

The background of the book cover is a traditional Chinese ink and wash painting. It depicts a scene with five men in a garden. On the left, a man in a brown robe stands behind a large stone table, looking down at a scroll. In the center, a man in a dark robe is bowing slightly towards a man in an orange robe who is kneeling on the ground. To the right, another man in a green robe is seated on a rock, looking towards the group. In the foreground, a man in a grey robe is seated on the ground, looking towards the man in the orange robe. There are several red seals at the top of the painting. The overall style is traditional Chinese ink and wash with some color.

The Administration of Buddhism in China

A Study and Translation of
Zanning and the
*Topical Compendium
of the Buddhist Clergy*
(Da Song Seng shilue 大宋僧史略)

Albert Welter

THE ADMINISTRATION
OF BUDDHISM
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Table 1a. Chinese Dynasties Mentioned in the *Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*.

Dynasty	Dates
Shang Dynasty	(1600-1046 BCE)
Zhou Dynasty	(1046 - 256 BCE)
• Western Zhou	(1046-771 BCE)
• Eastern Zhou	(771-256 BCE)
Qin Dynasty	(221 - 206 BCE)
Han Dynasty	(206 BCE - 220 CE)
• Western Han	(206 BCE -9 CE)
• Eastern Han	(25-220 CE)
Six Dynasties Period	(220-589 CE)
• Three Kingdoms	(220-265 CE)
• Jin Dynasty	(265-420 CE)
• Period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties	(420-589 CE)

Table 1b. Chinese Dynasties Mentioned in the *Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy* (cont'd).

Dynasty	Dates
Sui Dynasty	(581 - 618 CE)
Tang Dynasty	(618 - 907 CE)
Five Dynasties Period	(907-960)
• Later Liang	(907-923 CE)
• Later Tang	(923-936 CE)
• Later Jin	(936-947 CE)
• Later Han	(947-951 CE)
• Later Zhou	(951-960 CE)
Song Dynasty	(960 - 1279 CE)
• Northern Song	(960-1127 CE)
• Southern Song	(1127-1279 CE)

THE ADMINISTRATION
OF BUDDHISM
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INTRODUCTION

A LOOK AT THE *TOPICAL COMPENDIUM OF THE BUDDHIST CLERGY*

The relationship between religion and the state is a topic of major concern in the history of religions. While books, articles, and essays on this topic are common for other regions of the world, especially the West and increasingly common for Islamic regions, there are few works discussing the dynamics of religion/state relations in China. Studies are beginning to appear that discuss these dynamics in modern China,¹ and while many studies of pre-modern Chinese religion touch on the topic, there is no study in English that addresses it head on.² The relationship between religion and the state in China is a perennial problem that shows no sign of losing its significance, and studies of the history of this relationship with a focus on Buddhism, one of the most developed and articulate religious forces in China during the past couple of millennia, cannot but have a real value to scholars and students.

The current work presents a translation of the *Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, a text written in early Song dynasty (960-1278)

China that is a primary source of our knowledge of Chinese Buddhist institutional history. It details practices and policies regarding the administration of Buddhism that are otherwise difficult to access, and is the major work of its kind in the Chinese context. It establishes principles for the administration of Buddhism in the Chinese context, many of which have customarily been followed. The author of the *Compendium*, Zanning (919-1001), served as the major representative of Buddhism during the first decades of the Song court. His work was compiled at the request of Emperor Taizong (r. 976-997) for the purpose of educating the emperor and scholar-bureaucrats on matters pertaining to Buddhism, and thus serves the primary purpose of a guide book or primer on all things Buddhist that Song administrators may need to know. In spite (or perhaps because) of this, it is an odd collection. Its survey of topics runs an unusual gamut, from when to celebrate the Buddha's birth, to protocols for receiving food offerings and repentance rituals, proper etiquette for paying respect, stipends for Buddhist officials, proper conduct when offering incense, the interface and boundaries between secular and Buddhist law in dealing with members of the clergy, the relative ranking of Buddhists and Daoists in court processions, Buddhist chapel services in the imperial palace, provision for the establishment of a class of Buddhist *junzi*, the sale of ordination certificates for financial gain, and many, many more. The unusual character of the *Compendium* only enhances its value—nowhere else can we so easily and concisely glimpse into the dynamics of Buddhist institutions and their practices. The *Compendium* is first and foremost, a product of its times, from which its uniqueness derives.

The early Song was a time of immense intellectual fervor, as China, after over a century of internecine warfare, embarked on a new course that promoted *wen* (literary or cultural arts) over *wu* (martial prowess).³ With the new literary based agenda came a discussion of how to constitute Song's *wen* agenda, what defines Song *wen*, what should be included and what excluded, and so on. Zanning's *Compendium* represents a major contribution to this debate, the understanding of which would be

deficient without it. The new Song consensus became foundational for the future of China and formed a model for how to develop culture and civilization throughout East Asia for centuries to follow.

CONTEXT

In the second year of the *xiande* era (955), Emperor Shizong (r. 954-959) of the Later Zhou dynasty (951-960) issued a proclamation that allegedly destroyed over 33,000 Buddhist monasteries and temples throughout the empire; a small number, 2694, were allowed to remain.⁴ For those familiar with the history of Buddhism in China, the reasons for the closures are familiar: corruption of the social order, clerical violations of law and licentious behavior, private ordinations outside government jurisdiction, erection of Buddhist temples and monasteries without government authorization, and so on.⁵ These form part of a litany of complaints associated with the independent and uncontrolled growth of Buddhism in China. A little more than a century before, a major suppression of Buddhism was mounted by the Tang Emperor Wuzong during the *huichang* era (841-846). The background to this suppression points to still other problematic factors associated with the Buddhist presence in China: factional in-fighting that positioned the scholar-bureaucrats against the eunuchs who supported Buddhism, economic considerations stemming from the immense wealth concentrated in Buddhist monasteries, exacerbated by the tax-exempt status of the Buddhist clergy and monastic lands, and so on.⁶ Anti-Buddhist sentiment remained strong in certain quarters, fuelled by the intense diatribes from the staunch Confucian fundamentalist, Han Yu (766-824), whose famous memorials castigating the Buddhist presence in China reverberated from the late Tang onwards.

The “Buddhist question”—what role should Buddhism play in Chinese culture and society—was not new to China. It had been around, in some form, since Buddhism first arrived and established an institutional presence on Chinese soil. The immensity of the problem is associated

with the four major suppressions of Buddhism: in the Northern Wei (446), the Northern Zhou (574), as well as the aforementioned ones in the Tang (ca. 845) and Later Zhou (955). These periodic disruptions are sign posts for the problems associated with Buddhism in the Chinese context—its alleged foreignness; its contravention of “true” Chinese values; its concomitant economic, political, and social dislocations. Yet, no major suppression occurred following the Later Zhou persecution of 955.⁷ What is the reason for this?

Dominant narratives of the development of Buddhism in China suggest that after the Tang, Buddhism went into decline,⁸ and could no longer muster the support to cause the ensuing disruptions that led to previous suppressions. While these narratives have been successfully challenged,⁹ suggestions for new narratives have yet to be adequately drawn. In this work, I would like to contribute to a counter narrative, and suggest that the reason no significant persecutions of Buddhism occurred in post-Tang (really post-Five Dynasties) China owes more to the domestication of Buddhism than to its alleged decline. While this suggestion is not entirely new,¹⁰ the evidence for a consistent and systematic “taming” of Buddhism, tethering it to the administrative structures of the Chinese bureaucracy and curbing its independent tendencies, has yet to be presented.

Zanning’s *Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy* engages the issue of the Buddhist presence in China directly, arguing for the clear and consistent contributions of Buddhism to Chinese culture and society in an unambiguous way. While ceding claims to independence, Zanning offers that Buddhism is an integral component of China’s culture; not an alien tradition anathema to Chinese values, but an important contributing factor to them. The following chapters offer an analysis and review of Zanning’s life and career (chapter 1), and an introduction to his major work on Buddhist administration, the *Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, amidst the politics of Buddhist accommodation at the Song court (chapter 2). Attached to chapter 1 are two appendices: a translation of Wang Yucheng’s Preface on Zanning from *The Literary Collection of*

Wang Yucheng (*Xiaochu ji* 小畜集), a major source for the details of Zanning's life and career; and a translation of the Biographical Record of Zanning in the *Orthodox Transmission of Buddhism* (*Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統), the major Buddhist record of Zanning's life. Following these chapters, I provide an annotated translation of the *Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy* (*Da Song Seng shilüe* 大宋僧史略).

Zanning's presentation of evidence in the *Topical Compendium*, while compelling, is decidedly one sided. Zanning is making the case for Buddhist involvement in Chinese culture and society, especially the bureaucratic apparati of the Chinese government, based on acceptance of Buddhism as a Chinese domesticated tradition compatible with Chinese values that is a significant asset to the imperial cause. Events in the Song dynasty after Zanning's demise make it clear that his recommendations were not often followed, that other points of view came to the fore that precluded Zanning's rather rosy assessment of intrinsic harmony fostered by a vibrant Buddhist presence. Still, I would contend that the model put forth by Zanning, on the whole, held, and that partially as a result of his advocacy, Buddhism won an acceptance among the Chinese bureaucracy, however begrudgingly, and its activities and institutional practices became normalized through the routines of bureaucratic administration.

By presenting Zanning's arguments as they stand, I have foregone the kind of analysis that might contextualize his evidence in the face of factors stemming from other sources. I have not, for example, attempted to correlate Zanning's historical outline of the development of Buddhist institutional practices with those associated with Daoism, an important rival of Buddhism for imperial favor and support. This rivalry is sometimes alluded to by Zanning in his presentation of the "facts" relating to Buddhism, usually to note a similar practice or institution relating to Daoism, but as it is Zanning's aim to minimize tensions between traditions, the competitive aspects of rivalry for attention have not been investigated. It is my hope that, with the present work before us outlining

the Buddhist case, other scholars will take up the cause of deepening our understanding by pursuing further, fruitful avenues of investigation.

NOTES

1. Among the expanding list of works on religion in modern China are Daniel Overmyer, ed., *Religion in China Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), Fenggang Yang, *Religion in China: Survival and Revival under Communist Rule* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), Vincent Goossaert and David A. Palmer, *The Religious Question in Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), Adam Yuet Chau, *Religion in Contemporary China: Revitalization and Innovation* (Routledge, 2014), and Max Deeg and Bernhard Scheid, eds., *Religion in China: Major Concepts and Minority Positions* (Österreichische Akademie Der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-historischen Klasse Sitzungsberichte), (Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2015).
2. A recent exception to this are studies included in the edited volume by Thomas Jülch, *The Middle Kingdom and the Dharma Wheel: Aspects of the Relationships between the Buddhist Saṃgha and the State in Chinese History* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), in which my own study of Zanning is included.
3. I am greatly indebted to the pioneering work of Peter Bol in this regard, especially “*This Culture of Ours*”: *Intellectual Transitions in T’ang and Sung China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).
4. Regarding the provisions of the Later Zhou, Shizong suppression, see *Wudai huiyao* 12 & 16, *Jiu Wudai shi* 115, and *Xin Wudai shi* 12. Makita Tairyō doubts the validity of these figures, as they far exceed comparable numbers given for the Tang suppression in the *huichang* era (*Godai shūkyōshi kenkyū*, p. 176).
5. See, for example, the rationale given in *Jiu Wudai shi* 115, p. 1529, translated in Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, p. 25.
6. For an overview of the *huichang* suppression, see Ch’en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 226-233; for a more detailed account, see Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T’ang*, pp. 115-136.
7. This is not to suggest that Buddhism was without detractors. The Northern Song Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1126) mounted anti-Buddhist policies that culminated in 1119 when he essentially ordered Buddhism to be assimilated into Daoism. This had the potential to eradicate Buddhism as an independent religion in China. On Huizong’s suppression campaign, see Shin-yi Chao, “Huizong and the Divine Empryea Palace 神霄宮 Temple Network,” in Patricia Ebrey and Maggie Bickford, eds.,

Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2006), esp. pp. 339-346.

8. For example, see Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*.
9. Peter Gregory, "The Vitality of Buddhism in the Sung," in Gregory and Getz, eds., *Buddhism in the Sung*, pp. 1-20.
10. A domestication model, for example, is implicit in Ch'en, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*.

CHAPTER 1

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ZANNING

REFLECTIONS ON THE DUAL ALLEGIANCES OF A FAITHFUL BUDDHIST FROM WUYUE AT THE IMPERIAL COURT OF SONG EMPEROR TAIZONG

1. HISTORIOGRAPHY IN CHINA: GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Zanning was both historiographer and the subject of historiography. In compiling his works, Zanning participated in the well worn paths of the historiographical genres employed by Chinese literati, and as a subject of biographical inquiry, Zanning's life was treated by standards familiar to Chinese biographical writing. Yet, considerable fluctuations are possible even within the constraints that historiographical standards impose. On the subject of traditional historiography in China, Charles S. Gardner several decades ago wrote: "It is surely an axiom of all writing that the motives which impel authorship largely condition the product. Inasmuch as human nature is essentially the same the world over, the historians of China and of the West have been actuated by stimuli which are in the main identical."¹ As true as this statement may be, historiographical conventions also determine how motive is translated into written form, and these written conventions are culturally determined. These conventions, in other words, are not identical but vary

according to time and place, and also according to cultural proclivities. They may even condition an author's motives in ways that challenge assumptions about the reputed universality of human nature.² In the case of traditional China, historiographical conventions tend to render the individual motives of the author opaque and hard to discern.³ The same may be said for the character of individual subjects treated in the biographies themselves.

Perhaps the greatest difference separating traditional historiography, including traditional Chinese historiography, from modern historiography is the way in which historiographical conventions treat the biographies of individuals.⁴ Biography was an important mode in traditional Chinese historiography.⁵ It dominates the style of the *Dynastic Histories*—for example, of the 496 chapters that make up the *Song shi* 宋史, or *Song History*, 328 are written in a style that may be loosely termed “biography.”⁶ 47 chapters are taken up with the “Basic Annals” (*benji* 本紀) of the Song emperors, 27 chapters with the lives of members of “Hereditary Houses” (*shijia* 世家) who exemplified themselves in service to the emperors,⁷ and 254 chapters with the “Biographies” (*liezhuan* 列傳) of numerous types of exemplary figures.⁸ The point of these “biographies,” however, was not to stress individuality or portray individual differences and peculiarities, assumptions often characteristic of modern biography writing originating in the West.⁹

The conventions of traditional Chinese historiography tended to reduce individuality to a stereotypical set of assumptions that reveal more about social *mores* and values than individual virtue and character. It was a given that illustrious and noteworthy individuals would reflect the characteristic norms and *mores* of society in a uniform manner. Any deviation from the norm was judged as a lack of virtue, not an expression of individuality. Failure to comply would indicate unworthiness to the high honor that society conferred on those who conformed. It is no wonder that the lives of individuals were recorded so as to reflect their

achievement of that “universal” standard rather than suggesting any deviation from it that would jeopardize their claim.¹⁰

In an insightful essay, “Early Civilization in China: Reflections on How It Became Chinese,” David Keightley compares the depiction of individuals on a Greek kylix vase from ca. 460 B.C. and an Eastern Zhou bronze *hu* 壺 vase from the late sixth to fifth century B.C.¹¹ While the comparison is based on artistic depictions, the observations suggest important influences on the depiction of individuals in biographical accounts. The Greek vase depicts a scene from the legend of Achilles and the Amazon queen. The figures depicted on the vase are heroic in size; there is no mystery regarding either the identity of the main protagonists or the tragic moment that the scene captures. On the Eastern Zhou bronze vase, in contrast, figures are presented as anonymous silhouettes, small in size; their identity remains a mystery and the meaning of the actions depicted is unclear. In the Chinese case, according to Keightley, “aesthetic concerns were focused on the general, the social, and the non-heroic rather than on the particular, the individual, and the heroic.”¹² While some may see Keightley’s interpretation as reductionistic stereotyping based on isolated examples, there seems little reason to dispute his point about uniformity as a reflection of collective values.

Writings classed as “biography” occupy a special position in China that has been shaped by the conventions of Chinese historical writing, conventions that in turn reflect the values of Chinese society. On the whole, Chinese biographies tend to be brief. Biographies were not written for the purposes of recording extensive and intricate detail aimed at revealing individual character. Rather, the biography of an individual was pared to its essentials, leaving only those aspects that reflected favorably on the illustrious virtue of the individual’s character as viewed against the backdrop of standardized social values. These virtues were determined by society, not the individual. Where individual features of a biography conflicted with the fabric of social values, the individual features were

excised.¹³ In the end, biographies conformed to models or types that reflected these social values far more than “individual” character.

2. ZANNING: THE DUAL LEGACY OF A SECULAR OFFICIAL AND BUDDHIST MONK

As mentioned above, the traditions of biographical writing in China pertain to Zanning both as an author and as a subject. As a historian, biography writing figured prominently in the works of Zanning. The major work on Buddhist history that Zanning is known for, the *Biographies of Eminent Monks compiled in the Song dynasty* (*Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳), is a major source for the study of Buddhist monks in China.¹⁴ Zanning’s other major extant work, the *Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy* (*Seng shilüe* 僧史略), draws heavily from information recorded in histories and biographies in its analysis of subjects arranged according to topic.¹⁵ Neither work can be categorized as “standard history” (*zheng shi* 正史), a classification reserved for dynastic histories, but both works were compiled under imperial commission and bore the mark of imperial imprimatur. The influence of historiographical conventions on Zanning’s works on history will be considered below. Our main concern here is Zanning as biographical subject. How did Chinese historiographical conventions determine the image of Zanning preserved in his biographies? Before embarking on this course, I would like first to provide a general introduction of Zanning and the context he lived in.

First and foremost, Zanning was a man of his times. The tenth century was a period of great change in China. The formal end of Tang rule in 906 ushered in a period of regional independence, a trend traceable to the An Lushan 安祿山 rebellion of the mid-eighth century. While warlord factions competed for control in the north and usurped the imperial banner, regional military commanders (*jiedu shi* 節度使) carved out autonomous enclaves in the south.¹⁶ Important changes affecting the nature of Chinese society, politics, and economics were being worked

out amidst this climate.¹⁷ The changes were particularly significant for Buddhism and the role it played in Chinese society.

The suppression of Buddhism during the Huichang era (841-846) deprived the major Tang Buddhist schools (Tiantai 天台 and Huayan 華嚴) of economic support and official authorization. Monks and monasteries that had relied on private support were subjected to increasingly stringent government control. In spite of this setback, Buddhism continued to exercise broad influence over Chinese society, both in the way Chinese intellectuals thought and the religious practices that people engaged in. The Chan school became a major force in China at this time, representing a departure from the aristocratic style of Buddhism of the Tang and compatible with the religious needs of growing segments of the population.¹⁸

Zanning occupies an important place in the transformation of Buddhism in China during the tenth century. Zanning possessed a breadth and depth of knowledge that was highly prized at the Song court. Not only was he the highest ranking Buddhist of his day, filling prominent positions within the Song bureaucracy, he was also allegedly appointed to the prestigious Hanlin Academy of scholars and served as one of the “Nine Elders,”¹⁹ a group composed of members that represented the pinnacle of early Song intellectual achievement. In the minds of biographers, a supposed dichotomy existed between Zanning as faithful Buddhist and defender of the Dharma, and Zanning as loyal bureaucrat and instrument of imperial policy.

Above all, the image of Zanning preserved is of a man of divided loyalties, a Buddhist monk and historian who served in the highest echelons of the Confucian-based bureaucracy. In the context of the times he lived in and the positions he occupied, it was not unusual to have dual allegiances. Slogans suggesting harmony between the three teachings (*sanjiao yizhi* 三教一致), Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism, were prominently promoted at this time. Zanning himself was an advocate of such harmony, though with a unique twist that is a hallmark of

Zanning's approach.²⁰ While the attempt to establish harmony and reconcile differences between respective positions presented considerable challenges, it was not a problem for Zanning personally. First and foremost, Zanning was a Buddhist and was identified as such at the Song court. The positions he occupied in the bureaucracy were directly connected to his Buddhist allegiance. He was also a civil servant and literatus with the political responsibilities and social obligations that such positions imply. The arrangement was a natural one as Zanning envisioned it.²¹ He was merely following the precedent of leading Buddhist academics of the past, promoting Buddhism with an aim "of gaining for the clergy status and recognition in the favored class of Chinese society."²² The problem was that not everyone agreed with the arrangement of allegiances suggested by Zanning. The harmony conceived by Zanning as Buddhist first and Official second was a potential pretext for conflict to others in the bureaucracy who did not share his Buddhist allegiance. It also proved problematic to Buddhists who were critical of Zanning's close cooperation with the secular establishment.

Ultimately, as Chinese society redefined itself in terms of its Confucian heritage, the duality of Zanning's identity became problematic. In spite of his broad learning, Zanning could never win full admiration as a Confucian scholar. The situation was not much better with Buddhism. As Buddhist influence waned in intellectual circles, a new popular-based Buddhist practice displaced the old scholasticism. In the eyes of the new Buddhist sectarian movements, Zanning appeared somewhat tainted by the strong secular influences over his thought. Zanning's divided legacy is reflected in the biographical accounts of his life.

Numerous sources contain biographies of Zanning. Of these, I would like to isolate two as especially important for suggesting the duality of Zanning's character: the secular account of Zanning's achievements by Wang Yucheng 王禹偁, the *Zuojie senglu tonghui dashi wenji xu* 左街僧錄通慧大師文集序 (Preface to the Collected Works of the Great Master 'Comprehensive Wisdom' [Zanning], the Buddhist Registrar of the Left

Precincts of the Capital), contained in fascicle 20 of the *Xiaochu ji* 小畜集 (Literary Collection of Wang Yucheng, compiled in 1000), and the Buddhist biography of Zanning recorded in fascicle 8 of Zongjian's 宗鑑 *Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統 (Orthodox Transmission of Buddhism, compiled in 1237).²³

The two kinds of biographies of Zanning, one written from the perspective of a Confucian inspired secularism and the other Buddhist, do not promote mutually exclusive images of their subject. There is tension between them, however, and this tension reflects the different models that Zanning's image was subjected to, one emphasizing his secular accomplishments and the other his appeal to the Buddhist faithful. Our analysis begins with a review of the material contained in the secular and Buddhist accounts of Zanning's life.

3. THE EMPEROR'S BUDDHIST: REFLECTIONS ON THE LIFE OF A CONFUCIAN MONK²⁴

The secular account of Zanning, the "Preface to the Collected Works of the Great Master 'Comprehensive Wisdom' (Zanning), the Buddhist Registrar of the Left Precincts of the Capital" (*Zuojie senglu tonghui dashi wenji xu*) is not typical of biography writing in China, though it was not unusual for renowned literary figures to write prefaces for each other's works.²⁵ Most biography in traditional China originated as a form of eulogy, of paying final respects to the dead. One of the major sources of information for biographical accounts of Buddhists is tomb or stele inscriptions (*taming* 塔名) written to accompany the interred remains of the deceased.²⁶ Although written in the form of a "preface" (*xu* 序) to Zanning's collected works, Wang Yucheng's account contains a wealth of information about Zanning's life that all future biographical records are indebted to. The content of the preface indicates that it was written during the reign of Emperor Zhenzong (r. 997-1022), and that Zanning was eighty-two years of age at the time. This would mean that the preface

was written in 1000,²⁷ the year before Zanning's death in the fourth year of the *xianping* era (1001) according to the *Shimen zhengtong*, and the year prior to the death of the preface's author, Wang Yucheng (954-1001). The connection of Zanning with Wang Yucheng, moreover, offers important suggestions regarding Zanning's position at the Song court.

Wang Yucheng was a prominent leader in the early Song bureaucracy. In the emerging debate over the style of culture (*wen* 文) promoted at the Song court,²⁸ Wang Yucheng expressed a preference for "classical literature" (*guwen* 古文) as a means for promoting moral virtue (modeled on the prose of Han Yu 韓愈), seeking to make *wen* the vehicle for inculcating moral values. Wang Yucheng was opposed by another leading court official, Yang Yi 楊億 (974-1020), who did not believe that the purposes of literary writing should be circumscribed by moral criteria, and instead encouraged a breadth of literary learning rather than narrow adherence to classical sources.²⁹ By nature, the literary refinement model prized by Yang Yi was more accommodating toward non-classical literary forms, including Buddhist ones, than *guwen*, which ultimately judged all literary expression according to Confucian norms. It seems odd, then, that Buddhists were drawn to the *guwen* movement.³⁰ How was this so?

In the first place, the tension between advocates of Song culture in terms of *guwen* versus literary refinement was not as sharp in the early years of the dynasty as it would become later on. In the early Song it was still possible to maintain a preference for one position without denying the validity of the other. The reason for this is because in the early Song, following decades of internecine warfare, the preservation of *wen* itself was perceived to be at stake. The type of *wen* preferred was a secondary issue, as was the distinction between *guwen* and literary eclecticism. The early Song marked a return to civil order and literary culture after over a century of militarism. In this context, all men of the intellectual (*shi* 士) class had a common stake in the preservation of Song civil and literary culture. Against the background of this larger threat, the intellectual and literary preferences of individual groups seemed

trivial and insignificant. As the prospect of continued stability increased, however, so did the importance of differences that separated members of the Song bureaucracy ideologically. The implications of Zanning's association with *guwen* on his style of scholarship and view of history will be considered below.

Even so, Wang Yucheng's admiration for Zanning is odd in light of his general antipathy toward Buddhism. Wang's attitude toward Buddhism is apparent in the fourth of a five-point memorial to Emperor Zhenzong written shortly after the emperor assumed the throne in 997. The thrust of Wang's argument is a familiar one: the Buddhist clergy represents an additional class in Chinese society, idle and unproductive, that puts unnecessary and unaffordable strains on the Chinese economy. Wang compares the Buddhist clergy to the military, which established itself, according to Wang, in the aftermath of the villainous exploits of China's first emperor, the Legalist Qin Shihuangdi. This put added strains on the four "legitimate" orders in Chinese society according to Confucian criteria-- scholars, farmers, artisans, and merchants--and increasingly impoverished the farmers, the productive class upon which Chinese society depended. The advent of Buddhism in China from the Han, argues Wang, added a sixth order, the Buddhist clergy, which also depended on the agricultural production of the farmers for their support and led to even further impoverishment. Furthermore, according to Wang, Buddhism attempts to rationalize its existence on the basis of false spiritual claims.³¹ Wang's refrain sounds familiar themes in Confucian diatribes against Buddhism, and those launched by the virulent *guwen* champion of the late Tang, Han Yu, who charged that Buddhism was non-Chinese ("no more than a cult of the barbarian peoples"), subversive of public morality ("our old ways [will] be corrupted, our customs violated"), and based on superstition ("How then, when he [the Buddha] has long been dead, could his rotten bones...be rightly admitted to the palace?").³²

Wang's attitude toward Buddhism was not isolated. Many scholars who served at the early Song court were drawn from the ranks of officials who

served at the court of the previous dynasty, the Later Zhou (951-959), who, under the authority of Emperor Shizong (r. 954-959) mounted one of the most severe attacks on Buddhism in Chinese history.³³ A contemporary document records the reasons for the suppression as follows:

Buddhism is the true religion, and the miraculous way of sages. In assisting the world and encouraging good, its benefits are extremely abundant. Since former eras it had continued to maintain a coherent system (of belief), but recently (Buddhist monks) have corrupted the social order with alarming frequency. According to a report received from a recent investigation of the various provinces, monks are continuously violating the law. If they are not punished and prohibited from doing so, it will turn into a serious matter. Privately ordained monks and nuns daily increase to lawless proportions. The temples and monasteries that they have built to practice in have increasingly become widespread. Among the villages and towns, their improprieties have become profuse. [Among them] are rogues who engage in licentious practices or commit robberies and conceal their evils by conspiring with chief priests. When one tries to make the teachings of the law (i.e., Buddhism) prosper, one must distinguish good from evil. Appropriately, and in accordance with former precedents, we undertake to rectify the improprieties mentioned in the above.³⁴

As a result of measures enacted by officials under Shizong's authority, 33,336 temples were allegedly destroyed (2,694 were allowed to remain).³⁵ In addition, provisions were established governing the existence of Buddhist monasteries and temples, controlling tightly the circumstances under which one could enter the clergy.

How could Zanning, a Buddhist monk, operate successfully in such an environment, much less win the admiration of his anti-Buddhist, secular colleagues? Zanning won the approval of would be critics by distinguishing himself in terms that they valued, in areas where scholarship and literary skill counted for more than religious allegiance. This is plainly admitted in the opening lines of Wang's preface, which serve to explain how a person like Wang could come to write a preface for

the works of a Buddhist. The point is that Zanning, in Wang's eyes, is no ordinary Buddhist, and deserves respect and admiration according to literary criteria established for the scholar class (*shi*) at the Song court.

Heirs of Śākyamuni refer to Buddhist writings as scriptures containing the essential teaching (*neidian* 內典) and Confucian writings as external learning (*waixue* 外學). Buddhists skilled in poetry (*shi* 詩) are common, but those with literary skill (skill in *wen* 工文) are rare. The only Buddhist to master all four of these (knowledge of Buddhist and Confucian writings; skill in poetry and *wen*) is the Great Master [Zanning].³⁶

What follows in Wang's preface is a "biography" more typical of a secular official than a Buddhist monk, a tribute to a respected master of *wen*, with scant mention of Zanning's Buddhist associations. Zanning's career was divided into two distinct periods. The first period corresponds to Zanning's career in Wuyue, before joining the Song court. The second period corresponds to Zanning's career at the Song court of Emperor Taizong (r. 976-997) and the "current emperor" Zhenzong (r. 997-1022). The *Xiaochu ji* preface further divides the second period of Zanning's career into two phases, according to the two emperors Zanning served under at the Song court. The last phase includes a recapitulation of Zanning's accomplishments, a summation of his successful career, typical of Chinese biographies. The following account is based on the information Wang Yucheng provides in his Preface.

Zanning was born into the Gao 高 family, taking the name Zanning when he became a monk. His mother's maiden name was Zhou 周. Neither the Gao family or Zhou family appear to have been prominent. The Gao ancestors, we are told, hailed from the region of Bohai 渤海, the westernmost part of the Yellow sea, extending from the Shandong peninsula in the south to the Liaodong peninsula in the north. This is a vast area encompassing hundreds of miles of territory.³⁷ At the end of the Sui dynasty, three hundred years before Zanning's birth, his ancestors allegedly moved to the Deqing 德清 district of Wuxing 吳興 prefecture,

in present day Zhejiang province. According to Wang, Zanning's Gao forbears "all concealed their virtue and did not serve in office."³⁸ The likely reason for this explanation is that Zanning came from a family whose lineage was not particularly noteworthy, but that conventions of Chinese biography writing demand illustrious talent be confirmed by suitable pedigree. This stipulation is fulfilled in Wang's Preface through the suggestion of a remote ancestry and a euphemistic statement about "concealed virtue" (*yinde* 陰德). Zanning's humble origins are readily suggested in Wang's assertion that his mother gave birth to him in a country villa on Mount Jinwu 金鷄山,³⁹ the day and month of which are recorded as uncertain.⁴⁰

The Wuyue region enjoyed unparalleled peace and prosperity during Zanning's life. In Zanning's early years, Wuyue was still under the control of the powerful scion of the Qian family, Prince Wusu (852-932), who established hegemony over the region with the collapse of Tang authority in the late ninth century.⁴¹ Under the patronage of the Qian family, Buddhism thrived as a manifestation of the cultural revival that prospered in Wuyue.⁴² It was under the circumstances of this Buddhist revival that Zanning embarked on a monastic career during the *tiancheng* era (926-930), received full ordination on Mt. Tiantai in the *qingtai* era (934-936), and distinguished himself as a master of the vinaya tradition. As vinaya masters in China often distinguished themselves as scholar-officials, this was early confirmation of the course that Zanning's career would take.

Zanning's destiny as a purveyor of *wen* was established early on, and Zanning's association with *wen* forms the warp and woof upon which Wang Yucheng's biography of Zanning is woven. His prestige began to flourish with the assumption of Prince Wenmu to the throne upon the passing of Prince Wusu in the third year of *zhongxing* (932), when we are told, "the prestige of the Great Master increased daily, and the study of literature (*wenxue* 文學) prospered." Zanning became a leader of *wen*

studies in Wuyue, cultivating the art of *wen* and teaching it to members of the Qian family and the soldier-officials of Wuyue.

The influences on Zanning's literary style are prominently noted by Wang Yucheng, further substantiating Zanning's *wen* credentials. His "literary style" (*wenge* 文格) was received through instruction from another Buddhist literatus, Huizheng 彙征, who had been honored as "Great Master who Illuminates *Wen*" (*guangwen dashi* 光文大師);⁴³ he learned his "poetic technique" (*shijue* 詩訣) from Gong Lin 龔霖, who had been honored with the *jinshi* degree.⁴⁴ These associations connect Zanning directly with an established lineage of *guwen* masters.⁴⁵

In keeping with the model of a Confucian scholar-official, Zanning's career in Wuyue is rounded out in Wang Yucheng's account by his service as Ordination Supervisor of [Wuyue] Kingdom (*guo jiantan* 國監壇) and Buddhist Controller of Both Sides of the [Yangzi] River (i.e., the entire territory of Wuyue) (*liang zhe sengtong* 兩浙僧統). The decades of his early career, according to Wang, were passed cultivating Buddhist enlightenment and administering to the needs of the Buddhist faithful. In this way, Zanning's identity as a Buddhist is nowhere denied, but remains peripheral to his accomplishments as a *wen* scholar-official.

Zanning's rank as the leading scholar-official in Wuyue is confirmed by the central role he played in the transfer of authority to the Song. In this regard, the *Xiaochu ji* preface states:

When Prince Zhongyi abdicated his authority and devised how to reunite the [Wuyue] state [with the Song] in the third year of the *taiping xingguo* era (978), Master Zanning entered the capital offering stupa relics of the true body of the Buddha.⁴⁶

This statement, more than any other information in Wang's preface, speaks to the strength and significance of Zanning's identity as a Buddhist. As the government representative who accompanied Zhongyi, it also indicates Zanning's position as the leading diplomat in Wuyue, an unusual role for a Buddhist to play in China. The stupa relics offered

here refer to the alleged remains of the Buddha housed in the stupa reliquary at the King Aśoka monastery 阿育王寺 in Mingzhou 明州, which served as the center of the Aśoka cult regularly invoked by the rulers of Wuyue.⁴⁷ In the broader context of Chinese Buddhism, the Wuyue style of Aśoka emulation follows regional differences between the style of Buddhist monarchy emulated by Chinese rulers. Southern rulers tended to view themselves as great donors (*danapati*), after the example of Asoka, who showed their support for Buddhism through building projects. Authoritarian rulers in the north were more likely to succumb to the temptation of seeing themselves as incarnations of the Buddha himself, the future Buddha Maitreya come to establish the kingdom of Buddhist righteousness.⁴⁸ Both tendencies exhibited themselves in Prince Wusu, the warlord founder of the Wuyue state. His initial attraction was to the Maitreya model. Maitreya worship was common among Five Dynasties warlords and rebel leaders, and manifested itself in two ways: the ruler anticipating the arrival of Maitreya and sanctioning a government based on Buddhist virtue, or the ruler proclaiming himself to be the actual incarnation of Maitreya. After consolidating his authority over Wuyue, Prince Wusu switched his attention from Maitreya worship, anticipating the arrival of Maitreya, to the Aśokan model. The Aśokan model continued to inspire future Wuyue rulers. Prince Zhongyi (r. 948-978) was particularly enamored with the Aśokan ideal, and sought throughout his life to create a Buddhist kingdom by emulating it. The Śākyamuni stupa on Mt. Ayu wang (King Aśoka) was instrumental in Zhongyi's view of himself as a Buddhist monarch and a symbol of how Buddhist-state relations were intertwined in a common goal framed by a Buddhist agenda. In this context, the relics offered by Zanning at the court of Emperor Taizong suggests the strength of Zanning's identity as a Buddhist, and could be construed as proposing the Wuyue model of Buddhist-state relations for the Song ruler. Later Buddhist records attempt to validate this strategy by claiming the emperor specifically built an eleven-storied pagoda on the site of Kaibao Monastery 開寶寺, with a celestial palace (*tiangong* 天宮) at the base to house the relics.⁴⁹

The *Shixi jigu lue* biography disagrees with the *Xiaochu ji* preface on the year that Zanning's offering of the relics took place, claiming a special trip was made to Mingzhou to retrieve the relics in the year *following* Prince Zhongyi's abdication (i.e., 979).

In any case, the act symbolically suggests a transfer of the Wuyue Ásokan model of Buddhist kingship to the Song court. In assessing Taizong's motives, however, it is fair to say the Song emperor was interested in Buddhism, but for markedly different reasons than Wuyue rulers had been. Taizong had no illusions about creating a state validated by Buddhist principles. Rather, he was interested in appeasing Buddhist interests in an attempt to minimize factionalism at the Song court.⁵⁰

The later section of the *Xiaochu ji* preface is devoted to Zanning's career serving Song emperors at the court. Hearing of Zanning's fame, Taizong invited him to an audience at the palace, in the Hall of Abundant Blessings (*Zifu dian* 滋福殿). Impressed after their lengthy conversations, the emperor granted Zanning the marks of high rank, a purple robe and the honorific title "Comprehensive Wisdom" (*tonghui* 通慧). The content of their conversation is revealed elsewhere by Zanning concerning the dimensions of the famous stone-bridge situated over a water fall at the Fangguang Monastery 放光寺 on Mt. Tiantai. In addition, they allegedly spoke of the legendary five-hundred Arhats of the same temple, and the content of Xuanzang's *Xiyu ji* 西域記 (Record of the Western Regions).⁵¹ As a result, Zanning enjoyed a high reputation among leaders in the Song bureaucracy, including the former minister Lu Zhuyai 盧朱崖 and the Manager of Affairs, Li Mu 李穆.⁵² The admiration that Zanning won from the Confucian-trained bureaucracy was hard earned. Buddhist sources record the derision with which Zanning's appointment to the prestigious Han-lin Academy, an extremely rare honor for a Buddhist, was greeted by some associates.⁵³ The pinnacle of Zanning's scholarly career was reached with his inclusion in the "Society of Nine Elders," an association led by the prominent historian Li Fang 李昉,⁵⁴ a revival of the Tang association of the same name headed by Bai (or Bo) Juyi 白居易,

the renowned Tang poet. Other sources point to Zanning's associations with prominent literati-officials of the Song court, Xu Xuan 徐鉉 and Liu Kai 柳開, not to mention Wang Yucheng, himself.⁵⁵ Xu Xuan, one of the most influential figures at the Song court, wrote a poem in honor of Zanning.⁵⁶ Liu Kai, along with Wang Yucheng, was one of the leading advocates of the *guwen* revival at the Song court.⁵⁷

The terms of Zanning's eventual acceptance in the Song bureaucracy had nothing to do with his Buddhist allegiance, which suggested only grounds for dismissal to other members. As suggested in the opening lines of Wang Yucheng's preface cited above, Zanning impressed and won the admiration of friends and foes alike not as a Buddhist but because of his "other" qualities. Three qualities can be suggested as crucial to Zanning's success in this regard: (1) his extensive knowledge of things generally, a quality that was noted in his initial conversation with Taizong, and that earned him great respect in the early Song dynasty atmosphere that promoted learning (*wen*) over martial exploits (*wu*); (2) his knowledge of Confucianism, a quality for which he was sought out by Confucians seeking to learn of their own principles; and (3) his ability to exhibit *wen* to an exceptional degree, a quality associated with Confucians of the highest accomplishment.

Zanning's extensive knowledge is the subject of high praise in Wang's preface and in other sources. Because Zanning's writings on various wide-ranging subjects have generally not survived, the content of this knowledge is largely unknown to us. There are, however, some suggestive indicators. One is the survival of a monograph on bamboo.⁵⁸ Another is a record of an exchange between Zanning and Liu Kai on the nature of luminescent substances, recorded in the *Record of a Rustic from Mount Xiang* (*Xiangshan yelu* 湘山野錄).

In conversation with Zanning, Liu Kai requested an explanation for the "blue flames" (*qingyan* 青燄) that appeared in his garden on evenings following dreary, rainy weather, but disappeared whenever one approached them. Zanning explained that this was phosphorescent glow

(*linhuo* 磷火), which formed at the sight of battles where much blood was shed. When the blood of the soldiers, coupled with the blood of oxen and horses, soaked into the earth and coagulated there, phenomena such as this occurred. Afterwards Liu Kai excavated the site and found fragments of old weapons. In this way, Zanning provided a naturalistic explanation for phosphorescent glow, which was popularly thought to represent an unrequited spirit or phantom.⁵⁹

Another story from the same collection reveals how Zanning's knowledge of strange phenomena impressed officials. An unusual painting passed into the hands of Emperor Taizong as part of the tribute accompanying the return of the Southern Tang (Nan Tang) kingdom to Song control.⁶⁰ The unusual aspect of the painting was associated with an ox that during the day appeared in the painting eating grass outside a pen, but at night appeared as lying down inside the pen. When the painting was shown at court, none of the officials could explain the phenomena. Zanning alone understood it. According to Zanning, the "southern barbarians," when the tide is out, collect drops of liquid left on the shore by a certain kind of oyster, and use it to make colored ink which appears only at night, but not during the day. Another kind of "invisible" ink that appears in the daytime but not at night is produced by grinding up volcanic rocks that have fallen down to the shore. The scholars all refused, at first, to believe Zanning's explanation, saying there was no basis for it. Zanning replied that the explanation could be found in Zhang Qian's 張騫 *Record of Strange Phenomena in Foreign Countries* (*Haiwai yiyi ji* 海外異物記).⁶¹ When the collection of works in the imperial library was examined, Du Hao 杜鎬 (d.u.) found the reference in a document dating from the Southern dynasties (ca. third to sixth centuries).⁶²

These stories cannot be verified for accuracy, but at the very least suggest Zanning's reputation for erudition in the early Song literati *imaginaire*. They reflect the vast range of Zanning's knowledge and show how it could favorably influence an otherwise skeptical officialdom. Even the likes of Liu Kai, the most intolerant on *guwen* officials, came to

trust Zanning's knowledge and judgment, as the above episode attests. A Buddhist source, the *Comprehensive History of the Buddhas and Patriarchs*, claims that Zanning demolished his critics at the Song court with his superior knowledge of historical works and Confucian literary works, causing those who once ridiculed him to submit in fear.⁶³

To speak to Zanning's alleged knowledge of the Chinese literary tradition and his participation in debates regarding *wen* at the Song court, Makita Tairyō has compiled a list of works attributed to Zanning, including Buddhist as well as non-Buddhist sources.⁶⁴

1. *Anthology of Buddhist Writings* (*Neidian ji* 內典集)
2. *Biographies of Eminent Monks compiled in the Song dynasty* (*Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳; T 50, no. 2061)
3. *Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy compiled in the Great Song dynasty* (*Da Song Seng shilüe* 大宋僧史略; T 54, no. 2126); referred to as the *Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*
4. *Records of the Sages and Worthies of Vulture Peak* (*Jiuling shengxian lu* 鷲嶺聖賢錄)
5. *Guidelines to the Pronunciation and Meaning of the Commentary on the Ritual Practices in the Fourfold Vinaya* [*Sifen lu xingshi chao* 四分律行事鈔] (*Shichao yinyi zhigui* 「事鈔」音義旨歸)⁶⁵
6. *Anthology of Non-Buddhist Studies* (*Waixue ji* 外學集)
7. *Critique of Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Bo Chunqiu fanlu* 破「春秋繁露」)
8. *Against the Official View that There are no Worthies in the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Yi Chunqiu wuxian chenlun* 抑「春秋無賢臣論」)
9. *Clarifications of the Analects* (*Lunyu xuanjie* 「論語」懸解)
10. *An Explanation of the Analects* (*Lunyu chenshuo* 「論語」陳說)
11. *Critique of Wang Chong's Balanced Discourses* (*Nan Wang Chong Lunheng* 難王充「論衡」)

12. *Clarifying Cai Yong's Definitions [in government and administration]* (Zheng Cai Yong Duduan 證蔡邕「獨斷」)
13. *Critiquing Yan Shigu's Correcting Errors and Rectifying Vulgarities* (Chi Yan Shigu kuangmu zhengsu 斥顏師古「匡謬正俗」)
14. *Refuting the Discourse on the Sound of Waves and the Record of Elucidation* (Zhe Haichao lun jianming lu 折「海潮論」兼「明錄」)
15. *Against the Generalities on Historiography* (Fei Shitong 非「史通」)
16. *Responses to Criticisms of Various Histories* (Da chi zazhu shi 答斥雜諸史)
17. *Notes on Bamboo* (Sun pu 筍譜)⁶⁶
18. *Record of Mutual Affection for Things of Like Kind* (Wulei xianggan zhi 物類相感志)⁶⁷
19. *Summarizing while Transmitting* (Chuan zailue 傳載略)⁶⁸
20. *Speaking on Essentials* (Yaoyan 要言)

To the twenty works listed by Makita may be added two additional works attributed to Zanning in the *Orthodox Transmission of Buddhism*:⁶⁹

1. *Odes for the Zheng Instrument* (Zheng pu 箏譜)
2. *Anthology on Extraordinary Things* (Wuwai ji 物外集)

Unfortunately, few of the non-Buddhist works survive, but the list of writings serves to reveal a number of things about Zanning. Through his surviving works, Zanning is known almost exclusively as a Buddhist scholar and historian. The full list of his oeuvre, however, suggests a different Zanning—a wide-ranging literatus highly engaged in critical scholarly debates of his day—precisely the figure that Wang Yucheng describes in his Preface.

Among other things, the list reflects Zanning's dual allegiances. In terms of volume of output, Zanning's Buddhist writings are more extensive, but his non-Buddhist writings are far more numerous. In

terms of Zanning's writings on Confucian and non-Buddhist sources, the list suggests that Zanning did not merely have factual knowledge of the Chinese literary tradition, but engaged in highly partisan discourses regarding the interpretation of literary sources. Two of the titles, *Release from Bondage according to the Analects* and *An Explanation of the Analects*, indicate Zanning's interest in the teachings attributed to Confucius. Especially noteworthy is Zanning's apparent attempt to interpret the *Analects* in terms compatible with Buddhism. The phrase "release from bondage" originally appears in a Daoist context,⁷⁰ but was incorporated by Sengrui 僧瑞 (371-438) in his preface to the *Middle Treatises* (*Zhonglun* 中論; *Madhyamakakārikā*) of Nāgārjuna.⁷¹ Two other titles, a *Critique of Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals*, attributed to the Han dynasty scholar Dong Zhongshu's 董仲舒 (109-104 BCE),⁷² and *Against the Official View that There are no Worthies in the Spring and Autumn Annals* by the late Tang and early Five Dynasties author Sun Tai 孫郃,⁷³ demonstrate Zanning's engagement with scholarship on the Confucian classic, the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. In addition, several other prominent scholars and their works are singled out for criticism: Wang Chong's 王充 (27-ca. 100) *Balanced Discourses*,⁷⁴ Cai Yong's 蔡邕 (132-192) *Definitions [in government and administration]* (though this is a "clarification" [*zheng* 證] rather than a critique),⁷⁵ and Yan Shigu's 顏師古 (581-645) *Correcting Errors and Rectifying Vulgarities*,⁷⁶ Liu Zhiji's 劉知幾 (661-721) *Generalities on Historiography*.⁷⁷

Dong Zhongshu and Wang Chong were two of the most important essayists on Chinese culture, civilization, and beliefs during the Han period. Dong Zhongshu balanced Confucian morals and ethical theory with *yin/yang* cosmology.⁷⁸ Wang Chong found in Daoist naturalism a means for criticizing the prevailing beliefs and superstitions of his day.⁷⁹ Dong Zhongshu was a leading representative of what became known as the New Text school (*jinwen jia* 今文家), and Wang Chong was a leading representative of the Old Text school (*guwen jia* 古文家).⁸⁰ The compiler of *Generalities on Historiography*, Liu Zhiji, was a great proponent of the importance of studying the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳; he was

also a staunch supporter of the ideal of “perfect impartiality” and an ardent critic of official meddling in the writing of history,⁸¹ a view at odds with the “hands on” approach of imperially commissioned historical compilations in the early Song.

In addition, Zanning was critical of two presumably Buddhist oriented works, the *Discourse on the Sound of Waves* and the *Record of Elucidation*, the authorship of which is unknown.⁸² Regarding Zanning’s contributions to Buddhism, in addition to his surviving works, *The Biographies of Eminent Monks compiled in the Song dynasty* and the *Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, he also compiled *Records of the Sages and Worthies of Vulture Peak* and *Guidelines to the Pronunciation and Meaning of the Commentary on the Ritual Practices in the Fourfold Vinaya*, a seminal vinaya work by Daoxuan (596-667). Zanning’s connection to Daoxuan also extends to the later’s compilation of a major work in the *gaoseng zhuan* genre, the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*. Finally, as noted by Makita, the two works listed in Zanning’s oeuvre, *Anthology of Buddhist Sources* and the *Anthology of Non-Buddhist Sources*, were not independent works, but likely compilations that included Zanning’s works on Buddhism (*neixue* 內學) and non-Buddhism (*waixue* 外學), respectively.

The titles of the works attributed to Zanning provide meager information on his critical approach to Chinese historical and Confucian sources, but they do indicate that Zanning had explicit and highly evolved views on Chinese historiography and the interpretation of literary sources. They reveal Zanning as a literatus actively participating in the highly charged debate over the true nature of *wen* in the early Song. Without access to the contents contained in these works and the ideas expressed therein, our view of Zanning will always be restricted, and any attempt to assess Zanning will only partially account for the full breadth of views he held. This makes an evaluation of the contents of the *Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, a historiographical work that reveals Zanning’s views not only on Buddhism, but on the nature of *wen* and what may be properly included in it, the criteria for evaluating historical

and literary sources, and so on, highly valuable for determining Zanning's overall approach.

The early Song offered numerous opportunities for someone with talents as prodigious as Zanning's, as is exhibited in Zanning's accomplishments as a scholar and as an official. A number of Zanning's works as a scholar were commissioned by imperial authority. In 982, he was commissioned to compile the *Song Biographies of Eminent Monks*, the only work in the *gaoseng zhuan* series compiled under imperial authority.⁸³ Manager of Affairs Su Yijian 蘇易簡 (958-996) commissioned Zanning to contribute a section on Buddhism to the *Legacy of the Sages and Worthies of the Three Teachings* (*Sanjiao shengxian shiji* 三教聖賢事跡). He also wrote the *Records of the Sages and Worthies of Vulture Peak*, and compiled the *Legacy of Sages and Worthies*.⁸⁴ In total, Zanning's works on Buddhism (*neidian ji* 內典集) are said to encompass 152 *zhuan*; his non-Buddhist writings (*waixue ji* 外學集) covered 49 *juan*.⁸⁵

As an official, in addition to being honored with a robe and title, emblems of membership in the official class, Zanning was appointed chief lecturer on the Buddhist sūtras. In the first year of the *zhidao* era (995), he was placed in charge of religious affairs in Loyang, the "western capital" during the Northern Song. The pinnacle of Zanning's career as an official came in his final years, in appointments received after Emperor Zhenzong assumed the throne in 997. In the following year (998), Zanning was appointed Buddhist Registrar (*senglu* 僧錄) of the right precincts of the capital. His eventual appointment to the more prestigious position of Buddhist Registrar of the left precincts of the capital is acknowledged in Wang Yucheng's preface title.⁸⁶

The *Xiaochu ji* preface concludes with a recapitulation of Zanning's accomplishments, drawn around two themes: Zanning's loyal service to successive rulers,⁸⁷ and his extensive writings on a wide range of topics. In Wang's assessment, Zanning was "able to enjoy the blessings of successful service to the 'grand plan' [of Song imperial rule], and occupy a position greatly admired among Buddhists. Who could doubt that it was

inevitable he reached the age and rank he did?”⁸⁸ Regarding Zanning’s scholarship, Wang praises the breadth of his learning, encompassing topics relating to both Buddhist and non-Buddhist subject matter. The influence of Zanning’s scholarship is such that the rulers of the empire allegedly trust what he says.⁸⁹

The structure of Wang Yucheng’s preface highlights Zanning’s service to the secular establishment. The tone is that of a tribute to a respected *wen* master. The immediate context of this tribute pertains only peripherally to his identity as a Buddhist. The main concern is Zanning’s approach to the study of *wen*, a topic of intense debate among members of the Song bureaucracy. The preface by Wang Yucheng, the linking of Zanning to Huizheng and Gong Lin, the association with Zhiyuan (see below), and with Liu Kai, all suggest Zanning’s affiliation with the *guwen* movement at the Song court. This movement was inherently critical of the Buddhist presence in Chinese affairs, and it is odd to consider Buddhist participation in it. It did, however, hold a certain appeal for “Confucian monks” (to borrow Makita’s phrase) like Zanning, regardless of the contradictions that such affiliation implied.

4. DEFENDER OF THE FAITH: THE LIFE OF A MODEL BUDDHIST

The Song period was a “golden age” in the development of Buddhist historical writing, one fostered by the works of Zanning.⁹⁰ A large portion of this development was taken up with the writing of history based on sectarian lineages to substantiate claims of legitimacy among rival Buddhist schools. This was a major preoccupation among factions of the Chan school that sponsored numerous transmission histories, known as “lamp records” (*denglu* 燈錄), documenting the preservation of “true” Buddhist teaching based on “mind to mind transmission” (*yi xin chuan xin* 一心傳心) within their lineage. The forerunners of this development were the *Patriarch’s Hall Anthology* (*Zutang ji* 祖堂集) and the *Record of the Transmission of the Lamp compiled in the Jingde era* (*Jingde chuandeng*

lu 景德傳燈錄).⁹¹ Following this example, historians in the Tiantai school constructed histories to counter the claims of patriarchal lineage promoted in the Chan school. Along with the *Comprehensive History of the Buddhas and Patriarchs* (*Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀), the *Orthodox Transmission of Buddhism* (*Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統) represents the crowning attempt to write Buddhist history from the perspective of the Tiantai school.⁹² The main feature of these works is their imitation of the style of history writing associated with “standard histories” (*zhengshi* 正史), using categories previously exclusive to dynastic histories, “basic annals” (*benji* 本紀), “biographies” (*liezhuan* 列傳), and so on, for writing Buddhist history. The *Orthodox Transmission of Buddhism* (hereafter *Orthodox Transmission*) is the oldest such work that survives. It also contains the first attempt to retrieve Zanning as an essentially Buddhist figure.

In spite of the influences of “secular” history on the style with which the *Orthodox Transmission* was conceived, as a Buddhist account it naturally drew different conclusions regarding the significance of Zanning’s life. The Tiantai school openly promoted activities aimed at lay patrons, and the biography of Zanning in the *Orthodox Transmission* is based on the perception that Zanning promoted activity in Buddhist societies composed of such patrons. Far from the image of the “secular monk” associated with Wang Yucheng’s preface in the *Xiaochu ji*, the *Orthodox Transmission* portrays Zanning as a “defender of the faith” (*hufa* 護法) who promotes the activities engaged in by the Buddhist faithful and, in his capacity of high-ranking scholar-official, defends the faith against the onslaught of secularism.

The *Orthodox Transmission* biography is divisible into three parts. The first part, the biographical section, follows the chronology of Zanning’s life as in the *Xiaochu ji*, from which it is largely drawn. The most important additions concern the end of Zanning’s life, and the legacy that followed Zanning after his death. The second part connects Zanning’s image with the aims of Buddhist societies, as mentioned above, in an attempt to strengthen his Buddhist identity as a “defender of the faith.” The third

part takes the form of a rebuttal to the image of Zanning as a “secular monk,” to combat pernicious rumors regarding Zanning’s complicity with the secular establishment. It is an attempt to “set the record straight,” and redeem Zanning’s image as a model for the Buddhist faithful.

The “biographical” portion deviates little from the *Xiaochu ji* preface, adding only that Zanning was transferred to the more prestigious position of Buddhist Registrar of the left precincts of the capital in the third year of the *xianping* era (1000).⁹³ It also mentions that Zanning passed away in the second month of the following year (1001), in the preferred Buddhist fashion of foretelling when one’s time has come, and that his remains were interred at the Dragon Well (*longyi* 龍井) of his native Qiantang 錢唐 (Hangzhou).⁹⁴

We are also informed of Zanning’s legacy and the fate of his writings. He was granted a posthumous title, “Perfectly Enlightened” (*yuanming* 圓明) in the fourth year of the *chongning* era (1105).⁹⁵ Zanning’s two works on Buddhist history commissioned by imperial authority, the *Biographies of Eminent Monks compiled in the Song dynasty* (30 fascicles) and the *Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy* (3 fascicles) were installed in the Buddhist canon. His other works, the *Anthology of Buddhist Writings* (*Neidian ji*; 152 fascicles), the *Anthology of Non-Buddhist Studies* (*Waixue ji*; 49 fascicles), the *Odes for the Zheng Instrument* (*Zheng pu* 箏譜; 10 fascicles), and the *Anthology on Extraordinary Things* (*Wuwai ji* 物外集) were all published separately.⁹⁶

Following Wang’s Preface, Zanning was recognized for his rhythmic verse and assorted poetry styles (*changhe shishi* 唱和詩什), and his effectiveness at essay writing (literally, creating *wen*; *zuowen* 作文). His legacy as a *wen* master is also acknowledged in the *Orthodox Transmission* through Zanning’s indebtedness to Huizheng for his “poetic technique” (*shijue*). This is in contrast to Wang’s *Xiaochu ji*, which claimed Zanning learned his “literary style” (*wenge*) from Huizheng, not his “poetic technique.” The *Xiaochu ji* claims Zanning learned his “poetic technique” from Gong Lin. Gong Lin appears in the *Orthodox Transmis-*

sion as Long Gonglin 龍共霖, a *jinshi* recipient from whom Zanning allegedly becomes versed in the study of law (*lǚxue* 律學).⁹⁷ There is no accounting for this discrepancy, but the *Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy* affirms Zanning's familiarity with the administrative and legal traditions of the Chinese bureaucracy.

Prior to his arrival at the Song court, the *Orthodox Transmission* briefly summarizes Zanning's career in Wuyue, information that is largely familiar to us from Wang's Preface. His mother, surnamed Zhou, gave birth to him in a country villa in the fifth year of *zhenming* (919). While the *Xiaochu ji* gives the location as Mount Jinwu 金鷲山, in the *Orthodox Transmission* it is listed as the orthographically similar, Jin'e 金鵝, which seems to be the proper attribution. As in the *Xiaochu ji*, Zanning left home to become a monk during the *tiancheng* era (929-930), with the place given in the *Orthodox Transmission* as Xiangfu 祥符 Monastery in Hangzhou, and received full ordination on Mount Tiantai in the *qingtai* era (934-936). Wuyue Prince Zhongyi extended an invitation to him and treated him as an esteemed guest; they allegedly discussed matters eagerly throughout the day and night. The nobility of Wuyue frequently turned to Zanning for advice and officials of the region treated him with utmost courtesy.⁹⁸ In Wuyue, Zanning served as both Ordination Supervisor (*jiantan* 監壇) and as Buddhist Controller (*sengtong*), and was conferred the title "Brilliant and Righteous Model of Culture" (*mingyi zongwen* 明義宗文).⁹⁹ With minor variation, the *Orthodox Transmission* account of Zanning's service at the Song court also follows the description in Wang's Preface.

The *Orthodox Transmission's* attempt to redeem Zanning as Buddhist "defender of the faith" is fostered in the interim through Zhiyuan 智圓 (976-1022), a noted Buddhist monk whose proclivities paralleled those of Zanning.¹⁰⁰ Like Zanning, Zhiyuan was fond of *guwen* and excelled in the study of Confucian texts, even going so far as to teach *guwen* to other monks.

What is called *guwen* establishes language worthy of being remembered according to the ancient Way and the language must illu-

minate the ancient Way. What is the ancient Way? It is the Way the sage-teacher Confucius practiced.... His fundamental precepts were simply benevolence and righteousness and the five constants. If you aspire to This Culture (*siwen* 斯文), you must really master the Way of the five constants. Do not lose the center yet change with the times, change but maintain continuity [with the ancient], for what is continuous endures and what endures agrees [with the Way]. Once you have apprehended the Way in the mind, let it come out by writing essays (*wenzhang* 文章) and spread its transformation through instruction (*jiaohua* 教化) [thus saving the age and setting forth the kingly way, etc.].... This should be the goal of doing *wen*. The creation of *guwen* is complete in this.¹⁰¹

Zanning concurred with Zhiyuan's view, "Do not lose the center yet change with the times, change but maintain continuity [with the ancient], for what is continuous endures and what endures agrees [with the Way]," as the rationale for including Buddhist writings ("changing with the times") with the ancient Confucian legacy ("not losing the center") as "the goal of doing *wen*" and "the creation of *guwen*."¹⁰²

The *Orthodox Transmission* records a poem written by Zhiyuan commemorating Zanning's memory not for these common associations, but reflecting Buddhist sentiments.

In a state of tranquility, he returned to the realm of Truth (*nirvāṇa*);
The work of saving humankind having already been completed.
The courts of two emperors esteemed his efforts;
All within the four seas acknowledged his eminence.
Of the traditions of old, he preserved the Lotus Society;
In preserving lost records, he fulfilled [service to] the imperial capital.
He deliberated with great pause over previous events;
In the trees of the courtyard, a crow calls out at sunset.¹⁰³

Zhiyuan presents an image of Zanning as a model bodhisattva who, having fulfilled his vow to save others, has passed into *nirvāṇa*. The crows crying in the courtyard at sunset, in imagery often associated with Chan

and Zen poets, suggests both mourning at the memory of the loss of one so great, and a spontaneous (i.e., enlightened) affirmation of what Zanning as a Buddhist represented. Any ambiguity associated with Zanning's Buddhist allegiance is resolved by placing Zanning's accomplishments within the context of Buddhist models and poetic allusions.

The "redemption" of Zanning's image as a Buddhist was one of the main reasons that the *Orthodox Transmission* biography seems to have been written. Of the contributions to Buddhism mentioned in Zhiyuan's poem, Zanning's role in preserving the Lotus Society is singled out in the *Orthodox Transmission* as meriting special consideration. This was not a factor in Wang's Preface, nor does it appear in any other biographical record of Zanning. It plays an especially important role in the *Orthodox Transmission*, establishing the criteria for Zanning's "redemption" as a Buddhist and his appeal as a model for the faithful.

According to the *Orthodox Transmission*, Zanning compiled a text called *Writings for Buddhist Associations and Dharma Gatherings* (*Jieshe faji wen* 結社法集文),¹⁰⁴ connecting him to the Buddhist Associations that became an increasingly important feature of Chinese Buddhism in the Song dynasty.¹⁰⁵ Such societies were particularly appealing in an age of "secularized" Buddhism such as the Song, where monasteries depended more on the collective energies of the lay community, including their economic resources, and less on the rigorous commitment of monks who often depended on outside patronage for their existence. As supportive as Zanning may have been of Buddhist Associations, the *Orthodox Transmission* biography has seized on this aspect for reasons that are only tangentially connected to Zanning, but speak directly to issues concerning the regulation of such associations. The image of Zanning preserved in the *Orthodox Transmission* is as promoter of these associations, substantiating the benefits they provide, and as defender of the integrity of the associations against corrupting influences.

The image of Zanning as promoter and defender of Buddhist Associations served to strengthen his identity as a Buddhist and combat the

image of Zanning as a “secular monk” whose commitment to Buddhism might be suspect in the eyes of the faithful. One story that circulated about Zanning indicates that the faithful had reason for suspicion. The fact that the story is rebutted in the *Orthodox Transmission* validates the existence of such suspicion and the need to defend Zanning’s integrity as a Buddhist. This defense is closely connected with the *Orthodox Transmission*’s aim to redeem Zanning’s image as a model Buddhist.

The issue of Zanning’s image as a defender of Buddhism stems from a story that circulated about Zanning recorded by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072), regarded as the successor of Wang Yucheng and Liu Kai as a champion of *guwen*.¹⁰⁶ Like his predecessors, Ouyang Xiu’s public pronouncements were staunchly anti-Buddhist. In a famous medical analogy, Ouyang compared Buddhism to a disease that had taken advantage of the weakened state of Confucian society to infect China.

When kingly rule ceased, and rites and righteousness were neglected, Buddhism came to China. It is clear that Buddhism took advantage of this time of decay and neglect to come and plague us. This was how the illness was first contracted. And if we will but remedy this decay, revive what has fallen into disuse, and restore once again to the land kingly rule in its brilliance and rites and righteousness in their fullness, then although Buddhism continues to exist, it will have no hold upon our people.¹⁰⁷

In a manner strikingly similar to Wang Yucheng, Ouyang’s public positions against Buddhism were tempered by his personal admiration for Buddhist monks. Ouyang was often impressed by the personal qualities of individual monks, their knowledge of Buddhist scriptures and brilliance in articulating positions and countering questions posed to them. Like Wang Yucheng, he wrote prefaces to the works of learned Buddhist monks. And, as in the case of Wang’s attraction to Zanning, it was the Confucian qualifications of these monks that impressed Ouyang.¹⁰⁸

Ouyang’s story concerning Zanning, recorded in his *Record of one who has Returned to the Fields* (i.e., retired from public life; *Guitian lu* 歸田

錄),¹⁰⁹ suggests the complicated situation at the Song court regarding Buddhist-Confucian relations. The story involves an imperial procession to Xiangguo Monastery 相國寺 (Monastery for Assisting the Country) to worship the Buddha. When Emperor Taizu went before the image of the Buddha to burn incense he asked Zanning, “Should I perform prostrations or not?” to which Zanning responded, “The Buddha of the present need not perform prostrations to the Buddha of the past.” Zanning being widely learned, eloquent, and unsurpassed in rhetorical skill, the emperor concurred with his opinion, and with a smile nodded in agreement. As a result, says Ouyang, it became the set policy of the Song government from then on to offer incense but not perform prostrations.

This story goes to the heart of Zanning’s “dual allegiances” and dramatizes how complicated the situation at the Song court was for Zanning. The reemergence of an aggressive form of Confucianism was bound to provoke a reevaluation of the role that Buddhism should play in government affairs. One of the areas most affected was government participation in Buddhist rituals. Zanning, as the leading official at the Song court in charge of Buddhist affairs, was caught in the middle of this reevaluation. The issue was the Buddhist role in government ritual. The question was what role Zanning advocated: one in which the status of the emperor was acknowledged as equal to that of the Buddha, or one in which the superiority of the Buddha’s status was openly accepted.

The image of Zanning as a compliant Buddhist, willing to concede that the emperor’s status was the same as the Buddha’s, shows Zanning cowering, in Buddhist eyes, before imperial authority. In this view, Zanning’s allegiance to Buddhism is definitely lukewarm and not suitable for a model “defender of the faith.” The final section of the *Orthodox Transmission* is written to counter this impression. This is done in two ways. In the first place the *Orthodox Transmission*, citing the impossibility of Zanning serving at the court of Taizu (Zanning did not join the Song court until the reign of Taizu’s successor, Taizong, after Taizu had passed away), questions the veracity of the whole account: “The words cited in

the *Guitian lu* are those of one especially fond of meddling; Duke Ouyang erroneously adopted them.”¹¹⁰ In addition, the *Orthodox Transmission* counters with a story of its own, contrasting with the impression of Zanning left by the *Guitian lu* account.

The *Orthodox Transmission* story involves Wang Yucheng, suggesting that the real suspicions regarding Zanning’s commitment to Buddhism stemmed from Wang, and seeming to imply that he was the “one especially fond of meddling” that Ouyang Xiu’s account was allegedly based on. The story is not a defense of Zanning per se, but a justification for the practice of performing prostrations before the Buddha on the part of emperors, a practice that Zanning, according to the *Guitian lu*, failed to advocate. During the Lantern Festival, according to the *Orthodox Transmission*, the Hanlin Academician Wang Yucheng criticized the plan calling for the emperor to meaninglessly engage in the pretext of making prostrations before the image of the Buddha, questioning how the emperor could be so excessively indulgent of Buddhism. By claiming that Emperors Gaozong (r. 1127-1162) and Xiaozong (r. 1162-1189), the first two emperor of the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279), always go down on their knees before the image of the Buddha when attending Lantern Festival celebrations on Mount Tianzhu,¹¹¹ the *Orthodox Transmission* counters the *Guitian lu* with a story of its own designed to defend allegations against Zanning’s alleged leniency toward imperial authority. Zanning did not, as Ouyang Xiu contends, condone the practice of offering incense to the Buddha *without* performing prostrations.

In contrast to Wang Yucheng’s preface, the *Orthodox Transmission* biography emphasizes Zanning’s defense of Buddhism and service to the Buddhist faithful. The image of Zanning as *wen* master, central to Wang’s preface, is acknowledged, but ultimately peripheral in the *Orthodox Transmission* account of Zanning as a defender of the Dharma. Rather than a “Confucian monk,” the image of Zanning that emerges from the *Orthodox Transmission* is of a committed Buddhist operating in a hostile environment dominated by Confucians. Even when this

environment forced Zanning into compromising circumstances, the *Orthodox Transmission* insists that Zanning maintained his integrity as a Buddhist and successfully defended the faith against the forces of Confucian secularism.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Buddhist monks with strong ties to the imperial court and Confucian learning were not unusual in China. By the Song dynasty, the history of Buddhism in China provided numerous examples of Buddhist monks who served the secular establishment in various ways. The exploits and achievements of the Buddhist monks mentioned by Zanning in the *Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy* include those who have contributed in this regard. What had changed was not so much the character of the scholar monks themselves as the situation that scholar monks, influenced by a number of factors affecting the role of Buddhism in Chinese society, faced. The most important of these factors was the revival of “classical learning” (*guwen*). Anti-Buddhist sentiment was not new to the Chinese scene, but was apparent from the outset. What had changed was the combination of this sentiment with a virulent, aggressive attack on Buddhism and its values, which allegedly undermined “true” Chinese (i.e., Confucian) values and undermined the body-politic. This notion of Buddhism as an insidious disease that infected the health of China became a cause around which a newly empowered elite rallied. This is especially evident in the famous analogy drawn by Ouyang Xiu referred to above.

The *Topical Compendium* is Zanning’s response to the growing questions regarding the legitimacy of Buddhism in Chinese society. The following chapter details aspects of that response in the context of the Song cultural milieu. The appendices below provide translations of the two biographies of Zanning discussed earlier.

APPENDIX 1

Wang Yucheng's Preface for Zanning from *The Literary Collection of Wang Yucheng (Xiaochu ji 小畜集)*¹¹²

(1) Preface to the Collected Writings of Great Master of 'Comprehensive Wisdom'¹¹³ [Zanning], Buddhist Registrar of the Left Precincts [of the Capital]

(2) Sons of the Buddha refer to Buddhist writings as the internal (i.e., essential or orthodox) canon, and Confucian writings as external (i.e., peripheral or non-orthodox) study. Many are skilled in poetry; few are skilled in literary culture (*wen*). The Great Master alone is [proficient in] all four of these.

(3) The Great Master's secular family name is Gao; his Dharma name is Zanning. His forebears hailed from Bohai.¹¹⁴ At the end of the Sui dynasty (581-618), they migrated to Deqing county in the Wuxing region.¹¹⁵ If you investigate the achievements of his ancestors,¹¹⁶ they all concealed their virtue and did not serve as officials.

(4) His mother's family name was Zhou; she gave birth to the Great Master in a country villa¹¹⁷ on Mount Jinwu,¹¹⁸ on a specific day and month in the year *yimao*,¹¹⁹ the sixteenth year of the *tianyou* era of the Tang dynasty (919).¹²⁰

(5) At the time of the seventh year of the *zhenming* era of the [Later] Liang dynasty (921), Kings Wusu, Qian so and so, had exclusive control over the Jiangsu and Zhejiang regions. During the *tiancheng* era (926-930) of the Later Tang dynasty, [the master] left home [to become a monk]. At the beginning of the *qingtai* era (934-936), he received full ordination on Mount Tiantai, studied the fourfold vinaya¹²¹ and mastered the Nanshan Vinaya [tradition].¹²²

(6) In the third year of the *changxing* era (932), King Wusu passed away, and King Wenmu, so and so, inherited the position. The prestige of the Great Master increased daily, and the study of literature prospered. At the

time, members of the [ruling] Qian family and the class of public officials, such as King Zhongyi so and so, Military Commissioner of Manifest Virtue Qi,¹²³ Military General Supporter of State Yi, Regional Chief of Yuezhou Yi, Surveillance Commissioner of Jinzhou Yan, and Vice Minister of the Ministry of Works Yu, learned¹²⁴ the meaning of literary culture (*wen*) with the Great Master. At the time, scholar officials in the Zhe region, such as Chief Minister of the Court of Imperial Regalia Cui Renji, Vice Minister of the Ministry of Works Shen Zhili, and Retired Palace Attendant Yang Dan, engaged in rhythmic verse exchanges in miscellaneous poetic styles with the Great Master. Moreover, he obtained his literary style from Great Master who Illuminates *Wen*, Huizheng,¹²⁵ and received his poetic technique from advanced *jinshi* awardee, [Long] Gonglin.¹²⁶ From this time on, [the master] greatly influenced his contemporaries. At the time, the famous monks of Qiantang, such as Qie(?) and Ning(?), circulated his name as the top of their class, and referred to him as “the tiger of discourse” (*lun hu*). Owing to his superior talent in constantly [explaining] the meaning of literary works, he was referred to as “the tiger of literature” (*wen hu*). As the Great Master often provided explanations of the vinaya, and was referred to as “the tiger of the vinaya” (*lü hu*). Because of this, he was known at the time as “the threefold tiger” (*san hu*).

(7) He was installed as Ordination Supervisor in his native land (i.e., Wuyue), and in addition was made Buddhist Controller of Both [the Eastern and Western] Districts of Zhe[jiang] province. For decades he provided clarification of [Buddhist teaching] during the period of the semblance dharma¹²⁷ and managed the black robed (i.e., Buddhist) monks in an orderly fashion.

(8) In the third year of the *taiping xingguo* era (978), when King Zhongyi ceded his territory to the country (i.e., the Song dynasty), the Great Master entered the capital offering stūpa relics of the true body [of Śākyamuni]. The silk-robed Emperor Taizong learned of his fame, and in a face-to-face meeting in the Hall of Abundant Blessings, extended his interview with [Zanning] for an entire day. When they parted,

[Taizong] conferred on him a purple robe, and proceeded to change the master's title to "Comprehensive Wisdom." The former minister Lu Zhuya extended heartfelt courtesies [to Zanning] and repeatedly sought out his counsel. He spoke ably about the terms *li* (principle or noumena) and *shi* (phenomena) outside the Confucian context with Manager of Affairs Li Mu, who was especially respectful and courteous toward the Great Master.

(9) In the eighth year [of the *taiping xingguo* era] (983), [Taizong] commissioned [Zanning] to compile the *Great Song Biographies of Eminent Monks*, and he requested to return to his old monastery in Hangzhou; he completed it in thirty fascicles and offered it to the emperor. On the day [it was received], it was documented with the imperial seal, praising its exquisiteness. With no further need to reside [in Hangzhou], he was summoned to return to the capital. The master took up residence at Tianshou monastery. In conjunction with Manager of Affairs, Su Yijian,¹²⁸ he received an imperial commission to compile the *Noteworthy Achievements of the Sages and Worthies of the Three Teachings*. [Su Yijian] enlisted the Great Master and the Daoist of the Hall of Highest Unity, Han Dechun, to take responsibility for their respective areas. The Great Master wrote *The Record of the Sages and Worthies of Vulture Peak*, as well as collecting *The Noteworthy Achievements of Sages and Worthies*, together totaling one hundred fascicles. He was appointed Chief Lecturer on Scriptures of the Left Precincts [of the Capital].

(10) In the inaugural year of the *zhidao* era (995), he was administrator of [Buddhist] Doctrinal Affairs in the Western Capital. In the inaugural year of the *xianping* era (998) of the current Emperor [Zhenzong], he was appointed by imperial order as Buddhist Registrar of the Right Precincts [of the Capital]. Prior to this, the former minister, Duke Wen Zhen provided a chariot for him.¹²⁹ The following year (999), at seventy-one years of age, [Wen Zhen] conceived the idea to continue the Society of Nine Elders that Bai [Juyi] had perpetuated for a time.¹³⁰ He enlisted the past official, the Chief Minister in the Ministry of Personnel,¹³¹ Song Qi,

age seventy-nine; Grand Master of Remonstrance of the Left,¹³² Yang Zhengzhi, age seventy-five; Prefect of Yingzhou, Supervisor of the Patrol Officers and Armory of the Imperial Guard,¹³³ Wei Pi, age seventy-six; retired Vice Minister¹³⁴ of the Chamberlain for Ceremonials,¹³⁵ Li Yun, age eighty; Director of the Bureau of Waterways and Irrigation,¹³⁶ Auxiliary¹³⁷ of the Imperial Archives,¹³⁸ Zhu Ang, age seventy-one; Vice Director¹³⁹ of the Military Commissioner of Luzhou, Wu Chongcheng, age seventy-nine; retired Companion of the Heir Apparent,¹⁴⁰ Zhang Haowen, age eighty-five; and the Great Master who at the time was seventy-eight years of age; nine men in total.

(11) Wen Zhengong held a banquet at his estate¹⁴¹ that took the form of an artistic event.¹⁴² With voiced poems spread through song, they disseminated [their contents] without end. When the leader of the state of Shu (?) rose in revolt and the imperial court delayed leaving, the Master, it goes without saying,¹⁴³ remained [in the capital].

At present,¹⁴⁴ among the group of nine elders, Li [Yun], Song [Qi], Yang [Zhengzhi], Wei [Pi], and Zhang [Haowen] have already passed away. At the age of eighty-two, the great Master's sight and hearing were failing and he [resides] in his native land [of Wuyue].

(12) [Including] Wusu, Wenmu, and the deposed King Zhongyi, constituting the rules of four generations [in Wuyue];¹⁴⁵ two emperors of the [Later] Liang dynasty (907-923);¹⁴⁶ the *yingshun* (933-934) and *qingtai* (934-937) eras of Emperor Zhuangzong (r. 923-926) of the Later Tang dynasty;¹⁴⁷ Emperors Gaozu (r. 936-942) and Chudi (r. 942-947) of the [Later] Jin dynasty; Emperors Gaozu (r. 947-948) and Yindi (r. 948-951) of the [Later] Han dynasty; Emperors Taizu (r. 951-954) and Shizong (r. 954-959) of the [Later] Zhou dynasty; the Prince of Liang, our [Song dynasty] Brave Warrior, Sage of Letters, Emperor of Godly Virtues, Taizu (r. 960-976); and our [Song dynasty] Remarkable Achiever, Sagely and Virtuous Emperor of Letters and Marital [spirit], Taizong (r. 976-997); through the current Emperor [Zhenzong] totals fifteen reigns of sovereigns. Consequently, he was able to receive the influential effects of their

“grand plans,”¹⁴⁸ and establish a position of respect for the Buddha. How can anyone say he did not succeed in gaining its longevity, succeed in winning its status?

(13) In order to explain [his teachings], the Great Master wrote very many compositions, without incurring the slightest retribution (?).¹⁴⁹ Those who see [what he has written] trust in it and are not able to easily dismiss it. I have collected the titles of his written works and provide them [here] as separate records (*bielu*). In total, he compiled one hundred and fifty-two fascicles on Buddhist canonical topics, and forty-nine fascicles on non-Buddhist studies. By reading his writings (*wen*), we know his teaching (*dao*). Based on evidence of the activities and affairs of these [Buddhist] “hereditary houses,”¹⁵⁰ he prepared [information] and wrote about them, being instructed [to compile] the latest biographical [installment based on] the tomb inscriptions of eminent monks.¹⁵¹ The imperial court at present puts trust in his words.

CHINESE TEXT OF THE 左街僧錄通惠大師文集序

- (1) 「左街僧錄通惠大師文集序」
- (2) 釋子謂佛書為內典，謂儒書為外學。工詩則眾，工文則鮮。並是四者，其惟大師。
- (3) 大師世姓高氏，法名贊寧。其先渤海人，隋末徙居吳興郡之德清縣。祖瑁考審，皆陰德不仕。
- (4) 母周氏，以唐天祐十六年歲，在己卯某月某日，生大師於金鷄山別墅。
- (5) 時梁貞明七年也。武肅王錢某專制江浙。後唐天成中出家。清泰初，入天台山受具足戒，習四分律，通南山律。
- (6) 長興三年，武肅王薨，文穆王某嗣位。大師聲望日隆，文學益茂。時錢氏公族有若忠懿王某，宣德節度俱，奉國節度億，越州刺史儀，金州觀察使儼，工部侍郎昱，與大師以文義切磋。時浙中士

大夫有若衛尉卿催仁驥，工部侍郎慎知禮，內侍致仕楊憚，與大師以詩什唱和。又得文格於光文大師彙征，授詩訣於前進士龔霖。由時大為流輩所服。時錢塘名僧有若契凝者通名數一支，謂之論虎。常從義者文章俊捷，謂之文虎。大師多毘尼著述，謂之律虎。故時稱三虎焉。

(7) 置本國監壇，又為兩浙僧統麼。數十年像法修明緇徒整戢。

(8) 太平興國三年，忠懿王搞版圖歸國。大師奉真身舍利塔入朝。太宗索聞其名，對滋福殿延問彌日，別賜紫方袍，尋改師號曰通慧。故相盧朱崖深加禮重參。知政事李穆儒學之外，善談名理事，大師尤為恭謹。

(9) 八年詔修大宋高僧傳。聽歸杭州舊寺。成三十卷進御之。日璽書褒美。居無何徵歸京。師住天壽寺。叅¹⁵²知政事蘇易簡奉詔選三教聖賢事跡。奏大師與太一宮道士韓德純分領其事。大師著鷲嶺聖賢錄，又集聖賢事跡，凡一百卷。制署左街講經首座。

(10) 至道元年，知西京教門事。今上咸平元年，詔充右街僧錄。先時故相文貞公聽車之。明年年七十一。思繼白少傳九老之會，得舊相吏部尚書宋琪，年七十九。左諫議大夫楊徽之，年七十五。鄧州刺史判金吾街仗事魏丕，年七十六。太常少卿致仕李運，年八十。水部郎中直秘閣朱昂，年七十一。廬州節度副使武充成，年七十九。太子中允致仕張好問，年八十五。大師時年七十八。凡九人焉。

(11) 文貞公將譙於家園，形於繪事。以聲詩流詠，播於無窮。蜀冠作亂，朝廷出，師不果而罷。今九老之中，李宋楊魏張已先逝矣。大師年八十二，視聽不良¹⁵³於本國麼。

(12) 武肅文穆廢王忠懿。凡四世於朝麼。梁兩帝，後唐莊宗應順清泰。晉高祖出¹⁵⁴帝。漢高祖陰帝。周太祖世宗。梁王我太祖英武聖文神德皇帝。我太宗神功聖德文武皇帝。通今上凡十五朝，而能受洪範嚮用之福。處浮圖具瞻之地。豈所謂必得其壽，必得其位者乎。

(13) 大師以述作頗多敘，引未立猥猥業。見託不克固辭。總其篇題具如別錄，凡內典集一百五十二卷，外學集四十九卷。覽其文，知其道矣。因徵其世家行事，備而書之。使後之傳高僧銘塔。朝者於茲取信云。

APPENDIX 2

Biographical Record of Zanning in the *Orthodox Transmission of Buddhism*¹⁵⁵

(1) Zanning was of the Gao family from Bohai, who moved to De[qing].¹⁵⁶ His mother, [family name] Zhou, gave birth to him in a country villa on [Mount] Jin'e (Golden Goose) in the fifth year of the *zhenming* era (919) in the [Later] Liang dynasty. He left home [to become a monk] at Xiangfu (Auspicious Sign) [Monastery] in Hang[zhou].¹⁵⁷ At the beginning of the *qingtai* era (934-936), he received full ordination on [Mount] Tiantai.¹⁵⁸ When King Zhongyi invited him to be an imperial guest, they discussed and debated¹⁵⁹ day and night. Many officials and members of their families were devoted to [Zanning]. People like Retired Minister Shen Zhili, and so on, engaged in rhythmic verse exchanges in miscellaneous poetic styles [with him], and obtained the key to creating literature (*wen*). He received his poetic technique from the Great Master who Illuminates *Wen*, Huizheng, and acquired skill in the study of law from *jinshi* awardee, Long Gonglin,¹⁶⁰ and thereby was referred to as "a tiger cub." He was appointed Ordination Supervisor in his native land (i.e., Wuyue), and Buddhist Controller of Both [the Eastern and Western] Districts of Zhe[jiang] province, and granted the honorific title, "Brilliant and Righteous Model of Culture."

(2) In the third year of the *taiping xingguo* era (978), when King [Zhongyi] offered his territory back to the [Song] capital, the master entered the capital¹⁶¹ offering stūpa relics of Śākyamuni. The silk-robed Emperor [Taizong] learned of fame. They met face-to-face in the Hall of Abundant

Blessings for an entire day and seven declarations.¹⁶² By imperial decree he was granted an honorific robe, and his title changed to “Comprehensive Wisdom.” He was appointed to the Hanlin Academy, and had the same duties as Tao Gu.¹⁶³ On occasions where matters [of government] were discussed with Qing, Suo, Zhu, Ying, An, and Rong,¹⁶⁴ he convinced them on the basis of Confucian scriptures, but they did not dare show deference to him.

(3) In the eighth year [of the *taiping xingguo* era] (983), [Taizong] commissioned [Zanning] to compile a Song dynasty biography of Buddhist monks, and he requested to return [to Hangzhou]. When the writing of it was completed, he went to the palace to see the emperor. When he presented it, the Palace Academician Wang (note in original: Yucheng) offered a commemorative poem: “The Honorable Zhi[dun] combined both the talents of leadership and the shrewdness of a fox;¹⁶⁵ with his (Zanning’s) compilation of the historical biography complete, darkness has lifted.” And when he went up to the palace he even rode a horse [like] Zhidun’s, wielding a writing brush, as if we were attending to Confucius. [It was as if] a unicorn had been presented to His Highness, and an imperial letter praised its exquisiteness. Soon after, he was summoned to the capital. He took up residence at Tianshou Monastery,

(4) In the second year of the *chunhua* era (991), he was appointed to compile and edit an administrative history [of the Buddhist clergy]. In the inaugural year of the *zhidao* era (995), he was administrator for the regulation of [Buddhist] Doctrinal Affairs in the Western Capital. When the Emperor [Zhenzong] ascended the throne, the imperial response toward [Zanning] became even more courteous. In the first year of the *xianping* era (998), he was appointed Buddhist Registrar of the Right Precincts [of the Capital]. In the third year [of the *xianping* era] (1000), he participated in administration after being transferred to Buddhist Registrar of the Left Precincts [of the Capital]. When Su Yijian¹⁶⁶ compiled the *Noteworthy Achievements of the Sages and Worthies of the Three*

Teachings, he enlisted the master and a Daoist priest, Han Dechun, to take the lead in their respective areas. [Zanning] wrote *The Record of the Sages and Worthies of Vulture Peak*, including their noteworthy achievements, together totaling one hundred fascicles, and filled [the position of] Chief Lecturer on Scriptures of the Left Precincts [of the Capital]. In the second month of the following year (1001), he passed away in his hometown. He was interred in an embankment in Longjing, in Qiantang.¹⁶⁷ In the fourth year of the *chongning* era (1105), he was awarded the posthumous title Perfect Brilliance (*yuanming*). What he wrote [included] the *Biographies of Eminent Monks compiled in the Great Song dynasty* in thirty fascicles, and the *Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy* in three fascicles. He compiled one hundred and fifty-two fascicles on Buddhist canonical topics that were entered into the canon, forty-nine fascicles on non-Buddhist studies, and ten fascicles of musical scores for the zither (*zheng*). He compiled works on other matters, each of which circulates independently. When Duke Wang (i.e., Wang Yucheng) wrote a preface for his collected works, he commented: “The master’s [powers of] observation and understanding at age eighty-two are undiminished.”

(5) He experienced the capitals of fourteen courts, four generations at Wuyue, and in the end was able to have the good fortune of receiving the influence of their grand plans, and establishing a place of respect for the Buddha. How he is known for assuring its longevity; how he is known for assuring its status! Wang [Yucheng notes that] when Wen [Zhen]¹⁶⁸ wanted to form a group with nine men of the capital and provinces who were elderly, and successfully continued the carefree [society of] nine elders, the master was included among them. Gushan [Zhiyuan] paid respect to his image in a poem:

In a state of tranquility, he returned to the realm of Truth (*nirvāṇa*);
 The work of saving humankind having already been completed.
 The courts of two emperors esteemed his efforts;
 All within the four seas acknowledged his eminence.
 Of the traditions of old, he preserved the Lotus Society;

In preserving lost records, he fulfilled [service to] the imperial capital.

He deliberated with great pause over former events;

In the trees of the courtyard, a crow calls out at sunset.

(6) The master composed an essay explaining Dharma gatherings of communities dedicated to a common goal in their religious practice. The name of such communities originated with [Hui]yuan of Mount Lu.¹⁶⁹ Prince Wenxuan of Jingling in the Qi dynasty recruited monks and lay people to a Community of Pure Abiding.¹⁷⁰ In the Liang dynasty, Sengyou composed an essay for a Dharma community to establish a city assembly dedicated to [accumulating] meritorious virtue.¹⁷¹ Successive generations through the ages, all have participated at Buddhist monasteries in Dharma community activities. The method of such communities is to use the combined minor efforts of a group to complete one major aim. The success of these helping activities does not exhaust [the potential of] the community.¹⁷² The combined efforts of communities today create a field of blessings. The covenants that bind them are stricter and more impartial than secular laws. The mutual encouragements members provide each other make them more diligent in their religious practice. As a result, these communities are effective in nurturing living beings. When communities in cities throughout [the province of] Zheng banded together to observe the Gengshen assembly,¹⁷³ they sang praises with clanging cymbals, invoking the Buddha (*nianfo*) while circumambulating [his image]. They go the entire night without sleep, in order to prevent the three Peng's¹⁷⁴ from reporting to the Lord [on High] the misdeeds they have recorded, and deducting time from one's allotted life span. In truth, this is a Daoist teaching, and disreputable monks use it for financial gain without regard for the fundamental [teachings of Buddhism]. These deceitful practices and perverse tactics cause such deep pain!

(7) The master defended the teaching meticulously to the extent described here. Kai'an said:¹⁷⁵ "The *Guitian lu*¹⁷⁶ says that when Emperor Taizu visited Xiangguo (Assist the Country) [monastery] and lit a stick of incense in front of the Buddha, he asked: 'Should I bow down [to the

Buddha] or not?’ The master replied respectfully: ‘The Buddha of the present does not bow down to a Buddha of the past.’ As a result, [the emperor] suspended the custom of bowing down [to the Buddha], and ordered that in imperial processions [to Buddhist monasteries], burning incense [is allowable] but never bowing down.”

Because the master arrived at the court during the *taiping xingguo* era (976-984),¹⁷⁷ the statement recorded in the *Guitian lu* are those of one especially fond of meddling and Duke Ou[*yang Xiu*] accepted it by mistake. Observing the lamps on the night of the Lantern Festival, the palace Han[*lin* scholar] Wang [Yucheng] ridiculed their worthlessness. How could he be so critical of Buddhism, yet so favorable toward Zanning? When the courts of the two emperors Gao[zong] (r. 1127-1162) and Xiao[zong] (r. 1162-1189) visit Tianzhu [monastery] for celebratory offerings, it is never the case that they do not go down on their knees [before the Buddha].

CHINESE TEXT OF X 75 NO. 1513 釋門正統, 贊寧 BIO.

(1) 贊寧 渤海高氏。徙于德。母周以梁貞明五年生于金鵝別墅。天成中出家杭之祥符。清泰初進具天台。忠懿王延為上客。日夕切磋。公姓公族。多所歸向。侍郎慎知禮等。唱和詩什。得作文關鍵。光文大師彙征受詩訣。于進士龍共霖工律學。以虎子稱。署本國監壇，僧統，賜明義宗文號。

(2) 太平興國三年，王奉版圖歸朝。師奉釋迦舍利塔入見。上素聞之。對于滋福殿。一日七宣。召賜方服。改通慧號。除翰苑與陶穀同職。有以青瑣朱楹安容此物。講者折以儒典。敢不欽伏。

(3) 八年詔修宋僧傳，聽歸。秉筆既成詣闕。獻之王內翰(禹偁)賜詩云。支公兼有董狐才，史傳修成乙夜開。又赴闕尚騎支遁馬援毫。猶待仲尼。麟進御璽書褒美。未幾徵入京住天壽寺。

(4) 淳化二年充史館編修。至道元年知西京教門事章。聖登極賜對有加禮。咸平初擢右街僧錄。三年遷左街參政。蘇易簡撰三教聖賢事跡奏師與道士。韓德純主其事。著鷲嶺聖賢錄及事跡凡一百卷。補左街首座。明年二月示寂故里。葬錢唐龍井塢。崇寧四年加諡圓明。所著大宋高僧傳三十卷。僧史略三卷。入藏內典集一百五十二卷。外學集四十九卷。箏譜十卷。物外集皆別行。王公序其文集曰。師年八十二視聽不衰。

(5) 歷京師十四朝。吳越四世。終能受洪範嚮用之福。處浮屠具瞻之地。所謂必得其壽。必得其位者乎。王文正欲以朝州龐眉九人繪之。以繼樂天九老之勝。師亦預焉。孤山拜像詩曰。寂爾歸真界。人間化已成。兩朝欽至業。四海仰高名。舊跡存華社。遺編滿帝京。徘徊想前事。庭樹晚鴉鳴。

(6) 師撰結社法集文謂。社名起廬山遠。齊竟陵文宣王募僧俗淨住社。梁僧祐撰法社建功德邑會文。歷代以來咸就僧寺為法會社。社之法以眾輕成一重。濟事成功莫近於社。今之供社共作福田。約束嚴明。愈於公法。互相策勵。勤於修行。則社有生養之功。周鄭邑社。結守庚申會。鐃鈸歌讚。念佛行道。一夕不睡。以避三彭。奏帝注罪奪筭。實道家法。庸僧謀利不尋根本。誤行邪術。深可痛哉。

(7) 師護教縝密至於如此。鎧菴曰。歸田錄云。太祖幸相國。炷香佛前。問當拜不。師奏見在佛不拜過去佛。因罷拜禮。令行幸焚香。皆不拜也。師以太平興國入朝則歸田云云。特好事者語。而歐公誤采耳。元夜觀燈。王內翰嘲略無假借。豈於法門苟為姑息。高孝二廟幸天竺明慶。未嘗不屈膝也。

NOTES

1. *Chinese Traditional Historiography* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), p. 9.
2. Put simply, those who would challenge the notion of an identical human nature that transcends cultural expression would argue that human nature cannot be isolated from the forms through which it is expressed. Those who posit a universal human nature insist that such a separation is plausible. Such a distinction, it might be noted, has very practical implications regarding national or cultural identity. The belief in a universal human nature transcending language, ethnicity, and so on, allows for multi-lingual and multi-ethnic conceptions of the state. The alternate conception rests on the notion that the state is a "natural" extension of a particular ethnic and linguistic group.
3. Traditional China is generally used to describe forms and expressions that typify the Chinese cultural experience prior to the twentieth century. In the present context, we are specifically concerned with the influence of traditional Chinese cultural assumptions over historiographical conventions, conventions that became regularized through such standard works as the *Dynastic Histories*.
4. John A. Garraty, "Chinese and Western Biography: A Comparison" (*The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol XXI, No. 4, August, 1962, p. 487), notes that while "the traditional Chinese view of the relation of the individual to society seems to have been quite different from that common in the West, the earliest motives in writing biography" -- eulogy or paying respect for the dead, and the didactic purposes for which biographies were used -- "were essentially the same." He also notes striking similarities in the development of rigid forms for writing biography.
5. In addition to Gardner, the reader may wish to consult a number of articles in W. G. Beasley and E.G. Pulleyblank, eds., *Historians of China and Japan* (London, 1961). See also, David S. Nivison, "Aspects of Traditional Chinese Biography," in "The Biographical Approach to Chinese History: A Symposium" (*The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXI: No. 4, August 1962), pp. 457-63.
6. Nivison, "Aspects of Traditional Chinese Biography," p. 457, makes the same point with regard to the portion of the *Ming shi* 明史 (197 out of 332 chapters) devoted to collections of biographies.

7. The form of the *shijia* chapters differ little from the *benji*. They begin with a detailed account of the life of the illustrious founder, followed by accounts of successive heirs.
8. While I follow the "standard" translation of Gardner (p. 99) and others, Burton Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien: Grand Historian of China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 120, translates *liezhuan* as "memoirs." The difference, however, need not detain us. As conceived by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (Ssu-ma Ch'ien), the category was for such men who, "upholding righteousness, masterful and sure, not allowing themselves to miss opportunities,... made a name for themselves in the world." According to Chen Shih-hsiang (Zhen Shixiang), "We know that in naming his 'biographies' *chuan*, Ssu-ma Ch'ien was holding fast to the earlier sense of the word, that the individual lives he depicted were mere illustrations of the greater events and ideals of the times; and his *lieh-chuan* therefore stands in a subservient position to his 'imperial annals' [sic] (*pen-chi*) in a sense not too different from that of the *Kung-yang chuan* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*" (Cited from Watson, p. 121). Chen's claim is supported by Liu Zhiji, compiler of the *Shi tong* (Generalities on History):

The rise to prominence of annals and biographies began with the *Shi ji* and *Han shu*. The annals are in chronologically arranged form (*biannian*). The biographies take the form of connected events (*lieshi*). The chronological form sets out in order the years and months of Emperors and Kings as does the Classic of Spring and Autumn. The form of connected events records the actions of subjects and ministers like the Traditions to the Spring and Autumn Annals. In the case of the Spring and Autumn Annals, they made Traditions to explain the Classic itself. In the case of the *Shi ji* and *Han shu* they provided biographies to explain the basic annals. (Quoted with minor changes from Twitchett, "Chinese Biographical Writing," p. 98)

9. According to Garraty, "Western biography has been marked by an almost uninterrupted tendency toward stressing individuality, and toward the development of an emphasis on the portrayal of individual differences and peculiarities." (p. 488) As Garraty notes, however, this is a characteristic of Western biography that has developed largely since the Renaissance. Prior to that, "the average saint's life, like the

average Chinese biography of the same era, pictured a stereotype, not a man." (ibid.)

10. The comments of D.C. Twitchett, "Chinese Biographical Writing" (*Historians of China and Japan*, p. 95), may be noted in this context:

The writing of biography in any given society not only throws into relief the motives, preoccupations, and interests of its authors, but also illuminates the relationships existing between the individuals who provide its subjects and society as a whole. To the historian, biographical writings are most valuable source material, but in the use of this material he needs a clear understanding of these factors and of the effects which they have upon the finished work. For the western historian working in the field of Chinese history, the special outlook and ideology of the traditional scholar-bureaucrat class on the one hand, and the very different status of the individual in his social relationships on the other, make such an understanding particularly vital.

11. Contained in Paul S. Ropp, ed., *Heritage of China: Contemporary Perspectives on Chinese Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 15-54. The section in question begins on p. 16; reproductions of the Greek vase and Chinese bronze vase are found in Figures 2.1 and 2.2.
12. Ropp, ed., p. 19.
13. This has significant implications for the evolution of biographical images of a single person recorded in various contexts over time. It explains why biographical images and details may fluctuate widely over time, as a result of changing social contexts and the values/ models they generate. This was the subject of my previous study on the biographical record of Zanning's contemporary, Yongming Yanshou (*The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds: A Study of Yung-ming Yen-shou and the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi* [New York: Peter Lang, 1993]; see especially Part II, The Life of Yung-ming Yen-shou: The Making of a Ch'an and Pure Land Patriarch [pp. 37-99]). The results of this research are also included in an article, "The Contextual Study of Chinese Buddhist Biographies: The Example of Yung-ming Yen-shou (904-975)," in Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara, eds., *Monks and Magicians: Religious Biographies in Asia* (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1988), pp. 247-68; and most recently, in "Yongming Yanshou and the Complexities of Chan Identity," chapter one of *Yongming Yanshou's Conception of Chan in the Zongjing lu: A Special Transmis-*

- sion within the Scriptures* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 11-44.
14. This is part of a series of *gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 works, first initiated by Huijiao 慧皎 with the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (compiled ca. 520) and continued by Daoxuan 道宣 with the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (667) and Zanning with the *Sung gaoseng zhuan* (988). The final abbreviated attempted edition in the series, the *Ming gaoseng zhuan* 明高僧傳 compiled by Ruxing 如惺 (1617), represents the decline of the genre rather than a meaningful contribution to it. On Huijiao and the *Gaoseng zhuan*, see A.F. Wright, "Biography and Hagiography: Hui chiao's Lives of Eminent Monks," in the *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zimbun kagaku kenkyusyo* (Kyoto, 1954), pp. 383-432. On the significance of the collapse of the *gaoseng zhuan* genre in Chinese Buddhist historiography, see Ishii Shūdō, *Sōdai zenshūshi no kenkyū* (A Study on the History of the Zen School in the Song Dynasty), (Tokyo: Daito shuppansha, 1987), especially pp. 1-8.
 15. *Shilüe* is more literally translated as "Outline History" or "Historical Digest," but because of the arrangement of the work according to various independent topics covered in a concise, yet detailed style, I have chosen to translate it as "topical compendium," being a collection of concise but detailed information about a particular subject, systematically gathered.
 16. The political climate at this time, focusing on north China, has been carefully analyzed by Wang Gungwu, *The Structure of Power in North China during the Five Dynasties* (Palo Alto: Stanford, 1967). The turmoil experienced in China at this time was a legacy of the An Lu-shan rebellion (ca. 755) and the inability of Tang government to effectively deal with growing regional autonomy. The power of the central government continued to erode through the 9th century, finally collapsing at the beginning of the 10th. For the background to this period, see Robert M. Somers, "The End of the T'ang," in Denis Twitchett, ed., *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 3: *Sui and T'ang China, 589-906*, pt. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 682-789.
 17. On the impact of these changes primarily from a social and economic perspective, see John W. Haeger, ed., *Crises and Prosperity in Sung China* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975, p. 4). In the introduction Haeger writes, "It is by now almost in the nature of truism that the beginnings of "modern" Chinese history can be traced to the so-called T'ang-Sung transition in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries," and goes on to mention "the concentration of population and economic strength away

from the political center of gravity,” the “surplus of fertile, arable land,” and “the growth of commerce” as factors precipitating broad based social and institutional changes.

18. Regarding the situation of Chan in medieval China bearing upon important developments in the tenth century, readers may consult T. Griffith Foulk, “The Ch’an Tsung in Medieval China: School, Lineage, or What?”, *The Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, no. 8 (Fall, 1992), pp. 18-31. As Foulk points out (pp. 25-26), the effects of the Huichang campaign were keenly felt by Buddhist schools (including the Chan factions associated with Shenhui and Shenxiu) dependent on government support. One of the legacies of the suppression was a “decentralization” of support for Buddhism. Many regional areas remained hospitable toward Buddhism, and as the authority of the central government waned, provincial patrons became primary supporters. This had a tremendous impact on the development of Chan. The so-called “five houses” all owed their existence to this development. On the impact of this decentralization on the development of regionally based Chan movements, see my recent study, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).
19. The leader of this group, Li Fang 李昉 (925-996), was editor in chief of the classic works of early Song historiography, the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, the *Taiping guangji* 太平光紀, and the *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華.
20. On Zanning’s promotion of “three teachings” ideology in the early Sung, see my earlier essay “A Buddhist Response to the Confucian Revival: Tsan-ning and the Debate over *Wen* in the Early Sung,” in Daniel A. Getz and Peter N. Gregory, eds., *Buddhism in the Sung* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), pp. 21–61; and also an earlier article, “Tsan-ning’s *Ta-Sung Seng Shih-lüeh* (*Dasong Seng shilüe*) and the Foundations of Sung Dynasty Buddhism: The Three Teachings as Implements of the Chinese Emperor,” *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan* (Tōhō gakkai/ The Institute of Eastern Culture) No. XXXIII, 1988, pp. 46-64.
21. The use of non-Buddhist learning to ingratiate oneself with Confucians and Daoists is advocated by Zanning himself in the appendix to section 23 of the SSL (T. 54, 240c-241a), for example, and figures like Dao’an 道安, Huiyuan 慧遠, Fuli 復禮, and Jiaoran 皎然 are mentioned in this regard. Zanning’s position is summarized in the statement: “None of the

above Buddhist masters adopted the teachings of their adversaries; they merely communicated with them [using] non-Buddhist learning.”

22. A statement by Huijiao 慧皎 in his preface to the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳. See A. F. Wright, “Biography and Hagiography: Hui-chiao’s *Lives of Eminent Monks*,” p. 387.
23. The *Xiaochu ji* 小畜集 is contained in the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 (Shanghai, 1965). The *Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統 is contained in the Taiwan reprint edition of *Zokuzōkyō*, the *Xuzang jing* 續藏經 (Vol. 130.450c-451a; CBETA X 75.353a-b). Other works with biographies or biographical information relating to Zanning include the following:

· *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 44 (T 49.402a-c); compiled by Zhipan 志磐 (1269).

· *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 18 (T 49.659b); compiled by Nianchang 念常 (1333).

· *Shishi jigu lue* 釋氏稽古略 4 (T 49.860c-861a); compiled by Jue’an 覺岸 (1345).

· *Shiguo chunqiu* 十國春秋 89; compiled by Wu Renchen 吳任臣 (ca. 1700).

· *Xiangshan yelu* 湘山野錄 3; compiled by Wen Ying 文瑩 in the *xining* era (1068-77).

· *Longxing xiangfu jietan sizhi* 龍興祥符戒壇寺志 9; compiled by Zhang Dachang 張大昌 (1893).

· *Xianchun lin’an zhi* 咸淳臨安志 70; compiled by Qian Shuoyou 潛說友 (1265-1274).

· *Deqing xianzhi* 德清縣志 8; compiled by Hou Yuanfei 侯元棐 (1673).

· *Lingyin sizhi* 靈隱寺志 3A; compiled by Sun Zhi 孫治 (1888).

· In addition, there is biographical information contained in Fadao’s 法道 preface to the *Seng shilüe* (T 54.234b-235a), written in 1144.

The best modern study is by Makita Tairyō, “Sannei to sono jidai” (Zanning and His Times), *Chūgoku kinsei bukkyōshi kenkyū*, pp. 96-133. For a discussion in English, see Albert Dahlia, “The ‘Political’ Career of the

Buddhist Historian Tsan-ning”, in David Chappell, ed., *Buddhist and Taoist Practice in Medieval Chinese Society*, Buddhist and Taoist Studies II (Honolulu: Hawaii, 1987). Those interested in the reconstruction of Zanning’s life according to available documentation should consult these sources. My aim here is not to duplicate these efforts, but to reflect on the meaning of Zanning’s life as perceived from a “secular” and a Buddhist source.

