

The Application of Traditional Rules of Purity (*Qinggui*) in Contemporary Taiwanese Monasteries

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Vinaya rules embody the ideal of how ordained Buddhists should regulate their daily lives, and monastics are required to observe them, despite the fact that they were compiled nearly 2,500 years ago in India: a context dramatically different not only from Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism's present monastic conditions, but also from its historical conditions. Against this backdrop, rules of purity (*qinggui*) were gradually formulated by Chinese masters in medieval times to supplement and adapt *vinaya* rules to China's cultural ethos and specific local contexts. This ethnographic study explores how the traditional *qinggui* are applied by the Buddhist *saṅgha* in present-day Taiwan, and contrasts modern nuns' opinions on these rules and their relation to early Buddhist *vinaya*, on the one hand, against classical Chan literature (such as *Chanyuan qinggui*) and the Buddhist canon (such as *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya*), on the other. This comparison fills a notable gap in the existing literature. While its three fieldwork sites — Foguangshan, Fagushan and Luminary Nunnery — may not be fully representative of the contemporary Taiwanese monastic scene, they have well-developed *saṅgha* organizations and operations covering a large swath of the region's territory, as well as the more modernist or humanistic Buddhist outlook that is increasingly prevalent there.

Introduction

In general, the organization of Buddhist monastic institutions in Taiwan and Mainland China is based on disciplinary rules, which can be divided into three categories: 1) the oldest basic rules, the *vinaya*, which are linked to the earliest Buddhist schools of the so-called Hīnayāna tradition; 2) the *bodhisattva* rules, connected to the later Mahāyāna tradition, now the dominant way in which Buddhism is practised in East Asia; and 3) the Rules of Purity (*Qinggui* 清規), the main body of which were written during the Chinese Song Dynasty (960–1279).

The basic rules were compiled in India during the first centuries of Buddhism. As a result of the spread of the monastic community over the Indian subconti-

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ment, as well as due to internal disputes over monastic regulations, several distinct codices, *vinayas*, came into being.¹ These codices mutually exclude each other, rendering institutional interference between one *vinaya* tradition and another theoretically impossible. Today, three *vinaya* traditions are still active: the Pāli tradition in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia, the Mūlasarvāstivāda in Tibet, Bhutan and Mongolia, and the Dharmaguptaka in China and most other East Asian countries.² *Vinaya* rules constitute a codex both for community life within monasteries, and for such institutions' relations with lay society. In this sense, they are not directly linked to Buddhist doctrinal theories. The *bodhisattva* rules, which were compiled in both India and China as a Mahāyāna supplement during the first centuries of the Common Era, emphasize the several meritorious deeds of a *bodhisattva*: a being full of compassion for all sentient beings.³ In China, the fifth-century *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 (Brahmā-net) *bodhisattva* rules became particularly popular, and gradually evolved into a compulsory second codex for use in every Mahāyāna monastery.⁴

Last of all, a third phase of monastic regulations — the so-called 'rules of purity' (*qinggui*) — arose during the Song Dynasty, and have never spread beyond East Asia. They describe day-to-day monastic organization in detail, and are clearly reliant on the two previous layers of rules, with a particular focus on the integration of monasteries into the wider context of Chinese society. However, while numerous scholarly works have translated and/or analysed the *qinggui* or their historical development or background (Hackmann 1908; Satō 1997; Yifa 2002; Shih Nengrong 2003; Foulk 2004; Huang 2008), few have compared first-hand empirical data on modern organizational systems and/or monastery regulations to primary sources on these traditional rules. The present study aims to fill that gap, using the case of *qinggui* application by the modern Buddhist *saṅgha* in Taiwan. Before turning to a closer examination of my fieldwork findings regarding *qinggui* application in contemporary Taiwanese monasteries, however, it will be useful to clarify how *qinggui* evolved in medieval China.

1. In the early fifth century, four complete *vinayas* were translated into Chinese, as follows: 十誦律 *Shisong Lü* (T 1435), *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya*; 四分律 *Sifen Lü* (T 1428), *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya*; 摩訶僧祇律 *Mohesengqi Lü* (T 1425), *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya*; and 彌沙塞部和醯五分律 *Mishasai Bu Hexi Wufen Lü* (T 1421), *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya*. For details, see Heirman 2007 (167–202).
2. For the historical background and subsequent development of the Dharmaguptaka tradition, see Heirman 2002 (11–61). This paper particularly focuses on the *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya* since it has become a major reference point for monastic discipline in China.
3. From medieval China, *bodhisattva* ideas have steadily developed and become key characteristics of Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism. For a detailed introduction of how *bodhisattva* precepts have evolved in the history of Chinese Buddhism, see Satō 1997 (427–492).
4. In addition to the *vinaya* rules, Chinese monks and nuns in the Mahāyāna tradition generally have *bodhisattva* precepts conferred upon them while undergoing the Triple Platform Ordination, a typical attribute of the Chinese Buddhist ordination system that differentiates it from Theravāda and Tibetan Buddhist ordination. The Triple Platform Ordination incorporates novice, full and *bodhisattva* ordinations in sequence, and is based on either the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 T 1484 (*The Brahmā's Net Sūtra*) or the *Pusa Jie Ben* 菩薩戒本 T 1500 (*The Bodhisattva-śīla Sūtra*). Yu-chen Li comments that '[i]ncorporating the *bodhisattva* precept ceremony into the Triple Platform Ordination procedure illustrates how Chinese Buddhism integrates Mahāyāna doctrine and Dharmagupta Vinaya into the ordination ... [and] demonstrates the importance of the *bodhisattva* ideal for the Mahāyāna identity' (2000a, 171).

First, it is important to note that *vinaya* rules were the fundamental root of the invention of *qinggui*; but while the former continued to play a pivotal role in both monastic *saṅgha* and Buddhist *Dharma* in medieval Chinese contexts, they were compiled nearly a thousand years previously in ancient India, a dramatically different context. As Stuart Chandler reminds us, there are no Buddhist traditions in which the majority of monastics have at all times done exactly what the *vinaya* requires (2004, 165). Some *vinaya* rules, in fact, were by the medieval period already irrelevant to or incompatible with the life of monastics in Chinese Mahāyāna contexts, due to changing cultural and historical circumstances as Buddhism spread beyond India.⁵ As Foulk (2004, 276) aptly put it, 'Neither the Vinaya proper ... nor governmental regulations based on it ... covered all the aspects of monastic administration and practice that gradually evolved in Chinese Buddhism.' Clearly, the mere 348 rules for nuns (and 250 for monks) found in the *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya* can hardly be expected to have covered all aspects of monastics' daily lives in China, especially given its dramatic differences from ancient India.

Given the difficulty of implementing rules from a drastically different historical and cultural context, then, Chinese monasteries had to adjust Buddhist norms and regulations to conform with Chinese culture and society if Buddhism was to survive locally (Shih Nengrong 2002, 303). In fact, while numerous Chinese monastics attempted to 'supplement Vinaya-related rules' made approvable by indigenous tradition,⁶ such supplements did not accord closely with the Buddha's teachings, whether on the level of ritual, monastic bureaucracy, or sacred architecture (Foulk 2004, 276). This circumstance did not change significantly until the appearance of

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5. Taking the 46th *saikṣa* (rule of good behaviour) as one example: monks are not allowed to spill rice from their hands (T 1428 708b24–c15). According to the custom of eating rice in India, people use their fingers and thumb to wrap a rice ball and bring it to their mouths, instead of using any eating utensils. This custom is unlike that in China where chopsticks or spoons are used. Chinese monastics are therefore criticized if they follow the Indian monastic custom of eating food without utensils. For discussions of Chinese monastic members' use of chopsticks, see Yifa 2002 (59–60) and Yijing (translated in Li 2000, 86). Another typical example is about begging for alms 常行乞食 (*pinda-pāta*) as one of the four ascetic practices 四依法 (*catvāro niśrayāḥ*) that Buddhist practitioners are recommended to follow (T 1428 815c18–816a3). While the practice of alms-begging is intrinsic to Theravāda Buddhism in Thailand, Myanmar and Sri Lanka, it is alien to Chinese culture and custom past and present. Richard Mather, researching eating practices in medieval China, found very few records of the practice of begging for alms in Chinese monks' biographies (1981, 418). This may be because of a widespread Chinese cultural prejudice against vagrants, who are regarded as 'men who are not being supported by their relatives, presumably for some good reason, and who therefore deserve only the most cursory support from the rest of the community' (Welch 1967, 207–208). Welch added that begging for food was 'never seen or heard' by Chinese Buddhists (208).
 6. In a similar vein, Jens Borglund explicitly indicated that 'local ordinances' that have evolved in various regions (e.g., Sri Lanka, Tibet, and China) influence individual Buddhist institutions, since '[t]hrough such ordinances the *vinaya* could be augmented or adapted according to local conditions without changing' fundamentally (2017, 263). Similarly, Walpola Rahula (1978, 62–63) indicated that Theravāda monks found some rules impractical, because times and circumstances had changed. Thus, in Theravāda contexts, the term *pālimuttaka-vinicchaya* emerged for interpretations of and decisions about *vinaya* rules that were 'tantamount to amendments or new rules' (quoted in Prebish 2003, 61).

