

## On "Shuo Ts'an-Ch'ing"

According to two collections of miscellaneous notes, Kuan-yüan Nai-te-weng's 灌園耐得翁 *Tu-ch'eng chi-sheng* 都城紀勝 (ca. 1235) and Wu Tzu-mu's 吳自牧 *Meng-liang lu* 夢梁錄 (ca. 1278), there were four types of storytelling (*shuo-hua* 說話) popular in the entertainment quarters (*wa-she* 瓦舍) of the Southern Sung capital Lin-an 臨安 (present Hangchow 杭州). Unfortunately, neither work described the four types clearly.<sup>1</sup>

Scholars of Chinese fiction have for decades offered their own readings of the relevant passages concerning storytelling, but agree only in characterizing three of the types: fictitious tales, religious tales, and historical tales.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, religious narrations can be divided into two groups, those narrating Buddhist scriptures (*shuo-ching* 說經) and those narrating *ts'an-ch'ing* (說參請).<sup>3</sup> *Ts'an-ch'ing* storytelling itself has received the least scholarly attention, although there is much work to be done.

Chang Cheng-lang 張政烺 was the first to devote a whole article to *shuo ts'an-ch'ing*.<sup>4</sup> He argued that the work *Tung-p'o chü-shih Fo-yin ch'an-shih yü-lu wen-ta* 東坡居士佛印禪師語錄問答, now in the Naikaku Bunko 內閣文庫 Collection, was a promptbook (*hua-pen* 話本) for *ts'an-ch'ing* narration. This idea was subsequently repeated by Ch'en Ju-heng 陳汝衡, Sawada Mizuho 澤田瑞穂, and Ono Shihei 小野四平.<sup>5</sup> Jaroslav Průšek wrote an article

<sup>1</sup> See *Tu-ch'eng chi-sheng* in *Tung-ching meng-hua lu, wai ssu-chung* 東京夢華錄外四種 (Shanghai: Ku-tien wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan she, 1956), p. 98, and *Meng-liang lu* in *ibid.* (ch. 20), pp. 312-13.

<sup>2</sup> For a review of the scholarly field concerning the types of storytelling, see Hu Shih-ying 胡世瑩, *Hua-pen hsiao-shuo kai lun* 話本小說概論 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1980), pp. 102-9.

<sup>3</sup> Some scholars consider *shuo-ching* and *shuo ts'an-ch'ing* to be two separate types among the four. See Hu, *Hua-pen*, p. 106.

<sup>4</sup> Chang Cheng-lang, "Wen-ta lu yü shuo ts'an-ch'ing" 問答錄與說參請, *CYYY* 17 (1948), pp. 1-5.

<sup>5</sup> See Ch'en Ju-heng, *Shuo-shu shih-hua* 說書史話 (Peking: Tso-chia ch'u-pan she, 1958), p. 53; Sawada Mizuho, "Saiten sui bodai ni tsuite" 濟顛醉菩提について, *Tenri daigaku gakuhō* 天理大学学報 31 (1960), pp. 20-21; and Ono Shihei, "Saiten setsuwa no seiritsu: Naikaku bunko zō Sentō koin saiten zenshi goroku ni tsuite" 濟顛説話の成立: 内閣文庫蔵錢塘湖隨濟顛禪師語錄について, *Bunka* 文化 29.4 (1965), pp. 586-88. Both Sawada, "Saiten," p. 30, and Ono, "Naikaku," p. 572, argue that *Chi-tien ch'an-shih yü-lu* 濟顛禪師語錄, composed by Shen Meng-pan 沈孟梓 and originally printed in 1569, was a novel in the tradition of religious narration, especially *ts'an-ch'ing* narration. The Ming edn. of Shen's work is now in the Naikaku Bunko Collection. It is included in *Zokuzōkyō* 續藏經 (hereafter abbreviated as

entitled "The Narrators of Buddhist Scriptures and Religious Tales in the Sung Period," which despite its name deals mostly with *ts'an-ch'ing* story-telling. There Průšek deduced that "the central plot" of such stories "must have been an account of religious feasts and festivals given by pious patrons (*chu* 宅) and attended by monks as guests (*pin* 賓)." But despite the fact that he continued to refer to this opinion in his later articles,<sup>7</sup> he never offered any truly solid evidence for it.

I think it is important to define *shuo ts'an-ch'ing* by seeing it in the historical context of Ch'an Buddhism, from which it obtained its subject matter and method of discourse. Only after dealing with terminology can we venture to reconstruct the nature of *shuo ts'an-ch'ing* as it was performed in the *wa-she*. Ultimately, I turn the investigation back to the promptbook theory and the influence of *shuo ts'an-ch'ing* on later traditions of Chinese popular literature.

#### THE TERM TS'AN-CH'ING

Both Nai-te-weng and Wu Tzu-mu explained *ts'an-ch'ing* as "*pin-chu ts'an-ch'an wen-tao teng-shih*" 賓主參禪問道等事. To many readers this statement is clear. But in fact it eluded such a distinguished scholar as Průšek, who based his whole study on a fallacious assumption. The key lies in the expression *pin-chu* (guest and host), which has not been properly interpreted by scholars.