24. The term “Confucian monk” (*ruseng* 儒僧 or J. *jusō*) was coined by Makita Tairyō (see “Sannei to sono jidai,” p. 105).
25. Writing prefaces for other’s books, along with writing biographies, poems, letters, and birthday salutations, was one of the obligations into which the Chinese literatus was drawn (Nivison, “Aspects of Traditional Chinese Biography,” p. 457).
26. Zanning acknowledges *bei wen* 碑文 (stone tomb inscriptions) as a major source of information for the biographies of monks collected in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* (T 50.709a).
27. Possibly 999, depending on the date of Zanning’s birth, the month and day of which are unclear according to the *Xiaochu ji* preface.
28. On this, see “A Buddhist Response to the Confucian Revival: Tsan-ning and the Debate over *Wen* in the Early Sung.” The importance of *wen* in the early Song is reflected, for example, in the introduction to the collected biographies of literary men in the *Song shi* 439, p. 12997:

It has been so from old that in the case of a founding and unifying ruler one could predict the pattern of an entire era from what his times valued. When the Great Ancestor [Taizu; r. 960-76] changed the mandate, he first gave employment to *wen* officials and took power away from military officers. The Song’s valuing of *wen* [the literary/civil] had its roots in this. While still heirs-apparent, Taizong [r. 976-97] and Zhenzong [r. 997-1022] already had reputations for loving learning. Once they took the throne, [the Song] became more *wen* by the day. Through the successive reigns of their descendants, all those above who acted as rulers of men were constantly engaged in learning, and all those below who acted as ministers, from the chief councilors down to the local officials, were selected through the examinations; and so within the four seas *wen shi* who combined substance and refinement appeared in droves. [trans. with minor changes from Peter K. Bol, “*This Culture of Ours*”: *Intellectual Transi-*

tions in T'ang and Sung China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), p. 150]

29. For a review of the situation at the early Song court, including a description of the positions of Wang Yucheng and Yang Yi, see Peter K. Bol, *"This Culture of Ours": Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China*, ch. 5, "Civil Policy and Literary Culture: The Beginnings of Sung Intellectual Culture" (pp. 148-175). My presentation here is indebted to Bol's analysis.
30. The fact that Buddhist monks were drawn to the *guwen* movement is also noted by Bol, *"This Culture of Ours"*, pp. 165-66, who cites the case of the monk Zhiyuan 智圓 (976-1022). A connection between Zhiyuan and Zanning is considered below.
31. The memorial is recorded in Wang Yucheng's biography in the *Sung shi* 293, p. 9797.
32. Quoted material is from Han Yu's "Memorial on the Bone of the Buddha," (translation from de Bary, ed., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, vol. I, pp. 372-74).
33. The four major suppressions in Chinese history are listed as: Northern Wei (446), Northern Zhou (574), Tang (845), and Later Zhou (955).
34. *Jiu wudai shi* 舊五代史 115, p. 1529. For a review of the situation of Buddhism in the Five Dynasties, particularly the Shizong suppression, see Makita Tairyō, *Godai shūkyōshi kenkyū* (A Study of the Religious History of the Five Dynasties) (Kyoto, 1971).
35. The *Jiu wudai shi* 115 and *Xin wudai shi* 新五代史 12 agree on the number of temples destroyed. The *Wudai huiyao* lists the number as 33,036. Makita, p. 176, doubts the authenticity of these figures as they far exceed comparable numbers given for the Tang suppression, generally regarded as the most severe attack on Buddhism in Chinese history.
36. *Xiaochu ji* 20, 137a.
37. From 698 until 926, the region was occupied by the Bohai (Korean Balhae) kingdom, a mixed Korean and Mohe empire established in northern Korea and Manchuria following the fall of Goryeo. The Mohe (or Malgal, Mogher) were a Tungusic people in ancient Manchuria, sometimes considered the ancestors of the Jurchens, modern-day Manchus and other Tungusic peoples. According to some records, they originally dwelt near the Liao River and later migrated southward. They were involved in the ancient history of Korea: the records of the southern Korean Kingdoms of Baekje and Silla during the 1st century and 2nd century AD

include numerous battles against the Mohe. Later, they became subject to the northern Korean kingdom of Goryeo and its successor state, Balhae. After defeat by the Khitans in 926, most of its northern territories were absorbed into the Liao Dynasty and the southern parts were absorbed into Goryeo.

38. *Jie yinde bu shi* 皆陰德不仕.
39. A *bieshu* 別墅 (alternate pronunciation, *bieye*), translated here as “country villa,” in one definition suggests a barn used for gathering the harvest in. Another is a residence for peasants and people of the lower classes. A treatise “On Farming” (*Nongshu* 農書; Congshu jicheng 叢書 ed., pp. 1-10) written by Chen Fu 陳敷 (– 文) in 1149 recommends that families engaged in agriculture erect a cottage, in addition to their principal residence, in the center of the fields, where people are instructed to move to during the intensive labor months to supervise and provide supplies for the farm workers.
40. The year is identified as *simao* in the sixty-year cycle, which would make it the fifth year of the *zhenming* era of the Later Liang dynasty (919), but the Preface identifies it as the seventh year of *zhenming* (921). This is changed to the fifth year (919) in all later biographies, and 919 is the accepted year of Zanning’s birth.
41. The final collapse of the Tang was precipitated by the Huangzhao rebellion (875-884), which allowed regional warlords (*jiedu shi*) to assert their autonomy. Such autonomous regions flourished particularly in the south and southwest. They became known to history as the “ten kingdoms”, the most successful of which, in terms of longevity and prosperity, was Wuyue. A chronology of the Wuyue monarchs is as follows:

(1) Qian Liu 錢鏐, (Prince Wusu 武肅王); (852-932) reigned 897-932.

(2) Qian Yuanguan 錢元瓘 (Prince Wenmu 文穆王); (887-941); reigned 932-941.

(3) Qian Zuo 錢佐 (Prince Zhongxian 忠獻王); (928-947); reigned 941-947.

(4) Qian Zong 錢宗 (Prince Zhongxun 忠遜王); reigned briefly in 947-948.

(5) Qian Chu 錢俶 (Prince Zhongyi 忠懿王); (929-988); reigned 948-978.

A study of the history of Wuyue, and translation of important documents pertaining to the reigns of individual monarchs has been carried out by Edouard Chavannes, "Le Royaume de Wou et de Yue", *T'oung Pao* XVII, 1916, pp. 129-264. The Buddhist proclivities of Wuyue rulers has been discussed by Abe Chōichi, *Chūgoku zenshūshi no kenkyū*, pp. 81-176. The "basic annals" (*benji* 本紀) of these monarchs are contained in *Wuyue beishi* 吳越備史 1-4 and *Shiguo chunqiu* 十國春秋 77-82. "Biographies" (*liezhuan* 列傳) are also contained in *Jiu Wudai shi* 舊五代史 133; *Xin Wudai shi* 新五代史 67; and *Song shi* 宋史 480. The Song biographical records have been translated by Chavannes, pp. 142-226. Because of Qian Liu's gradual acquisition of power in the region, various dates have been accepted as the beginning of his reign. For a discussion of these, see Chavannes, pp. 131-32.

42. On the role of Buddhism in Wuyue, see Abe, *Chūgoku zenshūshi no kenkyū*, and Hatanaka Joen, "Goetsu no bukyō--toku ni tendai tokushō to sono shi eimei enju ni tsuite" (Wuyue Buddhism-- with special reference to Tiantai Deshao and his heir Yongming Yanshou), *Otani daigaku kenkyū nenpō* No. 7, 1954, pp. 305-65. In *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 26-32, I have summarized the role of Buddhism in Wuyue under the following aspects: the influence of religious Daoism; the temple building activities of Wuyue rulers; the influence of the Aśokan model of Buddhist kingship; the revival of Mt. Tiantai as the spiritual center of the region; and the relations between Buddhist monks and Wuyue rulers.
43. Regarding Huizheng and the *wenge* style of literature, see Makita, "Sannei to sono jidai," p. 129, n. 30. Zhiyuan, whose reputation as an active teacher of *guwen* to other monks was noted above, wrote a "Preface to the Independent Works of the Buddhist Huizheng" (*Foshi huizheng bieji xu* 佛氏彙征別集序), contained in *Xianju bian* 閑居編 10 (X 56.881a-b). According to Zhiyuan's preface, Huizheng learned *guwen* from one Sun Xi 孫希 and supported the traditional style of classical studies. He wrote tomb inscriptions for Daofu 道怱 (868-937) and Quanfu 全付 (882-947) (see *Song gaoseng zhuan* 13 [T 50.787a-b and b-c]) where he has the title "Buddhist Superior" (*sengzhu* 僧主). Makita speculates that Huizheng may be the same person as Xijue 希覺, whose biography is recorded in *Song gaoseng zhuan* 16 (T 50.810b-c). A very brief biography of Huizheng is found in the *Shiguo chunqiu* 89, p. 1293.

44. Gong Lin appears in the *Orthodox Transmission* as Long Gonglin 龍共霖, a *jinshi* recipient from whom Zanning allegedly becomes versed in the study of law (*lǜxue* 律學); see below.
45. Makita, p. 105, notes the appearance of “Confucian monks” in southern China around this time, suggesting a direct link to Zanning’s interest in Confucianism.
46. *Xiaochu ji* 20, 137b.
47. The Magadhan ruler Aśoka is frequently cast as the model Buddhist monarch in Buddhist literature. His support of Buddhism became the basis for fantastic legends in connection with his stupa building activities. Chinese rulers wishing to emulate Aśoka imitated his alleged stupa-building program. For a study and translation of the Aśoka legend, see John S. Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).
48. On this, see Todo Kyoshun, “Kōnan to kōhoku no bukkō-- bosatsu deshi kōtei to kōtei soku nyorai” (Buddhism North and South of the Yangtze River: The concept of the Emperor as a Buddhist disciple who has taken the Bodhisattva precepts vs. the concept of the Emperor as the Tathagatha), *Bukkyō shisō shi* 4, 1981.
49. *Shishi jigu lüe* 釋氏稽古略 4 (T 49.860c), compiled in 1345, where the source for this information is given as the *Huangchao shiyuan* 皇朝事苑 (A Miscellany of Imperial Affairs). A text of the same name is contained in Keio University Library, Japan, published by Yamazaki Kimpyoe 山崎金兵衛, but I have been unable to consult it. The story is elaborated on in the *Shishi jigu lüe* as follows:

The monk Zanning accompanied the ruler of Wuyue to the [Song] court.... The following year, [Emperor Taizong] ordered Zanning to mount a courier horse (*chengyi* 乘驛) and proceed to the [stupa containing] relics of the true body of Śākyamuni Buddha on Mt. Ayu Wang (King Aśoka) in Mingzhou. He entered the forbidden area and made offerings to it, and obtained a portion of the relics (*sheli* 舍利). With these, an eleven-storied stupa (*futu* 浮圖) was erected at the site of the northwest tower of Kaibao Monastery, and at the base of it was built a celestial palace (*tiangong* 天宮) to inter the relics in.

50. In this regard, Taizong’s motives are reminiscent of other Chinese emperors who have sought to use the influence of Buddhism to their advantage. As Arthur F. Wright has written in his appraisal of Tang Taizong, “The welfare of the state and dynasty is the first consideration;

linked to this is concern for the morale of his people, and here Buddhist belief, if properly channeled and controlled, could be a positive influence." Control over the clergy and Buddhist faithful was linked to curbing "corrupt and subversive practices." Measured patronage of Buddhist institutions and participation in Buddhist observances were encouraged among the upper classes as means of reassuring the masses and keeping their behavior in check. ("T'ang T'ai-tsung and Buddhism," p. 263). This is, interestingly, one of the arguments that Zanning uses in the *Seng shilüe* to promote Buddhism at the Song court. Judicious support, as a measure of control over Buddhism, was appealing to emperors seeking to extend their influence over society. An interesting review of the breadth and scope of imperial policy over Buddhism in the Tang is found in Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

51. The content of their conversation is revealed by Zanning in *Song gaoseng zhuan* 27 (T 50.880b-c) as concerning the dimensions of the famous stone-bridge situated over a water fall at the Fangguang Monastery 方廣寺 on Mt. Tiantai. In addition, Makita, "Sannei to sono jidai," p. 106, states that they spoke of the legendary five hundred Arhats of the same temple, and the content of Xuanzang's *Xiyu ji* 西域記 (Record of the Western Regions).
52. Information regarding Lu Zhuyai is uncertain; should he be identified with Lu Duoxun (934-985) (*Song shi* 264, 9116-20), the Song official enlisted by Taizu in his campaign to subdue Southern Tang (Johannes Kurz, *China's Southern Tang Dynasty 937-976*, p. 102)? The biography of Li Mu (928-984) is found in *Song shi* 263 (9105-07). Li Mu was also instrumental in Taizu's plan to subdue Southern Tang (Kurz, p. 103). The term "minister" (*xiang* 相) refers to "a title of distinction normally given only to senior officials in a ruler's central administration,... a quasi-official reference to such top-echelon officials as... Tang-Song Grand Councilors (*zaixiang* 宰相)." The Manager of Affairs (*zhi chengshi* 知政事) is "a supplementary title granted to eminent officials who served as Grand Councilors (*zaixiang*), regularly participating in deliberations about major government policies in the Administration Chamber (*zhengshi tang* 政事堂)." (Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, no. 2303 and no. 940).
53. *Fozu tongji* 43 (T 49.397c) records that academy members asked: "How could the academy accept such a person?" Zanning's membership in the

Hanlin Academy is not openly acknowledged in Wang Yucheng's preface, making it doubtful that it actually occurred.

54. Li Fang (925-996; biography in *Song shi* 265, 9135-40) was a great scholar of the early Song, responsible for compiling three of the four encyclopedic collections that aimed to encapsulate knowledge for the new regime: *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* 太平御覽, a general encyclopedia; *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era* 太平廣記, a collection of gods, deities, fairies, ghost stories and theology; *Finest Blossoms in the Garden of Literature* 文苑英華, an anthology of poetry, odes, songs and other writings; and *Prime Tortoise of the Record Bureau* 冊府元龜, an encyclopedia of political essays, autobiographies, memorials and decrees. See Johannes L. Kurz, *Das Kompilationsprojekt Song Taizongs (reg. 976-997)* (Peter Lang, 2003).
55. *Xiangshan yelu* 湘山野錄 (Record of a Rustic from Mt. Xiang) 3, p. 5a; compiled by Wen Ying 文英 in the *xining* era of the Song dynasty (1068-77).
56. On Xu Xuan (917-992), see Peter Bol, "This Culture of Ours", pp. 156-57; Xu Xuan's poem is contained in *Xu Gong ji* 徐公集 27 (Shanghai: *Sibu beiyao* 四部备要 73, Zhonghua shuzhu), p. 3a. His biography is found in *Song shi* 441.13044-49. On Xu Xuan, I have elsewhere ("A Buddhist Response to the Confucian Revival," p. 25) commented how Wang Yucheng's approach to *wen* is in many respects reminiscent of Xu Xuan. While Xu Xuan was a stern and conservative Confucian by nature, he displayed a wide range of interests, including painting and calligraphy. In addition to holding a number of important positions politically, he was a prolific scholar. Most noteworthy is his participation in the compilation of important encyclopedic works that helped to define *wen* at the Song court, including the redaction of the *Etymological Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (*Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字) on which all subsequent scholarship on the work is based.
57. On Liu Kai (954-1000), see Bol, "This Culture of Ours", pp. 162-65. Liu Kai's biography is found in *Song shi* 440.13023-28. I have written elsewhere of Liu Kai ("A Buddhist Response to the Confucian Revival," p. 24) that he is often regarded as the first Song dynasty proponent of *guwen*, a self-proclaimed successor of Han Yu. Proclaiming "mind and *wen* are one," Liu Kai drew a direct connection between mind as internal structure and *wen* as external manifestation, suggesting a role for *wen* as a moral instrument for rectifying the mind and attaining sagehood. The moral purpose ascribed to *wen* excluded all written expression that did

not fulfill this criterion (“My *wen* is the *wen* of Confucius, Mencius, Yang Xiong, and Han Yu”), including the classics, histories and writings of the “hundred schools,” not to mention Buddhist writings. In the contest of the early Song, where tolerance of difference was regarded as a political necessity, if not a virtue, Liu Kai’s strident moral exclusivism left him isolated from official channels of power.

58. On this, see Makita, “Sannei to sono jidai,” p. 115.
59. *Xiangshan yelu* 湘山野錄 3.5a-b. This and the following story are also cited in Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. 4, pp. 76-78, in connection with early Chinese explanations of luminescence.
60. The last ruler of the Southern Tang kingdom, Li Yu 李煜 (ca. 937-978), surrendered his authority in 975; the transfer of the painting does not seem to have occurred until at least two years later (977), when Taizong assumed the throne. On Li Yu, see Johannes L. Kurz, *China’s Southern Tang Dynasty, 937–976* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York, 2011), pp. 91-113.
61. Zhang Qian is the name of a famous envoy sent to the western regions during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty. The work is no longer extant.
62. *Xiangshan yelu* 3.20b. According to Needham (p. 77), “...the interest of the matter is that in 1768 John Canton did in fact describe a phosphor made from oyster shells—an impure calcium sulphide made by calcining the carbonate with sulphur. This became known as Canton’s phosphorus. By adding the sulphides of arsenic, antimony or mercury, phosphors with blue or green luminescence can be obtained, as Osann showed in 1825.”
63. *Fozu tongji* 43 (T 49.397c).
64. See Makita, “Sannei to sono jidai,” pp. 109-110. Given that most of the works are non-extant and the contents are unknown, the translation of the titles is tentative.
65. The *Sifen lü xingshi chao* 四分律行事鈔 (T 40, no. 1804) is a major vinaya text compiled by Daoxuan 道宣.
66. The *Sun pu* 筍譜 is extant, and found in such works as the *Yueyatang congshu* 粵雅堂叢書.
67. Extant, see Makita, p. 110.
68. Extant, see Makita, p. 110.
69. X 75-1513.353a20.
70. The expression *xuanjie* 懸解 (“release from bondage”) occurs twice in the *Zhuangzi* (see *A Concordance to the Chuang Tzu*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Supplement No. 20 [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956], once in the *Yangsheng zhu* 養生主 (“The

Fundamentals of Nurturing Life”) chapter, where it appears in the context of Qin Shi’s 秦失 reaction to Laozi’s death.

71. T 30.1a10.
72. The *Chunqiu fanlu* 破春秋繁露 (*Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals*) is a text attributed to the Han dynasty scholar Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒, although this attribution has been called into question. The *Chunqiu fanlu* (*Sibu congkao* 10) consists of eighty-two short essays on philosophical and political subjects. Wing-Tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (p. 273, n. 4), argues for the translation of *fanlu* as “luxuriant gems” rather than the more literal “luxuriant dew” on the basis that “the more common interpretation is that of gems hanging down a cap, symbolizing the connecting links between the use of terms in the Classic [*Spring and Autumn Annals*] and the event it describes.”
73. On the *Chunqiu wuxian chenlun* 春秋無賢臣論, see the *Lidai mingxian quelun* 歷代名賢確論 22 (<http://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=878919>). Little is known of its author, Sun Tai 孫邨. His courtesy name was Xihan 希韓; he hailed from Fenghua 奉化 (Ningbo) in Mingzhou, and received the *jinshi* degree in the *qianning* era (894-898). When Zhu Wen 朱溫 (852-912), military governor (*jiedu shi* 節度使) at the end of Tang, usurped the throne and founded the Later Liang dynasty (907-923), Sun Tai went into hiding on Mount Fenghua. Of the works he wrote, few have survived.
74. On Wang Chong’s *Lunheng* 論衡 (Balanced Discourses), see Alfred Forke, tr. *Lun-hêng, Part 1. Philosophical Essays of Wang Ch’ung*; and Timoteus Pokora and Michael Loewe, “*Lun heng* 論衡,” in *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, edited by Michael Loewe (University of California, Institute of East Asian Studies, 1993), pp. 309–312. The *Lunheng* (*Sibu beiyao* 180) consists of eighty-four chapters/essays, mostly devoted to attacks on current unsubstantiated beliefs and superstitions, with special chapters criticizing Confucius, Mencius, and Han Feizi. Chan, *Source Book* (p. 293, n. 2), argues against the translation of *lunheng* as “critical essays” on the basis that the professed aim of Wang was “balanced (or fair) discussion.”
75. The *Duduan* 獨斷 “Definitions [in government and administration]” is a short handbook on the political institutions and rules of government (“constitution”) of ancient China until the Later Han period (25-220). It is traditionally attributed to the scholar Cai Yong (132-192), but already the compilers of the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 were aware that the received version could not have been written by Cai Yong and must be of a later

- date. (<http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Diverse/duduan.html>, consulted July 2014).
76. The *Kuangmu zhengsu* 匡謬正俗 in eight fascicles is contained in the *Jingbu* section 10 經部十, *Xiaoxue lei* 1 小學類一, of the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (<https://archive.org/details/06050586.cn> & <https://archive.org/details/06050587.cn>). Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581-645) was a famous Tang dynasty author and linguist who wrote commentaries on several Chinese classics, such as the *Shiji* 史記 and *Han shu* 漢書, and produced a revision of the Five Classics 五經. For a look at Yan Shigu's commentarial style, based on his use of quotations from the *Shi jing* in his commentaries on the *Han shu*, see Poon Ming Kay 潘銘基, "Han shu Yan Shigu zhuyin Shi jiqi zhu jieshi lun" 《漢書》顏師古注引《詩》及其注解析論 ("A Study of Yan Shigu's Quotations from the *Shi jing* in His Commentaries on the *Han shu*"), *Journal of Chinese Studies* 中國文化研究所學報 No. 56 (January, 2013), pp. 21-57.
 77. *Shitong* 史通 (*Generalities on Historiography*), by Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661-721), is regarded as the first work on Chinese historiography. It describes the general pattern of past official dynastic historiography on structure, method, order of arrangement, sequence, caption, and commentary, back to the pre-Qin era. It is divided into 39 inner chapters and 13 outer chapters; 3 of the inner chapters had been lost since the times of Ouyang Xiu. The inner chapters, the principal part of the book, provide information on the types, forms, rules, lay out, the collecting of historical materials, outline, and the principle of historiography. The outer chapters describe the official system of the historiographer, origin and development of histories, and the success and failure of past historians.
 78. For an introduction to Dong Zhongshu's thought, see Chan, *Source Book*, pp. 271-288; and Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. 2, pp. 7-87.
 79. On Wang Chong, see Chan, *Source Book*, pp. 292-304; and Fung, *A History*, vol. 2, pp. 150-167. Alfred Forke has translated the *Lunheng* in two parts (New York: Paragon, 1962; reprint of 1907 [part 1] and 1911 [part 2] editions).
 80. In brief, the New Text school advocated a holistic interpretation of Confucian classics and viewed Confucius as a charismatic, visionary prophet, a sage who deserved the Mandate of Heaven but did not attain kingship due to circumstances. The "new texts" refers to those that had been transliterated into the new orthography back in the beginning of 2nd century BC, either from oral transmissions or from texts that had sur-

vived the Qin Dynasty's burning of the books or were rescued by the Han dynasty from texts in the provinces. These were transliterated into the new orthography. The "old texts" were ones that off and on turned up in the late second and first century BCE, some discovered in the walls of Confucius's residence, or in Warring States period graves. They were referred to as "old texts" because they were written in the pre-Qin orthographic writing style. The "new texts" portray Confucius as a prophet or "uncrowned king" that should have received the Mandate of Heaven. He could perform miracles and wrote the Five Classics himself. The New Text school, founded by Dong Zhongshu, believed the texts were sacred and carried hidden clues to the future that they tried to decode. They were also interested in apocryphal writings that were obtuse and esoteric. They believed historical events were caused by cosmic forces beyond the control of man. The Old Text school was rationalistic. They rejected apocrypha and believed that the classics were only edited, not written by Confucius. They believed history was caused by human actions and viewed the Son of Heaven as the axis mundi whose will was absolute. The "old texts" had a peculiarly archaist bent. They emphasized the sage-like as opposed to the prophet-like characteristics of Confucius, thereby making him look more like the earlier sages who founded and ruled Zhou Dynasty or even the still more archaic states which preceded it. (Michael Nylan, "The Chin wen/Ku wen Controversy in Han Times," *T'oung Pao*, 80 (1994), p. 83-145.)

81. See David McMullen, *State and Scholars in T'ang China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 89-92 and 177-178).
82. It is unclear whose works are being refuted here, but the sound of waves is likened to the voice of the Buddha in the Lotus sūtra (T 9.58a). The *Record of Elucidation* may refer to the *Lü ershier mingliao lun* 律二十二明了論 (Treatise Elucidating Twenty-Two Vinaya Stanzas; T 24, no. 1461), the composition of which is attributed to Buddhatrāta 佛陀多羅多, translation attributed to Paramārtha 真諦. It is a Vinaya treatise of the Saṃmitīya 正量部, who were one of four branches of the Vātsīputrīya school 犢子部 of Sthaviravāda Buddhism. It comprises twenty-two verses and a prose commentary on them, analyzing the categories of the Vinaya. In the space of these twenty-two verses, about sixty-five points are mentioned that one must be mindful of in the observance of the discipline. This is the only extant Vinaya work of the Saṃmitīya school. Related texts are T 1618 and 2031. See also Bhikshu Thích Thiên Châu, *The Literature of the Personalists of Early Buddhism*, translated by Sara

- Boin-Webb, Buddhist Tradition Series Volume 39 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1999), 117-122. [DDB: Michael Radich, Nyanatusita].
83. See Zanning's preface to the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* (T 50.709a). According to Zanning's preface to the *Seng shilüe* (T 54.235a), Zanning received a commission from the emperor to compile both the *Song gaoseng zhuan* and the *Seng shilüe* early in the *taiping xingguo* era (976-984). After the *Song gaoseng zhuan* was completed in 988, Zanning was commissioned to the Eastern Monastery 東寺 in his former district of Wuyue, to take up in earnest the task of compiling the *Seng shilüe*, completed in the second year of *xianping* (999).
 84. Chen Yuan, *Zhongguo fojiao shiji gailun* (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1955), pp. 35-36, claims that Wang has mistakenly attributed this as a separate work that is in fact Zanning's contribution to the *Sanjian shengxian shiji* mentioned previously.
 85. A list of known works attributed to Zanning is provided by Makita, "Sannei to sono jidai," pp. 109-110. There will be occasion to consider the place of the *Seng shilüe* in the context of Zanning's overall scholarship below.
 86. *Xiaochu ji* 20.137b. These were leading positions in the administration of Buddhist affairs. Left and right were designations to individuals of the same rank, except left took precedence over right in prestige. Later records claim that Zanning was transferred to the more prestigious position of Buddhist Registrar of the left precincts in the third year of *xianping* (1000) (*Shimen zhengtong*, XZJ 130.450d). Zanning's comments on the office of Buddhist Registrar are found in the *Seng shilüe* 2 (T 54.243a-b).
 87. Based on the assumption of allegiance to central (i.e., imperial) authority, Zanning allegedly served fifteen emperors during the Five Dynasties and Song period. While technically correct in the sense that Wuyue princes pledged formal allegiance to various Five Dynasties "emperors" in the north, Zanning's "service" to these emperors was indirect to say the least. Zanning directly served under various generations of largely autonomous Wuyue rulers until 978 when Prince Zhongyi formally ceded his authority over Wuyue and the region came under direct Song control. Zanning's role as Wuyue's leading diplomat at this time brought him into direct contact with Emperor Taizong, whom Zanning served in official capacities until the emperor's death in 997. Zanning also served directly under Emperor Zhenzong, who reigned during

- Zanning's final years. As noted above, Zanning reached his highest level of official appointment under Zhenzong's rule.
88. *Xiaochu ji* 20, 138a. Reference to the 'grand plan' (*hongfan* 洪範) links the accomplishments of the Song emperors with those of the legendary sage-emperor Yu 禹; see the *Hongfan* chapter of the *Shu jing* 書經 (James Legge, tr., *The Book of Historical Documents*, The Chinese Classics, Vol. III, pp. 320-44).
 89. *Xiaochu ji* 20.138a.
 90. On this topic, see Jan Yün-hua (Ran Yunhua), "Buddhist Historiography in Sung China," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgandländischen Gesellschaft* 114 (2), 1964, pp. 360-81, who writes (p. 362): "When we turn to the Buddhist historical writings of the Sung period, we find a large and unprecedented number of works.... In this great movement of Buddhist historiography, Tsan-ning (Zanning) occupied a special place, because he was the earliest and most influential writer amongst Buddhist historians."
 91. An edition of the *Zutang ji*, compiled in 952 with later additions, was published by Yanigida Seizan based on the Korean edition contained in the library of Hanazono University (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1972). The *Jingde chuandeng lu*, compiled in 1004, is contained in T 51, no. 2076. For the circumstances surrounding the development of Chan transmission histories, see Griffith Foulk, "The Ch'an *Tsung* in Medieval China," *The Pacific World*, New Series no. 8 (Fall 1992), pp. 18-31.
 92. The *Fozu tongji*, compiled in 1269, is contained in T 49, no. 2035; the *Shimen zhongtong* in the *Xuzang jing*, vol. 130 (X 75, no. 1513). For discussions of these works, see Jan, "Buddhist Historiography," pp. 370-72; Takao Giken, *Sōdai bukkyōshi no kenkyū* (A Study of the History of Buddhism in the Song Dynasty), (Kyoto, 1975), ch. 8; and Koichi Shinohara, "From Local History to Universal History: The Construction of the Sung T'ien-t'ai Lineage." in Peter Gregory and Daniel Getz, eds., *Buddhism in the Sung*, pp. 524-576.
 93. X 75-1513.353a15.
 94. X 75-1513.353a17-18.
 95. X 75-1513.353a18.
 96. X 75-1513.353a19-20.
 97. *Lüxue* 律學 could also refer to the study of the Buddhist vinaya, a supposition that would indeed make sense in Zanning's case but for the fact that the Long Gonglin referred to here, as recipient of a *jinshi* degree, is clearly versed in secular, not Buddhist knowledge.
 98. X 75-1513.353a2-4.

99. X 75-1513.353a6. Zanning's service in these two positions in Wuyue was also noted in Wang's Preface (see above).
100. Zhiyuan hailed from Qiantang (Hangzhou), as did Zanning, and likewise excelled in the study of Confucianism. As a Buddhist, he was affiliated with the Tiantai school. A prolific author, Zhiyuan's writings include commentaries on major Mahayana sūtras: the *Heart sūtra*, the *Amitābha sūtra*, the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*, and the *Vimalakīrti sūtra*; as well as the *Xianzhu bian* (Writings on the Quiet Life?).
101. From a statement in a farewell preface by Zhiyuan for Shuji 庶幾 recorded in *Song Jin Yuan wenlun* 宋金元文論 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1984), 16-18; Bol, tr., *This Culture of Ours*, p. 166 (with minor changes). According to Zhiyuan, there were monks even more extreme, who in imitation of Han Yu "attacked their own teaching and honored *ru*" (Bol, p. 408, n. 92).
102. Zhiyuan's association with Zanning's image was based on shared ideas regarding the Buddhist role in China. How this role was conceived indicated the way in which both Zanning and Zhiyuan reconciled Buddhism and *guwen* aims. In a statement attributed to Zhiyuan, Zhiyuan compares his teaching (*dao*) to a three-legged *ding* vessel, with the three teachings (*sanjiao*) as the legs. If one leg is missing, the vessel will fall over (*Shengsong jiatai pudeng lu* 聖宋嘉泰普燈錄 1, Huangdi shu 皇帝書 (Letter to the Emperor); *Xuzang jing* 137.1c). Zhiyuan's analogy may be read as a concise summary of Zanning's position in his conclusion to the *Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, where he speaks of the "grand strategy (*dayou* 大猷) of the three teachings" (T 54.255a), where it phrase appears in the context of Zanning's defense of Buddhism at the Song court as an integral component of imperial support for the three teachings. The "grand strategy" is Zanning's own way of speaking about the "great plan" (*hongfan*) that Wang Yucheng mentioned in connection with Zanning's loyal service to the empire in his preface. The meaning of the term *dayou*, like *hongfan*, is associated with its appearance in the Zhou guan 周官 (Officers of Zhou) chapter of the *Zhou shu* (Documents of Zhou) in the *Shu jing*, (Legge, tr., p. 525), where the "grand strategy" refers to the plan of the Zhou king in establishing government policies, a strategy based on a study of ancient precedents established by Yao and Shun. For more information on Zanning's argument for Buddhism as a component of Chinese *wen*, see my "A Buddhist Response to the Confucian Revival," pp. 36-47.

103. X 75-1513.353b1-3: 寂爾歸真界。人間化已成。兩朝欽至業。四海仰高名。舊跡存華社。遺編滿帝京。徘徊想前事。庭樹晚鴉鳴。
104. This text is not mentioned elsewhere. Since the majority of Zanning's writings are no longer extant, there is no way to ultimately resolve the issue, but the list of titles attributed to him suggests that Zanning was not actively engaged in the level of administration involving such groups. It is most likely an attribution reflecting the importance of Associations and Dharma Gatherings to Buddhist communities at the time the *Orthodox Transmission* was written.
105. On Buddhist Societies in the Song, see Daniel A. Getz, "T'ien-t'ai Pure Land Societies and the Creation of the Pure Land Patriarchate," in Gregory and Getz, eds., *Buddhism in the Sung*, pp. 477-523.
106. James T.C. Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu: An Eleventh Century Neo-Confucian* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1967), p. 142.
107. From the essay "On Fundamentals" cited from Wm. Theodore de Bary, et. al., *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), p. 442.
108. Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, pp. 165-66. The Buddhist monks in question were Jianyu, Biyan, and Weiyao. As Liu points out (p. 167), this does not represent a contradiction in Ouyang Xiu as much as it does an application of "the gradual social approach outlined in "On Fundamentals" to his own dealings with some Buddhists."
109. *Guitian lu* 歸田錄 1 (*Sibu jiyao* ed., p. 1) The *Guitian lu* is a collection of miscellaneous stories about the early Song court and the officials that served there. The fact that the story is the first one to appear in the collection highlights its prominence. It is related in the *Orthodox Transmission* (X 75-1513.353b11-13) in slightly abbreviated form.
110. X 75-1513.353b13-14.
111. Mount Tianzhu 天竺山 was the site of a leading temple in Hangzhou, the capital of the Southern Song.
112. The *Xiaochu ji* 小畜集 is contained in the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 (Shanghai, 1965). The preface for Zanning is in fascicle 20 (see also China Text Project, <http://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=417347&remap=gb>).
113. I follow other sources, including Zanning's own preface to the SSL, in reading *hui* 慧 "wisdom" instead of *hui* 惠 "benefit" or "confer kindness."

114. Referring to the region around the Bohai sea between Liaoning and Shandong provinces.
115. Currently Deqing 德清 county in Huzhou 湖州, Zhejiang province.
116. The translation of *zuxuan* 祖琬 is tentative. *Xuan* 琬 refers to an ornamental bejeweled belt.
117. A *bieshu* 別墅 (alternate pronunciation, *bieye*), translated here as “country villa,” in one definition suggests a barn used for gathering the harvest in. Another is a residence for peasants and people of the lower classes. A treatise “On Farming” (*Nongshu* 農書; Congshu jicheng 叢書 ed., pp. 1-10) written by Chen Fu? 陳敷 (– 文) in 1149 recommends that families engaged in agriculture erect a cottage, in addition to their principal residence, in the center of the fields, where people are instructed to move to during the intensive labor months to supervise and provide supplies for the farm workers.
118. A mistake for Mount Jin’e 金鵝山 (Golden Goose mountain), located at the city of Leping in Jingdezhen county, Jiangxi prefecture.
119. The sixteenth year of the sixty-year cycle for measuring time in China.
120. There is confusion in the rendering of dynastic years here. In fact, the official end of the Tang dynasty was the fourth year of the *tianyou* era (907). The sixteenth year of *tianyou* corresponds to 919. The official year of Zanning’s birth should be the fifth year of the *zhenming* era in the Later Liang dynasty (919).
121. See the entry in DDB: *Vinaya of the Four Categories*. (Skt. *Dharmagup-taka-vinaya*, *Cāturvargīya-vinaya*) The *Sifen lu*; 60 volumes, T 1428, K 896. The influential Vinaya text transmitted from the Dharmagupta school 法藏部. Translated by Buddhayaśas 佛陀耶舍 (408–413 CE) and Fonian 竺佛念 (412–413 CE).... This work investigates the origins and causes by which the *prātimokṣas* 波羅提木叉 enumerate the offenses of the precepts of the *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs*—especially distinguishing the reasons for the lightness and heaviness of punishments. There is also detailed explanation consisting of two parts (*skandhaka*) dealing with various concrete regulations concerning activities of everyday life, of ceremonies, rules of behavior. These are divided along the lines of stopping of evil 止惡, and the cultivation of goodness 作善. These explanations are given in four parts, from which the text derives its name.

For the monks: the four grave offenses 四波羅夷法, the thirteen crimes against the saṃgha 十三僧殘, the two indeterminates 二不

定法, the thirty offenses requiring expatiation and forfeiture 三十捨墮法, the ninety offenses requiring expatiation 九十單墮法, the four offenses regarding meals 四提舍尼法, the hundred admonishments for polishing conduct 衆學法, and the seven methods for resolving disputes 七滅諍法.

For the nuns: the eight grave offenses (尼律)八波羅夷法, the seventeen crimes against the saṃgha (尼律)十七僧殘法, the thirty offenses requiring expatiation and forfeiture (尼律)三十捨墮法, the 178 offenses requiring only expatiation (尼律)百七十八單墮法, the eight offenses regarding meals (尼律)八提舍尼法, the hundred methods of polishing behavior (尼律)百衆學法, the seven methods of resolving disputes (尼律)七滅諍法. From here, the text is divided into explanatory sections, called *skandhaka* 犍度. These sections deal with the following items, extending through the remaining sections of the text: ordination 受戒, teaching the precepts 說戒, and retreats 安居.

The third part continues with these explanations, including teachings regarding self-indulgence 自恣, regulations on the use of leather goods 皮革, clothing 衣, medicines 藥, handling of clothing during the retreat 迦絺那衣, struggles between persons 拘睺彌, admonitions of improper behavior 瞻波, rebuking quarrelsome monks 呵責, correction of minor crimes 人, remedies for those who conceal their crimes 覆藏, dealing with offenses not treated at the uposatha 遮, the destruction of the saṃgha 破僧, resolution of disputes 滅諍, reception of the nuns precepts 比丘尼, ritual performances 法, residence, boarding, bedding, etc. 房舍, miscellany 雜 (tools, implements and so forth), precepts theory 集法 (history of the development of the precepts and so forth), treatment of special occurrences 調部, technical terminology 毘尼增一. Although the number of precepts are generally explained to be 250 for monks in Buddhism, it is actually only this text that teaches that number—along with 348 for nuns.

122. Nanshan 南山 literally refers to the “Southern Mountains,” an abbreviation for the Zhongnan Mountains (Zhongnan Shan 終南山), a mountainous area located south of the Tang Dynasty 唐朝 capital Chang’an 長安. The Nanshan Vinaya (Nanshan lü 南山律) refers to the reputed founder of the Nanshan Vinaya tradition, the Tang-dynasty monk Daoxuan 道宣, who worked in this area.

123. The translation of the titles here and following are indebted to Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*.
124. Literally *qiecuo* 切磋 means “cut and polished” or “honed,” referring to learning through interaction.
125. Regarding Huizheng and the *wenge* style of literature, see Makita, “San-nei to sono jidai,” p. 129, n. 30. Zhiyuan 智圓 (976-1022), an active teacher of *guwen* to other monks, wrote a “Preface to the Independent Works of the Buddhist Huizheng” (*Foshi huizheng bieji xu* 佛氏彙征別集序), contained in *Xianju bian* 閑居編 10 (X 56.881a-b). According to Zhiyuan’s preface, Huizheng learned *guwen* from one Sun Xi 孫希 and supported the traditional style of classical studies. He wrote tomb inscriptions for Daofu 道怱 (868-937) and Quanfu 全付 (882-947) (see *Song gaoseng zhuan* 13 [T 50.787a-b and b-c]) where he has the title “Buddhist Superior” (*sengzhu* 僧主). Makita speculates that Huizheng may be the same person as Xijue 希覺, whose biography is recorded in *Song gaoseng zhuan* 16 (T 50.810b-c). A very brief biography of Huizheng is found in the *Shiguo chunqiu* 89, p. 1293.
126. Gonglin appears in the *Orthodox Transmission* as Long Gonglin 龍共霖, a *jinshi* recipient from whom Zanning allegedly becomes versed in the study of law (*lǚxue* 律學).
127. The second of the three periods of the Dharma according to Buddhism, when teachings resemble 像法 those of the true Dharma taught by the Buddha, the correct Dharma 正法, and prior to the period of the degenerate Dharma 末法.
128. Su Yijian (958-997) was a Northern Song writer and poet. He is known for his summary of paper making practices, in a monograph, “Pedigree of Papers,” in his *Four Treasures of the Study* (The Editorial Committee of Chinese Civilization: A Source Book, City University of Hong Kong, *China: Five Thousand Years of History and Civilization*, p. 563).
129. Following the literary meaning of *ting* 聽 (a variant of 聽), “to allow.”
130. For a depiction of Bai Juyi (772-846) and his society of nine elders, see Ma Xingzu’s (fl. Ca. 1131-1162) painting “The Nine Elders of Fragrant Hill” in the collection of the Freer/Sackler Gallery of the Smithsonian Institute (<http://asia.si.edu/collections/singleObject.cfm?ObjectNumber=F1982.35>); consulted Oct., 2014.
131. One of the most important titles of imperial history, the Chief Minister (*shangshu* 尚書) headed a top-level administrative agency in the central government’s Department of State Affairs that included the Min-

- istries of Personnel, Revenue, Rites, War, Justice, and Works (Hucker no. 5042).
132. One of the category of prestigious officials called Remonstrance Officials whose principal function was to attend and advise the emperor, and especially to remonstrate with him about what they considered improper conduct or policy; those prefixed with Left were members of the Chancellery, as opposed to the Right who were considered members of the Secretariat (Hucker no. 831).
 133. In other words, the imperial bodyguard (Hucker nos. 1163 and 1164).
 134. Common title for 2nd tier executive officials of central government agencies headed by Chief Ministers (Hucker no. 5091).
 135. The Chamberlain for Ceremonials was in charge of the great state sacrificial ceremonies, especially at the Imperial Ancestral Temple and at imperial mausolea (Hucker no. 6137).
 136. A major unit in the Ministry of General Administration or Ministry of Works, responsible for construction and maintenance of fords, boats, bridges, dikes, dams, irrigation canals, grain mills, etc., and for the supervision of state grain transportation by water (Hucker nos. 5507 and 5508).
 137. Auxiliary was the title of someone, normally an Academician, who was assigned to an agency (Hucker no. 933).
 138. Established in 988 as the archive or library commonly serving the Three Institutions--Institute for the Glorification of Literature, Academy of Scholarly Worthies, and the Historiography Institute--together known as the Academy for the Veneration of Literature; where official documents were deposited after the death of an emperor (Hucker no. 4578).
 139. Hucker no. 2100.
 140. Hucker no. 1642.
 141. His *jiayuan* 家園, literally his home and garden/park.
 142. Literally, a "drawing/painting event," but given the description that follows, not limited to graphic arts.
 143. Another possibility would be to read *guo* 果 as *wei* 畏, "The Master, unafraid, remained [in the capital]."
 144. At the time the preface was written (ca. 1000).
 145. Only the rules of three sovereigns are listed.
 146. There were actually three emperors in the Later Liang dynasty, but only the reign of the last one, Emperor Mo (r. 913-923), would have overlapped with Zanning's life.

147. The *yingshun* and *qingtai* eras do not correspond to the reign of Emperor Zhuangzong, and inexplicably missing is the reign of Mingzong (r. 926-933).
148. The “grand plan” is a term indicating the aims and goals of imperial reigns, as set out in policies and programs.
149. Reading the character here as a mistake for 業, which is by no means certain.
150. A category adopted from the *Shi ji* and other dynastic histories to document the biographies of leading dynastic families or lineages.
151. Especially in works like the *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, a Buddhist biographical record written in the dynastic history style of the “hereditary houses.” See Welter, “Sima Qian’s Influence on Chinese Buddhist Historiography,” International Conference on the Chinese Historiographer Sima Qian, sponsored by the Society for the Study of Chinese Biography.
152. 叅 is a variant of 參.
153. Some versions have shuai 衰 for liang 良.
154. Reading *chu* 出 for *shao* 少, which seems to be a transcribing mistake.
155. The *Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統 is contained in the Taiwan reprint edition of *Zokuzōkyō*, the *Xuzang jing* 續藏經 (for Zanning’s record, see Vol. 130.450c-451a; CBETA X 75.353a-b).
156. According to the *Xiaochu ji*, the Gao family migrated to Deqing county in the Wuxing region at the end of the Sui dynasty (581-618).
157. Xiangfu Monastery is located in the current Mount Xiaoling 小靈山 district of the city of Wuxi 無錫 in Jiangsu province.
158. According to the *Xiaochu ji*, he also studied the fourfold vinaya and mastered the Nanshan Vinaya [tradition] on Mount Tiantai, in addition to receiving full ordination.
159. Literally, “cut and polished” (*qiesuo* 切磋).
160. According to the *Xiaochu ji*, Zanning obtained his literary style from Huizheng, and his poetic technique from Long Gonglin (identified there as simply, Gonglin).
161. The *Shimen zhengtong* has *jian* 見, which makes little sense, I follow the *Xiaochu ji*, which has *chao* 朝.
162. The meaning of *qi xuan* 七宣 (seven declarations or pronouncements) is unclear to me.
163. Tao Gu (903-970) has a record in *Song shi* 269. He is depicted in a painting by Tang Yin (1470-1523), “Tao Gu Presents a Poem” (<http://vr.theatre.ntu.edu.tw/fineart/painter-ch/tangyin/tangyin-01.htm>). This

is odd considering that Tao Gu was already dead by the time Zanning arrived at the Song court.

164. Evidently these were important scholar officials at the Song court.
165. Zhidun (314-366) was a Buddhist monk and scholar who was a confidant of Chinese government officials; see Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 65-67.
166. Su Yijian, the Northern Song writer and poet, was referred to in the *Xiaochu ji*, above.
167. Later on, Qiantang became known as Hangzhou.
168. Duke Wen Zhen 文貞公; see the *Xiaochu ji*.
169. Huiyuan (334-416) was a famous Buddhist prelate who formed a community dedicated to rebirth in the Pure Land; see Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 106-108 and p. 343. For fuller treatment, see Kenneth Tanaka, *The dawn of Chinese Pure Land Buddhist Doctrine: Ching-ying Hui-yuan's Commentary on the Visualization Sūtra* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990); and E. Zürcher, and Stephen F. Teiser, *Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (3rd Edition) (Boston, MA: Brill Academic Publishers, 2007), pp. 204-53.
170. Prince Wenxuan was a prominent and influential official at the Qi court, also known as Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460-494). Prince Wenxuan was a son of Emperor Wu of the Southern Qi dynasty (440-493) known for preaching the Dharma and caring for the souls of the deceased. He was also known for his patronage of the arts; see Ping Wang, *The Age of Courtly Writing: Wen Xuan Compiler Xiao Tong (501-531) and His Circle* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 124-132. Regarding him, see *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 40; *Nan shi* 南史 44; GHMJ 19 (T 52.232b-234a); and the *Poxie lun* 破邪論 2 (Treatise on Refuting Error; T 52.485b21). There is a monograph in German on Xiao Ziliang by Thomas Janzen, *Höfische Öffentlichkeit im frühmittelalterlichen China. Debatten im Salon des Prinzen Xiao Ziliang* [The Courtly Public Sphere in Early Medieval China: Debates in the Salon of Prince Xiao Ziliang] (Freiburg i.Br.: Rombach, 2000; Rombach Wissenschaft / Reihe Historiae; 11), which is being prepared for an English manuscript version, *Courtly Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval China: Debates in the Salon of Prince Xiao Ziliang* (publisher unknown). "Pure Abiding" (*jingzhu* 淨住) refers to the ritual confession of transgressions on uposatha days, dedicated to cleansing the defiled mind. The *Qi taizai jinling Wenxuan wang faji lu* 齊太宰文宣王法集錄

- (CSZJJ 12; CBETA T 55-2145.85b-86a) contains notifications of several vegetarian banquets sponsored in conjunction with uposatha rituals.
171. Sengyou is mostly famous for his *Catalogue of Records Concerning the Tripiṭaka* (*Chu sanzang jiji*); see Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, p. 373. For a fuller account, see Arthur Link, "Shih Seng-Yu and His Writings," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol. 80, No. 1 (1960): 17-43, containing translations of Sengyou's record in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, and his preface to the *Chu sanzang jiji*.
 172. At least, this is how I make sense of the use of *jin* 近 in this sentence.
 173. According to Soothill (p. 257), an assembly for offerings on the night of *gengshen* 庚申 (the fifty-seventh of the sixty day cycle) to an image in the form of a monkey, the *shen* symbolical animal. This is a Daoist rite adopted by Buddhism. See also Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten* vol. 1-6, 1051b.
 174. Based on Daoist influences on Chinese mythology, the so-called "three Peng's" (*san peng* 三彭) -- also known as the "three [haunting] corpses" (*san shi* 三尸) or "three insects/vermin" (*san chong* 三虫) -- inhabit human bodies. As related in *Taiping Guangji* 28: "The Peng's are names for the 'three corpses' that constantly inhabit the human body and investigate and examine one's misdeeds. On each *gengshen* day, they report their findings to the Supreme Lord (*shangdi* or God on High). Because of this, learned adepts (*xuexian* 學仙) make arrangements beforehand to vanquish the three corpses. This is the way the immortals have succeeded in dealing with them. Failing this, no matter how hard one tries, it is to no avail."
 175. Kai'an, otherwise known as Wu Keji (1139-1214), was a compiler of the *Shimen zhengtong*. He passed away before its completion, and it was finished by Liangzhu Zongjian 良渚宗鑑. Notice of this is provided in Marcus Bingheimer, "Writing History of Buddhist Thought in the Twentieth Century: Yinshun (1906-2005) in the Context of Chinese Buddhist Historiography" (<http://www.globalbuddhism.org/10/bingenheimer09.htm>). For a record of his life, see *Fozu tongji* 17.
 176. Literally, the "Record of Returning to the Field," the *Guitian lu* is Ouyang Xiu's 歐陽修 retirement memoir. For Ouyang Xiu's account, see *Guitian lu* 1, which corroborates the characterization here, with minor variation.
 177. That is, during the reign of Emperor Taizong (r. 976-997), after Emperor Taizu (r. 960-976) had passed away and his reign was finished.

CHAPTER 2

THE TOPICAL COMPENDIUM OF THE BUDDHIST CLERGY: BACKGROUND AND INTENT

INTRODUCTION

One would expect a work covering a millennium or more (if one assumes, as Zanning does, a date where astrological signs of the Buddha's birth were witnessed in China in the early Zhou dynasty) of Buddhist history in China to be massive in scope. The *Dasong Seng shilüe* (*A Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy compiled in the Great Song Dynasty*, abbreviated as *Seng shilüe*) is indeed that, but we should be reminded here that this is a "topical compendium," more literally an "outline history" (*shilüe* 史略), and an otherwise massive scale has been reduced to the size of a handbook. The purpose of this handbook is to inform the emperor and his officials of pertinent facts regarding Buddhism in China useful for the administration of the saṃgha, the knowledge of which was particularly acute at the beginning of the Song dynasty. After years of turmoil, major societal upheavals left knowledge of many of China's cultural traditions and practices unknown. Indeed, the sponsorship of

early Song emperors of major compilations relating to aspects of China's traditional knowledge was precisely aimed to fill this gap. The *Seng shilüe* was conceived in this context. It was a text commissioned by Emperor Taizong to provide relevant information about Buddhism—its history, practices, customs, rituals, and so on—to the administrative elite, so that they could undertake their tasks with a modicum of knowledge on a subject of contemporary relevance. With the reintegration of the empire, Song rulers faced the task of harmonizing its various ideological strands, under the rallying cry of *wen* 文, the culture of letters. One important strand of Chinese *wen* was Buddhism, which continued to flourish, even to the point of domination, in many regions in the south. In conjunction with the fragmentation of China from the late Tang was a tendency toward regionalization, and the regionalized Buddhism forms that developed were not always consistent when it came to matters of rituals, customs, and practices. In this regard, the *Seng shilüe* fulfills an important role for those charged with administering Buddhism. On the one hand, Zanning takes care to note discrepancies as they occur, helping administrators adjudicate differences according to the context where they occur. More importantly, however, Zanning himself often adjudicates on the viability of different customs and practices, pronouncing the correct standard according to Buddhist teaching and tradition, and on the limits of what may be tolerated. By doing so, Zanning sets standards for orthodox Buddhist practice among the Song elite. This is not to suggest that compliance was always forthcoming, as local and regional preferences might prove effective in resisting or ignoring government models, not to mention groups of Buddhist practitioners whose practices and customs defied standard formulations. Nonetheless, the models for appropriate practice suggested in the *Seng shilüe* provided effective reminders of what correct Buddhist practice was *supposed* to be from an official government standpoint.

A word on the translation of the title *shilüe* as a “topical compendium,” instead of the more literal (and more commonly used) “outline history” or “historical outline.” A glimpse of the contents of the *Seng shilüe* readily

suggests that the guiding motif for the compilation is not history, as such, but a range of topics relating to Buddhism. This is confirmed by Zanning in his preface, who explains that upon receiving the imperial request to compile a history of the Buddhist clergy, “proceeded to establish a list of topics and to seek out materials that fit the category [in question], beginning with the date of the Buddha’s birth and the flow and spread of doctrinal teachings, followed by matters pertaining to various duties in the administration of the three treasures, completely covering all of them, together forming a work in three fascicles.”¹ Each topic comprises a separate section (or entry), listed at fifty-nine (not including appended, or sub-sections) and spread over three fascicles. The appended sections comprise separate entries indicated by their own topic headings. In some cases, the appended sections clearly pertain to the section it is appended to. For example, section 21, “The Transmission of Meditation (Chan) and Contemplation Techniques [to China]” is followed by an appended section, “The Separate Establishment of Chan Dwellings.” In other cases, a discussion pertaining to Buddhist monks is followed by one pertaining to Buddhist nuns on the same topic (for example, section 28 “Instituting Buddhist Rectors” is followed by an addendum “Rectors for Buddhist Nuns”). In still other cases, however, topics and addendums bear little connection to each other. For example, section 4 on “Building Monasteries” has two addendums, “Bathing the Buddha” and “Buddhist Image Processions,” while section 23 “Transmitting the Esoteric Canon” has an addendum on “Non-Buddhist Learning.” Counting sections and addendums, there are seventy topics covered in total.

An examination of the contents reveals that fascicle one is concerned primarily with the propagation of the Buddhist faith in China, fascicle two with the institutional history of Buddhism in China, and fascicle three with the social history of Buddhism in China. It can be noted that this also coincides with the assessment of the *Seng shilüe* by Katsumura Tetsuya in *A Sung Bibliography*.² In addition to these concerns, there are two other recurring foci in the *Seng shilüe* that can be observed. The first is the attention given to early Song dynasty practices and

conventions. Nearly all sections end with observations pertaining to current examples relating to the topic in question, so as to bring the discussion to a relevant conclusion, with recommendations regarding appropriate practice for bureaucrats to follow. The second is the attention given to nuns. While Buddhist nuns are decidedly not treated as equals to their male counterparts in the *Seng shilüe*, and when Zanning speaks of the Buddhist clergy he is usually referring essentially to Buddhist monks, several sections contain addendums that speak specifically to the practices and conventions of Buddhist nuns. And while the ultimate significance of this is debatable, it does signify a recognition of the female Buddhist clergy and not a complete absence that is more typical of works of the period, whether Buddhist or non-Buddhist, than not.

There is, finally, a larger intention at work in the *Seng shilüe*. To read it as simply a handbook for officials looking for guidance regarding things Buddhist, proper practices, ritual protocols, and so on, is to miss Zanning's underlying motive. Within the parade of historical precedents for determining correct Buddhist standards is an argument for Buddhist inclusion, that given its long history and established practices, Buddhist institutions and the activities sanctioned therein are vital to Chinese culture. Buddhism is no longer a foreign religion, as critics attest, nor is it a marginal presence to be tolerated; over the course of its history it has assumed a leading and essential role in Chinese affairs, including the conduct of imperial rites and ceremonies. Embedded in Zanning's discussion and in the array of precedents he produces is an argument for the inclusion of Buddhism in China's *wen* tradition. It is not out of line to suggest a grand motive in Zanning's compilation. New dynasties often participate in "invention of tradition" exercises.³ The founding emperor of a dynasty is charged with establishing the rules and protocols of his regime, and often resorts to a hallowed past as rationale for their innovations. The magnitude of this invention was particularly large in the Song dynasty, when the task of restoring (i.e., inventing) culture was acute following decades of political upheaval and social disruption.⁴ Confucius, who characterized himself a transmitter (*shu* 述) of cultural values rather

than an innovator (*zuo* 作),⁵ is a classic example of innovation in the name of reviving past cultural values. In the early Song dynasty context, Zanning seized the opportunity to reinvent Buddhist tradition as an integral component and willing accomplice of the Chinese imperial mission, while claiming to invoke past traditions to validate it.

**IMPLICIT ARGUMENT FOR BUDDHIST INCLUSION IN THE
“GRAND STRATEGY OF THE THREE TEACHINGS”⁶**

At the beginning of the Song dynasty, questions regarding the proper role of Buddhism swirled through court circles, particularly given that the previous dynasty, the Later Zhou, mounted a massive suppression of Buddhism in 955. Literati from that period who served at the Song court held lingering suspicions regarding the viability of Buddhism on Chinese soil. In theoretical terms, the question was simple: how would the emperor, as Son of Heaven, be regarded vis. a vis. the Buddha, the lord of the universe. Zanning’s attempts to influence imperial policy are vividly represented in two episodes regarding him and the emperor’s relationship with the Buddha. The first episode, preserved in Buddhist sources, reads as follows:

The monk Zanning accompanied the King of Wuyue (Qian Chu) to the [Song] court. The Emperor [Taizong] conferred on him the honorific title “Great Master, Expert in Wisdom,” ordered him to dwell at the Tianshou Monastery 天壽寺 in the Eastern Precincts [of the capital], and commanded him to write a history of the saṃgha 僧史. The following year, [the emperor] ordered Zanning to go as an official courier to the [*stūpa* containing] relics (*śarīra* 舍利) of the true body of Śākyamuni Buddha on Mt. Ayuwang 阿育王山 (King Aśoka) in Mingzhou. He entered the inner sanctum, made offerings, obtained a portion of the relics [and returned to the capital]. With these, an eleven-storied pagoda was built on a site at the northwest tower of Kaibao Temple 開寶寺, at the

base of which was built a “heavenly palace” (*tiangong* 天宮) to inter the relics.⁷

In this instance, we see Zanning invoking the Aśokan model of Buddhist kingship, and suggesting its adoption by Song Emperor Taizong. In this context, the relics offered by Zanning at the court of Taizong can be construed as Zanning’s attempt to literally transplant the Wuyue model of Buddhist-state relations, the Aśokan model of Buddhist kingship, at the Song court.

A second episode, taken from the writings of Ouyang Xiu, reveals the more realistic approach adopted by Zanning after assuming tenure at the Song court. It may be recounted as follows:

On an imperial procession to Xiangguo Monastery 相國寺 (Monastery for Assisting the Country) to worship the Buddha, when the Emperor goes before the image of the Buddha to burn incense he asks Zanning, “Should I perform prostrations or not?”

Zanning responds, “The Buddha of the present need not perform prostrations to the Buddhas of the past.”

Being widely learned, eloquent, and unsurpassed in rhetorical skill, the emperor concurred with Zanning’s opinion, and with a smile nodded in agreement. As a result, it became the policy of the Song government from then on to offer incense but not perform prostrations (to the Buddha).⁸

However these episodes reflect Zanning’s motivations, the *Seng shilüe* provides a summary of his perspective in the concluding section.⁹ Zanning’s plan for the Buddhist role in China may be compared to a three-legged sacrificial *ding* 鼎 vessel. Each leg represents one of the three teachings (*sanjiao* 三教). If one leg is missing, the vessel will fall over. Zanning’s position is summarized when he speaks of the “grand strategy of the three teachings” (*sanjiao zhi dayou* 三教之大猷).¹⁰ Zanning’s

“grand strategy,” based on the aim of assuring a role for Buddhism in China; it entails four propositions:

- (1) The emperor, as the undisputed head of the Chinese state and leader of Chinese society, is the legitimate supervisor of the Buddhist religion;
- (2) Buddhism is useful to the emperor for conducting affairs of state;
- (3) Each of China’s three teachings-- Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism-- have a legitimate position in the function of the state; and
- (4) It is the duty of the emperor to supervise the activities of the three teachings, and direct them in accordance with the aims of the state.

Elsewhere in the *Seng shilüe*, Zanning argues for the inclusion of Buddhism in China’s *wen* 文, or literary tradition, disputing the designation of Buddhism as a foreign teaching (*waijiao* 外教).¹¹ Confucian definitions (following Han Yu 韓愈) include Confucian classics, but exclude Buddhist and Daoist works. The evaluation criteria is biased, Zanning contends, and limited to works that follow a Confucian moral agenda and posit Confucianism as the only true Chinese tradition. Zanning requests that the evaluation of a teaching’s merits in the Chinese context be assessed in other, non-Confucian terms--that they be discerned with the “eye of wisdom” (*zhiyan* 智眼). Although Zanning suggests that this new criterion is free of ideological bias toward any particular religious or intellectual tradition, the eye of wisdom clearly has strong Buddhist overtones.

The issue of Buddhist inclusion in the apparatuses of the Chinese bureaucracy was also joined by Zanning. Zanning concedes that Buddhism was initially treated as a foreign religion in China, and that the Buddhist clergy was administered through the Court for Dependencies (*honglu si* 鴻臚寺), the central government agency responsible for managing the reception at court of tribute bearing envoys, in other words, the organ of the government responsible for matters pertaining to foreigners. Eventually, however, it was decreed that Buddhist monks and nuns be attached to the Bureau of National Sacrifices (*cibu* 祠部).

Henceforth, Buddhism was allowed into the inner sanctums, so to speak, of Chinese culture, and given place of privilege as an integral component in the execution of China's most sacred rituals, the imperial sacrifices and ceremonies of the Chinese state.

For Zanning, the positioning of Buddhism at the center of Chinese state ritual was a natural development stemming from the role that Buddhism had assumed during its long tenure in China. Zanning clearly embraced a "domestication model," suggesting that Buddhism had over the course of time assumed the role of a Chinese, rather than foreign religion within the broader context of Chinese culture and society. In support of his domestication model for Buddhism, Zanning draws on the analogy of evolving preferences for food flavoring and clothing attire in China: spicy pepper, once thought of as foreign and exotic, eventually became produced in China and became an accepted part of the Chinese diet; leather boots, once associated with exotic wear, came to be regarded as standard Chinese attire. Likewise, Buddhism, initially regarded as a foreign religion and administered through bureaucratic institutions charged with managing outsiders, came to be administered through the Bureau of National Sacrifices and accepted into the inner sanctums charged with executing the central rituals of Chinese culture and society.¹²

Zanning's proposal that Buddhism be accepted as part of China's cultural heritage was based on a perspective on Chinese traditions as dynamic and evolving. Rather than accept some hypothetical "golden age" which located China's core values in remote antiquity, Zanning argued that Chinese culture was dynamic and its values evolved over time. No single age held exclusive access to the truth; truth advances along with the changing dynamics of history and civilization, as viewed through the lens of contemporary perspective. As Zanning observed:

[The meanings of] things differ according to the group [determining it], and [the meaning of] events changes in accordance with the times. The one who regards the sage-kings of antiquity

[as his model] (i.e., the current emperor) does not overlook the deceptions of the past. The one who controls myriad lands (i.e., the current emperor) has the prerogative to reinterpret the meaning [of the model].¹³

In Zanning's vision for Buddhism, the clergy bore the responsibilities and privileges of civil servants, and were administered in similar ways. In the Song dynasty, the examination system became firmly entrenched as the primary means to admission into the ranks of officialdom, and the means to entrance into the Buddhist clergy, in Zanning's mind, should mimick this system. The Buddhist system envisioned by Zanning entailed moving through five ranks (*wupin* 五品):¹⁴

1. "Clergy Appointment" (*sengxuan* 僧選),¹⁵ when one meets the required standards for scripture recitation (*songjing* 誦經) and obtains a passing grade in the administered test;
2. "Removing Ordinary Clothing [to assume official duties]" (*shihe* 釋褐), when one receives tonsure and dons the *kāṣāya*;
3. "Official Rank" (*guanwei* 官位), when one is granted the formal and formless precepts by official decree ;
4. "Tathâgata Representative" (*rulai shi* 如來使), when one lectures on the teachings of the tripitaka; and
5. "Instructor of the People" (*limin* 理民), when one instructs people at both Buddhist and non-Buddhist assemblies.

Elite Buddhists form a special category of Buddhist nobility, designated by Zanning as "Buddhist *junzi*" (*famen junzi* 法門君子), suggesting their association with the Confucian model of gentlemanly nobility, the *junzi* 君子, the moral exemplar par excellence. As in the case of Confucian officials and nobility, Buddhists are said to be unwavering in their support for "king and country," and are resolved in carrying out the imperial will. The imperatives of the Buddhist clergy are to practice the Way for the sake of the country, to protect the people and alleviate disasters,¹⁶ and in these ways, contribute to the execution of the imperial mandate (i.e., the "grand strategy"). Officially ordained monks, as Buddhist "bureaucrats"

at officially designated government institution monasteries were charged with fulfilling these tasks, and government monasteries carried out routines that were determined by the imperial agenda.

As Buddhism faced its greatest period of crises in the early Song dynasty, Zanning's proposals epitomize the strategy for survival in the face of mounting criticisms from a confident, resurgent Confucian bureaucracy. While some Buddhists were wary of the degree to which official Buddhist monks and institutions were co-opted into the Confucian system of imperial protocols, Zanning vindicated imperial control over Buddhist affairs, believing that increased imperial oversight was beneficial to the Buddhist clergy as well.¹⁷

In terms of the *wen* 文 revival, which the Song dynasty staked its mandate on, Zanning argued against the exclusion of Buddhist *wen* from the category of Chinese *wen*. As a *Chinese* tradition, China's Buddhist literature deserved to be included. In the early Song, aided by the strong charismatic authority of Song emperors, support for *wen* was more uniform, and it was feasible to argue for the expansion of *wen* categories to include Buddhist *wen*. As views on *wen* became polarized, promoters of *guwen* 古文 (classical *wen*, i.e., Confucianism) defined *wen* in highly exclusive terms and restricted it to the Confucian literary tradition of antiquity predating the arrival of Buddhism in China and the development of Buddhist literary traditions. In this new climate, Zanning's views seemed anachronistic and fell out of fashion.

As the dynasty progressed, officials advocating *guwen* made significant inroads at the Song court. Allies headed by Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989-1052) succeeded in promoting active (*youwei* 有為) governing based on *guwen* policies, denouncing Buddhist and Daoist sanction of quietistic, non-active (*wuwei* 無為) governing. They refused to accept Buddhism or Daoism as ethical teachings and strove to reform the examination system to promote those whose ethical behavior and political idealism conformed to *guwen* principles. Shi Jie 石介 (1005-1045) set out to combat the pernicious effect of Buddhism and Daoism on "true" morality. Ouyang

Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) made *guwen* criteria the pretext for passing the imperial exams when he was appointed director of examinations in 1057. To the extent that the *guwen* agenda gripped official opinion, Buddhism was excluded from positive consideration.

EDITIONS OF THE *SENG SHILŪE*

All extant versions of the *Seng shilüe* are based on the Southern Song edition printed in 1144. While the text entered in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (vol. 54, no. 2126) has generally been considered the most critical edition available, the present translation is based on a corrected version completed in consultation with the Japanese translation and annotation, the *Sō shiryaku* by Makita Tairyō.¹⁸ While many key terms were left untranslated by Makita, as *kanbun* 漢文 style renderings following Japanese syntax readily allow, Makita's version is extremely helpful on two counts: in correcting punctuation mistakes in the *Taishō* version and in providing references to pertinent sources in his annotations. Further assistance in understanding the text, with additional annotations and reference to relevant resources upon which the content of the *Seng shilüe* is either based or has bearing upon, is found in the recent edition published by Fu Shiping.¹⁹ Both sources are invaluable to understanding and translating the text.

Currently available editions of the *Seng shilüe* may be categorized as follows:²⁰

1. The earliest surviving edition is the one contained in the library of Shinpuku-ji 真福寺 in Nagoya, Japan, containing a preface by Fadao 法道 indicating the year of publication as the fourteenth year of the *shaoxing* era in the Song dynasty (1144). According to a postscript by the twenty-eighth abbot of Tōfuku-ji 東福寺, Daidō Ichii 大道一以, dated 1353 (second year of the *bunna* [or *bunwa*] era), it was brought from China to Japan by the famous Japanese monks Shōichi Kokushi 聖一國師 and Enni Ben'en 圓爾辯圓 in 1241 (third year of the *en'ō* era). The current surviving copy is

- from the reprint edition of Asano Kyubei 浅野久兵衛 issued in 1680 (eighth year of the *enpō* era; referred to as the Enpō edition).²¹
2. The edition published by Hanten kyōsha 頒典教社 in the sixteenth year of the Meiji era (1883), containing the corrections of Fukuda Gyōkai 福田行誠 (referred to as the Fukuda edition).²²
 3. The edition contained in the library of Matsumoto Saburō 松本三郎 (referred to as the Matsumoto edition), available through the reprint of Nihon kichō tosho ehon kangyōkai 日本貴重図書影本刊行會 issued in 1933.
 4. The Jinling 金陵 edition, with correction, but no accompanying information regarding the year of its publication or explanation of its provenance (referred to as the Jinling edition). It is available through reprint from Xinwenfeng 新文豐出版社 in Taiwan, issued in 1977.

The *Seng shilüe* text is consistent throughout these editions, and there are only minor discrepancies. In my translation and representation of the text, I follow the Enpō edition (# 1 above) and suggested edits by Makita Tairyō and Fu Shiping, where advisable.

Finally, a note on the translation: the translation of the *Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy* follows the text of CBETA, *Taishō* no. 2126, with edits suggested by Makita Tairyō and Fu Shiping. Zanning's interlinear notes and other comments in the text are indicated with their being enclosed in < >.

NOTES

1. See the Preface, below.
2. Yves Hervouet, ed. (initiated by Etienne Balazs), *A Sung Bibliography*, 356b (as *Seng shih-lüe*).
3. Invoking the conception of Eric Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger, ed., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), the “invention of tradition” refers to traditions which appear or claim to be old but are of recent origin.
4. The impulse for restoration through collection is exhibited in the four great encyclopedic works of the early Song: *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (*Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era*), a general encyclopedia; *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (*Extensive Readings of the Taiping Era*), a collection of gods, deities, fairies, ghost stories and theology; *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華 (*Finest Blossoms in the Garden of Literature*), an anthology of poetry, odes, songs and other writings; and *Zefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (*Prime Tortoise of the Record Bureau*), an encyclopedia of political essays, autobiographies, memorials and decrees. (Regarding these works, see Johannes Kurz, *Das Kompilationsprojekt Song Taizongs* (reg. 976-997), Peter Lang; and “The Compilation and Publication of the *Taiping yulan* and the *Cefu yuangui*,” in Florence Bretelle-Establet and Karine Chemla (eds.), *Qu’est-ce qu’écrire une encyclopédie en Chine?*, Extreme Orient-Extreme Occident Hors série (2007), pp. 39-76. In the Buddhist context, there is the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (*Biographies of Eminent Monks compiled in the Song dynasty*), an extension of the *gaoseng zhuan* genre that contributes and updates the collection of biographical records associated with Buddhist monks, as well as the novel approach to Chan biographies, the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (*Jingde era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp*) that introduced a multi-lineage sectarian framework, and the unprecedented *Da Song Seng shilüe*.
5. *Analects* 7:1, where the Master claims to “transmit, but not innovate” (述而不作).
6. This section represents a summary of Welter, “Confucian Monks and Buddhist Junzi: Zanning’s *Da Song sent shilüe* and the politics of Buddhist accommodation at the Song court,” Thomas Jülch, ed., *The Middle Kingdom and the Dharma Wheel: Aspects of the Relationships between the Buddhist Saṃgha and the State in Chinese History* (Leiden: Brill), pp. 222-277.

7. *Shixi jigu lue* 釋氏稽古略 4 (T 49.860c17-21).
8. Paraphrase from *Ouyang Xiu* 歐陽修, *Guitian lu* 歸田錄 1 (*Sibu jiyao* 四部紀要, p. 1).
9. SSL III, section 59.
10. The “grand strategy” (*dayou* 大猷) is Zanning’s way of speaking about the “great plan” (*hongfan* 弘範), a euphemism for the emperor’s stratagem for governing the empire.
11. See the Commentary to SSL II, section 38 “The Relative Ranking of Buddhists and Daoists.”
12. See the Commentary to SSL II, section 37 “Administrative Jurisdiction of Buddhist Monks and Nuns.”
13. SSL II section 38 “The Relative Ranking of Buddhists and Daoists” (T 54.246c19-20).
14. Following Zanning’s comments in SSL II, section 37A “[Ordination] Certificates from the Bureau of National Sacrifice” (T 54.246a25-b4). Officials in the Chinese bureaucracy were categorized into a total of nine ranks for purposes of determining prestige, compensation, priority in court audience, etc. Each rank was commonly divided into two classes (first and second) or grades (upper and lower). The lower five ranks (5 through 9) were eligible to Buddhist officials. However, judged by Zanning’s comments, the reference here is to an alternate, quasi or unofficial ranking system specifically for Buddhist monks, and not part of the normal official ranking system. Following Zanning’s description of the Buddhist ranks, he calls on the emperor to “confer clear dictates authorizing an array of specific offices (*guan* 官) and specific ranks (*pin* 品) [for the Buddhist clergy].”
15. The term *xuan* 選 (Hucker no. 2653) indicates the process used by the Ministry of Personnel (*libu* 吏部) to choose men for appointment in the bureaucracy.
16. T 54.246b2.
17. T 54.246a24.
18. *Kokuyaku issaikyō* 國譯一切經, *Shiden bu* 史伝部 vol. 13 (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1959 [reprint edition, 1986]), 293-375.
19. *Da Song Seng shilüe jiao zhu* 大宋僧史略校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2015).
20. My outline of available editions follows Makita Tairyō (*Kokuyaku issaikyō*, *Shiden bu* vol. 13, pp. 295-296), and especially, Fu Shiping (*Da Song Seng shilüe jiao zhu*, pp. 5-8). Please see these sources for additional details.

21. Asano Kyubei is an otherwise unknown samurai of the Edo period. A stone tomb-inscription bearing his name is found at Mt. Yagoto Shōkō-ji 八事山正興寺 in Nagoya.
22. Fukuda Gyōkai (1809-1888) was a Jōdō shū monk, active in forming an alliance of monks from various Japanese Buddhist sects, and in the promotion of Buddhism.

TRANSLATION

A TOPICAL COMPENDIUM OF THE BUDDHIST CLERGY IN CHINA

Respectfully Compiled by Imperial Order by Zanning,
Great Master of Comprehensive Wisdom,
Buddhist Registrar of the Right Precincts of the Capital

Preface

The Buddhist clergy [in China] originally had no history. When we look to the two anthologies, the *Hongming ji* and the *Guang Hongming ji*,¹ how can we not consider the words recorded in them? How can we not consider the record of events in the various *Biographies of Eminent and Famous Monks*?² The words and events [of the Buddhist clergy] are already completely accounted for, and have all been recorded with the brush (i.e., set down in writing).³ Since their beginnings in the Eastern Han dynasty, down to our present regime, it has been nearly one thousand years. Through the [vicissitudes of] disruption and flourishing of Buddhist teachings and the appearance and disappearance of Buddhist monks, how rich the [records of] past accomplishments! How abundant the [records of] explanations and commentaries! The works collected together in the

Buddhist canon--how they have ferried others to the distant shore! At the beginning of the *taiping xingguo* era (976-983), I (Zanning) repeatedly received imperial orders to separately compile a *History of the Buddhist Clergy* in addition to a *Biography of Eminent Monks*. I subsequently proceeded to the reliquary of the King Aśoka [monastery], rode the relay horse [back] to the palace,⁴ and by imperial order, resided at the Eastern Monastery. With ample leisure to pore through books, I proceeded to establish a list of topics and to seek out materials that fit the category [in question]. I began with the date of the Buddha's birth and the flow and spread of doctrinal teachings, followed by matters pertaining to various duties in the administration of the three treasures, completely covering all of them, together forming a work in three fascicles, calling it *A Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy* (*Seng shilüe*). I have adopted Pei Ziyē's *Song lüe* (A Topical Compendium of the [Liu] Song dynasty) for the title.⁵ What I regret is the incompleteness that remains in what I have eliminated and selected, and the many ambiguities that persist in what I have indicated. As I have been unable to read on a grand scale, I fear there are deficiencies.⁶

『大宋僧史略』(并序)

右街僧錄，通慧大師，《贊寧》。奉敕撰。

夫僧本無史。觀乎『弘』『明』二集，可非記言耶。『高名僧傳』，可非記事耶。言事既全，俱為載筆。原彼《東漢》，至于我朝，僅一千年。教法污隆，緇徒出沒，富哉事跡，繁矣言詮。蘊結藏中，從何攸濟。(贊寧)以《太平興國》初，疊奉詔旨，『高僧傳』外別修『僧史』。及進《育王塔》，乘駟到闕，敕居《東寺》。披覽多暇，遂樹立門題，搜求事類。始乎佛生教法流衍，至于三寶住持諸務事始。一皆隱括，約成三卷，號『僧史略』焉。蓋取《裴子野》『宋略』為目。所恨刪采不周，表明多昧。不可鴻碩寓目，預懼缺然者爾。

NOTES

1. The *Hongming ji* 弘明集 and the *Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集 are found in CBETA T 52-2102 and T 52-2103. The *Hongming ji* was compiled by Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518) in fourteen fascicles. It records various conflicts between Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism, and includes discussions of Buddhism from the perspectives of emperors, kings, lay scholars and monks. The *Guang Hongming ji* was compiled by Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) in thirty fascicles. It provides documents related to religious and political issues among Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism, as well as relations between the saṃgha and the state. It is also considered to be an important document for understanding the debates of the time between Buddhism and Daoism.
2. *Gaoming sengzhuan* 高名僧傳 refers to such works as the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (CBETA T 50-2059), *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (CBETA T 50-2060), and *Mingseng zhuan* 名僧傳 (CBETA X 77-1523). Zanning was also responsible for the compilation of a third installment in the *gaoseng zhuan* series, the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (CBETA T 50-2061).
3. The term *zaibi* 載筆 is an allusion to the phrasing of the *Li ji* 禮記, *Qu li* 曲禮 A: “history puts down [events] with the brush; gentlemen put down [words] in oral speech” 史載筆，士載言.
4. According to Wang Yucheng’s 王禹偁 account of Zanning in *Xiaochu ji* 小畜集 12, Zanning presented relics of Śākyamuni housed in the reliquary the King Aśoka monastery in Mingzhou to Emperor Taizong in the third year of *taiping xingguo* (978), and was ordered to compile the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 in the eighth year of *taiping xingguo* (983).
5. Pei Ziye’s 裴子野 biography is recorded in *Liang shu* 梁書 30 and *Nan shi* 南史 33. An abbreviated version of the *Song lue* 宋略 is found in Shen Yue’s 沈約 *Song shu* 宋書, fascicle 20. Pei Ziye 裴子野 was the great grandson of Pei Songzhi 裴松之, author of a famous commentary on the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Record of the Three Kingdoms). The abbreviated *Song lue* was considered by Shen Yue to be superior his own *Song shu* (Victor Cunrui Xiong, *Historical Dictionary of Medieval China*, p. 391). See also: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/675341.htm>
6. The meaning of this sentence in the original is unclear, and the translation is tentative—merely my estimation of the sense of the passage. The meaning of *yumu* 寓目 as “to look over” or “look on” (literally “to

rest one's eyes on," translated here as "to read") derives from a passage in the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳, from the twenty-eighth year of Xi Gong 僖公 (Duke Xi): 子玉使鬬勃請戰，曰，請與君之士戲，君憑軾而觀之，得臣與寓目焉。 "Ziyu sent Dou Bo, to request that Jin would fight with him, saying, "Let me have a game with your men. Your lordship can lean on the crossboard of your carriage and look on, and I will be there to see you." --Legge. trans.). Here, I take it as an admission by Zanning that he is treating his topics cursorily, and not giving them fuller attention he believes are due.

FASCICLE I

[THE PROPAGATION OF BUDDHIST FAITH]

What is presented here are nearly sixty topics.¹ By simply abbreviating the collections [of documents] that have been transmitted, I have recorded that which is known, in order to make clear the origins of the various matters regarding the transmission of the Buddha-dharma eastward (i.e., to China).

所立僅六十門。止刪取集傳，并錄所聞。以明佛法東傳以來百事之始也。

NOTES

1. The reference here to sixty topics would appear to be to the general number of topics addressed in the work as a whole (fifty-nine topics, not including sub-topics) rather than the number addressed in fascicle one. It is probable that the entire table of contents was listed here originally.

[1]

THE ERA OF THE BUDDHA'S DESCENT [FROM HEAVEN] AND BIRTH [ON EARTH]

佛降生年代¹

With regard to the date of the Buddha's birth, many explanations do not agree. [Causes for the disagreement may be attributed as follows].²

One: The manifestation of a Buddha in response to the needs of sentient beings is an extraordinary [event];³ he saves people by accommodating [prevailing] circumstances. As a result, there was disagreement over what was observed and reported [in the case of Śākyamuni's birth].

Two: Of the monks who arrived [in China] from the regions of the west,⁴ some were born in large cities and urban areas and some in small villages and hamlets; the details [relating to Śākyamuni's birth] transmitted were determined by categories and classifications [for understanding it], and sectarian considerations.⁵ As a result, individual explanations [of the event] differ.

Three: Owing to the unsophistication and simplicity [of culture] in the regions of the west,⁶ [observers] were unable to record all the details [relating to Śākyamuni's birth]; lacking rigour, they did not value abundant detail [in their explanations of it].⁷ As a result, there is no consensus in the information that has been transmitted.

At the present juncture, there are several explanations [regarding the date of the Buddha's birth] based on that which is evident from biographical collections and historical records,⁸ as well as Buddhist scriptures and vinaya texts in eastern lands.⁹

The biography of Buddhist monk Fashang of the Datong Heshui Monastery,¹⁰ the *Han faben neizhuan* (Anecdotal book about [Buddhist] teachings in the Han dynasty),¹¹ and the *Agama-sūtras*¹² all claim that the auspicious omen of a white elephant descending into the womb of Lady Maya appeared in the Zhou dynasty, on the fifteenth day of the seventh month of the twenty-third year [in the reign] of King Zhao of Zhou (1029 BCE), and that [the Buddha] was born from her right side under the *palasa* tree in Lumbini park on the eighth day of the fourth month of the following year (1028 BCE).¹³

The *Zhoushu yiji* (Record of Unusual Events in the Book of Zhou)¹⁴ [confirms this] stating:

On the eighth day of the fourth month of the twenty-fourth year [in the reign] of King Zhao (1028 BCE), rivers, streams, springs, and ponds suddenly overflowed, water gushed forth from all the wells, and the palace was rocked by an earthquake. That night, a bright, multi-colored vapor penetrated [the star cluster] *Taiwei* and circled off to the west,¹⁵ creating the bluish hues of a rainbow. At the time, the king inquired about it to the Grand Scribe,¹⁶ Su You. Su You replied, "This omen has appeared because a great sage has been born in the west." The king asked: "Is this not [a premonition of] harm for the country?" Su You replied: "A thousand years hence, his fame and teaching shall be accepted in this land."¹⁷

In addition [to this explanation], the [*Sanbao*] *wuyun tu* (Illustration of the Five Fates of the Three Treasures) states:¹⁸ “The Buddha was born in the Eastern Zhou dynasty, in the forty-eighth year of the reign of King Ping (722 BCE).”¹⁹ This explanation, however, is unreliable. Furthermore, according to the *Loshi fashi nianji* (The Chronological Record of Dharma Master Kumārajīva) and the *Shizhu ming* (Stone Pillar Inscription), [both] by Dao'an, the Buddha was born in the eighteenth rule of the Zhou dynasty, in the fifth year [in the reign] of King Xuan (823 BCE).²⁰ This is also incorrect.

In addition, Fei Changfang in the *Kaihuang sanbao lu* (Record of the Three Treasures compiled in the Kaihuang era) determined that the Buddha was born in the Zhou dynasty, [during the rule of] King Zhuang (r. 696-682), on the eighth day of the fourth month of the tenth year of his reign (686 BCE).²¹ He regarded the fact that the usual stars did not appear [on that day] as an omen [marking the Buddha's birth].

In addition, Faxian, having journeyed to the regions of the west, claimed that the Buddha was born during the rule of a Shang dynasty monarch.²² Faxian's [claim] was based on his observation of [a procession for] displaying and presenting offerings to the Buddha's tooth during the third month [of the year] in the country of Sri Lanka. [Ten days] prior [to this procession] the King [of Sri Lanka] proclaimed that it had been one thousand four-hundred and ninety-seven years since the Buddha's demise. By calculating backwards from during the *yixi* era of the Later Jin dynasty (405-418 CE), [during which time Faxian made his observation], Faxian ascertained that the Buddha was born during the Shang era.²³

In addition, [following the same method of calculation] the Mount Lu Vinaya Master Hongdu claimed in the *Zhengsheng dianji* (Record of the Years since the Sage's Nirvāṇa) that the Buddha was born in the second year [of the reign] of King Zhending (467 BCE) of the Zhou dynasty.²⁴ Great Master Fabao [a.k.a. Xuanchang]²⁵ completely rejected this explanation.

In addition, in the *Gantong zhuan* (Transmissions of Inspired Communications), [it is claimed that] traces of the Buddha's life on earth were observed during the time of King Jie of the Xia dynasty (r. 1728-1675 BCE).²⁶

It follows [from this] that there is disagreement in the above explanations regarding the Chinese imperial reign [at the time of the Buddha's birth].

One explanation [the *Gantong zhuan*] claims [that the Buddha's birth occurred at] the end of the Xia dynasty.

A second [Faxian] claims the end of the Shang dynasty.

A third [Fashang, the *Han faben neizhuan* (Anecdotal book about [Buddhist] teachings in the Han dynasty), and the *Agama-sūtras*] claims it was during the reign of King Zhao in the Zhou dynasty.

A fourth [the *Sanbao wuyun tu*] claims it was during the reign of King Ping [in the Zhou dynasty].

A fifth [Dao'an] claims it was during the reign of King Xuan [in the Zhou dynasty].

A sixth [the *Kaihuang sanbao lu*] claims it was during the reign of King Zhuang [in the Zhou dynasty].

A seventh [the *Zhengsheng dianji* of Vinaya Master Hongdu] claims it was during the reign of King Zhending [in the Zhou dynasty].

All of these explanations are based on biographical and historical records in this country (China).

[Regarding the month and day of the Buddha's birth],²⁷ according to Buddhist scriptures and vinaya texts, the *Yufo jing* (Scripture on Bathing the Buddha) says, "Every Buddha, without exception is born on the eighth day of the fourth month."²⁸ The *Ruiying jing* (Scripture of Propitious Responses) also claims that they are born on the eighth day of the fourth month,²⁹ but in the *Sarvāstivāda Treatise* it is claimed that they are born

on the eighth day of the second month.³⁰ [Regarding the month and day of the Buddha's birth] there are, then, two explanations from orthodox [Buddhist] teachings that are not in agreement.

[Based on the] current [calendrical system], it means that if the Buddha was born during the Xia dynasty, [the day] would fall on the eighth day of the fourth month in the current [calendar]. If he was born during the Shang dynasty, [the day] would fall on the eighth day of the third month in the current [calendar]. If he was born during the Zhou dynasty, [the day] would fall on the eighth day of the second month in the current [calendar].³¹

In addition, according to Nanshan Vinaya Master [Dao]xuan's inquiry to the heavenly being [in the *Gantong lu*]:³²

Regarding [explanations for] the age of the Buddha's birth that have been transmitted to this land (i.e., China), some say it was the Shang dynasty, some the reign of King Zhao in the Zhou dynasty, and some during the time of Duke Zhuang of [the state of] Lu. Which is correct?" [The heavenly being] replied: "All of them have a basis. Disciples [of the Buddha] who were born in Heaven during [the reign of King] Jie of the Xia dynasty observed in detail the Buddha's descent [to earth] and transformation [to human form]. However, the Buddha has three bodies,³³ but two of the bodies, the Dharma-body and the Reward-body, are not seen by human and heavenly beings. In his Transformation-body alone, the Buddha passes everywhere throughout the three-thousand realms [of the universe]. As a result of this, there are infinite numbers of Śākyamuni Buddhas [throughout the universe] inspiring sentient beings in accordance with their capacities, irrespective of whether they are beginners or seasoned [practitioners]. There is no room to doubt this."

The current [practice] in the Eastern Capital [Kaifeng] to bathe the Buddha on the eighth day of the month of *la* [the twelfth month] and refer to it as the birthday of the Buddha³⁴ is based on the *Illustrated Scripture of Jetavana Monastery* (*Qihuan si tu jing*):³⁵

Within the temple grounds, there is a lion formed from crystal, shaped like an extremely large fist. A wonderful sound issues from its mouth. Whenever Bodhisattvas listen to it, they all transcend their [Bodhisattva] ranks (i.e., attain *nirvāṇa*). Each year on the eighth day of the month of *la*, honorable men and women of the city of Śrāvastī compete to come hear the sound of the Dharma, bearing incense and flowers.

If we subject [the *Illustrated Scripture of Jetavana Monastery*] to careful examination, it does not refer to the birthday of the Buddha, so it is doubtful that the eighth day of the month of *la* was ever regarded as his birthday in India. It is also doubtful that they relied on the eighth day of the second month [as evidence for the Buddha's birthday] in the *Sarvāstivāda Treatise*. The month of *la* was the second month in the Zhou dynasty. There are many discrepancies on account of the great distances separating east (i.e., China) and west (i.e., India).

In addition, the present [practice of] regarding the eighth day of the fourth month as the birthday of the Buddha in southern China is based on the *Ruiying jing*.³⁶ If [the *Ruiying jing* ascription of day and month] refers to the Zhou calendar, [the day] would be equivalent to the eighth day of the second month on the current calendar. If [the *Ruiying jing* ascription] refers to the current calendar month of *si* [the fourth month], [the day of the Buddha's birth] would have been the sixth month on the Zhou calendar.

If one examines this carefully, there are two reasons for the unwarranted adoption of the month of *si* [as the month of the Buddha's birthday]. One: it was adopted from hearsay and accepted as true without investigating the [problems associated with different calendrical systems in different] ages. Two: the majority of translators of Buddhist scriptures followed the Xia dynasty calendar.³⁷ As a result, it is erroneous [to assume the eighth day of the fourth month on the current calendar as the Buddha's birthday].

According to [the record of] Nanshan [Daoxuan] (i.e., the *Gantong lu*),³⁸ because sentient beings' experience of the event was different, [explanations of] the age and date [of the Buddha's birth] do not agree and should not be firmly insisted upon. As a result, both explanations [regarding the day of the Buddha's birth] were accepted in China. [Of the explanations of the age of the Buddha's birth] transmitted in the Buddhist canon, [the explanation of] birth in the reign of King Zhao in the Zhou Dynasty (1028 BCE) is considered the most reasonable.

More important than this is the question whether the former mention to the eighth day of the month [as the date of the Buddha's birth] is made in reference to [the calendar of] the Eastern Xia (i.e., China) or regions of the west (i.e., India)? When one investigates the circumstances to discover the root, or follows water to find the source, there are no phenomena where [principle] is not present, and principle penetrates everywhere (i.e., every phenomena). Nonetheless, the various explanations regarding the start of the year in India are not in agreement. When Huiyan argued with He Chengtian in the *Gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of Eminent Monks) over [whether India or China were] the central region [under Heaven],³⁹ he claimed that in the regions of the west the month *chen* [the third month of the Chinese calendar] is regarded as the beginning of the year. The [*Gaoseng*] *zhuan* also says that the thirtieth day of the twelfth month [in India] is called "[the beginning of] the month of the great transformation of the gods." This is the fifteenth day of the first month here in China, when referring to [a date on] the Xia [Chinese] calendar.⁴⁰ Accordingly, [in India] they use the sixteenth day [of the first month], the day when the souls of the dead reappear [according to the Chinese calendar], as the first day of the first month [on the Indian calendar]. It is not at present clear whether one should regard the start of the new year [in translated Indian Buddhist works] as [beginning with] the month of *chen*, the day when the [new] moon rises (i.e., the first day) in the third month of the current [Chinese calendar], or whether it is to be calculated as the half-way point of this month (i.e., the sixteenth day)? Western lands (i.e., India) do not name the months as first, second, or third [as in

the Chinese lunar calendar], but take stars [i.e., constellations] as direct indications of the month, and use [the names of star constellations] for the names of the months. The month of *pishequ* [Sanskrit, *vaisakha* (the second month)] and the month of *jiati* [Sanskrit, *karttika* (the eighth month)] are examples of this.⁴¹

In addition, of the various countries north of the Pamirs,⁴² some regard the month of *wei* [the sixth month] as the beginning of the calendar year, and for some the spring season is the time for the summer retreat.⁴³ From this we know that sectarian calculations [of calendrical dates] differ individually, according to [geographical] locale. How could the scriptures preached by the Buddha in the regions of the west and the treatises composed by Arhats living in India possibly refer to months in China (i.e., the Chinese calendar)? When the eighth day of the fourth month is referred to [in Buddhist texts], it is the eighth day of the fourth month in the regions of the west. In order that the event [of the Buddha's birth] tallies precisely with the auspicious omens on the eighth day of the fourth month in the reign of King Zhao in the *Zhoushu yiji* (Record of Unusual Events in the Book of Zhou),⁴⁴ I suspect that at times when [Buddhist texts were] translated, [this date] was written down in accordance with popular hearsay, and mistakenly accepted [as a date] on the Xia (i.e., Chinese) calendar. Because only the *Lafa jing* (Scripture on the Method of [Washing the Buddha's] Image) has [the Buddha's birthday] on the fifteenth day of the seventh month,⁴⁵ to accept it as a [legitimate] explanation here in China causes confusion among people. As a result, two [dates for the Buddha's birth, the eighth day of the second month and the eighth day of the fourth month] exist.⁴⁶

【一】 佛降生年代

按佛生日，多說不同。

一則應現非常，遇緣即化，故有見聞不同也。

一則西域來僧，生處有都城村落，傳事有部類宗計，故各說不同也。

一則西域朴略，罕能紀錄庶事，寬慢不尚繁細，故流傳不同也。

今且據東土傳記及經律所明，而有多說。

案《[釋法]上》『[大]統[合水寺]傳』，『漢法本內傳』，『合阿含經』中。皆曰，《周》《昭王》二十三年七月十五日，現白象瑞，降《摩耶》夫人胎。明年四月八日，於《嵐毘》園《波羅》下，右脅而誕也。

『周書異記』曰。《昭王》二十四年甲寅歲四月八日，江河泉池忽然汎溢，井皆騰涌，宮殿震動。其夜五色光氣貫于《太微》，遍于西方，作青虹色。時王問太史《蘇由》，《由》對曰。有大聖出于西方，故現此瑞。王曰。於國無損乎。對曰。一千年後，聲教當被于此。

又案『五運圖』云。《東周》《平王》四十八年戊午歲佛生。此說則無憑也。又依《道安》『羅什紀』及『石柱銘』云。《周》十八主桓王五年乙丑歲佛生。此亦非也。

又《費長房》『開皇三寶錄』中。定佛是《周》《莊王》他十年甲午四月八日生。以常星不見為徵也。

又《法顯》曾遊西域云。佛是《商王》代中生。《顯》因見師子國三月出佛齒，供養王前。宣曰。「佛滅已一千四百九十七載也。」《顯》以《晉》《義熙》中逆推，知佛是商時生矣。

又《廬山度律師》『眾聖點記』云。《周》《貞定王》二年甲戌佛生。《法寶》大師全不取此。

又『感通傳』中。是《夏》《桀》之時見佛垂跡也。

次上諸說帝代不同，

一，《夏》末。

二，《商》末。

三，《周》《昭王》時。

四，《平王》時。

五，《桓王》時。

六，《莊王》時。

七，《貞定王》時。

皆據此方傳記所說。

若案經律者，『浴佛經』云。一切佛皆四月八日生也。『瑞應經』亦云。四月八日生。而『薩婆多論』中。即云，二月八日生。是則，內教二說不同也。

今謂佛若是《夏》時生，即今建巳四月八日也。若《商》時生，即今建《辰》月八日也。若《周》時生，即今建《卯》月八日也。

又據《南山宣⁴⁷律師》，問天人曰：「此土傳佛生時，或云《商》代，或《周》《昭王》，《魯》《莊公》世，如何指的。答曰。皆有所以。弟子是《夏》《桀》時生天，具見佛之垂化。然佛有三身，法報二身非人天所見。唯化身佛普被三千，故有百億《釋迦》。隨機所感，前後不定。不足疑也。」

今《東京》以《臘》月八日浴佛言佛生日者，案『祇洹圖經』。「寺中有坡黎師子，形如拳許大。口出妙音，菩薩聞之，皆超地位。每至《臘》月八日，《舍衛》城中士女競持香花，來聽法音。」

詳彼，不言佛生日，疑《天竺》以《臘》八為節日耳。又疑是用多論二月八日。臘月乃周之二月也。東西遼夤故，多差異焉。

又江表以今四月八日為佛生日者，依『瑞應經』也。如用周正，則合是今二月八日。今用建《巳》月，乃《周》之六月也。

詳此，濫用建巳月者，有二意焉。

一，聞聲便用不揲實求時。

一，翻經者多用夏正。故斯謬耳。

若如《南山》云。并眾生見聞不同，故時節不等，不宜確執。然則兩方相接，三藏所傳，以《周》《昭》時生，理為長也。

重之曰。前言月八日者，為《東夏》耶，為《西域》耶。若尋條見本，從水求源。則事無不周，理有攸貫。且《天竺》歲首諸說不同。『高僧傳』中，《慧嚴》與《何承天》爭中邊言，《西域》以建《辰》為歲首。『傳』又云。十二月三十日號大神變月，即此土正月十五日。此指《夏》正也。而用十六日生魄，為月初一日焉。今未詳，建《辰》月為取今三月月生日為歲首，為是月半分之準。西土無正二三月名，但取星直月，為月名耳。如《毘舍佉》月《迦提》月是也。

又《蔥嶺》北諸國，或以建《未》月為正首，或春際為夏安居。是知隨方宗計各別。況佛在《西域》說經，《羅漢》居《竺乾》造論，必不指《東震》之月。所言四月八日者，《西域》四月八日也。以事符合『周書異記』，《昭王》四月八日祥瑞。疑翻譯時隨聲筆受，妄認《夏》正也。唯為有七月十五日，『臘法經』是用此方為文，令人惑之。故兩存也。

NOTES

1. According to Buddhist legend, the birth of the Buddha on earth was preceded by a sojourn in the Heaven of the Tuṣita devas, one of the six deva-worlds of the Kāmadhātu, located between the Yāma heaven and the Nirmāṇarati heaven [on this, see, for example, A. Foucher, *The Life of the Buddha (According to the Ancient Texts and Monuments of India)*, 18-19. The *Mahāpadāna Sutta* (*Digha Nikaya* 14) and *Achariyabhuta Sutta* (*Majjhima Nikaya* 123) both of which recount the bodhisattva's descent from Tuṣita Heaven into his mother's womb and birth as Gautama].
2. Materials in brackets represent insertions by the translator for the sake of clarification.
3. The term *yingxian* 應現 has significant implications that the translation will not admit here. It indicates a concept whereby Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, in accordance with powers commiserate with their natures, impart Buddhist teaching (the Dharma) by manifesting themselves or appearing (*xian*) in numerous guises as a response (*ying*) to varying situations, and conditioned by the abilities of sentient beings for understanding it. Thus, the birth of a Buddha or appearance of a Bodhisattva is unusual or miraculous not only in the way that it appears and manifests itself, but also in the ability to respond to different capacities of understanding at the same time. What Zanning wishes to imply from this is that those who witnessed the actual birth of the Buddha did not necessarily witness the event in the exact same way; their experience was tempered by their ability to understand it. This is a major cause for disagreements encountered in later descriptions of the event.
4. The "regions of the west" include those areas west of China proper (not necessarily the political boundary of China, which tended to fluctuate, but the point at which the culture of China ceased to dominate), including primarily India, as well as those areas of Central Asia dominated by Indian Buddhist culture at the time (i.e., regions west of Jade Gate, most often Central Asia or sometimes more specifically the easternmost portion of it (the Tarim Basin); more generally, the Indian subcontinent and Middle East were also considered Western Regions). For a more precise description of the areas included by Zanning, one can look to Xuanzang's *Datang xiyouji* 大唐西域記 (T 51-2087); translated by Samuel Beal as *Si-*

Yu Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, and by Li Rongxi, *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*.

5. *Zongji* 宗計 (“sectarian considerations”) accounts for varying explanations of the Buddha’s birth by pointing to the different circumstances of those transmitting the information. Zanning is here indicating how initial accounts became further subject to later demands, in factors ranging from regional environment to sectarian interpretation. In general, he is acknowledging a common Buddhist assumption that that Buddhist events, teachings, etc., are conditioned in their interpretation by the varying abilities of its witnesses, resulting in different levels of understanding.
6. Reading *pulüe* 朴略 as an abbreviation for *shipu biye* 质朴鄙野 (unsophistication and simplicity) following www.hudong.com/wiki/朴略 (consulted April 27, 2011).
7. The allusion here is to the importance of cultural factors in determining what is significant, and hence, recorded.
8. Buddhist scriptures contain two explanations for the day of the Buddha’s birth, either on the eighth day of the second month or the eighth day of the fourth month. In East Asia, the Buddha’s birth is celebrated on the eighth day of the fourth month.
9. Primarily China, but also including the Chinese sphere of cultural influence. Emissaries were sent from China to Korea and Japan during the 10th century to recover Buddhist texts lost in China. Zanning was aware of this situation, and thus knew the importance of Buddhist records in East Asian lands other than China.
10. See XGSZ 8 (T 50.485b). The SSL text here abbreviates the name here as simply “biography of Shang of Tong” (*shang tong zhuan* 上統傳), which is clarified in the biography of Fashang in XGSZ 8 (T 50.483b11; bio. at 485a1-485c29) as “The biography of Buddhist monk Fashang of the Datong Hesui Monastery” (*Datong heshui si shi Fashang* 大統合水寺釋法上). According to information there (T 50.485b21), the Buddha was born in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Zhou dynasty King Zhao (1028 BCE), agreeing with Zanning’s statement that follows.
11. The *Han faben neizhuan* 漢法本內傳 is a non-extant Buddhist forgery to substantiate its claims to legitimacy in the Chinese context, reconstructed by Yoshioka Yoshitoyo (see below). It is a work in five fascicles depicting events associated with the introduction of Buddhism in China and its confrontation with Daoism during the *yongping* era (CE 58-75) of Emperor Ming of the Later Han dynasty. The compiler and date of compilation

are unknown, but fragments appear in a variety of sources, like the *Guang Hongmingji* 廣弘明集 1, *Ji gujin fodao lunheng* 集古今佛道論衡 1, *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 18, and *Xuji gujin fodao lunheng* 續集古今佛道論 (wangchao.net.cn-- http://tc.wangchao.net.cn/baike/detail_557688.html). See especially Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊, *Dōkyō to bukkyō* 道教と仏教, vol. 1, ch. 2, “Dōbutsu nikyō no taibensho to shite no Kan hōbon naiden ni tsuite” 道仏二教の対辯書としての「漢法本内伝」について, 276-293, which provides in an appendix a reconstructed, edited version of the *Han faben neizhuan* text compiled from three *Dunhuang* mss. (Peliot nos. 3376, 2626, and 2862). For the reference to the date of the Buddha’s birth, see p. 298.

