts of Chinese Ch’an Buddhism

Yanagida Seizan

Translated by John R. McRae

1. THE WORD YÜ-LU OR “RECORDED SAYINGS”

The use of the word *yü-lu* 語錄 (“recorded sayings”) as a general name for the literature of Ch’an (Zen) Buddhism is relatively new. The first appearance of the term is at the end of the biography of Huang-po Hsi-yün 黃檗希運 (d. ca. 850) in the *Sung kao seng chuan* 宋高僧傳 (“Biographies of Eminent Monks [compiled during the] Sung Dynasty”), fascicle 20, which says that Huang-po’s “recorded sayings were in circulation throughout the world” (i.e., China).¹ The same statement is made about Chao-chou Ts’ung-shen 趙州從諗 (778–897) in another section of the same work.² In the *Tsu-t’ang chi* 祖堂集 (“Collection of the Patriarchal Hall”), which is older than the *Sung kao-seng chuan* (952 versus 967), we find the words *hsing-lu* 行錄 (“record of actions”), *hsing-chuang-lu* 行狀 (“outline of actions”), and *pieh-lu* 別錄 (“separate record”), but not the word *yü-lu* itself. Thus the earliest Ch’an texts belonging to the “recorded sayings” genre were not actually called recorded sayings, but had other slightly different titles. Examples of such works will occur in the pages that follow.

Paradoxically, the word “recorded sayings” does occur in the title of an early text that does not belong to this genre of Ch’an literature. This is the *Pei shan san hsüan yü lu* 北山參玄語錄 (“Recorded Sayings of Pei-shan on the Three Mysteries”), a text of ten fascicles in length written by Shen-ch’ing 神清 of Hui-i Temple in Tzu-chou 梓州慧義寺 in modern Szechuan. This work, still extant under the shorter name *Pei shan lu* 北山錄 (“Records of Pei-shan”), is said to have been favored reading material of Confucian scholars, Buddhist monks, and Taoist priests because of its comprehensive treatment of the three religious philosophies of China.³ However, it is different in form from the recorded sayings of the Ch’an School in that it was written by Shen-ch’ing himself (Shen-ch’ing’s total literary output is reported to have been over 100 fascicles) rather than by some third-person scribe.

Early Ch'an in China and Tibet

*Edited by Whalen Lai and
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Foreword

The papers which have been published in this volume were first presented at a conference held in San Francisco under the joint sponsorship of the University of California and the San Francisco Zen Center. Support for the travel of the attending scholars was provided from two sources, a grant from the Graduate Division of the University and another grant from the Joint Center of East Asian Studies at Berkeley. The meetings were held in the Zen Center seminar area and all hospitality, transport and meals were arranged by the center and its leader, Roshi Baker.

In the preparation and the production of this book, assistance was given by the staff of the Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies on the Berkeley campus and by Ms. Nancy Carlton who coordinated the design, proof-reading and correspondence.

Preface

Ch'an Buddhism happened on the West through the popular writings of Alan Watts and D.T. Suzuki, as a new vision to compliment, or to act as a critique of, the alleged poverty of our rationalism. Presented in abstraction outside of history, Ch'an was for a long time the Ch'an of the *Platform Sutra*, mainly represented through the Lin-chi tradition, and closely associated with Zen aesthetics and the various military arts of Japan.

At the time when the practice of Zen was being introduced to the West in the 1930s, a series of important scholarly studies were being pursued in Japan and China. Lesser figures in the Ch'an tradition, lost lineages of teaching, and little known works were receiving the attention necessary to make them a part of the contemporary appraisal of Buddhist history and development. One of the early figures in this study of Ch'an was Hu Shih, the Chinese historian, an iconoclast of his day and a challenger of the approach to study taken by D.T. Suzuki. Hu Shih presented to the interested community of specialists his major discovery of the Shen-hui movement which took place after the time of Hui-neng. It was from this community made up of Shen-hui and his supporters, announced Hu Shih, that we have the origins of the *Platform Sutra*, not from the shadowy person of Hui-neng. In taking this critical stand, Hu Shih challenged the Bodhidharma legend, questioned the centrality of meditation, and provided a Confucian humanistic alternative to the cult of Ch'an. At the present time this avenue of research has been continued by Prof. Yanagida, who has reached different conclusions than his predecessors, namely that the *Platform Sutra* belongs neither to Hui-neng nor the Shen-hui group but is a document originating in part from the Ox-head school. Such research tells us that early Ch'an was made up of a number of alternative and competing ideologies and teaching lineages, some of which, forgotten through the centuries, are now being rediscovered, often from the cache of manuscripts at Tun-huang. The notion of Ch'an as a single line of transmission from Bodhidharma has been replaced by a much more complex picture of contending and even hostile factions that all made their various contributions to this emerging school of Buddhism.