*Pin-chu* seems to have acquired a new sense among the intellectual elite of the Six Dynasties (317-588). The ordinary sense, which refers to a relationship between host and guest, during this period expanded to mean a debate on metaphysical truths. It was then customary for a scholar to receive guests specifically for this kind of intellectual debate. At first, as host, the scholar might preside at the discussion. But when one of the guests turned out to be more brilliant than he, the former would take over the leading position of the discourse. He became the host. These were considered to be

7, *chi* 1, *pien* 2, *t'ao* 26, *ts'e* 1. It is also collected in Lu Kung 路工, ed., *Ming Ch'ing p'ing-hua hsiao-shuo hsuan* 明清平話小說選 (Shanghai: Ku-tien wen-hsueh, 1958), vol. 1, pp. 235-89, where the beginning page is missing and the title is changed to *Ch'ien-t'ang yü-yin Chi-tien shih yü-lu* 錢塘漁隱齋韻師語錄.

<sup>8</sup>See *AO* 10.3 (1938), p. 379.

<sup>7</sup>See, for example, "Researches into the Beginnings of the Chinese Popular Novel, Part I: Story-Telling in the Sung Period," *AO* 11 (1939), p. 91; "New Studies of the Chinese Colloquial Short Story," *AO* 25 (1957), p. 453; and "The Beginning of Popular Chinese Literature Urban Centres — the Cradle of Popular Fiction," *AO* 36 (1968), p. 74.

more feasts of truth seeking than of food and entertainment.<sup>8</sup> The tradition can be traced back to the Three Kingdoms era (221-264) or even earlier.<sup>9</sup> But the real sophistication in the meaning of *pin-chu* came with Ch'an Buddhism, and accordingly I shall not pause to discuss its early history.

At about the same time during the Six Dynasties, this special designation for *pin* and *chu* became applied, respectively, to the priest who recounted Buddhist scriptures and the listeners sitting at his feet.<sup>10</sup> On the strength of information drawn from *Kao seng chuan* and *Hsü kao seng chuan*, Sun K'ai-ti offers the following observation: "It is clear . . . that in feasts of the early time, the guest sat opposite the host and was respected by all; and in recounting the scriptures, the presiding priest served as a host and sat high above the listeners, who, as guests, paid him respects."<sup>11</sup>

This particular designation of *pin* and *chu* was later adopted by the Ch'an sect of Buddhism in China and underwent further sophistication at the hand of I-hsüan 義玄 (d. 866, variant 867), the founder of the Lin-chi school 臨濟宗.<sup>12</sup> He supplied it with a metaphysical sense which was later

<sup>8</sup>This is one of the important aspects of "pure conversation" (*ch'ing-t'an* 清談), for which see Liu Ta-chieh 劉大杰, *Wei Chin ch'ing-t'an lun* 魏晉清談論 (Shanghai: Chung-hua, 1939), pp. 167-220; Ho Ch'i-min 何啓民, *Wei Chin ssu-hsiang yü t'an-feng* 魏晉思想與談風 (Taipei: Chung-kuo hsueh-shu chu-tso ch'ang-chu wei-yüan-hui, 1967), esp. pp. 6-9. For a discussion of another important aspect of *ch'ing-t'an*, see T'ang Ch'ang-ju 唐長孺, "Ch'ing-t'an yü ch'ing-i" 清談與清議, in his collection of essays, *Wei Chin Nan-Pei Ch'ao shih lun-t'ung* 魏晉南北朝史論叢 (Peking: San-lien shu-tien, 1955), pp. 289-97. Examples of *ch'ing-t'an* discourse may be found in *Shih-shuo hsün-yü* 世說新語, traditionally attributed to Liu I-ch'ing 劉義慶 (403-444). See Hsü Chen-o 徐震堦, annot., *Shih-shuo hsün-yü chiao-chien* 校箋 (Peking, 1984), *ch.* 1 ("wen-hsueh" 文學 sect.), p. 106 (story 6), p. 115 (story 22), p. 119 (stories 30 and 31), p. 125 (story 45), p. 128 (story 53), and p. 130 (story 56). English translations are found in Richard Mather, trans., *Shih-shuo hsün-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World* (Minneapolis: U. of Minnesota P., 1976), pp. 92-122.

<sup>9</sup>See Liu, *Wei Chin ch'ing-t'an lun*, pp. 167-76; and Ho, *Wei Chin ssu-hsiang*, pp. 46-52.

