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A STUDY OF HAN-SHAN¹⁾

BY

WU CHI-YU

吳其昱

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Han-shan or Han-shan-tzŭ 寒山子 is the pseudonym of

¹⁾ Acknowledgement.—I should like to express at this time my sincere thanks to Prof. P. Demiéville, Collège de France, Mr. Piet van der Loon and Prof. E. G. Pulleyblank, University of Cambridge, Dr. Arthur Waley, F.B.A., Prof. Lien-shêng Yang 楊聯陞, Harvard University, and Prof. W. Simon, University of London, who have been so kind as to read my original manuscript partly or wholly and to make some valuable suggestions. Of course they must not be held in any way responsible for my own errors of fact or judgment.

I must also indicate here my indebtedness to the following scholars for their kind assistance: Mr. E. B. Ceadel and Dr. M. Honda, University of Cambridge, with the Japanese, and Mr. Stanley Lampach, Dr. Galen E. Sargent, Miss Angela Hobbs, Mr. John Frodsham, Miss Carmen Blacker, Mr. Peter Andrews and Mr. K. H. J. Gardiner, with my English.

No less important has been the kind co-operation I have received from those numerous librarians who made it possible for me to conduct research in and among the rich Chinese materials in Paris, Cambridge and London. Cambridge, February 1957.

a poet of the T'ang 唐 dynasty (618-907 A.D.) who was said to have lived as a hermit near a "cold cliff" (*Han-shan*) of T'ien-t'ai Mountain 天台 in the southern part of Chê-chiang 浙江. His name is associated with those of Fêng-kan 豐干 and Shih-tê 拾得, two Buddhist monks with whom he was friendly and who came from the Kuo-ch'ing Monastery 國清寺 not very far from his hermitage. He left about three hundred poems which were edited with an undated and mythical preface attributed to Lü-ch'iu Yin 閻丘胤, known as a prefect of T'ai-chou 台州 in his time ¹⁾. The anonymity of the poems and the undatedness of their preface have given rise to much speculation concerning Han-shan's dates. In fact, we find a wild variety of opinions about the chronology of his life, ranging between 577 A.D. and 871 A.D. or thereabouts. The writers of Buddhist histories, chronicles and biographies usually give a date without any serious argument or indicating any sources ²⁾. Strictly speaking, Han-shan has only

¹⁾ Cf. part II.

²⁾ For example: 1. Tao-yüan 道原: *Ching-tê ch'uan-têng lu* (11th c.) 景德傳燈錄, ch. 27, T vol. 52, p. 433b-434a.

2. Tsu-hsiu 祖琇: *Lung-hsing fo-chiao pien-nien t'ung-lun* (1163-1164 A.D.) 隆興佛教編年通論, ch. 20, Z IIB iii-4, p. 311d-312b.

3. Hui-ming 慧明 et al.: *Wu-têng hui yüan* (1253 A.D.) 五燈會元, ch. 2, Z IIB, xi-1, p. 40c-41a.

4. Chih-p'an 志磐: *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* (1256 A.D.) 佛祖統紀, ch. 39, T vol. 49, p. 364b.

5. Pên-chio 本覺: *Shih-shih t'ung-chien* (1270 A.D.) 釋氏通鑑, ch. 7, Z IIB, iv-5, p. 452d-453a.

6. Hsi-chung 熙仲: *Shih-shih tzü-chien* (1336 A.D.) 釋氏資鑑, ch. 6, Z IIB, v-1, p. 50b-c. The author indicates "Hung-ming" as the source of Han-shan's story. But I have not been able to find it in Tao-hsüan's *Kuang Hung ming-chi* 廣弘明集, T ed.

7. Nien-ch'ang 念常: *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai*, ch. 20, T vol. 49, p. 614b-615a; Z IIB, v-3, p. 271a-c.

8. Chio-an 覺岸: *Shih-shih chi-ku lio* (1354 A.D.) 釋氏稽古略, ch. 3, T vol. 49, p. 815b-c; Z IIB vi-1, p. 4b.

legends attached to his name and no biography. In this article, after a rational re-examination of T'ang materials, I will try to propose certain hypothetical answers to the questions as to who he was and where and when Lü-ch'iu Yin visited him. I add also a translation of the principal legends about him and of some fifty of his poems. But, pressed by time, I am unable to include a linguistic study of his poems which might be useful and interesting though not quite decisive for dating; I hope to publish it later separately.

I. AN ATTEMPT AT THE IDENTIFICATION OF HAN-SHAN

Han-shan must have been well-known in the later ninth century, for his name is mentioned in the following authors' works:

1. Li Shan-fu's 李山甫 (fl. 874 A.D.) poem, *To Liang the judge, from a house in the mountains*¹) 山中寄梁判官.

"Han-shan-tzū also should have felt that he had been too talented not to write poems 寒山子亦患多才".

2. Kuan-hsiu's 貫休 (831-912 A.D.) poems:

A. *To the Taoist Shu of Ch'ih-sung-shan* 寄赤松舒道士²).

"As you admire very much Han-shan-tzū,

You must recite poems on 'Being happy with the *tao*'.

Perhaps one day you should accompany a prefect

To some spot full of smoke and creeping plants."

9. T'an-o 曇噩: *K'o-fên liu-hsüeh sêng chuan* (1366 A.D.) 科分六學僧傳, ch. 30, Z IIB, vi-5, p. 486a-c.

10. Emperor Ch'êng-tsu of the Ming dynasty 明成祖: *Shên-sêng chuan* (1417 A.D.) 神僧傳, ch. 6, M xxxvi-2, p. 151c-152b.

¹) *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 全唐詩, ch. 24, p. 12a, col. 10-12, Shanghai 1887 ed.; *Po chia T'ang shih* 百家唐詩, fasc. 52, p. 11b 3-4, Hsi's 席 1702 ed. This poem was pointed out to me by Dr. Arthur Waley.

²) *Ch'an-yüeh chi* 禪月集, ch. 11, p. 94b, SPTK ed.

子愛寒山子，
 歌應唯道歌¹⁾
 會應陪太守，
 一日到煙蘿。

B. *To the monk who is to return to a T'ien-t'ai monastery*

送僧歸天台²⁾。

"Don't pluck leaves of *kou-chi* (*lysium chinense*),

Or you will make Shih-tê angry."

莫折枸杞葉。
 令他拾得嗔。

3. Tu Kuang-t'ing's 杜光庭 (850-933 A.D.) story of Han-shan-tzū in his *Hsien-chuan shih-yi* 仙傳拾遺 quoted in the *T'ai-p'ing kouang chi* 太平廣記³⁾.

Earlier than these, I find, besides the poems of Chang Chi 張繼 (fl. 753 A.D.)⁴⁾ and Wei Ying-wou 韋應物 (c. 735-c. 835 A.D.)⁵⁾, which make some mention of the Han-shan-ssū 寒山

¹⁾ Cf. *Ching-tê ch'uan-têng lu*, ch. 30, T vol. 51, p. 461c-462a and *Tsu-t'ang chi* ch. 3 (not available to the author).

²⁾ *T'ang-jên hsiao-chi* 唐人小集, *Kuan-hsiu chi*, p. 6b, Chiang's 江 1895 ed..

³⁾ *T'ai-p'ing kouang chi* (978 A.D.), ch. 55, p. 1a-b, ed. Wên-yu-t'ang 文友堂, Peking, 1934. See p. 415. This story was retold by Ch'ên Pao-kuang 陳葆光 in his *San tung ch'ün hsien lu* 三洞羣仙錄 (preface written in 1154 A.D.), ch. 2, *Tao tsang dao ch'ien*, vol. 992, p. 5b-6a, Commercial Press reprint ed., Shanghai, 1923-1926, but the name is written as Han-yen-tzū 寒崑(崑?)子。

⁴⁾ Chang Chi, *Fêng-ch'iao yeh p'o* 楓橋夜泊:

"Outside the city-wall of Su-chou 蘇州 is the Han-shan Temple,

At midnight the sound of its bell reaches the strangers' junks."

姑蘇城外寒山寺
 夜半鐘聲到客船。

Chung-hsing chien-ch'i chi 中興間氣集 (c. 788). ch. *hsia* 下, p. 6b, SPTK ed.

⁵⁾ Wei Ying-wou, *To Hêng-ts'an* 寄恒璨:

"Alone I look for a foot-path on the autumn grass,

And pass the night in the Han-shan Temple." (see p. 421).

寺¹⁾ but do not necessarily refer to our poet, an unknown work of Wei Shu 韋述²⁾ (died in 757 A.D.) quoted in Tsan-ning's 贊寧 *Sung Kao-sêng chuan* 宋高僧傳 (982-988 A.D.)³⁾ which relates a story about Fêng-kan. Tsan-ning points out the variant of the first character of Fêng-kan's name in two documents: *fêng* 封 in Wei's work and *fêng* 豐 in the preface attributed to Lü-ch'iu, and he followed Wei Shu. Probably according to Wei's work, Fêng-kan is said to have reappeared miraculously in Ch'ang-an 長安 in the period Hsien-t'ien 先天 (8th month of 712-11th month of 713 A.D.) after his death in the Kuo-ch'ing Monastery on T'ien-t'ai Mountain⁴⁾. From this date, Tsan-ning infers that Han-shan must have lived under the reign of Emperor Jui-tsung 睿宗 (first reign 685-689 A.D., second reign 710-713 A.D.)⁵⁾.

獨尋秋草徑，

夜宿寒山寺。

Wei Chiang-chou chi 韋江州集, ch. 3, p. 6a, SPTK ed.

¹⁾ In 1146, when Sun Ti 孫覲 (1081-1169 A.D.) wrote his *P'u-ming ch'an-yüan chi* 普明禪院記, he made no mention of Han-shan (quoted in Fan Ch'êng-ta's 范成大 (1126-1193 A.D.) *Wu-chün chih* 吳郡志 (enlarged in c. 1228), ch. 33, p. 2a-3b, *Shou-shan-ko ts'ung-shu* 守山閣叢書 ed., Shanghai, 1922).

²⁾ As to the extant work of Wei Shu we only have fragments of the *Liang-ching hsin chi* 兩京新記 (722) chiefly its third chapter, in the *Nan-ch'ing cha-chi* 南菁札記, 1895 ed., and in the *Isson sôsho* 佚存叢書, vol. 5, 1799 ed. Cf. Ch'ên Chung-mien's 岑仲勉 reconstruction of it, CYYY (中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊) vol. 9 (1947), pp. 545 ff.

³⁾ SKSC, ch. 19, T vol. 50, p. 831c, 6-7.

⁴⁾ SKSC, ch. 19, T vol. 50, p. 831-b, 7-8; p. 832a, 29; p. 832b, 6-7. Tsan-ning often indicates the tombstone inscriptions as sources (cf. his memorial to the throne and preface, SKSC, T vol. 50, p. 709a, 29-b1; p. 709c, 22-24.). The entries and the length of the biographies in his work depend on the documents available to him (cf. SKSC, ch. 16, *Ch'ing-ch'ê chuan* 清徹傳, T vol. 50, p. 806c, 6-10; ch. 18, *Ch'in-shih chuan* 欽師傳, *ibid.*, p. 821c, 26-822a, 1). His biography of Fêng-kan must have been based on the preface to Han-shan's poems and on Wei Shu's work. But the preface to Han-shan's poems has no date, as he regretted; the date of Fêng-kan's miraculous reappearance must have come from Wei's work.

⁵⁾ SKSC, ch. 19, T vol. 50, p. 832a, 29-bl.

In short, this shows that Fêng-kan's story was current and recorded in the early eighth century. They must have lived chiefly in the seventh century. This deduction eliminates the possibility that they were historical personages of the eighth or ninth century.

Other conflicting evidences should be explained as follows:

The legend about Ling-yu 靈祐 (771-853 A.D.), which was not mentioned in his tombstone inscription ¹⁾, is only recorded in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* 祖堂集 (952 A.D.) ²⁾, the *Sung Kao-sêng chuan* ³⁾ and in a later memorial monument in a monastery ⁴⁾. It seems to be a later legend not worthy of attention.

Hu Shih 胡適 in his *Pai-hua wên-hsüeh shih* 白話文學史, argues that Han-shan must have lived between 700-780 A.D. because the place-name T'ang-hsing 唐興 in the preface to his poems was first used in 675 A.D. ⁵⁾.

Apart from the wrong dating of the change of the place-name from Shih-fêng 始豐 to T'ang-hsing, Hu's argument is not convincing, for he has to prove first that the preface was written by one of Han-shan's contemporaries.

In fact, this preface cannot have been written by Lü-ch'iu Yin.

