

**THE EVOLUTION OF RULES OF PURITY IN CHINA:
A STUDY OF *BAIZHANG QINGGUI* AND *CHANYUAN QINGGUI***

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ABSTRACT

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By

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The compilation of the *Chanyuan qinggui* 禪苑清規 (*Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries*) had been seen by many scholars as the direct descendant, if not the actual embodiment, of rules for Chan monasteries that were first compiled by Baizhang 百丈 (749-814). However, there is the disjunction between the simplicity of Baizhang's "original" rules as reflected in the *Chanmen guishi* 禪門規式 (*Regulations of the Chan School*) and the complexity of the *Chanyuan qinggui*. The paper explores the connections between the *Baizhang qinggui* 百丈清規 (*Rules of Purity for Baizhang*) and the *qinggui*s that were created after him. A large portion of the paper is contributed to explore how Baizhang *qinggui* impacted the formation of the *Chanyuan qinggui*, that claimed to subsequently influences the government and regulations of most of the contemporary major Chinese Buddhist orders. This paper also compares the initiatives of Baizhang and Zongze 宗曠 (?-1107?), who was the author of the *Chanyuan qinggui*, and concludes that these two interesting figures shared some common grounds when the two texts were created. On the other hand, I also endeavor to look into the critiques of the *qinggui* since the Ming dynasty. Many had asserted that the idea of *qinggui* was a scourge of the *Vinaya* school. Some even ascribed the downfall of Buddhism to the creation of *qinggui*. Accordingly, I discuss in great details the various issues that brought about the creation

of the *qinggui*. In conclusion, I suggest that more attention should be placed on the issues that helped nurture and sustain the creation of the *qinggui* before any efforts to revitalize the Indian *vinaya* in Chinese Buddhist communities could be implemented.

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Chapter 1.

INTRODUCTION

Buddhism was transmitted from India to China around the first century C.E. During the reign of the Emperor Ming of the Han dynasty (58-75), it was said that there were two Buddhist monastic named Kasyapamatangga and Dharmaraksā, who were the first men transmitting Buddhism from India to China.¹ According to the record, the feudal officer Liu Jun 劉峻 (d.u.) and a woman from Luoyang named Apan 阿潘 (d.u.), and several others were ordained and became Buddhist monastic.² However, it was believed that the Indian *vinaya* were not available during that time. Thus Chinese monks and nuns during Han (202B.C.-220)³ and Wei (220-265) dynasties could not have been formally ordained according to the Indian Buddhist tradition but instead they only took the three refuges. As described in the *Da Song sengshi lue* 大宋僧史略 (*The Abridged Biographies of Song Monks*),

原其漢魏之僧也。雖剃染成形。而戒法未備。于時二眾唯受三歸。後漢永平至魏黃初以來。大僧沙彌曾無區別。⁴

[They were] the monks and nuns of Han and Wei dynasties. Though they were tonsured and that they also wear monastic garb, [they were not properly ordained] as the Buddhist *vinaya* were not available during that time. Hence, the twofold assembly will only took the three refuges. During the Yongping era of Han dynasty and Huangchu era of Wei dynasty, there were no clear difference between monks[/nuns] and *śramaṇera* [/śramaṇerikā].

Given that taking the three refuges is also a practice of the Buddhist laity, the Buddhist monastics of this time were distinguished from the laity only by their tonsured head and

¹至後漢第二主明帝永平七年。因夢金人。乃令秦景蔡愔王遵往天竺迎佛教。於月氏遇迦葉摩騰竺法蘭二沙門。入東夏。今以為始也。Refer to T54. no. 236, 16b.

²佛法既行。民人皆化。于時豈無抽簪解佩脫履投形者乎。乃漢明帝聽陽城候劉峻等出家。僧之始也。洛陽婦女阿潘等出家。此尼之始也。Refer to T54. no. 237, 19c.

³ Some other sources say 206B.C. – 220.

⁴ T54. no. 238, 03b.

their apparel.⁵ While in practice, the Buddhist monastics performed the traditional Chinese sacrifice and worship, and accordingly, they did not follow proper etiquettes and proprieties.⁶

1.1 Evolution of Monastic Regulations in China

The transmission of Buddhist sutras and treatises to China happened much earlier before the *vinaya*.⁷ The development of Buddhism in China was lopsided all the way until the mid-third century, for it had left out the scriptures that recorded the Buddhist ethics and precepts that were part and parcel for formal ordination and proper cultivation. Huiyuan 慧遠 (334-416) and Sengzhao 僧肇 (384-414) both showed great concerns about this phenomenon.⁸

It was not until two hundred years after Buddhism was first introduced to China (Jiaping era, 249-254), that the first Indian *vinaya* was translated into Chinese by Dharmakāla 曇柯迦羅 (fl. mid-3rd century) who came to China from central India.⁹ It was described in *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (*The Biographies of Eminent Monks*) that though Buddhism was in existence when Dharmakāla arrived at China, the monastic

⁵案漢魏之世。出家者多著赤布僧伽梨。蓋以西土無絲織物。又尚木蘭色并乾陀色故。服布而染赤然也。Refer to *T54*. no. 237, 25c. Also refer to Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China: An Annotated Translation and Study of the Chanyuan Qinggui*. Classics in East Asian Buddhism. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002). 3.

⁶自佛法東傳。事多草昧。故高僧傳曰。設復齋懺同於祠祀。魏晉之世。僧皆布草而食。起坐威儀。唱導開化。略無規矩。 *T54*. no. 238, 10c-11c. Also see Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 3, and *T50*. no. 324, 20c-21c.

⁷至于中夏聞法。亦先經而後律。律藏稍廣。Refer to *T55*. no. 20, 13c. Also 先是經法雖傳。律藏未闡。Refer to *T50*. no. 333, 16a.

⁸佛教之興。先行上國。自分流以來。四百餘年。至於沙門德式。所闕尤多。……不得究竟大業。Refer to *T50*. no. 333, 27a-29a. Also 自大教東流。幾五百載。雖蒙餘暉。然律經未備。先進明哲。多以戒學為心。然方殊音隔。文義未融。推步聖蹤。難以致盡。所以怏怏終身。西望歎息。Refer to *T22*. no. 567, 11a-12a.

⁹Wang Jianguang. *Zhongguo lü zong si xiang yan jiu*. Ru Dao Shi bo shi lun wen cong shu. (Chengdu Shi: Ba Shu shu she, 2004). 17.

practices during that time was flawed and fallible as the Buddhist clergy had yet to subscribe to a proper set of Buddhist precepts.¹⁰ Another monk, Jivaka 耆域 (d.u.) who also came from India shared the same view when he arrived at China about fifty years later.¹¹

Wang Jianguang explained that Buddhist clergy of that time were not completely without rules and regulations. They were actually observing the worldly regulations (*Changxing shijie* 常行世戒) that were conformed to the society's norms and values.¹² However, as claimed by Daoan 道安 (312-385) in his work, *The Preface for the Great Precepts of Bikkhu* (*Biqiu dajie xu* 比丘大戒序), these regulations were erroneous as they were either deviated from the teaching of Buddhism or did not fully reflected the main Buddhist teaching.¹³

Deeming Chinese Buddhism was fledgling and not yet ready for the great complexity of a full *vinaya*, Dharmakāla decided to translate only the basic rules for daily living. He translated part of the *Mahāsāṅghika vinaya* (*Mohe sengqi lü* 摩訶僧祇律) into Chinese and titled it *Sengqi jiexin* 僧祇戒心 (*Essence of Mahāsāṅghika Precepts*).¹⁴ Accordingly, there had been tremendous attempts not only to translate Indian *vinaya* texts but also efforts to interpret and adapt them for use in China. Nonetheless, there were few translators that were available to translate more scriptures from Indic language to Chinese,

¹⁰ 于時魏境雖有佛法而道風訛替。亦有眾僧未稟歸戒。正以剪落殊俗耳。設復齋懺事法祠祀。Refer to *T2059*. no. 324, 15c.

¹¹ 譏諸眾僧。謂衣服華麗。不應素法。Refer to *T50*. no. 338, 21a.

¹² Wang. *Zhongguo lü zong si xiang yan jiu*, 18-21.

¹³ 考前常行世戒。其謬多矣。或殊文旨。或粗舉意。Refer to *T55*. no. 80, 24a-25a.

¹⁴ 時有諸僧共請迦羅譯出戒律。迦羅以律部曲制文言繁廣。佛教未昌必不承用。乃譯出僧祇戒心。止備朝夕。更請梵僧立羯磨法受戒。 *T50*. no. 324, 20c-21c.

and hence the activities that transcribed abridged version of a scripture (*chaojing* 鈔經)¹⁵ were not uncommon during the reign of Emperor Huan and Ling of Eastern Han dynasty (25-220). Indeed, there were many instances of sections that were relevant to Buddhist ethics or regulations were transcribed from the scriptures.¹⁶

Complete *vinaya* (*guanglü* 廣律) generally include three parts, which are the *Sūtravibhaṅga* 經分別, the *Skandhaka* 犍度 and appendices. The *Sūtravibhaṅga* contains the rules and punishments for monks and nuns, along with origination stories. These rules are summarized in the *prātimokṣa* 別解脫戒. The *Skandhaka* section deals with the supplementary rules for the operation of the Sangha as a social and religious institution, while the appendices, usually summarize the points included in the two preceding sections.

Before any complete *vinaya* could be introduced to China, there were several partial translations appeared sporadically over the next century and a half to serve the needs of the Chinese Buddhist clergy who were longing for proper Indian codes and regulations. Three 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*), were translated around the year 379 by the monk Tanmoshi 曇摩侍 (d.u.) in collaboration with Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 (d.u.). All of these texts belong to the *Sarvāstivāda*

¹⁵ 鈔經 *chaojing*, means to only transcribe the sections of the scriptures that are required or in need.

¹⁶ The following are the instances of the sections that were relevant to Buddhist ethics that were transcribed from the scriptures: Ch. *yijue lü* 義決律, *chao falu sanmei jing* 抄法律三昧經, *chao puxian guan chanhui fa* 抄普賢觀懺悔法, *chao youpose shoujie pin* 抄優婆塞受戒品, *chao youpose shoujie fa* 抄優婆塞受戒法, *lujing zachao* 律經雜抄, *wubai fanlü chaojing* 五百梵律抄經, *mili shuochuan dabiqiuni jiejing* 覓歷所傳大比丘尼戒經. Also refer to Wang. *Zhongguo lü zong si xiang yan jiu*, 26-29.

school and were eventually lost. The only surviving partial *vinaya* translation from this period is the *Binaiye* 毘奈耶 (*vinaya*), which was translated by Zhu Fonian in 383.¹⁷

The first complete *vinaya* was introduced at the beginning of the fifth century, when the texts of four separate schools were brought to China. The first complete *vinaya* which belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school was translated in 405 C.E. This text was then called the *Shisong lü* 十誦律 (*Ten Section vinaya*) in Chinese, became available to the Chinese through the recitations of Puṇyatāra 弗若多羅 (d. 404) and Dharmaruci 曇摩流支 (d.u.), the translations of Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 (334-413), and the editing of Vimalākṣa 卑摩羅叉 (d.u.).¹⁸

The second full *vinaya* translation, the *Sifen lü* 四分律 (*Four Part vinaya*) which consists of sixty fascicles, belongs to the Dharmaguptaka school. The translation was undertaken by Zhu Fonian and Buddhayaśas 佛陀耶舍 (406-413) at Chang'an in northern China with the sponsorship of Yao Xing 姚興 (366-416).¹⁹

A famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Faxian 法顯 (339?-420?), left for India in 399, before any full *vinaya* had been translated in China. By the time Faxian returned in 414, the *Ten Section vinaya* and the *Four Part vinaya* had already been translated. However, Faxian returned with two texts: the *vinaya* of the Mahāsāṅghika, found in the Aśoka Stūpa of Pāṭaliputra, and the *vinaya* of the Mahīśāsaka, obtained in Sri Lanka, offered a wealth of new materials. Later, *vinaya* of the Mahāsāṅghika was translated by an Indian monk Buddhahadra 佛陀跋陀 (359-429) in 418, resulting in *Mohe sengqi lü*

¹⁷ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 5.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 5. Also see Wang. *Zhongguo lü zong si xiang yan jiu*, 31.