<sup>10</sup>See *Kao seng chuan* 高僧傳 by Hui-chiao 慧皎 (497-554), in the standard collection *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (hereafter abbreviated as *T*), vol. 50, *ch.* 8, pp. 376, 382; and *Hsü kao seng chuan* by Tao-hsüan 道宣 (596-677), in *T*, vol. 50, *ch.* 5, pp. 460, 464; *ch.* 6, pp. 472, 474; and *ch.* 9, p. 493. See Sun K'ai-ti 孫楷第, "T'ang-tai su-chiang kuei-fan yü ch'i pen chih i-t'ang" 唐代俗講軌範與其本之體裁, in his *Su-chiang shuo-hua yü pai-hua hsiao-shuo* 俗講說話與白話小說 (Peking: Tso-chia, 1956), pp. 78-79; and E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Leiden: Brill, 1959) 1, pp. 93-95. Shih Chün 石峻 et al., in "Lun Wei Chin shih-tai fo-hsueh yü hsüan-hsueh ti i-t'ung" 論魏晉時代佛學與玄學的異同, *Chung-kuo fo-hsueh lun-wen chi* 中國佛學論文集 (Hsi-an: Shan-hsi jen-min, 1984), pp. 94-104, contend that the format and substance of Buddhist discourse relied much on traditional rhetorical discussion about philosophical subjects. For a detailed discussion of the relationship between the spread of Buddhism and the practice of *ch'ing-t'an* in ca. 320-420, see Zürcher, *Conquest*, pp. 81-159.

<sup>11</sup>Sun, "T'ang-tai su-chiang," p. 79.

<sup>12</sup>A brief biography of I-hsüan may be found in Tsang-ning's 贊寧 *Sung kao seng chuan* 宋高僧傳 (988) (*T*, vol. 50), *ch.* 12, p. 799, and Tao-yüan's 道原 *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (1004) (*T*, vol. 51), *ch.* 12, p. 291. See also Hui-yen's 晦巖 *Jen-t'ien yen-mu*

developed into *kung-an* 公案,<sup>13</sup> in which *pin* may mean, among other things, the object or the contemplated, *chu* the subject or the contemplator.<sup>14</sup> Reference to the two parties engaged in the endeavor to seek truth or attain enlightenment, however, still remained. The Ch'an master who gave lessons or answered questions was *chu*, and the novice, or any monk, who visited for instruction was *pin*.

The relationship implied between *pin* and *chu* is similar to that between *fa-shih* 法師 and *tu-chiang* 都講.<sup>15</sup> The *fa-shih* (or *dharma* master) was supposed to make his points as clearly as possible when the *tu-chiang* (or discussant) engaged him in disputation, but the Ch'an master both late in the T'ang and in the Sung, would answer in short enigmatic or paradoxical statements, if he used words at all. Another difference between the two styles of Buddhist learning is that whereas the roles of *fa-shih* and *tu-chiang* were fixed, those of *pin* and *chu* in Ch'an Buddhism were interchangeable.

As a matter of fact, by the time of the Southern Sung dynasty (1127-1279), the change of roles became so confusing that one of the masters, Hsü-t'ang 虛堂 (1175-1269), felt obliged to make the following announcement:

You are not supposed to shout ignorantly or purposelessly. As I often tell you, *pin* should remain *pin* from beginning to end, so should *chu* remain *chu*. There is one *pin* and there is one *chu* only. If both are *pin*

or both are *chu* at the same time, neither gets anywhere. Therefore when I stand, you must sit; when I sit, you must stand.

True to form, he added at the end a remark to the effect that this rule was, after all, not extremely rigid.<sup>16</sup>

Clearly, in *ts'an-ch'ing* contexts *chu* is not a "patron" who "gives a feast for monks." Nor is the monk necessarily an "invited" *pin*, as Průšek has construed it. We cannot necessarily assume that performers of *shuo ts'an-ch'ing* narrated stories in which "the principal accomplishment of the Buddhist monks was the ability to conquer and destroy dangerous ghosts and demons."<sup>17</sup>

The term *ts'an-ch'ing* does not mean "visits and invitations," as Průšek translates it.<sup>18</sup> A few quotations will attest to that:

1. 參請者煩熾
2. 或為參請者說法
3. 凡百禪林孰不參請
4. 徑山有五百眾少人參請
5. 隨師參請
6. 但隨眾而已更不參請<sup>19</sup>

"Ts'an" in the first four instances may mean "visit," though it always implies another meaning, "to take lessons from." The meaning is obvious in the last two quotations. John L. Bishop's translation of *ch'ing* as "requests for instruction" appears solid,<sup>20</sup> but *ch'ing* should be taken as a verb rather than a noun. *Ts'an*, however, definitely acquires another meaning when found in the context of Ch'an. It then means "study," "inquire into," or "contemplate upon," among other senses.<sup>21</sup>

More important is the word *ch'an*, which both Průšek and Bishop translate as "meditation."<sup>22</sup> But as pointed out by D. T. Suzuki, "*Dhyana*

人天眼目 (1188), in the critical edn. by Pa Hu-t'ien 巴壺天 et al., *Chiao-pu tseng-chi* 校補增集 *Jen-t'ien yen-mu*, based on the rev. edn. by Jen-chü 仁矩 (1703; Taipei: Ming-wen shu-chü, 1982), p. 26. For a description of the Lin-chi school, see Huang Ts'an-hua 黃讜華, "Lin-chi tsung," in Chinese Buddhist Assoc., ed., *Chung-kuo fo-chiao* 中國佛教 (Peking: Chih-shih ch'u-pan she, 1980), vol. 1, pp. 329-33; and Kuo P'eng 郭朋, *Sui T'ang fo-chiao* 隋唐佛教 (Chi-nan: Ch'i-Lu shu-she, 1980), pp. 550-57. John C. H. Wu 吳經熊, *The Golden Age of Zen* (Taipei: Kuo-feng yen-chiu-yüan, 1967), pp. 191-211, offers a more detailed discussion of I-hsüan and his school.