T'ang-hsing, used three times in the preface, seems to have been an original part of it. That is to say, it is not a later insertion. Since Shih-fêng was changed to T'ang-hsing in the second year of Shang-yüan 上元 (761 A.D.) under the reign of Su-tsung 肅

¹⁾ Chêng Yü 鄭愚, *T'an-chou Ta-kuei-shan T'ung-ch'ing-ssü Ta-yüan ch'an-shih pei ming ping hsü* (865-866 A.D.) 潭州大瀉山同慶寺大圓禪師碑銘並序 (*T'ang wên ts'ui* (唐) 文粹, ch. 63, SPTKed. (Yüan ed), p. 5b-8a.

²⁾ Quoted by Prof. Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高 in his article, *Ô Bonji ni tsuite* 王梵志について (2), *Chûgoku Bungaku-hô*, no. 4 (April 1956) 中國文學報, p. 53b, Kyôto University.

³⁾ SKSC, ch. 11, T vol. 50, p. 777b-c.

⁴⁾ *Jên t'ien pao chien* 人天寶鑑 (1230 A.D.), Z IIB xxi-1, p. 59a.

⁵⁾ *Pai-hua wên-hsüeh shih*, p. 242-249, Shanghai, 1928.

宗¹⁾, the preface must have been written after 761 A.D. It therefore contradicts Wei Shu's story concerning Fêng-kan, for the author of the preface makes Fêng-kan repeat the same role after 761 A.D.—at least some fifty years after his death.

Besides, the term *ju-chu-jen* 汝諸人 “you many people”²⁾ began to appear as a daily expression with the Dhyâna masters in the *Ch'uan-hsin fa-yao* 傳心法要 of Hsi-yün 希運, known as Huang-po Tuan-chi ch'an-shih 黃檗斷際禪師³⁾ (with a preface written in 857 A.D.). The preface of Han-shan's poems might not be earlier than this *yü-lu* 語錄 (middle of the ninth century).

Moreover, the official title of the preface writer may also afford a clue for the identification of the date⁴⁾. Only two periods are possible for T'ai-chou and *tz'ü-fei* 賜緋: 721-742 A.D. and after 758 A.D.

Finally, the preface does not conform to the ordinary formula of prefaces, to say nothing of its contradictions to the poems⁵⁾.

¹⁾ See Appendix 2.

²⁾ HSTS, p. 2b11.

³⁾ Z II xxiv-5, p. 415b2.

⁴⁾ The title may be divided into eight parts:

1. *Ch'ao-i ta-fu* 朝議大夫, used since 637 A.D. Cf. CTS, ch. 42, PN ed., p. 2a and HTS, ch. 36, PN ed., p. 4a.

2. *Shih ch'ih-chieh . . . chu-chün-shih* 使持節 . . . 諸軍事 used through the T'ang dynasty. Cf. CTS, ch. 44, PN ed., p. 29a and HTS ch. 38 B, PN ed., p. 6a.

3. *T'ai-chou* 台州 name used during 622-742 and after 758. Cf. YHCHC ch. 26, p. 10b, *Chi-fu ts'ung-shu*, 1913 ed.; CTS ch. 20, p. 11a and HTS ch. 31, p. 7a.

4. *shou* 守 used for all provincial governors since 671. Cf. CTS ch. 22, p. 2b.

5. *tz'ü-shih* 刺史 except the period 742-757. Cf. CTS ch. 24, p. 29a and HTS ch. 39b, p. 6a.

6. *shang-chu-kuo* 上柱國, since 624. Cf. CTS ch. 22, p. 5b and HTS ch. 36, p. 5b-6a.

7. *tz'ü-fei* 賜緋, usually together with *yü-tai* 魚袋 after 721. Cf. CTS ch. 25, p. 13a; HTS, ch. 14, p. 9a.

8. *yü-tai* 魚袋, given to provincial governors only between 686-690 and after 705. Cf. *T'ang hui-yao*, ch. 31, TSCC ed. no. 818, p. 579; CTS ch. 25, p. 14b; HTS ch. 14, p. 8b-9a.

⁵⁾ For example, in the preface Han-shan, Shih-tê and Fêng-kan are considered respectively as the incarnation of Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra and Maitreya, while in the poems Han-shan never admits that he is no human being.

At its end the date was perhaps consciously avoided, and replaced by thirty-eight four-character lines. It might have been written after the model of Buddhist *sūtra*, for instance, the *Saddharmapundarikasūtra* or the *pien-wên* 變文 which give a summary in poetical form after the story in prose. The author seems to have been a Buddhist monk (Tao-ch'iao 道翹?) rather than a learned official.

However, the condemnation of the authenticity of the preface does not necessarily imply a denial of all the biographical elements contained in it. It may contain some factual elements, of course not the supernatural ones, nor those which are in contradiction with other authentic documents or with itself.

It has been suggested that Han-shan may have lived in the eighth century, owing to proper names found in his poems: (Wu) Tao-tzŭ (吳)道子 (died in 792 A.D.)¹ and Wan-hui 萬廻 (631-711 A.D.)². But the authenticity of these two verses is questionable.

The line containing the name Wu Tao-tzŭ is found neither in the *Sō taiji* edition nor in Wang Tsung-mu's 王宗沐 edition. It might have been inserted after the separation of these editions and the *T'ien-lu lin-lang* 天祿琳琅 edition³). In the present edition of 311 poems, there must be later imitations, as Tsu-hsiu 祖秀 believed⁴). It is therefore not convincing to base the whole argument on certain single poems whose authenticity needs to be proved first.

¹) HSTS p. 30b8. Cf. Chang Yen-yüan's 張彥遠 *Li-tai ming-hua chi* (847) 歷代名畫記, ch. 9, TSCC ed. (no. 1646), p. 285.

²) HSTS p. 28a3. Cf. the *T'an-pin lu* 談賓錄 and *Liang-ching chi* 兩京記 quoted in the *T'ai-p'ing kuang chi*, ch. 92, Wên-yu-t'ang ed., p. 1b-2b. SKSC, ch. 18, T. vol. 50, p. 823c-824c.

³) See Appendix 3.

⁴) *Lung-hsing fo-chiao pien-nien t'ung-lun*, ch. 20, Z IIB, iii-4, p. 312a.

Yet we have another document which allows us to go back still earlier. In Tao-hsüan's 道宣 *Hsü Kao-sêng chuan* 續高僧傳¹⁾, a Lü-chiu Yin, once the governor of Li-chou 麗州, visited Chih-yen 智巖, a Buddhist monk, in a mountain cave. Was this Lü-ch'iu Yin the same as Han-shan's visitor? The answer depends upon whether there might have been two Lü-ch'iu Yin, both of whom were governors in the southern part of Chê-chiang in the T'ang dynasty and both of whom paid a visit to a Buddhist in his hermitage.

Before answering this question, we must find another means to examine all the poems or at least most of them for the purpose of dating. Since most of Han-shan's poems concern Buddhism, the frequency of Buddhist allusions and terms may reveal which *sûtra* was predominant in his mind. At the same time, we know that before the middle of the seventh century the *Mahâparinirvânasûtra* 大般涅槃經 was predominant, but it was definitely replaced afterwards by the *Saddharmapundarikasûtra* 妙法蓮華經, as shown by the statistical results of the dated Tun-huang scrolls in Chinese preserved in London²⁾ as well as by the history of Chinese Buddhism.

After an examination of his Buddhist poems, I find that nearly half of his Buddhist terms are also found in, if not derived from, the *Mahâparinirvânasûtra*. Anyhow, his poems have far more terms common to the *Mahâparinirvânasûtra* than those common to the *Saddharmapundarikasûtra*.

Here is a table of Han-shan's Buddhist terms which are found in the *Mahâparinirvânasûtra* or in the *Saddharmapundarikasûtra*:

¹⁾ Ch. 21, *Chi-sha* 積砂 ed., vol. 470, p. 75a-76a; T vol. 50, p. 602-a-c. See below Appendix 4.

²⁾ L. Giles, *Six Centuries at Tun-huang*, p. 7, London, 1944.

Han-shan's poems	Buddhist Terms	<i>Ta pan-nieh- p'an ching</i> <i>Taishó</i> no. 375 vol. 12	<i>Miao fa lien-hua ching</i> <i>Taishó</i> no, 262, vol. 9
4a2	護淨	ch. 3/p. 623b	
4a2	詔曲	10/667b	
4b1	娑婆 <i>sahá</i>	1/610a	6/52a
6b8	醍醐與石蜜	6/638b	
8b3	彈指		6/51c
9b3	兩岸各無船	9/662a	
12b7	紅婆 <i>nimba-phala</i>	34/831a	
15a5	梅檀 <i>candana</i>	1/605b	6/53b
15a9	無明	3/625a	
16a2	羅刹 <i>rākṣasa</i>	11/673c	7/56c
16a2	惡趣	23/760a	
16a10	五逆	9/657c	
16a10	十惡	29/798b	
17a-b	平等	5/634b	3/20a
18b8	鴛鴦	8/655b	
24b6	佛說十二部	2/611c, 14/693b	4/34b
25a4-6	有樹先林生... 唯有貞實在	35/845b	
25a8	智慧劍	21/743c	
25a9	煩惱賊	21/744b	5/39a
26a4	慈悲大喜捨	23/759b	
26a5	智慧身金剛	13/692, 21/744a,	21/747a
30a7	金餅, 泥餅	5/633a	
31a3	伽陀 <i>agada</i>	10/670b, 16/715c	
31b4	三途	20/741c	
31b8	入海...采摩尼 <i>maṇi</i>	21/742b	

Han-shan's poems	Buddhist Terms	<i>Ta pan-nieh- p'an ching</i> <i>Taishō</i> no. 375 vol. 12	<i>Miao fa lien-hua ching</i> <i>Taishō</i> no. 262, vol. 9
Pages of the 2nd SPTK ed.			
33a8	閻浮 <i>jambu-dvīpa</i>	31/619c	
33b8	輪廻六道	21/744a	
33b9	三毒		4/28a
33b11	三界	2/613b	5/20a
34a6	人根性不等 ...	36/846c	3/20a
	有利鈍		
35a11-b1	兩惡鳥 ... 三 毒蛇	10/665c	
35a8	因地	13/689b	
36a8	海中乘壞舸	27/784c	
36b1	毗富 <i>Vipula</i>	20/739	
38a5	猛利	8/651a	
39b2	六個賊	21/743a, 21/744c	
39b2-3	布裏真珠爾		4/29a
40a8-9	火宅, 諸子, 三車, 露地		2/12b-c
40b9	須彌 <i>Sumeru</i>	1/606b	6/47c
41a7	轉輪王, 千子	12/438c	
42a3-4	蓮花出污泥	3/619c	
42a6-7	心淨如白蓮	3/619c	
42b5	如來母	35/838a	
42b9	五陰	8/649c	5/39a
42b9	四蛇	21/742c	
42b10	斬魔軍	24/762c	
44b11	衣中寶		4/29a
45a11	堅固等金剛	8/649c, 11/674a	
45b5	心不逐諸緣	22/749b, 22/752b	
45b5	意根不妄起	22/750b	

As the writer of the poems was exceptionally interested in the former *sūtra* and in Taoism which exercised an important influence on the Southern Chinese Buddhism in the later Six Dynasties (6th century A.D.) ¹⁾, we may suppose that these poems were written by a southern monk under Buddhist influence not later than the middle of the seventh century. Moreover, it is extremely improbable that almost at the same time there were two prefects in the southern part of Chê-chiang who had the same name and went to see a Buddhist monk. It is more reasonable to admit the identity of the two Lü-ch'iu Yin than to deny it.

Nevertheless, it is still possible that the same prefect might visit two different Buddhist hermits. But it would be equally improbable a coincidence that two different Buddhists had occupied high official posts, had both been to Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang, had both become Buddhists in their middle age and had both been visited by the same prefect ²⁾.

It seems more probable that Han-shan and Chih-yen were one and the same person. That is to say, if there was one prefect in the southern part of Chê-chiang named Lü-ch'iu Yin who visited only one Buddhist hermit in the mountains and if Lü-ch'iu Yin's visit to Han-shan in the legends is a matter of historical fact, it is logical to admit the identity of Han-shan and Chih-yen.

In the *Hsü Kao-sêng chuan*, Tao-hsüan tells us who Chih-yen was and when exactly he lived ³⁾:

¹⁾ Cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung's 湯用彤 *Han Wei liang Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao fo-chiao shih* 漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史, ch. 13, p. 415-441, 457, 467-470, 484-486; ch. 16, p. 601-610; ch. 17, p. 677-717; ch. 18, p. 718; ch. 20, p. 832-834. Shanghai 1955 ed.

²⁾ Cf. Tao-hsüan's biography of Chih-yen and the biographical elements in Han-shan's poems and the legends about him. As to the legends, are they mere unfounded fabrications at random or were they formed according to some facts? Though the writer of the preface to Han-shan's poems, Kuan-hsiu and Tao-hsüan seem to have written their works independently, their stories have some common points, and they must have been based them on certain common factual elements.

³⁾ HKSC, *Chi-sha* ed., ch. 21, vol. 470, p. 75a; T ed., vol. 50, ch. 20, p. 602a-c.