the *Chanyuan Qinggui*,⁷ which represented ‘an important milestone in the history of Chinese Buddhism ... [as] the first indigenous set of monastic rules to attain a status roughly equivalent to that of the Vinaya’ (Foulk 2004, 275). As such, the innovations in and evolution of *qinggui* can be seen as manifestations of the Sinification of *vinaya* and of Buddhism more generally (Huang 2008, 5–7; Peng 2008, 4). *Qinggui*, translated by Hackmann as ‘the rules of a pure monastic life’ (1908, 653), have exerted considerable influence on Chinese monastics’ daily existence and on the operations of larger monasteries from the medieval period to the present day. For example, as J. J. M. DeGroot put it in 1893, the Baizhang⁸ *Qinggui* ‘still now rule over the church with an absolute authority’ (quoted in Welch 1967, 106). Likewise, Hackmann found that the Baizhang *Qinggui* was quite dominant everywhere he went in early twentieth century China (1908, 652). Drawing on his personal observations, he commented that:

[t]here is practically no feature of that religion as a monastic institution which is not thrown light upon by [*qinggui*]. Whosoever approaches to Chinese Buddhism studying its social power and working cannot do without [Baizhang’s] guide[.] (662)

As we can gather from this, rules of purity seem to play a pivotal role in Chinese Buddhism and its monastic organizations. On the other hand, *qinggui* has been criticized by some masters (such as Ven. Lianchi Zhuhong⁹ and Ouyi Zhixu¹⁰) on the grounds that it bears the prime share of responsibility for the decline of *vinaya* study and knowledge of the precepts (Shi Guodeng 2003, 271).¹¹ Ven. Hongyi even suggested that monastics should not read the original text of Baizhang *Qinggui*, if it still exists, let alone faked ones (as quoted in Shi Guodeng 2003, 271). Some other contemporary masters have also questioned rules of purity. For example, Ven. Wu

7. The *Chanyuan Qinggui* 禪苑清規 (X 1245) was compiled by Chan monk Changlu Zongze 長蘆宗騷 (?–1107?) during the Northern Song Dynasty (960–1127 CE). This is regarded as the earliest Chan monastic code in existence. It also plays an important role in both Japanese and Korean Zen Buddhism. Nevertheless, the issue of *qinggui*’s influence in the historical development of Chinese Buddhism is beyond the scope of this study.
8. The monk Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (749–814 CE) is said to have established a monastic code for Chan monasteries in the Tang Dynasty (618–907 CE). However, the text of Baizhang’s discipline no longer exists, which has given rise to much debate as to its authenticity. For further details of authenticity of Baizhang’s codes, see for example Yifa 2002 (28–35) and Heirman and Torck 2012 (16, n.65). While the Baizhang controversy is beyond the scope of the present study, it is worth mentioning Griffith Foulk’s work, which firmly contends that Baizhang did not create and codify the first Chan monastic rules; rather, Foulk contends that such rules are ‘the common heritage of the Chinese Buddhist tradition during Song and Yuan,’ and not the ‘exclusive property’ of the Chan school (2004, 307). This argument has caused heated controversy among academics, but gives us another way of rethinking Baizhang’s *Qinggui* codes and the Chan lineage (see also Foulk 1993, 147–208).
9. Ven. Lianchi Zhuhong 蓮池祿宏 (1535–1615) was a monk who achieved fame in the Ming Dynasty by writing various work on Chan, Pure Land and *Vinaya*.
10. Ven. Ouyi Zhixu 藕益智旭 (1599–1655), another famous monk of the Ming period, wrote various Buddhist works focusing particularly on the doctrines of the Tiantai School.
11. As a rule, most books and articles today use the *pinyin* system to transcribe Chinese names, place-names and terms. We have done the same throughout this article. Nevertheless, when referring to Taiwanese authors or masters, we have opted to use their personal romanizations as they appear on their websites, books or articles.

Yin,¹² the abbess of Luminary Nunnery in Taiwan, prefers to teach student nuns *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya* rather than *qinggui*, based on her opinion that the latter have been totally changed with the passage of time (Yü 2013, 147). Similarly, Master Sheng Yen,¹³ the founder of Dharma Drum Mountain (hereafter DDM), deems that restoring the spirit of *vinaya* is beneficial to the revival of Buddhism, whereas referring to *qinggui* is not (2011, 119). As this should make clear, *qinggui*'s impact on Chinese Buddhism is the subject of enduring monastic controversy.

This study investigates the application of *qinggui* in three modern monasteries via fieldwork data, in an effort to compare actual present-day conditions in Taiwan to past Buddhist monastics' experience. In addition to fieldwork observations and interviews, documentation of contemporary organizational systems and regulations has been collected as practical reference material with which to identify similarities as well as differences among the various Buddhist monastic institutions in Taiwan where the fieldwork was conducted.¹⁴

While an exhaustive study of this topic is desirable, it would be a hopeless task (in the absence of a costly, large-scale statistical survey) to capture all of Taiwanese Buddhist monasticism in a short article, as well as impossible — within any reasonable timeframe — for one person to conduct thorough fieldwork in all Taiwanese monastic institutions and systematically compare their internal regulations against the classical *qinggui* texts. Therefore, DDM,¹⁵ Luminary Nunnery¹⁶ and Foguangshan¹⁷ were chosen as sites for this research, as they not only play leading roles in the Taiwanese monastic scene, but also have well-developed *sangha* organizations and operations, as evidenced by collected documentary data (e.g., *Fagushan Sengtuan Zhidu Wenjian* 法鼓山僧團制度文件 [*Document of DDM Sangha Systems*],¹⁸ *Foguangshan Tuzhong Shouce* 佛光山徒眾手冊 [*Foguangshan Guidebook for Disciples*])¹⁹

12. Ven. Wu Yin 悟因 (b. 1940) founded the Luminary Nunnery 香光寺 (also known as the Luminary Buddhist Institute) in 1980. She is well known for her research on *vinaya*, and runs a Buddhist college that provides education for nuns. For details, see Yü 2013.
13. Ven. Sheng Yen 聖嚴 (1930–2009) was a prominent Chan master and religious scholar as well as the founder of Dharma Drum Mountain (*Fagushan* 法鼓山). On his Chan teachings, see Yu 2010 (3–38).
14. Due to the 'closed' or 'conservative' nature of most Buddhist institutions in contemporary Mainland China, data collection about organizational rules and systems presents certain special challenges, and further study in this area is needed. For discussions of Chinese Buddhist monastic codes in twentieth century China, see Campo forthcoming.
15. DDM is one of the largest Buddhist institutions in Taiwan, currently with about 50 monks and 200 nuns affiliated to it.
16. Luminary Nunnery currently has approximately 119 nuns.
17. Foguangshan 佛光山, one of the three largest monastic institutions in Taiwan, was founded by the monk Hsing Yun 星雲 (b. 1927) in 1967. It has more than 1,000 monastic members of both genders, and promotes Humanistic Buddhism in particular.
18. Basic information about DDM organizational systems (e.g., theme, name of document, issue date and amendment date) can also be found in Guo Guang Shi's conference paper 'The Inheritance and Continuance of a Great Vow — DDM Sangha Education in Retrospect and for the Future', delivered at the 2009 International Conference for Buddhist Sangha Education-Exploration on Education for Contemporary Female Sangha, New Taipei City.
19. The *Foguangshan Guidebook for Disciples* is an unpublished book only read by disciples in that insti-

and *Xiangguangni Sengtuan Fagui Huijiben* 香光尼僧團法規彙集本 [Compilation of Laws and Regulations for Luminary Saṅgha]).²⁰ Of course, neither the three institutions I have selected nor any other three could be fully representative of all Buddhist institutions in Taiwan; so, it is best to acknowledge from the start that my particular fieldwork findings will have been affected by the site-selection process. Taiwanese Buddhist institutions of different sizes, school types (e.g., Pure Land, Chan, and so on), regional locations, and/or modes (modernist vs traditional) will inevitably vary in their institutional realities. On the other hand, by studying these three cases, with their well-developed *saṅgha* organizations and operations, it is possible to capture the ethos of the increasingly prevalent modernist/humanistic type of Taiwanese Buddhism over a large swath of the territory.

While the collected documentary data (e.g., *Document of DDM Saṅgha Systems*, *Foguangshan Guidebook for Disciples*, *Complication of Laws and Regulations for Luminary Saṅgha*) function as each monastery's own internal regulations, it is also worth raising the question of how closely these modern 'house rules' are connected to traditional *qinggui*. In other words, should we regard the rules of purity and monasteries' modern regulations as part of a single genre, despite the titles of the latter not referencing the former? Here, the data-driven answer is 'yes', insofar as my informant nuns from DDM and Luminary Nunnery both claimed that they referred to or adapted old *qinggui* when seeking to conform their respective organizations' operations and internal regulations to local situations and institutional realities (as will be further discussed below). The preface to Foguangshan's *Guidebook for Disciples*, written by Master Hsing Yun, serves as further clear evidence of this process: stating that he emulated the spirit of Chan Master Baizhang Huaihai, who set up the *qinggui*, when drafting various codes of rules and systems that were then examined and discussed by the Foguangshan Religious Affairs Committee, to provide a model of how to reform the system to keep pace with changing times and *saṅgha* needs (2006, 7). Perhaps more importantly, the same ten chapters of regulations, arranged by category, are entitled *Foguangshan zongmen qinggui* 佛光山宗門清規. From this, it is fairly clear that my collected fieldwork data will manifest what modern Taiwanese monastics perceive as a close relation between monasteries' modern 'house rules' and traditional *qinggui*. It is important not to neglect this, regardless of whether it is the product of unbroken tradition or revivalism, or some combination of the two.

tution. There were inevitably various challenges when collecting data and performing fieldwork in very large religious institutions. Generally speaking, the more complex the hierarchy, the harder it was to obtain interviews and documentary information.