<sup>13</sup> For a concise explanation of this term, see Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1964), p. 359. See also D. T. Suzuki, *Studies in Zen* (New York: Dell, 1955), pp. 24-28.

<sup>14</sup> For I-hsüan's elaboration of *pin* and *chu*, see Chen-chou Lin-chi Hui-chao *ch'an-shih yü-lu* 鎮州臨濟慧照禪師語錄, compiled by his disciple Hui-jan 慧然 in *T*, vol. 47 (based on the 1298 edn.), pp. 496, 498, 500-505. For further development of the designation see Pa, *Chiao-pu tseng-chi Jen-t'ien yen-mu*, pp. 70-80, where examples of the four different relationships between *pin* and *chu* (*ssu pin-chu* 四賓主) are cited and discussed. See Kuo, *Sui T'ang fo-chiao*, pp. 553-55; and Wu, *Golden Age*, pp. 202-6. The Ts'ao-tung school (曹洞宗), founded by Liang-chieh 良价 (807-869), offers a different interpretation of *ssu pin-chu*. See Pa, *Chiao-pu tseng-chi*, pp. 195-201; and Kuo, *Sui T'ang fo-chiao*, pp. 560-61.

<sup>15</sup> For *fa-shih* and *tu-chiang*, including their origins, see Sun K'ai-ti, "T'ang-tai su-chiang," pp. 75-85; Hsiang Ta 向達, "T'ang-tai su-chiang k'ao" 唐代俗講考 (1934), rpt. in *T'ang-tai Ch'ang-an yü hsi-yü wen-ming* 唐代長安與西域文明 (Peking: San-lien shu-tien, 1957), p. 303; and V. Hrdličková, "The First Translations of Buddhist Sūtras in Chinese Literature," *AO* 26 (1958), pp. 136-37.

<sup>16</sup> Miao-yüan 妙源, comp., *Hsü-t'ang ho-shang yü-lu* 虛堂和尚語錄 (1269), in *T*, vol. 47, p. 1021.

<sup>17</sup> Průšek, "Narrators," pp. 380, 384. Another distorted interpretation by Průšek is that of *kung-an* as "a narration about false accusation and judicial error" (p. 380).

<sup>18</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 376.

<sup>19</sup> These are, in the order listed, taken from: *Sung kao seng chuan* 11, p. 774; *ibid.*, *ibid.* 30, p. 897; *Chen-chou Lin-chi Hui-chao ch'an-shih yü-lu*, p. 504; *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, p. 197; and P'u-chi 普濟, comp., *Wu-teng hui-yüan* 五燈會元 (1252), Su Yüan-lei 蘇淵雷, ed. and punctuator (Peking: Chung-hua, 1984), *ch.* 9, p. 549.

<sup>20</sup> John L. Bishop, *The Colloquial Short Story in China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1965), p. 8.

<sup>21</sup> See Nan Huai-chin 南懷瑾, *Ch'an yü tao kai-lun* 禪與道論 (Taipei: Chen-shan mei ch'u-pan she, 1968), pp. 76-81, esp. p. 78.

<sup>22</sup> See Průšek, "Narrators," p. 376; and Bishop, *Colloquial Short Story*, p. 8.

[*ch'an* in Chinese], according to Zen scholars is not exactly meditation or contemplation. . . . What Zen aims to attain is to see into one's mind and thereby to put an end to all intellectual doubts and emotional disturbances."<sup>23</sup> However, the "*ch'an*" used in Nai-te-weng's and Wu Tzu-mu's accounts is something else again. Here we have to turn to the practice of Ch'an Buddhism in the Sung dynasty for a proper interpretation.

#### THE NATURE OF SHUO TS'AN-CH'ING

While Ch'an masters of the T'ang kept away from the court and the crowd, those of the Sung led an active social and political life. They attracted large groups of lay disciples. With this popularity came a degeneration in the quality of Ch'an practice. "Another danger to the Ch'an movement was the increasing tendency toward intellectualism,"<sup>24</sup> which was not in agreement with the original Ch'an principle of sudden enlightenment (*tun-wu* 頓悟). As observed by Kenneth Ch'en,

It was under the Sung also that there occurred a change in Ch'an emphasis. During the T'ang the Ch'an masters placed little or no emphasis on literature and words, but during the Sung the Chinese reverence for the written word reasserted itself, and there arose what is known as literary Ch'an.<sup>25</sup>