“Chih-yen, a native of Ch'ü-a 曲阿 in Tan-yang 丹陽, was surnamed Hua 華. In his childhood he told his neighbours: ‘In this world people are only fighting for what they hear and see. How can they know the boundary between life and death?’ They were surprised and knew that he would have a great future.

“When grown up, he became a martial strategist and surpassed others in courage and knowledge. Towards the end of the Ta-yeh 大業 period (605-616 A.D.), the warlords were contending with one another like wolves. Marshal Chang Chên-chou 張鎮周¹⁾, duke of Huang 黃, admiring his reputation, asked him to deign to command his troops, and recommended (to the Emperor) that he be given the appointment of general²⁾. Although he was a military man, he was always humane. He would often tie a strainer to one end of his bow so that wherever he went he might avoid killing any insects in the water he used³⁾.

¹⁾ A. His life: 1. *Sui shu* 隋書, ch. 64, Biography of Ch'ên Lêng 陳稜, PN ed., p. 12a-13b.

2. CTS ch. 56, Biography of Hsiao Hsien 蕭銑, PN ed., p. 1a-3a.

3. TCTC, ch. 181, p. 9a-b; ch. 185, p. 12a6-7; ch. 187, p. 1a; ch. 188, 12b1-2; ch. 189, p. 14a3-4; ch. 190, p. 13 a1-p. 17b1-2; ch. 191, p. 6b6-11. SPTK ed.

4. *Chang Chên-chou Huai-nan tao an-fu chao* (621 A.D.) 張鎮州淮南道安撫詔, *T'ang ta chao ling chi* 唐大詔令集, ch. 115, p. 3a, *Shih-yüan ts'ung-shu* 適園叢書 (c. 1916).

B. His name: In the TCTC *k'ao-i* 資治通鑑考異 (ch. 9, p. 4b9, SPTK ed.) the second character of his name *chou* 周 was said to have been written as *chou* 州 in the *Kao-tsu shih-lu* 高祖實錄 (cf. *T'ang ta chao ling chi*, ch. 115, *op. cit.*). His name is not found in Wan Ssü-t'ung's 萬斯同 (1638-1702) *T'ang kung-ch'ên shih piao* 唐功臣世表, *Erh-shih wu shih pu pien* 二十五史補編, vol. 6, p. 7265-7266 Shanghai 1937.

²⁾ *Hu-pên chung-lang Chiang* 虎賁中郎將, general of the Imperial guards, title used during the Sui dynasty. Cf. *T'ung-t'ien*, ch. 29, p. 49a, Hung-pao shu-chü ed.: 鴻寶書局, Shanghai, 1902.

³⁾ *Lu-nang* 漉囊, skt *parisrāvāna*, cf. *Mo-ho séng-ch'i lü* 摩訶僧祇律 *Mahāsaṅghikavinaya* (?), ch. 18, T vol. 22, p. 372c-373b; *Szü fé lü* 四分律

“In the campaign against Wang Shih-ch’ung who occupied Lo-yang, Chang, one of Li Shih-min’s 李世民 commanders was charged to direct the military operations in the field. In the battle many generals volunteered to fight in single combat. Chang said that only general Hua could thus overcome the enemy. One of Wang’s generals both horse and man in full armour came up holding the pommel of his saddle and flourishing his whip. He drove his spear into the ground, declaring in a harsh voice ‘I will fight only with the man who can pull it out!’ At that moment Hua mounted his horse, came forward slowly and gripped the spear under his arm and pulled it out. Hua then drove it into the ground again, whereupon Wang’s general tried three times to shake it but could not move it. Then they dismounted and crossed swords. Wang’s general was captured alive. Hua put the blunt edge of his sword on his enemy’s neck, saying, ‘I’ve sworn not to take life. Now I offer you your life.’ whereupon he let him go.

“In the fourth year of Wu-tê 武德 (621 A.D.), when Hua was over forty years old, he was still serving under Chang in the campaign to pacify the region of Huai-nan 淮南¹⁾. Finding that the honorable official posts were of no more value than floating clouds, he put on the black robe of a Buddhist monk, and became a disciple of Pao-yüeh 寶月 of Wan-kung Mountain 皖公山 in Shu-chou 舒州²⁾, a master of the Dhyâna sect. Marshal Chang could not forget him and begged him to come back. But he answered that he was devoting himself to the *tao* 道 and had sworn to attain the Buddha-wisdom (*sarvajñâtā*), and that he wished to be left in peace and not interrupted.

“He lived in a small house in a wild, dark remote wood. He had

Dharmagupta(ka)vinaya, ch. 52, T vol. 22, p. 954b; *Shih sung lü* 十誦律 *Sarvâstivâdavinaya*, ch. 57, T 23, p. 422c.

¹⁾ See p. 404, n. 1: A. 4, & TCTC, ch. 189, p. 14a.

²⁾ His name was listed in the *Ching-tê ch’uan-têng lu*, ch. 3, T vol. 51 p. 216c.

no fear of the wolves and tigers which he often met, but on the contrary tamed them and made friends with them. Once he had a vision of a giant Buddhist monk with a beautiful face and a clear voice saying: 'You have been a monk for eighty-one lives. Keep up your courage'. Inspired by this vision, he made such determined efforts day and night that eventually he came to understand that everything in the world was no more than visions and dreams.

"One day, while he was sitting in a valley, the stream suddenly swelled to a torrent. Although he was nearly drowned, he sat there upright quite unconcerned, and the flood finally subsided of its own accord. A hunter asked him, 'Life is surely valuable, why didn't you escape?' He answered, 'I never possessed life from the very beginning, so how could I escape death?' The hunter understood and released all the animals he had caught. Then all the birds and beasts took him for their protector.

"His former colleagues in the army, Yen Chuan 嚴撰¹⁾, governor of Mu-chou 睦州²⁾, Chang Ch'o 張綽, governor of Ch'ü-chou 衢州³⁾, Lü-ch'iu Yin 閻丘胤, governor of Li-chou 麗州⁴⁾, and Li Hsün 李詢, governor of Wei-chou 威州⁵⁾, having heard that he had abandoned his family life and was studying the *tao* in the mountains, came to look for him. Finding the mountain high and wild, full of the cries of beasts and birds, they asked him, 'General, are you mad? Why do you live in such a place as this?' He answered, 'My madness is nearly

¹⁾ Mentioned as governor of Mu-chou 穆州 (= 睦州) of the T'ang dynasty in *Yüan-ho hsing tsuan* 元和姓纂 (812 A.D.), ch. 5, p. 46a, col. 11, 1881 ed. of Chin-ling shu-chü 金陵書局.

²⁾ Place-name used in 621-623, 625-742, 758. Cf. YHCHC (*Chi-fu* 1913 ed.), ch. 25, p. 18a-b; CTS, ch. 20, p. 12b; HTS, ch. 31, p. 5a.

³⁾ Place-name used in 621-624, 686-742, 758. Cf. YHCHC, ch. 26, p. 5b-6a; CTS ch. 20, p. 12a; HTS ch. 31, p. 6a.

⁴⁾ Place-name used in 621-625. Cf. YHCHC ch. 26, p. 5a-b, Yung-k'ang 永康; CTS ch. 20, p. 11b; HTS ch. 31, p. 6b.

⁵⁾ Place-name used in 619-624, 785-. Cf. CTS ch. 19, p. 28a.

cured, but yours is at its highest. How can it be cured? If you are not mad, why have you pursued the sensual life and been interested in official honours? As to a simple and happy life you will not even talk about it. What will you do when Death suddenly comes to you? If you do not understand this, you must be mad. In fact, all people are fools except Buddha, and to become Buddha there is a way which we may follow step by step.'

'In the seventeenth year of the Chêng-kuan 貞觀 period (643 A.D.), he returned to Nanking 南京 and continued to live in a thatched hut on a mountain slope. He always had courage and strength of character and never worried about death. He was rather irregular in giving religious instruction. But nevertheless his disciples numbered more than a hundred. Wherever he was, he would teach people to take care to illustrate the principles in the *sūtras* by examples from ordinary everyday life. Hearing his words, his disciples were often moved to tears. Mostly, he stayed at the Po-ma Temple (in Nanking) 白馬寺, and later went to the hospital for contagious diseases at Shih-t'ou ch'êng 石頭城 (Nanking) to preach for the patients, and did everything in his power for the patients, even washing them and wiping away pus.

'He breathed his last there on the twenty-seventh of the second month of the fifth year of the Yung-hui 永徽 period (654 A.D.) at the age of seventy-eight¹). His corpse did not change colour

¹) In the *Ching-tê ch'uan-têng lu* (ch. 4, T vol. 51, p. 228b-c), Chih-yen's biography seems to have been written according to the HKSC, but Tao-yüan 道原 changed the year of his death from 654 to 677 so that it should agree with his reconstructed genealogy of the masters of the Niu-t'ou-shan 牛頭山 of Chin-ling 金陵 (Nanking). He must have forgotten to alter another date: "In the period of Wu-tê (618-626 A.D.), at the age of forty or over, Chih-yen became a monk," for if he died in 677 at the age of 78, he might have been 19-27 in that period (Ch'ên Yüan follows the *Ching-tê ch'uan-têng lu* in his *Shih-shih i-nien-lu* 釋氏疑年錄, vol. 3, p. 26b-27a, Peking, 1939). Chih-yen was also considered as Fa-yung's 法融 disciple and therefore the second patriarch of the Niu-t'ou-shan sect. This is not mentioned in the HKSC (biography of T'oung Pao XLV

and his limbs were pliable as usual. For ten days a strange fragrance pervaded his room ¹.”

Tao-hsüan's biography of Chih-yen in general conforms to what the poet himself reveals in the poems, even though these poems may include later imitations based on legends. Here are some

Fa-yung, T vol. 50, p. 603c-605b), but only later in the tombstone inscription of Fa-yung (*Liu Meng-tê wên chi* 劉夢得文集, ch. 30, *Niu-p'ou-shan ti-tsu Yung ta-shih* *hsin ta chi* 牛頭山第一祖融大師新塔記 (829 A.D.) SPTK ed, p. 5b-6a). As to later masters, cf. SKSC, ch. 8, T vol. 50, p. 757c Biography of Fa-ch'ih 法持 (635-702 A.D.); p. 758b-c, Chih-wei 智威 (646-722 A.D.); ch. 9, p. 761c-762b, Hsüan-su 玄素 (688-752 A.D.); p. 764b-765a Tao-ch'in 道欽 (714-792 A.D.).

¹ In a Sung edition (*Sô taiji bon*) as well as in Wang Chung-mu's, before Lü-ch'iu's preface a prologue is seemingly attributed to Han-shan; it was copied by a Buddhist monk Wu-wo hui-shên 無我慧身 (13th c.) of the Kuan-yin Temple in order to make the Tung-kaio-ssü edition complete. The writer of this poem, beside a similar confusion of the rhyme of *yü* 魚 with those of *chih* 支, 脂, 之, reveals a definite date for Han-shan's life—the Sui and early T'ang dynasties (6th/7th cc.). As Tsan-ning and many other compilers of Buddhist biographies seem not to have seen it, its authenticity is quite doubtful.

Shih-tê's 29th poem begins with the following lines:

“I learned to read and to fence when young,
And shouting on horseback I went to Ching-chou,
But there people told me that the Huns had been routed . . .” (HSTS, p. 56b8-10)

少年學書劍，
叱馭到荊州，
聞伐匈奴盡....

If it is authentic, why did he go to Ching-chou (*Sô taiji bon* has *ching* 京 for *ching* 荆)? What had he to do there with the Huns?

The identification of Han-shan with Chih-yen may also give a more satisfactory explanation than later legends:

After Yü-wên Hua-chi 宇文化及 assassinated Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty 隋煬帝 (reign 605-616 A.D.), Hsiao Hsien was proclaimed emperor of the restored Liang 梁 dynasty (618-621 A.D.) and settled down at Ching-chou as his capital. At that moment many southerners as volunteers under the command of Hsiao Hsien must have risen against Yü-wên the usurper, who was said to be of Hun origin as Li Mi 李密 pointed out when they met on the battle-field (Cf. TCTC, ch. 185, p. 12a, ch. 189, p. 18b, *Sui shu*, ch. 70, Li Mi *chuan*, p. 17a3-4, SPTK ed.). Shih-tê might have been one of them.

biographical data which may be extracted from the poems:

Han-shan came apparently from a good family and once lived in Ch'ang-an¹⁾ and Lo-yang²⁾. He had been both official and officer in provinces³⁾. In his middle age he abandoned his family life and became a Buddhist monk⁴⁾. Later he went to T'ien-t'ai Mountain and stayed there for about thirty years⁵⁾. He led a very simple life, and even seems to have experienced poverty, but was content with his hard lot⁶⁾. He often sat in meditation⁷⁾ or discussed the *tao* with his two friends Fêng-kan and Shih-tê of the Kuo-ch'ing Monastery⁸⁾, and he wrote poems in popular language⁹⁾ for the purpose of convincing the "bewildered" common people to follow him in Buddhism. Sometimes he displayed his affection for his scattered family, his wife and children¹⁰⁾, parents and brothers¹¹⁾. He often thought of old age and death¹²⁾ and did not believe in the mysterious method of longevity¹³⁾. His favourite books seem to have been the *Mahâparinirvâṇasûtra* and *Lao-tzŭ*¹⁴⁾.