摩訶僧祇律; while *vinaya* of the Mahīśāsaka by Buddhajīva 佛馱什 (d.u.), a student of the Mahīśāsaka school in 423, resulting in *Wufeng lü* 五分律 (*Five Part vinaya*). Both of these translations took place in Jiankang 建康, southern China.²⁰

The *vinaya* of four different schools became available to Chinese Buddhists within a short period of twenty-six years. One may attribute this to a relatively smaller corpus of *vinaya* texts. However, this also reflected the earnest longing of the Chinese Buddhists upon the proper Buddhist ethics and codes.²¹ The activities to propagate the Buddhist *vinaya* took place right after the translation of the *Ten Section vinaya*.²²

The translations of the full *vinaya* of a fifth school only took place until the eighth century. This happened when the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Yijing 義淨 (635-713) brought back from India the *Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya*. Yijing translated the text himself around 700-703, resulted the *Genben Shuoyiqie you bu lü* 根本說一切有部律. From this point on, the complete *vinaya* of five schools (*wuda guanglu* 五大廣律), became available to China mainland.

Though being the most extensive, the *Genben Shuo yiqieyou bu lü* has never received the attention it deserves in Buddhist community. The *Four Part vinaya* had already established its dominance in Chinese Lü traditions when the *Genben Shuo yiqieyou bu lü* was introduced in the eighth century. The Chan school which prevailed all other Chinese Buddhist traditions after the Song dynasty, also used the *Four Part vinaya* as its basis.²³

²⁰ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 5-6.

²¹ 每逢西域一賓。輒懇惻諮訪。Refer to T50. no. 357, 23c. Also refer Wang. *Zhongguo lü zong si xiang yan jiu*, 29-30.

²² 而講說經律。昂眾無倦。Refer to T50. no. 363, 21b.

²³ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 6.

Chapter 2.

Sangha Regulations before *Chanyuan qinggui*

Beside the Buddhist doctrines, Chinese Buddhists also placed much concerns on practical matters of everyday living. Chinese Buddhist monks endeavored in establishing the standards that are more suitable to their communities, out from the preexisting Indian models.

2.1 Daoan's Regulations

Daoan 道安 (314-385) being one of the most important figure during the Southern-Northern dynasties, played a significant role in the early development of Chinese Buddhism. He had many great contributions in developing the doctrines of *dhyana* (meditation) and *prajna* (wisdom). However, his contribution to the development of Sangha regulations (*Sengzhi* 僧制) should not be overlooked. While there were very limited references to the proper Indian *vinaya*, Daoan had created a set of guidelines for Buddhist communal living that were applicable and suitable to Chinese sphere.²⁴ His creative and innovation had earned the praise of Zanning 贊寧 (920-1001) in positioning him as “the pioneer of Sangha regulations” in China.²⁵

Being formulating the Sangha regulations before the translation of any of the complete *vinaya*, Daoan was indeed influenced deeply by his teacher Fotucheng 佛圖澄 (232-348), who was devout observer of the precepts, as well as an authority on the various *vinaya*.²⁶ Beside, Daoan also came into contact with foreign monks who had

²⁴ Wang. *Zhongguo lü zong si xiang yan jiu*, 21.

²⁵ 則道安為僧制之始也。 Refer to *T54*. no. 241, 11b.

²⁶ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 9.

brought *vinaya* texts to China and others who were assisting in their translations.

Following their works closely, Daoan wrote *Biqiu dajie xu* 比丘大戒序, a preface to Tanmoshi's translation of the *Sarvāstivāda vinaya* text pertaining to *bhikṣu* precepts.²⁷ In the preface, Daoan showed great concern with the *vinaya*, as well as the ethics of communal living.

While there was no appearance of any of the complete *vinaya*, a random collection of various partial *vinaya* translations was actually available during Daoan's time. It was thence arose a need to streamline a set of guidelines to compare all the materials available and fill in apparent lacunae. Accordingly, Daoan compiled the *Standards for the Clergy and a Charter for Buddhism* (*Sengni guifan fofa xianzhang* 僧尼規範佛法憲章), a work considered to be the earliest Sangha regulations intended as a supplement to the existing *vinaya*.²⁸ This text is no longer extant, but we could still glean much of Daoan's original work from Daoxuan's work. Besides, Daoan also compiled a *Charter for Buddhism* (*Fofaxianzhang* 佛法憲章), the description of the monastic uposatha (*Chujiapusafa* 出家布薩法), and uposatha rites (*Busayi* 布薩儀).

The Japanese scholar, Satō Tatsugen 佐藤達玄, argued that the Chinese Sangha regulations had no relations to the Buddhist teachings as well as the Indian *vinaya*.²⁹ Wang concurred with Satō that the Sangha regulations were made specific to the context of Chinese Buddhist clergy, but he argued that these regulations were by no means contradicted with the Buddhist teachings or at odds with the Indian *vinaya*. While the Sangha regulations were designed to meet the specific needs of Chinese Buddhist clergy,

²⁷ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 10.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Wang. *Zhongguo lü zong si xiang yan jiu*, 23.

they were indeed advanced in term of their functionality and practicality.³⁰ After all, these regulations played an important role in regulating the Buddhist Sangha in the absence of the proper Indian *vinaya* and laid a foundation for sinification of Indian *vinaya* in the future development.³¹

Being the first to lay a set of regulations that parallel with Indian *vinaya*, Daoan's work continued to exert influence on his successors, Huiyuan and Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667), as well as to inspire the formulation of the *qinggui* 清規 (Rules of purity) in Tang dynasty.

2.2 Huiyuan's Rules

Like his teacher Daoan, Huiyuan (334—416) also abided rigidly to the precepts. He invited Dharmaruci to complete the translation of the *Ten Section vinaya* where he had the opportunity to observe the translation process directly and to deepen his understanding of the precepts.³²

Different from Daoan, Huiyuan's decision in compiling the Sangha regulations apparently also compelled by political pressure. At a time when members of the clergy had ingratiated the imperial court to win favor and patronage, Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369-404), who was the son of Commander Huan Wen 桓温 (312-373) who seized power during East Jin, was decided to purge the Buddhist clergy. He wrote a letter to Huiyuan to

³⁰ Wang, *Zhongguo lü zong si xiang yan jiu*, 23.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 23-25.

³² Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 16.

inform him of his decision.³³ Huiyuan replied with a defense of the clergy, strongly advising against any government intervention.

At the same time, this incident forced Huiyuan into thinking of a way to regulate and to reform the Buddhist clergy to avoiding the criticism again. He hence took on the roles of editor and compiler, compiling an impressive amount of regulations for the clergy. Though there is no existing information specifying the content and extent of Huiyuan's work, *Chusanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 (*A Compilation of Notes on the Translation of the Tripitaka*) lists Huiyuan as the editor of *Fashe jiedu* 法社節度 (*Regulations for the Dharma Association*), *Waisiseng zhidu* 外寺僧制度 (*Regulations for Monks from Outside*), *Jiedu* 節度 (*General Regulations*) and *Biqiuni jiedu* 比丘尼節度 (*Regulations for Bhiksuni*).³⁴ The sheer volume of Huiyuan's work demonstrates the extent of his concern for the monastic discipline and his regulations had soon become the basis for all later regulations.

2.3 Zhiyi's Rules for the Guoqing Monastery

Master Zhiyi 智顛 (538-597), a patriarch of the Tiantai tradition, was highly respected by rulers of the Chen (557-589) and Sui dynasties (581-618). Apart from his impressive achievement to the study of the *Lotus Sutra* (*Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經), Zhiyi also studied *vinaya* with Lü master Huikuang 慧曠 (d.u.) upon entering the Buddhist order. He wrote a commentary on the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 (*Brahma Net Sutra*), the Mahayana sutra conferring the bodhisattva precepts. It was said that the crown

³³ Ibid., 17.

³⁴ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 17.

princess of both the Chen and Sui dynasties received the bodhisattva precepts from him.³⁵

At a time when Emperor Houzhu 陳後主 (r. 583-587) of the Chen dynasty intended to purge the clergy, it was Zhiyi's advice that prevent the court intervention.³⁶

Zhiyi's work regarding monastic regulations including the *Li zhifa shitiao* 立制法十條 (*Rules in Ten Clauses*) which was included in the *Guoqing bailu* 國清百錄 (*One Hundred Records of the Guoqing Monastery*), a work compiled by his disciple Guanding 灌頂 (561-623). These rules were compiled due to Zhiyi's concern over the deterioration of character in the members of his order.³⁷ These ten rules have been preserved and can be summarized as follows:

1. All members of the Sangha community are categorized into one of the 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 Sangha 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 wish to belong to any of the preceding groups should not be allowed to enter the Sangha community.
2. Those concentrating on meditation must devote four periods of time to meditation and six periods of time to worshipping the Buddha. If they fail to fulfill these requirements, they must prostrate themselves and confess before the assembly.

³⁵ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 17.

³⁶ 调达诵六万象经，不免地狱；磬特诵一行偈，犹罗汉果。笃论道也，岂關多诵！ Also refer to Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 20.

³⁷ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 20.

3. During the period of worshipping the Buddha, the monks are required to put on “robes with scale-like strips” (*kasaya*). They must chant in unison, maintaining their focus. Failure to do so will result in the same punishment as above.
4. The purpose of “individual practice” is to separate oneself from the rest of the assembly so that one may engage in the four types of intensive *samadhi* [continuous sitting, continuous walking, walking half the time and sitting half the time, and neither walking nor sitting]. However, if a monk separates himself 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 Sangha 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 dinner hall. Eating vessels may be made of iron or clay. Materials such as bone, bamboo, painted gourd, or shell are not allowed. Striking one’s bowl, sipping noisily, talking while eating, asking for extra food, and eating alone are not permissible. Transgressors should be made to prostrate themselves and repent before the assembly.
7. Every Sangha member, whether senior or junior, whether inside the monastery or outside, whether near or far, is prohibited from surreptitiously eating meat or fish or drinking wine. Eating at the wrong time is also prohibited. If anyone violates these rules, he must be expelled. The only exceptions are cases of medical necessity.

8. To emphasize the harmony of the Sangha, 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 offences 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; those who frequently violate the above rules or show no remorse should be expelled and should not be allowed to reenter the monastery.³⁸

When examined the content of the *Lizhi fa shitiao* closely, we might agree that these rules were designed specifically to regulate and to ensure the harmony of the Sangha community as a whole, as well as restraining individual living in the community. Besides, it summarizes only a few rules that make the regulation of a monastery rather simpler and that the attention could be easily placed on areas as mentioned in the regulations. More importantly, these rules were designed specific to the problems that were occurred in the Sangha community during that time.

Another text ascribed to Zhiyi, *Guanxin shifa* 觀心食法 (*Method of Contemplation during the Meal*), described in great detail the proper decorum at mealtime. Yifa discovered that the rituals described in this text were strikingly similar to

³⁸ I use Yifa's translation of the ten rules by Zhiyi. Refer to Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 20-21. Also refer to T1934, no. 793, 25b.

that in the *Chanyuan qinggui* 禪苑清規 (*Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries*). This shows that such rituals existed long before the *Chanyuan qinggui* was established, or even earlier than the time of Baizhang 百丈 (749-814).³⁹ In this regard, it is evident that Zhiyi's influence was not limited to the Tiantai school, but also the later Chan school.

Zhiyi also wrote *Xun zhishi ren* 訓知事人 (*An admonition to the Monastery Administrators*) where he warns the administrators of his monastery against the misappropriation of public property.⁴⁰ Zhiyi encourages the administrators to keep their promise by dedicated to the services. In this text, Zhiyi clarifies the idea that dedication to services is part of personal cultivation. He tells the story of a purity-keeper (*Jingren* 淨人) who finally attains Samadhi while performing daily chores. As Yifa discovered, the concept that linked the spiritual cultivation to a regimen of physical labor within the monastery existed well before the Baizhang time.⁴¹

Worship and repentance are two major rituals in Chinese Buddhism. Beside monastic regulations, it is important that a set of procedures is designed to explain the protocols and proper way of conducting the worship and repentance. In this regards, Zhiyi also compiled several texts pertaining to how to properly perform a repentance service, such as, *Qing Guanshiyin chanfa* 請觀世音懺法 (*Procedure for Invoking Avalokitesvara for Repentance*), *jinguangming chanfa* 金光明懺法 (*Procedure for Repentance described in Golden Light Sutra*), *Fangdeng sandmei xingfa* 方等三昧行法 (*Procedure for the Vaipulya Samadhi Repentance*), and *Fahua sanmei chanyi* 法華三昧懺儀 (*Procedure for the Lotus Samadhi Repentance*). Collectively these rules served as a

³⁹ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 22.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

complement to Zhiyi's rules pertaining to meditation practices, 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*).⁴²

2.4 Daoxuan's Regulations for the Clergy

We came to know many of Daoan's regulations through the work of Daoxuan. Though influenced by Daoan, Daoxuan was innovative enough to create new models for monastic practices and rituals that had great impact on the development of Chinese monasticism.