Literary Ch'an was facilitated by the increasing number of its published works. In 1004, one of the most important books in Ch'an Buddhism, *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, was printed and presented to the Chen-tsung emperor 眞宗 (r. 998-1022). It was a collection of genealogical biographies of the early Ch'an masters, including their recorded sayings. Between 1004 and 1235, the year Nai-te-weng wrote the preface to his *Tu-ch'eng chi-sheng*, there appeared several annotated anthologies of recorded sayings of the renowned masters. Among them were *Pi-yen lu* 碧巖錄 (pref. 1128),<sup>26</sup> *Jen-t'ien yen-mu* (pref. 1188), and *Ch'an-tsung wu-men kuan* 禪宗無門關 (pref. 1228).<sup>27</sup>

At the same time, *yü-lu* of individual masters were also zealously com-

<sup>23</sup> Suzuki, *Studies in Zen*, p. 45, n. 1. For a detailed discussion of Ch'an discipline, see *ibid.*, pp. 36-45; see also Nan, *Ch'an yü tao*, pp. 72-81.

<sup>24</sup> Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, p. 403. See also Kuo, *Sui T'ang fo-chiao*, pp. 26-73.

<sup>25</sup> Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, p. 403.

<sup>26</sup> This has been translated by R.D.M. Shaw, *The Blue Cliff Records* (London: Michael Joseph, 1961).

<sup>27</sup> All three anthologies are printed in *T*, vol. 48. For a more comprehensive list, see Kuo P'eng, *Sung Yuan fo-chiao* 宋元佛教 (Fu-chou: Fu-chou jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1981), pp. 27-28.

plied by their disciples.<sup>28</sup> A casual study of any of these collected sayings gives us a clear idea that the Ch'an practise during the Sung was centered around the written *kung-an*, which the master discussed with his disciples in various ways and which "was resorted to as a necessary aid in realizing enlightenment."<sup>29</sup> This Kenneth Ch'en calls a deterioration in the Ch'an movement.<sup>30</sup>

The deterioration spread as the literary trend in Ch'an developed further. Eloquence often became the goal in studying *kung-an*, so that the ultimate goal of enlightenment was lost. A traveling monk, after having participated in a Ch'an lesson conducted by Master Mi-an (1118-1186), remarked to the latter that he had been so used to the oratorical embellishments of other masters that he found the master's more austere instruction devoid of flavor.<sup>31</sup> Master Mi-an, for his part, did not hesitate to attack those loquacious monks whom he regarded as mere dabblers in Ch'an.<sup>32</sup>

In a *isan* 讚 composed at the request of a disciple, Mi-an accused the monks of bringing infamy to the monastic system.<sup>33</sup> He also laid his charge on some masters who interpreted renowned sayings, ancient and contemporary, with far-fetched babble.<sup>34</sup>

Remarks or advice of the same nature can be found here and there in other *yü-lu*, as well as in such guidebooks as *Ch'ih-hsiu Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei* 勅修百丈清規 and *Ch'an-lin pao-hsün* 禪林寶訓.<sup>35</sup> From a commentary in the former, we can see even better the deterioration of Ch'an practice in the Southern Sung dynasty.

In times of old, the master adopted the method of question and answer in teaching so as to clear the disciples of doubts. But it was not confined to words. Lately, there have been many who claim to be Ch'an practitioners but are ignorant of the discipline. They cultivate a detestable

<sup>28</sup> For example, we have: *Fa-yen ch'an-shih yü-lu* 法演禪師語錄 in 1095 (*T*, vol. 47); *Fen-yang Wu-te* 汾陽無德 *ch'an-shih yü-lu* in 1101 (*T*, vol. 47); *Hung-chih ch'an-shih kuang-lu* 宏智禪師廣錄 in 1132 (*T*, vol. 48); *Yüan-wu Fo-kuo ch'an-shih yü-lu* 圓悟佛果禪師語錄 in 1133 (*T*, vol. 47); *Ta-hui P'u-chüeh* 大慧普覺 *ch'an-shih yü-lu* in 1172 (*T*, vol. 47), and a sequel to it bearing the same title in 1188 (*Z*, *chi* 1, *pien* 2, *l'ao* 26, *is'e* 1); as well as *Mi-an ho-shang yü-lu* in the same year (*T*, vol. 47). Among later compilations are *Ju-ching* 如淨 *ch'an-shih yü-lu* in 1229 (*T*, vol. 48); *Tün-chü* 雲居辛菴 *ho-shang yü-lu* (*Z*, *chi* 1, *pien* 2, *l'ao* 26, *is'e* 1); and *Hsi-shan Liang* 西山亮 *ch'an-shih yü-lu* (*ibid.*) in 1243; *Pei-chien Chü-chien* 北磬居簡 *ch'an-shih yü-lu* in 1248 (*ibid.*); and *Hsü-t'ang ho-shang yü-lu* in 1269 (*T* 47).

<sup>29</sup> Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, p. 404. <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Mi-an ho-shang yü-lu* (*T*, vol. 47), p. 974.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 976. <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 977. <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 981.

