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Title of thesis: Chan Monastic Tea in Medieval China:
A Deconstruction of Chan-tea Culture

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Abstract

Tea has been commonly perceived as having a bond with East Asian Chan Buddhist practice, and this bond is well known as “Chan-tea” (chancha 禪茶/ chazen ちゃぜん茶禅/ seoncha 선차). Scholars have constantly traced Chan-tea connections back to medieval China, however, recent historical reflections on modern Japanese discourse on Chan-tea raised the possibility of a modern construction.

This thesis deconstructs the Chan-tea connections and further investigates the multiple functions of tea in medieval Chinese (which collectively refers to Tang, Song and Yuan dynasty) Chan Buddhism from the perspectives of tea rituals and tea references in Chan hagiographies. It embeds the analysis of tea use in a Chan monastic ritual system reconstructed by the thesis based on rules of purity (qinggui 清規). It contends that tea along with other monastic diets are permutated with other basic ritual units including prostrations, directions, drinks, and instruments, to efficiently distinguish monastic ranks and the relation of host and guest. Besides, this thesis analyses the use of tea in hagiographies of different Chan lineages and argues that only the Hongzhou and Linji lineages employed tea metaphors as an instrumental means for Buddhist awakening, while other Chan lineages hardly viewed tea with much significance in their hagiographies. Moreover, non-Chan contexts also bond with tea in many ways.

This study offers a new perspective in the essence of Chan Buddhism and its duality of a doctrinal aversion to material forms and a liturgical emphasis on ritual procedure, and it bridges Chan monastic practice and teachings with the analysis of Chan-tea. It is also the first scholarly attempt in reconstructing and investigating Chan rituals in a full-scale study with annotations and illustrations, as the highly formatted and nearly isolated genre of rules of purity received much less scholarly attention compared to Chan doctrines.
Lay Summary

Tea has been widely used in Chan Buddhist monasteries for conveying their teachings and performing rituals since the medieval age in China. It is commonly believed that tea brought a sense of tranquillity and sincerity, which is aligned with the proposal of disciplines, calmness, and wisdom in Chan Buddhism, thus bonding tea and Chan on a doctrinally deep level. However, recent historical reflections on Japanese nationalist propaganda on the Chan-tea bond in the twentieth century has shown it is likely that this fantasy of Chan-tea bond was constructed at the time to claim Japanese cultural superiority over Western traditions as it reflected an ancient creation leading to spiritual purity.

This thesis examines the Chan-tea connections and investigates the functions of tea in medieval Chinese Chan Buddhism. It investigates the use of tea and tea rituals in Chan monasteries and argues that instead of having a superior bond with Chan leading to spiritual purity, tea along with soup, medicine, congee and meals, were blended with different dharma instruments, orientational directions and forms of prostrations, to function in a Chan ritual system to efficiently distinguish monastic ranks and the relation of host and guest. This thesis then analyses the use of tea in Chan teachings and argues that only a few lineages of Chan Buddhism deploy tea metaphors to convey their teachings rather than Chan Buddhism as a whole incorporating tea into its teachings. Besides, tea was taken as a doctrinal metaphor because it was part of the daily monastic setting and was easy to use rather than having any symbolic or spiritual meaning in Chan Buddhism. Moreover, other Buddhist schools, other Chinese religions and Chinese secular society also bonded with tea in many ways.

This thesis demystifies the Chan-tea bond and explores the multifaced use of tea in medieval Chinese Chan Buddhism revealing much richer functions. It also offers insight into the essence of Chan Buddhism and answers the questions regarding the paradox of a doctrinal aversion to material forms and a liturgical emphasis on ritual procedure. It is also the first scholarly attempt at reconstructing and investigating Chan rituals on a full scale with annotations and illustrations, as the highly formatted and nearly-isolated genre of Chan monastic codes have received much less scholarly attention compared to Chan doctrines.
Acknowledgement

I have always enjoyed tea-drinking very much. This thesis was started as an academic development of my personal hobby and a further step beyond my master’s dissertation “Tea and the Sovereign Power in the Song Dynasty” towards the study of tea. I wanted to explore the religious aspect of medieval Chinese tea for my doctoral thesis and have encountered Buddhist studies on the pathway of Chinese history. This thesis has been nourished and grown on this crossway of disciplines.

The completion of this thesis owes its thanks to many people. I would like to heartfully thank my family and a group of supportive friends, who have accompanied and encouraged me to carry on with my work on this thesis over the past five years. I am very grateful to my PhD supervisor, Prof. Joachim Gentz, for guiding me into the field of Chinese studies, facilitating the development of my research, and helping me grow as a scholar. I would also want to extend my thanks to my assistant supervisor, Dr Ian Astley, and my viva committee — Prof. Imre Galambos, Dr Christopher Rosenmeier and Dr Kim Youngmi, for their precious feedback to this thesis. A genuine thanks of mine goes to the faculties and staff at the University of Edinburgh, the Glorisun Global Buddhist Network and the FROGBEAR Project, and the broader academic community, from whom I have received extensive kind support. I hope to devote this thesis to the people who made it possible, contribute this piece of work back to academia that may find it an interesting addition, and share my findings with tea lovers worldwide.
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Chan Monastic Tea in Medieval China: A Deconstruction of Chan-tea Culture

Introduction

The emerald tea solemnly sipped from rustic bowls in Buddhist monasteries, the aromatic coffee beans freshly roasted with prayers in Ethiopian gatherings and the Sufis coffee stimulating dhikr and whirling dervishes, the chalice of wine precepted as the Blood of Christ in Eucharist, and the Mayan worship of cacao for the circle of life… Drinks worldwide have been brought into local rituals and have developed a spectrum of ties with religions, been endorsed with rich mythical or practical meanings and even been preserved as exquisite sacred symbols.

Tea is one of the drinks, a beverage that has long been embedded in Buddhist monastic practice across East Asia. Its connections with Buddhism has even been theorised as “Chan/Zen and tea sense-sharing” (chancha yiwei 貫茶一味/ chazen ichimi ちゃぜんいちみ 茶禅一味/ daseon ilmi 달선일미). The intertwining process between tea and Buddhism is perceived to have peaked in medieval China (collectively refers to Tang (618–906), Song (960–1279) and Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) in this thesis), when Chan masters guided disciples to awakening with riddle-like dialogues about tea, and monks grew and drank tea on a daily bases in the
One of the best known Chan hagiographical stories about tea is the Monsoon Zhaozhou’s tea (Zhaozhou Congshen 趙州從諗, 778–897 CE).

The master asked a newly arrived [visiting monk]: “Have you visited here before?” [The monk] answered: “I have.” The master said: “Go to drink tea.” Thereupon the master asked [another visiting] monk again. The monk replied: “I have not.” The master said: “Go to drink tea.” Afterwards, the Head Administrative Official asked [the master]: “Why did you tell them both to go to drink tea regardless of whether they have visited or not?” The master summoned the Head Administrative Official [to come nearer], the Head responded obediently and said yes. The master said: “Go to drink tea.”

The ultimate response “go to drink tea” to the various answers from visiting monks and the question from the Head Administrative Official is widely interpreted as a proposal to remain in one’s normal state of mind in whatever situation, which aligns with the Hongzhou Chan teaching "Ordinary Mind is the Way" (pingchangxin shi dao 平常心是道) since Mazu Daoyi (馬祖道一, 709–788).

There are also scholars who perceive tea

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1 He Jiahuan 贺佳欢, “‘Chachan yiwei’ yu ‘chancha yiwei’ kaobian” 茶禅一味与禅茶一味考辨 [The of “tea and Chan are one” and “Chan and tea are one”], Journal of Zhejiang Shuren University 浙江树人大学学报, no.3 (2016): 72-75. Cai Zhenchu 蔡镇楚, “Chachan lun” 茶禅论 [A Discussion on tea-Chan], Journal of Changde Teachers University (Social Science Edition) 常德师范学院学报 (社会科学版), no.1 (January 2002): 19-23.

2 Puji 普濟, Wudeng huiyuan 五燈會元 [The five history books on Chan quotations], ed. Su Yuanlei 蘇淵雷 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1984), 204. X 1565, 4: 0091b05.


as an instrument to relax body and mind and get ready for awakening, and some contend that “go to drink tea” entails no further connotation than its literal meaning as ordinary minds do not intentionally achieve certain results.5 Regardless of the different ways of connection, tea is deemed to be bonded with Chan awakening teachings in the end. Since such educational dialogues with tea elements have filled the Song Chan histories and hagiographies, the ties of the drink and Chan enlightenment gradually became established universally as a cultural form.6

Moreover, tea also takes up a substantial part of daily monastic practice, including growing, picking, drinking and offering tea.7 The Chan monastic tradition of “universal participation in the task of labour” (puqing 普請) requires all members in the sangha community to contribute equally and cooperatively in collective manual labour works regardless of their monastic ranks. This practice enacts the principal sangha rule proposed by Baizhang Huaihai (百丈懷海, 749 – 814) “A day of no work is a day of no eating” (yiri buzuo, yiri bushi 一日不作，一日不食).8 Tea planting has long been an essential component of the Chinese Buddhist monastic economy and its related labour. Medieval monks regularly experienced sowing, watering, cutting grass and

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picking tea, as part of their responsibility as a monastic resident and their exploration for abrupt or gradual awakening. Besides, tea-drinking procedures and routines for various occasions have also been regulated and included in monastic regulations/rules of purity (qinggui 清規). The large amount of standardised and ritualised monastic activities about tea echoes the Chan-tea bond concluded from Chan hagiographies and histories, thus solidifying the Chan-tea association as a feature of Chinese Buddhism.

At this point, the readers might be satisfied with the explanation above on the apparent Chan-tea association and ask no more. However, with further thoughts, significant questions still remain. The foremost question is: what are the concrete links between Chan and tea? More precisely, what actual role does tea play in the daily monastic practice or in the awakening process and related dialogues? Mentioning tea and Buddhism together thousands of times does not automatically build or reflect connections between the nature of the two. Only when their shared traits or goals, or complementary elements or effects etc., are detected then it is safe to say that a special association between Chan and tea exists. If their connections are unveiled, another question will naturally follow: how does tea function in Chinese Buddhism? Or say, how does tea suit the needs of Buddhism, Buddhist monasticism and ritual so that it bonds with Chinese Buddhism? There is a range of possibilities to employ tea components in Chan masters’ dialogues or to have tea as part of the monastic economy and ritual practices: the correspondence of tea’s spirit with Chan teachings,

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the application of tea as a sacred object in Buddhism, the facilitation of sitting-meditation or enlightenment with tea’s chemical awakening effect etc. And yet, the mechanism behind the Chan-tea interaction still awaits exploration.

Answers to these questions will not only feed the curiosities of an exotic drinking tradition but will also shed light on broader issues, such as Chan Buddhism, the Chinese adaptation of Buddhism, and the material culture of Chinese religions. This study of Chan-tea will offer insights into heated debates regarding the core of Chan Buddhism and examine the dual existence of iconoclastic tradition and sophisticated rituals within the Chan school. Also, as tea was not a traditional drink in original Buddhism, the addition of tea into Chan rituals and teachings is a creation of Chinese Buddhism. Was introducing tea into Buddhism a carefully designed strategic act or an acculturation process that happened naturally? The study of tea in Chan Buddhism will reflect the big picture of the Chinese adaptation of Buddhism. Besides, as tea has been a popular drink enjoyed by various social strata across China, the drink is likely to serve as a platform of communication and interaction for Buddhist monks, Daoist priests and Confucian officials, while the forms of tea rituals as well as manners of tea activities could also stimulate dialogues among Confucianism, Daoism, Buddhism and popular religions.¹¹

Therefore, this thesis aims to examine the established idea of a Chan-tea bond and to investigate the functions of tea in medieval Chinese Chan Buddhism. As no agreed definition on “Chan-tea” has been given so far, this thesis will first review the historical sources and modern discourse that shaped the concept of Chan-tea connections and will critically reflect on the methodologies that current scholarly works

approached “Chan-tea” in Chapter 1. It will provide an overview of the history of the intertwining of Buddhism and tea and the status quo on the study of Chan-tea, which will embed this thesis into the field and mark the improvement of research methods and contribution that this thesis intends to have.

Chapter 2 will analyse the functions of tea in Chan monastic practice. Considering that the current scholarship merely evidence their claims of Chan-tea connections by extracting tea-related records from Chan sources, this chapter will reconstruct the Chan monastic ritual system mainly based on the rules of purity, which will be the first scholarly attempt in reconstructing a Chan ritual in full scale with annotations of monastic terms and formatted narratives, and will situate the analysis of tea and tea rituals within the framework. It takes into consideration tea's relations with other Chan monastic diets and how they organically permutate with each other and function together in the Chan ritual system. This will examine if Chan and tea have a meaningful bond in monastic tea rituals and if tea rituals are meant to serve Chan cultivation.

Chapter 3 will further investigate the functions of tea in Chan monastic teachings. A thorough check of tea usage in Chan hagiographies will be carried out. Unlike most scholarly works that treated Chan hagiographies as a general group of sources, this chapter highlights the differences in employing tea among Chan lineages like the Hongzhou lineage, the Oxhead lineage and the Northern lineage. It will look into the differences of tea use among various Chan lineages and the reasons behind it. This will shed light on which part of the Chan teaching that actively engages with tea and how tea functions to suit that part of Chan teaching.

Chapter 4 will look outside of the Chan parameter and discover the functions of tea in non-Chan Buddhist schools, non-Buddhist Chinese religions, and wider
medieval Chinese society. By comparing tea’s functions in Chan and non-Chan contexts, we will be able to confirm if there is an exclusive or substantial Chan-tea bond. This chapter will take non-Chan comparisons from a wide range of materials, including Tiantai and Vinaya monastic codes, Confucian and Daoist ritual manuals, dynastic histories, notebooks, poems, and paintings.

This study will demystify the idea of the Chan-tea bond and will analyse the multiple functions of tea in medieval Chinese Chan Buddhism on institutional and doctrinal levels. It will refine the approaches to study the material culture of medieval Chinese Buddhism and enrich our understanding of the nature of Chan Buddhism and the characteristics of medieval Chinese religious practice in general.
Chapter 1: The Association of Chan and Tea

Walking into today's East Asian tearooms, you may find one sits cross-legged on a meditation cushion, tasting tea in a relaxed and peaceful manner. Buddhism is commonly believed to be associated with tea-drinking since the Tang-Song period (Tang dynasty, 618–906; Song dynasty, 960–1279) and the culture that evolved from the long-term interplays between Chan and the drink is generally archived as Chan-tea/Zen-tea culture.

The term “Chan-tea” (chancha 禪茶/ chazen ちゃぜん茶禅/ seoncha 선 차) can be seen spread all over tourist advertisements, tea brands commercials and social media nowadays. It relates to the beautiful tea-drinking environment and elegant tea-making process, symbolising a simplistic and tranquil traditional lifestyle in hectic modern society. The constant display of idealisation regarding Buddhist tea has sacralised a Chan-tea culture in public cognition. In the meantime, many existing scholarships on the relations of Chan and tea also take on the customary use of “Chan-tea”. For instance, Guan Jianping edited a conference volume on the study of Chan-tea culture: Chan-tea: History and Reality (Chancha: lishi yu xianshi 禪茶: 历史与现实), which consistently applied the term Chan-tea. Shu Man’s article “A review on the “Chan-tea sense-sharing” (“Chancha yiwei”zongshu “禅茶一味” 综述)
also analysed “Chan-tea sense-sharing” (Chancha yiwei 禪茶一味) and provided her interpretation of the term.¹⁵

However, tracing Chan in tea history, the presence of tea in Chan history, or the encounter of the two in related records, the connections between Chan and tea are hardly of an essential or doctrinal nature regardless of the abundant records that contain both tea and Buddhism. Although there are many pre-modern sources suggesting an association of Chan and tea, the very term Chan-tea is more of a creation of modern discourse with selected evidence of relevant historical implications of an association of Buddhism and tea. Furthermore, there is technically no agreed definition of Chan-tea. In order to provide a better understanding of Chan-tea, this chapter will examine the association of Buddhism and tea of all kinds, including distant involvements and close connections, in pre-modern and modern Chinese contexts; and then reflect on the process of conceptualisation of Chan-tea as an inseparable bond. In other words, I will trace the construction of Chan-tea culture (how and why) before deconstructing the myth of Chan-tea and further investigate the functions of tea in medieval Chinese Buddhism.¹⁶ Firstly, I will collate scattered primary sources that implicate Chan-tea relations, including both the most frequently quoted in current scholarly works that has shaped today’s understanding of Chan-tea, and the least exposed under an academic spotlight. I will analyse the Chan-tea relations and the function of tea within these texts. In the meantime, I will re-house the primary sources that used to be wrongly or roughly taken to support certain claims on Chan-tea connections by secondary sources and reflect their methods of selecting historical

¹⁵ Shu Man 舒曼, “‘Chancha yiwei’ zongshu” “禅茶一味”综述 [A review on the “Chan-tea sense-sharing”], Agricultural Archaeology 农业考古, no.5 (2013): 221-230.

evidence. The latter part of this chapter will investigate the modern discourse of Chan-tea connection, including the heated debate on modern Japanese nationalist discourse that tied Zen with various forms of arts like tea ceremonies.

1.1 The Definitions of “Chan-tea”

Rather than a term with a concrete definition, “Chan-tea” has been more of an umbrella term for a range of expressions addressing the connections between tea and Chan, and even for Buddhist tea in general, without intentionally differentiating between their meanings in today’s academic or non-academic contexts. Commonly used terms include Chan-tea (chancha 禪茶/ seoncha 선차), tea-Chan (chachan 茶禅/ chazen 茶禅), “Chan and tea sense-sharing” (chancha yiwei 禪茶一味) and “tea and Chan sense-sharing” (chachan yiwei 茶禪一味/ chazen ichimi 茶禪一味/ chazen ichinyo 茶禅一如/ daseon ilmi 다선일미).

Even though scholars like Shu and He have discussed the connotations of each Chinese character in these terms and have traced their origins, no meaningful distinction of their definitions nor applications was indicated.

The Chinese character “Chan” 禪 has multiple layers of meanings and can refer to meditation (dhyāna), the concentration achieved through meditation (dhyāna-samādhi), or the Chan/ Zen/ Seon school of Mahāyāna Buddhism (chanzong 禪宗).
Dhyāna (chan 褓/ channa 禪那/ chanding 禪定/ jinglü 靜慮) and samādhi (sanmei 三昧/ ding 定) have been widely used in ancient Indian philosophy schools as well as the broader Asian Theravāda and Mahāyāna Buddhist traditions. They are the last two sequential phases of mind cultivation in the eight-stage Yoga practice, and are also the second component of the Theravāda threefold training (triśikṣā/ sanxue 三學) named “concentration” (samādhiṣikṣa/ ding 定), and the fifth rule of conduct in the six perfections of Mahāyāna (ṣad-pāramitā/ liudu 六度) named “meditation” (dhyāna/chanding 禪定). If the “Chan” in the Chan-tea association refers to this meditation method across Buddhist and non-Buddhist schools or to the attentive state of mind that is realised via this way of meditation, then what is its connection with tea? Does tea facilitate the process of dhyāna cultivation and achieve the goal of obtaining samādhi? Or if the “Chan” in the Chan-tea association refers to the Chan school, does the Chan school exclusively have certain doctrines or practices that centre around tea?

If the “Chan” in the Chan-tea connection refers to the meditation and concentration method, then, as this chapter illustrates, very few primary sources directly support the claim that tea plays an essential role that is doctrinally linked to Buddhist meditation, despite there being evidence of tea’s instrumental effect in keeping people awake and tea as an option of offering. However, the lack of primary

sources has not prevented various academic predictions on tea’s facilitating function to Buddhist meditation on a doctrinal level. Venerable Guangquan defined Chan-tea as the monastic tea that is used by monks to transmit the meanings and the realm of meditative concentration, and emphasised that the core of Chan-tea is to practice liturgy and realise the creed while the quality and techniques of tea and tea wares did not matter.\textsuperscript{23} Lai Shen-Chon proposed that tea was likely to be used as expedient means for the Chinese Tiantai Buddhist contemplation, although he also acknowledged that no direct Chan-tea connections were previously made by Tiantai masters.\textsuperscript{24} Lai Shen-Chon interpreted that the chemical function of tea-drinking in keeping people awake facilitates the adaptation of diets, sleep, body, breath and heart, which is the meditative and contemplative method proposed by the Tiantai master Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597); While the smell and taste of tea guides to satipatthana, the Transparent Zen Meditation (Tongming guan 通明觀) and the Conscious Samādhi (Jueyi sanmei 覺意三昧).\textsuperscript{25} Beyond sharing Lai’s view on Chan-tea doctrinal connections in Tiantai Buddhism, Wu Chin-Yi contended that the association of tea and meditative practice in Japanese and Korean was borrowed from the Chinese Tiantai tradition, since Japanese monks Saichō’s 最澄 (767–822) and Myōan Eisai/Yōsai 明菴栄西 (1141–1215) and Korean monk Uicheon 義天 (1055–1101) visited the Tiantai Mountain and brought tea seeds, tea offering rituals along with Tiantai Buddhism back to their homelands.\textsuperscript{26} On the other hand, Yang Huinan argued that the doctrinal concern on

\textsuperscript{24} Lai Shen-Chon 賴賢宗, “Yise yixiang wufei zhongdao: chachan yu zhiguan chanxiu” 一色一香無非中道：茶禪與止觀禪修 [The trivial embodies the middle way: the Chan-tea connection and Buddhist contemplation], \textit{Investigation of Culture}, no.73 (2013):1-19.
\textsuperscript{25} Lai Shen-Chon, 1-19.
\textsuperscript{26} Wu Chin-Yi, “Tiantaizong yu chachan de guanxi”, 261-289.
Chan and tea only started from the Japanese monks Murata Jukō’s 村田珠光 (1423–1502) and Takeno Jōō 武野紹鴎 (1502–1555) without Chinese precedents. Yang contended that Chinese tea ceremonies traditionally emphasised on the techniques of tea-making which could be evidenced in the tea monographs and tea poems in medieval era, and mentioned tea was substitutable with meal in Chan monastic ritual without further analysis; while he argued that Japanese tea ceremonies focused on tea’s facilitation to Buddhist awakening. I agree with the view that there is hardly any evidence of a direct Chan-tea bond in pre-modern Chinese sources, but I doubt if the Tiantai use of tea would lead to a spiritual or ritual Chan-tea bond as interpreted by Lai and Wu. I am in agreement with Yang’s point that tea is a substitutable element in Buddhist rituals, however, this thesis finds that there were sophisticated rules of substitution, combination and omission of the tea ritual element, which will be elaborate in Chapter 2. As to whether a doctrinal Chan-tea bond was started in Japan as Yang proposed, I will discuss the issue more in the third section on modern Chan-tea discourse in this chapter. For now, this thesis will not proceed with this definition of “Chan” in Chan-tea as a meditative method.

If the “Chan” in the Chan-tea connection refers to the Chan school of Buddhism, then firstly this “Chan” has been widely referred to as the Chan school in many scholarly works; and secondly, in contrast to the lack of historical records that tea doctrinally assists Buddhist meditation, there are a vast amount of Chinese hagiographies of Chan masters and Chan monastic regulations proclaiming tea as a component of monastic life in the Chan school. Shu Man proposed that the Chan-

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28 Yang, 247-274.
tea sense-sharing was a Chan Buddhist proposition to give up the idea of self and merge with all beings in the world. Shu emphasised that it was the Chan school of Buddhism could merge with tea was because Chinese Chan Buddhism was inclusive to indigenous cultural and religious elements, as evidenced by its adoption of Confucianist and Daoist thoughts. Cai Zhenchu contended that tea was applied to facilitate awakening by Chan Buddhist masters, including Monk Zhaozhou, Yuanwu Keqin, Eisai and Murata Jukō. Similarly, Shen Dongmei emphasised the public case of Monk Zhaozhou’s tea to the Chan-tea bond in her analysis of the tea records in the Record of the Transmission of Lamp (Jingde chuan deng lu 景德傳燈錄, c.1004–1007) and proposed that tea was widely used by Chan masters in monastic farms, daily drinks and the facilitation of awakening. Even though the scholarships above did not name the way of awakening in concern, the awakening through dialogues and riddles was meant to be sudden awakening, which was a different method than the gradual awakening suggested in the former definition of Chan as a meditative method.

Considering the lack of primary sources for the former definition of “Chan” as the meditation method in a medieval Chinese context and the dominating discourse which unfolded around the latter definition as Chan Buddhism, this thesis will focus on investigating the relationship between tea and the Chan school. In the following sections and the subsequent chapters, an understanding of how tea and Chan have been intertwined, the dynamic of tea’s roles in various situations, and a comprehension of “Chan” from this case of Chan-tea study institutionally, ritually, doctrinally, and culturally will be explicated.

30 Shu Man, “‘Chancha yiwei’ zongshu”, 221-230.
1.2 A Historical Reflection of the Association of Chan and tea

This section will collate and analyse the association of Buddhism and tea shown in pre-modern Chinese materials and the conclusions on Chan-tea relations and tea's functions that current scholarship has drawn from these historical materials.

The Meng Mountain (Mengshan 蒙山) in today’s Sichuan Province has been regarded as one of the origins of Chinese tea in many scholarly works, as it traces the association of Buddhism and tea to the Western Han (202 BCE–8 CE) and is considered the earliest record of monks growing tea in China.33 This story of tea-growing on the Meng Mountain has several versions. This section will start with the analysis of these stories concerning the origin of Buddhist tea.

One of the most popular versions of the story is from the Southern Song gazetteer the Record of Scenic Spots across the Country (Yudi jisheng 輿地紀勝) (c.1208-c.1227). It is recorded in the section of “the Daoist and Buddhist Matters” (xianshi 仙釋) of the chapter Yazhou 雅州 that a Western Han monk, who came to the Meng Mountain from Lingnan, grew tea on the mountain but later turned into a stone statue known as the Master Ganlu 甘露大師:

西漢時有僧從嶺表來，以茶實植蒙山，忽隱池中，乃一石像。今蒙頂茶擅名，師所植也，至今呼其石像為甘露大師。34

In Western Han, a monk came from Lingnan and grew tea on the top of the Meng Mountain. He suddenly disappeared into a pond and became a stone statue. Today’s famous high mountain tea from the top of the Meng Mountain was from the tea plants

34 Wang Xiangzhi 王象之, Yudi jisheng 輿地紀勝 [The record of scenic spots across the country], ed. Li Yongxian 李勇先 (Chengdu: Sichuan University Press, 2005), 4406.
grown by the monk, and today people still call the stone statue the Master Ganlu/Master Sweet Dew.

The most disputable part of this version is when the monk goes to the top of the Meng Mountain, “Western Han”. This is because it is commonly agreed that Buddhism was officially introduced to China during the reign of Emperor Ming of Han 漢明帝 (Reign 58–75 CE) in the Eastern Han (25–220 CE), who sent ambassadors to India to study Buddhism and established the first state Buddhist temple in China — the White Horse Temple (baima si 白馬寺) — in the Han capital Luoyang in 68 CE.35 Scholars such as Zhu Jifa, therefore, contended that it was impossible to have a Buddhist monk in Western Han China, which renders this story of Master Ganlu as unreliable.36 Yet, Hutchison proposed that the Master Ganlu could be one of the Indian missionaries sent by King Ashoka (Reign c. 268–c. 232 BCE) of the Maurya Empire (322–184 BCE) to spread the tenets of Buddhism.37 The Rock and Pillar Edicts of Ashoka do not support this proposition as they merely referred to the promotion of Dharma at the western borders and Greece; nevertheless, Hutchison’s conjecture could be supported by the 19 Ashoka stupas gifted by King Ashoka documented in the Dunhuang manuscript P.2977, Ji shengzhou sanbao gantonglu 集神州三寶感通錄, Guang Hongming ji 廣弘明集 and Fayuan Zhulin 法苑珠林.38

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35 Fan Ye 範曄, Houhan shu 後漢書 [Book of the Later Han], eds. Li Xian 李賢 etc. (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2012), 2922.
Another well-known version, written in greater detail, was found in a Qing-dynasty copy of the Southern Song obituary biography (xingzhuang 行狀) “the Obituary Biography of Master Ganlu” (Song Ganlu zushi xiang bing xingzhuang 宋甘露祖師像並行狀, 1192 CE/ the third Shaoxi regnal year 紹熙三年). It was written that a Song Buddhist monk named Wu Lizhen 吳理真, who had been reincarnated from Western Han, settled at the top of Mount Meng and grew seven tea plants.39

師由西漢出，現吳氏之子，法名理真。自嶺表來，住錫蒙山，植茶七株，以濟凡渴。元代京師旱，敕張、秦樞密二相，詔求雨濟時。師入定救旱，少頃沛澤大通。一日峰頂持錫穴橐井，忽隱化井中，侍者覓之，得石像。遂負井右，建以石屋奉祀。時值旱魃，取井水，霖雨即應。以至功名、嗣續、疾疫、災祥之事，神水無不靈感，是師功德有以遺之也。故邑進士喻大中，奏師功行及民，宋孝宗敕賜靈應甘露普慧妙濟菩薩遺像。40

The master was from the Western Han dynasty, and now takes on the form of a son of the Wu family with the dharma name Lizhen. He came from Lingnan and lived on the Mount Meng. He has grown seven tea plants to provide tea to thirsty wayfarers. At the beginning of the Southern Song, the capital suffered from drought and the emperor asked Minister (shumi) Zhang and Minister Qin to take charge of the rain prayer and to cope with the difficult time. The master meditated to fight with drought, and suddenly rain poured down and rivers flowed. One day, the master was drilling a well with his khakkhara on the mount top and suddenly disappeared into the well. His servant looked for him but only found a stone statue. Then the servant carried the statue to the right side of the well and built a stone shrine for worshipping the statue. In drought years, one takes water from the well and then rain follows. The sacred water was also efficacious for career achievements, childbirth, health and luck, the power of which resulted from the master’s good deeds. A local scholar official (jinshi) named Yu Dazhong informed the emperor of the master’s good deeds to the people. The Emperor Xiaozong of Song thus awarded the name “the Statue of the Sweet Dew

40 Liu Xihaì 劉喜海, Jin shi yuan 金石苑 [The realm of bronze and stone]. A scanned copy of the original at Harvard-Yenching Institute, Fascicle 6, Number 1.
Bodhisattva Who Spreads the Good and Helps with Wisdom” (ganlu puhui miaoji pusa yixiang) to the stone statue.

This version of the story is probably a mythical account rather than a historical document, which contains substantial supernatural elements, such as reincarnation, summoning rain and turning into a stone statue. Still, there are more details of its historical context in this version, such as “Minister Zhang and Minister Qin”, “Emperor Xiaozong of Song” and the drought at the beginning of Southern Song, as well as details of its plots, including the time and reason of naming the statue Master Ganlu. Nevertheless, Zhu argues that as a proper obituary biography entails information like place of birth, family relations and chronological deeds, this story of the Master Ganlu does not meet the basic requirements of such a literary genre and is thus an unqualified and unreliable source. Naturally, it would be hard to fill in those details if the story itself is already a mythical tale.

The third version is from the chapter Mingchuan 茗荈 (c.968-c.970) of the notebook Qingyi lu 清異錄, written in the late Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period (907–979) and the beginning of the Northern Song (960–1127). Unlike the previous two versions, this earlier version does not mention the time that the monk came to the Meng Mountain, but simply describes a current Buddhist devotee without supernatural power growing tea and offering it to a bodhisattva.

吴僧樊川，誓願燃頂供養雙林傅大士。自往蒙頂結庵種茶。凡三年，味方全美。得絕佳者聖楊花、吉祥蕊，共不逾五斤，持歸供獻。43

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42 Tao Gu, “Mingchuan lu” 茗荈录 [A record of fine and rough teas], in Zhongguo gudai chashu jicheng 中國古代茶書集成 [A collection of tea books in ancient China], eds. Zhu Zizhen 朱自振 and Shen Dongmei 沈冬梅 (Shanghai: Shanghai Culture Press, 2010), 89.
43 Tao Gu, “Mingchuan lu”, 90.
The monk Fan Chuan from the Wu Kingdom swore to burn his head to serve the Mahāsattva Fu of the Shuanglin Temple. He went to the top of Mount Meng, settled there and grew tea. A few years later, his tea had a perfect taste. Then he harvested no more than five catties of his best teas, Shengyang Flower and Lucky Blossom, and brought them back as offerings.

Here the character “Wu” 吳 refers to the Wu Kingdom of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period rather than the monk’s surname, which can be surmised from the narrating habits of combining the place of origin and the status or name of a person in introducing historical figures in medieval Chinese writings. Even though this relatively plain version is not as frequently quoted as the previous two, it appears to be more plausible with realistic plots and concrete details. In this way, the constant attempts of tracing tea growing history back to the Western Han in the later works are likely to be fabricated to propagate the idea that this historic and extraordinary tea originated from the Mount Meng and to reinforce the superior position of this Tang-dynasty tribute tea (gongcha 貢茶) in the prosperous and competitive tea market of the Song dynasty, an era of nation-wide passion towards tea from emperor to commoner.44

The fourth version of the Meng Mountain tea’s story can be found in the Southern Song encyclopaedia Shilei fu 事類賦 (1146 CE/ the sixteenth Shaoxing regnal year 紹興丙寅). It claimed to be an excerpt of the missing work A Map of Tea (Cha pu 茶譜), written in the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period (907—960).