Daoan had authored many texts that covered a wide array of subjects. Nonetheless, he was particularly well respected for his great accomplishment for founded the Nanshan tradition, literally the only tradition that is still surviving within Lü school. Daoxuan was so devoted to the study of the *Four Part vinaya* which he wrote five commentaries on it.

⁴³ His enormously rich commentaries and contribution had made him the authority on the *Four Part vinaya*.

Among Daoxuan's great works on the *Four Part vinaya*, *sifenlü sanfan buque Xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔 (*A Transcript Regarding the Revised [Regulation] of the Practice of the Four Part vinaya*)⁴⁴ was the most influential in the development of

⁴² Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 22-23.

⁴³ Quoted in Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 23. The five texts are *sifen lü sanfan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔 (compiled in 626), *Sifen lü shi pini yichao* 四分律拾毗尼義鈔 (compiled in 627), *Sifen lü biqiu hanzhu jieben* 四分律比丘含注戒本 (compiled in 630), *Sifen lü shanbu sui ji jiemo* 四分律刪補隨機羯磨 (compiled in 635), and *Sifen biqiuni chao* 四分比丘尼鈔 (compiled in 645).

⁴⁴ T40. no. 1, 6a.

the Dharmaguptaka *vinaya* in China. Apart from the doctrinal interpretations of the *Four Part vinaya*, *Xingshi chao* recorded many practices that had been carried out some time before. For example, *Xinshi chao* preserves a great deal of Daoan's practices. We could easily see much of Daoan's regulations have come down to us through this text.⁴⁵

Many customs as described in Daoxuan's works are still surviving and being practiced in the Chan tradition of the present day. The five contemplations (*wuguan* 五觀) recited before meals as recorded in the *Chanyuan qinggui* were in fact first enumerated by Daoxuan in *Xingshi chao*.⁴⁶ These contemplations were preserved, with slight modification, in Chan tradition during the Song dynasty until the modern day China and Japan, as follow:

- One, to contemplate 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, to consider the food as medicine and as nourishment for the body, which prevents emaciation;
- Five, to receive this food as necessary to attain enlightenment.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 23.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁴⁷ (一) 計功多少。量彼來處。(二) 忖己德行。全缺應供。(三) 防心離過。貪等為宗。(四) 正事良藥。為療形枯。(五) 為成道業。應受此食。Also refer to Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 24-25. The five contemplations recorded in *Xingshi chao* are (一) 計功多少。量彼來處。(二) 自忖己德行。全缺多減。(三) 防心顯過。不過三毒。(四) 正事良藥。取濟形若。(五) 為成道業。世報非意。Refer to T40. no. 74, 4b.

Another example is the “hammer and stand” signal instrument placed in the center of the Sangha hall in Chan monasteries. The “hammer and stand” are used to pacify the assembly or to draw the attention of the assembly in order to make the announcement.⁴⁸ This custom has no origins in the Chan school at all. However, as indicated in *Xingshi chao*, the “hammer and stand” was used by Daoxuan’s order and most likely dates back to the time of Daoan.⁴⁹

One example would be the procedure for the reception of the ten novice precepts as cited in *Xingshi chao*. Carefully comparing the ritual of the novice receiving the precepts (*shami shoujie wen* 沙彌受戒文) as described in this text with that in the *Chanyuan qinggui* (the part that explains the procedure for tonsuring the postulants in Chan monasteries), we could easily confirmed the latter is practically identical to the former.⁵⁰

Besides his most successful work – *Xingshi chao*, Daoxuan also wrote several other texts in many other occasions to supplement the *vinaya*. For example, he wrote *Jingxin jieguan fa* 淨心誠觀法 (*The Method of Abstention and Contemplating the Purity of Mind*) during a retreat to encourage the monastic members of his monastery to cultivate their minds; he discusses the etiquette for bowing and prostration in *Shimen guijing yi* 釋門歸敬儀 (*The Practice of Refuge and Veneration in Buddhism*); to explain in details the making of monk’s robes in *Shimen zhangfu yi* 釋門章服儀 (*Practices regarding the Robes in Buddhism*); reorganizes the rules as described in the *Vinaya*

⁴⁸打靜法維那先戶外具儀斂掌。傍門面入已至打處。立合常右手取椎舉起。擬砧訖然後打一聲不得有重響。方乃臥椎手從柄處掙之。然後合掌有所啟白。若有施與呪願唱告等等。維那口陳其緣不得打椎以為事用。除為眾亂等。Refer to T40. no. 146, 15b-21b. Also refer to Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 25.

⁴⁹ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 25.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

regarding the distribution of the possessions of a deceased monk in *Liangchu qingzhongyi* 量處輕重儀 (*Method for the Allocation of “Light and Heavy” Objects*); and *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tu jing* 關中創立戒相圖經 (*Discussion and Diagram of the Ordination Platform in Guanzhong*) provides a wealth of information on the ordination ceremony, including a section on the procedure for ascending the platform to receive the precepts.⁵¹

⁵¹ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 25-26.

Chapter 3.

Authenticity of Baizhang's Monastic Code

Baizhang was an important figure in Chan monasticism. He was said to creatively separated the Chan tradition from other traditions and established the monastic rules for Chan monastery. Some claimed that Chan monks lived within Lü school monasteries from the time of the first patriarch, Bodhidharma 菩提達摩 (d.u.), until the sixth patriarch, Huineng 慧能 (683-713).⁵² While many regulations and practices of the Chan monasticism were different with the Lü tradition,⁵³ Baizhang was then determined to establish a Chan monastery that would be separated from the Lü monastic establishment, as stated in the opening passage of the *Chanmen guishi* 禪門規式 (*Regulations of the Chan School*):

以禪宗肇自少室。至曹谿以來。多居律寺。雖別院然於說法住持未合規度故。常爾介懷。... 當博約折中設於制範務其宜也。於是創意別立禪居。⁵⁴

The Chan lineage began with Shaoshi [the first patriarch Bodhidharma] up until Caoxi [the sixth patriarch Huineng] and thereafter, most [members of the lineage] resided in *vinaya* monasteries. Even when they had separate cloisters, they did not yet have [independent] regulations that are appropriate [to Chan tradition] pertaining to preaching the Dharma and to uphold the lineage of Buddha Dharma. [Chan Master Baizhang Dazhi] was always worried and concerned on account of this. ... Thereupon he conceived the idea of establishing a Chan monastery separately.⁵⁵

⁵² Many scholars had called this claim into question though.

⁵³ 達磨之道既行。機鋒相邁者唱和。然其所化之眾唯隨寺別院而居且無異制。道信禪師住東林寺。能禪師住廣果寺。談禪師住白馬寺。皆一例律儀。唯參學者或行杜多。糞掃五納衣為異耳。後有百丈山禪師懷海。創意經綸別立通堂。布長連床。勵其坐禪。坐歇則帶[2]刀。斜臥高木。為施架。凡百道具悉懸其上。所謂龍牙杵上也。有朝參暮請之禮。隨石磬木魚為節度。可宗者謂之長老。隨從者謂之侍者。主事者謂之寮司。共作者謂之普請。或有過者。主事示以柱杖。焚其衣鉢。謂之誡罰。凡諸新例厥號叢林。與律不同。自百丈之始也。Refer to *Da Song sengshi lue* 大宋僧史略, T54. no. 240, 21a.

⁵⁴ *Jingde chuandeng lu* 6, T. no. 51, 250.

⁵⁵ The full translation of longer paragraph could be found at later section of this paper.

Baizhang was praised for establishing a novel code of regulations as a way of declaring this independence. His monastic codes became very popular and were applied by many other Chan monasteries. Due to his great effort that made the Chan lineage stand out among many other Chinese Buddhist traditions,⁵⁶ he was commemorated as one of the great patriarchs of the Chan tradition, along with Bodhidharma and Huineng.

The alleged Baizhang codes had lost. All that we know about his codes were derived from the *Chanmen guishi* as follows:

1. Those who have attained spiritual eye⁵⁷ or with respectable virtues are addressed referentially as elder monk. This is a term used to refer to those from the West [India] who have great virtues and ordination seniority, such as Subhūti, etc.
2. If [a monk] reaches the rank of *huazhu* 化主 [abbot], then he resides in the room of “ten square feet” (*fangzhang* 方丈), which is similar to the room of Vimalakīrti and which [he] should not consider as his personal quarter.
3. No Buddha hall will be built, but instead a Dharma hall shall be erected. This signifies that the current abbot should be considered a successor of the Buddha and hence will represent the Buddha.
4. Those who assemble to learn, regardless of number and rank, will enter the Sangha hall and take their places in order of ordination

⁵⁶禪門獨行。由百丈之始。 *Jingde chuandeng lu* 6 (景德傳燈錄 Jingde era record of the transmission of the flame), *T.* no. 51, 250.

⁵⁷ The eye which sees the truth. It is a metaphor for attainment through Buddhist cultivation.

seniority. Inside the hall also equipped with platforms and racks for personal necessities.

5. 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.
6. 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.
7. All the members of the monastery gather for morning sermons and evening meetings. The Elder [that is, 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.
8. Meals are served twice a day and must be available to everyone. But they are also to be frugal. The frugality demonstrates, through the taking of meals, the accomplishments of the Dharma.
9. All members, whether junior or senior, must participate in communal labor.
10. There are ten administrative offices, each one with a chief and several subordinates.

11. 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 ensure the purity of the assembly. Those who have committed grave offenses are to be canded by the rector, they are to have their robes, bowls, etc., burn 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.⁵⁸

The hagiographic portrait of Baizhang, however, has been challenged by many modern scholars, who argued that Baizhang's creation of a unique system of Chan monasticism was indeed a fiction created during the Song dynasty.⁵⁹ Scholars argue that the establishment of the Chan monasteries independent of the Lü school were already in existence during the time of the fifth patriarch Hongren 弘忍 (601-674) and the sixth patriarch Huineng 惠能 (638-713).⁶⁰ Besides, there is no solid evidence that Baizhang ever invented a monastic code. More importantly, the monastic regulations that attributed to Baizhang was non extant, whether or not such regulations ever existed is really a

⁵⁸ 凡具道眼有可尊之德者。號曰長老。如西域道高臘長。呼須菩提等之謂也。既為化主即處于方丈。同淨名之室。非私寢之室也。不立佛殿唯樹法堂者。表佛祖親囑授當代為尊也。所褒學眾無多少無高下。盡入僧堂中依夏次安排。設長連床施施架。掛搭道具。臥必斜枕床褥。右脅吉祥睡者。以其坐禪既久。略偃息而已。具四威儀也。除入室請益。任學者勤怠。或上或下不拘常准。其闔院大眾朝參夕聚。長老上堂陞坐。主事徒眾雁立側聆。賓主問酬激揚宗要者。示依法而住也。齋粥隨宜二時均遍者。務于節儉。表法食雙運也。行普請法上下均力也。置十務謂之寮舍。每用首領一人管多人營事。令各司其局也(主飯者目為飯頭。主菜者目為菜頭。他皆倣此)或有假號竊形混于清眾。并別致喧撓之事。即堂維那檢舉抽下本位掛搭。擯令出院者。貴安清眾也。或彼有所犯。即以拄杖杖之。集眾燒衣鉢道具遺逐。從偏門而出者。示恥辱也。I made some changes to Yifa's translation. Refer to Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 28-29. Refer to *Jingde chuandeng lu* 6 (景德傳燈錄 Jingde era record of the transmission of the flame), T. no. 51, 251.

⁵⁹ Mario Poceski. "Xuefeng's Code and the Chan School's Participation in the Development of Monastic Regulations." (*Asia Major*, 16.2 (2003): 33-56). 33-41.

⁶⁰ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 30.

matter of debate. Referring to the extant materials, scholars have tried to reconstruct the original text. The following is a list of the five major sources of information on Baizhang's code in chronological order.