But Tao-hsüan does not mention that Chih-yen had written poems, nor does he specify where and when Lü-ch'iu had visited him.

In the first place, Han-shan's poems (assuming he wrote these), being composed in vulgar language, might have been ignored

¹⁾ HSTS, 2nd SPTK ed. (*T'ien-lu lin-lang*), p. 17b6, 29a-b.

²⁾ Ibid., p. 8a8, 10a9-10.

³⁾ Ibid., p. 4b9-10.

⁴⁾ Ibid., p. 19a3-4, 42a-b.

⁵⁾ Ibid., p. 47a4-6, 46a9-11, 10b4, 43a4.

⁶⁾ Ibid., p. 17b6-8, 6b-7a, 47a10.

⁷⁾ Ibid., p. 28b6-8.

⁸⁾ Ibid., p. 9a10-11.

⁹⁾ Ibid., p. 47b2-4.

¹⁰⁾ Ibid., p. 22a7-9, 4b3-4, 5b-6a.

¹¹⁾ Ibid., p. 4b6, 29a4-6.

¹²⁾ Ibid., p. 8a7-9, 10a6-8, 10a9-11.

¹³⁾ Ibid., p. 34b4-5, 39a5-11, 47a11. The authors of the *Ta huan hsün chien* 大還
心鑑 (*Tao tsang*, fasc. 598, pp. "sung" 松 3, 1a-3b), (cf. the *I-wên chih* 藝
文志 of the *Sung shih* 宋史 ch. 205, PN ed., p. 17a-b) and our poet Han-shan-
tzu cannot therefore be one and the same person.

¹⁴⁾ HSTS, p. 6b5, 10b3, 25a7-8.

by his contemporaries, as he himself suggests in the poems:

“There are people who laughed at my poems,
Saying that my poems should be refined . . .”¹⁾

“Fools, when they read my poems,
Do not understand, they laugh . . .”²⁾

Secondly, it is quite possible that Chih-yen might have been living on T'ien-t'ai Mountain when Lü-ch'iu visited him. Among his four visitors three were prefects in the southern part of Chê-chiang and quite near that mountain.

Thirdly, it seems to have been late in the year 623 or early in 624 that Lü-ch'iu and three other prefects visited Chih-yen. The local governments of Mu-chou, Ch'ü-chou and Li-chou were established in 621 but abolished respectively in 623, 624 and 625, while the local government of Wei-chou existed between 619 and 624)³⁾. They must have governed these regions in the period 619-625 A.D., for their appointment to the prefecture was quite probably a reward for their merits in the campaign against Wang Shih-ch'ung who was captured in the fifth month of 621 A.D.⁴⁾. Besides, their visit should not have been very long after Chih-yen's entering Buddhist priesthood probably in the winter of 621 A.D.

Their meeting could hardly have taken place before they had quitted their posts, for according to the official regulations the prefects were not allowed to leave their prefecture so long as they

¹⁾ HSTS, p. 47b, col. 2-4.

²⁾ Ibid., p. 23a, col. 6.

³⁾ Cf. p. 406, n. 2-5.

⁴⁾ Cf. Ma Chou's 馬周 memorial to the throne in 637 A.D. (CTS, ch. 74, p. 8a2 9): „Most prefets were soldiers of merit . . . (They) entered the central government at first as *chung-lang-chiang* (generals, see p. 404 note 2) and were then nominated to the vacant prefectures.” “刺史多是武夫勳人...先入爲中郎將其次始補州任...”

held their posts ¹). The four prefects seem to have given up office nearly at the same time after the abolition of the local government of Mu-chou in 623 A.D. They then went to Mount T'ien-t'ai to see Chih-yen, for Yen Chuan, the first prefect to have quitted his post, was still in the southern part of Chê-chiang. If it was long after 623 A.D., they, being eager to have worldly life and official honours, would have left each for their own destination and could not have paid a visit together to Chih-yen ²).

Conclusion

Han-shan seems to have been the Buddhist monk Chih-yen (577-654 A.D.), a native of Tan-yang (Chiang-su), who was visited by Lü-ch'iu Yin probably late in 623 A.D. or early in 624 A.D. in the T'ien-t'ai Mountains.

II. THE LEGENDS

The Legend in the preface to Han-shan's poems.

"Nobody knows where Han-shan came from. According to the stories related by elders he lived as a poor and eccentric hermit at a place called Icy Cliff located in the T'ien-t'ai mountains, seventy *li* west of T'ang-hsing 唐興. He often went to the Kuo-ch'ing Monastery 國清 in order to take home the left-overs of the meal, which he carried in a bamboo tube given to him by Shih-tê, a monk working in the dining-hall.

¹) Cf. *Ku T'ang-lü shu-i* 故唐律疏議 (653 A.D.), ch. 9, SPTK (III) ed., fasc. 5, p. 4b-5a.

²) The visit must have been before 643 A.D. when Chih-yen returned to Nan-king. According to the biography of Shan-fu 善伏, one of his disciples who went to see him after 629 A.D. (HKSC, T vol. 50, p. 602c-603a), Chih-yen must have stayed somewhere near Jun-chou 潤州 (Chên-chiang 鎮江) before he went to Nan-king. His stay in Nanking was also confirmed in Hui-ming's 惠明 biography in the HKSC (T vol. 50, p. 606b-c).

“Sometimes Han-shan would stroll for hours in a long corridor of the monastery, cry cheerfully, laugh or speak to himself. When he was taken to task or driven away by some of the monks armed with sticks, he would afterwards stand still and laugh, clapping his hands, and then disappear. His appearance resembled that of an emaciated beggar, but every word he uttered was pithy, meaningful and inspiring. He wore a cap made of birch bark, a simple fur garment, torn and threadbare, and wooden sandals for shoes. It is said, a sage always conceals his whereabouts. Han-shan used to sing in the long corridor of the monastery: ‘Oh! oh! the transmigration among the three realms (*trailokya*)’. Other times he would sing and laugh with the cowherds in the neighboring villages. Fair or foul he never minded, but he always amused himself. How could any but a man of great intelligence appreciate him?

“Recently, when nominated to the post of prefect of Tan-ch’iu 丹丘, I was suffering from an acute headache at the time of my departure for that district. This sickness of mine became more and more serious in spite of several consultations with quack doctors. Fortunately a master of Dhyâna by the name of Fêng-kan paid me an unexpected visit; he said that he came from the Kuoch’ing Monastery in the T’ien-t’ai mountains. When I asked him to heal my sickness, he laughed, wearing a pleased expression on his face. ‘The human body consists of but four great elements (*mahâbhûta*), and illness is only illusion (*mâyâ*). Give me some clear water, for I have to use it to rid you of your sickness.’ He sprinkled me with the water and I was immediately cured of my headache. Then he told me that T’ai-chou 台州 was a coastal country, full of poisonous mists, and that when I arrived I should be cautious of my health.

“I asked him whether there were sages worthy to be tutors. The master replied: ‘Sages are perhaps easy to meet, but difficult

to recognize, for they do not possess any exterior characteristics of wisdom. Look for them without regarding their appearance. For example, Han-shan, incarnation of Mañjuśrī, had retired to the Kuo-ch'ing Monastery and Shih-tê, incarnation of Samantabhadra, who looked like a demented beggar coming and going, worked as an errand-boy at the stoves in the kitchen.' With these words he went away.

"When I took up office at T'ai-chou, I did not forget them. Three days after my arrival I went to the monastery to ask the monks about these two men; I also made inquiry of the chief administrator of the T'ang-hsing prefecture for some information about them. He replied that seventy *li* to the west of the town of T'ang-hsing, there was a cliff where a poor scholar lived. This scholar was said to be seen going to the Kuo-ch'ing Monastery and sometimes he would remain there for the night. At the storehouse of the monastery there was an *âcârin* named Shih-tê. I went specially to the monastery to worship them and asked the monks where Fêng-kan had lived and where Han-shan and Shih-tê were living. Tao-ch'iao 道翹, a monk of the monastery, told me that Fêng-kan's former dwelling was behind the library, but that nobody could live there now, because it was haunted by a tiger who roared whenever he put in an appearance. However, Han-shan and Shih-tê were at that moment in the kitchen. He then took me to visit Fêng-kan's living quarters. The door being open, we found the house full of the tiger's footprints. I asked Pao-tê 寶德 and Tao-ch'ao what was Fêng-kan's occupation while he was there. The monks replied that during his sojourn there, he had been assigned to hull rice for the monks, and at night he used to amuse himself by singing.

"When we arrived at the kitchen, Han-shan and Shih-tê were warming themselves by the stove. They began to laugh at the

sight of us. As I made obeisance to them, they shouted at me, one after the other, laughed, cried taking each other's hands and told me: 'Fêng-kan has a long tongue. You did not recognize Maitreya at sight, why are you making obeisance to us now?' The monks witnessing this scene were surprised. Other monks then hurried to observe this strange event, wondering why a high official should make obeisance to two poor scholars. Then Han-shan and Shih-tê hand in hand left the monastery, but being pursued they ran off to the Icy Cliff. I asked the monks whether the two of them would ever return to the monastery and requested that they be invited to come back.

"After my return to T'ai-chou I had two clean suits and some medicine sent to them. The two of them had not returned to the monastery and my messengers went to the cliff to offer them my presents. Han-shan was there but cried: 'Thieves! thieves!' at the sight of my messengers; thereupon he retreated to the entrance of a cave, where he cried, 'Each of you should exert himself to the utmost.' Then he withdrew inside the cave, which closed of itself so that he could not be followed. As to Shih-tê, nobody knew what had become of him. I asked the monk Tao-ch'iao to collect all that they had left behind them. He copied three hundred poems and various pieces that Han-shan wrote on bamboo bark, on trees and on walls of houses in neighboring villages and a poem of forty-nine lines written by Shih-tê on a wall of a temple to the Earth God. It is thus that we have compiled these pieces here. I, who am devoted to Buddhism, am very happy to have met them" ¹).

The Account of Fêng-kan by Lü-ch'iu Yin (?)

"Old men saw Fêng-kan, an *âcârin* of obscure origin, when he

¹ HSTS, SPTK ed. (*T'ien-lu lin-lang*), pp. 1a-3a.

was living in the Kuo-ch'ing Monastery in T'ien-t'ai Mountains. He wore his hair so long that it reached to his eyebrows, and he was clad only in a simple fur garment. To all questions he merely replied, 'at all times'. He was seven feet tall, and as occupation he hulled rice for the monks; at night he shut the door of his room and amused himself by singing. All the county thought him mad. When he did speak, his words were out of the common run. One day to the amazement of all the monks, he rode a tiger into the monastery and went singing through the corridor. The monks admired his virtue. At another time he cured me of illness in the capital (Ch'ang-an), but when I arrived at T'ai-chou where the sage-hermit had performed miracles, there was no trace of him to be found except for a poem that he had written on the wall of his old room" ¹).

The Account of Han-shan-tzŭ by Tu Kuang-t'ing

"Han-shan-tzŭ was the pseudonym of a hermit whose real name is unknown. He lived on Ts'ui-p'ing 翠屏 Mountain in T'ien-t'ai during the *Ta-li* 大曆 period (766-780 A.D.). Since this mountain is snow-capped all the year round, he called himself Han-shan-tzŭ, or inhabitant of the cold mountain. He liked to compose poetry and wrote his poems on rocks and trees. Those who were fond of strange and new things sometimes followed him, copying thus more than three hundred poems, which were edited with a preface in three books by a certain Taoist named Hsü Ling-fu 徐靈府 of T'ung-po 桐柏 (9th century). About ten years later Han-shan disappeared.

"In 871 Li Ho 李褐, a narrow-minded and quicktempered Taoist of P'i-ling 毘陵 who was fond of offending others, was once visited by a poor man come to beg food. Of course, Li Ho

¹) Ibid., pp. 49b-52b.

did not give him anything but instead scolded him. The beggar went away in silence. About a week later a rich man mounted on a white horse arrived, followed by six or seven servants in white, but he was hospitably received by Li. The horseman asked him whether he recognized him. Li, astonished to learn that he was the poor beggar of several days before, was too ashamed to apologize, as he should have in the face of his offence. The stranger reproached him: 'You do not know the proper way to cultivate the *tao*. This is why you are always offending others. Have you heard of Han-shan-tzŭ? It is I. I thought you could be influenced by teaching, but now I am sure that you are hopeless.' And he rode away with his followers, never again to return" ¹⁾).