12. The *Zhang ahan jing* 長阿含經 (*Dirgha-agama sūtra*) 4 (see T 1. 30a22 & 30a26). The verse in the Taishō version marks the date of birth in the second rather than fourth month. Events recorded in Indian sūtras are generally not dated, much less in terms of the Chinese dynastic calendar. The identification of the Chinese date here is based on the mention of supernatural phenomena accompanying the Buddha’s birth, implying a correspondence with a Chinese date in the reign of King Zhao of the Zhou Dynasty when similar phenomena were reported to have occurred. This attribution is made clear through the interpretation of supernatural phenomena on the date in question recorded in the Chinese text, the *Zhoushu yiji* 周書異記 (Record of Unusual Events in the Book of Zhou) discussed below. The *Zhoushu yiji* is regarded a forgery by later people (see Tang Yongtong 湯用彤, *Han Wei Liangjin Nanbeichao Fojiao Shi* 漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史, 4–5).
13. The reign years of the King of Zhou are uncertain, and variously given. In some cases they are given as 995-977 BCE, which would preclude the possibility of a twenty-three or twenty-four year reign.
14. The *Zhoushu yiji* 周書異記 is an apocryphal text written to bolster the claims of Buddhists that Buddhist teachings preceded Daoist ones, and hence are more legitimate. It is cited in the works of Falin 法琳 (572-640), in particular the *Poxie lun* 破邪論 (Treatise on Refuting Errors; T 52.478b).
15. The star cluster *Taiwei* 太微 consists of ten stars near the western edge of the constellation of Leo. In the ancient Chinese zodiac, it symbolized the location of such places as the palace of the Son of Heaven, the thrones of the Five Emperors of antiquity, and the administrative offices of the twelve Imperial Marquises (on this, see the *Shiji* 史記, *Tianguan shu* 天官書; <http://ctext.org/shiji/tian-guan-shu>). Omens such as these were

- regarded as signs of Heaven's will and as premonitions of the birth of a future emperor or sage. Hence, they naturally aroused the current Chinese ruler's concern.
16. *Taishi* 太史) is a variant of *dashi* 大史. In the Zhou period, the Grand Scribe's duties included advising the king concerning astrological conditions. The office of Grand Astrologer (*taishi ling* 太史令) in later Chinese history originated from this function. (Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* [hereafter referred to as Hucker], no. 6212).
 17. The *Zhoushu yiji* reference cited here is contained in the *Dunhuang mss.* of the *Han faben neizhuan* (Yoshioka, ed., p. 296).
 18. The *Sanbao wuyun tu* 三寶五運圖 is no longer extant. According to the biography of the compiler, Xuanchang 玄暢 (797-875), it was among the compilations of Xuanchang that related the events of the past under new headings and divisions that made their significance clear (see T 50.818b). Makita (*Bukkyō bunka kenkyū kiyō* no. 11) characterizes the text as quoted materials regarding the relative strengths and weaknesses of the three teachings, arranged historically by imperial reign. It is also cited in SSL 2 (T 54.243c27-244a1).
 19. King Ping allegedly reigned from 770-720 BCE.
 20. The *Loshi fashi nianji* 羅什法師紀 is abbreviated in the text as *Loshi ji* 羅什紀. Both it and the *Shizhu ming* 石柱銘 texts are cited in Dao'an's 道安 (312-385) *Erjiao lun* 二教論 in the GHMJ 8 (T 52.142a). By current calculation of dynastic reigns, King Xuan (r. 827-782 BCE) was the eleventh rather than eighteenth ruler of the Zhou Dynasty.
 21. The *Kaihuang sanbao lu* 開皇三寶錄 by Fei Changfang 費長房 (d.u.) is another name for the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 [Chronicle of the Three Treasures through the Ages] (T. 49-2034), compiled in the *kaihuang* era of the Sui dynasty (581-600). The reference here is found in fascicle 1 (T 49. p 24; the usual columns of T text are not delineated on this page). The *Lidai sanbao ji* gives the *Zuochuan* 左傳 as the source for the assertion regarding the failure of stars to appear on that day.
 22. On Faxian's 法顯 claim, see the *Gaoseng faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳 (T 51.865a); James Legge, tr., *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, 105-107. Some of the information provided in the translation is taken from the fuller explanation provided there.
 23. Makita (KK, "shiden bu", vol. 12, p. 303, n. 27) notes that although the date of Faxian's tenure in Sri Lanka is not known clearly, it is known that he returned to China (Qingzhou) in the ninth year of the *yixi* era (413 CE).

24. The *Zhengsheng dianji* 眾聖點記 is no longer extant, but it and Vinaya Master Hongdu 弘度律師 are mentioned in *Lidai sanbao ji* 11 (T 49.95b-c; see especially 95c). There it is claimed that 975 years had transpired from the seventh year of the *yongming* era (489 CE). Makita, n. 28, claims that it was actually the eighth year (490 CE). The same passage is recorded in *Datang neitian lu* 大唐內典錄 4 (T 55.262b), and *Kaiyuan lu* 開元錄 6 (T 55.535c-536a). There is also reference to it in *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 11 (T 55.82a-b).
25. Master Fabao 法寶 is a reference to Xuanchang, the compiler of the *Sanbao wuyun tu*, referred to above.
26. See the *Gantong zhuan* 感通傳 (T 45.879a10-11). The *Gantong zhuan* was compiled by Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667), who also wrote the XGSZ. King Jie was the last ruler of the Xia, normally regarded as a tyrant whose actions led to the demise of the dynasty.
27. This marks an obvious division in Zanning's investigation. The year of the Buddha's birth was a question addressed by Chinese historiographers, and taken up in Chinese biographical and historical records. From here, the concern turns to the month and day of the Buddha's birth, regarding which Buddhist scriptures and vinaya texts, originating in India, provide information. This accounts for the sequence of Zanning's presentation and the order in which sources are considered. It should also be noted that current editions of the SSL text do not acknowledge a major break at this point.
28. There is no statement to this effect in the *Yufo gongde jing* 浴佛功德經 (T 16-698), known commonly as the *Yufo jing* 浴佛經. Such a statement is found, however, in the *Foshuo guanxi fo xingxiang jing* 佛說灌洗佛形象經 (T 16.796c10 & c17), commonly known as the *Guanfo jing* 灌佛經.
29. See the *Ruiying jing* 瑞應經 (T 3.473c1).
30. The *Sapoduo lun* 薩婆多論; full title *Sapaduo pinipi posha* 薩婆多毘尼毘婆沙 (*Sarvāstivāda vinaya vibhāṣā*), fascicle 2 (T 23.510b21).
31. In the Chinese lunar calendar, the beginning of the new year was represented by different branches of the zodiac in the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties, meaning that the same zodiac symbols corresponded to different months of the year in each dynasty. The symbol for the first month in the Xia corresponded to the first month in Zanning's day, while the same symbol would have indicated the twelfth month in Shang, and the eleventh month in Zhou (regarding the calendrical determinations of different dynasties, see the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 "Luli zhi" 律曆志). The point here is that as a result of dynastic variances in ascribing different

- months to the same lunar symbol, the varying descriptions in canonical sources may be accounted for and explanations of the month of the Buddha's birth may be justifiable.
32. See the *Daoxuan lüshi Gantong lu* 道宣律師感通錄 (T 52.439b). The SSL is altered and abbreviated in places, but with no effect to the meaning.
 33. The *trikāyā* doctrine in Buddhism maintains that the Buddha is capable of manifesting himself in three forms (or bodies), commonly divided as Zanning does here: a Dharma-body (*fashen* 法身) which transcends personification and is identical to the true nature of reality itself; a Reward-body (*baoshen* 報身) which corresponds to the Buddha as he appears in a Buddha-land, resulting from many eons of religious striving; a Transformation-body (*huashen* 化身) which is manifested for the benefit of unenlightened sentient beings.
 34. In the entry describing ceremonies held on the twelfth month 十二月 in fascicle 10 of the *Dongjing menghua lu* 東京夢華錄, compiled in the Southern Song, there are many celebrations, including bathing the Buddha image, recitation of the Buddha's name, and chanting of scriptures, but there is nothing specifying this as a birthday celebration.
 35. The *Qihuan si tu jing* 祇洹寺圖經, fascicle one, provides a slightly expanded description (T 45-1899.884a16-20).
 36. It is the common style of the SSL to include comments on current practice in China, noting difference between north (in this case the practice in Kaifeng) and south. This may be attributed to the fact that Zanning was himself "southerner" from the kingdom of Wuyue 吳越國, before it was amalgamated by the Song in 978.
 37. Recall that the Xia calendar corresponds to the one in current use.
 38. This record was inspired by a visionary experience and revelations that Daoxuan had which led to the authorship of several of his works; see Koichi Shinohara, "The Kasaya Robe of the Past Buddha Kasyapa in the Miraculous Instruction Given to the Vinaya Master Daoxuan (596-667)," of the Past Buddha Kasyapa in the Miraculous Instruction Given *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* No. 13-2 (2000): 299-367.
 39. On Huiyan 慧嚴, see GSZ 7 (T 50.367b18-368b3; Yoshikawa and Funama, *Kōsōden* 3, pp. 45-60). Huiyan was a famed monk and defender of Buddhism at the court of the Liu Song Emperor Wendi (r. 424-453). He wrote works like the *Wu shengmie lun* 無生滅論 (Treatise on No-birth or Extinction) and *Laozi lüezhu* 老子略注 (Brief Notes on the Laozi), and so on, some of which were commissioned by the emperor. On He Chengtian 何承天 (370-447), see *Song shu* 64; also mentioned in Zürcher, *The*

Buddhist Conquest of China, p. 15, 265, 270 and 305. He was a famous mathematician and astronomer and a noted expert on the Chinese calendar (see Ji-Huan He, "He Chengtian's inequality and its applications," *Applied Mathematics and Computation* 151-3 [April 2004], pp. 887-891). He was a staunch defender of Confucianism and the traditional attitude of China-centered cultural isolationism ("Things from abroad should not be studied by Chinese," cited from Zürcher, 265). He is the author of the *Daxing lun* 達性論 (On Apprehending Nature), written, in part, as a response to Huiyuan's 慧遠 *Shen bumie lun* 神不滅論 (On the Indestructibility of the Soul), defending the distinction between humans and animals and criticizing the fallacy of Buddhist notions of karmic retribution for killing animals (see Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 138-140). While the term *zhongbian* 中邊 is obscure in this context, the fact that the argument between He Chengtian and Huiyuan pertained to the use of the Chinese versus Indian calendars is made clear in the SSL text that follows and the entry for Huiyuan in GSZ 7 (T 50.368a14-19). When He Chengtian asks Huiyuan about what calendar is used in Buddhist countries (implying that their method of calculating time was rudimentary and insufficient), Huiyuan responds that in India the calendrical system is based on sophisticated observations and measurements, and that during the Summer, when the sun is directly overhead and casts no shadows, it is known as the center of Heaven (*tianzhong* 天中). The explanation is said to have left He Chengtian with no room to respond (Yoshikawa and Funayama, *Kōsōden* 3, pp. 57-58).

40. See the biography of Xuanzang 玄奘, XGSZ 4 (T 50.451a5-6). The term *shenbian yue* 神變月 ("the month of the transformation of the gods") connotes periods in the first, fifth, and ninth months of the year when the gods were believed to descend from their heavenly abodes and visit the earth. The point here for Zanning, discussed below, is that an Indian custom became confused with a Chinese one.
41. A general description of the Indian calendrical system, with the names of the Indian months transcribed, is found in Xuanzang's *Datang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 2 (Zhonghua edition, *Datang xiyuji jiaozhu*, 168-69; Beal, trans., *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. 1, 71-73).
42. In ancient times, the Himalayas were regarded as part of the Pamir 蔥嶺 range, so that this may be taken as a general reference to the ancient Buddhist kingdoms of central Asia, north of the Himalayas.
43. In the *Datang Xiyu ji* 1 (Zhonghua edition, 100), Xuanzang notes that the monks of *Tuholo* [Tokhara] retired for their rainy season retreat on the

sixteenth day of the twelfth month, and ended it on the fifteenth day of the third month, as a result of the onslaught of spring rains at the end of the winter in this country. What Zanning is alluding to here is that Buddhist customs and habits formed in monsoon India had to be adapted to the arid climate of central Asia.

44. On the *Zhoushu yiji* 周書異記, see above.
45. This is probably a reference to the *Panniyuan hou guanla jing* 般泥洹後灌臘經 (Scripture on Washing the Image [of the Buddha] after his Pariṇirvāṇa; T 12-391.1114a3-b3) allegedly translated by Zhu Fahu 竺法護 in the Western Jin dynasty.
46. The point of this section is to recommend to the imperial government which dates may be legitimately recognized as the Buddha's birthday.
47. Reading *xuan* 宣 for *yi* 宜.

[2]

THE ARRIVAL OF BUDDHIST MONKS IN CATHAY

僧入震旦¹

The [*Sanbao*] *wuyun tu* [Illustration of the Five Fates of the Three Treasures] says:²

In the age of the Zhou dynasty, the sacred vestiges of the sage's teachings, as well as the stūpas erected by King Aśoka, were found here in this land (i.e., China). Mention would have been included in [Chinese] biographical and historical records, but these, too, were surely destroyed in the “burning of the books” [campaign] of Qin Shi Huang[di]. Consequently, there is no way to verify their existence at present.³

During the reign of Shi Huangdi, there were eighteen worthies, *Śramaṇa* Shi Lifang and so on, that arrived [in China] bearing scriptures to convert [the emperor].⁴ Shi Huangdi had no faith [in Buddhism], and proceeded to imprison them. At night, divine beings destroyed their prison bonds and set them free.

In addition, when Liu Xiang collated the books in the Tianlu pavilion during the reign of Emperor Chengdi (r. 33-7 BCE) in the Han dynasty,

he frequently encountered evidence of Buddhist scriptures.⁵ When he wrote the *Biographies of Exemplary Immortals* (*Liexian zhuan*), he found that seventy-four people of the one hundred thirty-six [included] had read Buddhist scriptures.⁶

Through careful examination of this [information], we know of the existence of Buddhist teachings and *śramaṇa* already in the Zhou and Qin dynasties, though [Buddhism] was yet to flourish greatly.⁷

In the seventh year of the *yongping* era (64 CE), Emperor Ming, the second ruler of the Later Han dynasty, as a result of dreaming of a “golden man,” ordered Qin Jing, Cai Yin, and Wang Zun to go to India to welcome the teaching of the Buddha [to China].⁸ They met two *śramaṇa*, Jiashe Moteng (*Kāśyapa Mātanga*) and Zhu Falan (*Dharmaraksha*) in Yuezhi (Tocharia?), and entered China.⁹ This is currently regarded as the beginning [of Buddhist monks arriving in China].

Although Buddhist teaching arrived in northern China at that time, it had yet to flow to the regions of the south. The reception of the [Buddhist] faith was not yet widespread, and the transmission of its practices not yet far-reaching. When we come to Master Sun [Quan] and the tripartite division [of China], when the borders [of the state of Wu] divided it [from the rest of China],¹⁰ there was Kang Senghui.¹¹ Hailing from the country of Sogdia, he began converting [people to Buddhism] in southern [Chinese] lands during the *chiwu* era (238-251 CE).¹²

[二] 僧人震旦

『五運圖』云。「《周》世聖教靈跡，及《阿育王》造塔，置于此土。合有傳記，良以秦始皇焚書，此亦隨焚，故今無處追尋。」

「案始皇時，有《沙門釋利房》等十八賢者，齎經來化。始皇弗信，遂禁錮之。夜有神人，破獄出之。」

又，「《漢成帝》時。《劉向》校書於《天祿》閣，往往見有佛經。及著『列仙傳』，得一百三十六人，七十四人已見佛經。」

以此詳究，知《周》《秦》之代，已有佛教《沙門》，止未大興耳。

至《後漢》第二主《明帝》《永平》七年，因夢金人。乃令《秦景》《蔡愔》《王遵》往《天竺》迎佛教。於《月氏》遇《迦葉摩騰》《竺法蘭》二《沙門》，入《東夏》。今以為始也。

于時佛法雖到中原，未流江表。信受未廣，傳行未周。洎《孫》氏鼎分封疆阻隔，有《康僧會》者。本《康居》國人，《赤鳥》年中始化於南土也。

NOTES

1. The Chinese term *zhendan* 震旦 represents the pronunciation of an ancient Indian name for China. Although the English “Cathay” originates from the word Khitan (C. Qidan 契丹), the name of a nomadic people who founded the Liao Dynasty which ruled much of Northern China from 907 to 1125, I use it here to capture the anachronistic sense of the usage of *zhendan* here.
2. Regarding the *Sanbao wuyun tu* 三寶五雲圖 and its author Xuanchang 玄暢, see section [1].
3. In addition to his fame as the first unifier of the Chinese empire, the Qin dynasty (BCE 221-207), Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝 gained notoriety for his attempt to destroy unwanted vestiges of the Zhou legacy by burning the writings of Confucians and burying their proponents alive. The same assertion is found in *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 1 (T 49.23c14-20). Also related are Zongbing’s 宗炳 statement in the *Mingfo lun* 明佛論, recorded in HMJ 2 (T 52.12a-b); and Falin’s 法琳 reply to Fuyi 傅奕 in the GHMJ 11 (T 52.165c27-166a3).
4. The episode cited here is also found in the *Lidai sanbao ji* (T 49.23c), immediately following the reference to the *Sanbao wuyun tu* cited above. See also the GHMJ 11 (T 52.166a), which makes clear that the aim of the *śramaṇa* was to convert the emperor.
5. Liu Xiang’s 劉向 (77- 8 BCE) biography is found in the *Han shu* 36. He was a well-known scholar of the Han dynasty. He compiled the first catalogue of the imperial library, the *Bielu* 別錄 (Abstracts), and was the first editor of the *Shan Hai Jing* 山海經 (Classic of the Mountains of Seas), a work later completed by his son, Liu Xin 劉歆. He was also a collector of old stories, which he included in works he compiled: the *Zhan Guo Ce* 戰國策 (Strategies of the Warring States), *Xinxu* 新序 (New Prefaces), *Shuoyuan* 說苑 (Garden of Stories), as well as the *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 (Biographies of Exemplary Women), and probably the *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳 (Biographies of Exemplary Immortals). In 26 BCE he was commanded by the Emperor Han Chengdi to reorganize the neglected imperial library. This was done with the assistance of Liu Xin, who completed this task after his father’s death. They are credited with creating the canonical book format for classical texts, some of which went unchallenged until the Guodian discovery of 1993. For this, and other informa-

- tion, see Michael Loewe, "The Former Han Dynasty," in *The Cambridge History of China: Volume I: the Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C. – A.D. 220* (1986), pp. 103–222; E.L. Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 2–3; and Fei, Zhengang, "Liu Xiang" in *Zhōngguó Dà Bǎikē Quánshū* 中国大百科全书 (Encyclopedia of China).
6. See also GHMJ 11 (T 49.166a); the *Lidai sanbao ji* (T 49.29b); and HMJ 2 (T 49.12c). In the GHMJ and the *Lidai sanbao ji* the number of biographies included is said to be one hundred and forty-six. The *Liexian zhuan* was the first Daoist hagiography, preceding the *Shenxian zhuan* (神仙傳 "Biographies of Divine Immortals") attributed to Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–343 CE). Like Liu Xiang's *Lienü zhuan* (列女傳 "Biographies of Exemplary Women"), the *Liexian zhuan* follows the *lie zhuan* (列傳 "exemplary [literally "grouped"] biographies") format established by the historian Sima Qian. It contains brief hagiographies, with appended hymns for early Daoist figures such as Huangdi and Laozi, who are reputed to have been *xian* (仙 "transcendent; immortal; celestial being; etc."). For a description and indication of the importance of the *liezhuan* genre, see Wilkinson, *Chinese History*, pp. 124–125. In the description of Giles (1948:13), the *Liexian Zhuan*: "contains tersely worded notices of 72 persons of every rank and station, ranging from purely mythical beings to hermits, heroes, and men and women of the common people." There are no full English translations of the text, but selected biographies are translated by Lionel Giles, *A Gallery of Chinese Immortals* (London: John Murray. 1979 reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1948). There is a French translation by Max Kaltenmark, *Le Lie-sien tchouan: Biographies légendaires des immortels taoïstes de l'antiquité*. Beijing: Université de Paris, Publications du Centre d'études sinologiques de Pékin. 1987 reprint Paris: Collège de France, 1953). The *Liexian Zhuan* is discussed by Wu and Davis, "Ko Hung's biography in *Lieh-hsien chuan*," (*Journal of Chemical Education* [1934], pp. 517–20); Robert Campany, *Strange Writing: Anomaly Accounts in Early Medieval China* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996); and Stephen Eskildsen, *Asceticism in Early Taoist Religion* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998). There is some question regarding the authenticity of the *Liexian zhuan*, as it does not resemble other Later Han works in style.
 7. Although this statement obviously reflects Zanning's opinion, it is not clear whether it originated with Zanning himself as I have attributed it, or from Xuanchang, compiler of the *Sanbao wuyun tu*.

8. This event involving Qin Jing 秦景, Cai Yin 蔡愔, and Wang Zun 王遵 is recorded in numerous sources, including *Lidai sanbao ji* 2 (T 49.29c) and 4 (T 49.49a), GHMJ 9 (T 52.147c), and the *Xiaodao lun* 笑道論 (T 52-2103.143c-152c) a Buddhist text compiled in 570 by Zhen Luan 甄鸞 (translated by Livia Kohn, *Laughing at the Dao*; mentioned in John Lagerway and Pengzhi Lü, *Early Chinese Religion: The Period of Division (220-589 AD), Part Two Volume 1*, p. 867). Some sources, like *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 42, date the dream to the eighth year of *yongping*. The *Xiyou* 西遊, *Tianzhuguo zhuan* 天竺國 section of the *Hou Han shu* states that in a dream Emperor Ming 明帝 saw a golden man, great in stature, issuing a bright light from his head. When he questioned his ministers about it, they confirmed the existence of a god in the west called the Buddha who was tall in height and gold in color. Emperor Ming is then said to have dispatched messengers to India to inquire about the Buddha's teaching.
9. In addition, reference to this may be seen in the biographies of Jiashe Moteng 迦葉摩騰 (GSZ; T 50.322c-323a) and Zhu Falan 竺法蘭 (T 50.323a). *Hou Han shu* 42, 1428-29) reports that Chu Wangying 楚王英 worshipped at a Buddhist temple in the eighth year of the *yongping* era (65 CE). The apocryphal nature of this story regarding Emperor Ming's dream and the retrieval of Buddhist texts, images, and the first appearance of Buddhist monks in China is discussed by Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, p. 22.
10. Referring to the period of the Three Kingdoms [Wei (220-265), Wu (222-280), and Shu (221-263)] in Chinese history. Song Quan 孫權 (182-252) was the founder of the southern kingdom of Wu.
11. The biography of the Sogdian monk Kang Senghui 康僧會 (?-280) is recorded in GSZ 1 (T 50.325a-326b). He was a noted translator and disseminator of Buddhist texts during the Three Kingdoms period.
12. According to Kang Senghui's biography (GSZ 1; T 50.325a13-14), he was born in Jiaozhi 交趾 (Vietnam), but his family were merchants who hailed from Sogdia. *Lidai sanbao ji* 5 (T 49.59b) agrees with Zanning in making it during the *chiwu* era when this occurred. According to the GSZ 1 (T 50.325b), it was the tenth year of *chiwu* (247 CE); according to the *Wuzhu Sunquan lunxu fodao sanzong* 吳主孫權論敘佛道三宗 (GHMJ 1; T 52.99c) it was the fourth year of *chiwu* (241 CE).

[3]

THE TRANSMISSION OF [BUDDHIST] SCRIPTURES AND IMAGES TO CHINA

經像東傳

In searching for the origins of scriptures and images [in China], [there are events pertaining to] Buddhism difficult to accept on rational grounds; the spiritual legacy [of Buddhism] is rooted in the extraordinary.¹ It is not something that can be fathomed through ordinary sense-experience, nor sought in common precedents. As simple examples, when Buddhist monks arrived [in China] in the Eastern Han dynasty,² Liu Xiang had already come across palm-leaf (i.e., Indian Buddhist) scriptures,³ and the stūpas of King Aśoka had appeared in the Qin dynasty;⁴ [as a result] there was evidence of the sacred (i.e., Buddhism) earlier [than the Eastern Han].⁵

According to the Treatise on Buddhism and Daoism (Shilao zhi),⁶

One hears of the study of Buddhism from [the reign of] Emperor Wu of the Former Han dynasty. During the *yuanshou* era (122-116 BCE),⁷ Huo Qubing obtained a [statue of a] golden man from the king of Kunye.⁸ The Emperor regarded it as a great deity, set it

up in the Ganquan (Sweet Spring) Palace [alongside the Chinese gods], and burned incense and paid homage [to it].⁹ This marks the start of the dissemination and transmission of the Buddha-dharma [to China].¹⁰

With the opening of the regions of the west,¹¹ [Emperor Wu] dispatched Zhang Qian as envoy to [the country of] Daxia.¹² When he returned [to China], he proclaimed, "In India there is the teaching of the Buddha." During the *yuanshou* era (2-1 BCE) [in the reign] of Emperor Ai, Jing Xian went to Yuezhi (Tocharia) and obtained Buddhist scriptures through oral transmission.

Nevertheless, at the time there was no strong faith [in Buddhism] and its ways were not widely practiced. [The situation was] comparable to [the relation between] an initial downpour and a large river, or like tiny shoots and a mighty tree.

At present, I consider the two *śramaṇa* [Jiashe Moteng (Kāśyapa Mātāṅga) and Zhu Falan (Dharmaraksha)] bringing the *Scripture in Forty-Two Sections* and an image of the Buddha painted on coarse silk during the reign of Emperor Ming in the Han dynasty (r. 58-75 CE) to be the start of this (i.e., the introduction of Buddhist scriptures and images to China).¹³ And yet, according to the *Gantong zhuan* (Transmissions of Inspired Communications), in the Zhou dynasty King Mu (r. 1001-947 BCE) erected the Ling'an Monastery, and in Yongzhou, Shi Hua presented offerings at the Aśoka *stūpa*, and so on.¹⁴ [Based on this evidence], how could [the introduction of Buddhist scriptures and images to China] not have occurred prior to the Eastern (i.e., Former) Han dynasty? Such [evidence], however, is something that is rationally unacceptable and verbally inadmissible; it must be relegated [to a place] outside our [rational and verbal] categories of understanding. Based on material and physical evidence contingent on being rationally acceptable and verbally acceptable, the [evidence from the] *yongping* era (AD 58-75)¹⁵ is currently regarded as the beginning [of the transmission of Buddhist scriptures and images to China].

[三] 經像東傳

原其佛道難思。神蹤本異。不可以常情測，不可以眾例求。唯如《東漢》僧來，《劉向》已逢於梵筴，《育王》塔現《秦》朝，早有於靈儀。

案『釋老志』曰。「釋氏之學，聞於前《漢武帝》。《元狩》年中。《霍去病》獲《昆耶》王金人。帝以為大神，列於《甘泉》宮，燒香禮拜。此佛法流傳之始也。及開《西域》，遣《張騫》使《大夏》。還云。「《身毒》有《浮圖》之教。《哀帝》《元壽》年中，《景憲》往《月支》，口授得《浮圖》經。」

然時未敦信，道未通行。猶大江之初濤，若巨木之毫末耳。

今以《漢 明帝》世，二《沙門》齋『四十二章經』，及白[疊*毛]畫像，為其始焉。又如『感通傳』中。《周穆王》造《靈安寺》，《永州》《石花》捧《育王》塔等。豈非《東漢》前耶。斯乃思慮不逢，語議弗及者，可置度外。今且據事跡可思可議故，以《永平》為始也。

NOTES

1. Referring to Buddhism as being “difficult to comprehend,” and “rooted in the extraordinary” is Zanning’s way of assuming certain aspects relating to the origins of Buddhism in China as being beyond rational explanation—an allusion to the essentially non-rational and miraculous character of Buddhist enlightenment as the foundation of the Buddhist religion. The significance of this allusion becomes apparent in the conclusion to the section. I have translated the phrase *nansi* 難思 (literally “difficult to fathom”) as “difficult to accept on rational grounds,” following the intention indicated by Zanning in this passage.
2. Referring to Emperor Ming’s dream of the “golden man” and the first recorded arrival of Buddhist monks in China as “the common precedent fathomed through ordinary sense-experience.” On this and the other examples cited here, see section [2], above.
3. Regarding Liu Xiang and his collation of Buddhist texts, see section [2] above.
4. Zanning follows the *Sanbao wuyun tu* in accepting that King Aśoka left *stūpa* remains in China during the Zhou dynasty, after which they were supposedly destroyed by Qin Shi Huangdi (see section [2], above).
5. The term *lingyi* 靈儀, often translated as “mortuary tablet” (See Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 1437b), has a less specific meaning here, indicating evidence for the existence of Buddhism as given here. The point seems again to be that contrary to conventional perceptions, the actual situation is “difficult to comprehend” and “rooted in the extraordinary.” Regarding the two examples, both relate to the title of the section: the first (involving Liu Xiang) relates to the transmission of Buddhist scriptures, the second (involving Aśoka) to the transmission of Buddhist images.
6. The *Shilao zhi* 釋老志 appears in fascicle 114 of the *Wei shu* 魏書. The citation by Zanning here, however, is taken from the version of the *Shilao zhi* in GHMJ 2 (T 52.101a), compiled in the Qi dynasty (479-502). On the *Shilao zhi* and Northern Wei Buddhism, see Tsukamoto Zenryū, *Shina bukkyōshi kenkyū*, Hokugi-hen (Tokyo, 1942). For an English translation, see Leon Hurvitz, *Wei Shou, Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism*.

7. According to the *Shi ji* 史記 (*Xiongnu liezhuan* 匈奴列傳), it was the third year of *yuanshou* (120 BC).
8. Kunye 昆耶 is the name of a Xiongnu 匈奴 [Hun] community in the Han dynasty, located in modern day Gansu province. Huo Qubing 霍去病 (140-117 CE) was a general who served under Emperor Wu, noted for his bravery in battles with the Xiongnu.
9. Some editing occurred between the *Wei shu* and the GHMJ. According to the *Wei shu* text of the *Shilao zhi*, the Emperor “*did not offer sacrifices* [to the Buddha image], but *only* burned incense and paid homage to it” (italics mine). Thus, the emperor’s refusal to offer sacrifices was omitted in the GHMJ version cited by Zanning here.
10. And more specifically, the transmission of Buddhist images, the subject of Zanning’s concern here. The last line is excluded from the quoted material in Makita’s translation (p. 306), but is clearly included in the *Shilao zhi*.
11. On the meaning of “the regions of the West,” see section [1].
12. Daxia 大夏 is commonly identified with Tocharia or Bactria. Sources for identifying Central Asian place names include Ping Chengzhun, *Xiyoudiming* (Zhonghua, Beijing); Egami Namio, *Chūo ajia shi*; and Rene Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes: A History of Central Asia*.
13. This information is commonly repeated throughout Chinese records. See, for example, the *Mouzi lihuo lun*, HMJ ch. 1 (T 52.4c-5a); the *Lidai sanbao ji*, ch. 4 (T 49.49a); the biographies of Jiashe Moteng (Kāśyapa Mātāṅga) and Zhu Falan (Dharmaraksha), GSZ ch. 1 (T 50.322c-323a); and the *Hou Han shu*, ch. 1 and 10. The *Sūtra in Forty-Two Sections* is found in T 17-784.
14. Daoxuan’s *Gantong lu* is full of such claims. For the example, see the T 52.438c and 439a.
15. This refers to the above mentioned events associated with the two *śramaṇa* Jiashe Moteng and Zhu Falan. In the previous section [2], their arrival in China was specified as occurring in the seventh year of Yongping (AD 64).

[4]

BUILDING MONASTERIES

創造伽藍¹

Buddhist scriptures and images arrived,² and monks and disciples came.³ At the next stage [of development], [the monks and disciples of Buddhism] sought residences here, invariably living in sanctified locations (i.e., temples or monasteries). In order for the Dharma-wheel (*falun*) to turn, [monks and followers] must have recourse to physical property.⁴ On account of this, [the Emperor] erected temples and dwellings for them.

Success was realized [in this regard] through the concentrated efforts of two men, Jiashe Moteng (Kāśyapa Mātāṅga) and Zhu Falan (Dharmaraksha).⁵ Emperor Ming (58-75 CE) was pleased with them.⁶ Initially, he extended courtesy to them at the Court for Dependencies (*Honglu si*).⁷ The Court for Dependencies originally [functioned as] the residence for [extending] courtesy to non-Han peoples from the four border regions of China, or from distant countries. Later on, the Emperor ordered a separate location be selected [to serve as residence for Jiashe Moteng and Zhu Falan] outside the Xiyong Gate (Gate of Harmony with the West)⁸ in Luoyang, and built a “purified dwelling.”⁹ Because a white horse transported Buddhist scriptures [to the new location],¹⁰ “White Horse” was used for the name.¹¹

Regarding [the use of] the word *si* (“court”),¹² the *Shiming* (Explanation of Words) says:¹³

Si (“court”) refers to *si* (“succession” or “inheritance”). Those who administer the affairs succeed each other to continue these [duties] from within.

Originally, [*si* “court”] was the name for *si* (“government office”). When Buddhist monks first arrived [in China] from the west, they were temporarily housed in public (i.e., government) offices.¹⁴ Even after they were transferred to separate lodgings,¹⁵ [the new lodgings] were still referred to with the term *si*, so as not to forget the [foreign] origins of these monks. The name *si* for [the dwellings of] Buddhist monks began from this.

Samghārāma is translated [into Chinese] as “park of the congregation.” It refers to the fact that members of the [Buddha’s] congregation stayed in a place where fruits and vegetables were grown and cultivated. The disciples of the Buddha, in a manner of speaking, produced and cultivated the sprouts [i.e., blessings] of the Way and the fruits of sagehood. As a result of this, there are [references to] Kāraṇḍaka Bamboo Grove and Jetavana Park (*Jetavana Anāthapiṇḍada-ārāma*) in Buddhist scriptures.¹⁶ Both were monastery residences [for Buddhist monks] in the regions of the west.

An example of evidence [for building Buddhist monasteries in China] not rationally verifiable is King Mu’s building the Xianji Monastery in the Zhou dynasty.¹⁷ This evidence is difficult to allow based on standard criteria. I caution readers that this is an event difficult to accept on rational grounds.¹⁸

Emperor Taiwu built a *saṃghārāma* in the Later Wei dynasty, in the first year of the *shiguang* era (424 CE), giving it the name *zhaoti*.¹⁹ During the *daye* era of the Sui dynasty (605-616 CE), Emperor Yang changed [the names of the Buddhist monasteries] in the empire from *si* to *daochang*

("place of practice"), but in the Tang dynasty, the name was changed back to *si*.²⁰

According to the *Sigao* ("Titles for Monasteries") by Dharma Master Lingyu,²¹ altogether there are ten names for Buddhist monasteries (*si*).

The first is *si* ("government court" or "monastery"). <The meaning (of this designation) is based on the *Shiming* (Explanation of Words).²²>

The second is "pure abode." <A place where one can avoid residing with defilements and impurities.>

The third is "communal religious abode." <A place where the two realms, the Dharma realm and the realm of ordinary life (*shi*)²³ are the same.>

The fourth is "abode away from the world." <A place where one cultivates so as to leave the vulgarities of this world behind.>

The fifth is "abode of refinement." <Not a place where ruffians dwell.>

The sixth is "garden of purity." <A place where the three karma-producing activities do not afflict one.²⁴>

The seventh is "diamond land." <A place where the ground is firm and people of the Way (i.e., the Buddhist congregation) reside.>

The eighth is "site for the attainment of silent extinction" (i.e., *nirvāṇa*). <In *Jetavana* Park there is a Lotus Blossom Storehouse World, adorned with the seven jewels and referred to as "site for the attainment of silent extinction." Vairocana Buddha preached the *Huayan jing* here.>

The ninth is "place for transcending [attachment]." <[So called] because for those who enter this place, afflictions are banished and the joy of silent extinction draws near.>

The tenth is "place of intimacy [with the Dhrama]." <[So called] because as one performs practices peacefully and joyfully, one becomes intimate with the Dharma here.>

These ten names used in this land (i.e., China) are based on the [*Tianzhu sheweiguo*] *Zhihuansi tu jing* (Illustrated Scripture of Jetavana Monastery in the Country of Śrāvastī in India).²⁵ Buddhist terms each have meanings accompanying them, just like those in the *Sigao* (Titles for Monasteries).

At present there are six such types of meanings.

The first are referred to as “caves.” For example, in the Later Wei dynasty holes were bored in mountains to make caves for placing sacred images in and as residences for monks. <At present, these are the stone caves of the Tianzhu Monastery at Longmen in Luoyang. Some examples are the Nārāyaṇa and Diamond Buddha caves, etc.>

The second are referred to as “cloisters.” <At present, chief priests of the Chan School often use this name.²⁶>

The third are referred to as “groves.” <The *vinaya* precepts say to live in a grove, and Buddhist scriptures contain reference to the grove of Sudatta.²⁷>

The fourth are called “shrines.” <For example, the Gautama Shrine referred to in the *Shanjian lun*.²⁸>

The fifth are *araṇya* (“forest retreats”).²⁹ <[Monasteries] without buildings.³⁰>

The sixth are “common.”³¹ <At present, there are many places (so styled) on Mt. Wutai].>

In addition, according to [the sources],³² after the death of Emperor Ming in the Han dynasty (r. 58-75 CE), a Jetavana Park was set up around his tomb-mound. Thereafter, Buddha [statues] were sometimes erected on the tombsites of common people. <Evidence for this is found in the [*Luoyang*] *qielan ji* (A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang) by Yang Xuanzhi.³³> From the *yongping* era of the Han dynasty (58-75) to the *yongjia* era of the Jin dynasty (307-313), there were only forty-two Buddhist monasteries in Luoyang, but later on, when the Wei dynasty made Luoyang the capital, faith in Buddhist teaching flourished and

esteem for building [Buddhist monasteries] followed accordingly.³⁴ Government ministers and influential people competed with each other to put up monastery buildings; the total number exceeded one thousand.³⁵ Later on, when the state of Zhao made [the city of] Ye the capital,³⁶ they built over eight-hundred Buddhist monasteries within its precincts.³⁷ At present, some of the remains of those monasteries still survive there.

[四] 創造伽藍

經像來思僧徒戾止。次原爰處必宅淨方。是以法輪轉須依地也。故立寺宇焉。

《騰》《蘭》二人角力既勝。《明帝》忻悅。初於《鴻臚寺》延禮之。《鴻臚寺》者，本禮四夷遠國之邸舍也。尋令別擇《洛陽》西雍門外，蓋一精舍。以白馬馱經夾故，用《白馬》為題也。

寺者，『釋名』曰。「寺嗣也。治事者相嗣續於其內也。」

本是司名。西僧乍來，權止公司。移入別居，不忘其本，還標寺號。僧寺之名始於此也。

《僧伽藍》者，譯為眾園。謂眾人所居，在乎園圃，生殖之所。佛弟子則生殖道芽聖果也。故經中有《迦蘭陀》竹園，《祇樹給孤獨》園。皆是《西域》之寺舍也。

若其不思議之跡，即《周穆王》造《顯濟寺》。此難憑準。命曰難思之事也。

《後魏 太武帝》《始光》元年，創立《伽藍》，為《招提》之號。《隋 煬帝》《大業》中。改天下寺為道場。至《唐》復為寺也。

案《靈裕》法師『寺誥』，凡有十名寺：

一曰，〈寺 義準釋名。〉

二曰，〈淨住 穢濁不可同居。〉

三曰，〈法同舍 法食二同界也。〉

四曰，〈出世舍 修出離世俗之所也。〉

五曰，〈精舍 非麤暴者所居。〉

六曰，〈清淨園 三業無染處也。〉

七曰，〈金剛剎 剎土堅固道人所居。〉

八曰，〈寂滅道場 《祇園》有蓮華藏世界。以七寶莊嚴。謂之寂滅道場。《盧舍那》佛說『華嚴』於此。〉

九曰，〈遠離處 入其中者。去煩惱遠。與寂滅樂近故。〉

十曰，〈親近處 如行安樂行。以此中近法故也。〉

此土十名依『祇洹圖經』。釋相各有意致。如彼『寺誥』也。

今義如六種：

一名，〈窟。如《後魏》《鑿山》為窟。安置聖像及僧居。是也。今《洛陽》《龍門 天竺寺》有石窟。有如《那羅延》《金剛佛》窟等。是。〉

二名，〈院 今禪宗住持多用此名也。〉

三名，〈林 律曰。住一林。經中有《逝多》林也。〉

四曰，〈廟 如『善見論』中《瞿曇》廟。〉

五，〈蘭若 無院相者。〉

六，〈普通 今《五臺山》有多所也。〉

又案《漢明帝》崩，起《祇洹》於陵上。自此百姓墳塚或作《浮圖》者焉。〈出《楊衒之》『伽藍記』中。〉《洛陽》自《漢》《永平》至《晉》《永嘉》。止有四十二寺。及《後魏》都《洛》。盛信佛教。崇構相繼。臣下豪民競置寺宇。凡一千餘所。後《趙》都《鄴》。造寺八百餘區。今遺址或存焉。

NOTES

1. The Chinese term *qielan* 伽藍 is an abbreviation of *seng qielan* 僧伽藍, a transliteration of the Sanskrit *saṃgha-arāma*. The meaning of this term is considered below.
2. Makita suggests that *laisi* 來思 represents a clerical error for the graphically similar *laiyou* 來由. However, in the *Shi jing* 詩經 *si* 思 often appears as a final particle (see in particular Ode VII, *Cai Wei* 采薇, *Lu Ming zhi Shi* 鹿鳴之什 in Bk. I [“The Decade of Luh Ming” in Legge’s trans.] of Part II *Xiaoya* 小雅 [“The Minor Odes of the Kingdom”]), where *si* 思 appears as a final emphatic particle preceded by *lai* 來: 昔我往矣、楊柳依依。今我來思、雨雪霏霏。 ”At first, when we set out, The willows were fresh and green; Now, when we shall be returning, The snow will be falling in clouds” (Legge, trans.; <http://ctext.org>). An alternate reading of *laisi* would attempt to connect it with the use of the term *si* in the previous section, where it stands in contrast to the aspects of Buddhism that were difficult to accept on rational grounds (難思 *nansi*), and appears in connection with the discussion of evidence for the origins of Buddhist scriptures and images in China that is rationally acceptable (*silu* 思廬 and *kesi* 可思), but I follow the *Shi ji* precedent here.
3. The meaning of *lizhi* 戾止 as “to come” or “arrival” also derives from a usage in the *Shi ji* 詩記, *Zhou song* 周頌 (Odes of Zhou), *Zhen Lu* 振鷺: 振鷺于飛、于彼西雝。我客戾止、亦有斯容。在彼無惡、在此無讟。庶幾夙夜、以永終譽。 ”A flock of egrets is flying, About the marsh there in the west. My visitors came, With an [elegant] carriage like those birds”(Legge, trans.; <http://ctext.org>).
4. In other words, in order for Buddhist teaching to be effective, it must have an institutional presence in society. In Buddhism, the turning of the Dharma-wheel is a symbol for implementing or establishing the law of Buddhism and the kingdom governed by Buddhist law, in the world.
5. The biographies of Jiashe Moteng and Zhu Falan are contained in GSZ 1 (T 50.322c-323a). The two also figure prominently in the previous sections [2] & [3].
6. According to the GSZ 1 (T 52.322c), Emperor Ming frequently sponsored receptions in their honor.
7. Following the way Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (no. 2906), translates the meaning of the term *Honglu si* 鴻臚寺

for periods prior to the Tang dynasty. According to Hucker, the Court of Dependencies was instituted in the Northern Qi as “a central government agency responsible for managing the reception at Court of tributary envoys, continuing the Han era tradition of Chamberlain of Dependencies” (*dahong lu* 大鴻臚; Hucker no. 5947). Note, however, that from the Tang, the meaning is translated as “Court of State Ceremonial.”

8. Sometimes referred to as the Xiyang Gate 西陽門 (Gate of the Western Sun).
9. Reading *gai* 蓋 as “to build.” The term *jingshe* 精舍 (“purified dwelling”) is frequently used to translate the Sanskrit *vihara* (temple or monastery).
10. In other sources, the horse transports the image of the Buddha as well as the Buddhist text, *The Scripture in Forty-Two Sections*.
11. On the background to this story, in addition to Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (p. 22), see Kamata Shigeo, *Chūgoku bukkyō shi* (pp. 15-16), who concludes that since the name of the White Horse Monastery (*Baima si* 白馬寺) fails to appear in the traditions about Emperor Ming’s search for Buddhist teaching recorded in early Buddhist sources (*Mouzi lihuo lun* and the *Preface to the Scripture in Forty-Two Sections*) and dynastic histories, it is clearly the fabrication of later Buddhists. The existence of an alternate explanation for how the White Horse Monastery received its name, differing substantially from the generally accepted one, supports this conclusion. According to the biography of Jiashe Moteng (Kāśyapa Mātāṅga) in GSZ 1 (see T 50.323a), a foreign king destroyed Buddhist temples, until only the Zhaoti Temple remained. Before he could destroy this temple, the king was made aware of his evildoing by the mournful neighing of a white horse circling the pagoda of the temple. Hence the temple was spared, and its name changed to the White Horse Monastery.
12. There is potential confusion over the use of the term *si* 寺, as it is used in different contexts with different meanings attached to them. In the civil context, *si* is a “court” for administering the affairs of the government, as with the Court for Dependencies (*Honglu si*), seen above. In the Buddhist context, *si* refers to a “monastery” or “temple” that houses monks (or nuns) as a place where they carry out their religious duties. It is important to keep the overlapping meanings of *si* in mind as one reads Zanning’s explanation here, connecting the use of *si* as a civil “court” to the use of *si* in the Buddhist context as “monastery” or “temple.”
13. The *Shiming* 釋名 is a work in 8 fascicles and 27 sections attributed to Liu Xi 劉熙 (fl. 200 CE). The line quoted here is found in fascicle

5, section 17 (*Shangwu yinshu guan* 商務印書館, Shanghai (1936), p. 166; also found at: <http://ctext.org/shi-ming/shi-gong-shi/zh>). According to Miller, “*Shih ming*” in Michael Loewe (ed.), *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, pp. 424-428, the *Shiming* is a Chinese dictionary that employed phonological glosses, and “is believed to date from c. 200 CE.” It contains 1502 definitions that, as with the case of *si* here, attempts to establish semantic connections based upon puns between the word being defined and the word defining it, which is often followed with an explanation. For instance (chapter 12: 愛哀也愛乃思念之也), “Love (*ài* 愛 “love; like; be fond of”) is sorrow (*āi* “哀 sorrow; grief; lament”). If you love, then you remember fondly.” In Chinese, these are referred to as paronomastic glosses *yinxun* (音訓; “sound teaching”), meaning “to use the pronunciation of a word to explain its meaning.” This semantic association of like-sounding words goes back to the “Rectification of Names” (*zhengming* 正名), which hypothesized a connection between names and reality. The *Shiming* preface explains this ancient Chinese theory of language:

In the correspondence of name with reality, there is in each instance that which is right and proper. The common people use names every day, but they do not know the reasons why names are what they are. Therefore I have chosen to record names for heaven and earth, *yin* and *yang*, the four seasons, states, cities, vehicles, clothing and mourning ceremonies, up to and including the vessels commonly used by the people, and have discussed these terms with a view to explaining their origin. (Miller, trans., 1993: 424)

There is controversy whether this dictionary’s author was Liu Xi or the more-famous Liu Zhen 劉珍 (d. 126 CE). For further information, see the entry for *Shiming* at: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shiming> (consulted May 19, 2011).

14. “Government offices” (*gongsì*) refers specifically to the *Honglu si*, the government office responsible for lodging foreign guests, referred to above.
15. Referring specifically to the construction of the *Baima si* [White Horse Monastery] for Jiashe Moteng (Kāśyapa Mātāṅga) and Zhu Falan (Dharmaraksha), mentioned above.
16. See, for example, *Fo benxing jijing* 佛本行集經 5 (T 3.672a) and 1 (T 3.657a), respectively. The former literally refers to the bamboo grove where *kāraṇḍaka*, or *kalandaka* birds live. It was located north of the city

of Rājagṛha, capital of the kingdom of Magadha at the time when the Buddha lived, and the location where many of the Buddha's dialogues took place. The later literally means the park where people give to those who are homeless. It was where the wealthy merchant Sudatta of Śrāvastī gave food to poor people and wandering mendicants, including the Buddha. Mention of *Jetavana* Park and *Kāraṇḍaka* (or *Kalandaka*) Bamboo Grove is contained in the travel records of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims. See, for example, James Legge, tr., *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (pp. 57-63 and p. 84), and Samuel Beal, tr., *Si-Yu Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (vol. II, pp. 4 and 159).

17. According to the *Gantong lu* of Daoxuan (T 52.438a6-11), this refers to the Xianji Monastery 顯際寺 in Fangzhou, which allegedly had an old Buddha image produced at a monastery erected by Duke (a.k.a. King) Mu of the Qin dynasty (r. 659-621 BCE). After the Buddha passed away, King Aśoka's fourth daughter is said to have erected an image and stūpa here to provide offerings at; the monastery had thirteen enlightened realizers residing there, and the minister of Qin paid respects at it. The monastery allegedly took its name from the śrāmaṇera Xianji who had erected a monastery there long ago, during the time of Kāśyapa Buddha.
18. On this point, see also Zanning's comments in section [3], above.
19. *Zhaoti* 招提 is after the Sanskrit *cāturdiśa*, referring to Buddhist monks as citizens not of a particular family or country, but of the world at large (literally, the four directions). According to the *Xiyu ji* 西域記 (T. 51-2087) and other records of travel to India, these temples were commonly encountered throughout India and Central Asia, so the implication is that Emperor Taiwu is adopting a practice common in other Buddhist countries at the time. Reference to the building of the temple by Emperor Taiwu is found in FZTJ 38 (T 49.354a). For a legend connecting the name *zhaoti* with the White Horse Monastery in the Han dynasty, see above.
20. According to FZTJ 39 (T 49.362a), Emperor Yang issued the order in the ninth year of *daye* (613). The implication here seems to be that as Buddhism evolved, the definition of a Buddhist monastery had broadened from a public office of the government (*gongsi* 公寺) to a park residence (*qielan* 伽藍) and to a more intrinsically Buddhist meaning (*daochang* 道場), and then back to a public office as monastery (*si* 寺).
21. The full title of the work is [*Sengzhi*] *sigao* 僧制寺誥 ("Regulations for Buddhist Monks and Titles for Buddhist Monasteries"). The biography of Lingyu 靈裕 (518-605) is found in XGSZ 9 (T 50.495b-498a; his author-

ship of the *Sengzhi sigao* is mentioned on T 50.497c). The work itself is no longer extant, but the ten names for Buddhist monasteries from the *Sengzhi sigao* are also cited by Daoxuan in his *Tianzhu sheweiguo Zhihuansi tu jing* 天竺舍衛國祇洹寺圖經 (Illustrated Scripture of Jetavanā Monastery in the Country of Śrāvastī in India; T 45.883c), and referred to by Zanning below.

22. See above. As noted in chapter 2, sentences enclosed in < > refer to Zanning's interliner notes and other comments in the text.
23. For the meaning of the term *shi* 食 (literally "to eat") as it is used here, see *Weimo jing* (*Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa sūtra*) 3 (T 14.540b-c) where it is used as a euphemism for ordinary, everyday life. Here the implication seems to be that food, taken in accordance with the rules of Buddhism, is essential to the communal religious life.
24. The three karma producing activities of body, speech, and mind.
25. Daoxuan 道宣, *Tianzhu sheweiguo Zhihuansi tu jing* 天竺舍衛國祇洹寺圖經; T 45.883c.
26. Regarding the independent establishment of Chan cloisters in Buddhist temples, see the appendix to section [21] below.
27. Referred to here by the name of the donor, Sudatta, but otherwise known as Jetavana Park, referred to above.
28. The actual title is *Shanjian lu piposha/vibhāṣā* 善見律毘婆沙 (T 24-1462); the "Gautama Shrine" 瞿曇廟 is referred to in fascicle 14 (T 24.771b6-7).
29. Following the style of transcribing the Sanskrit term *araṇya* as *lanruo* 蘭若.
30. Literally, "those without cloister forms (i.e., buildings)" (*wuyuan xiang zhe* 無院相者).
31. "Common" (*putong* 普通) in the sense of open to all.
32. Unspecified here, but indicated in Zanning's interliner note that follows as the *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 by Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之. (T 51-2092; Yi-t'ung Wang, trans., *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-Yang*).
33. See T 51.1014b-c (Wang, trans., *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, p. 173).
34. See T 51.999a (Wang, trans., *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, p. 5).
35. See T 51.999a (Wang, tr., *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, p. 7); elsewhere (T 51.1022a) it is claimed that Luoyang had 1,367 temples.
36. The state of Zhao refers to one of the so-called Sixteen Barbarian States (300-430) that dominated northern China during the Southern and Northern Dynasties period (300-600). Founded by Xiongnu 匈奴 people, it is divided into two periods: the Former Zhao (304-329) and the Later

Zhao (319-350). Ye 鄴 (near modern Anyang 安陽, Hebei) was a capital of the Later Zhao.

37. Regarding this, see the biography of Fotudeng 佛圖澄 in GSZ 9 (T 50.387a).

[4A]

BATHING THE BUDDHA

浴佛¹

When Tripiṭaka Master Yijing travelled in person to the regions of the west in the Tang dynasty, he observed [the following custom] in India.² Every day around midday the *weina* rings a bell,³ and an image of the Buddha in copper, stone, etc., is taken into the courtyard of the temple and placed in a basin while music is played. [The image is smeared with a mixture of] ground incense and mud,⁴ washed off with water, and wiped with a woolen cloth.⁵ When one takes up [the water with which the image has been washed] with two fingers and sprinkles it over one's own head, [the water] is referred to as "water of good fortune" through which one prays for success.⁶

When asked "What does bathing the Buddha image signify?" the common response is that it is modelled after the dragons that sprayed fragrant rain to bathe the Buddha's body when he was born.⁷ However, the daily washing of the Buddha image is not in remembrance of [the episode involving the dragons on] the day of the Buddha's birth. I suspect that the monks washed themselves frequently as a result of the severe heat in India, and that they conducted a bathing ceremony for the Buddha as well. In China, either the eighth day of the twelfth month or the

eighth day of the second or fourth month is esteemed as the day of the Buddha's birth.⁸

[四附] 浴佛者。

《唐》《義淨三藏》躬游《西域》見《印度》。每日禺中《維那》鳴鐘，寺庭取銅石等像，於盤內作音樂。磨香或泥灌水，以[疊*毛]揩之。舉兩指瀝水於自頂上，謂之吉祥之水，冀求勝利焉。

問。「浴佛表何。」通曰。「像佛生時龍噴香雨浴佛身也。」然彼日日灌洗，則非生日之意。疑《五竺》多熱，僧既頻浴，佛亦勤灌耳。《東夏》尚《臘》八，或二月四月八日，乃是為佛生日也。

NOTES

1. Subsections, like the one here on “Bathing the Buddha,” are not designated in the original text, but are listed in the SSL table of contents. I have inserted it as a subsection here as there is a clear break in topic and for ease of reference.
2. Based on Yijing’s 義淨 *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海奇歸內法傳 4 (A Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Seas; T 54.226b-227a); hereafter referred to as *Nanhai jigui zhuan* 南海奇歸傳. My translation of the title follows the literal rendering of Li Rongxi, trans., *Buddhist Monastic Traditions of Southern Asia: A Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Seas*. Recent scholars have raised questions regarding Yijing and how his experiential report might be used; see T.H. Barrett, “Did I-ching go to India? Problems in Using I-ching as a Source on South Asian Buddhism,” *Buddhist Studies Review* 15.2 (1998): 142–56; and Jonathan Silk, “Marginal Notes on a Study of Buddhism, Economy and Society in China,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 22.2 (1999): 359–96, esp. p. 369, who notes that large portions of Yijing’s record are direct quotations from the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*, prescriptive in nature, and should not be taken as descriptive accounts of actual Indian Buddhist practice.
3. According to Hucker (no. 7672), *weina* 維那 is a “Buddhist Deacon”, the second most senior member of a Buddhist temple, after the Abbot or Chief Priest. Kenneth Ch’en (*Buddhism in China*, p. 53, n. 8), comments that “(the term *wei-na* is usually regarded as the Chinese equivalent to the Sanskrit term *karmadāna*, which refers to the monk who has charge over life in a monastery. The traditional explanation for the origin of the term is that it is a compound of the final character of the Chinese *kang-wei* [gangwei] (controlling regulations or principles) with the final syllable of *karmadāna*.” Yijing himself (T 54.226b) objects to the Chinese term *weina* as an incorrect rendering which confusingly joins a Chinese translation, *wei* (a “cord” or “to restrict”), with the last syllable of a Sanskrit transliteration *karmadāna*).
4. Yijing explains that the scent is prepared by grinding a tree from which perfume is made, with water on a stone until it forms a muddy consistency.

5. Compare with Yijing's description (Li Rongxi, trans., *Buddhist Monastic Traditions of Southern Asia*, pp. 135-136):

In the monasteries of India, at the time for bathing the Buddha's image, usually in the forenoon, the director of duties (*weina*) strikes a *ghantā*.... A precious canopy is stretched in the court of the monastery, and bottles containing perfumed water are put in a row by the side of the shrine hall. An image of the Buddha, made of either gold, silver, bronze, or stone, is placed in a basin of copper, gold, wood, or stone, while dancing girls are asked to play music. The image is rubbed with scented paste, and then perfumed water is poured over it.... It is then wiped clean with a piece of pure white cloth and set up in the shrine hall, which is decorated with flowers and colored ribbons. This is the ceremony performed by the monks of a monastery under the guidance of the director of duties. In their separate rooms the monks also perform this ceremony in an individual way, and they do so every day without negligence, regarding it as important.

6. Compare with Yijing's account (Li Rongxi, trans., *Buddhist Monastic Traditions of Southern Asia*, pp. 135-136): "The water in which an image has been bathed is known as the water of auspiciousness. One may wish for success by sprinkling it with two fingers over one's head."
7. In legends of the Buddha's birth, three traditions are recorded. In one, the water springs forth from the ground. In another, it falls from the heavens as rain. The third, mentioned here, is based on the folk belief in dragons or water-spirits (*nāgas*) that are lured out of springs and ponds on auspicious occasions (A. Foucher, *The Life of the Buddha*, pp. 34-35).
8. These alternatives are considered in detail in the latter half of section [1] *The Dating of the Buddha's Descent [from Heaven] and Birth [on Earth]*, above.

[4B]

BUDDHIST IMAGE PROCESSIONS

行像

After the Buddha passed into nirvāṇa, rulers and subjects often regretted that they did not have a chance to gaze upon the Buddha in person. As a result of this, they created representations of the Buddha as he manifested himself here on earth, and sometimes made images of him as a prince [whom they took] on a tour of the city.

When Faxian arrived in the city of Pāṭaliputra during the Jin dynasty, he observed this image procession performed on the eighth day of the second month,¹ where they took a [four-wheeled] cart, and fastened [bamboo] to it [to make] a five-storey [structure] more than two *zhang* (nearly five meters) in height, shaped like a stūpa. [On it are] various heavenly figures painted in a variety of colors. [On the four sides] niches have been made out of precious materials. [In each niche], a Buddha is seated with Bodhisattvas standing in attendance. There may be as many as twenty carts, each decorated in a grand and imposing manner. Members of the Brahmin caste invite the Buddhas, one after another, into the city to reside, and provide offerings to them throughout the night. All the kingdoms [in India] do likewise. When kings and elders set up houses for [dispensing] blessings and medicines [on this occasion], the

destitute and sick all visit these houses, and doctors examine the sick who are waiting and treat them before they leave.

In addition, there was [the custom of] the Huangcheng monastery, [located] north of the [Himalaya] mountains and east of the city of Kucha.² Every year, for a ten-day period³ following the Autumn equinox, the monks of the entire kingdom all went to [the monastery] for the Great Quinquennial Assembly. In the regions of the west, referred to as a *pancavārsika*.⁴ The rulers of the kingdom and the common people both put aside their normal duties to listen to the Dharma contained in the scriptures, and adorned images of the Buddhas are carried on imperial carriages. It is referred to as an image procession.

In Khotan, an image procession was held on the first day of the fourth month, ending on the fourteenth day, only after which the king and queen return to the palace.⁵

[As for the custom of image processions in China], at present monks in Xiatai and Lingwu,⁶ annually on the eighth day of the second month, place robes made of woven ramie cloth on images of the Buddha crafted from mud,⁷ attend to [the images] and circumambulate them. They cover the images with streamers and canopies, and guide them around while singing and playing music, referring to this as touring the city. [The processions] are restricted to areas within the walls of the main city and the market district. The common people believe that these [image processions] will alleviate calamities.

In addition, when the summer retreat is over here in China, the assembly of monks pull [carts with Buddhist images] and parade [around the city], carrying flowers and waving fans, blowing conch-shells and clanging symbols. It is referred to as “sending out the troops in [the month of] *kathina*.”⁸ <Taken from the [Indian] name of the month *kathina* (*jiati*).⁹>

[There are also historical records substantiating this practice]. The *Treatise on Buddhism and Daoism* (*Shilao zhi*) says:¹⁰

In the age of the Wei dynasty, Emperor Shizu (r. 424-452)¹¹ had images from the various Buddhist monasteries carried in processions through the main streets on the eighth day of the fourth month. The emperor proceeded to the gate tower [of the city wall] to personally observe [the procession] and to scatter flowers and pay homage to them.¹²

In addition, [according to the *Luoyang qielan ji* (A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang)]:¹³

When the golden image of the Jingxing Nunnery was on parade,¹⁴ [the emperor] ordered one-hundred members of the Palace Guard¹⁵ to carry the cart, with accompanying amusements and music all provided by the imperial court.

In addition, on the day following the end of the summer retreat, everyone gathers together to go on a tour of the villages and cities, worshipping at the various *caitya*.¹⁶ They pull images [of the Buddha] on layered carts, protecting them from the sun with streamers and flowers. This is called *sanmo jinli*.¹⁷ <This means “Harmonious Assembly”.¹⁸>

These, then, are the ways in which [images] are paraded through cities in the divine land (i.e., China).¹⁹

[四附] 行像者。

自佛泥洹，王臣多恨不親睹佛。由是立佛降生相，或作太子巡城像。

《晉》《法顯》到《巴連弗》城，見彼用建《卯》月八日行像。以車結縛五層，高二丈許，狀如塔。彩畫諸天形。眾寶作龕。佛坐《菩薩》立侍。可二十車，車各樣嚴飾。《婆羅門》子請佛，次第入城內宿，通夜供養。國國皆然。王及長者立福德醫藥舍，凡貧病者詣其中，醫師瞻候病差方去。

又嶺北《龜茲》東《荒城寺》。每秋分後，十日間，一國僧徒皆赴五年大會《西域》謂之《般遮于瑟》。國王庶民皆捐俗務，受經聽法。莊嚴佛像，戴以車輦。謂之行像。

《于闐》則以四月一日行像，至十四日訖，王及夫人始還宮耳。

今《夏臺》《靈武》，每年二月八日，僧戴夾苧佛像，侍從圍繞。幡蓋歌樂引導，謂之巡城。以城市行市為限。百姓賴其消災也。

又此土夏安居畢，僧眾持花執扇，吹貝鳴鐃引而雙行。謂之出隊《迦提》<取《迦提》月名也。>

『釋老志』曰。「《魏世祖》於四月八日，輿諸寺像行於廣衢。帝御門樓臨觀，散花致禮焉。」

又，「《景興尼寺》金像出時，詔羽林一百人，舉輦伎樂，皆由內給。」

又安居畢，明日總集，旋繞村城，禮諸《制底》。棚車輿像，幡花蔽日。名曰，《三摩近離》<此曰，和集。>

斯乃《神州》行城法也。

NOTES

1. What follows is an abbreviated description of what is recorded in the *Faxian zhuan* 法顯傳 (T 51.862b); Legge, tr., *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, p. 79. Additions have been made based on the fuller description there.
2. Abbreviated from a passage in Xuanzang's *Xiyouji* 西域記 1 (Zhonghua edition, *Datang xiyuji jiaozhu*, p. 61). The translation is supplemented from the fuller description there.
3. According to the *Xiyuji*, "several ten day periods."
4. Described by Eitel (*Handbook for the Student of Chinese Buddhism*, p. 89), the *wunian dahui* 五年大會 is "an ecclesiastical conference, first initiated by King Aśoka for general confession of sins and inculcation of morality." On Asoka's sponsorship of such assemblies, see *Ayuwang jing* 阿育王經 2 (T 50.105c). Faxian describes such an assembly in connection with his record of the kingdom of Jiecha 竭叉國 (T 51.857c; Legge, trans., 22-23).
5. A description of this procession is contained in the *Faxian zhuan* (T 51.857b; Legge, trans., pp. 18-19):

Over the city gate they pitch a large tent, grandly adorned in all possible ways, in which the king and queen, with their ladies brilliantly arrayed, take up their residence [for the time].

The monks of the Gomati monastery, being māhayāna students, and held in greatest reverence by the king, took precedence of all others in the procession. At a distance of three or four *li* from the city, they made a four-wheeled image cart, more than thirty cubits high, which looks like the great hall [of a monastery] moving along. The seven precious substances were grandly displayed about it, with silken streamers and canopies hanging all around. The [chief] image stood in the middle of the cart, with two Bodhisattvas in attendance on it, while devas were made to follow in waiting, all brilliantly carved in gold and silver, and hanging in the air. When [the cart] was a hundred paces from the gate, the king put off his crown of state, changed his dress for a fresh suit, and with bare feet, carrying in his hands flowers and incense, and with two rows of attending followers, went out at the gate to meet the image; and, with his head and face

[bowed to the ground], he did homage at its feet, and then scattered the flowers and burnt the incense. When the image was entering the gate, the queen and the brilliant ladies within the gallery above scattered far and wide all kinds of flowers, which floated about and fell promiscuously to the ground. In this way everything was done to promote the dignity of the occasion. The carriages of the monasteries were all different, and each one had its own day for the procession. [The ceremony] began on the first day of the fourth month, and ended on the fourteenth, after which the king and queen returned to the palace.

6. Xiatai 夏臺 is located in present day Henan province. According to Makita, Lingwu 靈武 is located in present day Gansu province, but according to Morohashi, either Ningxia or Shaanxi province. There is a city called Lingwu in present day Yinchuan 銀川, Ningxia.
7. *Jiazhu* 夾苧 refers to a method of making Buddha images from mud and adorning it with layers of lacquered ramie textile fiber used in making grass-cloth or linen. Light in weight, such images are convenient for processions (see Fu Shiping, *Da Song Seng shilüe jiaozhu*, p. 25, n. 5).
8. *Chudui jiati* 出隊迦提. The expression *chudui* 出隊 is usually associated with the military, meaning “to march out in ranks” or “to go to war”.
9. The practice of observing a summer retreat arose in India because of the monsoon rainy season. It lasted from the middle of the fourth month to the middle of the seventh. The *jiadi* month is a thirty-day period commencing with the end of summer retreat, lasting to the middle of the eighth month. The Chinese transliteration confuses the name of the robes (*kathina*) offered to monks at the end of their summer retreat with the name for the period (*kārhika*).
10. *Wei shu* 魏書 114.3032; GHMJ 2 (T 52.102a); Tsukamoto, *Gisho shaku-ro shi no kenkyū*, pp. 165-166.
11. Shizu 世祖 was the temple name for the Wei emperor Taiwu 太武.
12. The implication in the *Shilao zhi* is that this was done in commemoration of his accession to the throne.
13. T. 51, 1005c-1006a; Wang, tr., 77-78 (followed here with minor changes).
14. Wang’s translation makes it a “gold carriage with an image.” The SSL text reads “golden image” rather than “gold carriage.”
15. Literally, “Plumed Forest [Guards]” (*yulin* 羽林), a euphemism for armed escorts.
16. Caitya (*zhidi* 制底) are stūpas, reliquaries of Buddhas or Buddhist saints.

17. Apparently a transliteration from Sanskrit that tries to incorporate the meaning in Chinese, literally translated “unifying (*sanmo* 三摩) [those] near and far (*jinli* 近離).”
18. I have translated the above as if a present situation was being described. It may well be from an unidentified historical source.
19. The name for China used here (*shenzhou* 神州) is a suggestive term that literally means “divine land” or “land of the gods” (as an example of early use, see the biography of Mencius in the *Shi ji* 史記; <http://ctext.org>): 中國名曰赤縣神州。赤縣神州內自有九州，”The name for China refers to the divine land of red counties. Within the divine land of red counties there are nine provinces...”). In this context, Zanning suggests that such divine presence (and protection) in China is associated with the procession and worship of Buddhist images.

[5]

SŪTRA TRANSLATION

譯經

Formerly, when Liu Xiang (77- 8 BCE) collated books in the Tianlu [pavillion], he observed the existence of Buddhist sūtras.¹ [From this] we know that even though translations were not yet circulating at that time, [Sanskrit] palm leaf manuscripts certainly existed. If so, Liu Xiang surely recognized Sanskrit letters when he claimed in [*Biographies of Exemplary Immortals* (*Liexian zhuan*)] that there were over seventy people who appeared in Buddhist scriptures.² Furthermore, how else would Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva be named in the *Biographies of Exemplary Immortals*? I suspect that Liu Xiang, having encyclopedic knowledge and abundant talent, as a scholar at the Translation Bureau³ was himself capable of it (i.e., recognizing Sanskrit). When he read the [Sanskrit] palm leaf writings, he transliterated them into Chinese, and through his investigation ascertained that over seventy figures appeared in Buddhist sūtras.

If we talk in terms of translations, [Jiashe] Moteng (Kāśyapa Mātāṅga)⁴ was the first to issue [a translation of] the *Scripture in Forty-Two Sections*,⁵ and in addition translated such scriptures as the [*Scripture on*] the *Ten Stages* (*Shidi jing*), [*Scripture on*] the *Life of the Buddha* (*Fo bensheng jing*),

the *Storehouse of the Ocean of Dharma* (*Fahai zang*), and the [*Scripture on*] the *Deeds* [*of the Buddha*] (*Fo benxing jing*) with [Zhu] Falan.⁶ This constitutes the beginning [of the translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese].

Following this, An Qing,⁷ Zhi Chen,⁸ Zhi Qian,⁹ and so on, continued to provide translations; from the end of the Han Dynasty through the beginning of the Wei Dynasty, the transmission and translation [of Buddhist scriptures] steadily increased.

[Problems appeared in these early translations]. [For example], some translators translated “buddha” (*fo*) as “*bhagavat*” (*zhongyou*).¹⁰ Some of them translated “*pratyeka-buddha*” (*bizhi*)¹¹ as “old Buddha” (*gufo*). Zhi Chen issued [a translation of] the *Śūraṅgama-sūtra* (*Shoulengyan jing*) beginning [with the words]: “The Buddha was staying in the city of Rājagṛha, on Vulture Peak,”¹² [omitting the phrase “Thus have I heard”].¹³ What is retained [in a translation] and what is omitted is not consistent; what is included and what is omitted varies from case to case.¹⁴ These, then, are the origins of translating Buddhist sūtras [in China].

[五] 譯經

昔《劉向》校書《天祿》，見有佛經。知于時未事翻傳，必存梵夾。若然《劉向》安識梵字，而云『列仙』有七十餘人已見佛經。又以《文殊菩薩》亦號列仙耶。蓋《劉向》博識全才，象胥之學自能之矣。覽其梵夾，迴作華言。尋認七十許人見佛經也。

若論翻譯，則《摩騰》初出『四十二章經』。及《法蘭》同譯『十地』『佛本生』『法海藏』『佛本行』等經。為其始也。

次則《安清》《支識》《支謙》等相繼翻述。《漢》末《魏》初，傳譯漸盛。

或翻佛為《眾祐》。或翻《辟支》為古佛。《支識》出『首楞嚴經』云。佛在王《舍城》《靈鷲頂》山中。存沒不同，用舍各異。斯乃譯經之推輪者焉。

NOTES

1. On Liu Xiang 劉向, see section [2], above.
2. While there is no evidence that the *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳 contained in *Siku tiyao* 四庫提要 (*zibu* 子部, *daojia* 道家) upholds this assertion, other sources, like the *Wenxue* 文學 chapter of the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語, attest that of the one-hundred and forty six immortals (*xianren* 仙人) among the hundred schools of thought (*baijia* 百家), seventy-four appeared in Buddhist sūtras. The contention is based on information often repeated in Buddhist sources like the *Hongming ji*, *Fayuan zhulin*, and *Fozu tongji*. Countering such claims, the *Shuzheng* 書證 chapter of the *Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓 proclaims that the allegation that seventy-four immortals appeared in Buddhist sūtras comes from the meddling of later people, and is not found in the original text (see Fu Shiping, pp. 26-27, n. 1).
3. Hucker (no. 2321) has “Interpreter” as the meaning for *xiangxu* 象胥, for those in the Ministry of Justice “charged with interpreting in dealings with emissaries from frontier peoples.” The *Zhou li* “周禮” “Qiuguan” 秋官 also makes it clear that this was an administrative office of the government charged with interpreting duties (<http://baike.baidu.com/view/1137499.htm>; consulted May, 2011).
4. The biography of Jiashe Moteng 迦葉摩騰 (Kāśyapa Mātāṅga) is found in GSZ 1 (T 50.322c-323a).
5. The *Scripture in Forty-Two Sections* 四十二章經 (T 17-784) claims the translation of this scripture was the joint effort of Jiashe Moteng (Kāśyapa Mātāṅga) and Zhu Falan 竺法蘭 (Dharmaraksha), a contention supported in Zhu Falan’s biography (T 50.323a).
6. Neither the *Shidi jing* 十地經, *Fo bensheng jing* 佛本生經, *Fahai zang* 法海藏 or *Fo benxing jing* 佛本行經 are extant, but all are mentioned in Zhu Falan’s biography (T 50.323a).
7. An Qing 安清 is more commonly known as An Shigao 安世高 (? – 168); biography in GSZ 1 (T 50.323a-324b) and CSZJJ 12 (T 55.95a-c). For a list of 34 translations attributed to him, see CSZJJ 2 (T 55.5c-6b). An Shigao is the first undoubtedly historical personality in Chinese Buddhism, and allegedly the initiator of the systematic translation of Buddhist texts and organizer of the first translation team; see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp. 32-34.

8. The biography of Zhi Chen 支謙 (fl. c. 167) is found in GSZ 1 (T 50.324b-c) and CSZJJ 13 (T 55.95c-96a). For the 13 translations attributed to him, see CSZJJ 2 (T 55.6b).
9. The biography of Zhi Qian 支謙 (a.k.a. Zhi Yue 支越; fl. 220-252) is found in GSZ 1 (T 50.325a), attached to the biography of Kang Senghui 康僧會, and in CSZJJ 13 (T 55.97b-c). For the 36 translations attributed to him, see CSZJJ 2 (T 55.6c-7a). Zhi Qian belonged to the predominantly Mahāyāna Buddhist school in Luoyang that flourished in the state of Wu in the third century, and is regarded by Zürcher as “the only important translator in Southern China before the late fourth century.” Along with Kang Senghui, he represents a profound shift in the Luoyang Buddhist community as a naturalized literatus who had complete command over both Buddhist and secular teachings, and had the educational background to expound Buddhism with literary exquisiteness (see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp. 46-51).
10. *Zhongyou* 眾祐 (literally, “multitude of blessings”) is an epithet of a Buddha as a “bhagavat,” one worthy of respect for destroying illusions and getting rid of defilements (Ui Hakuju, *Bukkyō jiten*, 488a).
11. A pejorative Mahāyāna Buddhist term for a self-enlightened Buddha who lives in seclusion and obtains emancipation for himself alone.
12. The Chinese term for Rājagṛha, *wangshe cheng* 王舍城, literally means “city where kings reside.”
13. The same assertion is recorded in the CSZJJ 7 (T 55.49a), as deriving from a no longer extant *Catalogue of Dao'an* (*An lu* 安錄); full title, *Comprehensive Catalogue of Scriptures* (*Zongli zhongjing mulu* 總理眾經目錄), compiled in 374. Our knowledge concerning Dao'an's Catalogue is largely based on Sengyou's CSZJJ, compiled c. 518. The translation has been supplemented by the fuller assertion there, appended to the end of the *Shoulengyan sanmei jing zhuxu* 首楞嚴三昧經注序:

The *Catalogue of Scriptures* by Master An says: “When Zhi Chen issued [the translation of the *Śūraṅgama-sūtra*] on the eighth day of the twelfth month of the second year of the *zhongping* era (185 CE), he omitted the opening sentence of the sūtra ‘Thus have I heard’ to say only ‘The Buddha was staying in the city of Rājagṛha, on Vulture Peak.’”

14. According to the remarks of Zhi Mindu 支愍度 in the *He shoulangyan jingji* 合首楞嚴經記 (CSZJJ 7; T 55.49a-b), Zhi Chen favored a predilection toward abbreviating the text, translating the main ideas while pro-

viding a literary flare. This tendency to prefer style over accuracy was criticized by Sengrui 僧瑞, a disciple of Kumārajīva. On Zhi Mindu and his theory of the non-existence of Mind, see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp. 99-102.

[6]

TRANSLATIONS OF THE RULES [OF THE BUDDHIST ORDER]

譯律¹

The Buddha instituted the vinaya to censure members of the assembly internally, just as the criminal laws of a country delineate established rules [externally]. It is not known who it was that adopted the [Chinese] word *lǚ* (“rules of the Buddhist order”) as the translation for the [Sanskrit] term *vinaya*.

An Shigao first issued the one fascicle *Yijue lǚ* (Rules of the Buddhist Order for Determining what is Right) during the reign of Emperor Ling of the Han Dynasty, in the third year of the *jianning* era (170 CE).² Following this, there was the *Biqiu zhujin lǚ* (Rules of the Buddhist Order on the Various Restrictions on Bhikṣus) in one fascicle.³ During the Wei dynasty, when the Indian Tripiṭaka Master Dharmakāla (Tanmojialuo) here [in China] called Fashi⁴ went to Xu[chang]⁵ and Luo[yang], he lamented that monks in the territory of Wei had no monastic rules. Subsequently, during the *jiaping* era (249-253 CE), he reputedly translated the *Four Part Vinaya* (*Sifen jiemo*) and *Illustrated Record of Disciplining the Mind* in *Mahāsāṃghika* (*Sengqi jiexin tuji*) with Tandi.⁶

This is the beginning of monastic rules in this land (i.e., China).

[六] 譯律

佛制《毘尼》，糾繩內眾。如國刑法，畫一成規。未知誰將《毘尼》翻為律號。

案《漢 靈帝》《建寧》三年庚戌歲，《安世高》首出『義決律』一卷。次有『比丘諸禁律』一卷。至《曹魏》世，《天竺》三藏《曇摩迦羅》此曰，《法時》到《許》《洛》，慨《魏》境僧無律範。遂於《嘉平》年中，與《曇諦》譯『四分羯磨』及『僧祇戒心圖記』云。此方戒律之始也。

NOTES

1. For a modern treatment of the subject, see Sato Tatsugen, *Kairitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 8-15, as well as Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*.
2. For the biography of An Shigao 安世高, see sec. [5] note (where he is referred to as An Qing). The *Yijue lü* 義決律 referred to here is no longer extant, but a text titled *Juelu faxing jing* 決律法行經 is mentioned in CSZJJ 2 (T 55.6a). An extant vinaya work translated by An Shigao is the *Apitan wufaxing jing* 阿毘曇五法行經 (T 28-1557).
3. The *Biqiu zhujin lü* 比丘諸禁律 is no longer extant, but referred to in CSZJJ 4 (T 55.24b) and *Kaiyuan lu* 開元錄 15 (T 55.649a).
4. Dharmakāla's (Tanmojialuo 曇摩迦羅; Fashi 法時) biography is found in GSZ 1 (T 50.324c-325a), where his activities aimed at spreading the vinaya rules in China are discussed.
5. Xuchang 許昌 is an area in present day Henan province.
6. The translation of the *Sifen jiemo* 四分羯磨 (T 22-1433) is attributed solely to Tandi 曇諦; this is confirmed in Dharmakāla's biography as well (T 50.325a), where it is also claimed Dharmakāla was the sole translator of the *Sengqi jiexin* 僧祇戒心 (full title: *Sengqi jiexin tuji* 僧祇戒心圖記, Illustrated Record of Disciplining the Mind in Mahāsāṃghika). According to Zürcher (*The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp. 55-56), Dharmakāla made a Chinese version of the *Prātimokṣa* of the Mahāsāṃghikas, the *Sengqi jieben* 僧祇戒本, in 250 CE. Tandi's biography in GSZ 7 (T 50.370c-371a) makes no mention of these translations.

[7]

THE TRANSLATION OF [BUDDHIST] TREATISES

議論

In the age of Emperor Xiaowu of the Jin dynasty (r. 372-396), there was Śramaṇa Saṃghabhadra from the country of Kashmir, who translated the *Miscellany of the Abhidharma Vibhāsā* (*Za Pitanposha*) in fourteen fascicles.¹ Following this, in the Later Qin dynasty Kumārajīva (344-413)² translated the *Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā śāstra*)³ and the *Treatise on True Attainment* (*Satyasiddhiśāstra*).⁴ These are the beginnings of translating [Buddhist] treatises. The *Catalogue of Dao'an* and the *Chu sanzang jiji* (Collected Notes on the Texts from the Tripiṭaka) by Sengyou both stipulate them in their lists [of Buddhist works translated into Chinese].⁵

In addition, [there is the treatise] simply known as *Vibhāsā*. In this [work], Kātyāyanīputra picks out his principle subjects and cites scriptures that explain the meaning, forming [a work on] *abhidharma* in forty-four sections.⁶ This is also a treatise.

[七] 譯論

《晉 孝武》之世，有《罽賓》國《沙門 僧伽跋澄》，譯『雜毘曇婆沙』十四卷。次則《姚秦》《羅什》譯『大智度』『成實』。此為譯論之始。『道安錄』及《僧祐》『出三藏記』同斯楷述也。又單名『鞞婆沙』。是者《迦旃延子》撮其要義引經訓釋，為『毘曇』四十四品。斯亦論也。

NOTES

1. The biography of Saṃghabhadra (Sengqiebacheng 僧伽跋澄; alternatively, Saṃghabhūti) is found in GSZ 1 (T 50.328a-b), where he is alleged to have recited the *Abhidharma vibhāṣā* (*Apitan piposha* 阿毗曇毗婆沙). When he arrived in Chang'an, he caught the attention of Fu Jian 苻堅 and Zhao Zheng 趙正, who enlisted Dao'an to produce a Chinese translation. While Saṃghabhadra recited the text orally, the foreign monk Tanmonanti 曇摩難提 wrote it down in Sanskrit; Fotuluocha 佛圖羅剎 explained the meaning, and the native monk Minzhi 敏智 wrote it down in Chinese. It was issued in the nineteenth year of the *jianyuan* era of the Former Qin dynasty (383 CE). Saṃghabhadra is also mentioned by Zürcher (*The Buddhist Conquest of China*, p. 202) among the Abhidharma specialists who arrived in Chang'an around 381 CE from Kashmir, the stronghold of the Sarvāstivāda school of Hinayāna Buddhism. The Sarvāstivāda was the most widespread and influential of the Hinayāna schools, especially devoted to the propagation of Abhidharma. They were also known as Vaibhāsikas, named after the *Vibhāṣā*, the enormous commentaries compiled by the leaders of the school in Kashmir in the first or second century CE. The contents of the *Vibhāṣā* are explained and systemized in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* (Sanghrakshita, *A Survey of Buddhism*, p. 23). The current canon has the *Piposha lun* 鞞婆沙論 (T 28-1547), an abridgement of the *Mahāvibhāṣā* attributed to an unidentified Abhidharmist with the Chinese name Shituopanni 尸陀槃尼 (Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, p. 203, and p. 393, n. 113).
2. Kumārajīva's (full Chinese name: Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什) biography is found in GSZ 2 (T 50.330a-333a). Kumārajīva is reputedly the greatest Buddhist translator in Chinese history. He initially studied Sarvāstivāda school teachings but eventually converted to Mahāyāna, studying the Madhyāmaka doctrine of Nagarjuna. After settling in Chang'an, he undertook the translation of Sanskrit Buddhist texts into Chinese, the effect of which led to a profound transformation in the Chinese understanding of Buddhism. Many of Kumārajīva's translations survive today and are preferred classics among Chinese Buddhist canonical texts. For a brief account of his life and activities, see Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 81-83.
3. *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論 (T 25-1509), originally authored by Nagarjuna.

4. *Chengshi lun* 成實論 (T 32-1646). Originally written by the Indian master Harivarman, it survives only in the Chinese translation of Kumārajīva. See Johannes Rahder, "Harivarman's Satyasiddhi-śāstra," *Philosophy East & West* 5 (1956). On the Sattyasiddhi school that formed in China based on this treatise of the same name, see Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 129-131.
5. On Dao'an's *Catalogue* and the CSZJJ, see section [5]. Dao'an's *Catalogue* is no longer extant. The *Dazhidu lun* and *Chengshi lun* are listed in CSZJJ 2 (T 55.10b & 11a).
6. The work referred to here is the 60 fascicle *Apitan piposha lun* 阿毘曇婆沙論 (*Abhidharma-vibhāsā-sāstra*) (T 28-1546). It was translated into Chinese during the Northern Liang dynasty (397-439). The complete work was later translated into Chinese by Xuanzang 玄奘 as the two-hundred fascicle, *Apidamo dapiposha lun* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論 (T 27-1545). Kātyāyanīputra (Jiazhanyanzi 迦旃延子), from Kashmir, was a teacher of the Sarvāstivāda school in the second century BCE, active in Northwest India.

[8]

LEAVING HOME [TO ENTER THE BUDDHIST CLERGY] IN CHINA

東夏出家¹

Whenever the crazed and confused approach an *aranya* (i.e., Buddhist monastery), they immediately produce inclinations toward goodness.² When Mencius lived next to a school, he proceeded to acquire Confucian habits.³ After Buddhist teachings prevailed [in China], the people were all transformed (i.e., became good).⁴ In times [like these], how could people refrain from pulling out their hair pins, removing their sashes, taking off their shoes and discarding their attire [to become members of the Buddhist clergy]?

To be precise, when Emperor Ming of the Han dynasty (r. 58-75 CE) allowed Marquis Liu Jun of Yangcheng, and so on, to leave home [to enter the Buddhist clergy], it was the first instance [in the case] of monks.⁵ When he allowed Lady Apan of Loyang, and so on, to leave home [to enter the Buddhist clergy], this was the first instance [in the case] of nuns.⁶

[八] 東夏出家

夫狂蒙寄於《伽藍》頓生善念。《孟軻》鄰其學校尋染儒風。佛法既行，民人皆化。于時豈無抽簪解佩脫履投形者乎。

乃《漢 明帝》聽《陽城》候《劉峻》等出家，僧之始也。《洛陽》婦女《阿潘》等出家，此尼之始也。

NOTES

1. More precisely, the subject of this section concerns inspirations to enter the Buddhist clergy among native Chinese. For a modern study, see “Kanjin no shukke kōkyo ni tsuite” (“On Granting Chinese Official Government Permission to Leave Home and Enter the Buddhist Clergy”) in Yamanouchi Shinkei, *Shina bukkuyōshi no kenkyū*.
2. Zanning suggests an argument used by Buddhists in China for state support, that only Buddhist teaching was capable of reforming the severely depraved.
3. Based on a common legend regarding the influence of Confucianism on the youthful Mencius, regarded as a model in the Confucian tradition of a mother’s devotion to her son’s education. According to the account, Mencius lost his father at a young age (usually reported as the age of three), leaving it to his mother to see to her son’s upbringing. Mencius’ mother is said to have changed residence three times in her search for a proper environment in which to raise her son. She found the first two residences, near a cemetery and a market place, unsatisfactory as she witnessed the effect on her son as he play-acted activities he observed at the tombs and those of a petty salesman haggling over prices. Finally, she moved next to a school, where Mencius took to imitating the gentlemanly behavior of the scholars who taught there. (See Legge, trans., *Mencius*, pp. 16-17).
4. Zanning suggests that the effect Confucianism had in advancing moral behavior was eventually superseded by Buddhism.
5. According to *Han xianzong kaifohua fabenzhuan* 漢顯宗開佛化法本傳 3 in GHMJ 1 (T 52.99b17-20); and the *Ji gujin fodao lun* 集古今佛道論 (T 52.364c), over a thousand men became monks at this time (only Liu Jun 劉峻 is mentioned by name), including government officials, low-ranking civil servants, and common people. It also notes the entrance of 620 Daoist masters into the Buddhist clergy, and 230 women.
6. Aside from Zanning’s additional mention of her in section [11], Lady Apan 阿潘 is unknown. According to the *Han faben neizhuan* 漢法本內傳 (cited by Falin 法琳 in the *Poxie lun* 婆邪論), she was among 196 women who entered the clergy along with Lady Wang Jieyu 王婕妤 mentioned in the sources with Marquis Liu Jun 劉峻?

RITUAL PROTOCOLS FOR WEARING [MONASTIC] GARMENTS

服章法式¹

Those who left home [to enter the Buddhist clergy] in the ages of the Han and Wei dynasties generally wore *saṃghāṭī* made of plain red cloth.² Probably because of having no fabrics woven from silk in western lands,³ and because of esteem for the color of the magnolia tree⁴ mixed with the color of *gandha* (i.e., red color),⁵ it was natural to wear [garments of] plain cloth that were dyed red. Nevertheless, the color of garments worn in the regions of the west also varied according to sectarian differences.⁶ The Sarvastivāda sect [wore] black colored robes.⁷ The Dharmagupta sect [wore] robes of a deep red color,⁸ and the Mahīśāsaka sect [wore] blue-green colored robes.⁹ Those wearing red cloth, in other words, were Dharmagupta monks who first arrived [in China] during the Han dynasty. Later on in the Liang dynasty there was Dharma-master Huilang,¹⁰ who always wore [robes of] coarse blue-green cloth.¹¹ Zhigong predicted beforehand,¹² “Xinghuang Monastery (Monastery for Promoting the Emperor) shall have a blue-green robed bodhisattva who extensively practices the great vehicle.” When he arrived [in China],

Huilang successfully fulfilled this prophecy.¹³ To thoroughly clarify the colors of Buddhist robes, refer to the *Wubu weiyisuofu jing* (Scripture on the Robes Worn by the Five Sects).¹⁴

At present, robes of black color and red color are generally worn in southern China. On occasion there are robes of a color between blue-green and yellow referred to as “yellow robes”¹⁵ or “stone-lotus robes.”¹⁶ In the Eastern Capital (Kaifeng) and Guanfu (i.e., Chang’an) [monks] esteem robes of the color of brown;¹⁷ in the area of Bing[zhou] and in Youzhou,¹⁸ however, they esteem [robes of] black color. Wearing robes of black color is most improper. Why? Black is a robe-dye associated with people of high-rank and the color of greatness; [among the colors associated with] the five directions,¹⁹ it is the color of imperial privilege.²⁰

Question: What about the appearance of the color black (*zi*) on the robes of Buddhist monks?

Answer: They are purple robes with a tinge of black, not the color of imperial privilege (i.e., the “official” imperial black color referred to above). In the *Kaogong ji* (Record of the Scrutiny of Crafts)²¹ [it is said]: “Thrice dyed [cloth] becomes crimson (*mo*); dyed five times it becomes maroon (*zou*);²² dyed seven times it becomes black (*zi*).”²³ On the basis of this, [cloth dyed crimson] becomes maroon when it is further dyed with the color black. Maroon is the color of a sparrow’s head, and if you dye it further [with black dye] it will then form the color black (*zi*). We know [from this] that the black color [used for monks’ robes] originally derives from a deep red color (*jiang*, i.e., crimson), the purplish red color of a sparrow’s head [and not black]. On account of this, the Buddhist nun Jingxiu [ordered that] the color of robes for [members of] the sacred (i.e., Buddhist) congregation appear like ripe mulberry fruit,²⁴ in other words, dark black with a tinge of red. At the present time, the color of robes of *bhikṣus* in Moling²⁵ is modeled after the black color [used for monks’ robes] (*zi*) in India and the lands of the west.

Moreover, when the Later (or Northern) Zhou dynasty (557-581) [Emperor Taizu] placed a taboo [on the color black] upon hearing the prediction

about [a Buddhist monk wearing] black robes, [Buddhist monks] all stopped [wearing] black colored garments.²⁶ Wearing yellow colored robes began in the [Northern] Zhou.

In addition to the three standard garments,²⁷ there is the teaching stole (*nabo*) with trailing [ribbons], shaped like a shoulder sash, mentioned in the *Nanhai jigui zhuan* (A Record [of the Inner Law] Sent Home from the South Seas).²⁸ When lecturers are personally authorized [to do so], they trail [ribbons] from it.²⁹ If expertise in lecturing is in one text, they trail one ribbon. If expert in two or three texts, they trail additional ribbons according to the number of texts they lecture on. Such is the teaching stole (*nabo*).

Moreover, in the Later (or Northern) Wei dynasty (386-534), when women of the palace saw Buddhist monks willfully baring their entire right shoulders, it was a robe [designed for] exposing the shoulder, referred to as a shoulder sash (*pianshan*).³⁰ Garments completely covering both of the arms and having a collar and sleeves, deviating from the design of the *saṃghāṭī* garment [which allows for covering only the left shoulder],³¹ began from the [Northern] Wei dynasty.

Turning next to footwear, [Buddhist monks] wear straw sandals and leather footwear; in some cases, leather shoes, leather sandals, or types of boots.³²

The *Nanhai jigui zhuan* (A Record [of the Inner Law] Sent Home from the South Seas) says that in the western regions monks carry bamboo coverings or umbrellas.³³ In the *Biographies of Eminent Monks [compiled] in the Liang dyansty (Liang Gaoseng)*, whenever Huishao went to call on anyone, he carried his own staff and large-brimmed bamboo hat [for protection against sun and rain].³⁴ At present, monks frequently carry large-brimmed bamboo hats, or in the case of Chan masters, large-brimmed hats made from twigs (?), along with carrying a washing pot, water strainer, metal staff, tonsure razor, hatchet, and sewing kit. These all constitute [monks'] utensils.

Lately there have been monks with white colored robes. Of transgressions [to the Vinaya rules], this is very serious.³⁵ The records of the Buddha stipulate that when *kāṣāya* turn white (i.e., lose their original dyed color), they are not dyed [a second time].³⁶ Why is this a violation? Sometimes we learn of leaders in congregations who abide by Buddhist law that violate [this rules] by wearing out the color of their [robes]; in truth, they are champions who have put forth great effort to protect the Dharma.

Formerly, at the end of the Tang dynasty there was a Chan master Guanyin in Yuzhang.³⁷ When he saw visiting Chan monks in the south regularly wearing white colored robes,³⁸ he would always fill a pot with dye and compel [the monks] to dye them. Nowadays, everyone throughout the empire refers to yellow colored robes as “Guanyin robes” [as a result].³⁹ This master (i.e., Guanyin) from early on made learning Buddhism and protecting the Dharma his inspiration. For this we now commend him.

[九] 服章法式

案漢魏之世，出家者多著赤布《僧伽梨》。蓋以西土無絲織物，又尚木蘭色并《乾陀》色故，服布而染赤然也。則西方服色亦隨部類不同。《薩婆多》部皂色衣也。《曇無德》部絳色衣也。《彌沙塞》部青色衣也。著赤布者乃《曇無德》僧。先到《漢》土耳其。後《梁》有《慧朗》法師，常服青納。《誌公》預記云。《興皇寺》當有青衣開土廣行大乘。至《朗》果符其言矣。廣明服色，如『五部威儀所服經』中。

今江表多服黑色赤色衣。時有青黃間色，號為黃褐，石蓮褐也。《東京》《關輔》尚褐色衣。《并部》《幽州》則尚黑色。若服黑色，最為非法也。何耶。黑是上染大色，五方正色也。

問。緇衣者色何狀貌。

答。紫而淺黑非正色也。『考工記』中。「三人為纆。五人為緹。七人為緇。」以再染黑為緹。緹是雀頭色，又再染乃成緇矣。知緇本出絳，雀頭紫赤色也。故《淨秀》尼見聖眾衣色，如桑熟椹，乃淺赤深黑也。今《秣陵》《比丘》衣色倣《西竺》緇衣也。

又《後周》忌聞黑衣之讖，悉屏黑色。著黃色衣，起於周也。

又三衣之外，有曳納播者，形如覆肩衣。出『寄歸傳』。講員自許即曳之。若講通一本，則曳一支。講二三本，又隨講數曳之。如納播是也。

又後魏宮人見僧自恣偏袒右肩，乃一施肩衣，號曰偏衫。全其兩扇衿袖，失《祇支》之體，自魏始也。

復次腳曳[革+索][革+罽]。或革屣[與/奄-大]遮短[革+雍]靴等。

『寄歸傳』云。《西域》有持竹蓋或持傘者。『梁高僧』《慧韶》遇有請，則自攜杖笠也。今僧盛戴竹笠。禪師則簞笠，及持澡罐，漚囊，錫杖，戒刀，斧子，針筒。此皆為道具也。

近有衣白色者。失之大甚。佛記《袈裟》變白，不受染色。此得非是乎。或有識如法眾主奪之而壞其色。真為護法有力之勝士也。

昔《唐》末《豫章》有《觀音禪師》。見南方禪客多搭白納，常以甌器盛染色，勸令染之。今天下皆謂黃納為《觀音》納也。此師早曾聽學護法為情。于今稱之。

NOTES

1. This entire section may be profitably read against the backdrop of Yijing's discussion in *Nanhai jigui zhuan* 南海寄歸傳 2, section 10 (*yishi suoxu* 衣食所須; "Requirements Concerning Clothing and Food") and section 11 (*zhuyi fashi* 著衣法式; "Rituals for Wearing [Monastic] Garments," T 54.212a-216a). For English translations, see J. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*; and Li Rongxi, *Buddhist Monastic Traditions of Southern Asia*, pp. 53-75). Here, I follow Takakusu with slight alterations.
2. *Samghātī* (*sengqieli* 僧伽梨) is one of three standard garments worn by Buddhist monks, along with *uttarasamgha* and the *antaravasaka*. The *samghātī* is an outer robe (or cloak) worn on formal public occasions such as at sermons and lectures, on begging rounds, and going into villages. In China, garments of plain cloth were worn by those without official rank, indicating humble status. The information recorded here in the SSL corresponds to that in the *Lihuo lun* 理惑論 ("Treatise on Dispelling Doubts," HMJ 1; T 52.3a) by Mouzi 牟子; and the *Shilao zhi* 釋老志.
3. This is contradicted by Yijing (T 54.212c): "[Members of] the four divisions of the Vinaya in the five areas of India all wear [garments] using [silk]." Wearing silk garments was not an issue for Zanning, as it had been earlier in the Chinese Buddhist community. The issue of wearing silk garments by Chinese Buddhist monks, following common practice in China, was considered by some interpreters of the Indian Buddhist Vinaya to involve a violation against the Buddhist precept against harming life (on the reasoning that silk is manufactured by injuring life). It is discussed in detail by Yijing (T 54.212c-213a), whose defense of the practice is summarized by the following excerpt, "As to fine and rough silk, these are allowed by the Buddha. What is the use of laying down rules for a strict prohibition of silk? The prohibition was laid down by someone; though intended for lessening complication, such a rule increases it.... Why should we reject the silk that is easy to be obtained, and seek the fine linen that is difficult to be procured? Is not this the greatest hindrance to religion? Such a rule may be classed with the forcible prohibitions that have never been laid down [by the Buddha]....", and combined with a practical, common sense approach to the issue: "...the cloth one wears and the food one eats mostly come from an injury to life. ... If one

- attempts to protect every being, there will be no means of maintaining oneself, and one will have to give up their life without reason. A proper consideration shows us that such [a practice] is not right.” (Takakusu, trans., *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 58).
4. A red color with a tinge of black, formed from dying cloth using the bark of the magnolia tree. See *Mohe sengzhi lü* 摩訶僧祇律 18 (Mahāsāṃghika vinaya; T 22.369b).
 5. See the *Nanhai jigui zhuan* 2 (T 54.215c-216a), “... all garments of Buddhist monks who have left home must be dyed to *gandha*.” What follows in the *Nanhai jigui zhuan* is also important for understanding Zanning’s comments regarding the red color of the cloth: “The dye may be prepared by various means, either with *dihuang* (lit. “earth-yellow”) yellow powder or, further, with the yellow color of the thorny *Nie* tree. These dyes should always be mixed with dyes extracted from red earth or red stone.”
 6. Sectarian distinction regarding robe colors are noted in texts like the *Shishi yaolan* 釋氏要覽, fascicle 1 (T 54.268c), which cites the *Shelifu wen jing* 舍利弗問經 (“Scripture on the Questions of Sariputra,” T 24-1465).
 7. The color for black here is *zao* 皂 rather than *hei* 黑.
 8. In Chinese *jiang* 絳, a deep or purple red color.
 9. In Chinese, *qing* 青, the color of unoxidized copper.
 10. Huilang 慧朗 is otherwise known as Falang 法朗, teacher of the famed Huayan patriarch Fazang 法藏. See XGSZ 7 (T 50.477b-478a).
 11. Indicating that he belonged to the Mahīśāsaka sect.
 12. Zhigong 誌公 refers to Baozhi 寶誌 (418-514). *Bao* 寶 (“treasure” or “precious”) is alternatively written as *bao* 保 (“to protect”). His biography is in GSZ 10 (T 50.394a-395a).
 13. This prediction is also found in the biography of Huilang (or Falang) in XGSZ 7 (T 50.477c20-21).
 14. The *Wubu weiyisuofu jing* 五部威儀所服經 is also known as the *Wubu sengfu jing* 五部僧服經 (Scripture on the Monastic Wear of the Five Sects). The text is no longer extant, but is referred to in texts like CSZJJ 4 (T 55.33b). The five sects refer to the five schools of Hinayāna: Dharmagupta, Sarvāstivāda, Mahīśāsaka, Kāśyapīya, and Vātsīputrīya.
 15. *Huanghe* 黃褐, referring literally to a robe made of “yellow wadded cotton.” As clothing, *he* refers to garments worn by humble people of low status.
 16. A literal translation of the Chinese, *shilian he* 石蓮褐.
 17. In Chinese *hese* 褐色.

18. Bingbu 并部 (the area or “part” of Bing[zhou] 并州) is a province extending from contemporary Shanxi to Xi’anxi, centered in the city of Taiyuan 太原. Youzhou 幽州 is the name of a province corresponding to contemporary north Hebei and Liaoning provinces.
19. In China since ancient times, the schemata of the “five phases” (*wuxing* 五行) associated each of the five directions (north, south, east, west, center) with a color: east is associated with the color blue, south by red, west by white, north by black, and the center by yellow. The direction north is also associated with the north star, whose constancy is used to symbolize the imperial throne.
20. The “color of imperial privilege,” *zhengse* 正色, reads literally the “color of rectitude,” associated with firmness and resoluteness, but given its connection to the north star and imperial privilege in this context, I have chosen a translation that indicates this.
21. The *Kaogong ji* 考工記 (Record of the Scrutiny of Crafts) is part of the *Zhouli* 周禮 and dates from the fifth century BCE. It contains details of various sorts of craft making activities, such as carriages, weapons, boats, musical instruments, and bronze making (Wilkinson, *Chinese History*, p. 667). For the phrase cited here, see *Zhouli*, *Dongguan Kaogong ji* 冬官考工記 64.
22. On this, also see the *Lunyu* X-6, “The gentleman avoided using dark purple and maroon coloured silk for lapels and cuffs.” (D.C. Lau, trans., p. 102). According to Legge (*Confucius*, p. 230, n. 6-1), this color was formed by first dipping the cloth three times in a red dye, and then twice in a black dye, the same process being referred to here.
23. The same black color, *zi* 緇, associated with Buddhist robes.
24. See *Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳 4 (T 50.945b).
25. Moling 秣陵 is the name of a district located in Nanjing.
26. See the GHMJ 6 (T 52.123c9-124a3, especially T 52.124a13-15). The prediction indicated that someone among the Buddhist clergy would take control of the military and succeed the emperor. Emperor Taizu 太祖 is probably a reference to Emperor Ming 明帝 (r. 557-560).
27. Mentioned above as the *uttarasamgha*, a garment worn over the upper body (upper garment), the *antaravasaka*, covering the lower part (skirt), and the *uttarasamgha*, DESCRIBE.
28. According to an addendum to the record of Yuankang 元康 in SGSZ 4, the *nabo* 納播 can be identified with a garment known as *libo* 立播 in the *Nanhai jigui zhuan*. The *libo* 立播 derives from a transliteration of the Sanskrit word *repa* meaning “abdomen-covering garment,”

especially prescribed for winter use in cold climates (T 54.214b-c). The SGSZ (T50.727c7-c17) explanation is quite descriptive, and conforms to Zanning's understanding (minus the negative assessment): "In Sanskrit it is called *"libo 立播"*; in Chinese it is called a "garment for wrapping round the abdomen" 裹腹衣 it is also called the "abdomen wrap" (*baofu 抱腹*). It is shaped like a shoulder sash (*biantan 編袒*). One end just reaches to the hand. It is narrow at the shoulders. The garment is worn over the left side with the right side left open. The material is filled mostly with cotton floss. This garment is used to keep out the cold, but in countries of hot climates it is used to demonstrate one's spiritual attainments. After the garment came East, monks began to make it of colored silk and to drape it over both left and right shoulders with the sleeves left hanging in order to demonstrate that the wearer has mastered the scriptures and treatises. When one has mastered one text, one wears one of them; if one has mastered more texts, one wears more. I do not know who started this custom. Today the term has been abbreviated to *bo*, leaving out the character *li*. It has nothing to do with keeping out the cold, and has become a sign of arrogance. Having lost its original significance, the garment is manufactured with reckless abandon. The holy teaching is thus passed down to later sages in an altered form. From now on, let us not practice peculiar customs that upset the Grand Order. The *Book of Poetry* (actually a reference to *Zuozhuan*, "Xi gong" 24. 15.116b; Legge, *Tso Chuen*, p.193a in which *Shijing* no.151 is quoted in part) says, "He who has no right to his dress brings misfortune upon himself." (Kieschnick, draft trans., with minor changes).

29. The *libo* garment mentioned in the *Nanhai jigui zhuan* (T 54.214c) is said to have ribbons attached to it, but not in connection with any of the circumstances that Zanning describes here.
30. The *pianshan* 偏衫 is mentioned in an entry in the *Shishi yaolan* 釋氏要覽 ("Essential Reading on the Śākya Clan" or "Buddhist Essentials") (T 54.270b), where the *Wei lu* 魏錄 (Record of Wei) of Zhu Daozu 竺道祖 (347-419) is given as the source (Daozu is mentioned by Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, p. 214 and p. 231). The point here is that the practice of bearing one's shoulder was a function of Buddhist robe design, in order to show respect at times of worship, etc. The *Nanhai jigui zhuan*, for example, states: "Before images of the Buddha or other honored saints it is usual to have one's shoulder bare, and guilt is incurred by covering it" (Takakusu, trans., p. 70), and is not to be taken as offensive. This is a case where Indian custom was in conflict with Chinese.

31. The Chinese term used here, *zhizhi* 祇支, is an abbreviation of *sengzhizhi* 僧祇支 (for *saṃghāṭī*). Regarding the *saṃghāṭī* garment, see also *Xiyu ji* 西域記 2 (Zhonghua edition, p. 176), and the *Shisong lü* 十誦律 (T 23.469b). See Yijing's comments regarding problems with the style of the Chinese *saṃghāṭī* (T 54.215b; Takakusu, trans., p. 75). Elsewhere (T 54.214a; Takakusu, trans., p. 67), Yijing proclaims: "... the Chinese *saṃghāṭī*, shoulder-covering robes,... are all made against the original rules. Not only having both sleeves in one and the same garment, the back of which is sewn together, but even the wearing of the garment is not in accordance with the Vinaya rules.... If we come to India in Chinese garments, they all laugh at us..."
32. The reference to footwear are obscure, and the translations are little better than guesses presumed from their literal meanings. According to Makita (p. 312, n. 131), straw sandals were footwear of foreign origin worn prior to leather sandals, and adopted as footwear for monks. What is odd is the claimed use of leather footwear, a seemingly clear violation of the Buddhist prohibition against killing animals. Indeed, Yijing (T 54.216a) states: "As to shoes and sandals, there are naturally extensive stipulations laid down in the Buddha's teachings. Long shoes or sandals with linings are against the rules. Anything that is embroidered or ornamented the Buddha did not allow to be used. It is explained in detail in the 'Rules about Leather'." (Takakusu, trans., p. 77, with changes). The 'Rules about Leather' is a Vinaya text translated by Yijing, existing at present only in the Korean collection of the Tripiṭaka. I have not been able to consult it. *Mahāvagga V* includes information concerning proper Buddhist footwear.
33. Discussion of the use of umbrellas in India is found in *Nanhai jigui zhuan* 2 (T 54.215b). Yijing laments that umbrellas, while important, are not used in China, a situation that obviously changed since Yijing wrote, according to Zanning's comments that follow.
34. Regarding Huishao 慧韶, see XGSZ 6 (T 50.471a).
35. Problems associated with the use of white cloth by monks is also noted in *Fozu tongji* 33 (T 49.323c21-28).
36. *Kāṣāya* is a general term for the garments of Buddhist monks. According to Yijing (T 54.212b), the term derived from the reddish (actually more like yellow) color of garments worn by monks in northern Buddhist countries. The stipulation that they not be re-dyed can be found in various places, including the *Mohemoye jing* 摩訶摩耶經 (*Mahāmāyā*

Scripture; T 12-383) and the *Famiejin jing* 法滅盡經 (Scripture on the Annihilation of the Dharma; T 12-396).