The narrative devoted a lengthy paragraph describing tea’s function in healing
diseases and prolonging longevity.\textsuperscript{45}

蜀之雅州有蒙山，山有五頂，頂有茶園，其中頂曰上清峯。昔有僧病冷且久。嘗遇一
老父，謂曰：“蒙之中頂茶，嘗以春分之先後，多構人力，俟雷之發聲，併手採摘，三
日而止。若獲一兩，以本處水煎服，即能祛宿疾；二兩，當眼前無疾；三兩，固以換
骨；四兩，即為地仙矣。”是僧因之中頂築室以候，及期獲一兩餘，服未竟而病瘥。時
到城市，人見容貌，常若年三十餘，眉毛緑色，其後入青城訪道，不知所終。今四頂
茶園，採摘不廢。惟中頂草木繁密，雲霧蔽虧，鷙獸時出，人跡稀到矣。今蒙頂茶有
霧鋑牙、籐牙，皆雲火前，言造於禁火之前也。\textsuperscript{46}

In Yazhou of the Shu Kingdom, there is a five-peaked range of mountains named the
Meng Mountain with tea plantations on the mount tops. The middle mount is called
Mount Shangqing. Once upon a time, a sick and freezing monk met an old man. The
old man told him: “The tea grown on the top of the middle mount of the Meng Mountain
is picked around the Spring Equinox. When thunder strikes, many people are gathered
to pick tea with both hands for several days. One tael of tea brewed with local water
can get rid of chronic diseases; two taels keep one healthy in the near future; three
taels transform one’s body; four taels make one an immortal in the human world.” The
monk then built a shelter on the top of the middle mount and waited to pick a tael or
two. His health was regained before he finished drinking. When he came into towns
occasionally, he always looked as young as in his thirties with dark eyebrows. Later,
he went to study on the Qingcheng Mountain, and no one has heard from him ever
since. Today the tea plantation on the top of the other four mounts are still flourishing.
Only the top of the middle mount is covered with grass and trees and is shadowed by
cloud and mist. Sometimes there are traces of birds and animals, and humans hardly
go there. Today’s Meng Mountain tea, including Wu Juan tea and Jian tea, are called
“before-fire tea”, which are made before the Cold Food Festival when fire-lighting is
banned.

\textsuperscript{45} Mao Wenxi 毛文锡, “Cha pu” 茶谱 [A map of tea], in Zhongguo gudai chashu jicheng 中国古代茶书集成 [A
collection of tea books in ancient China], eds. Zhu Zizhen 朱自振 and Shen Dongmei 沈冬梅 (Shanghai: Shanghai
Culture Press, 2010), 82.
\textsuperscript{46} Mao Wenxi, “Cha pu”, 82.
The hyperbole of the supernatural healing power in the tea from the Meng Mountain gives the narrative a sense of myth or folklore rather than as a solid historical record. This version also has not received much scholarly attention.

The tea-growing story of the Meng Mountain has pushed the association of Buddhism and tea back to the Western Han, although none of the extant sources can serve as solid evidence to support the claim. The constructed link of Buddhism and tea remains loose, as the only connection is that the social identity of the first tea grower is a monk with no more doctrinal or practical bonds between Buddhism and tea themselves. Besides, Chan has not been substantially differentiated from broader Buddhism to specifically tie-in with tea here.

Feng Yan's 封演 (jinshi 756 CE) depiction of a Chan master who led the nationwide fashion of tea-drinking during his popularisation of Chan teachings in the Tang notebook Fengshi wenjianji 封氏聞見記, has been frequently referred to as the first existing record of a Chan-tea bond. 47

The southerner loves drinking tea, but the northerner does not drink much at first. During the Kaiyuan regnal years, Master Xiangmo of the Lingyan Temple on the Tai Mountain was dedicated to Chan Buddhism. He studied Chan without sleep and did not eat after noon, both of which resulted from his tea-drinking habit. He brought tea with him and boiled and drank tea wherever he was. People imitated his acts and made


tea-drinking a fashion. In the towns of Zou, Qi, Cang and Di, all the way to the capital, shops were selling boiled tea and both monks and commoners were buying it.

A consistent conclusion that most scholars get from this story is that tea-drinking was spread nationwide along with the popularity of Chan Buddhism. 49 I agree that this is the main message that this excerpt conveys; however, as for the Chan-tea link, it is the story’s reflection on daily monastic life in which tea plays an essential part that makes the excerpt particularly valuable, rather than the record that people across China imitate the tea-drinking habit of a Chan master.

This story explicitly points out the effects of tea’s chemical properties in keeping one awake during Chan cultivation and its benefits when following a Buddhist diet which restricts eating after noon. As it is written in the Imperial Edition of the Baizhang Rules of Purity (Chixiu Baizhang qinggui 敦修百丈清規, 1336), “among all the Chan cultivation, sitting-meditation is the most important” (zhu xiuxing zhong, chanding weizui 諸修行中，禪定為最); sitting-meditation involves a large proportion of the Chan monastic cultivation, including morning convocation (zaocan 早參) and evening convocation (wancan 晚參). 50 Tea is utilised to keep monks awake and sober during the all-day-long sitting meditation. Moreover, as eating is not allowed after noon (bu feishi shi 不非時食) in Buddhist precepts, this is arguably part of the reason why monastic tea ceremonies are commonly held in the afternoon, where the monks are served this energy drink full of caffeine when strength cannot be provided by food. 51

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51 Hong Zan 弘贊, Gujie yaoji 歸戒要集 [The essentials of keeping precepts], in CBETA 漢文大藏經, X 1129, 3: 0691b07. Zongze 宗赜, Chanyuan qinggui 禅苑清規 [Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries], ed. Su Jun 苏军
不非時食者。謂不過日中燄嚼五穀瓜果等。若日過西一線。即名非時。經云。諸天早食。佛日中食。畜生日西食。鬼神夜食。今受八戒。斷六道因。學佛中食。以表中道。離二邊過故。52

“No eating at the wrong time” refers to not eating grains, melons or fruits after noon. Once the sun moves west, the time is wrong. It is written in the Ekottarika Āgama: The Deva-loka eats in the morning, the Buddha eats at noon, the Tiryagyoni eats after noon, and the Preta eats at night. As we have already decided to keep the eight precepts and get rid of the cause of reincarnation, we imitate the Buddha to eat at noon, to take the middle ground without going to extremes.

The pragmatic deployment of tea in giving physical stimulation during Chan cultivation can surely be counted as Chan-tea association, however it is worth noticing that this stimulating function of tea has also been used in other religions. For instance, Chajing 茶经 (c.760-c.775) records that the famous Daoist masters Danqiuzi 丹丘子 and Huangshanjun 黃山君 took tea as part of their Daoist diets (fushi 服食) for external alchemy (waidan 外丹) and for the cultivation of their bodies.53

It is written in Tao Hongjing’s work Zalu: Bitter tea makes the body light and refreshed. Both Danqiuzi and Huangshanjun have taken it.

Even though tea helps Chan meditation and diets, tea’s chemical function on human bodies has also been widely adopted in non-Buddhist and non-religious contexts, which proves that the medicinal effect of tea is not exclusively linked to Chan but also bond tea and other religious practices.

52 Hong Zan, Guijie yaoji, X 1129, 3: 0691b07.
54 Lu Yu, “Chajing”, 125.
The Chan-tea link that was claimed to originate with tea’s Buddhist awakening function, was started by the two Chan masters of the Jia Mountain (Jiashan 夾山), Jiashan Shanhuì 夾山善會 (805-881) and Yuanwu Keqin 圓悟克勤 (1063-1135), who are known as the founders of the theory “Chan and teasense-sharing” (Chancha yiwei 禪茶一味/ Chazen ichimi ちゃぜんいちみ 茶禅一味/ daseon ilmi 다선일미). The formulation of this term and its theoretical background are based on related hagiographical stories of the two masters and their academic interpretations and will be further explained in the next section of the Chan-tea definition. In this section, I will focus on the actual stories and their interpretations that bring them under the spotlight of Chan-tea connection.

The scene of Shanhuì giving tea to his attendant from the Chan masters’ teaching dialogues is widely quoted in secondary works that address the theory “Chan and tea sense-sharing”. It was recorded that when Shanhuì was about to give a bowl

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Akizuki Ryōmin 秋月龍珉, Chanhai zhenyan 禪海珍言 [The treasured words in the Chan canons], trans. Wang Zhengqi 汪正求 (Guilin: Lijiang Publishing Limited, 1991), 4-5. This Chinese translation Chanhai zhenyan has frequently been quoted by Chinese academic works as a representative of Japanese scholarly views on the origin of “Chan and teasense-sharing”, i.e. Lei’s and He’s articles above. However, this translation has not specified the publication information of the original text and no related works by Akizuki Ryōmin has been found. The other existing Chinese translation is a partial translation of three pages, served as a chapter named “Chanhai zhenyan (san ze)” in Mingshan fojiao wenhua 名山佛教文化, does not reveal its original source nor its translator. Akizuki Ryōmin 秋月龍珉, “Chanhai zhenyan (san ze)” 禪海珍言（三則）[The treasured words in the Chan canons (an excerpt of three anecdotes)] in Mingshan fojiao wenhua 名山佛教文化 [The Buddhist culture of famous mountains], eds. Shi Liaowen 释了文 and Zhu Feng’ao 朱封鷗 (Shanghai: Shanghai Bookstore Publishing House, 2017), 2-4.

of tea to his attendant, he suddenly withdrew his hand and asked the attendant what was in the bowl:

師吃茶了，自烹一椀，過與侍者。侍者擬接，師乃縮手。曰：“是什麼？”侍無對。57

After the master finished drinking his tea, he made a bowl of tea himself and was about to hand it to the attendant. The attendant was hesitant to take the tea. Then the master withdrew his hand and asked the attendant: “what is it?” The attendant did not have an answer.

This series of acts was seen as deploying tea to convey an obscure message for Chan enlightenment, even though no commentaries or further interpretations have specified what the message is, how the message could be delivered, or what role that tea plays in this riddle.58

There are also scholars who regard other parts of Shanhui’s hagiography as pointing to the Chan-tea connection.59 It was recorded in the Anthology of the Patriarchal Hall (Zutangji 祖堂集, 952) that a visiting monk, Fori 佛日, from the Tiantai Guoqing Temple 天台國清寺, initiated a series of questions and answers on obtaining the bodhi, including the famous discussion of the intentions of tea and the realm of Jianshan (Jiashan jing 夾山境).60

師令大眾钁地次，佛日傾茶與師。師伸手接茶次，佛日問：“釅茶三兩碗，意在钁頭邊。速道，速道。”師云：“瓶有盂中意，藍中幾個盂？”對曰：“瓶有傾茶意，藍中無一盂。”師曰：“手把夜明符，終不知天曉。”

羅秀才問：“請和尚破題。”師曰：“龍無龍軀，不得犯於本形。”秀才云：“龍無龍軀者何？”師云：“不得道著老僧。”秀才曰：“不得犯於本形者何？”師云：“不得道著境地。”

又問：“如何是夾山境地？”師答曰：“猿抱子歸青嶂後，鳥銜花落碧巖前。”座主出來便問：“洞明三教底人，還通此理也無？”師曰：“夜月明珠，不如天曉。”又問：“等、妙二覺底人，還通此理也無？”師云：“金雞玉兔，不墮漁父之手。”座主曰：“此意如何？”師云：“句中無法，意不度人。”座主曰：“步步踏蓮花，猶是今時昇降。螺髻向上事，乞師一言。”師云：“鐵牛無聲，不用聞之。”

The master asked everyone to participate in hoeing soil. Fori poured tea for the master. The master stretched out his hand and took the tea. Fori asked: “Two or three bowls of strong tea. Their meaning lies beside the hoe. Tell me, tell me.” The master said: “The bottle (of hot water) wants to be in the bowl. How many bowls in the basket?” Fori answered: “The bottle (of hot water) wants to pour (to make) tea. There are no bowls in the basket.” The master said: “Have a night-glow fob in hands. Do not know the fall of dawn”.

Scholar Luo asked: “Master, please explain the question.” The master answered: “A dragon without a dragon’s body cannot meet its own shape.” The scholar said: “What is a dragon without a dragon’s body?” The master said: “An old monk who does not obtain the bodhi.” The scholar said: “What is one who cannot meet its own shape?” The master said: “A realm that the bodhi is not obtained.”

Then (the scholar) asked: “What is the realm of the Jia Mountain?” The master answered: “The ape returns behind the teal screen of mountains with fruits in its hands; the bird rests in front of blue cliffs with flowers in its mouth.” The Chief Seat came out and asked: “Do the buddhas understand (the realm of the Jia Mountain)?” The master said: “The moon and the glowing fob at night cannot compare with the dawn.” Then (the Chief Seat) asked: “Do the bodhisattvas of the rank Dengjue and Miaojue understand (the realm of the Jia Mountain)?” The master said: “Golden chickens and jade rabbits do not fall into the hands of fishermen.” The Chief Seat said: “What

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61 Jing and Yun, Zutangji, 259-260. B 0144, 7: 0431a02.
62 There are fifty-two ranks of bodhisattva. The *dengjue* 等覺 and the *miaojue* 妙覺 respectively refer to the Rank 51 and the Rank 52, which are the highest status of bodhisattva and their level of bodhi is close to a buddha’s. Zhi Xu 智旭, *Fanwongjing xuanyi* 梵網經玄義 [The profound knowledge of the Brahmajāla Sūtra]. X 0693, 1: 0613a18-c09. Pramiti 般剌蜜帝, *Dafoding shoulengyanjing* 大佛頂首楞嚴經 [The Śūraṅga Sūtra]. T 0945, 8: 0142c18-21.
does this mean?” The master said: “There is no dharma in a sentence. There are no meanings that can be passed to a person.” The Chief Seat said: “Step by step walking on lotus, now is a magnificent moment of ups and downs. As to the matter of growing an uṣṇīṣa, please give a piece of advice.” The master said: “Iron oxen do not speak. There is no need to listen.”

Still, not much interpretation has been provided in the academic works that have fully or selectively quoted this part of the Shanhui’s story. Cai interpreted the story as Shanhui understood the realm of Jiashan via the understanding of tea without further elaboration. Lei speculated that the mysterious natural and cultural environments of the Jia Mountain have facilitated the comprehension of tea and Chan. It is true that this enlightening dialogue on Chan cultivation started with tea wares’ implicit innuendo of the methods to obtain the bodhi, as the Scholar Luo 羅秀才 asked the master to explain the tea ware conversation and the master directed the audience to Chan awakening. However, there is no evidence that tea is especially selected to fulfil the awakening function. Choosing tea as the start of the dialogue can be either deliberate or random, which does not allow enough evidence to say if there is a Chan-tea association here.

Moreover, in the counterparts of this excerpt in the Jingde Record of the Transmission of the Lamp (Jingde chuandenglu 景德傳燈錄, 1004) and the Five History Books on Chan Quotations (Wudeng huiyuan 五燈會元, 1252), the conversation on tea wares between Fori and Shanhui as well as the character of the Scholar Luo and the master’s explanation on the question is absent in these Chan

64 Cai, “Chachan lun”, 22.
histories. Instead, the notion of the realm of the Jia Mountain is raised without foreshadowing. However, the Jingde Record of the Transmission of the Lamp has a biographical entry for the Monk Hangzhou Fori 杭州佛日和尚 and recorded his “tea ware conversation” with Shanhui under that entry without mentioning the realm of the Jia Mountain.

Another Chan master of the Jia Mountain Yuanwu Keqin 圆悟克勤/ Engo Kokugon 圓悟克勤, is one of the most influential figures in Chinese and Japanese tea history, with many contemporary scholarly works dedicated to the master. His work the Blue Cliff Record (Biyanlu 碧岩録/ Hekiganroku 碧巌録, 1125) has been regarded as “the most important works of Chan Buddhism” (Zongmen diyishu 宗門第一書/ Shūmon daiichi no sho 宗門第一の書), which is named after the abbot’s office of the Jia Mountain Biyan 碧巖.

This Linji Chan classic documents Yuanwu’s annotations and commentaries on the 100 Verses on Old Cases (Songgu baize 頌古百則/ Setchō juko 雪竇頌古), a hundred kōans collected by the Yunmen Chan master Xuedou 雪窦禪师.
Chongxian 雪竇重顕/ Setchō Jūken 雪竇重顕 (980–1052).\(^{70}\) Twelve of these \(kōan\)s are about the Monk Zhaozhou and his saying “go and drink tea” appear nineteen times in the whole book.\(^{71}\)

The constant emphasis of the magnitude of Yuanwu Keqin in Chan-tea history mainly results from a piece of Yuanwu’s calligraphy that Ikkyū Sōjun 一休宗純 (1394–1481) bestowed to Murata Jukō 村田珠光 (1423–1502), which has been regarded as one of the sacred origins of Japanese tea ceremony.\(^{72}\) It had been rumoured that this piece of Yuanwu’s calligraphy reads “tea and Chan are one”, but it was later proven to be the first half of the certificate issued by Yuanwu to recognise the level of Buddhist cultivation for his disciple Huqiu Shaolong 虎丘紹隆/ Kukyū Jōryū 虎丘紹隆 (1077–1136 CE).\(^{73}\) This calligraphy piece is known as “Floating Yuanwu” (\(Nagare Engo\) 流れ 圜悟) or “The certificate of Buddhist spiritual achievement for Huqiu Shaolong” (\(Kukyū\)

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Jōryū ni ataru inkajō (與虎丘紹隆印可狀) and is now kept at the Tokyo National Museum (See Image 1).  

Image 1: Certificate of Buddhist Spiritual Achievement

有祖已來，唯務單傳直指，不喜帶水拖泥、打露布、列窠窟鈍置人。蓋釋迦老子，三百餘會，對機設教，立世垂範，是故最後徑截省要，接最上機。雖自迦葉二十八世，少示機關，多顯理致，至於付受之際，靡不直面提持。如倒剎竿，盌水投針，示圓光相，執赤幡、把明鏡，說如鐵橛子傳法偈，達磨破六宗，與外道立義，天下太平，番轉我天爾狗，皆神機迅捷，非擬議思惟所測。洎到梁游魏，尤復顯言，教外別行，單傳心印，六代傳衣，所指顯著。逮曹溪大監，詳示說通宗通。歷涉既久，具正眼大解脫宗師，變革通塗，俾不滯名相，不墮理性言說，放出活卓卓地，脫灑自由，妙機遂見，行棒行喝，以言遺言，以機奪機，以毒攻毒，以用破用。所以流傳七百年來，枝分派別，各擅家風，浩浩轟轟，莫知紀極。然鞠其歸著，無出直指人心；心得既明，無絲毫隔礙，脫去勝負、彼我、是非、知見、解會，透到大休、大歇、安穩。  

74 Engo Kokugon 圓悟克勤, Inkajō 印可狀 [Certificate of Buddhist spiritual achievement], 北宋時代 宣和6年 (1124 CE), one hanging scroll, ink on paper, 43.9×52.4cm, Tokyo National Museum, Tōkyō, https://webarchives.tnm.jp/imgsearch/show/C0008430.
As it is written in the scroll’s handwriting “Shaolong has a Buddha’s ambition… hereby to certify” (有紹隆佛祖志氣…始可印證), this piece of writing is Shaolong’s certificate of Buddhist spiritual achievement. Recently, Song Shilei also raises concerns that the Chan-tea connection may not be derived from the “Floating Yuanwu”. Instead, Song proposes that there are three extant calligraphy works of Yuanwu in Japan and it is still unknown which of these works has inspired the idea of “tea and Chan are one”. Therefore, the Chan-tea bond here is affiliated to the transmission of tea mastery and Buddhist teachings along a strict master-disciple lineage, signified by passing-on the calligraphy of a famous Chan ancestor to recognised disciples of the next generation.

Despite a large quantity of academic works drawing on the Chan-tea link from Buddhist masters’ stories, some scholars view this issue from the perspective of Chinese Buddhist monastic regulations. Tanaka, Liu and Benn contextualise monastic tea along with other monastic and secular drinks in the wider Song society and argue that tea is only one of a number of decoctions that are commonly deployed in and outside the Song monasteries. Narikawa and Stevenson have written on the

76 Song Shilei, “Yuanwu Keqin shoushu le ‘chachan yiwei’ ma: jiantan Zhuguang guaju moji de chuancheng puxi”, 236-244.
77 Song Shilei, “Yuanwu Keqin shoushu le ‘chachan yiwei’ ma: jiantan Zhuguang guaju moji de chuancheng puxi”, 236-244.
seasonal rituals in monastic regulations as well as the influences of Chinese culture and society that shaped these ritual regulations.\textsuperscript{79} Both works involve a few tea rituals without discussing the tea element in particular.\textsuperscript{80} Guan introduces tea rituals in Chinese monastic regulations as an independent research entity in his article.\textsuperscript{81} However, not much analysis follows his quotations on his sole source of regulations the \textit{Imperial Edition of the Baizhang Rules of Purity}, nor do enough explanations support his conclusion that Chinese Buddhist tea rituals are highly frequently-used, formalised, ritualised, professionalised and secularised.\textsuperscript{82} Sohn proposes to apply functionalist ritual theory in understanding monastic tea rituals but ends up repeating tea's functions in keeping one awake and maintaining a stable mind.\textsuperscript{83}

Despite scholarly works on monastic tea in particular, translations, annotations and commentaries of monastic regulations are insightful in forming a comprehensive idea of how the tea rituals were situated in the entire set of principles in monastic regulation. Many scholars including Fukushima, Fritz and Ichimura, focus on the Yuan national monastic code the \textit{Imperial Edition of the Baizhang Rules of Purity}.\textsuperscript{84} Other


\textsuperscript{82} Guan Jianping, “'Chixiu Baizhang qinggui' yu fojiao chali”, p.72-90.


regulations have also been translated, like Yifa’s translation and annotation of the *Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery* (*Chanyuan qinggui* 禪苑清規, 1103) and Foulk’s introductory article on the monastic manual the *Daily Life in the Assembly* (*Ruzhong riyong* 入眾日用, 1209).\(^85\)

So far, this chapter has analysed the historical records pointing to the Chan-tea bond, from the early myth of a Buddhist monk firstly growing tea in China to tea’s medicinal effect in maintaining good health and keeping awake, to the master-disciple awakening dialogues which unfolded around tea and the sophisticated regulation on monastic tea rituals. The multifunction of tea was self-evident in these Chinese Buddhist materials as well as in past scholarly works. However, despite the chemical effect of tea, how tea functions in an essential Buddhist context like monasteries remains unclear. What are these functions that root tea in Chan and Chinese Buddhism? The next section will unveil the construction of the modern discourse of Chan-tea before the following chapters investigate tea’s functions that empowered the association of Chan and tea.

### 1.3 A Modern Discourse of the Association of “Chan-tea”\(^86\)

Despite the various Chinese historical records indicating a connection of Chan and tea, this thesis has found that an intentional focus on the bond of “Chan-tea” started sometime around the Edo period (1603 – 1867) in Japan.\(^87\) In the 20\(^{th}\) century, Western academia famously debated on the interplay of Zen, Japanese nationalism,

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\(^86\) The modern era in this chapter refers to post-Yuan China, generally from the mid 14\(^{th}\) century to present.

and Japanese culture, which included the Zen-tea culture. The debate was agitated as Japanese intellectuals had introduced Japanese Zen culture to the Western world as a unique or even superior culture. This section will reflect on this modern construction of the Chan-tea discourse as well as tea’s functions in these contexts.

In the 20th century, Japanese intellectuals represented by Okakura Kakuzō 岡倉天心 (1863-1913; author of The Book of Tea, 1906), D. T. Suzuki 鈴木大拙貞太郎 (1870-1966; author of Zen and Japanese Culture, 1938) and Hisamatsu Shin’ichi 久松真一 (1889-1980; author of Zen and the Fine Arts, 1971), contended that Zen was about pure experience and Zen was integrated with various Japanese art forms. As for the Zen-tea connection, Suzuki argued that Zen and tea shared the same goal of simplification.

In wabi, aestheticism is fused with morality or spirituality, and it is for this reason that the teamasters declare the tea to be life itself and not merely a thing for pleasure, however refined this may be. Zen is thus directly connected with the tea; indeed, most ancient teamasters studied Zen in real earnest and applied their attainment in Zen to the art of their profession.

Hisamatsu viewed that the Zen aesthetic standard served as a guidance of tea ceremony.

The Zen aesthetic standard for the Way of Tea was wabi, a term that connotes poverty surpassing riches. In accordance with this Zen standard of wabi, which is at once a creative and self-expressive standard, the Way of Tea structured and gave form to an

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entire way of life, which was able to determine (konomu) its own resources... the Way of Tea is neither merely an art nor a cultural form, but is an integrated way of life with Zen as its basis.94

Many Western scholars disagreed on Zen’s mighty connections, such as John R. McRae who wrote that the popular idea of Zen shifted into “an attitude of undistracted concentration that can be applied to any human endeavour” and attributed it to Suzuki’s missionary success in promoting Japanese culture.95 Scholars today have historically reflected and examined this idea of Zen’s lofty connections in the context of modernisation and Westernisation since the Meiji period (1868-1912).96 A common conclusion was that, like Saito and Shigeta pointed out, Zen’s connections with various art forms were fallacious in reasoning and were constructed by the 20th century Japanese intellectuals to reaffirm national and cultural identity.97 On the other hand, Pitelka acknowledged the notion of “tea and Chan are one” (chazen ichimi) due to the mass monastic use of tea and the development of tea ceremonies since Sen no Rikyū 千利休 (also known as Sōeki 宗易, 1522-1591), but denied the connections of Zen Buddhism with tea wares, teahouses and gardens.98

With this awareness of the formation process of 20th century discourse on Chan-tea in mind, this section will analyse the primary materials since Edo Japan and Joseon (1392 – 1897) Korea pointing to the bond of “Chan-tea” as well as relevant

earlier texts on Buddhist tea, aiming to re-examine and supplement the sources that have dominated the stereotypical Chan-tea discourse.

It is also worth noting the status quo of current academic discussion on Chan-tea where some scholarly interpretations of Chan-tea were concluded from a mix of sources. A wide range of Japanese and Korean academic works attributed the Chan-tea connection to its Chinese origins, supported by Chinese Buddhist hagiographies and dialogues, literati poems or tea books. However, when it came to the promotion of tea as an integral path to Buddhist awakening, some works did not distinguish the new interpretation or development of the Chan-tea bond in Japan and Korea, from their ancient Chinese origins. For instance, Cai’s claim regarding Chinese Chan-tea that Chan and tea shared the same spirit of reverence and purity, turned out to be a Japanese re-creation proposed by Sen no Rikyū as recorded in the *Southern Record* (*Nanpōroku* なんぼうろく南方録, 1593; lost until found in 1686). These unsubstantiated uses of mixed sources make it hard to unveil Chinese Buddhist perceptions on tea. Therefore, below this section will return the scattered ideas of various origins to its own houses before unfolding my research on the Chan-tea connections in medieval China in the following chapters.

Even though in both Japan and Korea a long and magnificent history of tea-drinking has evolved since tea was introduced from Tang China as a fashionable drink...

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respectively in the 8th and 9th century, here I will only analyse the mainstream views that are related to the bond of Chan and tea, especially those that could be easily mixed with or mistaken to be medieval Chinese Chan-tea tradition. Below, I will analyse the Japanese and Korean Chan-tea relations in the perspectives of Chan as a meditative method and as a school of Buddhism.

Firstly, this section will investigate tea’s function in meditation and the obtainment of samādhi, which has been meticulously elaborated upon in Japanese and Korean sources, but there was lack of direct evidence of in medieval Chinese Buddhist traditions. As it was summarised in the Southern Record and the Zen Tea Record (Zencha roku ぜんちゃろく 禪茶録, c.1828), tea-making assimilated the message of Buddhist awakening and offered a platform to approximate the state of samādhi by concentrating on the tea-making process.

One of the most well-known styles of Japanese tea ceremony (chanoyu 茶の湯 / chasuki 茶数寄/ sadō 茶道) today is the “tea of simplicity” (wabi-cha 侘び茶), which was known as having been developed by the tea master with Zen (Chan) training Sen no Rikyū according to the Southern Record. The Chan-tea relation in wabi-cha was
that concentrating on the simplicity of tea preparation without desiring for exquisite objects took one to the path of Buddha and Bodhidharma.105

宗易の云、小座敷の茶の湯は、第一佛法を以て修行得道する事也。家居の結構、食事の珍味を楽とするは俗世の事也、家ハもらぬほど、食事ハ飢ぬほどにてたる事也、是佛の教、茶の湯の本意也、水を運び、薪をとり、湯をわかし、茶をたてて、佛にそなへ、人にもほどこし、吾ものむ。花をたて香をたく、ミなミな佛祖の行ひのあとを學ぶ也、なを委しくハわ僧の明めにあるべしとの給ふ106

Master Soeki replied: “In the style of the ‘tea of simplicity’, self-discipline and spiritual attainment are to be achieved, first of all, through the spirit of Buddhism. Taking pleasure in the imposing construction of the teahouse and in the rare delicacy of food is an affair of the mundane world. However, it is quite sufficient for a man to live in a house with a roof which does not leak and eat just enough to keep away hunger. This is nothing but the teaching of the Buddha, and accordingly [the essence of tea]. Carrying water into the house, gathering firewood, boiling water, making tea, offering it to the Buddha, giving it to one’s fellow-men and also drinking it himself. Arranging flowers and burning incense. All these are nothing other than a practice trying to follow the trace of the deeds of the Buddha himself and Bodhidharma. As for further elucidation of the significance of [tea], it depends on you, the most eminent monk, yourself to bring it to light.” 107

Similarly, it was written in the Zen Tea Record that chasing marvellous and expensive tearooms and competing tea wares collections were against the essence of tea

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105 Nanbō Sōkei, Nanpōroku, 3.
106 Nanbō Sōkei, Nanpōroku, 3.
107 Changed from the original translation “the essential spirit of the art of tea as well” to “the essence of tea”. Changed from “the art of tea” to “tea”. Nanbō Sōkei, "A Record of Nanbō" in The Theory of Beauty in the Classical Aesthetics of Japan, eds. Toshihiko Izutsu and Toyo Izutsu (Dordrecht: Springer Science+Business Media, 1981), 136-137.
ceremony — Zen (Chan) cultivation with mental concentration and the steadiness of heart. Before Rikyū fully developed the idea of wabi-cha, Murata Jukō (村田珠光, 1423–1502) already contended that the refinement of tea wares and the skills of tea-making did not make a difference in the progress of samādhi attainment. Instead, tea ceremonies should appreciate things as they were, although they might be imperfect, impermanent, and incomplete.

The wabi means that how to view the imperfection of things is entirely up to one’s own mind. The use of wabi and ji is seen in the commentary of the Lament (Li Sao): “the wabi means standing, the ji means stopping. One is worried and disheartened, stands still and is unable to move forward.” It is also recorded in the Manual of Buddhist Practices (Shishi yaolan): “The Sīṃhanāda bodhisattva asked: ‘What are the differences between having little desire and being content?’ The Buddha said: ‘People with little desire do not request nor take. People who are content do not regret or hate when getting little.’” Therefore, the word wabi means not feeling restricted when restricted, not feeling inadequate when inadequate, not feeling unlucky when unlucky. That is the heart of wabi. If perceiving restriction as restriction, inadequacy as inadequacy, and unluckiness as unluckiness, then they are not wabi but truly poor people.

108 Jakuan Sōtaku, Zencha roku, 292-293.
111 Jakuan Sōtaku, Zencha roku, 296-297.
Not only the fittings and decorations of tearooms had a humble role in an idealised tea ceremony of wabi-cha, but also social hierarchies and the profane distinction between host and guest.\(^{112}\) The one and only thing that matters should be the realisation of samādhi for everyone in the tearoom.

Therefore, the key to Chan-tea lies in persisting cultivation in walking, standing, sitting and lying, such daily practice without noticing. This is not a secret. To reach samādhi, there is no instructions but self-realisation. There are no other ways. This is the real tea that points out the way to concentrate on the Buddha’s path. As “guest and host” have laksana, adding “no” before “guest and host” is to make clear the principle of tea ceremony.

In this way, wabi-cha was utilised as a rebellion of the mass pursuit of luxurious tea wares imported from China, an opposition of social hierarchy, and most importantly an instrument to realise samādhi.\(^ {114}\) Then the next question is: how did tea function in the process of samādhi attainment?

Below, this section has collated Japanese and Korean sources and found that their proposed method to reach samādhi in the process of tea-making was via “concentration-contemplation” (śamatha-vipaśyanā/ zhiguan 止觀 / shikan しかん止観 / chigwan 지관 止観).\(^ {115}\) As it was explained in the Zen Tea Record, concentrating on

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113 Jakuan Sōtaku, Zencha roku, 309.
the tea wares in hands and every single movement during the preparation and tea making process, enabled one to reach a state of moving meditation.\textsuperscript{116}

点茶に禅意を写し、衆生の為に自已の心法を観せしむる茶道とは成り、故に、一切茶事にて行ひ用ふる所、禅道に異ならず\textsuperscript{117}

In tea-making, the essence of Chan is reproduced and offers a non-canonical approach for all beings' contemplation, in which the way of tea has accomplished. Therefore, the whole set of tea affairs is not differentiated with the way of Chan.