- 1) The biography of Baizhang in *Song gaoseng zhuang* 宋高僧傳 (*Biographies of Eminent Monks compiled in the Song dynasty*), written by Zanning in 988.⁶¹
- 2) The section “*Bieli Chanju* 別立禪居” in *Sengshi lue* 僧史略 (*The Abridged Biographies of [Eminent] Monks*), compiled by Zanning in 999.⁶²
- 3) *Chanmen guishi*, appended to the biography of Baizhang in *Jingde chuandeng lü* 景德傳燈錄 (*Transmission of the Flame compiled in the Jingde Era*), written in 1004.⁶³
- 4) *Baizhang guisheng song* 百丈規繩頌, appended to *Chanyuan qinggui*, written in 1103.⁶⁴
- 5) The alleged preface to Baizhang's code, written by Yang Yi 楊億 (968-1024), appended to *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* 敕修百丈清規, written in 1335.⁶⁵

Ui Hakuju argued that Baizhang's code indeed exist, and he stressed that the philological need for an urtext provides the best proof for the existence of Baizhang's code during the Song dynasty.⁶⁶ He disagreed that *Chanmen guishi* was copied from *Song gaoseng zhuang*. Narikawa Hōyū shared the similar view with Ui and believed that Baizhang code was a unique prototype that was subsequently lost. He argued that the earlier text, the biography of Baizhang in *Song gaoseng zhuang*, is rather abbreviated in

⁶¹ T2061. no. 770, 14c.

⁶² T54. no. 240, 21a.

⁶³ T50. no. 250, 28c.

⁶⁴ X63. no. 550, 16a.

⁶⁵ T48. no. 1157, 27c

⁶⁶ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 30.

nature, whereas the later text, the *Chanmen guishi* is much richer in content, are likely to indicate the existence of a common source. However, he believed that both the passages in *Baizhang guisheng song* and in *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* are copied from *Chanmen guishi* in *Jingde chuandeng lü*.⁶⁷

Ui and Narikawa's argument for the existence of Baizhang's code were also based on the content of "A Letter from Chan Master Yishan" (*Yishan Chanshi shu* 一山禪師書) that had made a reference to Baizhang's code.⁶⁸ The letter was written by Yishan 一山 (d. 1312) to his friend Yunwu 雲屋 (d.u.) during the era of Xianchun 咸淳 (1265-1274). According to this letter, Yishan discovered many errors in an old monastic code that he received from Huiji 晦機 (1238-1319) two years earlier.⁶⁹ He then intended to invite Huiji to revise the Baizhang's code – a task that was never undertaken. If the content of this letter is accurate, then the Baizhang code must still have been extant during the second half of the thirteenth century, that is, even after the compilation of *Chanyuan qinggui* (1103). However, we knew that Baizhang's code had been lost during the compilation of the *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* in 1335. So we could deduce that the original Baizhang code must have been lost between 1274 and 1335, or some times after the Xianchun era but before the time of the compilation of *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui*.⁷⁰

Kondō Ryōichi, however, holds an entirely different view. He argued that Baizhang's monastic code was not a written codification but a body of customs

⁶⁷ Ibid., 30.

⁶⁸ T48. no. 1160, 04a.

⁶⁹ I suspect that this "old monastic code" did not belong to Baizhang. If it was indeed belongs to Baizhang, then it was very unlikely that this monastic code will contain "many errors" and needs collaboration of "two senior venerables", Yishan and Huiji to revise it. I infer that the copy of the monastic code that Huiji sent to Yishan was one of the many forged copies that claimed the name of Baizhang. Nevertheless, I believed that Yishan had read the original Baizhang's code before, for him to identify the "many errors" when he read the text given by Huiji.

⁷⁰ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 31.

transmitted perhaps through oral instruction. Kondō supported his argument with the earliest materials available – an inscription about Baizhang,⁷¹ written by Chen Xu 陳詡 (d.u.) in 818, four years after Baizhang’s death; and *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 (*Collection From the Patriarchs’ Hall*), the earliest Chan record on “the transmission of the flame,” (*Chuandeng lu* 傳燈錄) compiled in 952. He argued that none of these two materials mentioned a written code. Even the writings of one of Baizhang’s direct disciples, Weishan Lingyou 滄山靈佑 (771-853), contain no references to Baizhang’s code. Finally, there was no reference to the four-character title *Baizhang qinggui* 百丈清規 (*Baizhang’s Regulations of Purity*) in the early monastic codes such as *Chanyuan qinggui* (1103) and *jiaoding qinggui* 校定清規 (1274) – Kondō argued to be very unlikely for a well-known text.⁷² Kondō further asserted that “*qinggui*” was not a term specifically designating Buddhist monastic codified regulations, but it was instead a term used by many non-Buddhists during the Tang dynasty to refer to “pure rules,” or “rules for keeping oneself pure.”⁷³

Griffith Foulk used a similar approach in his study of historical documents written during the Tang and Five Dynasty periods. However, he too cannot find any reference to Baizhang monastic code. He also endeavored to examine the works of Baizhang’s disciples and contemporaries, but failed to see any concrete evidence pointing Baizhang as a pivotal historical figure in Chan monasticism.⁷⁴

⁷¹ 唐洪州百丈山故懷海禪師塔銘. T48. no. 1156, 22b.

⁷² Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 31-32.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁷⁴ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 32.

Yifa, on the other hand, argues that Kondō and Foulk's arguments are hardly conclusive. The fact that Baizhang's code was not mentioned by contemporaries or even by disciples does not mean it never existed. Yifa quoted the case of the author of *Chanyuan qinggui*, Zongze 宗謁 (?-1107?) to illustrate this point. Yuanzhao 元照 (1048-1116), who was contemporary to Zongze, wrote a preface to a collection of Zongze's writings entitled *Chuanglu Ze Chanshi wenji xu* 長蘆謁禪師文集, not long after Zongze's death. Surprisingly, Yuanzhao lists works by Zongze in this preface but neglects to mention *Chanyuan qinggui*.⁷⁵ To our surprise, none of the biographies of Zongze that appeared in the various records of "the transmission of the lamp" had ever mentioned of Zongze's compilation of a monastic code. When examined the texts in the Pure Land collections (Zongze is exalted as one of the patriarchs of the Pure Land tradition), we could hardly find any reference to Zongze's monastic code as well. Analogously, the absence of any mention of Baizhang's monastic code cannot be taken as proof of its nonexistence.⁷⁶

While Kondō does not deny the existence of Baizhang's codes, however he tends to believe either Baizhang's codes had never be codified into a written document, or, if they were codified, the resulting text was not given the title *Baizhang qinggui* at the time.⁷⁷ The term "*qinggui*" simply does not appear until the second half of the twelfth century. Quoted the "Letter from Yishan," Yifa suggests that it is more probable that Baizhang's code did exist in written form, but that the original text was not called

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

Baizhang qinggui.⁷⁸ Besides, Kondō also believed that Baizhang’s reputation as monastic code pioneer is due primarily to later political developments. Political necessity undoubtedly contributed to the exaggeration of Baizhang’s historical significance.⁷⁹

Even if we assume that Baizhang did compile a written monastic code and that the rules depicted in *Chanmen quishi* reflect the practices performed in his order, there is still no evidence that Baizhang was the first person to formulate the monastic code. In fact, scholars have proven that independent Chan monasteries and monastic codes were never the Baizhang’s innovation. In this regard, Yifa undertook a comparison of monastic regulations followed by the Chan and Lü schools. Careful study of Baizhang’s regulations and practices surprisingly reveals that each article can be traced to a *vinaya* text or to a source in common with the Chinese Lü school.⁸⁰

On the matter pertaining to the reason why Baizhang’s code was lost, Yifa believed that 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. She explained by quoting a phenomenon that there are far more commentaries dedicated to the sutras than to the *vinaya*.⁸¹ This phenomenon appears to be commonsensical because the “straightforwardness” of the works pertaining to monastic practices will naturally receive less attention over the highly complicated and complex doctrinal matters. Nonetheless, I would argue that this is less probable to be the reason why Baizhang’s code was lost, given the fact

⁷⁸ I share the similar view with Yifa in this regard. I also believe that Yishan had read the original Baizhang’s code earlier as I illustrated on footnote 62.

⁷⁹ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 33

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 33.

that Baizhang was an influential figure to Chan tradition, and his monastic codes were indeed widely circulated and adopted by most of the Chan monasteries.

Be that as it may, I tend to believe that it was Baizhang's popularity that his monastic codes fell victim. Though claimed to be used by many Chan monasteries, Baizhang's codes cannot be completely fitted or fully adopted by all Chan monasteries without some sorts of modification. In fact, there were many versions or recensions of monastic codes that claimed the name of Baizhang, and were in existence not long after the first version of Baizhang's codes.⁸² The reason for this phenomenon was to gain legitimacy and authority of the monastic codes under the name of Baizhang. These many versions and recensions that lacked consistency and even caused confusion soon proved more disastrous than helpful. It was evident that a few *qingguis* were devised based on this incorrigible development.⁸³ While it was very likely that the first version of Baizhang codes cannot be easily identified among many forged versions that were in existence, the authoritativeness of the Baizhang codes was indeed undermined. As a matter of fact, there were fewer references to the first version of Baizhang code at the later development of Chan monastic codes, but instead the forged versions of Baizhang codes actually drew many critics since Ming dynasty.⁸⁴ As a result, Baizhang codes had lost the edge and other comprehensive monastic codes, like the *Chanyuan qinggui* had soon become very popular and widely circulated.⁸⁵

⁸² I will illustrate this in greater details at the later section of this paper.

⁸³ 今教苑清規是也歷歲滋久，諸方所守百丈遺法[已>已]互有不同，山家宜有不能與之盡合者。若夫通其變而以時措之其致一也。Refer to *Jiaoyuan qinggui xu* 教苑清規序 (*The Preface for the Rules of Purity for Teaching Monasteries*). X57. no. 968. Also refer to *Huanzhu an qinggui* 幻住庵清規. X63 No. 1248: 百丈起為叢林以救之。迨今不能無弊。今菴居處眾固不敢效叢林禮法。

⁸⁴ I will deal with this issue at later part of this paper.

⁸⁵ The influence of *Chanyuan qinggui* in Song and Yuan dynasties can be read in Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 43-52.

In summary, the belief that Baizhang was a pioneer of Chan monastic independence and the creator of the monastic codes has been seriously challenged by modern scholarship. However, there remains a great deal of disagreement and speculation pertaining to Baizhang's 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.⁸⁶ Yifa believed that Baizhang could have compiled a monastic code in written form as did many monks before him; however, this text is unlikely to be given the title *Baizhang qinggui*. Nevertheless, whether his regulations were codified or not, none of the rules or practices ascribed to Baizhang is unique or his creation.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 34.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

Chapter 4.

The Influence of *Chanyuan qinggui* in Song-Yuan Dynasties

The *Chanyuan qinggui* as an authoritative monastic code within the Buddhist community was testified by Japanese pilgrims who traveled to China during the Song dynasty. Eihei Dōgen's (1200-1253) report pertaining to the text's dominance shows that the code was still in wide circulation even after more than a century.⁸⁸ Hence, it is not surprising that *Chanyuan qinggui* also served as an inspiration for many of the monastic codes compiled during the Song-Yuan dynasties, the period during which most of the codes extant today were produced.

Despite being dominant and regarded as an authority during that period, there were still numerous copies of monastic codes being produced. One of the reasons for the creation of alternative codes was due to the nature of *Chanyuan qinggui* itself. *Chanyuan qinggui* was designed primarily for large-scale public monasteries setting. Hence it may have been considered less suitable for smaller private monasteries. Accordingly, another set of monastic codes, typically a smaller-scale one, were compiled to meet the specific needs of a given monastery.⁸⁹ After all, rules and regulations were often modified to fit the needs and different context of the monastery.

The composition and the structure of the Buddhist community were also in flux. New sets of regulations were constantly needed for many of the emerging sects, such as the Lü and Tiantai schools. While all of the codes created during the Song and Yuan dynasties were designed to fit the changing environments, they tacitly took *Chanyuan qinggui* as their model and often excerpting large sections of the earlier code verbatim.

⁸⁸ Yifa had done an extensive study on the influence of *Chanyuan qinggui* in Japan. Refer to Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 38-43.

⁸⁹ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 45.