Another area of research has been directed to the question of whether Ch'an, in all its multi-faceted forms, is a synthesis of Buddhism and Taoism. Hu Shih went to what many criticized as the extreme, seeing Ch'an as the final sinicization of Indian Buddhism, the much welcomed secularization of

the other-worldly and ascetic plague of India. However, the sinicization which Hu Shih saw in Ch'an was more Confucian than Taoist. The often stated identification of Ch'an with Taoism centers on the philosophical treatises of Lao-tzu and other ancient masters, but this approach is severely limited because it does not deal adequately with Taoism as it appeared during the formative years of Ch'an. It is now clear that this contemporary Taoism of the time of Bodhidharma and Hui-neng encompassed a whole range of practices that involved great attention to longevity, exorcism, a host of dieties to be propitiated, dietary regimes, and eschatological concerns, which all combined to create a rich array of folk practice and metaphysical alchemy. This Taoism, an integral part of the religious life of China at that time, had a major role to play within the development of Buddhism, but it may more appropriately be seen in relationship to the Tantric tradition rather than Ch'an. The Taoism traced within Ch'an seems closer to the earlier traditions of Chinese Buddhism in which philosophical Taoist words were used to convey Buddhist ideas. Since this practice can be seen in many canonic texts, the appearance of Taoist terms in Ch'an writings does not make those works unique. It is important to note the lack of many of the critical elements of Taoism in Ch'an; the significance of the omissions may be greater than the inclusions. It was the resistance to Taoism and the move toward the traditional Mahāyāna stance which allowed Ch'an to take a dominant position in Chinese Buddhism in later centuries. As Ch'an matured into a series of self-conscious schools each having an identity and history, it took its place in the mainstream of Buddhism, and claiming to have a teaching superior to that of the Taoists, did not emphasize any of the shared elements.

By the ninth century, the Ch'an tradition as a school and as an institution had been formed, with its own organization, practices, ideology and economic base. The Southern school had largely triumphed over other competitors and Ch'an was no longer the limited inner circle of the disciples of any one lineage of teachers, nor was it being pressed to assert its independent identity against Taoism. In the security of its established status, a new genre of literature developed different from the crisp treatises attributed to the first three patriarchs, different even from the discursive records of Tao-hsin, and different from the legitimation myths of the *Platform Sutra*. This new literature was the *Yu-lu*, the collected sayings devoted to one master. In this literary form Ch'an had established its own unique texts and achieved victory in its revolt against dependency on the canonic texts.

The *Yu-lu* achieved an authority equal to if not surpassing that of the *sūtras*. The liberation of Ch'an from the canon translated from Sanskrit works led to a burst of creative energy, especially during the era of Ma-tsu. It is from this great master that all surviving schools of Southern Ch'an derive, rather than from the lineage of Shen-hui or Hui-neng. The content covered in this volume ends with the period when the two schools of Lin-chi and Ts'ao-tung came into existence, the two traditions that have led to the contemporary forms of Ch'an found in China, Japan, Korea and the West.

As scholarship on Tibet has developed over the last few decades, the issue of the contact between Tibetan and Chinese Buddhism has received attention. Pioneers in this study, such as Prof. Tucci, spotted within the Tibetan literature doctrinal statements which appeared to be Ch'an rather than Indian. The differences between the two approaches was of concern to the Tibetans as can be seen in the importance placed on the "debate", said to have been held between a Ch'an master and his opponent from India. We can assume that the two meditative and philosophical traditions met in Tibet, not just in a one-time debate before the royal judge, but in a cultural interchange that lasted many years and was thus more than a simple conflict between Indic orthodoxy and sinicized Ch'an. The problem of separating out the Chinese and Indian elements in the Tibetan tradition is no easy task and the studies which follow focus on establishing some of the principles of this type of research. Many of the statements which are possibly of Ch'an origin can be explained within the Indian framework. Identifying the sources in the Tibetan literature is difficult and scholars still have before them material that requires careful investigation before this particular issue can be finally settled. It is clear, however, that in addition to the Tun-huang materials, the *bSam-gtan mig-sgron* of gNubs-chen Sangs-gyas ye-shes has emerged as a work of singular importance.