夫茶の原意は、器の善悪を擇ばず、點する折の容態を論せず、只、茶器を扱ふ三昧に入て、本性を観する修行なり、扱、茶事に託して自性を求むるの工夫は他にあらず、主一無適の一心をもって、茶器を扱ふ三味の義なり、設使、茶杓扱かはんとならば、其茶杓へのみ純ら心を打れてって余事を微も想はず、始終扱ふ事なり、又其茶杓を置時にも、前のことくに心を深く寄て置なり、是は茶杓に限らず、一切取扱ふ器物何れも右の意におなし、又其扱ふ器物を置きはてて、手を放ち曳時心はすこしも放たずして、次に扱ふとする他の器物へ其まま心を寄せ寫して、何處までも気を縦へず、形の如くにして點するを、気續立とは云り、只、茶三昧の行ひなり\textsuperscript{118}

The essence of tea is not about the quality of tea wares nor the performance of tea-making, but only holding tea wares in hands, concentrating to reach the state of \textit{samādhi} and contemplating one’s own nature. The key to the success of holding tea wares in hands and contemplating one’s nature is concentrating on managing tea wares. When using a teaspoon, focus on the teaspoon without thinking of anything else from the beginning till the end. When putting down the teaspoon, the teaspoon is still in the heart. Concentration is not limited to the teaspoon but applies to everything. Stay focused and keep thinking about the object even after putting it down. One day, when managing other objects, the heart should treat them with the same concentration. Tea-making flows like \textit{dharma}, which is tea \textit{samādhi}.

Body movement accompanied by intense concentration during the tea ceremony brought out \textit{śamatha-vipaśyanā} and facilitated the attainment of \textit{samādhi}.\textsuperscript{119} In this

\begin{table}
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\textsuperscript{116} Jakuan Sōtaku, \textit{Zencha roku}, 283. \\
\textsuperscript{117} Jakuan Sōtaku, \textit{Zencha roku}, 279. \\
\textsuperscript{118} Jakuan Sōtaku, \textit{Zencha roku}, 283. \\
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process, tea was an integral instrument of Chan, and the samādhi obtained with the help of tea ceremonies was called “tea samādhi” (chazanmai 茶三昧) here.\textsuperscript{120}

There were also Korean sources bearing the notion of “tea samādhi” (dasamme 다삼매 茶三味). However, the background and connotations of Korean “tea samādhi” did not entirely align with its Japanese counterpart. One of the earliest Korean materials mentioning tea samādhi was a literati poem. The Goryeo (918 – 1392) Chancellor Yi Gyubo’s (이규보 李奎報, 1168 – 1241) wrote in his poem “A visit to the Tianhe Temple and tea drinking • using Dongpo’s poetic rhyme” 遊天和寺飲茶•用東坡詩韻:\textsuperscript{121}

一筇穿破綠苔錢，驚起溪邊彩鴨眠。

賴有點茶三昧手，半甌雪液洗煩煎。\textsuperscript{122}

Bamboo stick pierced the emerald teacake.

Startled the vivid ducks who had slept along the river.

Thanks to the hands of tea-making samādhi.

Half a bowl of melted snow washed off worries.\textsuperscript{123}

The “hands of tea-making samādhi” (點茶三昧手) in the poem was more of a compliment to a skilful tea master than a meditative method during tea-making. According to the poem’s title, Yi Gyubo attributed his inspiration for this poetic rhyme to the famous Northern Song (960–1127) Chinese literati Su Shi 蘇軾 (also known as

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\textsuperscript{120} Jakuan Sōtaku, Zencha roku, 283.
\textsuperscript{123} Lin Ruixuan, “Hanguo chadao jiujiang”, 156-157.
Dongpo 東坡, 1037–1101). In Su Shi’s original poem “Dedicated to Master Qian of Nanping with Preface” 送南屏謙師並引, he wrote: 124

南屏謙師妙於茶事，自云得之於心，應之於手，非可以言傳學到者。十二月二十七日，聞軾游落星，遠來設茶，作此詩贈之。

Master Qian of Nanping is an expert on tea. He claimed that he learned it by heart, mastered the handling of it, and could not convey the mastery by words. On the 27th of the 12th month of the Chinese calendar, he heard that it was my birthday and came from far away to make tea. This poem is made for him.

道人曉出南屏山，來試點茶三昧手。
忽驚午盞兔毛斑，打作春瓮鵝兒酒。
天台乳花世不見，玉川風腋今安有。
先生有意續茶經，會使老謙名不朽。 125

The master left the Mountain Nanping in the morning.
Travelled here to display the hands of tea-making samādhi.
Startled by the Jian-kiln rabbit-fur tea bowl.
Whisked tea as if good wine in a wine cup.
The Tiantai miracle of creamy foam in tea offerings has disappeared.
The pure tea that could lighten the body cannot be found.
I would like to supplement the Classic of Tea.
To make people remember the name of Mater Qian.

The expression of “hands of tea-making samādhi” in Su Shi’s poem still focused on praising the-tea-making skill but had a strong indication of its Tiantai influence, as the

125 Su Shi, “Song Nanping Qian shi bingyin”, 489. 落星(一作寿星); 试(一作施); 毛(一作毫); 先生(一作东坡).
poem set the “Tiantai miracle of creamy foam in tea offering” (*Tiantai ruhua* 天台乳花) as a past model for great tea and as the owner of the “hands of tea-making *samādhi*” Master Qian of Nanping was historically identified as the Tiantai master Nanping Fanzhen / Master Zhenqian 南屏梵臻/臻谦法师 (died in 1103).\(^{126}\)

The Joseon Seon (Chan) Master Cho-ui 초의草衣 (also known as Jang Ui-sun 장의순 張意恂, 1786–1866), reputed as the “Saint of Korean Tea”, Cho-ui adapted the expression “hands of tea-making *samādhi*” in in his work the *Ode to Eastern Tea* (*Dong da song* 동다송 東茶頌) and wrote “absorbing the dew at clear nights, the hands of *samādhi* produced splendid fragrance” (吸尽瀼瀼淸夜露 三昧手中上奇芬).\(^{127}\) Many scholars contend that Master Cho-ui proposed *śamatha-vipaśyanā* as the way for Seon (Chan).\(^{128}\) Yi Pil-suk interpreted Cho-ui’s application of *śamatha-vipaśyanā* into the Chan-tea bond as:

> When viewing the cultivation of “concentration-contemplation” and the practice of “Chan and tea are one”, the heart may stop trembling and the two are unified into concentration-contemplation practice. This heart contemplating the water in the teacup is the concentration practice. Drinking the clear water in the teacup is the contemplation practice.\(^{129}\)

Even though no record of Cho-ui directly naming *śamatha-vipaśyanā* in tea-related activities apparently exists, it was likely that Cho-ui combined the meditative method and tea-making, as the “hands of tea-making *samādhi*” indicated strong Cheontae

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126 Shu Man 舒曼 and Sun Lili 孙丽丽, “Su Dongpo bixia de ‘diancha sanmei shou’ ‘Nanping Qian shi’ tanjiu” 苏东坡笔下的“点茶三昧手” “南屏谦师”探究 [Probe into “Whisked Tea Master” and “Nanping Master Qian” Written by Su Shi], *Agricultural Archaeology* 农业考古, no.2 (2021): 122-130.


(Tiantai) origin and the śamatha-vipaśyanā centres the teachings of Cheontae (Tiantai) Buddhist school.

From the examination of Japanese and Korean source on the role of tea in the meditative chan and the attainment of samādhi, I found that tea-making offered a platform for Buddhist concentration and contemplation. The śamatha-vipaśyanā was commonly described as the meditative method to attain samādhi in tea-making, while the nuances of śamatha-vipaśyanā/zhiguan and dhyāna/chan were not intentionally differentiated.

Secondly, this section will only briefly reflect from a historical perspective on the relations of tea and the practice and doctrine of Chan Buddhist school in medieval Japan and Korea, mainly based on Chan monastic regulations and hagiographies, but will not analyse these Chan-tea bonds in detail. This is because 1. the modern Chan-tea discourse has centred around the “tea of simplicity” (wabi-cha) rather than these earlier materials, 2. the Chan-tea connections drawn from these monastic regulations and hagiographies in current scholarship have hardly been mistaken to be medieval Chinese Chan-tea bond, and 3. Chan monastic practice and Chan teachings witnessed a certain degree of consistency in forms and content in the early spread of Chan Buddhism to Japan and Korea, and the Chan-tea relation within these contexts did not change disruptively during the medieval period.130 Besides, this thesis aims to study the medieval Chinese Chan-tea bond and will expand the analysis on Chinese monastic tea rituals and tea use in hagiographies in the next two chapters.

Japanese tea has been widely perceived to be closely linked to the Zen (Chan) school of Buddhism, as it is described in the *Records of Yamanoue no Sōji* (*Yamanoue no Sōjiki* やまのうえのそうじき, 1588) that “tea ceremony is derived from the Zen school of Buddhism. Monks are professionalised with it. Both Murata Jukō and Takeno Jōō are Zen Buddhist monks.”

Following Saichō’s initial attempt in introducing tea from China and growing tea in Japan, the Zen master Myōan Eisai further developed Japanese tea culture and composed the foremost Japanese tea monograph the *Record of Drinking Tea for Health* (*Kissa yōjōki* 喫茶養生記, 1211). In another of Eisai’s foundational works the *Promotion of Zen for the Protection of the Country* (*Kōzen gokokuron* 興禅護国論, 1198), he referred to the Northern Song Chinese Chan monastic regulation —— the *Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery* (1103) —— on matters of ordination and precepts enactment, indicating an impact of the Song Chinese Chan regulation to Japanese Zen monastic guidance. Despite this, Eisai focused on prayers and the protection of the country in this guide and added sections to regulate Tendai and Esoteric Buddhist monasteries.

Later, within the framework of the *Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery* (1103), a series of rules of purity evolved in medieval Japan, including the *Eihei Rules of Purity* (*Eihei shingi* 永平清規, 1237-1249), the *Enichisan Old Rules of Purity/ Tōfukuji Rules*

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131 Murata Jukō (村田珠光, 1423–1502 CE) and Takeno Jōō (武野紹鴎, 1502–1555 CE) are the founders of Japanese tea ceremony. Furuta Shōkin 古田紹欽, *Chanoyu no kokoro: Chazen ichimi no sekai* 茶の湯の心：茶禅一味の世界 [The heart of the way of tea: the world of “tea and Chansense-sharing”] (Kyōto: The Institute for Zen Studies, 1999), 31.


of Purity (Enichisan ko shingi 慧日山古清規/ Tōfukuji shingi 東福寺清規, 1318), the Keizan Rules of Purity (Keizan shingi 瑩山清規, 1324) and the Daikan Rules of Purity (Daikan shingi 大鑑清規, 1327-1332). These rules of purity were mainly composed by Japanese monks who studied in Southern Song (1127 – 1279) China, like Eihei Dōgen (永平道元, 1200-1253, author of the Eihei Rules of Purity) and Enni Ben'en 圓爾辯圓 (1202–1280, author of the Tōfukuji Rules of Purity), and Chinese monks who migrated to Japan like Qingzhuo Zhengcheng / Seisetsu Shōchō 清拙正澄 (1274–1339, author of the Daikan Rules of Purity). The tea rituals regulated in the rules of purity remained largely the same in their structures and contexts with their Chinese counterparts.

Thanks to abundant tea use in Chan awakening stories and dialogues in hagiographies, tea was also bonded to the Patriarchal Chan (zushi chan / soshi zen 祖師禪) in medieval Japan. Song Chinese public cases (gong'an / kōan 公案) collections, like the Blue Cliff Record and the Gateless Barrier (無門關; its author Wumen Huikai 無門慧開, 1183 – 1260), were extremely influential to Japanese Rinzai Zen practice. For instance, the public case of Monk Zhaozhou’s tea (as mentioned in the introduction) was frequently quoted by Japanese monks, and Seisetsu Shūcho 誠拙周樗 (1745-1820) has even developed the concept of “having tea is not having tea” (chamucha 茶無茶) from Monk Zhaozhou’s ultimate answer of “go to drink tea”.


136 Teng Jun, Zhongri chawenhua jiaoliushi, 105-110.

137 Suzuki Daisetz 鈴木大拙, “Cha to zen” 茶と禪 [tea and Chan], in Zen no kōza. dai 6 maki 禪の講座.第 6 巻 [Chan lectures. vol.6], eds. Inoue Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎 etc. (Tōkyō: Shunyodo, 1937-1939), 170-171.
chamucha blurs the dichotomy of “having tea” (yūcha 有茶) and “not having tea” (mucha 無茶) and indicates ceasing the calculation of taking and giving as well as the judgement of right and wrong is the “big way” (daidō 大道).\(^{138}\) Inheriting the Song Chan tradition of public cases, tea was taken to convey Zen teachings in hagiographies.

The interplay of tea and the Korean Seon (Chan) school of Buddhism started with records of tea offerings. For instance, it was written In the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms* (Samguk yusa 삼국유사 三國遺事, ca.1280 CE), that Master Chung-dam (승담사 忠談師, unknown) told the 35th King of Silla Gyeongdeok 경덕왕 景德王 (742–765) that he had regularly offered tea to Maitreya 미륵보살 彌勒菩薩 at the Mount Sam-hwa (삼화령 三花嶺), which suggests that tea had already been adopted as an offering to Buddhist deity in Silla.\(^{139}\) Lin identified the Master Chung-dam was a Seon Buddhist master.\(^{140}\) I also find this theory plausible, since the Nine Mountain Schools (gusan 九山) of Seon Buddhism peaked and dominated Buddhism in late Unified Silla (668–935) and early Goryeo (918-1392).\(^{141}\) Later, modelling the Chinese rules of purity represented by the *Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery* (1103), Seon monastic tea rituals systematically enriched and developed a Korean style of Seon tea ceremony named the Noble Eightfold Path (paljeong 八正).\(^{142}\)

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\(^{138}\) Suzuki Daisetz, “Cha to zen”, 170-171.

\(^{139}\) Il-yeon 일연, *Samguk yusa* 삼국유사 三國遺事 [Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms], in CBETA 漢文大藏經, T 2039, 2: 0974b12.

\(^{140}\) Lin Ruixuan, “Hanguo chadao jiujiang”, 31-34.


\(^{142}\) Lin Ruixuan, “Hanguo chadao jiujiang”, 86-89.
1.4 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the historical sources and modern discourse of Chan-tea relationships and analysed tea’s functions in these contexts. First, this chapter investigated the definitions of “Chan” in the Chan-tea relation, discussed the options of its definition as a meditative method and a Buddhist school and decided to take the latter definition after reviewing related sources. Then, this chapter reflected the medieval Chinese sources indicating a connection of Chan and tea and found that tea functioned as an offering on the altar and a drug to stay awake and keep healthy. I also briefly examined existing scholarship on the Chan-tea in medieval Chinese monastic regulations and patriarchal Chan. Lastly, this chapter clarified that the doctrinal Chan-tea bonds that leads to a meditative and contemplative awakening were constructed in modern Japanese and Korean discourse, instead of deriving from medieval Chinese Buddhism. This chapter has provided background and rationale in investigating the Chan-tea relation and has cleared the way for further study by clarifying the vague impression of Chan-tea and rehousing the support sources. During this process, it has become evident that tea bridged Chan monastic practice and doctrinal teachings while facilitating trans-regional Buddhist development. It is, however, worthwhile digging deeper into the study of Chan-tea, which will shed light on these issues of broader influence.

In the next chapter, this thesis will unfold its analysis on tea’s functions in medieval Chinese Chan monastic tea rituals. Chinese monastic regulations/ rules of purity are a genre of source that has a vast quantity of materials but is underresearched compared to the studies of Chan histories and hagiographies. Chapter 2 will reconstruct a Chan monastic ritual system based on these regulations, before embedding the analysis of tea and tea rituals within the framework.
Chapter 2: Tea Rituals in Medieval Chinese Chan Monasteries

It is commonly known that medieval Chinese Chan monastic regulations/ rules of purity (qinggui 清規) recorded a large quantity of monastic tea rituals.\(^{143}\) However, due to its highly-formatted narratives and a lack of commentaries and cross-references, Chan monastic regulations remain somehow under-researched despite their cruciality in understanding Chan monastic practice.\(^{144}\) This chapter will reconstruct a Chan monastic ritual system with permutations of basic ritual units, such as directions, instruments, and prostrations, and analyse tea’s functions within this model of Chan monastic practice.

Much of the current scholarship take the records of tea rituals out of the monastic regulations when investigating the Chan-tea relation, and conclude that the vast number of sophisticated tea rituals indicate the significance of tea in Chan Buddhist monasteries.\(^{145}\) The problem of this methodology is that other monastic rituals were overlooked and their co-functioning with tea rituals was neglected, thus taking selective records of tea rituals as evidence inevitably affected the overall evaluation of tea rituals in monastic practice. In fact, other than tea, soup and medicine

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were also important components of monastic diets. By embedding the analysis of tea rituals in the entire monastic ritual system, this chapter will not only consider the roles of other rituals, but also include the interaction and collaboration of tea rituals with other rituals into the investigation of tea’s functions and tea’s relations with Chan Buddhism.

The establishment of Chinese Chan Buddhist school was known to be marked by the compilation of the Chan Monastic Regulations and Formats (Chanmen guishi 禪門規式), as Baizhang Huaihai (百丈懷海, 720-814) and/or his disciples started this genre of the rules of purity to regulate Chan monastic practice and institutionally distinguish Chan monasteries from general Buddhist residences. As the original book of the Chan Monastic Regulations and Formats was lost, the earliest extant rules of purity is the Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery (Chanyuan qinggui 禪苑清規, 1103). Unlike the traditional Buddhist canon of discipline (jielü 戒律, an umbrella term for sila, vinaya, pratimokṣa and uparakaṣa), the rules of purity were more of an instruction of monastic routines and ritual procedures, and its targeted readers were Buddhist monks who resided within the same monastery. Since there is hardly any


149 Considering there are merely ten extant pre-modern Chan rules of purity (seven from medieval China), and their content are highly consistent, this chapter generally treat the rules of purity as a group of source material,
documented evidence of monastic rituals that happened in the past or relics of Song-Yuan Chan monasteries left, studies of Chan monasteries so far have largely relied on these detailed manuals of ritual instructions. Therefore, this chapter will focus on the rules of purity in restoring the big picture of Chan monastic rituals, with the assistance of later Japanese commentaries on rules of purity and Japanese illustrations on Chan monasteries, such as Notes on Images and Implements from the Groves of Zen (Zenrin shōkisen 禅林象器箋, 1741) and Illustrations of the Five Mountains and the Ten Temples (Gozan jissatsu zu 五山十剎図, 1248).

This chapter highlights the fallacy in the method of selecting records of tea to claim a special Chan-tea connection in current scholarship; it will provide an overview of Chan monastic practice based on the obscure rules of purity and will analyse the roles of tea within that background of monastic practice from the perspectives of quantity and quality of tea rituals. Section 2.1 will introduce Chan monastic diets and embeds the statistical analysis of tea in the ritual system of monastic diets. Section 2.2 will showcase detailed procedure of a tea ritual and will compare a set of tea and soup rituals in the sangha hall on the Four Festivals.

and the institutional, regional and gender differences of monastic practice are beyond the scope of this study. Lao Zhengwu 劳政武, Fojiao jielü xue 佛教戒律学 [The studies of Buddhist discipline]. (Beijing: China Religious Culture Publisher, 1999), 3-5. Huang Kui, Zhongguo Chanzong qinggui 中國禪宗清規 [The studies of Buddhist discipline]. (Beijing: China Religious Culture Publisher, 1999), 3-5. Huang Kui, Zhongguo Chanzong qinggui 中國禪宗清規 [The studies of Buddhist discipline]. (Beijing: China Religious Culture Publisher, 1999), 3-5.


2.1 Tea in Chan Monastic Diets

Firstly, I will define the “tea rituals” in question here. In the rules of purity, there are ritual entries with words like “tea” (cha 茶) and “boiling and whisking” (jiandian 煎點), such as “the tea ceremony that the abbot holds for the new Chief Seat” 方丈特為新首座茶 and “the tea and soup ceremony hosted by the abbot” 堂頭煎點.\textsuperscript{152} This chapter will mainly focus on analysing these explicitly-named tea rituals. Meanwhile, it is worth noting that there are also rituals that entail tea-related activities but are not named in conjunction with tea or tea-making techniques, like “ascension to the seat and chanting on the emperor’s birthday” 聖節升座諷經 and “meetings with visiting honorary monks” 諸山尊宿相見.\textsuperscript{153} In the following data presentation of tea rituals, these rituals with tea elements are not included in the sample, because (a) the rituals are not tea-centred and (b) it is easier to categorise and compare rituals of tea, soup, medicine, meal, and congee according to ritual titles, as the blend of use of food and drinks would cause overlapping counting.

Considering the lack of scholarly discussions identifying the monastic diets that appear in the rules of purity, not to mention the fact that few investigate their roles in monastic practice, I will briefly introduce the common components of Chan monastic diets— tea (cha 茶), soup (tang 湯), medicine (yao 藥), meal (zhai 齋), and congee (zhou 粥)— before I begin to analyse the tea rituals in Chan monastic ritual system.

This chapter identifies that the tea (cha 茶) used in Song-Yuan Chan monasteries is a type of whisked tea (diancha 點茶), and that tea powder (mocha 末

\textsuperscript{152} Dehui, Chixiu Baizhang qinggui, 118-119. Zongze, Chanyuan qinggui, 62-64.

\textsuperscript{153} Yixian 弘咸, Chanlin beiyong qinggui 禪林備用清規 [Auxiliary rules of purity for Chan monasteries]. X 1250, 0622b07- 0623b12. Weimian 惟勉, Conglin jiaoding qinggui zongyao 叢林校定清規總要 [Essentials of the revised rules of purity for major monasteries]. X 1249, 0609a11-0609c05.
茶/ chamo 茶末) needs to be whisked with hot water to make a bowl of tea. It can be evidenced by the common description of tea rituals in the rules of purity “distributing tea and pouring hot water” (chabian jiaotang 茶遍澆湯). Also, the “private storage of tea powder” (sicang chamo 私藏茶末) was not allowed in Chan monasteries. Besides, some monasteries had tea mills to grind dried tea leaves into tea powder. For instance, the Bishan Temple (bishan si 碧山寺) in Mingzhou 明州 had a water mill for grinding wheat and tea. Even though luxurious pressed teacakes (lacha 腊茶) are commonly known to be the source of Chinese powder tea, the powder tea for monastic use was processed from loose leaf tea (caocha 草茶). The types and amount of tea allowed for possession were regulated in the *Categorically Arranged Compendium of Administrative Law of the Qingyuan [1195–1200] Period* (Qingyuan tiaofa shilei 慶元條法事類, 1202), where it states that “tea: Ranked officials are allowed to possess teacakes and loose leaf tea respectively: three jin (approx. 1.5kg) for Rank Nine and six jin (3kg) for Rank Eight and above. One jin (approx. 0.5kg) for Buddhist monks and Daoist priests” (茶：品官臘茶、草茶各：九品三斤；八品以上六斤。僧、道草茶一斤).

It is important to identify the type of tea and the techniques of tea making, because they are decisive to the procedures of monastic tea rituals. When tea became a popular drink in the mid 8th century, boiled tea (jiancha 煎茶) was the Tang (618–

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154 Zongze, Chanyuan qinggui, 66.
155 Zongshou 宗壽, Ruzhong riyong 入眾日用 [Daily life in the assembly]. X 1246, 0557c08.
156 Zhang Shiqing 張十慶. Wushan Shicha tu yu Nansong Jiangnan Chansi, 156.
906) fashion of tea drinking, which involved putting tea leaves in hot water and boiling it.\textsuperscript{158} Up until the Song dynasty (960–1279), powdered tea dominated tea drinking in China, and pressed teacakes and loose-leaf tea were grinded into powder to be whisked to drink. Brewed tea (\textit{paocha} 泡茶), where hot water is poured onto loose leaf tea and left to brew until ready to serve, gradually replaced whisked tea since the Emperor Taizu of Ming (明太祖, 1328 –1398) banned the production of teacakes because the sophisticated producing procedure took up too much human resources.\textsuperscript{159} The monastic tea, tea wares and tea rituals, also changed accordingly. Comparing medieval monastic codes with the Ming-Qing (Ming dynasty, 1368–1644; Qing dynasty, 1636–1911) and contemporary rules of purity, this chapter has found that the monastic tea shifted from Song-Yuan (Yuan dynasty, 1279–1368) “tea powder” to post-Yuan “tea leaf” (\textit{chaye} 茶葉), and tea wares were switched from “tea bowls, tea bowl stands, and tea trays” (\textit{zhantuo chapan} 盞橐茶盤) in the Song-Yuan era, to “teapots, big teacups and big teacup stands” (\textit{chahu chazhong} 茶壺茶鐘) in Ming-Qing era, and then nowadays “teapots and small teacups” (\textit{chahu chabei} 茶壺茶杯).\textsuperscript{160}

As for what the soup (\textit{tang} 湯) in Chan monasteries is, scholars like Yifa and Liu Shufen, have already made some scholarly speculation.\textsuperscript{161} Yifa perceived that the


\textsuperscript{159} Shen Dongmei 沈冬梅. \textit{Cha yu Songdai shehui shenghuo} 茶与宋代社会生活 [Tea and social life in the Song dynasty] (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2015), 59.


\textsuperscript{161} Yifa, \textit{The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China: An Annotated Translation and Study of the Chanyuan qinggui} (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002), 179-180, 255. Liu Shufen 刘淑芬, \textit{Zhonggu de fojiao yu
monastic soup was “sweetened soup” and referred to *A Record of Buddhist Practices Sent Home from the Southern Sea* (*Nanhai jìgǔi nèifǎ zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳, 689):

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然後釋其時候供給湯飲，酥蜜沙糖飲噉隨意，或餘八漿，並須羅濾澄清方飲。

Then when it is time, soups are served. Ghee, honey, and granulated sugar can be drunken or eaten freely. If there are the eight syrups, drink the filtered supernatant.

Liu Shufen questioned Yifa’s interpretation of *tang* as “sweetened soup” and pointed out that ghee (*su* 酥) and some of the eight syrups (*bájiāng* 八漿) were not sweet.164

Furthermore, Liu contended that Chan hagiographies have shown Chan monks drank un-sweetened soup, like yam soup (*shúyu tangent* 薯蕷湯) and lotus leaf soup (*hýe tangent* 荷葉湯), as the rest of medieval Chinese society did.165 Considering that monastic soup to a large extent changes with seasons, here I will not further specify the types of monastic soups.166 I agree that the Chan monastic soup is not necessarily sweet, but I question Liu’s rebuttal that because ghee and some of the eight syrups are not sweet so that *tang* is not “sweetened soup”. The reason that I question Liu’s evidence is that the soup in *A Record of Buddhist Practices Sent Home from the Southern Sea* appears to be a drink (i.e. tea and honey) which is served to guests along with ghee, granulated sugar, and syrups.167 In other words, it was also possible that the soup could be made sweet or not depending on personal preference.

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shehui 中古的佛教与社会 [*The Medieval Buddhism and Society*] (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 2008), 374-379.


163 Yijing 義淨, *Nanhai jìgǔi nèifǎ zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 [*A record of Buddhist practices sent home from the Southern Sea*]. T 2125, 3: 0223a23.


166 Zongze, *Chanyuan qing gui*, 57.

The medicine (yao 藥) in the rules of purity generally means the solid food essential to preservation of life. Depending on the context, medicine can specifically refer to the food taken after the regulated time to cure hunger (dinner), pharmaceutical drugs, or food supplements. Ding Fubao’s *Dictionary of Buddhist Studies* defines “yaoshi 藥石” as dinner, which is evening congee in monasteries: 168

（雜語）又作藥食。有療病之意味。謂禪林晚間之粥。隱語也。黃檗清規曰：“藥石晚食也，比丘過午不食。故晚食名藥石，為療餓渴病也。” 169

(Heteroglossia) Also medicinal food. It means to cure diseases, referring to the evening congee in Chan monasteries. Implicit expression. It is written in the Ōbaku shingi: “medicine means dinner, as monks are not supposed to eat after noon. That’s why dinner is called medicine, to cure the disease of hunger.”

Yijing’s (義淨, 635—713) translation of the *Medical Affairs of Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* (Genben shuoyiqieyoubu pinaiye yaoshi 根本說一切有部毘奈耶藥事) recorded that Buddha told Ānanda he prescribed four kinds of medicine for monks, respectively timely medicine (*shiyao* 時藥), evening medicine (*gengyao* 更藥), seven-day medicine (*qiriyao* 七日藥) and longevity-prolonging medicine (*jinshouyao* 盡壽藥). 170 In which, timely medicine includes cooked flour, flat bread, pea cake, meat, and rice; evening medicine is the eight syrups of fruit juice; seven-day medicine is ghee, butter, molasses and jaggery; And longevity-prolonging medicine are roots, stems, leaves, flowers, and fruits. 171 However, Dao Xuan (道宣, 596—667) had a somehow different

169 Ding Fubao, ed. *Foxue dacidian*, 2837.
The four medicine nowadays are timely medicine (rice, wheat, fermented soya or wheat sauce, fermented soya beans, dried fermented rice or wheat, vegetables), untimely medicine (all fruit juice supernatants), seven-day medicine (ghee, honey, butter, and fat), and form-preserving medicine (salt, vinegar, pepper, ginger, the five kinds of stone esters, and the three products of aconite).

This indicates that the “four medicine” was adapted to the medieval Chinese context, with an addition of typical Chinese food like fermented soya sauce and beans and traditional Chinese medicine like the five kinds of stone esters and the three products of aconite, and an omission of meat and the eight syrups. Besides, as Liu Shufen proposed, Buddhist monasteries also deployed ball-shaped pills (wanyao 丸藥), stalactite medicine (ruyao 乳藥), and medicinal wine (yaojiu 藥酒), which was likely to be influenced by the Daoist tradition and secular custom of taking drugs to practice inner alchemy (fushi 服食) and preserve life. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the idea of life-preserving reflected in monastic medication may also be inherited from Buddhist tradition, which can be evidenced by the longevity-prolonging medicine that Buddha prescribed for monks in the Medical Affairs of Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya above,

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172 Dao Xuan 道宣, Liangchu qingzhong yi 量處輕重儀 [Ritual of measuring and handling light and heavy property]. T 1895, 1: 0841a29.
173 Dao Xuan, Liangchu qingzhong yi. T 1895, 1: 0841a29.
174 Dao Xuan, Liangchu qingzhong yi. T 1895, 1: 0841a29.
and the good health and longevity of Nāgārjuna thanks to his expertise in medicine recorded in the *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions* (*Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記, 646).*"176

Meal (zhai 齋) and congee (zhou 粥) are much less mentioned in the rules of purity comparing to tea, soup and medicine. Usually, they appear as an indicator of time, like “after meal” (zhaihou 齋後) and “before congee” (zhouqian 粥前)."177 From the uses of these time indicators in the contexts of monastic life, we can figure out that meal refers to monastic lunch and congee refers to monastic breakfast."178

Above this chapter analytically explained the monastic diets of medieval Chan Buddhism. Now it will investigate tea’s role in the monastic diets by presenting the statistics of tea rituals in the rules of purity. Although tea was important as both an offering and a drink in Chan monasteries, the titled tea rituals mostly served tea as a drink on social occasions like calendar gatherings, personnel changes, and guest reception, while there are few named as tea rituals when tea was offered in funerals, memorials, and celebrations. "179 The Tiantai and Esoteric Buddhism relatively emphasised more on tea offerings, like the “Tiantai miracle of creamy foam in tea offering” (*Tiantai ruhua* 天臺乳花) to arhat and the tea offerings to ghosts to recover from illness in the Esoteric classic *Alternative Method of Practice in regard to the Seven Luminaries and Asterisms* (*Qiyao xingchen biexing fa* 七曜星辰別行法)."180

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177 Zongze, *Chanyuan qinggui*, 24, 66.
180 Yixing 一行, *Qiyao xingchen biexing fa* 七曜星辰別行法 [Alternative Method of Practice in regard to the Seven Luminaries and Asterisms]. T 1309, 1: 0454c27, 0455a11.
To give a better sense of what the monastic rituals are like, below I will list the 14 rituals regarding monastic diets out of the 78 ritual entries in the *Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery* for example: Go for Congee and Meal 赴粥飯; Go for Tea and Soup 赴茶湯; the Tea and Soup Ceremony Hosted by the Abbot 堂頭煎點; the Tea and Soup Ceremony in the Sangha Hall 僧堂內煎點; the Tea Ceremony Hosted by the Administrator or the Chief Officer 知事頭首點茶; the Tea and Soup Ceremony in Sequence of Monastic Seniority 入寮臘次煎點; the Tea and Soup Ceremony in the Sangha Hall 僧堂內煎點; the Tea Ceremony Hosted by the Administrator or the Chief Officer 知事頭首點茶; the Tea and Soup Ceremony Among the Common Monks 翁中特為煎點; the Tea and Soup Ceremony for the Seniors 翁中特為尊長煎點; the Tea and Soup Ceremony that Dharma Relatives or Selected Disciples Hold for the Abbot 法眷及入室弟子特為堂頭煎點; the Method of Announcing, Marking Tea and Soup, and Incense-Burning 通眾煎點燒香法; Meal Preparation 置食特為; Thanking for Tea 謝茶; Patron’s Treat 中筵齋; And New Water-Filtering Regulation and Odes 新添濾水法 並頌. Other Song-Yuan rules of purity share similar types of tea rituals and other rituals of monastic diets as the listed rituals from the *Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery*.