37. Chan master Guanyin 觀音禪師 is otherwise unknown. Yuzhang 豫章 is the vicinity of contemporary Nanchang in Jiangxi.
38. *Na* 納 here is an abbreviation of *nayi* 納衣, the robes of Buddhist monks.
39. The same information regarding the origins of Guanyin robes (*guanyin na* 觀音納) is recorded by Zhao Ling?? 趙令?? in *Houqing lu* 侯鯖錄 3.

[10]

ERECTING PLATFORMS FOR PRECEPT ORDINATIONS

立壇得戒

In searching into this, [one finds that] even though the monks of the Han and [Northern] Wei dynasties assumed the appearance [of ordained Buddhists] by shaving [their heads] and dyeing [their garments], the stipulations for ordination according to the precepts had not been fulfilled.¹ At that time, both congregations (monks as well as nuns) simply took the threefold refuge.² From the *yongping* era of the Later Han dynasty (58-75 CE) through the *huangchu* era of the Wei dynasty (220-226 CE), no distinction existed between fully ordained monks (*bhikṣus*) and *śrāmaṇera* (i.e., novices).³ [As a result of this situation], Tripiṭaka Master Dharmakāla⁴ and other monks such as Zhu Luyan and Wei Zhinan,⁵ all conveyed the importance of the vinaya precepts. [Dharma]kāla, in the *jiaping* (249-254) and *zhengyuan* (254-256) eras, wrote *Disciplining the Mind in Mahāsāṃghika* (*Sengqi jiexin*) with Tandi in Luoyang, establishing the formal ceremonial rules (*jiemo fa*) for fully ordained monks.⁶ Regarding the erecting of platforms in the lands of the East (i.e., China), this is the start.⁷

Examined in detail, these mandalas⁸ differ greatly as to their construction. Whether cow dung is spread over the ground,⁹ or a stage is built with wood and a series of steps constructed of mud, in each case it is called a “platform.”¹⁰ When the land is cleared and the ground swept [for worship services] it is known as a “consecrated area.”¹¹ A “consecrated area” (*zhan*), a “place for religious ceremonies” (*chang*),¹² and a “platform” (*tan*) are different, but all are mandalas in the regions of the west. If one relies on [the regulations of] the Vinaya school, it is necessary to tie off a square shaped area delineated by boundaries according to what makes sense for the task at hand, and perform ordinations ceremonies within.¹³

Recall that long ago at the Wei court [the vinaya rules] were definitely lacking.¹⁴ With regard to receiving the precepts in this region (i.e., the north), Zhu Shixing was the first.¹⁵ The courts in the South first built a precept-ordination platform in the Sanwu region during the *yongming* era (483-493).¹⁶ This, moreover, was the beginning [of ordination platforms] in the Wu region (i.e., southern China).

When Nanshan Vinaya Master [Dao]xuan of Linggan Monastery erected an [ordination] platform at the beginning of the Tang dynasty according to Buddhist teachings (*fa*), it inspired the long-eyebrowed monk <this refers to the person [named] Piṇḍola> to praise him with delight.¹⁷ Of ordination platforms erected in accordance with Buddhist teaching, none surpassed this one [erected by Daoxuan]. Daoxuan compiled the *Jietan [tu]jing* (Illustrated Scripture on the Ordination Platform) in one fascicle.¹⁸ It currently circulates throughout the world. Because I [Daoxuan]¹⁹ had regretted the lack of clarity in Nanshan [Vinaya school] rules regarding conduct at the covered kettle-shaped urn on the fourth floor of the ordination altar,²⁰ I wrote the *Fufu xingyi* (“On Conduct at the Kettle-Shaped Urn”).²¹ It would be appreciated if someone would seek out [this text], and thereby assist in expanding our knowledge [of proper conduct at ordination rituals].

Recently, Zhenshao, the Vice Buddhist Registrar of the Districts on the Right Side of the Imperial Way,²² “the Great Master who has Converted

Widely" (*guanghua dashi*),²³ after first collecting donations through civic associations, built a precept-ordination platform made of stone at the Taiping xingguo Monastery in the Eastern Capital (Kaifeng).²⁴ It follows perfectly [the regulations for erecting ordination platforms in] Nanshan [Daoxuan]'s *Jietan [tu]jing*. It is absolutely the grandest and most beautiful in all of the empire.

[十] 立壇得戒

原其《漢》《魏》之僧也，雖剃染成形，而戒法未備。于時二眾唯受三歸。《後漢》《永平》至《魏》《黃初》以來，大僧《沙彌》曾無區別。有《曇摩迦羅》三藏及《竺律炎》《維祇難》等，皆傳律義。《迦羅》以《嘉平》正元中，與《曇帝》於《洛陽》出『僧祇戒心』，立大僧《羯磨》法。東土立壇，此其始也。

詳其《曼荼羅》大祇施設不同。或《巨摩》規地，或以木構層，築泥分級，俱名壇也。除土掃地，則名壇也。壇場壇不同，皆是西域曼荼羅也。若據律宗，則須結方隅，分限²⁵從其自然，生於作法。

緬想《魏》朝，固應漠落矣。若此方受戒，則《朱士行》為其首也。南朝《永明》中，《三吳》初造戒壇。此又吳中之始也。

《唐》初《靈感寺》《南山宣律師》，按法立壇，感長眉僧<即《賓頭盧》身也>隨喜讚歎。立壇應法勿過此焉。《宣》撰『戒壇經』一卷。今行于世。余嘗慨《南山》不明壇第四層覆釜形儀制，故著『覆釜形儀』。樂者尋之，以輔博知也。

今右街副僧錄《廣化大師真紹》先募邑社，於《東京》《大平興國寺》，造石戒壇。一遵《南山》『戒壇經』。宏壯嚴麗，冠絕於天下也。

NOTES

1. *Jiefa* 戒法 is literally, “vinaya teachings” or “teachings of the precepts,” but I have amplified it here to give a sense of its specific implications in this context. For an account of Buddhist ordination rules with comments on the inadequacies associated with their observation in China, see Yijing’s section on the rules of ordination (no. 19) in *Nanhai jigui zhuan* 3 (T 54.219a-220c; Takakusu, trans., pp. 95-107).
2. The three refuges (*sangui* 三歸) refers to a ceremony in which one publicly proclaims their commitment to the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha. The biography of Dharmakāla (Tankejialuo 曇柯迦羅; GSZ 1, T 50.324c) states that the practice of the Buddhist religion had deteriorated within the borders of Wei to the point where there were congregations of monks that had not been inducted into the precepts.
3. The Chinese term here is *daseng* 大僧, “great” in the sense of “fully ordained monk,” referring to *bhikṣus* who have pledged obedience to the complete list of precepts (usually numbered at 250), in contrast to *śrāmaṇera* (Chinese *shami* 沙彌), novices who have vowed to observe the ten major precepts.
4. Tanmojialuo 曇摩迦羅 is also written Tankejialuo 曇柯迦羅 (see note in previous section). His interest in vinaya texts is recorded in his biography (GSZ 1; T 50.324c-325a), where it is claimed that knowledge of the Buddhist precepts in China originated with his translations of vinaya texts. According to Maspero, however, some code of monastic rules—specifically those relating to the ordination ritual—must have been known in China, if only summarily through oral transmission, before Dharmakāla (as cited in Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, p. 55).
5. The biography of Zhu Lüyan 竺律炎 is appended to that of Wei Zhinan 維祇難 in GSZ 1 (T 50.326b). It states there that the two joined to translate the *Dhammapada* (*Faju jing* 法句經), but no mention is made of any connection with the precepts or vinaya texts.
6. The information is also recorded in GSZ 1 (T 50.325a). Dharmakāla’s biography claims that the translation of the *Sengqi jiexin* 僧祇戒心 (full title: *Sengqi jiexin tuji* 僧祇戒心圖記, Illustrated Record of Disciplining the Mind in Mahāsāṃghika) was carried out solely by him. On the meaning of the term *jiemo* 羯摩 (*karman*), see Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 182a-b(2).

7. Sato Tatsugen (*Kairitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 118-119) dates the origins of ordination platforms in China later, to the erection of the ordination platform at Nanlin Monastery 南林寺 some time prior to the death of Gunavarman 求那跋摩 (376-431). The *Fozu tongji* (T 49.344c) dates the origins of ordination platforms to the death of Gunavarman in 431. Regarding Daoxuan's appreciation of Gunabhadra's efforts in establishing ordination platforms, see Huaiyu Chen, *The Revival of Buddhist Monasticism*, pp. 97-98.
8. In this context, a mandala (*manchalu* 曼荼羅) is a general reference to the specially designated areas within which Buddhist ritual observances (including ordinations) are performed.
9. As cows are viewed as sacred animals in India, their dung (巨摩 *gomati*) is regarded as a purifying agent. According to *Nanhai jigui zhuan* 1 (T 54.209a), for example, cow dung was strewn over the ground of the dining-hall in preparation for *uposatha* meals in India.
10. The Chinese word *tan* 壇 was a common translation for the Sanskrit *mandala*.
11. Both Chinese *tan* 壇 and *shan* 壇 (here translated as “platform” and “consecrated area”) are found in Chinese classical literature with similar meanings, but used in different contexts. In the *Li ji* 禮記, *Jifa* 祭法 (Laws of Sacrifices) chapter (*Baihua shisan jing* 白話十三經 edition, p. 165), they refer to the “raised platform” (*tan*) and “cleared area” (*shan*) surrounding ancestral temples (*miao* 廟), where regular sacrifices were offered.
12. Zanning has no specific reference for *chang* 場 (literally, “place”), as is the case with *zhan* (“consecrated area”) and *tan* (“platform”). In this context it would seem to have a meaning similar to the other terms, as in the combinations *jichang* 祭場 (literally, “place of sacrifice/worship”) or *daochang* 道場 (“place of practice”), indicating a place where ritual activities aimed at fostering enlightenment are carried out.
13. The oldest surviving description of the ordination ritual, including the protocols associated with the construction of the platform, is found in Daoxuan's *Jietan tujing* 戒壇圖經 (Illustrated Scripture on the Ordination Platform), which is considered below.
14. The Wei dynasty (220-265), located in the north, was one of the so-called three kingdoms (*sanguo* 三國), along with Wu 吳 and Shu 蜀, that divided control over Chinese territory following the Han dynasty.
15. Zhu Shixing's 朱士行 biography is in GSZ 4 (T 50.346b-c). No mention of his association with the precepts is mentioned there. He also has a biog-

raphy in CSZJJ 13 (T 55.97a-b), and is mentioned in the *Mingyang ji* 冥祥記, recorded in *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 28 (T 53.491a-b). Around 260 CE, Zhu Shixing embarked on an arduous journey to the West in search of the Dharma, thus forging a model that Chinese Buddhist prelates would famously follow. In Khotan, a dominant kingdom on the southern (so-called) silk route, Zhu Shixing allegedly found a Sanskrit copy of the *Prajñāpāramitā* in 25,000 lines, a text that he sought after, but no mention of Vinaya texts is made. He died in Khotan at the age of 79. (Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp. 61-63).

16. The so-called Southern dynasties include the Liu Song (420-479), Southern Qi (479-502), Liang (502-557), and Chen dynasties (557-589), when rule in China was divided between Northern and Southern ruling houses. The Sanwu 三吳 region refers to three major cities of the Wu region, located on the lower reaches of the Yangzi River. In close proximity to each other, the three cities were the economic, political, and social focus of life in the Southern dynasties during this period. According to Sengyou's preface to the *Sabaduobu ji mulu* 薩婆多部記目錄序 (Preface to the Catalogue of Texts in the Sarvastivāda Sect) in the CSZJJ 12 (T 55.89a1-4), the Sarvastivāda vinaya prevailed in the land of [Southern] Qi.
17. See Daoxuan's 道宣 biography as recorded by Zanning in SGSZ 14 (T 50.790c-791a). Pindola's praise for Daoxuan recorded there, states: "Since the Buddha's demise the counterfeit Dharma has inhabited the world; only the Master (Daoxuan) alone has fostered the development of Vinaya [teaching]."
18. Full title, *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing* 關中創立戒壇圖經 ("Illustrated Scripture on the Establishment of an Ordination Platform within the Pass"; T 45-1892). This is the first document about ordination ritual compiled by a native Chinese monk. It had great influence over the development of Buddhist ordination ritual in China, regarding which see Huaiyu Chen, *The Revival of Buddhist Monasticism*, pp. 93-131. The scripture itself was inspired by a visionary experience and revelations that Daoxuan had which led to the authorship of several of his works; see Koichi Shinohara, "The Kasaya Robe of the Past Buddha Kasyapa in the Miraculous Instruction Given to the Vinaya Master Daoxuan (596-667)," *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* No. 13-2 (2000): 299-367. For the construction of Daoxuan's ordination platform and a description of the ordination ritual, see also Sato Tatsugen, *Kairitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 122-131.

19. The text reads *yu* 余, meaning “I” (the writer), but this makes no sense in this context and I have inferred that the “I” referred to here is the subject of the previous sentence, Daoxuan.
20. The ordination altar was divided into five floors. A covered kettle-shaped urn containing Buddhist remains was set on the fourth floor (T 45.808c). On this, see Sato Tatsugen, *Kairitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 126-127.
21. The *Fufu xingyi* 覆釜形儀 is no longer extant, and judging from the comments by Zanning that follow, was already lost in Zanning’s day.
22. The Zhenshao 真紹 mentioned here is otherwise unknown. The Imperial Way refers to the main boulevard dividing the city into right (west) and left (east) districts, facing south from the Imperial Palace. This was a common way of dividing bureaucratic jurisdictions in the capital.
23. *Guanghua dashi* 廣化大師, an honorific title bestowed by imperial authority.
24. The Taiping xingguo Monastery 太平興國寺 was a government sponsored temple named after the *taiping xingguo* era (976-984) of the Song dynasty, mentioned in the *Dongjing menghua lu* 東京夢華錄, Bianjing yiji zhi 汴京遺蹟志.
25. Following the suggestion of Makita, reading *zeyu* 仄隅 as *fangyu* 方隅.

[11]

THE ORIGINS OF PRECEPT ORDINATIONS FOR NUNS

尼得戒由

In the initial circumstances when Aidao (Mahāprajāptī) did so, how easy it was [to become a nun]!¹ When [Lady] Apan left secular life [to become a nun], however, it was truly a rare event.² In the beginning, [women became nuns] by merely taking the threefold refuge (in the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha),³ and even worse, they did not fulfill [the ordination service] with participation by [representatives from] both assemblies (monks and nuns).⁴

According to the *Sanbao wuyun tu* [Illustration of the Five Fates of the Three Treasures],⁵

It was during the three hundred sixty-seven years between the *dingmao* year of the *yongping* era in the Han dynasty (67 CE) and the *jiashu* year of the *yuanjia* era of the [Later] Song dynasty (434 CE) that nuns were ordained into the full precepts.⁶

In addition, the Biographies of the Masters and Disciples of Sarvāstivāda (Sapoduo shizi zhuan) says,⁷

In the spring of the eleventh year of the *yuanjia* era of the [Later] Song dynasty (434 CE), ten nuns from Sri Lanka, Tiesuluo and so on, performed the Buddhist precept-ordination ceremony for the nuns of Jingfu Monastery, Huiguo, Jingyin, and so on, on the altar at Nanlin Temple in Jiankang in the presence of [members of] the two assemblies (monks and nuns).⁸ Over twelve days, more than three hundred nuns were ordained.

Of nuns in this land to receive ordination with [the participation of] the two assemblies, Huiguo was the first. We know [Lady] Apan only took the threefold refuge. In addition, during the *xiankang* era of the Jin dynasty (335-342 CE), when the nun Jingjian was ordained exclusively with the participation of one assembly (the assembly of nuns), this also did not fulfill [the requirements for proper ordination].⁹ During the *jianwu* era, nuns north of the Yangzi River went to the monasteries of monks to receive ordination.¹⁰ [The practice of ordaining nuns in this way] continued unabated in the dynasties that followed.

Recently, by order of Emperor Taizu (r. 960-976), nuns are not allowed to go to the monasteries of monks to receive ordination.¹¹ As a result of this, nuns are again [being inducted into] the fundamental teaching [of Buddhism] with [the participation of] only members of their own assembly. Accordingly, the stipulations [for ordination] in the precepts, in the end, have not been fulfilled.¹² The current sage (i.e., the present emperor)¹³ is eminently intelligent and wise in judgement. Gentlemen who protect the Dharma should petition [the emperor] to return to the former practice in conducting this [ordinations of nuns], to prevent the rapid demise of the Dharma.

[十一] 尼得戒由

《愛道》初緣豈為容易。《阿潘》出俗又實希奇。始徒受於三歸，且未全於二眾。

按『五運圖』云。「自《漢》《永平》丁卯，洎《宋》《元嘉》甲戌中間。相去三百六十七年，尼方具戒。」

又『薩婆多師資傳』云。「《宋》《元嘉》十一年春，《師子》國尼《鐵索羅》等十人，於《建康》《南林寺》壇上，為《景福寺》尼，《慧果》《淨音》等，二眾中受戒法事。十二日度三百餘人。」

此方尼於二眾受戒，《慧果》為始也。知《阿潘》等但受三歸。又《晉》《咸康》中，尼《淨檢》於一眾邊得戒，此亦未全也。及《建武》中，《江》北諸尼乃往僧寺受戒。累朝不輟。

近以《太祖》敕，不許尼往僧中受戒。自是尼還於一眾得本法。而已戒品，終不圓也。今聖英達明斷。護法之士，宜奏乞仍舊行之免法滅之端速焉。

NOTES

1. Mahāprajāpti (Aidao 愛道, literally “lover of the Way”) was the Buddha’s foster mother that raised the him after the death of his mother, Maya, who passed away shortly after giving birth. According to tradition, Mahāprajāpti was the first woman to enter the Buddhist order, and is credited with starting the order of nuns. The simplicity referred to here by Zanning is in connection with the simple nature of the service initially required for women to enter the order. Obtaining permission to establish an order of nuns was initially difficult. The Buddha repeatedly refused Mahāprajāpti’s request to start an order of nuns before finally agreeing to it after Ānabada’s intercession, on the reasoning that the presence of women in the order would have damaging moral implications on the long-term prosperity of Buddhism.
2. According to Zanning, Lady Apan 阿潘 represents the first instance of a woman becoming a nun in China; see section [8], above.
3. A circumstance that is paralleled by the situation of Buddhist monks in China at the same time; see the previous section “Erecting Platforms for Precept Ordinations.”
4. According to the vinaya rules, monks are required to officiate at ordination ceremonies for nuns. Otherwise, such services are not deemed legitimate.
5. No longer extant; see section [1], above.
6. Full precept ordination for nuns required observation of the same detailed set of rules as for monks, in addition to a separate list of rules designated specifically for nuns, numbering 341 or 348 in total, and commonly referred to as the 500 rules (see the *Sifen lü* 四分律 T-1428.22.714a2).
7. Apparently, the *Sapoduo shizi zhuan* 薩婆多師資傳 is a reference to the *Sapoduobu ji* (Record of Sarvāstivāda) 薩婆多部記 by Sengyou 僧祐. At present, only the preface to the table of contents remains; see CSZJJ 12 (T 55.88c26-90b2).
8. According to *Yichu liutie* 義楚六帖 8, an ordination platform was erected at the Nanlin Monastery 南林寺 in Jiankang 建康 (Nanjing) in the eleventh year of the *yuanjia* era (434 CE) (Makita, p. 313, n. 149).
9. In *Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳 1 (T 50.934c), Jingjian 淨檢 is said to be the first nun to receive full ordination, in the first year of the *xiping* era (357

CE), although questions regarding the validity of the ordination ceremony were raised at the time.

10. The preface to the *Sapoduobu shizi ji* in CSZJJ 12 (T 55.90b1) has the heading “Record of the assembly of nuns north of the Yangzi River starting to go to the monasteries of monks to receive ordination in the *jianwu* era” 建武中江北尼眾始往僧寺受戒記 in its table of contents. Given the chronology, the date is presumably in reference to the *jianwu* era (335-349 CE) of the Later Zhao dynasty.
11. Taizu 太祖 was the founding emperor of the Song dynasty. The order is recorded in *Fozu tongji* 43 (T 49.396b), issued in the fifth year of the *kaibao* era (972).
12. Among other things, Zanning is alluding to the contradiction posed by those assuming the responsibility of providing fundamental training in Buddhism being forced to violate the very rules that such training is based on.
13. Emperor Taizong (r. 976-997). Though the SSL was not actually submitted until the year following Taizong’s passing, I think it is best to assume that Zanning’s comments here and elsewhere in the SSL were directed in the first place toward Taizong who commissioned the work and with whom Zanning had long association.

[12]

RECEIVING OFFERINGS OF FOOD AND REPENTANCE RITUALS

受齋懺法¹

After the transmission of the Buddha-dharma to the East, many of the ritual observances were vague and unclear. That is why the *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Gaoseng zhuan*) says: “As a further example, vegetarian banquets and repentance rituals were [conducted] the same as sacrificial offerings for ancestral spirits.”² In the ages of the Wei (220-265) and [Western] Jin dynasties (265-316), monks all ate [their meals] after strewing grass [over the ground].³ In brief, there were no rules on how to stand and sit, on ritual deportment,⁴ on how to preach and guide [people],⁵ and on how to convert.⁶

With the arrival of the Eastern Jin dynasty (317-420), Dharma Master Dao'an (312-385) of the illegitimate state of Qin possessed discerning wisdom and innate knowledge.⁷ Beginning with a searching investigation of Buddhist scriptures and vinaya texts, he formulated the protocols for accepting invitations [to attend *uposadha* banquets], for [uttering the word] “*sampragata*”,⁸ for praising and worshipping, for invoking the Buddha (*nianfo*), and so on. Altogether, there are three sets of

rules [formulated by him].⁹ The first set were rules for incense offering ceremonies,¹⁰ sitting in meditation, [presenting scriptures, and presenting lectures. The second set were rules for everyday activities--the practices carried out six times a day,¹¹ and invocations at meal times. The third set were rules for the repentance of transgressions on *uposadha* days, and so on.]¹²

Vinaya Master Daoxuan's section on "Established Rules for Accepting Invitations [to *uposadha* banquets]"¹³ fully clarifies the restrictions [for *uposadha* receptions]. Students with domed (i.e., shaved) heads¹⁴ who have shamefully not read [the rules for accepting invitations to *uposadha* receptions], are criticized for breaking the precepts.¹⁵ How much sorrow it will cause one in future!¹⁶

Recently, I heard of a case where merchants in Xijiang¹⁷ sponsored a vegetarian banquet to incur blessings and make petitions.¹⁸ They showed the texts [for recitation] to several monks in advance [of the service], but when none were able to read them, they were chased off by the merchants--how thoroughly ridiculous! When future generations hear this, it should compel them to study until the early hours of the morning.¹⁹ [The reasons for this are three]: one, so that one's services will not be rendered in vain; two, to protect the community of monks [from criticism];²⁰ and three, so that the fame [of Buddhism] will rise throughout the four directions (i.e., the world).

[十二] 受齋懺法

自佛法東傳，事多草昧。故『高僧傳』曰。「設復齋懺同於祠祀。」《魏》《晉》之世，僧皆布草而食。起坐，威儀，唱導，開化，略無規矩。

至《東晉》有偽《秦》國《道安法師》，慧解生知。始尋究經律，作赴請，《僧跋》，讚禮，念佛等儀式。凡有三例。一曰，行香，定座是也。

《宣律師》『赴請設則』篇，大明軌則。圓頂之徒，苟不披覽破穀之誥，而乃自貽吁哉。

近聞有《西江》商客，賽願營齋。先示文疏，數僧無能讀者。被商客驅之，一何可笑。後生聞此，當寅夜攻學。一則不虛受施。一則覆庇群僧。一則揚名於四方也。

NOTES

1. This section pertains to activities associated with *uposadha* (Pali: *uposatha*) days, the six days (8th, 14th, 15th, 23rd, 29th, and 30th) of every month in the Buddhist calendar (including the days of the full and new moon designated for the recitation of the vinaya rules and confession of any infractions) organized specially around rituals aimed at purification. Because heavenly deities were believed to observe the behavior of human beings on these days, it was popular for the lay Buddhist faithful to spend *uposadha* days at Buddhist monasteries to incur merit. Generally speaking, lay people adopted the behavior of initiates into the Buddhist order by observing the “eight precepts for lay people” specific to such occasions. An alternate way to observe *uposadha* days was for lay people to forego the formal rigors of monastic life, and focus on the celebration of vegetarian banquets (*zhaishi* 齋食 or *zhaihui* 齋會) held on such occasions. These were sponsored by donors, usually at their own residences. Special food prepared according to Buddhist dietary restrictions was provided for invited monks, in addition to other gifts and donations. Besides providing institutional support for the Buddhist clergy, the banquets were regarded as an important means for donors to obtain merit. For a detailed background of rules about receptions on *uposadha* days, see Yijing’s comments in *Nanhai jigui zhuan* 1, section 9 (T 54.209a-212a); Takakusu, trans., *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, pp. 35-53.
2. Regarding this statement in the GSZ, see the biography of Dharmakāla 曇柯迦羅 (T 50.324c28-325a3), where it states that in Luoyang during the *jiaping* era (249-254) of the Wei dynasty, even though Buddhism existed, its teachings were not prevalent. Even monks were not properly inducted into the precepts, differing from lay people only in that they shaved their heads. As a further example, vegetarian banquets (*zhai* 齋) and repentance rituals (*chan* 懺) were modeled after sacrificial offerings for ancestral spirits (*cisi* 祠祀). References to the Chinese practice of holding sacrificial banquets in honor of deceased ancestors are found throughout the classical literature. For descriptions, see the *jifa* 祭法 (Law of Sacrifices), *jiji* 祭義 (Meaning of Sacrifices), and *jitong* 祭統 (Summary Account of Sacrifices) chapters in the *Li ji* 禮記, or *Book of Rites* (*Baiwen shisan jing* ed., 165-182; Legge, trans., pp. 199-254). See also the

description of the clan feast honoring departed ancestors in the *Shi jing* 詩經 or *Book of Odes*, (see, for example sections 7 and 8 of the *shengmin* 生民 chapter; <http://ctext.org/book-of-poetry/decade-of-sheng-min>). It goes without saying that Chinese and Buddhist customs differ radically on many points. In barest terms, one can point to the Chinese use of animal sacrifice as opposed to the Buddhist prohibition against killing. In a related matter, such differences figure strongly in Zanning's account of Buddhist incense rites (*xingxiang* 行香) in section [25] below.

3. Following Makita's punctuation (which differs from Taishō) in inserting a full stop here. Makita (p. 314, n. 157) refers the reader here to GMJ 7 (T 52-2103), but I have been unable to find any associated reference there. The point here is that rules for eating meals were handled informally in China until Dao'an's contributions to ritual etiquette in the Eastern Jin dynasty (317-420), as described below.
4. *Weiyi* 威儀, the proper behavior and attitude appropriate to a ritual occasion.
5. On *changdao* 唱導, see Zanning's comments in section [25] of the SSL (T 54.242a).
6. These were routine activities on *uposatha* days.
7. Dao'an's 道安 biography is contained in GSZ 5 (T 50.351c-354a). His figure looms large over the early development of Buddhism in China, regarding which see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (especially pp. 184-204) and Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China* (especially pp. 94-103).
8. *Sampragata* (sengba 僧跋) is a Sanskrit word uttered by the head monk signaling that the time has arrived to serve the meal. According to Yijing (T 54.209c), the word means "well arrived" or "the time has arrived." Note also that the Chinese transliteration *sengba* 僧跋, used by Zanning, is said by Yijing to be erroneous.
9. What follows in the SSL is very abbreviated, unintelligible version that only partially describes the first set of regulations. The translation has been supplemented by the fuller account contained in Dao'an's biography in GSZ 5 (T 50.353b).
10. On *xingxiang* 行香, see Zanning's comments in section [25] of the SSL.
11. Buddhist monastic routine structured around regular practices performed at sunset, the beginning of the night, in the middle of the night, at the end of the night, early in the morning, and at midday.
12. Daoan's rules appeared in his (non-extant) works, the *Sengni guifan* 僧尼規範 ("Regulations for Monks and Nuns"), and the *Famen qingshi ershi*

tiao 法門清式二十四條 (“Twenty-four Stipulations in the Regulations for Purification in Buddhism”).

13. The *fuqing sheze* 赴請設則 is contained in Daoxuan's 道宣 *Sifenlü xingshi chao* 四分律行事鈔 3, section 23 (T 40.135a22-138a6).
14. The term *yuanding* 圓頂 (literally “perfect [or round] head” or “dome”) is an apparent reference to the round, tonsured heads of Buddhist monks.
15. The meaning of the term *pogu* 破穀 (literally “to break or crush grain”) originally comes from making grain by crushing it in a granary; it came to refer to the practice of breaking or violating the precepts. In the *Shisong lü* 十誦律 (T 23.380c01-03), the question is posed, “If a *bhikṣu* makes grain by crushing it in a granary, what infraction does he commit?” In response, “According to the intention at the time he makes it, it is definitely in violation.” And, according to the *Sifenlü xingshi chao ziteji* 四分律行事鈔資持記 (T 40.215c27-28), rejecting the food offerings of the faithful is referred to as *pogu*, explained as destroying the good faith of others.
16. Presumably as a result of the karma generated from such disgraceful actions.
17. Xijiang 西江 (“West River”) is in the city of Hanchuan in Hubei.
18. The purpose of sponsoring the banquet from the perspective of the donor is to incur such blessings and offer prayers or petitions, represented in Chinese by the words *sai* 賽 (“to incur blessings”) and *yuan* 願 (“to petition” for favors, etc.).
19. *Yinye* 寅夜, precisely until between 3-5 a.m.
20. *Fubi* 覆庇 means literally to cover or protect.

[13]

CHANGES IN THE ETIQUETTE FOR PAYING RESPECT

禮儀沿革¹

Of the rules [governing the behavior of monks] in the western regions, numerous kinds pertain to rituals for paying respect (*li*), as the records have made clear. To pay homage (*libai*)² is to humble oneself. Walking in a circle [expresses] deep yearning. Baring the shoulder is also [a way to show respect] by exposing the flesh. Removing the shoes [shows that one] does not dare to relax.³ [Uttering] “*vandana*” is a welcoming sentiment of inquiring after the other person’s health.⁴ Yielding the pathway [shows] respect for the elderly. Since these examples are commonly known, I will not trouble you with lengthy explanations.

In the case of nuns paying respect to monks, [the vinaya] itself conveys eight rules.⁵ When bhikṣus show respect to superiors, they take the [superior’s] feet in their hands and press them against their forehead three times, and do everything possible to show reverence, as if serving a District Magistrate.

Recently, [there is the custom of] paying respect by unrolling a mat. I would like to comment on this. In the past, when Indian monks arrived

here [in China], they all unrolled a *niṣīdana* (a cloth or straw mat) and proceeded to perform prostrations (*li*) on it. Later generations of Buddhists avoided [the custom] as troublesome. As soon as venerable monks saw [someone] unrolling a *niṣīdana*, they stopped them, and instead [payed respect] through common expressions about the weather. So, whenever [monks] unrolled [*niṣīdana*] solely for [performing] repeated prostrations, venerable monks repeatedly stopped them. As a result of this, [it became the custom to] perform numbers of prostrations by simply rolling and unrolling the *niṣīdana* to feign prostrations. These were referred to as “pretend prostrations.” This being so, when showing respect, is it not preferable to choose the full [practice]? Nevertheless, monks of pure conduct cannot avoid performing [“pretend prostration”] under some circumstances.⁶

Moreover, why is it that when *bhikṣus* meet each other they bow, join their hands [as a sign of respect], and utter “How are you feeling?”, with their mouth.⁷ This [is how a monk] depends on the three activities [of the body, the mouth, and the mind]. <Bowling and joining the hands pertains to the body. Uttering the expression “How are you feeling?” pertains to the mouth. In the case of the mind, how would one be able to move the body and mouth [to act] without creating a reverential attitude [in the mind].> This is what is known as inquiring after the other person’s health.

In those cases where monks of low rank inquired about venerable monks [of higher rank], they used the following expressions: “How are you feeling?” “[Are you suffering from] minor illness or minor afflictions?” “Are you experiencing comfort and advantage in your everyday activities?”

In cases where superiors inquired after inferiors, [they spoke as follows]: “How are you feeling?” “Are you free of illnesses and afflictions?” “Are you able to easily obtain food when you beg for it?” “Is the place where you stay free of bad comrades?” “Have you avoided small insects in the water and on the land?” Later on, people shortened these expressions and

just said: “How are you feeling?” and for the most part, only intimated the expressions that followed.

Furthermore, why is it that after their meeting, monks part with the words “Please take good care of yourself?” This is [used] when a meeting with each other has been concluded, when one’s feelings of affection have already been communicated, where one bids [the other] “please take good care of yourself.” It is the same as saying: “Look after yourself well.” “Please take care of yourself.”⁸ “Have a good rest.” “Be careful.”⁹

When monks meet each other in the western regions, they join their hands and say “*henan*” (“*vandana*”).¹⁰ Some [use a different pronunciation and] say, “*panchawei*.” They perform prostrations (*li*) only when they had not seen each other for a long time, but in the case of formally honoring accomplished teachers, they perform prostrations each time they meet.¹¹

Currently, those who leave home [to become monks] merely study Indian matters with [native] Chinese sensibilities, in what is referred to as half-Chinese and half-Indian; it is neither correct nor incorrect. When one investigates where these [Buddhist rituals for paying respect] arose, they all derive from the teachings left us by Dao’an.¹² Whoever abides by these rules has already differentiated oneself from the mundane. By practicing [in accordance with] the vinaya one clearly distinguishes¹³ one’s uniqueness.

Some complain that Buddhist monks, in documents in which they address the throne, should refrain from [using the expression] *dunshou* (literally meaning to have the head touch the ground, as a form of prostration). By doing this, they [symbolically] perform the nine prostrations for worshipping the imperial ancestors.¹⁴ I have observed that compositions by Master Yuan (i.e., Huiyuan) of Lushan and Master Lang (i.e., Falang) of Taishan, in response to queries by imperial ministers, all refer to the expression *dunshou* after their names. Master Yuan lectured on ritual (*li*), and the congregation of worthies (i.e., Buddhist monks) adopted his interpretations. Why should its usage be considered a perversion? Nevertheless, *dunshou* refers to prostration in which the head [actually]

touches the ground. Currently, when the words *dunshou* are used in documents, the body is not even bent to the position of a bow. How can it be considered making prostration?

Furthermore, when followers of Daoism write *jishou* [in their compositions to express the custom of] folding their arms, and kneeling and touching the ground with their foreheads when they meet each other, they are doing the same thing. As a result, it is wise to avoid these [expressions] when taking up the brush to write.

[十三] 禮儀沿革

《西域》之法禮有多種，如傳所明。禮拜者屈己也。旋遶者戀慕也。偏袒者亦肉袒也。脫革屣者不敢安也。「和南」者先意問訊也。避路者尚齒也。諸例常聞不煩多述。

若尼禮於僧，自傳八法。《比丘》奉上，接足至三莫不盡恭，如事令長也。

近以開坐具，便為禮者，得以論之。昔梵僧到此，皆展舒《尼師壇》，就上作禮。後世避煩。尊者方見開《尼師壇》，即止之，便通敘暄涼。又展猶再拜也，尊者還止之。由此只將展尼師壇擬禮，為禮之數，所謂菱拜也。如此設恭無乃大簡乎。然隨方為清淨者，不得不行也。

又如比丘相見，曲躬合掌口云「不審」者何。此三業歸仰也。<曲躬合掌身也。發言「不審」口也。心若不生崇重。豈能動身口乎。>謂之問訊。

其或卑問尊，則「不審」「少病少惱」「起居輕利」不。

上慰下，則「不審」「無病惱」「乞食易得」「住處無惡伴」「水陸無細蟲」不。後人省其辭，止云「不審」也。大如歇後語乎。

又臨去辭云，「珍重」者何。此則相見既畢，情意已通，囑云珍重。猶言「善加保重」「請加自愛」「好將息」「宜保惜」同也。

若《西域》相見，則合掌云「和南」。或云「盤茶味」。久不見乃設禮。若尊嚴師匠，則一見一禮。

今出家者，以華情學梵事耳。所謂，半華半梵。亦是亦非。尋其所起，皆道安之遺法。是則，住既與俗不同。律行，條然自別也。

或云。僧上表疏，宜去頓首。以其涉祝宗之九拜者。余觀《廬山》《遠公》，《太山》《朗公》答王臣之作，皆名下稱頓首。《遠公》講禮，群賢采義。豈濫用哉。且頓首者，頭委頓而拜也。今文云「頓首」，而身不躬折。何為拜乎。

又道流相見交手，叩頭，而云「稽首」亦同也。然秉筆者，避之為敏矣。

NOTES

1. The concern of this section is legitimate ways of worshiping, offering salutations (Sanskrit, *vandana*), and performing other reverential gestures and utterances. Useful background information may be found in Yijing's *Nanhai jigui zhuan* 3, section 25, "Behavior between Teachers and pupils" (*shizi zhidao* 師資之道; T 54.221c24-223a7), and section 26 "Conduct towards strangers and friends" (*kejiu xiangyu* 客舊相遇) (T 54.223a8-b11); Takakusu, trans., *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, pp. 116-126. In the estimation of Yijing, the importance of these matters cannot be overestimated: "The instruction of students is important for the prosperity of Buddhism. If it is not made a matter of concern, the demise of Buddhism will surely be a matter of time (T 54.221c)." The topic is also discussed by Xuanzang in *Xiyu ji* 2 (*Datang xiyuji jiaozhu*, p. 205), who lists nine ways of paying homage: salutation, praise, obeisance, homage by holding one's hands out, joining the hollowed palms in reverence, bending one's knees in reverence, kneeling, reverence by placing one's hands and knees on the ground, reverence by lying down on the ground. (Is Xuanzang's list an attempt to offer a Buddhist parallel to the nine kinds of prostrations for worshipping imperial ancestors in the *Zhou li*, listed in the *chunguan zongbo* 春官宗伯 [Offices of Spring]. See *Baiwen shisan jing* ed., p. 68). Finally, we should also note Zanning's motivation in this section. He is driven by the need to explain (and justify) proper Buddhist ritual behavior, seemingly odd at times, to Chinese rulers and officials.
2. *Libai* 禮拜 is a general term expressing a wide variety of ways of paying homage and showing respect, from salutations to full prostrations. For a list of different kinds, see the nine kinds of worshiping listed by Xuanzang in the previous note.
3. I have been unable to locate a passage to explain the precise meaning here. The *Nanhai jigui zhuan* (T 54.223a) says that in meetings between newcomers and superiors at a monastery, in India, unlike China, all have the feet bare. This enables the newcomer to perform a special rite of paying respect involving taking the superior's feet and pressing them against himself.

4. *Vandana* (henan 和南) is a Sanskrit term meaning salutation, to pay one's respects to, prostration, bowing the head, reverencing, worshipping for offering salutations and paying respects to others. It is explained below.
5. See Daoxuan's *Sifenlü xingshi chao* 四分律行事鈔 3, section 29, *Nizhong biexing* 尼眾別行 (Special practices for the assembly of nuns); T 40.154c13-10). The eight rules are: (1) When elderly *bhikṣuṇīs* visit to be inducted into the precepts, *bhikṣus* should rise to welcome them, pay homage by inquiring about their health; (2) *bhikṣuṇīs* should not scold or speak ill of *bhikṣus*; (3) *bhikṣuṇīs* are not allowed to bring up the sins of *bhikṣus* or speak of their faults, but *bhikṣus* are allowed to speak of *bhikṣuṇīs* faults; (4) female novices (*śikṣamāṇā*) who have already studied the precepts should request to receive full ordination from monks of the assembly; (5) nuns who violate vinaya rules that are not subject to expulsion from the order (i.e., commit minor infractions) should practice the twice-monthly confession and absolution in both communities of the saṃgha (i.e., monks and nuns); (6) nuns should twice a month seek teachers from among the assembly of monks; (7) nuns should not associate with *bhikṣus* during the summer retreat; and (8) when the summer retreat is over, they should pay visits to monks and end the restraint associated with it.
6. Following Makita's reading, p. 315.
7. *Bushen* 不審 is greeting is found in the works of Chan masters (e.g. *Linji lu*, T 47.496c). It's meaning is discussed by Zanning below. Soothill and Hodous refer to it as "A term of greeting between monks, i.e., I do not take the liberty of inquiring into your condition" (DDB), but I take it as a generic formula with less specific meaning.
8. These expressions, some of which come across as almost identical in English translation, have quite different nuances in Chinese. For example, "please take good care of yourself" (*zhengzhong* 珍重) rendered literally becomes "Rare (or precious) and valuable," while "please take care of yourself" (*qingjia ziai* 請加自愛) becomes literally "Please add self-love."
9. "Be careful," reads literally in Chinese as *yibaoxi* 宜保惜, "(you) should guard against regret."
10. The Sanskrit term for offering salutations and paying respects to others, mentioned previously in this section. Citing the *Yaoyi* 要儀 (an abbreviation of *Yuqie zhuji zuanyao yigui* 瑜伽註集纂要儀軌? [Commentary on the Collected Essentials of the Assembled Explanations of Yoga] X 59-1084), *Sifenlü xingshi chao* 四分律行事鈔 3 (Summary of Services Performed according to the Vinaya in Four Divisions; T 40.133b5) states

clearly that *henan* (*vandanā*) means “to revere and honor,” or simply “to respect” (*gongjing* 恭敬).

11. Zanning’s source for this information is unclear.
12. On Dao’an’s contributions to Buddhist ritual behavior, see the previous section.
13. The translation of the term *tiaoran* 條然 “clearly distinguishes,” follows Morohashi 6, 372a.
14. The nine prostrations, some of which are obscure to me, are listed in the *Zhou li, chunguan zongbo* 春官宗伯 [Offices of Spring] section (*Baiwen shisan jing* ed., p. 68).

[14]

ANNOTATING [BUDDHIST] SCRIPTURES

注經

Initial translations of the words of the Dharma [into Chinese] did not adequately convey their overall sense, and had to be explained repeatedly before they were understood. The more [Buddhist] texts were studied, the better the principles [of Buddhism] were conveyed. Notations on Buddhist teachings (*fā*) were created as a result of this. [Through them], the deep, hidden meanings [in Buddhist scriptures] were knowable [with the ease of] pointing to the palm of one's hand.¹

The [*Sanbao*] *wuyun tu* [Illustration of the Five Fates of the Three Treasures] says:²

Kang Senghui annotated the *Fajing jing* (Dharma-Mirror Scripture) during the *chiwu* era of the Wu dynasty (238-250 CE).³

This is the beginning of annotating scriptures.

In addition, when Dao'an annotated further the *Liao benshengsi jing* (Scripture for Understanding the Accounts of the Buddha's Lives and Deaths), he said:⁴

At the beginning of the Wei dynasty, Zhi Gongming of Henan wrote explanatory annotations for this (i.e., *Liao benshengsi jing*).⁵

If so, annotations [of scriptures] in the south began when Kang Senghui lived there, and annotations in the north were initiated with Zhi Gongming.

[十四] 注經

乍翻法語未貫凡情，既重譯而乃通。更究文而暢理。故箋法作焉。沈隱之義指掌可知矣。

『五運圖』云。「《康僧會》《吳》《赤鳥》年中，注『法鏡經』。」此注經之始也。又，《道安》重注『了本生死經』，云。「《魏》初有《河南》《支恭明》，為作注解。」

若然者，南注則，《康僧會》居初，北注則，《支恭明》為先矣。

NOTES

1. *Zhizhang* 指掌 (“to point to the palm of the hand”) is an expression indicating an easily executed task; from the *Lun yu* 論語 3:11.
2. A text that is no longer extant, regarding which, see section [1].
3. According to GSZ 1 (T 50.324b-c), the *Fajing jing* 法鏡經 was translated by An Xuan 安玄 and Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調. According to his biography (T 50.325a-326b), Kang Senghui 康僧慧 arrived in Jianye (China) in the tenth year of the *chiwu* era (247). He annotated and wrote prefaces for three scriptures, the *Anpan shouyi jing* 安般守意經 and the *Daoshu jing* 道樹經, in addition to the *Fajing jing* (see also, the CSZJJ 13; T 55.97a). While the annotated text of the *Fajing jing* is no longer intact, Kang Senghui’s preface is recorded in CSZJJ 6 (T 55.46b-c).
4. The *Liao benshengsi jing* 了本生死經 is no longer extant, but the preface is found in CSZJJ, ch. 6 (T. 55, 45b).
5. Zhi Gongming 支恭明 is otherwise known as Zhi Qian 支謙. His biography is contained in CSZJJ 13 (T 55.97a-b), where it mentions that he annotated the *Liao benshengsi jing* 了本生死經 (T 55.97c13). He was active in China from the beginning of the *huangwu* era (222) through the *jianxing* era (252-253).

[15]

LECTURES BY MONKS

僧講¹

Zhu Shixing hailed from Yingchuan [in Henan].² Being ambitious and industrious, and of upright moral character, he cherished the future prospect of enlightenment from a young age, renouncing the impurities and vulgarities [of society]. After he left home [to become a monk], he concentrated his efforts on [the study of Buddhist] scriptural texts, and regularly lectured on the *Daoxing bore [jing]* (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā sūtra*).³ Each time he lectured on it, he lamented that the principles of translation were still incomplete. Accordingly, in the fifth year of the *ganlou* era in the Wei dynasty (260 CE), he set out on foot from Chang'an, crossed the shifting [desert] sands and arrived in Khotan, and obtained a correct copy of the Sanskrit text in ninety chapters. Many students of the Small Vehicle in that kingdom (i.e., Khotan) complained to the king: "The *Śramaṇa* from the land of Han (China) is going to confuse the True Dharma (*zhengfa*) with Brahmin texts."⁴ Why don't you stop him? [If not], the deafness and blindness in the land of Han will be the fault of your majesty." The king, accordingly, prohibited him from taking the scripture east [to China]. Zhu Shixing, because of this, requested that [the copy of the scripture] be burned to verify [whether it was the true

teaching or not]. At the appointed time, firewood was piled in front of the palace. After completing his pledge: ["If the teaching of the Great Vehicle should be spread to the land of the Han, the scripture will not burn. If the Great Vehicle is not destined to spread to the land of the Han, what will become of it?"]⁵ he set fire [to the pile of wood], and the scripture remained unharmed. The king began to put his trust in [the scripture and the teaching of the Great Vehicle]. Zhu Shixing returned to China carrying the scripture,⁶ and Zhu Shulan and Wuluocha translated it as the *Fanguang bore [jing]* (The Scripture of the Emission of Light [as a prelude to the Buddha preaching] the *Prajñāpāramitā*).⁷

Dharma Master Rui's⁸ statement—"When Zhu Shixing lectured on the *Xiaopin* (the *Daoxing bore jing*) in Luoyang, he often did not understand [what it meant]. He travelled over the distant, shifting sands in search of the *Dapin* (the *Fanguang bore jing*), and returned [to China],⁹ where it was issued in the pronunciation of Jin dynasty [Chinese]"--is [a reference to] this.

When Zhu Shixing lectured on the *Daoxing [bore] jing* during the Wei dynasty, it was the beginning of lectures by a [Chinese] monk.

[十五] 僧講

《朱士行》《潁川》人也。志業方正，少懷遠悟，脫落塵俗。出家之後，專務經典，常講『道行般若』。每歎譯理未盡。乃於《魏》《甘露》五年，發跡《長安》，度流沙至《于闐》，得梵書正本九十章。彼國小乘學者，譖於王曰。「《漢》地《沙門》欲以《婆羅門》書惑亂正法。何不禁之。聾盲漢地，王之咎也。」王乃不聽齎經東去。《士行》因請燒之為驗。于時積薪殿前。誓畢而焚，其經無損。王始歸信。《士行》寄經還國。《竺叔蘭》《無羅叉》譯為『放光般若』。

《叡法師》云。「《士行》於《洛》中講『小品』，往往不通。遠出流沙求『大品』，歸出為《晉》音是也。」

《士行》《曹魏》時講『道行經』，即僧講之始也。

NOTES

1. The title indicates simply “Lectures by Monks”, but what is at issue in this section are the first lectures given by native born, rather than Indian (in the loose sense of “greater” India, or “western region”) monks.
2. Zhu Shixing’s 朱士行 dates are unknown. He was active in China from around 250 to 280 CE. He is commonly regarded as the first in a line of famous Buddhist pilgrims to travel west (toward greater India) in search of the law (i.e., Buddhist teaching); see note on Zhu Shixing in section [10]. Zhu Shixing’s concern for correct information on the *Prajñā sūtras* helped stimulate widespread interest in China in the scriptures of the *Prajñā* school. The information in this section is consistent with information in biographies of Zhu Shixing contained in CSZJJ 13 (T 55.97a-b) and GSZ 4 (T 50.346b-c).
3. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (*Daoxing bore [jing]* 道行般若經) was translated into Chinese by Zhi Luoiaqian (Lokakṣema?) 支婁迦讖 (T 8-224) in the second year of the *guanghe* era in the Later Han dynasty (197 CE). Regarding Lokakṣema and his translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*, see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp. 35-36. On the basis of his translation of this text, Lokakṣema is commonly credited with introducing Mahāyāna Buddhism to China.
4. This is an interesting comment. It suggests how Hinayāna monks in Khotan regarded Mahāyāna works (albeit for polemical reasons). How seriously this comment should be taken is uncertain. Zürcher finds the whole story suspect (*The Buddhist Conquest of China*, p. 63).
5. The wording of the pledge is supplied from CSZJJ 13 (T 55.97b).
6. According to his biographies, Zhu Shixing died in Khotan at the age of 80, and it was his disciples who succeeded in returning to Luoyang with the copy of the text in the third year of the *taikang* era (282 CE).
7. According to CSZJJ 13 (T 55.98b-c), Zhu Shulan 竺叔蘭 was born in Luoyang of Indian parentage, lived in Henan, and was skilled in both Chinese and foreign languages (see also, Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, p. 23 and pp. 63-64). Wuluocha 無羅叉 hailed from Khotan. Their translation of the text (the *Fangguang bore jing* 放光般若經) was completed in the first year of *yuankang* era (292 CE). The *Fangguang bore jing* (T 8-221) is also known as the *Dapin* 大品.

8. Other than that he was from Chang'an, nothing else is known of Dharma Master Rui 叡法師. His account of Zhu Shixing is contained in his *Yuyi* (*Dispelling Doubts*); CSZJJ 5 (T 50.41c-42a).
9. Dharma Master Rui's text in the CSZJJ (see the previous note) makes no claim that Zhu Shixing returned to China himself. It says that Zhu Shixing dispatched the text along with his disciples to Luoyang. This coincides with the claim in Zhu Shixing's biography, noted above.

[16]

LECTURES BY NUNS

尼講¹

In the third year of the *dahe* era (368 CE) [during the reign] of Emperor Fei in the Eastern Jin dynasty, the nun Daoxin² of East Monastery in Luoyang, whose family name as a layperson was Yang, while serving as a *śrāmaṇerī* (female novice), recited and mastered both the *Fahua jing* (*Lotus sūtra*) and the *Weimo jing* (*Vimalakīrti sūtra*).³ After she was ordained into the full precepts,⁴ she studied thoroughly the meaning of the principles [contained in these texts].⁵ She was a venerable master⁶ to all students of the Way (i.e., Buddhism) throughout the region.

Regarding lectures and preaching by nuns, Daoxin was the beginning.

[十六] 尼講

《東晉》《廢帝》《大和》三年戊辰歲，《洛陽》《東寺》尼《道馨》俗姓《羊》，為《沙彌》時，誦通『法華』『維摩』二部。受大戒後，研窮理味。一方道學所共師宗。

尼之講說道馨為始也。

NOTES

1. The point of this section, like the one before in the case of monks, is not the origins of lectures of nuns as such, but of native Chinese nuns.
2. Daoxin 道馨 hailed from Taishan. The information here corresponds generally to Daoxin's biography contained in *Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳 1 (T 50.936a-b), in condensed form.
3. According to biography, her mastery was attained by the age of 12.
4. Regarding the ordination of nuns in China, see section [11].
5. In addition, Daoxin's biography notes her exceptional ability in "pure conversation" (*jingtān* 淨談) and knowledge of *prajñā*, particularly the *Xiaopin* (*Daoxing bore jing* 道行般若經 (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā sūtra*; T 8-224), mentioned in the previous section.
6. *Shizong* 師宗 is a Chinese translation of *ācārya* ("teacher" or "master"), a term usually applied to monks who guide students in their practice and serve as an example to them. There are several categories, including that of Scripture *ācārya*, noted for instructing students on the meaning of the scriptures.

[17]

WRITING COMMENTARIES AND ARRANGING SCRIPTURES IN SECTIONS

造疏科經¹

When the teachings contained in Buddhist scriptures spread eastward [to China], initially Zhu Shixing explained [their meaning] in lectures, but they did not appear in written form (*wenzi*).² Was it Dharma Master Dao'an who divided [the scriptures] into sections and annotated [them] to explain [their meaning]? When Master An annotated the scriptures he constantly feared [his explanations] did not agree with the Buddha's intention. [In response to his concern], he suddenly dreamed that a seeker of the Way said [to him]: "They are in agreement with [the Buddha's] principles." [The seeker of the Way] was Pindola.³

Some people claim: "Annotating scriptures and writing commentaries are completely different. Why suggest Master An was first?"⁴ In reply, annotations explaining scriptures and the additional practice of commenting on their meaning, although termed differently, are actually the same. Wasn't it [Dao]an's intention to divide these [scriptures] into sections,

interspersing explanations at intervals throughout, and not [resort to] long and superfluous explanations?

Following this, Sengrui wrote a commentary on the Weimo [jing] (Vimalakīrti sūtra).⁵ [Dao]sheng wrote commentaries on the Weimo jing, the Fahua jing (Lotus sūtra), the Niepan jing (Nirvāṇa sūtra), and the Xiaopin (Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā).⁶ Everyone in the world treasures them.

[十七] 造疏科經

經教東流，始則《朱士行》講說未形於文字。分科注解，其《道安法師》歟。《安師》注經，常恐不合佛意。俄夢道人曰。「合理」。即《賓頭盧》也。

或曰。注經與造疏全別。何推《安公》為首耶。答，注是解經，與別行疏義，殊號而同實。矧分其科節不長途散釋，自《安》之意乎。

次則，《僧叡》造『維摩疏』。《道生》著『維摩』『法華』『泥洹』『小品』疏。世皆寶之。

NOTES

1. As Zanning comments below, he considers *zaoshu* 造疏 (creating commentaries) as essentially the same as *zhujing* 注經 (annotating scriptures; see section [14]). In addition, he considers arranging the scriptures into sections (*kejing* 科經) as part of the annotating, commenting process. This follows from the way explanations and comments are inserted into the text in classical Chinese writings, thus creating breaks, or sections.
2. Regarding Zhushixing 朱士行 and the origins of lectures by Chinese monks, see section [15], above.
3. The episode is described in more detail in Dao'an's 道安 biography in GSZ 5 (T 50.353b18-23). Fearing that his comments did not agree with the principles of the scriptures, Dao'an vowed to see an auspicious sign as assurance that his explanations are not off base. As a result, in a dream vision a foreign monk (*hudaoren* 胡道人) with white hair and long eyebrows tells Dao'an that his annotations indeed agree with the principles of the scriptures, that he (the foreign monk) has deferred entering nirvāṇa to live in India (to save others), and that he should regularly make food offerings to him as a means of support. After the arrival of the *Ten Recitation Vinaya* (*Shisong lü* 十誦律), Huiyuan ascertained that the monk of Dao'an's dream was the Buddha's disciple, Piṇḍola. As a result, a seat was set up [for Piṇḍola's image], and food offerings provided for it. The identification of Piṇḍola on the basis of the *Ten Recitation Vinaya* is based on descriptions of him there (see *Shisong lü* 37; T 23.268c-269b). This is also the basis for the celebration of Piṇḍola in meditation halls at Chan monasteries. Piṇḍola (*Bintoulu* 賓頭盧) was allegedly the first of the Buddha's sixteen arhats. He is said to be one of the four original arhats (associated with the four directions) asked by the Buddha to stay in the world to spread the Dharma.
4. The implication here being that Dao'an merely annotated the scriptures rather than writing commentaries on them.
5. Reference to this can also be found in Sengrui's 僧叡 biography in GSZ, ch. 6 (T. 50, 364b). The preface to Sengrui's commentary on the *Weimo jing* 維摩經 is recorded in the CSZJJ, ch. 8 (T. 55, 58c-59a).
6. Daosheng 道生 (355-434) played an important role in the development of Buddhism in China. His biography is recorded in GSZ 7 (T 50.367a)

and CSZJJ 15 (T 55.111b). Of the texts mentioned here, only the commentary on the *Fahua jing* survives (for a study, see Young-Ho Kim, *Tao-Sheng's Commentary on the Lotus Sūtra: A Study and Translation*). Many of Daosheng's comments on the *Weimo jing* have been incorporated in Sengzhao's commentary, *Zhu Weimojie jing* 注維摩詰經 (T 38-1775). The *Xiaopin* 小品 is apparently a reference to the 10 fascicle version by Lokakṣema 支婁迦讖 (T 8-224), the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā* (*Daoxing banruo jing* 道行般若經).

7. Reading *dao* 道 for *zhi* 直.

EXPLAINING THE VINAYA

解律¹

During the Northern (or Yuan) Wei dynasty, Vinaya Master Facong (468-559) was originally ordained into the precepts of the Dharmagupta School, but always practiced according to the rules of the Mahāsāṃghika School.² One day, upon realizing the inherent [contradiction], he lamented, “I have physically³ been inducted into the *Vinaya in Four Divisions* (*Sifen lü*) [of the Dharmagupta School]. How can I openly follow [the rules of] a different sect?” As a result, he stopped giving lectures on the Mahāsāṃghika vinaya. After he opened [the text] with his hands and poured over it with his eyes (i.e., studied it intently), he spread and propagated the [*Vinaya in*] *Four Divisions*. A student, Daofu, circulated notes [of Facong’s lectures], and eventually formed a commentary on the meaning [of the vinaya]. Master [Dao]fu was the first monk to explain the meaning of the *Vinaya in Four Divisions* [of the Dharmagupta School].⁴

During the *yuanjia* era of the Liu Song dynasty (424-453 CE), Huixun was skilled in the [Mahā]sāṃghika and *Shisong* (Ten Recitation, or Sarvāstivāda) [vinayas] and also wrote commentaries on them.⁵ This, then, is the beginning of explaining the two vinayas (i.e., Mahāsāṃghika and Sarvāstivāda).

At present, the North Monastery on Mount Wutai maintains a tradition that there are historical remains there of where Vinaya Master Facong lectured on the vinaya.

[十八] 解律

《元魏》世，《法聰律師》者，原是《曇無德羯磨得》戒，而常習《僧祇》。一日自悟乃歎曰。「體既『四分』而受。何得異部明隨。」於是罷講祇律。手披目閱敷揚『四分』。有門人《道覆》，旋抄漸成義疏。《覆公》即解『四分』之始也。

至《宋》《元嘉》中，《慧詢》善《僧祇》『十誦』，更製條章。即解二律之始也。今《五臺山》《北寺》相傳，有《聰師》講律之遺跡焉。

NOTES

1. Obtaining vinaya texts and translating them constituted an important activity in early Chinese Buddhism. For background on the introduction of Buddhist vinayas into China, see Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, pp. 3-8. Within a short span in the early fifth century, the vinayas of four schools were made available: the Sarvāstivāda vinaya, or *Shisong lü* 十誦律, introduced by Punyatāra (eventually completed by Dharmaruci, after Punyatāra's death) and translated by Kumārajīva, with the editorial aid of his vinaya teacher, Vimalākṣa; the Dharmagupta vinaya, or *Sifen lü* 四分律, introduced by Buddhayaśa and translated with the help of Zhu Fonian 竺佛念; the Mahāsāṃghika vinaya, or *Mohe sengzhi lü* 摩訶僧祇律, introduced by Faxian and translated by Buddhābhadda; and the Mahīśāsaka vinaya, or *Wufen lü* 五分律, also introduced by Faxian and translated by Buddhajīva. Explaining the vinaya came about as a result of the introduction of these works. A fifth vinaya, the Mūlasārvastivāda, or *Genben shuoyiqieyou bu lü* 根本說一切有部律, was introduced and translated by Yijing in the eighth century. Zanning's concern in this section is to explain the origins for Chinese monks, overwhelmingly adherents of the Mahāyāna, following vinaya rules set forth by Hinayāna schools.
2. Information on the monk Facong 法聰 is obscure. The biography of a Later Liang dynasty Chan practitioner named Facong of the Jingkong Monastery 景空寺 in Xiangyang 襄陽 (Hubei) recorded in XGSZ 16 (T 50.555b-556a) seems to bear no relation to the Facong mentioned by Zanning here, but rather to a Facong mentioned in Daoxuan's commentary appended to biographies of Vinaya Masters in XGSZ 22 (T 50.620c). The Facong there is credited as the first master to explain the meaning of the vinaya rules. He was active during the reign of Emperor Xiaowen of the Northern Wei (r. 471-499) at Yangxu 楊緒 in Beitai 北臺 (Shanxi). Moreover, the messages that he communicated orally were later incorporated in Daofu's 道覆 vinaya commentary, as described by Zanning below. Facong and Daofu are mentioned briefly in Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, p. 7, and Huaiyu Chen, *The Revival of Buddhist Monasticism in Medieval China*, p. 32. One of the eighteen or twenty early Buddhist schools, depending on the source, the Dharmaguptas are said to have originated from another sect, the Mahīśāsakas. The Dhar-

maguptas exhibited great influence over Chinese and East Asian Buddhism through the prevalence of its vinaya rules, the *Vinaya in Four Divisions*, which is still followed. The Mahāsāṃghika school formed from a dissident group in early Buddhism which, in opposing conservative conceptions of the arhat, became the forerunner of Mahāyāna movements.

3. The usage of the word translated as “physically” (*ti* 體, literally “body” or “form”) here is not clear, and may allow for other meanings. I take the overall meaning as an admission by Facong that he has officially and outwardly been inducted into the *Sifen lu*.
4. In addition to information on Daofu 道覆 provided in a note above, there is a statement in the biography of Vinaya Master Huiguang 慧光 in XGSZ 21 (T 50.607c), that Daofu assisted in the spread of the vinaya in four divisions in north China through a work in six fascicles. No mention of Daofu’s connection with Facong is made there. Instead, promotion of the vinaya rules is attributed to Huiguang’s teacher, the Indian Chan Master Fotuo (Buddha) 佛陀 who was also active in the Northern Wei. Both Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, p. 7, and Huaiyu Chen, *The Revival of Buddhist Monasticism in Medieval China*, p. 32, credit the growth of vinaya study in China to the path paved by Facong and Daofu, and especially those that followed in their wake: Huiguang and his disciples. Zanning’s concern, here and elsewhere, is directed toward the origins of these phenomena.
5. The information given here is confirmed in the biography of Huixun 慧詢 (375-458) in GSZ 11 (T 50.401a).

[19]

EXPLAINING [ABHIDHARMA] TREATISES

解論

Abhidharma is the study of wisdom. It is a school (*jia*) named for the contemplation of dharmas [as elements of existence].¹ Even though translations and transmissisons of Abhidharma texts were slow to appear [in China], they quickly constituted the “mother of [Buddhist] wisdom.”² When groups [of Abhidharmists] initially³ examined [the phenomenal existence of dharmas] and arranged them in textual commentaries, one school in particular, the Chengshi (Satyasiddhi), enumerated the most characteristics of dharmas.⁴

In the north, Kumārajīva passed on an abbreviated version [of Abhidharma teaching] to Dharma Master [Seng]song.⁵ As a result of this, when the ruler of the Later Wei dynasty [Emperor Xiaowen] made an imperial visit to the White Pagoda Monastery in Xuzhou in the tenth year of the *dahe* era (486 CE),⁶ he decreed:

The famous Dharma Master Sengsong, who recently lived at this monastery, received the *Chengshi lun* (*Satyasiddhi śāstra*) from Kumārajīva [and spread its teaching here]. Later on, he passed

it on to Dharma Master [Seng]yuan, who in turn passed it on to two Dharma Masters, [Dao]deng and [Hui]ji.⁷ I have frequently read the *Chengshi lun* [and as a result have come to visit this monastery].⁸

When Daodeng transmitted [Abhidharma] treatises in the imperial palace, this was the first time [it was done] in the imperial courts of the north.

In addition, [another disciple of Kumārajīva's], Sengdao, was thoroughly learned in the minutiae of each and every Buddhist discipline—meditation, scriptures, vinaya, and [Abhidharma] treatises.⁹ [His relationship with the future Emperor Wenhuan of the Later Qin dynasty (r. 394-416) was such that] when he returned to the imperial palace in the same carriage with Yao Xing (Wenhuan's name prior to becoming emperor), [they discussed in detail the meaning of scriptures and Abhidharma treatises translated by Kumārajīva].¹⁰ He wrote commentaries on the meaning of the *Chengshi lun* and the Three Treatises (*San lun*).¹¹ This, moreover, was the first time [commentaries on treatises were written in China].

In the south, Sengrou spread [the teaching of the *Chengshi lun*] through his lectures.¹² As evidence of this, the *Chu sanzang jiji* (Collected Notes on the Texts from the Tripiṭaka) says:

In the tenth month of the seventh year of the *yongming* era (489 CE) of the [Southern] Qi dynasty,¹³ when Prince Wenxuan summoned five-hundred eminent students and famous monks to gather in the metropolitan area of the capital,¹⁴ he invited Sengrou of Dinglin Monastery and Huici of Xie Monastery¹⁵ to lecture on the *Chengshi lun* at Puhong Monastery.¹⁶

This was the first time [it was done] in the imperial courts of the south.

In addition, both masters [Seng]zhao¹⁷ and [Seng]rui¹⁸ lectured on such [Abhidharma] treatises as the *Zhong lun* (*Treatise on the Middle*), the *Bai lun* (*Treatise in One Hundred Verses*), and *Shiermen lun* (*Treatise on the Twelve Gates*).¹⁹ Together, they produced commentaries on the meaning [of the Three Treatises] that continue to be unsurpassed.²⁰

[十九] 解論

《毘曇》慧學。對法命家。雖晚見於翻傳，而敏成於智母。疇初稽考越措疏文。唯《成實》一宗最多法相。

北則，《羅什》刪略付授《嵩法師》。故《後魏》主《大和》十年，幸《徐州》《白塔寺》。詔曰。「此寺近有名《僧嵩法師》，受『成實論』於《什公》。後授《淵法師》，又授《登》《紀》二法師。朕每覽『成實』云。」

道登嘗傳論於禁中，此北朝之始也。

又，《僧道》，禪，經，律，論，一皆精博。《姚興》同輦還宮。著『成實』『三論』義疏。此又在先矣。

南則，《僧柔》講宣。故『出三藏記』曰。「《齊》《永明》七年十月，《文宣王》招集京師碩學名僧五百人，請《定林寺》《僧柔》，《謝²¹寺》《慧次²²》於《普弘寺》講。」

此南朝之始也。

又，《肇》，《叡》諸師講『中』『百』『十二門』等論。疏義迭生，相繼無盡也。

NOTES

1. The Chinese term *duifa* 對法 represents a translation of *abhidharma*, referring to the objective contemplation of *dharma*s (elements of existence) according to the penetrating insight of Buddhist wisdom (based on the Four Noble Truths). Note that the term *fa* (*dharma*) here has a double meaning, referring both to the Truth of Buddhism and the objects of contemplation which, when meditated upon, reveal this Truth.
2. "The mother of Buddhist wisdom" is a catch-phrase by which *Abhidharma* treatises came to be referred to.
3. Makita reads *chouchu* 疇初 as a compound meaning "in the past" (*mukashi* むかし). I read them separately, where *chou* refers to a group of companions or peers, and *chu* as "to begin with" or "initially."
4. In their quest for enlightenment, monks of Abhidharma schools conducted an increasingly thorough analysis of the nature of existence. Their investigations into the nature of the psycho-physical world they experienced in meditation resulted into a categorization of that world into a number of distinct, basic elements. The best known work from this period, the *Abhidharma kośa* by Vasubandhu (translated into Chinese by Xuanzang as the *Apidamo jushe lun* 阿毘達磨俱舍論; T 29-1558 [French trans. by La Vallée-Poussin, *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi: La Siddhi de Hiuan-Tsang*; partial English trans. by Th. Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*]), categorizes existence into 75 *dharma*s (for a list, see Nakamura, p. 584). The Chengshi (Satyasiddhi) School is based on the *Chengshi lun* 成實論 (*Satyasiddhi śāstra*) by Harivarman (ca. 250-350). It was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (T 42-1646), and became the basis for a school in China of the same name. Because of such conceptions as the denial of any absolute existence and the affirmation of provisional existence, etc., it was initially regarded as a Mahāyāna text in China, but later on (in the Sui and Tang dynasties) was designated as Hinayāna. In effect, the text served as a transition between Hinayāna, representing the culmination of Hinayāna conceptions, and Mahāyāna, where it served as a precursor to the Sanlun (Madhyamika) School.
5. The sense in which the teaching that Kumārajīva transmitted to Sengsong 僧嵩 was abbreviated is unclear. Sengsong is remembered for his role in spreading one of the two main branches of the Chengshi School, the northern branch. His dates are unknown. He is mentioned in the

- biography of Sengyuan 僧淵 (GSZ 8; T 50.375a29) in connection with Sengyuan's receiving Abhidharma Chengshi teaching from him.
6. The date of this decree in the *Shilao zhi* (*Wei shu* 3039) is listed as the nineteenth year of the *dahe* era (495 CE).
 7. Acknowledgement of this transmission is also recorded in the biography of Sengyuan 僧淵 (414-481) in GSZ 8 (T 50.375a-b). Daodeng 道登 is also said to have studied the *Chengshi lun* 成實論 under Sengyuan in his biography in XGSZ 6 (T 50.471c). No independent biography exists of Huiji 慧紀. His mention here is connected to the information in Sengyuan's biography. There is also an imperial memorial commemorating Huiji's death, the *Di wei Huiji fashi wang shibo shezhai zhao* 帝為慧紀法師亡施帛設齋詔 in GHMJ 24 (T 52.273a12-18).
 8. The wording here is nearly verbatim with the *Shilao zhi* (*Wei shu* 3039-3040), except for phrases in brackets that have been added.
 9. Sengdao 僧道 (dates unknown) is also written Sengdao 僧導. His biography is recorded in the GSZ 7 (T 50.371a-c). He was a student of Kumārajīva who spread Chengshi teachings in south China.
 10. Information in brackets here is supplied from Sengdao's biography, without which the sentence would be undecipherable. Emperor Wenhuan 文桓帝 (Yao Xing 姚興) was the second emperor of the Later Qin dynasty (384-417). Yao Xing was an avid Buddhist, and was the first emperor to give official state support to Buddhism in China. Kumārajīva visited Chang'an at Yao Xing's request in 401.
 11. The three treatises (*San lun* 三論) of the Sanlun school, translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva, are the *Zhong lun* 中論 (*Treatise on the Middle*; T 30-1564), the *Bai lun* 百論 (*Treatise in One Hundred Verses*; T 30-1569), and *Shiermen lun* 十二門論 (*Treatise on the Twelve Gates*; T 30-1568).
 12. The biography of Sengrou 僧柔 (431-494) is recorded in GSZ 8 (T 50.378c-379a).
 13. The event occurred during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Southern Qi dynasty (r. 482-493).
 14. Following Hucker's rendering for *jingshi* 京師 (no. 1240).
 15. The Taishō reading "Huixin of Jiang Monastery" 慧欣講寺 (with corrected punctuation) has been amended to "Huici of Xia Monastery" 慧次謝寺, which agrees with the CSZJJ source cited below. According to his biography in GSZ 8 (T 50.379b-c), Huici (434-490) lectured on the *Bai lun* (*Treatise in One Hundred Verses*).
 16. The *Lüe chengshi lun ji* 略成實論記 (CSZJJ 11; T 55.78a) states that Sengrou and Huici also compiled a commentary on the *Chengshi lun*.

17. The biography of Sengzhao 僧肇 (384-414?) is recorded in GSZ 6 (T 50.365a-366a). He is the author of seminal essays, the *Zhao lun* 肇論 (Treatises of Zhao), that are arguably the most significant for the study of early *Sanlun* in China. See Richard H. Robinson, "Mysticism and Logic in Seng-Chao's Thought," *Philosophy East and West* 8-3/4 (1958-59), 99-120; and Walter Liebenthal, *Chao lun; The Treatises of Seng-Chao. A translation with introduction, notes, and appendices*; 2nd edition (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1968).
18. The biography of Sengrui 僧叡 (dates unknown) is recorded in GSZ 6 (T 50.364a-b).
19. The Three Treatises of the Sanlun (Madhyamika) School, as noted above.
20. Sengrui's prefaces to the *Zhong lun* and *Shiermen lun* are recorded in the CSZJJ 11 (T 55.76c-77a & 77c-78a), as is Sengzhao's preface to the *Bai lun* (77b-c).
21. Reading *xie* 謝 for *jiang* 講.
22. Reading *ci* 次 for *xin* 欣.

DIRECTOR OF LECTURES

都講¹

With regard to the reason to prompt scholars who were delivering their teachings publicly, it was difficult when they were in the lecture seat to do it solely on their own, without someone nearby to prompt them. As evidence of this, when Emperor Wu (r. 502-549) of the Liang dynasty lectured on the scriptures, Fabiao of Zhiyuan Monastery served as Director of Lectures.² As soon as Fabiao put a question to him, the Liang emperor at once began to talk away. Whether the lecture is for investigation or clarification, the method used is a question followed by a response. This is the general framework followed by Directors of Lectures.

In addition, when Zhidun³ arrived in Kuaiji (Zhejiang province),⁴ Administrator Wang [Xizhi]⁵ invited him to lecture on the *Weimo* [*jing*] (*Vimalakīrti sūtra*), and Xu Xun⁶ acted as Director of Lectures. When Xu Xun put a question to Zhidun, the audience thought “Zhidun will have no means to respond.” When Zhidun responded with a comprehensive interpretation [to the question], the audience thought “Xu Xun will have no means to counter it.” The questions and responses went back and forth in this manner without interruption. From this we know that Directors of Lectures actually debated with the person [giving the lecture].

In another case, when Saṃghabhadra gave lectures,⁷ his disciple Fayong⁸ translated his Sanskrit into Chinese and Sengnian⁹ acted as Director of Lectures.

In addition, there was Sengdao who hailed from Jingzhao.¹⁰ When Sengdao was a novice, Sengrui¹¹ noticed his uniqueness and asked him, "What would you like to do [with your career] in the Buddhadharmā?" [Sengdao] replied, "My hope is to act as Director of Lectures for you, Dharma Master." Sengrui said, "You should serve as a Dharma Chief for all of humanity. Why did you respond with the hope of becoming a minor teacher?" As a result of this example, [it is clear that] there were already Directors of Lectures during the Later Qin dynasty (384-417).¹²

Present day Directors of Lectures do not ask questions for stimulating discussion. By raising the text of the scripture [for discussion] by reciting it [instead of prompting with questions],¹³ they, in effect, imitate [the style of] Directors of Lectures of old.

[二十] 都講

敷宣之士擊發之由，非旁人而啟端，難在座而孤起。故《梁》《武》講經，以《枳園寺》《法彪》為都講。《彪公》先一問，《梁祖》方鼓舌端。載索載徵隨問隨答。此都講之大體也。

又《支遁》至《會稽》，《王》內史請講『維摩』。《許詢》為都講。《許》發一問，眾謂，「《支》無以答。」《支》答一義，眾謂，「《詢》無以難。」如是問答連環不盡。是知都講實難其人。

又《僧伽跋陀羅》就講，弟子《法勇》傳譯，《僧念》為都講。

又《僧導》者《京兆》人也。為《沙彌》時，《僧叡》見而異之曰。「君於佛法且欲何為。」曰，「願為法師作都講。」《叡》曰。「君當為萬人法主。豈對揚小師乎。」此則《姚秦》之世已有都講也。

今之都講不聞擊問。舉¹⁴唱經文，蓋似像古之都講耳。

NOTES

1. According to Makita (p. 22, n. 194), *dujiang* 都講 is the title for someone who supervises formal lectures (giving as reference the biography of Yang Zhen 楊震 in *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 54; <http://www.guoxuedashi.com/a/32m/113072l.html>). Hucker (no. 7181) notes the use of the term *du* as a prefix attached to titles or agencies to indicate the superior in a group as, for example, in *tu-chien* (*dujian* 都監), “Director-in-chief” (no. 7192), but this does not fit the position described here. Rather than a “Lecturer-in Chief,” the *dujiang* was someone charged with assisting the chief lecturer by posing questions to stimulate discussion.
2. This episode is recorded in the GHMJ 19 (T 52.238a), where it is said the emperor lectured on the preface to the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra* when Fabiao 法彪 of Zhiyuan Monastery 枳園寺 served as Director of Lectures. Given Zanning’s position and the general situation facing Buddhism at the Song court, it is interesting to note that the first example given here involves a lecture given by an emperor for which a Buddhist monk serves as Director of Lectures. The alternate examples given below suggest possible combinations between Chinese officials and Buddhist monks serving as lecturer or director.
3. Zhidun 支遁 (314-366) is famous in Chinese Buddhism for his rapprochement with Daoism. He distinguished himself by his scholarly abilities early on, especially Buddhist Perfection of Wisdom teaching and neo-Daoism or ‘dark learning’ (*xuanxue* 玄學) popular at the time. In tune with the wide-ranging intellectual interests of his patrons, Zhi Dun was conversant regarding a broad range of philosophical texts and doctrines (he was well known for his mastery of the Zhuangzi 莊子), and able to deliver brilliant quips and stinging critiques. Toward the end of his life, Emperor Ai 哀帝 of the Eastern Jin summoned him to the capital, where he appears to have gained wide popularity for his erudition and to have mastered the art of survival in an intrigue-ridden court. Zhi Dun was an important linking figure in early Buddhist thought. He worked toward an understanding of the doctrine of emptiness that remained tinged with native Chinese thought, and was the first thinker on record to use the word *li* 理 (usually translated ‘principle’) to refer to a noumenal reality underlying the transient phenomenal world. He also praised several buddhas and bodhisattvas as helpers in the acquisition of wisdom, and

was one of the earliest Chinese monks to aspire to rebirth in the Pure Land of Amitâbha, a painting of whom he commissioned as a devotional aid (from DDB). His biography is contained in GSZ 4 (T 50.348b-349c; reference to the episode mentioned here is on 348c).

4. Modern day Shaoxing 紹興.
5. Wang Xizhi 王羲之 appears in the *Jin shu* 晉書 80 (<http://www.guoxuedashi.com/a/33g/116553m.html>), where it mentions how Kuaiji, famous for its scenery, attracted numerous scholars, including Xie An 謝安 (prior to taking up government service), Sun Chuo 孫綽, Li Chong 李充, Xu Xun 許詢, and Zhidun 支遁, who all regarded literary pursuits as the epitome of worldly endeavors. According to Hucker (no. 4236), the term *neishi* 內史 (Administrator) refers to a delegate from the central government to serve as chief executive of a principality.
6. Xu Xun's 許詢 biography is recorded in the *Chen shu* 陳書 34 (under the name Zhi Heng 支亨; <http://www.guoxuedashi.com/a/37n/103662i.html>). In this case, a Chinese official acts the part of Director of Lectures for a Buddhist monk.
7. The SSL text has Saṃghabhadra 僧伽跋陀羅, but it is Gunabhadra 求那跋陀羅 (394-468) who is intended here, as the reference to this episode contained in biographies of Gunabhadra in GSZ 3 (T 50.344b) and CSZJJ 14 (T 55.105c) make clear. He was a monk of Mahayana Buddhism from Magadha, India, who travelled to China by sea with Gunavarman in 435. They were both treated as honored guests by Emperor Wen of Liu Song, the ruler of South China at the time. In China, he translated one of the key Mahayana sutras, the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, from Sanskrit to Chinese, as well as the *Samyuktāgama*, an early version of Sarvāstivāda which was brought from Sri Lanka by Faxian 法顯 (337-422).
8. Fayong 法勇 refers to a disciple of Baoyun 寶雲 who is said to have assisted in the translation work of a group of texts ascribed to Gunabhadra 求那跋陀羅 during the reign of Wendi 文帝 of the Liu Song 劉宋 dynasty (424-453) (*Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 T 2145:55.12c19-13a8). The date at which Fayong was active makes it plausible that it was the same as the Fayong also known as Tanwujie 曇無竭, famous for his travels, and one of a group of monks, also including Sengmeng 僧猛 and Tanlang 曇朗, who traveled to the West and India, departing around 420-422, making it plausible that he would have had the language skills necessary to take this part in the translation process. However, caution is advised in identifying the two figures, since Huijiao 慧皎 does not mention any translations except the *Mayôpamasamâdhi-sūtra* 觀世音受

記經 (T no. 371) in his biography (GSZ 3, T 50.338b-339a), and claims it is not known what became of Tanwujie in the end (information courtesy of DDB).

9. Sengnian 僧念 is mentioned at the end of the biography of Huijin 慧進, GSZ 12 (T 50.408a), but is otherwise unknown.
10. The biography of Sengdao 僧導 (dates unknown) is contained in GSZ 12 (T 50.371a).
11. The biography of Sengrui 僧叡 (dates unknown) is contained in GSZ ch. 6 (T. 50, 364a-b). Information on him is provided in section [21] below.
12. During which time Sengrui was active.
13. This practice was also noted by the Japanese Buddhist pilgrim Ennin in the *Nittō kūhō junrei kōki* 入唐求法巡礼行記 2.
14. Reading *ju* 舉 (“to raise [for discussion]”) for *dan* 但 (“only”).

[21]

THE TRANSMISSION
OF MEDITATION
AND CONTEMPLATION
TECHNIQUES
[TO CHINA]

傳禪觀法¹

The origins² of meditation (*chan*) techniques [in China] date from the time of the [Former] Qin dynasty,³ when Dharma Master Sengrui⁴ wrote a preface for the *Meditation scripture* (*Chan jing*) issued in the Guanzhong (Chang'an) area.⁵

The aim of this text, then, is to illumine the mind and penetrate principle (*li*). Nevertheless, the situation was such that [practitioners] started to utilize its techniques before they were able to cultivate them effectively. They wrecklessly referred to it as a book of medicines before having understood how to cure illnesses. With the spread of the great teaching,⁶ how the multitudes of illustrious ones analyzed and lectured [on it]

(making the situation even worse)! Those who annotated the text valued and paid attention only to its words and phrases; those who outlined its contents divided it arbitrarily into sections and subsections. They picked up their wisks and waved their fingers—all they cared about was “seizing the opportunity and adapting to changing circumstances.”⁷ They “untangled the knots” and “blunted the sharpness.”⁸ They focused on the blade-edged sharpness of their wisdom and the thrust of their debating technique; they completely neglected the truth which the text spoke about, and did not seek renunciation.

South of the Yangzi River, Master [Hui]yuan lamented that meditation techniques had not yet spread [to China], and expended great effort in order to obtain them.⁹ The Patriarch Bodhidharma¹⁰ observed the karmic dispositions [of the people] in this land (i.e., China), and in opposition to the state of confusion of the entire period proclaimed, “do not rely on words and letters,” to make them abandon their clinging dependence on words.¹¹

<Commentary: [The government official] who does not follow the virtuous influence of his sovereign is called a rebellious minister. [The son] who does not carry on the legacy of his father is called a disobedient son. Anyone daring to defy what the Buddha taught is referred to as a follower of demonic heterodoxies. It follows from this that the Buddhas of the three ages (past, present, and future) do not teach the Dharma differently, and the Sacred Ones of the ten directions impart learning in a textually uniform manner. The scriptures of Śākyamuni are the root (fundamental teaching); the words of Bodhidharma are a branch (supplementary teaching). How truly lamentable it is to turn one’s back on the root to chase after branches!

Your humble servant from the outset became versed in Buddhist teachings made available through translations,¹² and exerted every effort [to comply with the teachings contained] in Indian Buddhist writings.¹³ I have taken every opportunity to question Tripiṭaka Masters who have arrived from the West (i.e., India and Central Asia). Accordingly, from a review of the

records and writings of those who have sought the Dharma in the past and at present [it is clear that] in India *chan* meditation is contained with Buddhist teaching¹⁴ [and not independently]. As a result, people entered the ranks of true enlightenment closely on each other's heels (one after another). In the five districts of India, [Buddhist monks] indeed practiced [meditation] to strive for real results as prescribed by the Dharma.

The words of the Buddhas and teachings of the Sacred Ones do not lead later students astray. I would venture to advise anyone who shares the same aspiration [for enlightenment]: if you study the Buddha (i.e., Buddhist teachings) and cultivate *chan* meditation [techniques], you can sincerely hope¹⁵ for release from the world of suffering and climb onto the other shore. Do not deceive others with clever words and betray your spiritual home.¹⁶ The scriptures say: "If you want to obtain enlightenment, you must rely on the words of the Buddha. To try to obtain it by opposing them is without any foundation whatsoever."¹⁷ How slanderous indeed!>

[二十一] 傳禪觀法

禪法濫觴，自此《秦》世，《僧叡法師》序《關中》出『禪經』。

其文則明心達理之趣也。然譬若始有其方，未能修合。弗聞療疾，徒曰醫書。矧以大教既敷群英分講。注之者矜其詞義。科之者逞其區分。執塵搖指。但尚其乘機應變。解紛挫銳。唯觀其智刃辭鋒。都忘所詮，不求出離。

江表遠公慨禪法未敷，於是苦求而得也。《菩提達磨》祖師觀此土之根緣，對一期之繁紊，而宣言曰。「不立文字」，遣其執文滯逐也。

<箋曰。不遵王化，名曰叛臣。不繼父蹤，呼為逆子。敢有不循佛說，是謂魔外之徒。所以三世諸佛法無異說，十方眾聖授學同文。夫《釋迦》之經本也。《達磨》之言末也。背本逐末，良可悲哉。

愚素習象胥，力根貝葉。遍問西來《三藏》。仍閱古今求法記文，《天竺》禪定並稟教乘。所以入正位者繼踵。《五天》蓋依法務實而行。

佛言聖法，不誤後學也。敢諮同志，學佛修禪，庶幾畢離苦津，高登彼岸。無以利口欺人自瞞於靈府也。經曰。「若欲得道，當依佛語。違而得者，無有是處。」可誣也哉。>

[21A]¹⁸ THE SEPARATE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHAN

DWELLINGS 別立禪居¹⁹

After the Way of Bodhidharma came to be practiced, [students engaged in] verbal sparring at chance encounters with each other through verse exchanges.²⁰ Moreover, members of the assembly influenced by this trend simply lived in separate cloisters associated with a main monastery, but did not maintain a different set of monastic rules.²¹ When Chan Master Daoxin stayed at Donglin (Eastern Grove) Monastery,²² when Chan Master [Hui]neng stayed at Guangguo (Extensive Fruits [of Enlightenment]) Monastery,²³ and when Chan Master Tan stayed at Baima (White Horse) Monastery,²⁴ they all followed the same set of monastic rules. They distinguished themselves [from the other monks] only through the practice of meditation under the guidance of a master²⁵ or the practice of *dhutas* (austerities),²⁶ and by their robes sown together from used scraps of cloth.²⁷

Later on, Chan Master Huaihai of Mount Baizhang²⁸ conceived the idea of setting up rules to govern their activities,²⁹ and established common halls separate from [the main monasteries].³⁰ Arranged [in these halls] were long rectangular platforms where [practitioners] devote themselves to sitting-meditation (*zuochan*). When sitting practice is ended, they sleep [on these platforms] by reclining on their right sides.³¹ A high beam serves as a clothes rack, and the miscellaneous implements of the monks are all hung from it. It is referred to as a “crossbar of dragon’s teeth.” They follow a ritual of convening in the morning and being summoned in

the evening, with [the sound of] stone chimes and “wooden fish” gongs to mark events in the day’s schedule.³²

[Among Chan monks], venerable masters are referred to as “elders,” and followers are referred to as “acolytes.” Monastery officers are referred to as “office managers,”³³ and [the practice of] working together is referred to as “communal labor.”³⁴ Whenever there is a [grave] transgression, the monastery officer reports it, and [the offender] is flogged with a staff and his robes and begging-bowl are burned. This is referred to as “punishing [grave] offenses.”³⁵ [Chan monasteries implementing] all of these new procedures are called “forest congregations.”³⁶ [All these features] are different from the vinaya regulations. They began with Baizhang.

<Commentary: When the rites and music and punitive expeditions³⁷ are issued from the Son of Heaven, then the Kingly Way flourishes.³⁸ When the regulations for monks at Buddhist monasteries follow the rules [laid down] by the Tathāgata (the Buddha), then the True Law remains [in the world].³⁹>

[二十一附] 別立禪居

達磨之道既行，機鋒相邁者唱和。然其所化之眾，唯隨寺別院而居且無異制。《道信禪師》住《東林寺》，《能禪師》住《廣果寺》，《談禪師》住《白馬寺》，皆一例律儀。唯參學者或行《杜多》，糞掃五納衣為異耳。

後有《百丈山》禪師《懷海》，創意經綸，別立通堂。布長連床，勵其坐禪。坐歇則帶刀斜臥。高木為櫪架，凡百道具悉懸其上，所謂龍牙杖上也。有朝參暮請之禮，隨石磬木魚為節度。

可宗者謂之長老。隨從者謂之侍者。主事者謂之寮司。共作者謂之普請。或有過者，主事示以柱杖，焚其衣鉢。謂之誡罰。凡諸新例厥號叢林。與律不同。自《百丈》之始也。

<箋曰。禮樂征⁴⁰伐自天子出，則王道興。為佛寺僧規稟如來制，則正法住矣。>

NOTES

1. The term *changuan* 禪觀 is often regarded as an abbreviation of *zuochan guanfa* 坐禪觀法 (literally “contemplating dharmas/phenomena while sitting in meditation”). According to the subject matter of the present section, however, the meaning of *fa* 法 here refers to techniques or methods for *changuan* (“*chan* contemplation,” or “meditation and contemplation”) in China. Zanning’s main concern here is not to discuss meditation techniques themselves, but to document the principal figures responsible for the transmission of meditation techniques to China. His list is not one of translators of meditation texts into Chinese, but of key figures in the promotion of *changuan*. The logic for Zanning’s choice of figures (Sengrui, Huiyuan, and Bodhidharma) is not entirely clear, but the choices themselves represent an important alternative to the way the transmission of *chan* is usually construed following the records of the Chan School. What emerges from Zanning’s brief list is a kind of composite: important Chinese monks (Sengrui and Huiyuan) who were associated with leading foreign masters (Kumārajīva and Buddhābhaddra), translators of meditation texts or noted meditation practitioners, and the reputed founder of the Chan School (Bodhidharma). It is also useful to note Zanning’s understanding of the term *chan* as defined in the opening lines of his “Commentary” (*lun* 論) in *xichan* 習禪 (“Chan Practitioners”) section of SGSZ 13 (T 50.789b-790a; Fan Xiangyong, ed., pp. 317-320):

The Indian word *jhāna* (*channa* 禪那; Sanskrit *dhyāna*) in Chinese means “cultivation of thought” (or “thought training”; *nianxiu* 念修). According to the meaning of this term, there is no thought (*wunian* 無念) even when one thinks (*nian* 念) by engaging normal thought processes; and there is nothing cultivated (*wuxiu* 無修) even though one cultivates throughout the day (*xiu* 修). It is also referred to as “correct meditation” (*zhengding* 正定) [as in the eightfold path of the Four Noble Truths], and as “spiritual rapture” (*zhengshou* 正受—Chinese translation of *samādhi*).

2. The term *lan Shang* 濫觴 literally refers to an overflowing cup or goblet, and is used as an analogy for the source of an expansive river originating in a small trickle, indicating the humble, seemingly trivial beginnings

of great things (Morohashi refers to the *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語 for this usage).

3. The Yao, or Eastern Qin dynasty (351-394 CE).
4. Sengrui's 僧叡 dates are unclear (biography contained in GSZ 6; T 50.364a-b). He initially studied under a monk called Sengxian 僧賢 and was known for his extensive knowledge of Buddhist writings. He became a student of Dao'an, and assisted Kumārajīva in his translation work in Chang'an. He wrote prefaces for numerous works (see CSZJJ 8-11), and received recognition from Emperors Yao Song and Yao Xing. According to a theory proposed by Ocho Enichi (*Chūgoku bukkyō no kenkyū* 2, pp. 119ff; as related by Kamata Shigeo, *Chūgoku bukkyōshi*, p. 78), Sengrui of Chang'an is the same person as Huirui of Jiankang (bio. in GSZ 7, T 50.367a-b). If this view is accepted, Sengrui continued his activity in the south after the demise of the Later Qin (384-417), passing away at the age of eighty-five during the Liu Song dynasty, in the thirteenth year of *yuanjia* (436). Notable for his absence here is the Parthian emigre monk An Shigao 安世高, who arrived in Luoyang in 148 CE and worked there for more than twenty years. An important part of An Shigao's translation involved meditation texts, notably the *Anban shouyi jing* 安般守意經 (T 15-602), and the *Chanxing faxiang jing* 禪行法想經 (T 15-605). He appears prominently in the SSL in section [5], "The Translation of Buddhist Scriptures" (where he is referred to by the name An Qing 安清), and in section [6], "Translations of the Rules of the Buddhist Order." The omission of his name in this context confirms that Zanning's intention was to focus on figures responsible for spreading meditation techniques rather than noted translators of meditation texts. Note that current scholarship regards An Shigao's connection to the *Anban shouyi jing* a later attribution (see Shi Guo Huei, "The Textual Formation of the Newly Discovered *Anban shouyi jing*.")
5. Sengrui's preface, the *Guanzhong chu chanjing xu* 關中出禪經序 was written in the ninth year of *hongzhi* (407), and is recorded in CSZJJ 9 (T 55.65a-b). The preface was written for a work on meditation translated by Kumārajīva, the *Zuochan sanmei jing* 坐禪三昧經 (T 15-614), also referred to as the *Pusa chanfa jing* 菩薩禪法經 or the *Chan fayao* 禪法要, and abbreviated as the *Chan jing* 禪經 ("Chan scripture"). [Not to be confused with the *Damo duoluo Chan jing* 達摩多羅禪經 (T 15-618) translated by Buddhābhadda around the same time. To distinguish the two texts, Kumārajīva's was referred to as the *Guanzhong Chan jing* 關中禪經 and Buddhābhadda's as the *Lushan Chan jing* 廬山禪經. On the confu-

sion regarding this later text and the Chan School, see below]. Sengrui's preface was written for the re-edited version of Kumārajīva's translation, which was first completed in the fourth year of *hongzhi* (402). According to Sengrui's biography (T 50.364a21-25),

Sengrui often lamented: "Although the teachings of the scriptures (*jingfa* 經法) are few [in number], they are sufficient for understanding [the law of] cause and effect. But since the techniques for meditation (*chanfa* 禪法) have yet to be transmitted [to China], there is no basis (literally "ground"/ *di* 地) for polishing the mind." As a result, after Kumārajīva arrived in Guanzhong (Chang'an), Sengrui asked him to translate the *Chan fayao* (i.e., the *Zuochan sanmei jing*), a text in three fascicles. [Note: although Sengrui's preface confirms the number of fascicles as three, the Taishō edition of the text has only two fascicles]. It begins with compositions quoted from Kumārabaddha (Kumārata?) 鳩摩羅陀, ends with explanations quoted from Asvagosha (Maming 馬鳴), with writings quoted from various foreign sages in between. [Note: sources include works by both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna authors]. It is also referred to as Bodhisattva meditation (*pusa chan* 菩薩禪). As soon as Sengrui obtained the translations, he practiced [the techniques described in it] day and night, and eventually became adept in the five kinds of meditation [for halting thoughts] (*wumen* 五門; meditation on impurity, compassion, causes and conditions, the world of distinctions, and breath control [see *Sijiao yi* 四教義 4; T 46.733b), and skilled in the six purifications.

In his preface (T 55.65a), Sengrui indicates "meditation is the initial gate toward [the realization of] the Way, and the ferry for traversing to nirvāṇa." He claims that although Hinayāna techniques have been cultivated in China, they are insufficient for exhausting sense-illusion. Discipline among students is completely lacking because Mahāyāna techniques have not been received. It is this void, according to Sengrui, that Kumārajīva's translation fills. Up until Kumārajīva's translations, the distinction between Hinayāna and Mahāyāna, including Hinayāna and Mahāyāna meditation, was vague in China. The emphasis on Mahāyāna (Bodhisattva) meditation probably explains why Zanning chose to begin the section with Sengrui. True *changan* techniques were not cultivated in China until the arrival of Kumārajīva, and the request by Sengrui to translate a text introducing Mahāyāna techniques. Zanning the

Vinaya Master was likely sensitive to Sengrui's contention that correct discipline among Buddhist students is not possible without Mahāyāna *changan* techniques.

6. The "great teaching" (*dajiao* 大教), in addition to referring to general Buddhist teaching, may also refer to the reaching of the great vehicle, Mahāyāna. In some instances, it may refer to more specifically to Huayan or Esoteric School (*mijiao* 密教) teaching, but this reading is too specific here.
7. The phrase *chengji yingbian* 乘機應變, literally "riding conditions and responding to changes," advises to live in the moment and take things as they come.
8. This is taken from a passage in *Daode jing* 56, which states:

One who knows does not speak; one who speaks does not know. Block the openings; Shut the doors. *Blunt the sharpness; Untangle the knots*; Soften the glare. Let your wheels move only along old ruts. This is known as mysterious sameness. Hence you cannot get close to it, nor can you keep it at arm's length; you cannot bestow benefit on it, nor can you do it harm; you cannot ennoble it, nor can you debase it. Therefore it is valued by the empire. (D.C. Lau, tr., *Lao Tzu: Tao Te Ching*, p. 117; italics mine)

9. The biography of Huiyuan 慧遠 (344-416) is recorded in GSZ 6 (T 50.357c-361b; translated in Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp. 240-253), and in CSZJJ 15 (T 55.109b-110c). Zanning's statement bears direct relation with comments in the GSZ biography:

At first, many of the Buddhist scriptures current in the region of the East (actually South) of the Yangtze were incomplete. The *dhyāna* methods (*chanfa*) were not heard about, and the collection of monastic rules was fragmentary. Since Huiyuan was saddened by the incompleteness of the Doctrine, he ordered his disciples Fajing [Faling] and others to go in search of the scriptures in distant (countries). They passed through sand and snow, and only after long years they returned. Both had obtained Indian texts which (then) could be translated" (T 50.359b; Zürcher, p. 246).

Zürcher further notes (n. 71, vol. II, 407-408) that Faling succeeded in obtaining a number of texts in Khotan [among which the *Avatamsaka sūtra* (*Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經; T 9-278) was translated by Buddhābhadda (418-420)], and returned to Chang'an ca. 408 CE.

Generally speaking, Huiyuan's emphasis on vinaya discipline [regarding which not much can be said concretely (see Zürcher, p. 229), but note the claim in Huiyuan's biography (T 50.361b2-4) that he refused medicinal spirits (*chijiu* 𣎵酒) and other fortifying concoctions on his deathbed because he considered them a violation of the precepts] must have struck a chord with Zanning who strongly insisted that meditation be practiced within the context of traditional Buddhist teaching. Huiyuan had intimate contacts with Kumārajīva and Buddhābhaddra, both of whose translations had a strong impact on the *chan* practices of the day. With Kumārajīva, Huiyuan maintained a lively discourse through correspondence. In the case of the Sarvāstivādan monk Buddhābhaddra, Huiyuan gave him refuge at Lushan when he became *persona non grata* in Chang'an. [It is from this whence Buddhābhaddra's translation of Dharmatara's text on meditation, the *Damoduoluo chan jing* (T 15-618), derives its name as the *Lushan Chan jing*, in contrast to Kumārajīva's *Guanzhong Chan jing* (T 15-614).] Huiyuan's own *chan* proclivities appear to have been very eclectic. This was in large part due to his response to the needs of the lay Buddhist community for visualization aids in meditation practice, manifesting itself in the well-known association that he founded, the "Amitabha cult." [Huiyuan's tendencies in this regard may be viewed as a continuation and adaptation of the Maitreya devotionism advocated by Huiyuan's famous teacher, Dao'an, which were aimed in a similar direction (on this point, see Zürcher, pp. 194-195)]. Huiyuan was also influenced by the meditation techniques brought to Lushan by the strict disciplinarian, Buddhābhaddra, who was a disciple of the famed Indian *dhyāna* master Buddhasena. Huiyuan's preface to Buddhābhaddra's translation of Dharmata's *Chan jing* (also known as the *Xiuxing fangbian chan jing*) appears in CSZJJ 9 (T 55.65b-66a).

10. Bodhidharma (ca. 461-534) is the famed first patriarch of the Chan School in China. Early biographies are contained in the XGSZ 16 (T 50.551b-c) and *Luoyang qielan ji* 1 (T 51.1001b; translated by Yi-t'ung Wang, *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang*, pp. 20-21; translated into Japanese by Iriya Yoshitaka, *Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei* 21, pp. 8-9). The dates and circumstances surrounding Bodhidharma's life remain controversial. [On the life and legends surrounding Bodhidharma and his disciples, see McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism*, pp. 15-29; of the numerous studies on Bodhidharma in Japanese, see the list of works mentioned by Kamata Shigeo, *Chū-*

goku bukkyō shi, pp. 136-137, n. 6]. Bodhidharma's teaching on *chan* has supposedly been recorded in the *Erru sixing lun* 二入四行論 ("Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices"). [For a discussion, including translation, see McRae, pp. 101-117; also translated by D.T. Suzuki, *Manual of Zen Buddhism*, pp. 73-76. The most useful edition remains that of Yanagida Seizan, *Zen no goroku 1: Damo no goroku*]. In spite of having a text of recorded teachings, Bodhidharma's "two entrances and four practices" were generally ignored in the Chan School, and he served more as the symbol of a movement than a purveyor of actual Chan techniques. The complicated intricacies involved in the selection of Bodhidharma to head the Chinese Chan School lineage can only be alluded to in brief here; on this see Faure, "Bodhidharma as Textual and Religious Paradigm." *History of Religions* 25-3 (1986), pp. 187-198. It involves the adoption of a lineage of Indian patriarchs suggested in the previously mentioned *Damoduoluo Chan jing* (on this see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, pp. 6-8), and the mistaken identification of Damoduoluo (Dharmatra), the text's author, with Putidamo (Bodhidharma) by Shenhui. [Shenhui's attribution of Bodhidharma as the author of the *Chan jing* is made in the *Shenhui heshang yiji* 神會和尚遺集, Hu Shih, *Xinjiaoding de Dunhuang xieben Shenhui heshang yizhu liangzhong* (in Yanagida, ed., *Hu Shih chanxue an*, pp. 297-298). See also, Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū no kenkyū*, p. 310; Yampolsky, p. 30].

11. Zanning's brief assessment here coincides with Daoxuan's characterization of Bodhidharma: "Wherever he went, he gave instruction in the teaching of meditation (*chanjiao* 禪教). At the time, the practice of lecturing [on the Buddhist scriptures] had spread across the entire country, so that [people] often slandered [Bodhidharma] upon hearing [his emphasis on] *samādhi* techniques (*dingfa* 定法)." (XGSZ, T 50.551c; McRae, tr., p. 17, with minor changes). // The slogan "do not rely on words and letters" (*buli wenzi* 不立文字), along with "a special transmission outside the teachings" (*jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳), while commonly attributed to Bodhidharma, is more characteristic of the Chan movement that followed in the wake of the Sixth Patriarch, Huineng. For an account of the development of these slogans, see Welter, "Mahākāśyapa's Smile: Silent Transmission and the Kung-an (*kōan*) Tradition." Steven Heine and Dale Wright, eds. *The Kōan: Text and Context in Zen Buddhism*: 75-109. Zanning's characterization here follows from the formulation of Zongmi in the *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* 禪源

諸詮集都序 (see Kamata Shigeo, *Zen no goroku 9: Zengen shosenshu tojo*), which says:

Bodhidharma received the Dharma in India. When he arrived in China he saw that many of the students of this land had yet to obtain the Dharma. They thought of understanding in terms of verbal dexterity, and practice in terms of phenomena(?). Because he wanted to make them know that the moon does not exist in the finger, that the Dharma is one's own mind, [he taught] 'mind to mind transmission,' and 'do not rely on words and letters.' The reason he used these phrases was to make evident the fundamental principle of destroying attachments.

12. The term *xiangxu* 象胥 was a collective term in the Zhou dynasty for those in the bureaucracy charged with interpreting and translating in official dealings with frontier peoples (see the *Zhou li* 周禮, *qiuguan* 秋官, *xiangxu* 象胥). Here, it indicates Buddhist teachings as made available through translations.
13. The term *beishe* 貝葉 derives from the manner in which people in India recorded their writings by copying a text on the specially prepared leaves of the *patra* tree.
14. The term *jiaocheng* 教乘 refers to scriptures that contain the Buddha's teachings, with emphasis on their implications for actual practice (Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 231d).
15. Following Makita, reading *shuji* 庶幾 as *koi negau* こいねがう.
16. On the term *lingfu* 靈府, see the *Zhuangzi*, *Dechongfu* 德充符 chapter (<http://ctext.org/pre-qin-and-han?searchu=靈府>).
17. This line is found in fascicle one of the *Cibei daochang chanfo* 慈悲道場懺法 (Confession Ritual of the Chapel of Compassion; T 45-1909.925a23-24). The text was compiled by a number of monks during the *tianjian* period of the Liang dynasty (CE 502–519) and re-edited by Miao Xuezhi 妙學智 in the Yuan dynasty (CE 1280–1368). According to the preface, the text was commissioned by Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty (r. 502–549) for his deceased wife. Renowned for her jealous disposition, she was reincarnated as a snake, in which form she suffered greatly, and besought the emperor for his help. See Kuo Li-ying, *Confession et contrition dans le bouddhisme chinois du Ve au Xe siècle* (Paris: Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1994), 13; Kamata Shigeo, *Daizōkyō zen kaisetsu daijiten* (www.buddhism-dict.net).