Not all of the issues of Ch'an, whether in Tibet or China, are included in the material contained in this volume; it has not been gathered with any idea of being a definitive study. The field is still new and developing in exciting ways. The intent of this study is to provide an overview of some of the work being done. Not the least of the objectives in the conference, where the papers were first presented, was the attempt to put the studies of Ch'an on a firm basis free from some of the barriers to research, especially in the area of history, that have kept this topic from being dealt with in an adequate fashion. It is a step in a direction, by no means a complete journey.

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Abbreviations

<i>Aṣṭa</i>	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā</i> , ed. R. Mitra, Calcutta, 1888.
<i>BBKK</i>	<i>Bukkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō</i>
<i>BK</i>	<i>Bukkyō Kenkyū</i>
<i>BSK</i>	<i>Bukkyō Shigaku Kenkyū</i>
Ch.	Chinese
CTW	<i>Ch'üan T'ang wên</i>
de Jong	J. W. de Jong, review of Tak, <i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i> 11 (1968): 36–54.
EFEQ	École Française d'Extrême Orient
<i>HKSC</i>	<i>Hsü Kao-seng-chuan</i>
<i>IBK</i>	<i>Indogaku Bukkyō gaku Kenkyū</i>
J.	Japanese
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JTFM</i>	<i>Ju-tao an-hsin yao fang-pien fa-men</i>
Kor.	Korean
KSC	<i>Kao-seng-chüan</i>
L.	<i>Li-tai fa-pao chi</i>
<i>Lan̄ia</i>	<i>Laṅkāvatārasūtra</i> , ed. B. Nanjio, Kyoto, 1923.
<i>LCSTC</i>	<i>Leng-chia shih-tz'u chi</i>
LSI	<i>An Index to the Lankavatara Sutra</i> . D. T. Suzuki, Kyoto, 1934 (2nd ed.).
MBT II	<i>Minor Buddhist Texts II</i> . G. Tucci,
MSAI	<i>Index to the Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra</i> . G. M. Nagao, 2 vols., Tokyo, 1958, 1961.
<i>NCGK</i>	<i>Nippon Chibetto Gakkai Kaihō</i>
P.	Pelliot
P.tib.	Pelliot Tibetan
<i>PhEW</i>	<i>Philosophy East and West</i>
PLC	<i>Pao-lin-chuan</i>
<i>RGV</i>	<i>Ratnagotravibhāga</i> , ed. E. Johnston, Patna, 1950.
<i>RGVV</i>	<i>vyākḥā</i> to the <i>RGV</i> , ed. E. Johnston, Patna, 1950.

Ruegg	D. S. Ruegg, <i>La théorie du tathāgatagarbha et du gotra</i> , Paris, 1969.
S.	Stein
Siddhi	<i>La Siddhi de Hiuan-tsang</i> , L. de la vallee Poussin. 2 vols., Paris, 1928–30.
SKSC	<i>Sung-kao-sêng-chuan</i>
<i>ŚMS</i>	<i>Śrīmāladevīsiṃhanādasūtra</i> , Page refs. to A. & H. Wayman, <i>The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmāla</i> , Columbia Univ. Press, 1974.
S.tib.	Stein Tibetan
T.	<i>Taishō Shinshu Daizōkyō</i>
Tak	J. Takasaki, <i>A Study on the Ratnagotravibhāga</i> , Rome, 1966.
<i>TG</i>	<i>Tōhō Gakuhō</i>
Tib.	Tibetan
<i>Tō y G</i>	<i>Tōyō Gakuhō</i>
<i>TP</i>	<i>T'oung Pao</i>
Yampolsky	P. Yampolsky, <i>The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch</i> , Columbia Univ. Press, 1967.
ZKK	<i>Zenbunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō</i>
ZZ	<i>Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō</i>

⁵³ Of course, Tsung-mi's schema cannot be accepted as an accurate description of fact, but it is a useful heuristic structuring of logical and psychological possibilities.

⁵⁴ There are, for instance, cases of clear correspondences that cannot be ignored or explained away, such as the one pointed out in note 19 above.

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