20. It is worth noting that the fieldwork data I present in the present study should not be taken to constitute full information on any monastery system or regulation, not least because both the interview data and the documentary data were collected in 2009, 2011 and 2016, since when, my fieldwork sites would almost inevitably have revised or updated their regulations or systems. Secondly, some information regarding *saṅgha* operations is only read internally by monastics and not available to the public. In such cases, I have respected the wishes and concerns of each monastery and interviewee, rather than trying to force them to provide all the information I want. For example, a Luminary nun allowed me to record only part of Luminary's institutional bye-laws because the rest were still being formulated and not yet considered complete in 2011. Additionally, not all monastery *qinggui* and community codes/rules were selected for analysis, due to the limited scope of the study.

While this study explores the issue of how the traditional *qinggui* are applied by the Buddhist organizations in present-day Taiwan, it is worth noting that the study's key interlocutors were nuns, not monks, even though DDM and Foguangshan are dual *saṅgha* (i.e. have monks and nuns worshipping and working in the same premises).²¹ Both these dual monasteries' respective systems of internal regulation are equally applied to the behaviours of both monks and nuns, however, my research subjects were overwhelmingly female.²² Nuns have exerted an arguably disproportionate influence on Taiwan's monastic environment, due both to dramatically outnumbering monks there, and being better educated. In selecting interviewees, I focused on high-ranking nuns who played important roles in the establishment of monastery regulations, and who also collectively provided each monastic institution's unique views of organizational systems and operations.

To help analyse the fieldwork data in greater detail and depth, it will be juxtaposed with the medieval *Chanyuan Qinggui* as the key primary source, along with other relevant sources — prominently including *vinaya* rules. Here, it should be noted that my three main sources — modern organizational regulations, *qinggui* and *vinaya* — have hitherto only been studied in isolation, and usually as part of a relatively narrow quest for particular issues or methods, despite most modern monasteries' organizational systems and regulations being similar to, or partly based on, the *Chanyuan Qinggui*. Additionally, it has been argued by Yifa (2002, 98) that the character of the *Chanyuan Qinggui* derives ultimately from the *vinaya* tradition, but that it has been influenced by and adapted to Chinese socio-cultural contexts and practices. Based on the *Chanyuan Qinggui*'s continuities and evolution from *vinaya*, it is worth making comparisons between and among modern organizational regulations and these two traditional sources, to identify textual parallels and generate new insights.

Based on this approach, my data indicates that the three focal present-day Taiwanese monasteries' regulations are all conceived of as modernized forms of *qinggui*, and that the key function of such regulations is to supplement the *vinaya*. Nevertheless, all three institutions have evolved more complex overall regulatory structures, based on local situations and institutional realities, than mere copying of the *qinggui* and/or *vinaya* would imply. These complexities will be discussed in the sections that follow.

Analysis of the fieldwork data

The following sections present my research findings in detail, juxtaposing key aspects of the three Taiwanese monasteries' respective systems of internal regulations, to shed light on how traditional *qinggui* are applied to contemporary Buddhist

21. The dual *saṅgha*, a key feature of Taiwanese Buddhism, insists on strict sex segregation and celibacy. For discussions of its historical evolution there, see Cheng 2007 (151–153) and Heng-Ching Shih 1995 (174–177).
22. Similarly, Holmes Welch explored the Chinese Buddhism of both Republican and Communist China during the 1960s and 1970s. Perhaps owing to the limitations of his role as male researcher, he considered that a female researching Buddhist nuns and nunneries could be more effective, and thus did not interview any female monastic members (1967, v).

nuns in Taiwan. The (admittedly partial) *qinggui* content obtained from the three monasteries is arranged into five broad thematic categories: 1) monastery personnel systems; 2) monastic stipend systems; 3) monastic welfare systems; 4) conditions of joining the *saṅgha*; and 5) systems of pursuing advanced studies.

Monastery personnel systems

This topic is treated first because the duties of the officers of monastery bureaucracies and the procedures for transitions in their positions — such as appointment, retirement, and sick leave — make up a considerable proportion of the *Chanyuan qinggui* (Foulk 2004, 291–292). Contemporary monasteries I have visited pay close attention to personnel organization, with a good deal of space in monastery guidebooks and system documents devoted to it. Table 1 presents an overview of personnel regulations at DDM, Luminary Nunnery, and Foguangshan.

Table 1 clearly reflects the mixture of the modern and the traditional in contemporary monasteries, with the principles of modern organizational management applied to monastic administration. Job appointments, job handovers, and leave are all regulated in these three monasteries in a manner that resonates with personnel management as conducted in businesses and other modern institutions including schools, government departments and hospitals. The absence of such formal arrangements might easily cause internal disputes and unsound operations in organizations that cannot achieve the *saṅgha*'s purity and harmony; and as for monastic job assignments, modern monasteries can refer to the structure of monastic officers presented in the *Qinggui*, but do not necessarily accept it unconditionally or without reference to the *saṅgha*'s conditions for proper adjustment (Shih

Table 1. Comparison of personnel regulations.

Dharma Drum Mountain	Luminary Nunnery	Foguangshan
Rules for job appointments	Regulation regarding job appointments	Regulations for job relocation
<i>Saṅgha</i> handover procedure	Regulation regarding work handover	Regulations for working payment
Management procedure of <i>saṅgha</i> asking for leave		Regulations for asking for leave
Working standard of <i>saṅgha</i> long-term sick leave and personal leave		Regulations for vocations
		Regulations for implementing holidays, with detailed rules
		Regulations for job handovers
		Regulations for superintendent handover

Nengrong 2003, 430). Shih Nengrong's analysis resonates with the following comments made by my interviewee at DDM:

The assignment of monastic jobs in our monastery is more complex than those in the *Qinggui*. Some officer positions are still in use, such as the guest master [*zhike* 知客], the cook [*dianzuo* 典座] and the prior [*jianyuan* 監院], but some differ because these roles were simpler in medieval Chinese monasteries. There are now additional new departments of education and Buddhist preaching. Some modern positions are part of *qinggui* but may have different titles and content Our monastery was originally arranged according to *qinggui*, but the management and framework have changed to reflect the needs of a modern organization, each department consisting of several smaller units.

Her statement reveals that the personnel organization of DDM has evolved into a more complex structure than that envisioned by the *qinggui* due to modern monastery needs, but that the *qinggui* tradition regarding monastic posts nevertheless endures. The abbot, prior, rector, cook, superintendent, chief seat,²³ scribe and librarian are the main monastic officers in the *Chanyuan Qinggui*. Foguangshan, like DDM, continues to use some monastic positions derived from *qinggui*, but its organizational administration and *Dharma* propagation have long utilized modern management techniques and technological knowledge (Shi Yiren 1985, 216).²⁴ As Elise DeVido aptly puts it, monasteries in Taiwan 'are communities based on the *vinaya* Rules, each monastery's own Rules, and the principles of modern management' (2010, 83). One Luminary nun expressed her views on *qinggui* as follows:

We have established a monastery regulations committee, whose representatives are regularly elected by the whole monastic community. The purpose of this committee is to make the regulations for monastics' daily activities. ... We formulate our monastery rules, which are similar to the old *qinggui*, for the running of the monastery. For example, we regulate how many monastic positions are available for people to apply for each year, or normalise how many nuns can ask for leave from their work each year, and for how long. ... One regulation covers the procedures and conditions for nuns' applications to do occupational refresher courses or further academic studies. ... It is impossible to get the relevant information from the *vinaya*. These regulations are a modernised version of *qinggui*. Modern monastery regulations are beyond the scope of *vinaya* rules, but they are compatible with the spirit of *vinaya*.[.]

The nun's statement makes several important points: principally, that there is no conflict between monastery regulations and *vinaya*. Most contemporary Buddhist monastics respect *vinaya* as having been established by the Buddha and therefore being immutable. As such, although the socio-cultural background of contemporary monastic institutions differs dramatically from that of the *vinaya* rules formulated in the Buddha's time in ancient India, it remains both possible and necessary for a modern monastery or nunnery to formulate its own regulations, as long as they do

23. In the *Chanyuan Qinggui*, the chief seat (*shouzuo* 首座) 'sets a good example for all the monks and detects and deals with any infractions of the monastic code' (Yifa 2002, 157).

24. When I conducted fieldwork in the Luminary Nunnery, some nuns I met were using titles in accordance with their monastic positions based on *qinggui*, such as the abbess, guest master, rector, cook and so on.

not interfere with the fundamental *vinaya* tenets. By analogy, the role of monastery regulations in a contemporary institution is similar to that of *qinggui*, used in medieval Chinese monasteries to regulate daily monastic affairs and activities. The nun quoted above therefore regarded current monastery regulations as a ‘modernized version of *qinggui*’. To assess the validity of this viewpoint, I will now present an overview of *qinggui* — specifically, the *Chanyuan Qinggui* — as it relates to monastic jobs and work-leave.