18. The status of this section as an appendix to section [21] is based on its designation in the Table of Contents for SSL fascicle one (T 54.235b). In the main text proper, no such designation exists. Zanning's concern here is the Chan School claim of independence from the traditional Buddhist establishment. The validity of this claim was first challenged by T. Griffith Foulk, "The Ch'an School and Its Place in the Buddhist Monastic Tradition," where Foulk questions the extent to which the Chan School was institutionally independent prior to the Song dynasty, and the extent to which Chan claims of independence in fact reflected the religious aspirations of later (Song dynasty) practitioners. My understanding of this section is indebted to Foulk. // For his own part, Zanning takes Chan claims for institutional independence seriously. The present section is a commentary on such claims, particularly on the Chan monastic code attributed to Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海, the *Chanmen guishi* 禪門規式, appended to his biography in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (T 51.250c-251b; translated and discussed by Foulk, pp. 343-379, and by Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: the Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan*, pp. 138-141). In effect, it is Zanning's response to the challenge that these claims represent. It is Foulk's opinion that Zanning's comments here are based directly on some early manuscript version of the *Chanmen guishi* or on an oral tradition regarding it. At any rate, it bears noting that Zanning's language has many similarities with versions of the *Chanmen guishi* recorded later.
19. The term *chanju* 禪居 (literally "chan dwellings") indicates a Chan monastery or temple (see its usage in Baizhang's biography [SGSZ 10; T 50.770c], and *Chanmen guishi* 6 [T 51.251a]).
20. This appears to be a reference to the animated exchanges that often characterized dialogues between Chan practitioners in the "recorded sayings" (*yulu* 語錄) literature of the Chan School. These exchanges were interpreted as reflections of one's self-understanding, expressed instantaneously in accordance with the Chan teaching of "sudden enlightenment" (*dunwu* 頓悟). The sayings were embellished and recorded in the records of Chan School masters. Key episodes were later extracted from records of master's sayings and used by Song Chan practitioners as meditational aids for the realization of enlightenment. A noteworthy example in this regard in the *Biyuan lu* 碧巖錄 ("Blue Cliff Records"; T 48-2003), which is based on episodes recorded in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (T. 51-2076) and other Chan *denglu* 燈錄 (lamp record) collections. The phrase *changhe* 唱和 (literally, "sung [or voiced] harmony")

referred initially either to sung replies to an initial lyric, or a reply to a poem in the same rhythm.

21. Zanning makes the same point in his commentary to Baizhang's biography (SGSZ 10; T 50.771a):

Since the transmission of Buddhist teaching [to China] in the Han dynasty, dwelling places for monks (Buddhist monasteries) have not been divided [in terms of] *chan* and *lū* (vinaya). As a result, those who master *chan* and those who become proficient in Dharma teaching live together in the same monastery (*si* 寺), and merely maintain different cloisters (*yuan* 院).

22. Daoxin 道信 (580-651) is regarded as the fourth patriarch of the Chan School, following Sengcan 僧璨. According to Daoxin's biography in XGSZ 20 (T 50.606b20), he lived at Dalin Monastery 大林寺 on Lushan 廬山, prior to taking up residence at Donglin Monastery 東林寺 (for a discussion of Daoxin, see John McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism*, pp. 31-35; and David Chappell, "The Teachings of the Fourth Ch'an Patriarch Tao-hsin," in Lancaster and Lai, *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, pp. 89-129).
23. Huineng 慧能 is the famed sixth patriarch of the Chan School. His biography is recorded by Zanning in SGSZ 8 (T 50.754c-755c). The life of Huineng formed the basis for the Chan School classic, the *Liuzu tan-jing* 六祖壇經 (see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*). On the controversy surrounding the figure of Huineng and the machinations of Shenhui in establishing the *Tanjing* and Southern School Teaching as "orthodox," in addition to Yampolsky, see the writings of Hu Shih ("The Development of Zen Buddhism in China," *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, vol. XV, no. 4 (Jan., 1932), pp. 475-505; and "Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China, its History and Method," *Philosophy East and West*, vol. III, no. 1 (April, 1953), pp. 3-24). Among the recent works on Huineng in Japanese, there is the massive work by Zen research group of Komazawa University, *Enō kenkyū*, as well as the more accessible work by Furuta Shokin and Tanaka Ryōshō, *Enō*. More recently, there is the work of John Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng, the Sixth Patriarch: Hagiography And Biography in Early Ch'an*. Jorgensen sums up scholarly opinion when he claims Huineng was a marginal and obscure historical figure, and the hagiography around him that subsequently developed was an invention of Shenhui.

24. The identity of Chan Master Tan 談禪師 is unknown. A CBETA search indicates the passage here in the SSL as the only source where his name occurs. Regarding the origins of the Baima Monastery 白馬寺 in Luoyang, see section [4] of the SSL, “Building Monasteries.”
25. An abbreviation of *canchan xuedao* 參禪學道 (literally “studying the Way by engaging in *chan* meditation [under the direction of a master]”), a term that came to represent the unique character of meditation practice in the Chan School (see, for example, the *Wumen guan* 無門關, “Gateless Barrier”; T 48.294b).
26. In the Hinayāna tradition, *dhutas* 杜多 are rules governing extraordinary practices (not required of all monks) aimed at the elimination of attachments. They are usually listed as twelve: dwelling in the forest, taking any seat offered, living on alms, using the same seat for meditation and eating, wearing coarse garments, not eating at appointed times, wearing clothes made of rags, having only three robes, living in or near a cemetery, living under a tree, living outdoors, and sleeping in the seated meditation posture (see the *Sifen lü* 四分律; T 22.573a). Regarding *dhuta* practice in the early Chan community, see Foulk, pp. 304-308.
27. This was required of monks engaged in the practice of austerities (see previous note). The literal meaning of *fensao* 糞掃 here is “dung rags.”
28. Huaihai’s 懷海 biography is recorded by Zanning in SGSZ 10 (T 50.770c-771a). He is the reputed author of the Chan monastic code, the *Chanmen guishi* 禪門規式 (see note above), including its full exposition, the *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* 敕修百丈清規, or simply the *Baizhang qinggui* 百丈清規 (“Pure Rules of Baizhang”; T 48-2025), compiled in 1336. Current scholarship views the text as highly redacted, the product of later hands who attributed its contents to Baizhang, but which bear little or no relationship to the historical figure (see Foulk, “The Ch’an School and Its Place in the Buddhist Monastic Tradition”). A more recent work (Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China: An Annotated Translation and Study of the Chanyuan Qinggui*) argues for the possible connection between the historical figure of Baizhang and the work attributed to him. In the Song dynasty, the image of Huaihai assumed a cultic importance in the Chan School equaled only by that of the school’s founder, Bodhidharma.
29. The phrase used here is *jinglun* 經綸, which means literally to comb and arrange silk threads, but is used as analogous to managing the affairs of a state. Here it is used to infer how Baizhang arranged and set up rules for governing the Chan monastic community.

30. Zanning's account in Baizhang's biography (T 50.770c18-22) is of interest here:

[Baizhang] said, "We practice the Mahāyāna. Why should we regard the teachings of the various *Āgamas* as practices to be followed?" Someone said, "The *Yuqieshi di lun* 瑜伽師地論 ("Commentary on the Stages of the Yogin's Practice"; T 30-1579) and the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經 ("Sūtra of the Bodhisattva's Necklace [Explaining the] Fundamental Practice [of Receiving the Precepts]"; T 24-1485) are [texts containing the] Mahāyāna precepts (*dacheng jielü* 大乘戒律). Why not follow them?" Baizhang said, "We should select [various points] judiciously from a broad range [of earlier Vinaya rules], arrange them into [a set of] regulations, and adopt these as our norms." Thereupon, he conceived the idea of not following the Vinaya rules (*buxun lüzhi* 不循律制), and separately establishing Chan dwellings (*bieli chanju* 別立禪居). (Foulk, trans., pp. 347-348, with minor changes)

In the Chan tradition, common halls (*tongtang* 通堂) refer to halls where monks practice meditation without regard for distinctions based on social status.

31. The phrase *daidao xiewo* 帶刀斜臥 (literally "inclining on one's side while wearing a sword") is a euphemism for reclining on one's right side to sleep, deriving from the fact that swords were usually worn on the left, making sleeping on that side impossible. Reclining on the right side is also in imitation of the Buddha, who reportedly lay on his right side as he prepared to enter final nirvāṇa. Practitioners were required to live at their meditation stations so that they can lengthen the time for sitting practice as much as possible.
32. The *myu* 木魚 are not to be confused with the "wooden fish" drums used in Buddhist monasteries to mark time during sūtra chanting. The "wooden fish" referred to here is hung in the courtyard (like a gong), and struck to signal monks for meals, lectures, and other activities at the monastery.
33. According to the *Chanmen guishi*,

Ten administrative departments were established; these were called "officers" (*liaosi*). Each had one person as chief (*shouling*) who super-

vised a number of other persons in managing the offices affairs.
(Foulk, trans., p. 350)

34. Literally “all invited” (*puqing* 普請). According to the *Chanmen guishi*,

The rule for the practice of communal labor (*puqing*) was for seniors and juniors to do equal work. (Foulk, trans., p. 350)

35. According to the *Chanmen guishi*,

If the offender has committed a [serious] offense, he was beaten with his staff (*zhuzhang*). His robe, bowl, and other monkish implements were burned in front of the assembled community, and he was [thereby] expelled [from the order of Buddhist monks]. He was thrown out [of the monastery] through a side gate, as a sign of his disgrace. (Foulk, trans., pp. 350-351).

36. The term for “forest congregation” (*conglin* 叢林) is a special designation for a Chan monastery. It derives from the fact that monks are instructed to seek out a quiet place, like a grove of trees, to live in and conduct their practice.

37. Following Makita, reading *zhengfa* 征伐 for *huafa* 花伐.

38. The wording here follows a similar passage in the *Lun yu* XVI-2:

Confucius said, “When the Way prevails in the Empire, the rites and music and punitive expeditions are initiated by the Emperor. When the Way does not prevail in the Empire, they are initiated by the feudal lords. ... (D.C. Lau, trans., *Confucius: The Analects*, p. 139)

The “Kingly Way” (*wangdao* 王道) is a term appearing in the *Mencius* (*Lianghui wang* 梁惠王), where it is often contrasted with the Way of Tyrants (霸道), indicative of despotic and illegitimate rule based on force:

..When the people have more grain, more fish and turtles than they can eat, and more timber than they can use, then in the support of their parents while alive and in the mourning of them when dead, they will be able to have no regrets over anything left undone. This is the first step along the Kingly way (*wangdao*). (D.C. Lau, trans., *Mencius*, p. 51)

39. It is useful to note here Zanning's expressed motives for writing the *Seng shilüe* in the opening lines to the concluding section to the SSL (T 54.254c): "I wish to revive the Way of the Buddha (*fodao* 佛道), and to cause the True Law (*zhengfa* 正法) to remain permanently (*jiuju* 舊居) [in the world]." This, in turn, is closely connected to Zanning's views as a Vinaya master, following the directives of the Buddha, as stipulated in the *Liu boluomiduo jing* 六波羅蜜多經 (Scripture on the Six Pāramitās; T 8.868c): "The Buddha said, "In order to make the Dharma (*fa*) remain permanently (*jiuju*) [in the world], I preached the *vinaya-pitaka*.""
40. Reading *zheng* 征 for *hua* 花.

[22]

JOURNEYS OF MONKS OF THIS LAND (CHINA) TO THE REGIONS OF THE WEST

此土僧游西域

Alas! Although Zhang Qian and Jing Xian travelled to [the regions of the West], they did so only by imperial orders to open up the wasteland frontier.¹ And after [Jiashe Mo]teng (Kāśyapa Mātāṅga) and [Zhu Fa]lan (Dharmaraksha) arrived [in China], one does not hear of any overwhelming desire [for journeying to the West] to seek Buddhist scriptures.² Still, [these events] were comparable to the breaching of a levee: after the water inside the levee flows out, the water outside the levee also flows back in. For every [monk] that left China another entered China, so that in the end a parity of knowledge [between China and the regions of the West] resulted.

In the Wei dynasty, When Zhu Shixing of Luoyang pledged to go to India in search of the *Prajñā-sūtra* (*Bore jing*), Sengyou regarded him as the first monk from the East (China) to travel to the [regions of the] West.³ In point of fact, he only made it as far as Khotan, north of the

Pamirs, before stopping. In the [Later] Qin dynasty (384-417), Faxian enlisted several tens of monks with shared aspirations [of journeying to the West]; they travelled to India, and climbed Vulture Peak.⁴ This in fact marks the first instance of [monks from China] arriving in India proper. After him, monks thronged shoulder to shoulder to follow in his footsteps,⁵ so that Chinese temples were maintained [in the West] for monks from Eastern Xia (China) to dwell separately [from monks from other regions]. These temples are undeniable proof for the metaphor of the breached levee (that the exchange of people and knowledge between China and India was a reality).

With regard to translators, many monks were skilled in [the languages of] one locale (either India or China), but one rarely hears of anyone who thoroughly understood [the languages of both countries]. Only Tripiṭaka Master [Xuan]zang was well-versed in the pronunciation and meaning [of the languages] of both lands.⁶ With his command over the sources of the various branches of learning, he fully understood the meaning of the scriptures in every detail, as if he had heard it from the Buddha [himself].

Next [after Xuanzang in his ability as a translator] is Yijing, who personally travelled to that land (India).⁷ As a result of his superb understanding of the vinaya, he corrected areas of confusion in the monastic rules. He explained the references to [obscure] utterances used in esoteric teachings.⁸ As a result, there is verifiable evidence of his support for Buddhism, and there is no question [about the role he played] in spreading Buddhist teaching [in China].

Looking into this matter, translations [of Buddhist scriptures] have continued since the Later Han dynasty. There was a state of inactivity where no translation activity was heard of for one-hundred and sixty years following the translation of the *Great Vehicle Scripture on the Contemplation of the Mind-Ground of the Buddha's Life* (?) ([*Dacheng bensheng xindi guan jing*]) during the *yuanhe* era (806-820) of the Tang dynasty.⁹ The Song dynasty Emperor Taizu (r. 960-976) dispatched over a hundred monks to go to the West in search of the Dharma.¹⁰ In the

seventh year of the *taiping xingguo* era (982) of the Great Song dynasty there was an imperial decree establishing a Scripture Translation Cloister in the western precincts of the Taiping Xingguo Monastery in the Eastern Capital (Luoyang).¹¹ Assembled there were several Indian monks, such as Tripiṭaka Master Tianxizai, as well as selected monks from both the left and right districts of the capital knowledgeable in doctrinal studies.¹² Together, they translated the newly acquired scriptures.¹³ The work of translating scriptures was revived in the Great Song dynasty.¹⁴

〔二十二〕 此土僧游西域

嗟乎。《騫》《憲》雖征，只為開荒而奉命。《騰》《蘭》既至，未聞克志以求經。亦猶決一隄塘，內水既出，外水亦入。一出入，然後知平矣。

《魏》《洛陽》《朱士行》誓往《西天》，尋求『般若』，《僧祐》以為東僧西往之始焉。然只在《蔥嶺》之北《于填》而止。《晉》《法顯》募同志數十人，游于印度，登《靈鷲山》。此乃到中天之始也。厥後交肩接跡，至有漢寺別居《東夏》之僧。決隄之喻居可驗矣。

若論傳譯之人，則多善一方，罕聞通解。唯《奘三藏》究兩土之音訓。瞻諸學之川源，如從佛聞。曲盡意。

次則《義淨》躬游彼剎。妙達《毘尼》。改律範之妄迷。注密言之引合。遂得受持有驗流布無疑矣。

原其《後漢》以來，譯者相續。洎《唐》《元和》年中，翻『本生心地觀經』，之後百六十載寂爾無聞。《宋》《太祖》嘗遣百餘僧，往西方求法。太《宋》《太平興國》七年，有詔立《譯經院》于《東京》《太平興國寺》之西偏。聚《三藏》《天息災》等梵僧數員，及選兩街明義學僧，同譯新經。譯經之務大《宋》中興也。

NOTES

1. The two are also mentioned in section [3], in connection with the introduction of Buddhist scriptures and images in China. Zhang Qian 張騫 was an imperial envoy to the “regions of the West” during the Han Dynasty in the second century BCE. He was the first official diplomat to bring back reliable information about Central Asia to the Chinese imperial court during the reign of Emperor Wudi, and played an important pioneering role in opening up the region to Chinese colonization and influence. Zhang Qian’s accounts of his explorations of Central Asia are detailed in the *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian), compiled by Sima Qian in the first century BCE. Jing Xian 景憲 is credited with receiving the first oral transmission of Buddhist scriptures, paving the way for the introduction of Buddhism into China. According to the *Shilao zhi* 釋老志: “During the *yuanshou* era (2-1 BCE) of Emperor Ai, Jing Xian went to Yuezhi (Scythia?) and obtained Buddhist scriptures through oral transmission.”
2. The biographies of Jiashe Moteng (Kāśyapa Mātāṅga) and Zhu Falan (Dharmaraksha) are recorded in GSZ 1 (T 50.322c-323a). On the arrival of these two monks in China, see section [2], “The Arrival of Buddhist Monks in China.” They also figure prominently in sections [3], [4] and [5].
3. This is recorded in Sengyou’s biography of Zhu Shixing 朱士行 in the CSZJJ 13 (T 55.97a). The contributions of Zhu Shixing are considered in detail in section [15], “Lectures by Monks,” and elsewhere.
4. Faxian 法顯 left China in 399 and arrived back in 414, devoting the rest of his life to translating the scriptures he brought back. The record of Faxian’s travels, the *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳 (T 51-2085), has been translated into English by James Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*.
5. The meaning of this phrase *jiaojian* 交肩 is obscure to me, and my translation is a tentative attempt to approximate the meaning.
6. The translations completed by Xuanzang 玄奘 are too numerous to mention here. The record of his long sojourn to the West and his stay in India is entitled *Datang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (T 51-2087; see also the recent Chinese annotated edition, the *Datang xiyouji jiaozhu* [Zhonghua shuju]). There is an English translation by Samuel Beal, *Si-Yu Ki: Buddhist Records*

of the Western World, two volumes; and a study by Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*. Beal has also translated the first five chapters of the record of Xuanzang's life in ten chapters, the *Datang daciensi sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (T 50-2053) as *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*. More recently, there are the translations by Li Rongxi, *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty*, and *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*.

7. Yijing's 義淨 biography is recorded in SGSZ 1 (T 50.710b-711a). Descriptions of Buddhist customs in India and the West are contained in the *Nanhai jigui zhuan* (T 54-2125), translated by J. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (A.D. 671-695); and by Li Rongxi, *Buddhist Monastic Traditions of Southern Asia*. Many of Yijing's observations figure prominently in Zanning's comments in previous sections of the SSL.
8. Yijing translated the *Mūla-sarvāstivāda-vinaya* (*Genben shuoyiqie youbu pinaiya* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶; T 23-1442), no longer extant, which had a special focus on the 249 precepts for monks. Among vinaya texts, it was distinguished by its special use of Mahāyāna terminology and esoteric spells (see DDB entry).
9. The translation of the *Dacheng bensheng xinti guan jing* 大乘本生心地觀經 (T 3-159) is attributed to Prajñā; according to Makita (p. 320, n. 221), it was done in the sixth year of the *yuanhe* era (811).
10. This is noted in several places. According to the *Song shi* 宋史 1, p. 23, one-hundred and fifty-seven monks, including Xingqin 行秦, left China for the West in the third month of the fourth year of the *qiande* era (966); (see also *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 43 [T 49.395b]). According to Fan Chengda's *Wuchuan lu* (written in 1177), three hundred monks were dispatched in the second year of *qiande* (964), arriving back in the ninth year of *kaibao* (976); (see Makita, p. 320, n. 222).
11. Mention of the Scripture Translation Institute (*yijing yuan* 譯經院) in the western precincts of the Taiping Xingguo Monastery 太平興國寺 is recorded in the *Song shi* 1, p. 68, under the sixth month. This is confirmed in the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 43 (T 49.398a26).
12. Tianxizai 天息災 was active 980–1000 (d. 1000). Some scholars have identified Tianxizai with Faxian 法賢 (see *Hōbōgirin* 'Répertoire' s.v. 'Tensokusai'), but there are problems with this assertion (see DDB). The *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 43 (T 49.398a26-b1) further stipulates, "Tianxizai 天息災 and others were summoned by decree to occupy it. Tianxizai was

conferred [the honorific name] Mingjiao Dashi 明教大師 (Great Master who Clarifies the Teaching), Dharmadeva 法天 [was named] Chuanjiao Dashi 傳教大師 (Great Master who Transmits the Teaching), and Danapala 施護 [was named] Xianjiao Dashi 顯教大師 (Great Master who Expresses the Teaching Clearly). They were commanded to take Sanskrit texts and translate each of them as a sūtra [in Chinese]. The Sanskrit scholar-monk Fajin 法進 was ordered to carefully clean up untidy phrasings and write out [the translation] in complete form. The Chief Minister of Imperial Entertainments Yang Shuo 楊說, and the Ministry of War Official and Outer Gentleman Zhang Ji 張洎, embellished the text. Palace Eunuch Liu Su 劉素 acted as overseer.”

13. Information in the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 43 (T 49.398b2-b8) provides further information on this; “Tianxizai explained the sutra translation protocols. In the Eastern Hall, facing west, is a sacred platform painted white (note: the detail of creating a white-washed platform accords with the Buddhist canon) with four open gates, each with an Indian monk as supervisor, chanting esoteric incantations for seven days and nights. Also, a wooden platform is set up displayed with revolving [figures] of well-known sacred ones and worthies (note: The shape of the platform is perfectly round. Arranged on the floor are the Buddha, the great being, and celestial beings, well-known assistants. Surrounding above these is a canopy in the shape of a wheel). The title [for the platform] is Mandala of the Great Dharma (note: It refers to an important assembly). They invite the sacred one and worthies to an *agha* bath (note: The term *agha* refers to a vessel). Common vessels for offerings are all referred to as *agha*. The *agha* referred to here is a vessel for bathing [i.e., a bath tub]). They displayed offerings of fragrant decorated lanterns and liquid mixed fruits (?), and worshipped and circumambulated the Buddha image. They prayed for secret, divine interventions to eliminate harmful obstructions.”

The *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 43 (T 49.398b8-b19) goes on to describe the nine participants in the actual translation process:

First, the lead translator sits directly facing outward and reads aloud the Sanskrit text.

Second, the one who confirms the meaning sits to his left. He discusses the content of the Sanskrit text with the lead translator.

Third, the one who confirms the text sits to his right. He listens to the lead translator and reads the Sanskrit text in a loud voice to check for mistakes.

Fourth, the Sanskrit scholar [Chinese] monk who transcribes the words carefully listens to the Sanskrit text and writes it in Chinese characters. For example, the Sanskrit sound (*k.r da ya* is initially translated as *heli di ye*, *su tra.m* as *su dalam*).

Fifth, the scribe translates the Sanskrit sounds into Chinese words ([The Chinese transcription] *heli na ye* is retranslated as mind [*xin*], *su dalam* is retranslated as classic scripture [*jing*]).

Sixth, the one who composes the text re-works with (or re-composes) the script of the text to form meaningful sentences (For example, if the scribe says “observe clearly the five skandha, their self-nature is empty, observe this,” [the composer of the text] now writes: “observe clearly the five skandhas, that they are completely empty.” For the most part, Sanskrit utterances often reverse the order of subject and object. For example, *nianfo* [invoking the Buddha] becomes *fonian* [the Buddha invoked], *dazhong* [striking the bell] becomes *zhongda* [the bell struck]. Therefore it is necessary to reverse the word order in sentences so it complies with literary compositions here in China.).

Seventh, the translation consultant consults the scripts of both the Sanskrit and Chinese texts to make sure they are free of errors.

Eighth, the copy editor removes redundant or superfluous text and decides on the meaning of sentences (For example, [the phrase] *wuwuming wuming* [the negation of ignorance and ignorance] has an excess of two characters; the example [in the phrase] *shangzheng bianzhi* [supreme correct peerless awareness] *shang* can be eliminated, making one less character.).

Ninth, the style editor is an official from the congregation of monks who take up a position facing south. He consults the translation in detail and adds finishing touches (For example, where the phrase in the *Heart Sutra* says “transcend all suffering of calamities,” it originally does not appear in the Sanskrit text. Also the phrase “because of this, it is space,” the words “because of this” originally do not appear in the Sanskrit text.).

14. On this, see Tansen Sen, *The Revival and Failure of Buddhist Translations During the Song Dynasty*, *T'oung Pao* 88 (2002). Early Song emperors invested heavily in the translation and publication of Buddhist texts as an integral part of the literary learning that they strove to establish. According to Sen (pp. 73-74), Emperor Taizong revived the translation projects essentially for three reasons: "to promote the image of the state as a provider of literary learning and shaper of a civil society"; to fulfill diplomatic goals, "especially in enhancing Song China's image as the disseminator of high culture among neighboring steppe kingdoms"; and "from his general interest in literary learning and his recognition that the doctrine could be employed in both the internal and external affairs of the state." As significant as these translation bureaus were symbolically, they had little impact on the actual course of Buddhism in China. Indigenous movements, practices and scriptures in China rendered the need to understand Buddhism according to the scholastic agenda presumed by translation bureaus obsolete and irrelevant in the face of the trajectory Chinese Buddhism had taken since the mid-Tang. Unlike Taizong, Emperors Zhenzong and Renzong, perhaps confident of the literary record established by their predecessors, sought to enhance the Song regime's reputation by promoting new literary genres. Proponents of Chan *yulu* ("recorded sayings") style dialogues rooted in Chan *denglu* ("transmission records") saw these genres as suitable enhancements and a distinguishing characteristic of Song literary culture. A contrasting view is presented in the entries in the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, which mention numerous instances of Buddhist scriptures (mostly esoteric texts) being translated into Chinese during this period.

[23]

TRANSMITTING THE ESOTERIC CANON

傳密藏¹

The esoteric canon refers to the teaching on *dhāraṇī*.² This teaching is secret, and not contained within the two vehicles.³ It is the teaching through which Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are able to roam freely (perform magical deeds). In old translations, [*dhāraṇī*] were called “supports,”⁴ and in new translations they are called “nature.”⁵

Based upon its origins, [esoteric teaching] is the mysterious Dharma-nature.⁶ Expressed in words, it is the mother of *dhāraṇī*. Pursued in sound, it is chanted verse.⁷ Investigated through its written form, it is consonants and vowels.⁸

According to the *Chu sanzang jiji* (Collected Notes on the Texts from the Tripiṭaka),⁹ divine invocations (i.e., *dhāraṇī*) are supports for the religious life of those who recite them,¹⁰ subtle and mysterious *dhāraṇī*.”

In the *Gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of Eminent Monks), Bo Śrimitra hailed from the regions of the west.¹¹ When he arrived in Jianye (Nanjing) at the beginning of the Eastern Jin dynasty,¹² Wang Dao, Zhou Boren, and

Geng Liang all praised him and held him in high esteem.¹³ He was skilled at supporting [his religious life] through *dhāraṇī*-invocation techniques, and was frequently successful in his intended aims. The Jiangdong area (Jiangsu and Zhejiang) did not have *dhāraṇī*-invocation methods at the time. When Śrimitra issued the *Kongqiaowang zhoujing* (Scripture on the *Dhāraṇī*-Invocations of the Peacock Queen),¹⁴ it marked the beginning of *dhāraṇī*-invocation methods [in China].¹⁵

[As a result, esoteric teaching came to play an important role in Chinese history.] In the Northern Wei dynasty, when Bodhiruci of Mount Song used *dhāraṇī*-invocations on wells, trees, and so on, he achieved astoundingly miraculous effects.¹⁶

At the Tang court, Dharma Master Zhitong was extremely proficient in secret *dhāraṇī*-invocations.¹⁷ Following him, there was Tripiṭaka Master Bukong (Amoghavajra).¹⁸ Through his spreading translations of *dhāraṇī* teachings and regularly setting up *mandala* altars at Daxingshan Monastery (Monastery of Great Flourishing Goodness) in the capital (Chang'an), how well indeed did the miraculous techniques [of the Esoteric School] come to be known! The techniques [associated with] the *abhiseka*-initiation altar [in China] began with Bukong.¹⁹

During the *yongtai* era [of the Tang dynasty] (765-766), Emperor Daizong decreed that twenty-seven monks be selected to recite in full the *Sitātapatroṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī* at the Guanding (*abhiseka*) Chapel for [the welfare of] the country.²⁰ He also stipulated exemptions from labor and land taxation.²¹

At the end of the [Later] Liang and during the Later Tang dynasty (of the Five Dynasties period), the *ācārya* Daoxian²² dreamed one night that he travelled to the five countries of India²³ and met the Buddha, who pointed out and explained the villages and hamlets in each of the countries. [When he awoke] the following day, he immediately understood the languages of the five Indian countries perfectly, without any discrepancy whatsoever. Those who currently transmit the techniques used at the altar for "Praying for Rain"²⁴ also make this master (Daoxian) their patriarch.

He is [known as] the *ācārya* of Fengxiang (in Shaanxi). The Later Tang dynasty Emperor Qingtai greatly promoted his teachings.²⁵ Afterwards, [when Emperor Qingtai had assured his position on the throne], Daoxian entered Luoyang accompanying the imperial carriage, and then passed away [a few years later].²⁶ Currently, his tomb is located at Longmen, near the southern [precincts] of the Eastern Capital. [His tomb inscription] says, “The Great Master who lies here regularly preached [the teachings of] the esoteric canon for the emperor and his ministers, and the leading members of society.” His disciples have continued to increase down to the present day. Those who transmit his techniques [associated with esoteric teaching] are referred to as “Tripiṭaka Masters”; those who combine [esoteric techniques] with lectures on the scriptures, vinaya, and abhidharma treatises, are called “Masters who Transmit the [teachings of the] Exoteric and Esoteric Canons.”

[二十三] 傳密藏

密藏者，《陀羅尼》法也。是法祕密，非二乘境界。諸佛《菩薩》所能游履也。舊譯云，持。新譯云，性。

本其原，則微妙法性也。形其言，則《陀羅尼》母也。究其音，則聲明也。窮其文，則字界緣也。

『出三藏記』云。「神咒者總持微密持也。」

『高僧傳』中。《帛尸梨密多羅》本《西域》人。《東晉》之初至于《建業》《王導》《周伯仁》《庾亮》皆欽重之。善持咒術，所向多驗。時《江東》未有咒法。《密》出『孔雀王咒』，咒法之始也。

《北魏》，則《嵩山》《菩提流支》咒井樹等，頗有靈效。

《唐》朝，則《智通法師》甚精禁咒焉。次有《不空三藏》。於京《大興善寺》，廣譯總持教。多設曼荼羅，神術莫可知也。灌頂壇法始於《不空》。

《代宗》《永泰》年中，敕《灌頂道場》處，選二七人，為國長誦『佛頂咒』。及免差科地稅云。

《梁》末《後唐》世，《道賢》《闍梨》者，一夕夢游《五天竺》，見佛指示此某國聚落。洎旦頓解五印言音，毫釐不爽。今傳粉壇法，並宗此師。《鳳翔》《阿闍梨》是也。《後唐》《清泰帝》尤旌其道。後隨駕入洛而卒。今塔在《龍門》，近《東京》南。曰，「本大師常為王公大人演密藏。」至今弟子繁衍。傳其業者，號曰「三藏」。或兼講經律論者，則稱「傳顯密藏」也。

[23A]. NON-BUDDHIST LEARNING 外學²⁷

Learners never grow weary of broadening their knowledge. "Where [a gentleman] is ignorant, one would expect him not to offer any opinion."²⁸ The far-reaching scope of my school (Buddhism) is conveyed through the teachings of the three vehicles. Nevertheless, as obstacles continue to threaten it from time to time, it is inevitably necessary to guard against reprisals [from other schools].

The art of guarding against reprisals is really no different than knowing the mind of the enemy. The mind of the enemy in the case of India is [contained] in the *Vedas*; in Eastern Xia (China) it is [contained] in the classic texts [of Confucianism]. Since there was a "Hall of the Four Vedas" within the original Jetavana Monastery (the monastery of the Buddha and his disciples), [we know that] non-Buddhist learning was regarded as an essential component of study.²⁹ In addition to this, the monastery had a Library,³⁰ within which were also gathered different writings from throughout the world.³¹ The Buddha allowed [his disciples] to read these [writings] carefully for the purpose of defeating [representatives of] non-Buddhist teachings [in debate], but did not allow [his disciples] to rely on the views [promoted] in them.³² Virtuous ones of old and eminent monks in this land (China) who have been successful in handling and defeating [representatives of] different schools have generally done so because of their broad learning.

As an analogy, if there were no language to communicate with barbarian peoples and their [preferences for] food and drink were different [from our

own], how would they be able to convey their intentions and communicate their desires? Even in the case where one understands the language of the foreigners only slightly, their [intentions and desires] will be appeased and accommodated at once.

In this regard, Dao'an 道安 defeated Xi Zuochi with humor;³³ Huiyuan persuaded the colleagues Zong Bing and Lei Cizong with [his knowledge of] poetry and ritual;³⁴ Fuli pacified Quan Wuer with [his treatise on] dispelling doubts;³⁵ and Jiaoran became friends with Lu Hongjian through his style of poetry.³⁶ None of the above [Buddhist masters] adopted the teachings (*shu*) of their adversaries; they merely communicated with them [using] non-Buddhist learning.

How profound and insightful are the doctrines and principles of the two schools of thought of Confucianism and Daoism! Even though Buddhists are intricately knowledgeable about their primary business, why should it prevent them from studying deeply in order to broaden their knowledge? They should avoid becoming mired in their own exclusive perspective.

[二十三附] 外學

夫學不厭博。「有所不知，蓋闕如也。」吾宗致遠。以三乘法而運載焉。然或魔障相陵，必須禦侮。

禦侮之術，莫若知彼敵情。敵情者，《西竺》則《韋陀》。《東夏》則經籍矣。故《祇洹寺》中有《四韋陀院》，外道以為宗極。又有《書院》，大千界內所有不同文書並集其中。佛俱許讀之，為伏外道，而不許依其見也。此土古德，高僧能攝伏異宗者，率由博學之故。

譬如夷狄之人，言語不通，飲食不同，孰能達其志通其欲。其或微解胡語，立便馴和³⁷矣。

是以，《習鑿齒》《道安》以詼諧而伏之。《宗》《雷》之輩，《慧遠》以詩禮而誘之。《權無二》《復禮》以辯惑而柔之。《陸鴻漸》《皎然》以詩式而友之。此皆不施他術，唯通外學耳。

況乎儒道二教義理玄邈。釋子既精本業，何妨³⁸鑽極以廣見聞。
勿滯於一方也。

大宋僧史略卷上

NOTES

1. Recent scholarship (see esp. Robert H. Sharf, "On Esoteric Buddhism in China," an appendix to *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism*) calls into question the whole category of "Esoteric Buddhism" as a problematic concept based on sectarian and academic prejudices, locating the genesis of the misconception with the later improvisations of Zanning, who was "charting out new territory with very limited historical, doctrinal, or scriptural precedent on which to draw" (p. 275). For a response that, in part, anticipates Sharf's criticisms, see the work of Charles Orzech (esp. "The 'Great Teaching of Yoga,' the Chinese Appropriation of the Tantras and the Question of Esoteric Buddhism." *Journal of Chinese Religions*, no. 34 (2006): 29-78), which sees Indian and Chinese Esoteric Buddhism as historically and conceptually distinct from its Indian counterparts and Japanese Shingon, and that Zanning's appraisal is not entirely without precedent. On Zanning's consolidation of the esoteric tradition, see Geoffrey C. Goble, "Chinese Esoteric Buddhism: Amoghavajra and the Ruling Elite," pp. 279-291. For a comprehensive view of various aspects relating to Esoteric Buddhism in China, see Charles Orzech, Henrik Sørensen and Richard Payne, eds., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* [Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 4 China, 24] (Leiden: Brill, 2010), especially Sørensen's chapter, "On Esoteric Buddhism In China: A Working Definition" (pp. 153-175), which formulates a working definition of the term "Esoteric Buddhism," a phenomenon variously described as Tantric Buddhism, Vajrayana, Mantrayana, and even "Occult Buddhism." Sørensen contends that "[w]hile the many practices and doctrines underlying the use of these different terms correspond to religious phenomena that have much in common, considerable confusion concerning their use still abounds." He traces that the development of Esoteric Buddhism traces its roots to Indian Mahāyāna and argues that it developed from a special trend relating to ritualism and magic within Mahāyāna, that the use of spells and associated beliefs in magic appear as early as the beginning of the Common Era, and that it is highly probable that spells existed alongside earlier orthodox Buddhist practices.
2. *Dhāraṇī* 陀羅尼 refer to the magical, chanted formulas (mantras) of the Esoteric (Tantric) School of Buddhism.

3. Esoteric teaching is regarded by members of the Esoteric School as the third and final vehicle of Buddhism, referred to as Tantrayāna in contrast to Hinayāna and Mahāyāna. Like the Mahāyāna, non-earthly beings (Buddhas and Bodhisattvas) play a dominant role in the revelation of esoteric teaching. Magical and mystical rites are the bases of esoteric practices. Zanning himself, characterizes Esoteric Teaching (*mijiao* 密教)--the method of Yoga, consecration, of the five divisions, *homa*, the three secrets, and the methods for the *maṇḍala*--as one of three teachings in contrast to the Exoteric Teaching (*xianjiao* 顯教)--the scriptures, regulations, and commentaries of all the vehicles--and the Mind Teaching (*xinjiao* 心教)--direct pointing at the human mind, seeing one's nature and attaining Buddhahood Chan method (SGSZ T 50.724b16-26; Orzech, "The Great Teaching of Yoga," p. 64). For a brief introduction to the teachings of the Tantric School and its existence in China, see Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey*, pp. 325-337. For consideration of the impact of esoteric teaching in Tang China, see Chou Yiliang's in depth treatment and translation of the biographies of leading Tantric masters, "Tantrism in China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8 (1945). The popularity of esoteric teaching in Zanning's day is suggested by such things as the large number of *dhāraṇī* chants in the list of 108 practices attributed to Zanning's contemporary, Yongming Yanshou (recorded in the *Zixing lu* 自行錄; XZJ 111), and by additions to Buddhist scriptures stemming from the teachings of the Esoteric School (see Tanaka Ryōshō 田中良昭, *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū* 敦煌禪宗文献の研究.). On Esoteric teaching in China and East Asia, see *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, which contains many relevant articles to the study of Tantrism in China around the time of Zanning; see especially Charles Orzech, "After Amoghavajra: Esoteric Buddhism in the Late Tang" (pp. 315-337) and "Esoteric Buddhism Under the Song: An Overview" (pp. 421-430); and Henrik Sorenson, "Esoteric Buddhism in Sichuan During the Tang and Five Dynasties Period" (pp. 393-400).
4. *Chi* 持 is an abbreviation of *zongchi* 總持; the term was intended to translate the literal meaning of *dhāraṇī* as that by which something is sustained or kept up; the mystic syllables which keep up or sustain the religious life of a reciter (*Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary*, pp. 44b-45a), and by implication, to hold to the good, to prevent evil activity and completely retain Buddhist teachings (DDB).
5. The reason for this translation as "nature" (*xing* 性) is explained in what follows.

6. Regarding the expression *weimiao faxing* 微妙法性, the term *weimiao* 微妙 was used in the *Daode jing* to refer to what is mysterious and difficult to penetrate (*weimiao xuantong* 微妙玄通), representing a subtle sensibility about the nature of things that is difficult to express verbally. *Faxing* 法性 (Dharma-nature) is an especially potent Mahāyāna term referring to the true nature of things, as reality complete in itself (Skt. *dharmatā*). As a Mahāyāna philosophical concept it is equivalent to true thusness 眞如, with numerous alternative forms, such as inherent dharma 法定; abiding Dharma-nature 法住; *dharmadhātu* 法界; *dharmakāya* 法身; realm of reality 實際; true form 實相; nature of emptiness 空性; Buddha-nature 佛性; formlessness 無相, *tathāgatagarbha* 如來藏; equal in nature 平等性; immortality 離生性; selflessness 無我性; non-illusoriness 不虛妄性; immutability 不變異性; inconceivability 不思議界; the mind that is pure in its very nature 自性清淨心, etc. (DDB: Soothill, Stephen Hodge, JEBD, Yokoi).
7. As a translation of *sabda-vidya*, the term *shengming* 聲明 refers to one of the five disciplines in India, the linguistic study of the sacred Sanskrit language. Here, it is a general reference to chanted verse, an essential ingredient in esoteric ritual ceremonies. Regarding the importance of sounds and words in the theory of the Esoteric School, Kenneth Ch'en (*Buddhism in China*, p. 328, n. 10) remarks, "In this transformation of the letters into mantras, the Tantrists adopted the theory of sound held by one of the early Indian schools of thought, the Mimamsa, according to which sound is held to be eternal and exists always in the form of letters of the alphabet. The word is nothing more than the letters that compose it. The meaning of the word is independent of any human agency and by its nature belongs to the word. Words themselves also are eternal but require pronunciation to be cognizable by our consciousness. The Tantrists go farther and say that the process in the production of sound is the epitome of the process that produces the world."
8. *Ziyuan* 字緣 refers to the twelve or fourteen Sanskrit vowels, as contrasted with the thirty-five or thirty-six consonants, which are 根本 radical or 字界 limited or fixed letters (Skt. *vyañjanāḷambana*); see the *Yiqie jing yinyi* 一切經音義 (T 54.640b3) (DDB).
9. See *He weimi chi jingji* 合微密持經記 20 (Notes on the Scripture of the Subtle and Mysterious Dhāraṇī) by Shi Gongming 支恭明 (T 55.51c17-52a10).
10. On the term *zongchi* 總持, see above.

11. Bo Shilimiduoluo's 帛尸梨密多羅 (Śrīmitra) biography is in GSZ 1 (T 50.327c-328a), also recorded in CSZJJ 13 (T 55.98c-99a); discussed by Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp. 103-104. Bo 帛 is a common ethnic appellation for Kuchians, after the Chinese transcription of the surname of the reigning family of Kucha (Zürcher, p. 281).
12. The GSZ notes that his arrival in China was during the *yuanjia* era (307-313).
13. The biographies of Wang Dao 王導, Zhou Boren 周伯仁 (under the name Zhou Yi 周顗), and Geng Liang 庾亮 are recorded in *Jin shu* 晉書 65, 69, and 73, respectively. There is no mention of Śrīmitra. Wang Dao played an important role in the administrations of Emperors Yuan, Ming, and Cheng, including as Emperor Cheng's regent. In these capacities, he served as a crucial governing figure of the Eastern Jin Dynasty during its first decades.
14. According to the CSZJJ, Śrīmitra translated two versions of this the *Kongqiaowang zhoujing* 孔雀王咒經, both of which are lost. Kumārajīva translation of a scripture with the same title survives (T 19-988). The main protagonist, the female bodhisattva Mahāmāyūrī 孔雀明王, is a compassionate figure often depicted with six hands holding various upāya implements, riding on a peacock (hence the Chinese translation *kongqiao* 孔雀, peacock). Originally, Mahāmāyūrī was conceived as a deity who rescued monks from poisonous snakes, and developed into a bodhisattva, when invoked, warded off all poisons, fears, and calamities (see DDB, *Mikyō daijiten* 339a). As Zürcher notes (p. 354, n. 99), Chinese translations of the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidya-rājñī* (T 19-982 through 988) constituted one of the basic texts of Tantrism, popular in Chinese Buddhism long before the development of Tantrism in China. This underscores the teleological intent behind Zanning's reconstruction of an esoteric tradition in China that aims to legitimize current Song conventions through the manipulation of historical precedent.
15. Based on a similar statement in the GSZ (T 50.328a11-12). In spite of Zanning's claim, it is interesting that Orzech, et.al., eds. *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asian* make no mention of Śrīmitra.
16. The exact dates for Bodhiruci's 菩提流支 life are unknown (d. 527?). He hailed from northern India, and arrived in Luoyang in 508. After settling at Yongning Monastery 永寧寺, he dedicated himself to translating Buddhist scriptures. He came to be regarded as the founder of the Dilun School. Examples of successes in using *dhāraṇī* techniques are recorded in Bodhiruci's biography in XGSZ 1 (T 50.428c28-429a2). Yet, as Goble

points out, (“Chinese Esoteric Buddhism: Amoghavajra and the Ruling Elite,” p. 289), this is another case of Zanning creatively rereading earlier sources to validate his own construction of tradition, and that Zanning’s view of the Esoteric Canon is predicated on Bukong’s career. Incidentally, Bodhiruci also played an influential role in the life of Tanluan 曇鸞 (476-542), the Pure Land patriarch. Tanluan’s biography records Bodhiruci’s role in revealing to him the texts of the Pure Land School. While searching for a Daoist elixir for attaining eternal life, Tanluan chanced on Bodhiruci, who informed him of the superiority of Buddhist techniques for attaining immortality. When asked to reveal the formula, Bodhiruci taught him the texts of the Pure Land School that occasioned Tanluan’s conversion (XGSZ 6; T 50.470b25-c2). For a list of translations attributed to Bodhiruci, see DDB. Most of his translations were reflective of the latest developments in Indian Mahāyāna, most importantly Yogācāra, and these translations resulted in a having major impact on East Asian Buddhism.

17. According to Zhitong’s 智通 biography in SGSZ 3 (T 50.719c-720a), he translated *dhāraṇī* texts brought to China by a monk from northern India during the reign of Taizong (627-649), and continued to translate *dhāraṇī* texts during the *yongzheng* era of Emperor Gaozong (650-655). Zanning records that Zhitong worked on the translation of the *Spell of the Thousand Revolutions of the Dhāraṇī of Avalokiteśvara* (*Qianyuan tuolouni Guanshiyinpusa zhou* 千轉陀羅尼觀世音菩薩呪, T 20.1035), the *Heart Spell of the Responsive Avalokiteśvara* (*Guanzhizaipusa xinzhou* 觀自在菩薩隨心呪, T 20.1103a), and the *Pure Avalokiteśvara Dhāraṇī* (*Qingjing Guanshiyinpusa tuolouni* 清淨觀世音菩薩陀羅尼, T 20.1038), and comments on how effective his secret teaching of yoga was.
18. The biography of Bukong 不空 (705-774), also known as Amoghavajra, is recorded in SGSZ 1 (T 50.712a-714a). An English translation is included in Zhou Yi-liang, “Tantrism in China,” *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies*, no. 8 (1945); see also Martin Lehnert, “Amoghavajra: His Role in and Influence on the Development of Buddhism”; and Geoffrey C. Goble, “Chinese Esoteric Buddhism: Amoghavajra and the Ruling Elite.” For a summary of his life and the numerous translations (157 texts listed in Taishō) attributed to him, see the entry in DDB ([http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?4e.xml+id\('b4e0d-7a7a-91d1-525b'\)](http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?4e.xml+id('b4e0d-7a7a-91d1-525b'))).
19. In esoteric teaching, *abhiseka* (*guanding tan* 灌頂壇) is an initiation ceremony conferring a certain rank on its recipients, entitling them to receive training in the secret teachings of the school.

20. This is also recorded in *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統記 41 (T 49.378a12-14). The *Sitātapatroṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī* (*Foding zhou* 佛頂咒; The Dhāraṇī-invocation of the Crown of the Buddha's Head(?); T 19-974b). A *foding* 佛頂 is a tuft or excrescence (Skt. *uṣṇīṣa*) on the top of the head that is one of the thirty-two marks of the Buddha. While *uṣṇīṣa* originally (in non-Buddhist Sanskrit texts) referred to anything wound around the head, such as a turban or diadem, or to a crown, it was eventually identified as flesh and taken as an outward sign of the Buddha's awakening and as the anatomical "location" of his awakening. In the esoteric Buddhist tradition, the idea developed that the Buddha's true *uṣṇīṣa* or "head mark" 頂相 was "invisible" 無見, and that it contained the concentrated wisdom and merit of all the tathāgatas (DDB).
21. These acts of altruism and invoking of Buddhist blessings may be in reaction to the An Lushan 安祿山 rebellion (755-763) that threatened the survival of the Tang dynasty.
22. The biography of Daoxian 道賢 is recorded in SGSZ 25 (T 50.870c-871a). The information given about Daoxian here generally follows that contained in his biography. His early training involved recitation of the "Sūtra on the *Dhāraṇī*-Invocation of the Peacock Queen" (*Kongqiaowang zhoujing* 孔雀王咒經) mentioned above, and training in the "Yoga Initiation Ceremony" (*yujia guanding fa* 瑜伽灌頂法), the initiation ceremony of the Esoteric School.
23. Listed in Daoxian's biography as Magadha, Champa(?), Southern India, Western India, and Kashmir.
24. The nature of the *fentan* 粉壇 ceremony is unknown. Jōjin 成尋 (1011-1081) is said to have witnessed such a ceremony in his observations regarding Song Chinese Buddhist customs (see *San Tendai Godaisan ji* 參天台五台山記 7; Makita, p. 321, n. 234).
25. Emperor Qingtai is also known as Emperor Fei. He became emperor in a competition for succession following the death of Emperor Mingzong (r. 926-933). His own reign lasted only a few short years (934-936) before the Later Tang was overthrown by Emperor Gaozu (r. 936-942) of the Later Jin.
26. According to his biography, Daoxian played an important role in advising the emperor in his bid for the throne. After his victory, the Emperor invited Daoxian to ride with him into Luoyang to assume his title in 934. Daoxian passed away in 936 as the opposing forces of the [Later] Jin (936-950) prepared to take the capital.

27. As with many other appended sections in the SSL, this one on “Non-Buddhist Learning” bears little connection to the section it is appended to and amounts to a separate entry.
28. This is a line cited from *Lun yu* XIII-3 (D.C. Lau, trans., p. 118), in a conversation between Confucius and Zilu. The *Lun yu* passage continues with an endorsement of the Confucian doctrine of the rectification of names:

.When names are not correct, what is said will not sound reasonable; when what is said does not sound reasonable, affairs will not culminate in success; when affairs do not culminate in success, rites and music will not flourish; when rites and music do not flourish, punishments will not fit the crimes; when punishments do not fit the crimes, the common people will not know where to put hand and foot. Thus when the gentleman names something, the name is sure to be usable in speech, and when he says something this is sure to be practicable. The thing about the gentleman is that he is anything but casual where speech is concerned.

29. Jetavana Park on the outskirts of Śrāvastī was the original gathering place for the Buddha and his disciples, and serves as the prototype for all Buddhist monasteries. The four vedas are the *Rig Veda*, the *Sama Veda*, the *Yajur Veda*, and the *Atharva Veda*.
30. Although Hucker (no. 5471) translates *shuyuan* 書院 as “Academy” in the administrative context, defined as a place where “litterateurs gathered to study, assemble collections of books, confer on scholarly issues, and teach,” its function as a place where books are collected (i.e., library) is emphasized here.
31. The term for “world” here, *daqianjie* 大千界 (Skt. *tri-sāhasra*) is a Buddhist conception indicating a vastly cosmic scope, literally “the great thousand-fold realm,” indicating something more akin to a “universe” in its largest imaginable conception (for a brief explanation, see the glossary entry by Luis O. Gomez, *Land of Bliss: The Paradise of the Buddha of Immeasurable Light*, p. 331).
32. Zanning’s description here follows Daoxuan’s 道宣 description of the Veda Hall of the Jetavana Monastery in the *Zhong tianzhu sheweiguo zhiyuan si tujing* 中天竺舍衛國祇洹寺圖經 (T 45.893a-b):

On the eastern edge [of the compound], the first [building] is known as “the Veda Hall”. [In it], non-Buddhist teachings are regarded as an

essential component of study, on a par with the fundamental teachings of Buddhism. The Buddha allowed *bhikṣus* to read the *Vedas* at times in order to defeat [representatives of] non-Buddhist teachings [in debate]. At the center [of the Hall] was a high pavilion; the Vedic writings were gathered in the middle, with the four guardian deities overlooking. [Outside] the Hall was a small drum made from the seven treasures. Whenever a *bhikṣu* wanted to read Vedic texts, he sounded the drum and someone of the *saṃgha-arama* (monastery) brought the key to open the Hall....

33. Dao'an's 道安 interaction with Xi Zuochi 習鑿齒 is mentioned in his biography in CSZJJ 15 (T 55.108b6-13). Xi Zuochi's high regard for Dao'an is summarized in his letter to Xie An 謝安, which includes admiration for his broad learning in non-Buddhist secular literature, knowledge of *yin* and *yang*, and arithmetic (Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, p. 189).
34. See the biographies of Huiyuan 慧遠 recorded in CSZJJ 15 (T 55.109c) and GSZ 6 (T 50.357c-361b; translated by Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp. 240-253). Knowledge of poetry and ritual indicates familiarity with the *Book of Poetry* (*Shi jing* 詩經) and the *Book of Rites* (*Li ji* 禮記). Zong Bing 宗炳 and Lei Cizong 雷次宗 were among Huiyuan's illustrious lay followers at Mount Lu (Zürcher, pp. 217-219). It was Huiyuan's knowledge of the Confucian classics, particularly these two works, that impressed Lei Cizong (Zürcher, pp. 230-231), and it was through Huiyuan's exposition of the *Rites* that Lei became a noted specialist in the field (Zürcher, p. 218). Zong Bing was a gifted painter and calligrapher. He wrote one of the most valuable defenses of Buddhism in early gentry Buddhism, the *Mingfo lun* 明佛論 (Zürcher, pp. 218-219).
35. The treatise on dispelling doubts is a reference to the *Shimen bianhuo lun* 十門辨惑論 (Treatise Explaining Ten Areas of Doubt; T 52-2111). The circumstances regarding Fuli 復禮 and Quan Wuer 權無二 are explained fully by Zanning in his biography of Fuli in SGSZ 17 (T 50.812c9-22):

In *xinsi*, the second year of the *yonglong* era (681) under the Celestial Emperor [Gaozong], Instructor to the Heir Apparent Quan Wuer 權無二 put ten questions concerning Buddhist scriptures to Fuli, asking the monk to resolve them for him. Fuli answered these questions in a composition consisting of three fascicles entitled *Treatise Explaining*

Ten Areas of Doubt. [The text took the form of] a dialogue in which [Fuli] analyzed [Quan's] questions. The book was rooted in wisdom, its meaning lying beyond the [confines of the] mind. Through these questions and answers, [Fuli constructed] a firm fortress difficult to topple. The red banners shook and the demon troops surrendered; the celestial drums sounded and the *asuras* retreated.

The questions raised by Instructor Quan were difficult for others, but easy for Fuli to explain. Why is this so? It is because [Quan] did not realize that a teaching must be adjusted to circumstance, and that the words [of Buddhist scriptures] contain both expedient and ultimate meanings. It is for this reason that Quan perceived contradictions. That is why Fuli mobilized the forces for justice. It was like a junior general asking for orders from the generalissimo. When Quan read Fuli's treatise, the source of his doubts was vanquished. He wrote back a letter of reply in which he said, "I was trying to lengthen the feet of a goose, boring holes in Hundun. A hundred years of doubt were instantly resolved in a single morning. I will follow the road of awakening, and be ever enlightened to the source of delusion. Destroyed is the wood that stokes the fires of affliction; I dine on the rice of nirvāṇa. I will direct my efforts toward what you have said for my remaining years." Although intended to resolve the difficulties of a particular time, Fuli's treatise will serve as a model for ten thousand generations to come. (Translation courtesy of John Kieschnick, draft translation of the SGSZ, with minor adjustments).

36. See the biography of Jiaoran 皎然 in SGSZ 29 (T 50.892a). Jiaoran's poetry is recorded in Mao Jin's 毛晉 *Tang san gaoseng shiji* 唐三高僧詩集 (Collected Poems of Three Eminent Monks of the Tang dynasty). Lu Hongjian 陸鴻漸 is the author of the *Chajing sanpian* 茶經三篇 (Classic of Tea in Three Sections; see the *Shiden bu* 史伝部 of the *Kokuyaku issaikyō* 国訳一切経, p. 238, n. 15). According to Zanning's comments in the SGSZ, Jiaoran was noted for proselytizing by attracting literati through his poetic skill, and subsequently making them understand the wisdom of Buddhism. Though the SGSZ claims Jiaoran and Lu Hongjian were intimate friends, his stronger connection was with the former Vice Censor-in chief, Li Hong 李洪.
37. Reading of *he* 和 instead of *zhi* 知.
38. Reading of *fang* 妨 for *hao* 好.

FASCICLE II

**[THE INSTITUTIONAL
HISTORY OF BUDDHISM]**

[24]

ESTABLISHING RULES BY MONKS AND SECULAR LEADERS

道俗立制¹

With the spread of the Buddha-Dharma, rules [governing the clergy] were determined as occasions warranted. When [a matter] coincided with stipulations in the Vinaya, it was settled by the Vinaya; when [a matter] corresponded to measures covered by secular law, it had to be adjudicated by secular law.² That is why the Buddha scolded the *bhikṣus*, saying, “You cleverly evade my rules, committing all manner of transgressions.”³ That is why he allowed Vinaya [rules] to be established as situations warranted when he was present here [on earth], and for future [Vinaya] teachings to be established after his nirvāṇa.⁴ He regarded these [additional provisions] as matters that the Vinaya regulations did not cover, or matters that [Vinaya] section stipulations did not mention. Consequently, these [additional stipulations] were appended [to the Vinaya] and can be sought there.

On account of this, besides the two kinds of classification of precepts,⁵ there exist separately rules for monks in it (the Vinaya). At the present time, whether *bhikṣu* dwell in a forest or reside in a cloister (i.e.,

monastery), they all have established regulations for living together harmoniously that restrict what they can and cannot do. As a result, they do not succumb to error.

In the Jin dynasty, Dharma Master Dao'an suffered over the incomplete state of the precept regulations [that existed at his time], and grieved over the excessive lack of deportment.⁶ As a result, to rectify these deficiencies and to block their spread, he established three [sets of] regulations [governing deportment] that he subsequently committed to writing, causing people to have faith [in Buddhism] at that time.⁷ The first were regulations for offering incense, sitting in meditation, and presenting lectures. The second were regulations for penitential rituals at the six times [they are conducted] during the day and night. The third were regulations for [conduct] on such occasions as *uposatha*.⁸ [Dao'an] specifically formulated restrictions to prevent behaviors that transgressed the Dharma.

When a disciple of [Dao'an], Fayu, preached and taught in Jingzhou, there was at the time a student who drank wine.⁹ [Fa]yu punished him, but did not expel him [from the assembly]. When [Dao'an], who was in Xiangyang, heard about this, he packaged up a small whip and sent it to [Fa]yu. [Fa]yu understood exactly what his master intended. He gathered the assembly and admonished them, and ordered [the Deacon] on that day to give him (Fayu) twenty lashes, [after which] he packaged up the whip and sent it back [to Dao'an]. On account of this, Xi Zuochi said in a letter to Xie An: "[Dao'an] skillfully disciplined the assembly."¹⁰ The three sets of regulations [mentioned] above succeeded in standardizing reverent Buddhist behavior throughout the empire.

In addition, Zhidun established *Rules of Behavior for the Assembly of Monks and Laypeople*,¹¹ and Huiyuan established *Rules [of conduct] for Dharma Associations*.¹² Following this, Precept Master [Dao]xuan established *Rules [of conduct] for Ringing Bells [at Buddhist Monasteries]*,¹³ and [*Rules for] Distinguishing the Implements and Behaviors [appropriate to each] of the Five Assemblies*.¹⁴ As for [Daoxuan's] *Regulations for Buddhist*

Dress and Regulations for Buddhist Devotions,¹⁵ these are further examples [of regulations] added as occasions warranted, issued in sequence, in accordance with Buddhist teaching. In opening new paths [in the rules of behavior] and clearing away brambles of confusion, Dao'an was the first to establish rules for monks [in China].

When the Later (Northern) Wei dynasty Emperor Shizong Xuanwu (r. 499-515) acceded the throne, he issued a decree stating:¹⁶

As Buddhist clerics and laypeople are distinct [from each other], the laws [governing them] are different as well. The [Buddhist] Way and [Confucian] Teaching¹⁷ clearly complement each other, and the prohibitions and recommendations that each have are suitable [to it]. When monks commit crimes of murder or worse, they are to be judged according to secular standards. All other violations are to be dealt with by the [Office for the] Clarification of Buddhist Profundities, and administered in accordance with the precepts of the Buddhist order and the rules for monks.¹⁸ <The Emperor re-compiled them during the years of the *jingming* era (500-503).¹⁹ >

At that time, the Wei dynasty and the Liang dynasty were at peace with each other. Essential [to their arrangement] was the honoring of exchanges whereby many people were dispatched to serve as [visiting] envoys [in each other's state]. [Among them], only Cui Xian <personal name, Ji Lun> was sent to seek out Buddhist scriptures. The Liang Emperor [Wudi] arranged for them to be copied, and sent them to the lodge [for housing foreign envoys] together with banners and flowers, and eulogies and hymns of praise. [Cui] Xian, in addition had the *Śramaṇa* Mingzang write the *Treatise on Buddha [Nature]*, and [affixed] his own official name to it.²⁰ Such was his fondness for the Buddha-Dharma. Prior to this, when monks and nuns were licentious [in their behavior], [Cui] Xian petitioned [the throne] to establish stipulations and regulations [to govern their behavior], and the *Śramaṇa* Fashang, serving as the Chief of the Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities, regulated them on the basis of the collected [stipulations and regulations].²¹ Moreover, in

the Southern Qi dynasty Prince Wenxuan wrote *Rules for Monks* in one fascicle.²² Also, Liang Emperor [Wudi] built Guangzhai Monastery and commissioned Fayun to serve as Abbot.²³ They were the first [emperors] to establish rules for monks, and these served as models for the future.

We have looked at the Northern Wei and the Southern Dynasties, and even though secular leaders administered the rules for monks [there], they were always restrained and balanced, and never reckless or harmful. By trivializing the net of the law and allowing loopholes for evil people, they seep and fall through [the cracks], and are not subjected to criminal prosecution. How can this be allowed? [On the other hand], even when those who serve as monks do not cultivate or practice in the least and are only good at avoiding criminal prosecution, they are still superior gentlemen who are free and unfettered.²⁴

[二十四] 道俗立制

佛法流行，隨時制斷。合《毘尼》之繩糾，則案《毘尼》。堪別法之處量，須循別法。故佛訶《比丘》云。「巧避我制造種種過故。」許同時立方《毘尼》，《涅槃》後立未來教。以為律範所不圍，篇科所不載，則比附而求之也。

以是篇聚之外，別有僧制焉。今時比丘，或住一林居一院，皆和眾立條，約束行止，俾不罹於愆失也。

《晉》《道安》法師，傷戒律之未全，痛威儀之多缺。故彌縫其闕，埭堰其流，立三例以命章，使一時而生信。

一，行香定座上講。

二，六時禮懺。

三，《布薩》等法。

過踰此法者，則別立遮防。

《安》弟子《法遇》講化於《荊州》，時有學徒飲酒。《遇》罰而不遣。《安》在《襄陽》聞之，封小箠以寄《遇》。《遇》詳

師意。集眾諭之，令直日打遇二十撲，封箠卻還。故《習鑿齒》與《謝安》書云。「《安》能肅眾。」上之三例天下翕然奉行也。

又《支遁》立眾僧集儀度。《慧遠》立法社節度。至于《宣》律師立鳴鐘軌度，分五眾物儀。『章服儀』『歸敬儀』，此並附時，傍教相次而出。鑿空開荒，則《道安》為僧制之始也。

《後魏》《世宗宣武帝》即位下詔曰。「緇素既分，法律亦異。道教彰於互顯。禁勸各有所宜。其僧犯殺人以上罪，依俗格斷。餘犯悉付《昭玄》，以內律僧制判之。」<景明年中，帝新撰之。>

時《魏》與《梁》通和。要貴多遣人，隨使交易。唯《崔暹》<字《季倫》>寄求佛經。《梁》祖繕寫，并幡花，讚唄，送至館。《暹》嘗命《沙門明藏》著『佛論』而已署名。其好佛法為若此也。先是僧尼猥濫，《暹》奏設科條篇。《沙門法上》為《昭玄》都，以檢約之。又《南齊》《文宣王》著『僧制』一卷。又《梁》祖造《光宅寺》，詔《法雲》為寺主。創立僧制，用為後範。

觀其《北魏》《南朝》，俗施僧制，而皆婉約且不淫傷。由輕法之網羅，有惡人之穿穴，脫漏而墮，不至誅刑之上，其可得乎。為僧者苟未修行，但能避刑憲，亦逍遙之上士也。

NOTES

1. Zanning's intentions in this section are made clear by what follows. In short, the section addresses two concerns: the compilation of monastic rules by monks themselves (i.e., religious leaders), and rules written for monks by the secular establishment (i.e., laypeople), the emperor or state. The term *daosu* 道俗 (translated here as "monks and secular leaders") appears in the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*; T 25.222c13) and the *Yuqie lun* 瑜伽論 (*Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*; T 30.358a9), where it is used to distinguish *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra* in the teaching of the two vehicles, and associated with those who have left home to become monks as opposed to those who remain in the world as householders.
2. The contrast here is between Buddhist law (Vinaya) and secular law, literally "separate law" (*biefa* 別法). It is clear from what follows that Zanning envisions a need for both in governing the behavior of Buddhist clergy.
3. This is a paraphrase of a statement attributed to the Buddha in the *Sifen lü* 四分律 (T 22.945c17-18).
4. The term *lifang pini* 立方毘尼 is equivalent to *suifang pini* 隨方毘尼, an idea that allows for new proscriptions to be formed corresponding to contingencies stemming from differences in historical and geographical conditions, and so on. In other words, it sanctions the formation of supplementary Vinaya rules that could not have been anticipated. See the *Wufen lü* 五分律 (T 22.153a). On provisions for forming supplementary rules in the Vinaya, see, for example, Daoxuan's *Sifen lü xingshi chao* 四分律行事鈔 (Summary for Practicing the Vinaya in Four Divisions; T 40.157a6-158b1).
5. The two kinds of classification of precepts (*pianzhong* 篇眾) refers to two classifications of precepts for monks, the narrower one called the five categories 五篇, the other one falling under the broader category of seven assemblies 七聚 (DDB).
6. Regarding Dao'an 道安, see sections 12, 14, 17, and the appendix to 23, above.
7. These three sets of regulations are also mentioned in Dao'an's biography in GSZ 5 (T 50.353b).

8. *Upasatha* (busa 布薩) is the twice monthly meeting of members of the Buddhist order for reciting the precept rules and confessing any violations. Laypeople also attended to commit themselves to the precepts for laypeople, listen to sermons, and to gain merit by sponsoring meals for monks.
9. This incident is recorded in Fayu's 法遇 biography in GSZ 5 (T 50.356a). The translation has been augmented according to the explanation there.
10. In *Jin shu* 82, Dao'an is mentioned as a good friend of Xi Zuochi 習鑿齒, but there is no mention of this incident there. GSZ 5 (T 50.352c9-18) contains a portion of Xi Zuochi's letter to Xie An 謝安, with high praise for Dao'an as an "extraordinary religious practitioner" (*feichang daoshi* 非常道士) who attracts students in the several hundreds that never weary of abstinence and discussion of the teaching. The evidence that Zanning allegedly provides from Xi Zuochi's letter validates the incident from a non-Buddhist perspective, important to the audience of Song officials that Zanning was addressing. For Xie An's biography, see *Jin shu* 79.
11. On Zhidun 支遁 (a.k.a. Zhidaolin 支道林), see section [20] above. Only the preface to the work authored by him, *Boretai zhongsengji yijiedu xu* 般若台眾僧集儀節度序 (Preface to the Rules of Behavior [reading *yi* 儀 with "human" radical for *yi* 議 with "words" radical, as suggested in Zanning's description in this section] for the Assembly of Monks and Laypeople at the *Prajñā* Altar), remains. It is mentioned in the CSZJJ 12 (T 55.84a).
12. In addition to listing the title of Huiyuan's 慧遠 preface to the *Fashe jiedu* 法社節度 (Rules [of Conduct] for Dharma Associations), CSZJJ 12 also lists his prefaces to the *Waisiseng jiedu* 外寺僧節度 (Rules [of Conduct] for Monks from Monasteries of Other Schools), and the *Jiedu* 節度 (Rules [of Conduct]) [T 55.84a].
13. On Daoxuan 道宣, see section [10] above. While no reference to this title, *Mingzhong guidu* 鳴鐘軌度, is found in *Datang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄, the reference here may be to Daoxuan's *Shimen jiseng guidu tujing* 釋門集僧軌度圖經 (Scripture Depicting the Rules for the Buddhist Assembly of Monks), as recorded in *Nihon daizōkyō* 41 (*Xiaocheng luzhang liubu* 小乘律章疏部 2. 1-7). Daoxuan's *Sifen lü shanfan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔 1 (T 40-1804), especially section 2, *Jiseng tongju* 集僧通局 (T 40. 6b12-7c26), and section 7, *Senggang dagang* 僧綱大綱 (T40.18a18-24b18), make mention of rules for ringing bells.
14. The *Fen wuzhong wuyi* 分五眾物儀 corresponds to the *Shimen wangwu qingzhong yi* 釋門亡物輕重儀, currently found in the *Liangchu*

qingzhong yi 量處輕重億 (T 45-1895), also referred to as *Wang wuzhong wu* 亡五眾物. The five assemblies is a reference to the five-fold distinction of the Buddhist order as monks (*bhikṣu*), nuns (*bhikṣuṇī*), women who observe the six precepts [a special class between female novices and nuns] (*śikṣamāṇā*), male novices (*śrāmaṇera*), and female novices (*śrāmaṇerikā*). Daoxuan, generally credited with spreading the Vinaya tradition of the Dharmagupta school in China, authored several works on Buddhist discipline (see, for example, T 40-1804, 1806, and 1808). The rules of this school can be divided into two categories (Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, 301): positive rules specifying how clergy should conduct themselves at ordinations, assemblies, etc.; and negative rules restricting excesses in conduct that violate the precepts.

15. [*Shimen*] *zhangfu yi* 釋門章服儀 (T 45-1894) and [*Shimen*] *guijing yi* 釋門歸敬儀 (T 45-1896).
16. This marks a transition in the discussion from a consideration of Buddhist clergy establishing their own rules of conduct, to rules established by the emperor and secular officials for governing the clergy. Xuanwu's reign marked, outwardly, the apogee of Northern Wei influence, but it was marked internally by political infighting and corruption. Xuanwu was an ardent supporter of Buddhism; during his reign Buddhism effectively became the state religion. Xuanwu himself often personally lectured on the Buddhist sūtras.
17. Following Makita's reading (p. 324, n. 12), appropriate in the present context, for *dao* 道 as referring to the Buddhist Way, and *jiao* 教 as referring to Confucian teaching.
18. See the *Shilao zhi* 釋老志, in *Wei shu* 魏書 114, p. 3040. The decree was issued in the first year of the *yongping* era (508). The Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities (*zhaoxuan* 昭玄) is the antecedent of the Superintendency of Buddhist Blessings as the government organization established to oversee Buddhist monks in the Northern Wei dynasty.
19. Although the Song edition has *qin* 親 ("personally") for *xin* 新 ("newly" or "re-"), the *Shilao zhi* makes no mention of Emperor Shizong personally compiling this work, and according to FZTJ 38 (T 49.355b), Cui Xian 崔暹 compiled such a work in the second year of the *jingming* era (501) (see below). According to the *Shilao zhi*, Emperor Xiaowen had *Rules for Monks* (*Sengzhi* 僧制) established in 47 statutes in the seventeenth year of the *taihe* era (497). In this context, it makes more sense that Xuanwu reedited or re-compiled an existing work.

20. The information here follows closely Cui Xian's 崔暹 biography in *Bei Qi shu* 北齊書 30, p. 405. Mingzang's 明藏 *Treatise on Buddha Nature* (*Foxing lun* 佛性論) mentioned here is non-extant. The extant *Foxing lun* (T 31-1610) is attributed to Vasubandhu 世親, and "translated" by Paramārtha 真諦 in the Chen 陳 dynasty, between 557-569 CE.
21. The information here corresponds with Cui Xian's biography in *Bei shi* 北史 32, p. 1188. See also Fashang's 法上 record in XGSZ 8 (T 50.485a-b). The information is also mentioned in FZTJ (T 50.355b).
22. Prince Wenxuan 文宣王 (460-494) was the posthumous name of Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良, the second son of the Southern Qi Emperor Wudi (r. 483-494). This was around the same time that Emperor Xiaowen compiled *Rules for Monks* (*Sengzhi* 僧制) in 47 statutes, and the monk Huiguang 慧光 compiled *Rules for Monks* in 18 statutes for Emperor Xiaoming. On Xiao Ziliang's patronage of the arts and the influence of their Xiao family over Qi and Liang dynastic periods, see Ping Wang, *The Age of Courtly Writing: Wen Xuan Compiler Xiao Tong (501-531) and His Circle* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 124-132.
23. This information is also recorded in Fayun 法雲 record in XGSZ 5 (T 50.464b).
24. In other words, though secular law rightfully applies to Buddhist monks who commit crimes, this should in no way impede the natural freedom enjoyed by monks who by their own standards, stand outside secular law. The term *xiaoyao* 逍遙 ("free and unfettered") occurs in the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 chapter, *Xiaoyao you* 逍遙遊 (Free and Easy Wandering).

[25]

INCENSE-OFFERING AND CHANT LEADERS

行香唱導¹

It is incense that clears away foul odor and spreads fragrant aroma, and makes people take pleasure in [the sense of] smell.² When we seek out the origins for this, the people of Zhou esteemed the pungent aroma [emanating from their sacrifices].³ This was in profound accord with the emphasis placed on incense in the regions of the West. The Buddha appeared during the reign of the Ji family [emperors of the Zhou dynasty];⁴ though separated by great distance, both implicitly agreed [about the value of transformative aromas].

According to Buddhist scriptures, when an elder devotee of the Buddha climbed up into a tower in the middle of the night to pray to the Buddha, he took a clump of incense in his hand and with it conveyed the sincerity of his faith. The following day at mealtime the Buddha appeared to him.⁵ As a result, we know that incense serves as an envoy for [conveying] the sincerity of one's faith.

The *Great [Vehicle] Scripture of the Deathbed Injunction* says, “When *bhikṣus* are about to eat, they precede it (i.e., the meal) by burning incense

and chanting hymns of praise.”⁶ Moreover, in the scriptures, a snake (Śāriputra in a previous life) paid a visit to *bhikṣus* and explained why he had repeatedly been reborn as a snake, confessing the evil deeds he had committed in his past that caused him to become so.⁷ Along with this, [the scripture mentions] bringing it (the snake) [to a congregation of Buddhist monks] in a grass cage,⁸ and taking it to offer incense.⁹

In this land, even though Buddhist doctrines became widespread, scriptures and vinaya texts were scattered and disorganized.¹⁰ That is why the first among Dharma master [Dao]an’s three [sets of] regulations were for incense-offering, sitting in meditation, and giving lectures.¹¹ This, then, is the beginning of incense-offering in China.¹² Both the Later (i.e., Northern) Wei dynasty and the regions of the south valued incense-powder without any deviation whatsoever [from the regulations established by Dao’an?].¹³

At the court of Tang Emperor Gaozong (r. 649-683), [the government ministers] Xue Yuanchao¹⁴ and Li Yifu petitioned the throne to issue an order [requiring] offering incense at a vegetarian banquet sponsored by the heir apparent,¹⁵ the purpose of which was to honor [the return of] the Master of the Three Branches of Buddhist Learning, [Xuan]zang.¹⁶ Moreover, when Emperor Zhongzong (r. 684-710) sponsored a Great Assembly to demonstrate imperial support for Buddhism,¹⁷ he ordered government officials of the fifth rank and above to offer incense.¹⁸ Whether one fumigated the hands with the smoke of burning incense,¹⁹ or whether one walked around holding a clump of incense, they referred to it as “incense-offering.”²⁰

Later [in the Tang dynasty], the Master of the Three Branches of Buddhist Learning, Bukong (Amoghavajra),²¹ petitioned the throne to sponsor vegetarian banquets and incense-offering rites on the memorial days of the previous Tang emperors, from the founding emperors of the dynasty, Gaozu and Taizong, to the seventh sage-emperor of the dynasty [Suzong].²² An imperial decree was issued authorizing it.²³ Because of

the subsequent frequency of these occasions, only incense-offering rites were carried out, without vegetarian banquets.

At the court of Emperor Wenzong (r. 827-839), the Imperial Secretary Cui Li petitioned the throne:²⁴

There is no authorization in the classic scriptures for [government] sponsorship of vegetarian banquets or incense-offering rites by government officials at national memorial services.²⁵ I humbly request that these be abolished.

An imperial decree concurred:

What Cui Li's petition has accomplished is a critical investigation of the roots and the branches (i.e., the essentials and their implications). The ritual texts and imperial mandates reveal no mention of these whatsoever. This [practice of] offering incense at [Buddhist] monasteries and [Daoist] temples at national memorial services in the two capitals [Chang'an and Luoyang], and in the prefectures and garrisons (i.e., administrative districts) of the empire, shall hereafter be abolished.

I (Zanning) would like to comment on this. Cui Li said there was no authorization [for the incense-offering rite] in the classic scriptures, but isn't the reference to offering incense in the above episode involving the snake (Śāriputra in a previous life) from a classic scripture?²⁶ Since Master [Dao']an quoted from Buddhist teaching to establish the rites [for offering incense], how can they be without authorization? The imperial decree stated that [Cui Li] made a critical investigation of the roots and the branches, and that the ritual texts and imperial mandates reveal no mention of it, but how could the rituals of the three ancient dynasties (i.e., the Xia, Shang, and Zhou), refer to feeding the Buddhist clergy and Buddhist incense-rites? In other words, imperial mandates are simply laws that change with the passing of ages. How, for example, could regulations implemented after the reign of Emperor Daizong (r. 762-779) be stipulated in the imperial mandates for the late Sui or early Tang

dynasties [prior of Daizong's reign]? Isn't it much more appropriate to consider Buddhist writings as authoritative for rites that are beyond [the purview of] Confucians? It surely makes no sense to use Confucian texts to authorize activities that originated with Buddhists. Judged in terms of their own intrinsic criteria, [Buddhist rites] would at once be said to be reasonable (i.e., in accord with principle), but Confucians fail to allow this and instead cite Confucian writings [to deny their validity]. How does this differ from people who face criminal prosecution summoning relatives and colleagues to provide testimony? If [Confucians] wish to dismiss [the evidence supporting the incense rite in Buddhist scriptures], how is it defensible?

For the filial son, goodness is associated exclusively with paying respect to his departed ancestors. [The Confucian sanctioned practice of having the living] follow the dead is of no benefit to the deceased in the realm of constant rebirth and must definitely be prohibited.²⁷ The practice of offering incense, [on the other hand,] is beneficial to the deceased in [their journey through] the vast underworld. [Filial sons] know this and always act accordingly. If one reflects on the weakness of Emperor Wenzong in comparison to Emperors [Gao]zu and [Tai]zong, it is better to follow [the example] of the later two [and encourage participation in the incense-offering rite].

Some ask: "Why is it necessary to perform incense-offering?" To explain, it is comparable to [the practice in China during] the Zhou period, when the aroma of blazing dried wood, the aroma of the blood and fat of the sacrificial victim, and the aroma of millet and artemisia were esteemed, and it was said that Heaven accepts these aromas [as offerings].²⁸ How can Heaven consume the aroma of blood and fat, of millet and artemisia [as if Heaven were a person]? It is because the people esteemed these aromas that they served Heaven with them.²⁹ If this is the case, how can one fault Buddhist teaching for the importance it places on incense? More significantly, when government officials offer incense, they are acting on behalf of their Lord [the emperor]. When government officials

pay respects to the imperial ancestors, they are also [acting as loyal] subjects of the emperor. Before you entertain even for a moment the idea of abolishing the Buddhist incense rite, you should consider what effect it would have on loyalty and filial piety.³⁰

When Xuanzong II (r. 846-859) ascended the throne, he once again revived the Way [of Buddhism].³¹ In the fifth year of the *dazhong* era (851), he decreed that in the capitals and major cities of the empire, as well as the distant provinces and garrisons, incense-offering at national memorials should, in addition, be occasions where purity is observed; he prohibited taking wine and meat into monasteries to be heated up and fried.³² [These practices] deprive the heart of sincere reverence [appropriate to the occasion], and completely contradict the way blessings are obtained for the deceased [according to Buddhist teaching].³³ From this point on, down to Emperor Ai[zong] (r. 904-907),³⁴ [all the emperors allowed] incense rites [at imperial memorial services] as before.

When Zhu [Quanzhong] (r. 907-912) established the [Later] Liang and destroyed the Tang,³⁵ [the practice of worshipping at] the shrines of the seven imperial ancestors of the Tang dynasty ended.³⁶ But at the Festival of Great Illumination held in the third year of the *kaiping* era (909), government officials entered Buddhist monasteries to offer incense and pray for longevity [of the emperor].³⁷ Later, there was a return to [the practice of] seeking blessings for deceased imperial ancestors [through incense-offering]. Incense-offering ceremonies have continued unabated down to the present time.³⁸

During the [Later] Jin dynasty (937-946), in the fifth year of the *tianfu* era (940), a government official, Dou Zhengu, petitioned the throne:³⁹ "At national memorial services, the chief ministers of state kneel at incense burners while the remaining officials of the government are seated in rows. Henceforth, I humbly request that while the chief ministers of state kneel at incense burners,⁴⁰ the officials of the government stand in the order determined by their normal rank."⁴¹ [In addition,] it was ordered

that following the incense-offering ceremony, a vegetarian banquet for a hundred monks always be included as part of the normal procedure.

During the reign of the current Song dynasty Emperor Taizong (r. 976-997), an employee of the Bureau of Forestry and Crafts, Vice Director Li Zongna,⁴² petitioned the throne in the third year of the *chunhua* era (992):⁴³ “With regard to incense-offering ceremonies at national memorial services, I request that those lower in rank than the chief ministers of state be prohibited from [drinking] wine and eating [meat?] following incense-offering, as an expression of the purity of this [occasion].” An order was issued for the Censorate to enforce [the petition].⁴⁴

[二十五] 行香唱導

香也者解穢流芬，令人樂聞也。原其《周》人尚臭。冥合《西域》重香。佛出《姬》朝，遠同符契矣。

經中長者請佛，宿夜登樓，手秉香鑪，以達信心。明日食時，佛即來至。故知香為信心之使也。

『大遺教經』曰。「《比丘》欲食，先燒香唄讚之。」又經中。蛇呼《比丘》自說宿緣，令為懺悔。并將仙提來取我行香。

此方教法既行，經律散漫，故《安》法師三例中。第一是行香定座上講。斯乃中夏行香之始也。《後魏》及江表皆重散香且無沿革。

至《唐》《高宗》朝，《薛元超⁴⁵》，《李義府》奉敕為太子齋行香，因禮《柴》三藏。又《中宗》設無遮齋，詔五品以上行香。或用然香薰手，或將香末遍行，謂之行香。

後《不空》三藏，奏為《高祖》《太宗》七聖忌辰，設齋行香。敕旨宜依。尋因多故，不齋但行香而已。

《文宗》朝中書《崔蠡》上疏云。「國忌設齋，百官行香，事無經據。伏請停廢。」

敕曰。「《崔蠡》所奏遂遣討尋本末。禮文令式曾不該明。其兩京天下州府國忌，於寺觀行香。今後並宜停罷。」

嘗試論之。《崔蠡》言無經據者，蛇之行香豈無經也。《安》公引教設儀，豈無據也。敕云討尋本末，禮文令式曾不該明者，三代之禮，何嘗言飯釋子而行香耶。且令式唯是歷代沿革之法律。如《代宗》後之條格，豈標在《隋》末《唐》初之令式乎。矧以禮出儒家。詎可將釋書為據。事因釋氏，無宜用儒典為憑。就體證之，方云合理。儒流不許，還引儒書。何異獄訟之人，召親黨而作證。若欲除廢，其無辭乎。

夫孝子事祖考。唯善是從徇葬不益於生生，固宜寢也。行香是薦於冥漠。知無不為。觀《文宗》薄於《祖》《宗》，宜其寄坐矣。

或曰，「何必行香為。」通曰，如周之尚臭燔柴血膋薌蕭，言天歆其臭也。天豈食血膋薌蕭之氣邪。由人尚其臭故，以臭而事天也。若然者，佛教重香，寧可奪乎。況百官行香代君也。百官事祖宗，亦臣子也。苟欲廢之，如忠孝何。

宣宗即位，再興斯道。《大中》五年，敕京城及外州府，國忌行香並須清潔，不得攜酒肉入寺烹炮。既失嚴恪之心，頗乖追薦之道云。自此至于《哀帝》，行香如舊。

《朱》《梁》廢《唐》，七廟方止。《開平》三年，《大明節》百官入寺，行香祝壽。後還薦祖宗。行香于今不絕。

《晉》《天福》五年，《竇貞固》奏。「國忌宰臣跪爐百官列座。今欲宰臣跪爐百官立班。」行香後飯僧百人，永為常式。

《宋》《太宗》《淳化》三年，虞部員外郎《李宗訥》奏。「國忌行香請宰臣已下行香，後禁酒食表其精潔。」敕下御史臺依行。

[CHANT LEADERS 唱導]⁴⁶

The Chant Leader was initiated in the regions of the west when the head monk, in response to requests by ordinary [lay donors], uttered an incantation: "Eternal peace to the two legged. Eternal peace to the four legged. All good fortune on every occasion...." in order to gladden the minds of donors.⁴⁷ Śāriputra was very skilled in eloquence and whenever

he served as head monk, the verses of praise he led were especially elegant, to the great pleasure of white robed [lay practitioners]. This marks the beginning of monks who chant dedications of merit (i.e., Chant Leader) [at vegetarian banquets].⁴⁸

The commentary in the Biographies of Eminent Monks compiled in the Liang dynasty (Liang Gaoseng zhuan) says:⁴⁹

What Chant Leaders esteem are these four things. The first is [proper] voice; the second is eloquence; the third is skillfulness; the fourth is extensive learning. Without [proper] voice, there is no means to warn the assembly. Without eloquence, there is no means [to elaborate the Dharma] suitable to the occasion. Without skillfulness, it is impossible to select the proper wording. Without extensive learning, what is spoken has no foundation. These are the essence of what they (i.e., Chant Leaders) esteem.

According to the [*Nanhai*] *jigui zhuan* (A Record [of the Inner Law] Sent Home from the South Seas), when burning incense, kneel in the Hun style,⁵⁰ and admire the primary and secondary marks of the Buddha.⁵¹ They simply follow the guiding master kneeling in the Hun style. Sometimes they voice [their petitions] straightforwardly. Sometimes they voice them indirectly. Moreover, whenever ordinary people have an audience with the ruler of a country in the regions of the west, they must engage in the etiquette of praising [the ruler's] virtue.

After the Dharma spread to China, these duties [regarding the etiquette of praise] became especially important. Whenever one met an important official or visited the ruler, one performed a clear set of actions—commenting on the weather, offering friendly regards, and praising the moral effects of his majesty's rule. This is also a responsibility of the Chant Leader. In the Qi dynasty, Prince [Wenxuan] of Jingling compiled a text, the *Dao wen[yuan shu]* (*Commentary on Written Petitions of [Chant] Leaders*).⁵² In the Liang dynasty, Sengyou wrote the *Zhaizhu zanjin luji* (*Record of the Circumstances in which the Leader of Banquets offers Praises*)⁵³ and various invocation-vow texts.⁵⁴ In the ages of the Chen

and Sui dynasties, the eminent monk Zhenguan was deeply skilled in these ways (*dao*) [of chanting], and compiled the *Dao wenji* (Anthology of Writings on [Chant] Techniques) regarding them.⁵⁵ From the Tang dynasty down to the present, these methods (*fa*) have been practiced extensively in the world.

[唱導]

唱導者，始則西域，上座凡赴請，咒願曰。「二足常安，四足亦安，一切時中皆吉祥等。」以悅可檀越之心也。《舍利弗》多辯才。曾作上座，讚導頗佳，白衣大歡喜。此為表白之椎輪也。

『梁高僧傳』論云。「夫唱導所貴，其事四焉。一聲也。二辯也。三才也。四博也。非聲則無以警眾。非辯則無以適時。非才則言無可采。非博則語無依據。此其大體也。」

據『寄歸傳』中云。「焚香胡跪，歎佛相好。合是導師胡跪爾。或直聲告，或詰曲聲也。又西域凡覲國王，必有讚德之儀。」

法流東夏，其任尤重。如見大官謁王者，須一明練者，通暄涼序情意讚風化。此亦唱導之事也。《齊》《竟陵王》有『導文』。《梁》《僧祐》著『齊主讚歎緣記』及諸色『咒願文』。《陳》《隋》世高僧《真觀》深善斯道，有『道文集』焉。從《唐》至今，此法盛行于代也。

NOTES

1. Although included under one section title, the topics here are distinct and are best regarded as separate sections: “Incense-Offering” and “Chant Leaders.” The first part concerns, specifically, participation in incense offering memorials by government officials. The term *xingxiang* 行香 includes the distribution of incense to the Buddhist clergy, lighting the incense, and engaging in ritual activities while walking in procession around the worship hall with the burning incense. The specific context considered by Zanning here is the use of incense as part of state memorial services for deceased emperors and members of the imperial family. The issue addressed is the use of allegedly “non-native” Buddhist rites at native Chinese ceremonies. The first part, “Incense-Offering,” is a revised translation of Welter, “Buddhist Ritual and the Chinese State.” The second part concerns chanting rituals and instruction at vegetarian banquets sponsored by lay donors.
2. The character *wen* 聞, usually associated with the faculty of hearing, is here associated with the sense of smell.
3. According to a gloss on the line in the *Zhouli* 周禮 (*Qingguan, Zongbo* 春官·宗伯 52: 以禋祀，祀昊天上帝, in the *Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典 entry for the character *yin* 禋 “to sacrifice to Heaven”; <http://www.zdic.net/zd/zi/ZdicE7ZdicA6Zdic8B.htm>), the aroma the people of Zhou esteemed was the pungent aroma of smoke [emanating from their sacrifices] (周人尚臭，煙氣之臭聞者). The *Zhou li* makes frequent and explicit reference to the beneficial uses of smoke and aroma in sacrifices.
4. Ji 姬 was the family name of the Zhou dynasty emperors.
5. There is a tale like this recorded in Daoxuan’s *Sifenlü xingshi chao* 四分律行事鈔 (T 40.136b17-19), where it is attributed to the *Anguttara Nikaya* (*Zengyi Ahan jing* 曾一阿含經). According to Daoxuan’s version, the “elder” (*zhangzhe* 長者) was a lay donor or devotee. When the Buddha appeared to the donor, the Buddha told him: “Because incense is the Buddha’s envoy, you must utilize it.” Another, similar story is recorded in the “Explaining Making Requests (i.e., offering prayers)” section (*shi jiqing pian* 釋計請篇) of Yuanzhao’s 元照 *Sifenlü xingshi chao zichi ji* 四分律行事鈔資持記 3 (T 40.401c28-402a3), compiled in the Song dynasty.

6. The *Great [Vehicle] Scripture of the Deathbed Injunction* (*Da yijiao jing* 大遺教經, more commonly known by the title *Fo yijiao jing* 佛遺教經; T 12-389.1110c14-1112b22), translation is attributed to Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什; it was understood to have been delivered by the Buddha as he was approaching his death, at which point he instructs his disciples to uphold the precepts, guard the five senses, lessen the desires, seek equanimity, and cultivate concentration and wisdom after his death. He concludes by declaring the Dharma-body 法身 of the tathāgata to be eternal, and teaches the practice of great compassion (Mueller, DDB). Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, p. 21, call attention to the importance of the *Da yijiao jing* (*Fo yijiao jing*) for Tang Emperor Taizong as a canonical work that supports his injunction that monks stay clear of worldly matters—explicitly prohibiting monks from interfering in secular affairs. I have been unable to locate the passage cited here, but see T 12.1111a22-23. The CSZJJ (T 55.92a15) makes reference to a *Biqiu yushi dangxian shaoxiangbaizan yuanji* 比丘欲食當先燒香唄讚緣記 (Record on the Circumstances regarding Burning Incense and Singing Hymns prior to *Bhikṣus* Eating Meals) in connection with the *Da yijiao jing* 大遺教經. Burning incense before meals is rule prescribed in the Song dynasty work, the *Chanyuan qinggui* 6 禪院清規 (XZJ 111.454a).
7. In Buddhism, *suyuan* 宿緣 refers to the circumstances of one's previous lives, a euphemism for one's karmic legacy resulting from past deeds that bind one to the current state of existence. Confession of sins, followed by incense-offering as a rededication of one's faith, are standard procedures in the Buddhist repentance ritual.
8. According to Fu Shiping (*Da Song Seng shilüe jiaozhu*, p.77, n. 4), the term *xianti* 仙提 is sometimes written as *ashuti* 阿輸提 or *axianti* 阿先提, and means "grass cage" (*caolong* 草籠). The context from the *Xianyu jing* 賢愚經 account (see the following note) suggests that it is a conveyance used to transport the snake, probably in order to protect the transporter from any poisonous encounter with it.
9. This is a highly abbreviated reference to an episode recorded in the *Scripture on Wisdom and Folly* (*Xianyu jing* 賢愚經 3; T 4.369a-370a), also recorded in Daoxuan's *Sifenlü xingshi chao* 四分律行事鈔 (T 40.136b). The incident referred to here is virtually incomprehensible without knowledge of the full episode. According to it, the snake represents the Buddhist arhat renowned for his wisdom, Śāriputra, in a previous life. Prior to his existence as a snake, Sariputra had been a householder who was particularly fond of gold. Devoted to the accumulation of it, he

amassed a fortune of seven pots of gold throughout his life, all of which he buried beneath his house. After he died, he was reborn as a poisonous snake that returned to the house to guard the fortune in gold he had amassed. The cause of his rebirth was explicitly related to his desire for gold and as long as this desire persisted, Sariputra continued to be reborn in the form of a snake. After several tens of thousands of lives in this state, Śāriputra (the snake) reasoned that the cause of his repeated birth as a snake was his covetous attitude toward gold. To bring the situation to an end, he devised a plan. He waited by the side of the road until he met a passerby (the Buddha in a previous life), whom he bade to use a pot of his gold to create blessings by sponsoring a banquet on his behalf. The passerby was reluctant to do so because of the snake's venomous nature, and agreed to it only upon being threatened by the snake to poison him if he did not. The passerby then did as he was requested, taking the snake and the gold to a community of Buddhist monks who performed worship services, including incense offering, on his behalf. In this way, the snake was able to earn merit releasing him from his existence as a snake and to be reborn in the Heaven of the Thirty-three Devas (Skt. *trayastrimśa*). Given the corrupt, abbreviated state of the reference to this episode in the SSL, the translation has been made to reflect the fuller set of circumstances, but can only offer a tentative approximation.

10. This refers to the piecemeal manner in which Buddhist scriptures were initially translated into Chinese and the geographical distances inhibiting widespread knowledge of the scriptures that were available. Zanning discusses the origins of sūtra and vanaya translations, their commentaries, etc., in China in various sections in fascicle one of the SSL. The circumstances regarding the incomplete state of knowledge of the vinaya precepts is considered by Zanning in the preceding section, no. 24 (Establishing Rules by Monks and Secular Leaders).
11. Reference to the three sets of regulations instituted by Dao'an 道安 is found in his biography in GSZ 5 (T 50.353b). The three sets of regulations and the circumstances surrounding Dao'an's composition of them are discussed by Zanning in section 24, above.
12. *Zhongxia* 中夏 is a term used by Chinese to refer to their own country.
13. In other words, the Buddhist incense rite devised by Dao'an came to be followed in both north and south China. The term *jiangbiao* 江表 refers to the area of China south of the Yangzi (Yangtze) river. I take Zanning's point here to be as follows: up until the Tang dynasty, incense was used only in Buddhist rites and not in public ceremonies of state.

For this reason, there is no mention of the use of incense in official state documents before the Tang.

14. All but the Song edition have Xue Yuanqi 薛元起 for Xue Yuanchao 薛元超, which is clearly a mistake.
15. The term *zhai* 齋 meaning “abstinence” or “fast” was commonly used in Buddhism to refer to the practice of not eating after noon, and came to refer to the forenoon meal of a Buddhist monk. In addition, it came to refer to banquets held on special occasions at which Buddhist dietary prohibitions were observed (see E.O. Reischauer, trans., *Ennin’s Diary*, p. 24, n. 89; Reischauer translates *zhai* as “maigre feast”). On the term *taizi* 太子, see Hucker no. 6239. See also Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society*, pp. 257-258.
16. Xue Yuanchao’s biography is found in JTS 73 and XTS 98. Li Yifu’s 李義府 biography is found in JTS 82 and XTS 223. No reference to this petition is found in either person’s biographies, but a meeting between emperor Gaozong and Tripitaka Master Xuanzang 玄奘 is mentioned in JTS 4, dated the fourth month of the seventh year of the *yonhui* era (656; a.k.a. the first year of *xianching*). According to *Da Ci’en si sanzong fashi zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 8 (T 50.266a), the banquet for Xuanzang was held in the first year of *xianching* (656) at Xuanzang’s monastery, the Da Ci’en 大慈恩寺 (Monastery of Great Compassion and Gratitude). Five thousand monks were said to have been fed, and donors provided the monks with cloth for their monastic robes.
17. This is a ceremony (Skt. *pañcavarṣika*), allegedly dating back to Aśoka, at which the ruler, acting in the capacity of a grand donor, or *danapati*, offers alms to all the people, including both members of the clergy and lay people, regardless of rank. Assemblies such as this were customarily held every five years, and were thus also known as “Five-Year Great Assemblies.” The ceremony was popular with Chinese rulers. Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty (r. 502-549), for example, sponsored four such ceremonies throughout his reign. A *pañcavarṣika* assembly is described in the travel records of Faxian 法顯 (James Legge, trans., *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, pp. 22-23). The assembly sponsored by Zhongzong is mentioned in FZTJ 40 (T 49.372c), in the fourth year of the *shenlong* era (708?) -- normally the *shenlong* era is restricted to three years total [705-707]).
18. Based on the system of ranking officials in nine categories (*jiu pin* 九品), initiated in the Wei dynasty (see the *Tongdian* 通典, *Zhiguandian* 職官典, *qiupin* 秋品). Officials of the fifth rank and above were regarded as

major officials. In this system, all officials and the posts they occupied were divided into one of these designated categories, used for determining prestige, compensation, priority at court audiences, etc. According to *Datang liudian* 大唐六典 4, *Cibu guoji* 祠部國忌 section, it was the custom of the Tang government to sponsor vegetarian banquets for Daoist priests and nuns, and Buddhist monks and nuns at large Daoist and Buddhist monasteries in the two capitals, Chang'an and Luoyang, at national memorials. At such occasions, civilian and military officials of the fifth rank and above, as well as officials of esteemed genealogical status of the seventh rank and above (i.e., hereditary officials, or literally "pure officials," but see Hucker no. 1254), all met for incense offering. According to JTS 7, the Record of Zhongzong 中宗紀, the great assembly was held outside Anfu men 安福門 for officials of the third rank and above.

19. The precise practice referred to here is unclear, but may indicate the current custom at East Asian Buddhist monasteries and temples of spreading the aroma/smoke of burning incense over oneself with one's hands.
20. "Incense-offering" (*xingxiang* 行香) is literally rendered as "performing incense," referring to the performance of the incense rite.
21. According to Zanning, Bukong 不空 (Amoghavajra, 705-774) had a profound impact on the adoption of Buddhist ritual practices by the Chinese state. He is mentioned frequently in the SSL in sections 23, 25, 39, 45, 56, and 57. Zanning's biography of Bukong in the SGSZ has been translated by Chou Yi-liang, "Tantrism in China."
22. Gaozu 高祖 (r. 618-626) and Taizong 太宗 (r. 626-649) were the founding emperors to the Tang dynasty. The seventh emperor of the Tang dynasty, Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756-762), was the deceased father of the current emperor, Daizong 代宗 (r. 762-779). A description of such memorial services is preserved in the travel records of the Japanese pilgrim Ennin (see Reischauer, trans., *Ennin's diary*, pp. 61-63). According to it, the ceremony included such activities as burning incense, singing praises, chanting hymns, reading prayers, and processions—all intended to glorify and honor the spirit of the late emperor in question.
23. Bukong's petition is contained in *Bukong sanzang biaozi ji* 不空三藏表制集 2, dated the fifth year of the *dali* era (770) (T 52.837c-838a; see especially 838a6-9). A manuscript copy is available through the National Treasures & Important Cultural Properties of National Museums, Japan website: <http://www.emuseum.jp> (consulted September, 2011). The petition stipulates that a statue of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra be installed in the Pure Land Abhiṣeka Hall at the Tai Chongfu monastery

- 太崇福寺 in Taiyuan 太原, commemorating the place from which Gaozu began his campaign against the Sui dynasty, thus honoring the place where Tang began its rise to glory. In India, the *abhiṣeka* ceremony was performed at the inauguration of a king. The name of the hall, in conjunction with the significance of the site, suggests a similar function, although acknowledged retroactively. It is also interesting to note that the petition requests that twenty-seven monks be selected to recite the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼 (Dhāraṇī of the Honored Victor of the Buddha-Supreme?; regarding which Bukong wrote two short works—T 19-972 and T 19-974d) for the sake of national prosperity.
24. Cui Li's 崔蠡 petition is recorded in his biography in JTS 117. A copy of the petition, *Qing ting guoji xingxiang zou* 請停國忌行香奏 (Petition Requesting to Abolish Incense-Offering at National Memorials), is also recorded in QTW 718. Full documentation surrounding Cui Li's proposal and the imperial decree following it is found in *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 23, *jiri* 忌日 section, where it is said to have been issued in the tenth month of the fourth year of the *kaicheng* era (839).
 25. National memorial services (*guoji* 國忌) are for commemorating the passing of former emperors and empresses.
 26. In other words, Zanning is unwilling to follow Cui Li and remove Buddhist scriptures from the category of China's "classical scriptures" (*jing* 經). While an established group of Chinese (i.e., Confucian) scriptures had been recognized since Han times, the use of the term *jing* to translate the Sanskrit *sūtra* would have lent credence to Zanning's argument. This issue is taken up further by Zanning in the commentary to section [38], The Relative Ranking of Buddhists and Daoists.
 27. The ambiguity of the Confucian position of burying living persons with the dead is summed up in the *Li ji* 禮記, where it states:

To bury living persons [for the sake of the dead] is contrary to what is proper. Nevertheless, in the event of his (i.e., the deceased) being ill, and requiring to be nourished, who are so fit for that purpose as his wife and steward? If the thing can be done without, I wish it to be so. If it cannot be done without, I wish you two to be parties for it. (Legge, trans. *Li Chi, Book of Rites*, vol. I, p. 182).

In the same section (Legge, pp. 183-184), a son charged by his dying father to place his two concubines in his coffin refused: "To bury the living with the dead is contrary to propriety; how much more must it be so to bury them in the same coffin!"

28. According to the *Li ji* 禮記:

Under the Zhou, odor was thought most important. (Note in text: This was in contrast to Yin, where sound was thought most important.) In libations they employed the smell of millet spirits in which fragrant spirits had been infused. The fragrance, partaking of the nature of receding influence, penetrates to the deep springs below. The libations were poured from cups with long handles of jade, [as if] to employ [also] the smell of the mineral. After the liquor was poured, they met [and brought in] the victim, having first diffused the smell into the unseen realm. Artemisia (Note: “a genus of plants distinguished by a peculiarly bitter or aromatic taste, including common wormwood, mugwort, and southernwood.” [OED, p. 468]) along with millet and rice having been burned [with the fat of the victim], the fragrance penetrates through all the building. It was for this reason that, after the cup had been put down, they burnt the fat with the southernwood and millet and rice.... The intelligent spirit (*hun*) returns to Heaven; the body and animal soul (*po*) return to earth; and hence arose the idea of seeking [for the deceased] in sacrifice in the unseen darkness and bright region above. (Legge, trans., *Li Chi, Book of Rites*, vol. I, pp. 443-444, with minor alterations).

29. This sentiment is apparently drawn from the passage in the *Li ji* that states:

The flesh of the victim might be presented raw and as a whole, or cut up in pieces, or sodden, or thoroughly cooked; but how could they know whether the spirit enjoyed it? The sacrificer simply showed his reverence to the utmost of his power. (Legge, trans., vol. I, p. 446).