<sup>35</sup> The original text of Pai-chang Huai-hai's 百丈懷海 (720-814) handbook has not been preserved. A revised version of it was published in the eleventh century. The extant edn. bears a pref. dated 1279 and is printed in *T*, vol. 48. See also *Tzu-men ching-hsün* 龜門警訓 (rev. edn. by Ju-cheng 如菴, pref. 1470; *T*, vol. 48), *ch.* 3, pp. 1060, 1077.

taste and take pleasure in it. Furthermore, they often show such bad manners as to laugh loudly and frivolously.<sup>36</sup>

It is hard to say against whom exactly these remarks were directed. In any case, they show the popularity of Ch'an practice. Even less religious people liked to dabble in it. In *Ta-hui P'u-chüeh ch'an-shih yü-lu*, we read that the emperor demanded that the sayings of the master be collected and presented to his majesty.<sup>37</sup> After the master died more than forty high officials, including some of his disciples, wrote the obituaries.<sup>38</sup> In *Yüan-wu Fo-kuo ch'an-shih yü-lu*, we see that the master often conducted Ch'an lessons upon the request of visitors, who ranged in status from crown prince to commoner. Sometimes Ch'an lessons were conducted in celebration of birthdays or in memory of deceased ancestors.<sup>39</sup>

As *ts'an-ch'an* became fashionable, the number of lay practitioners increased. Even commoners acquired a taste for it. Although they might not have been able to attain enlightenment themselves, they would enjoy listening to descriptions of repartee (*chi-feng* 機鋒)<sup>40</sup> between master and disciple that told how a monk had realized the "supreme" way. Presumably, this is how the *ts'an-ch'ing* narrators found their way into the public entertainment quarters in Lin-an. Judging from the names cited in *Meng-liang lu*, they seem to have been monks.<sup>41</sup>

Both *Tu-ch'eng chi-sheng* and *Meng-liang lu*<sup>42</sup> mention that many *she* 社 or *hui* 會 were organized by public entertainers. However, they do not mention any guild of *ts'an-ch'ing* narrators, although these same entries in the two works list associations organized by pious believers in order to sponsor specific Buddhist activities.

In *Hsü-t'ang ho-shang yü-lu* we find a poem that the master presented to "fellow seekers of *tao* in Miao-hsi she" (*Miao-hsi she tao-yu* 妙喜社道友).<sup>43</sup> The text of the poem describes members of this *she* as former monks or

<sup>36</sup> *Ch'ih-hsiu Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei* (T, vol. 48), ch. 2, p. 1119.

<sup>37</sup> *Ta-hui P'u-chüeh ch'an-shih yü-lu* (Z, ch. 1, pien 2, t'ao 26, ts'e 1) A, p. 32a.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* B, pp. 38a-44b.

<sup>39</sup> *Yüan-wu Fo-kuo ch'an-shih yü-lu* (T, vol. 47), ch. 5, pp. 734-36.

<sup>40</sup> "Repartee" is a poor translation of "*chi-feng*," which could involve not just words but also gestures or even actual physical attack. See Kuo, *Sung T'ang fo-chiao*, pp. 568-73.

<sup>41</sup> Three names are given: Pao-an 寶庵, Kuan-an 管庵, and Hsi-jan ho-shang 喜然和尚; see Wu, *Meng-liang lu* 20, p. 313. Since an essential part of the training of Ch'an monks involved traveling from one monastery to another to seek instruction from various masters, it was not uncommon for traveling monks to lodge in cities during their journeys. Even masters sometimes visited the entertainment quarters. See, for example, *Ming-chüeh ch'an-shih yü-lu* 明覺 by Wei Kai-chu 惟蓋竺 et al. (T, vol. 47), ch. 2, p. 678; and *Ta-hui P'u-chüeh A*, p. 27b.

<sup>42</sup> Nai-te-weng, *Tu-ch'eng chi-sheng*, p. 98; and Wu, *Meng-liang lu* 20, pp. 299-310.

<sup>43</sup> T, vol. 47, ch. 7, p. 1039.

dedicated practitioners (*wei-mo* 維摩) and as well versed in repartee. It is safe to conclude that they were *ts'an-ch'ing* narrators.<sup>44</sup> We cannot determine the extent of religious discussion in their narration, but the period was one in which Ch'an frequently had only tenuous connections with Buddhist religious philosophy. The narration probably preserved instead some of the traditional monastic codes and practices.

Led by his conviction that *Tung-p'o chü-shih Fo-yin ch'an-shih yü-lu wen-ta* was a promptbook for *ts'an-ch'ing* narration,<sup>45</sup> Chang Cheng-lang attempted to describe its form and content:

*Ts'an-ch'an* amounts to word play. Those who engaged in it exchanged witty repartee. It was similar to burlesque because it ridiculed the facetious with wisecracks and biting remarks. The performers took *ts'an-ch'an* as the subject matter of their narration and elaborated upon it to make a living in the entertainment quarter. As time went on, it was further corrupted to meet the vulgar taste of the pleasure seekers. As a result, ribald elements were fabricated into it.<sup>46</sup>

Referring to *Wen-ta lu*, he further remarks, "By placing Tung-p'o chü-shih and Fo-yin ch'an-shih in the respective positions of *pin* and *chu*, the book narrates broad farce according to the basic pattern of Ch'an pedagogy. It deals with fictitious and preposterous subjects in vulgar language that often verges on obscenity."<sup>47</sup> Though plausible, Chang's conjecture is exaggerated. He overlooks the fact that in Nai-te-weng's and Wu Tzu-mu's explanatory notes, *ts'an-ch'an* is immediately followed by *wen-tao*, which would have rendered the occasion less frivolous and farcical. Although various digressions might have occurred, as indicated by the remark "and so on" (*teng-shih* 等事) following "*ts'an-ch'an wen-tao*," narration most likely combined entertainment with instruction.