The administrative section includes the prior, the rector, the cook, and the superintendent. When a new appointment is needed, the abbot invites the administrators, the chief officers, the retired staff, and the senior retired staff to have tea. After the tea the abbot makes his request, saying, ‘Administrator X has announced his retirement. Now I must impose on you all to deliberate on this matter. I know of no candidate for the post of administrator, implying the question, “Does anyone know of a suitable candidate?”’ He asks again, and then a third time, for candidate suggestions. When there are no replies, the abbot says, ‘In that case I should like to nominate X for the position of administrator. What is your opinion on this suggestion?’ When everyone consents to the appointment, the abbot sends his attendant to invite X and his acquaintances ... After the appointment, the new administrator does *liangzhan sanli* to the abbot... (Yifa 2002, 146–147)²⁵

In other words, the *Chanyuan Qinggui* recommends that new monastic administrators be selected via the abbot’s recommendation and other monastic officers’ discussion. The three focal present-day Taiwanese monasteries, however, seem to operate very differently when it comes to selecting their staff. When I asked my informant nun from DDM whether the positions of monastic officers are filled according to the procedure explained in the *Chanyuan Qinggui*, she replied that there is a unit similar to a modern, secular human resources department that performs this function. Rotation of monastic positions is annually reviewed and executed.²⁶ Master Sheng Yen (2000, 197) advises his DDM disciples who are assigned new jobs to think of this as a new beginning and a new challenge, to which they should mentally prepare themselves to adapt. The founder of Foguangshan, Master Hsing Yun, emphasizes the importance of transferring between monastic jobs periodically:

Following the principle that ‘fresh water comes only from flowing water; a rolling stone gathers no moss,’ Foguangshan rotates its members’ jobs and positions. No one ‘owns’ any branch temple, worship place, or affiliated enterprise. ... There are many benefits from job rotation. Among them are opportunities for learning and growth, for interaction and networking, and for gaining additional experience.

(Shih Hsing Yun 2006, 287)

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25. X 1245 529b02–529b10. While it is difficult for modern readers to know whether this paragraph, among others in the *Chanyuan Qinggui*, is ‘prescriptive’ or ‘descriptive’, it still provides an important glimpse of medieval Chan Buddhist monastic life.
26. Each monastery or nunnery has a different way of selecting monastic officers. Here, I give another example based on the second monastery regulation of Nanlin Nunnery. An abbess and administrators with appropriate attributes will be elected. When their term of office ends, they may serve a further term subject to unanimous agreement. Those disregarding *vinaya* rules or offending against the strict regulations without showing repentance will be replaced by another appropriate candidate if two-thirds of the monastic members consent.

Master Hsing Yun's view clearly echoes my fieldwork observations in the Pumen Temple, the Taipei branch of Foguangshan. The head of Puman Si and other monastic administrators are normally assigned to other places with new tasks or posts approximately once every three or four years.²⁷ New monastics from other branches of Foguangshan, or its headquarters, will come to Puman Si to take over previous administrators' work, serve members of the laity that they did not know before, and encounter new situations as a type of training or learning experience. In a similar vein, my informant nun told me that all Luminary nuns (except head nuns, such as Ven. Wu Yin) were required to rotate through four sections — kitchen, meal service, main hall and lecture hall — during the early development of the nunnery down to 1985.²⁸ Interestingly, the contemporary system of monastic members' periodic job rotation partly resonates with that in the *Chanyuan Qinggui*, which specifies that a monastic administrator has to leave his position after one year of service:

When a staff member has finished his year of service, he enters the abbot's quarters in the evening to report his resignation. He does *chuli* three times then leaves...
(Yifa 2002, 155)²⁹

When the chief officer appointed by the abbot's office reaches his term limit of a year, he should resign in an expedient manner. Before the early meal he should visit the abbot's quarters for consultation, do *chuli* three times, and then withdraw...
(Yifa 2002, 179)³⁰

From the above, we can see that rotating/unfixed monastic-administrator posts have been the rule in the past as in the present. Since such rotation is highly valued and widely implemented in Chinese monasteries, it is necessary to have detailed procedures regarding job handover to ensure smooth transition periods and the efficient running of institutions. According to Table 1, above, these three monasteries appear to pay close attention to job handovers; and this would seem to be at least partly due to the customary status of periodic job rotation in Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism.

The issue of asking for leave was also taken into account in medieval monasteries. For example, the *Chanyuan Qinggui* specified that a monk would be punished if he did not inform the monastery administrator about taking personal leave:

If, before the end of the summer retreat (that is, before fulfilling the requirement of the Sangha hall regulations), a monk has to leave due to an emergency, he must report to the rector to ask for leave; if he leaves without permission he will be subject to the monastery's penalty. If a monk should ask for leave to travel in the mountains for more than half a month, then he must present his certificate and follow the Sangha hall regulations again when he returns ... (Yifa 2002, 122)³¹

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27. During their stay in Puman Temple, monastic administrators might have internal job rotations (sometimes decided by the head of temple or senior administrators) and need to assist other monastic colleagues' work on an as-needed basis.
28. Afterwards, modern management principles were gradually applied to the reorganization of *saigha* work for nuns.
29. X 1245 531a24–531b01.
30. X 1245 535c13–c15.
31. X 1245 524c19–c21.

Similarly, in the *Chixiu Baizhang Qinggui* 敕修百丈清規 (*Baizhang's Rules of Purity Revised on Imperial Order*), a monastic administrator was required to write a memorandum regarding an absent monk's relevant information:³²

If [an administrator] has unavoidable business elsewhere or has to take a temporary leave of absence, he must himself transfer the record book of ordination ages, the record of temporary leaves, and the detailed record of the practice hall to the guest reception office and request them to take charge of these record books.

(Ichimura 2006, 163)³³

While these *qinggui* were compiled in different dynasties, it is clear from the above passages that both governed monastery members' leave arrangements. The importance of this is fairly self-evident; then as now, in the absence of proper regulations for work and personal leave, some monastics might leave work to pursue their plans on an open-ended basis, leaving too few personnel to operate the monastery. The function of leave regulations, therefore, has been to uphold the efficient and harmonious running of monasteries, and avoid accusations of unfairness or other disputes. In short, when we compare the historical *qinggui* against current monastery regulations regarding work for monastic officers (and other issues that will be further discussed below), we can identify some similarities, as some essential foci recorded in the *qinggui* continue to be applied and to evolve in the contexts of contemporary Taiwanese monasteries. The fieldwork data I collected and analysed reveals that the personnel systems applied in current Buddhist institutions are closely analogous to those of secular organizations, albeit while maintaining the monastery's distinctive overall character.

Monastic stipend systems

So far, I have tried to paint a broad-brush picture of contemporary Taiwanese Buddhist monasteries' personnel systems. This section will discuss these monasteries' stipend management, which is closely related to monastic personnel administration. Importantly, it would be wrong to assume that Buddhist monastics receiving payment in connection with their duties in modern Taiwan, or indeed Mainland China, is exceptional. According to Rahula (1956, 136–137), even Buddhist monks in the time of Mahinda IV in tenth century Sri Lanka were given money for different types of work (as quoted in Gombrich 1988, 164).

From Table 2 it can be seen that each of these three monasteries has its own system of wage management, which is vital to maintaining fairness and transparency in a monastic institution as much as in any other. For example, the amount of the stipend that each member of the clergy at Foguangshan receives each month depends on his or her monastic rank (Chandler 2004, 205). It is, however, incorrect to assume that monastics' receipt of wages equates to the general public's goal of earning as much as they can in secular business organizations. At DDM, each

32. *Chixiu Baizhang Qinggui* 敕修百丈清規 (T 2025) was compiled by Dongyang Dehui 東陽德輝 between 1335 and 1343 during the Yuan Dynasty.

33. T 2025 1132b18–b20.

Table 2. Stipend management.

Dharma Drum Mountain	Luminary Nunnery	Foguangshan
Detailed rules of <i>saṅgha</i> wage-payment and other income	Regulation regarding petty cash, wages, and year-end bonuses	Regulations for paying wages to monastics
Petty cash management procedure		Regulations regarding payments for work performed
Expenditure management		Regulations for donations of robes and money

member receives a small monthly sum in case of emergency (Shi Guo Guang 2011, 4, n.16). While Luminary nuns are well provided with daily necessities as well as medicine, transport and education, they also receive a certain amount of petty cash due to Master Wu Yin's preference that not all the nuns live permanently in the nunnery. Those working for the nunnery earn a bonus and also receive a red envelope at Chinese New Year, according to the Chinese tradition, to show the *saṅgha*'s appreciation (Wu Yin 2001, 236–237). In sum, it is unsurprising that there should be an organizational unit for the operations of monastery finance in these three modern religious institutions.