Ruzhong riyong 入眾日用 (Daily Life in the Assembly)⁹⁰ was compiled in 1209 by Wuliang zongshou 無量宗壽 (??-??), a fourth-generation monk in the Yangqi lineage of Linji master Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089-1163), for those who dedicated themselves solely to the practice of meditation. This set of rules were written to regulate meditators' activities in the Sangha hall and the assembly quarters by providing strict guidelines prescribing the correct procedure for performing the most ordinary of daily tasks: getting up, washing, putting on robes, unwrapping the eating bowls, eating meals, reading sutras, using the toilet, taking a bath, and lying down to sleep.⁹¹ Despite influenced by *Chanyuan qinggui*, *Ruzhong riyong* itself continued to influence the future monastic codes and was often time adopted verbatim by many subsequent compilers.

Despite relying on *Ruzhong riyong*, *Ruzhong xuzhi* 入眾須知⁹² (*Notice for Assembly*) contains far more entries than *Ruzhong riyong* such as the sections describing the protocol for sitting meditation, entering the abbot's quarters, tea ceremonies, the inauguration of a new abbot, funerals, the auctioning of robes belonging to deceased monks, and the ordination of novices (śrāmaṇera). *Ruzhong xuzhi* again was designed based on the structure of earlier monastic codes, for example, the entries of *Ruzhong xuzhi* were actually the summary of sections in the *Chanyuan qinggui*.⁹³

Different from *Chanyuan qinggui*, some of the monastic codes were written for private monasteries, such as *Cunsi qinggui* 村寺清規 and *Huanzhu an qinggui* 幻住庵清規.⁹⁴ *Cunsi qinggui* was non extant, but fortunately, *Huanzhu an qinggui* is still surviving

⁹⁰ X1246. no. 556, 09b.

⁹¹ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 46.

⁹² X1247. no. 559, 19b.

⁹³ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 46.

⁹⁴ X63. no. 571, 05b.

and provides us with an excellent example of a private monastic code. *Huanzhu an qinggui* was written by Zhongfeng Mingben 中峰明本 (1263-1323) in 1317 for his private monastery called the “Mirage Hermitage” (*Huanzhu an* 幻住庵).⁹⁵ Accordingly this set of regulations did not include any of the rituals performed in large public monasteries, such as the ceremonies to inaugurate a new abbot.

Though made for private monastery, *Huanzhu an qinggui* cannot avoid borrowing some materials codified in *Chanyuan qinggui*. Nonetheless, due to the setting of a private monastery that differed from large monastery, Mingben did not borrow extensively from *Chanyuan qinggui*. Instead *Huanzhu an qinggui* contains an unusual amount of original material, devised specifically for its institution. The text is categorized into ten sections: daily routines, monthly schedules, annual festivals, examples of prayers offered on various occasions, food storage and building repair, lineage customs (*jiafeng* 家風), titles and duties of administrative officers, personal cultivation, attending to the sick, and funerals.⁹⁶ Apparently, the code was intended for use in the smaller private monasteries like *Huanzhu an*. For example, the section on the major administrative offices describes the duties of only five members: the abbot, the chief seat, the assistant abbot, the chief of storage, and the cook, as compared to an extensive hierarchy of offices in public monasteries. While advocated a synthesis of Chan and Pure Land teachings, Mingben’s discussions of the rituals for the sick and the deceased, with the emphasis on the recitation of Amitabha’s name, were largely adopted from the *Chanyuan qinggui*.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 46.

⁹⁶ 日資、月進、年規、世範、營辦、家風、名分、踐履、攝養、津送。X63. no. 571, 05b.

⁹⁷ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 47.

The monastic codes that were compiled for public monasteries in the Song-yuan dynasties include *Jiaoding qinggui* 校定清規 (or *Conglin jiaoding qinggui zongyao* 叢林校定清規),⁹⁸ *Beiyong qinggui* 備用清規 (or *Chanlin beiyong qinggui* 禪林備用清規),⁹⁹ and *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* 敕修百丈清規.¹⁰⁰

The *Jiaoding qinggui* was compiled in 1274. The most unique and interesting aspect of this text is that the author made use of diagrams to illustrate the functions and positions of the monks during various monastic rituals. It also included the samples of the public letters and documents used to announce activities such as tea ceremonies and feasts. However, this text left out the descriptions of the duties of the administrative staff, but focused instead on rituals and ceremonies. For the matters of daily etiquette, this text simply quoted the entire text of *Ruzhong riyong*.¹⁰¹

Another comprehensive code, the *Beiyong qinggui* was compiled in 1311 by Zeshan Yixian 澤山式咸, about thirty-eight years after the compilation of *Jiaoding qinggui*. Yixian revealed in his preface that the compilation of this code was actually completed in 1286, but he decided to implement his code on an experimental basis at the three monasteries where he served as abbot before he finally released it in 1311. During this twenty-five years of trial, Yixian constantly sought the advice of his master and his Dharma relatives, and revised his code when necessary. Even after this rigid and careful trial procedure, he was humbly concluded that his work is unworthy as a primary text and

⁹⁸ X1249. no. 592, 04a.

⁹⁹ X1250. no. 620, 02c.

¹⁰⁰ T2025. no. 1109, 20c.

¹⁰¹ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 47.

recommended it be used as a secondary reference only. Accordingly, his life's work was titled *Beiyong qinggui* (Alternate Rules of Purity).¹⁰²

Compare to *Chanyuan qinggui*, *Beiyong qinggui* was more comprehensive and lengthy in term of the content. While adopted a great deal of materials from *Chanyuan qinggui*, *Beiyong qinggui* expanded on topics not discussed in the earlier code, such as the discussions of the liturgical procedures for the rituals held on the imperial birthday, as well as the anniversaries of the deaths of Bohidharma, Baizhang, and the Chan patriarchs. The text also described the procedures for taking up residence in the monastery and meeting with the abbot.¹⁰³

Different from the earlier codes, *Beiyong qinggui* began to include elements that have less connection to monastic cultivation but to win favor of imperial court. Besides, there was a tendency in increasing rituals and chanting ceremonies in Chan monasticism. In addition, the stature of the abbot was ascended through elaborated meeting procedures. Like *Chanyuan qinggui*, *Beiyong qinggui* laid a foundation for the later Yuan monastic code, especially the *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui*.

Chixiu Baizhang qinggui was compiled in accordance with a decree issued by the Yuan Emperor Shun 順帝 (r. 1333-1368). Under imperial sponsorship, Dongyang Dehui 東陽德輝 (d.u.) began to compile the text in 1335. Right after the completion of the text in 1338, *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* became widely circulated in China.¹⁰⁴ This text was long mistakenly ascribed to Baizhang, probably due to the name of the text itself.

¹⁰² Ibid., 47-48.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 48.

¹⁰⁴ 至元間僧德輝重新編刊遍行天下叢林。僧徒循規遵守。 Refer to T2025. no. 1109, 21c.

As stated in the preface, there were many recensions of the Baizhang's code since its introduction in Tang dynasty. These many recensions often time lacked consistency and caused confusion to the monastic members that finally inspired Dehui to compile a single authoritative text for the entire Buddhist community.¹⁰⁵ Many scholars argued that the effort to call for uniformity, however, sprung from the need of the imperial court to further intervene and regulate the seemingly scattered and diversified Buddhist monasticism.

Dehui also pointed out in his preface that the code putatively written by Baizhang had been lost by this time. Instead he quoted three other monastics codes—*Chanyuan qinggui*, *Jiaoding qinggui*, and *Beiyong qinggui*—as existing sources on which he had relied. In particular, he expressed special indebtedness to *Beiyong qinggu*.¹⁰⁶ When completed, *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* was considered the most comprehensive monastic regulations ever assembled.

Similar to *Beiyong qinggui*, The first chapter of *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* elaborating liturgies relating to prayers for the longevity of the emperor and prayers for the avoidance of natural disasters. This inclusion was predictable as the text was compiled under the sponsorship of imperial court. The placement of this section in the first chapter (normally reserve for the most important section) possibly showing the compromise of Dehui to win the favor of imperial court. In this regard, Yixian, who was the author of *Beiyong qinggui*, also positioned the liturgical ceremony for the emperors at the beginning of his text after consulting with his master.

¹⁰⁵百丈清規行于世尚矣。繇唐迄今歷代沿革不同。禮因時而損益有不免焉。往往諸本雜出。罔知適從。學者惑之。…以立一代典章。 Refer to T2025. no. 1159, 26a-27a.

¹⁰⁶受命以來旁求初本不及見。惟宋崇寧真定蹟公咸淳金華勉公。逮國朝至大中。東林咸公所集者為可採。 Refer to T2025. no. 1159, 29a-30a.

The subsequent sections of *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* describe at great details various ceremonies involving the abbot. The structure of this section accentuates the increasing importance of the abbot in monastic life. The text then discusses the titles and duties of the administrative officers. Here again the significance of the abbot is highlighted: the attendants of the abbot are divided into five groups, each of which assists him in his duties at five different areas. The classification of the administrative positions that shows clear hierarchical structure, is a clear indication that the management of the monastery became more complex than ever.¹⁰⁷

The section pertaining to individual cultivation was placed after the description of administrative duties. Many works of this section were actually adopted verbatim from *Chanyuan qinggui*, such as the receiving of precepts, the upholding of precepts, a manual for meditation, “Essay on Setting a Good Example” (*Guijing wen* 歸敬文), along with numerous other sections and selected quotations.¹⁰⁸

The compilation of monastic codes is by no means unique to the Chan school. The Lü and Tiantai schools also compiled sets of regulations for their monasteries. Inspired by Chan monastic codes, the *vinaya* monk Xingwu 省悟 (d.u.) wrote *Luyuan shigui* 律苑事規 (*Rules for vinaya monasteries*) in 1325.¹⁰⁹ Xingwu also compiled a separate text containing a *vinaya* glossary entitled *Beiyong yaoyu* 備用要語 (*Key Auxiliary Terms*), as a supplement to the regulations. Unfortunately, this text was non extant.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 49.

¹⁰⁸ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 49.

¹⁰⁹ X1113. no. 92, 20b.

¹¹⁰ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 50.

Similar to *Chanyuan qinggui*, *Luyuan shigui* enumerated the regulations for the liturgical prayers for the emperor and the patriarchs, the tea ceremony, the administrative hierarchy, and the recitation of Amitabha's name during funerals.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, the most surprising section of the text is the discussion of the positions of director of the farming village, garden chief, and tree master. These duties obviously associated with agriculture and horticulture,¹¹² and are explicitly forbidden in the Indian *vinaya*. But for many Chinese monasteries landholding and farming had become major sources of income. Apparently, the Lü school was no exception.¹¹³ In addition, *Luyuan shigui* explained in great detail the procedure for the full ordination ceremony, which obviously absent in *Chanyuan qinggui*. This omission possibly indicates that Chan monks relied on Lü precept masters to receive full ordination.¹¹⁴

In order to uphold the ethical rigor of Tiantai tradition, the Tiantai monk Yunwai Ziqing 雲外自慶 (d.u.) compiled *Jiaoyuan qinggui* 教苑清規 (*Monastic Rules for Buddhists*) in 1347. Like many of the Chan monastic codes, *Jiaoyuan qinggui* places the rituals of praying for the emperor and the patriarchs in its first chapter, followed by sections pertaining to the abbot's schedule, the administrative hierarchy, individual cultivation, and funerals.¹¹⁵ While the ceremonies of full ordination are considered unique to the Lü tradition, the bodhisattva precept ordination found only in the Tiantai monastic code.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ Ibid., 51.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 50-51.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 52.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

Chapter 5.

Legacy of *Chanyuan qinggui*

The *Chanyuan qinggui* 禪苑清規 (*Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries*) was compiled in 1103 by Zongze 宗曠 (?-1107?), abbot of the Hongji Chan Cloister 洪濟禪院, a public monastery in Zhending Prefecture 真定府. During the Song dynasty, the abbots of Chinese Buddhism had considerable freedom and authority to design or establish the organizational principles and ritual protocols used within their own monasteries.¹¹⁷

The *Chanyuan qinggui* was an extensive set of codes and rules, that was written to regulate and govern almost every aspect of life in the large public monasteries in the Song dynasty. It marked an important milestone in the history of Chinese Buddhism, and was widely circulated and became a standard not only for Chan monasteries but also for all public monasteries.¹¹⁸ The *Chanyuan qinggui* was the first indigenous set of monastic rules to attain a status comparable to that of the *vinaya*, which had been translated into Chinese. It is the oldest extant text that bears the phrase “rules of purity” in its title, a phrase that is subsequently used to refer to an entire class of Chan and Zen monastic rules. Before the *Chanyuan qinggui*, the monastic codes lacked consistency and were confusing. Any comprehensive codes that may have existed prior to the *Chanyuan qinggui*, including one allegedly compiled by Baizhang, have been lost.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ T. Griffith Foulk. “*Chanyuan qinggui* and Other ‘Rules of Purity’ in Chinese Buddhism.” In Heine and Wright, eds., *The Zen Canon: Understanding the Classic Texts*, 275-312. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). 275.