Chang Cheng-lang did indeed grasp the essential nature of *shuo ts'an-ch'ing*, as seen in his assertion that it was modeled on Ch'an teaching, that is, the interchange between *pin* and *chu*. However, his assumption that *Wen-ta lu* was a promptbook is refuted in greater detail in the following section.

<sup>44</sup> It is interesting to note that "Miao-hsi" is the *hao* of both Master Tsung-kao 宗杲 and Master P'u-chüeh. For a discussion of Tsung-kao, see Kuo, *Sung Yüan fo-chiao*, pp. 57-64.

<sup>45</sup> This book exists only as a manuscript in Naikaku Bunko and was not accessible to Chang. He relied on a later version entitled *Wen-ta lu*, in the well-known collectanea *Pao-yen t'ang pi-chi* 寶顏堂秘笈, and Sun K'ai-ti's description in *Jih-pen Tung-ching so-chien Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo shu-mu* 日本東京所見中國小說書目 (1932; rev. edn. Peking: Jen-min wen-hsüeh, 1958), p. 142.

<sup>46</sup> Chang, "Wen-ta lu," p. 2. <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

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In his description of *Tung-p'o chü-shih Fo-yin ch'an-shih yü-lu wen-ta*, Sun K'ai-ti refrains from assigning it a definite date. Chang Cheng-lang, basing his judgment on Sun's discovery that the manuscript deferentially leaves blank space before such terms as *shen-miao* 神廟 and *ch'ao-t'ing* 朝廷, asserts without hesitation that it was copied from a Sung edition.<sup>48</sup> But it is difficult to accept Chang's uncritical way of dating; we would need further evidence to ascertain the existence of such a Sung edition. However, Chang asserts that a book entitled *Tung-p'o Fo-yin yü-lu* is mentioned in Wang Mao's 王裯 (1151-1213) *Yeh-k'o ts'ung-shu* 野客叢書. Because an identical quotation appears in both, Chang claims that the former is a shortened title that Wang Mao used for *Tung-p'o chü-shih Fo-yin ch'an-shih yü-lu wen-ta*.<sup>49</sup> Thus he dates the original edition of *Wen-ta* to a period no later than 1202, the year Wang Mao wrote the preface to the revised edition of his original work of 1195.

Even if we accept Chang's argument, we must still wonder whether *Tung-p'o Fo-yin yü-lu* had not undergone serious redaction before it took the form of *Tung-p'o chü-shih Fo-yin ch'an-shih yü-lu*, of which the date of composition or copying is itself uncertain. Even if we give Chang's assertion full credit, there arises still another problem. Following Chang, we have to assume that some *ts'an-ch'ing* narrators already made their living among the various artists in the public entertainment quarters before 1202. But the first record of them appeared only in 1235 in *Tu-ch'eng chi-sheng*.

All things considered, it would be more reasonable to take the *Yü-lu wen-ta* as a literary record of anecdotes about Tung-p'o and Fo-yin that circulated either in the *wa-she* or among the literati, than to regard it as a promptbook. The graphic poems in it clearly indicate a wider reading public.

If the *ts'an-ch'ing* narrators had promptbooks, then those would probably have been the various *yü-lu* that were popular and available at the time. But recent research has discredited the theory that storytellers relied on promptbooks for their performance.<sup>50</sup> Just as the Ch'an masters did not rely

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2. <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup> See V. Hrdličková, "The Professional Training of Chinese Story-telling and the Story-tellers' Guild," *AO* 33 (1965), pp. 226-27; Masuda Wataru 増田渉, "'Wohon' to yū koto ni tsuite" 話本ということについて, *Jimbun kenkyū* 人文研究 (Osaka) 16.5 (1965), pp. 22-33; and Glen Dudbridge, *The Hsi-yu chi: A Study of Antecedents to the Sixteenth-Century Chinese Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1970), pp. 5-8. See also Wang Ch'iu-kuei 王秋桂, "Chiao-hou chi" 校後記, postword to Maeda Kazue's 前田一憲 translation of Masuda's article in *Chung-kuo ku-tien hsiao-shuo yen-chiu chuan-k'an* 中國古典小說研究專刊 3 (1981), pp. 62-68.

on any particular scriptures in their teaching, so the *ts'an-ching* narrator must have possessed enough ready wit to vary his subjects at short notice, according to the situation in which he found himself.