In the *Chanyuan Qinggui*, the supply master (*kutou* 庫頭) is described in similar terms to a modern financial administrator handling a monastery's expenditure and business affairs:

The supply master is in charge of such things as the monastery's savings, grains, incomes, expenses, and annual budget. He must record immediately and clearly all monies received and payments made If the master or his colleagues make unreasonable requests for money, the supply master is not obliged to comply and should stand his ground The supply master's server should be mentally astute and able to understand mathematical calculations... (Yifa 2002, 162–163)³⁴

In the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368 CE), according to the *Chixiu Baizhang Qinggui*, the name of the administrator in charge of financial matters changed:

In the *Ancient Regulations*, only the office of administrative head (*jianyuan*) was instituted. Later on, however, due to the fact that the temples, in general, became larger and the number of resident practitioners increased, the present office of head administrative official (*dujiansi*) was added to oversee all aspects of the administration. ... [He is] in charge of replenishing the incense and lighting materials to be used in the morning and evening, receiving government officials and patron donors, keeping the record of accounts dealing with revenue and expenditure in cash or in kind (i.e., grain crops), and always working to maintain the annual fiscal balance.

(Ichimura 2006, 159)³⁵

From this, it is clear that current organizational departments in modern religious institutions more or less continue the main function of administrative posts recorded in both the *Chanyuan Qinggui* or the *Chixiu Baizhang Qinggui*.

34. X 1245 532c08–c19.

35. T 2025 1132a10–a12.

Regarding monastery stipends, it is also interesting to compare how members of the clergy received revenue in the past against how they do so in the present. For example, Foguangshan members today receive money from up to four sources: 1) a monthly stipend, varying with the individual's rank and post; 2) money as a present from relatives; 3) a red envelope from the laity on special days such as Chinese New Year; and 4) royalties from their produced works (if any), such as books, radio and TV programmes (Chandler 2004, 171–172). According to Shih Nengrong, monastics in the Song Dynasty had three main revenue sources (2003, 413): 1) occasional donor sponsorship of *sūtra* reading by the assembly in the library;³⁶ 2) at monks' funerals, for the chanting of the *sūtras*, to distribute to the temporary visitors, and to give to those who attend auctions, with surplus funds being divided into three equal amounts;³⁷ and 3) through equal division of donations received by servers and postulants among the whole assembly.³⁸ One interesting point that should not be ignored is the *Chanyuan Qinggui's* emphasis on the equal distribution of money from both donations and funeral rites. This is strictly in keeping with one of the six principles of *saṅgha* harmony:³⁹ economic harmony through equal sharing of materials or offerings. A similar instruction is issued to present-day members of Foguangshan about receiving monetary offerings: a monk or nun may keep a donation of any amount up to NT\$2,000 (about £50); above this amount, he/she could keep half the money, with the remainder passing to the monastery (Chandler 2004, 172). According to my fieldwork observations, the other two focal monasteries also applied the principle of equal sharing of materials or offerings. When I revisited DDM, for example, I brought one box of Belgian chocolates for my interviewee to show my appreciation. After I gave it to her, I saw her put it on a public table to share with her office-mates. Similarly, when I went to Luminary Nunnery to conduct a second interview and brought some boxes of chocolates and tea bags, I later saw them arranged on the dining table so that every nun could share equally in the offering if she liked. Clearly, while there has been profound change over time in the modes by which monastics receive revenue and/or offerings, the equal sharing of economic or material benefits has been emphasized in both theory and practice in

36. X 1245 538c01–c12. For details, see Yifa 2002 (193–194).

37. X 1245 541b10–b11. For details, see Yifa 2002 (206–209). According to *Chanyuan Qinggui*, Buddhist monastics may possess only robes, alms bowls and personal effects as private property. These possessions are to be auctioned off by a monastic assembly after a monk's death, because the monastery pays for the monk's funeral expenses. During the auction process, monastic members may buy the deceased monk's belongings using money. The money thus raised will be used to defray funeral expenses to prevent the monastery falling into debt. Therefore, monastic members generally should leave something (clothes, alms bowls or personal effects) for this type of auction when they die: 'It is equally improper to bequeath nothing, not even one's clothes and bowl, for to do so places the burden on the monastery of paying the funeral expenses out of its own coffers' (Yifa 2002, 208).

38. X 1245 549a17–a18.

39. There are six ways for monastic members to live in harmony 六和敬: 1) sharing the same viewpoints or goals 見和同解; 2) abiding by the same precepts 戒和同修; 3) living and practising together harmoniously 身和同住; 4) not quarrelling 口和無諍; 5) experiencing the inner peace and happiness that arise from practising together harmoniously 意和同悅; and 6) sharing benefits harmoniously 利和同均.

Table 3. Monastic welfare, illness and death.

Dharma Drum Mountain	Luminary Nunnery	Foguangshan
Regulations for monastics and their families relating to sickness and funerals	Regulations regarding monastics' sickness, medical treatment and care	Regulation for sickness and medical treatment
Detailed rules for monastics and their families to practise the funeral ceremony by helping recite the Buddha's name	Regulations regarding funerals and the ceremony of the deceased for monastics	Regulations for Buddhist funeral ceremonies for disciples' deceased family members
Detailed rules for servers/postulants and their families to practise the funeral ceremony by helping recite the Buddha's name	Regulations regarding funerals and the ceremony for monastics' deceased family members	Detailed rules for Buddhist funeral ceremonies for disciples' deceased family members
Detailed rules for non-monastics relating to terminal care		Principles whereby disciples' deceased family members' ashes are interred and tablets placed
		Criteria for subsidy of welfare fees

both medieval and contemporary monasteries, since this principle not only contributes to the harmony of communal group but also strengthens individuals' spiritual cultivation through the avoidance of greed.

Monastic welfare systems

As the above discussion indicates, Taiwanese Buddhist nuns currently receive a small sum monthly or yearly for their financial support and welfare, which varies according to the stipend-management practices of the monasteries they are affiliated with. However, except in special cases of famous and/or corrupt clerics, the amounts involved are small, sufficient only for basic subsistence and routine expenditure such as household goods, books, or donation merits. Nevertheless, no one can escape the cycle of birth, ageing, sickness and death, which in turn is deeply entwined with consumption and spending. Additionally, it is important to bear in mind that Buddhist monastics express their religious faith in part by leaving their homes: the places in Asian societies where ordinarily, old and ill people would be supported and looked after. Therefore, a key role of monastic institutions is to provide replacement 'family' welfare systems for their own members.

The welfare of monastic members who fall ill or die is one of the most important concerns in modern Buddhist organizations, as well as in both the *qinggui* and *vinaya*. The *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya* records that the Buddha looked after a monk ailing with dysentery by washing and cleaning him personally, since no one had tended this monk before. The Buddha then admonished his disciples that monastics

living in the *saṅgha* should look after one another in times of illness.⁴⁰ Additionally, according to the 93rd *pācittika*⁴¹ from the *Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa* (list of rules for nuns): ‘If a *bhikṣuṇī*, when the *bhikṣuṇī* who lives together with her is sick, does not look after her, she [commits] a *pācittika*’ (translated in Heirman 2002, 688).⁴² In a similar vein, my fieldwork data confirms that contemporary Buddhist institutions also emphasize monastic welfare vis-à-vis illness and death. From Table 3, it can be seen that the perspectives on these matters can be categorized into two main types: 1) monastics’ illness or terminal care and 2) monastics’ funerary affairs.

First, it is worthwhile to explore why *saṅgha* welfare for elderly and sick monastic members is crucial in their religious life. My informant nun at Luminary Nunnery answered this question as follows:

What welfare is available for sick or older nuns, and how can monastic members look after them? ... Institutional welfare plays an important role in Luminary Nunnery, enabling the nuns to focus on their spiritual cultivation and practice without worrying what will happen when they are sick or die.

From this statement, we can see that the *Liji* 禮記 concept of a ‘competent provision ... secured for the aged till their death’ 老有所終 is being applied (Legge 1885, 365), allowing nuns to concentrate on their religious practice without worrying they will be abandoned in time of need, or die alone. Similarly, community care for ailing monks is particularly emphasized in the *Chanyuan Qinggui*:

Among the Eight Merit Fields, attending to the sick is first and foremost. ... When those monks who wander about without roots like duckweed on the water become ill, who will give them sympathy? They will recover only if they can depend on the compassion of their fellow monks ...⁴³ (Yifa 2002, 168–169).

The *Chanyuan Qinggui* assigns a specific administrator — the director of the infirmary (*yanshou tangzhu* 延壽堂主) — to looking after the welfare of monastics who are in ill health:

The monastery should hire a person with a broad mind, who is patient in all matters, who always maintains the mind of Dao, who will comfort a sick monk, and who knows the repercussions of the law of cause and effect to be director of the temple’s infirmary, the hall of longevity. ...⁴⁴ If [the patient] begins to defecate in an unhygienic manner, the director of infirmary must continue to care for him with sympathy and should not allow feelings of disgust or aversion to enter his mind...