¹¹⁸ Foulk, “*Chanyuan qinggui*,” 275.

¹¹⁹ Yifa articulated on this issue in her PhD dissertation. Refer to *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China: An Annotated Translation and Study of the Chanyuan Qinggui*. Classics in East Asian Buddhism. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002). 31-33. I also discuss the reasons why the Baizhang’s work was lost at the later section of this paper.

The influence of the *Chanyuan qinggui* extended beyond China. Japanese monks, such as Eisai 榮西 (1141-1215), Dōgen 道元 (1200-1253) and Enni 圓爾 (1202-1280) recognized the *Chanyuan qinggui* as an important and authoritative source and used it as a standard for establishing Zen monastic institution in Japan.¹²⁰ Since the thirteenth century, this text has become a subject of numerous reprinting, commentaries, and citations within the Japanese schools of Zen. The *Chanyuan qinggui* also played an important role in the history of Korean Buddhist monasticism, where an edition of the text was first published in 1254.¹²¹

5.1 Historical Setting of the *Chanyuan qinggui*

Buddhism had been in existence in China for about a millennium; since the creation of the *Chanyuan qinggui* in 1103. During that period there had been tremendous attempts not only to translate Indian *vinaya* texts but also efforts to interpret and adapt them for use in China. Among the various traditions of *vinaya* exegesis, the Nanshan school 南山宗, which was based on commentaries by Daoxuan, plays a primary role in upholding the orthodoxy of the *vinaya*.

The authority of the *vinaya* was also enhanced by the state. Various efforts were made to regulate and to control Buddhist monastics by taking certain provisions of the *vinaya* and giving them imperial sanction as official “sangha regulations”. For instance, all monks and nuns were required to go through proper (as defined by the *vinaya*) ordination rites at state-approved monasteries, in order to obtain official ordination certificates as proof that they had done so. This was a policy set by the government to

¹²⁰ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 38-43.

¹²¹ Foulk, “*Chanyuan qinggui*,” 276.

restrict the size of Buddhist sangha by limiting the number of certificates issued every year.¹²²

Nevertheless, neither the Indian *vinaya* nor governmental regulations could cover virtually every aspect of monastic administration and practice that gradually evolved and developed in Chinese Buddhism. Many monks had attempted to supplement Indian *vinaya* by developing new regulations regarding architectural arrangements, bureaucratic structures, and ritual procedures that came to be sanctioned by custom and culture. These, however, had no clear precedents in the Buddhist teachings as recorded in the Indian *vinayas*. A few eminent monks, such as Daoan, Huiyuan, Zhiyi and Daoxuan, became very important figures as the rules and regulations they wrote exerted considerable influence on subsequent generations of Buddhist leaders.¹²³ Prior to Zhongze's *Chanyuan qinggui*, however, no set of indigenous Chinese monastic rules ever came close to matching the authoritative Indian *vinaya*, and became the standard codes to almost all Buddhist monastic institutions in China.

At the time when the *Chanyuan qinggui* was published, there were basically two classes of Buddhist monasteries in the Song: public and private. The former were known as “ten directions monasteries” (*shifang cha* 十方刹) and the latter as “disciple-lineage cloisters” (*jiayi tudi yuan* 甲乙徒弟院).¹²⁴ The public monasteries were supposed to be the property of the Buddhist order at large, the so-called “sangha of the ten directions” (*shifang seng* 十方僧). These monasteries welcome any properly ordained Buddhist monk or nun to take up residence in them without regard to their ordination lineage or

¹²² Foulk, “*Chanyuan qinggui*,” 276.

¹²³ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 8-28.

¹²⁴ Foulk, “*Chanyuan qinggui*,” 278.

Dharma lineage. They were also referred to as “ten directions abbacy cloisters” (*shifang zuchi yuan* 十方住持院) because their abbacies were open to all eminent members of the “sangha of the ten directions,” not restricted to disciples of previous abbots. On the other hand, private monasteries were distinguished by the fact that the abbacy was passed down directly from master to disciple within a single teaching line. Unlike their public counterparts, the resident monks or nuns in private monasteries were basically limited to the followers of a particular teacher.¹²⁵ In general, public monasteries were the largest, most prestigious and powerful Buddhist establishments in Song dynasty. Typical bureaucratic structures, arrangements of buildings, and religious practices and rites are of utmost importance in running the public monasteries.

As early as the Song dynasty, Buddhist clerics within the Chan and the Tiantai traditions had competed for imperial patronage and recognition for Buddhist orthodoxy. By the time the *Chanyuan qinggui* was compiled in 1103, quite a few public monasteries had been designated by the court to Chan tradition as “ten directions Chan monasteries” (*shifang chanyuan* 十方禪院), or to Tiantai tradition as “ten-directions, teachings-transmitting abbacies” (*shifang chuanjiao zhuchi* 十方傳教住持). Nevertheless, the former outnumbered the latter by a considerable margin.¹²⁶ The term “Chan monastery” (*chanyuan* 禪院) in the title of Zongze’s work, the *Chanyuan qinggui*, referred to public monasteries.

5.2 Origins of the *Chanyuan qinggui*

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Foulk, “*Chanyuan qinggui*,” 279.

Daoan was claimed to be the first Chinese monk who first attempted to create rules and regulations specifically suited to monastic life in China. During his time, a random collection of various partial *vinaya* translations was available. Nevertheless, a streamlined set of guidelines was necessary to compare all the materials available and fill in apparent lacunae. He hence took the initiative to compose the *Standards for the Clergy* (*Sengni guifan* 僧尼規範) and a *Charter for Buddhism* (*Fofaxianzhang* 佛法憲章) which later became standard codes in Buddhist monasteries throughout the country.¹²⁷ The fifth fascicle of the *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳) states:

安既德為物宗，學兼三藏，所制僧尼規範、佛法憲章，條為三例：一曰行香定座、上經上講之法；二曰常日六時行道、飲食、唱時法；三曰布施、差使、悔過等法。天下寺舍，遂則而從之。¹²⁸

Daoan, being a virtuous [Buddhist monk] who became the model for everyone, was well-learned in the three baskets. The *Sengni guifan* and *Fofaxianzhang* that he had composed, is comprised of three categories: First, the procedure for offering incense, taking one's seat, ascension to the high seat to preach the sutra; Second, the procedure for circumambulating [the Buddha statue], taking meals, and chanting at mealtimes throughout the six periods of the day; Third, the procedure for the fortnightly confession, the process of sending an emissary [to invite a monk], the ritual of repentance, and so on. Later, these had become the standard codes in Buddhist monasteries throughout the country.¹²⁹

Being the first to lay a set of regulations that parallel with Indian *vinaya*, Daoan's work continued to influence his successors, Huiyuan and Daoxuan, which in turn, influenced later monastic codes such as the *Chanyuan qinggui*.¹³⁰

The compilation of the *Chanyuan qinggui* had also been seen by many scholars, in particular, the Japanese scholars, as the direct descendant, if not the actual embodiment,

¹²⁷ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 8-16.

¹²⁸ *T.* no. 353, 50:24-27b.

¹²⁹ I have made slight changes to Yifa's translation. Refer to Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 10-13.

¹³⁰ Refer to Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 8-16 and Foulk, "Chanyuan qinggui," 277.

of rules for Chan monasteries that were first compiled by Baizhang.¹³¹ However, there is the disjunction between the simplicity of Baizhang's "original" rules as reflected in the *Chanmen guishi* and the complexity of the *Chanyuan qinggui*. The most common explanation for this difference was that the Chan tradition "degenerated" between the ninth and the twelfth centuries. During this period, Chan tradition gradually absorbed many elements of religious and social practice that were extraneous to Chan tradition.¹³² As such, the Chan monastic institution fell victim to its own success in the early Song and suffered from increasing formalization and secularization, due to that it overly relied on state support and lay patronage. In addition, the corresponding increase in prayer services aimed at currying favor with patrons and the imperial court, and the greater involvement of Chan monastic in the management of estate lands and commercial ventures, such as oil presses and grain milling operation, were also claimed to be the cause of the decline of Chan tradition.¹³³

On the ground of the popular claims ascribed to the origin of *Chanmen guishi* and *Chanyuan qinggui*, many scholars found that the basic claims of these texts were demonstrably false. Virtually all the features of Chan monastery organization attributed to Baizhang in *Chanmen guishi*, were neither invented by him nor unique to the Chan school. Apparently, they all had clear precedents in the Indian *vinaya*, or in monastic practices established in China prior to and apart from the Chan tradition.¹³⁴ In addition,

¹³¹ Foulk, "Chanyuan qinggui," 295. More discussion about the influence of Chanyuan qinggui in Japan could be read from Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 38-43.

¹³² Foulk, "Chanyuan qinggui," 296.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Foulk, "Chanyuan qinggui," 296. Yifa also discovered that the *shami shoujie wen* 沙彌受戒文 described in *Xingshi chao* 行事鈔 authored by Daoxuan 道宣(596-667) is practically identical to a text in the appendix to *Chanyuan qinggui*. Beside, the five contemplations (五觀 *wuguan*) recited before meals that can be found in *Chanyuan qinggui* were first enumerated by Daoxuan in *Xingshi chao*. Refer to Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 24-25.

Chanmen guishi ended with a sentence that clearly shows one of the primary motivations of the author was to promote Baizhang as a founding patriarch, worthy of praise and remembrance:

禪門獨行。由百丈之始。今略敘大要遍示後代學者。令不忘本也。其諸軌度山門備焉。¹³⁵

It was Baizhang's initiative that made the Chan lineage stand out among many other Chinese Buddhist traditions. At present I [the writer of *Chanmen guishi*] have briefly summarized the essential points and proclaimed them for all future generations of practitioners, so that they will not be forgetful of our patriarch [Baizhang]. His rules should be implemented in this monastery.¹³⁶

Both Foulk and Yifa agreed that the *Chanyuan qinggui* also had numerous elements that derived from the Indian *vinaya* and indigenous Chinese tradition of *vinaya* exegeses, and hence led to the conclusion that the *Chanyuan qinggui* was not a Chan invention.¹³⁷ In attempting to accommodate Chinese social and cultural norms, *Chanyuan qinggui* largely represents the continuation of a monastic tradition that is traceable to the very roots of Indian Buddhism. According to the opening passage of the *Chanmen guishi*:

以禪宗肇自少室。至曹谿以來。多居律寺。雖別院然於說法住持未合規度故。常爾介懷。乃曰。祖之道欲誕布化元。冀來際不泯者。豈當諸部阿笈摩教為隨行耶(舊梵語阿舍。新云阿笈摩。即小乘教也)或曰。瑜伽論瓔珞經。是大乘戒律。胡不依隨哉。師曰。吾所宗非局大乘。非異大小乘。當博約折中設於制範務其宜也。於是創意別立禪居¹³⁸

The Chan lineage began with Shaoshi [the first patriarch Bodhidharma] up until Caoxi [the sixth patriarch Huineng] and thereafter, most [members of the lineage] resided in *vinaya* monasteries. Even when they had separate cloisters, they did not yet have [independent] regulations that are appropriate [to Chan tradition] pertaining to preaching the Dharma and to uphold the lineage of Buddha Dharma. [Chan Master Baizhang Dazhi] was always worried and concerned on account of this. He said, "It is my desire that the way of the patriarchs be widely propagated, and I hope [the Chan lineage] will not decline in the future. Thus, how can [Chan lineage] attach to [*vinaya*] various Nikayas (old rendered as Agama, new rendered as Nikaya, referred to Hinayana)?" Or said [sic]: *Yujia [shidi] lun*¹³⁹ and [*Pusa*] *yinluo [benye]*

¹³⁵ *Jingde chuandeng lu* 6 (景德傳燈錄 Jingde era record of the transmission of the flame), T. no. 51, 250.

¹³⁶ I have made slight changes to Foulk's translation. Refer to Foulk, "*Chanyuan qinggui*," 282.

¹³⁷ Foulk, "*Chanyuan qinggui*," 296 and Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 53-74.