As shown in Table 1 below, the joint ceremonies of tea and soup dominated the rituals of monastic diets in the *Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery*, with 8 tea and soup ceremonies, 2 independent tea rituals, 3 meal and congee ceremonies, and 1 water ritual.

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181 Zongze, *Chanyuan qinggui*, 1-5.
The figures in the Column “Total” are the number of rituals named with food or drinks contrasting to the total number of ritual entries.

Table 1: The Number of Monastic Diets Rituals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rules</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Tea</th>
<th>Tea/Soup</th>
<th>Soup</th>
<th>Soup/Medicine</th>
<th>Meal/Congee</th>
<th>Water</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chanyuan</td>
<td>14/78</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xianchun</td>
<td>22/59</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhida</td>
<td>34/169</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baizhang</td>
<td>22/92</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In the Essentials of the Revised Rules of Purity for Major Monasteries (Conglin jiaoding qinggui zongyao 叢林校定清規總要/ Xianchun qinggui 咸淳清規, 1274), 22 items out of 59 are named with food or drinks, with 11 tea rituals, 8 tea and soup ceremonies, 2 soup rituals, and 1 meal ritual. In the Auxiliary Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries (Chanlin beiyong qinggui 禪林備用清規/ Zhida qinggui 至大清規, 1311), 34 entries out of 169 are named with diets, with 18 tea rituals, 10 tea and soup ceremonies, 3 soup rituals, 1 soup and medicine ritual, 2 meal rituals. Among the 92 ritual entries in the Imperial Edition of the Baizhang Rules of Purity (Chixiu Baizhang qinggui 敕修百丈清規, 1336), 22 items are named with food or drinks, which are respectively 14 tea rituals, 2 tea and soup ceremonies, 4 soup rituals, 1 soup and medicine ritual, and 1 meal and congee ritual.

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182 Weimian, Conglin jiaoding qinggui zongyao. X 1249, 0592a04-0592c24.
183 Yixian, Chanlin beiyong qinggui. X 1250, 0620c04-0622b07.
184 Dehui, Chixiu Baizhang qinggui, 1-8.
Table 2 below has shown the percentage of tea, soup, medicine, meal, congee, and water ritual in monastic diets in the four rules of purity, along with the proportion of monastic diets rituals in the entire monastic ritual system.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rules</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Tea</th>
<th>Tea/Soup</th>
<th>Soup</th>
<th>Soup/Medicine</th>
<th>Meal/Congee</th>
<th>Water</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chanyuan</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xianchun</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhida</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baizhang</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The Column “Total” records the proportion of monastic diets rituals in the monastic rituals, whereas the other columns record the ritual proportion of tea, soup, medicine etc. in monastic diets.

Table 2: The Proportional Consistence of Monastic Diets Rituals

In the *Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery*, the dominating 57% of tea and soup rituals outnumbers the 14% independent tea rituals, which suggests that tea played more of a collaborative role in monastic rituals rather than an irreplaceable entity. The large proportion of tea and soup ceremonies in the Northern Song monastic regulation is a good counter-example to challenge the assumption that tea enjoyed a superior status in Chan monasteries. The substitutability of tea with soup is also evidenced in the texts. For example, in the Tea and Soup Ceremony Hosted by the Abbot, “if good-quality tea is served, do not serve soup” (如點好茶，即不點湯也).

Another example is, when preparing for the Tour of the Residential Halls, “the board for the tour of the Residential Halls is put up in the *sangha* hall. In the residential halls,

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186 Zongze, *Chanyuan qinggui*, 64.
the Heads of Residence and the Chief Seat arrange the seats and scented flowers, and prepare tea or soup" (堂上掛巡寮牌，寮中寮主、首座設坐位，香花，或茶或湯). 187

Nevertheless, from late Northern Song (960–1127) to late Yuan dynasty, this statistical analysis also witnessed a surge in independent tea rituals from 14% to 64%, a slight increase of independent soup rituals from 0% to 18%, and a plunge of joint rituals of tea and soup from 57% to 9% in the rules of purity. On the one hand, these changes indicate that tea rituals and soup rituals become more sophisticated and are clarified for specific uses rather than roughly categorised for general usage. On the other hand, the surging proportion of independent tea rituals has shown that tea rituals enjoyed a growing importance in Chan monasteries and were the majority of monastic diets rituals in the Southern Song (1127–1279) and Yuan time. Then the next question is if the large quantity of tea rituals in Chan monasteries necessarily points to a meaningful Chan-tea connection.

### 2.2 Two Case Studies of Tea Rituals

To further investigate tea’s functions in the medieval Chan monastic ritual system, this section will firstly showcase a detailed tea ritual called the “Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks in the Sangha Hall on the Four Festivals”, to reconstruct and interpret the pattern of tea rituals and analyse tea’s role within the tea ritual. Then this section will compare this ritual with its counterparts of other tea rituals and a soup ritual from the same ritual package for the Four Festivals.

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in the *sangha* hall, to understand how the permutation of tea and soup rituals work for monastic occasions.

Even though there is a variety of social tea rituals for different monastic occasions, they share a basic format of announcement, commencement, liturgical ceremony, and closure, despite the specific changes in hosts and guests, thanking remarks and seating arrangements etc. In this way, the case “Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks in the *Sangha* Hall on the Four Festivals” can speak for a pattern of monastic tea rituals. The reason to choose the ritual cluster for the Four Festivals in the *sangha* hall as a comparative case study, is that the three tea rituals respectively hosted by the abbot, the accounting office and the Chief Seat and a soup ritual hosted by the accounting office are practiced in the same assigned venue for the same occasion with differences in either participants or drinks, which makes this ritual set a perfect example for comparison with naturally controlled groups.

Here I will explain the monastic terms that will frequently appear in the two case studies before diving into the analysis. The *sangha* hall (*sengtang* 僧堂) is a crucial venue to monks for practicing sitting meditation, for listening to preaches, and for having meals.\(^1\) The Four Festivals (*sijie* 四節) collectively refers to the Start of Summer Retreat (*jiexia* 结夏), the End of Summer Retreat (*jiexia* 解夏), the Winter Solstice (*dongzhi* 冬至) and the New Year (*xinnian* 新年).\(^2\)

Since monastic positions are vital in arranging and describing monastic rituals, I will also introduce the Song-Yuan Chan monastic administration. Monastic-level

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\(^1\) Dehui, *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui*, 151, 154-155.
\(^2\) Mujaku Dōchū, *Zenrin shōkisen*. B 103, 4: 0077a05-0077b05.
positions consisted of an abbot (zhuchi 住持/ tangtou 堂頭) who is in charge of all monastic affairs, two orders of manager monks — the Chief Officers (toushou 頭首) of the West Order (xixu 西序) and the Administrators (zhishi 知事) of the East Order (dongxu 東序) — and a range of chores monks to sustain monastic life who are responsible for providing water, cleaning, heating and repairing etc.\textsuperscript{190} The Chief Officers include the Chief Seat (shouzuo 首座, sometimes divided into the Chief Seat of the Front Hall 前堂首座 and the Chief Seat of the Rear Hall 後堂首座), the Head Secretarial Official (shuzhuang 書狀/ shuji 書記), the Tripitaka Hall Official (zangzhu 藏主/ zhizang 知藏), the Guest Reception Official (zhike 知客), the Bath Hall Official (yuzhu 浴主/ zhiyu 知浴), the Chief Accountant (kutou 庫頭) or the Shrine Hall Official (zhidian 知殿), and somewhere also the attendants (the Incense Offering Attendant 燃香侍者, the Secretarial Record Attendant 書狀侍者, the Guest Reception Attendant 請客侍者, the Personal Managerial Attendant 衣鉢侍者, the Medical Care Attendant 湯藥侍者 and the Sage Monk Attendant 聖僧侍者).\textsuperscript{191} The Administrators include the Head Administrative Official (dujiansi 都監寺, sometimes divided into the Chief Head Administrative Official 都寺 and the Deputy Head Administrative Official 監寺), the Director of Practitioners’ Affairs (weina 維那), the Kitchen Official (dianzuo 典座), the Maintenance and Construction Official (zhisui 直歲) and somewhere the Treasury Official (fusi 副寺).\textsuperscript{192} The Accounting Office (kusi 庫司) was formed by the Admini-

\textsuperscript{190} The Chief Officers line at the east side of the Sangha Hall and the Administrators the west side, which is the origin of the names of the East Order and the West Order. Dehui, Chixiu Baizhang qinggui, 47, 96-108.

\textsuperscript{191} Zongze, Chanyuan qinggui, 41. Dehui, Chixiu Baizhang qinggui, 96-108.

\textsuperscript{192} Zongze, Chanyuan qinggui, 30. Dehui, Chixiu Baizhang qinggui, 96-108.
strators in charge of accounting and monastic properties, including the Head Administrative Official.\textsuperscript{193} There could be more than one monk of the same monastic position, depending on the scale of the monastery.\textsuperscript{194} I have attached a list of monastic positions in Appendix 1 for reference.

After clarifying the meanings of the monastic terms, I will move on to the case “Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks in the \textit{Sangha} Hall on the Four Festivals” in the following part. Before that, I would like to acknowledge that the content of this ritual is classified under different ritual entries in these rules of purity. This ritual is under the “Tea and Soup Ceremony in the \textit{Sangha} Hall” 僧堂內煎點 in the \textit{Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery}, the “Summer Retreat Personnel” 解結人事 in the \textit{Monastic Notices} (\textit{Ruzhong xuzhi} 入眾須知, 1263), and the “Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks on the Four Festivals” 方丈四節特為首座大眾茶 in the \textit{Imperial Edition of the Baizhang Rules of Purity}.\textsuperscript{195} This chapter will detect the related records scattered in the rules of purity and synthesise them to reconstruct the tea ritual for analysis.

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{193} Mujaku Dōchū, \textit{Zenrin shōkisen}. B 103, 7: 0251a03-0251a05.
\bibitem{194} In the sitting plans in the \textit{Essentials of Revised Monastic Codes}, the seat for one position can be marked for more than once, which suggests that there is more than one monk of the same position. No written requirements or restrictions on the number of monks on duty are given in the monastic regulations. Weimian, ed. \textit{Conglin jiaoding qinggui}. X 1249, 0593b04-0593c04.
\end{thebibliography}
2.2.1 The Pattern of Monastic Tea Rituals: A Case Study of the Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks in the *Sangha* Hall on the Four Festivals

Instead of selectively presenting tea-drinking records of tea rituals as has been done in many scholarly works, this section will present a wholesome procedure of a tea ritual, which actually started its formatted ritual instruction from the preparation of tea ritual announcement. This indicates that tea-drinking is merely a phase of the monastic tea rituals rather than everything about it, and other phases of tea ritual have their crucial parts to play as well. By reconstructing and interpreting the entire tea ritual, this section will facilitate an understanding of tea’s roles in Chan monastic rituals, which will be the first scholarly attempt to restore a Chan monastic ritual in full scale and to extract a model out of it. However, because the ritual instruction in the rules of purity is highly-formatted and simplified with a range of obscure monastic terms and relevant records are scattered in different monastic codes, a large proportion of this section will be devoted to collating and annotating the texts, and will explain their connotations and significance before analysing tea’s roles within the framework.

This section has classified the procedure of the “Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks in the *Sangha* Hall on the Four Festivals” into four stages — announcing the tea ritual, inviting to tea, drinking tea, and thanking for tea.

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196 Liu Shufen, “’Chanyuan qinggui’ zhong suojian de chali yu tangli”, 644 - 645.
Figure 1: The Procedure of the Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks in the Sangha Hall on the Four Festivals

**Stage 1: Announcing**

To start a tea or soup ceremony in a Chan monastery, the initial step is to compose and establish an event announcement. The host would issue an announcement paper for the tea or soup ceremony and ask a server to carry it in a box. A proxy who matches the host’s monastic position presents the announcement paper to the guest of honour. After this act of invitation, the announcement paper is put on the proper side of the sangha hall door depending on the host’s monastic position.¹⁹⁷


198 This chapter added a full stop between “特為人” and “禮請詣” to the original reference. Zongze, *Chanyuan qingguí*, 66.
The abbot and the accounting office use the Large Announcement Paper (bang) and the Chief Seat uses the Small Announcement Paper (zhuang). Then they ask the server to carry it in a box. The Attendant, or the Head Administrative Official, or the Chief Seat present it to the guest of honour. After the invitation, they put up the announcement paper on the side of the sangha hall door. The Abbot's Announcement Paper is put on the upper side, and the Administrator's and the Chief Seat's on the lower side.

In the case of the “Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks in the Sangha Hall on the Four Festivals”, the abbot writes the announcement paper for the tea ceremony, and the attendant presents it to the Chief Seat and puts it up on the upper side of the sangha hall door.199

This instructive narrative of tea ritual preparation places emphasis on the differentiation and matchings based on the monastic positions of the host. The monastic role of the host matches with a certain proxy, a type of announcement paper, and on which side of the door the announcement should be put up. As for the proxy who presents the announcement paper to the guest of honour, only the abbot sends the attendant to deliver the message while the Administrator and the Chief Seat present the announcement to the guest of honour themselves.200 As for the type of announcement paper, the abbot and the accounting office use the Large Announcement Paper (bang 榜), which is an announcement on a wooden board, and the Chief Seat uses the Small Announcement Paper (zhuang 状), which is a smaller paper announcement with a cover.201 As for the side of the door on which to put up the announcement paper, the abbot’s announcement paper is put on the upper side,

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200 Zongze, Chanyuan qinggui, 66.
201 Yixian, Chanlin beiyong qinggui. X 1250, 0634a06. Mujaku Dōchū, B 0103, 22: 0614b08–0615a17, 0621b01-0622a01.
and the Administrator’s and the Chief Seat’s on the lower side. Mujaku Dōchū explained that the upper side is the right-hand side, which is east for the dharma hall and the abbot’s office, north for the sangha hall, and south for the accounting office.\footnote{Mujaku Dōchū, B 0103, 3: 0073b16.}

凡人鄉堂。己身右為上間。法堂方丈(南向)則東。僧堂(東向)則北。庫司(西向)則南。此曰上間。\footnote{Mujaku Dōchū, B 0103, 3: 0073b16.}

For general halls, the right-hand side is the upper side. The upper side is east for the dharma hall and the abbot’s office (facing south), north for the sangha hall (facing east), and south for the accounting office (facing west).

In this way, the abbot’s announcement paper is to be put upon the north side of the sangha hall door, while the Administrator’s and the Chief Seat’s are to be put up on the south side, which is confirmed in most of the rules of purity. However, there is an exception in the Essentials of the Revised Rules of Purity for Major Monasteries, as the abbot’s announcement is put up on “the board on the east side” (dongbian paishang 東邊牌上).\footnote{Weimian, ed. Conglin jiaoding qinggui. X 1249, 0601a14.} If the sangha hall in question faces east, then it does not follow this rule that the right-hand side is the upper side as other rules of purity do. If the sangha hall in question faces south, then the east side is still the upper side.

The announcement paper for the tea ceremony contends a piece of concise information of time, venue, host, and ceremonial type. Below are the relevant records of the announcement for the tea ceremony that the abbot holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks in the sangha hall on the Four Festivals from the Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery and the Essentials of the Revised Rules of Purity for Major Monasteries.\footnote{Zongze, Chanyuan qinggui, 67. Weimian, X 1249, 0595a24-0595b10.}
The Big Announcement Paper for the Tea Ceremony that Holds by the Abbot at the Start of Summer Retreat: After lunch today, the abbot will hold a tea ceremony in the Sangha Hall for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks, to commence the start of the Summer Retreat. The Administrators are invited for company. Best wishes, Attendant XX, DD/MM.

The Big Announcement Paper for the Tea Ceremony that Holds by the Abbot at the End of Summer Retreat: The start and the end are the same as above, except changing into “to announce the End of the Summer Retreat”.

The Large and Small Announcement Paper Format of the Tea and Soup Ceremony on the Four Festivals (The Abbot and the Accounting Office use the seven-line Large Announcement Paper; the Chief Seat uses the nine-line Small Announcement Paper) (After the lunch today/ tonight) the Abbot will hold (tea ceremony/soup ceremony) in the sangha hall for the Chief Seat (blank for one character) the Common Monks, to commence (the Start of Summer Retreat/ the End of Summer Retreat/ Winter Solstice Day/ New Year Day). The Administrators are invited to accompany. DD/MM Guest Reception Attendant XX

After synthesising the content of related announcements above, it can be deducted that the announcement of the tea ceremony that the abbot holds in the sangha hall on

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206 Zongze, Chanyuan qinggui, 67.
207 Weimian, X 1249, 0595a24-0595b10.
the Four Festival is written as “after lunch today, the abbot will make tea for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks for the start of summer retreat/ end of summer retreat/ winter solstice/ new year day, with the Administrators as ceremonial companions”.

Going to tea ceremonies in the monastery is regulated in the rules of purity as an important duty for monks rather than a social event to attend by will.\(^{208}\)

院門特為茶湯，禮數殷重，受請之人，不宜慢易。既受請已，須知先赴某處，次赴某處，後赴某處。聞鼓板聲，及時先到。明記坐位照牌，免致倉遑錯亂。\(^{209}\)

It is a great honour to be invited to tea or soup ceremonies in the monastery. One should treat it seriously and know where to go in sequence. Hearing drumbeats or striking of wooden board, they should hurry to the venue and arrive on time. They should keep in mind the sitting plan to avoid panic and mistakes.

Before attending the tea ceremony, monks would memorise the sequence of places to go, the sitting plan in the *sangha* hall and the musical notification for the tea ceremony.

A "Plan of the Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks in the *Sangha* Hall on the Four Festivals" 四節住持特為首座大眾僧堂茶圖 that marks out the seats for monks of different monastic positions, is provided in the *Essentials of the Revised Rules of Purity for Major Monasteries*.\(^{210}\)

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\(^{208}\) Zongze, *Chanyuan qinggui*, 14.


\(^{210}\) Weimian, ed. *Conglin jiaoding qinggui*. X 1249, 0593b04.
Graph 1: The Plan of the Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks in the Sangha Hall on the Four Festivals

The monks of monastic ranks are seated close to the front and back door of the sangha hall, while common monks sit aside. The monks of monastic ranks are lined up from right to left from high rank to low.

Apart from monastic positions, the years of ordination (jiela 戒臘) is another important factor in seat arrangements of the sangha hall. Graph 2 is a seating plan based on the years of ordination in the Jingshan Temple 徑山寺 from the Plan of the Famous Monasteries in the Song Dynasty (Daisō meiai zu 大宋名藍図).²¹¹

Monks are arranged around the statue of the Sage Monk (shengseng 聖僧) in circles based on their years of ordination like “Jiatai Year One” 嘉泰元戒 (1201) and “Jiading Year Six” 嘉定六戒 (1214). The longer their year of ordination the further their seats are away from the Sage Monk. Meanwhile, the monastic positions and the monks’ name abbreviation are also marked out on the years of ordination board, like “Attendant Xiang” 湘侍者 and “Director of Practitioners’ Affairs Yi” 一維那.

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212 Mujaku Dōchū commented: The statue in the sangha hall centre is called the Sage Monk but the figures for the Sage Monk is not fixed. It is Mañjuśrī in Mahāyāna monasteries; and Kaundinya, Pindola, occasionally Mahākāśyapa or Subhūti in Hinayāna monasteries. Mujaku Dōchū, Zenrin shōkisen. B 0103, 5: 0115b09. Zhang Shiqing, 6-8, 145.

The monastery summons monks to the sangha hall for the tea ceremony with particular types of dharma instruments. The choice of instruments and the striking times are carefully matched to monastic occasions and participants' monastic positions. According to the Imperial Edition of the Baizhang Rules of Purity, the original purpose to establish the dharma instruments, which include bells, wooden boards, wooden fish, mallets, stone boards, cymbals, and drums, was to summon monks to hear Buddha's teachings and practice meditation and to discipline monks.

In ancient times, conversion to Buddhism was spontaneous and there was no need of external teaching. Only when conversion became less than perfect did the discipline of interpersonal propriety and of musical harmony become necessary … And yet those who have no insight are dazed and stupefied like someone who is deaf and dumb. Because of this, the Buddha set forth his teaching in compliance with the different capacities of individual disciples and introduced various sound signals to assemble them. His teaching became the literature of the three baskets (the Tripitaka: Sutra-pitaka, Vinaya-pitaka, and Abhidharma-pitaka), and his principal practice was meditation and concentration (dhyāna and samādhi). His career promoting the method of conversion continued for forty-nine years before his parinirvāṇa. The Sanskrit term ghanṭā (jianzhui) means a bell, whether made of clay, wood, copper, or iron, that when struck creates a sound—a metallic bell, a stone bell, a cymbal, a drum, a wooden post and mallet, a wooden sounding block, or a conch shell. Following the practice of the

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214 Dehui, Chixiu Baizhang qinggui, 210, 213-214.
215 Dehui, Chixiu Baizhang qinggui, 210-215.
216 Dehui, Chixiu Baizhang qinggui, 209.
sound instruments used in Indian monastic temples, the Chan institution has continued to use various sound instruments after their fashion even today for the purpose of warning against confusion and idleness, encouraging compliance with the teachings and regulations, giving guidance for those who abide in dark subhuman states, and pleasing gods and humans…

Nevertheless, in medieval Chinese Chan monasteries, a focus on matching of instrumental types and striking times with monastic hierarchy was gradually evolved. For instance, the dharma drum is beaten only when the abbot initiates activities and is not used when other members of the monastery host an event.

凡住持上堂、小參、普說、入室，並擊之。擊鼓之法，上堂時三通…小參一通，普說五下，入室三下，皆當緩擊。

In general, the drum (gu) is played to signal the abbot’s ascent to the dharma hall, his supplementary session, his general exhortation, and his individual instruction for a visitor to his office. For the ascent to the dharma hall, the drum should be sounded for three consecutive rounds…One round of drumbeats signals the supplementary session, a series of five beats signals the general exhortation, and three beats signals the practitioners’ visit for individual instruction; these drumrolls are done with somewhat longer intervals between strikes.

Apart from indicating the monastic positions, dharma instruments also tell the magnitude of the event. For example, the tolling times of the sangha hall bell differentiate between both the significance of event and the position of participants.

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217 The “ghanṭā (jianzhu)” is corrected to “ghanṭā (jianzhui)”. Ichimura Shohei, The Baizhang Zen Monastic Regulations (Berkeley, CA: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2006), 361-362.
218 Dehui, Chixiu Baizhang qinggui, 213-214.
219 Dehui, Chixiu Baizhang qinggui, 213-214.
220 The “practitioners’ visit” is corrected to “practitioners’ visit”. Shohei, The Baizhang Zen Monastic Regulations, 361-362.
More tolling of the bell indicates a higher level of event and higher rank of the participants.

Whenever to assemble the monks, toll the bell of the *sangha* hall. If the abbot joins the monks in the hall, toll the bell seven times. When it comes to the end of breakfast and lunch, the end of evening summons, the bi-weekly tour of the *sangha* hall and the end of tea ceremonies, tolls three times if the abbot does not come to the *sangha* hall or is on leave, then do not toll the bell. During the chanting in front of the *sangha* hall, the bell tolls lightly once when mentioning the Buddha, and double the toll at the end. The Director of Practitioners’ Affairs is in charge of the bell of the *sangha* hall.

When the abbot enters the *sangha* hall, the bell tolls seven times. At the end of breakfast and lunch, the end of evening summons, the bi-weekly tour of the *sangha* hall, and the end of tea ceremonies at the abbot’s presence, the bell tolls three times. When the abbot is absent, the bell does not toll.222

A combination of *dharma* instruments is usually employed for different stages of a Chan monastic ritual. For the “Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks in the *Sangha* Hall on the Four Festivals”, the monastery firstly has “a three-time strike/ a long strike of the wooden board” (*changban* 長板) to gather the Common Monks in front of the *sangha* hall.223 Then the ceremonial chairman (*xing fashi ren* 行法事人) burns incense and walks around the hall to invite

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221 A comma is added between “各三下” and “住持或不赴堂”. Dehui, *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui*, 210.
the Common Monks to afternoon tea.\textsuperscript{224} After lunch, the bell of the sangha hall is tolled (the drum is also beaten in some monasteries) to announce the start of the tea ceremony.\textsuperscript{225} At the end of the tea ceremony, the bell of the sangha hall is tolled again (the drum is also beaten in some monasteries).\textsuperscript{226} Below I have collated records on the deployment of dharma instruments from specific rules of purity.

After the long strike of the wooden board, the monks gathered … the bell of the sangha hall is tolled after lunch … the abbot leaves the hall … toll the hall bell … after collecting the tea bowls, greet again and leave the hall with the bell tolled …

— “僧堂內煎點”《禪苑清規》

After the long strike of the wooden board, the monks gathered … the bell of the sangha hall is tolled after lunch … the abbot leaves the hall … toll the hall bell … after collecting the tea bowls, greet again and leave the hall with the bell tolled …

— the Tea and Soup Ceremony in the Sangha Hall, Chanyuan qinggui

The long strike of wooden board at lunchtime…When the drum is beaten, the attendant waits for the abbot’s arrival outside the sangha hall…Upon receiving the abbot, the server tolls the bell seven times and stops the swing of the bell…the server collects the tea bowls and beats the drum three times. The abbot goes out of the hall and the Common Monks get off their sitting bed.

— the Tea and Soup Ceremony on the Four Festivals, Xianchun qinggui

\textsuperscript{224} Zongze, Chanyuan qinggui, 66-67.
\textsuperscript{225} Zongze, Chanyuan qinggui, 66-67. Weimian, ed. Conglin jiaoding qinggui. X 1249, 0600c14-0602a05.
\textsuperscript{226} Yixian, Chanlin beiyong qinggui. X 1250, 0634a06-0634b11.
\textsuperscript{227} Zongze, Chanyuan qinggui, 66-67.
\textsuperscript{228} Weimian, ed. Conglin jiaoding qinggui. X 1249, 0600c14-0602a05.
Strike the long board slowly when it is time to enter the *sangha* hall…then visit the Abbot’s Office. The drum is beaten to assemble the monks…to announce the abbot’s entrance to the hall, toll the bell of the *sangha* hall seven times…the Supply Server tolls the bell twice and collects the tea bowl of the guest of honour at first…tolls the bell once and collects the tea bowls of the Common Monks. The drum is beaten three times, and the monks leave their seats.

— the Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks, *Zhida qinggui*

In Stage 1 of announcing the tea ceremony, announcement paper is delicately prepared, served to the guest of honour, and put up on the proper place in front of the *sangha* hall. Then the monks are summoned to the *sangha* hall after memorising the seating arrangements and hearing the sound of *dharma* instruments.

**Stage 2: Inviting**

There is a series of incense-burnings and greetings to invite monks to tea before tea-drinking, and this process is known as “inviting to tea” (*qingcha* 請茶). The ceremonial chairman greets the statue of the Sage Monk (*wenxun* 問訊, a bow with head lowered and palms together) and burns incense in front of it, then walks around the *sangha* hall inside and out and pauses to greet at appointed spots, before coming back to the front of the Sage Monk and greeting it again.

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229 Yixian, *Chanlin beiyong qinggui*. X 1250, 0634a06- 0634b11.
When everyone is seated, the ceremonial chairman faces the Sage Monk and stands respectfully with his hands crossed in front of his chest at the south side of the front door. He greets slowly, then leaves his place and comes to the front of the Sage Monk and greets again. Later, he goes to the front of incense burner and greets, then opens the incense box and offers burning incense with his left hand. After that, he steps back a little and greets again, then tours the hall to the back door and greets at the special guest's place; and he turns south and walks to the front of the Sage Monk and greets it, and then turns north and greets the abbot. The next step is to walk to the north side of the back door, bow low and greet; then to walk to the south side, bow low and greet. Comes outside of the sangha hall and greets at both sides of the door, then walks in the hall and greets in front of the Sage Monk. He steps back to his place and stands with his hands crossed.

— the Tea and Soup Ceremony in the Sangha Hall, Chanyuan qinggui

行法事人。於聖僧前。燒香一炷。大展三拜。収坐具。起問訊。至第一版頭。面北深問訊。巡堂一匝。出外堂。先下間。次上間。卻歸聖僧前。問訊而退。謂之請茶。(首座都寺行禮皆用。住持前問訊了。方自版頭。問訊巡堂) 233

232 The commas between “問訊住持人” and “以次巡堂至後門北顔板頭”, “亦曲身問訊” and “如堂外，依上下問問訊” in the original text are changed into full stops. Zongze, Chanyuan qinggui, 66.
233 Weimian, ed. Conglin jiaoding qinggui. X 1249, 0600c14-0602a05.
In front of the Sage Monk, the ceremonial chairman burns an incense and prostrates for three times with sitting mat unfolded. Then he collects his sitting mat, stands up and greets. At the first section of the Sangha Hall, he faces north and bows low to greet. After touring the hall for one round, he walks to the exterior hall, the lower side first and then the upper side. Then he comes back to the front of the Sage Monk, greets and leaves. That is called the invitation to tea. (The Chief Seat and the Head Administrative Official use this format as the guide of ceremonial procedures. After greeting the abbot, they walk to the appointed section of the hall, greet and tour around the hall.)

— the Tea and Soup Ceremony on the Four Festivals, Xianchun qinggui

The Guest Reception Attendant walks into the hall and burns an incense in front of the Sage Monk. Prostrates for three times with sitting mat unfolded. Tours the hall for one round, stops at the hall centre, greets, and then leaves. That is called the hall tour to invite to tea.

— The Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks in the Four Festivals, Chixiu Baizhang qinggui

In a number of the monastic codes, the chairman of the tea ceremony follows this formatted procedure above of inviting the Common Monks to tea by walking around the sangha hall and greeting along his way. However, the Monastic Notices records a slightly different process of tea invitation, which is also provided in detail below, as it
offers an alternative method of monastic invitation to tea and a different narrative focus of rules of purity:

After everyone is seated, the attendant serves incense on an incense tray. The Head Administrative Official and the Chief Seat pick the incense together. If the Western Honorary Abbot has also joined to pick incense, he would pick first. The greeting procedure consists of “two interrupted attempts to prostrate and a compromise solution of three-time head-touching-the-ground”. On the first attempt to unfold the sitting mat, the chairman of the ceremony says: “During this summer retreat, we are grounded in the monastery and have received the cleaning towels and cleaning bottles. Thanks to the abbot’s Dharma power, there are no difficulties during this time.” On the
second attempt to unfold the sitting mat, they talk about the weather. (After a few words) the chairman steps back and prostrates with his head touching the ground three times. Afterwards, only the abbot’s disciples and attendants remain and prostrate. The Administrators go back to the Accounting Office. Then the Chief Seat leads the common monks to the Accounting Office and prostrate with head touching the ground three times and leads them back to the front of the Sangha Hall. The Chief Seat stands at the upper side and the Head Secretarial Official and the common monks stand at the lower side, then prostrate with head touching the ground three times. The greeting procedure finishes here. Everyone stands at the appointed spots as in the tour plan of the Sangha Hall. The Western Honorary Abbot returns to his touring spot first, then the Chief Seat follows and leads the hall tour for the common monks. After the first round of tour, the server shouts: “thanks the Chief Seat”. The common monks prostrate three times. (Singing the common monks’ greeting) The Administrators enter the hall, face the Sage Monk and prostrate three times with sitting mat unfolded. They tour the hall for one round and stand in the central sections of the hall. The server shouts: “thanks

The plan on the left is “the plan of the sixteen sections of dining seats in the sangha hall” 僧堂鉢位十六板首之圖 from the Essentials of the Revised Rules of Purity for Major Monasteries. The “central sections” (zhongjian banshou 中間板首) is thus the Section 13, 14, 15, 16 in the plan. Weimian, ed. Conglin jiaoding qinggui. X 1249, 0594a04. The plan on the right is "the plan of the sitting-meditation seats and dining seats in the sangha hall"
the Administrators”. The common monks prostrate for three times. The Administrators come out of the hall. The Sangha Hall Bell had been put in a steady position and not making any sounds. The abbot enters the hall, burns incense, prostrates three times with sitting mat unfolded and tours the hall for one round. The abbot’s disciples leave the hall from the back door to avoid the abbot’s prostration. Then the abbot comes back to the hall and stands still. (The server shouts) the abbot and the common monks greet with three-time prostration.