(Yifa 2002, 167–168)⁴⁵

Contemporary monasteries likewise include a department to deal with terminal care, much like the infirmary directors of the Song Dynasty. The same Luminary nun

40. T 1428 861b21–862a12. In the Pali *vinaya* at *Vinaya-piṭaka* I 302

41. A *pācittika* is a minor offence that needs to be expiated. For details, see Heirman 2002 (141–147).

42. For the rule’s original story, see Heirman 2002 (687–689).

43. X 1245 533c19–c21.

44. X 1245 533c04–c05.

45. X 1245 533c09–c10.

told me that there was a monastery committee that dealt with matters of monastic welfare, which set up guidelines on how to care for elderly and sick nuns in an equitable and reasonable manner, for the sake of the group's unity; and this also fits with the principle of sharing benefits equally in pursuit of *saṅgha* harmony.⁴⁶

It is worth noting that, while it is always a high priority, *saṅgha* welfare for old and sick clergy can differ in degree, since every monastic institution operates in different contexts and under different conditions. My Luminary nun informant shared an example of this:

I once attended a seminar as a representative of Luminary nunnery, to discuss the issue of caring for elderly and sick monastics, with monks and nuns from other monasteries of various sizes. Each institution provided information about how they manage and care for the elderly monastics in their monastery. For example, many elderly monastics currently live in Yuantong Temple, which has detailed regulations for reciting the Buddha's name after the death of a monastic, and about the scale of funeral services and ceremonies. Yuantong Temple also has a medical care group to look after the elderly monastics who are no longer able to work and live with their younger colleagues.

Though information was shared among different monasteries, the Luminary nun was of the opinion that Luminary Nunnery was not obliged to formulate the same regulations as those in Yuantong Temple (圓通寺), because most Luminary nuns were still young. She then concluded that committee members should regularly revise the monastery regulations as contingencies arise or circumstances change. Table 4, below, shows the criteria for Foguangshan disciples' welfare and payment, with particular reference to the medical treatment fees for disciples, as another example manifesting the variation in institutional welfare from one monastic institution to the next.

As previously mentioned, each institution has different *saṅgha* welfare provisions due chiefly to different financial conditions. Table 4 reflects that monks and nuns at Foguangshan have access to a good welfare system and generous benefits, at least partly because it is a large monastery generously supported by many lay-people. By the same token, members of smaller, less-developed monasteries may not enjoy such high levels of benefit provision.⁴⁷

In addition to medical benefits, the three focal Taiwanese monasteries all provide funerals for their members and members' lay relatives. Broadly speaking, death rituals and Buddhism are mutually interdependent; as Melford Spiro observed of Burmese Buddhism in the 1960s, 'death ceremonies are the concern primarily of Buddhism' (1970, 248), and this is especially so in culturally Chinese contexts.⁴⁸

46. See note 39.

47. Foguangshan monastics tend to focus on their Buddhist practice and work, rather than worrying about the monastery's economic conditions. In contrast, I have seen some monks and nuns from smaller monasteries asking for donations door to door, or standing on the road in all weathers because their monastery needed money for special purposes such as temple construction, or even just living expenses.

48. Death ceremonies are one of the main religious activities and concerns of Buddhism as well as in other religions (e.g., Taoism and Chinese folk religion) in Taiwan.

Table 4. Criteria for Foguanshan disciples' welfare and payment from *Foguanshan Guidebook for Disciples* (2006, 156)

Type	Specific items	Subsidy criteria	Paying institute/unit
Medical treatment fees for disciples	National Health Insurance fees for physical examination, longer-term hospital treatment and dental treatment	Full payment	Dharma Transmission Centre
	Fees for spectacles	Once a year with a payment limit of NT\$3,000	
	Consolation payment for visiting the sick (by a monastery representative)	Limited payment	

The general procedures for transferring merit for the good rebirth of the dead include recitation of the name of Amitābha and the chanting of *sūtras*: for example, the Emperor Liang Repentance Service (*Liang Huang Bao Chan* 梁皇寶懺), the Water and Land Dharma Service (*Shui Lu Fahui* 水陸法會), or the Thrice-Yearning Memorial Ceremony (*Sanshi Xinian* 三時繫念), depending on the preferences of the family of the deceased. The *Chanyuan Qinggui* sets forth detailed procedures for a monk's funeral:

As soon as a monk dies, he should be bathed, his head should be shaved, and he should be dressed in a *guazi*. His body should be placed in a sitting position in a large vessel set in a small shrine and positioned in front of the hall of longevity. Fragrant flowers should be arranged as an offering. ... The assembly is then summoned for chanting. That night, a service is held to chant precepts to transfer merit to the deceased. ... On the day of the funeral ... [w]hen the procession has arrived at the pagoda area, everyone offers incense in turn, beginning with the abbot, while the Dharma instruments are played, chanting is performed, and a fire is lit. Everyone then chants the name of the Amitābha Buddha ten times. ... The next day the director of the hall of longevity and the rector perform the service and collect the ashes, placing them in the pagoda of "the universe" or spreading them over water ... (Yifa 2002, 206–207)⁴⁹

In modern Buddhist funeral rites, some processes or practices might differ from those in the *qinggui*, but key rituals such as chanting performances must still be maintained. As shown in Table 3, above, all three monasteries have bye-laws regarding funerals for their disciples. My Luminary Nunnery informant explained that Yuanlong Temple, which has numerous elderly members, has established many detailed regulations regarding how long a deceased monk or nun's funeral services will last, how much chanting will occur, and whether to hold a final parting cere-

49. X 1245 541a13–b06.

mony before cremation or burial — all of which vary according to the length of the deceased's ordination in the monastery. Funeral ceremonies are also provided for monastics' family members, partly as a manifestation of *saṅgha* welfare and partly in appreciation for the family having allowed one of their members to go forth as a monk or a nun.⁵⁰ These family funerary rites are also subject to careful regulation, for the avoidance of disputes among disciples. In short, interviews and documentary data suggest that issues of monastic welfare in the realm of illness and death have been strongly emphasized in Buddhist communities past and present.

Conditions of joining the *saṅgha*

As discussed above, DDM, Luminary Nunnery and Foguangshan all have well-funded welfare systems to ensure the care of their members during old age and illness, and to make burial arrangements for them. However, access to such systems is limited to those individuals who have been allowed to join an order or become affiliate members of it. What follows is an examination of these three monasteries' key entrance criteria.

Table 5 lists the three monasteries' regulations that cover how people may join the *saṅgha* to become monastery disciples. As in organizations such as commercial companies and universities, anyone who wants to become a new staff member or a student must follow organizational recruitment and selection procedures, for instance, submitting their curriculum vitae and/or application forms to the department of human resources, along with school transcripts, writing samples, and so forth. Afterwards, they may be required to undergo a further series of evaluation processes, such as specialized tests and interviews. In the same vein, anyone who wishes to be a monk or nun must undergo a lengthy selection process to eliminate unsuitable candidates who might tend to damage the image or quality of the Buddhist *saṅgha*.⁵¹ Crucially, for example, Buddhist preceptees will be asked whether they suffer any of 13 major hindrances (pertaining to general character and fitness) or are in any of the 16 restraining conditions (pertaining to moral conduct)

50. Confucian thought and traditions remain deeply rooted in modern Taiwanese society. People who have not grown up in a Buddhist family but choose the monastic life may experience strong opposition from parents or relatives before they leave home. According to neo-Confucian thought, a man who chooses to go forth (*chujia* 出家) is failing to show filial respect to his parents and ancestors, because it is his duty to marry and produce the family's next generation of sons. The shaving of the head, causing scarring to the scalp, is also frowned upon. Charles Jones notes that most parents in contemporary Taiwan have raised only one or two children, unlike the older generation who had more; it is especially difficult for only children to become Buddhist monastics, insofar as doing so prevents them from continuing the family line and from taking care of their parents (1999, 153–154).

51. Master Sheng Yen once commented on the problem of excessive transmission of the precepts in late twentieth century Taiwan, stating that some precept masters and monasteries gave up *vinaya*, inviting and encouraging 'rascals', neurotics, the elderly and disfigured, blind, deaf, lame, and dull-witted to receive precepts in the Triple Platform Ordination simply in order to swell the ranks. But these 'unqualified' preceptees, it was argued, would make it less likely for non-believers to convert to Buddhism, and those who already believed to decrease their respect for Buddhism, while helping evil demons and heretics to slander the faith (1980, 174–175).

Table 5. Joining the *saṅgha*.