¹³⁸ *Jingde chuandeng lu* 6, T. no. 51, 250.

¹³⁹ 瑜伽师地论 Yogacara-bhumi sastra, T30. no. 1579.

*jing*¹⁴⁰ prescribed Mahayana *vinaya*, why not attach to them? The Master [Baizhang] said, “What I hold as essential is not bound up in the Mahayana or Hinayana, nor is it completely different from them. We should select judiciously from a broad range [of earlier rules of the Mahayana or Hinayana], arrange them into a set of regulations, and adopt them as our norms.” Thereupon he conceived the idea of establishing a Chan monastery separately.¹⁴¹

Apparently, the creation of the *qinggui* by Baizhang was motivated by a desire to resolve the incompatibility of the Indian *vinaya* to the peculiar Chinese norms. It was his innovation and providence that these *qinggui* were “not bound up in the Mahayana or Hinayana, nor is it completely different from them.” Having rooted to Indian *vinaya*, the *qinggui* were claimed to be an eclectic mixture of the *yanas* that were relatively understandable and helpful for Chan cultivation.

Baizhang did not intend to establish a new set of codes that lie outside the scope of the Indian *vinaya*, nor did he intend to create a new set of codes to replace the existing *vinaya*. But, he would like to streamline and redefine a set of codes whose roots could be found in the Indian *vinayas*, and at the same time viable to the aura of Chinese Chan tradition. While preserving its spirit, it thence appears that the *qinggui* is an extension of the Indian *vinaya*, that aims at modelling an environment which is conducive to Chan tradition that has its origin in China. Yuanjue Yunwai 圓覺雲外 (d.u.) commented in the preface of the *Jiaoyuan qinggui* 教苑清規 (*Rules of Purity for Teaching Monasteries*) that:

於今清規如先儒之有家禮。雖皆一時所訂定而未嘗不本於古。百丈創為清規以輔律。而行天台大師兼善毗尼。其後人亦因叢林之日用而折中之以匡持其教。¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ 菩薩瓔珞本業經, T24. no. 1485.

¹⁴¹ I have made changes to Foulk translation. Refer to Foulk, “*Chanyuan qinggui*,” 280-281.

¹⁴² *Jiaoyuan qinggu xui* 教苑清規序. X57. no. 968. This text has no proper punctuations. I inserted the punctuations.

Qinggui is alike the Confucian teachings of propriety. Though they were context specific [and may not have originated from Confucius], but it shall not be implied that they were not traceable to the original teaching [of Confucius]. [Similarly], Baizhang formulated the *qinggui* to supplement the *vinaya* and to instruct the [teaching] of the *Tiantai* Master [Zhiyi]. His successors also sustaining his teachings by observing the monastery codes.

Yunwai agreed that Baizhang's *qinggui* not only served as another set of rules that is in accord and complementing the *vinaya*, it is also capable of sustaining the teaching of the Buddha. Zanning credited the widespread and the effectiveness of the Chan teaching to the effort of Baizhang in establishing the *qinggui*. It was Baizhang's innovation that made the Chan lineage stand out among many other Chinese Buddhist traditions.¹⁴³

Chanyuan qinggui was created on the common ground as of Baizhang. Zongze stated in the preface of *Chanyuan qinggui* that:

噫。少林消息已是剝肉成瘡。百丈規繩可謂新條特地。而況叢林蔓衍轉見不堪。加之法令滋彰。事更多矣。然而莊嚴保社。建立法幢。佛事門中闕一不可。亦猶菩薩三聚。聲聞七篇。豈立法之貴繁。蓋隨機而設教。¹⁴⁴

Alas, the phenomenon of Shaolin [i.e., Bodhidharma's establishment of the Chan lineage in China] was already like gouging out [healthy] flesh and developing ulcers. Various new set of rules that claimed the name of Baizhang were willfully created. It is complicated and intolerable to increase and spread monasteries over the regions. In addition, rules and ordinances have expanded accordingly, causing complications and problems to increase as well. Nevertheless, in order to dignify and protect the shrines and raise the Dharma flag, not a single [rule] can be omitted in the monastery. The bodhisattva's threefold [pure precepts] and the seven classes of the sravaka [precepts] are not to establish rules that are numerous and complex, but [they are there because the Buddha] to establish teachings in response to particular circumstances as they arose.¹⁴⁵

There are a few appealing points in the preface that are worth further discussion. First, there were various versions and recensions of Baizhang's codes in existence since the

¹⁴³天下禪宗如風偃草。禪門獨行由海之始也。Refer to Huihai's (Baizhang) biography in the Song Biographies of Eminent Monks. T50. no. 2061.

¹⁴⁴ *Chanyuan qinggui* 禪苑清規. T63. no. 1245.

¹⁴⁵ My translation is based on Yifa's and Foulk's translation. Nevertheless, my interpretation of Zongze's preface to *Chanyuan qinggui* is pretty different from that of Foulk. Refer to Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 112-113 and Foulk, "Chanyuan qinggui," 284-286.

creation of the first version by Baizhang around late 8th century and early 9th century.¹⁴⁶ Although these various copies of codes claimed the name of Baizhang, they lacked consistency and were confusing. However, it is not clear if the original Baizhang's codes were still extant during the compilation of *Chanyuan qinggui* by Zongze.¹⁴⁷

Second, Zongze's conditions were akin to Baizhang's when he formulated the first Baizhang's codes. During the time when Zongze compiled *Chanyuan qinggui*, new monasteries had mushroomed all over the country and it is very likely that the monastic institutions suffered from at least one of the these situations: (i) Too many sets of monastic rules that were either confusing and lacking consistency (including various set of rules that claimed the name of Baizhang);¹⁴⁸ (ii) these monastic rules (Indian *vinaya* and the Chinese creation Buddhist codes) were not detailed enough to cover many aspects of the monastic administration and practices; (iii) it was often a struggle in Chinese Buddhist community as to strictly adhere to the *vinaya* that oftentimes were found odd and claimed to be unfavorable to the progress of Chinese Chan cultivation; or (iv) these monastic rules were simply unaccustomed to Chinese norms and cultures and were not discordant with imperial ordinances. Hence, Zongze's attempt in formulating *Chanyuan qinggui* should not be seen as a course that will exacerbate the difficulty but rather a breakthrough that had mitigated a few if not all of the above mentioned problems. After all, it is sacrilege to emend the Indian *vinaya* which revered to be words of the historical Buddha. In this regard, Zongze's effort as well as his precedent, Baizhang's initiative, had been seen by many as a constructive move to codify a new set of rules that

¹⁴⁶ Baizhang *qinggui* - *Buddhist Culture of Jiangxi Province*.

¹⁴⁷ Yifa did an extensive study on the authenticity of Baizhang's monastic code. Refer to Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 28-35.

¹⁴⁸ Foulk, "Chanyuan *qinggui*," 309 and the endnote no. 30.

had incorporated common Buddhist mores and Chinese customs that to the very least unique and specific to Chan monasticism.

Third, it had been several hundred years since the establishment of Chan tradition by Bodhidharma. His lineage was eventually split and developed into five major Chan schools in the Song dynasty. Rather than speaking in an affirmative manner, Zongze ironically drew an analogy of “gouging out [healthy] flesh and developing ulcers.”¹⁴⁹ Zongze could have been aware of the potential conflicts among various Chan schools that went on during his time and that being the heir to Yumen lineage,¹⁵⁰ the most influential Chan schools of the time, he was probably ambitious to formulate a set of rules that would be used to harmonize all Chan lineages. Indeed, *Chanyuan qinggui* soon became the authoritative text of its time, and it was adopted and largely followed by other Buddhist monasteries.¹⁵¹ Its influence was far-reaching, being the prototype that was emulated after by the later compilers of the monastic code in both medieval China and Japan until the modern era.¹⁵²

Fourth, Zongze tacitly asserted that he had identified the problems faced by Buddhism during his time and that his intention to compile *Chanyuan qinggui* was in line with Baizhang. Furthermore, the formulation of the monastic codes was responsive and specific to the existing problems, which in turn paralleled with the Indian Buddha who established teachings in response to particular circumstances as they arose. By comparing his initiative with that of Baizhang, also concurred with Indian Buddha’s pedagogy,

¹⁴⁹ Many people have a notion that the Chan lineage was at its golden age with the development of Bodhidharma’s lineage into five major Chan schools.

¹⁵⁰ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 101.

¹⁵¹ *Kozen gokoku ron 2*, Essay on the Promotion of Zen and the Protection of the State. T80:9b6.

¹⁵² Yifa discussed the influence of *Chanyuan qinggui* in Japan and Song-Yuan dynasties, China in her book. Refer to Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 38-52.

Zongze will hence be able to develop the authority and to legitimize the formulation of *Chanyuan qinggui*.

Baizhang was an essential figure in the history of Chan tradition in the Song dynasty, being referenced in numerous written texts as well as ritual performances. Beginning in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, just around the time of the compilation of the *Chanyuan qinggui*, images of Bodhidharma and Baizhang began to be enshrined in the patriarch halls¹⁵³ of Chan monasteries, which previously had held only portraits of the succession of former abbots.¹⁵⁴ Zongze's strategy in pairing with Baizhang, and had his approaches to the problems traced back to the Indian Buddha was indeed a common motif in Song Chan literature.¹⁵⁵ This provides him a source of legitimacy and authority.

Fifth, as stated at the beginning of *Chanyuan qinggui*'s preface, it was its distinctive characteristics and the peculiarities of the Chan practices that made it stand out from among other Buddhist traditions.¹⁵⁶ Hence, it was natural and reasonable for Chan tradition to savor another set of rules in order to maintain its uniqueness. It thus appears that many Chan practitioners of the *qinggui* were critical in preserving Chan monasticism just as the Indian *vinayas* were in preserving the Buddha's lineage.

Accordingly, comprehensive works such as the *Chanyuan qinggui* could not have been developed utterly devoid of the issues that pre-existed in China during the Song era. It was preceded in China by a long process of translations, adaptations, and formulations of monastic codes. According to Yifa, this evolutionary history can roughly be divided

¹⁵³ 祖堂 *zutang*.

¹⁵⁴ Foulk, "*Chanyuan qinggui*," 282-283.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 283.

¹⁵⁶ 衲子家風別是一般規範. Refer to Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 112. Also refer to T63. no. 1245.

into three stages: the introduction to China of the Indian *vinayas*; the compilation of Sangha regulations by Chinese monks; and the composition of Rules of Purity, or comprehensive monastic codes such as the *Chanyuan qinggui*.¹⁵⁷ In fact, it is evident that a clear line of continuity existed between Chinese monastic regulations, beginning with the original Indian *vinayas*, moving through the Sangha regulations, and finally culminating in the *Chanyuan qinggui* and the many rules of purity.

Yifa argued in great detail that many aspects of monastic discipline treated in the *Chanyuan qinggui* were derived directly from indigenous Chinese traditions of *vinaya* exegesis.¹⁵⁸ She had successfully traced many of the features of ostensibly Chan public monastic life in the Song back to traditional state controls on the sangha and the influences of Chinese culture in general.¹⁵⁹ She concludes that the *Chanyuan qinggui* may be located squarely in the tradition of Chinese *vinaya* exegesis, state regulation of the Buddhist sangha, and indigenous innovation of monastic rules. Yifa's work, however, proves that the entire contents of the *Chanyuan qinggui* may be accounted for by historical precedents that have nothing to do with the figure of Baizhang.¹⁶⁰

5.3 The Critics of *qinggui* since the Ming Dynasty

With the creation of *qinggui*, it seems that there were two kinds of *vinaya* existing at the same time. However, when placed in the larger historical and institutional context, it indicates that the shorter versions of monastic codes written for particular monasteries associated with the Chan school were meant to serve as supplement to the Indian *vinayas*

¹⁵⁷ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, xx.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 53-47.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 74-96.

¹⁶⁰ Foulk, "Chanyuan qinggui," 297.

rather than its replacement.¹⁶¹ To many people, including the compilers of the monastic codes, the needs for establishment of *qinggui* were context specific and responsive to various problems unique to Chinese Buddhism.