Although the Monastic Notices also carries on the common pattern of tea invitation, it adds a special thanks to the abbot, an extra move to and back from the Accounting Office, and a priority given to the Western Honorary Abbot. Furthermore, the greetings in the other monastic codes are mostly replaced with prostrations (bai 拜) in the Monastic Notices, showing greater sincerity in body movements.239

After lunch, monks sit down according to the seating plan that was put up in front of the sangha hall earlier. The Auxiliary Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries describes the seating arrangements for the Chief Seat, the abbot, the senior and junior Administrators in meticulous detail. The Chief Seat shall sit down first opposite the vacant seat for the abbot.240 Then the abbot enters the hall and sits down. The senior Administrators sit on the abbot’s side and the junior Administrators sit on the Chief Seat’s side.241

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240 Yixian, Chanlin beiyong qinggui. X 1250, 0634a06-0634b11.
241 Yixian, Chanlin beiyong qinggui. X 1250, 0634a06-0634b11.
齋退。燒香侍者令方丈客頭。僧堂前排特為照牌。首座住持對面設位。上首知事住持分手。次位維那。下首知事特為人分手位。上下安二個大眾牌。排設定已。撿視香幾燭台。差行者直特為光伴人盞。客頭覆侍者。次覆方丈。鳴皷。集眾。依鉢位立定。侍者外堂侯頭首一班歸前板。次首座入堂。揖請。離位揖。次肩上位。即送首座歸特為位。從龕後出堂前。報住持入堂。鳴堂前鐘七下。住持歸位。侍者往特為人前。問訊。從龕後。轉首座板頭。巡問訊一帀。外堂自下而上間。歸中問訊。大眾就坐。
After lunch, the Incense Offering Attendant orders the Guest Reception Server of the Abbot’s Office to set up the Reference Board in the front of the Sangha Hall. The Chief Seat’s seat is to be placed opposite the abbot’s seat. The senior Administrators sit next to the abbot, and the Director of Practitioners’ Affairs sits next to the senior Administrators. The junior Administrators sit next to the guest of honour. Place two boards of common monks on the upper and lower side. After the plan is set, check the incense table and candle holders. Then ask the server to take care of the companions’ tea bowls. The Guest Reception Server replies to the attendant, then replies to the abbot’s office. The drum is beaten, the monks are gathered. Everyone stands still at their stand. The attendant waits at the exterior hall for the Chief Officers to get back to the frontier section. Then the Chief Seat enters the hall, bows to invite, and leaves his stand and bows. Then his neighbour on his upper shoulder seat escorts the Chief Seat back to the special guest’s position.245 Passes from the back of the cabinet and comes to the front of the hall. Announces the abbot’s entrance of the hall and tolls the Bell of the Sangha Hall seven times. The abbot comes to his position. Then the attendant goes to the front of the guest of honour and greets him. Later, the attendant passes the Chief Seat’s section from the back of the cabinet, tours for one round and greets; then goes to the exterior hall, the lower side first and then the upper side. He comes back to the hall centre and greets. Then Everyone shall be seated.

On the other hand, the Imperial Edition of the Baizhang Rules of Purity has a rather brief instruction on this tea ceremony that the abbot holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks. It points out the key seating arrangements but does not explain the

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245 The “upper shoulder seat” (肩上位) refers to the neighbour that is nearer to the Buddha seat than oneself. Chanlin xiangqi jian explains the terms “上肩” (upper shoulder side) and “下肩” (lower shoulder side) as “忠曰。己之上位為上肩。己之下位為下肩。不拘己之左右矣。譬如東序人。以佛座為上。則其在己之右肩者。為上肩。在己之左肩者。為下肩。” (Mujaku Dōchū said: the upper seat is on the upper shoulder side and the lower seat is the lower shoulder side. The upper/lower seat does not equal to the right/left seat. i.e. For the Administrators of the East Order, as the direction to the Buddha seat is the upper side, their upper shoulder side is on their right shoulder and their lower shoulder side is on their left shoulder). Mujaku Dōchū, Zemrin shōkisen. B 0103, 3: 0074b01-0074b09.
sequence of sitting down nor the routes from entering the sangha hall to their own seats.\textsuperscript{246}

堂前排特為照牌，首座與住持對面，上首知事與住持分手位，維那次之，以次知事與受特為人分手位。\textsuperscript{247}

The Reference Board for the ceremony for the guest of honour is put outside the Sangha Hall. The Chief Seat is opposite the abbot. The senior Administrators sit next to the abbot, and the Director of Practitioners’ Affairs sits next to the senior Administrators. The junior Administrators sit next to the guest of honour.

Stage 2 of inviting to tea mainly entails a tour around the sangha hall with greetings along the way and a seating arrangement based on the relation of host and guest and monastic ranks. At this point, all the preparation work for the tea ritual has been completed and Stage 3 will start the actual tea drinking session.

**Stage 3: Drinking**

Although the “Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks in the Sangha Hall on the Four Festivals” is known as a tea ceremony, its tea-drinking narrative is extremely short, compared to the careful preparation and invitation of the tea ceremony that appropriately match the monastic order. The *Imperial Edition of the Baizhang Rules of Purity* even omits the depiction of tea drinking from its instruction of this tea ceremony.\textsuperscript{248} Below is the depiction of tea drinking in other monastic regulations.

茶遍澆湯，卻來近前當面問訊，乃請先吃茶也。湯瓶出，次巡堂勸茶，如第一翻，問訊巡堂，具不燒香而已...仍請喫藥也。次乃行茶澆湯，又問訊請先喫茶。\textsuperscript{249}

\textsuperscript{246} Dehui, *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui*, 202.
\textsuperscript{247} Dehui, *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui*, 202.
\textsuperscript{248} Dehui, *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui*, 202.
\textsuperscript{249} Zongze, *Chanyuan qinggui*, 66.
After the tea powder is distributed and the hot water is poured, (the chairman of the ceremony) comes to the front (of the Chief Seat), greets him face to face, and invites him to drink tea. After bringing out the hot-water bottle, (the chairman) tours the hall to persuade the monks to have more tea. If this is the first round of tour and greeting, do not burn incense… Then invite to have medicine. Afterwards, tea is distributed, and hot water is poured, greets and invite to tea again.

— the Tea or Soup Ceremony in the Sangha Hall, Chanyuan qinggui

次侍者燒香吃茶。250

— “解結人事”《入眾須知》

Then the attendant burns incense and (everyone) has tea.

— the Summer Retreat Greetings, Ruzhong xuzhi

行茶遍。湯缾出。251

— “解結冬年特為煎點茶湯”《咸淳清規》

After the tea powder is distributed, bring out the hot-water bottle.

— the Tea and Soup Ceremony on the Four Festivals, Xianchun qinggui

先下特為人茶。大眾茶遍。瓶出。252

—“方丈特為首座大眾茶”《至大清規》

Serve tea to the guest of honour first, then distribute tea to the Common Monks, and bring out the hot-water bottle.

— the Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat

251 Weimian, ed. Conglin jiaoding qinggui. X 1249, 0600c14-0602a05.
252 Yixian, Chanlin beiyong qinggui. X 1250, 0634a06- 0634b11.
Only the *Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries* records two rounds of tea-drinking with a round of medicine-taking in between, while the rest of the monastic codes simply record one round of tea-drinking. None of these tea-drinking narratives mentions any details of tea, tea wares, tea-making, tea-drinking, or body movements of monks during the tea-drinking session. It can merely be found in the ritual entry “Manners of Going to Tea and Soup Ceremonies” of the *Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries*, a step-by-step instruction for tea-drinking from how to take a tea bowl, to how to drink quietly, to how to put down a tea bowl:253

Peacefully take the tea bowl. Hold it to chest with both hands, not too low, not too high. If held to the same level of chest, it would be great… When drinking tea, do not blow to cool down the tea, do not shake the bowl, do not make any sound by mouth. When putting down the tea bowl, do not strike or hit it.

From the instruction of monastic tea-drinking above, this section shows that the tea-drinking experience is not meant to connect with Chan doctrines or monastic practice but is part of the enactment of proper monastic behaviour to a social and institutional standard.

After the monks finish their tea, the greeting to the guest of honour is repeated once more, along with the prostration to the Sage Monk and the hall tour.255 Then the tea bowls are collected and taken away.

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255 Weimian, ed. *Conglin jiaoding qinggui*. X 1249, 0600c14-0602a05.
叉手。再往首座前。問訊。復從廚後過。右邊出。中央問訊。大展三拜。収坐具。依
前巡堂一匝。歸位立。行者先収特為人。及住持盞。256

— “解結冬年特為煎點茶湯”《咸淳清規》

(The attendant) goes to the front of the Chief Seat again with hands crossed. And
greets. Then he passes from the back of the cabinet, coming out from the right side,
greets in the hall centre and prostrates three times with sitting mat unfolded, and
collects the sitting mat. Then he tours the hall for one round as earlier, comes back
and stands at his place. The server collects the tea bowls of the guest of honour and
the abbot first.

— the Tea and Soup Ceremony on the Four Festivals, Xianchun qinggui

往特為人前問訊。右出爐前。大展三拜。巡堂一帀。中間訊。側立。先收首座住持盞。

257

—“方丈特為首座大眾茶”《至大清規》

(The attendant) comes to the front of the guest of honour and greets. Coming out from
the right side of the incense burner, he prostrates three times with sitting mat unfolded.
He tours the hall for one round and then greets in the hall centre. He stands at side.
Then collects the tea bowls of the Chief Seat and the abbot first.

— the Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat
and the Common Monks, Zhida qinggui

Stage 3 of tea drinking briefly instructs us of the distribution of tea powder, the pouring
of hot water and the collection of tea bowls. Chan doctrines or practice are not
mentioned in the tea-drinking session. The only regulated manners for tea-drinking in
the rules of purity is aimed at social propriety in general.

256 Weimian, ed. Conglin jiaoding qinggui. X 1249, 0600c14-0602a05.
257 Yixian, Chanlin beiyong qinggui. X 1250, 0634a06-0634b11.
Stage 4: Thanking

After collecting the tea bowls, the Chief Seat thanks the abbot for hosting the tea ceremony for him by making condensed formulated remarks to express gratefulness along with prostrations. This procedure is called “thanking for tea” (xiecha 谢茶).\textsuperscript{258} The Chief Seat has “two interrupted attempts to prostrate and a compromise solution of three-time head-touching-the-ground” (liangzhan sanbai 兩展三拜) to the abbot with thanking remarks of gratitude and good wishes.\textsuperscript{259} Below is an example of thanking for tea from the \textit{Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries}.\textsuperscript{260}

如侍者行法事，茶罷先問訊，一時收盞橐出。特為人先起，於住持人前一展云：“此者特蒙和尚煎點，下情無任感激之至。”又一展敘寒暄云：“伏惟和尚尊體起居萬福。”乃觸禮三拜，送住持人出堂外。侍者於聖僧前、上下間問訊訖，打下堂鐘。\textsuperscript{261}

If the attendant chairs the ceremony, he greets after tea and collects the tea bowls. The guest of honour stands up, attempts to prostrate with sitting mat unfolded in front of the abbot [but is stopped by the abbot] and says: “Thanks to the abbot that this tea ceremony could be held. I am very grateful for that.” Then he attempts to prostrate with sitting mat unfolded once more [but is stopped by the abbot] and says: “I only wish that the abbot is safe and sound.” He prostrates with sitting mat folded for three times and sees off the abbot outside the hall. The attendant greets in front of the Sage Monk and at the upper and lower side of the door, then tolls the bell of the \textit{sangha} hall once.

The prostration and thanking remarks are largely the same in monastic codes. However, the Chief Seat is expected to pay a visit to the abbot in the \textit{dharma} hall to thank him properly after the abbot leaves the \textit{sangha} hall in the \textit{Essentials of Revised

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{258} Weimian, ed., \textit{Conglin jiaoding qinggui}. X 1249, 0600c14-0602a05.
\item \textsuperscript{259} Zongze, Chanyuan qinggui, 66.
\item \textsuperscript{260} Zongze, Chanyuan qinggui, 66.
\item \textsuperscript{261} An enumeration comma (,) is added between “聖僧前” and “上下間” in accordance to the custom use in other parts of the book. Zongze, \textit{Chanyuan qinggui}, 66.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
首座出住持前。谢茶。两展三拜。(每一展。住持答一拜。为重大众故。至首座触礼三拜。住持只答一拜。或有住持。但约免。不答一拜者)第一展。进谢词云(此者伏蒙和尚煎点。下情。无任感激之至)第二展。通寒暄云。(即日[时令]谨时。共惟堂头和尚。尊体。起居万福)然后触礼三拜。(若住持先不答拜。此当答三拜)首座转身。从圣僧龛后过。先出堂。住持随后送出。堂外问讯而去。住持再归位坐。执盏。侍者于中间。烧相伴香。一炷。问讯而退。(有处。上下间。亦问讯)行者収盏。鸣鼓三下。住持方再出堂。大众下床。

首座合即诣方丈谢茶。

多是住持。至法堂。俟首座来。免之。问讯而退。263

—“解结冬年特为煎点茶汤”《咸淳清规》

The Chief Seat comes to the front of the abbot and thanks for tea. He performs the “two interrupted attempts to prostrate and a compromise solution of three-time head-touching-the-ground” (The abbot responds to each attempt with a prostration with head touching the overlapped hands on the horizontally stretched arms to show his concern for the common monks. The abbot only prostrates once to respond to the Chief Seat’s three-time head-touching-the-ground. If the abbot exempts (the Chief Seat’s) prostration, he does not respond with prostration). On the first attempt of prostration, (the Chief Seat) thanks (the abbot): “Thanks to the abbot that this (tea ceremony) could be held. I am very grateful for that.” On the second attempt, he has small talks and says: “At this time today (this season), I only wish that the abbot is safe and sound.” Then he prostrates with head touching the ground for three times. (If the abbot did not

263 Weimian, ed. Conglin jiaoding qinggui. X 1249, 0600c14-0602a05.
respond to the previous attempts of prostration, he should prostrate with head touching the overlapped hands on the horizontally stretched arms for three times at this point.)

The Chief Seat turns his body and passes from the back of the Saint Monk. The Chief Seat steps out of the hall first and is then followed by the abbot. After greeting outside the hall, the Chief Seat leaves and the abbot comes back to his place, sits down and picks up his teacup. The attendant burns company incense in the hall centre, greets and leaves. (Sometimes he also greets at the upper and lower side of the door.) The attendant collects the cups, beats the drum for three times. The abbot gets out of the hall again, and the common monks leave their sitting beds.

The Chief Seat then visits the abbot’s office to thank for tea.

Most of the time, the abbot goes to the Dharma Hall, waits for the arrival of the Chief Seat, and exempts the thanks for tea. The Chief Seat greets and leaves.

— the Tea and Soup Ceremony on the Four Festivals, *Xianchun qinggui*

首座至住持前。行礼。初展云。(兹者特蒙和尚煎点。下情不胜感激之至)二展寒温。触礼三拜。每展。着一拜。首座转身龛后。右出。住持略送复位。执盏。陪众。烧光伴香一炷。鸣钟一下。收大众盏。鸣皷三下。退座。首座先于法堂伺候住持。谢茶。就接免诣方丈。264

—“方丈特为首座大众茶”《至大清规》

The Chief Seat comes to the front of the abbot and prostrates. On the first attempt of prostration, (the Chief Seat) thanks (the abbot): “Thanks to the abbot that this (tea ceremony) could be held. I am very grateful for that.” On the second attempt, he has small talks on the weather. Then prostrates with head touching the ground for three times. (The abbot) responds each attempt with a prostration with head touching the overlapped hands on the horizontally stretched arms. The Chief Seat turns his body,

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264 Yixian, *Chanlin beiyong qinggui*. X 1250, 0634a06-0634b11.
passes from the back of the Saint Monk and leaves from the right side. The abbot sees him off without walking far, comes back to his place, picks up his cup and accompanies the common monks. He burns one company incense, tolls the bell once and collects the common monks’ cups. He beats the drum for three times and leaves the seat. The Chief Seat waits the arrival of the abbot in the Dharma Hall in advance, thanks for tea and waits for the abbot’s exemption of visiting the abbot’s office.

— the Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks, Zhida qinggui

After the prostration and thanking for tea (sometimes a visit to the dharma hall), the “Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks on the Four Festivals” comes to an end.

As for the body movement of “two interrupted attempts to prostrate and a compromise solution of three-time head-touching-the-ground”, Mujaku Dōchū explained it as:265

舊說曰。展者。初欲展坐具。師家揶揄止之。故作折勢。復欲重展。復止之。復作折勢。然不拜則情不足。故不展坐具而手持觸地拜而已。或曰。展者。插手於坐具也。至第三度。抽之點額而禮。266

The old saying said that “unfolding” was to try to unfold the sitting mat but be stopped jokingly by the master and perform the gesture of folding; then to try to unfold the mat again and be stopped again; considering not bowing does not show enough respect, to bow with merely head touching the ground and hands between the folded mat. In other words, “unfolding” is to put hands between the folded sitting mat and bow with head touching the ground at the third attempt.

265 Mujaku Dōchū, Zenrin shōkisen, B 0103, 10: 0372a16.
266 Mujaku Dōchū, Zenrin shōkisen, B 0103, 10: 0372a16.
The first and second attempt to prostrate are stopped at the beginning stage of unfolding sitting mat, and the hands are left in the folded sitting mat. At the third attempt, one bows with head touching the ground for three times. The *Imperial Edition of the Baizhang Rules of Purity* confirms this explanation: “When the Chief Seat leaves, prostrates with head touching the ground for three times. The abbot stops each attempt of prostration. When the Chief Seat bows with head touching the ground, the abbot prostrates once as a response” (退，觸禮三拜。住持每一展，則約止之。至觸禮，則答一拜).267

There are few Buddhist sources about the origin or usage of the “two interrupted attempts to prostrate and a compromise solution of three-time head-touching-the-ground”, however, Chinese ritual classics share similar records on bows and prostrations. In this way, I will briefly compare the Chan prostration and the prostration in Chinese ritual classics to better understand the design of medieval Chan rituals.

The “head-touching-the ground rite” (*chu li* 觸禮) in the Chan rules of purity above, assembles the head-touching prostration named *dun shou* 頓首 in the Chinese ritual classics the *Rites of Zhou* (*Zhouli* 周禮), in both gestures and the relationships between the prostration performer and the prostration receiver. Both *dun shou* and *chu li* are to prostrate with head touching the ground and lifting immediately; while *dun shou* is for lower-rank officials to greet higher-rank officials, the *chu li* is used for lower-rank monks to greet higher-rank monks.268

when the subjects prostrate before the emperor, they perform the head-staying prostration (ji shou). The head-staying prostration means head staying in touch with the ground for a while. The ji means staying. When the inferior officials prostrate the superior officials, they perform the head-touching prostration (dun shou), in which head bows to hands and gets up immediately. When the superior officials prostrate the inferior officials, they perform the head-not-touching prostration (kong shou), in which head does not bow to hands and gets up immediately. When officials prostrate to their counterparts of the same rank, they also perform the head-not-touching prostration.

The Chief Seat performs head-touching prostration for three times to the abbot, as a low-rank official greets a high-rank official with dun shou. Then it is plausible that the prostration that the abbot returns is a head-not-touching prostration, as a high-rank official greets a low-rank official with kong shou.

In the tea ceremony that the abbot holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks, the abbot’s rejection of the first two attempts of prostration before acceptance assimilates to the rejection of the first two requests of visiting before acceptance in the “Meeting Rite of Yeomen” (shi xiangjian li 士相見禮) of the Etiquette and Rites (Yili 儀禮). The rejection of visit requests means that the host does not dare to receive the honour of being visited at his home and the host would visit the guest instead, thus showing the host’s respect to the guest. In this way, the interruption of the Chief Seat’s prostrations is likely to show the abbot’s respect to the Chief Seat as well.

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269 Mujaku Dōchū, Zenrin shōkisen, B 0103, 10: 0379b03.
Moreover, in most of the Chan regulations except the Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries, after the abbot hosts the tea ceremony for the Chief Seat and the common monks in the sangha hall, the Chief Seat immediately visits the abbot in the dharma hall to thank him for tea and waits for the abbot’s exemption from visiting the abbot’s office. However, as both the sangha hall and the dharma hall are public space, which belong to neither the abbot nor the Chief Seat, this makes the setting for the monastic visits different from yeomen home visits. It is evident that this way of showing respect in changing space are shared by the Chan monasteries and the Confucian manner in yeomen’s meeting.  

Furthermore, both Chan monasteries and yeomen settings have a messenger in sending information between the host and the guest.

This section has reconstructed and annotated a sample tea ceremony in the Chan monastery, “the Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks in the Sangha Hall on the Four Festivals”. Tea-drinking is the least described session in the four-stage tea ritual of announcing, inviting, drinking, and thanking. At the stage of tea-drinking, only simple procedures of distributing tea powder and pouring hot water are mentioned, with no further guidance on tea-related activities or mentions of Chan doctrines or practice. Therefore, the monastic tea ritual does not aim at tea-drinking nor facilitating Chan cultivation through tea-drinking.

On the contrary, this case study finds that the tea ritual entails a sophisticated monastic ritual system of hierarchy, which has a material or liturgical display of monastic ranks, years of ordination, the relation of host and guest and monastic occasions etc. The institutional hierarchy is reflected in many aspects of monastic rituals, including orientational directions, dharma instruments, seating arrangements, prostrations, and sequences. With the variation and permutation of these basic ritual

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units, a coded message of time, venue, host, and guest, is sent through ritual design. In the comparative study below, I will further investigate how tea rituals function in the monastic ritual system.

2.2.2 Tea Rituals in Monastic Ritual System: A Comparative Study of the Ceremonies in the Sangha Hall on the Four Festivals

The previous section has reconstructed the “Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks in the Sangha Hall on the Four Festivals” (referred to as “tea ceremony held by the abbot” below). It is one of the four ceremonies from the ritual cluster of ceremonies in the sangha hall on the Four Festivals. This section will compare this “tea ceremony held by the abbot” with the other rituals in the same cluster: “the tea ceremony held by the Accounting Office”, “the tea ceremony held by the Chief Seat of the Front Hall” and “the soup ceremony held by the Accounting Office”. This comparative study will investigate the functions of tea rituals in the Chan monastic ritual system, by comparing the rituals of drinks in the same venue for the same occasion with variations of hosts and drinks.
Table 3: The Hosts and Guests of the Ceremonies in the Sangha Hall on the Four Festivals

Before starting the comparative analysis, I will present a few visual aids for the case study. Table 3 shows the four pairs of hosts and guests of the tea and soup ceremonies held in the sangha hall on the Four Festivals. Graph 1-3 are the plans for the ceremonies in the sangha hall on the Four Festivals from the *Essentials of Revised Monastic Codes*.272

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272 Weimian, ed. *Conglin jiaoding qinggui*. X 1249, 0593b04-0593c04.
Graph 1 (left): The plan for the tea ceremony that the abbot holds for the Front Chief Seat and Common Monks
Graph 2 (centre): The plan for the tea and soup ceremony that the Administrators hold for the Front Chief Seat and Common Monks
Graph 3 (right): The plan for the tea ceremony that the Front Chief Seat holds for the Back Chief Seat and Common Monks

Graph 1 was shown in the last section of the tea ceremony held by the abbot and is presented here along with the plan for tea and soup ceremony that the Administrators hold for the Front Chief Seat and Common Monks on the Four Festivals 四節知事特為首座大眾僧堂茶湯之圖 and the plan for tea ceremony that the Front Chief Seat holds for the Back Chief Seat and Common Monks on the Four Festivals 四節前堂特為後堂大眾僧堂茶圖. These graphs depict the seating arrangement of monks with positions.

The four ceremonies are held in a row for the Four Festivals. Take the *Imperial Edition of the Baizhang Rules of Purity* for example. The soup ceremony is held by the Accounting Office on the evening before the festival day. On the afternoon of the festival day, the abbot holds a tea ceremony. On the afternoon after the festival day,

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the Accounting Office holds a tea ceremony. On the next afternoon, the Chief Seat holds a tea ceremony.

(1) Comparison 1: The Three Tea Ceremonies with Different Hosts

The first comparison is among the three tea ceremonies respectively held by the abbot, the Administrator/Accounting Office, and the Chief Seat in the sangha hall on the Four Festivals. The differences of tea ceremonies caused by the change of host have mostly been elaborated when explaining the ritual guidance for the tea ceremony held by the abbot in the last section. Here I will collate and analyse these differences to understand the role of tea ritual. Considering most rules of purity have very brief instructions on the tea ceremonies held by the Accounting Office and the Chief Seat, The Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries even synthesised the three tea ceremonies and the soup ceremony into one ritual entry. I will pinpoint the differences of the three tea ceremonies rather than comparing them stage by stage.

1' The Announcement Paper

This chapter finds that the scale of announcement paper and the place to put up the paper depend on the monastic position of ceremonial host in the three tea ceremonies. The abbot and the Accounting Office use the Big Announcement Paper (bang 榜), while the Chief Seat uses the Small Announcement Paper (zhuang 状).

堂頭、庫司用榜，首座用狀。
The abbot and the Accounting Office use the Big Announcement Paper, and the Chief Seat use the Small Announcement Paper.

— the Tea and Soup Ceremony in the Sangha Hall, Chanyuan qinggui

As usual, the abbot and the Accounting Office use the Big Announcement Paper, and the Chief Seat uses the Small Announcement Paper.

— the Tea and Soup Ceremony on the Four Festivals, Xianchun qinggui

In the Auxiliary Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries, although the Guest Reception Attendant drafts the announcement on zhuang, the drafted announcement is placed on the top of bang all the same when served to the Chief Seat. It is clear that the type of announcement paper to be used is determined by the monastic status of the ceremonial host.

Moreover, the announcement paper for the tea ceremony held by the abbot is put on the upper side of the front door of the sangha hall, whereas the ones held in the name of the Accounting Office and the Chief Seat are put on the lower side.

Put it on the side of the front door of the sangha hall (The abbot’s announcement paper is put on the upper side, and the Administrators’ and the Chief Seat’s announcement papers are put on the lower side).

— the Tea and Soup Ceremony in the Sangha Hall, Chanyuan qinggui

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280 Weimian, ed. Conglin jiaoding qinggui. X 1249, 0593b04-0593c04.
281 Yixian, Chanlin beiyong qinggui. X 1250, 0634a06- 0634b11.
282 Zongze, Chanyuan qinggui, 66.
The upper side matches with higher monastic ranks, and the lower side matches with lower monastic ranks, which has been explained in the last section and will not be further expanded here.

2' The Leaving Sequence

This chapter finds that the guest of honour (the Chief Seat) leaves the sangha hall before the host (abbot) after the tea ceremony held by the abbot, whereas the abbot leaves before the guest of honour (the Chief Seat) after the tea ceremonies held by the Accounting Office and the Chief Seat.

Below I will take two examples of the tea ceremony held by the Accounting Office respectively from the Monastic Notices and the Essentials of Revised Monastic Codes. After the thanking for tea, the abbot is accompanied by the Administrator to the door of sangha hall. After seeing off the abbot, the Administrator will see off the Chief Seat.

謝茶送和尚。先出堂前。後送首座堂前。觸禮一拜。首座特為藏主。亦如是。284

— “監寺特為首座首座特為藏主”《入眾須知》

Thanks for tea and sees off the abbot to the front of the hall. Then sees off the Chief Seat to the front of the hall and prostrate with head touching the ground once. This is also applicable when the Chief Seat holds ceremony for the Tripitaka Hall Official.

— the ceremony that the Head Administrative Official holds for the Chief Seat and the one that the Chief Seat holds for the Tripitaka Hall Official, Ruzhong xuzhi

284 Anonymous, Ruzhong xuzhi. X 1247, 0564c23.
The Administrators turn their bodies, pass from the back of the cabinet and exit the hall. They line from the lower side of the sitting bed and face it, waiting for the abbot coming out to greet. Afterwards, the Chief Seat comes out of the hall. The rest of the Administrators stay at their original places, except the Chief Head Administrative Official switching to the upper side of the sitting bed and prostrating with head touching the ground for once with the Chief Seat returning the same prostration to thank for tea. The Chief Head Administrative Official comes back to the hall and greets in the hall centre (As qinggui records, also greets at the upper and lower side). Then he collects the bowls of the common monks. The drum is beaten three times, everyone leaves the hall.

— the Tea and Soup Ceremony on the Four Festivals, Xianchun qinggui

For the tea ceremony held by the Chief Seat, the abbot still leaves the sangha hall first, and then leaves the guest of honour (the Chief Seat of the Rear Hall or other Vice Chief Officer).\(^{286}\)

The abbot goes back to his place and leaves the hall first. The Chief Seat passes from the back of the cabinet, comes out from the right side and leaves the hall. The Chief Seat of the Front Hall and the Chief Seat of the Rear Hall follows to exit the hall. They

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\(^{285}\) Weimian, ed. Conglin jiaoding qinggui. X 1249, 0593b04-0593c04.

\(^{286}\) Yixian, Chanlin beiyong qinggui. X 1250, 0634b21.

\(^{287}\) Yixian, Chanlin beiyong qinggui. X 1250, 0634b21.
prostrate once with each other to thank for tea and leave the hall. The guest of honour needs to visit the Chief Seat’s residential hall to thank him. The Chief Seat of the Front Hall comes back to the Sangha Hall and collects the bowls of the common monks, without burning company incense.

— The Tea Ceremony that the Chief Seat of the Front Hall holds for the Chief Seat of the Rear Hall and the Common Monks, Zhida qinggui

Unlike when the guest of honour leaves first in the tea ceremony held by the abbot, the priority of taking leave is given to the abbot rather than the guest of honour in the other two tea ceremonies, showing foremost respect to the abbot regardless of whom the tea ceremony is held for.

3’ The Repaid Visit

Finishing the tea ceremonies in the sangha hall on the Four Festivals, a repaid visit is carried out by the Chief Seat to the abbot in the dharma hall and by the Chief Seat of the Rear Hall to the Chief Seat of the Front Hall in the Chief Seat’s residential hall.\textsuperscript{288} In contrast, no additional visits are needed from the Chief Seat to the Head Administrative Official.\textsuperscript{289} The only variation here in the three ceremonies are the monastic positions of the host and the guest of honour. This chapter speculates that whether to have a repaid visit or not is not relative to the absolute ranking in the hierarchy of monastic position but to the relative ranking of the host and the guest of honour.

首座轉身，從聖僧後右出，住持略送復位。侍者燦光伴香，鳴鐘收盞，鳴鼓退座，亦同前。首座先往法堂，候住持拜謝，免則問訊。\textsuperscript{290}

\textsuperscript{288} Dehui, Chixiu Baizhang qinggui, 202. Yixian, Chanlin beiyong qinggui. X 1250, 0634b21.
\textsuperscript{289} Yixian, Chanlin beiyong qinggui. X 1250, 0634b14.
\textsuperscript{290} Dehui, Chixiu Baizhang qinggui, 202.
The Chief Seat turns his body, passes from the back of the Saint Monk and leaves from the right side. The abbot sees him off without walking far and comes back to his place. The attendant burns the company incense. Tolls the bell and collects the common monks’ cups. Beats the drum and leaves the seat. The same as before. The Chief Seat goes to the Dharma Hall first, waits for the arrival of the abbot, thanks for tea. If the abbot exempts his visit to the abbot’s office, the Chief Seat greets.

— The Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks in the Four Festivals, *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui*

The guest of honour needs to visit the Chief Seat’s residential hall to thank. The Chief Seat of the Front Hall comes back to the Sangha Hall and collects the bowls of the common monks, without burning company incense.

— The Tea Ceremony that the Chief Seat of the Front Hall holds for the Chief Seat of the Rear Hall and the Common Monks, *Zhida qinggui*

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According to this structure of Chan monastic administration, the inter-positional relationships are clearer to discern. Since the Chief Seat is served as the head of the West Order and the Head Administrative Official is served as the head of the East Order, the two positions are of equal rank in a monastery. While the abbot enjoyed a higher rank than the Chief Seat, the Chief Seat of the Front Hall has a higher rank than the Chief Seat of the Rear Hall, the Head Secretarial Official and other Vice Chief Officers in general. Taking this into consideration, the relative monastic ranking of the host and the guest of honour decides the necessity of returning a visit. If the host is of higher position than the guest of honour, the guest of honour needs to pay a visit afterwards to properly thank for tea. If the host and the guest of honour hold equivalent positions in the monastery, no additional visits are required nor expected.

From the comparison of the three tea ceremonies in the sangha hall on the Four Festivals respectively held by the abbot, the Accounting Office and the Chief Seat, this section has summarised three crucial differences among the tea ceremonies: the announcement paper, the leaving sequences, and the repaid visits. There are also other differences like the burning of incense and the route of entering and leaving the sangha hall, which also point to a rigid order within the monastic institution. In other words, the permutation of tea rituals is deployed to establish monastic hierarchy.

Despite the few differences in the three tea ceremonies above, the main body of the ritual structure remains the same, from the macro level of the four-stage structure of announcing the tea ceremony, inviting to tea, drinking tea, and thanking for tea, to the micro level of the moulded body movements, like prostrations, incense burning and hall tours. This indicates that the procedures of tea rituals remain largely fixed regardless of the change of host.
(2) Comparison 2: The Tea and Soup Ceremony Held by the Accounting Office

The soup ceremony held by the Accounting Office takes place in the evening before the festival day, and the tea ceremony held by the Accounting Office is on the afternoon of the second day of festival. The announcement for the soup ceremony is put up in the afternoon when the monks finish chanting in the God of Land Hall and start listening to preaching in the *sangha* hall, while the announcement for the tea ceremony is put up in the morning after breakfast.  

In many rules of purity, the instruction for the tea ceremony held by the Accounting Office constantly refers to the format of the soup ceremony held by the Accounting Office before the festival day. The tea ceremony and the soup ceremony assimilate in the scale of announcement paper and the place to put it up, the four-stage ritual structure of announcing, inviting, drinking, and thanking as well as the sequences for participants of different monastic ranks.  