In conclusion, the scantiness of available information does not allow us to offer a satisfactory reconstruction of *ts'an-ch'ing* narration as performed in the Southern Sung. We have, however, cleared up some misconceptions about it. Both Chang Cheng-lang's and Průšek's arguments were based on dubious assumptions that certain extant works were once used as promptbooks or source books by the storytellers. Following Chang Cheng-lang's suggestions, Průšek has also attempted to depict *shuo ts'an-ch'ing* as carrying over to the vernacular short-story genre in the Ming dynasty (1368-1643).<sup>51</sup>

It is true that many works of *Yüan tsa-chü* 雜劇 and Ming vernacular fiction are strongly flavored with Ch'an overtones. Among the former are *Pu-tai ho-shang jen tzu chi* 布袋和尚忍字記 by Cheng T'ing-yü 鄭廷玉, *Hua-chien ssu-yü Tung-p'o meng* 花間四友東坡夢 by Wu Ch'ang-ling 吳昌齡, and *Yüeh-ming ho-shang tu Liu Ts'ui* 月明和尚渡柳翠 by an anonymous playwright.<sup>52</sup> Among the latter are *Ch'ien-t'ang hu-yin Chi-tien ch'an-shih yü-lu* (cited above), "Wu-chieh ch'an-shih ssu Hung-lien 五戒禪師利紅蓮," and "Hua-teng chiao Lien-nü ch'eng-fo chi" 花燈橋蓮女成佛記 in *Liu-shih chia hsiao-shuo* 六十家小說, printed by Hung Pien 洪楹 (ca. 1541);<sup>53</sup> "Yüeh-ming ho-shang tu Liu Ts'ui 月明和尚渡柳翠" and "Ming-wu ho-shang kan Wu-chieh 明悟和尚趕五戒" in *Ku-chin hsiao-shuo* 古今小說 (1620 or 1621); "Ch'en K'o-ch'ang tuan-yang hsien-hua" 陳可常端陽仙化 in *Ching-shih t'ung-yen* 警世通言 (1624); and "Fo-yin shih ssu-t'iao Ch'in-niang" 佛印師四調琴娘 in *Hsing-shih heng-yen* 醒世恒言 (1627).<sup>54</sup> The relationships of these works with each other and with *Yü-lu wen-ta* might constitute a valuable study in the transformation of literary themes.<sup>55</sup> But without further evi-

<sup>51</sup> Průšek, "Narrators," p. 379.

<sup>52</sup> All these plays are available in *Yüan ch'ü hsüan* 元曲選, ed. Tsang Mao-hsün 臧懋循 (first published 1613-1616). See Fu Hsi-hua 傅惜華, *Yüan-tai tsa-chü ch'üan-mu* 元代雜劇全目 (Peking: Tso-chia, 1957), pp. 102-3, 176, 336. These and other plays with a conversion and salvation theme are discussed in Chao Yu-min 趙幼民, "Yüan tsa-chü chung ti tu-'o chü" 元雜劇中的渡脫劇, *Wen-hsüeh p'ing-lun* 文學評論 5 (1978), pp. 153-96, and 6 (1980), pp. 169-217.

<sup>53</sup> See the modern facsimile rpt. under the title *Ch'ing-p'ing-shan t'ang hua-pen* 清平山堂話本 (rpt. Peking: Wen-hsüeh ku-chi k'an-hsing she, 1955), pp. 110-18, 147-59.

<sup>54</sup> These three collections (generally referred to as *San-yen* 三言) were edited by Feng Meng-lung 馮夢龍 (1574-1646). All are available in facsimile rpts. under the original titles (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1958-1959).

<sup>55</sup> See, for example, Chang Ch'üan-kung 張全恭, "Hung-lien Liu Ts'ui ku-shih ti chuan-pien" 紅蓮柳翠故事的轉變 (1936), collected in Wang Ch'iu-kuei, ed., *Chung-kuo min-chien ch'üan-shuo lun-chi* 中國民間傳說論集 (Taipei: Lien-ching, 1980), pp. 137-57; Ono Shihei, "Meigo zenshi kan Gokai ron" 明悟禪師趕五戒論, *Bunka* 31.2 (1967), pp. 37-61; and Sawada's and Ono's articles cited in n. 3 above.

dence, it is dangerous to assume that there was any definite influence from *shuo ts'an-ch'ing*. It is safer to say that they drew their source material from the tradition of the miscellaneous notebooks, as well as from *yü-lu*, which *ts'an-ch'ing* narration probably invigorated when it flourished in the Southern Sung.

If, in the foregoing discussion, I have interpreted Nai-te-weng's and Wu Tzu-mu's remarks too literally and have stuck too stubbornly to them, it is because only by doing so can one describe *shuo ts'an-ch'ing* accurately as a distinct type of popular entertainment. It is possible that the various arts, performed during the same period in the same milieu, and perhaps for the same audience, might have influenced one another. The narration of fictitious stories (*hsiao-shuo* 小說), for example, might have taken over the subject matter of *shuo ts'an-ch'ing*, while the latter took over the technique of the former. The distinctions, however, must be drawn and emphasized in any historical reconstruction.

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經  
 Z *Zōkuzōkyō* 續藏經