The ability to be more context specific and more compatible with the Chinese Buddhist mores and Chinese cultures, *qinggui*, undoubtedly gained its popularity among Chinese Buddhist institutions. Nevertheless, the profuse growth in monastic codes over time soon became unbearable and the entire Buddhist monastic codes were getting out of hand. The gradual shift of focus from traditional *vinayas* to *qinggui* was one out of the many issues that allegedly brought *qinggui* to the focal point of criticism. Some scholars, including many other eminent monks, ascribed the decline of the monastic quality and discipline to the creation of *qinggui*. For instance, the neglect of *vinaya* by Buddhist monastic was blamed bitterly by Jianyue 见月(1601-1679):

夫毗尼是正法之壽命者，蓋由戒淨僧真，…。自行利他，越苦海而登彼岸，紹先啟後，續慧命以振玄猷，故曰「毗尼住則正法住」也。不然，則五邪罔禁，八穢殉身，虧僧寶之尊稱，失福田之淨德，上無楷模，下闕規繩，縱能聚眾匡徒，悉屬附法魔外。¹⁶²

Vinaya represents the lifetime of the Buddha Dharma, as the observance of the *vinaya* manifests the verity and holiness of Sangha. [*vinaya*] could benefit oneself and others, to transcend the world of *samsara* and to cross over to the other shore, to inherit [the Buddha's lineage] from earlier generations and inspire future generations to uphold the Buddha's lineage and to prosper the noble path. Hence, it is said that: the Proper Dharma abides as *vinaya* abides. Otherwise, the five evils will delude, the eight filths will harm, the respectful title of the sangha jewel will be discredited, the purity and virtue of the field of merit will lose, there will be no exemplary model [to learn] on the upside, and lack of rules and ordinances [for observance] on the downside. Though [one is] able to assemble the disciples and teach them, nonetheless one will still be considered as pseudo-Buddhist or heretic.

¹⁶¹ Poceski, "Xuefeng's Code and the Chan School's Participation in the Development of Monastic Regulations," 34.

¹⁶² X no. 61: 645a.

Ouyi Zhixu 藕益智旭 (1599-1655) ascribed the degeneration of the Buddhadharma to the ignorance of *vinaya*.¹⁶³ Zhifeng 芝峰 (1901 - ?) was in favor of the position of Ouyi and Jianyue in this regard. He further asserted that Baizhang's idea of "establishing a Chan monastery separately" was a scourge to the *vinaya* school.¹⁶⁴ Nevertheless, he agreed with Baizhang's ideas that his codes were judiciously streamlined from a broad range of earlier rules of the Mahayana and Hinayana, and were accorded to Buddhist mores and cultural norms.¹⁶⁵ He further comments that it was the forged version of *qinggui* that led Buddhism to its downfall:

中國佛教自清規之後，不僅律學衰絕，而義學亦受重大之打擊。……偽清規一日存在，佛教亦一日無改良之希望。¹⁶⁶

Since the creation of *qinggui* in [the history of] Chinese Buddhism, not only has it led to the decline of the *vinaya* school, but it also ravaged the teaching [of the Buddha]. ... As long as the forged versions of the *qinggui* are in existence, the effort to revitalize Buddhism will be of no avail.

Hongyi 弘一 (1880-1942), on the other hand claimed that:

按律宗諸書，浩如煙海。吾人盡形學之，尚苦力有未及。即百丈原本今仍存在，亦可不須閱覽，況偽本乎？¹⁶⁷

The works on the *vinaya* school are vast like the ocean. One could resolve his or her lifetime to read all of them, nevertheless this is unlikely to be successful even one does it diligently. Even if Baizhang's original work still survived, it would not be necessary to read it; how much more is this true of the forged versions?

The forged version of Baizhang's *qinggui* as mentioned by Hongyi and Zhifeng referred to the *Chixiu baizhang qingui* 敕修百丈清規 (*Imperial Edition of Baizhang's Rules of*

¹⁶³ 正法滅壞，全由律學不明。Refer to Hongyi. "The Anthology of the Master Hongyi," vol 1, 252.

¹⁶⁴ 於是足見百丈以前僧寺之制度，根本于律學而建設，至百丈「創意別立禪居，是律舉重大之創傷。」。Refer to Zhifeng. "An Introduction to the Outline of *vinaya*," ed. Mantao Zhang, The Collection of Modern Buddhism Scholarly Articles, Vol 88: An Outline of *vinaya* School and its Origin and Development. 241.

¹⁶⁵ 然百丈原制之清規，尚謂「非局大小乘，非異大小乘，當博約折衷，說于軌範」，其對於律學，必有相當之採取。Refer to Zhifeng. "An Introduction to the Outline of *vinaya*," 241.

¹⁶⁶ Zhifeng. "An Introduction to the Outline of *vinaya*," 241.

¹⁶⁷ Hongyi, "The Anthology of the Master Hongyi," 252.

Purity), which was compiled by decree of the Yuan emperor Shun and compiled by Dehui 德輝, the abbot of the Dazhi shousheng Chan Monastery 大智壽聖禪寺, between the years 1335 and 1338.¹⁶⁸ According to Zhifeng, there were many disagreements between the *Chixiu baizhang qingui* and *vinaya*. The *Chixiu baizhang qingui*, though claimed to be of the name of Baizhang, was censured for deviating from the original Baizhang's codes. It was accused to be compiled by an unlearned monk (i.e. Dehui) to fulfill the agenda of the imperial court that was then decreed to implement all monasteries in the country.¹⁶⁹ Ouyi also stressed that the various recensions of the Baizhang's codes that were in existence were indeed forgery and had missed the original ideas of Baizhang. Thus, Buddhist monastics who implemented *Chixiu baizhang qingui* at their monasteries were simply ignorant of Buddhist *vinaya*.¹⁷⁰

Even the formulation of the *Huanzhu an qingui* 幻住庵清規 (*Rules of Purity for the Huanzhu Hermitage*) in 1317 by the eminent Chan master Zhongfen Mingben was due to the problematic Baizhang codes in the course of evolution:

百丈起為叢林以救之。迨今不能無弊。今菴居處眾固不敢效叢林禮法。而日用又不可破規裂矩。勉置須知一編。列為十門。¹⁷¹

Though Baizhang's [rules of purity] were created to vitalize the Chan monasticism, nevertheless [the rules] cannot not be flawless in the course of evolution. Now I shall not regulate the monastery by these rules of purity. However, there should not be an absence of rules and regulations for the daily monastery life. Hence, I reluctantly lay a chapter of etiquette, classified into ten categories.

¹⁶⁸ Quoted in Foulk, "*Chanyuan qingui*," 304. Refer to T48. no. 2025. Beside *Chixiu baizhang qingui*, there were many versions of Baizhang's codes in existence that lacked consistency and caused confusion.

¹⁶⁹ 今日叢林中所用之勅修百丈清規，隨處與律學抵觸，已非百丈所手制，嘗考此「偽清規」是元時僧德輝所撰，假元帝政治之勢力，迫全國僧寺遵行。Refer to Zhifeng, "*An Introduction to the Outline of vinaya*," 241.

¹⁷⁰ 百丈清規，久失原作本意；並是元朝流俗僧官住持，杜撰增飾，文理不通。今人有奉行者，皆因未諳律學故也。Refer to Hongyi, "*The Anthology of the Master Hongyi*," 252.

¹⁷¹ *Huanzhu an qingui* 幻住庵清規. X63 No. 1248.

Though criticizing the various recensions of Baizhang's code that were in existence during his time, Mingben did realize the significance and importance of rules of purity, and hence proceeded to formulate his own version of the rules of purity. Apparently, he did not feel that the traditional *vinayas* during his time were sufficient or efficacious in regulating a Chan monastery.

Though claimed to be based on the Indian *vinaya*, *qinggui* largely incorporated many elements which were in agreement with state policies. It aimed at pleasing the imperial court and oftentimes succumbed to a set of codes that deviated from the teaching prescribed in the *vinaya* texts.¹⁷² Ouyi pointed out that the formulation of *qinggui* were mostly sponsored or initiated by the imperial courts, which intended to produce a set of rules that were principally and technically erroneous.¹⁷³ In this respect, *qinggui* could be viewed as a tool used by the court to regulate the monastic daily practice. As a result, Ouyi proclaimed that *qinggui* is not the way of the Dharma, as it was not laid down by the Buddha.¹⁷⁴

In addition, the implementation of *qinggui* at monasteries greatly caused the monastic institutions to suffer from increasing formalization and secularization. Overly absorbing elements of social practice that were extraneous to the Chan practice, as well as a greater involvement in the management of estate lands and commercial ventures is said to evince "a loss of independence and dilution of meditation."¹⁷⁵ Shengyan 聖嚴 (1930-2009) also admonished that in the effort of reforming and revitalizing Buddhism,

¹⁷² Foulk, "Chanyuan qinggui," 296.

¹⁷³ 流俗僧官住持，杜撰增飾，文理不通。Refer to Hongyi, "The Anthology of the Master Hongyi," 252.

¹⁷⁴ 非佛所制，便名非法；如元朝附會百丈清規等。Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Foulk, "Chanyuan qinggui," 296.

one should never emphasize *qinggui*. He reaffirmed that only with the restoration of the spirit of the Buddhist *vinaya*, will Buddhism be revitalized.¹⁷⁶

Ostensibly, the main motivations for the creation of *qinggui* apparently lie in its alleged adaptability and viability to Chinese mores, and its favorability to Chan practice. Ironically, it is these characteristics that gained its popularity in China, however it also these same characteristics that lead to further criticism of the *qinggui*. *Qinggui*, though claimed to be the continuation of the Buddhist *vinaya* which is traceable to the historical Buddha, was by no means the creation of the Buddha.¹⁷⁷ The claim that *qinggui* was favorable to Chinese Buddhist practice are highly questionable and arguable. It was instead being blamed for its laxity to Buddhist *vinaya* and succumbed to secularism, which inevitably led to the degeneration of Chinese Buddhism. Despite its popularity, the profusion growth of the *qinggui* that soon got out of hand also equally burdened the Buddhist institutions.

Continual criticism of *qinggui*, poses a great challenge to the apologists of Buddhist *vinaya* to properly address the issues that will continue to nurture and sustain the vitality of *qinggui*.

¹⁷⁶ 今後佛教的重整與復興，不用再提清規二字，但能恢復戒律的精神，佛教自然就會復興了。Refer to Shengyan. “*The life with Buddhist vinaya*.” (Taipei: Dongchu Publisher, 1995). 102.

¹⁷⁷ It is a highly polemical issue to formulate new set of rules in parallel with Buddhist *vinaya*. Refer to the *vinaya-matrka-sutra*, 3rd fascicle 毗尼母经卷三：隨佛所說當奉行之。佛不說者此莫說也。T24. no. 1463.

Chapter 6.

Conclusion

The compilation of the *Chanyuan qinggui* by Zongze was not simply to regulate his own monastery but also to provide a set of shared guidelines that would help standardize the organization and operation of all Chan monasteries.¹⁷⁸ Nonetheless, by examining the contents of the *Chanyuan qinggui*, it is clear that Zongze did not intend the text to stand alone as a complete set of guidelines for any particular monastery. He explicitly stated that the receiving and upholding of any Buddhist precepts was to be carried out in accordance with the *vinaya*.¹⁷⁹

It is crucial to note that *Chanyuan qinggui* and the Chan monastic codes that followed it also included elements foreign to the original *vinaya* texts, elements that were incorporated from Chinese governmental policies and traditional Chinese conventions of propriety.¹⁸⁰ The topics that Zongze dealt with in the *Chanyuan qinggui* were matters of institutional organization and operation, and things that pertained to the state sanction and regulation of the Buddhist monastic institution at large. Judging from the contents, it would seem that the *Chanyuan qinggui* was written with the aims of: first, standardizing the bureaucratic structures of the great public monasteries; second, facilitating the interchange of personnel, including ordinary monks and high-ranking officers, between those monasteries; and third, ensuring that the management of the public monasteries remained beyond reproach in the eyes of governmental authorities and lay patrons.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Foulk, “*Chanyuan qinggui*,” 275.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 294.

¹⁸⁰ Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 98.

¹⁸¹ Foulk, “*Chanyuan qinggui*,” 295.

Traditionally, the *Chanyuan qinggui* has been treated as the oldest extant example of a genre of indigenous Chinese regulations styled “rules of purity.” This genre is said to have been invented by the Chan patriarch Baizhang, and stand out to be the product of Chan tradition. Many modern scholarships, however, showed the *Chanyuan qinggui* and later “rules of purity” were neither the invention of Baizhang nor the exclusive property of the Chan School. They were, in fact, the common heritage of the Chinese Buddhist tradition during the Song and Yuan dynasties.¹⁸²

¹⁸² Ibid., 307.

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