30. In other words, Zanning argues that offering incense at national memorial services should be viewed as legitimate expressions of loyalty and filial piety, quintessential Confucian virtues, and encouraged on that basis. Note that Zanning, in his argument here, follows the reasoning provided by the Censorate serving under Emperor Wenzong, who opposed Cui Li's petition when it was first issued on similar grounds (see *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 23, *Jiri* 忌日 section).31. The revival of Buddhism is stipulated in *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 23 (*Jiri* 忌日 section), in the initial period following Xuanzong II's ascension to the throne. It is part of the general reaffirmation of Buddhism and Buddhist practices on the part of the government following the suppression

- of Buddhism during the *huichang* era (841-846). Regarding this, see for example, FZTJ 42 (T 49.386b-387a).
32. Heated wine and the meat of sacrificial victims were regular features of the traditional Chinese memorial banquet in honor of ancestors dating from antiquity (see, for example descriptions in the *Li ji*; Legge, trans., vol. I, pp. 368-372 and pp. 411-412). The *Tang huiyao* has no mention of this decree, but it is mentioned in FZTJ 42 (T 49. 387b). The order recorded in JTS 2 prohibiting the slaughter of oxen for a period of three years commencing from the first year of *dazhong*, stipulating that various domestic animals be used in their place, appears have a different intention than the one referred to by Zanning here.
 33. The obvious conflict here is between Chinese customs pertaining to the offering of sacrifices in honor of the deceased stipulated by the classic texts of Confucianism, and the Buddhist prohibition against the consumption of alcohol and meat. While an attitude of reverence is in keeping with Confucian teaching (Legge, trans., *Li Chi, Book of Rites*, p. 236: "Sacrifice is not a thing coming to man from without; it issues from within him, and has its birth in his heart. When the heart is deeply moved, expression is given to it by ceremonies; and hence, only men of ability and virtue can give complete exhibition to the idea of sacrifice"), certain aspects of the traditional way of offering sacrifice in China were considered as violations of acceptable behavior in the Buddhist context. There is ample evidence of concern for preserving a mood of reverence at memorial services in the Tang dynasty. The most common problem occurred when the memorial day of a departed emperor coincided with some other annual festival customarily associated with assorted merry-making activities. Debates on such matters continued on into the Song (see *Song shi* 宋史 123, *jiri* 忌日 section). In Buddhism, it is deemed possible for the living to accumulate merit on behalf of the deceased. The classic provision for accumulation of merit to be transferred to the deceased is the *Yulanpen jing* 盂蘭盆經 (*Ullambana sūtra*; T 16-685), in which the Buddha teaches Maudgalyayāna that the way to save Maudgalyayāna's deceased mother from her fate as a hungry ghost is to offer food to the Buddha and the Buddhist saṃgha. This teaching found wide favor among Chinese audiences, and the *bianwen* (tales of marvelous events) version of the story captured the popular imagination. It was an aspect of Buddhist teaching that was particularly compatible with Chinese ancestor worship, providing a concrete means by which the living could provide support for the deceased. An explanation of Buddhist teaching on

the accumulation of merit by the living for transfer to the deceased is provided by Zongmi in his commentary on the *Yulanpen jing* (T 39-1792). Thus, according to the Buddhist agenda, drinking wine and eating meat are not only excluded as merit producing activities for transfer to the deceased, they are activities that can only inhibit the spiritual progress of the practitioner as well.

34. Emperor Aizong was the last emperor of the Tang dynasty. The claim made here for Aizong is tempered somewhat by *Song shi* 123.
35. Zhu Quanzhong 朱全忠 (r. 907-912) was the founding emperor (Taizu) of the Later Liang dynasty. He killed Emperor Aizong to seize the throne, and was in turn killed by his son six years later. For his biography, see JWDS 1-7 and XWDS 1-2.
36. It does not follow, however, that the abolishing of the shrines to imperial ancestors was discontinued. JWDS 3 and XWDS 2 both note the appropriation of this institution through the enshrinement of the new emperor's ancestors soon after taking the throne (in either the sixth or seventh month of the first year of *kaiping* (907). In effect, Tang imperial ancestors were displaced by those of the new dynasty, the Later Liang. Regarding the institution of imperial shrines commemorating ancestors, according to the *Li ji* (Legge, trans., vol. I, p. 223), the ancestral temple of the son of heaven (the emperor) consisted of seven shrines: three on the left and three on the right, with that of his great ancestor in the middle, facing south. A prince of state had five shrines, great offices three, and other officers only one. Elsewhere (Legge, vol. II, p. 204), it says: "Thus the king (emperor) made for himself seven ancestral temples, with a raised altar and the surrounding area for each. The temples were his father's; his grandfather's; his great-grandfather's; his great-great-grandfathers; and the temple of his [high] ancestor. At all of these a sacrifice was offered every month." The Tang appears to have followed this model, but it was not necessary, in the opinion of some, that every dynasty do so. In the debate over how many ancestral shrines should be adopted by the newly formed (and short-lived) Later Han dynasty (947-951), for example, Dou Zhenggu 竇貞固 (regarding whom, see below) advised the emperor to establish six shrines, claiming there was no rule binding the emperor to a fixed number (i.e., the fact that seven was appropriate for the Zhou did not mean that it had to be regarded as a model in all cases). Dynasties in the past (including the Tang) sometimes established six and sometimes four (see *Song shi* 262). To these numbers was apparently added that of the grand (or high)

- ancestor, making a total of five or seven. When an emperor died, his tablet was placed in the lowest shrine (in terms of rank), and the others were all shifted up one rank (on this, see Legge, vol. II, p. 223, n. 1).
37. The event is also noted in JWDS 5 and FZTJ 42 (T 49.390b). The JWDS stipulates that the event was held in the tenth month, and that the emperor proceeded to the Wenming Pavilion, where he sponsored a vegetarian banquet for Buddhist and Daoists, inviting ministers and Hanlin academicians to participate in it. Provincial governors and regional officials, and ministers both within and outside the palace all sent gifts. According to the JWDS, this was a regular event during the reign of Liang Taizu, as similar entries are noted for the *daming* 大明 festival in the tenth month of the first and second years of *kaiping* as well. The festival itself refers literally to a “festival of illumination,” the exact nature of which is unclear to me. From the entries mentioned, it apparently coincided with the birthday of Emperor Taizu, and occasion at which special gifts were presented and prayers for his longevity offered.
 38. The SSL claim here is qualified by statements in *Song shi* 123. According to these, the Tang first began to author statutes prohibiting merry-making at memorial services, and had officials dispense with their normal duties and participate in incense-offering ceremonies including the sponsoring of vegetarian banquets. The Song, on the other hand, followed the precedent first initiated at the end of the Tang by Emperor Aizong, who instructed officials of the government to go to the imperial palace to offer their condolences, and only afterwards retreat to Buddhist monasteries to participate in incense offering ceremonies. It appears that while incense offering ceremonies were allowed, actual prostration before the image of the Buddha by government representatives was prohibited.
 39. Dou Zhengu’s 竇貞固 biography is contained in *Song shi* 262. The full petition, recorded in *Wudai huiyao* 五代會要 4 (*Jiri* 忌日 section), exposes some corruption in the SSL text. Material in the translation has been added from the fuller wording of the petition in the *Wudai huiyao*. See also JWDS 79.
 40. Following the *Wudai huiyao*, reading *jinhou fuqing* 今後伏請 (Henceforth, I humbly request that) for *jinyu* 今欲 (I presently desire or wish). Hucker makes no mention of *zaichen* 宰臣 (“chief ministers of state”) as a compound. Presumably, it is a general reference to the higher or highest ranking members of the government bureaucracy (as indicated by Morohashi, *Dai kan-wa jiten* v. 3, 1016c). The assumption here is that

- each member has an individual incense burner, which seems to follow from Ennin's description referred to previously. Otherwise, the translation would read "the chief ministers of state kneel at the incense burner."
41. According to the *Wudai huiyao*, Dou Zhengu's petition ends here, and what follows is an additional order appended to Dou's approved petition.
 42. Li Zongna's 李宗訥 biography is contained in *Song shi* 265, appended to the biography of his famous father, Li Fang the early Song historian and compiler of such works as the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 and *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽. Zanning was personally acquainted and worked with Li Fang, and thus would presumably have known the activities of Fang's son, Zongna.
 43. I have been unable to find any other source containing Li Zongna's petition. However, there is a similar decree mentioned in FZTJ 42 (T 49.401a) for the previous year, the second year of *chunhua* (991).
 44. According to Hucker (no. 8184), the Censorate (*yushitai* 御史臺) was charged with "the paramount and characteristic responsibility of maintaining disciplinary surveillance over the whole officialdom, ... impeaching officials who in their private or public lives violated the law or otherwise conducted themselves improperly."
 45. Following the Song 宋 edition, reading *chao* 超 for *qi* 起.
 46. *Changdao* 唱導 is an abbreviation of *xuanchang kaidao* 宣唱開導, referring to leading the Dharma chants at vegetarian banquets sponsored by donors. Contrast with A.F. Wright, "Hui-chiao's Lives of Eminent Monks," who translates *changdao* 唱導 as "sermonizing," one of the ten categories used to document the careers of eminent monks (see GSZ 13, T 50.415c), and DDB's translation/explanation as "to preach to people and lead them to conversion."
 47. The *tanyue* 檀越 is a transliteration of *dānapati*, referring to a benefactor or patron who supports the monastery with donations.
 48. On the translation of *biaobai* 表白 as a monk who chants dedications of merit, see DDB.
 49. The commentary (*lun* 論) to the *changdao* 唱導 section in GSZ 13 (T 50.417c).
 50. DDB explains *hugui* 胡跪 as the "Hun way of kneeling for salutation," referring to Soothill which says: "right knee on the ground, left knee up," (右膝著地) which is supported by Yokoi. The JEBD says: "salutation by sitting on both knees." Nakamura says that the knees are bent, touching the ground, but doesn't clarify whether it is one or both knees (referring *Dasheng fayuan yilin zhang* 大乘法苑義林章 T 1861.45.304b7).

51. This is not a direct citation from the *Nanhai jigui zhuan* 南海寄歸傳; see descriptions recorded in fascicle 1, *shouzhai guize* 受齋軌則, and fascicle 4, *zanyong zhi li* 讚詠之禮 (Takakusu, trans., *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, pp. 35-53 & 152-166).
52. See the reference to the *Dao wenyuan shu* 導文願疏, mentioned in the preface, the *Qi taizai jingling Wenxuan wang faji luxu* 齊太宰竟陵文宣王法集錄序, recorded in *Chu sanzang jiji* 12 出三藏記集 (CBETA T 55.85c2).
53. The *Zhaizhu zanjin luji* 齊主讚歎緣記 is mentioned in a preface by Sengyou 僧祐, the *Fayuan zayuan yuanshi ji mulu xu* 法苑雜緣原始集目錄序, recorded in *Chu sanzang jiji* 12 (CBETA T 55.91a1).
54. Five invitation-vow texts (*zhouyuan wen* 咒願文) are mentioned by Sengyou in his preface, the *Fayuan zayuan yuanshi ji mulu xu* 法苑雜緣原始集目錄序, recorded in *Chu sanzang jiji* 12 (CBETA T 55.91b12-16).
55. According to XGSZ 30 (CBETA T 50.703c7), Zhenguan 真觀 wrote *Various Writings for Directors [of Chants]* 諸導文 in over twenty fascicles, which may be a reference to the *Dao wenji* 道文集 (Anthology of Writings on [Chanting] Techniques) mentioned here. In addition, the biography of Fayin states that he (Fayin) recited over one hundred fascicles of *Ancient Writings for Directors [of Chants]* (*Gu daowen* 古導文); XGSZ 30 (CBETA T 50.703c11).

[26]

THE ORIGINS OF HYMNS OF PRAISE

讚唄之由¹

As for the origins of hymns of praise, according to the *Ten Recitation Vinaya (Shisong lu)*,² Juzhier <in other words [meaning] “innumerable ears”³> composed gathas in three part harmony in order to praise the Buddha. He was a person who sang artfully, and was easily understood.⁴ In the *Āgamas*, the scripture recitations that Shanheluo was skilled in composing made the elephants and horses of King Bimbisara come to a halt.⁵ In this land (China), Kang Senghui transmitted the hymns of praise to the nirvāṇa [of the Buddha],⁶ and Zhi Qian composed Sanskrit hymns in linked couplets.⁷ In addition, the Bodhisattva Fasheng,⁸ who was well-versed in Abhidharma mental development, separately compiled [a work of] two hundred and fifty gathas in order to divulge its essentials, entitling it “Mind.”⁹ When the hymns were sung, their composition resembled celestial music. They had the spontaneity of a magical flute, cast in a style [suitable] for sentient beings. They resonated emotionally with whatever theme they touched on. Each chant and every song resembled a bird’s footsteps or an animal’s tracks; each sound and every note were patterned

after the emotions the thing evoked. When emotions are conveyed by a [musical] arrangement, they form songs in accordance with the nine modulations [in tone].¹⁰ When the breath is joined to [musical] notation, it always forms a harmony with the five musical notes.¹¹ When metal and stone [instruments] are added, the beasts of the animal kingdom all dance at once. When played with flutes and stringed [instruments], humans and devas are equally moved by it. These [hymns of praise], in other words, are the result of a marvelous combination [of orchestra and choir] that reaches a zenith of sound and voice.

In the Wei dynasty, when Zi Jian¹² roamed on Mount Yu and was moved by the sound,¹³ he translated its undulations to identically match the chanted praises of śramaṇa.¹⁴

In the Southern Qi dynasty, Liang, the Prince of Jingling, used gathas from [Buddhist] scriptures to provide treatment [for illness];¹⁵ he arranged the melodies so they exuded wonder, composing the *Text of Gathas of Hymn-Praises in Sanskrit (Zan fanbai jiewen)* in one fascicle.¹⁶ In addition, Bo Faqiao was extremely skilled in Sanskrit hymns.¹⁷ There are a great many such people in the *Biographies of Eminent Monks (Gaoseng zhuan)*, but the details [of their activity] were not recorded there.¹⁸ In the Later Zhao dynasty, during the *jianping* era (330-332) of Emperor Shi Le,¹⁹ a deity descended on a government office in the city of An and chanted scriptures,²⁰ stopping only after seven days had elapsed. Monks had a model for composing Sanskrit hymns based on this.²¹

Some ask: "What are the benefits of singing these Sanskrit hymns?" To explain, I say that, first of all, the Way of the Buddha lies in enjoyment (or music) of the Dharma.²² Their sound and tone are not harmful even when sad, nor licentious even when joyful. Because they are compromising and accommodating, they are the enjoyment (or music) of the Dharma. Secondly, [they are beneficial] because when the various heavenly beings, and the ghosts and spirits hear them, they all rejoice. And thirdly, the eternal Dharma of the Buddhas and the lands of the ten directions most assuredly depend on this joy (music).

[二十六] 讚唄之由

讚唄原始，案『十誦律』中，《俱胝耳》〈即億耳也〉作三契聲以讚佛。其人善唄易了解。『阿含』中。《善和羅》作善諷誦，令《影勝大王》象馬不行。此土則《康僧會》傳《泥洹》讚唄。《支謙》製連句梵唄。又開士《法勝》善《阿毘曇》心，別撰二百五偈以為要解，號曰『心』。其頌聲也，撰象天樂。若靈籥自發儀刑群品。觸物有寄。一吟一詠狀鳥步獸行也。一弄一引類乎物情也。情與類遷，則聲隨九變而成歌。氣與數合，則五音協律而俱作。附之金石，則百獸率舞。奏之管絃，則人神同感。斯乃窮音聲之妙會也。

《魏》《子建》嘗游魚山而感音，翻其曲折同合《沙門》之唄[口*匿]焉。

《南齊》《竟陵王子》《良》，將經中偈契消息。調音曲盡其妙，著『讚梵唄偈文』一卷。又《帛法橋》者尤善梵唄。『高僧傳』中其人頗多，此不具錄。《後趙》《石勒》《建平》年中，有神降于安邑廳事，諷詠經音，七日方絕。僧有摹寫為梵唄焉。

或曰。「梵唄之聲此何益也。」

通曰。一者，佛道法樂也。此音韻雖哀不傷，雖樂不淫。折中中和故為法樂也。二者，諸天鬼神聞皆歡喜故。三者，諸佛常法，十方刹土何莫由斯樂也。

NOTES

1. Useful background reading for this section is contained in Huijiao's 慧皎 commentary on Hymnodists (*jingshi* 經師) in GSZ 13 (T 50.414c-415c), and Daoxuan's 道宣 commentary on Invokers of Virtue (*shengde* 聲德) in XGSZ 30 (T 50.705c-707a). In addition, see Daoshi's 道世 comments in *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 36 (T. 53-2123.574b7-577b3).
2. See *Shisong lü* 十誦律 25 (T 23.181b). The *Shisong lü* (*Daśa-bhāṇavāra-vinaya*) is the Vinaya text of the Sarvāstivāda school, translated into Chinese by Punyatara 弗若多羅 and Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什. As with the other major vinaya compilations, this text gives a detail explanation of the rules and regulations governing the conduct of monks and nuns, as well as outlining the systems of ordinations, running the monastery, punishments or penalties for infractions, and so forth. The text has ten major divisions, called "recitations" 誦, but in terms of its actual construction, has eight sections. While similar in construction and format to the Pali vinaya works such as those of Dharmagupta and Mahīśāsaka, its content shows the clear influence of Sarvāstivādin and Mahāsāṃghika philosophy (DDB).
3. *Juzhi* 俱胝 is a translation of the Sanskrit koti. One koti is said to equal a very large number, variously rendered as ten million, one hundred million, and so on.
4. The claim that Juzhier 俱胝耳 composed gathas "in three-part harmony" does not appear in the *Shisong lü*, which claims that he was skilled in singing eulogies, or songs of praise (*zansong* 讚頌) in the Avanti language (the language of an ancient kingdom of the same name in western India located in the vicinity of the Vindhya Mountains, in present day Madhya Pradesh); his singing was comprehended clearly, and was very easy to understand. Zhi Qian 支謙 (T 55.97c), Kang Senghui 康僧會 (T 50.325b), and Bo Faqiao 帛法橋 (T 50.413b), mentioned below, are all said to have composed songs in three-part harmony.
5. This story is found in *Xianyu jing* 賢愚經 11 (from T 4.424b12 onwards), but without mention of Shanheluo's 善和羅 name.
6. According to Kang Senghui's 康僧會 biography (the prefix *kang* 康 indicates a monk's origins in *kangju* 康居, or Sogdiana), he composed linked-couplets in praise of bodhi, and Sanskrit verses in three part harmony (GSZ 1; T 50.325b). He was active in the state of Wu 吳 during the Three

- Kingdoms, entering the Wu capital Jianye 建鄴 in the tenth year of the *chiwu* era (247). His most famous translated work is the *Liudu jijing* 六度集經 (T 3-152), which tells of the Buddha's practice of the six pāramitās in his former lives (Kang Senghui also has a bio. in CSZJJ 13; T 55.96a-c).
7. According to Zhi Qian's 支謙 biography (the prefix *zhi* 支 is an abbreviation of Yuezhi 月支, or Scythia), he composed linked couplets in praise of bodhisattvas, and Sanskrit verses in three-part harmony (see CSZJJ 13; T 55.97c). He was also active in the state of Wu from the end of the second century to the mid-third century. (Zhi Qian also has a bio. in GSZ 1; T 50.324b-c).
 8. Fasheng 法勝 is otherwise known as Dharmaśreṣṭhin (for a detailed account of the transliteration of Fasheng's name and the works attributed to him, see Bart Dessein, *Samyuktabhidharmahrdaya: Heart of Scholasticism with Miscellaneous Additions*, pp. xxxi-xxxvi). According to Ui Hakuju (*Bukkyō jiten*, p. 955a), he was a Central Asian Sarvāstivādin Master who lived in the first half of the third century. Dessein regards him as a Tocharian from Bactria.
 9. Though the work is not extant, a preface to it by Huiyuan still exists (see CSZJJ 10; T 55.72b-c). Zanning's comments here are taken from this preface. I have also consulted Hayashiya's reading in the Japanese rendering of this passage in the CSZJJ, contained in *Kokuyaku issaikyō* (*Shiden bu* 1, p. 280). The SSL numbers the gathas at two hundred and five; the correction is based on Huiyuan's preface.
 10. Chapter eight of *Sunzi Bingfa* 孫子兵法 (Sunzi: the Art of War) is entitled *jiubian* 九變, but as Giles (who translates *jiu* as "variations") notes, Sunzi does not appear to enumerate these, and it is probably best to interpret "nine" as standing for an indefinitely large number (Lionel Giles, trans. *Sun Tzu on the Art of War*).
 11. A line in *Sunzi Bingfa* 孫子兵法 5 states: "There are not more than five musical notes, yet the combinations of these five give rise to more melodies than can ever be heard" (Giles, trans. *Sun Tzu on the Art of War*).
 12. Zi Jian 子建 is another name for Cao Zhi 曹植, Prince Chen Si 陳思王 of the Wei dynasty during the Three Kingdoms (bio. in *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 19), noted for his literary talent. Regarding Zanning's comments, see GSZ 13 (T 50.415a).
 13. Mount Yu 魚山 (fish mountain) is also known as Mount Wu 吾山; a mountain in the northwest of Dong'a 東阿 county in modern day Shandong prefecture. The story of Cao Zhi [i.e., Zi Jian] climbing the mountain, hearing the sound there, and composing chanted poems is recorded

- in a commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra*, written by Tiantai Master Kuiji 窺基, *Fahua xuanzan* 法華玄讚 4 (T 34-1723.727b). There it is said that when Prince Chen Si climbed Mount Yu, he heard the echo of flowing water from a far off valley while chanting scriptures in a cave, and as a result composed chants in Sanskrit, imitating the sound with his voice.
14. In Chinese *baini* 𠵽(口+𠵽) (more commonly 𠵽𠵽) is a transliteration of the Sanskrit *bhāṇaka* (Hirakawa Akira 平川彰, *Buddhist Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary* 佛教漢梵大辭典, pp. 505-514), referring to one who commits to memory and recites or preaches the scriptures. In this case, it appears to refer more to the scriptures recited than to the one doing the reciting.
 15. Prince Liang 良 of Jingling 竟陵 was among the sons of Southern Qi Emperor Wudi (see *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 40), noted for his devotion to Buddhism. When the emperor was ill, Prince Liang was summoned to attend to him with medicine; he invited Buddhist monks to chant scriptures in front of the hall in which the emperor stayed, allegedly leading to the emperor's recovery. The translation of *xiaoxi* 消息 as "to give treatment" follows the *Zheng Fahua jing* 正法華經 (T 9.85b9; DDB, S. Karashima).
 16. The title of the *Zan fanbai jiewen* 讚梵𠵽偈文 text is recorded in CSZJJ 12 (T 55.86a).
 17. This is confirmed in Bo Faqiao's 帛法橋 biography in GSZ 13 (T 50.413b-c).
 18. The biographies of eleven Hymnodists (*jingshi* 經師) are included in GSZ 13 (T 50.4136-414c) but material recorded in the case of each is very brief. In addition, the names of eight other masters are mentioned (T 50.414c), with little or no accompanying information.
 19. Shi Le 石勒, the founder of the Later Zhao dynasty, reigned 319-332.
 20. The city of An 安邑 is located in present day Shanxi province.
 21. This is adopted from Huijiao's commentary in GSZ 13 (T 50.415a).
 22. *Le* 樂 may be translated as either "enjoyment" or "music," so that the phrase *fale* 法樂 may be read as either "Dharma enjoyment" or "Dharma music." The interplay of both meanings is likely intended here.

[27]

THE ADMINISTRATION OF BUDDHIST MONASTERIES

僧寺綱糾¹

The word *si* (“monastery”) refers to *si* (“succession” or “inheritance”). Those who administer the affairs succeed each other to continue these [duties] from within.² Even though [the word for “monastery”] uses the name of a government agency,³ this does not diminish the business of the Buddhist activities [carried out inside it]. It is because just as sons succeed their fathers and students follow after their teachers, [administrators] succeed one another and inherit the legacy [of the institution], working hard to complete its activities.

In the regions of the west, the Saṃgha Administrator⁴ was generally called *karmadāna*, translated [into Chinese] as “Administrator” (*zhishi*), or “[one who] Brings Joy to the Assembly” (*yuezhong*).⁵ It refers to [the fact that] he brought joy to the assembly by administering its affairs. When considering [the administration of the clergy] in the age of the Buddha, Yinguang (Mahākāśyapa) governed the congregation on Vulture Peak.⁶ Shenzi (Śariputra) was involved in administering [the congregation] in the Bamboo Grove.⁷ And [in the case of] Dravya Mallaputra,⁸ he had

already realized Arhatship when he was only sixteen years old.⁹ After this, he became concerned about the lack of restrictions on the physical body, and requested to become Saṃgha Administrator. He emitted light from his finger at night to discern the possessions of the monks. On account of this, Buddha praised him, saying, "My disciple, you are in charge of the temple dwellings for the monks."¹⁰ Dravya Mallaputra was the first one [to set] the order in which monks begged for food. In this regard, when [the monks] gathered to go beg, [the problem arose of] who should be the first to receive water, fruit, drink, food, and so on. The Buddha said, "Make it on the basis of their age, with those of highest age [receiving first]," which means elders.¹¹

When Buddhist teaching first flowed east during the Han and Wei dynasties, it was like a net whose cords had not been tied, or a boat that had not dropped its anchor. In the age of the Yao [Eastern] Qin, those who left home [to enter the clergy] hardly used half of the space [provided them].¹² After Kumārajīva entered the pass (came to China), three thousand monks carrying food provisions and wearing straw sandals arrived [to study with him].¹³ The ruler of [the Later] Qin dynasty,¹⁴ by imperial decree, selected Dharma Master Daolüe to serve as Buddhist Rector,¹⁵ Zhiyuan to serve as [the one who] Brings Joy to the Assembly,¹⁶ and Faqin and Huibin to serve as Buddhist Registrars.¹⁷ He granted them carriages and official powers. The salary of the Buddhist Rector was the same as [that of] Palace Attendant.¹⁸ The others [those who Bring Joy to the Assembly and Buddhist Registrars] were ranked in descending order. With regard to instituting saṃgha officials in this land (China), [Dao]lüe in the [Later] Qin dynasty marked the beginning.

[二十七] 僧寺綱糾

夫言寺者嗣也。治事者相嗣續於其內也。既用官司之名，無虧佛事之業。故子續其父，資踰於師，比¹⁹相嗣而接蹤，當克勤而成事也。

案《西域》知事僧，總曰《羯磨陀那》。譯為知事，亦曰悅眾。謂知其事悅其眾也。稽其佛世，《飲光》統眾於《靈鷲》。《身

子》蒞事於《竹林》。及《沓婆摩羅》年甫十六已證應真。其後念身不牢固，請為僧知事。指夜出光分僧臥具。故佛讚言。「我弟子為僧知房舍差。」次請食《沓婆摩羅子》為第一。如其赴請群集，誰合受第一水果飲食等。佛言。「以其年臘最高者為之。」謂之上座。

及佛教東漸，《漢》《魏》之間。如網未設其綱，如舟未下其碇。殆《姚秦》之世，出家者十室而半。《羅什》入關，贏糧裹足，而至者三千。《秦》主敕選《道碧》法師為僧正。[《志》²⁰遠]為悅眾。《法欽》《慧斌》掌僧錄。給車輿吏力。僧正秩同侍中。餘則差降。此土立僧官，《秦》《碧》為始也。

NOTES

1. The word translated as administration here is formed from the characters *gang* 綱, meaning “the large rope of a net,” and *jiu* 糾, “a cord made from three intertwined strands” (reading *jiu* as a misprint of *tou* 紂). By implication, the former stands for “laws, principles, and their application,” and the later, “to correct and discipline.” The character *jiu* also appears among the names of Song penal and judicial government organs, the Capital Punishment Section (*jiucha an* 糾察案), and the Bureau of Judicial Investigation (*jiucha si* 糾察司) (see Hucker, nos. 1287 and 1288).
2. Zanning here follows the explanation given in the *Shi guanshi* 釋官室 17 (Explanation of Offices and Chambers) section of the *Shiming* 釋名 (Explanation of Words) (<http://ctext.org/shi-ming/shi-gong-shi/zh>), compiled in the Later Han dynasty. Zanning also quotes this explanation from the *Shiming* in section 4, “Building Monasteries,” in connection with the word *si* 寺 as civil court and Buddhist monastery. For background on the *Shiming*, see SSL I, section 4.
3. This is confirmed in *Shi shi* 釋室 (Explaining Buildings) section of the *Guangya* 廣雅 (Expanded [*Er*]ya); a work compiled in the Wei dynasty by Zhang Yi 張揖, divided into nineteen sections. It was later renamed *Boya* 博雅 (Broadened [*Er*]ya). As indicated previously, it is useful to consider the non-Buddhist meanings of the word *si* here, usually rendered in Buddhist contexts as “temple” or “monastery.” According to Hucker, no. 5534, it was one of several terms used throughout Chinese history commonly designating different government agencies, which were distinguished by their prefixes. The origins of the application of this term in Buddhist contexts are also interesting, discussed by Zanning in SSL section 4.
4. The term *zhishi* 知事 was also used for appointments to the imperial bureaucracy. Hucker (no. 1050) translates the term as “Administrative Clerk,” referring to a low ranking official found throughout many agencies. In this case, the meaning has a more specific connotation, similar to the comments given by Hucker for the term *zhi...shi* (no.934), referring to an administrator of a specific agency, suggesting “a specially authorized appointment of someone with nominally different status to serve in a normally more prestigious post as administrator of an agency.” It is also sometimes rendered as *charge d'affaires*.

5. Regarding *karmadāna* and those who “Bring Joy to the Assembly (*yuezhong* 悅眾)” see section 35, below. As mentioned in section 4A, Yijing (T 54.226b) objected to the Chinese term *weina* for *karmadāna* as an incorrect rendering which confusingly joins a Chinese translation, *wei* (a “cord” or “to restrict”), with the last syllable of a Sanskrit transliteration *karmadāna*.
6. Mahākāśyapa was one of the Buddha’s major disciples. The Chinese name for him is a translation of his clan name Kāśyapa, meaning literally, “drinking (*yin* 飲) light (*guang* 光).” This is associated with the claim that the ancestor of the Kāśyapa clan had light in his body and was able to project it. Mahākāśyapa is said to have become the Buddha’s disciple three years after the Buddha’s enlightenment, and to have attained arhatship after only several days with the Buddha. He is also said to have inherited his ancestor’s ability with light, and to have had command of miraculous powers based on it. He was noted as the foremost practitioner of Buddhist discipline at the time, and regarded as chief of the Buddhist order (see Zhiyi’s *Miaofa lianhua jing wenju* 妙法蓮華經文句 1; T 34-1718). Vulture Peak (*lingjiu* 靈鷲山; Gr̥dhra-kūṭa) is famous in Buddhist lore as the reputed site where the Buddha delivered many of his sermons. It is not clear to me how Mahākāśyapa’s miraculous powers using light are supposed to relate to the story of Dravya Mallaputra, cited by Zanning below.
7. Śāriputra was also one of the Buddha’s major disciples. Originally he was a disciple of Samjaya, who headed one of the major schools in ancient India. Śāriputra converted to Buddhism along with Maudgalyāyana, another famous disciple, and each brought large numbers of followers into the Buddhist fold. Śāriputra was noted for his wisdom and eloquence (see Zhiyi’s *Miaofa lianhua jing wenju* 妙法蓮華經文句 1; T 34-1718). The Bamboo Grove (*zhulin* 竹林) was a park donated by Karandaka, located in the vicinity of Rājagṛha, for use by Buddhist monks as a *vihara* (forest retreat). Xuanzang gives a brief account of some of the details of his life in *Da Tang xiyouji* 大唐西域記 9 (Zhonghua ed., p. 765 and following).
8. Similar information regarding Dravya Mallaputra is recorded in *Wufen lü* 五分律 3 (T 22.15a-b). Zanning’s source, however, appears to have been different.
9. *Yingzhen* 應真, “the truth realized by an Arhat,” is a term to designate an arhat.
10. See *Sifen lü* 四分律 3 (T 22.587a27-588a3).

11. The pronouncement is made in *Sifen lü* 3 (T 22.587b28-c1). The meaning of “Head Monk” (*shangzuo* 上座) is discussed by Zanning in section 35.
12. In other words, there were few Buddhist monks, and the administration of temples by secular authorities was not necessary. This follows a statement in Senglüe’s 僧碧 record in GSZ 6 (T 50. 363b7-8). The same information provided here and in what follows concurs with the *Bei-shan lu* 北山錄 8 (T 52-2113), section 14, *Juchi xing* 住持行.
13. In other words, the number of Buddhist monks increased dramatically, making temple administration necessary. Kumārajīva, the son of a Brahman father and a Kuchean princess, was highly sought in China by the Yao Qin rulers. After being detained in Liangzhou for seventeen years, he finally reached Chang’an in 401. According to Ch’en, *Buddhism in China*, p. 83, “Ch’ang-an, under the patronage of the ruling Yao family, was a flourishing center of Buddhist activities, with the famous monks of the realm congregated there. The Xiaoyao Garden was placed at the disposal of Kumārajīva and his fellow monks, and here, with a thousand monks sitting in daily sessions, Kumārajīva carried on his translation activities. He was honored with the title *guoshi* 國師 (National Preceptor) and from 402 to his death in 413 he and his colleagues poured forth a steady stream of translations, which included some of the most important items in the Chinese canon.” Kumārajīva’s influence is such that he serves as a major watershed in the history of Chinese Buddhism. His biography is in GSZ 2 (T 50.330a-333a). There is a work in Japanese entitled *Raju* (Kumārajīva), in the *Jinbutsu Chūgoku no bukkyō* series (Daizō shuppan).
14. Yao Xing 姚興 (Emperor Wenhuan 文桓), reigned 394-416.
15. Daolüe 道愬 is also known as Senglüe 僧碧. Regarding Buddhist Rectors (*sengzheng* 僧正), see the next section, no. 28.
16. Following the Song edition, which has Zhiyuan 志遠 for Huiyuan 慧遠 (see also section 32). According to GSZ 6 (T 50.363b13), Sengqian 僧遷 served as the one who Brings Joy to the Assembly.
17. Faqin 法欽 and Huibin’s 慧斌 roles are confirmed in Senglüe’s biography in GSZ 6 (T 50.363b14). Regarding Buddhist Registrars (*senglu* 僧錄), see section no. 31.
18. On Palace Attendants (*shizhong* 侍中), see Hucker (no. 5229).
19. Reading *ci* 此 as *bi* 比.
20. Following the Song 宋 edition, which has Zhiyuan 志遠 for Huiyuan 慧遠.

INSTITUTING BUDDHIST RECTORS

立僧正¹

After a Buddhist Section [of the government bureaucracy] was established, the “pure assembly” (i.e., Buddhist clergy) was said to be regulated.² The administrative methods³ that were established ultimately complied with Buddhist teaching.⁴ What about the case of the [office] referred to as Buddhist Rector? To rectify (*zheng*) is to administer (*zheng*).⁵ By rectifying oneself, one rectifies others. [The Buddhist Rector] is referred to as such because he successfully implements administrative directives [aimed at rectifying the clergy]. In all likelihood, [this institution] is based on [the fact that] if *bhikṣus* were free of the law, they would be like horses without bridles and bits, or like oxen without restraining ropes. As they gradually become tainted by secular customs, they inevitably contravene the rules of refinement.⁶ That is why [the government] appointed [members of the Buddhist clergy] admired for their virtue to restrain them on the basis of law, and ensure their devotion to correct [behavior] (*zheng*). It is why they are called Buddhist Rectors. This [institution] began with Senglüe in the illegitimate [Later] Qin dynasty.⁷ <[Senglüe] is sometimes known as Daolüe.>

When the Eastern Jin changed [the location of] the capital,⁸ nothing was heard of this office. During the age of the [Liu] Song dynasty, however, [the government] established Śramaṇa administrators.⁹ In addition, [the Liu Song dynasty] made the nun Baoxian Buddhist Rector [for nuns].¹⁰ [Emperors] Wendi and Xiaowu [of the Liu Song] both esteemed her highly.¹¹

Next there are those referred to as Dharma Superiors, such as Shi Daoyou, the disciple of Master [Dao]sheng.¹² When Emperor Wendi asked Huiguan, “Who has mastered the doctrine of sudden enlightenment?”, he responded, “Daoyou.” Subsequently, [the emperor] invited [Daoyou] into [the palace]. When Emperor Xiaowu acceded the throne, he ordered [Daoyou] to reside at Xin’an Monastery, and to serve as the Dharma Superior at Zhen Monastery.¹³ In addition, [Emperor Mingdi] ordered Fayuan to serve as Dharma Superior of Xianggong Monastery.¹⁴ Looking carefully, these individual monasteries had [officials with] the same title, but they probably did not have the [larger] responsibilities of Controllers or Rectors.

Furthermore, in the *ximing* era (477-479), [the Liu Song dynasty] made Fachi Buddhist Rector.¹⁵ Daowen served as Buddhist Rector in the capital during the *daming* era (457-464).¹⁶ During the *yongming* era (483-493), [the emperor] ordered Xuanchang of the Changgan Monastery to serve as Buddhist Superior along with Faxian,¹⁷ dividing their responsibilities along the northern and southern banks.¹⁸ [Xuan]chang later received orders to go to Sanwu to bring discipline to two assemblies.¹⁹ At the end of the Qi dynasty, [the emperor] made Fayue Buddhist Superior, residing at Zhengjue Monastery.²⁰

The founder of the Liang dynasty, [Emperor Wudi], devoted his mind to Buddhist teaching, and was deeply absorbed in the profound pivot [of Buddhist truth]. He carefully selected men of virtue and appointed them as Buddhist leaders.²¹ As a result of this, Fachao served as Buddhist Rector in the capital.²² In the sixth year of the *putong* era (525), [the emperor] ordered Fayun to serve as Grand Buddhist Rector, endowing him amply

with official authority.²³ In addition, Huiling was also appointed to this office.²⁴ <The only difference is the word “Grand” [in the title].>

Those referred to as Buddhist Superiors are similar to Buddhist Authorities.²⁵ It seems that in remote areas they were titles for Regional Rectors (*xiaozheng*) or Regional Controllers (*xiaotong*). For example, Jñānagupta, called here [in China] Zhide, was a native of northern India.²⁶ In the court of the [Northern] Zhou dynasty, when the Prince of Qiao, Yuwen Jian,²⁷ controlled Shu, he invited [Zhide] to go along with him and assume responsibility there as Buddhist Superior of Yizhou, residing at Longyuan Monastery there.²⁸ In the courts of the southern dynasties, [there was] Huiji, surnamed Ou, a native of Qiantang (Hangzhou).²⁹ He received the ordination precepts from Tripiṭaka Master Guna[bhadra] in Caizhou,³⁰ and later on converted and practiced in the territory of Yue. He was requested by imperial decree to serve as Buddhist Superior, and served in this capacity in ten cities. This is the beginning of [the institution of] Buddhist Superior in the territories of east [China].³¹ <The territories of the east refer to the area between the regions of Wu and Kuai[ji].>

When we look through the various dynasties, [we find that] the rulers of many of them instituted [the office of] Buddhist Rector. Since the Liang dynasty was a state [that titled itself] “grand,” [its rulers] also made use of this title; they merely distinguished it [from previous usage] through the addition of the word “grand”. At present, one person is placed [in this office] in every prefecture throughout the empire. Those appointed to it are selected [from among] the virtuous and talented. If there are none [worthy], then [the positions] are not filled.

[二十八] 立僧正

僧曹創立，淨眾曰齊。所樹官方終循佛教。所言僧正者何。正政也。自正正人。克敷政令故云也。蓋以比丘無法，如馬無轡勒，牛無貫繩。漸染俗風，將乖雅則。故設有德望者，以法而繩之。令歸于正。故曰僧正也。此偽《秦》《僧碧》為始也。<或曰，《道碧》。>

《東晉》遷都，蔑聞此職。至《宋》世乃立《沙門》都。又以尼《寶賢》為僧正。《文帝》《孝武》皆崇重之。

次有號法主者，如《釋道猷》，《生》公之弟子也。《文帝》問《慧觀》曰。「頓悟義誰習之。」答曰。「《道猷》。」遂召入。至《孝武》即位，敕住《新安寺》，為《鎮寺》法主。又敕《法瑗》，為《湘宮寺》法主。詳其各寺同名，疑非統正之任。

又《昇明》中，以《法持》為僧正。《大明》中，以《道溫》為都邑僧正。《永明》中，敕《長干寺》《玄暢》同《法獻》為僧主，分任南北兩岸。《暢》後被敕往《三吳》，使糾繩二眾。《齊》末以《法悅》為僧主，住《正覺寺》。

《梁》祖歸心佛教深入玄樞。慎選德人，以充僧首，則《法超》為都邑僧正。《普通》六年，敕《法雲》為大僧正，吏力備足。又《慧令》亦充此職焉。〈大字異耳。〉

所云僧主者，猶僧官也。蓋偏地小正小統之名也。如《闍那崛多》，此言《志德》，北《印度》人。《周》朝《譙王》《宇文儉》鎮《蜀》。請以同行，至彼任《益州》僧主，住《龍淵寺》焉。南朝《慧基》姓《偶》《錢塘》人。依《求那》三藏於《蔡州》受戒。後化行《越》土。尋敕為僧主，掌任十城。〈東土即《吳》《會》之間也。〉

歷觀諸朝，多是諸侯立僧正也。《梁》雖大國，亦用此名。但加大字以別之。今天下每州置一員。擇德行才能者充之。不然則闕矣。

[28A] RECTORS FOR BUDDHIST NUNS 尼正

When the courts of the northern dynasties established rules [for the Buddhist clergy], they were normally associated with Buddhist monks. It was the southern territories that initiated new regulations especially for a Rector of Nuns. In the [Liu] Song dynasty, in the second year of the *taishi* era (466), an imperial decree made the nun Baoxian Rector of Nuns.³² In addition, Fajing was made Chief Deacon of Nuns of the capital.³³

This marked the beginning of [nun] officials accepting responsibilities.³⁴ In the Liang, Chen, Sui, and Tang dynasties, one rarely hears of their activities. In [the age of] independent regional commanders,³⁵ [however], one frequently hears of the existence of the titles Controller of Nuns and Rector of Nuns.

[二十八附] 尼正附

北朝立制，多是附僧。南土新規別行尼正。《宋》《太始》二年，敕尼《寶賢》為尼僧正。又以《法淨》為京邑尼都維那。此則承乏之漸。《梁》《陳》《隋》《唐》少聞其事。偏霸之國，往往聞有尼統尼正之名焉。

NOTES

1. Hucker (no. 4942) translates *sengzheng* 僧正 as “Buddhist Chief.” I have chosen to stay with the more literal meaning, “head or rectifier of Buddhists” in light of Zanning’s explanation that follows. Hucker’s description of *sengzheng* as “a state designated monk responsible for the whole Buddhist clergy in Later Qin (384-417), under supervision of the Chamberlain for Dependencies (*dahong lu*), possibly continuing through the N. Dynasties til N. Wei,” is useful to keep in mind here as indication of how Buddhist Rectors were accommodated into the state bureaucracy.
2. The Taishō ed. punctuation is incorrect here, and I follow Makita. For the meaning of *jingzhong* 淨眾 (pure assembly), see Oda, *Bukkyō daijiten*, p. 966b. *Yue* 曰, usually meaning “to say,” is here an utterance, frequently appearing as an introductory word to a sentence, meaning “well,” “then,” etc. *Qi* 齊 is here translated as “regulated,” meaning arranged in a uniform manner.
3. According to Morohashi (*Dai kan-wa jiten* 3, p. 970c), *guanfang* 官方 refer to the methods through which officials administer their duties. My understanding of Zanning’s use here and elsewhere in the SSL (see section no. 31 [T 54.243c] and section no. 35 [245a]), is connected to this meaning.
4. For Zanning, Buddhist administrative offices are by definition, beneficial institutions that aided the public good. In China, the Buddhist clergy was often criticized by the government for its illegal or idiosyncratic practices, as a means to escape taxation, military service, criminal punishment, or simply as a somewhat legitimate escape for idlers, and so on. Institutionalization meant regulation, serving to rid the clergy of excesses, real or perceived, and make its members follow Buddhist teaching more devoutly. This view is justified, moreover, by Zanning’s comments that follow.
5. This is a play on the Chinese homophones *zheng* 正 (“to rectify”) and *zheng* 政 (“to administer”), combining the moral and political functions that conform to the Chinese Confucian vision of society.
6. On *yaze* 雅則 (rules of refinement), see Morohashi (*Dai kan-wa jiten* 11, p. 992b-c). The clear inference made by Zanning here is that the Buddhist clergy abides less by their “rules of purity” (*qinggui* 清規) the more secularized they become (*sufeng* 俗風).

7. In Senglüe's 僧晔 biography in GSZ 6 (T 50.363 a-b), his title is given as Buddhist Superior (*sengzhu* 僧主) rather than Buddhist Rector (*sengzheng* 僧正). He was appointed by Emperor Yao Xing (r. 394-416) in the Later Qin Dynasty (384-417). He was a disciple of Kumārajīva. See also the previous section.
8. With the fall of Luoyang (311) and Chang'an (316) at the hands of the Xiungnu, or Huns, the elite classes of Chinese culture began an exodus to the south, where they established a new capital at Jiankang, near present day Nanjing. This marked the beginning of the Eastern Jin Dynasty (317-420).
9. Śramaṇa Supervisors (*shamen dutong* 沙門都統) are discussed in section no. 30 below; however, no mention of the Liu Song dynasty instituting these offices is found there. As a result, *shamen du* here may be a general reference to Śramaṇa, or Buddhist Administrators, rather than the official Śramaṇa Supervisor positions (*shamen dutong*), referred to in section 30.
10. According to her biography in *Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳 2 (T 50.941a), Baoxian 寶賢 was appointed in the second year of *taishi* (466), during the reign of Mingdi (r. 465-472).
11. The fact that Wendi (r. 424-452) and Xiaowu (r. 452-464) held Baoxian in high regard is verified in her biography (see T 50.941a).
12. This is verified in Daoyou's 道猷 biography in GSZ 7 (T 50.374c). Daosheng 道生 (d. 434) was a disciple of Huiyuan 慧遠, and an important contributor to the development of Buddhism in China (see Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 112-120).
13. Huiguan 慧觀 has a biography in the GSZ 7 (T 50.368b), where the information recorded here is affirmed.
14. According to Fayuan's 法瑗 biography in GSZ 7 (T 50.376c), he was appointed by Emperor Mingdi. I have supplemented the translation with this information.
15. *Nanqi shu* 南齊書 56 records that Yang Fachi 楊法持 had a long-established relationship with [Liu] Song Emperor Taizu, and was appointed Buddhist Rector (*sengzheng* 僧正). FZTJ 36 (T 49.346c) follows Zanning here in claiming that Fachi was appointed Buddhist Rector in the first year of *ximing* (477). Other information regarding Fachi is unknown. GSZ 7 (T 50.369c7-9) records that a monk by the name of Fahe 法和 was appointed Buddhist Rector toward the beginning of the Liu Song Dynasty, in the *yuanjia* era (424-453).
16. This is confirmed in Daowen's 道溫 biography, GSZ 7 (T 50.372c).

17. Xuanchang 玄暢 is not to be confused with another monk of the same name (and written in the same way) who was active as an administrator during the late Tang (this later Xuanchang 玄暢 lived 797-875, and appears frequently in the SSL in other connections—see sections 31 and 35, for example). The information here is confirmed in Faxian's biography in GSZ 13 (T 50.411c11). Faxian 法顯, as well, is not to be confused with the famous Buddhist pilgrim who journeyed to India in the Eastern Jin (c. 399-414), whose name has the same pronunciation but is written differently, as 法顯. The Faxian whom Zanning writes of here also achieved considerable fame. He also set out for the western regions, in the third year of *yuanhui* (475), obtaining relics of the Buddha in Khotan and a gold-leaf statue of the Buddha in Kucha, which were fixtures in the Dinglin Monastery 定林寺 even after his death. One no less than Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513), author of the *Song shu* and Director of the Department of State Affairs during the Liang Dynasty, penned a composition honoring Faxian after his death.
18. The Liu Song capital was Jiankang, in the vicinity of present day, Nanjing, making the northern and southern banks those of the Yangzi River.
19. See the GSZ 13 (T 50.411c13). There are different explanations for the places designated as Sanwu 三吳, but it generally refers to the area around the lower reaches of the Yangtze River. The name derives from the three major cities of the state of Wu during the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods (770-222 B.C.). Makita (p. 330, n. 94) says it refers to the area around present day Suzhou.
20. This is confirmed in Fayue's 法悅 biography in GSZ 13 (T 50.412b). The Qi was a short-lived Southern dynasty (479-502). Shengjue Monastery 正覺寺 was located near the Qi capital, Jiankang.
21. Buddhist leaders (*sengshou* 僧首) is here a general term for positions in the government administration responsible for dealing with Buddhism.
22. This is confirmed in Fachao's 法超 biography in XGSZ 21 (T 50.607a). Wudi reigned 502-549.
23. Fayun's 法雲 appointment is verified in his biography in XGSZ 5 (T 50.464c). According to Hucker (no. 3586), the term *li* 吏 (official) was "the most common generic term used for Subofficial Functionary, a category of state employees who performed the clerical and menial tasks in all government agencies...and had no ranked civil service status, though at times could be promoted into official status (*guan*) for meritorious service."

24. Huiling 慧令 appears with the title Buddhist Rector in XGSZ 7 (T 50.478c).
25. On the term for Buddhist Authorities (*sengguan* 僧官), see Hucker (no. 4947), who describes it as a “collective reference to Buddhist monks recognized by the state as heads of all Buddhist monastic establishments within a specified jurisdiction, whether a District (*xian* 縣) or the state as a whole; responsible for monitoring the numbers, qualification, and conduct of Buddhist monks and nuns. Specific titles originated in the era of N-S Division with *sengzheng* 僧正 (Buddhist Chief [or Rector]), *sengtong* 僧統 (Buddhist Controller), etc.; the practice culminated in the establishment of Buddhist Registries (*senglu si* 僧錄寺) from late Tang through Qing times.”
26. On Jñānagupta 闍那崛多 (as Zhide 志德), see XGSZ 2 (T 50.433c).
27. Concerning Yuwen Jian 宇文儉, see *Zhou shu* 周書 13. The term *yuwen* 宇文 derives from a branch of the Xianbei 鮮卑 nomadic people, the non-Chinese rulers of the Northern Zhou dynasty (557-581), who used the term to refer to their rulers; thus, it is the Xianbei equivalent to “Son of Heaven,” or emperor.
28. Regarding this, see Zhide’s biography in XGSZ 2 (T 50.433c), and *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 7 (CBETA T 55-2154)
29. Huiji’s 慧基 biography is in GSZ 8 (T 50.379a-b). This occurred during the reign of Wendi (r. 424-452).
30. According to the GSZ 8 (T 50.379a9), it was Saṃghavarman 僧伽跋摩, not Guna[bhadra] 求那, who administered the precepts to Huiji.
31. This is also mentioned in GSZ 8 (T 50.379b).
32. Regarding this, see Baoxian’s 寶賢 biography in *Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳 2 (T 50.941a).
33. Fajing’s 法淨 role as Chief Deacon of Nuns (*ni duweina* 尼都維那) is confirmed in her biography, *Biqiuni zhuan* 2 (T 50.941b).
34. Following the reading of *chengfa* 承乏 suggested by Makita (p. 331, n. 105).
35. In other words, the ten kingdoms or “principalities” of the Five Dynasties period (907-959).

[29]

BUDDHIST CONTROLLERS

僧統

After an emperor consolidates his power over the empire, he inevitably makes reforms in what influences affect the people.¹ Some reform the rites and music. Some make changes to the official bureaucracy. Some change the [office of] Advisor to Imperial Secretary, or substitute the [office of] Minister of War for Defender-in-Chief.² What consistency is there [with the way offices are assigned]? On account of this, I will start at the beginning.

When the [Later] Qin controlled [the capital region] Guanzhong,³ they established the Buddhist Rector as the head of the religion.⁴ When the Wei were venerated [as rulers of] the territories of the north, they changed command over the Buddhist clergy [from Buddhist Rector] to Buddhist Controller. Even though they issued a new title, the duties that were handled remained as before. In the Later Wei dynasty, during the *huangshi* era (396-397) [of Emperor Daowu (r. 386-409)], Śramaṇa Faguo of Zhao commandery was devoted to [Buddhist] disciplinary practice, and gave lectures on Buddhist writings.⁵ After Emperor Taizu (i.e., Daowu) recruited him to serve as Śramaṇa Controller,⁶ they had frequent conversations that delighted [the emperor],⁷ and when [Faguo]

served [the emperor], [the emperor] was extremely friendly [toward him]. Emperor Taizong (i.e., Mingyuan, r. 409-423) held [Faguo] in even greater reverence and had even more confidence in him than the previous emperors. Around the time of the *yongxing* era (409-413), [Taizong] appointed [Faguo to the positions of] Bulwark of the State,⁸ Viscount Yi Cheng, Marquis Zhong Xin, and Duke An Cheng,⁹ but he firmly refused them all. This is the first time one hears of appointing Buddhist monks to secular administrative offices. When the imperial procession proceeded to his (i.e., Faguo's) residence, [Taizong] detested the fact that the gate was too narrow to allow the imperial chariot to pass through, and so widened and enlarged it. [Faguo] was over eighty years old when he passed away. The emperor attended his memorial services on three occasions,¹⁰ and posthumously honored him with the titles Venerable General and Duke Hu Ling of Zhao Commandery. <In every case, the current practice of honoring [Buddhist monks] with the [posthumous] title Venerable General originated in [Taizong's] imperial decree at this time. We know that the above mentioned [title], Bulwark of the State, was certainly that of a military general.¹¹ The two characters Hu Ling are a posthumous name.¹²> Initially, Faguo was forty years old¹³ when he first left home [to enter the Buddhist clergy]. He had a son named Meng who, by imperial invitation, succeeded Faguo in the titles of nobility that he had been appointed to.¹⁴ The office of Śramaṇa Controller originated with Faguo.

Furthermore, there was the Śramaṇa Shixian of Kashmir, who hailed from royal ancestry, and traveled east to the territory of Liang.¹⁵ Moreover, when he arrived in the [Northern Wei] capital, he encountered the suppression of the Buddha Dharma,¹⁶ and temporarily [returned to lay life] to practice medical arts, still keeping to the Way (i.e., Buddhist teaching) as before.¹⁷ When the day arrived for the restoration [of Buddhism], he again became a Śramaṇa,¹⁸ together with a group of five colleagues.¹⁹ The Wei emperor personally cut off his hair for him and decreed that [Shi]xian serve as Buddhist Controller.²⁰ The office of Buddhist Controller originated with Shixian.

When the Sui dynasty revived the Buddhist Way, they re-instituted the customs of the [Northern] Zhou dynasty. [The emperor] invited Sengmeng²¹ to reside at Daxingshan Monastery (Great Monastery for Reviving Goodness) and serve as Great Controller of the Sui State.²² Meng's family name was Duan,²³ and he was a native of Jingyang. He lectured on the *Prajñā* [sūtra], [the Sūtra on] *the Ten Stages*, and so on.²⁴ <The use of the word "Great" [in the title] is a distinction of the Sui.> In addition, one referred to as Sheng Śrāmaṇera (Sacred young monk) initially had duties as State Supervisor of Buddhists in Luoyang.²⁵ <This Supervisor is the same as Śrāmaṇa Supervisor.²⁶> Later, he was summoned to Ye and was effective in pacifying [the region]; he was reappointed State Controller.²⁷ He was the Buddhist Controller of the one state [Ye].

The Song dynasty follows the Tang [administrative] system, abolishing [the office of] Controller (*tong*) and establishing [the office of] Registrar (*lu*) [in its place].²⁸ <Only when palace women²⁹ leave home [to enter the Buddhist clergy], are they appointed by decree as Registrars of Nuns (*nilu*) or Controllers of Nuns (*nitong*), and have the title of "Master" (*shi*) consisting of up to ten characters. Those granted these [titles] in the two capitals [Luoyang and Kaifeng] are quite numerous.>

[二十九] 僧統

帝王奄宅寰區，必革人視聽。或更其禮樂。或變以官司。互納言作尚書，以太尉代司馬。何常之有。以此為初。

《秦》制《關中》，立僧正為宗首。《魏》尊北土，改僧統領緇徒。雖發新題，亦提舊職。《後魏》《皇始》中。《趙郡》《沙門法果》戒行精至，開演法籍。《太祖》徵為《沙門》統。言多允愜供施甚厚。《太宗》崇信彌加於前。《永興》中前後，授《輔國》，《宜城子》，《忠信侯》，又《安城公》。皆固讓之。俗官加僧，初聞於此。帝幸其居，嫌其門狹不容輿輦，更廣大之。年八十餘卒。帝三臨其喪。追贈老壽將軍，《趙郡胡靈公》<今贈《老壽將軍》。皆出此時之敕。知前《輔國》必是將軍。《胡靈》二字

諡也。>初《法果》年十四始出家。有子曰《猛》。詔令襲《果》所加爵。《沙門》統之官，自《法果》始也。

復有《鬬賓》《沙門師賢》，本是王種，東《涼》游土。又來京下，值罷佛法。權假醫術，而守道不改。於重興日即為《沙門》，同輩五人。《魏》帝親為下髮，詔《賢》為僧統。僧統之官，自師《賢》始也。

《隋》興佛道，變革《周》風。召《僧猛》住《大興善寺》，為《隋》國大統。《猛》姓《段³⁰》，《涇陽》人也。講『般若』『十地』等<《隋》以大字為殊異也。>又號《聖沙彌》者，初在《洛》任國僧都<都即《沙門》都也。>後召入《鄴》，綏緝有功。轉為國統 一國之僧統也。

《宋》沿《唐》制，廢統立錄<惟宮人出家，敕補尼錄，尼統。有至十字師名。比兩國邑號者甚眾。>

NOTES

1. Literally *shiting* 視聽, “what the people see and hear.” This is a similar sentiment to Zanning’s claim that “the rites and music issue from the Son of Heaven” (see the end of Section 31). “What people see and hear” is a reference to the cultural and social style and tone set by each emperor at the outset of his reign.
2. For detailed descriptions of these offices, consult Hucker, nos. 4079, 5042, 5713, and 6260, respectively.
3. The location of Guanzhong is in present day Shanxi province. It was so-called because of its situation between (*zhong* 中) four barriers (*guan* 關): *Hangu guan* 函谷關 to the east; *Wuguan* 武關 to the south; *Sanguan* 散關 to the west; and *Xiaoguan* 蕭關 to the north. It designates the ancient territory of the Qin, and the regions of and around the ancient Chinese capital, Chang’an.
4. The office of Buddhist Rector (*sengzheng* 僧正), and its origins in the Later Qin with the appointment of Daolüe 道瑫 (a.k.a. Senglüe), are discussed in the previous section, no. 28. Verification of this can be seen in Daolüe’s biography in GSZ 6 (T 50.363b).
5. Regarding Faguo 法果, see the *Shilao zhi* 釋老志 (*Wei shu* 魏書 114: 3030-3031).
6. The *Shilao zhi* (*ibid.*) uses the term “Controller of Religious Practitioners” (*daorentong* 道人統) instead of Śramaṇa Controller (*shamentong* 沙門統), which Zanning seems to take as essentially the same office with a different name.
7. On the reading of *yunqie* 允愜, see Morohashi (1338-26).
8. On this title, see Hucker, nos. 2035, and 2073.
9. *Shilao zhi* (*op.cit.*).
10. Buddhist memorial services consist of a series of rites, carried out over a length of time.
11. Hucker (no. 2073) claims that the title at this time was a “common honorific designation conferred on chieftains of southwestern aboriginal tribes.”
12. *Hu* 胡 is a common prefix in Chinese for people and things of foreign (non-Chinese) origin. *Ling* 靈 literally means “spirit” or “soul.”

13. The SSL text has fourteen here for forty, which, though reasonable, makes little sense in this context. The translation has been amended to follow the *Shilao zhi* which has Faguo's age as forty.
14. On this, see the *Shilao zhi*, and below.
15. Regarding Shixian 師賢, see the *Shilao zhi* (p. 3036). Liang territory is present day Gansu province, part of the Northern Wei Kingdom at this time.
16. This was the suppression carried out by Emperor Taiwu in 446. For the general circumstances surrounding this, see Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 147-151. The Northern Wei capital was situated in Datong.
17. Supplementary information is provided from the *Shilao zhi*. Among other things, the decree calling for the suppression of Buddhism in 446 demanded that "Śramaṇa, young and old alike, all be executed" (*Shilao zhi*, p. 3035). This action was opposed by some highly placed in the government, notably the leading Daoist, Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之 (365-448), who had been one of the main instigators of the suppression. This allowed many Buddhist monks, Shixian among them, to alter their circumstances and return to lay life before the decree was implemented. Kou Qianzhi was a Daoist reformer who reenvisioned many of the ceremonies and rites of the Way of the Celestial Master into a new movement known as the Northern Celestial Masters. His influence was such that he had Daoism established as the official state religion of the Northern Wei dynasty (386-534), and called for the suppression of Buddhism. Kou Qianzhi's aims were thwarted, however, as subsequent Northern Wei emperors renewed their embrace of Buddhism.
18. The *Shilao zhi* is more direct here in stating that he "returned to [the life of] a Śramaṇa."
19. Paralleling the career of Śākyamuni Buddha, who allegedly started the Buddhist order with the conversion of a cadre of five fellow practitioners.
20. The *Shilao zhi* (p. 3036), again has "Controller of Religious Practitioners" (*daoren tong* 道人統) instead of Buddhist Controller (*semtong* 僧統).
21. On Sengmeng 僧猛, see the XGSZ 23 (T 50.631a). His invitation to reside at Daxingshan Monastery 大興善寺 is dated the second year of *daxiang* (580).
22. Regarding this, see Yamazaki H., *Shina chūsei bukkuyō no tenkai*.
23. Following Makita reading Duan 段; CBETA has Meng's family name as Jia(?) (賈-日).
24. Only the *Sūtra on the Ten Stages* (*Dasabhūmika sūtra*) is mentioned in the XGSZ biography of Sengmeng. Vasubhandhu's commentary, the *Dasab-*

- hūmika śāstra*, was translated by Bodhiruci and Ratnamati around 508 (see the *Shidi jing lun* 十地經論; T 26-1522), and was popular throughout Northern China thereafter. This resulted in the appearance of many Dilun 地論 masters, with whom Sengmeng was associated (though he does not appear in Kamata's [*Chūgoku bukkyō shi*, p. 338] list of masters associated with this tradition).
25. Sheng Śrāmaṇera 聖沙彌 is the lay name for Huiguang 慧光. Regarding the events mentioned here, see his biography in XGSZ 21 (T 50.608a). Huiguang (468–537) was a key figure in the establishment of the Four Part Vinaya 四分律 sect in China, as well as the founder of the southern branch of the Dilun school 地論宗, in the capacity of leading disciple of Ratnamati 勒那摩提. He composed a number of commentaries on texts that were being newly translated by monks such as Ratnamati and Bodhiruci 菩提流支, among these the *Sifenlü shu* 四分律疏, *Huayanjing shu* 華嚴經疏, *Niepanjing shu* 涅槃經疏, *Weimojing shu* 維摩經疏, *Shidilun shu* 十地論疏, *Shengmanjing shu* 勝鬘經疏, *Renwangjing shu* 人王經疏 and so forth. (Mueller, DDB).
 26. The office of Śramaṇa Superintendent (*shamendu* 沙門都) is the subject of the next section, no. 30. Note that I treat the appellation *du* 都 as essentially synonymous with *dutong* 都統, although I have distinguished them by translating the former as Supervisor and the later as Superintendent.
 27. Kamata (*Chūgoku bukkyō shi*, p. 149) associates Huiguang with the Eastern Wei Dynasty (535–550), and says that the titles Superintendent of State (*guodu* 國都) and State Controller (*guotong* 國統) are different names for Chief Buddhist Deacon (*du weina* 都維那) and Controller (*tong* 統), respectively, in the office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities (*Zhaoxuan si* 昭玄司). Huigong's biography (XGSZ 21), however, seems to indicate that his titles were with the [Northern] Qi dynasty (550–559), which succeeded the Eastern Wei.
 28. Regarding the office of Registrar, see section 31.
 29. According to Hucker (no. 3437), *gongren* 宮人 is “a general reference to Palace Women, but sometimes used only for servant-status women, not including the Empress, Consorts (*fei* 妃), or Concubines (*bin* 嬪).”
 30. Reading *duan* 段 for *jia* (暇-日).

[30]

ŚRAMAṆA SUPERINTENDENTS

沙門都統¹

When the rulers of the Wei dynasty moved the capital,² along with adopting Yuan as their family name, the barbarian customs they had followed were all changed for Chinese standards.³ Moreover, followers of Indian [traditions] (i.e., Buddhists) were often engaged in the work of carrying out the transformation. Emperor Xiaowen one day issued a proclamation stating,⁴

The Chancellery⁵ recently obtained a report of the Overseer of the Department of State Affairs,⁶ etc., informing me to quickly appoint a Śramaṇa Superintendent. In recent days, I have considered the virtuous to select the [most] worthy. My mind was prevailed upon both while sleeping and awake; I did not know who to rely on to continue the responsibility for [governing] Buddhism. Some have attained eminence in their practice and are venerable in age, and their principles have not become compromised through worldly entanglements. Others have vigorous intelligence and outstanding ability, and have served admirably in troublesome worldly affairs. I am now approving the appointment of the Abbot and Dharma Master of Siyuan Monastery, Sengxian,⁷ to serve as Śramaṇa Superintendent.

When we investigate carefully, [we find that] the Wei Emperor Wen[cheng] appointed Tanyao to serve as Śramaṇa Superintendent [prior to this].⁸ In other words, it originated with Master [Tan]yao. [Tan]yao is the one whom the Emperor bowed down to as Master, and was referred to as Śramaṇa Superintendent in the Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities. He delighted in the reviving of the Buddha-Dharma,⁹ and creating [Buddhist] images carved in stone. It was this master who translated such works as the *Pure Land Samādhi Scripture* and the *Transmission of Buddhist Teachings*.¹⁰

In the [Northern] Qi dynasty, Fashang served as Controller of the Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities,¹¹ and Fashun served as Śramaṇa Superintendent.¹² If this is the case, even though Supervisor is the designation for the person in charge, <generally,¹³ Sections in Bureaucratic Offices usually employ the word Supervisor for their managing superintendent,> it was one grade lower than Controller.¹⁴ In addition, the monk Natiliyeshe of the country of Niochang (i.e., Udyāna) was called by the honorific name [Supervisor] in the Sui dynasty.¹⁵ Prior to this, he also served as Controller of the Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities in the [Northern] Qi dynasty.¹⁶ Why were there so many Controllers and Supervisors in the [Northern] Qi reign of Emperor Gao? The answer is that at the time, out of every ten officials who were appointed, there was one Controller and one Supervisor who served as Director¹⁷ and as Assistant, [respectively]. This is why there were so many.

When the Great Sui dynasty received the mandate, they also used the name Controller. Initially, Tanyan served as Great Controller of Śramaṇa in the Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities.¹⁸ <[The Sui], in particular, added the word “Great” [to the title].> Following him [in rank], was Dharma Master Lingzang, who served as the Abbot of Daxingshan Monastery. He was invited to serve as Supervisor of the Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities.¹⁹

In the Tang dynasty, in the first month of the first year of the *yuanhe* era (806), Emperor Muzong appointed Buddhist monk Weiying of Longxing Monastery as Academician Awaiting Orders,²⁰ as well as Buddhist Controller of Both Precincts [of the Capital].²¹ [Wei]ying communicated regularly with those outside the palace, and he made use of divination to beguile people.²² This is the reason why he had these appointments. Subsequently, [the emperor] dismissed him on account of his impropriety.

Through the Later Liang, Tang, Qin, Han, and Zhou dynasties, and extending down to the present Great Song dynasty, all have employed Registrars, but not Controllers. Various districts among independent regional commanderies sometimes made appointments privately,²³ as for example, when [the rulers of] Wuyue appointed Lingyin as Buddhist Controller.²⁴ Later on, they continued to evade [the Song] and overstep their authority,²⁵ and subsequently issued the designation of Buddhist Rector. These various illegitimate principalities all took it on themselves to use the title Buddhist Registrar.²⁶

[三十] 沙門都統

《魏》主移都，仍從《元》姓虜家所服悉變華章。又於《竺梵》之門多事改遷之作。《孝文帝》一日下詔曰。「門下近得錄公等表，知早定《沙門》都統。比考德選賢。寤寐勤心。繼佛之任，莫知誰寄。或有道高年尊，理無縈紆。或有器識沖邈高揖塵務。今以《思遠寺》主法師《僧顯》，可敕為沙門都統。」

詳究，《魏》《文帝》敕《曇曜》為《沙門》都統。乃自《曜》公始也。《曜》即帝禮為師，號昭玄《沙門》都統。欣佛法重興。彫石造像。譯『淨土三昧經』并『付法藏傳』等，是此師也。

《齊》則以《法上》為昭玄統。《法順》為《沙門》都。然都者雖總轄之名<凡²⁷官曹多以都字為其總攝也而降統一等也。>又《烏菴》國僧，《那提黎耶舍》，隋言尊稱。先於《齊》國亦為昭玄統也。《高》《齊》之世，何統與都多耶。答曰。時置十員，一統一都為正為副。故多也。

大《隋》受命，亦用統名。始以《曇延》為《沙門》大昭玄統<別加大字。>次則《靈藏》法師為《大興善寺》主。尋署昭玄都。

《唐》《穆宗》《元和》元年閏正月，以《龍興寺》僧《惟英》，充《翰林》待詔，兼兩街僧統。《英》通結中外，假卜筮惑人。故有是命。尋以非宜罷之。

自爾《朱梁》《後唐》《晉》《漢》《周》洎今大《宋》，皆用錄而無統矣。偏霸諸道或有私署。如《吳越》以《今因》為僧統。後則繼有避僭差也。尋降稱僧正。其僭偽諸國，皆自號僧錄焉。

NOTES

1. Hucker (no. 7321) notes that the origins of the office of *dutong* 都統 (Superintendent) were as Supervisor in charge of the Imperial Wardrobe Service of the Chancellery (*menxia sheng* 門下省), but by the Tang dynasty was used for Campaign Commander, one of several titles used for military commanders on active campaign.
2. The old capital of what historians refer to as the Later [or Northern] Wei Dynasty (386-534), was in Bingzheng, east of Datong. Emperor Xiaowen (r. 471-499) was responsible for moving the capital to Luoyang, and instigating great changes aimed at sinifying his people (See Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes*, pp. 60-66).
3. The original name of the Wei ruling family was Tuoba 拓拔, reconstructed into old Chinese pronunciation by Pelliot (*T'oung Pao* [1912], p. 732; cited from Grousset, *ibid.*, p. 557, n. 136) as *T'ak-b'uat*. The name was changed to a Chinese one, *Yuan* 元, as part of Xiaowen's policies prohibiting non-Chinese, foreign (i.e. Tuoba) dress, language, and general customs, and aimed at the full adoption of Chinese culture.
4. The proclamation is recorded in GHMJ 24 (T 52.272b).
5. *Menxia* 門下 is an abbreviation of *menxia sheng* 門下省 (Hucker, no. 3934 and 3939). This is the agency "serving as the channel through which imperial pronouncements were put in final form and transmitted to the Department of State Affairs (*shangshu sheng* 尚書省) for implementation."
6. According to Hucker (no. 3851) *lugong* 錄公 is an abbreviation for *lu shangshu sheng* 錄尚書省, Overseer for the Department of State Affairs.
7. Sengxian's 僧顯 appointment is mentioned in the *Shilao zhi* (*Wei shu* 114: 3040), and also in the FZTJ 38 (T 49.355a) where it is entered under the second year of *yanxing* (472); Makita (p. 332, n. 121) thinks this date is doubtful, but this is probably because he has mistaken Emperor Xiaowen for Wencheng in the text that follows.
8. On Tanyao 曇曜, see Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 153-158; Tsukamoto, Zenryū, "The Śramaṇa Superintendent T'an-Yao and His Time," *Monumenta Serica* 16, no. 1 and 2 (1957), pp. 363-396; and more recently, Lidu Yi "The Third-phase of the Yungang Cave Complex—Its Architectural Structure, Subject Matter, Composition and Style Volume One" (Ph.D. diss. University of Toronto, 2010). According to Tanyao's biography in

XGSZ 1 (T 50.427c), he was a Controller (*tong* 統) in the Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities during the *heping* era (460–465), when Wencheng reigned. The FZTJ 38 (T 49.355a) places his appointment as Śramaṇa Supervisor in the first year of *heping* (460). Tanyao is also mentioned as Śramaṇa Supervisor in a decree by Xiaowen (*Shilao zhi*; *Wei shu* 114:3038) dated the second year of *yanxing* (471); however, the *Shilao zhi* (p. 3039) confirms that Tanyao took the post at the beginning of *heping* (460), following the death of Shixian 師賢. When Shixian held the position his title was *daoren tong*, “Controller Religious Practitioners” (p. 3036), making this position the predecessor of Śramaṇa Superintendent (on Shixian, see the previous section, no. 29).

9. Following the anti-Buddhist persecution carried out by Emperor Taiwu in 446. According to the summary of Tsukamoto (“The Śramaṇa Superintendent T’an-Yao and His Time.”) in DDB (Michael Raddich, Nyana-tusita),

Tsukamoto conjectures that even under Shixian 師賢, Tanyao’s predecessor, many concrete policies were actually supervised or conceived by Tanyao. Tanyao was appointed to the position of superintendent sometime in the years 460–466. His tenure came to an end sometime in the period 477–499, by which time he was roughly 70. Throughout his tenure real power lay in the hands of the dowager Wenming 文明 of the Feng 馮 family and their clique. Highlights of his tenure were the erection of Yongning Temple and its seven-story pagoda in 467; and the construction of a 43-chi-high statue of Śākyamuni in gold and copper at Tiangong Temple. The period was also marked by imperial sponsorship of ordination ceremonies and various of (sic.) other instances of conspicuous piety. Part of the legacy of Tanyao and administrators like him was that in the long-term aftermath of the persecutions of the late 440s, the Bei Wei rulers became very favorably disposed towards Buddhism, as evidenced by the elaborated carving of Buddhas at the grottoes in Yungang 雲崗—the construction of which was Tanyao’s conception.

Tanyao also took steps during his tenure to institute “Saṃgha and Buddha households.” Slaves and former aristocrats from Shandong 山東 who had been busted down to peasant as prisoners-of-war (from the campaign of 467) were indentured to Buddhist monasteries, and so harnessed as a labor force for the economic advancement of the Saṃgha as well as the beneficiaries of Saṃgha charity. This was

part of a larger Wei policy of heavily intervening in the distribution of population, and governing workforces with heavy regimes. Grain produced by this labor force was ostensibly for distribution in years of famine (which occurred several times in 460s and 470s), but actually provided capital for clerical usury. Complaints of corruption followed.

10. According to his biography (T 50.428a), Tanyao translated these works by assembling various virtuous [Chinese] monks, with the assistance of Indian śramaṇa. In this connection, it is also useful to note that the duties of the Superintendent in the Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities included supervising translations (*fanyi* 翻譯); see XGSZ 2: T. 50.432c9). The *Foshuo jingtu sanmei jing* 佛說淨土三昧經 is a Chinese composition in two or three fascicles, which had been lost, but was recovered in the twentieth century from a number of manuscripts from Dunhuang 敦煌 and Japanese collections such as Nanatsudera 七つ寺 and Kyoto University Library collections (see Harumi Ziegler, “The Sinitification of Buddhism as Found in an Early Chinese Indigenous Sūtra: A Study and Translation of the *Fo-shuo Ching-tu San-mei Ching* (the Samādhi-Sutra on Liberation through Purification Spoken by the Buddha)” (PhD dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles [2001], pp. 73–83). The text was reconstructed by Ōuchi Fumio 大内文雄 et al., and published in Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮 and Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典, ed. *Chūgoku senjutsu kyōten* (sono 2) 中國撰述經典(其之2) (Tokyo: Daizō shuppansha, 1994–1996), 32–118. The first fascicle is found in the *Xu zangjing* X 15:1.294–298. Ziegler’s study includes a full translation into English (pp. 260–440). Ziegler includes a synopsis of the contents of the text (pp. 111–119), and argues that the text was probably composed in the mid-fifth century. Ziegler also argues the text was most likely composed in the South. The concern of the text with problems of sin and post-mortem retribution, and therefore with means for expurgating sin, can be linked to the flourishing in this period of confessional practices, as studied by Kuo Li-ying (*Confession et contrition dans le bouddhisme chinois du Ve au Xe siècle*. Paris: Publications de l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient, 1994). The text is also important for giving us a relatively rare glimpse into lay practices in this early period (Ziegler 161–162). The *Fu fazang zhuan* 付法藏傳 (full title: *Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan* 付法藏因緣傳; Transmission of the Causes and Conditions of Buddhist Teachings) is contained in T. 50–2058.

11. According to Fashang's 法上 biography in XGSZ 8 (T 50.485c), Emperor Wenxuan appointed ten controllers (*tong* 統) during the *tianbao* era (550-559). Fashang was made Chief Controller (*datong* 大統) over them. FZTJ 38 (T 49.357c) places the event in the seventh year of *tianbao* (556); this is also confirmed in XGSZ 2 (T 50.432c).
12. Fashun 法順 position as Śramaṇa Superintendent is mentioned in FZTJ 38 (T 49.357b29-c3) in connection with his role in assisting, along with Fashang, in the translation work of Tripitaka master Nalianye 那連耶 in the seventh year of the *tianbao* era of the Northern Qi dynasty (556).
13. Following Makita in reading *fan* 凡 ("regularly" or "generally") for *jiu* 九 ("nine").
14. Sections in Bureaucratic Offices translated *guancao* 官曹; Supervisor as *du* 都, managing superintendent as *zongshe* 聰攝 and Controller as *tong* 統.
15. For Natiliyeshe's 那提黎耶舍 biography, where his name is given as Naliantiliyeshe 那連提黎耶舍, see XGSZ 2 (T 50.432a; the claim regarding Sui granting him an honorific name is at 432a24). Udyāna (or Oḍḍiyāna; Chinese Niochang 鳥菴) is conventionally located in the Swat valley in contemporary Pakistan.
16. Also referred to in his biography (T 50.432c9).
17. The word for Director here (*zheng* 正) has been translated elsewhere in Buddhist contexts as Rector.
18. In his biography in XGSZ 8 (T 50.488c), Tanyan 曇延 is referred to simply as Controller of State (*guotong* 國統). Elsewhere (T 50.433a), he is referred to as Śramaṇa Tanyan, Controller of the Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities (*shamen da zhaoxuan tong* 沙門大昭玄統).
19. There is no mention of Lingzang 靈藏 holding such a position in his biography in XGSZ 21 (T 50.610b-c); however, he is mentioned in this capacity elsewhere in the XGSZ, together with Tanyan (T 50.433a).
20. There is a problem here regarding the year of appointment and the emperor who made it. Emperor Muzong's reign did not actually begin until the fifteenth year of *yuanhe* (820). It was Emperor Xianzong's reign that began in 806. To complicate matters, FZTJ 42 (T 49.3846) places the appointments in the first year of the *zhangjing* era (821), the year that Muzong officially began his reign. Makita (p. 333, n. 129) contends that the SSL text is in error here, and that Xianzong is intended. Unfortunately, nothing else is known of Weiyang 惟英. The translation for *hanlin daizhao* 翰林待詔 as Academician Awaiting Orders is provided by Hucker (no. 2150), who explains the position as "a duty assignment in

the Tang Institute of Academicians (*xueshi yuan* 學士院) for officials of literary talent holding substantive posts elsewhere in the central government.”

21. On the office of Buddhist Controller of Both Precincts [of the Capital], see the following section, no. 31.
22. Originally, the word *buwu* 卜筮 (“divination”) signified divining using tortoise shells and bamboo stalks, respectively, but eventually came to be used as a general term for divination.
23. This is a reference to the rulers of quasi-independent principalities that flourished in China during the Five Dynasties period (907-959), particularly in the south.
24. Lingyin 令因 was the youngest son of Wuyue King Qian Liu 錢鏐王. According to Makita (p. 333, n. 132), the title given in Lingyin’s tomb inscription recorded in *Liangzhe jinshi ji* 兩浙金石志 4 confirms his role as Buddhist Controller (*sengtong* 僧統) in Wuyue.
25. The translation of *jiancha* 僭差 as “overstep their authority” follows <http://www.zdic.net/cd/ci/14/ZdicE5Zdic83ZdicAD105200.htm> (consulted August 2011).
26. The Song approved of Buddhist Registrars (*senglu* 僧錄), rather than Controllers or Rectors, as the proper designation of Buddhist Authorities. See, in particular, Zanning’s comments at the end of the previous section, no. 29.
27. Reading *fan* 凡 for *jiu* 九.

[31]

BUDDHIST REGISTRARS FOR THE LEFT AND RIGHT PRECINCTS [OF THE CAPITAL]

左右街僧錄¹

<When the Left and Right Precincts [of the Capital] were established, [the Buddhist clergy] was placed under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Merit and Virtue.² After the appointment of Buddhist Registrars, they were employed [to administer the Buddhist clergy of] the Left and Right Precincts [of the Capital] instead. A Buddhist monk was appointed Registrar in order to [officially] register them (the members of the clergy). The Commissioners of Merit and Virtue, moreover, each had jurisdiction over each of them [i.e., Buddhist Registrars].³>

When the Tang dynasty assumed control of the empire, initially the Buddha Dharma lost strength.⁴ This was undoubtedly due to the fact that the teaching of the Li [clan] (i.e., Daoism) was promoted,⁵ and there was no tolerance for two [rival] teachings.⁶ Fu Yi,⁷ a member of the upper social echelons, stipulated the offenses committed by members of the Buddhist clan, and Shenyao (i.e., Gaozu) did not stop his deceptions.⁸ Following

this, at the imperial procession in the eastern capital, Luoyang, Taizong ordered, by imperial edict, that Buddhist monks and nuns be grouped behind the Daoists.⁹ When Gaozong assumed the throne, he proclaimed his intention to make [Buddhist monks and nuns and Daoist priests and priestesses] bow to the emperor and his close associates.¹⁰ [Empress Wu] Zetian devoted herself to Buddhism; she reauthorized Buddhist monks to be grouped ahead of Daoists.¹¹ During the eras of Zhong[zong] and Rui[zong], [Empress Wu's policy] was no longer advocated.¹² The court of Xuanzong was exclusively devoted to Daoism, and Buddhist monasteries were restricted to only three administrative positions.¹³ The [positions of Buddhist] Controller and [Buddhist] Rector in the Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities were eliminated and not continued. Administrative measures pertaining to Buddhist affairs were neglected and not promoted. Vinaya Master Daoxuan being ordered to serve as Head Monk of Ximing Monastery [instead of being awarded a higher position], is an example of this [i.e., the effect that Xuanzong's policies had].¹⁴

It was in the *kaicheng* era (836-840) of Wenzong that the [position of] Buddhist Registrar of the Left and Right Precincts [of the Capital] was first established. When one seeks out the person [who held this position], it was none other than Dharma Master Duanfu.¹⁵ His secular family name was Zhao. Dezong summoned him to enter the forbidden precincts of the Imperial Palace to debate with Confucians and Daoists, granted him a purple robe, and commanded him to serve the crown prince in the Eastern Court.¹⁶ Xuanzong esteemed him as if he were a brother; they went to bed and got up with each other; [the emperor's] gratitude and respect toward him were especially deep.¹⁷ Xianzong on several occasions made imperial visits to his monastery, and waited on him as a guest and friend.¹⁸ [Duanfu] conducted Buddhist ceremonies within the Imperial Palace, and registered the activities of Buddhists of the Left Precincts of the Capital;¹⁹ he publicly proclaimed the rules to be observed by members of the Pure Assembly (i.e., Buddhist clergy) for ten years. This was during the *yuanhe* era (806-821). Viewed from this

perspective, the rise of [the office of] Buddhist Registrar [of the Left and Right Precincts of the Capital] was from Duanfu. Master [Duan]fu passed away during the *kaicheng* era (836-840) of Wenzong.²⁰

After the *kaicheng* era, Yunduan served as Buddhist Registrar.²¹ Master [Yun]duan received the imperial order intent on eliminating the barbarians, the Buddhist clan.²² First of all, a proclamation was issued stating,²³

Since the arrival of Buddhist teaching, from the past down to the present, what measures have been enacted to promote and suppress it? I respectfully submit that the Buddhist Registrars of the Left and Right Precincts, as well as all monks of the three disciplines,²⁴ make records itemizing their activities, and present them to the throne.

To do this, [Yunduan] persuaded the Great Master of the Dharma Treasure, Xuanchang, to arrange the [relevant] prefaces and writings in sequential order.²⁵ [Xuan]chang subsequently compiled the *Sanbao wuyun tu* (Depiction of the Five Fates of the Three Treasures),²⁶ making clear the chronology of events pertaining to the transmission of the Buddha Dharma, in the same style as Fei Changfang's *Kaihuang sanbao lu* (The Records of the Three Treasures [compiled in the] Kaihuang Era).²⁷

Following this, Lingyan and Bianzhang served as Buddhist Registrars at the court of Xuanzong II.²⁸ Together, they petitioned the throne to have the *Qianbo dajiaowang jing* (Scripture on King of the Great Teaching with a Thousand Begging Bowls) placed into the [Buddhist] canon.²⁹ <The two Masters, [Bian]zhang and [Ling]yan, read [about this work] in the [*Sanbao wuyun tu*], while serving as Buddhist Registrars.>

In the eighth year of the *dazhong* era (854), an imperial decree called for the repair of the destroyed Zongchi Monastery, ordering the Director of the Three Teachings, Bianzhang, to exclusively take charge of repairing the monastery.³⁰ The Palace Commandant-Protector, Cavalry General-in-Chief, Wang Yuanyou,³¹ promoted Master [Bian]zhang from Director [of the Three Teachings], appointing him to Buddhist Registrar of the

Left Precincts of the Capital. Following this, the Grand Master of Pure Light, Sengche, was appointed Buddhist Registrar of the Right Precincts of the Capital.³² [In the reign] of Yizong (r. 859-873), on the fourteenth day of the eleventh month of the twelfth year of the *xiantong* era (871),³³ Buddhists and Daoists of Both Precincts of the Capital proceeded to the Linde Hall to lecture and debate on the occasion of Yanqing celebrations.³⁴ The Buddhist Registrar of the Right Precincts of the Capital, Yanchu, was granted the title “Grand Master of Penetrating Brightness,” and the Buddhist Registrar of the Left Precincts of the Capital, Qinglan, was granted the title “Great Master of Dazzling Wisdom.”³⁵

At the court of Xizong, there was Juehui, who served as Buddhist Registrar.³⁶ In the *zhonghe* era (881-885), when [rebels] invaded the palace during the Huangchao revolt,³⁷ the Buddhist Registrar Yunhao and the Daoist Master of Ritual Du Guangting,³⁸ accompanied the imperial carriage carrying the incense burner and table, etc.; having put on their footwear in a wild flurry, by the time they reached Wugong,³⁹ the legs of both of them were in pain from injuries [they had sustained]. After [control of] the capital was regained⁴⁰ they subsequently returned, and even though [Yunhao] resumed the duties of Registrar, it was not acknowledged at the time.⁴¹

Buddhists and Daoists were Imperial Carriage Escorts⁴² and Ceremonialists, and they carried the incense table—why? When we speak of Registrars, there were Registrars in the Jin and [Liu-]Song dynasties. They kept records on such things as the doctrines in the scriptures, associated teachings,⁴³ translations that had been disseminated, and noteworthy individuals. Therefore, when an imperial edict in the Wei dynasty states,⁴⁴ “[The Chancellery] recently obtained the report of the Overseer of the Department of State Affairs,⁴⁵ ...,” the Overseer of the Department of State Affairs was none other than the Superintendent Registrar⁴⁶ of the Buddhist Section, similar to those referred to as Overseers [of the Department of State Affairs]. When the unauthorized [Later] Qin dynasty first instituted the [office of] Buddhist Rector, they employed two people,

Faqin and Huibin, to serve as Buddhist Registrars.⁴⁷ There was a change of attitude [regarding the role of Buddhist administrators] in the Tang dynasty. The [office of] Buddhist Rector was, as a result, discontinued, and Buddhist Registrars were employed. Surely, the rites and music issue from the Son of Heaven (i.e., the emperor).⁴⁸ Whatever is esteemed at the time, there is no competition between the public and the private.⁴⁹ In point of fact, although [Buddhist] Controllers flourished like grass in the Wei dynasty, and [Buddhist] Rectors grew like groves of trees in the [Later] Qin dynasty, both offices reverted to the administrative jurisdiction of Buddhist Registrars in the Tang dynasty. Borrowing the analogy of whether talent or experience should be most esteemed,⁵⁰ [the question becomes] what use is experience in a dynasty that esteems talent? Regardless of whether one esteems white or blue, should it suit His Majesty to esteem white, blue will never be given priority.⁵¹

[三十一] 左右街僧錄

〈左右街自起，置功德使所屬。及置僧錄，還用左右街也。僧置錄以錄之。功德又各轄焉。〉

自唐有天下，初則佛法萎遲。蓋《李》教勃興，物無兩大故也。《傳奕》上疏條釋氏之愆，《神堯》不無其惑。次巡幸東《洛》，《太宗》詔令僧尼班于道後。《高宗》御極議欲令拜君親。《則天》歸心釋門。還令僧班道上。《中》《叡》之世微更發揮。《玄宗》之朝一往崇道。僧寺止立三綱而已。昭玄統正革而不沿。僧務官方沈而弗舉。《道宣》律師被敕為《西明寺》上座，即其例也。

至《文宗》《開成》中，始立左右街僧錄。尋其人即《端甫》法師也。俗姓《趙》。《德宗》召入禁中，與儒道論議，賜紫方袍。令侍太子於東朝。《順宗》重之若兄弟，相與臥起。恩禮特深。《憲宗》數幸其院，待之若賓友。掌內殿法儀，錄左街僧事。標表淨眾一十年。即《元和》中也。由此觀之，僧錄之起自《端甫》也。《甫公》《文宗》《開成》中卒。

《開成》後則《雲端》為僧錄也。《端公》奉敕旨，欲芟夷釋氏。先下詔曰。「有佛教來，自古迄今，興廢有何徵。應仰兩街僧

錄與諸三學僧，錄其事目進上。」成推法寶大師《玄暢》，序述編次。《暢》遂撰『三寶五運圖』，明佛法傳行年代，若《費長房》『開皇三寶錄』同也。

次則，《宣宗》朝，《靈晏》，《辯章》為僧錄。同奏請『千鉢大教王經』，<《章》《晏》二公受僧錄見『五運圖』。>

《大中》八年，詔修廢《總持寺》。敕三教首座《辯章》，專勾當修寺。護軍中尉驃騎《王元宥》，宣《章公》由首座充左街僧錄。次《淨光大師僧徹》充右街僧錄。《懿宗》《咸通》十二年十一月十四日，延慶節兩街僧道，赴《麟德殿》講論。右街僧錄《彥楚》，賜《明徹》大師。左街僧錄《清蘭》，賜《慧照大師》。

《僖宗》朝則有《覺暉》為僧錄焉。《中和》《巢寇》犯闕時，僧錄《雲皓》與道門威儀《杜光庭》，執香鑪案等。隨駕蒼黃穿襪行，至《武功》腳皆創疼。及收復京師，隨迴方署錄職，莫知于時。

僧道引駕，儀式，持香案，何耶。所言錄者，有《晉》《宋》錄。錄其經法傍教傳翻譯人物等事。故《魏》詔曰。「近得錄公等表。」錄公乃是僧曹總錄，猶言錄事也。偽《秦》始立僧正，則以《法欽》《慧斌》二人掌僧錄也。有《唐》變態，正乃錯諸錄則用矣。蓋禮樂自天子出也。時既所高，物無我競。任使《魏》統如草，《秦》正若林，皆歸《唐》錄區宇中矣。譬若尚賢尚齒，屬尚賢之代，齒何用乎。尚白尚青，當尚白之君，青勿先也。

NOTES

1. The function of the Buddhist Registrar is to maintain supervision over Buddhist affairs. Hucker's (no. 4948) description of the *Senglu si* 僧錄司 (Central Buddhist Registry) indicates the scope of responsibilities: "... a central government agency responsible for monitoring the number, qualifications and conduct of Buddhist monks and nuns, normally staffed with senior monks of the capital monasteries recognized by the state as leaders of the empire-wide Buddhist clergy, sometimes given nominal official ranks." // The Tang Chinese capital, Chang'an, had six main streets in total, three on the left and three on the right of a principle avenue ("imperial way") leading up to the imperial residence. The directions indicated by left and right, as determined from the position of the emperor who is always situated to the north, are east and west, respectively. Thus, offices pertaining to the capital were normally paired, Left Offices of the ... , and Right Offices of the.... This is also the case with the office of Buddhist Registrar. On the office of Buddhist Registrar, see studies by Yamazaki Hiroshi, "Tōdai ni okeru sōni shorei no mondai" (A Problem of Jurisdiction Over the Buddhist Order in the Tang), *Shina Bukkyō shigaku* 3-1 (1937), pp. 1-27; and "Zuidai sōkan kō" (Reflections on Buddhist Administration in the Sui Dynasty), *Shina Bukkyō shigaku* 6-1 (1942), pp. 1-15.
2. The Commissioner of Merit and Virtue (*gongde shi* 功德使), according to Hucker (no. 3485), was "first appointed in the period 788-807, to supervise the Buddhist establishments in the two dynastic capitals, Chang'an and Luoyang; gradually evolved into a supervisory controller of adherents of other religions as well, e.g. Islam, Manichaeism.... Loosely subordinated to the Court of State Ceremonial (*honglu si* 鴻臚寺) in Tang and Song,..." Zanning probably intends here the Grand Commissioners for Merit and Virtue, who were appointed in pairs to supervise Buddhist establishments in the eastern or western precincts of the capital, respectively (see Hucker, no. 5976). See also the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 48 (*Baiguan zhi* 百官志), where it says that "Grand Commissioners for Merit and Virtue of the Left and Right Precincts of the Capital (*zuoyoujie dagongde shi* 左右街大功德使) were appointed in the *zhenyuan* era (785-805) to supervise the registration of Buddhist monks and nuns." For a detailed study of the origins and development of the *gongde shi*,

see Tsukamoto, “Tō chūki irai no chōan no kutokushi,” (*Chūgoku chūsei bukkyōshi ronkō* 3, pp. 251-284). Important primary source documents are recorded in *Bukong sanzang biaozihi ji* 不空三藏表制集 3 (T 52-2120); and *Zhenyuan xukaiyuan shijiao lu* 貞元續開元釋教錄 (T 55-2156).

3. Just as there were Buddhist Registrars for each of the left and right precincts, there were also Commissioners of Merit and Virtue for each as well. The role of the Commissioner of Merit and Virtue is discussed in detail in section no. 37, Administrative Jurisdiction Over Buddhist Monks and Nuns.
4. The image provided by the Chinese term here, *weichi* 萎遲, is that of withering vegetation, retarded by a lack of nourishment.
5. The term for Daoist teaching here, the teaching of the Li clan (*Li jiao* 李教), points to the claim of the early Tang emperors (family name Li) as the lineal ancestors of the founder of Daoism, Laozi, whose family name was also Li. This was the pretext for Li ruler's promotion of Daoism at the beginning of the Tang.
6. Literally, “things” or “objects” (*wu* 物), but clearly a reference to the rivalry between Buddhism and Daoism at the beginning of the Tang.
7. The Daoist Fu Yi 傅奕 (554-639) was a famous opponent of Buddhism of the early Tang period. He presented a memorial in 624 (according to some sources, 621) attacking Buddhism on nationalistic, intellectual, and economic grounds, charging that Buddhist teaching was subversive to traditional Chinese values. His biography is found in JTS 79; and XTS 107 (where words from his memorial are cited); see also GHMJ 7 (T 52.133a-134b). See studies by S. Ogasawara, “Tō no haibutsuronsha Fu Eki ni tsuite” (On the Tang Anti-Buddhist Propagandist Fu Yi), *Shina Bukkyō shigaku* 1-3 (1937), pp. 83-93; and Arthur F. Wright, “Fu I and the Rejection of Buddhism,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 12 (1951), pp. 33-47. In brief, Fu Yi's contention was that Buddhism be exterminated, and that the Confucian state be consolidated with the assistance of Daoist teachings to provide a viable alternative.
8. Shenyao 神堯 is the posthumous name of Tang Emperor Gaozu, 高祖 Li Yuan 李淵 (r. 618-626). Regarding Fu Yi's memorial and Emperor Gaozu's reaction to it, see Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 215-216; and Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, pp. 7-8.
9. Taizong reigned from 626 to 649. This decree was ordered in the eleventh year of the *zhenguan* era (637). A copy of Taizong's decree is found in XGMJ 25 (T 52.283c-284a). Regarding Taizong's general attitude toward

- Buddhism, see Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 216-219; and Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, pp. 11-27.
10. Gaozong reigned from 649 to 683. There is a copy of Gaozong's decree in GHMJ 25 (T 52.284a). This decree was issued on the fifteenth day of the fourth month of the second year of the *longshuo* (662).
 11. Empress Wu reigned from 690 to 705. The decree is found in FZTJ 39 (T 49.369c), dated to the second year of the *zaiqu* era (691); see also JTS 6. For a general assessment of Empress Wu's support of Buddhism, see Ch'en, pp. 219-222; for a more detailed study of Empress Wu, see Richard Guisso, *Wu Tse-T'ien and the Politics of Legitimation in T'ang China*; and Jinhua Chen, "Sarira and Scepter: Empress Wu's Political Use of Buddhist Relics."
 12. Emperor Zhongzong reigned briefly in 684, and again from 705 to 710. Ruizong reigned from 684 to 690, and again from 710 to 712. In 711, Ruizong decreed that Buddhism and Daoism be treated on an equal basis at court ceremonies; see the *Tang dazhaoling ji* 唐大詔令集 (Collected Grand Edicts and Decrees of the Tang dynasty) 113.
 13. Xuanzong reigned from 712 to 756. According to *Datang liudian* 大唐六典 4 (*Cibu* 祠部), the three administrative positions were: Head Monk (*shangzuo* 上座), Abbot (*sizhu* 寺主), and Chief Buddhist Deacon (*duweina* 都維那); SSL section 35 lists them as Abbot, Head Monk, and Bringer of Joy to the Assembly (*yuezhong* 悅眾), which Zanning elsewhere equates with Chief Buddhist Deacon.
 14. See Daoxuan's 道宣 biography in SGSZ 14 (T 50.790c).
 15. The same claim is made in *Shishi jigu lue* 釋氏稽古略 3 (T 49.831b-c). Michihata Ryōshū 道端良秀 discusses the evidence for and against this claim in his *Tōdai bukkyō shi no kenkyū* 唐代佛教史の研究 (1958; rpt. Kyoto: Hassōkan, 1982), pp.105-108. See also Weinstein *Buddhism Under the T'ang*, pp. 99, 101. According to Duanfu's 端甫 biography, SGSZ 6 (T 50.741c), Duanfu passed away in the sixth month of the first year of the *kaicheng* era (836). If this is the case, it is unlikely that he was appointed to the position during this era, as the SSL claims. The biography itself (T 50.741b) leads one to the conclusion that Duanfu probably began serving as Buddhist Registrar for Buddhist Affairs of the Left Precincts of the Capital sometime during the reign of Xianzong (r. 805-820), and the same information is recorded in his tomb inscription in *Jinshi cuibian* 金石萃編 113, upon which his SGSZ biography appears to be based. This conclusion is also supported by FZTJ 41 (T 49.380b), as we shall see below. The point here however, is not just the origins of Buddhist Registrars.

FZTJ claims that the office originated with Faqin 法欽 in the Later Qin, and Zanning himself admits that Faqin and Huibin 慧斌 held such positions [see SSL sections 27 and 32]), but Zanning's concern for explaining the origins of the Buddhist Registrar for left and right precincts [and not just one] may help explain the inconsistency of dates noted above. In other words, according to Zanning it is the office of Buddhist Registrar for left and right precincts that originated during the *kaicheng* era, and not the office of Buddhist Registrar as such, which obviously had an earlier origin. The importance for Zanning's insistence on what otherwise appears as a trivial point will become clearer in what follows.

16. Dezong reigned from 779 to 805. According to FZTJ 41 (T 49.380a), these events occurred in the thirteenth year of *zhenyuan* (797). Throughout Chinese history, the Eastern Court is the residence of either the Heir Apparent or the mother of the Emperor (see Hucker, no. 7422).
17. Xunzong reigned for only a very short period of eight months in 805.
18. Emperor Xianzong reigned from 805 to 820. The monastery he visited Duanfu at was the Anguo si 安國寺.
19. According to FZTJ 41 (T 49.380b21), Duanfu was appointed in this capacity in the first year of *yuanhe* (806), while Lingsui 靈邃 was at the same time appointed to register the Buddhist activities of the Right Precinct.
20. As noted above Duanfu allegedly passed away in the first year of the *kaicheng* era (836), on the first day of the sixth month (T 50.741c).
21. The era following *kaicheng* is *huichang* (841-846), when Wenzong mounted a major suppression of Buddhism (regarding the Huichang suppression, see Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 226-233). Yunduan has no biography in SGSZ, but in the tomb inscription of Jigong 基公 of the Da Ci'en Monastery 大慈恩寺 recorded in *Jinshi cuibian* 金石萃編 113 (dated the fourth year of the *kaicheng* era [839]), one of Yunduan's 雲端 titles given there is Buddhist Registrar of the Right Precincts of the Capital (p. 38a3); the Registrar of the Left Precincts is given there as Tixu 體虛 (p. 38a2). In FZTJ 42 (T 49.385b), however, it is said that Yunduan was appointed Buddhist Registrar of the Left and Right Precincts of the Capital in the first year of the *kaicheng* era (836), following the death of Duanfu.
22. According to Makita (p. 334, n. 143), the term *shanyi* 芟夷 ("eliminate barbarians") refers to mowing down grass to eliminate evil, in this case, the Buddhist clan.
23. This is also recorded in FZTJ 42 (T 49.385c), in an entry for the third year of the *huichang* era (843). The source of this proclamation is unknown.

24. The three disciplines of Buddhist study: the vinaya (monastic precepts), meditation, and wisdom.
25. According to the biography of Xuanchang 玄暢 in SGSZ 17 (T 50.818a-b), Lingyan 靈宴 and Bianzhang 辯章, not Yunduan, were the Buddhist Registrars who persuaded him to compile his record.

Just as he (Xuanchang) began to lecture, he encountered ill fortune in the form of the Huichang persecution of the Teaching. At that time the members of the Buddhist clergy in the capital were terrified. Buddhist Registrars of Both Precincts, Lingyan 靈宴 and Bianzhang 辯章, both recommended Xuanchang to act as a leader of those submitting a memorial in protest. And so he composed the *Lidai diwang lu* (Record of Emperors Through the Ages) and submitted it as a memorial, but it was ignored. (Kieschnick, draft translation of the SGSZ, with changes).

According to Zanning, Lingyan and Bianzhang were Registrars at the following court of Xuanzong, not at Wenzong's (see the SSL text immediately following).

26. The *Sanbao wuyun tu* 三寶五雲圖 text is no longer extant. According to Xuanchang's biography (T 50.818b), the title of the text was *Lidai diwang lu* 歷代帝王錄 (Record of Emperors through the Ages). Makita (*Sō kōsoden* translation, Xuanchang's biography, p. 366, n. 5) characterizes the text as quoted materials regarding the relative strengths and weaknesses of the three teachings, arranged historically by imperial reign. It figures prominently in SSL section 1, and elsewhere.
27. The *kaihuang* era (581-600) of the Sui dynasty; Fei Changfang's 費長房 *Kaihuang sanbao lu* 開皇三寶錄 is more commonly known as the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 (Record of the Three Treasures through the Ages; T 49-2034).
28. Xuanzong II reigned from 847 to 860. The confusion between Xuanzong 玄宗 and Xuanzong 宣宗 by designating the later as Xuanzong II (following the custom of Weinstein, *Buddhism Under the T'ang*) is avoided in the Chinese by the different characters used to render each emperor's name, although they have the same *pinyin* pronunciations. The appointments of Lingyan and Bianzhong are noted in the biography of Xuanchang (T 50.818b) FZTJ 42 (T 49.387a), which records Lingyan's appointment as Buddhist Registrar of the Left and Right Precincts of the Capital for the third year of the *dazhong* era (849). Regarding Lingyan, see also Yanchu's 彥楚 preface to Lingyan's tomb-inscription, the *Datang*

- Chongfusi gusenglu Lingyan muzhi bingxu* 大唐崇福寺故僧錄靈宴墓誌並序, in *Sui Tang Wudai muzhi huibian shanxi juan* 隋唐五代墓誌彙編 陝西卷 4. A poem attributed to Bianzhang is recorded in a Dunhuang manuscript, Pelliot 3720, allegedly presented upon entering the capital with the Shazhou monk Wuzhen 悟真 in the fifth year of *dazhong* (851).
29. The *Qianbo dajiaowang jing* 千鉢大教王經 is an abbreviation of a scripture attributed to Bukong 不空 (Amoghavajra) and Hyecho 慧超, *Dasheng yuqie jingang xinghai manshushili qianbi qianbo dajiaowangjing* 大乘瑜伽金剛性海曼殊室利千臂千鉢大教王經 (Mahāyāna Yoga of the Adamantine Ocean, Mañjuśrī with a Thousand Arms and Thousand Bowls: Great King of Tantras); a copy is found in T 20-1177a. According to a study by Robert Gimello ("The 'Cult of the Mañjuśrī of a Thousand Arms and a Thousand Bowls' in T'ang Dynasty Buddhism," National Taiwan University, 3rd Chung-Hwa Conference on International Buddhism (1997), this is an apocryphon based partly on the *Avatamsaka* 華嚴經. This is also suggested in the study on Hyecho by Yang, Han-Sung et al., *The Hye Chō Diary: Memoir of the Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India* (Seoul: Po Chin Jae Co., Ltd., 1984); above information courtesy of DDB.
30. This is verified in the biography of Huiling 慧靈 in SGSZ 16 (T 50.807b-c), where Zanning provides an expanded explanation of events leading to Bianzhong's appointment: "

In the seventh year of the *dazhong* era (853), Xianzong II visited the Zhuangyan Monastery 莊嚴寺 to worship the Buddha's tooth and climb the great stupa. The Emperor asked after Huiling's age, and granted him a purple robe. On the sixth month of that year, an edict appointed Huiling as the abbot of the new monastery. Looking out at the ruins of the Zongchi Monastery 總持寺 to the northwest of the [Zhuangyan] Monastery, the Emperor proclaimed an edict which said,

'When not pressed by affairs of state, We have come to the Zhuangyan Monastery to enjoy the scenery. The monastery is composed of row on row of halls. The ridges of the roofs are linked, and the pillars aligned. Deep rooms and mysterious buildings provide a sense of spaciousness; dense bamboo and vivid pines provide contrasts of dark shadow and brilliant color. Walking about, one

easily loses one's way. Of all the monastic centers in the world, few compare with the superb excellence of the Zhuangyan!

When the monastery was built, a wooden stupa, three hundred *chi* tall, was constructed beside the momentous Kunming Pool 昆明池 west of the capital. When I was in the city, I would come out to this *sanghārāma* to see these great sights. The Zongchi Monastery was built during the *daye* era (605-616). The monastic order there was exactly the same as in the Zhuangyan Monastery. Today the images have fallen into disrepair. The grass, once so fine, has gone to seed; the paths, once so fragrant, are overgrown with weeds. Yet the old foundation is still intact. This monastery should be rebuilt, for this would liven my heart.'