Dharma Drum Mountain	Luminary Nunnery	Foguangshan
<i>Saṅgha nīśraya</i> – Management procedure for becoming an affili- ated monastery	Regulations regarding joining or leaving the <i>saṅgha</i>	Regulations for requesting a tonsure
Management procedure for student monastics of Dharma Drum Sangha University joining the monastic community		Regulations for how male and female lay clerics (who keep their hair) can join and and become affiliated with a monastery
		Regulations for renouncing monastic precepts and robes

before they are allowed to become fully ordained.⁵² Additionally, certain *vinaya* rules cover the conditions under which entrants may be given the full precepts. A *bhikṣuṇī* (master) commits offences if she fails to enquire about any female candidate's physical diseases or personal background,⁵³ and is deemed to have committed the fifth *saṃghāvaśeṣa*⁵⁴ offence if she knowingly ordains 'a woman thief who has to be put to death because of her crime' (translated in Heirman 2002, 338).⁵⁵ In addition, a *bhikṣuṇī* has committed an offence if she ordains a woman who is pregnant (the 119th *pācittika*);⁵⁶ is lactating (the 120th *pācittika*);⁵⁷ is less than 20 years old (the 121st *pācittika*);⁵⁸ is a prostitute (the 127th *pācittika*);⁵⁹ is disapproved of by the *saṅgha* (the 130th *pācittika*);⁶⁰ is unable to retain urine, excrement, mucus and saliva (the 165th *pācittika*);⁶¹ is a hermaphrodite (the 166th *pācittika*);⁶² suffers from a disease in

52. The chapter on ordination 受戒捷度 in the *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya* provides detailed illustrations of this, for monks. The 13 difficulties 十三(重)難 are: 1) to commit *pārājikas*; 2) to have defiled a nun in the past; 3) to receive the precept with exploitative designs; 4) to join the Buddhist *saṅgha* due to non-Buddhist heretic teachings; 5) to be one of the five kinds of eunuch; 6) to have killed one's father; 7) to have killed one's mother; 8) to have killed an *Arhat*; 9) to have disrupted the *saṅgha*; 10) to have shed the blood of the Buddha; 11) to be a spiritual being changed into human form; 12) to be an animal changed into human form; and 13) to be a hermaphrodite (T 1428 814c12–c18). The 16 minor obstructions to full ordination 十六(輕)遮 are: 1) not knowing one's own name; 2) not knowing one's preceptor's name; 3) not yet being aged 20; 4) not having three robes; 5) not having a begging bowl; 6) not heeding one's father; 7) not heeding one's mother; 8) being in debt; 9) being someone's slave; 10) being a government official; 11) not being a man; 12) having scabies; 13) having ulcers; 14) having white leprosy; 15) being emaciated; and 16) being mad (T 1428 814c26–815a03).

53. For the detailed procedures of *bhikṣuṇī* ordination ceremonies based on the *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya*, see Heirman 1997 (33–85).

54. A *saṃghāvaśeṣa* offence is an offence that leads to a temporary exclusion from the main activities of the community. For details, see Heirman 2002 (128–138).

55. T 1428 719b07–p0720a05.

56. T 1428 754b12–c15.

57. T 1428 754c16–p0755a19.

58. T 1428 755a20–p0756a15.

59. T 1428 759c07–p0760a07.

60. T 1428 760c20–p0761b10.

61. T 1428 773b20–c20.

62. T 1428 773c21–p0774a17.

which the urinary tract and bowel are not separated (the 167th *pācittika*);⁶³ or is a debtor (the 168th *pācittika*).⁶⁴ From this list, which is not exhaustive, we can clearly see that Buddhism takes a serious attitude toward selecting entrants that is not dissimilar to modern secular recruitment procedures.

My interview data reveals that, beyond the conditions for ordination of precepts established by the *vinaya*, each contemporary monastery has established its own systems to assess newcomers who wish to become monastic disciples. My informant nun at DDM shared two cases in which candidates were refused:

Some new novices may need time to adjust to the monastic life, which is quite different from their previous lifestyle. It takes time to learn to follow monastery regulations and live communally. I experienced two cases where there were problems adjusting to monastic life. One novice had no serious problems, but often had small ones that troubled other *saṅgha* members, because she did not adapt herself to observe regulations well. Another novice would tell lies ... [and] was inconsistent in her lies, so people had to check up on her. In both cases, I did not allow them to go forth because they caused so much trouble in our monastery's life.

This senior nun's statement reveals some significant points: first, her consideration and empathy for new monastery entrants, reflected in her giving them time to adapt to monastic conditions. Secondly, it indicates that a new monastery entrant is continually being examined even though she has been initially accepted as a novice. Thirdly, the senior nun's final decision to reject two novices implicitly manifests her key principle of putting quality before quantity. While most monasteries recruit eagerly, this does not automatically translate into an acceptance of all comers. Another example was reported from Luminary Nunnery:

In our nunnery, anyone who wants to go forth as a monastic member will be a probationary postulant for around two years because many senior nuns will carefully observe her religious determination and practice, anywhere and at any time, to see whether she is fit for this order. Only then is she allowed to receive the full precepts.

From this Luminary nun's statement, we can see that any newcomer will be tested and examined by those experienced teacher nuns who take a serious attitude toward this matter. Indeed, during my fieldwork observations, one postulant I knew was quite busy helping with routine monastery work, including seemingly trivial matters. At one point, I found that she was very anxious because she had made a mistake, which caused the nunnery some inconvenience. The postulant's nervous reaction led me spontaneously to recollect my informant nun's comments about the strictness of (informal) evaluation during the probationary stage. From these cases in both DDM and the Luminary Nunnery, it can be provisionally concluded that to join a monastery as a newcomer or postulant is one thing, but actually to pass evaluation and to become a member is another. The system of examination for entrants ensures the high quality and good image of a monastery's membership as a whole, as well as crucially prolonging the duration of the Triple Gem: Buddha, *Dharma*,

63. T 1428 774a18–b16.

64. T 1428 774b17–c20.

and *Saṅgha*. In other words, examining each postulant's character and moral conduct is stressed in both traditional *vinaya* rules and modern Buddhist institutions.⁶⁵ Additionally, the phenomenon of the disproportionate and very large number of female Buddhist monastics in Taiwan has had a considerable impact on the level of caution with which selection of women who wish to be nuns is carried out, with lengthy selection processes aimed at eliminating unsuitable candidates and ensuring a higher calibre of entrants. Taiwanese men who choose the monastic life, in contrast, are more likely to be accepted (Jones 1999, 154–155). This gender factor should not be neglected in future discussions of monastic admission procedures.

Systems of pursuing advanced studies

Wei-Yi Cheng (2007, 145) has identified a positive correlation between monastics' educational level and the laity's treatment of them in both Taiwan and Sri Lanka. Indeed, pursuing advanced studies is deemed not merely beneficial, but crucial to monastic career development and spiritual cultivation. However, it should be borne in mind that financial and operational chaos would ensue in any monastery that lacked regulations regarding its members' advanced studies, since too high a proportion of students would mean that vital non-academic work would be left undone. This is perhaps an especially important issue in Taiwan, where nuns' educational levels are unusually high (see Table 6).

It is quite common in Taiwan for monastics to have postsecondary qualifications. For example, two informant nuns I interviewed, one in DDM and the other in Foguangshan, had obtained Ph.D. degrees in the United States, while many other Taiwanese nuns I interviewed had completed at least an undergraduate degree.⁶⁶ Indeed, as aptly put by Chün-fang Yü (2013, 1), 'Taiwanese nuns today are highly educated ... [a characteristic] unprecedented in the history of Chinese Buddhism.' Such secular educational attainments among monastics are now so common that it is often incorrectly assumed that Taiwanese monasteries focus on secular educational degrees, to the detriment of Buddhist doctrinal education. In fact, medium-sized and large institutions provide serious monastic training programmes and build their own Buddhist colleges or *saṅgha* universities for *Dharma* propagation.⁶⁷ As Susanne Mroziak (2009, 365) notes, 'across the Buddhist world, the status of nuns is most directly linked to their levels of education in Buddhist canonical languages, scriptures and philosophy.' Some of these well-educated nuns preach Buddhist *Dharma* to laypeople, some are engaged in education — teaching in universities or running Buddhist monastic colleges — and some devote their time to philanthropic activities. Education clearly plays an important role in determining the status of monastics, as well as in their religious life, yet DDM, the Luminary Nunnery and

65. In *Chanyuan Qinggui*, there are strict formal procedures for a visiting monk to request to stay in a monastery. Among these, he must show his ordination certificate and travel permit to a monastery's administrator for documentary verification. For details, see Yifa 2002 (118–123).

66. Yu-Chen Li (2000b, 3–4) notes that the increasing numbers of young women with higher degrees choosing the monastic life are known as 'the scholarly nuns' (*Xueshini* 學士尼).

67. For an overview of monastic education in contemporary Taiwan, see Chandler 2004 and Yü 2013.

Table 6. Monastic Education.

Dharma Drum Mountain	Luminary Nunnery	Foguangshan
Procedure for monastics to study management	Regulations regarding vocational training	Regulations for study abroad
	Regulation regarding work suspension to advance professional training	Examination criteria for study abroad

Foguangshan have all set up regulations governing monastery disciples' further study. Regarding this, my Luminary informant nun made the following key point:

Under the regulation regarding work suspension to advance training for professionals, Luminary nuns can apply to study abroad for degrees or have meditation practice. The regulation covers the procedures nuns must follow to apply under certain circumstances to do occupational refresher courses or further academic studies, with the approval of the prior and all committee members. After approval of the application, the nunnery will pay the nun's study expenses, but this opportunity is not unconditionally available to every nun. The nunnery committee decides annually how many nuns can ask for leave from their work, and for how long. Otherwise, without proper regulation, many monastics would leave work to pursue their [study] plans, leaving too few nuns to run the monastery[.]