都寺特為首座茶。懷香詣寮請。如特為湯禮。其榜。貼僧堂前。西邊牌上。次詣方丈諸寮請。並同湯禮。  

The Tea Ceremony that the Chief Head Administrative Official Holds for the Chief Seat:  
The invitation with burning incense in the residential hall is the same as the special soup ceremony. Its big announcement paper is to be put up on the west board in front of the Sangha Hall. Then visit the abbot’s office and other residential halls to invite, which is the same as the soup ceremony.  

Firstly, as the scale and position of announcement paper are defined by the host’s monastic position and the hosts are the Accounting Office for both ceremonies in this

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comparative case, both the soup and tea ceremony use the Big Announcement Paper and the announcement papers are put up on the lower side of the sangha hall door.296

Secondly, the tea ceremony and the soup ceremony held by the Accounting Office share the same announcing procedure, although different monastic codes have a different informing sequence and method. For instance, the informing order for both ceremonies in the Essentials of Revised Monastic Codes is the Chief Seat, the abbot, and the Common Monks, while the sequence in the Auxiliary Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries is the abbot, the Chief Seat, and the Common Monks.297 As for the method of informing for both ceremonies, it is recorded in the Essentials of Revised Monastic Codes that the Common Monks are informed by the Guest Reception Server in person, while in the Auxiliary Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries and the Imperial Edition of the Baizhang Rules of Purity, they learn the news from the announcement board at their residential halls.298

Thirdly, the tea and soup ceremony held by the Accounting Office also share the sequences in seating, greeting, thanking, collecting bowls, and leaving for the participants of different monastic ranks. Take the pair of the Chief Seat and the abbot for example. 1' Seating: At the start of both ceremonies, the Chief Head Administrative Official firstly leads the Chief Seat to his seat, and then leaves the sangha hall to welcome the abbot to his seat. It is just that the Chief Seat must stand at his seat until the abbot sits down in the Imperial Edition of the Baizhang Rules of Purity, and the

296 Zongze, Chanyuan qinggui, 66.
Chief Seat is allowed to be seated immediately as he is led to his seat in the *Essentials of Revised Monastic Codes* and the *Auxiliary Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries*.299

念誦畢，即鳴齋鼓一通，大眾歸鉢位，頭首一班齊歸前板。都寺隨入揖，首座離位卻揖。以次頭首進板首，隨送首座歸位。從聖僧後右出堂外，迎住持入堂。供頭緩鳴堂前鐘七下，送住持入位，仍往首座前揖坐。300

After chanting, there is a series of drumbeats announcing the meal seating. After the common monks are seated, all the Chief Officers go to the front sections of the hall. Then the Chief Head Administrative Official Holds enters the hall, bows to the Chief Seat and invites him to leave his place, then bows to the rest of the Chief Officers, finally sees the Chief Seat to his seat. (The Chief Head Administrative Official) passes from the back of the Sage Monk and leaves the hall from the right side to welcome the abbot. The Supply Server slowly tolls the Bell of the Sangha Hall. (The Chief Head Administrative Official) sees the abbot to his seat and then bows to the Chief Seat to let him sit down.

2’ Greeting: When it comes to hall tour with incense burning to invite for drinks, the Chief Head Administrative Official firstly greets the guest of honour (the Chief Seat), then the abbot, and finally the common monks.301 The greeting order is the same for both the tea and soup ceremonies. 3’ Thanking: When the ceremony is over, the Chief Head Administrative Official with the rest of the Accounting Office thank the abbot for coming with two interrupted attempts to prostrate with sitting mat unfolded and a compromise prostration of head-touching-the-ground for three times, and the abbot returns a prostration.302 Then the Accounting Office pass from the back of the Sage

300 Dehui, *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui*, 196.
Monk, leave the hall from the right side and line in front of the hall, and the Chief Seat follows and thanks the Accounting Office for soup with head-touching-the-ground once.  

4' Collecting bowls: The abbot’s bowl is collected before the Chief Seat’s, and the collections take place between thanking the abbot and being thanked by the Chief Seat.  

5' Leaving: The abbot leaves first, the Accounting Office follows and stands in front of the sangha hall, then the Chief Seat leaves and thanks the Accounting Office outside the hall.  

The few nuances between the tea ceremony and the soup ceremony held by the Accounting Office include word choice in the announcement paper and oral invitations, the time and day of the event, summoning instruments, and the use of medicine. The tea ceremony invitations merely change the word “soup” to “tea” and the rest of the content remain the same. While the soup ceremony is held on the evening before the festival day, the tea ceremony is held on the afternoon of the day after the festival day. While the soup ceremony deploys the bell and drum to summon monks, the tea ceremony only needs a long strike of board and sometimes the drum. Also, there is medicine-taking which follows the drinking of soup, but not for the drinking of tea. The priority for the ceremonial participants of different status still lies in the core of ritual guidance, especially the relative priority for the Chief Seat and the abbot, while the actual drinking is condensed into a few words.

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303 Yixian, X 1250, 0632d13, 0634b14. Dehui, 196, 203.
304 Weimian, X 1249, 0600c14, 0601a18-0601a19. Yixian, X 1250, 0632d13, 0634b14.
306 Dehui, 196, 203.
307 Dehui, Chixiu Baizhang qinggui, 196.
308 Yixian, X 1250, 0632d13, 0634b14.
309 Dehui, Chixiu Baizhang qinggui, 196.
2.3 Conclusion

This chapter argued that tea, along with soup, medicine, congee, and meal, played a partial role in the system of monastic diets rather than having a superior status in the Chan monasteries as commonly believed. Even though this chapter confirmed that there was a large proportion of monastic tea rituals, tea-related activities were not central to tea rituals. Instead, drinks like tea and soup are interweaved with other ritual units, like orientational directions, relative sequences, prostrations, and dharma instruments, together formed a sophisticated monastic ritual system that aimed to efficiently distinguish monastic ranks and host-guest relations. Every stage of monastic ceremonies differentiated the institutional hierarchy in material and liturgical forms, from the scale and position of announcement papers, to summoning instruments and striking times, to seating arrangements and prostrations, to leaving sequences and repaying visits. Although tea is immersed in many aspects of monastic life, a meaningful connection between tea and Chan was not found.

This chapter has investigated tea’s functions in Chan monastic practice. The next chapter will continue the investigation from the perspective of Chan doctrines. It will analyse the use of tea in the unique courier of Chan Buddhist teachings — Chan hagiographies.
Chapter 3: Tea in Chan Hagiographies

Tea elements that are deployed in Chan hagiographical stories have been of great magnitude when it comes to shaping the discourse of a Chan-tea bond. Including the well-known public case (gongan 公案) of Monk Zhaozhou’s (Zhaozhou Congshen 趙州從諗, 778–897) “go to drink tea" 喫茶去 that has been depicted in the introduction of this thesis, there are substantial records of tea-related activities in Chan hagiographies of various genres, like the transmission of the lamp (chuandenglu 傳燈錄) histories and the records of sayings (yulu 語錄). This vast amount of tea records has been interpreted as self-evident in supporting the seemingly inseparable tie of Chan and tea, not to mention that tea has been frequently taken as a metaphor to explain Buddhist teachings by Chan masters. This chapter will examine the Chan-tea connection and investigate tea’s functions in Chan hagiographies.

Before that, I will briefly analyse this genre of Chan hagiographies, its role in the historical development of Chan school, and its function in reaching the goal of Buddhahood attainment, and then I will situate the analysis of tea in Chan hagiographies within the background. Unlike the monastic codes that face an internal audience within the same monastery and employ formulated Buddhist languages to instruct sophisticated ritual processions, this genre of Chan hagiographies has collected dramatic and compelling stories of Chan masters of the Bodhidharma lineage. Hagiographies have distinguished the Chan school in its competition with


other Buddhist schools in gaining greater sectarian influence and winning state and public patrons. On the one hand, the discourse of an authoritative Chan lineage of transmission was built on various hagiographical stories of Chan masters despite their iconoclastic tradition and has dominated the study of Chinese Buddhism since the Song dynasty, when the records of sayings and the transmission of the lamp histories were widely printed and circulated.\textsuperscript{312} Even though recent scholars have argued that this Chan lineage under Bodhidharma was a constructed spiritual lineage of Tang masters with Song compilation and interpretation of Chan \textit{gong'an}, or have raised the concern that the Chan masters under the Bodhidharma lineage did not even share a set of agreed doctrines or practices, this Chan lineage rhetoric embedded in the \textit{gong'an} stories has boldly highlighted Chan school as an independent entity.\textsuperscript{313} On the other hand, regardless of Baizhang Huaihai’s 百丈懷海 (720-814) novel establishment of a code particularly for Chan monasteries in the mid-Tang, the content of Chan monastic regulations could not clearly mark out the Chan faction institutionally, as the Chan monastic regulations did not record substantially unique religious practice or organisational administration.\textsuperscript{314} The rise of Chan school on an institutional level relied much on the state’s recognition and favour of Chan public monasteries rather than intrinsic differentiations among Chinese Buddhist factions.\textsuperscript{315}


\textsuperscript{314} Morten Schlütter, \textit{How Zen Became Zen: The Dispute over Enlightenment and the Formation of Chan Buddhism in Song-Dynasty China} (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008), 16.

\textsuperscript{315} Schlütter, \textit{How Zen Became Zen}, 53.
This vernacular genre of Chan literature is equipped with astonishing and intriguing plots, but also inscrutable and thought-provoking dialogues between Chan masters and disciples.\textsuperscript{316} This antagonistic narrative style against logic in Mahayana Buddhist tradition can be traced back to \textit{Mūlamadhyamakakārikās} (MMK), which proposes that rhetoric is to liberate people from superficial and habitual thinking and to transcend self-centred existence.\textsuperscript{317} However, these rhetoric on the teachings of Buddha have been taken as mere expedient devices (\textit{upāya}) for transcending conceptual understanding and have been empty in and of itself in the early \textit{Prajñāpāramitā} literature and \textit{Madhyamaka} exegetical materials.\textsuperscript{318} This gives a sound explanation on Chan iconoclastic tradition, in which the authority of masters and even Buddha should be challenged or denied.\textsuperscript{319} Also, key phrases (\textit{huatou} 話頭) and catch phrases (\textit{jakugo} 着語) are important soteriological devices in \textit{kanhua} Chan 看話禪.

Despite its inheritance of Indian rhetorical tradition, Chan hagiographies also reflect strong Chinese influences. Anderl argues that Chan \textit{gong'an} was influenced by a range of sources, including the \textit{chuanqi} 傳奇 and literary games, Neo-Confucian and Daoist \textit{yulu}, \textit{avadāna} literature and \textit{yinyuan} 因緣.\textsuperscript{320} Among which, Chinese literary genres have played an important role in the formation of Chan literatures. Welter believes that the composition of Chan historiographies and hagiographies have been affected by a Chinese sense of history and the Chinese historical writing style

\textsuperscript{316} Christoph Anderl, “Zen Rhetoric: An Introduction”, 17-23.
\textsuperscript{319} Robert Sharf, “Chan Cases”, 94.
\textsuperscript{320} Christoph Anderl, “Zen Rhetoric: An Introduction”, 17-23.
represented by *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 史記).*321* McRae even paralleled the Song recreation of Tang Chan masters’ stories with the Neo-Confucian revival of ancient writings in the Daoxue movement.322 Their commenting and interpreting of the past classics were seen as a competition with their precedents guised by a reconstruction of the golden age.323

It is worth pondering how the frequent metaphor “tea” functions in the context of Chan hagiographies provided above, thus leading to a discourse of Chan-tea connection.324 The character “tea” is phenomenally spotted in the description of monastic surroundings in Chan historiographies, biographies, and autobiographies. Some of the most representative monastic settings include “drinking tea” (*chicha* 喫茶) “making tea” (*diancha* 點茶/ *jiancha* 煎茶) and “picking tea” (*zhaicha* 摘茶).325 For instances, in the two stories of Householder Pang (*Pang jushi* 龐居士) / Pang Yun’s 龐蘊 encounter with Buddhist monks, the settings of tea-drinking and tea-planting have respectively served as the background of enlightening dialogues between Householder Pang and Chan masters.

松山和尚。一日命龐居士喫茶。居士舉起托子云。人人盡有分。因什麼道不得。師云。只為人人盡有。所以道不得。居士云。阿兄為什麼却道得。師云。不可無言也。居士

只為人人盡有。所以道不得。居士云。阿兄為什麼却道得。師云。不可無言也。居士

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The Monk Songshan. One day, [the master] asked the Householder Pang to drink tea. The Householder lifted the saucer and said: “Everyone has it. Why say that it cannot be said?” The master said: “Just because everyone has it, that’s why it cannot be said.” The Householder said: “Why can you say?” The master said: “Which cannot be said.” The Householder said: “Understood, understood.” The master then drank tea. The Householder said: “Why did you drink tea without greeting the guest first?” The master said: “Who?” The Householder said: “Me.” The master said: “There’s no need.” Later, Danxia heard of this act of the master and said: “Has the old man made it turbulent on the Mountain Songshan?” The Householder heard about it and asked someone to pass the words to Danxia that “why not think of the time when the saucer was lifted?”

Later the master (Monk Zechuan) went to the tea plantation to pick some tea. The Householder Pang said: “There is no place to stay in the Dharma realm. Can you still see me?” The master said: “I am afraid to answer your question.” The Householder said: “It is normal to answer questions.” The master continued picking tea without listening. The Householder said: “Please forgive my abruptness for asking the question just now.” The master still didn’t respond. The Householder shouted: “You are such an ill-mannered old man. I will tell the sober and let them judge.” The master threw away the tea basket and returned to the abbot’s office.

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326 Daoyuan, Jingde chuantenglu, 202. T 2076, 8: 0261a06.
327 Daoyuan, Jingde chuantenglu, 202. T 2076, 8: 0261a15.
These settings like the tea-drinking place and tea plantation do not exclusively belong to Buddhist monasteries nor have a religious nature but are widely shared by the entire Chinese society in daily social activities and agricultural production. Then the question is: How has the common belief that tea is closely tied with the Chan school been formed? Was it a real connection or a skilful rhetoric? This chapter will examine the Chan-tea connections drawn from Chan hagiographies and will investigate the use of tea including its background and functions, in the narratives of Chan histories, hagiographies and dialogues. This analysis aims to demystify the endowment of the sacralised hagiographical ideals to the drinking of tea and to explore the possibility of a multifaced “tea” in this innovative and influential genre of Chan literature.

3.1 Tea and “Ordinary Mind is the Way”

Whenever mentioning Chan-tea bond, a must-mention Chan hagiographical story about tea is the “Monk Zhaozhou’s tea” 趙州茶, which was introduced at the beginning of this thesis.

師問新到: "曾到此間未?" 曰: "曾到。" 師曰: "吃茶去。" 又問僧, 僧曰: "不曾到。" 師曰: "吃茶去。" 後院主問曰: "為甚曾到也云吃茶去, 不曾到也云吃茶去?" 師召院主, 主應喏。師曰: "吃茶去。"

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330 Puji 普濟, Wudeng huiyuan 五燈會元 [The five history books on Chan quotations], ed. Su Yuanlei 蘇淵雷 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1984), 204. X 1565, 4: 0091b05. In The Anthology of the Patriarchal Hall, the conversation between the Head Administrative Official and the master in the excerpt above is replaced by: 又
The master asked a newly arrived [visiting monk]: “Have you visited here before?” [The monk] answered: “I have.” The master said: “Go to drink tea.” Thereupon the master asked [another visiting] monk again. The monk replied: “I have not.” The master said: “Go to drink tea.” Afterwards, the Head Administrative Official asked [the master]: “Why did you tell them both to go to drink tea regardless of whether they have visited or not?” The master summoned the Head Administrative Official [to come nearer], the Head responded obediently and said yes. The master said: “Go to drink tea.”

Asking visiting monks whether they have visited here before or not, Monk Zhaozhou let them “go to drink tea” regardless of their contradictory answers, which has been regarded as a representative case of Chan-tea bond in Chan hagiographies by Buddhist masters then and many scholars now.331 This section will examine this popular case as a starting point of analysing the application of tea in Chan hagiographies.

This story of Monk Zhaozhou’s tea has been commonly interpreted by today’s scholars as a reflection of the ordinary mind responding to the changing outside world with stillness and calmness, despite arguments that tea does not have special connotations here.332 Many of these scholars have attributed Monk Zhaozhou’s

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persistent response to Mazu Daoyi’s 馬祖道一 teaching the “ordinary mind is the way”平常心是道，but have not elaborated the very connection between the teaching and the story.\(^{333}\) Since Monk Zhaozhou is the disciple of Nanquan Puyuan 南泉普願 (748–834), whose teacher is the founder of the Hongzhou school (Hongzhou zong 洪州宗) Mazu Daoyi, there is likely consistency in the transmission of dharma between Zhaozhou and Mazu. However, the link between Zhaozhou’s tea and Mazu’s teaching should not be taken for granted, especially considering the Chan iconoclastic tradition and fluid exchanges of teachings among masters of various Buddhist schools. Therefore, this section will examine this link between Zhaozhou’s tea and Mazu’s teaching and further investigate tea’s relationship with Chan doctrines and awakening.

As Mazu explained, the ordinary mind is the key to the Way. It entails “no intentions, no judgements, no decisions, no normality, no differentiation of commonness and sacredness”\(^ {334}\). The Way lies in every behaviour and reaction in daily life. In this way, tea-drinking certainly belongs to this category of day-to-day activity and thus bears the ordinary mind and the Way. Then it is a plausible explanation that Zhaozhou takes one example of daily activity to implicit the doctrine “ordinary mind is the Way”.

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示眾云：“道不用脩，但莫汙染。何為汙染？但有生死心，造作趨向，皆是汙染。若欲直會其道，平常心是道。何謂平常心？無造作，無是非，無取捨，無斷常，無凡無聖。经云：非凡夫行，非聖賢行，是菩薩行。只如今行住坐臥，應機接物，盡是道。335

[Mazu Daoyi] said to the audience: “the Way is not to be cultivated but kept unstained. What is the stain? The differentiation between life and death, intentions and interests are all stains. To say the Way in one sentence, an ordinary mind is the Way. What is the ordinary mind? No interference, no judgements, no decisions, no normality, no differentiation of commonness and sacredness. It is written in the Vimalakirti Sutra that the acts that are neither commoners’ acts nor sages’ acts are the ones of the bodhisattva. The Way is in walking, standing, sitting, and lying. All the interactions with the outside world are the Way.

Even though the teaching coordinates with a potential motive of Zhaozhou’s consistent response to all remarks, a direct association between the teaching and Monk Zhaozhou’s tea cannot yet be revealed solely from Mazu’s teaching.

Zhaozhou’s reception to the teaching “ordinary mind is the Way” can be reflected in one of his dialogues with Nanquan. This dialogue was first found recorded in the early Chan text Zutangji and later has been a popular public case widely commented on and chanted by Linji (Linji zong 臨濟宗) Chan masters, like Xue'an Congjin 雪菴從瑾 (1117 – 1200) and Wumen Huikai 無門慧開 (1183 – 1260).336

既遭盛筵,寧無扣擊? 師問:“如何是道?”南泉云:“平常心是道。”師云:“還可趣向否?”南泉云:“擬則乖。”師云:“不擬時如何知是道?”南泉云:“道不屬知不知,知

It happens to be having a feast, why not have some teachings?

Zhaozhou asked Nanquan: “What is the Way?”

Nanquan said: “Ordinary mind is the Way.”

Zhaozhou asked: “Should I try to direct myself toward it?”

Nanquan said: “If you try to direct yourself, you betray your own practice.”

Zhaozhou asked: “How can I know it is the Way if I don’t direct myself?”

Nanquan said: “The Way is not subject to knowing or not knowing. Knowing is delusion; not knowing is blankness. If you truly reach the genuine Way, you will find it as vast and boundless as outer space. How can this be discussed at the level of affirmation and negation?”

Zhaozhou then had sudden realization with his heart as a bright moon. Since then, he became easy-going and capricious, took it easy on life, brought coats and sticks and travelled around.338

Here another discussion concerning what the Way is and how to achieve it unfolds between master and disciple. In the narratives of Zutangji, Zhaozhou was enlightened by the teaching “ordinary mind is the Way” and has enacted on the teaching ever since. On the other hand, in Wumen’s comments from Wumenguan, it took Zhaozhou thirty years to understand the essence of this teaching (“Zhaozhou had asked Nanquan. Ice had melted, but the teaching was not understood. Zhaozhou was left with the teaching. Thirty years later, he understood it”南泉被趙州發問。直得瓦解氷消分疎不下。趙州縱饒悟去。更參三十年始得。).339 Either way, the teaching of “ordinary mind is the Way” strongly impacted Zhaozhou’s understanding of Chan and Buddhist enlightenment.

337 Jing 靜 and Yun 筠, Zutangji 祖堂集 [The Anthology of the Patriarchal Hal]. B 0144, 18: 0630a04.
Reviewing the story of Monk Zhaozhou’s tea, Zhaozhou’s response of “go to drink tea” to both visiting monks, one who has visited before and one who has not, reflects an idea of no differentiation which coordinates with Mazu’s definition of ordinary mind. When the Head Administrative Official enquired in the end on Zhaozhou’s intention of doing that, Zhaozhou gave the same response “go to drink tea”, which implies that Zhaozhou neither had any intentions in telling both visiting monks the same answer nor had the intention to explain why he hadn’t the intention to tell them. The absence of intention has also been the core of ordinary mind as elaborated by Mazu and Nanquan. Therefore, “go to drink tea” and “ordinary mind is the Way” are intrinsically linked on a doctrinal level in Buddhist awakening. However, it still needs further research to confirm if tea is a special metaphor in Chan hagiographies or not and what functions tea has other than an example to explain the doctrine.

### 3.2 A Preliminary Analysis on the Use of Tea in Chan Hagiographies

This short section will zoom out of certain popular cases and offer some general patterns on the use of tea in Chan hagiographies. It aims to provide raw data based on quantitative observations on tea use and set my research criteria and categorisation before analysing the data in the next section.

Apart from “go to drink tea” (chichaqu 喫茶去), there are a few synonyms and similar expressions of tea-drinking in related records, such as “drink tea” (chicha 喫茶 / chuocha 喫茶) and “have a seat and drink tea” (qiezuo chicha 且坐喫茶). They

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deliver a meaning close to “go to drink tea” and homologous functions in the social situation, thus included as tea-drinking activities into my search of a usage pattern of tea in Song-Yuan Chan hagiographies. Along with tea-drinking, tea-making (jiancha/ diancha 點茶/ zhucha 煮茶/ pengcha 煲茶), tea-planting (zhaicha 摘茶/ caicha 採茶), tea-offering (diancha 奠茶/ gongcha 供茶) and tea-gifting (cicha 許茶/ jicha 寄茶) are also essential tea-related daily activities in Buddhist monasteries. These activities involve a range of broader issues of monasticism, including the relationships among monks, the relationships of clergies, officials and the state, the adaptation and innovation of Chinese Buddhist rituals, and Chinese monastic economy. I will bring in discussions on the background of these monastic activities where necessary to complement with textual analysis of Chan hagiographies. Last but not the least, this chapter will briefly collate idioms about tea like “ordinary tea and meals” (xunchang chafan 寻常茶饭/ jiachang chafa 家常茶饭/ cucha danfan 粗茶淡饭) “drink tea when there is tea, have a meal when there is a meal” (yucha chicha, yufan chifan 遇茶喫茶, 遇飯喫飯), which bear important associations that Chinese Buddhist monks have endowed to the drink. Some of these tea-related expressions above are from dialogues among Chan masters, while some are descriptions of acts or monastic surroundings. Both of which are considered in my following analysis.


0144, 4: 0377a06. Keqin 克勤, Foguo Yuanwu chanshi biyanlu 佛果圓禪師碧巖錄 [Blue Cliff Record], annotated by Chongxian 重顯. T 2003, 4: 0173c09, 0175c25.
3.3 The Intertwin of Tea and Chan: The Attitudes toward Tea in the Chan School and the Contribution of the Hongzhou and Linji lineages to the Chan-tea Connection

It has been widely accepted that there is a link between Chan and tea by modern scholars and the general public.\(^{343}\) However, this section finds that the extent of adapting tea to Chan Buddhism varies in different lineages of Chan school. While tea has been a customary metaphor to elaborate Buddhist teachings by the Hongzhou and Linji masters, it was not that well accepted in the hagiographies of many other Chan lineages, including the Oxhead lineage (*Niutou zong* 牛頭宗) and part of the Southern lineage (*Nan zong* 南宗/ *Caoxi zong* 曹溪宗) like the Stone-head lineage (*Shitou zong* 石頭宗). I will elaborate this finding below, analyse the reasons behind the lineage differences in accepting tea into Chan teachings, and further investigate tea’s functions in the different Chan lineages.

### 3.3.1 The Start of Hagiographical Stories about Tea from the Hongzhou Lineage

In the Hongzhou tradition, tea was first served as part of the monastic surroundings in Mazu’s records. Tea-related activities like passing over tea, are briefly presented as silent actions but are not taken into explanation of Buddhist teachings.

洪州泐潭惟建禪師, 一日在馬祖法堂後坐禪, 祖見, 乃槌師耳兩吹, 師起定,見是和尚, 卻復入定。祖歸方丈, 令侍者持一碗茶與師, 師不顧, 便自歸堂。\(^{344}\)

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Chan master Weijian of Letan in Hangzhou (Jiangxi) was one day sitting in meditation at the back of Patriarch Mazu’s dharma hall. When the Patriarch saw him, he blew into the master’s ear twice. The master came out of his meditative state, saw that it was the Patriarch and promptly went back to meditating. The Patriarch returned to his quarters and had the attendant take the master a big bowl of tea. The master ignored him and himself returned to his quarters.\textsuperscript{345}

However, when it came to Mazu’s disciples, tea tends to indirectly connect with Buddhist awakening as irrelevant conversation or non-verbal response.

In a conversation between Baizhang and Huo, Huo asked Baizhang for a small bowl of tea after questioning Baizhang’s request for an enquiry. In turn, Baizhang used a metaphor of taking over territory after territory to sneer at Huo’s further request for tea.

\begin{quote}
舉幾上座到百丈。丈云。有事相借問。得麼。㝫云。幸自非言。何須譗窒。恁麼則許借問也。㝫云。更請一甌茶。丈云。収得安南。又憂塞北。㝫擘開胷云。與麼與麼。丈云。要且難搆。要且難搆。㝫云。知即得知即得。
\end{quote}

Once Venerable Huo came to the Mountain Baizhang. Master Baizhang said: “I have something to ask. May I?” Venerable Huo said: “It is nonsense itself, there is no need to answer with nonsense. Why ask for permission to enquire?” Venerable Huo said: “I shall request another small bowl of tea.” Baizhang said: “Having taken over the An’nan region, then worry about [the situation in] Saibei.” Venerable Huo stretched his lapels and revealed his chest and said: “Will you give me or not?” Baizhang said: “It is hard to do so.” Venerable Huo said: “Knowing is obtaining.”


\textsuperscript{346} Depu 德溥, Wuchu Daguan chanshi yulu 物初大觀禪師語錄 [The Records of Saying of Chan master Wuchu Daguan]. X 1366, 0694b22.
Tea here simply refers to its literal meaning of the common drink rather than other connotations. Even though it was not specified about the content of “knowing” in “knowing is obtaining”, whether it is knowing tea would be made, knowing how to make tea, or knowing making tea for him was hard, it was certain that Venerable Huo did not merely refer to tea by saying “knowing is obtaining”, just as Baizhang sneered with the metaphor of taking over lands. It is likely that the saying implies that one’s own heart is the key to the obtainment of the Buddha path (即心即佛 — the core doctrine of the Hongzhou Chan lineage. Knowing the Buddha path is the way to Buddha path. There is no need to rely on exterior enlightening means of any forms. In sight of this, the sarcastic response that was triggered by the request for tea finally led to a doctrinal conclusion of “knowing is obtaining”. Compared to the random occurrence of passing over a bowl of tea in Mazu’s records, tea here tends to involve Buddhist doctrine as a seemingly irrelevant start of an enlightening conversation.

Nanquan, another disciple of Mazu, also had a dramatic use of tea wares. During his encounter with a hermitage head who had ignored Zhaozhou the day before, Nanquan, along with a novice monk (沙彌), brought a bottle of tea and three pairs of big teacups to the hermitage for a visit. He threw all the tea wares on the ground and told the head of the hermitage that this was for yesterday.

南泉山下有一菴主。或謂曰。南泉和尚近日出世。何不去禮見。主曰。非但南泉。直饒千佛出興我亦不去。泉聞乃令趙州往勘之。州見便說拜。主不顧。州從西過東又從東過西。主並不顧。州曰草賊大敗。遂拽下簾子便歸。舉似泉。泉曰我從來疑著這漢。次日泉乃與沙彌攜茶一瓶盞三隻到菴。擲向地上乃曰。昨日的昨日的。主曰昨日的是什麼。泉於沙彌背上拍一下曰。賺我來賺我來。拂袖便回。

347 Jingfu 淨符, Zongmen niangu huiji 宗門拈古彙集 [The Compilation of Ancient Cases]. X 1296, 0056c22.
At the foot of Mountain Nanquan lives the head of a hermitage. Someone said to the head: “Monk Nanquan has been giving teachings these days. Why not go and pay a visit?” The head said: “Not only Nanquan. Even if thousands of Buddha are giving teachings, I would not go either.” Nanquan heard about the story and asked Zhaozhou to have a check. When Zhaozhou met the head of the hermitage, he immediately greeted the head. The head ignored Zhaozhou. Then Zhaozhou paced from west to east, then from east to west. The head still ignored Zhaozhou. Zhaozhou said: “The rebels failed badly.” Then he pulled off the bamboo screen and left the hermitage, as Nanquan would do in the same situation. [Upon Zhaozhou’s return,] Nanquan said: “I have always thought that he is a strange man.” On the next day, Nanquan and a novice monk brought a bottle of tea and three pairs of big teacups to the hermitage. Nanquan threw the tea wares on the ground and said: “This is for yesterday.” The head said: “What is it for yesterday?” Nanquan patted the back of the novice monk and said: “Come and deceive me.” Then Nanquan simply left the hermitage and returned to his monastery.

Throwing tea wares on the ground was Nanquan’s sole response to the head’s disrespectful manner in receiving Zhaozhou. Still, this unc customary action is hard to be interpreted without verbal explanation, as throwing tea wares on the ground is neither a Chinese cultural norm nor a Buddhist symbol for expressing certain feelings or thoughts. Therefore, it could only be roughly taken as a deliberate performance of disrespect. Although the specific meaning behind Nanquan’s action of throwing tea wares on the ground remains unclear, it is certain that Nanquan and his fellow monks were so familiar with tea, tea wares and tea-related activities that Nanquan naturally introduced tea wares in his bodily expression with intended symbolic meanings when an incident had suddenly occurred.

These hagiographical stories of Mazu’s disciples have reflected not only tea’s function as a verbal and non-verbal metaphor for Buddhist doctrines but also the
sophistication of tea culture and its increasing influence on Hongzhou Chan clergies and monastic practice.

与南泉同行。一日告別煎茶次。泉曰從前與師兄商量語句。彼此已知。此後有人問。畢竟事作麼生。宗曰。這一片地。大好卓菴。泉曰。卓菴且置。畢竟事作麼生。宗乃踢翻茶銚便起。泉曰。師兄喫茶了。普願未喫。宗曰。作這箇語話。滴水也難消。348

Guizong and Nanquan had always been together. One day, they needed to say farewell to each other. After tea was boiled, Nanquan said: “I have always been discussing with you. We have known each other well. If someone discussed questions with me when you were gone, what could I do?” Guizong said: “It would be great to build a hermitage on the land.” Nanquan said: “After a hermitage was built, what could I do?” Guizong stood up and kicked over the hot water pot. Nanquan said: “You have had tea, but I have not.” Guizong said: “You have said this and do not deserve even a drop of water.”

For instance, professional terminologies concerning tea wares, such as hot water pot (diao 錢), hot water bottle (ping 瓶), small bowl (ou 臘) and big cup (zhan 盞), are embedded in the Chan hagiographical depiction of monastic surroundings in medieval China.349 Their counterparts of late imperial China, including teapot (hu 壺) sharing cup (zhong 盅/鐘) and small cup (bei 杯), can be found in the monastic setting accordingly when the tea-drinking trend had switched from powder tea to loose leave tea in wider Chinese society.350

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348 Jingfu, Zongmen niangu huiji. X 1296, 0058c15.
The most well-known Buddhist master of tea Zhaozhou Congshen, who is usually known as a famous Chan master but is less known for being Nanquan’s disciple and a Hongzhou Chan master, an identity that has not been specified or even been mistaken to be a Linji Chan master by recent scholars researching the association of Chan and tea. Even though Shen Dongmei has traced Zhaozhou’s connection with Nanquan and has gathered evidence that other Chan masters including Guizong have said “go to drink tea”, she did not distinguish the use of tea in Chan hagiographies based on the doctrinal schools of these Chan masters, and thus intrinsic connections between tea and doctrines from different Buddhist lineages have been completely ignored.