On the eleventh day of the third month, the director of the three teachings 三教首座, Bianzhang 辯章, was ordered to oversee the reconstruction of the monastery. When work was completed, Huiling was recommended to take charge of the monastery [as abbot]. Recipient of the Purple Robe Ruichuan 叡川 of the Chongsheng Monastery 崇聖寺 filled the position of head monk. Venerable Administer of the Precepts and Recipient of the Purple Robe Xuanchang 玄暢 of the Fushou Monastery 福壽寺 filled the position of Deacon." (Kieshnick, SGSZ draft trans., with minor changes)

31. An order issued by Wang Yuanyou 王元宥 is preserved in *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 750 (<http://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/全唐文/卷0750>). According to Hucker (no. 2777), the Palace Commandant-Protector (*hujun zhongwei* 護軍中尉) was "a high eunuch post in the Armies of Inspired strategy from the late 700's, one of the organizational bases from which palace eunuchs gained dictatorial control over the imperial armies, the court, and the throne in the 9th century." *Piaoqi* 驃騎 is an abbreviation here for *piaoqi dajiangzhu* 驃騎大將軍 (Cavalry General-in-Chief; Hucker no. 4620), a prestige title for high-ranking military officers.
32. This is also mentioned in FZTJ 42 (T 49.387c). The title given Sengche 僧徹 acknowledging this appointment is also mentioned in the biography of his teacher, Zhixuan 知玄 in SGSZ 6 (T 50.744b).
33. According to Sengche's biography in SGSZ 6 (T 50.745a), this occurred in the eleventh year of the *xiantong* era (870).
34. Yanqing celebrations 延慶節 were to commemorate the birthday of Emperor Yizong, who was born on the fourteenth day of the eleventh

month in the seventh year of the *taihe* era (833). The Linde Hall 麟德殿 means literally, “The Hall of Unicorn Virtue.”

35. The SGSZ has a record of Sengche receiving the title “Great Master of Pure Light” 淨光大師 on this occasion (T 50.745a). Yanchu 彥楚 has a poem attributed to him in Dunhuang fragments Pelliot 3720 and 3886, and Stein 4654. He participated in the procession of the Buddha’s relic to Famen si 法門寺 in the fourteenth year of *xiantong* (873) (see the *Datong xiantong qisong qiyang zhensheng zhiwen* 大唐咸通啓送岐陽真身志文 (recovered from Famen si 法門寺 in 1987). Qinglan 清蘭 also participated in the procession of the Buddha’s relic to Famen si. He is also mentioned in FZTJ 42 (T 49.389a).
36. In the biography of Zhixuan 知玄 in SGSZ 6 (T 50.744c), Juehui 覺暉 is mentioned as the Buddhist Registrar of the Right Precincts of the Capital.
37. Regarding the Huangchao rebellion, see Robert M. Somers, “The end of the T’ang,” in Twitchett, ed., *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 3: Sui and T’ang China, 589-906, Part I*, pp. 682-789.
38. Nothing else is known of Yunhao 雲皓, and Fu Shiping (, P.109, n. 19) suggests it is probably Yunhao 雲顥 who is intended. Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850-933) was a famous Daoist of this period, responsible for giving Daoism its most systematic formulation, especially in terms of ritual and ceremonial functions. See, for example, Kubo Noritada, *Dōkyō shi* (History of Daoism), pp. 249-252. The implication is that the Daoist Master of Ritual (*daomen weiyi* 道門威儀) is an office in the imperial bureaucracy, but I have not been able to confirm it.
39. Wugong 武功 is in present day Shanxi province.
40. Control of the capital was regained in the first year of the *guangqi* era (885).
41. Presumably, it was because of the chaotic state of affairs at the end of the Tang.
42. According to Hucker (no. 7973), the term *yinjia* 引駕 normally designated members of Imperial Insignia Guards (*jinwu wei* 金吾衛), usually of the Left or Right, assigned to duty as intimate attendants at the palace. Zanning discusses Buddhists in such functions further (see SSL III, section 44). According to Zhiwei’s biography in FZTJ 7 (T 49.187c), appointment as one of the four Grand Masters (*si dashi* 四大師) in the Tang Dynasty meant appointment as a Grand Master of the Imperial Carriage Escort (*yinjia dashi* 引駕大師).
43. Associated teachings here is probably a reference to commentaries and interpretations.

44. This is from the *Di yi sengxian wei shamen dutong zhao* 帝以僧顯為沙門都統詔 (Imperial Decree Making Sengxian Śramaṇa Superintendent); see the GHMJ 24 (T 52.272b).
45. According to Hucker (no. 3851) *lugong* 錄公 is a variant of *lu shangshu shi* 錄尚書事, Overseer of the Department of State Affairs.
46. Following Hucker (no. 3857[2]), Overseer was at this time the title for the regular head of the Department at State Affairs, a high-ranking position. See also Hucker's "Introduction," p. 19. The correspondence between *lu* 錄 "Registrar" and *lu* 錄 "Overseer" is unfortunately lost in the translation.
47. Regarding Faqin 法欽 and Huibin's 慧斌 service as Buddhist Registrars (*senglu* 僧錄), see Daolüe's 道喆 biography, GSZ 6 (T 50.363b).
48. "Rites and music" (*liyue* 禮樂), cardinal Confucian virtues, may here be taken as emblematic of an emperor's ruling style, and social and cultural tone. Individually, the rites may be said to determine the social order by setting the tone for social behavior, and music as soothing and pacifying people's minds. Thus, they may be regarded as the cultural style and tone of the reign established by each new ruler.
49. Reading *wu* 物, literally "things," as the public manifestation of the "rites and music," which set the public tone of society (see the previous note), in contrast with *wo* 我, literally "self," as the private and personal ambitions of the individual. Elsewhere (see section 59), the term *wu* appears in the context of "the emperor's things" or "implements," which, in a broad sense, may be taken as complimentary to its meaning here. In other words, the emperor is the pinnacle of society; it is inconceivable that any other party would dare challenge the priorities that the emperor has established for his reign. This follows also for the administrative preferences instituted by the emperor for administering the Buddhist order.
50. See the *Tiandao* 天道 (Way of Heaven) chapter of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子. The priority given there is (in ascending order): relatives, the obedient, the experienced, and the talented.
51. Zanning here argues for the implicit acceptance of imperial norms, and the subordination of Buddhism to these norms. The absolute subordination of Buddhism to the state in the Song is an important topic for the study of Zanning, concerning which I have written elsewhere ("A Buddhist Response to the Confucian Revival: Tsan-ning and the Debate over *Wen* in the Early Sung"; and "Tsan-ning's *Ta-Sung Seng shih-lüeh* and the Foundations of Sung Dynasty Buddhism: The Concept of the Three Teachings as Implements of the Chinese Emperor").

ASSISTANTS TO BUDDHIST SUPERIORS

僧主副員¹

When the Yao (i.e., Later) Qin dynasty instituted the [office of Buddhist] Rector, even though they had no title for an Assistant Rector, they still had a notion of an “accompanying cart” (i.e. an assistant).² Therefore, they employed Zhiyuan as Bringer of Joy to the Assembly,³ and the two Masters [Fa]qin and [Hui]bin were [Buddhist] Registrars.⁴ In this way, then, although the class of officials [that administered Buddhism] were separated into different sections that jointly dealt with monastic affairs, they did not expressly refer [to any of them] with the two words “Assistant Rector.”

When we come to the era of the Wei dynasty, they changed the name to Buddhist Controller, and regarded him as the official [in charge of] rectifying [the clergy].⁵ They appointed Śramaṇa Supervisors in order to distinguish [them from those who acted as] assistants.⁶ These were none other than the Chief Buddhist Deacons.⁷ In light of this, Emperor Xiaowen (r. 467-499) issued a decree stating:⁸

... Assisting at ceremonies and assisting in activities equally pertain to [the responsibilities of] Buddhist monks. Recently, since these concerns have been exclusively taken care of by Controller Yao, [Buddhists] have accordingly been deprived of their duties. We know that Tan Yao, prior to this, had relied on Assistants.⁹ Now, in my desire to encourage virtue and commend the good, I specifically require [the services of] such a person. The Dharma Master of Huangjiu Monastery, Sengyi,¹⁰ being fervent in his practice, soft in spirit, amiable and wise, respectful and upright, energetic in work, and excellent [in his achievements] in the Way, I accordingly appoint as assistant, and approve him to act as Chief Buddhist Deacon in order to enlighten worthy followers [of Buddhism].

Subsequently, we know that the Wei dynasty regarded Bringers of Joy to the Assembly as Assistants.¹¹

It is generally known that in the era of the Yao (i.e., Later) Qin dynasty, Zhiyuan¹² served as Assistant. If this is the case, the Later Wei dynasty utilized the [Yao] Qin system as well, and [the fact that this] is not indicated in the biographies of Buddhist monks is undoubtedly [due to] nothing more than a lack of clarity and experience with the meaning of the terminology [for Buddhist officials].¹³

Moreover, at the time each monastery separately instituted three administrative offices (*sanguan*), [including the office of Chief Buddhist Deacon].¹⁴ Was it not redundant and superfluous to have Chief Buddhist Deacons at individual monasteries [in addition to having them as Assistants to Controllers]? In response to this, there are two [reasons why] it was not superfluous. In the first place, they served as Assistants under¹⁵ [the jurisdiction of] the Buddhist Controller in the Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities through imperially proclaimed edicts.¹⁶ Secondly, they served as Chief Buddhist Deacons under [the jurisdiction of] the Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities. How can [the government appointed Chief Buddhist Deacons] be equated to the Bringers of Joy to the Assembly at individual monasteries?

Among the Southern dynasties, the Song Emperor Xiaowu (r. 454-464) esteemed Huiqu.¹⁷ When [Hui]qu delivered a sermon¹⁸ for the Emperor during a Vegetarian Feast Celebration [sponsored by the Emperor],¹⁹ [the Emperor] bowed to [Hui]qu endlessly, and decreed that he serve as Chief Buddhist Deacon of the Capital City. The only difference here is the use of the two words “Capital City” [in the title]. When Rectors were instituted in the region around the lower reaches of the Yangzi River,²⁰ sometimes Assistants were instituted, while at other times they were not.

When the Sui dynasty united [China], they again followed the model of the Northern dynasties (i.e., the Northern Wei), and used the [office of] Controller instead of Rector, and Supervisor instead of Assistant.

When the [office of] Buddhist Registrar was first established to register the monks of the left and right precincts,²¹ during the *yuanhe* (806-820) and *changqing* (821-823) eras of the Tang dynasty, there were as yet no assistants. Following the [Buddhist Registrar] was the Director of the Three Teachings.²² During the *qianning* era (894-897) of Zhaozong, [the title] Director [of the Three Teachings] was changed to Assistant Buddhist Registrar; they assigned Juehui to it.²³ [The office of] Assistant Registrar began with Master [Jue]hui.

In the Zhu (i.e., Later) Liang, Later Tang, [Later] Qin, [Later] Han, and [Later] Zhou dynasties, [Assistant Registrars] were sometimes instituted, and sometimes abolished. They appeared and disappeared with irregularity.

At present, the Great Song dynasty instituted by imperial decree [the office of] Assistant Buddhist Registrar of the Right Precincts of the Capital in the sixth year of the *taiping xingguo* era (982) to administer the Buddhist affairs of the right precincts [of the capital].

[三十二] 僧主副員

《姚秦》立正也。雖無副正之名，而有貳車之意。故用《志》²⁴遠》為悅眾，《欽》《斌》二公掌錄。斯乃階級分曹同成僧務，而不顯言副正二字。

及《魏》世更名僧統，以為正員。署《沙門》都，以分副翼。則都《維那》是也。故《孝文帝》詔云。「副儀貳事緇素攸同。頃因《曜》統獨濟，遂廢斯任。知《曇曜》前曾立副職。今欲毘德贊善，固須其人。《皇舅寺》法師《僧義》，行恭神暢，溫聰謹正，業懋道優，用膺副翼，可充都維那以光賢徒。」乃知《魏》以悅眾為副。

例知《姚秦》世《志²⁵遠》為副也。若爾者，《後魏》亦用《秦》制，而僧傳不指，蓋不明練辭義耳。

又，于時各寺別立三官。寺之都《維那》莫有相濫乎。答此有二不濫。一，敕署令於昭玄僧統下²⁶為副。二，自帶昭玄下都維那。豈同寺之悅眾耶。

南朝《宋》《孝武帝》重《慧璩》。《璩》曾對帝唱導於齋會中，囑《璩》一萬敕為京邑都《維那》。此以京邑二字簡異也。《江》左立正，而有立副者，有不立者。

及《隋》一統，還準北朝用統為正，以都為副。

至《唐》《元和》《長慶》間，始立僧錄，錄左右街僧，亦無貳職。次有三教首座。《昭宗》《乾寧》中，改首座為副僧錄。得《覺暉》焉。副錄自《暉公》始也。

《朱梁》《後唐》《晉》《漢》《周》，或置或省。出沒不定。

今大《宋》《太平興國》六年，敕立右街副僧錄，知右街教門事焉。

NOTES

1. Buddhist Superiors (*sengzhu* 僧主) is a generic term for authorities that supervised the activities of the clergy, spanning the array of offices that Zanning has discussed in the previous sections. The assistants discussed here are thus to any of the leading positions charged with supervising the Buddhist order, rather than to a specific office called “Buddhist Superiors.”
2. The *erche* 貳車, literally “second cart,” refers to a spare cart that accompanied the imperial entourage (see the *Li ji* 禮記, *Shaoyi* 少儀 20).
3. While the SSL text has Huiyuan 慧遠 here, this is clearly a mistake for Zhiyuan 志遠 (see section 27) and the translation has been amended accordingly.
4. See GSZ 6 (T 50.363b). The same information regarding Faqin 法欽 and Huibin 慧斌 is noted in connection with sections 27 and 31, above.
5. This represents a change in the official title of the one in charge of overseeing Buddhism from the Later Qin to the Wei. In section 29, Zanning claims: “When the [Later] Qin controlled [the capital region] Guanzhong, they established the Buddhist Rector (*sengzheng* 僧正) as the leader of the Buddhist religion (*zongshou* 宗首). When the Wei were venerated [as rulers of] the territories of the north, they changed command over the Buddhist clergy [from Buddhist Rector] to Buddhist Controller (*sengtong* 僧統). Even though they issued a new title, the duties that were handled remained as before.”
6. Buddhist Rectors are discussed in section 28 above; Buddhist Controllers in section 29; Śramaṇa Supervisors in section 30.
7. According to the *Baiguan zhi* 百官志 section of *Sui shu* 隋書 27, in the *Zhaoxuan si* 昭玄寺 (Office for the clarification of Buddhist Profundities) of the Wei period, the chief officials were the Controller-in-Chief (*datong* 大統) and the Controller (*tong* 統), followed by three Chief Buddhist Deacons (*du weina* 都維那) (see also section 37, below).
8. The full text of Emperor Xiaowen’s decree can be found in the GHMJ 24 (T 52.272b).
9. Following Hucker (no. 936), I take *zhi* 職 to mean an “assigned official” as opposed to an “unassigned official” (i.e., a prestige title); in other words, an official’s functional duty as opposed to his nominal rank status. Prior to Tan Yao 曇曜 being named Śramaṇa Controller (*shamen tong* 沙門統)

- in the first year of the *heping* (460), Shixian 師賢, the previous Controller, had been referred to as Controller of Religious Practitioners (*daoren tong* 道人統; see the *Shilao zhi* 釋老志, *Wei shu* 魏書 114).
10. According to *Shuijing zhu* 水經注13, the Huangjiu Monastery 皇舅寺 (literally, “imperial maternal brother’s monastery”) was built by the maternal uncle of Emperor Xiaowen. After the uncle passed away, the temple was named in honor of him.
 11. Bringers of Joy to the Assembly are here the same as Chief Buddhist Deacons.
 12. The SSL text has again has Huiyuan 慧遠 here, which is clearly a mistake for Zhiyuan; see note, above.
 13. In other words, Later Qin dynasty actually employed “Buddhist Assistants,” though the terminology used did not reflect their status as such. The Later Wei merely continued the system instituted by the Later Qin.
 14. These three administrative offices are: Temple Abbot (*sizhu* 寺主), Head Monk (*shangzuo* 上座), and Bringer of Joy to the Assembly (*yuezhong* 悅眾), a.k.a. Chief Buddhist Deacon (*du weina* 都維那); see section 35, below.
 15. Following Makita, reading *xia* 下 (“under” or “below”) for *bu* 不 (“not”).
 16. Regarding the *Zhaoyuan si* (Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities), see sec. 37, below.
 17. The information regarding Huiqu 慧璩 here is also mentioned in his biography in GSZ 13 (T 50.416a).
 18. Regarding the nature and function of sermonizing (literally, *changdao* 唱導 “giving an invocation”), see Zanning’s comments in section 25, above.
 19. The fact that Emperor Xiaowu sponsored the feast is clear from the GSZ (T 50.416a).
 20. The area of *jiangzuo* 江左, present day Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces.
 21. According to FZTJ 41 (T 49.380b), in the first year of the *yuanhe* era (806), Duanfu 端甫 was put in charge of registering monks on the left precincts, and Lingsui 靈邃 for the right precincts. Regarding this office, see the previous section.
 22. Regarding the office of Director of the Three Teachings (*sanjiao shouzuo* 三教首座), see the next section.
 23. Juehui 覺暉 is mentioned at the end of Zhixuan’s 知玄 biography in SGSZ 6 (T 50.744c), where he is referred to as Buddhist Registrar of the Right Precincts, not Assistant Registrar.
 24. Following the Song 宋 edition, reading Zhiyuan 志遠 for Huiyuan 慧遠.
 25. Following the Song 宋 edition, reading Zhiyuan 志遠 for Huiyuan 慧遠.

26. Reading *xia* 下 for *bu* 不.

DIRECTORS WHO LECTURE ON SCRIPTURES AND TREATISES

講經論首座

The title “Director” pertains to Head Monk. One is so-called because he occupies the foremost of seats and is situated at the head of [the assembly of] monks. When we investigate this [we find that] in the Tang era, an imperial order made Bianzhang Inspector¹ to repair [Zongchi] Monastery. Emperor Xuanzong rewarded his efforts by appointing him Director of the Three Teachings.² During the *yuanhe* era (806-820), Duanfu alone was referred to as Debater and Lecturer on the Three Teachings.³ Presumably [he was so-called because] on the occasion of the Emperor’s birthday, he was sometimes summoned by invitation to go up to the imperial palace to honor [the emperor], and give comparative assessments of the different religions. On account of this, [his title] was designated by the words “Three Teachings.” Although he did not necessarily have comprehensive knowledge of the six [Confucian] classics, or thorough command of the Inner and Outer Chapters [of the *Zhuangzi*],⁴ he was thoroughly versed in all the branches of his own [Buddhist] teaching. He attracted the company of men who were exemplary and outstanding;

some of them were well versed in other traditions.⁵ With this thorough familiarity with all the details of his own (i.e., Buddhist) teaching, he was without fear in the presence of the Emperor and his ministers. Since he was successful in crushing their obstinacy, there was nothing shameful in accepting this title. Following this, he was also sometimes appointed Director for the study of scriptures and treatises. Regarding Directors of the Three Teachings, Bianzhang was the first.

From the Zhu (i.e., Later) Liang dynasty through the [Later] Zhou dynasty, [the position of Director of the Three Teachings] was sometimes eliminated and sometimes instituted, meaning that it was completely subject to the situation at the time.

Currently, the Great Song dynasty has [the position] Director of Lectures on Scriptures and Lectures on Treatises. Moreover, it has been instituted separately, independent from the Buddhist Registrar.

[三十三] 講經論首座

首座之名即上座也。居席之端，處僧之上，故曰也。尋《唐》世敕《辯章》檢校修寺。《宣宗》賞其功署三教首座。《元和》中，《端甫》止稱三教談論。蓋以帝王誕節，偶屬徵呼，登內殿而讚揚，對異宗而商榷。故標三教之字。未必該通六籍博綜二篇。通本教之諸科。控群賢而傑出而脫。或遍善他宗。原精我教對王臣而無畏。挫執滯而有功，膺于此名則無愧色矣。次後經論之學或置首座。三教首座則《辯章》為始也。

《朱梁》洎《周》，或除或立。悉謂隨時。

今大《宋》有講經講論首座。乃僧錄之外別立耳

NOTES

1. According to Hucker (no. 804), the term *jianjiao* 檢校 was used in three ways by the Tang: in the ordinary verbal sense “to inspect,” “to compare,” “to verify”; in the sense that an official holding one post also acted with all the authority of another; and sometimes to indicate that an official was Acting in the capacity of the post in question.
2. Bianzhang’s 辯章 order to repair Zongchi Monastery 聰持寺 and his appointment as Director of the Three Teachings (*sanjiao shouzu* 三教首座) is also mentioned in the biography of Huiling 慧令 in SGSZ 16 (T 50.807c); see also section 31.
3. According to Duanfu’s biography in SGSZ 6 (T 50.741b), Duanfu 端甫 was regularly invited to the palace by Emperor Dezong to discuss with him about Confucianism and Daoism. Moreover, this is part of his designated title as recorded in Xuanbi’s tomb-inscription 玄秘塔銘 in *Jinshi cuibian* 金石萃編 113.
4. The six Confucian classics (*liuji* 六籍) refer to the Classics of History (Documents), Ritual, Poetry (Odes), Changes, Spring and Autumn Annals, and the no longer extant Classic of Music. The Inner and Outer chapters of the *Zhuangzi* (*erpian* 二篇) may be regarded here as indicating general familiarity with Daoist texts.
5. Principally, the three religions (Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism), but also probably such religions as Manichaeism which was popular in China at this time, as well as Nestorian Christianity.

[34]

PRECEPTOR OF STATE

國師¹

Governments² in the regions of the west promoted and esteemed this person (i.e., Preceptor of State) equally, regardless of whether their affiliation was Buddhist or not, grouping orthodox [Buddhists] together with unorthodox [non-Buddhists]. In ancient times, Nirgrantha (i.e., Mahāvīra) believed in Brahmanism, and the king of the country appointed him Preceptor of State.³ In the case of Buddhists, the curriculum covered the three divisions of Buddhist literature,⁴ in addition to expertise in the five branches of Indian science.⁵ The entire country was converted [to Buddhism], and as a result, it made these titles prominent.

After the renowned teaching [of Buddhism] spread eastward, the Northern Qi dynasty alone (550-557) had the eminent monk Fachang.⁶ Initially, he lectured on the Vinaya, and gained a reputation in the area of Yexia.⁷ Later, he lectured on the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*, as well as receiving [instruction in] the techniques of meditation. The Qi Emperor revered him as Preceptor of State. The title Preceptor of State [in China] began from Master [Fa]chang.

When we reach the Chen and Sui dynasties, there was Chan Master Zhiyi of Tiantai, who served as Bodhisattva Precept Master for Emperor

Xuan of the Chen dynasty and Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty.⁸ On account of this, at the time he was called Preceptor of State. <However, he was not officially appointed [to this office].>

At the court of [Empress Wu] Zetian, when Shenxiu led his disciples in Jingzhou, he was invited to the capital.⁹ The four reigns of [Empress Wu] and [Emperors] Zhong, Rui, and Xuan, all called him Preceptor of State.¹⁰ After [Shenxiu], there was Huizhong of the Chan faction. In the periods of [Emperors] Su[zong] and Dai[zong], he entered the forbidden area of the palace (i.e., the imperial residence) to speak about the methods of Chan contemplation.¹¹ He was also called Preceptor of State.¹² During the *yuanhe* era (806-820), [Emperor Xizong] officially appointed Zhixuan as “Enlightenment Attaining Preceptor of State.”¹³

Of the countries that held hegemony in remote areas,¹⁴ Houzhu of [the principality of] Shu honored the Buddhist Registrar of the Right Precincts, Guangye, as “Divine-Sage Preceptor of State.”¹⁵ [The rulers of] Wuyue referred to Deshao as Preceptor of State.¹⁶ The principality of Southern Tang appointed Wensui as “Great Guiding Master of State.”¹⁷ <The name “Guiding Master,” however, contains two meanings. In the statement “a merchant addressed a Guiding Master” in the *Lotus sūtra*, it refers to [one who] indicates and explains [in order to] guide others along the path.¹⁸ In the case of Masters who present lectures, it refers to [one who] reveals and explains the meaning of the Dharma to the assembly.¹⁹ Thus, in the [Liu] Song dynasty, when the Prince of Hengyang controlled Jiangling,²⁰ he invited Tanguang to serve as Guiding Master because there was no one to serve in this capacity at Vegetarian Banquets.²¹ And when Emperor Mingdi (r. 465-472) sponsored a banquet, he expressed delight upon seeing [Tan]guang presenting a lecture, and officially awarded him a set of three [monastic] garments,²² a water jug and a begging bowl.>

[三十四] 國師

《西域》之法推重其人，內外攸同，正邪俱有。昔《尼犍子》信《婆羅門》法，國王封為國師。內則學通三藏，兼達五明。舉國歸依，乃彰斯號。

聲教東漸，唯《北齊》有高僧《法常》。初演《毘尼》，有聲《鄴下》。後講『涅槃』，并受禪數。《齊》王崇為國師。國師之號自《常》公始也。

殆《陳》《隋》之代，有《天台智²³顓》禪師，為《《陳》《宣》，《隋》《煬》，《菩薩》戒師。故時號國師<即無封署。>

至《則天》朝，《神秀》領徒《荊州》，召入京師。《中》《睿》《玄》四朝皆號為國師。後有禪門《慧忠》。《肅代》之時，入宮禁中，說禪觀法。亦號國師。《元和》中，敕署《知玄》，曰「悟達國師」。

若偏霸之國，則《蜀》《後主》賜右街僧錄《光業》，為「祐聖國師」。《吳越》稱《德韶》為「國師」。江《南唐》國署《文遂》為「國大導師」也。<導師之名，而含二義。若『法華經』中。「商人白導師」，言此即引路指述也。若唱導之師，此即表白也。故《宋》《衡陽王》鎮《江陵》，因齋會無有導師，請《曇光》為導。及《明帝》設會，見《光》唱導稱善，敕賜三衣瓶鉢焉。>

NOTES

1. According to Hucker (no. 3530), the “Preceptor of State” (sometimes referred to as “National Teacher”) is an “occasional unofficial reference to a Grand Preceptor (*taishi* 太師) or to all of the court dignitaries known collectively as the Three Preceptors (*sanshi* 三師).”
2. The reading of *fa* 法 here is in its non-Buddhist meaning, in the sense of “rule, law, government,” and by extension, the institutions that are based on these.
3. Nigrantha 尼犍子 (or Mahāvira), the founder of Jainism, was the leader of one of the six leading religious schools that flourished in ancient India at the time of the Buddha. His doctrines represented one of the main rivals to Buddhist teaching at the time. The distinction between Jainism and Brahmanism was apparently one lost on Zanning.
4. In other words the Tripiṭaka (*sanzang* 三藏): the Buddha’s teaching (*sūtra*), the precept norms (*vinaya*), and the various commentaries on Buddhist doctrines (*abidharma*).
5. The five branches of Indian science (*wuming* 五明): *Sabda-vidyā* (*sheng ming* 聲明), linguistic or grammatical studies; *Silpakarma-sthana-vidyā* (*gongqiao ming* 工巧明), arts and mathematical studies; *Cikisavidyā* (*yifang ming* 醫方明), medical studies; *Hetu-vidyā* (*yin ming* 因明), logic; and *Adhyatma-vidyā* (*nei ming* 內明) doctrinal or philosophical studies which vary from school to school (see the *Yuqie lun* 瑜伽論 38; T 30-1579.333b19).
6. This is also mentioned in Fachang’s 法長 biography in XGSZ 16 (T 50.556b).
7. Yexia 鄴下 is present day Linzhang, in Henan Province.
8. See Zhiyi’s 智顗 biography in XGSZ 17 (T 50.565b-c).
9. SGSZ 8 (T 50.756a) tells of Shenxiu 神秀 being invited to the capital by Empress Wu, and the honor with which he was received.
10. In SGSZ, Shenxiu is said to have been being designated Preceptor of State by Emperors Ruizong and Xuanzong. The *Lengqie shizi ji* 楞伽師資記 states how Shenxiu, Xuanze 玄曠, and Hui’an 惠安 were all designated as Preceptors of State by Empress Wu, and Emperors Zhongzong and Ruizong (see Yanagida Seizan, *Zen no goroku 2: Shoki no zenshūshi* 1, p. 295).

11. The forbidden area of the palace (*jinzhong* 禁中) is a designation for the imperial residence (see Hucker, no. 1123).
12. There is no mention of Huizhong's 慧忠 designation as Preceptor of State in his biography in SGSZ 9 (T 50.762c-763a), though he is clearly referred to as such elsewhere (CDL 13; T 51.301a23 and CDL 28; T 51.437c5).
13. This is also mentioned in Zhixuan's 知玄 biography in SGSZ 6 (T 50.744a).
14. From the discussion that follows, it is clear that Zanning is here referring to the "Ten Kingdoms" of the period of the so-called Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms (907-959).
15. Guangye 光業 is otherwise unknown. Houzhu 後主, of the Later Shu, otherwise known as Meng Chang 孟昶, ruled from 934 to 964.
16. Deshao's 德韶 biography is in SGSZ 13 (T 50.789a-b); he is not designated as Preceptor of State there. Other sources, however, introduced him as Preceptor of State Deshao of Mt. Tiantai (CDL 25; T 51.407a15 and 407.b7).
17. See Wensui's 文遂 biography in CDL 25 (T 51.411b); he was a disciple of Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益.
18. "Guiding Masters" (*daoshi* 導師) are a regular feature of the *Lotus sūtra* (*Fahua jing* 法華經) (see, for example T 9.63b3, 88c25, 94c14, 94a5, 124a25 and 124b2).
19. Regarding the functions of presenters of lectures (*changdao* 唱導), or "Sermonists," see section 25.
20. Hengyang 衡陽 is located in present day Hunan province. The Prince of Hengyang 衡陽王 refers to Prince Wen, Yi Ji 王文義季 (see *Song shu* 宋書 61 and *Nanshi* 南史 13. Jiangling 江陵 is located present day Hubei province).
21. Zanning follows here information recorded in the biography of Prince Wen of Hengyang, Yi Ji, in GSZ 13 (T 50.416b17-18). The biography of Tanguang 曇光 is recorded in GSZ 11 (T 50.395c11-25).
22. The three monastic garments consisted of a *saṃghati*, *uttara saṃghati*, and *antara-vasaka*. Generally speaking, the *saṃghati* is worn in public, the *uttara saṃghati* is worn for assemblies and worship services at the temple, and the *antara-vasaka* is worn for everyday use and while sleeping.
23. Reading *zhi* 智 for *zhi* 知.

[35]

OFFICIALS ASSIGNED TO VARIOUS POSITIONS [IN BUDDHIST ADMINISTRATION]

雜任職員

With the building of monasteries, [the administrative offices of] the “three controllers” were established for them.¹ They are so-called because they rectify [the Buddhist clergy] as if using large ropes of a net to restrain them. The [offices of] *Vihara-svamin*, *Sthavira*, and *Karma-dana* in Sanskrit are called *Sizhu* (Abbot), *Shangzuo* (Head Monk), and *Yuezhong* (Bringer of Joy to the Assembly) in Chinese.

Regarding the details, Abbots were established at the White Horse [monastery] of the Eastern Han dynasty.² Since [Buddhist monks] were lodged here in the [White Horse] monastery, it was necessary for someone to supervise them. Even though there was no title for the Abbot at the time, still there was someone who was in charge of affairs [at the monastery]. After the Eastern Qin dynasty, these [administrative duties] increased. It is on account of this that Hou Jing said, “Make the old man Xiao Yan (i.e., Liang Emperor Wudi) Abbot of Taiping Monastery.”³ In

the Later Zhou dynasty, there were the Abbots at the Zhigu monasteries, who were appointed by imperial decree.⁴ In the Sui dynasty, there were the Abbots of the Daxing shan monasteries.⁵

In the Tang dynasty, Princess Taiping⁶ recommended the foreign monk Huifan to serve as Abbot of Shengshan Monastery; he was even promoted to the third rank and granted [the title of] Duke.⁷ [Empress Wu] Zetian regarded Xue Huaiyi as Abbot of the White Horse Monastery, fully appointed [to the position] according to an imperial decree.⁸ In all other districts [of the realm, people holding the office of Abbot] were changed once every three years.

In the case of Head Monks, there are three types of them. According to the *Collection of Different Aspects of the Abhidharma Path Treatise*,⁹ "The first are advanced in terms of their age. The second are so in terms of worldly standards of wealth and reputation, and [by virtue of belonging to] the noble classes of society. <For example, when Military Commissioner Liu Zong left his home and possessions [to become a monk], he was granted long years of service as a Buddhist monk.¹⁰> The third are foremost in the precepts as well as foremost in the attainment of the fruits [of the Way]."¹¹ <These people are famed as the most superior.> Whenever this rank has been instituted, whether in the past or at present, it is always through age and virtue that those skilled in the office are appointed to it. The *Biographies of Eminent Monks*¹² often say that [so and so] has been decreed to serve as Head Monk of a certain monastery. When Daoxuan was decreed to serve as the Head Monk of Ximing Monastery, he was ranked above the Abbot and the Buddhist Deacon (i.e., the *Karma-dana*).¹³ In the [*Sanbao*] *wuyun tu* (Depiction of the Five Fates of the Three Treasures),¹⁴ there are appointments by imperial decree to succeed him in this [position].

As for the Chief Buddhist Deacon (a.k.a. Bringer of Joy to the Assembly or *Karma-dana*), the [*Nanhai*] *jigui zhuan* (Record [of the Inner Law] Sent Home from the South Seas) says, "[The term] is formed by combining Chinese and Sanskrit [words] together. *Wei* stands for *gangwei* (i.e., "a

net”), a Chinese word. *Na* is an abbreviation of the Sanskrit word [*karma-dana*], omitting the three syllables for *kar-ma-da*.¹⁵ In the [Northern] Wei dynasty, Emperor Xiaowen regarded Dharma Master Sengyi of Huangjiu Monastery as Chief Buddhist Deacon in the capital, appointing him [to the position] by imperial decree.¹⁶ This in fact is the Chief Buddhist Deacon of the Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities [rather than the Buddhist Deacons appointed at individual temples].¹⁷ Regarding temples that are currently instituting [the position of Buddhist Deacon], there is, for example, Xuanchang, who served by imperial decree as the Buddhist Deacon of Zongchi Monastery.¹⁸

Following these, the Director of Monks refers to the one who is in charge of the seating order of monks [at a monastery].¹⁹ When the nine matters [of the monastery]²⁰ are brought to the Director, he takes care of all the details; in other words, he carries out the management of the miscellaneous affairs [of the monastery]. Some [monasteries] institute it as a yearly duty; thus [the term of office] amounts to one-year. Others institute it as a monthly or a half-monthly [term], or for a day. In each case, they are [considered] Bringers of Joy to the Assembly.²¹ Although they (i.e., the offices of Abbot, Head Monk, and Chief Buddhist Deacon) were instituted according to the locale, they were always referred to as the “three controllers” (*sangang*). They were variously responsible for the control of Buddhist monks.

For several generations beginning with the Tang dynasty, [the office of] Buddhist Superior was not instituted. Each monastery instituted the three authorities (*sanguan*; i.e., “three controllers”), but nothing more.²² During the *yuanhe* and *changqing* eras (806-823), the [offices of] Buddhist Registrar of the Left and Right Precincts of the Capital were established [in order] to thoroughly account for [the activities of] Buddhist monks and nuns.²³ Whenever there was a matter [concerning the administration of the Buddhist clergy], it was first reported in the Office of the [Buddhist] Registrar, who in turn reported it to the government administration. The Zhu (i.e., Later) Liang, the Later Tang, Qin, Han, and Zhou dynasties,

and the current Great Song dynasty, all have followed this former [Tang dynasty administrative] system.

In addition, in the eras of the [Liu] Song and Qi dynasties, they instituted the [position of] Dharma Superior. As a result, Daoyou was ordered to serve as Dharma Superior for Controlling the Monastery at Xin'an Monastery,²⁴ and Fayuan served as Dharma Superior of Xianggong Monastery.²⁵

By the end of the Tang dynasty, they regularly instituted a position for an "*Ācārya* for Halting Disputes,"²⁶ who was also often referred to as a Dharma Superior. It is, moreover, the same as the precept official of highest rank which the current [Song] dynasty designates as a Religious Superior (*zongzhu*). Some of the "*Ācārya* for Halting Disputes" were appointed by imperial decree. In fact, whenever disputes occurred regarding religious and secular jurisdictions, and what was improper and what was proper could not be determined, it was reported to this [official] for arbitration and settlement. He was referred to in this way because he brought disputes to an end. At the time of the [Northern] Zhou and Sui dynasties, a certain Hongzun devoted himself exclusively to the precept rules.²⁷ The rulers of the Northern Qi dynasty had previously revered Buddhism, and the five-fold assembly flourished as a result.²⁸ Those who violated the precepts were made by [Hong]zun to regulate themselves, and he was made, by imperial decree, the "*Śramaṇa* who Resolves Matters." At the time, there was a dispute between the Buddhist monks of Qing and Qi.²⁹ When [Hongzun] was ordered by imperial decree to resolve it, the clamorous disputations ceased of themselves. In the Sui dynasty, [Hongzun] was summoned to dwell at Daxingshan Monastery. The title "[*Śramaṇa* who] Resolves Matters" began with [Buddhist] Controller [Hong]zun. [Hongzun] later rose to become [Buddhist] Controller.

In the Sui dynasty, Shi Yancong of Riyan Monastery wrote the *Sengguan lun* (Treatise on Buddhist Institutions)³⁰ It would surely broaden our understanding of Buddhist administrative officials, and though I sought out a copy, I did not obtain it.

[三十五] 雜任職員

寺之設也三綱立焉。若綱罟之巨綱提之則正，故云也。梵語「摩摩帝」，「悉替那」，「羯磨那陀」，華言言「寺主」，「上座」，「悅眾」也。

詳其寺主起乎《東漢》《白馬》也。寺既爰處人必主之。于時雖無寺主之名，而有知事之者。至《東晉》以來，此職方盛。故《侯景》言。「以《蕭衍》老翁作《太平寺》主也。」《後周》則有《陟岵寺》主，自敕封署。《隋》有《大興善寺》主。

《唐》《太平公主》奏胡僧《慧範》為《聖善寺》主，仍加三品封公爵。《則天》以《薛懷義》為《白馬寺》主，盡由敕補。自餘諸道三年一代耳。

夫上座者有三種焉。『集異足毘曇』云。「一，生年為耆年。二，世俗財名與貴族<如節度使《劉綽》，出家物賜夏臘。>三，先受戒及先證果。」<此名最勝。>古今立此位，皆取其年德，幹局者充之。『高僧傳』多云。被敕為某寺上座是也。《道宣》敕為《西明寺》上座，列寺主《維那》之上。『五運圖』中敕補者繼有之。

都《維那》者，『寄歸傳』云。「華梵兼舉也。維是綱維，華言也。那是略梵語，刪去《羯磨陀》三字也。《魏》《孝文》以《皇舅寺》《僧義》法師，為京邑都《維那》，則敕補也。是乃昭玄都《維那》耳。今寺中立者，如《玄暢》敕為《總持寺》《維那》是地。

次，典座者，謂典主床座。九³¹事舉座，一色以攝之，乃通典雜事也。或立直歲則直一年。或直月直半月直日，皆悅眾也。隨方立之，都謂之三綱，雜任其僧綱也。

《唐》初數葉不立僧主。各寺設此三官而已。至《元和》《長慶》間，立左右街僧錄，總錄僧尼。或有事則先白錄司，後報官方也。《朱梁》《後唐》《晉》《漢》《周》今大《宋》，皆循曩制矣。

又，《宋》《齊》之世，曾立法主一員。故《道猷》敕為《新安寺》鎮寺法主。《法瑗》為《湘宮寺》法主。

至《唐》末多立，受「依止《闍梨》」一員，亦稱法主。今朝秉律員位最高者，號宗主亦同也。「依止《闍梨》」或當敕補者，蓋道俗之間。有爭不分曲直，告其剖斷。令人息爭，故號之也。《周》《隋》之際，有《洪遵³²》專精律範。《北齊》主既敬法門，五眾斯盛。有犯律者，令《遵》理之。敕為「斷事《沙門》」。時有《青》《齊》僧訟。敕令斷之，繁爭自弭。至《隋》詔住《大興善寺》。「斷事」之名《遵》統為始。後升為統。

《隋》《日嚴寺》《釋彥琮》，著『僧官論』。必廣明僧職，求本未獲耳。

NOTES

1. Literally three “rope nets” or “restraining ropes,” the *sangang* 三綱 are the three ecclesiastical officials that assume responsibility for administering the monks of a monastery and their affairs, identified in the sentences that follow.
2. Regarding the origins of the White Horse Monastery 白馬寺, see SSL I, section 4.
3. This is from a line from Hou Jing’s 侯景 entry in the “Biographies of Traitors” (*Zechen zhuan* 賊臣傳) section of the *Nan shi* 南史 80: “I request thirty thousand troops, to wreak havoc on the empire. I will need to cross the river, bound and tie the old man (*laoweng* 老翁) Xiao Yan 蕭衍 in order to make him Abbot of Taiping Monastery 太平寺 (i.e., force him into retirement).” Hou Jing (d. 552) was a general for the Northern Wei, Eastern Wei, and Liang dynasties. After controlling the Liang imperial regime for several years, he usurped the throne and established a state of Han. Defeated in battle by the Liang prince Xiao Yi, he was killed by his own associates. He was one of the reviled figures in Chinese history, known for his exceeding cruelty to enemies and civilians (biography in *Liang shu* 梁書 56).
4. According to GHMJ 10 (T 52.154c) and XGSZ 8 (Huiyuan’s 慧遠 biography, T 50.491a), the Northern Zhou Emperor Xuandi established Zhigu Monasteries 陟峪寺 in Chang’an and Luoyang, and installed a “Bodhisattva Monk” (*pusa seng* 菩薩僧) at each temple to spread Buddhism throughout the country. According to the XGSZ this occurred in the second year of the *daxiang* (580). See also Yunchong’s 雲崇 biography in XGSZ 17, and Fazang’s 法藏 biography in XGSZ 19.
5. According to the biography of Sengmeng’s 僧猛 in XGSZ 24 (T 50.631a), the names of the Zhigu monasteries 陟峪寺 were changed to Daxingshan 大興善寺 in the Sui dynasty.
6. Princess Taiping 太平公主 (665-713) was the daughter of Emperor Gaozong and Empress Wu. See the XTS 83, and the JTS 77 biography of Liu Ze 柳澤.
7. Regarding Huifan 慧範 receiving the title Duke (*gongjue* 公爵), see FZTJ 51 (T 49.453c11-14), and SSL 3, section 42 (T 52.248c17).
8. See Xue Huaiyi’s 薛懷義 biography in JTS 183, and Empress Wu Zetian’s entry in XTS 76. Xue Huaiyi was the name given to the “crafty, arrogant,

and licentious” (Ch’ en, *Buddhism in China*, p. 220) individual named Feng Xiaobao 馮小寶, whose name was changed to cover his unsavory background. He gained the favor of Princess Taiping and Empress Wu, and was made a monk in order to gain easier and “legitimate” access to the imperial palace.

9. The *Ji yizu pitan* 集異足毘曇 is attributed to Śariputra and translated into Chinese by Xuanzang; the full title is *Abidamo jiyimenzu lun* 阿毘達磨集異門足論 (T 26-1536; the Sanskrit reconstruction of Chinese title is *Abhidharma-saṃgīti-paryāya-pāda-śāstra*, or *Saṃgītiparyāya*). It is an Abhidharma text that consists of numerical groupings of doctrinal categories. It is the first work of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma canon, and one of the three earliest Abhidharma texts of the Sarvāstivāda school (一切有部), with the other two early Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma-works are *Dharmaskandha* (阿毘達磨法蘊足論, T 26-1537) and *Prajñaptiśāstra* (施設論, T 26-1538). It belongs to the six fold group of basic Sarvāstivāda-Abhidharma works called “the *Abhidharma*-texts that are like six feet” (*ṣaṭpādābhidharma*) 六足論 (from DDB, which also has more information regarding this text).
10. See Liu Peng’s 劉怿 biography in JTS 143 and XTS 212. According to these, Liu Zong 劉總 was given the title “Grand Master of Great Enlightenment” (*dajue dashi* 大覺大師). See also the entry in the imperial record (*benji* 本紀) of Emperor Muzong, first year of *zhangqing* (821). Regarding the granting of long years of service as Buddhist monks (*xiala* 夏臘) to householders who join the Buddhist order as adults, see SSL section 48 (T. 54.251a).
11. In other words, most advanced in Buddhist practice, and farthest toward the attainment of enlightenment.
12. A general reference to the GSZ, XGSZ, and SGSZ.
13. See SGSZ 14 (T 50.790c).
14. No longer extant; see SSL section 1.
15. See the *Nanhai jigui zhuan* 4 (T 54.226b). Note that the English translation of *duweina* 都維那 as Chief Buddhist Deacon misses the etymological origins of the term, which are clear in their Chinese rendition.
16. Sengyi is mentioned in the *Shilao zhi* (*Wei shu* 114, p. 3040). The proclamation appointing Sengyi 僧義 as Chief Buddhist Deacon of Huangjiu Monastery 皇舅寺 is found in GHMJ 24 (*Di yi sengxian wei shamen dutong zhao* 帝以僧顯為沙門都統詔).

17. On the distinction between the Buddhist Deacon in the Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities (*zhaoxuan duweina* 昭玄都維那), and Buddhist Deacons at individual temples, see section 32, above.
18. On Xuanchang's 玄暢 appointment to serve as Buddhist Deacon of Zongchi Monastery 總持寺, see SGSZ 17 (T 50.818b).
19. *Dianzuo* 典座 (Director of Monks), literally "Seating Director," is often rendered as Head Cook, a meaning that it acquired in the Chan tradition, especially from the Song dynasty onwards. It appears in the rules attributed to Chan Master Baizhang 百丈 (see the *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* 敕修百丈清規; T 48.1132c). Zanning, however, relies on the meaning provided in Chinese translations of Indian Vinaya texts to describe a position with wide-ranging duties, one being that for which it is named, to determine the correct seating order of the monks at monastic gatherings.
20. The nine matters pertain to the miscellaneous duties that the Director attends to: the seating arrangement of the monks of the monastery, distributing robes and food, overseeing flowers and incense for offerings, and so on.
21. By this account, the Director of Monks is a form of *Karmadana*, as both are termed *yuezhong* 悅眾 (Bringers of Joy to the Assembly), the Chinese term for *Karmadana*.
22. In other words, the administration of monasteries was an internal matter with no central government bureaucratic oversight.
23. Regarding the Office of Buddhist Registrar, see section 31, above.
24. Regarding Daoyou 道猷 as Dharma Superior for Controlling the Monastery (*zhensi fazhu* 鎮寺法主) at Xin'an Monastery 新安寺, see GSZ 7 (T 50.374c).
25. Regarding Fayuan 法瑗 as Dharma Superior of Xianggong Monastery 湘宮寺, see GSZ 8 (T 50.376c).
26. The term *yizhi* 依止 in *yizhi sheli* 依止闍梨 has a variety of different meanings: basis, support, reliance, to serve, to depend on something that possesses power and virtue, and so on (see DDB). My rendering here deviates from the normal array of meanings ascribed to *yizhi* and is based on the explanation of the position provide by Zanning that follows. An *ācārya* (*sheli* 闍梨) is a term for a Buddhist monk.
27. Although the SSL text refers to Fadao 法導 here, according to XGSZ 21 (T 50.611b) it was actually Hongzun 洪遵 who acted in the events described below. The translation has been amended accordingly.
28. The five classes of Buddhist clergy: *bhikṣu* (monks), *bhikṣuṇī* (nuns), *sik-samānā*, *srāmanera* (male novice), and *srāmaneri* (female novice).

29. Qing 青 and Qi 齊 are areas in present day Shandong province.
30. Though no longer extant, the *Sengguan lun* 僧官論 is mentioned in Yancong's 彥琮 biography in XGSZ 2 (T 50.439b), and in the *Datang neitian lu* 5 大唐內典錄 (T 55.280a).
31. Following the Song edition, reading *jiu* 九 for *fan* 凡.
32. Although the SSL text has Fadao 法導 here, according to 續高僧傳 21 (T 50.611b) it was actually Hongzun 洪遵 who is referred to.

[36]

THE STIPENDS AND EMOLUMENTS OF BUDDHIST SUPERIORS

僧主秋俸¹

Buddhist monks have few desires; in essence they must renounce worldly splendors. The rules of the Buddha stipulate only that monks be provided for and looked after.² According to this example, if it weren't for honorable patrons, the protection granted [monks] would indeed be difficult to come by. Some [honorable patrons] are secretly beckoned to [the ranks of] the charitable and faithful as a result of karma originating in a previous life.³ This, moreover, denotes the special circumstances [pertaining to a deed and its reward].⁴ On account of this, anyone who had mastered the various branches of academic learning at the monastery in Nalanda rode an elephant when leaving and entering [the Monastery],⁵ and was officially provided vegetarian food provisions. In this land (i.e., China), Daochong daily received gold, etc.⁶ When the Yao (i.e., Later) Qin dynasty ordered Senglüe to serve as Buddhist Rector, his stipend was equal to that of a Palace Attendant.⁷ These represent the beginnings of government salaries and grain allowances [for Buddhist Superiors].

When we come to Emperor Xiaowen of the Wei dynasty, he issued [a proclamation], *Supplying Silk Cloth to Controllers of Religious Practitioners on an Annual Basis*.⁸ The proclamation states:⁹

Controllers aspire to perpetuate the wisdom of the past, and continue the model for the practice of the Way. As symbols they stand as profound examples [of the religious path]; the plan of the void is entrusted [to them].¹⁰ It is reasonable that those who have presently given up their common lay names (i.e., those who have entered the clergy) should be separately provided for. To enable them to grasp the meaning of the “eight liberations,”¹¹ we will on a yearly basis supply them with eight hundred bolts of silk cloth, allot presents to the four classes [of Buddhists],¹² and provide salaries in accordance with the four seasons. Furthermore, the roots for cultivating goodness actually derive from human endeavor and the destiny of Heaven.¹³ The reason for giving alms is that it is something that is praised in the Buddhist canon. [Controllers] can count on the above stipends from the government, which shall be provided on a monthly basis.

When [Controllers] passed away, [the government] further supported and encouraged blessings [for them] with a vegetarian banquet for Buddhist monks.¹⁴ The period when Buddhist Authorities obtained [stipends and emoluments] was in the age of Emperor Xiaowen.¹⁵

In the Tang dynasty, Emperor Daizong ordered the Ministry of Revenue to supply stipends in support of the monks of the Buddhist chapel in the Imperial Palace.¹⁶

In addition, in the *Stipulations for the Bureau of National Sacrifices* in the Tang dynasty,¹⁷ Daoist priests mastering the Inner and Outer Chapters [of the *Zhuang zi*] were granted fields of thirty *mu*, and Buddhist monks mastering the activities associated with [learning] a scripture were granted fields in the same proportion as [Daoist priests] above.¹⁸

Commentary: In the western regions, Mahākāśyapa disciplined the assembly [wearing] manure soiled robes.¹⁹ In the Northern Qi dynasty, the [Buddhist] Controller [Fa]shang participated in government wearing

a simple cloth garment.²⁰ Whenever [Buddhist monks] esteem the Way with sincerity, unenlightened people will not fear them. Whenever [Buddhist monks] increase their wealth, they are plotted against by those who resent their success. How can the powers of officialdom be obtained [by Buddhist monks] without it undoing them? Should the emoluments and property [provided them] surpass their basic needs, thieves will resent them and the people will despise them. To defy the vehicle (i.e., Buddhist teaching) and cherish luxury items brings immediate harm to oneself and damages the Dharma. The Master [Confucius] said, “It is better to err on the side of frugality than on the side of extravagance.”²¹ [Buddhist monks] should rely on the Way and its Virtue, and delight in acquiescing with what the people approve of.

[三十六] 僧主秩俸

僧之少欲，本合辭榮。佛之軌儀止令分衛。其如若無尊大禦下誠難。或契宿因冥招檀信。此又別時之意也。故《那爛陀寺》有學通諸部者，出入象乘齋食官供。此方《道寵》日受黃金等。自《姚秦》命《僧磬》為僧正，秩同侍中。此則公給食俸之始也。

洎《魏》《孝文》下，歲施道人應統帛。詔云。「應統仰紹前哲，繼軌道門。徵佇玄範，沖猷是託。今既讓俗名，理宜別供。可取八解之義，歲施帛八百匹，準四輩之貺，隨四時而給。又修善之本，實依力命。施食之因，內典所美。可依朝官上秩當月而施。」

至於身後，猶齋僧資薦。僧官得時，在《孝文》之世也。

《唐》《代宗》令度支，具廩給內道場僧。

又《唐》祠部格道士通二篇，給田三十畝。僧通經業，準上給田也。

論曰。《西域》《飲光》糞衣糾眾。《北齊》《上》統布服臨官。或尚道情，則凡愚者不畏。或多豪富，則忌剋者所謀。吏力豈得不無。俸財可宜多畜，盜憎民惡。負乘懷璧，立加害己又損法門。子曰。「與其奢也寧儉。」宜以道德，悅服於人可矣。

[36A]. [STIPENDS AND EMOLUMENTS FOR BUDDHIST] NUNS 附尼

In the Eastern Jin dynasty, Hechong was the first to give up her house to use as a nunnery,²² establishing [an order of] nuns at this time.²³ [By this time, the community of nuns] was not without members who excelled and were outstanding in [the use of] supernatural powers, doctrinal interpretations, and the wisdom of the Way.²⁴ In the [Liu] Song dynasty, Baoxian served as Rector of Nuns in the capital.²⁵ Emperor Wendi provided her with the four essential items [for a religious livelihood],²⁶ and [Emperor] Xiaowu provided her with a monthly salary of ten-thousand cash. Emoluments for Rectors of Nuns began with Baoxian.

[三十六附] 尼附

《東晉》《何充》始捨宅為寺，安尼其間。不無神異義解道明之者，雄飛傑出矣。《宋》《寶賢》為京邑尼僧正。《文帝》四事供養。《孝武》月給錢一萬。尼正之俸，《寶賢》始也。

NOTES

1. Buddhist Superiors (*Sengzhu* 僧主) are saṃgha leaders with a variety of positions, recognized by the government, entailing the receiving of stipends and emoluments; see also section 32.
2. *Fenwei* 分衛; Sanskrit, *pindapāta*, meaning one who lives on alms. The literal meaning of the Chinese translation “to distribute (in the sense of providing for) and to protect,” is an allusion to “begging for alms,” deriving from the *Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya* (*Sengzhi lü* 僧祇律; T 22-1425) statement that begged alms are “distributed” among the monks and nuns, and “the protection” thus provided allows the monks and nuns to carry out their Buddhist work (cited from Oda, *Bukkyō daijiten*, 1568c).
3. According to Nakamura, *Bukkyō daijiten* (p. 943a), *tanxin* 檀信 represents the faith of a *danapāti*. It is expressed through their offerings and faith (DDB).
4. The idea invoked here is similar to the Sanskrit *kāla-antara-abhiprāya* (see the *Dacheng abidamo jilun* 大乘阿毘達磨集論; T 31.688a). The concept is based on the idea that with regard to karmic outcomes, there is sometimes a gap in time between a deed and its reward, and that there is a mysterious connection between one’s future rewards and past deeds.
5. Regarding the famous Indian Buddhist monastery at Nalanda, see Xuanzang’s observances (*Datang Xiyouji jiaozhu*, pp. 747ff; Beal, trans., v. ii, pp. 167ff).
6. According to XGSZ 7 (T 50.482c), Daochong 道寵 was supplied daily with three taels of gold throughout his life, to devote himself to becoming a scholar.
7. Senglüe 僧略 was also known as Daolüe 道略; his biography is in GSZ 6 (T 50.363b). Hucker contains no listing for *daizhong* 待中 (Palace Attendant); the stipend amount is unknown.
8. I interpret *daoren yingtong* 道人應統 as the same as *daoren tong* 道人統 (Controller of Religious Practitioners), an alternative term for *sengtong* 僧統 (Buddhist Controller), considered in section 32.
9. For a copy of the proclamation, the *Sui shi daoren yingtong bo zhao* 歲施道人應統帛詔 see the GHMJ 24 (T 52.272b-273a).
10. “The plan for the void” (*chongyou* 冲猷), I take to mean the discipline of Buddhist practice, which aims at the realization of “the void,” i.e., enlightenment.

11. The “eight liberations” (*bajie* 八解) refer to the eight kinds of meditation for freeing one from attachments, based on the meditation experience of the Buddha (see the *Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經, *Digha-nikāya*; T 1.52a): 1) seeing things as impure, thereby reducing feelings of desire; 2) reducing attachment to external phenomena; 3) not being deluded by external phenomena which may appear undefiled; 4) contemplating boundless space transcending all form; 5) contemplating boundless consciousness; 6) contemplating non-substantiality; 7) contemplating the state that is beyond thought; and 8) attaining the *samādhi* in which all mental activity ceases.
12. The four classes of Buddhists refer to monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen.
13. The term *liming* 力命 (destiny of Heaven) appears as the title of chapter six in the *Lie zi* 列子.
14. An example of this can be seen in GHMJ 24 (T 52.273a), the *Di wei Huiji fashi wang shibo shezhai zhao* 帝為慧紀法師亡施帛設齋詔.
15. The difference between this statement and the previous one where government subsidies were first said to be allotted in the Later Qin appears to be a semantic one, stipulating the granting of subsidies to Buddhist Authorities (*sengguan* 僧官), versus Buddhist Rectors (*sengzheng* 僧正).
16. See the biography of Wang Jin 王縉 in JTS 118. On Buddhist chapels in the imperial palace, see SSL section 39; also Jinhua Chen, “Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels.”
17. The *Cibu ge* 祠部格; regarding the Bureau of National Sacrifices (*cibu* 祠部), see Hucker (no. 7566). Its importance for Buddhism is discussed by Ch’én, *Buddhism in China*, p. 255.
18. See *Datang liudian* 大唐六典 3 (section on *Sanhubulang zhongyuan wailang* 三戶部郎中員外郎) and the *Baishi liutie shilei ji* 白氏六帖事類集 26. In Tang times, one *mu* of land equaled 5.8 square *bu*, and 1 *bu* equaled 1.555 meters. Thus 30 *mu* would have been roughly 270 square meters. Though not specified here, monks generally were required to master a certain scripture, such as the *Lotus sūtra*. Mastery was usually of two types: (1) recitation of a specified number of pages; or (2) reading and explaining a text.
19. See the *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 41 (*Samyuktāgama-sūtra*; T 2.301a20-c6) episode involving Mahākāśyapa (referred to by his transliterated name Mohejiaye 摩訶迦葉, rather than the Chinese translation Yinguang 飲光, literally “drinking light”).
20. Regarding Fashang 法上 here, see XGSZ 8 (T 50.485c).

21. *Lun yu* III-4; D.C. Lau, *The Analects*, p. 67. The original statement attributed to Confucius was made with respect to the execution of the rites (*li* 禮).
22. This is confirmed in Kang Minggan's 康明感 biography in *Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳 1 (T 50.935c). Hechong's 何充 biography is in *Jin shu* 晉書 7. The name of the nunnery established was the Qianfu Monastery 千福寺. It was established from one of Hechong's residences, in the fourth year of *yonghe* (348).
23. Other information on the establishment of nuns in China can be obtained from sections 11, 16, and the Appendix to section 28.
24. Some editions have *tongming* 通明 (penetrating wisdom) for *daoming* 道明 (wisdom of the Way).
25. The information here is confirmed in Baoxian's 寶賢 biography in *Biqiuni zhuan* 2 (T 50.941a).
26. The four essential items for the monastic livelihood (*sishi* 四事) are variously rendered, but commonly listed as food and drink, clothing, bedding, and medicine (see the *Datang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 5; T 51.894c).

ADMINISTRATIVE JURISDICTION OF BUDDHIST MONKS AND NUNS

管屬僧尼¹

When [Buddhist] teaching spread to [China in] the Eastern Han dynasty and was encountered at the court of Wei,² real devotion to the faith was not yet forthcoming and *aranya* (i.e., Buddhist monasteries) were extremely few in number.³ Even though there were a number of Buddhist monks, their activities, likewise, were infrequent. It so happens that when what has been previously stipulated is opposed, public notice must be given.⁴ [If one asks] where the public notice is to be submitted, it is done at the Court for Dependencies.⁵ On account of this, we know that Śramaṇa were initially attached to the Court for Dependencies.⁶

In the Western Jin dynasty, there is no mention of [administrative jurisdiction over the Buddhist clergy],⁷ but in the Later Wei dynasty there is the statement that they began instituting the Superintendency of Buddhist Blessings in order to supervise the groups of monks; [jurisdiction] was subsequently changed to the Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities.⁸ Consequently, the *Records of the Officialdom* in the [Book of] Sui says:⁹

The Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities administers Buddhism. It employs one Controller-in-Chief (*datong*), one Controller (*tong*), and three Chief Buddhist Deacons (*du weina*).¹⁰ It has members placed in Personnel Evaluation Sections (*gongcao*), and as Assistant Magistrates (*zhubu*), in order to administer the Śramaṇa in various regions, commanderies, and districts."¹¹

Later, [administration of the Buddhist clergy] was again transferred to the Bureau of Receptions.¹² In the Liang dynasty, Sengyou claimed: "It (i.e., the Bureau of Receptions) was the same as the contemporary Court of Diplomatic Relations (*Tongwen si*)."¹³ As a result, it is probable that during the age of the Qi and Liang [Dynasties], the Court of Diplomatic Relations was instituted in order to supervise Buddhist affairs, but that even prior to the appearance of this [Court of] Diplomatic [Relations], [those in charge of Buddhist affairs] were at times connected to offices [of the government] (*si*) and referred to as officials (*guan*). That is why [we find] reference to [officials like] Controller-in-Chief (*datong*) in [the Office for] the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities.

At the beginning of the Tang dynasty, [the situation of Buddhism] worsened, and we do not find the references [regarding administrative jurisdiction over the Buddhist clergy]. Buddhist monks and nuns were all attached to the Bureau of Guests (*sibin*).¹⁴ According to the [*Tang*] *huiyao*,¹⁵

[Empress Wu] Zetian, on the fifteenth day of the fifth month of the first year of the *yanzai* era (694), decreed that the Buddhist monks and nuns of the realm be attached to the Bureau of National Sacrifices,¹⁶ and should not be placed under the Bureau of Guests.

We know that prior to Empress Wu, they were connected to the Bureau of Guests. This, then, marks the beginning of attaching [Buddhist monks and nuns] to the Bureau of National Sacrifices. The significance [of the change] derives from the claim that their good deeds warded off evils, and their blessings alleviated disasters.¹⁷

In the fourteenth year of the *kaiyuan* era (726), [in the reign of Emperor] Xuanzong, the Secretariat-Chancellery petitioned that Buddhist monks and nuns be severed from the jurisdiction of the Court of State Ceremonial; it was approved.¹⁸ In the first month of the fifteenth year (727), it was decreed that Buddhist monks and nuns be ordered to [be placed under] the supervision of Bureau of National Sacrifices (*cibu*), and Daoist priests and priestesses be attached to the Court of the Imperial Clan (*Zongzheng si*).¹⁹ It was undoubtedly because the Li ancestral name was included in the imperial family registry.²⁰

In the second month of the second year of the *yuanhe* era (807), Emperor Xianzong ordered,²¹

Buddhist monks and nuns, Daoist priests [and priestesses], all shall be attached to the Commissioner of Merit and Virtue of the Left and Right Precincts of the Capital.²² Hereafter, the Bureau of Honors²³ and the Bureau of National Sacrifices shall no longer handle official petitions [pertaining to the Buddhist and Daoist clergies].

The [Tang] *huiyao* says,²⁴

In the fourteenth year of the *dali* era (779), it was decreed that the Palace and Extra-Palace Commissioners of Merit and Virtue both should be abolished.²⁵

If this is the case, the court of Daizong (r. 763-780) instituted the [offices of] Commissioner of Merit and Virtue earlier [than Xianzong].²⁶ He simply differentiated Palace and Extra-Palace [Commissioners] from [Commissioners of] the Left and Right Precincts of the Capital.²⁷ During the *yuanhe* era (806-820), [Xianzong] amalgamated the Bureau of Honors and the Bureau of National Sacrifices to institute the Commissioner of Merit and Virtue of the Left and Right Precincts of the Capital. Tutu Chengcui held this appointment on account of [Emperor Xianzong] amalgamating together the [offices of] Palace Commandant-Protector of the Army of Inspired Strategy, and Commissioner of Merit and Virtue of

the Left Precincts of the Capital.²⁸ Buddhists and Daoists were included under his jurisdiction. During the *baoli* era (825-827) Palace Commandant-Protector Liu Gui was also appointed as the Commissioner [of Merit and Virtue].²⁹

In the fifth year of the *huichang* era (845), when [the government] destroyed [Buddhist] monasteries and images, it was decreed that Buddhist monks and nuns must not be attached to the Bureau of National Sacrifices.³⁰ At the time, the Secretariat-Chancellery presented a memorial to the throne:³¹

We respectfully proclaim that Buddhist monks and nuns not be attached to the Bureau of National Sacrifices, and should be placed under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Receptions.³² We order that they be placed under the control of the Court of State Ceremonial, which shall evaluate [the merits of] those who submit petitions [to become Buddhist monks and nuns]. The Buddhist monks and nuns of the realm in this dynasty,³³ hereafter will also be attached to the Court of State Ceremonial.

In the second year of the *tianbao* era (743), [Buddhist monks and nuns] were attached to the Bureau of National Sacrifices. <Not to be confused with [when they were attached to this same Bureau earlier] during the *yanzai* era.³⁴> We, your humble servants, rely on the *Compendium of Administrative Law of the Six Divisions of the Tang Bureaucracy* (*Datang liudian*).³⁵ [According to it,] the Bureau of National Sacrifices administers the major sacrifices to heaven and earth and at imperial ancestral shrines. It is particularly inappropriate to combine these with Buddhist services. In addition, it is of the utmost importance that [Buddhist monks and nuns] should *not* be under the jurisdiction of the Department of State Affairs.³⁶ [Attaching them to the Court of State Ceremonial is [also] deemed to be inappropriate.]³⁷

Furthermore, according to the [*Compendium of Administrative Law of the*] *Six Divisions of the Tang Bureaucracy*,³⁸ the Bureau of Receptions administers the foreigners from over seventy countries who have presented gifts to the court.³⁹ Five Indian countries

are also included in this number. The Śākya clan emerged from India. His majesty, on account of this, currently does not count [the members of this clan] as Chinese.⁴⁰ The registry of names of Buddhist monks and nuns has been altered [to reflect this].⁴¹ Accordingly, it is ordered that they be connected to the Bureau of Receptions, and not attached to the Bureau of National Sacrifices or Court of State Ceremonial. Approved.

[By the end of the *huichang* era, the orders suppressing Buddhism and regarding it as a foreign religion were rescinded].⁴²

In the fifth month of the sixth year [of the *huichang* era] (846), it was commanded that Buddhist monks and nuns, in accordance with previous decrees (i.e., those enacted prior to the *huichang* suppression), be administered by the Commissioner of Merit and Virtue of the Left and Right Precincts of the Capital, and not required to be connected to the Bureau of Receptions. Regarding who has jurisdiction over the ordination of Buddhist monks and nuns,⁴³ it was decreed the Bureau of National Sacrifices grant [ordination] certificates.

When Emperor Xuanzong revived the Buddhist tradition, jurisdiction over the ordination of Buddhist monks and nuns was also placed under the Commissioner of Merit and Virtue of the Left and Right Precincts of the Capital.⁴⁴ As a result, when Yang Qinyi was appointed Commissioner of Merit and Virtue of the Left Precincts of the Capital, he was officially despatched to apprehend the Daoist Zhao Guizhen.⁴⁵

At the court of Zhaozong (r. 888-904), when Grand Councilor Cui Mou petitioned for the execution of eunuchs and for the dismissal of all the officials and commissioners of the palace, all [Buddhists] were returned to [the jurisdiction of] the Departments and Agencies [of the government].⁴⁶ The Commissioner of Merit and Virtue was subordinate to the State Councilor.⁴⁷

When the [Later] Liang dynasty reformed the Tang mandate, Daoists were not included in the Imperial Clan, and Buddhists monks and nuns

were again connected to the Bureau of National Sacrifice. In the first year of the *longde* era (921), [Later] Liang Emperor Modi prohibited the private ordination of monks and nuns throughout the realm.⁴⁸ Anyone requesting to leave home [to enter the Buddhist clergy] was ordered to come to the capital, and after being examined, to present a request to the Bureau of National Sacrifice.

In the Later Tang dynasty nothing is heard [regarding administrative jurisdiction over Buddhist monks and nuns].⁴⁹

In the [Later] Jin dynasty, Yang Guangyuan served as Commissioner of Merit and Virtue of the empire.⁵⁰ Following the rebellion of Wei Qing,⁵¹ no one was appointed to be the Commissioner [of Merit and Virtue].

In the current Great Song dynasty, Buddhists and Daoists are both attached to [the office of] the Commissioner of Merit and Virtue. Anyone leaving home [to enter the clergy] and requesting ordination is examined on the scriptures. As a result, the Commissioner of Merit and Virtue has jurisdiction over them, but the Bureau of National Sacrifice issues their [ordination] certificate. They are connected to two sections [of the administrative bureaucracy].

Commentary: The duty of the Court for Dependencies (*honglu si*) was providing ritual protocols [in dealings with] with foreign peoples from the four directions and people who have come from afar.⁵² When [those who] taught the Dharma first arrived, they were obliged to attach themselves to this Court. Even though [the government] erected the White Horse Monastery [for monks to dwell in], they were ultimately administered by this office (i.e., the Court for Dependencies).⁵³ The old saying “Buddhist monks and nuns were attached to the Court for Dependencies” is [a reference to] this.

It so happened that after the taste of pepper was claimed to be exquisite and wearing leather boots was [thought] to be elegant, [there was] the saying: “[All within] the four seas are one family; to the Emperor there is nothing foreign.”⁵⁴ As a result, the Later Wei dynasty instituted the

Superintendency of Buddhist Blessings (*jianfu cao*), the Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities (*zhaoxuan si*), and the Bureau of Receptions (*chongxuan shu*), and set up administrative offices (*guan*) and spread agency bureaus (*ju*) in order to supervise Buddhist monks and nuns.

Pepper was subsequently produced in our land (i.e., China), and leather boots were subsequently acknowledged as constituting Chinese attire. As a result, the Tang court ordered [Buddhist monks and nuns] to be placed under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of National Sacrifice (*cibu*). Subsequently, implementing reforms according to events, successive imperial courts suppressed and promoted [Buddhism]. As a consequence, they established the Commissioner of Merit and Virtue (*gongde shi*) in order to head them (i.e., the Buddhist clergy). At the time of Emperor Zhongzong, the Śramaṇa Kuoqing was made Commissioner for the Cultivation of Merit and Virtue (*xiu gongde shi*), and as an official, advanced to become Director of the Palace Administration (*dian zhongjian*).⁵⁵ When the Inspector of the Armies (*junrong*)⁵⁶ Tutu [Chengcui] was deprived of his awarded titles as Palace Commandant-Protector of the Army of Inspired Strategy and Commissioner of Merit and Virtue of the Left Precincts of the Capital,⁵⁷ the court government, after deliberation, honored him as Commissioner of Merit and Virtue.⁵⁸ It (i.e., the position of Commissioner of Merit and Virtue) does not refer exclusively to the Buddhist religion (*fodao*), [but was also associated with Daoism].

At times, the Department of State Affairs (*shangshu sheng*) and the Bureau of Honors (*sifeng*) had priority in the jurisdiction over them (i.e., the Buddhist clergy), and on account of this, they were not independent of eunuch [control]. After the execution of eunuchs was carried out at the end of the Tang dynasty,⁵⁹ administration [of the Buddhist clergy] reverted to the State Councilor (*zaizhi*). The imperial court increasingly emphasizes these offices [for administering the Buddhist clergy]. This is fortunate for the way of the Buddhist clergy as well.

教傳《東漢》時，歷《魏》朝信向未臻。《伽藍》全少。僧既有數，事亦無多。乃反前言，則須關白。關白何所還，在鴻臚寺焉。故知《沙門》始隸鴻臚也。

《西晉》無說。《後魏》有云。「初立監福曹以統攝僧伍。尋更為昭玄寺也。」故『隋百官志』曰。「昭玄寺掌佛教。署大統一人。統一人都維那三人。置功曹主簿員。以管諸州郡縣沙門矣。」

後復改崇玄署焉。《梁》《僧祐》云。「如今同文寺也。」因疑《齊》《梁》之世曾立同文寺以主僧務。未見其文，于時帶司呼官。故曰昭玄大統。

至《唐》初竊無此謂。僧尼皆隸司賓。案『會要』云。「《則天》《延載》元年五月十五日，敕天下僧尼隸祠部，不須屬司賓。」知《天后》前係司賓也。此乃隸祠部之始也。義取其善攘惡福解災之謂也。

《玄宗》《開元》十四年，中書門下奏「僧尼割屬鴻臚寺。從之。」一十五年正月，敕僧尼令祠部檢校，道士女冠隸宗正寺。蓋以《李》宗入皇籍也。

《憲宗》《元和》二年二月詔。「僧尼道士，全隸左右街功德使。自是司封祠部不復關奏。」

『會要』曰。「《大曆》十四年，敕內外功德使，並宜停罷。」若然者，《代宗》朝早置功德使。但內外與左右街異耳。《元和》中併司封祠部，而置左右街功德使。由《吐突承璀》累立軍功，故有此授。僧道屬焉。《寶曆》中，護軍中尉《劉規》，亦充此使。

至《會昌》五年，廢寺像。敕僧尼不宜隸祠部。于時中書門下奏云。「奉宣僧尼不隸祠部，合屬主客為仗。令鴻臚寺收管，宜分折奏來者。天下僧尼國朝以來並隸鴻臚寺。至《天寶》二年，隸祠部<與《延載》時不同。>臣等據『大唐六典』。祠部掌天地宗廟大祀。與僧事殊不相當。又可務根本，[不]合歸尚書省。隸鴻臚寺，未為允當。又『六典』，主客掌朝貢之國七十餘蕃。《五天竺》國並在數內。釋氏出自天竺。今陛下以其非中國之數。已有釐革僧尼名籍。便令係主客不隸祠部及鴻臚寺。從之。」

「六年五月，制僧尼依前令兩街功德使收管，不要係主客。其所度僧尼⁶⁰，令祠部給牒。」

《宣宗》重闡佛宗，所度僧尼還屬左右街功德使。故《楊欽義》充左街功德使，宣使之捕道士《趙歸真》。

《昭宗》朝宰臣《崔某》奏誅宦官，內諸司使一切停罷，皆歸省寺。功德使宰執帶之。

《梁》革《唐》命，道士不入宗正，僧尼還係祠部。《梁》《末帝》《龍德》元年，禁天下私度僧尼。有願出家，勒入京比試後，祠部上請焉。

《後唐》無聞。

《晉》以《揚光遠》為天下功德使。自《維青》不軌之後，不置此使矣。

至今大《宋》，僧道並隸功德使。出家乞度，策試經業。則功德使關祠部出牒。係于二曹矣。

論曰。鴻臚寺之任，禮四夷遠人也。教法初來，須就斯寺。雖興《白馬》，終隸此司。古云。「僧尼係鴻臚寺」者是也。

及乎嘗蒔醬以言美。服皮靴而稍佳。則曰。「四海一家，王者無外。」故《後魏》置監福曹焉，昭玄寺焉，崇玄署焉。設官布局以攝僧尼。

蒔醬而以生我土。皮靴而認作華裝。故《唐》朝勒歸祠部。既而因事釐革逐朝廢興故。立功德使以總之。《中宗》時以《沙門廓清》為修功德使，官至殿中監。《土突》軍容軍功莫賞，朝廷議以功德使榮之。非謂專其僧道也。

于時尚書省司封先屬其中。由是不出中官。洎《唐》末行《袁紹》之誅，職歸宰執。皇朝盛重此職。亦僧道之幸事也。

**[37A]. [ORDINATION] CERTIFICATES FROM THE BUREAU OF
NATIONAL SACRIFICE 祠部牒⁶¹**

I have heard that when monks are regarded as officials [of the government], they are [categorized into] five ranks.⁶² Even though I have not seen clear reference [to the awarding of these five ranks to Buddhist monks] in the statutes and ordinances or the histories and biographies, I provisionally put my trust in information that has been passed down. <Moreover, although we view monks [in terms of] five ranks, they are not official's ranks.>

According to this [oral transmission], when one meets the required standards for scripture recitation and obtains a passing grade in the administered test, this is "Clergy Appointment."⁶³ When one receives tonsure and dons the *kāśāya*⁶⁴ this is "Removing Ordinary Clothing [to assume official duties]."⁶⁵ When one is granted, by official decree, the formal and formless precepts, this is "Official Status."⁶⁶ When one lectures on the teachings of the Tripiṭaka,⁶⁷ one is appointed "Tathāgata Representative." When one converts and instructs both Buddhist and non-Buddhist assemblies, causing them to turn away from evil and toward good, one is an "Instructor of the People."

Practicing the Way for the sake of the country, protecting the people and alleviating disasters—doing these is [the Buddhist monk's] imperative. If they are not arranged into classes and ranks,⁶⁸ how can they be regarded as government officials? [So that] future members of the Buddhist nobility (*famen junzi*) promote the will of the emperor,⁶⁹ I request that [the emperor] confer clear dictates authorizing an array of specific offices and specific ranks [for the Buddhist clergy]. In the age of the decline of the Dharma,⁷⁰ [these offices and ranks] will be an impetus for splendid activity. How will such good deeds [be achieved] through our own individual efforts?

If one investigates [the origins of] these (i.e., Buddhist monks') local registrations,⁷¹ the Southern Dynasties had them.⁷² <See the *Biographies*

of *Eminent Monks*.⁷³ > They created an official registry exclusively for investigating recommendations [for entering the Buddhist clergy].⁷⁴ Since they restricted [admission to the Buddhist clergy] to a fixed set of criteria, it was necessary [for individual monks] to obtain authorization. Authorization was provided through a certificate from the Bureau of National Sacrifice. According to the *Continued Collection of Important Documents* (*Xu huiyao*),⁷⁵

In the fifth month of the sixth year of the *tianbao* era (747), it was ordered that Buddhist monks and nuns, in accordance with former [precedent], be placed under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Merit and Virtue of Both Precincts of the Capital, and no longer be required to be attached to the Bureau of Guests. The Bureau of National Sacrifice, moreover, is ordered to grant certificates to those Buddhist monks and nuns who have been ordained through the Bureau of Guests. <In the Tang dynasty, ordination certificates from the Bureau of National Sacrifices were all [made of] elaborately woven silk or brocaded silk, with an inlaid scroll. In the final analysis, they were imperially authorized.⁷⁶ What did it indicate, if not official position?>

Granting ordination certificates [by the Bureau of National Sacrifice] originated at the court of Xuanzong (r. 712-756).

During the *jianzhong* era (780-783) of Emperor Dezong, [there was this decree]:⁷⁷

It is ordered that when Buddhist monks and nuns of the realm die or return to lay life, the three [monastery] controllers be notified on that day, and a certificate be issued in the district in question [indicating the change in status]. Each month, they report to the prefecture and give [the certificates] to the Territorial Representative, who will report it to the Department [of State Affairs].⁷⁸ When the report sent [by the Territorial Representative] is matched against the tally of authorized [Buddhist names], a notation is made to delete [the names of those in question]. It is here at the capital, in other words, at the Bureau of National Sacrifice,

where the issued certificates are received and reported. <A “notice of status” [of official position] is an ordination certificate.⁷⁹>

[三十七附] 祠部牒附

嘗聞僧視其官則五品。然未見令，式，史，傳，明載，且信相傳。〈又，曾見僧五品，非官品也。〉

據其，誦經合格，就試得通，此「僧選」也。剃髮被袈裟，此「釋褐」也。敕授形俱無作戒法，此「官位」也。講三藏教，充「如來使」也。化導內外眾，使背惡向善，「理民」也。

為國行道，保民無災，為之課最也。苟弗比其階品視其職官。其可得乎將來法門君子對[改-己+易]，帝王請降明敕，許比某官某品。像末之時，為美事之端。自我之力，不其善乎。

若夫稽其鄉貫，則南朝有之<見『高僧傳』>。唯為搜揚便生名籍。係之限局，必有憑由。憑由之來即祠部牒也。案『續會要』。「《天寶》六年五月，制僧尼，依前兩街功德使收管。不要更隸主客。其所度僧尼，仍令祠部給牒。」<《唐》祠部牒，皆綾素錦素鈿軸蓋綸誥也。非官何謂。〉給牒自《玄宗》朝始也。

及《德宗》《建中》中。「敕天下僧尼，身死還俗者。當日仰三綱，於本縣陳牒。每月申州附朝，集使申省。并符誥同送者，注毀。其京城即於祠部，陳牒納告<告身即戒牒也。>

NOTES

1. Zanning's concern here is charting changes in the Chinese bureaucracy throughout history that affected the administration of the Buddhist clergy. In this regard, he depends largely on information also recorded in *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 49 (compiled in 961 by Wang Pu 王溥; see the notice by M. Cartier in Hervouet, ed., *A Sung Bibliography*, pp. 176-177.) The evolution is also briefly, but succinctly charted in 通典 25, p. 150b (*Zongzheng qing* 宗正卿 entry on the *Chongyuan shu* 崇元署 (Bureau of Reception)).
2. This is the Wei (220-265) of the Three Kingdoms, not to be confused with the Northern (or Later) Wei (386-534).
3. The initial spread of Buddhist teaching to China is discussed in a variety of ways by Zanning in SSL I. In particular, the construction of Buddhist monasteries is discussed in section 4.
4. The context would suggest that those entering the Buddhist clergy were required to officially provide notice of their change in status, but the phrasing is ambiguous and other interpretations may be possible.
5. This is the pre-Tang translation. From the Tang onwards, *Honglu si* 鴻臚寺 is translated as Court of State Ceremonial (Hucker, no. 2906). According to Hucker, it was "a central government agency responsible for managing the reception at court of tribute bearing envoys, continuing the tradition of the Han era Chamberlain for Dependencies (*da honglu* 大鴻臚)." In other words, this was the organ of the government responsible for matters pertaining to foreigners. A succinct evaluation of this institution can be seen in *Tong dian* 通典 26 (*Honglu qing* 鴻臚卿 entry). The reference to giving public notice here is unclear, but presumably involves a petition regarding the Buddhist clergy submitted to the Court of Dependencies. The fact that it was submitted to the Court of Dependencies implies that this office had jurisdiction over monastic affairs.
6. "Attached" in the sense of belonging to, controlled or ruled by; so also in the sense of being subordinated administratively.
7. This is also confirmed in *Tong dian* 26.
8. Regarding the statement referred to here, see the *Shilao zhi* 釋老志 (*Wei shu* 魏書 114.3040). According to Hucker (no. 823), the *Jianfu cao* 監福曹 (Superintendency of Buddhist Blessings) in the Northern Wei was "a unit subordinate to the Chamberlain for Dependencies (*da honglu* 大鴻臚).

臚) that catered to the needs of foreign Buddhist priests during visits to China, ..." Essentially, it seems that this was a special bureaucratic unit created to supervise Buddhist monks, resulting from their increased numbers and activities. // The *Zhaoxuan si* 昭玄寺 (Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities; Hucker, no. 285) was "an agency of the Court of Dependencies (*honglu si* 鴻臚寺) responsible for monitoring the teaching of Buddhism throughout the state; headed by a Controller-in-chief (*datong* 大統) with the assistance of a Controller (*tong* 統) and a Chief Buddhist Deacon (*du weina* 都維那)." // The word for "groups" (*wu* 伍) in "groups of Buddhists" (*sengwu* 僧伍) is originally a military term, indicating the smallest unit of troops in the army, consisting of five men. The usage is interesting in light of the eventual use of military titles and ranks in the administration of Buddhism (see below).

9. *Baiguan zhi* 百官志 in *Sui shu* 隋書 27.765.
10. Regarding the institution of Buddhist Controller, see section 29, above; on Chief Buddhist Deacons, see the discussion in section 35.
11. According to Hucker (no. 3489), the Personnel Evaluation Section (*gongcao* 功曹) at this time were "staff agencies in units of territorial administration down to the District; in the era of N-S Division also found in various central government agencies, e.g., the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*taichang si* 太常寺), the Court of State Ceremonial (*honglu si* 鴻臚寺). Responsible for preparing and processing merit ratings (*kao* 考) of subordinate officials, also generally for monitoring all government activities in their jurisdictions...." Hucker (no. 1413), states that Assistant Magistrates (*zhubu* 主簿) were "on the staff of various units of territorial administration, especially Districts (*xian* 縣);..." Literally, the term means "to be in charge of records."
12. Regarding the translation of *Chongxuan shu* 崇玄署, there is some confusion that needs explanation. The confusion stems from the alleged difference between the *Chongxuan shu* 崇玄署 and the *Chongyuan shu* 崇元署. According to Hucker (nos. 1656 and 1673), the former was the "Office of Daoist Worship," first established in the Sui, responsible for "registering and generally monitoring the activities of all Daoist monks in the capital area." Until 694, it was subordinate to the *Honglu si* 鴻臚寺; to the Ministry of Personnel (*libu* 吏部) until 736; to the Court of the Imperial Clan (*zongzheng si* 宗正寺) until 743; the Ministry of Personnel between 788-867; and afterwards apparently subordinated to special Commissioners for Merit and Virtue (*gongde shi* 功德使) except between 842-846 when it was assigned again to the Ministry of Personnel. The

Chongyuan shu, on the other hand, was the “Bureau of Receptions” in the *Honglu si* during the Sui. However, my feeling is that *Chongyuan shu* should also be read as a variant of *Chongxuan shu* (just as Hucker, gives *Zhaoyuan si* 昭元寺 [no. 311] as a variant of *Zhaoxuan si* 昭玄寺 [no. 285]). Moreover, the original meaning of *Chongyuan shu* (and *Chongxuan shu*) should probably be “Bureau of Receptions.” *Tong dian* 通典 25 (*Zongzheng qing* 宗正卿 entry, *Chongyuan shu* 崇元暑) states that this office was first established in the Sui to supervise Buddhist and Daoist establishments, with a *Daochang jian* and a *Yuantan jian* as Supervisor of each, respectively. As such, it inherited the *siji* 司寂 (Supervisor of the Buddhist Clergy; Hucker, no. 5556) and the *siyuan* 司元 (Supervisor of the Daoist Clergy, or Daoist Administrator; Hucker, no. 5838) of the Northern Zhou, which in turn inherited the duties of the *Zhaoyuan si* (Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities) of the Northern Qi [and the Northern Wei]. Moreover, *Tong dian* 26 (*Honglu qing* 鴻臚卿 entry) clearly states that Sui Emperor Wen abolished the *Honglu si* in the third year of *kaihuang* (583), but in the twelfth year (592), reestablished three supervisory offices, the *Tianke shu* 殿客暑 (Office of Receptions), the *Siyi shu* 司儀暑 (Ceremonial Office), and the *Chongyuan shu* (Bureau of Receptions). The *Chongyuan shu* was continued in the Tang with the added stipulation that a Supervisor be appointed at each Buddhist and Daoist temple. It was initially subordinate to the *Honglu si*, but during the *kaiyuan* era (713-741) was transferred to the *Zongzheng si* (Court of the Imperial Clan). At this time, the responsibilities of the Office were also changed to the supervision of Daoist temples and Daoist priests and priestesses, exclusively. In addition *Tang huiyao* 65 (*Zongzheng si* entry) records a petition for the twenty-fifth year of *kaiyuan* (737) confirming the creation of (it seems) a new *Chongyuan shu* under the jurisdiction of the *Zongzheng si* (Court of the Imperial Clan) for the supervision of Daoists, to be distinguished from the old *Chongyuan shu* in the *Honglu si*. Following this, it makes sense that the old *Chongyuan shu* in the *Honglu si* that dealt with both Buddhists and Daoists be looked on as the Bureau of Guests, and that the new *Chongyuan shu*, independently established as part of the *Zongzheng si*, be looked on as the Office of Daoist Worship (see Morohashi 8152-219 on this point; the quote from the *Tang huiyao* cited by Morohashi includes the words *Chongxuan*, where the edition of the *Tang huiyao* in my possession reads *Chongyuan*, further supporting the contention that *yuan* be read as a variant of *xuan*). As a result of these

- factors, my translation of the term *Chongxuan shu* has been rendered as Bureau of Receptions, which makes more sense in this context.
13. *Tong dian* 26 (*Honglu qing*) says that the Court of Diplomatic Relations (there written mistakenly as *siwen* 司文 instead of *tongwen* 同文) was set up temporarily as a replacement for the *Honglu si* between the second year of *longshuai* (662) and the first year of *xianxiang* (670) (Hucker, no. 7516, gives the year as 671), but in this context, it seems that Zanning understands the Court of Diplomatic Relations (*Tongwen si* 同文寺) as a replacement for the Bureau of Receptions (*Chongyuan shu* 崇元暑). On this, see Yamazaki, *Shina chūsei bukkō no tenkai*, p. 499.
 14. According to *Tong dian* 26, at the beginning of the *guangzhai* era (684), the *Honglu si* 鴻臚寺 was changed to the *Sibu* 司賓, but reverted back again to the *Honglu si* at the beginning of the *shenlong* era (705).
 15. See *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 49 (*Sengni suoli* 僧尼所隸 section) and 59 (*Cibu yuan wailang* 祠部員外郎 section). The day is there given as the eleventh rather than the fifteenth. The same information is recorded in *Tong dian* 23 (*Libu shangshu* entry; *sibu langzhong*).
 16. Hucker (no. 7566) translates *Cibu* 祠部 as simply “Bureau of Sacrifices.” It is one of four bureaus in the Ministry of Rites (*libu* 禮部) (regarding which, see Hucker, no. 3631).
 17. A common pretext for the state support of Buddhism; FZTJ 39 (T 49.370a), for example, states that “Buddhism possesses blessings for protecting the nation and saving others, and virtues for alleviating disasters.”
 18. The original petition is found in the *Tang huiyao* 49 (*Sengni suoli* 僧尼所隸 section). The year there is given as the twenty-fourth year of *kaiyuan* (736). Regarding the Secretariat-Chancellery, see Hucker (no. 1617). Note that the Court of State Ceremonial is the same in Chinese (*honglu si* 鴻臚寺) as the Court for Dependencies. The different translations follow Hucker’s explanation (no. 2906).
 19. This decree is also recorded in *Tang huiyao* 49. The year there is given as the twenty-fifth year of *kaiyuan* (737) on the seventh day of the seventh month. The SSL dating is most likely mistaken here. Other sources (JTS, *Xuanzong benji* 宣宗本紀) follow the *Tang huiyao* dating. Regarding the *Zongzheng si* 宗正寺 (Court of the Imperial Clan), see Hucker (no. 7085). It was basically responsible for maintaining the imperial genealogy and monitoring the activities of all members of the imperial family. For information on it in the Tang, see XTS 48 (*Baiguan* 3, *Zongzheng si* entry).

20. In other words, because Li was the family name of both the Tang ruling family and of Laozi, the founder of Daoism. The order to this effect is found in *Tang dazhaoling ji* 唐大詔令集 78 (Zuizun Xuanyuan huangdi zhi 最遵玄元皇帝志).CK
21. The decree is recorded in *Tang huiyao* 49 (*Sengni suoli* 僧尼所隸 entry).
22. On the Commissioner of Merit and Virtue, see section 31, note 165.
23. The Bureau of Honors (*sifeng* 司封) is one of four major offices in the Ministry of Personnel (*libu* 吏部). It was charged with conferring noble titles, confirming the inheritance of such titles, and so on (Hucker, no. 5620).
24. This does not appear in the *Tang huiyao* 唐會要, but is recorded in the *Zhenyuan xukaiyuan shijiao lu* 貞元續開元釋教錄 (T 55-2156.761c26-762a6). Following the line recorded here, there is an additional statement: "Hereafter, Buddhist monks and nuns are all to be subordinated to the Bureau of National Sacrifices."
25. The actual functions of the Palace and Extra-Palace Commissioners of Merit and Virtue (*neiwai gongdeshi* 內外功德使) are not clear. Tsukamoto, "Tō chūki irai no chōan no kutokushi" (*Chūgoku chūsei bukyōshi ronkō* 3), p. 262, supposes that the Palace Commissioner handled Palace affairs relating to Buddhism, while the duties of the Extra-Palace Commissioner was connected with the military.
26. Regarding this, see Tsukamoto, "Tō chūki irai no chōan no kutokushi," pp. 255-258.
27. Tsukamoto, "Tō chūki irai no chōan no kutokushi," (pp. 254-255) questions both whether Daizong actually instituted Palace and Extra Palace Commissioners, and whether they were, in fact, the same as Commissioner of the Left and Right Precincts of the Capital.
28. Tutu Chengcui's 吐突承璀 (also written 土突承璀) biography is contained in JTS 184 and XTS 207. He was a native of Min and an important military commander under Emperor Xianzong. *Jun* 軍 and *gong* 功 are abbreviations for *shence hujun zhongwei* 神策護軍中尉 (Hucker, nos. 5163 and 2777) and *zuojie gongde shi* 左街功德使 (Hucker no. 3485); Tutu Chengcui's biography in XTS 207 confirms this). The Palace Commandant-Protector (*hujun zhongwei* 護軍中尉) was a high eunuch post in the Armies of Inspired Strategy (*shence jun* 神策軍). It was one of the organizational bases through which eunuchs acquired dictatorial control over the imperial armies, the court, and the throne in the 9th century. The Armies of Inspired Strategy were initiated c. 753 as the Wing of Inspired Strategy (*shence xiang* 神策廂), and renamed in 786. After

807, they were considered as units of the Six Imperial Armies (*liu jun* 六軍). Stationed in the imperial parks at the capital, they were known collectively as the Northern Command (*beiya* 北衙), falling under the control of the palace eunuchs. By the end of the 8th century, the Armies had a reported strength of 150,000 troops at the capital, with numerous Mobile Brigades (*shence xingying* 神策行營) stationed at strategic locations under the command of eunuch Military Commissioners (*jiedu shi* 節度使). Eunuch leaders of the Armies of Inspired Strategy dominated the capital city, including the palace and the emperors, through the 9th century, installing and deposing emperors at will. Commissioners of Merit and Virtue (*gongde shi* 功德使), we will recall, were established 788-807 to supervise Buddhist establishments in the two capitals, Chang'an and Luoyang, and evolved to oversee the activities of other religions as well. Regarding the combined responsibilities of Palace Commandant-Protector of the Army of Inspired Strategy and Commissioner of Merit and Virtue of the Left Precincts of the Capital, see Tsukamoto, "Tō chūki irai no chōan no kutokushi," p. 269 and following, esp. pp. 276-277.

29. In other words, Liu Gui 劉規 also held the responsibilities of both posts (see *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 52, *baoli* first year (825) entry regarding *gongde shi* 功德使; also the tomb-inscription for Liu Gui 劉規 by Li Deyu 李德裕 in *Huichang yipin ji bieji* 會昌一品集別集 6).
30. Regarding the Huichang suppression of Buddhism, see *Tang huiyao* 49 (*Sengni suoli* 僧尼所隸 entry) and the *Chaisi zhao* 拆寺詔 in *Tang da zhaoling ji* 唐大詔令集 113. For a general description of the Huichang suppression, see Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 226-233.
31. What follows here is a long passage from the petition recorded in *Tang huiyao* 49.
32. The Bureau of Receptions (*zhuke* 主客; Hucker, no. 1397) was one of four top-echelon units in the Ministry of Rites (*libu* 禮部). In conjunction with the Court of State Ceremonial (*honglu si* 鴻臚寺), it was responsible for managing the reception of foreign dignitaries at court. At issue here is whether Buddhism should be regarded as a "domestic" (i.e., Chinese) religion, or as the petitioner suggests, a foreign (i.e., non-Chinese) one.
33. The term *guochao* 國朝 (Hucker, no. 3505) is commonly used to refer to the currently reigning dynasty.
34. In the first year of *yanzai* (694), Empress Wu attached Buddhists to the Bureau of National Sacrifices (see above).

35. I have been unable to verify where this reference occurs, but it is probably connected to the *Cibu* 祠部 section of *Datang liudian* 大唐六典 4. Regarding this, and other traditional Chinese administrative law sources, see Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual*, pp. 548-551.
36. The Department of State Affairs ((*shangshu sheng* 尚書省; Hucker, no. 5053) was the agency through which the general administrative business of the central government was carried on. With the Chancellery (*menxia sheng* 門下省) and the Secretariat (*zhongshu sheng* 中書省), it formed one of the Three Departments (*san sheng* 三省), the central government's executive core, that presided over the Six Ministries. Senior officials in these Departments routinely served among the Grand Councilors (*zaixiang* 宰相) who were instrumental in forming imperial policy. The negative in this sentence is absent in the SSL text, and has been supplied from the *Tang huiyao*.
37. The sentence has been inserted according to the *Tang huiyao* text.
38. See the *Datang liudian*, end of fascicle 4.
39. A sign that tribute relations have been established between China and its neighbors, formally acknowledging Tang superiority,
40. According to the *Tang huiyao*, *shu* 數 ("count" or "number") should be read as *jiao* 教 ("teaching"), making the sentence read: "His Majesty, on account of this, currently does not [consider Buddhism] as a Chinese teaching."
41. Chinese born monks bore the name Shi 釋, an abbreviation of Shijia 釋迦 (for Śākya) as their clan name, and were officially entered in the state registry accordingly. Those with such names would, according to the petition, be classified as "foreign" rather than Chinese.
42. I have broken the passage here in order to indicate the change in tone of the contents. The passages that follow represent a continuation of the same materials recorded in *Tang huiyao* 49.
43. Following *Tang huiyao* in reading *ni* 尼 ("nuns") for *reng* 仍, which has no meaning in this context.
44. Makita (p. 342, n. 250) claims that this is verified in *Tang huiyao* 49 (*Sengni suo li* section), but it is not found there. FZTJ 42 (T 49.386b) also mentions this, in an entry for the sixth year of *huichang* (846), the year Xuanzong assumed the throne.
45. The incident is recorded in FZTJ 42, sixth year of the *huichang* era (T 49.386a-b). Zhao Guizhen 趙歸真 was among those responsible for spurring the anti-Buddhist sentiment that lead directly to the *huichang* suppression. T.H. Barret suggests that Zhao Guizhen is probably the

most controversial Daoist master in Chinese history (see his entry “Zhao Guizhen,” in Fabrizio Pregadio, ed., *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Taoism*, pp. 1244-1245). According to FZTJ 42 (T 49.368b), Yang Qinyi 楊欽義 apprehended twelve men in all; they were executed at the imperial court.

46. Cui Mou 崔某 is otherwise known as Cui Yin 崔胤 (biography in JTS 177 and XTS 233B). Regarding this incident, see also the *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 262. I understand the term *zaichen* 宰臣 (not in Hucker) as equivalent to *zaixiang* 宰相 (Hucker no. 6819). According to Cui Mou/Yin’s biography, he held the title *zaixiang* (Grand Councilor), as well as the position of *tong zhongshu menxia pingzhang shi* 同中書門下平章事 (Jointly Manager of Affairs with the Secretariat-Chancellery). Hucker indicates that in the Tang-Song period, the Grand Councilor was a personage bearing the later title (Jointly Manager...), or an equivalent. *Sheng* 省 (Hucker, no. 5176) is a generic term for major agencies of the central government; *si* 寺 (Hucker no. 5534) is one of several terms used to designate government agencies normally less prestigious than *sheng*. Together, they may be taken as reference to the main institutions of the central government.
47. According to Hucker (no. 6810), the term for State Councilor (*zaizhi* 宰執) was only used after the Song, but the evidence here suggests that it was in use at the end of the Tang. It was closely associated with the Grand Councilor (*zaixiang* 宰相).
48. Regarding this, see JWDS 10, XWDS 3, and FZTJ 42 (T 49.391a).
49. However, see the petition of the Commissioner of Merit and Virtue (*gongde shi* 功德使) recorded in *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 52, *Wudai huiyao* 五代會要 12, JWDS 47, XWDS 7, etc., for the second year of *qingtai* (935), seeking examinations for Buddhist monks and nuns. The essential documents are recorded in Makita, *Godai shūkyōshi kenkyū*, pp. 70-71.
50. FZTJ 42 (T 49.391c) has a statement to this effect. Yang Guangyuan 楊光遠 also has biographical entries in JWDS 97 and XWDS 51, although neither makes any reference to this. According to these sources, he served mainly as Military Commissioner (*jiedu shi* 節度使).
51. This refers to an incident in Qingzhou, where Yang Guangyuan joined forces with the Khitan/Liao in an attempted overthrow of the Later Jin, and which eventually led to his demise.
52. The peoples from the four directions is a traditional reference to the groups of relatively “uncivilized” people living on the periphery of China

- and Chinese culture: the *yi* 夷 people to the east, the *rong* 戎 people to the west, the *man* 蠻 people to the south, and the *di* 狄 people to the north. Here, it is a general reference to foreign peoples.
53. Regarding the role of the White Horse Monastery in early Chinese Buddhist administration, see section 4.
 54. This is cited by Zanning as a proverbial saying, which might be taken loosely as equivalent to “The whole world is one family; the Chinese Emperor is the master of the family.” A similar sentiment is expressed in the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 biography of Wang Fu 王符 (ca. 78-163). Pepper here refers to a “sauce made from the devil’s tongue plant.”
 55. The Commissioner for the Cultivation of Merit and Virtue was an office more commonly associated with the period from the 780’s onward (see Hucker no. 2625, and Tsukamoto, “Tō chūki irai no chōan no kutokushi,” pp. 255-258), rather than the at the time of the reign of Zhongzong (r. 684-710). FZTJ 40 (T 49.372b-c) claims that a Śramaṇa Guang 廣 of Shengshan Monastery 聖善寺 became Director of Palace Administration (*dian zhongjian* 殿中監) and was appointed Commissioner of Merit and Virtue (*gongde shi* 功德使) in the second year of *shenlong* (706). *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 52 mentions that a Śramaṇa Kuoqing 廓清 of Xingshan Monastery 興善寺, was granted official (unspecified) rank. The Director of Palace Administration (Hucker no. 6558) was a non-eunuch position responsible for supervising and provisioning the imperial household.
 56. *Junrong* 軍容 is an abbreviation for *guan junrong xuanwei chuzhi shi* 關軍容宣慰處置使 (Hucker no. 3288), which referred literally to a “commissioner to arrange and dispose of matters concerning conditions in the armies and manifestations of imperial conciliation.” After the 760’s, it was the most influential military appointment. This person inspected all armies going on campaigns, and had control over the Armies of Inspired Strategy. It was commonly granted to a palace eunuch.
 57. Regarding Tutu Chengcui and the two titles referred to here in abbreviation, see above.
 58. When objections were raised at the court of Xianzong (r. 805-819) regarding the appropriateness of a eunuch leading the army, Tutu Chengcui was deprived of his military titles and demoted to Commissioner of Merit and Virtue. For an in depth summary of Tutu Chengcui’s career based on JTS 184, XTS 207, and materials recorded in *Zhizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tutu_Chengcui.

59. Following Fu Shiping (p. 132, n. 21), reading Yuan Shao 袁紹 as an indication of executing eunuchs. This corresponds to Zanning's discussion above regarding Cui Mou's 崔某 petition to execute eunuchs at the court of Zhaozong (r. 888-904).
60. Following *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 in reading *ni* 尼 for *reng* 仍.
61. The heading of this section is somewhat misleading. In addition to discussing the certification process for Buddhist monks by the Bureau of National Sacrifice, Zanning's concern here is to legitimize Buddhist clergy ranks in the eyes of government officials. Also important here is that members of the Buddhist clergy are authorized by the Bureau of National Sacrifice, the organ of the government responsible for major imperial sacrifices and Chinese ritual, instead of by the Bureau of Receptions and Court of State Ceremonial, branches of the government charged with handling *foreign* matters.
62. The five ranks 五品 for Buddhist monks are outlined below. Officials in the Chinese bureaucracy were categorized into a total of nine ranks for purposes of determining prestige, compensation, priority in court audience, etc. Each rank was commonly divided into two classes (first and second) or grades (upper and lower). The lower five ranks (5 through 9) were eligible to Buddhist officials. However, judged by Zanning's comments below, the reference here is to an alternate, quasi or unofficial ranking system specifically for Buddhist monks, and not part of the normal official ranking system.
63. The term *xuan* 選 (Hucker no. 2653) in *sengxuan* 僧選 indicates the process used by the Ministry of Personnel (*libu* 吏部) to choose men for appointment in the bureaucracy.
64. The monk's robe donned here, the *kasayā* (*jiasha* 袈裟) or Buddhist surplice, indicates official entry into the clergy. For Zanning's description of the robes worn by Buddhist monks, see section 9.
65. The term *shihe* 釋褐 (Morohashi 40129-10) normally refers to the act of putting aside one's ordinary clothing and donning the robes of an official on the occasion of first assuming duties. Here the meaning is adapted to a Buddhist context.
66. Receiving the formal and formless precepts indicate full admission into the Buddhist order. The first three ranks indicated here may be taken as: admission into the Buddhist order; acceptance as novice in training; and status as fully ordained monk. Although this seems to counter Zanning's claim above about Buddhist's not occupying "official's ranks" (*guanpin* 官品), the context here regards "official status" (*guanwei* 官位) as a mem-

ber of the Buddhist clergy. Below, however, Zanning seems to be advocating otherwise, when he uses official “rank” (*pin* 品) in connection with designated administrative roles for Buddhist monks.

67. *Rulai shi* 如來使; the Tripitaka, or “three baskets,” refers to the three divisions of the Buddhist canon into *sūtra* (teachings of the Buddha), *abhidharma* (commentary or doctrinal analysis), and *vinaya* (monastic rules).
68. The term *jie* 階 (Hucker no. 754) was used to designate class, as a subdivision of rank (*pin* 品) for officials.
69. The term *duiyang* 對[改-己+易] (“promote the imperial will”) means to respond to imperial orders by representing the will of the emperor throughout his domain. In purely Buddhist contexts, it can also refer to posing questions and answers at lectures to convey the Buddha’s message, thereby promoting Buddhist teaching (see Morohashi, 7457-205). The notion of a Buddhist nobleman, or gentleman (*famen junzi* 法門君子), is an obvious parallel to the ideal of Confucian noble virtue embodied in the *junzi* 君子.
70. The age of the decline of the Dharma (*xiangmo* 像末) refers to the last two of the three periods of the supposed fate of Buddhism after the Buddha’s decease. According to Buddhist doctrine, the period immediately following the Buddha’s decease when Buddhist doctrines, practices, and enlightenment are still available is known as the period of the True or Righteous Dharma (*zhengfa* 正法). Following this, the period when Buddhist doctrine and practice are still present, but enlightenment is not, is known as the Imitative or Counterfeit Dharma (*xiangfa* 像法). The final period, when only doctrine survives, is known as the End of the Law (*mofa* 末法), at which point the Dharma ceases to exist. There are varying views regarding the duration of the first two periods, posited in varying combinations of 500 and 1000 years durations. The final period is always posited as lasting ten-thousand years. Zanning’s point here is that the True or Righteous Dharma is unobtainable in the last two periods, and that an administrative system modeled on the style of the state bureaucracy will help sustain both Buddhist and imperial aims.
71. Locale registries (*xiangguan* 鄉貫) officially document a person’s place of origin, according to the location of the domicile where one was born. In the case of Buddhists, local registry is presumably transferred to the location of the monastery where one was initially registered as entering the Buddhist order.