Life of Shih-tê as recorded by Tsan-ning

Han-shan was also transformed into a Buddhist monk. Tsan-ning in his *Sung Kao-sêng chuan*, confirmed Buddhism as Han-shan's religion by giving him a place as a master of the Dhyâna sect.

"When Shih-tê was a foundling, less than ten years of age, Fêng-kan came upon him while taking one of his occasional walks near Ch'ih-ch'êng 赤城 in the mountains. At first the monks thought him a cowherd, but after inquiry, they discovered that he was an orphan. He was taken into the monastery and kept there as a lost child.

"Afterwards another monk, Ling-hsi 靈燭, an official of the monastery, proposed to charge him with the care of the lamps in the dining-hall. One day, he was seen eating in front of a portrait of the Buddha, saying: 'Kaundinya, you are a *śrāvaka* of little result!' and burst into laughter, his chopsticks in hand. Ling-hsi asked the monastery authorities to change his work to washing in the kitchen.

¹⁾ *T'ai-p'ing kuang chi* (978 A.D.), ch. 55, see p. 395, n. 3.

“The child then beat the deity who protected the monastery, saying, ‘You cannot even keep the food away from the birds, how can you protect the monastery?’ because the birds were stealing food from the kitchen every day. That same night this beaten deity appeared in the dreams of the monks, complaining, ‘Shih-tê beat me!’ The next morning the whole monastery found that they had had the same dream and that Shih-tê was the only person of whom the deity was afraid. This miracle was made known to the county authorities and the title of ‘saint’ was conferred on Shih-tê.

“He also took care of the cattle on the farm. During a fortnightly assembly (*poshadha*) of the monks Shih-tê drove the cattle there; Leaning against the door frame, clapping and laughing, he said: ‘Look at the bald heads here!’

“The chief monk of the law-holders upbraided him, ‘Why do you, madman, interrupt the conference?’ Shih-tê answered: ‘I am not a cowherd, these oxen were honoured and renowned monks here in their previous life.’ So he proceeded to call the roll of some monks and a corresponding number of oxen separated from the rest of the herd. Every monk present was stupefied and they all made up their mind to repent of their past to prepare for their future. His poems, written on the wall of a temple of local divinities, were collected, edited as an appendix to Han-shan’s poems by Tao-ch’ao”¹).

Ling-yü's Pilgrimage to the Kuo-ch'ing Monastery

Han-shan, Shih-tê and Fêng-kan were made to talk like Dhyâna masters in later Buddhist documents, especially in the conversational records (*yü-lu* 語錄).

“Ling-yü 靈祐 (771-853) of the Ta-kuei Mountain 大漚

¹) SKSC, ch. 19, T vol. 50, p. 832a.

came from a family named Chao 趙 of Ch'ang-ch'i 長溪 near Fu-chou. On his journey to T'ien-t'ai, he met Han-shan-tzŭ who told him:

'After you have climbed a thousand mountains and crossed ten thousand rivers, you will stop and rest at a place called T'an 潭. And there you will find a priceless treasure with which you will relieve the want of many people.'

"At first he did not understand Han-shan's prediction and all his meditation on the subject, undertaken in the course of his journey, remained fruitless. When he arrived at the Kuo-ch'ing Monastery, he met Shih-tê and was told word for word what Han-shan had said to him. Then he went to Lê-t'an 泐潭 to visit the master Ta-chih 大智; there the meaning of the doctrines of the ancient Dhyâna masters suddenly dawned upon him. At the end of the Yüan-ho 元和 period (806-820) he went to Ch'ang-sha 長沙, passing on his way Ta-kuei Mountain, where he finally decided to take residence. He is said to have died in 853 at the age of eighty-three" ¹⁾).

According to a later document, Ling-yu met Han-shan and Shih-tê in the T'ien-t'ai Mountains.

"Han-shan, foreseeing that Ling-yu would take the Buddhist initiation at the Kuo-ch'ing Monastery, went out with Shih-tê to meet him at the Sung-mên 松門, near the monastery. When he arrived there, both jumped out from the roadside and imitated three times the tiger's roar. Ling-yu stood motionless and silent whereupon Han-shan began:

'Have you thought of us since we parted at Ling-shan 靈山 (the paradise of the Buddhists)?'

"Ling-yu gave no response. Han-shan held up a stick and said 'What do you call this?'

¹⁾ SKSC, ch. 11, T vol. 50, p. 777b-c.

“Ling-yu remained still without reply. Han-shan resumed:

‘Let us go, don’t ask him any more, for he is in oblivion, having passed three lives as king since our parting?’¹⁾

Fêng-kan’s Pilgrimage to the Wu-t’ai 五台 Mountain.

Fêng-kan becomes the master of Han-shan and Shih-tê in the *Ching-tê ch’uan-têng lu* (1004 A.D.) 景德傳燈錄 by Tao-yüan 道原²⁾.

“Han-shan demanded how a newly disinterred antique bronze mirror could be used without being polished beforehand; to which Fêng-kan of T’ien-t’ai replied:

‘A pot made of ice has no shadow, and an ape finds his efforts to drag up the moon reflected in a pool fruitless.’

“Han-shan said:

‘This means that it does not reflect. Will you furnish a more detailed explanation?’

“Fêng-kan answered:

‘There are thousands of virtues you did not bring here, what do you want me to say?’

“Both Han-shan and Shih-tê bowed down before him.”

“Fêng-kan, before his pilgrimage to Mount Wu-t’ai, told Han-shan, ‘If you go there with me, you shall be my companion; if not, you will be no comrade of mine.’

“Han-shan replied: ‘I will not go.’

‘Then you are no comrade of mine!’

“Han-shan queried, ‘What are you going to do there?’

‘To worship Mañjuśrî.’

“Han-shan added: ‘You do not have the same quality as I.’

¹⁾ Tsung-yung 宗永 (1133 A.D.) and Ch’ing-mou 清茂 (1320 A.D.), *Tsung-mên t’ung-yao hsü chi* 宗門統要續集, ch. 3, M xxxi-1, p. 38d-39a.

²⁾ *Ching-tê ch’uan-têng lu* (11th c.), ch. 27, T vol. 51, p. 433b.

“The master afterwards went alone to the Wu-t'ai Mountain as a pilgrim. There he met an old man and asked him:

‘Aren’t you Mañjuśrî?’

‘How can there be two Mañjuśrî?’

“The master knelt down before him, but when he looked up, the old man had suddenly disappeared.”

An Anecdote concerning Shih-tê and his Sweeping

“Shih-tê was one day sweeping the ground when the head of the monastery passing by, happened to question him:

‘You are called a foundling, because you were found by Fêng-kan. However, what is your real name? And where did you live?’

“Shih-tê put down the broom and stood with his hands crossed. When asked once more, he took the broom again and resumed his sweeping. At the sight of this, Han-shan beat his own breast and repeated:

‘Good heavens! Good heavens!’

“Shih-tê was quite amazed, ‘Why are you doing this?’

“He replied: ‘Don’t you know, when a man dies in the east house, the west house neighbors should show their sympathy by groaning.’

“Both burst into laughter, danced, cried and left”¹⁾).

The Encounter between the monk P'u-yüan, Han-shan-tzŭ and Shih-tê.

P'u-yüan 普願 (748-834) of Nan-ch'üan 南泉 (or Ts'ung-shên 從諗, (777-897?) of Chao-chou 趙州), a Dhyâna master, went to the Kuo-ch'ing Monastery. He met Han-shan and Shih-tê and gave them the following opinion of them:

¹⁾ Ibid., T vol. 51, p. 434a.

"I heard of you a long time ago, but now I find that you are nothing but two buffaloes!"

"Then they pretended to fight like buffaloes. The master cried after them, while they gnashed their teeth in response.

"One day they asked the master what he had just done. He said that he had worshipped the five hundred *arhats*. Immediately they corrected his answer: 'Five hundred head of buffaloes!'

"Why five hundred head of buffaloes?"

"Han-shan exclaimed: 'Good heavens!', and the master answered them with a hearty laugh" ¹⁾).

The Tale of the Egg-plant Roasting

"One day while a monk was toasting egg-plant, Han-shan hit him on the back with one of the large slices. When he who was toasting turned toward him, Han-shan pointed to the slice, inquiring:

'What is this?'

"The monk answered, 'You're crazy!'

"Han-shan turned to another monk:

'Do you know how much sauce he has used?' " ²⁾

Yao Kuang-hsiao's Legend about Han-shan.

In 1413, Yao Kuang-hsiao 姚廣孝 in the *Han-shan-ssü ch'ung-hsing chi* 寒山寺重興記 gave another legend:

In the period Yüan-ho 元和 (806-820), Han-shan came to settle down there in a thatched hut to offer tea to travellers in summer and straw-sandals or help to the bargees. Afterwards he

¹⁾ *Chao-chou Chên-chi yü-lu chih yü* 趙州真際語錄之餘, in the *Ku tsun-su yü-lu*, 古尊宿語錄 (1108-1111 A.D.), ch. 14, Z II, xxiii-2, p. 165d-166a.

²⁾ *Tsung-mên t'ung-yao hsü chi*, ch. 3, M xxxi-1, p. 37d.

went to T'ien-t'ai Mountain and made friends with Shih-tê and Fêng-kan. The Dhyâna master Hsi-ch'ien 希遷 (700-790) founded a Buddhist monastery there and named it Han-shan-ssü ¹).

III. SELECTED POEMS ²)

II

I chose a dwelling place on the mountain with many crags,
 Inaccessible to humans, there are just the birds.
 What is left in the courtyard?
 A white cloud embracing a lonely stone ³).
 I have lived there for many years
 And saw winter repeatedly transform itself into spring.
 Please tell the ruling families
 That vanity is without recompense.

p. 4a, col. 5-7, SPTK ed. (*T'ien-lu lin-lang* ed.)

IV

My family and I are fond of a life in retreat,
 And our dwelling place is entirely cut off from the world.
 We have trodden weeds into three paths,
 And look upon the clouds from afar, for they are our neighbours
 on all sides.
 For a choir we have singing birds,

¹) Cf. Yao Kuang-hsiao, *Han-shan-ssü ch'ung hsing chi*, quoted in the *Ku-chin i'u-shu chi ch'êng* 古今圖書集成, IV, *Po-wu hui pien*, 博物彙編, 2. *Shên-i tien* 神異典, k. 115, *Sêng-ssü-pu* 僧寺部, *I-wên* 藝文 4, p. 13b-14a, Shanghai 1884 ed.

²) Twenty-seven poems of Han-shan have been translated by Dr. Arthur Waley in *Encounter*, no. 12, London, Sept. 1954.

³) A line of Hsieh Ling-yün's (385-433 A.D.) "*Passing my parents' country-house in Shih-ning* (Chê-chiang) 謝靈運過始寧墅, *Wên-hsüan* 文選, ch. 26, SPTK ed., p. 32b6.

But for a discussion about *dharma* we have nobody.
 Nowadays for the grove of *sâl* trees,
 How many years does it need to make a spring?

p. 4a, col. 11-p. 4b, col. 2

VII

Firstly, I am a good fencer and also a scholar,
 Secondly, I live during the time of an eminent emperor.
 In the east I was in the civil service without recognition,
 In the west I retreated from battle without distinction.
 Having studied liberal arts as well as military science,
 I studied military science as well as liberal arts.
 Now that I am old and decrepit,
 Is there nothing else of which I can boast?

p 4b, col. 9-11

XI

Riding my horse by a ruined town,
 I was touched by its vanished past.
 High and low are the parapets,
 Large and small are the ancient graves.
 The drifting shadow belongs to a solitary 'péng¹⁾
 Long moans come from the graveyard trees²⁾.
 It is a pity that our flesh is too mundane
 To be immortalized as in the Taoist annals.

p. 5a, col. 10-p. 5b, col. 1

XIV

The girdle ornaments of the beautiful girls in the town

¹⁾ *Péng* 蓬—a species of raspberry or *erigeron acris*, cf. Pao Ming-yüan 鮑明遠 (c. 421-c. 465), *Wu-ch'êng fu* 蕪城賦, *Wên-hsüan*, ch. 11, SPTK ed., p. 15b-16a.

²⁾ *Kung mu* 拱木—cf. *Tso chuan* 左傳, ch. 7, Hsi kung 僖公, xxxii, p. 12b, col. 11, SPTK ed.

Give forth their tinkling sounds.
 The parrot with his raucous voice is heard among the flowers,
 The guitar is strummed under the moon.
 A lengthy ballad takes three months to recite.
 A short dance attracts thousands of men.
 Alas! it is not always so,
 The lotus flower cannot endure the cold.

p. 5b, col. 8-10

XX

If you want a good place to live peacefully,
 The Icy Mountain is ideal:
 Breezes murmur gently between calm pine trees,
 Elating to hear when approaching.
 Under these trees is a gray-haired man
 Who mutters his Taoist texts.
 For ten years he could not return.
 And he forgot the road by which he came.

p. 6b, col. 4-6

XXIII

I live at Han-t'an¹⁾,
 My voice is melodious.
 Come to the place where I live fortunately in comfort
 For this old ballad is very long.
 If you get drunk, don't say: "I am going home".
 Just stay here, as the day is still early;
 Besides, in the room where I sleep,
 The silver bed is full of embroidered coverlets.

p. 7a, col. 2-4

XXVII

Country-folk live in thatched cottages,

¹⁾ 邯鄲 — a famous ancient town in present Hopei.