3.3.2 The Relations with Tea in the Oxhead and Northern Lineages

The various attitudes towards the use of tea among different Chan lineages can be easily proven by displaying relevant records of other Chan traditions along with the counterparts of the Hongzhou and Linji lineages. The Oxhead lineage started by Farong 法融 (594－657) and the Northern lineage (Bei zong 北宗) started by Shenxiu 神秀 (606－706), have been developed into independent lineages as early as Huineng’s 惠能 / 慧能 (638－713) Southern lineage, the ancestral lineage of the Hongzhou, Stone-head, Heze (Heze zong 菏澤宗) and Baotang lineages (Baotang zong 保唐宗). I will first examine the records from the Oxhead and the Northern

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lineages before analysing Hongzhou’s sibling lineages derived from the Southern lineage.

The founder of the Oxhead lineage, Niutou Farong, was a disciple of the fourth patriarch Daoxin 道信 (580－651). According to extant biographies and works of Farong, the element of tea is completely absent from these records. For instance, a public case on Daoxin’s visit to Farong, who was a hermit living in a grotto on the northern rock face by the Youqi Temple, shares a coincidental scenario with Nanquan’s visit to the hermitage head that has been mentioned above.353

唐貞觀中四祖遙觀氣象。知彼山有奇異之人。乃躬自尋訪問寺僧。此間有道人否。曰出家兒那箇不是道人。祖曰。阿那箇是道人。僧無對。別僧云。此去山中十里許有一懶融。見人不起亦不合掌。莫是道人。祖遂入山見師。端坐自若曾無所顧。祖問曰。在此作什麼。師曰覲心。祖曰。覲是何人心是何物。師無對便起作禮師曰。大德高棟何所。祖曰。貧道不決所止或東或西……少選祖却於師宴坐石上書一佛字。師覩之竦然。祖曰。猶有這箇在。師未曉乃稽首請說真要。祖曰。夫百千法門同歸方寸。河沙妙德總在心源。一切戒門定門慧門神通變化。悉自具足不離汝心。一切煩惱業障本來空寂。一切因果皆如夢幻。無三界可出。無菩提可求。人與非人性相平等。大道虛曠絕思絕慮。如是之法汝今已得更無闕少。與佛何殊更無別法。汝但任心自在。莫作觀行。亦莫澄心。莫起貪瞋。莫懷愁慮。蕩蕩無礙任意縱橫。不作諸善不作諸惡。行住坐臥觸目遇緣。總是佛之妙用快樂無憂。故名為佛。354

During the Zhenguan reign period (627-649 CE) of the Tang dynasty, the Fourth Patriarch Daoxin was wandering in the mountains and encountered a phenomenon,
so he knew that there must be an extraordinary man there. Wishing to visit him, he inquired from a monk at the temple, ‘Is there a man of the Dao living in these parts?’

‘Which of these monks would not be a man of the Dao?’ replied the monk.

‘What is that – a man of the Dao?’ asked the Patriarch.

The monk had no answer. Another one said, ‘About ten li into the mountains from here there is one Lazy Rong – if he sees someone he doesn’t rise or join his palms in greeting; could that be the man of Dao?’

The Patriarch then made his way into the mountains. When he saw the master sitting upright and at ease, paying absolutely no regard to anything, he asked master Farong,

‘What are you doing here?’

‘Contemplating the heart,’ answered the master.

‘Who is the person contemplating? What kind of thing is the heart?’ asked the Patriarch.

The master had no reply but arose and making a bow, said, ‘Venerable Sir, where is your esteemed residence?’

‘Without deciding the destination, I go east or west,’ said the Patriarch.

...

The master had no reply and a moment later the Patriarch wrote the character for ‘Buddha’ on the rock which was the master’s meditation seat. The master regarded it fearfully.

‘Still this present?’ asked the Patriarch.

The master didn’t understand but made a full prostration and implored the Patriarch for the True Essence [of the teaching].

The Patriarch made this reply, ‘The hundreds of thousands of Dharma-gates all lead back to the heart and the wonderful virtues, numerous as the sands of the River Ganges, all have their source in the heart. All the entrances – of discipline, of meditation, of wisdom and of spiritual transformation – are entirely self-sufficient and not separate from your own heart. All vexations and afflictions resulting in karmic obstructions are originally empty and quiescent, all causes and their fruits are like a
There is no trace of tea in this earlier story about the Oxhead’s master, neither in most of his biographies or works. This could because that the Oxhead master did not rely on tea as an enlightening device as the Hongzhou masters did. Since the Oxhead lineage contends that there is no form to be empty while the Hongzhou lineage believes that the Buddha nature lies in all aspects of daily life, tea as an essential part of monastic life in facilitating sitting meditation and gaining agricultural income is thus naturally a frequent enlightening metaphor taken by the Hongzhou Chan masters but ignored by the Oxhead masters. Another possible explanation is that tea was not in use in Farong’s monastery, however, this deduction is much less likely to be the case. Even though tea was merely a regional drinking trend of southern China in the early Tang, the geographical loci of the Oxhead Mountain happens to be one of the most famous origins of tea (nowadays the southern part of Zhejiang province). The origin

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355 Daoyuan, Records of the Transmission of the Lamp (Volume 2 The Early Masters), Book 4.
357 Steven Heine, Opening a Mountain: Koans of the Zen Masters (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 44-46.
of the mid-Tang tribute tea, Guzhu tea (Guzhu cha 顧渚茶), the Guzhu Mountain is merely around two hundred miles away from the Oxhead Mountain. Farong intentionally left tea out of the discussion concerning Buddhist enlightenment rather than being unfamiliar with tea-drinking itself.

As tea only become a popular drink across the country in the mid-eighth century, I will take an example of this latter era to exclude the influential factor of regional differentiation in the acceptance of tea-drinking, to further examine a general attitude of the Oxhead lineage towards tea and later to compare with its counterparts of other lineages in the same period of time. In the mid-eighth century, Mazu started the Hongzhou lineage while the Oxhead lineage had already been a powerful religious force in southeast China. Jingshan Daoqin 徑山道欽 (714—792), one of the most outstanding representative masters of Oxhead’s golden age, founded the Jingshan Temple (Jingshan si 徑山寺, in today’s Hangzhou, north Zhejiang) that was famous for its high-quality tea. According to the Official Records of the Yuhang County (yuhangxian zhi 餘杭縣誌), Daoqin grew tea for the purpose of offering it to Buddha.\[359\]

As for the reason to offer tea rather than other goods, it is suggested in the Official Records of the Jing Mountain (Jingshan zhi 徑山志) that tea was one of the few productions of this mountain and there was nothing else that could be listed as local products.\[360\]

凡志例載土產。此山惟松杉以莊嚴祖席，茶笋可供養僧眾，別無他物可錄。故不列。


\[361\] Song Kuiguang, “Jingshan zhi”, 15.
The local products are normally recorded in the genre of official records. This mountain only has pines to decorate the ancestral hall and tea to feed the clergy. There is nothing else could be recorded, thus no records.

It has been clear that tea was one of the scarce crops that could be offered to Buddha and served to monks, thus constituting an essential part of the monastic setting of the Jingshan Temple. In sight of this, Daoqin was well-acquainted with tea in his daily life. However, there has been no record found that he ever drew a connection between tea and Buddhist teachings. For instance, Daoqin also gave his answers to some classical questions in Chan hagiographies, such as “what is the Way?” and “Why did the Bodhidharma come from the west?”. Although many well-known Chan masters in the Song dynasty mentioned tea, there are no tea elements in Daoqin’s answers.

A monk once asked the master, ‘What is the Way?’
‘On the mountain there are carp, on the sea bed raspberries grow,’ he replied.
A monk asked, ‘What is the meaning of the patriarch’s coming from the West?’
‘Your question is not appropriate,’ replied the master.
‘Why is it not appropriate?’ countered the monk.
‘Wait until after my decease, then I will explain it to you,’ said the master.

Even though it has been commonly recognised by modern scholars that the Jing Temple has a great magnitude in the history of tea, it is worth noting that the Jing Temple only gained its international fame for tea since the Southern Song (1127—1279), when the Jing Temple was officially turned into a Linji Chan temple under the

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363 Daoyuan, *Records of the Transmission of the Lamp (Volume 2 The Early Masters)*, Book 4. The quoted question in the first line was “What is the meaning of the patriarch’s coming from the West?” in the original translation but was changed to “What is the Way?”.
reign of the Emperor Gaozong of Song 宋高宗 (1107–1187, reign 1127–1162) and was appointed as the prime temple in the “Five Mountains and Ten Temples” administrative system of public Buddhist monasteries by the Emperor Ningzong of Song 宋寧宗 (1168–1224, reign 1194–1224). 364 Foreign monks like the Japanese monks Enni Ben'en 圓爾辯圓 (1202–1280) and Nanpo Shōmyō 南浦紹明 (1235–1309) flowed to the Jingshan Temple for their study. 365 Enni and Nanpo brought tea back to their hometown Shizuoka and built tea plantations, and Shizuoka became a significant centre of Japanese tea production and still is today. 366 They have also carried out the Jing Mountain tradition of tea rituals along with the Linji teachings in the Tofukuji Temple (Tōfukuji 東福寺) and the Kenchoji Temple (Kenchō-ji 建長寺).

Unlike the Oxhead lineage that was immersed in the custom of tea-planting and tea-drinking, the Northern Lineage was roughly based in northern China where tea-drinking was not a native habit but was later introduced from the south. Many academic works on the intertwining history of tea and Chan begin with the story of a Chan master that spread tea-drinking in the north in Fengshi wenjianji 封氏聞見記, which was mentioned in Chapter One. 367


365 Teng Jun, Zhongri chaowenhua jiaoliushi, 96-112.

366 Teng Jun, Zhongri chaowenhua jiaoliushi, 96-112.

The southerner loves drinking tea, but the northerner does not drink much at first. During the Kaiyuan regnal years, Master Xiangmo of the Lingyan Temple on the Tai Mountain was dedicated to Chan Buddhism. He studied Chan without sleep and did not eat after noon, both of which resulted from his tea-drinking habit. He brought tea with him and boiled and drank tea wherever he was. People imitated his acts and made tea-drinking a fashion. In the towns of Zou, Qi, Cang and Di, all the way to the capital, shops were selling boiled tea and both monks and commoners were buying it.

However, the identity of this Chan master has hardly been documented or investigated. Having investigated the identity of Master Xiangmo mentioned in “during the Kaiyuan regnal years, Master Xiangmo of the Lingyan Temple on the Tai Mountain was dedicated to Chan Buddhism.” (開元中, 泰山靈巖寺有降魔師大興禪教), I found that the master was named Xiangmo Zang 隨魔藏 (c.645 – 736) who was a disciple of Shenxiu, the founder of the Northern lineage.  

兖州降魔藏禪師趙郡人也。姓王氏。父為豪掾。師七歲出家。時屬野多妖鬼魅惑於人。師孤形制伏曾無少畏。故得降魔名焉。即依廣福院明讚禪師。出家服勤。受法後遇北宗盛化便誓摳衣。秀師問曰。汝名降魔。此無山精木怪。汝翻作魔耶。師曰。有佛有魔。秀曰。汝若是魔必住不思議境界。師曰。是佛亦空何境界之有。秀懸記之曰。汝與少皡之墟有緣。師尋入泰山。數稔學者雲集。一日告門人曰。吾今老朽物極有歸。言訖而逝壽九十一。  

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369 Feng Yan, Fengshi wenjianji jiaozhu, 51.
370 Daoyuan, Jingde chuandenglu, T 2076, 4: 0232b15.
Chan master Xiangmo Zang of Yan province (Shandong) was a native of Zhao prefecture (Hebei) whose family name was Wang. His father was a minor government official. The master left the home life at the age of seven and at that time there were many supernatural phenomena bedevilling the people in the countryside. The master, by single-handedly taking control of a situation not without danger, subdued the phenomena and thus earned the name of ‘demon subjugator’. Then he was ordained a monk at the Guangfu Monastery, under Chan master Mingzan and, putting forth great effort, came to the Dharma. Later it happened that the Northern School of Chan was flourishing so the master vowed to hitch up his robe and be off.

[On his arrival] Chan Master Shenxiu asked the new arrival, ‘You are called the demon subjugator but here there are no mountain demons or tree sprites. Can you turn yourself into a demon?’

‘There is both a Buddha and a demon,’ replied the master.

‘If you were a demon,’ replied Shenxiu, ‘you would certainly be dwelling in the absolute state.’

‘But Buddha is also empty, so what state would he have?’ replied the master.

Shenxiu made a prediction, saying, ‘You and Shaohao’s remains are connected.’ Not long afterwards the master went into Tai Mountain for several years, where the students gathered like clouds. Then one day he told his pupils, ‘I am old now – things that have reached their limit return.’ Having said this he died, at the age of ninety-one years.

Master Xiangmo also inherited the main teaching of the Northern lineage that there is no form to be empty, as indicated in his conversation with Shenxiu “Even the Buddha

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371 Daoyuan, Records of the Transmission of the Lamp (Volume 2 The Early Masters), Book 4. The original translation has written the master’s name as “Xiang Mozang”. It is corrected into “Xiangmo Zang”. The translation of the temple’s name “Huangfu” is corrected as “Guangfu”. The translation of the ordaining master’s name “Zan” is corrected as “Mingzan”.
is empty, there is no realm for Buddha” (是佛亦空何境界之有). Despite the fact that Xiangmo was a well-known tea-lover, he did not introduce tea to his path to Buddhist enlightenment either according to extant records, since tea is simply a mundane physical existence of monastic life that is not helpful in realising that everything is empty as believed in a Northern lineage ideal.

3.3.3 The Adaptation of Tea in Other Sects of the Southern Lineage

Above is an investigation of the attitude towards tea in the Oxhead and Northern lineages, while this section will give a brief overview on Hongzhou’s sibling lineages from the Southern lineage before continuing the analysis on the bonds of the Hongzhou-Linji lineage and tea.

On the one hand, the extant materials on the Heze lineage and the Baotang lineage are too scarce to offer any information on the tea use of these lineages. As for the Heze lineage, Shenhui is one of the few Heze masters known. According to scattered documents from the Dunhuang manuscripts on Shenhui, no traces of tea could be found. As for the Baotang lineage, the main source for this lineage is the Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Lidai fabao ji* 历代法宝記, which has been contended by modern scholars to be compiled by the disciples of the Baotang master Wuzhu無住.

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372 Daoyuan, *Jingde chuandenglu*, T 2076, 4: 0232b15. In *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳, it is written as “the master said: ‘The Buddha is also empty. How come it is absolute?’” (曰是佛亦空。何不思議之有。).

Similar to the Northern lineage’s proposal of absolute emptiness, the Baotang lineage believed in the “no consciousness” (wunian 無念) as the enlightening path and also despised physical phenomena and actions. Nevertheless, unlike the Northern lineage’s emphasis on sitting-meditation, the Baotang lineage was against any cultivating forms including sitting meditation. Tea, as a daily monastic subsistence and a facilitator of sitting-meditation, is thus unlikely to be accepted by the Baotang teachings.

On the other hand, the Stone-head lineage also used tea as a means of Buddhist enlightenment, although there is not as much in the related records as their counterparts of the Hongzhou lineage. For instance, Tianhuang Daowu 天皇道悟 (748－807) unveiled his teaching methods of doctrines to his disciple Longtan Chongxin 龍潭崇信 (dates unknown) that receiving tea is a way of demonstrating the essentials of the heart.

一日問曰。某自到來不蒙指示心要。悟曰。自汝到來吾未嘗不指汝心要。師曰。何處指示。悟曰。汝擎茶來吾為汝接。汝行食來吾為汝受。汝和南時吾便低首。何處不指示心要。師低頭良久。

Another day the master asked, ‘Since coming here, this fellow has not received the venerable’s indications on the essentials of the heart.’

‘Since you came here, I have never yet not indicated the essentials of the heart,’ replied Wu.

‘Indicated them in what respect?’ asked the master.

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Wu replied, ‘You come to offer the tea and I receive it from you. You come with food and I accept it from you. When you fold your hands in reverence, I bow the head. In what respect is that not indicating the essentials of the heart?’ The master bowed his head low for a long time.\textsuperscript{378}

Receiving tea, accepting food and bowing the head, are all deployed by the Stone-head master to convey Buddhist teachings. It is also noticeable that Jiashan Shanhui 夾山善會 (805-881), who was commonly regarded as one of the ancestors of the Chan-tea connection, was the third-generation disciple of the founder of the Stone-head lineage Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 (700-790).\textsuperscript{379} In this sense, the Stone-head lineage generally adopted a more open attitude in taking tea into pedagogical dialogues of Buddhist enlightenment compared to the Northern lineage and the Oxhead lineage.

As tea became more and more popular in Chinese society, including Buddhist monasteries since the mid-eighth century, tea has taken on a relevantly significant role in the emerging derivational lineages than existing Chan lineages in the ninth and tenth century.

This Stone-head tradition of moderate tea use was inherited and developed in its derivational lineages, including the Caodong lineage (Caodong zong 曹洞宗), the Yunmen lineage (Yunmen zong 雲門宗) and the Fayan lineage (Fayan zong 法眼宗). Even though there are academic disputes on whether the Yunmen lineage was

\textsuperscript{378} Daoyuan, Records of the Transmission of the Lamp (Volume 4 The Shitou Line), Book 14.

derived from the Stone-head or the Hongzhou lineage, this chapter will merely acknowledge such a debate but will not further discuss it due to little relevance to tea use. Tea serves as part of monastic surroundings in most of these hagiographies of the Stone-head derivations. There are two anecdotes which explicitly mention tea in Dongshan Liangjie’s 洞山良價 (807－869) record of sayings. One is the tea plantation (chayuan 茶園) that Dongshan and Shenshan were working at, the other is the tea that Dongshan was pouring (xingcha 行茶) for Qinshan and Yantou Xuefeng. In Fayan Wenyi’s (法眼文益 885－958) record of sayings, there are four mentions of tea in total, respectively tea feast (chayan 茶筵), tea hall (chatang 茶堂), “go to drink tea” (chichaqu 喫茶去), and after tea (chaci 茶次). Even though these records concerning tea do not differ substantially in their contexts, terms or functions with their Linji counterparts, the frequency of deploying tea in these Stone-head derivational lineages is generally seldom, compared to the Hongzhou derivational lineage and the Linji lineage. Nevertheless, the founder of Yunmen lineage Yunmen Wenyan’s (云门文偃 864－949) has been an exception who clearly refers to tea in his narrative of enlightening stories. There are twenty-three mentions of tea altogether in his record of sayings, and drinking tea (chicha 喫茶) and picking tea (zhaicha 摘茶) are the most frequently used terms about tea. Later generations of Yunmen masters such as 佛

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380 Yufeng Yuanxin 言風圓信 and Guo Ningzhi 郭凝之, eds. Ruizhou Dongshan Liangjie chanshi yulu 瑞州洞山良價禪師語錄 [The Record of Sayings of the Chan master Dongshan Liangjie of Ruizhou]. T 1986B, 1: 0521b03, 0523a05.


日契嵩 Fori Qisong (1007－1072) include much less references to tea than their lineal precedents.\(^{383}\)

Besides the Linji lineage, the other lineage derived from the Hongzhou Chan was the Weiyang lineage (*Weiyang zong* 烏仰宗). Although both Linji and Weiyang continued with the Hongzhou teachings, the Weiyang for the most part kept the Hongzhou tradition of tea use with similar styles and frequencies, while the Linji innovated a surge of tea use in comparison with its ancestral lineage. Below is an example of tea use in an enlightening dialogue between Weiyang masters and disciples.

師摘茶次。謂仰山云。終日摘茶。祗聞子聲。不見子形。仰山撼茶樹。師云。子祇得其用。不得其體。仰山云。未審。和尚如何。師良久。仰山云。和尚祇得其體。不得其用。師云。放子三十棒。仰山云。和尚棒。某甲喫。某甲棒。阿誰喫。師云。放子三十棒。\(^{384}\)

After Master Weishan Lingyou finished picking tea, he said to Yangshan that: “Having picked tea for a full day, I have only heard your sound but have not seen your form.” Yangshan shook the tea tree. Master Weishan said: “You have merely understood its application, not its essence.” Yangshan said: “I do not understand, but how do you know?” Master Weishan was silent for a while. Yangshan said: “You have merely understood its essence, not its application.” Master Weishan said: “Give you thirty beats.” Yangshan said: “You beat. Someone drinks, someone beats. Who is drinking?” Master Weishan said: “Give you thirty beats.”

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In this dialogue between Weishan Lingyou 洪山靈祐 (771—853) and Yangshan Huiji 仰山慧寂 (807—883), tea functions as a presenting form that bears implicit reference to the understanding of Buddhist awakening.

3.3.4 The Flourishment of Tea Enlightening Stories in the Linji Lineage

At the end of this section, I will investigate the pattern of tea use in the Linji tradition. As I have mentioned above, the tea records from the Linji hagiographies have exceeded the number of tea records in other Chan lineages; for instance, there are fourteen mentions of tea in Yangqi Fanghui's 楊岐方會 (992—c.1049) record of sayings, eight in Huanglong Huinan's 黃龍慧南 (1002—1069), eighteen in Yuanwu Keqin’s, the number of which are far more than any other lineages in general. The substantial amount of tea records in the Linji hagiographies enables detecting sophisticated patterns of tea use, which helps to understand tea’s functions from paradigmatic usage and customary contexts.

During the investigation of such patterns, this chapter shows that although tea has been largely deployed in enlightening dialogues and silent behavioural teachings by Linji masters, tea has not been in a superior position of any kind. On the contrary, tea-related events along with other types of monastic daily activities take on equal parts in these hagiographies. For instance, a series of anecdotes between a Huangbo Xiyun 黃蘖希運 (– 850) and his disciple Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (– c.866) have been listed under Yixuan’s entry of the Jingde chandenglu, including “Huangbo calling for

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weeding the rice fields” (黃檗普請锄薏谷), “Huangbo one day calling for weeding the tea plantation” (黃檗一日普請鋤茶園), and “the master and Huangbo planting pines” (師與黃檗栽杉).386 These stories unfold around mundane agricultural works and tools such as hoes and shovels.387 Weeding rice fields, weeding tea plantation and planting pines are all settings of monastic labour, and the tea-related activity is simply one of the many monastics working routines. Another example is the customary expression of “drink tea when there is tea, have a meal when there is a meal” (yucha chicha, yufan chifan 遇茶喫茶, 遇飯喫飯), which is commonly seen in hagiographies of later Linji masters of the Song dynasty. In Yuanwu Keqin’s commentary on a public case of Zhaozhou in the Blue Cliff Record, he interpreted the Buddhist unattachment in simple and specific instructions that linked to monastic daily life, such as drinking tea when there is tea and having a meal when there is a meal.

於一切時中。行住坐臥。不拘得失。任運流入薩婆若海。衲僧家。到這裏。亦不可執著。但隨時自在。遇茶喫茶遇飯喫飯。這箇向上事著箇定字也不得。著箇不定字也不得。388

At all times, whether walking, standing, sitting, or lying down, he doesn’t cling to gain and loss, but lets himself move and flow into the sea of All-Knowledge.” When patch-robed monks get here they still must not become attached: they follow the occasion freely. When they have tea, they drink tea; when they have food, they eat food. Neither the words “concentration” nor “not concentration” can be applied to this transcendental matter.389

386 Daoyuan, Jingde chuandenglu, 308-309.
387 Daoyuan, Jingde chuandenglu, 308-309.
Here both tea and meal function as a means to realise unattachment in specified forms. In this way, it is clear that even though tea facilitates Buddhist enlightenment, it has no special connections with the doctrine themselves.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter investigated tea’s functions in Chan teachings. It embedded the analysis in the genre of Chan hagiographies, analysed the well-known public case of Monk Zhaozhou’s tea, provided an overview of tea-related expressions in Chan hagiographies, and investigated the adaptation of tea in various Chan lineages. It argued that the Hongzhou and Linji lineages used tea metaphors to convey Chan teachings; however, tea was not specifically linked to Chan teachings on a doctrinal level but served as one of the daily monastic objects at hand for analogy. While the Oxhead lineage was indifferent to using tea, the Northern lineage adapted tea to facilitate meditational practice, but not for Chan teachings, while other derivational lineages from the Southern lineage adapted tea metaphors in their hagiographies moderately.

In the next chapter, this thesis will examine tea’s roles in non-Chan contexts, including its usage in other Chinese Buddhist schools, its usage in other Chinese religions, and its usage in medieval Chinese society. By understanding tea’s connection with other parts of society, this thesis can further investigate the Chan-tea bond and evaluate tea’s functions in the bigger picture.
Chapter 4: Tea in Medieval Chinese Socio-Religious Landscape

In the previous two chapters, this thesis discussed the functions of tea in monastic practice and Chan teachings and contended that tea and Chan were not liturgically nor doctrinally bonded. This chapter will zoom out of Chan Buddhism and situate the analysis of tea usage in a broader context of medieval Chinese religions and society. This socio-religious topology of tea use will provide a reference to the functions of tea in Chan Buddhism and confirm whether certain functions of tea are exclusive to Chan Buddhism or applicable to a much wider parameter. As pointed out in Chapter 1, some scholarly works merely evidenced their claim of a special Chan-tea connection with Chan sources but ignored tea’s usage in non-Chan contexts. This chapter will analyse the functions of tea in other Buddhist schools, other Chinese religions, and medieval Chinese society. It will refine the methodology in conceptualising Chan-tea connection and offer a new perspective in studying the material culture of medieval Chinese Buddhism in general.

4.1 Tea in Non-Chan Buddhist Schools

Apart from Chan Buddhist monasteries, other Chinese Buddhist schools also deployed tea in their monastic practice. Then the question is: did tea and tea rituals function differently in Chan and non-Chan Buddhist schools?

This section argues that tea and tea rituals did not function differently in Chan and non-Chan monasteries. However, due to a dominating influence of Chan practice on non-Chan schools, it is highly likely that the non-Chan schools embraced the whole set of Chan monastic rituals along with its use of tea, rather than the non-Chan schools particularly initiating the application of tea. Even though the analysis of tea usage in non-Chan monasteries is not informative enough on if there is an exclusive Chan-tea relation, the finding of undifferentiated use of tea among Chinese Buddhist schools itself is significant to steer the study of Chan-tea, to conceptualise Chan Buddhism and to understand the shaping forces of medieval Chinese Buddhist monasticism.

Around the same period as the Chan rules of purity the Imperial Edition of the Baizhang qinggui (Chixiu Baizhang qinggui 敷修百丈清規, 1336), the Vinaya school compiled the Regulation of the Vinaya Monastery (Lüyuan shigui 律苑事規, 1325) and the Tiantai school had the Supplement to the Tiantai Monastic Regulation (Zengxiu jiaoyuan qinggui 增修教苑清規, 1347) to guide monastic life.391 These non-Chan monastic codes shared similar records of tea rituals with the Chan monastic regulations in both ritual categorisation and ritual procedures.

Before analysing the tea rituals from non-Chan Buddhist schools, this section will introduce the related background of medieval Chinese Buddhist monastic practice. The Chan school dominated medieval Chinese Buddhism and its monastic practice influenced the practice in many other sects of Chinese Buddhism. This point was

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echoed in the *Regulation of the Vinaya Monastery* that the genre of Chan rules of purity has shaped the regulation of the Vinaya monastery.³⁹²

百丈大智禪師，採取律制以為禪林清規，舉世盛行，而吾家律學者及不及焉……於是再披鈔疏及諮詢律海垢造並參禪林軌式編成律苑事規。³⁹³

Master Baizhang adapted the *vinaya* canon into Chan rules of purity, which became widely popular, while our Vinaya school may not even catch up… In this way, we considered the annotations and commentaries made by Master Nanshan (Daoxuan 道宣, 596－667) and Master Lingzhi (Yuanzhao 元照, 1048－1116), the existing problems in the Vinaya school, and the format of Chan rituals, and compiled a regulation for Vinaya monasteries.

Similarly, the *Supplement to the Tiantai Monastic Regulation* from the Tiantai school also acknowledged that the Tiantai monastery adapted the Chan rules of purity.³⁹⁴

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，以匡持其教今教苑清規是也。³⁹⁵

Baizhang started the genre of rules of purity, which helps to regulate the Tiantai monastic practice. The master took good use of the *vinaya* canon, his disciples adapted Chan rules of purity to support the Tiantai school and produced this Tiantai rules of purity.

Considering the huge influence of Chan monastic rituals on other schools, deploying tea rituals in non-Chan schools was likely to be impacted by Chan Buddhist monastic practice rather than initiated by the non-Chan schools in the first place. Despite the

³⁹⁴ Ziqing, *Zengxiu jiāoyuàn qīngguī*, X 0968, 0298b08.
³⁹⁵ Ziqing, *Zengxiu jiāoyuàn qīngguī*, X 0968, 0298b08.
Chan influence, the use of tea rituals in other Buddhist monasteries still suggests that tea rituals were compatible and well-fitted into some non-Chan Buddhist practice.

The Vinaya and Tiantai monastic codes also took on the ritual categorisation and ritual procedures in the Chan rules. All the three codes categorise their content into prayer services, ordination, personnel changes, visiting monks, monastic positions, seasonal gatherings and funerals. In the arrangement of content, the priority is consistently given to the prayer services for the state, follows personnel changes and monastic positions, with seasonal gatherings at the end. The ritual clusters for certain occasions and the procedures for each ritual remain largely the same, with slight differences in lineal precedents to be worshipped in memorials and special practices like ghanṭā chanting in non-Chan monasteries. In a nutshell, the monastic rituals from various schools of medieval Chinese Buddhism are similar in forms and functions.

Within this framework of ritual assimilation among medieval Chinese Buddhist monasteries, tea rituals consistently share similar traits with their counterparts in the codes of non-Chan schools. This section will compare the Chan and non-Chan tea rituals procedures and the functions of tea and tea rituals. I will take the example of the “Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks in the Sangha Hall on the Four Festivals” and compare the records of this tea ceremony in the three monastic codes.

398 Xingwu, Lüyuan shigui, X 1113, 0141b04-0142a01. Ziqing, Zengxiu jiaoyuan qinggui, X 0968, 0333a15-0334a17.
Figure 1: The Procedure of the Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks in the Sangha Hall on the Four Festivals

Figure 1 shows the four-stage ritual procedure of this tea ceremony in the Chan rules of purity and has been presented in Chapter 2 as a case study. Besides, I am also quoting the textual instruction of the ritual the “Tea Ceremony that Holds by the Abbot for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks on the Four Festivals”  from the Imperial Edition of the Baizhang Rules of Purity below, preparing the Chan case for reference to compare with the Vinaya and Tiantai counterparts of this tea ritual.

致日粥罷，請客侍者寫茶榜，見後。備柈袱燭，詣寮炷香。觸禮請云: “堂頭和尚今晨齋退，就雲堂點茶特為，伏望降重。”以榜呈納，貼僧堂前上間。客頭行者請以次頭首諸寮，及
請知事光伴，掛點茶牌。長板鳴，請客侍者入堂。聖僧前燒香一炷，大展三拜，巡堂一匝，至中問訊而退。謂之巡堂請茶。堂前排特為照牌，首座與住持對面，上首知事與住持分手位，維那次之，以次知事與受特為人分手位。鳴鼓集眾，燒香侍者行禮（並與庫司特為湯禮同）首座至住持前謝茶，兩展三禮。初展云：‘茲者特蒙煎點。下情不勝感激之至。’再展云：‘即日時令謹時恭惟。堂頭和尚尊候起居多福。’退，觸禮三拜。住持每一展，則約止之。至觸禮，則答一拜。首座轉身，從聖僧後右出。住持略送復位。侍者燒光伴香。鳴鍾收盞，鳴鼓退座，亦同前。首座先往法堂，候住持拜謝，免則問訊。399

After congee on that day, the Guest Reception Attendant writes the announcement for tea ceremony that is shown below. The Attendant prepares the tray and wrappings with stamps and documents on them, as well as lamps and candles, pays a visit to the residential hall, burns incense, prostrates with head touching the ground and invites by saying: “The abbot will hold a tea ceremony for you in the Sangha Hall after the meal. We look forward to seeing you.” Then serves the announcement paper, then put the announcement on the upper side on the front of the Sangha Hall. The Guest Reception Servant invited the Deputy Chief Officers in the residential halls as well as the Administrators to accompany and put up the seating board for the tea ceremony. The wooden board strikes for three times. The Guest Reception Attendant enters the hall, burns incense in front of the Saint Monk, prostrates for three times with sitting mat unfolded, tours the hall for one round, and returns to the centre and leaves the hall, which is called touring the hall to invite for tea. A board of sitting plan is set at the front of hall, the Chief Seat is opposite to the abbot, the Chief Administrators are on the right side of the abbot, and the right of the Chief Administrators sits the Director of Practitioners’ Affairs, then the Administrators are further right of the Director of Practitioners’ Affairs and the right of the Chief Seat. The drum beats to gather the

399 Dehui, Chixiu Baizhang qingguì, T 2025, 7: 1154a17.
monks. The Incense Burning Attendant prostrates (the same as the soup ceremony that the Chief Head Administrative Official holds). The Chief Seat comes to the front of the abbot and thanks for tea. On the first prostration with sitting mat unfolded, the Chief Seat says: “Thanks a lot for specially making the tea. I’m very grateful.” On the second prostration with sitting mat unfolded, he says: “Today begins the season. At this very moment, I wish the abbot much luck in daily life.” The Chief Seat leaves and prostrates with sitting mat folded for three times. The abbot stops each prostration with sitting mat unfolded and returns with one prostration to the prostration with sitting mat folded. The Chief Seat turns and leaves the hall from the right of the Saint Monk. The abbot sees him off a bit and comes back to his seat. The attendant burns incense for the companions. The bell tolls and tea bowls are collected. The drum is beaten, and the common monks leave the hall. The same as above. The Chief Seat visits the Dharma Hall and wait to thank the abbot. If the abbot allows to omit the thanking procedure, then the Chief Seat greets.

The Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks in the Sangha Hall on the Four Festivals in the Chan monastic code, is consisted of four stages respectively announcing the tea ritual, inviting monks to tea, drinking tea, and thanking for tea. Even though the whole ritual procedure unfolds surrounding the theme of tea, the narrative of ritual instructions has focused on the institutional hierarchy and its corresponding sequences and gestures, rather than the quality of tea, the process of tea-making and tea-drinking, or the liturgical standards of tea preparation.

In the Vinaya monastic code the Regulation of the Vinaya Monastery, a highly similar guidance of the tea ceremony that the abbot holds for the Chief Seat in the sangha hall on the Four Festivals with the Chan counterpart can be found in the ritual entry of the “Tea and Soup Ceremonies in the Sangha Hall”僧堂特為茶湯.
If the abbot would like it to be convenient, he will issue an announcement to cancel the tea or soup ceremonies in advance. The Accounting Office drafts the announcement paper, prepares the tray and wrappings with stamps and documents on them, as well as lamps and candles. The Accounting Office greet the abbot in his office, burn incense, and prostrate (the Chan regulates “two interrupted attempts to prostrate and a compromise solution of three-time head-touching-the-ground”). They invite by saying: “After the meal, a tea ceremony will be held in the sangha hall. We wish to be honoured with your merciful visit.” After inviting the abbot and handing in the announcement paper, they ask the Guest Reception Official to invite the East and West Orders, retired monks with monastic posts and companions, to put up the sitting plan and notify in the residential halls, and to prepare the abbot’s seat in the sangha hall. At mealtime, the wooden board strikes for three times, they burn incense, prostrate, tour the hall, invite monks to tea. After mealtime, the drum is beaten, monks are gathered. The Senior Administrators greet the abbot to welcome him inside the Sangha Hall. When the abbot arrives at his seat, they greet the abbot to be seated and burn one incense stick. They greet the abbot with incense in their hands, then greet in the hall centre and stand still.

Xingwu, Lüyuan shigui, X 1113, 0118b04.
After distributing the tea (powder), comes the hot water bottle. They greet the abbot and serve tea, step back and leave from the right side of the Saint Monk’s cabinet. After finishing an incense, they prostrate for three times with unfolded sitting mat and leave the hall, leading the Two Orders greet and thank the abbot and saying, “wishing you a good day as usual”. After seeing the abbot off, they come back into the hall, burn incense, and greet the upper and lower side. They greet, collect tea bowls, and collect sitting mats. If there is an announcement paper, it should be stored until the day of appointing a new abbot to be put on the upper and lower side of the Sangha Hall. The tea or soup will only take the time to burn one incense stick, then they continued by saying: “After inviting the abbot to soup, it is time to sit down for medicine (food).” (This is the tea or soup ceremony in the sangha hall. The Vinaya monasteries hardly teach the principles behind this procedure, which is rather flexible from person to person. However, it is still appropriate to understand the principles behind it.)

The Vinaya tea ceremony also consisted of four stages — announcing, inviting, drinking, and thanking. The ritual details also remain largely the same as the Chan tea ceremony, from composing announcement paper, to using a long strike of the wooden board to summon monks, to touring the hall to invite to tea, to distributing tea powder and pouring hot water, to prostrating and thanking for tea. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the Vinaya code constantly referred to relevant Chan regulations, like the “Chan monasteries regulate as ‘two interrupted attempts to prostrate and a compromise solution of three-time head-touching-the-ground’”(禪規二展三拜) in the narrative of this tea ceremony, which indicates that the Vinaya code models on the Chan rules of purity.401 In this way, the functions of tea and tea ritual do not vary much between the Vinaya and Chan monastic practice.

401 Xingwu, Lüyuan shigui, X 1113, 0118b04.
Similarly, the guidance of the “Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks” also assimilates its Chan counterpart to in ritual structure and ritual functions.\footnote{Ziqing, Zengxiu jiaoyuan qinggui, X 0968, 0328b13.}

On the second day of summer retreat, the Guest Reception Attendant prepares the announcement for tea ceremony (see below). The Attendant prepares the tray and wrappings with stamps and documents on them, as well as lamps and candles. Along with the Tea Servant from the abbot’s office, the Attendant carries these to the residential hall of the Chief Seat. After burning incense, the Attendant prostrates with head touching the ground and invites by saying: “The abbot will hold a tea ceremony for you in the Sangha Hall after the meal. We look forward to seeing you.” Then serves the announcement paper, then put the announcement on the upper side on the front of the Sangha Hall. The Guest Reception Servant invited all the Chief Officers, the Administrators, and the retired Two Orders, and put up the seating board for the tea

\footnote{Ziqing, Zengxiu jiaoyuan qinggui, X 0968, 0328b13.}

第二日請客侍者具茶榜(見後)。備柈袱燭燭，帶方丈茶頭，捧之詣首座寮。炷香，觸禮
請云： “堂頭和尚今晨齋退，就雲堂點茶特為，伏望降重。” 以榜呈納， 貼僧堂前上間。客頭行者請
諸頭首知事耆舊，掛點茶牌。齋時，長板鳴。請客侍者入堂，請僧前，燒香一炷，左
轉身，大展三拜，巡堂一匝請茶。仍出外堂上下問問訊，轉入聖僧前，問訊而退。候
行者下堂，堂中仍設首座特位，對住持位。即鳴諸寮板三下，大眾入堂。鳴茶鼓，燒
香侍者行禮（並與都寺特為湯禮同，但不揖住持）。首座至住持前謝茶，初展云： “某茲蒙煎點，特
此拜謝，下情不勝感激。” 二展云： “即日孟夏雲云。” 三觸禮三拜，住持答一拜。首座轉身，從
聖僧後右出。住持略送，復位執盞。侍者燒光伴香，上下間問訊。鳴鐘一下，收大眾
盞。鳴鐘三下，眾下堂。\footnote{Ziqing, Zengxiu jiaoyuan qinggui, X 0968, 0328b13.}
ceremony. At Mealtime, the wooden board strikes for three times. The Guest Reception Attendant enters the hall, invites in front of the Saint Monk, burns an incense, turns left, prostrates for three times with sitting mat unfolded, and tours the hall for one round to invite for tea. Then exits the hall and greets the upper and lower side, comes back to the front of the Saint Monk, greets and leaves. When the servant leaves the hall, the seat for the Chief Seat remains, which is opposite to the seat of the abbot. The wooden board strikes at the residential halls, the common monks enter the Sangha Hall. When the tea drum beats, the Incense Burning Attendant prostrates (the same as the soup ceremony that the Chief Head Administrative Official holds. The difference is that he does not greet the abbot here). The Chief Seat comes to the front of the abbot and thanks for tea. On the first prostration with sitting mat unfolded, the Chief Seat says: “Thanks a lot for specially making the tea. I’m very grateful.” On the second prostration with sitting mat unfolded, he says: “Today begins the first month of summer.” Then prostrates with sitting mat folded for three times, the abbot returns with one prostration. The Chief Seat turns and leaves the hall from the right of the Saint Monk. The abbot sees him off a bit and comes back with tea bowl in his hand. The attendant burns incense for the companions, greets the upper and lower side. The bell tolls once, tea bowls are collected. The bell tolls three times, the common monks leave the hall.

This comparison of the “Tea Ceremony that the Abbot Holds for the Chief Seat and the Common Monks in the Sangha Hall on the Four Festivals” in Chan, Vinaya and Tiantai Buddhist monastic codes, has shown that tea and tea rituals were deployed and functioned in the same way in Chan and non-Chan monastic practice.

Tiantai Buddhism was also known for its tradition of tea offerings, which had a relatively moderate role to play in Chan Buddhism. According to the Religious Gazetteer of the Mt. Tiantai (Tiantaishan fangwai zhi 天臺山方外志, late Ming dynasty),
the Southern Song chancellor Jia Sidao 賈似道 (1213 – 1275) sponsored the restoration of the Epiphyllum Bloom Pavilion and offered tea to the five hundred arhat on the day of completion. There was epiphyllum-bloom shaped foam that appeared on the surface of tea, which was taken as a sign of arhat's response. Another example is the monk Fan Chuan growing and offering tea to the Mahāsattva Fu of the Shuanglin Temple in the Song notebook the Records of Pure Marvels (Qingyilu 清異錄, early Song dynasty). Furthermore, the Tiantai regulation the Supplement to the Tiantai Monastic Regulation evidenced that tea was also served as an offering at imperial memorials, the memorials of Tiantai ancestral masters as well as abbots’ funerals. For instance, in the instructions for the memorials of Tiantai masters, “in the middle are the tablets for the nine-generation ancestors, the lineage founder and the immediate master… the abbot stands up and offers soup and tea” (中間分列九祖山家諸祖山門始祖并嗣法師等位……奉請時住持起上湯茶).

There also exists scholarly speculation saying that the Tiantai Buddhism used tea-related activities in practicing Buddhist contemplation, as the function of tea in keeping awake and concentrated during meditation and lightening the body with a healthy diet, which aligned with the Tiantai teachings and practice. Besides, an

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405 Wu Jingyi, Tiantai zong yu chachan de guanxi, 259-289.
406 The details of the story have been unfolded in Chapter 1. Tao Gu 陶毅, “Mingchuan lu” 茗荈錄 [A record of fine and rough teas], in Zhongguo gudai chashu jicheng 中国古代茶书集成 [A collection of tea books in ancient China], eds. Zhu Zizhen 朱自振 and Shen Dongmei 沈冬梅 (Shanghai: Shanghai Culture Press, 2010), 89. “Mingchuan lu” was originally a section of the book Records of Pure Marvels (Qingyilu 清異錄).
407 Ziqing, Zengxiu jiaoyuan qinggui, X 0968, 0305a12–0306a24, 0345b17–0345c02.
408 Ziqing, Zengxiu jiaoyuan qinggui, X 0968, 0305a20.
interwove of Tiantai Buddhist teachings and tea on a doctrinal level was developed in Japanese and Korean Buddhism as explained in Chapter 1. Nevertheless, there is still a lack of primary sources from Chinese Tiantai Buddhism explicitly naming a connection of tea and contemplation. Thus, this chapter will merely include this discussion here to keep our readers informed but will not take this speculation of integrating tea in Buddhist contemplation as historical evidence for Tiantai tea usage.

4.2 Tea in Non-Buddhist Chinese Religions

Despite Buddhist engagement with tea, other Chinese religions like Confucianism and Daoism also brought tea into their religious practice in medieval times. This section will examine the roles of tea in other Chinese religions.

Tea was used as an offering in the Chinese imperial court. It was recorded in the *Imperial Overview from the Taiping Reign* (*Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, 983) that the Emperor Wu of Southern Qi 南齊武帝 (440–493) ordered to offer tea for his funeral.411

《南齊書》曰：武帝遺詔: “靈座勿以牲為祭，惟設餅果茶飯酒脯而已。”

It is written in the *Book of Qi* that the will edict by the Emperor Wu wrote that: do not sacrifice animals on the altar for the funeral, only offer flat bread, fruits, tea, rice, wine, and dried meat.

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411 Li Fang 李昉 etc., *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 [Imperial overview from the Taiping reign] vol.7 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1960), 978.

412 Li Fang etc., *Taiping yulan*, 978.
The *Comprehensive Investigations Based on Literary and Documentary Sources* (*Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考, 1317) states that the emperor shall offer incense, tea and wine at imperial funerals.413

前導皇帝升殿，詣香案前，三上香。內侍進茶酒，酹茶，三奠酒，俛伏，興。414

Lead the emperor to ascend to that hall, come in front of the altar, and burn three incense sticks. The attendant brings tea and wine. The emperor offers tea and then offers wine for three times. Prostrate and then lift.

Imperial funerals were strictly carried out based on Confucian ritual classics and this inclusion of tea offering suggested that tea had a liturgical function in Confucian rites.

Tea was also offered at Daoist altars. It was recorded in the *Record of Yijian* (*Yijian zhi* 夷堅志, 1161-1198) that Daoist rituals also served tea on the altar and took the appearance of flower-shaped foam on the surface of tea as an indicator of ritual efficacy.415 In the *Liturgical Manual for the Yellow Register Retreat* (*Taishang Huanglu zhaiyi* 太上黄籙齋儀, 891), the actual offering part for a meal offering ritual was abstracted as “then serving incense, soup, tea and wine” (次上香，上湯，上茶，上酒).416 In the *Transcendent Scripture of Great Cavern of Wenchang, the Infinite Lord of All the Perfect in the Jade Clarity Realm* (*Yuqing wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong* 

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414 Ma Duanlin, *Wenxian tongkao*, 3784.


Even though tea was the designated offering, water could also be an expedient replacement if there was no tea to offer. It suggested that tea was likely to be a common but inessential offering in Daoist liturgy.

Beside tea offerings, tea drinking was also a part of medieval Daoist monastic life. According to a daily timetable in the *Quanzhen rules of purity* (*Quanzhen qinggui*, the Yuan dynasty), the Quanzhen Daoist priests “have the meal from eleven to one, sit together from one to three, contemplate from three to five, participate in the evening preach from five to seven, have tea and soup from seven to nine” (午时赴斋。未时混坐。申时如前入静。酉时晚叅。戌时混坐茶汤).\(^419\) Besides, some Daoist construction of altars adopted the basic ritual pattern recorded in the Chan ritual instructions, including touring the hall, inviting monks to tea, burning incense, serving

\(^{417}\) Wei Qi 衛琪, *Yuqing wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing* 玉清無極總真文昌大洞仙經 [the transcendent scripture of great cavern of Wenchang, the infinite lord of all the perfect in the jade clarity realm], DZ 103, Fascicle 2.

\(^{418}\) Wei Qi, *Yuqing wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing*, DZ 103, Fascicle 2.


In medieval Daoist mythological stories, tea was regarded as a herb to keep youth, prolong longevity, maintain health, and even facilitate Daoist inner alchemic cultivation. For example, the story of the “old lady tea-seller from Guangling” (Guangling chalao 广陵茶姥) has been widely circulated among literary works in medieval China, including the Classic of Tea (Chajing 茶经, 780), the Extensive Records of the Taiping Era (Taiping guangji 太平廣記, 978) and the Seven Lots from the Bookbag of the Clouds (Yunji qiqian 雲笈七籤, c. 1029).\footnote{Lu Yu 陆羽, “Chajing” 茶经 [Classic of tea], in Chajing • Suiyuan shidan 茶经 • 随园食单, ed. Shen Dongmei 沈冬梅 and Chen Weiming 陈伟明 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2016), 117-118. Zhang Junfang 张君房, ed. Yunji qiqian 雲笈七籤 [Seven Lots from the Bookbag of the Clouds], Fascicle 115, no.14. Text. Li Fang 李昉, etc. Taiping guangji 太平廣記 [Extensive Records of the Taiping Era], Section Goddess 15. Ctext.}

The tea-selling lady looked like in her seventies for more than a hundred years and sold tea from dawn till evening with no decrease in tea from her tea container.\footnote{Zhang Junfang, ed. Yunji qiqian, Fascicle 115, no.14.} Then she was jailed but later flew out of the cell herself with her tea container.\footnote{Zhang Junfang, ed. Yunji qiqian, Fascicle 115, no.14.} Similarly, the instance shown in Chapter 1 that the Daoist priest drinking tea from the Mount Meng, getting cured and staying young in his thirties, also echoes tea’s supernatural function of keeping a healthy body.\footnote{Mao Wenxi 毛文锡, “Cha pu” 茶谱 [The tea map], in Zhongguo gudai chashu jicheng 中国古代茶书集成 [A collection of tea books in ancient China], eds. Zhu Zizhen 朱自振 and Shen Dongmei 沈冬梅 (Shanghai: Shanghai Culture Press, 2010), 82.} A scholarly view even suggested that the Qianlin tea (Qianlin cha 鷟林茶) from Mount Wudang was cultivated with the essence of moonlight and was used as inner alchemy for Daoist practitioners, evidenced by the poem “Sweet Tea” (tiancha
甜茶) in the *Record of Scenery of Mt Wudang* (*Wudang jishengji* 武當紀勝集, mid-Yuan) compiled by the Daoist priest Luo Tingzhen 羅霆震 (the Yuan dynasty).\(^{425}\)

修真苦淡味仙靈，自種雲腴摘玉英。

乚古與人甘齒頰，春風百萬億蒼生。\(^{426}\)

The taste is bitter, mild but refreshing for inner alchemic cultivation.

Grow tea oneself and pick them up.

Tea has brought sweetness to teeth and cheeks since a long time ago.

Nurturing tens of millions of creatures in the world.

This poem revealed the situation of tea-growing in Daoist monastic estate and associated tea-drinking with inner alchemy.

This section of tea in non-Buddhist Chinese religions has offered abundant examples of tea use outside the Buddhist domain. Tea functioned as an offering at imperial funerals and Daoist altars, an element in Daoist monastic rituals, a magical herb in Daoist mythologies, and a facilitator for inner alchemy. This sufficiently proves that tea was not exclusively linked to Buddhism among medieval Chinese religions. All these functions of tea, except facilitating inner alchemy as mentioned above, were shared by Chan Buddhist monasteries. In the next section, this chapter will further examine tea use in broader medieval Chinese society.

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4.3 Tea in Medieval Chinese Society

This section will investigate the functions of tea across all social strata of medieval Chinese society, from the emperor to officials, to literati, to commoners. A variety of tea-related activities flourished around the time thanks to this popular drink.

Tea had become a popular drink since the mid-eighth century, marked by the compilation of the *Classic of Tea* by Lu Yu 陆羽 (c.733—c.804). Before that, tea was cooked with other ingredients, like spring onions, ginger, dates, dried orange peels, dogwood fruits, and mint. The milestone for tea starting to be a wide-spread drink was Lu Yu’s proposition that tea shall be a drink itself without being cooked with other ingredients.

Tea was welcomed into all strata of medieval Chinese society, and the emperors no doubt led this fashion of tea-drinking. The Emperor Huizong 宋徽宗 (1082—1135) himself made tea for his officials and devoted an article to tea — the *Comments on Tea in the Daguan Era* (Daguan chaluan 大觀茶論, c.1107—1110).

赐茶至全真閣，上御手注湯，擊出乳花盈面。臣等惶恐。前曰：‘陛下略君臣夷等，為臣下烹調，震悸惶怖，豈敢啜？’上曰：‘可少休息。’

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429 Lu Yu, “Chajing”, 82-83.


431 Cai Jing, *Baohe dian quyan ji*, 553.
The emperor bestowed tea in the Quanzhen Pavilion. He poured the hot water himself and whisked the tea until white foam covered the surface of the tea. The ministers panicked. They came forward and said: "Your Majesty didn’t mind our humble status and made tea for us, which shocked us and made us panicked. How dare we drink?"

The emperor said: "You may relax for a while."

The imperial favour on tea also made tea an exquisite commodity with the establishment of royal tea farm Beiyuan 北苑, the production of the luxurious Dragon and Phoenix Teacake (Longfeng tuancha 龍鳳團茶), and the routine of nationwide tribute tea. As it was described in the Daguan chalun, tea enjoyed a great popularity in all social classes, and the tea making techniques were refined to meet the constant pursuit of high-quality tea.

Both high-rank officials and the populace enjoyed the elegant and moral lifestyle of tea drinking. Therefore, recent years have witnessed a peak of the tea-related techniques of picking, possessing, and making.

Officials followed the trendy fashion of tea-drinking and pursued the Dragon and Phoenix Teacake with high price. It was written in the Record of the Beiyuan Tribute Tea in the Xuanhe Era (Xuanhe Beiyuan gongcha lu 宣和北苑貢茶录, 1125) that the Dragon and Phoenix Teacake was exceptionally precious and expensive.

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434 Xiong Fan 熊蕃, "Xuanhe Beiyuan chalu 宣和北苑貢茶录", 132-147.

435 Zhao Ji 赵佶, "Daguan Chalun 大观茶论", 124.
The best type of the Dragon and Phoenix Tea was called Little Round. Every 28 teacakes weigh half a kilo and are worth a hundred grams of gold. However, one may have the gold but not the tea.

No to mention that even cheap tea in medieval China was limited goods, like salt and wine, that could only be sold by authorised producers rather than freely traded.437

On the other hand, literati personalised tea with noble characters and idealised the atmosphere of tea-making, tea drinking and tea contests in hundreds of tea poems and works of prose. According to Wang Fu’s 王敷 (mid to late Tang) the Discussion of Tea and Wine (Chajiu lun 茶酒論, 970) discovered in Dunhuang, the article personalised tea and wine and introduced an argument between them about their pros and cons.438 Su Shi 苏轼 (1037—1101) wrote a biography of tea called the Biography of Yejia (Yejia zhuan 葉嘉傳), in which tea was named Yejia who was depicted as an idealised moral and competent official.439 Fan Zhongyan’s 范仲淹 (989—1052) poem the “Song of Tea Contest with the State Official Zhang Min” (He Zhang Min congshi doucha ge 和章岷从事斗茶歌) described a tea contest, a popular tea-related activity in medieval Chinese society.440

436 Xiong Fan, “Xuanhe Beiyuan chalu”, 132-147.
437 Ma Duanlin, Wenxian tongkao vol.1, 501-515.
When it came to the season for the Beiyuan Tea to be tribute to the emperor, tea contests were held across the country. Tea stove is made of the valuable Shoushan Copper; hot-water bottle contains the precious Zhongling Water. Green powder is spilt from gold grinders; snow-like foams appear from the centre of purple-jade teacup. The aftertaste outshines the mellowness of the finest wine; the aroma overshadows the scent of orchid and angelica. The tea rating cannot be falsified; everyone can see and point it out. The winners of tea contests are praised as great as gods, while the losers suffer endless shame.

The tea contest was exciting and intensive with engaged contestants and an audience watching attentively all the way. There was also paintings like Liu Songnian’s (c.1131—1218) work of the Tea Contest in a Market (Mingyuan dushi tu 茗園賭市圖) (Figure 2 & 3) visually presenting a scene of tea contest in the market.  

441 Fan Zhongyan, “He Zhang Min congshi doucha ge”, 674-675.  
On the left side of the painting, there is a tea contest of five merchant-like participants. One person is pouring water into his cup, one is wiping his mouth with his sleeve, one is drinking from his cup, one is standing and watching, and one is about to leave. On the right side of the painting, there is an old man with his mobile stall, selling luxurious
tea from the Jiangnan region (*Shangdeng jiangcha* 上等江茶), and a woman with a little child glancing at the tea contest.

Teahouses in medieval China were also popular places for public relaxation and gatherings. *A Dream of Sorghum* (*Menglianglu* 夢粱錄, 1274) records a variety of teahouses for studying musical instruments, watching wrestling, prostitution, football clubs and official gatherings in the Southern Song capital Lin'an, as it was commented “these public teahouses do not rely their income on selling tea and soup, but earn more by selling drinks”(人情茶肆，本非以點茶湯為業，但將此為由，多覓茶金耳).¹⁴⁴³

Tea was not only commonly used in the public sphere, but also in private spaces like family guest receptions. In the Song notebook *Pingzhou Table Talks* (*Pingzhou ketan* 萍州可談, 1119), it was written that “for today’s social etiquette, tea should be served when the guest arrives and soup should be served when the guest leaves”(今世俗客至則啜茶，去則啜湯).¹⁴⁴⁴ Even though in Liao dynasty (907—1125), soup was supposed to be served before tea when the guest visited.¹⁴⁴⁵

This section has provided an overview of tea use in secular medieval Chinese society. Tea offered to the secular society an imperial fashion, a popular commodity, a favoured theme of the literati’s praise, a game that is loved by people, a public place to gather and a guest reception drink. Chan monasteries also welcomed guests with tea as the wider society did, but did not share the other functions of tea mentioned above. It can be proven that tea had a wide application in Chinese society rather than exclusively bound to any religious uses, not to mention Chan Buddhism.

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4.4 Conclusion

This chapter examined the functions of tea in non-Chan contexts, including non-Chan Buddhist schools, non-Buddhist Chinese religions, and secular society. It found that both the Vinaya and Tiantai schools used tea in a highly similar way as the Chan school due to the strong impact of Chan monastic practice on medieval Chinese Buddhism. Moreover, like the tea offerings in Chan monastic funerals and memorials, imperial Confucian rites and Daoist monastic practices offered tea on the altar. Daoist monasteries also had tea rituals for gatherings with a similar procedure of the Chan tea rituals. However, the Daoist emphasis on tea’s medical function on the body was not evident in Chan sources. Furthermore, the Chan monasteries and secular society shared the custom of welcoming guests with tea. Beyond that, tea was widely used in medieval Chinese society for commerce, entertainment, and literature.

This final chapter of this thesis confirms that Chan and tea are not exclusively bound to each other, as most of the functions of tea in Chan monastic practice were shared in non-Chan contexts and there were also unique functions of tea in non-Chan contexts like the application of tea in Daoist inner alchemy.
Conclusion

This thesis has demystified this fantasy of a special Chan-tea bond and has explored a spectrum of tea’s functions in what is a probably more mystic entity of Chan Buddhism. This study of Chan-tea offers a lens to carefully examine the nature of Chan Buddhism, which has constantly been the subject of heated debates. Why did Chan Buddhism despise material forms in their teachings while having a sophisticated ritual system in the meantime?446 Was Chan Buddhism a school of Buddhism marked by its own unique doctrines, or a depiction of lineal transmission, or an institutional representation?447 How was Chan Buddhism considered as a typical case of Chinese adaptation of Buddhism? This thesis has contributed its insights in order to try and answer these questions. Before further discussing its contribution to the field, I will remind our readers of its arguments chapter by chapter.

Chapter 1 examined the definitions, historical sources and modern discourse that conceptualise the “Chan-tea” connections, to find out how this idea of Chan-tea came into shape and what the functions of tea were in those contexts. It contended that Chinese historical sources merely indicated that tea was used as an offering and an herb to keep one awake and healthy in Buddhism, while the modern Japanese and Korean discourse attempted to bond Chan as a meditative method to tea, since samādhi shall be attained from the concentrated tea-making process. This finding subverted the common belief that the Chan-tea bond was rooted in pre-modern China

and proved that the Chan-tea bond resulted from a modern Japanese and Korean discourse.

Chapter 2 argued that instead of possessing a superior status in Chan monasteries, tea along with soup, medicine, congee, and meal, permutated with other basic ritual units like directions, sequences, prostrations, and dharma instruments, together formed a sophisticated monastic ritual system that functioned to efficiently distinguish monastic ranks and host-guest relations. Tea was only a tiny part that consisted of monastic tea rituals. Each stage of monastic tea ceremonies differentiated the institutional hierarchy in material and liturgical forms, from the scale and position of announcement papers, to summoning instruments and striking times, to seating arrangements and prostrations, to leaving sequences and repaying visits. This chapter did not find any meaningful connections between tea and Chan despite tea being immersed in many aspects of monastic life.

Chapter 3 argued that tea metaphors were used in the hagiographies of the Hongzhou and Linji lineages to convey Chan teachings, even though tea was not specifically linked to Chan teachings on a doctrinal level but instead served as one of the daily monastic objects at hand for analogy. While the Oxhead lineage hardly used tea, the Northern lineage adapted tea to facilitate meditational practice but not for Chan teachings, other derivational lineages from the Southern lineage adapted tea metaphors in their hagiographies moderately. As Chan Buddhism was treated as a general group in past studies of Chan-tea, this chapter is the first study to note the differences in the extent of accepting tea among various Chan lineages.

Chapter 4 further investigated the functions of tea in non-Chan contexts to examine the nature of the Chan-tea bond. It found that non-Chan Buddhist schools use tea in a highly similar way as the Chan school due to the strong impact of Chan
monastic practice on medieval Chinese Buddhism. Non-Buddhist Chinese religions shared the functions of tea as offerings and gathering rituals with their Chan Buddhist counterparts, except for the Daoist practitioners who emphasised on tea’s medical function on the body to facilitate inner alchemy. The secular medieval Chinese society shared the functions of tea in receiving guests with the Chan counterparts, while also using tea as a commodity and a theme of entertainment and literature. This final chapter confirmed that Chan and tea were not exclusively bound to each other, as most of the functions of tea in Chan monastic practices were found in non-Chan contexts as well and non-Chan contexts also used tea in a way that was not found in Chan contexts.

This thesis, “Chan Monastic Tea in Medieval China: A Deconstruction of Chan-tea Culture”, deconstructed the idea of the Chan-tea bond and analysed the multifunction of tea in medieval Chinese Chan Buddhism on institutional and doctrinal levels. This study has shown that despite the large amount of tea used in Chan rituals and teachings, Chan Buddhist monks were not liturgically or doctrinally obsessed with tea or any other material forms. Tea as an instrumental means to either keep monastic order or convey Chan teachings, was highly substitutable with any other object, since it did not intrinsically bear any symbolic messages essential to Chan Buddhism. In other words, Chan is still Chan regardless of the change of material indicators, just as the finger of tea is pointing to the moon of Chan and the change of finger does not influence the moon.448 The material forms are phenomenal and context-based, while the Chan teachings that it is pointing remain ultimate. This explains the duality of despising material forms and having a sophisticated ritual system in Chan Buddhism,

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448 Here refer to the popular Buddhist metaphor of “finger pointing to the moon” (zhiyue 指月). Yunwen 蘆聞, Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu 大慧普覺禪師語錄 [Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Dahui Pujue]. T 1998A, 1: 0811a05.
as the materials are mere means to maintain monastic order but are not irreplaceable nor attached to Chan Buddhism.

This new perspective of Chan Buddhism let the seemingly isolated Chan monastic practice, as well as its main source material of the rules of purity, join the major discussions on Chan teachings in current scholarship. Further links between Chan practice and Chan teachings and how they collaborate and lead to Buddhist awakening are yet to be discovered by scholars.

This study of Chan-tea also has examined tea-related records in Chan enlightening dialogues and stories, lineage transmission and monastic institutions, which involved the three main hypothesised aspects that defined Chan Buddhism. Each of the three dimensions deployed different functions of tea and altogether showed a 3D figure of the Chan-tea relation. Therefore, this thesis contends that only when the institutional, doctrinal and transmissional Chan came together, can a complete and dynamic Chan Buddhism exist.

Chan Buddhism has always been said to represent the Chinese adaptation of Buddhism, but how it that so? This thesis found that Chan Buddhist monasteries used tea to replace the Indian eight syrups, ghee, and honey, which itself was already an adaptation and localisation of Buddhism. Besides, the prostrations, sequences, and repaid visits in Chan monastic tea rituals for gatherings clearly borrowed some ritual elements from Confucian ritual traditions, while the four-stage Chan tea ritual structure also assimilated the Daoist tea rituals for constructing altar.\(^\text{449}\)

was an important offering in most of the Chinese religions. The sharing of ritual objects like tea bridged the practice of Chinese religions.

Beyond the broad issues that I answered with my thesis above, there are many more for Chan Buddhism, Chinese religions, material culture and ritual studies, shall have a concrete embodiment and explanation and hopefully a new insight with this study of Chan-tea connections.
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Appendix

Positions in Chinese Buddhist Monasteries

赦修百丈清规 *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui*

西序头首 the Chief Officers of the West Order

1. 前堂首座 the Chief Seat of the Front Part of the Sangha Hall
2. 后堂首座 the Chief Seat of the Rear Part of the Sangha Hall
3. 书记 the Head Secretarial Official
4. 知藏 the Tripitaka Hall Official
5. 知客 the Guest Reception Official
6. 知浴 the Bath Hall Official
7. 知殿 the Shrine Hall Official
8. 侍者 the Abbot’s Attendants:
   - 烧香侍者 the Incense Offering Attendant
   - 书状侍者 the Secretarial Record Attendant
   - 请客侍者 the Guest Reception Attendant
9. 衣钵侍者 the Personal Managerial Attendant
10. 汤药侍者 the Medical Care Attendant
11. 圣僧侍者 the Attendant in Charge of the Image of the Guardian Bodhisattva

东序知事 the Administrators of the East Order

1. 都监寺 the Head Administrative Official
   (都寺 the Chief Head Administrative Official;
1. 监院 (有处立副院) the Head Administrative Official
   (somewhere the Deputy Head Administrative Official)
2. 维那 the Director of Practitioners’ Affairs
3. 副寺 the Treasury Official
4. 典座 the Kitchen Official
5. 直岁 the Maintenance and Construction Official

禅苑清规 Chanyuan qinggui

知事 the Administrators
1. 监院 (有处立副院) the Head Administrative Official
   (somewhere the Deputy Head Administrative Official)
2. 维那 the Director of Practitioners’ Affairs
3. 典座 the Kitchen Official
4. 直岁 the Maintenance and Construction Official

头首 the Chief Officers
1. 首座 the Chief Seat
2. 书状 the Head Secretarial Official
3. 藏主 the Tripitaka Hall Official
4. 知客 the Guest Reception Official
5. 库头 the Chief Accountant
6. 浴主 the Bath Hall Official