In other words, the key function of the regulations is to balance Luminary nuns' opportunities for further education or individual religious practice against the efficient organization and running of the nunnery in their absence. As previously mentioned, however, each religious institution has different contexts and financial circumstances. Not every Buddhist institution has sufficiently abundant funding to support its monastics studying abroad. Nevertheless, the presence or absence of such support may be a key factor influencing individuals' decisions to go forth, and/or which monastery they wish to join.⁶⁸

The four different kinds of education fees provided by Foguangshan to its disciples, set forth in Table 7, clearly indicates how well-funded this monastery is.⁶⁹

The *qinggui* also describes how medieval monks might study and travel outside their residential monasteries. Prior to the Sui Dynasty (581–619 CE), according to Shih Nengrong, it was quite common for monastics to go travelling for purposes of study and to look for masters from whom to receive instruction in doctrine and spiritual cultivation (2003, 388–389). However, *Shonjō Nogami* indicated that monks of the Song Dynasty had more restrictions on where they could travel and for how long, and were required to carry their tonsure certificates, Six Awarenesses

68. Elise DeVido points out that Taiwanese monasteries' financial support for Buddhist nuns to study abroad or obtain higher degrees may be a factor attracting women to become Buddhist nuns (2010, 25).

69. The topic of monastery financial structure was rather sensitive to my informant nuns, though Stuart Chandler managed to obtain detailed sources on Foguangshan financial data including monastery funds and budgets (2004, 224–234).

Table 7. Financial support for members' education, Foguangshan. Sources from *Foguangshan Guidebook for Disciples* (2006, 156).

Type	Specific items	Subsidy criteria	Paying institute/unit
Education Fees for Disciples	Disciples are permitted by the monastery to study abroad	Full payment	Monastery local branch(es)
	Disciples are permitted by the monastery to study abroad, by correspondence course, or at the National Open University	Full payment	Dharma Transmission Centre
	Disciples are permitted by the monastery to study at 'cramming' school as preparation for overseas study	Full payment	
	Tutoring for refresher courses/ On-the-job training	Full payment	Affiliated unit

documentation,⁷⁰ and ordination certificates as monastic identification papers (as quoted in Shih Nengrong 2003, 389, and translated in Shih Sheng Yen's translation of Nogami 1993 [1972], 134). The following is a generic example of an application for a monk's official travelling permit from the *Chanyuan Qinggui*:

Monastery X [monk's monastery of origin]. Brown (or purple) robe. Monk X [monk's name]. The following official document registered in year X, owned by Monk X, and acquired at Monastery Y [monk's current or most recent monastery of residence]. I now carry with me my tonsure certificate, the document of 'Six Awarenesses' and my ordination certificate to present to this office for inspection. I hereby wish to apply for a permit in order to travel to location X for a pilgrimage. I humbly beg Government Official X to deign to carry out this request ... (Yifa 2002, 122)⁷¹

From the formality of such applications, we can infer that freedom of movement for monks in the Song Dynasty was subject to strict state control. Conversely, the government of the (Mongolian) Yuan Dynasty saw more relaxed regulation of monastic members than other Han Chinese dynasties did (Shih Nengrong 2003, 391). Thus, in that period, a monk could request of his teacher master(s) that he be allowed to visit an honourable one and study with him, as the *Chixiu Baizhang Qinggui* notes:

Bidding farewell to one's master and teacher, a [Chan] practitioner should travel afar in search of a renowned [Chan] master endowed with insight and practice [to ask for his instruction]. (Ichimura 2006, 228)⁷²

70. The Six Awarenesses (*liunian* 六念) are that: 'one should know the present date; one should know whence one's meals will come each day; one should know the year of one's ordination; one should be mindful of one's robes, bowls, and righteously received alms; one should clearly know when one eats alone and when one eats with others; and one should know one's present state of health' (Yifa 2002, 258, n.128). The document of 'Six Awarenesses' became one of three official documents that Buddhist monastics were required to carry on their person while traveling in the Song dynasty (1000). For details, see Yifa 2002 (258, n.128).

71. X 1245 524c21-c24.

72. T 2025 1140a14. For the detailed procedures of visiting an honour monk and staying in a new

As such, it follows that venerable masters and eminent monks of the same period would commonly meet new monastics searching for teachers and enquiring about religious practices. These masters were duty-bound to convey the truth, pass on knowledge and clarify the doubts of learners who came from far away, and thus played an important role in educating the younger generation. Those who failed to fulfil these teaching responsibilities committed an offence under the 128th *pācittika* from the *bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa*: ‘If a *bhikṣuṇī* admits many pupils, but does not tell them to study the precepts for two years and does not give them support in the two things,⁷³ she [commits] a *pācittika*’ (translated in Heirman 2002, 824).⁷⁴ Giving an instruction to disciples and looking after them are also stressed in traditional rules.

From the above, apart from the external factor of state control, we can clearly see that the general climate of Mahāyāna Buddhism has emphasized the importance of monastic education and training via travelling, either to visit an honourable master (in the past) or to study abroad for an advanced degree (in the present). The knowledge of Buddhist monks and nuns plays a key role in the prosperity and transmission of Buddhism, to the point that the promotion of monastic education is an ongoing goal shared across the Mahāyāna and Theravāda traditions.⁷⁵

Conclusion

The findings of my fieldwork data, including both interview transcripts and collected documents, can be categorized into three distinct themes. First, several interviewees shared similar thoughts regarding the relation between *vinaya* and *qinggui* (including monastery regulations) as applied in contemporary monasteries/nunneries: that is, given that the contemporary socio-cultural backdrop of monastic institutions differs from that of the Buddha’s times in ancient India, where the *vinaya* rules were set out, it is both necessary and practical for a modern monastery or nunnery to formulate its own regulations. By the same token, the key function of monastery regulations is to supplement the *vinaya*.⁷⁶ While the content of monastery regulations differs from that of *vinaya* rules, the former do not diverge from the essence of Buddhist precepts. One Luminary nun even said that she regarded monastery regulations as a ‘modernized version of *qinggui*.’

Secondly, it should be noted that in broad outline, the assignment of officers’ work roles in contemporary Taiwanese monasteries still follows the pattern set by *qinggui*, despite having evolved more complex overall structures. Additionally, it

monastery for study, see Ichimura 2006 (228–236).

73. The first being doctrine, and the second, clothing and food.

74. T 1428 760a08–b14.

75. An in-depth discussion of Chinese Buddhist educational systems in contemporary monasteries is beyond the scope of this paper. For an overview, see Shih Nengrong 2003 (490–511), and for a discussion of current *thilā-shins*’ nunnery education in Myanmar, see Kawanami 2013.

76. While some *vinaya* rules seem out of date or impracticable in modern times, my Taiwanese informant nuns in this paper’s three focal institutions still engaged in fortnightly recitations of monastic rules called *prātimokṣa* (lists of rules), at the *poṣadha* ceremony on the 1st and 15th days of each lunar month, as required in Indian Buddhist tradition for maintaining a sense of continuity.

should be noted that the greater part of such organizational structures has developed from the medieval Chinese temple framework — in the *Chixiu Baizhang Qinggui*, the administrative positions were:

The East Section 東序:

First assistant prior, second prior, rector, third assistant prior, cook, superintendent

The West Section 西序:

Chief seat [of the *saṅgha*], scribe, director of the library, guest master, bath master, director of the shrine

Regarding present-day organizational structures, the standard framework of a modern monastery as set forth by Shih Nengrong (2003, 432) includes a complex hierarchy of administrative staff roles. A typical monastery's Tree Diagram includes four main divisions under the top-level administrator, the abbot: 1) administration (*saṅgha* operation and finance); 2) education (*saṅgha* education and counselling); 3) day-to-day affairs (daily work and welfare); and 4) external activities (preaching, rituals and social welfare). Each such division also comprises different sub-units that correspond quite closely to the hierarchical positions in the *qinggui*. The prior (*jianyuan* 監院), guest-master (*zhike* 知客), scribe (*shuzhuang* 書狀) and supply master (*kutou* 庫頭) are assigned to the division of Administration. Similarly, the day-to-day affairs unit is made up of seven distinct offices: cook (*dianzuo* 典座), superintendent (*zhisui* 直歲), director of the assembly quarters (*liaozhu* 寮主), latrine attendant (*jiangtou* 淨頭), chief gardener (*yuantou* 園頭), shrine attendant (*xiangdeng* 香燈) and attendant (*shizhe* 侍者) (Shih Nengrong 2003, 432). In short, the reality of modern monastic hierarchies is considerably more complex than the framework provided in the *qinggui*, but also echoes it.

Finally, it is important to note that monastics deem *vinaya* rules to have been established by the Buddha, and therefore as not subject to modification. While *vinaya* cannot be amended, however, monastery regulations require continual revision and amendment to reflect each institution's needs and circumstances.⁷⁷ In other words, modern monasteries' systems of regulation are quite flexible, and can be added to or reduced as necessary, depending on each monastery's particular conditions or as contingencies arise. As such, it is quite instructive to juxtapose the *vinaya* as applied in the Song Dynasty against the *qinggui* applied in the present day. In the Song era, the rules that had been imported from India, and which were already centuries old, were no longer relevant to the kinds of lives being lived by Chinese monastics, so they developed a new set of rules — the *qinggui* — that would be more relevant to their immediate institutional and ritual needs. In the modern period, on the other hand, the *qinggui* look to modern Chinese monastics much like the *vinaya* looked to their Song Dynasty forebears, being very antiquated and no longer addressing numerous areas of immediate concern. Thus, the need has arisen yet again for an updated set of rules and regulations.

77. For example, DDM's *saṅgha* committee held a triennial meeting to revise its Monastic Regulations in August 2006. <http://www.ddm.org.tw/maze/236/page5.asp> (accessed 6 January 2019).

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Abbreviations

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