Before the door carriages and horses are rarely seen.
 Birds seem to like to gather in gloomy woods;
 Fish choose a wild stream in which to hide.
 I bring my children to pluck the fruit of the mountain.
 I plough the high fields with my wife.
 What have I at home
 Except a mere couchful of books.

p. 7b, col. 3-5

XXXII

What do the youngsters worry about?
 They are afraid that their hair will one day turn white.
 After the change of colour what else will they be anxious about?
 They will be anxious about the days that hurry on.
 Then their souls will move to the Mountain of Death ¹⁾,
 And their bodies will be buried in the northern cemetery ²⁾.
 How cruel are you to utter these words,
 For they injure the feelings of the old.

p. 8a, col. 7-9

XXXIII

It is said that anxiety is not easy to drive away,
 But somebody has said that this is not true.
 It was successfully driven away yesterday,
 But it came again to burden us this morning.
 Anxiety has lingered on since last month,
 And will be renewed in the year to come.

¹⁾ *Tung tai* 東岱 — Cf. *Hou Han shu*, 後漢書, ch. 90, p. 2b 8-9, PN ed.;
Yo-fu shih chi 樂府詩集, ch. 41, p. 6ab, SPTK ed.

²⁾ Pei Mang 北邙 — a hill famous for its cemeteries situated to the north of Lo-yang.

Everybody knows that under his hat ¹⁾
 He is no less sad than before.

p. 8a, col. 10-p. 8b, col. 1

XXXV

In the third month, when silkworms are still small,
 Young ladies come to pluck flowers,
 To try to catch butterflies along the wall,
 To play ducks and drakes on the water to tease the frogs.
 They put plums in their long, wide sleeves of fine silk,
 They dig out bamboo-shoots with a fine-toothed comb of gold.
 They play with and chatter about the many new things they find,
 And they say: "How much more amusing it is here!"

p. 8b, col. 5-7

XL

I used to live in an out-of-the-way corner,
 And visit the monks of the Kuo-ch'ing Monastery,
 There I often discussed the *Tao* with Fêng-kan
 And spoke with Shih-tê.
 When, on the way back I climb the cliff alone,
 Nobody converses with me.
 Inquiring into the Way (*Tao*) is like looking for water without
 a source,
 There may be no source but the water is everywhere ²⁾.

p. 9a, col. 10-p. 9b, col. 1

XLVII

On bay horses and with coral-decorated whips in hand,

¹⁾ *Hsi mao* 席帽: an outdoor felt hat of Tibetan origin often used by students during the T'ang dynasty. Cf. Wu Ch'u-hou's 吳處厚 (11th c.) *Ch'ing-hsiang tsa-chi* 青箱雜記, ch. 2, *Pai-hai* 稗海 ed. (in 1573-1619), fasc. 17, p. 2b-3a.

²⁾ I suppose the poet compares water to the *tao* and the source to the master.

Young folks galloped along the road to Lo-yang,
They are proud of their youth and their strength,
Which leads them to disbelieve in the decrepitude of age.

Even though white hair may grow in old age,
Rosy checks can by no means endlessly endure.
Take one look at the cemetery of Mont Pei-mang ¹⁾,
Is it a fairy land like the Isle of P'êng-lai? ²⁾.

p. 10a, col. 9-11

XLIX

Once I sat down before the Icy Cliff,
Thirty years have passed during my stay.
Recently, I happened to visit some relatives,
Most of them have gone to the other world.
Their number grows smaller like candles extinguished,
And they pass away as an ever-moving current of water.
Now in front of my lonely shadow,
I shed two streams of unbidden tears.

p. 10b, col. 4-6

LI

My heart is like an autumn moon,
Pure and calm as a pond of emerald.
Nothing can really compare with my frame of mind,
What more can I say?

p. 10b, col. 10-11

LII

Weeping willows gloomy like smoke,
Flying flowers whirling like sleet.

¹⁾ See note 2 to poem XXXII,

²⁾ P'êng-lai 蓬萊—A Chinese fairyland, cf. *Shih chi* 史記, ch. 6, p. 18a 8, PN ed.

The husband dwells in the shire called "Leaving-my-wife",
 The wife remains in a county called "Thinking-of-my-husband".
 Both are under the sky but in different corners.
 Who can tell when they will meet again?
 Please do not let mating swallows make their nest
 Under the roof of houses especially when the moon is clear and
 round. p. 11a, col. 1-3

LIII

Invite people to drink if you have wine,
 Ask men to eat if you have meat.
 All men must end up in Hell.
 Have a good time while you are young!
 A jade girdle is but a temporary honour;
 Golden hairpins can always be taken out.
 Mr Chang the senior and Mrs. Chêng,
 Once passed away, will never be heard of again. p. 11a, col. 4-6

LV

Peach blossoms would like to last out the summer,
 But the wind and moon hurry on and will not let them linger.
 Should we seek survivors of the Han dynasty,
 Could there be one, a single soul, still in existence?
 Every day flowers fade and fall;
 Every year people mature and decay.
 That place where dust rises today
 Was long ago a boundless sea ²). p. 11a, col. 10-p. 11b, col. 1

¹) Cf. Kê Hung's 葛洪 *Shên-hsien chuan* 神仙傳, ch. 7, Ma-ku 麻姑
 4a 6-7, *Tsêng-ting Han Wei ts'ung-shu* ed. 增訂漢魏叢書.

LXI

In spring girls show off their beauty and breeding;
 They go off together to the southern suburb,
 Hurrying to gaze at the flowers, dreading the sunset,
 They hide themselves behind trees to keep out of the wind.

Young gallants come from the other direction,
 Mounted on white steeds ornamented with gold.

“Don’t flirt too long with us,
 Or our fiancés will be suspicious.”

p. 12a, col. 6-8

LXII

A group of girls played under the setting sun,
 The wind carried their fragrance along the road.
 They adorned their skirts with golden butterflies,
 And dressed their hair with jade mandarin ducks.
 Their maid attendants wore red ribbons on their spiky hair tufts.
 While eunuch slaves, violet silk livery.
 They stopped to stare at those who lost their way,
 Full of fear with their hair turned white.

p. 12a, col. 9-11

LXXXVII

Ten thousand *li* away from home
 Attacking the Huns with a sword.
 Victory means that they will die;
 Defeat that you will perish.
 If they do not care for their lives,
 How innocent are they of yours.
 I shall teach you the art of constant victory:
 The best way is never to covet anything.

p. 15b, col. 8-10

C

If you want to know the relation between life and death,
 Let me compare them to water and ice:
 Water, while rigid, is ice;
 Ice, when melted, returns to water.
 After death there must be life,
 Life must sooner or later be followed by death.
 Water and ice do not harm each other;
 Life and death perfect each other.

p. 17b, col. 3-5.

CI

I recall to mind my happy youth,
 Especially the day when I went hunting by the P'ing-ling ¹⁾.
 I would not have exchanged that for the honour of an imperial office,
 Nor for the life of an immortal Taoist.
 We rode on white horses side by side,
 Cried after rabbits and let fly the blue falcon.
 I did not foresee my present outcast state.
 Who is there who sympathizes with the silvery haired man?

p. 17b, col. 6-8

CXXVIII

A young girl when married to an old man,
 Will not bear her husband's white hair.
 A young man married to an old woman
 Will not be pleased by her yellow face.
 But how about an old man with an old wife?
 They will have no feelings against each other.

¹⁾ P'ing-ling 平陵—The mausoleum of Emperor Chao of the Han dynasty (reign 86-74 B.C.) 漢昭帝 near Ch'ang-an.

But a young man and a young wife
Behave lovingly to each other.

p. 21a, col. 11-p. 21b, col. 2

CXXIX

What a graceful and handsome young man!
Widely read in classics and history.
Everybody has great respect for him, calls him 'sir'
And praises him as scholar.
But he cannot get an official position,
Nor does he know how to hold the plough.
In winter he has only rags on his back.
Surely it is his books that have made a fool of him.

p. 21b, col. 3-5

CXXXI

Yesterday, no, it was long ago!
How fond I am of the scene.
Up there a path that winds around the peach and plum trees.
And below an islet blooming with orchids and iris.
Above all, a beautiful girl in a silken dress
A feather in the cap of her house ¹⁾.
Meeting her I felt impelled to call her,
Alas! full of emotion I could utter no sound.

p. 21b, col. 9-11

CXXXIV

Last night I dreamed I returned home,
And saw my wife weaving at her loom.
Then she stopped the shuttle as if she were thinking of somebody,

¹⁾ *Ts'ui mao yü* 翠毛羽 perhaps means here the outstanding beauty of the house, equivalent to *ts'ui-ch'iao* 翠翹, *ch'iao-ch'u* 翹楚 (?).

When she lifted it again, she looked very tired.
 When I cried out to her, she turned and looked at me.
 No longer could she recognize me.
 For since our parting, many years ago,
 My hair on my temples has turned to frost.

p. 22a, col. 7-9

CXLI

Fools when they read my poems
 Do not understand, they laugh.
 Average men when they read my poems
 Reflect and say: "Very desired".
 But sages who read my poems,
 Hold them, with beaming smiles on their faces,
 For they know at sight they are "wonderful",
 Even as Yang Hsiu had said, like a "young girl" ¹⁾).

p. 23a, col. 6-8

CXLII

Of course there are some people who are careful of money,
 But not I among them.
 Because I dance too much, my garment of thin cloth is worn.
 My bottle is empty, for I spurt out the wine when we sing.
 Eat a full meal.
 Don't tire your feet.
 The day when weeds are sprouting through your skull,
 You will regret what you have been.

p. 23a, col. 9-11

¹⁾ "Wonderful" reads *miao* 妙 in Chinese and is composed of "young" 少 and "girl" 女. Cf. *Shih-shuo hsün yü* 世說新語 (441 A.D.) IIB (中之下), p. 46b, SPTK ed., the anecdote concerning Yang Hsiu 楊脩 (173-217 A.D.).

CXLV

I have had much ado about nothing,
 Since my entrance into this our kaleidoscopic and bewildering
 world!
 Being unable to refrain myself from following others,
 I continue my habitual visits.
 Yesterday I rendered my sympathies for a Mr. Hsü's death,
 And this morning I attended a Mr Liu's funeral.
 Thus occupied all day long,
 I have fallen sick at heart. p. 23b, col. 7-9

CLVI

On the Cold Mountain there is a naked creature,
 His body white and his head black,
 With two scrolls in his hand
 One on the Way and one on its Power.
 Never making a hearth when resting,
 Never carrying clothes when travelling,
 But he always holds the sword of wisdom
 To cast aside the brigands of passion. p. 25a, col. 7-9

CLXVI

To look for wise monks at leisure,
 I have travelled over ten thousand misty hills.
 The master is so kind as to point out my way back,
 With the round lamp of the moon hanging in the sky.
 p. 26b, col. 11-p. 27a, col. 1.

CLXVII

I wandered at leisure to the top of the Hua-ting peak ¹⁾,

¹⁾ Hua-ting 華頂—The highest peak of T'ien-t'ai Mountain.

The sun makes the midday so brilliant.
 Looking round over the universe I saw
 That storks were being chased by white clouds.

p. 27a, col. 2-3

CLXXV

I think that too many girls are born,
 But as they are begotten, they should be well cultivated:
 Press their heads downwards so that they be careful,
 Whip their back to deprive them of their long tongues.
 If they know nothing of weaving and spinning,
 How can they do the house-keeping?
 A Mrs Chang speaks to a donkey foal:
 "You will not be as good as your mother, when you grow up!"

p. 28a, col. 11-p. 29b, col. 2

CLXXVII

As to the quarter where I am dwelling,
 It is too remote and gloomy to imagine:
 Without any wind, creeping plants shiver by themselves,
 With no fog, bamboo groves give constant dusk.
 For whom does the mountain stream sigh?
 Of their own accord the mountain clouds take their place.
 I didn't realize the full blaze of the sun,
 Until at noon, while sitting in my hut.

p. 28b, col. 6-8

CLXXXI

How many men are there in the T'ien-t'ai Mountains
 Who do not know Han-shan-tzŭ?
 They do not understand what I mean,
 But simply call it nonsense.

p. 29a, col. 7-8

CXCI

As to corporal existence, is it real or not?
 I am or I am not?
 Brooding over these questions,
 Idling away the time, since I sat down against the cliff.
 Green grasses have grown between my toes,
 The dust of the world has fallen upon my head.
 Yet I have seen worldly men to whom were sacrificed wine and
 fruit,
 In front of them could only be found their death-bed.

p. 30b, col. 2-4

CCXII

Since I came to the region of T'ien-t'ai,
 How many winters and springs have I passed?
 The landscape does not change, but men become old.
 And how many young people have I seen?

p. 33b, col. 3-4

CCXXI

When people see Han-shan,
 They say that he is a madman.
 Truly, my appearance is not attractive,
 And what I have on my back is but plain cloth and fur.
 My words they do not understand,
 And when they speak, I remain silent.
 But I say to the passers-by:
 "You may come here!"

p. 34b, col. 7-9

CCXXIII

When I live in the village,
 They think that I am incomparable,

Yesterday when I went to town,
 Even the dogs wondered at my appearance.
 My trousers, they say, are too narrow,
 Or my robe a little too long.
 If the eyes of the hawk are closed,
 Small birds will dance merrily.

p. 35a, col. 2-4

CCXXV

The empire depends upon its people,
 As a tree depends upon the ground:
 On fertile ground trees flourish,
 But in a barren district they wither.
 Their roots cannot be unearthed,
 Or their branches wither, their fruits shrivel.
 Should one fish by draining the water of a pond,
 It would make a profit but only for this once.

p. 35a, col. 8-10

CCLXXXIII

Just now I sat facing the cliff,
 After a long while the smoke and the clouds evaporated.
 A long river chilly and cold,
 An emerald cliff eight thousand feet high.
 The morning shadows of white clouds are quiet,
 The moonlight floats in the night.
 My flesh is unsullied,
 Yet why is there sorrow in my heart.

p. 44b, col. 3-5

CCLXXXIV

Among the thousands of clouds and the myriads of rivers,

There is a leisured man of letters,
 Who wanders among the blue hills in daytime,
 And returns to sleep under a cliff at night.
 Autumn quickly follows spring;
 Yet he is worried by no worldly burdens.
 On what principle does he lead his life so happily?
 His peace of mind is like the calm of the river in autumn.

p. 44b, col. 6-8

CCXCIII

The deer lives in remote forests,
 Drinks water and eats grass,
 Stretching out its legs when it lies down under the tree.
 How blissful is this poor creature!
 But if it is caged, even in a splendid hall,
 Where the food is rich and nourishing,
 It will always refuse to taste it,
 And its appearance grows withered.

p. 45b, col. 11-p. 46a, col. 2

CCXCIV

The golden orioles among the flowers
 Are singing so beautifully
 That lovely girls with faces like jade
 Cannot but play on the singing strings.
 Look at them: why do you not enjoy yourselves as much as possible?
 It is most refreshing to regard youth with tenderness.
 For, after the flowers fade and the birds scatter,
 You will shed tears before the autumn wind.

p. 46a, col. 3-5

CCXCVI

Seventy years or more have now passed,

Since I left my former haunts.
 No more old friends to greet and talk with
 For they were buried among ancient tombs.
 Now my head is white,
 I am still watching over a hill with a cloud,
 I answer all new-comers by asking them:
 Why don't you read the old sayings?

p. 46a, col. 9-11

CCXCVII

Innumerable years have passed,
 Since I had the idea of going to the east cliff.
 Yesterday I began to climb it with the help of its clinging plants,
 But half-way up I was wearied by the wind and the mist.
 The narrow path did not allow my tunic to pass,
 The moss was so spongy that I could not go on.
 I paused in the shadow of the red cinnamon cassias,
 Let me pillow my head on a white cloud and sleep.

p. 46b, col. 1-3

CCCIV

I am a monk without formal discipline,
 And a Taoist without taking drugs for longevity.
 How many sages have there been since ancient times?
 Their graves are now at the foot of green mountains.

p. 47a, col. 11-p. 47b, col. 1

CCCVIII

I live on the mountain,
 Nobody knows me.
 Among the white clouds,
 I am always alone.

p. 47b, col. 11

A poem by Shih-té (?)

XXIX

I learned to read and to fence when young,
 And shouting on horseback I went once to Ching-chou ¹⁾.
 But there people told me that the Huns had been routed ²⁾;
 Still I hesitated before finding somewhere to go.
 Finally I returned to the emerald cliff;
 Gazing upon the cataract, I lay on the green grass,
 My heroic ambition has not been realized,
 And I remain like a monkey riding an ox of clay ³⁾.

p. 56b, col. 8-10

APPENDIX I.

A Table of more Important Events in Chih-yen's Life

A.D.	Age.	Events in the life of Chih-yen (based on the HKSC)	Other contemporary political Events (based on the TCTC)
577	1st	Born in a family Hua in Ch'ü-a, Tan-yang.	
589	15		The Sui dynasty unifies the country by overcoming the Ch'ên dynasty in South China.

¹⁾ Ching-chou 荊州 —Capital of Hsiao Hsien 蕭銑 who proclaimed himself emperor of the restored Liang dynasty (618-621), cf. TCTC, ch. 185, p. 12a, ch. 189, p. 18b.

²⁾ Huns here seems to refer to Yü-wên Hua-chi 宇文化及, cf. *Sui shu*, ch. 70, Biography of Li Mi 李密, p. 17a 3-4. *Po-na* ed.

³⁾ *T'u niu* 土牛 —Cf. Li Fu's 李涪 (9th c.) *K'an-wu* 刊誤, ch. shang 上 *Ch'u't'u-niu* 出土牛, p. 7a, *Po-ch'uan hsieh-hai* 百川學海, 1927 ed., fasc. 3. It might refer to the ox of clay used in the ceremony of the spring agricultural festival (*li-ch'un* 立春).

- 610 34 Conquest of Formosa (?) by a Chinese expeditionary army under the command of general Ch'ên Lêng and Chang Chên-chou.
- 613 37 Revolt of Liu Yüan-chin
劉元進 who attacks Tan-yang.
- ? Nominated as general through Chang Chên-chou's recommendation.
- 618 42 Foundation of the T'ang dynasty in Ch'ang-an. Chang Ch'ên-chou submits in Ling-nan to Hsiao Hsien.
- 619 43 Wang Lung **王隆** and Chang Chên-chou's forces recalled to Lo-yang.
- 620 44 Beginning of Li Shih-min's campaign against Wang Shih-ch'ung near Lo-yang.
Chang Chên-chou goes over to Li Shih-min.
- 621 45 In the 2nd month, captures a general of Wang Shih-ch'ung and free him.
Capture of Wang Shih-ch'ung and Tou Chien-tê
竇建德 in the fifth month.

- Chang Chên-chou nominated as military commander of the Huai-nan region in the 8th month.
- Becomes a Buddhist monk as disciple of Pao-yüeh of Wan-kung-shan in Shu-chou (An-ch'ing).
- 623 47 Chang Chên-chou appointed military governor of Shu-chou. Revolt of Fu Kung-shih 輔公祐 in Tan-yang.
- 623/ 624 Lü-ch'iu Yin and three other prefects visit Chih-yen.
- 643 67 Returns to Nanking to live in a thatched hut on a mountain, and frequents the Po-ma Temple.
- 645 69 Completion of Tao-hsüan's HKSC.
- 653 77 Revolt of a woman named Ch'ên Shih-chên 陳碩真 in Mu-chou.
- 654 78 Dies in a hospital for contagious diseases near Nanking.
- 655 Completion of Tao-hsüan's *Hou chi* HKSC.
- 667 Tao-hsüan dies aet. 72.

APPENDIX 2.

The Place-names: Shih-fêng and T'ang-hsing

Concerning the date when the name Shih-fêng 始豐 was changed to T'ang-hsing 唐興 (*supra*, p. 397), there are documents which reflect contrary opinions, for there are two periods named Shang-yüan in the T'ang dynasty:

1. 674-675 A.D. under the reign of Emperor Kao-tsung 高宗, and
2. 760-761 A.D. under the reign of Emperor Su-tsung.

The following list contains the chief documents referring to the date for the change of name of Shih-fêng:

<i>Dates proposed</i>	<i>Authors</i>	<i>Works</i>
1. 761 A.D.	Li Chi-fu (758-814), 李吉甫	YHCHC (813), ch. 26, p. 11a <i>Chi-fu ts'ung-shu</i> 畿輔叢書 1913 ed.
2. 761 A.D.	Hsü Ling-fu (fl. 815), 徐靈府	<i>T'ien-t'ai-shan chih</i> (825) 天台山志. T vol. 51, p. 1052b.
3. 761/675 A.D.	Liu Hsü (887-946) 劉响 <i>et al.</i>	CTS (945), ch. 40, p. 11a, PN ed.
4. 761/675 A.D.	Lo Shih (930-1007), 樂史	<i>T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi</i> (976-983) 太平寰 宇志, ch. 98, p. 9a, Wan T'ing-lan's 萬 廷蘭 ed. (c. 1803).
5. 675 A.D.	Sung Ch'i (998-1061) 宋祁 <i>et al.</i>	HTS (1045-1060), ch. 41, p. 7a, PN ed.
6. 761/675 A.D.	Ou-yang Min 歐陽忞	<i>Yü-ti kuang chi</i> (1111- 1117 A.D.) 輿地廣 記, ch. 23, p. 242, TSCC ed., no. 3196.

<i>Dates proposed</i>	<i>Authors</i>	<i>Works</i>
7. 675 A.D.	Wang Hsiang-chih 王象之	<i>Yü-ti chi shêng</i> (preface of 1221) 輿地紀勝, ch. 12, p. 4b, Chü-ying-chai 懼盈齋 1849 ed..
8. 761 A.D.	Ch'ên Ch'i-ch'ing 陳耆卿 <i>et al.</i>	<i>Chia-ting Ch'ih-ch'êng chih</i> (1223) 嘉定赤城志, ch. 1, p. 3a, <i>T'ai-chou ts'ung-shu i chi</i> 台州叢書乙集 ed. (1818).

We notice that two works of the ninth century give 761, that two tenth century works give "the second year of Shang-yüan", without reference to the emperor, and that it is only in an eleventh century work (HTS) and in a thirteenth century work that the date 675 A.D. is clearly adopted. We cannot accept any of these dates without proof or argument.

Unfortunately, later compilers of geographical works give dates without documentation.

In any case, we have more reason to adopt 761 than 675. In the first place, Li Chi-fu was more than two centuries earlier than the compilers of the *Hsin T'ang shu*; secondly, having been the prime minister, Li should have had sufficient official documents and information at his disposal for which quality he became famous; and thirdly, he completed his *Yüan-ho chün-hsien t'u-chih* only fifty-two years after the year 761 when the name T'ang-hsing was supposed to have replaced that of Shih-fêng.

Moreover, Hsü Ling-fu, who lived not long after the time of Li Chi-fu, not only affirmed that T'ang-hsing instead of Shih-fêng began to be used in the second year of Shang-yüan during the reign of Emperor Su-tsung (756-762), but also supports this opinion with evidence by quoting an imperial order of Jui-tsung (reigns 685-689, 710-712), which demonstrates that the name Shih-fêng was still in use even after the year 675 (see T vol. 51, p. 1053b). This work of Hsü Ling-fu contains a postscript by Ch'ên Chên-sun

(fl. 1234) 陳振孫, dated 1234 (*Chih-chai shu-lu chieh-t'i 直齋書錄解題*, ch. 8, Wu-ying-tien ed., Fu-chou, 1892-1894, p. 38a). Jui-tsung's imperial order is recorded without indication of origin in the *Ch'üan T'ang wên 全唐文* (compiled in 1814), ch. 19, p. 6a-b, and is also referred to by Ts'ui Shang 崔尙 in his *T'ang T'ien-t'ai-shan hsin T'ung-po-kuan pei chih sung (742) 唐天台山新桐柏觀碑之頌* (*T'ang wên ts'ui*, ch. 21, p. 11a-12b, SPTK ed.; and reproduced in the *T'ien-t'ai-shan chih 天台山志*, anonymous, *Tao-tsang 道藏*, vol. 332, p. 10a-13a).

Tu Yu (735-812) 杜佑 still uses the name Shih-fêng in his *T'ung tien 通典* (ch. 182, WYWK ed. p. 967a) based on documents previous to 742 A.D., the first year of the T'ien-pao period (742-755).

In a Japanese work, *Tô daiwajô tôseiden 唐大和尚東征傳* written by Genkai 元開 in 779 A.D. (*Dainihon bukkyô zensho, Yuhôden sôsho 大日本佛教全書, 遊方傳叢書*, vol. 1, p. 113a-b; T vol. 51, p. 990a, col. 18-21), Shih-fêng and T'ang-hsing are both found in two ancient manuscript recensions, but in a third ancient recension of the same work we find Shih-fêng alone. Yet in a later paragraph in all three manuscripts, Shih-fêng is written alone. There is also another Japanese work with the same title, written by Keni 賢位, which dates from 1322 (*Dainihon bukkyô zensho, Yuhôden sôsho*, vol. 1, p. 6b) and contains the same story, and here Shih-fêng is again found alone without any mention of T'ang-hsing. The reason for the appearance of T'ang-hsing in two of the ancient Japanese documents might be due to the editing of the texts by a later scribe.

In any case, it is credible, even if it remains only conjectural, that the ancient writing of the two names side by side was given as an explanation of one name by the other. This fact seems to substantiate our conclusion that Shih-fêng was the ancient reading, particularly if it is the only name to be found alone in the other documents.

APPENDIX 3

The Editions of Han-shan's poems

Han-shan's poems are repeatedly mentioned or quoted by authors as early as the end of the ninth century (supra, p. 394 ff.). The first mention known is that of Tu Kuang-t'ing in his *Hsien chuan shih-yi*. But this edition has not survived. Pên-chi of Ts'ao-shan (830-901 A.D.) 曹山本寂 is said to have commented on more than two hundred poems by Han-shan. This edition is supposed to have been at one time very popular throughout the country (SKSC, ch. 13, T vol. 50, p. 786b), but it is unfortunately unknown from any other source.

In the eleventh century we have at least the following interesting details:

1. The book of poems is listed in the *Ch'ung-wên tsung-mu* 崇文總目 (1034-1038): *Han-shan-tzŭ shih*, 7 ch. (ch. 4, p. 77b, *Yüeh-ya-t'ang ts'ung-shu*, fasc. 168, 1853 ed.).

2. It is also noted in the *I-wên-chih* 藝文志 of the *Hsin T'ang shu*: "Tui Han-shan-tzŭ shih 對寒山子詩, 7 ch., collected by a monk Tao-ch'iao, with a preface by Lü-ch'iu Yin" (ch. 59, p. 8b, PN ed.).

3. Wang An-shih (1021-1086) 王安石 wrote twenty poems entitled "Imitating Han-shan and Shih-tê" (*Lin-ch'uan chi* 臨川集, ch. 3, p. 3b-6a, SPTK ed.).

It is evident that Han-shan's poems were very popular in the 11th century, especially among the monks of the Dhyāna sect.

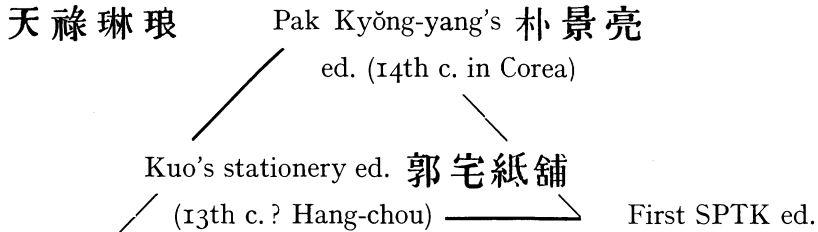
Yen-chao 延沼 (896-973) and Pao-chio (1025-1100) are said to have quoted Han-shan's poems, two of which are not found in the present editions (first and second SPTK ed., *Sôtaji bon* and Wan Tsung-mu's ed.) (Cf. 1. *Fêng-hsüeh ch'an-shih yü-lu* 風穴禪師語錄, in the *Ku tsun-su yü-lu* 古尊宿語錄, ch. 7,

Z II, xxiii-2, p. 120c; 2. *Pao-chio tsu-hsin ch'an-shih yü-lu* 寶覺祖心禪師語錄, Z II, xxv-2, p. 116c; 3. *Lin-chien lu* (1107) 林間錄, ch. *hsia* 下, Z IIB, xxi-4, p. 313a).

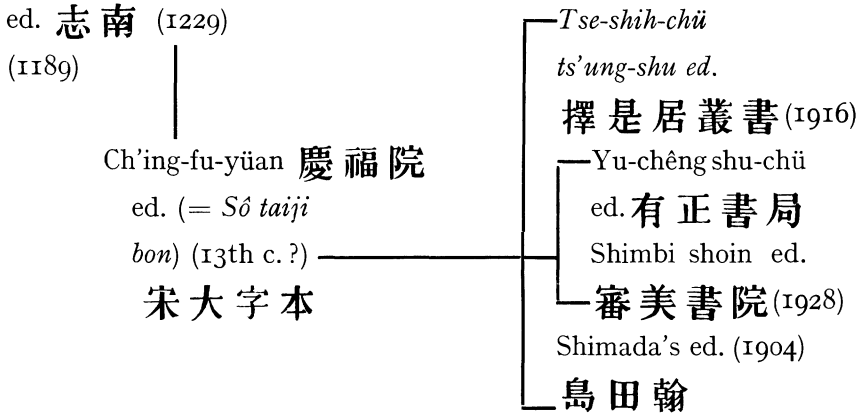
In the twelfth century, Yu Mou 尤袤 (1127-1184) in his *Sui-ch'u-t'ang shu-mu* 遂初堂書目 mentions only the title of Han-shan's poems "*Han-shan shih*" (*Hai-shan-hsien-kuan ts'ung-shu*, I-I, p. 28b. 海山仙館叢書 (c. 1184).

As to the different editions of Han-shan's poems I give here a preliminary reconstruction of their transmission:

A. *T'ien-lu-lin-lang* ed. (Sung) _____ Second SPTK ed.



B. Chih- — Tung-kao-ssü 東臯寺無隱 nan's Wu-yin's ed.



C. Hsing-kuo's ed. 行果 — Shen-tu-chai — Wang Tsung-mu's (1225) (= Chiang-tung ts'ao-ssü ed.?) ed. (1516) Chien-yang ed. (c. 1592) 王宗沐
 江東漕司 — 建陽慎獨齋

APPENDIX 4.

The Authenticity of the Hou-chi Hsü Kao-sêng chuan

As to the authenticity of Tao-hsüan's Biography of Chih-yen (see above, p. 403, n. 3), this biography is not included in the 30 *chüan* edition of the *Hsü Kao-sêng chuan*, nor has it left any trace in Hui-lin's 慧琳 (737-820 A.D.) *I-ch'ieh ching yin-i* — 一切經音義 (783-807) (ch. 94, T vol. 54, p. 897b.) and K'o-hung's (fl. 938) 可洪 *Hsin-chi Tsang-ching yin-i sui han lu* 新集藏經音義隨函錄 (ch. 27 p. 44b, S ed. xxxix-1; Ch'ên Yüan's 陳垣 *Chung-kuo fo-chiao shih-chieh kai-lun* 中國佛教史籍概論, ch. 2, p. 32, Peking, 1955). Was it written by Tao-hsüan himself?

So far we have no reason to deny his authorship, for it may be part of his 10 supplementary chapters entitled *Hou-chi Hsü Kao-sêng chuan* 後集續高僧傳 recorded in his own catalogue of Buddhist texts, the *Ta T'ang nei-tien lu* 大唐內典錄 (664 A.D.) (ch. 5, T vol. 55, p. 282 b. Cf. Ch'ên Yüan *op. cit.*, p. 32-33).

The disappearance of the *Hou-chi* HKSC was first noted by Chih-shêng 智昇 (668-740 A.D.) in his *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao mu-lu* (730 A.D.) 開元釋教目錄 (ch. 8, T vol. 55, p. 562a). But at the same time in his *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu lio-ch'u* (730 A.D.) 開元釋教錄略出 (ch. 4, T vol. 55, p. 746a), he described the HKSC as being in 31 *chüan* of 792 sheets of paper. If we roughly count its characters according to the number of the characters which a sheet of paper of Tun-huang 燉煌 manuscripts normally contains, 17 characters per column and 28 or 29 columns per sheet of paper (cf. Fa-lin's 法琳 (572-640 A.D.) account of his translation of the *Ratnaketudhâranî* with Prabhâmitra in 629-630 A.D. in Ch'ang-an: their 130 sheets of paper contained 63,882

characters, the average number of columns per sheet of paper was: $63,882/130 \times 17 = 28.9$ col. *Pien chêng lun* 辯正論 (c. 629 A.D.) ch. 4, T vol. 52, p. 512c 18-19), we find it is much the same as in the present 31 *chüan* edition. The 31 *chüan* edition = the 30 *chüan* edition + supplementary chapters. In the *Taishó* edition (= 30 *chüan* edition + supplementary chapters), we have 847 sections (three of which form a page) $\times 29$ (col.) $\times 16$ (characters) = 393,000 + characters. In the *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu lio-ch'u* ed.: 792 (sheets) $\times 29$ (col.) $\times 17$ (char.) = 390,000 + char. In the *Chêng-yüan hsün-ting shih-chiao mu-lu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 (800 A.D.) (ch. 12, T vol. 55, p. 862a), Yüan-chao (fl. 778 A.D.) 圓照 records the HKSC in 30 *chüan* of 730 sheets of paper. By the same method of calculation, we find the number of characters in this edition is nearly the same as in the present 30 *chüan* edition: 730 (sheets) $\times 29$ (col.) $\times 17$ (char.) = 359,000 + char. In the *Taishó* edition: 393,000 (char.) — 76 (sections of the supplementary ch.) $\times 29$ (col.) $\times 16$ (char.) = 393,000 — 35,000 = 358,000 char. The difference between 359,000 and 358,000 is less than 0.3 % which may easily arise from such a rough calculation.

The difference between the T'ang editions of 31 *chüan* and 30 *chüan* must have been not merely one of the division in *chüan*; it meant a difference in the number of characters, which is just equal to the length of the supplementary chapters. We may say that these two editions of different length already existed in Chih-shêng's time. Then the contemporaneous disappearance of the *Hou-chi* HKSC must result from its interpolation into the HKSC.

Here is a concordance of the last twelve *chüan* of the HKSC:

A. 30 <i>chüan</i> ed. (e.g. M ed.)		B. 31 <i>chüan</i> ed. (e.g. <i>Chi-sha</i> ed.)
20th ch.	=	20th ch.
....		21st ch. (a new ch.)
21st	=	22nd
22nd	=	23rd
23rd	=	24th
24th	=	25th
		26th (a new ch.)
25th	=	27th
26th	=	28th
27th } 28th }	=	29th
29th	=	30th
30th	=	31st

In other words, the supplementary chapters must be Tao-hsüan's *Hou-chi* HKSC. The 31 *chüan* edition must have been used by Tsan-ning and adopted in the Sung, Yüan and *Chi-sha* editions of the *Tripitaka* in Chinese, while the 30 *chüan* edition, annotated by Hui-lin and later by K'o-hung, was adopted in the Korean edition. The transmission of the HKSC may be reconstructed as follows:

HKSC (30 ch.)	...	<i>Chêng-yüan</i> ed.	...	Corean ed.
<i>Hou-chi</i> HKSC...	}	(30 ch.) (MS)	(1151)	
		<i>K'ai-yüan</i> ed.	...	Sung ed. ... Yüan ed. .Ming
(10 ch.)	}	(31 ch.) (MS)	(1239)	(1290) ed.(1601)
				(40 ch).
				<i>Chi-sha</i> ed.
				(c. 1231-c. 1322)

Moreover, in the supplementary biographies, nearly half the monks died after the 19th year (645 A.D.) of Chêng-kuan, date of the completion of the HKSC, but before the 2nd year (665 A.D.) of Lin-tê, date of the completion of the *Hou-chi* HKSC; and four were still living in the period of 661-665 A.D.:

Dates of death of the 74 monks in the supplementary chapters:

37 monks died before 645;

32 monks died after 644 and before 665;

5 monks without date of death;

4 monks still living in the period 661-664.

These supplementary biographies cannot but be Tao-hsüan's work, for otherwise we might find there the obituary records of some monks who died after 667 A.D., date of Tao-hsüan's death. Besides, in Chih-yen's biography I find no contradiction with other authentic historical documents.

ABBREVIATIONS

CTS	=	<i>Chiu T'ang shu</i>	舊唐書
HKSC	=	<i>Hsü Kao-sêng chuan</i>	續高僧傳
HSTS	=	<i>Han-shan-tzú shih</i>	寒山子詩
HTS	=	<i>Hsin T'ang shu</i>	新唐書
M	=	<i>Manji zôkyô</i>	卅字藏經
PN	=	<i>Po-na</i> ed.	百衲本二十四史
S	=	<i>Shukusatsu zôkyô</i>	縮刷藏經
SKSC	=	<i>Sung Kao-sêng chuan</i>	宋高僧傳
SPTK	=	<i>Ssü-pu ts'ung-k'an</i>	四部叢刊
T	=	<i>Taishô shinshû daizôkyô</i>	大正新修大藏經
TCTC	=	<i>Tzû-chih t'ung-chien</i>	資治通鑑
TSCC	=	<i>Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'êng</i>	叢書集成
WYWK	=	<i>Wan-yu wên-k'u</i>	萬有文庫
YHCHC	=	<i>Yüan-ho chün-hsien t'u-chih</i>	元和郡縣圖志
Z	=	<i>Zoku zôkyô</i>	續藏經