72. The Southern Dynasties are the regimes that controlled southern China during the so-called period of Northern and Southern Dynasties, the Eastern Jin (317-420), the Liu Song (420-479), the Qi (479-502), the Liang (502-557), and the Chen (557-589), prior to the Sui reunification.
73. It is also interesting to note in this context a previous petition by Shi Daolin 釋道林 in seeking an official registry for Śramaṇa, in the third year of the *long'an* era (399); recorded in HMJ 12 (T 52.85c).
74. The official registry (*mingji* 名籍) was essentially the registration of people's names, along with their official status. Foremost among these was how to record the name and status change when someone renounced their secular standing and entered the Buddhist clergy, adopting a new name and status. The basic function of this registry, when applied to Buddhists, was to document this change.
75. This is a reference to the non-extant 40 fascicle *Xu huiyao* 續會要 compiled by Yang Shaofu 楊紹復, but incorporated into Wang Pu 王溥, comp., *Tang huiyao* 唐會要, which records the same information (see fascicle 49).
76. The term *lun* 綸 in *lungao* 綸詔 here literally means silken thread, but sometimes, as here, is used as an allusion to the emperor. For example, *lunyin* 綸音, "the sound of silk," are the words of the emperor, and *lunfei* 綸扉, "the silk door," is the imperial palace.
77. This is similar to a notice in FZTJ 41 (T 49.379b), for the third year of *jianzhong* (782).
78. A delegate, the Territorial Representative (*chaoji shi* 朝集使; Hucker no. 314) was sent to the capital from each Tang prefecture annually to attend the New Year's audience and report on local conditions. The Department of State Affairs (*shangshu sheng* 尚書省) was the working administrative agency during the Tang, and had jurisdiction over the prefectures and districts of the realm (see Hucker, pp. 28-29).
79. The meaning of *gaoshen* 告身 is given by Makita (p. 344, n. 265) as *ci-ling shu* 辭令書, a document provided to those who are enlisted as officials. Fuller information regarding this is recorded in FZTJ 41: "What the Tang referred to as an "official notice" (*fugao* 符告; referring to a document marked with an official seal, or *fu* 符), conferring rank and position the same as a "notice of status" (*gaoshen* 告身), is at present simply called an "ordination certificate" (*dudie* 度牒)" (T 49.379b7-9).

[38]

THE RELATIVE RANKING OF BUDDHISTS AND DAOISTS

僧道班位¹

Although the Buddha Dharma became widely practiced [in China] and continued through successive dynastic reigns, it was instituted without full deliberation regarding [the role it plays in] the formation of the imperial structure.² When [Buddhism] influenced the ruler of a particular age, it met with envy when it was allowed into the palace.³ In addition, Buddhist monks dazzled at opportune times, and the Dharma distinguished itself in appropriate situations. That is to say, [Buddhism] contended against and vied for power with the Gateway to the Mysterious (i.e., Daoism). Because disputes occurred, the formation of factions followed. Because of these factions, people formed [feelings of] sympathy and resentment toward it (i.e., Buddhism).

[According to] the scriptures, it is impermissible for [Buddhist monks] to be on familiar terms with such figures as the Prince of State (i.e., the emperor), the Grand Ministers, or the Crown Prince,⁴ but why do [the scriptures] elsewhere say “Our Dharma is the possession of Rulers and Ministers?”⁵ How can [Buddhism] wield power if [Buddhist monks] are

not on familiar terms with such people? How can they avoid courting disaster if they do it for personal glory? From the perspective of this age of the decline of the Dharma, when stains run deep and emotions are unstable, people are only interested in promoting themselves, and one rarely hears about being on familiar terms with the Prince of State or Grand Minister out of concern for the teaching. If, on the other hand, [Buddhist monks] only live in monastic retreats (*aranya*) and do not set foot inside the gates of the imperial court, who would plead their case? Who would determine the position it occupies? In other words, what rank and status would it have? On the contrary, if [Buddhist monks] were to focus solely on good deeds and practiced asceticism exclusively, how would the ruler and the nobility know anything about Buddhism? How would they, with their immense power, be able to assist Buddhism? Because [the ruler and nobility] must determine the public ranking of Buddhists [at court] and the way they are situated at court processions, they individually form opinions on whether to favor [Buddhism] or not.⁶

In former times, when the teaching spread to the east, in the ages of the Han and Wei dynasties some said that it was vague and indistinct; after the Jin and [Liu] Song dynasties, it was said to be brilliant and awe-inspiring. The Daoism of Deepest Mystery and the influence of Master Lao[zi] alternately thrived and perished in the Han and Wei periods.⁷ How is this known? According to the *History* written by [Si]ma Qian, Laozi and Hanfei[zi] are treated together in the same biography.⁸ Doesn't this mean that they (i.e., Daoists) were regarded as unimportant in the Han Dynasty? Placing their biographies in the same section, and placing them provisionally together in the same category, in other words, revealed the Historiographer's [Sima Qian's] taxonomy.⁹ From this we know that the Way of Boyang (i.e., Laozi) was not prominent in the Former Han dynasty.¹⁰ Emperor Heng (r. 146-168) of the Eastern Han dynasty first dispatched eunuchs (i.e., government emissaries) to pray for blessings at Daoist religious services.¹¹

In the Wei dynasty, a decree was issued in the third year of the *huangchu* era (222) proclaiming:¹²

Inform the Regional Inspector of Yuzhou that although Laozi was a person of excellent virtue, he still should not be given precedence over Confucius.¹³ It is not known whether the shrine erected for Confucius in the Commandery of Lu had been completed yet or not. Emperor Heng of the Han dynasty did not regard the sage's teaching (i.e., Confucianism) as his model, but regulated [his government] by having his favored ministers serve Laozi. Trying to seek blessings in this way is laughable indeed! The popularity of these [Daoist] sacrifices was owing to Emperor Huan.

Emperor Wu regarded Laozi as a person of excellent virtue and did not destroy his teaching. Since the emperor also had pavilions for him (Laozi) situated right on the roadways, passersby always went to look at them, but when the tall structures collapsed without warning, they would crush people. Because of this, [Emperor Wu] ordered they be repaired. Recently, [some have] erroneously regarded this as a specific intention to restore [Daoism]. I fear that small-minded people will say he [Laozi] is a god and will foolishly go to pray and sacrifice [to him] in violation of what is normally forbidden. [The prohibition against this] should be proclaimed to the officials of the bureaucracy and the people at large so that they are all informed of it.

Viewed from this way, [Buddhists and Daoists] had yet to expose the tips of their spears during the Han and Wei dynasties. In the Tang dynasty, there was the apparition [of Laozi] on [Mount] Yangjiao,¹⁴ and the largely forgotten [teaching of] Daoism was revived from obscurity, acknowledged as the ancestral tradition, and conferred official imperial designation.¹⁵ When the Lord emperor referred to it (Daoism) as excellent, who dared [say] it was not so? If the historian [Sima] Qian had written his biographies in the Tang dynasty, he surely would have had to change the imperial chronicle [to give Daoism precedence]. Had he included Confucius in the same biography [with Hanfeizi], it would seem to suggest that goose feathers were no different than stone weights. How

can one indiscriminately put Hanfei in the same category! How shocked the people of the Han and Wei dynasties would have been when reading Sima Qian's history! Shocking incongruities [like this] are the tendency in recent times.¹⁶ As a result, [the interpretation of] things differ according to the group, and [the interpretation of] events change according to the times. [The emperor] who esteems three generations does not ignore the errors of the past.¹⁷ Why shouldn't he who controls the myriad lands reinterpret the meaning [of things and events]?

When the mandate changed [from the Tang] to the Zhu (i.e., Later) Liang dynasty, it was decreed that the Taiqing Palace in Haozhou be converted into a temple for Laozi.¹⁸ Surely sentiments, whether sympathetic or critical, differ according to imperial and dynastic instability. Even though the Śākya clan [represents] the teaching of guests who came from the west, through the Jin, [Liu] Song, Qi, Liang, Chen, Later Wei, Northern Qi, Later Zhou, and Great Sui dynasties the ranking of Buddhist monks always superceded that of the Yellow Hats (i.e., Daoist priests). When Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty (r. 502-549) rejected Daoism and did not include the Gateway to the Mysterious [among the teachings of the empire],¹⁹ the followers of the Yellow Hats objected vehemently and fought to improve their status.²⁰

In the eleventh year of the *zhenguan* era (637) of the Tang dynasty, Daoist priests argued that they be given precedence over Buddhist monks when the imperial carriage proceeded to Luoyang, and made request to this effect to Emperor Taizong. He subsequently issued a decree stating:²¹

Currently, for ensuring an abundance of sacrificial blessings,²² we are relying on celebrations for supreme virtue. The great stability of the empire moreover depends on merits derived from [governing in accordance with] *wuwei*. To better reveal and spread [these blessings and merits] and to release their profoundly transforming effects, Daoist priests and priestesses should henceforth be given precedence over Buddhist monks and nuns at vegetarian banquets, in procession ceremonies,²³ and even when they are addressed publicly. It is my earnest hope that since [Daoism] esteems customs

which return to the root, that it be promoted throughout the nine regions (i.e., the empire)²⁴ and transmitted to the myriad [future] generations.

In the capital city at that time, [the monk] Zhishi petitioned the throne stating his criticism [of the decree], but it was not allowed.²⁵ Subsequently, the ranking of Buddhists was placed below [Daoists].

In the fifteenth year [of the *zhenguan* era] (641), when the Emperor [Taizong] paid a visit to Hongfu (Extending Blessings) Monastery and granted [titles for] “Great Virtue” to five senior monks, he stated: ²⁶

My ancestor Li lived formerly, and I deeply regret that I do not measure up to his great virtue. Because of my former ancestor, I presently cultivate merit and virtue.²⁷ I have never made a special point of erecting Daoist temples, and always worship at Buddhist establishments.²⁸

Upon hearing a conciliatory statement such as this [from the emperor], the hearts of Buddhist monks all leapt with joy.

When we come to the reign of Emperor Gaozong (r. 649-683), there was straightaway a petition to the throne by the Secretary from Dongtai, Ping Shende, requesting a return to [the order] of former times when Buddhist monks and nuns were placed in front of Daoist priests [and priestesses], as well as to follow former [custom] of not [having monks and nuns] bow down to their fathers and mothers.²⁹ Since the wording [of the petition] is complicated, I have not recorded it. In the fourth month of the second year of the *tianshou* era (691), Empress [Wu] Zetian ordered by imperial decree that Buddhism be given precedence over Daoism, and that Buddhist monks and nuns be situated in front of Daoist priests and priestesses [at official functions].³⁰ In the second month of the first year of the *jingyun* era (710), Emperor Ruizong decreed:³¹

On account of [the fact that] the tenets of Buddhism and the principles of Daoism are equal in theory but differ in effect, and [the fact that] they rescue people and save common folk with

teachings that are distinctive but whose effects are the same, at each event connected with religious services or convened assemblies from now on, Buddhist monks and nuns and Daoist priests and priestesses should assemble by lining up in rows. <This did not distinguish who is in the front or back position; they were in equal rows to the east and west.>

Commentary: When Emperor Wu of the [Northern] Zhou dynasty recklessly destroyed our teaching,³² it seems to have had only very little effect. Whenever [subsequent] emperors proceeded to the Main Palace Hall³³ to express deep respect for the three teachings, Confucianism was placed in the foremost position and Buddhist teaching in the position following it.³⁴ The supremacy of Daoist teaching stems from priority given to the “nameless.”³⁵

Recently, I saw where the *Ao shu* written by Master Shen [Yan] says:³⁶ “Listen to (i.e., follow) the two teachings alone. Do not listen to Buddhists.” This single remark completely denigrates the Sage [Buddha], and is the seed [leading] to *avici* hell.³⁷ That is why when Toba Hu entered the underworld, he witnessed in detail [the suffering] Emperor Wu endured in response [to his deed]; subsequently he sent word to the Sui dynasty emperor to alleviate the pain on his behalf.³⁸ [Sui] Emperor Wen, as a result, raised money throughout the empire, generating blessings in order to rescue him.

On the one hand, [the Daoist notion of the “nameless”] is similar to the Buddhist [doctrine of] “no self.”³⁹ The harm and destruction that we encounter are not retaliatory measures [caused by others]. In the final analysis, the intention to render harm unto others must first be ignited in the mind. Because of the suffering that the mind causes, the body is entangled in evil recompense. One reaps what one sows. Isn’t it frightening?

Formerly, Ruan Xiaoxu wrote the *Qi lu* (Seven Records), in which he considered Buddhism in the section for extraneous teachings.⁴⁰ [The section on Buddhism records Buddhist works in five categories:]⁴¹ the first

section [records works on] disciplinary rules; the second on meditation; the third on wisdom; the fourth on forgeries; and the fifth on treatises and chronicles. Accordingly, it categorized Buddhist principles in the section devoted to [teachings from] non-secular sources. Reference [to Buddhism] as an external (i.e., non-Chinese) teaching began from [Ruan] Xiaoxu.

The [teachings] referred to as non-secular [in the *Qi lu*] included [those of] Zhuangzi and Laozi. Domestic teachings did not extend beyond what was limited in scope (i.e., did not even include Daoism). My request is that the measure for these [teachings], be they deep or shallow, be discerned with the eye of wisdom. Then, whether they be domestic or foreign, superior or inferior, will be naturally differentiated. Without [discernment with] the eye of wisdom, jade and stone are burned together, and fragrant and foul odors are grouped together.⁴² What else does knowing refer to? When one considers how [Buddhism] was long ago destroyed in the Later Zhou dynasty and revived again in the Sui dynasty, it surely means that the mighty flames [fanning its destruction] eventually died down. Because the ancestor of the Tang [emperors] was [the same as] Laozi's, the teaching of the Sakya [clan] progressed in fits and starts. Sometimes [Buddhists] were forced to worship the emperor and his relatives, and sometimes they were divided into groups [distinguishing] superior and inferior (with Buddhists occupying the inferior position).

In reality, how does any existing phenomenon escape the law of change in four aspects [as arising, abiding, changing, and ceasing].⁴³ It is comparable to fire, where cold and heat are [both], after all, latent in fire.⁴⁴ A long burning fire inevitably subsides. At the point of demise, it begins to reemerge. Burning and subsiding succeed each other. It possesses these limits from the outset.⁴⁵

During the *jingyun* era (710-711), [at imperial court ceremonies] it was ordered that the Buddhist group be situated to the west, the Daoist group be situated to the east, and proceed together in uniform lines. In the

age of the Zhu (i.e., Later) Liang dynasty their rankings were changed again [to favor Daoism].⁴⁶

Currently, in the Great Song dynasty whenever court assemblies are held, Buddhists are in front and Daoists in back, and when they stand in line in the courtyard, Buddhists are to the east and Daoists to the west, with various deputy officials intermingled in between. At ceremonies where prayers are offered to Heaven, Daoists are on the left and Buddhists on the right.⁴⁷ It is not known when [this practice] began.

[三十八] 僧道班位

佛法通行，朝代更歷，未全鼎成，則置而勿論。及動時君，則入宮見妒。加以僧乘時而炫曜。法因事而仇離。乃與玄門抗衡角力。因有諍故遂結朋黨。由朋黨故遂生愛憎焉。

經中，「不許親近國王大臣王子等。」又云。「我法付囑王臣」者何。若以倚傍力輪，苟不親近而可得乎。若以招致殃咎，苟欲榮身其可免乎。觀其末代，垢重情移，奉身而已。罕聞為教而觀近國王大臣也。脫或唯居蘭若，不履朝門，誰強招呼。誰分著定。則何班位之有。然以但思獨善，專事杜多，則王侯何以委知。大力曷能扶翼。故須分其表位廁其班行，去取二情各有意致。

昔者，教之《東漢》也。《漢》《魏》之世，或曰渺茫。《晉》《宋》以來，頗聞烜赫。若其玄玄之道《老子》之風，於《漢》《魏》時，存亡而已。何其知邪。如《馬遷》作『史』。將《老子》與《韓非》共傳。可非《漢》代未崇重之乎。夫立傳同科，權其趣類相齊，則史官列而偶出也。是知《伯陽》之道《前漢》未光。《東漢》《桓帝》方遣中官，醺祀祈福。《魏》《黃初》三年，下敕曰。「告豫州刺史，《老聃》賢人未宜先《孔子》。」不知《魯》郡為《孔子》立廟成未。《漢》《桓帝》不師聖法，正以嬖臣而事《老子》。欲以求福，良足笑也。此祠之興由《桓帝》也。

《武皇帝》以《老子》賢人不毀其道。朕亦以此亭當路，往來者輒往瞻視，而樓屋傾頓儻能壓人。故令修整。昨過視之，殊整頓矣。恐小人謂此為神，妄往禱祀犯乎常禁。宜宣告吏民咸使聞知。

由是觀之，《漢》《魏》之間，未露鋒穎。至《唐》有羊角之現，厥道攸興，認作《祖宗》。冊為帝號。此君謂為雄，誰敢不雄。若史《遷》在《唐》作傳，必改為帝紀也。以《仲尼》同傳猶謂鴻毛不敵鈞石也。豈得《韓非》妄參廁邪。《漢》《魏》之人覽《馬》『史』者，豈驚駭乎。驚駭不倫者，近世之情也。然則物隨黨別，事逐時移。預三恪者，不免舊訛。有萬邦者，豈無新意。

《朱梁》革命，敕改《亳州》《太清宮》，為《老子》廟。蓋由帝代無定愛憎不同。釋氏雖西來客教，自《晉》《宋》《齊》《梁》《陳》《後魏》《北齊》《後周》《大隋》，僧班皆在黃冠之上。《梁》《武》捨道不齒玄門，黃冠之徒固難爭長。

《唐》《貞觀》十一年，駕幸《洛陽》，道士先有與僧論者。聞之於《太宗》。乃下詔曰。「今鼎祚克昌，既憑上德之慶。天下大定，亦賴無為之功。宜有解張闡茲玄化。自今以後齋供行法⁴⁸，至於稱謂，道士女冠可在僧尼之上。庶敦反本之俗，暢於九有。貽諸萬葉。」時京邑《智寶》，上表陳諫，不聽。自此僧班在下矣。

至十五年，帝幸《弘福寺》，賜大德五人座，曰。「朕宗《李》在先，大德大應恨恨。以宗先故，朕見修功德。不曾別造道觀，皆崇寺宇也。」如此宣慰，諸僧心皆喜躍。

及《高宗》朝，有直《東臺》舍人《憑神德》上表。請仍舊僧尼在道士前，并依前不拜父母。辭繁不錄。《則天》《天授》二年四月，詔令釋教在道門之上，僧尼處道士女冠之前。《睿宗》《景雲》元年二月詔。「以釋典玄宗，理均跡異。拯人救俗，教別功齊。自今每緣法事集會，僧尼道士女冠宜行並集。」<此不分前後，齊行東西也。>

論曰。《周》《武》輕棄我教，若錙銖爾。嘗御正殿，量述三教，以儒居先，佛教居後。道教最上，由出於無名之前也。

近見《沈公》著『蜚書』云。「唯聞二教，不聞釋氏。」此皆侮聖人一言為《阿鼻》之種也。故《拓跋虎》入冥，具見《周》《武》受對。并寄言《隋》天子，為我拔苦。《文帝》乃募天下出錢，營福以救薦之。

且，如佛無我。所遭傷毀而無報復。蓋以將欲殘害於彼，必先燒熱於心。心為苦因，身嬰惡報。自作自受，可不畏乎。

昔，《阮⁴⁹孝緒》著『七錄』中，以佛教為外篇。一，戒律。二，禪定。三，智慧。四，疑似。五，論記。因目佛理為方外之篇。號方外教，自《孝緒》始也。

所言方外者，同《莊》《老》也。域中之教拘繫所不及也。請以智眼照其淺深，則內外上下自區別矣。如無智眼，以玉石俱焚，薰蕕共器。知復奈何。緬思《後周》摧滅遇《隋》復興，方謂熾然，尋又微矣。《唐》宗《老氏》，釋教透遲。或抑拜君親。或分班上下。

良以有為之法何免四相遷移。譬如火焉。火中寒暑乃退。興久必替。替極還興。興替相尋。未始有極。

《景雲》中，令僧班在西，道班在東，齊行並進。《朱梁》之世，又移厥位。

今，大《宋》每當朝集，僧先道後。並立殿廷，僧東道西，間雜副職。若遇郊天，則道左僧右。未知始起也。

NOTES

1. This section concerns the status with which Buddhism was regarded at the imperial court, particularly in relation to its principal rival, Daoism. The ranking of Buddhism and Daoism at court was a concrete manifestation of how the Chinese government regarded the relative import of each, and so the placement of the Buddhist and Daoist clergy at court processions and assemblies symbolized the regard with which each was held.
2. The term *ding* 鼎 is used for a three-legged ritual vessel, and a symbol of sovereignty. It may be read more loosely as indicating a flourishing or established condition, but in connection with what follows, it is better to interpret it in connection with imperial sanctioned authority. Note the usage of *ding* 鼎 in such words as *dingchen* 鼎臣, *dingfu* 鼎輔, *dingxi* 鼎席, *dingsi* 鼎司, and *dingwei* 鼎位 (Hucker nos. 6734, 6736, 6737, 6741, 6744) as terms for Executive Official of State, where it is used as a symbol of sovereignty and imperially sanctioned authority. The three-legged vessel might also be a symbol of the three teachings as supports of the imperial ideology, as suggested by Zanning in his discussion in section 59; see Welter, "A Buddhist Response to the Confucian Revival."
3. The term for "envy" (*du* 妒) here is especially indicative of the envy or jealousy that one holds for relationships between others.
4. A statement to this effect is found in fascicle 5 of the *Lotus sūtra*, the chapter on peaceful and joyful practice (*anle xing pin* 安樂行品; T 9.37a), where bodhisattvas are warned against become too familiar with secular leaders.
5. A sentiment found in such scriptures as the *Renwang jing* 仁王經 (Scripture of Benevolent Rulers; T 8-246).
6. Makita's reading (p. 344) of the character *ge* 各 (Japanese pronunciation *kaku*, meaning "each" or "individually") as *moshikuwa* (meaning "or, otherwise") is incorrect, and leads me to believe that he based his reading on another character (*huo* 或?) that would provide this reading. No evidence is offered for this alternate reading, however, and given Makita's penchant for noting such alternative renderings, it is probably based on some kind of error.
7. The name Daoism of Deepest Mystery (*xuanxuan zhi dao* 玄玄之道) is based on a verse in the opening chapter of the *Daode jing* 道德經

- referring to “the Mystery of Mysteries” (*xuan zhi you xuan* 玄之又玄). It refers to the so-called “Dark Learning” or “Study of Mystery, or the Profound” (*xuanxue* 玄學) which initially became fashionable among literati in the second quarter of the third century, during the *zhengshi* era (240-249) (see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, p. 87).
8. Sima Qian’s 司馬遷 biographies of Laozi 老子 and Hanfeizi 韓非子 and are found in *Shi ji* 史記 63.
 9. Regarding the function of the Historiographer (*shiguan* 史官) see Hucker, no. 5271.
 10. Laozi’s courtesy name (*zi* 字) was Boyang 伯陽.
 11. According to *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 7, an imperial canopy (*huagai* 華蓋) was set up for worshipping Laozi in the first and eleventh months of the seventh year of *yanxi* (165), and in the first month of the eighth year (166), a palace attendant was dispatched to offer prayers to Laozi.
 12. The decree (*Zhou Gaozu Wu huangdi jiangmie fofa Youan fashi shanglunji* 1, 周高祖武皇帝將滅佛法有安法師上論事第一) is recorded in *Ji gujin fodao heng* 集古今佛道論衡 2 (T 52.372a).
 13. On the term *cishi* 刺史 (Regional Inspector), see Hucker (no. 7567). Yuzhou 豫州 was one of the nine original districts of Chinese territory mentioned in antiquity. It corresponds to a region currently administered through Henan, Shandong, and Hubei provinces.
 14. The apparition of Laozi on Mount Yangjiao 羊角山 allegedly occurred in the third year of the *wude* era (620), when a man from Puzhou, Ji Shanxing 吉善行, announced that he has seen Laozi on Mount Yangjiao, and Tang Emperor Gaozu (r. 618-626) issued a command to erect a shrine for Laozi at the site (see Fu Shiping, p. 138, n. 9; no source given).
 15. The term *dihao* 帝號 refers to the designation, status, or sanction granted by a ruling emperor. The promotion of Daoism by Tang emperors is well known. The second Emperor, Taizong (r. 626-649), advanced the contention that the imperial family was descended from Laozi, on the supposition that both had the same surname, Li. On this premise, Daoism was granted precedence over Buddhists in all official ceremonies and debates in an edict of 637. In the first year of the *qianfeng* era (666), Emperor Gaozong declared Laozi “Supremely Mysterious and Primordial Emperor” (*Taishang xuanyuan huangdi* 太上玄元皇帝), and in the second year of the *tianbao* era (743), Emperor Xuanzong declared Laozi as “Heavenly Sage Ancestor, Mysterious and Primordial Emperor” (*Tian-sheng zu xuanyuan huangdi* 天聖祖玄元皇帝). Makita (p. 345, n. 272) identifies Zuzong 祖宗 as a posthumous name for Xuanzong 玄宗,

whose reign followed Empress Wu Zetian, a strong supporter of Buddhism who attempted to use Buddhist teaching to legitimize her authority.

16. The “tendency in recent times” (*jinshi zhi qing* 近世之情) is literally the “feeling (or sentiment) of recent ages.”
17. Esteeming three generations (*sanke* 三恪) refers to the practice of the founders of the Zhou dynasty in honoring three generations of descendants of the vanquished Shang nobility with fiefdoms. It may be taken as a euphemism for looking to a model system of government whereby a ruler shows respect to previous generations.
18. According to JWDS 3, the decree was issued by Daizu in the fifth month of the first year of *kaiping* (907).
19. Reading *chi* 齒 (“tooth”) in one of its more obscure meanings, as “including in a group” (see *Shinji gen* 新字源 9882-4).
20. Although Emperor Wu’s (r. 502-549) family was originally Daoist, he converted to Buddhism early in his reign, claiming he would rather be reborn in a Buddhist hell than a Daoist paradise. In 517 he called for the abolition of all Daoist temples and for Daoist priests to return to lay life. Emperor Wu’s unqualified support for Buddhism attracted recriminations from some quarters. Xun Ji 荀濟 charged Buddhist monks with sedition, immorality, economic liability, and hypocrisy. Guo Zushen 郭祖深 called upon the emperor to cleanse the Buddhist clergy of corruption (see Ch’en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 124-128).
21. The decree is also recorded in the biography of Zhishi 智實 in XGSZ 24 (T 50.635c), and in *Tang dazhaoling ji* 唐大詔令集 113, *Daoshi nuguan zai sengni zhi shang zhao* 道士女冠在僧尼之上詔, with minor differences.
22. “Ensuring abundance” as a translation for *kechang* 克昌 derives from its usage in a line in the *Shi jing* 詩經 (Book of Odes), 頌 (Odes of the temple and the altar), 周頌 (Sacrificial odes of Zhou), 臣工之什 (Decade Of Chen Gong), 雝 (Yong): 燕及皇天、克昌厥後。 “Giving rest even to great Heaven, And ensuring prosperity to thy descendants” (<http://ctext.org/>, Legge, trans.). “Sacrificial blessings” translates *dingzuo* 鼎祚, a term that combines the sacrificial *ding* vessel with the blessings (*zuo*) that accompany its use in ritual settings.
23. Following *Tang dazhaoling ji* 唐大詔令集 113, reading *xingfa* 行法 for *xingli* 行立.
24. The nine regions refer to the nine original regions of China designated in antiquity, and is a euphemism for the Chinese empire as a whole. The

- designation originated in the legend of the Chinese hero Yu, to whom the division of the Chinese world into nine regions was first attributed.
25. Regarding Zhishi's 智實 petition, see XGSZ 24 (T 50.635c-636a).
 26. The Hongfu (Extending Blessings) Monastery 弘福寺 was founded by Taizong in 634 in memory of his mother. His visit on this occasion is to commemorate her death. The event is recorded in *Ji gujin fodao lunheng* 集古今佛道論衡 3 (T 52.385c-386a) and *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 100 (T 53.1027a). FZTJ 39 (T 50.365b) gives the year as the sixteenth year of *zhenguan* (642). See Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, p. 22 and p. 158, n. 60.
 27. Reading *jian* 見 as equivalent to *xian* 現.
 28. According to Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, p. 158, n. 63, Taizong's statement that he never erected Daoist temples (*daoguan* 道觀) is not true, having built the Xihua guan 西華觀 in Chang'an in 631 to aid the recovery of the ailing Crown Prince Chengqian 承乾, and the Taishou guan 太受觀 on Mao shan 茅山, the center of the Shangqing faction 上清派 of Daoism in 635 in honor of Wang Yuanzhi 王遠知, the Daoist masters who played an instrumental role in Li Yuan's rise to found the Tang throne (as Emperor Gaozu). Zanning suggests that although Emperor Taizong promoted Daoism and was responsible for allowing precedence to Daoists at official court functions, he ultimately recognized the superiority of Buddhism for cultivating merit and virtue. Although the Tang emperor cherished an ancestry with strong Daoist ties (Li 李 being the alleged surname of Laozi), he ostensibly supported Buddhism as well, and Zanning's allegations here must be read in the context of the ongoing rivalry between Buddhists and Daoists to win imperial favor. In reality, Taizong's attitudes toward Buddhism typified the mixture of animosity, pragmatism, and altruism that many Chinese emperors felt toward Buddhism. In spite of Zanning's claims, Taizong's attitude toward Buddhism was ambivalent at best. Much of his reign was devoted, like his father, the founding Tang Emperor Gaozu, to proscribing Buddhism. While Taizong also offered support for Buddhism for pragmatic reasons, only toward the end of his life, under the influence of Xuanzang, did he display genuine Buddhist piety. For an account of Taizong's policies toward Buddhism that masterfully captures the motives driving them, see Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, pp. 11-27.
 29. The imperial decree resulting from this position is recorded in *Tang dazhaoling ji* 唐大朝詔令集 113 (*Sengni budeshou fumu bai zhao* 僧尼

不得受父母拜詔). The date of the decree is given as the second month of the second year of *xianqing* (657).

30. The decree is recorded in *Tang dazhaoling ji* 唐大朝詔令集 113 (*Shijiao zai daofa zhi shang zhi* 釋教在道法之上制). The month is given as the third rather than the fourth month. See also JTS 6 CK.
31. The decree is recorded in *Tang dazhaoling ji* 唐大朝詔令集 113 (*Sengdao qixing pingjin zhi* 僧道齊行並進制). The year is given as the second year of *jingyuan* (711), instead of the second month of the first year (710) when Ruizong began his reign.
32. The Northern Zhou suppression of Buddhism occurred in 574, following a series of debates between Buddhists and Daoists starting in 568 over the issue of government sanctioned priority between them. The debates centered on the Daoist claims in the *Huahu jing* 化胡經 (Scripture on the Conversion of the Barbarians), which set forth that Laozi, after departing China, went to India where he converted “the barbarians” and became the Buddha. In 573, the emperor determined that Confucianism, as the traditional ideology of the Chinese state, be ranked first, followed by Daoism and then by Buddhism. When Buddhists criticized the emperor’s ranking, the emperor issued a decree in 574 calling for the destruction of Buddhist temples, images, and scriptures, and for Buddhist monks and nuns to return to lay life.
33. A common meaning for *zhengdian* 正殿 is the Main Hall of a Buddhist monastery or temple, but in this context, where Confucianism and Daoism are also acknowledged as objects of reverence and Confucianism is ceded place of priority, I take it as a Main Palace Hall to conduct services for the three teachings.
34. See the *Zhou mie fofa ji daosu yishi* 周滅佛法集道俗議事, *Bianhuo pian* 辨惑篇 2, in GHMJ 8 (T 52.135c-136a).
35. The “nameless” (*wuming* 無名) is a principle concept of the *Daode jing* 道德經, especially chapter 1: “Nameless, it (i.e., Dao) is the origin of heaven and earth; named, it is the mother of the myriad things.”
36. The *Ao shu* 鰲書 is no longer extant. The poet Shen Yan 沈顏 wrote it in the Five Dynasties period (see *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 26 and QTW 868).
37. *Avici* is the worst of the nine Buddhist hells, characterized by incessant suffering (caused by the heat of fire) and as inescapable.
38. The literal reading of *wei wo* 為我, “on my behalf” or “for my sake,” is untenable here, and the *wo* 我 in this case refers to the suffering subject, Toba Hu 拓跋虎. The wording is probably borrowed by Zanning from another source and left unaltered here. Toba Hu, “the tiger of the Toba,”

is otherwise unknown. The Toba tribe, generally regarded as Turkic in origin, ruled China during the Northern Wei (386-534), earlier than the time period in question here, following the death of Emperor Wu in 578. In other versions of this story, different names appear in place of Toba Hu; see biography of Wei Yuansong 衛元嵩 (XGSZ 25; T 50.657c-658a) and the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (T 53.875c-876a). This suggests that while the story of Emperor Wu's fate was common in Buddhist circles, the name of the witness was highly variable.

39. The Buddhist doctrine of "no-self" (*wu wo* 無我; Sanskrit *anatman*) includes the notion that existence, including the human personality, is characterized by a lack of permanence or substantiality. However, the Chinese understanding of this concept, including Zanning's comments here, adopt much in the way of a soul or substratum responsible for moral thought and action. Ultimately, Zanning seems to be suggesting that unlike the Daoist notion of the "nameless," the Buddhist doctrine of "no-self" is characterized by individual accountability, exhibited through the karmic law of cause and effect.
40. The biography of Ruan Xiaoxu 阮孝緒 is contained in *Nan shi* 南史 76 and *Liang shu* 梁書 51. Although the *Qi lu* 七錄 does not survive, the preface is recorded in GHMJ 3 (T 52.108c-111c). The work was organized into "seven records," classifying existing written materials into seven categories or sections. Five of these were designated as "internal" or "intrinsic" (*nei* 內) (i.e., orthodox), two were designated as "external" or "extraneous" (*wai* 外) (i.e., unorthodox). The internal or intrinsic sections begin with (1) Confucian canonical works, and include (2) historical and biographical records, (3) works by philosophers and those dealing with military tactics, etc., (4) collections of literary essays, and (5) works on astrology, divination, law, medicine, and so on. The external or extraneous sections are those devoted to Buddhist and Daoist writings.
41. This sentence does not appear in the original text, but has been added for the sake of the coherence and clarity of the passage as a whole.
42. The phrase *yushi jufen* 玉石俱焚, "jade and stone are burned together," refers to indiscriminately grouping the good with the bad, worthy with unworthy, valuable with worthless, etc. It is an idea which can be traced to *Shu jing* 書經, *Yincheng* fascicle, where the Marquis of Yin states: "When the fire blazes over the ridge of Kuan, *gems and stones are burned together*; but if a minister of Heaven exceed in doing his duty, the consequences will be fiercer than blazing fire. While I destroy, (therefore), the chief criminals, I will not punish those who have been forced to follow them;

and those who have long been stained by their filthy manners will be allowed to renovate themselves” (Legge, trans., <http://ctext.org/shang-shu/punitive-expedition-of-yin>).

43. The *sixiang* 四相 indicate the four characteristics of existing things, or phenomena: arising 生, abiding 住, changing 異, and ceasing 滅.
44. Citing a line in the *Chunqiu Zuochuan* 春秋左傳, *Zhao gong* 昭公 chapter, year three: 譬如火焉，火中，寒暑乃退 (<http://ctext.org/chun-qiu-zuo-zhuan/zhao-gong/zh>).
45. On the premise that energy latent in fire possess both the qualities of heat and cold, and when the limit of one is reached, the other begins to emerge.
46. According to Zanning’s statement above, “When the mandate changed [from the Tang] to the Zhu (i.e., Later) Liang dynasty, it was decreed that the Taiqing Palace 太清宮 in Haozhou be converted into a temple for Laozi,” Daoism was again clearly favored.
47. An annual ceremony at which the emperor offered prayers to Heaven was conducted at the end of each winter at the southern altar. A comparable ceremony at which prayers were offered to Earth was conducted at the northern altar at the end of each summer. The term *jiaotian* 郊天, literally “suburb-Heaven,” refers to the location of the altars for offering sacrifices to Heaven in the suburbs of the capital outside the city wall.
48. Following *Tang dazhaoling ji* 唐大詔令集 113, reading *xingfa* 行法 for *xingli* 行立.
49. Reading *ruan* 阮 for *keng* 阮.

[39]

[BUDDHIST] CHAPELS IN THE IMPERIAL PALACE

内道場¹

[Buddhist] chapels in the imperial palace originated in the Later (or Northern) Wei dynasty,² but [the first question to consider is] why did they become famous in the Sui dynasty? Emperor Yangdi, basing himself on [the model of] the ancients, made many reforms. He transformed Buddhist monasteries (*fosi*) into “chapels” (*daochang*), and Daoist temples (*daoguan*) into “altars” (*fangtan*).³ Accordingly, when Buddhist services [were conducted] in the imperial palace, they were referred to as “chapels in the imperial palace.” The current [Song] dynasty has installed Buddhist images and scripture repositories in halls such as the Zifu (Spreading Blessings) [Hall]; when the flag is raised and the bell rung, it is referred to as a “monastery in the imperial palace” (*neisi*).⁴

In the [Later] Wei dynasty, Emperor Taiwu established the Zhishen (Ultimate Spirit) Chapel in the second year of the *shiguang* era (425), and in the fourth year of *shenjia* (431) ordered that chapels be established in all regions and garrisons.⁵ In all probability, it was for the emperor’s

birthday. <From investigating texts, [chapels] for Dharma services were provisionally established for the emperor's birthday.>

Later, in the first month of spring in the first year of the *dacheng* era (579), [the Northern Zhou Emperor] Tianyuan decreed:⁶

To spread and establish the emperor's program of virtue, the three treasures are honored and revered. We should cultivate and elucidate the transforming power of the Dharma. We must be broadly devoted to and esteem its principles. Among the śramaṇa of the past who were thus [devoted], seven men of virtuous practice and eminent purity installed a [chapel] to practice the Way (i.e., Buddhism) to the west of Zhengwu Hall.⁷

This is the beginning of [permanent] chapels in the imperial palace.

The southern dynasties sometimes maintained daily practice routines in the imperial palace with nuns; in addition, they had monks assemble for Dharma gatherings in the Shouguang (Longevity Illumination) Hall. Whether they sometimes appointed [monks as] "scholars" or referred to them as "lecturers,"⁸ whether they had them annotate and explain passages from the scriptures or had them spread and promote the essentials of meditation, they all lived in the forbidden precincts i.e., the imperial residence) or chapels in the imperial palace.

In the Tang dynasty, [Empress Wu] Zetian ordered monks of great virtue such as Fa[ming], Chuyi, Huiyan, [Leng]xing, Gan[de], and Xuanzheng, to recite and chant [scriptures] in the imperial palace chapel. She had them participate in various activities with Xue Huaiyi around this time.⁹ [Empress Wu] Zetian also installed an imperial palace chapel in the imperial palace in Luoyang.¹⁰ [Emperors] Zhongzong and Ruizong did not alter this arrangement.

Emperor Daizong initially found delight in [the services performed by] traditional sacrificers and did not regard the Buddhists highly.¹¹ However, the Grand Councilor¹² Yuan Zai, Du Hongjian, and Wang Jin were all devoted to Buddhist monks.¹³ Wang Jin built Baoying Monastery.¹⁴

Daizong once asked [Wang Jin] about how a [Buddha's] recompense body is generated from good deeds.¹⁵ Yuan Zai subsequently clarified it in a memorial. As a result of this, [the emperor's] faith [in Buddhism] increased immensely. He regularly ordered over one hundred monks to explain Buddhist images and scriptural teachings, and recite and chant [scriptures] inside the imperial palace. He referred to this as a "chapel in the imperial palace." The offerings [provided to the monks on such occasions] were of very high value. [The monks] departed and entered [the palace] riding horses from the [imperial] stable. The Ministry of Revenue furnished them with stipends from the government granary. Whenever western barbarians invaded, he invariably ordered a group of monks to lecture on and chant the *Renwang jing* (The Scripture on Benevolent Kings) in order to expel the invading barbarians.¹⁶ Rejoicing in the [barbarian's] retreat, he gave the monks presents.

The Tripiṭaka Master Bukong,¹⁷ as an official, advanced to Chief Minister Supervisor (*qingjian*), and was enfeoffed as Duke of State (*guogong*).¹⁸ He bore special insignia that allowed him to access the forbidden precincts (i.e., the imperial residence).

In addition, it was decreed that the Officials and Functionaries of the realm not be allowed to flog Buddhist monks and nuns. It was also [decreed] that on the day of the full moon (i.e., the fifteenth day) of the seventh month, a dias for the spirits of the seven imperial ancestors be set up, adorned in green and tinged with gold, for creating an *ullambana* [ceremony] in the imperial palace chapel.¹⁹ By writing the name of each spirit on individual tablets, one acknowledged their identity. To welcome [the spirits], [the dias'] were taken out of the imperial palace and displayed in Buddhist monasteries and Daoist temples; as they were pulled through the streets, [crowds] thronged [to view them]. It was considered a regular yearly event.²⁰

During the *jianzhong* era (780-784), Emperor Dezong decreed:²¹

Even though a congregation of Buddhist monks has solemnly erected a chapel in the forbidden precincts (i.e., the imperial

residence) ever since the *guangde* (763-764) and *yongtai* (765) eras, I order that both [the chapel] be removed and the congregation of monks expelled.

At the court of Emperor Xunzong, Buddhist rites administered in the imperial palace by Duanfu were also part of his duties [as Registrar of Buddhist Affairs of the Left Precincts of the Capital].²² Duanfu administered Buddhist services in the imperial palace for [emperors] Xianzong, Muzong, and Wenzong as well.

Emperor Wenzong, on the twenty-sixth day of the fourth month in the ninth year of the *taihe* era (835), ordered to abolish the [Buddhist] chapel in the imperial palace Hall of Longevity.²³ In the first year of Wuzong's [reign] (i.e., the first year of the *huichang* era [841]), [the emperor] reversed [Wenzong's decree] and set up a chapel in the imperial palace Hall of Longevity for the *deyang* (enhancement of *yang* virtue) celebration on the emperor's birthday, and also sponsored a vegetarian banquet in the imperial palace [where] Buddhist monks and Daoists offered blessings for the emperor's longevity.²⁴ Later, [the emperor] was beguiled and confused by the Daoist priest Zhao Guizhen, and angrily searched for the excesses of Buddhist monks.²⁵ In the fourth year of the *huichang* era (844), he decreed that imperial palace vegetarian feasts as well as imperial palace chapels be discontinued. Evil notions [regarding Buddhism] sprouted from this.

[三十九] 內道場

內道場起於《後魏》，而得名在乎《隋》朝何邪。《煬帝》以我為古，變革事多。改僧寺為道場。改道觀為方壇。若內中僧事，則謂之內道場也。今朝《茲福》等殿安佛像經藏。立刹聲鐘，呼為內寺是也。

《魏》《太武皇帝》《始光》二年，立《至神道場》。《神龍》四年，敕州鎮悉立道場。蓋帝王生此日也。<尋文。是生日權建法會耳。>

後《天元》《大成》元年春正月，詔曰。「隆建玄風，三寶尊重。宜修闡法化。廣理可歸崇。其舊沙門中德行清高者七人，在《政武殿》西，安置行道。」此內道場之始也。

南朝或以尼在內中持課。又《壽光殿》中群僧法集。或充學士。或號講員。或注解經文。或敷揚禪要。凡存禁中並內道場也。

《唐》《則天》令大德《僧法》《處一》《慧儼》《行感》《宣政》等，在內道場念誦。以《薛懷義》參雜其間。《則天》又於《洛》京大內置內道場。《中宗》《睿宗》此制無改。

《代宗》初喜祠祀，未重釋氏。而宰臣《元載》《杜鴻漸》《王縉》皆歸向佛僧。《王縉》造《寶應寺》。《代宗》嘗問福業報應事。《元載》因而啟奏。由是信之過甚。常令僧百餘人，於宮中陳佛像經教念誦。謂之「內道場」。供養甚貴。出入乘廄馬。度支具廩給。每西蕃入寇，必令群僧講誦『仁王經』，以攘寇虜。幸其退則加其錫賚。

《不空》三藏官至卿監封國公。通籍禁中。

又，詔天下官吏，不得箠拽僧尼。又七月望日，於內道場造于蘭盆，飾以金翠，設高祖七廟神座。各書神號識之。迎出內陳於寺觀。引道繁盛。歲以為常。

至《建中》中，《德宗》敕。「《廣德》《永泰》以來，聚僧於禁中，嚴設道場，並令徹去，遣出僧眾云。」

《順宗》朝以《端甫》掌內殿法儀，亦是此任。《憲宗》《穆宗》《文宗》並《端甫》掌內殿法事也。

《文宗》《大和》九年四月二十六日，敕停內《長生殿》道場。《武宗》初年，以生日德陽節，卻置內《長生殿》道場。及設內齋，僧道獻壽。後與道士《趙歸真》惑亂。切齒求僧之過。至《會昌》四年，詔停內齋及內道場。惡意萌于此矣。

[39A]. [BUDDHIST] CHAPELS ON IMPERIAL BIRTHDAYS 生日道場

Making the emperor's birthday the name of a holiday began with Xuanzong in the Tang dynasty.²⁶ In the [Later] Wei dynasty, Emperor Taiwu established a [Buddhist] chapel in the second year of the *shiguang* era (425), and in the fourth year of the *shenja* era (431) ordered that chapels be established in all regions and garrisons to celebrate the emperor's birthday.²⁷ The *shiguang* era is the beginning of the emperor himself praying for blessings [at a Buddhist chapel]. The *shenja* era is the beginning of [officials] from Ministers on down offering congratulations for the emperor's longevity [at Buddhist chapels]. From this time henceforth, when [officials] from Ministers on down congratulate [the emperor on such occasions], they always sponsored vegetarian banquets [where monks] recited scriptures. These are referred to as "Chapels for the Emperor's Birthday Celebration." The practice flourishes even at present.

[三十九附] 生日道場附

生日為節名，自《唐》《玄宗》始也。《魏》《太武帝》《始光》二年立道場。至《神䴥》四年，敕州鎮悉立道場，慶帝生日。《始光》中是帝自崇福之始也。《神䴥》中是臣下奉祝帝壽之始也。自爾以來，臣下吉祝，必營齋轉經。謂之「生辰節道場」。于今盛行焉。

NOTES

1. The meaning of the term *daochang* 道場 (literally “place for [practicing] the Way”) varies depending on context. In Buddhism, it derives its meaning from the circumstances of Śākyamuni’s awakening, referring to the ground under the Bodhi tree where Śākyamuni was seated when the event took place. From the place where awakening is experienced, it derived meanings such as the place where the Buddha is worshiped, or any place for learning and practicing Buddhism. In the current context, it represents a place for practicing Buddhism, i.e., a chapel, in the imperial palace (*nei* 內).
2. According to *Jin shu* 晉書 8, Emperor Xiaowu established a *jingshe* 精舍 at the imperial palace for monks to dwell in, in the sixth year of the *taiyuan* era (381); <http://www.guoxuedashi.com/a/61/116612k.html>
3. See the *Baiguan zhi* 百官志下 in *Sui shu* 隋書 28; <http://www.guoxuedashi.com/a/160/132833g.html>
4. On the early Song implementation of Buddhist temples in the imperial palace, see the entry regarding Emperor Taizong for the second year of *yongxi* (985) in FZTJ 43 (T 49.399c).
5. According to FZTJ 38 (T 49.345a), Emperor Taiwu ordered chapels be built in the first year of *shenjia* (428). An earlier example of a Buddhist chapel being set up in the imperial palace can be found in *Jin shu* 晉書 9 (annals of Emperor Liwu), where it states that the emperor, in the sixth year of the *taiyuan* era (381) established an *aranya* to worship the Buddha in the imperial palace, and invited several śramaṇa to live there.
6. A copy of this decree, *Zhou Gaozu xunye fofa youqian sengren daolin shangbiao qing kai fashi* 周高祖巡鄴佛法有前僧任道林上表請開法事, with somewhat altered text, is found in GHMJ 10 (T 52.156c).
7. The name *zhengwu* 政武 indicates that the purpose of the Hall was connected to the martial rule of the Northern Zhou emperor.
8. These may be understood as official titles conferred on men of learning sought by the government to give counsel, engage in scholarly activities, or serve in various educational capacities (see Hucker nos. 699 and 2704).
9. Fa[ming] 法明, Chuyi 處一, Huiyan 慧儼, [Leng]jing 稜行, Gan[de] 感德, and Xuanzheng 宣政 are mentioned in connection with Xue Huaiyi 薛懷義 in the latter’s record in JTS 183. As previously noted, Xue Huaiyi (a.k.a. Feng Xiaobao 馮小寶) was the crafty fellow who won

Empress Wu's favor and became a monk in order to gain access to the imperial palace. On imperial palace chapels in the Tang, see Jinhua Chen, "Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels."

10. In *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 9, there is mention of Yijing 義淨 translating the *Kongque wang jing* 孔雀王經 in an imperial palace chapel in the first year of the *shenlong* era (705).
11. Sacrificers (*cisi* 祠祀) (Hucker no. 7570) were closely involved in palace rituals from Han times. The term *cisi* may refer to either the persons who perform the sacrifices, or the sacrifices themselves. I have translated it in terms of the former to preserve the contrast in the original between sacrificers and members of the Buddhist clan (*shishi* 釋氏).
12. Reading *zaichen* 宰臣 as equivalent to *zaixiang* 宰相 (Hucker no. 6819).
13. Regarding Yuan Zai 元載, see JTS 118 and XTS 145; for Du Hongjian 杜鴻漸, JTS108 and XTS 126 (appended to the biography of Du Xian 杜暹); and for Wang Jin 王綰, JTS 118 and XTS 145.
14. According to JTS 118, Wang Jin built Baoying Monastery 寶應寺 for his deceased wife, to create blessings on her behalf.
15. The emperor's query regarding this appears in Wang Jin's biography (JTS 118).
16. The *Renwang jing* 仁王經 (The Scripture on Benevolent Kings) is one of the more influential of the East Asian apocryphal scriptures. Although its full title indicates that it is a *prajñāpāramitā* text, it is better characterized as a blend of transcendent wisdom 般若, Yogācāra 唯識, and *tathāgatagarbha* 如來藏 teachings. This scripture is unusual in the fact that its target audience are kings or rulers, rather than monks or nuns, and lay practitioner. While the interlocutors in most scriptures are *arhats* or bodhisattvas, the discussants in this text are the kings of the sixteen ancient regions of India. The foregrounded teachings, rather than being meditation and wisdom, are "humaneness or benevolence" 仁 and "forbearance" 忍, the most applicable religious values for the governance of a Buddhist state. There are two versions of the text: the original version (仁王般若波羅蜜經, T 8-245), the translation of which was attributed to Kumārajīva; and a second version carried out a few centuries later by the monk Bukong (不空 Amoghavajra), one of the most important figures in the Chinese Esoteric tradition. This second version of the text (仁王護國般若波羅蜜經, T 246.8.834–845) contains new sections that include teachings on *maṇḍala*, mantra, and *dhāraṇī*. In the same way that such other apocryphal works, such as the *Sūtra of Brahma's Net*, came to hold a special authoritative position in the subsequent development

of Buddhism in Korea and Japan, as well as China, the *Sūtra for Benevolent Kings* became the standard model text in these East Asian countries for Buddhist-based state protection and statecraft (C. Muller, DDB). For study and translation of the text, see Charles D. Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism*.

17. Bukong 不空 (705–774) was a prolific translator who became one of the most politically powerful Buddhist monks in Chinese history. Born in Samarkand of an Indian father and Sogdian mother, he went to China at age 10 after his father's death. In 719, he was ordained into the saṃgha by Vajrabodhi 金剛智 and became his disciple. After foreign monks were expelled from China in 741, he and some associates went on a pilgrimage to gather texts, visiting Sri Lanka, Southeast Asia and India. During this voyage, he apparently met Nāgabodhi 龍智, master of Vajrabodhi, and studied the *Tattvasaṃgraha* 金剛頂經 system at length. He returned to China in 746 with some five hundred volumes. In 750, he left the court to join the military governorship of Geshu Han 哥舒翰, for whom he conducted large-scale tantric initiations at field headquarters. In 754, he translated the first portion of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (T 8-865), the central text of Buddhist esotericism, which became one of his most significant accomplishments. He regarded its teachings as the most effective method for attaining enlightenment yet devised, and incorporated its basic schema in a number of writings. Amoghavajra was captured in general An Lushan's 安祿山 rebellion but in 757 was freed by loyalist forces, whereupon he performed rites to purify the capital and consolidate the security of the Tang state. Two years later, he initiated the Emperor Suzong as a *cakravartin* 轉輪王. In 765, Amoghavajra used his new rendition of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* 仁王經 (T 8-246) in an elaborate ritual to counter the advance of a 200,000-strong army of Tibetans and Uighurs that was poised to invade Chang'an. Its leader, Pugu Huairen, dropped dead in camp and his forces dispersed. The opulent Jingao temple 金閣寺 on Mount Wutai was completed in 767, a pet project of Amoghavajra's, and one of his many efforts to promote the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī 文殊菩薩 as the protector of China. Amoghavajra continued to perform rites to avert disaster at the request of the Emperor Daizong. On his death in 774, three days of mourning were officially declared, and he posthumously received various exalted titles. The following documents relate to his life and work: the *Biaozhi ji* 表制集 (T 2120) contains records of his personal correspondence, the *Xu kaiyuan*

shijiao lu 續開元釋教錄 (T 2156) records lineages. There is a biography in the *Fu fazang yinyuan fu* 付法藏因緣傳 (T 2058), and an account of his travels is given in the *Zhenyuan lu* 貞元錄 (T 2157) (I. Sinclair, Lang Chen, DDB).

18. The term *qingjian* 卿監 is not contained in Hucker as a combination, but the term *qing* 卿 (Hucker no. 1255) was reserved for eminent officials. The designation *guogong* 國公 (Hucker no. 3525) was normally the third highest of nine titles of nobility, following Prince (*wang* 王) and Commandery Prince (*junwang* 郡王).
19. The *ullambana* ceremony was for making offerings to the three treasures for the purpose of saving hungry spirits (i.e., wandering, unrequited souls). It originated in the offerings given to monks at the end of summer retreat. The word *ullambana* means hanging upside down, indicating that the pain felt by hungry spirits is as if they were hanging upside down. In China, the festival became a popular means of expressing filial piety and alleviating the suffering of deceased ancestors. On the significance of *ullumbana* in China, see Stephen Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism*.
20. For the details regarding this, see Wang Jin's 王縉 biography in JTS 118 and XTS 145.
21. See JTS 12, Record of Dezong 德宗紀 entry for the first year of the *jianzhong* era (780).
22. Regarding Duanfu 端甫, see section 31, "Buddhist Registrars for the Left and Right Precincts [of the Capital]."
23. FZTJ 42, entry for Emperor Wenzong of the Tang dynasty in the fourth month of the ninth year of the *dahe* era (835), mentions that Hanlin academician Li Xun 李訓 requested that the imperial palace chapel in the *Zhangsheng dian* 長生殿 be abolished, and illegitimate monks and nuns be expelled. JTS 17 also notes that in the seventh month of this year, monks and nuns who failed their examinations were forced to resign from the clergy.
24. There is also mention of this by the Japanese Buddhist pilgrim, Ennin 圓仁, in the *Nittō guhō junrei kōki* 入唐求法巡礼行記 3, entry for the eleventh day of the sixth month of the first year of the *huichang* era (841); and in fascicle 4, the eleventh day of the sixth month of the third year of the *huichang* era (843).
25. Zhao Guizhen's 趙歸真 influence on Wuzong is noted in *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 248, and in JTS 18A (entry for the third month of the fourth year of the *huichang* era [844] of the Record of Wuzong 武宗紀). Regard-

ing him, see the entry “Zaho Guizhen” in Fabrizio Pregadio, ed., *Encyclopedia of Taoism*. “Angrily” in this instance is literally “to gnash the teeth [in anger]” (*qiechi* 切齒).

26. In JTS 8, in an entry dated for the seventeenth year of the *kaiyuan* era (729), Xuanzong’s birthday is said to have been celebrated every year on the fifth day of the eighth month (see also *Datong liudian* 大唐六典 4 (*Cibu* 祠部) and *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 50 (*zaji* 雜記 “miscellaneous records”). Also related is SSL section 41 (Lectures and Debates on Imperial Birthdays).
27. The same information was given in the main section above.

[40]

THE INITIATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF BUDDHIST REGISTRIES

僧籍弛張

People who obtain the fruits [of the Way] have almost no limitations. How are gentleman who have left home [to become monks] to dispatch their remaining responsibilities? When such people arrive at [dynastic] courts that possesses the accoutrements of culture, it is necessary to establish [a system of] duties for restricting them. Witnessing the life of refined leisure [that monks lead], [people] compete to enter [their ranks]; because of their fear of forced labor, they rush to join [the clergy]. Consequently, some of them illegitimately assume the status [of a monk] without being true eminent gentlemen [worthy of the position]. How can the internal vinaya rules for Buddhist monks control such crazed cows and wild horses?¹ As a result, Buddhist agencies were established in order to control them, and registries of names were established in order to regulate them.

In the ages of the [Northern] Zhou and Sui dynasties, knowledge [of the names of Buddhist monks] was not obtained. With the arrival of the Tang dynasty, [the government] began to insist that [the names of monks] be attached [to the government registry]. In the first month of the fourth year of the *taihe* era (830) of Emperor Wenzong, the Bureau of National Sacrifice requested that those in the realm violating proper regulations by impersonating a monk or nun, put their names forward to notify the Department [of State Affairs?].² Each was awarded an [ordination] certificate by the Department in order to authorize entrance on the registry [as Buddhists].³ At the time, approximately seven-hundred thousand names were entered [on the registry] and reported [to the Department]. The creation of a ledger to enter [Buddhist names] into the registry began with the fifth year of the *taihe* era (831).⁴

If this is so, [the question is] how come there was no registry ledger before this? How did the Superintendency of Buddhist Blessings (*jianfu cao*), the Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities (*zhaoxuan si*), and the Bureau of Receptions (*chongxuan shu*) administer and determine the duties of the Buddhist clergy? The answer is that they did endeavor to create a ledger of clergy [names], but the system [used to register them] was different. In some cases, individual monasteries had an Administrator-general attached to them;⁵ in other cases an Adjunct Registrar was attached to the prefecture. Sometimes, individual names were transferred and counted [among the Buddhist clergy]; sometimes, after they were granted [ordination] certificates, [their registration] was changed and they were added [to the Buddhist registry]. Because of this, [the system for registering them] was different.

Therefore, the initiation and development of registries [where Buddhist names] are entered depends on the whims of the ruler of a particular age. Currently, the Great Song dynasty uses the system [instituted] in the *xiande* era (954-959) of the [Later] Zhou dynasty, mandating in law [that a registry] be created once every three years.⁶

夫得果之人且無限劑。出家之士豈有司存。既來文物之朝，須設糾繩之任。其有見優閑而競入，懼徭役以奔來。輒爾冒名實非高士。僧之內律，豈能御其風牛佚馬邪。故設僧局以綰之，立名籍以紀之。

《周》《隋》之世，無得而知。《唐》來主張方聞附麗。《文宗》《大和》四年正月，祠部請天下僧尼冒名非正度者，具名申省。各給省牒，以憑入籍。時入申名者，計七十萬。造帳入籍，自《大和》五年始也。

若然者，前豈無籍帳邪。監福曹，昭玄寺，崇玄署，將何統斷僧務乎。對曰。勘造僧帳，體度不同。或逐寺總知。或隨州別錄。或單名轉數。或納牒改添。故不同也。

然則出時君之好惡，乃入籍之解張。今大《宋》用《周》《顯德》條貫，三年一造，著于律令也。

大宋僧史略卷中

NOTES

1. According to Makita (p. 348, n. 313), the reference here is to cows and horses in heat. Zanning is claiming here that Buddhist monastic rules, on their own, are insufficient to curb the evil intentions of those who would use the Buddhist order to evade civic responsibility.
2. The reference to the Department here is vague. During the Tang, the Bureau of National Sacrifice was under the supervision of the Ministry of Rites (*libu* 禮部), which in turn was directed by the Department of State Affairs (*shangshu sheng* 尚書省).
3. The details of this request are recorded in *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 474 (*Zouyi* 奏議 5). According to the *Cefu yuangui*, the practice of registering monks and nuns was established by an order issued on the eighteenth day of the eleventh month of the eighth year of *tianbao* (749) to register Buddhist monks and nuns in the provinces and districts regularly, once every ten years.
4. According to *Datang liudian* 大唐六典 4, a similar registry for Daoist priests and nuns was created in *taihe* 3 (829). JTS 43 claims that a Buddhist registry was created in the third year as well. FZTJ 40 claims a registry for Buddhists was created in the seventeenth year of *kaiyuan* (729).
5. According to Hucker (no. 7093), the *zongzhi* 總知 (Administrative-general) was a variant of *zhi* 知 (Administrator) used during the period of northern and southern division.
6. See *Wudai huiyao* 五代會要; the system implemented in the seventh month of the fifth year of *xiande* (958) called for the clergy to be registered every three years (see also JWDS 115).

FASCICLE III

**[THE SOCIAL HISTORY
OF BUDDHISM]**

[41]

LECTURES AND DEBATES ON IMPERIAL BIRTHDAYS

誕辰談論¹

Formerly, when [Emperor Gao]zu of the Han dynasty was born on the same day as Lu Wan, offerings of wine and food were sent to each of them.² This constitutes the beginning of celebrating birthdays. Later, bundles of silk, jugs of wine, and everyday items³ for [new-born] infants were used to offer celebratory congratulations.⁴ As it (i.e., the birth of an emperor) was a grand [occasion], [the gifts of] jade and silk bore the hope for long life and everlasting existence⁵ through the articles, and [the occasion] was regarded as an auspicious ceremony for celebrating the birth [of the emperor].⁶ After the explanations for quelling calamities and prolonging life in Buddhist teaching became known, Buddhist ceremonies were used to celebrate [the emperor's birthday].⁷

In the ages of the Northern Wei (386-534), Northern Zhou (557-581), and Sui (581-618) dynasties, monks of wide learning and famed for their practice were often invited to debate with Confucians and Daoists [on the emperor's birthday]. As they regaled at envisioning [the emperor's] enlightened reign,⁸ they made it a splendid event for celebrating his birth.

In the Tang dynasty, Emperor Gaozong (r. 618-626) invited Jia Gongyan to appear before him and lecture on and discuss the meaning of scriptures with Daoist priests and Buddhist Śramaṇa.⁹

Emperor Dezong (r. 780-804) proceeded to the Linde Hall on his birthday, and commanded Xu Mengrong and others to mount the [speaker's] seat to lecture and debate with followers of Śākya[muni] and Lao[zi].¹⁰ When [Dezong] proceeded to the Linde Hall on his birthday in the fourth month on the twelfth year of the *zhenyuan* era (796), he invited Supervising Secretary Xu Dai,¹¹ Director of the Ministry of War Zhao Ru,¹² as well as Xu Mengrong and Wei Qumou to lecture and debate on the Three Teachings with such people as the Daoist priest Ge Cancheng and the Śramaṇa Tanyan, twenty people in all; Qumou dominated the discussion.¹³

Emperor Wenzong (r. 827-840) invited Bai Juyi to the Linde Hall to discuss and debate with the Buddhist monk Weicheng and the Daoist priest Zhao Changying, on his birthday in the ninth month.¹⁴ Juyi's arguments were thrust like points of a spear; his elocution flowed forth like [fresh] spring water. The Emperor suspected that he composed his words beforehand, and sighed deeply and saluted him.

In the reign of Emperor Zhuangzong (r. 923-925), the Buddhist Registrar Huijiang

discussed and debated with the Daoist Cheng Zixiao.¹⁵ They spurred each other on, joking wildly and ridiculing each other in jest to the delight of the emperor. Zhuangzong himself was fond of chanted singing. He even brought Dharma Masters with him to mobile encampments [set up] while the army was on the march, to discuss and debate with;¹⁶ sometimes, they twittered [like birds].¹⁷ When he provided food for Buddhist monks on each imperial birthday, he had them discuss doctrines and clarify fundamental principles in the imperial palace.

At the time of Emperor Mingzong (r. 926-933) [of the Later Tang dynasty] and the Later Jin dynasty (936-947), the Buddhist Registrar Yunbian often

discussed and sang the praises of [the Buddha Dharma] on imperial birthdays. The emperor personally sat [in on these] and took an active role in the debate.¹⁸

When the duties of the realm became vexing at the court of Emperor Taizu of the Great

Song dynasty, [the emperor] would then quit these duties and devote himself exclusively to lectures by Buddhist monks, regarding the three branches of Buddhist learning (scriptures, treatises, and monastic codes) as supreme. There is nothing more important and more effective than these!

[四十一] 誕辰談論

昔，《漢》《祖》與《盧綰》同日生，有奉酒饌相遺。此為慶生之權輿也。後則束帛壺酒，孩兒服玩，以加祝賀。大則玉帛長生久視之意，屬干物品。以為慶生之豐禮也。及聞佛法中有弭災延命之說，則以佛事為慶也。

《元魏》《後周》《隋》世，多召名行廣學僧，與儒道對論。悅視¹⁹王道，亦慶生之美事矣。

《唐》《高宗》召《賈公彥》於御前，與道士沙門講說經義。

《德宗》誕日御《麟德殿》，命《許孟容》等，登座與釋老之徒講論。《貞元》十二年四月誕日，御《麟德殿》，詔給事中《徐岱》，兵部郎中《趙需》，及《許孟容》，《韋渠牟》，與道士《葛參成》《沙門談筵》等二十人，講論三教。《渠牟》最辯給。

《文宗》九月誕日，召《白居易》，與僧《惟澄》，道士《趙常盈》，於《麟德殿》談論。《居易》論難鋒起，辭辯泉注。上疑宿構，深嗟揖之。

《莊宗》代有僧錄《慧江》，與道門《程紫霄》談論。互相切磋謔浪嘲戲，以悅帝焉。《莊宗》自好吟唱。雖行營軍中，亦攜法師談讚。或時嘲挫。每誕辰飯僧，則內殿論義。

明宗,石晉之時,僧錄《雲辯》多於誕日談讚。皇帝親坐累對論議。

至大《宋》《太祖》朝,天下務繁,乃罷斯務,止重僧講,三學為上。此無乃太厚重而貞實乎。

[41A] IMPERIAL PALACE VEGETARIAN FEASTS 內齋附

On the birthdays of emperors, select monks of high virtue were summoned into the imperial palace, offered food, and participated in intimate conversations [with the emperor]. When one seeks [evidence for this] in written records, they attest that during the Later Wei dynasty, [the emperor] often invited the most prominent [Buddhist monks to the palace] to actively seek blessings and longevity.

In the Tang dynasty, Inner Palace Chapels were set up from [the reign of] Taizong (763-779), and each year, at the celebration of the descent of the sacred one (i.e., the Buddha's birthday), [the emperor] invited famous Buddhist monks into [the Chapel] for food and intimate conversation. These were referred to as Imperial Palace Vegetarian Feasts.

And in the tenth month of the seventh year of the *dahe* era of the [reign of Emperor] Wenzong (833), [when the Thousand Autumns Celebrations (*Qianqiu jie*) were changed to *Qingcheng* Celebrations], it was decreed that Inner Palace Vegetarian Feasts for Buddhists and Daoists be discontinued.²⁰

In the first year of [the reign of] Wuzong (841), when [the emperor] reinstituted the Inner Palace Chapel as well as the holding of Inner Palace Vegetarian Feasts, Buddhists and Daoists offered [wishes for] longevity. [But], in the sixth month of the fourth year of the *huichang* era (844), [the emperor] discontinued Inner Palace Vegetarian Feasts along with the Inner Palace Chapel for Long Life.²¹

After Xuanzong acceded the throne, on the twenty-second day of the sixth month of the first year [of his reign] (846), when [the emperor]

decreed the reinstitution of Inner Palace Vegetarian Feasts, he allowed Buddhists and Daoists to offer [wishes for] longevity.

On the day of the Daming Festival in the third year of the *kaiping* era (909) of [Later] Liang dynasty [Emperor Tai]zu, the emperor proceeded to Wenming Hall and held a vegetarian feast for Buddhist monks. Government officials and Hanlin Academy scholars prepared it.²²

At birthday celebrations for our own emperor of the Great Song dynasty, purple robes and honorific titles are granted to the Buddhist Registrars and Daoist Registrars of Both Precincts [of the Capital], monastery leaders (*shouzu*),²³ and to distinguished monks of both precincts [of the Capital] who have been publicly recommended. After these have been awarded, [the emperor] sponsors a vegetarian feast for these same [recipients].

I have also heard that on the birthdays of the emperors of the [Later] Jin, Han, and Zhou dynasties, [the emperors] held [vegetarian feasts] for common monks. After this, as provisions diminished, the numbers [of monks feted] had to be limited.

[四十一附] 內齋附

皇帝誕日，詔選高德僧，入內殿賜食加厚嘏。尋文起於後魏之間，多延上達，用徼福壽。

《唐》自《代宗》，置內道場。每年降聖節，召名僧入飯嘏。謂之內齋。

及《文宗》《大和》七年十月，改慶成節，敕停僧道內齋。

至《武宗》初年，重置內道場。并設內齋，僧道獻壽。《會昌》四年六月，停內齋及內長生道場。

《宣宗》即位，元年六月二十二日，敕復置內齋，許僧道獻壽。

《梁》《祖》《開平》三年，大明節日，帝御《文明殿》，設僧齋。宰臣翰林學士預之。

我大《宋》皇帝誕節，兩街僧錄道錄，首座并公薦兩街分僧，賜紫衣師號。了便同賜齋。

又聞《晉》《漢》《周》帝生日，設百僧。後量減令數人而已。

NOTES

1. On this topic, see *Rizhi lu* 日知錄 (especially fascicle 13, *Shengri* 生日, and fascicle 14, *Shengjie* 聖節), compiled by Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613-1682) in 1639. There is also a study by Luo Xianglin 羅香林, “Tang-dai sanjiao jianglun kao” 唐代三教講論考, *Dongfang wenhua* 東方文化 vol. 1, no. 1 (1954), pp. 85-97.
2. See the *Shiji* 史記 93; and the *Han shu* 漢書 34. Emperor Gaozu 高祖 was the founder of the Han Dynasty, reigning from 206-195 BCE. According to both the *Shiji* (93.2637) and the *Han shu* (34.1890), Lu Wan 盧綰 hailed from the same village as Gaozu and their fathers were close friends. When the two fathers begat sons on the same day, residents of the village celebrated with offerings of mutton and wine to the two families. Furthermore, when the two sons grew to become close friends like their fathers, the residents of the village again took this as fortuitous and celebrated with the offering of mutton and wine to the two families.
3. The characters *fu* 服 (“clothing”) and *wan* 玩 (“toys”) may also be read as two separate things, as suggested in M. 5-1039d.
4. According to the *Rizhi lu* 日知錄 13.331-332, there were no special rites (*li* 禮) for birthdays among the ancients. Citing the work by Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531-591+), the *Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓 (Family Instructions of Mr. Yan) it claims that such rites originated among peoples of the Yangzi river region (*jiangnan* 江南), whose customs stipulated that each child be given new clothes, a bath, and bodily adornments at birth. In the case of a male child, they provide him with a [given] name, arrows, writing brush, and paper. In the case of a female child, a knife, a *zhi* 尺 (an instrument for measuring length), sewing needle, and thread. These items are placed in front of the child, whose interest in the objects is then observed as an indication of the child’s desires and intelligence. In both cases, the occasion is marked with food and drink, and gifts and amusements.
5. This phrase *changsheng jiushi* 長生久視 appears in *Daode jing* 59. My rendering follows D.C. Lau, tr., *Lao Tzu: Tao Te Ching*, p. 120, rather than the more literal rendering of “long life and everlasting vision.” In any case, the compound *jiushi* 久視 (“everlasting vision”) is not to be confused with the method employing the same terminology for inducing trance by religious Daoists. See Wing-tsit Chan’s comments on this in his note to this chapter, *The Way of Lao Tzu*, pp. 205-206.

6. The *Rizhi lu* disputes that it was the birthdays that were being celebrated. According to comments attributed to Mr. Qian (Qianshi 錢氏; *Rizhi lu* 13.332), the offering of mutton and wine to the two families of Emperor Gaozu and Lu Wan on this occasion was to celebrate the birth of two sons, at which ceremonies for longevity were held, rather than to celebrate their birthdays as such.
7. The reference to “explanations on quelling calamities and prolonging life” (*mizai yanming zhi shuo* 弭災延命之說) is general here, but most likely connected with specific sūtras considered as assets to a ruler in preventing tragedy and misfortune in his realm. In this regard, the *Renwang bore jing* 仁王般若經 (The Prajñāpāramitā sūtra explaining how Benevolent Kings [protect their countries]), translated by Kumārajīva (T 8-245), and the *Jingguangming jing* 金光明經 (The Sūtra of Golden Light), translated by Tanwu chen 曇無讖 (Dharmaraksha?) (T 16-663) provide specific directions for how rulers may “quell calamities” in their kingdoms. Similarly Buddhist explanations on how to “prolong life” are likely connected to such sūtras as the *Si tianwang jing* 四天王經 (Sūtra on the Four Heavenly Kings; T 15-590), which were written under the strong influence of Daoist ideas, particularly those pertaining to increasing longevity.
8. The term *wangdao* 王道 (literally “kingly way”) is featured prominently in *Mencius* (see Book I, ch. 1, pt. 3) to signify moral or virtuous rule based on the example of the ancient sage-kings, as contrasted with “the way of despots” based on rule by force. Makita follows the Song edition, which reads *yuezhu* 悅祝 (regaled at celebrating) instead of *yueshi* 悅視 (regaled at envisioning).
9. Regarding Jia Gongyan 賈公彥, see JTS 189A (attached to the biography of Li Xuanzhi 李玄植); there is no suggestion here that Jia Gongyan participated in such discussion, only Li Xuanzhi.
10. Regarding Xu Mengrong 許孟容, see JTS 154 and XTS 162. The occurrence of debates among Buddhists, Daoists, and Confucians during this period is attested to by documents recorded in Sengyou’s 僧祐 *Hongming ji* 弘明集 (T. 52-2102) and Daoxuan’s 道宣 *Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集 (T. 52-2103) and *Ji gujin fodao lunheng* 集古今佛道論衡 (T. 52-2104), some of which are the direct result of debates conducted by imperial invitation.
11. On the title Supervising Secretary (*geishizhong* 給事中), see Hucker 587. On Xu Dai 徐岱, see JTS 189B; XTS 161.

12. On the title Ministry of War (*bingbu langzhong* 兵部郎中), see Hucker 4691(3). Zhao Ru's 趙需 participation is noted in Wei Qumou's biography in JTS 135.
13. Regarding Wei Qumou 韋渠牟 and the debate spoken of here, see JTS 135. See also JTS 13 and *Tong jian* 通鑑 235.
14. This is also noted in Bai Juyi's 白居易 bio. In JTS 166; see also the *Baishi wenji* 白氏文集 (Collected Works of Master Bai) 68, *Sanjiao lun heng* 三教論衡.
15. See FZTJ 42 (T 49.391a), where it is recorded as occurring in the first year of the *tangguang* era (923). See also XWDS 15.
16. As a noun, Hucker (2605) reads *xingying* 行營 as "Mobil Brigade", or lit. "mobile encampment."
17. Reading *zhaoouo* 嘲挫 as synonymous with *zhaozha* 嘲哢, an onomatopoeic rendering of the sound of birds twittering or chirping.
18. See FZTJ 42 entry for the first year of the *tiancheng* era (926) of Emperor Mingzong. JWDS 76 claims that the Later Jin Emperor Gaozu followed established custom for imperial birthdays, and invited the Buddhist Registrar to the palace to speak on the scriptures. Yunbian 雲辯 was a prominent monk of the period, famed for his debating abilities. In addition to the *Luoyang jinshen jiu wenji* 洛陽摺紳舊聞記 1 (*Shaoshi yangkuang* 少師佯狂), he appears in Dunhuang manuscripts, Pelliot 3361, and Stein 3728 and 4472 (see Fu Shiping, p. 156-157, n. 8).
19. Reading *yuezhu* 悅祝 instead of *yueshi* 悅視.
20. See the JTS 17B (entry for Wenzong, tenth month of the seventh year of *dahe*) and *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 41. The occasion was linked to Emperor Wenzong's birthday.
21. The discontinuation of Buddhist activities was part of the major suppression of Buddhism undertaken during the *huichang* era.
22. This is mentioned in the imperial biography of Taizu (JWDS 5), where the Daming Festival is said to have occurred on the twenty-second day of the tenth month.
23. The *shouzu* 首座, literally "head seat," in its technical sense refers to the head monk in charge of trainees at a monastery, one of the six prefects 六頭首, and the monk deemed leader of the sangha hall assembly 僧堂衆, or great assembly 大衆. In the context used by Zanning here, however, the reference seems to be a more general one, to monastic leaders who have distinguished themselves and have been singled out as award recipients.

[42]

GRANTING PURPLE ROBES TO MONKS

賜僧紫衣

That which was esteemed in the past was fame and talent. Whenever people were granted cloth emblems [as a symbol of their position], for the highest ranks [the emblems were] vermillion or purple in color, with green, black, and yellow silk ribbons constituting subsequent ranks in descending order. Thus, it is said: “Attached to a purple silk ribbon one invariably finds a gold emblem.”¹ It was ordered that monks only receive purple, but not gold <(referring to) a monk’s robe, not a silk ribbon.>

When one investigates the historical records, Buddhist clerical robes are of the colors red, yellow, black, blue, and so on, but there is no mention of vermillion or purple. According to the *Book of Tang* (*Tang shu*),² the monk Falang and others re-translated the *Dayun jing* (Great Cloud Scripture) at the court of [Empress Wu] Zetian.³ They contended that [Empress Wu] matched perfectly the [Heavenly] mandate, that Zetian is Maitreya descended and reborn as the ruler of *jambudvīpa* (i.e. the human world), and that the Tang ruling family was on the verge of collapse. Thus, on account of this, [Wu Zetian’s] reform government was referred to as the

Zhou dynasty [instead of Tang].⁴ <The *Xin Dayun jing* (The New Great Cloud Scripture) says: “After her death [the empress] will be reborn in the palace of Maitreya.” It does not say explicitly that Zetian is Maitreya.> Nine people, including Falang and Xue Huaiyi, nine people in total, were enfeoffed as District Dukes and presented with distinctive gifts.⁵ All were granted purple monk’s robes and silver tortoise satchels.⁶ This [newly translated] *Dayun jing* was distributed to the temples of the realm, each storing one copy. It was decreed that eminent lecturers preach about it and explain it. Granting purple [robes to monks] originated from this.

I observe that the revised *Tang shu* says the *Dayun [jing]* is an apocryphal scripture, but this is not true.⁷ The scripture had already been translated at the court of Jin.⁸ The old [Jin era] text refers to a “queen.” Given the time [it was translated], how could it have been [intended as a reference to] the Empress? It is probably because when it was retranslated, serious falsehoods were added owing to the intervention of Xue Huaiyi, and due to these circumstances, the text invited criticism.

After [Empress Wu] Zetian, the court of Emperor Zhongzong (r. 705-710) enfeoffed the foreign monk Huifan as District Duke on account of his efforts at repairing monasteries, but he was not provided a purple robe.⁹

During the time of Emperor Ruizong (r. 710-712) as well, [the granting of purple robes to monks] is not mentioned.

Emperor Xuanzong (r. 713-755) was extremely fond of his friends. On account of the illness of Prince Ning, he dispatched an Imperial Commissioner and a Chief Steward for Medicine.¹⁰ Though they rushed frantically to many places [gathering medicines], only the remedy of the Buddhist monk Chongxian was effective.¹¹ The emperor was delighted, and granted [Chongxian] a purplish red silk robe and fish satchel. <The granting of a purplish red (robe) and fish satchel were to [Chong]xian alone (i.e., they were not otherwise granted).>

Moreover, during the ninth month of the twentieth year of the *kaiyuan* era (732), the king of Persia dispatched a monk of great virtue, Jilie, to

the Tang [court]. <Jilie is the monk's name.> By imperial order, he was granted one set of purple monk's robe and fifty bolts of silk, and sent back to his country of origin.¹²

At the end of the *tianbao* era (742-755), the Śramaṇa Daoping lived in a monastery in Jincheng prefecture.¹³ With the rebellion of [An] Lushan, Xuanzong proceeded to Shu.¹⁴ When Emperor Suzong (r. 756-762) passed by the monastery, [Dao]ping courteously counseled him on the spiritual valor of soldiers [necessary] to recover [control of] Chang'an. Emperor Suzong subsequently enlisted [Daoping] into the military, and employed him as General in Chief of the Imperial Insignia of the Left.¹⁵ When they arrived at Linkao, they met the rebels in great battles, and time after time emerged successful. Afterwards, [Daoping] again requested to become a monk. He was appointed by imperial order to two monasteries, Chongfu and Xingqing, and granted a purple robe. He frequently entered the imperial palace to report and converse with the emperor.¹⁶

During the *yongtai* era (765-766) of Emperor Daizong, when the Buddhist monk Chonghui of Zhangjing monastery competed with Daoist priests in a competition of their skills, he was declared the victor.¹⁷ The Eunuch Gong Tingyu publicly awarded him a purple robe, <excluding the fish satchel.> Following this, the Indian monk Chuntuo of Zhenguo Monastery, at the age of six-hundred and facing death, sent a disciple to present his robe and bowl to the emperor, and [the emperor], by imperial order, granted a purple robe to him.¹⁸

Emperor Dezong (r. 780-804) was devoted to Buddhists. He summoned Dharma Master Duanfu to the Inner Palace to debate with Confucians and Daoists, and granted him a purple robe.¹⁹

[Emperors] Xunzong, Xianzong, Liuzong, Wenzong, and Wuzong all carried out this [practice of] granting [purple robes]. <It is just that upon investigation, the names of recipients are not evident.²⁰>

The *Dongguan zou ji* says that during the *dazhong* era (847-859), Shi Xiuhui of Da'anguo Monastery (Grand Monastery of the Pacification

of the Country) was skilled at poetry.²¹ When he composed a poem on the order of the emperor, his creative talent clearly surpassed all others. One day, at audience with the emperor, he requested a purple robe. The Emperor said: "It is not that I begrudge you this, [but] when I look at your countenance, there are deficiencies. Therefore, I have not granted it to you." Subsequently, he did grant it, and when [Xiuhui] returned to his monastery, he became violently ill and died.

On the twenty-second day of the sixth month of the fourth year of the *dazhong* era (850), at the celebration of the emperor's birthday, [two monks] of great virtue from the Chan [school] were both granted purple robes in the Imperial Palace.²² The abbot of Chuifu Cloister, Zongchen, also was granted a purple [robe].²³ Following this, the pilgrim monk Wuzhen from Shazhou arrived at the capital,²⁴ and the great virtuous Xuanchang was put in charge of canonical scriptures.²⁵ Each was granted a purple [robe]. In addition, the monk Congjian, Chief Examiner of Faqian Monastery,²⁶ was granted a purple [robe].²⁷ When the emperor proceeded to Zhuangyan Monastery to worship the Buddha's tooth, the Precept Master Linghui was granted a purple [robe],²⁸ and Ruichuan of Chongfu Monastery was granted a purple [robe].²⁹

In the fourth year of the *xiantong* era (863) of emperor Yizong, a certain monk, Faxin of Xiliang prefecture, presented a *Commentary on the Treatise on a Hundred Elements*. After examining its merits, he was granted a purple [robe].³⁰ On the fourteenth day of the eleventh month of the eleventh year [of the *xiantong* era] (870), Buddhists and Daoists of Both Precincts [of the Capital] went to the Imperial Palace for the celebration of the emperor's birthday, and lectured and debated in the Linde Hall.³¹ [The monk] Kefu was granted a purple [robe].³² In addition, the Japanese monk Ensai dwelled at Ximing Monastery, and when he left to return to his homeland, he was granted a purple [robe] to take home with him.³³ In the twelfth year [of the *xiantong* era] (871), at the lectures and debates in the Imperial Palace for the celebration of the emperor's birthday, five monks of the Left Precincts, Qingyin, Sili, Yunqing, and so on, and

four monks of the Right Precincts, Youzhang, Huihui, Qingyuan, and so on, were all granted purple [robes].³⁴ <The granting of purple robes according to precinct division began from the *xiantong* era.>

[Emperors] Xizong (r. 874-888) and Zhaozong (r. 889-904) granted purple robes extremely often to monks who had been recommended by the various districts [of the realm], but these are not recorded.

In the eleventh month of the first year of the *qianhua* era (911) of [Later] Liang Dynasty Emperor Taizu, when the Uighurs entered the court, the monks Ning Lu, Yi Lisi, Yi Yanqian, and so on, were each granted purple [robes] and sent back to their hinterland.³⁵ In addition, the monk Fasi of Tanzhou and the monk Guizhen of Guizhou, in personal interview [with the emperor] requested and were granted purple [robes].³⁶ Emperor Zhuangzong (r. 923-925) [of the Later Tang dynasty] took pleasure in granting purple robes to monks. [The emperors of] the [Later] Jin, Han, and Zhou [dynasties] all did so as well.

At present, in the Great Song dynasty, [purple robes] are only granted on the emperor's birthday. On this occasion, sometimes monks of the Inner Palace Chapel already wearing purple [robes] are further granted three kinds of purple robes made of light silk [indicative of three ranks].³⁷ This is referred to as "the second granting."

Various countries in the border regions under despotic rule also grant honors in a similar fashion. At the time of the illegitimate Shu dynasty, when the country of Yunnan dispatched an Auxiliary,³⁸ the abbot of Chongsheng Monastery was granted a purple [robe] and silver begging bowl.³⁹ A Buddhist monk (i.e., the abbot of Chongsheng Monastery) was appointed as a diplomatic envoy in this instance.⁴⁰ Later on, [Shu] granted golden begging bowls to high ranking barbarians. These are similar to the silver fish (satchels?) granted [here] in the Middle Kingdom (i.e., China). The country of Wei (i.e., Japan) grants the title "Dharma Master Who Transmits the Lamp" to monks. In Goryeo (i.e., Korea), when they grant purple robes to monks, gold and silver stitching is displayed on the top threads to distinguish between higher and lower ranks.

[四十二] 賜僧紫衣

古之所貴名與器焉。賜人服章，極則朱紫，綠皂黃綬乃為降次。故曰。「加紫綬，必得金章。」令僧但受其紫，而不金也。〈方袍非綬。〉

尋諸史，僧衣赤黃黑青等色，不聞朱紫。案『唐書』，《則天》朝有僧《法朗》等，重譯『大雲經』。陳符命言，《則天》是《彌勒》下生為《閻浮提》主，《唐》氏合微。故由之革薛稱《周》。〈『新大雲經』曰。「終後生彌勒宮。」不言《則天》是《彌勒》。〉《法朗》《薛懷義》九人並封縣公，賜物有差。皆賜紫袈裟銀龜袋。其『大雲經』頒於天下寺，各藏一本。令高座講說。賜紫自此始也。

觀『新唐書』言。『大雲』是偽經則非也。此經晉朝已譯。舊本便云女王。于時豈有天后耶。蓋因重譯故，有厚誣加，以挾《薛懷義》。在其間致招譏訛也。

《則天》之後《中宗》朝，以胡僧《慧範》修寺之功封縣公，不行紫服。

《睿宗》時亦無聞焉。

《玄宗》友愛頗至。以《寧王》疾遣中使尚藥。馳驚旁午唯僧《崇憲》醫效。帝悅賜緋袍魚袋。〈賜緋魚袋，唯憲一人。〉

又《開元》二十年九月中，《波斯》王遣大德僧《及烈》至《唐》〈《及烈》僧名。〉敕賜紫袈裟一副，帛五十匹。遣還本國。

《天寶》末，《沙門道平》住《金城》縣寺。遇《祿山》逆亂，《玄宗》幸《蜀》。《肅宗》過寺，《平》懇勸論兵靈武，收復《長安》。《肅宗》遂以兵屬之，用為左金吾大將軍。至《臨皋》遇賊大戰，累次立功。後還乞為僧。敕配《崇福》興《慶兩寺》。賜紫衣入內。奏對為常。

《代宗》《永泰》年中，《章敬寺》僧《崇慧》與道士角術，告勝。中官《鞏庭玉》，宣賜紫衣一副〈除魚袋也。〉次《鎮國寺》梵僧《紀陀》，年六百歲臨終。遣弟子奉衣鉢上皇帝。敕賜紫衣焉。

《德宗》歸心釋氏。詔法師《端甫》，入內殿與儒道論義。賜紫方袍。

《順宗》《憲宗》《穆宗》《文宗》《武宗》皆行此賜。尋僧名，未見耳。>

『東觀奏記』曰。《大中》中，《大安國寺》《釋修會》能詩。嘗應制，才思清拔。一日聞帝乞紫衣。帝曰。不於汝客耶。觀若相有缺然。故未賜也。及賜歸寺，暴疾而卒。

《大中》四年六月二十二日降誕節，內殿禪大德並賜紫。《追福院》主《宗茝》亦賜紫。次，有《沙州》巡禮僧《悟真》至京。及大德《玄暢》勾當藏經。各賜紫。又《法乾寺》都檢校僧《從暕》賜紫。

帝幸《莊嚴寺》禮佛牙，《靈慧》律師賜紫。《崇福寺》《叡川》賜紫。

《懿宗》《咸通》四年，有《西涼府》僧《法信》，進『百法論疏抄』。勘實賜紫。

十一年十一月十四日延慶節，兩街僧道赴內。於《麟德殿》講論。《可孚》賜紫。又《日本》國僧《圓載》住《西明寺》。辭迴本國，賜紫遣還。

十二年延慶節，內殿講論，左街《清韻》《思禮》《雲卿》等五人，右街《幼章》《慧暉》《清遠》等四人，並賜紫。尋街分，各賜紫衣，自《咸通》始也。>

《僖宗》《昭宗》賜諸道所薦僧紫衣極多不錄。

《梁》《祖》《乾化》元年十一月，有《迴紇》入朝僧《凝盧》《宜李思》《宜延錢》等，各賜紫還蕃。又《潭州》僧《法思》，《桂州》僧《歸真》，面乞賜紫。

《莊宗》喜賜僧紫衣。《晉》《漢》《周》皆爾。

今大《宋》唯誕節賜也。其或內道場僧已著紫，又賜紫羅衣三事。謂之「重賜」。

若偏霸諸國，賜與亦同。偽《蜀》時，《雲南》國遣內供奉《崇聖寺》主，賜紫銀鉢。僧充通好使焉。後，蠻土⁴¹有上者賜金鉢。猶中國賜銀魚也。《倭》國則賜僧「傳燈法師」之號。《高麗》賜僧紫衣，則以金銀鉤施於紉上，甄別高下也。

NOTES

1. For a discussion of official rankings among members of the Chinese bureaucracy, see *Datang liudian* 大唐六典 2 and JTS 42 (*Zhiguan* 職官 1), but there is scant mention of robe colors and silk ribbons. References to gold emblems and purple silk ribbons (*jinzhang zishou* 金章紫綬) for glorious grand masters (*guanglu dafu* 光祿大夫) are found throughout the dynastic histories; see, for example *Jin shu* 晉書 38 (*Liezhuan* 列傳 8), *Song shu* 宋書 (*Liezhuan* 列傳 41), and *Wei shu* 魏書 55 (*Liezhuan* 列傳 43). The discrepancy of reference to gold emblems here rather than vermilion or purple is not clear.
2. The *Tang shu* 唐書 here is a reference to what would become known as the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書, or Old Book of Tang after the compilation of *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (New Book of Tang) by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 in 1060. The *Jiu Tang shu* was compiled by Liu Xu 劉昫 in 945.
3. The *Dayun jing* 大雲經 (Great Cloud Scripture; Skt. *Mahāmegha-sūtra*; T 12-388) was translated by Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 (fl. late fourth to early fifth centuries) and Dharmakṣema 曇無羅識 (385-443) in the Eastern Jin dynasty (317-420), and contains a prophecy of the incarnation of Maitreya as a world monarch in female form. At the time of this incarnation, we are told:

Harvests will be bountiful, joy without limit. The people will flourish, free of desolation and illness, of worry, fear and disaster [. . .] At that time all her subjects will give their allegiance to this woman as the successor to the imperial throne. Once she has taken the Right Way, the world will be awed into submission. (Denis Twitchett ed., *Cambridge History of China Vol. 3: Sui and T'ang China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979, p. 305)

Under the influence of Xue Huaiyi 薛懷義, monk-lover of Empress Wu (mentioned below), Empress Wu was convinced that the *Dayun jing* contained reference to her, and that she should assume rulership as successor to the Tang emperors. The Dunhuang manuscript Stein no. 6520, entitled *Dayunjing shenhuang shouji yishu* 大雲經神皇授記義疏 (*Commentary on the Meaning of the Prophecy about the Divine Emperor in the Grand Cloud Sūtra*), explains this contention. Qiang Ning ("Gender pol-

itics in Medieval Chinese Buddhist art; Images of Empress Wu at Longmen and Dunhuang,” *Oriental Art* Vol. 2 [2003] pp. 28-39; and *Art, Religion, and Politics in Medieval China: The Dunhuang Cave of the Zhai Family* [University of Hawaii Press 2004], pp. 111-115) even describes how Buddhist sculptures portrayed Empress Wu in personified depictions of the Buddha in female form, following Empress Wu’s contention.

4. These same lines and those that follow Zanning’s comment appear in the JTS 183 (*Liezhuan* 列傳129) entry on Xue Huaiyi 薛懷義.
5. On the title District Duke (*xiangong* 縣公), see Hucker no. 2512. The names of the nine people are given in Xue Huaiyi’s biography in JTS 183.
6. The word for a monk’s robe here, *jiasha* 袈裟, refers to a kaṣāya, the outer vestment worn by a Buddhist monk.
7. “Newly [compiled] *Tang shu*” reads in Chinese as *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書, the name of the compilation by Ouyang Xiu completed in 1060, noted above. As Makita points out (p. 57, n. 22), the reference to the *Xin Tang shu* is suspicious here, and speculates that the character *yan* 衍 may have been intended for *xin* 新, but gives no explanation for this supposition). I prefer to retain the character *xin*, but treat it not as part of the book title, but simply as an adverb indicating the recently compiled *Tang shu*. Fu Shiping (p. 159) treats it as *Xin Tang shu*, with no explanation. Not surprisingly, the biographical record of Wu Zetian in XTS 76 contains no mention of this. The JTS record of Xue Huaiyi, however, contains a statement regarding the “apocryphal *Dayun jing*.”
8. Referring to Dharmakṣema’s 曇無羅識 (385-443) translation in the Eastern Jin dynasty (317-420).
9. There is reference to this in FZTJ 40, entry for the second month of the second year (706) of the *shenlong* era of Emperor Zhongzong.
10. Prince Ning was the step-brother of Emperor Xuanzong. The same event is described in JTS 95. Hucker does not have a rendering for *zhongshis-hang* 中使尚, so I have rendered this as two titles, *zhongshi* 中使 (Hucker no. 1600) and *shangyao* 尚藥 (Hucker no. 4971).
11. Regarding Chongxian 崇憲, there is mention of him in a tomb inscription 塔 at Lingyan si 靈岩寺 erected in the first year of the *tianbao* era (742), although it may be a reference to a different monk of the same name. In addition, both JTS 95 and XTS 81 mention this incident in relation to a monk named Xianyi 憲一, who was in all probability not a Buddhist, but a Nestorian Christian (*jingjiao* 景教) monk (see Fu Shiping, pp. 159-160, n. 6).

12. The *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 95, entry for the eighth month of the twentieth year of the *kaiyuan* era (732), makes reference of Jilie 及烈 arriving at the capital and being granted a purple robe and fifty bolts of silk.
13. On Daoping 道平 and the events related here, see FZTJ 40 (T 49.375c19-26), the first year of the *zhide* era (756).
14. On the An Lushan rebellion, see Denis Twitchett (ed.), *The Cambridge History of China*, Volume 3, *Sui and T'ang China*; and E.G. Pulleyblank, *The Background of the Rebellion of An Lu-Shan*.
15. This is a composite title, comprised of *zuo jinwu* 左金吾 "Insignia of the Left" (Hucker no. 1162), an insignia that apparently bore the image of a bird called *jinwu* believed to frighten away evil, and *dajiangjun* 大將軍 (Hucker no. 5897), a designation for military officers in charge of armies, more prestigious than general (*jiangjun*), less prestigious than Generalissimo (*shang jiangjun*).
16. This event is not recorded in the dynastic histories, but is mentioned in FZTJ 40, entry for the first year of the *zhide* era (756).
17. Regarding Chonghui 崇慧, see the SGSZ 17 (T 50.816c-817a) biography of Chonghui of Zhangxin monastery 章信寺. According to the information recorded there, the event occurred in the third year of the *dali* era (768), when the Daoist priest of the Taiqing Palace 太清宮, Shi Hua 史華, submitted a memorial to the throne asking that renowned members of the Buddhist clergy engage in a competition with Daoists. At that time, Daizong was said to show particular respect for Buddhism, and members of other religions were angered over this favoritism. When a ladder of swords was set up before the altar of the Dongming Daoist Monastery 東明觀, Shi Hua climbed the ladder as calmly as if he were walking along a stone path. No member of the Buddhist clergy dared climb the ladder. When Chonghui heard of this, he had a request put forward for a much higher ladder be set up. Chonghui climbed up and down the ladder barefoot like he was walking on an even road, without showing the slightest sign of discomfort. Then he walked through a raging fire and put his hand in a kettle of boiling water. He even ate pieces of metal, saying that they were biscuits, and chewed on nails, giving off a sound as crunchy as cookies. The terrified, flustered Shi Hua retreated in shame. The Emperor granted Chonghui a purple robe, and conferred the position of Chief Minister of the Court of State Ceremonial with the name Tripiṭaka Defender of the Country (*huguo* 護國). (abbreviated from John Kieschnik, draft translation of the *Song Gaoseng zhuan*).

18. The SSL text has the mistaken name Jituo 紀陀 instead of Chuntuo 純陀 (Sanskrit, Cunda). The correct name is provided in SGSZ 29 (T 50.890c), which contains information that Chuntuo came to China during the *shangyuan* era [760], and that he allegedly had the complexion of a child, even though he was said to be was more than six hundred years old, while thers claimed he was in his eighties. Emperor Daizong summoned him to the palace where he was treated with elaborate decorum. When asked about his method for maintaining his youth, Chuntuo said: "In mind and spirit I have remained tranquil. Today [I am] covered with the dust of the world; how can [I] find peace? When one leaves behind the simple quiet life, to try to extend one's life span is like climbing a tree to pick lotus blossoms. Can it be done? If Your Highness wishes to extend his years, he should put his spirit at peace with simple purity. When your spirit is at peace then your life span will be long; when your reduce your desires then your body will be at peace. If there are techniques that lay beyond these, I do not know of them." In the third year of the *yongtai* era [767], Chuntuo foresaw his death was near, and ordered a disciple to present his robe and bowl to the throne. The Emperor in turn gave the disciple a purple robe [to be conferred on Chuntuo]. Chuntuo died at the Zhenguo Monastery (following Keschnick's draft translation of the *Song Gaoseng zhuan*).
19. Regarding Duanfu 端甫 (770-836), see SGSZ 6, where it is said that when Emperor Dezong heard of his fame, he invited him to court. The Emperor delighted in his company, and Duanfu frequently went in and out of the palace. He participated in debates with Confucians and Daoists, and was awarded a purple robe, and at harvest time, the imperial gifts bestowed on him surpassed those granted others. Duanfu also served subsequent Tang emperors, Shunzong and Xianzong. He also appears in the SSL section on Buddhist Registrars (*seng lu* 僧錄).
20. The implication being that the granting of purple robes to Buddhist monks was a common practice among the Tang emperors listed, but the names of the recipients were not recorded.
21. See the *Dongguan zou ji* 東觀奏記 3, no. 16 (<http://www4.webng.com/khcjhk/Tang/dgzj1a.htm%A4U%A8%F7>). It was compiled in the Tang dynasty by Pei Tingyu 裴庭裕 in 891; the monk's name is given there as Conghui 從晦 (Makita gives 晦) rather than Xiuhui 修會 (Makita p. 57, n. 31). Pei Tingyu's dates are uncertain, but he was likely born in either the *huichang* (841-846) or *dazhong* (847-859) eras, and active through the late Tang and early Five Dynasties periods.

22. According to the addendum to SSL section 43, Title for Virtue 德號, the monks names were [Hong]bian 辯 (see CDL 9) and Zhao 肇.
23. Zongchen 宗蒞 was a famous monk during the reign of Emperor Xuanzong. There are two poems attributed to him in the Dunhuang manuscript. Pelliot no. 3720, where he is referred to as
24. Regarding Wuzhen 悟真, see Stein 930 and Pelliot 3207, and Stein's *Serindia* vol. 4; also see Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆, *Tonko Bukkyōshi gaisetsu* 敦煌仏教史概説 (*Sai iki bunka kenkyū* 西域文化研究, vol. 1). Shazhou 沙州 refers to the Dunhuang 敦煌 region of contemporary Gansu province.
25. Regarding Xuanchang 玄暢 (797-875), see SGSZ 17 (T 50.818a-b). He was the compiler of the non-extant *Li dai di wang lu* 歷代帝王錄 (*Record of Emperors Throughout the Ages*). During the *dazhong* era (847-859) on the occasion of Emperor Xuanzong II's birthday, Xuanchang would always enter the palace for discussion and debate, and for this he was granted a purple robe. He also accepted the position of venerable preceptor both within and without the palace.
26. The function of Chief Examiner (*du jianjiao* 都檢校) is very ambiguous in this instance: Chief Examiner of what, for whom? Hucker has no entry for this term, and both *du* (Chief) and *jianjiao* (Examiner) are general titles with little meaning outside a specific context (see Hucker nos. 804 and 7181). A similar term, *du jianzheng* 都檢正 (Chief Examiner), is contained in Hucker (no. 7193), but it was used only on a very limited basis in the Song dynasty and is not applicable to this context.
27. Congjian 從暕 has a biography in SGSZ 12, but with no mention of either his connection to Faqian Monastery 法乾寺 or receiving a purple robe. According to SGSZ 6 (T 50.744a7-9), the Faqian Monastery was built by Emperor Xuanzong for Director of the Three Teachings Zhixuan 知玄 (811-883).
28. Regarding Linghui 靈慧, see SGSZ 16 (T 50.807b-c), where his name is given as Huiling 慧靈 (fl. 865). The emperor visited Zhuangyan Monastery 莊嚴寺 in the seventh year of the *dazhong* era (853), at which time Emperor Xuanzong II granted Huiling (i.e., Linghui) a purple robe.
29. Ruichuan 叡川 of Chongfu Monastery 崇福寺 is mentioned as receiving a purple robe and being appointed as abbot in Linghui's biography cited above.
30. Regarding this, see SGSZ 6 (T 50.743a-b), biography of Cheng'en 乘恩. Cheng'en composed both *Commentary* (*shu* 疏) with *Notes* (*chao* 鈔) on the *Treatise of a Hundred Elements* (*Baifa lun* 百法論), based on commen-

taries by Ci'en 慈恩 (Kuiji 窺基) and Lufu 潞府 (Yizhong 義忠). When Faxin 法信 requested that Cheng'en's commentary be edited and bound under imperial authority was complied with, he was granted a purple robe and a title of "Great Virtue" (*dade* 大德).

31. See SGSZ 6 (T 50.744c-745a), biography of Sengche 僧徹. According to Sengche's record, on the imperial birthday on the fourteenth day of the eleventh month, when Buddhist monks and Daoist priests of the capital were summoned to the Linde Hall 麟德殿 to lecture and debate, the emperor was greatly impressed with Sengche's oratorical skills. See also SSL section 43, Granting the Title Master.
32. The same information regarding Kefu 可孚 is noted by Zanning in SSL section 43, Granting the Title of Master, but the circumstances associated with his being granted a purple robe are otherwise unknown. Fu Shiping (p. 167, n. 21) suggests that Kefu may be a mistake for Youfu 有孚 or Yuanfu 元孚.
33. Ensai 圓載 was a Japanese Tendai monk, an elder colleague of Ennin. He traveled to China with Ennin in 838, and died in a storm at sea on his return to Japan four decades later in 877. Ensai was a controversial figure in early Japanese Tendai, alternately winning high praise (as here) and sharp criticism from fellow Japanese pilgrim, Enchin (see Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei: Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, pp. 23-33).
34. I have been unable find other information for the monks named here.
35. Granting purple robes to Ning Lu 凝廬, Yi Lisi 宜李思, Yi Yanqian 宜延錢 is noted in JWDS 138, biography of Huigu 回鶻, in the Exemplary Biographies of Foreigners 外國列傳 section.
36. Granting purple robes to Fasi 法思 of Tanzhou 潭州 and the monk Guizhen 歸真 of Guizhou 桂州 is also noted in JWDS 6, in an entry for the sixth month of the first year of the *qianhua* era (911) for Later Liang Emperor Taizu.
37. The robes are for the three ranks of fifth, seventh, and ninth grades (see the *Zenrin shōkisen* [Encyclopedia of Zen Monasticism], a lexicon of Buddhist terms pertaining to Zen monastic practice compiled by the Japanese scholar monk Mujaku Dōchū 無著道忠 [1653-1744]; fascicle 26, *Fukujōmen* 服章門; Takaski Tōsa 高崎東俊, ed.; Tokyo: Seishin shobo, 1963).
38. The duties of the office of Auxiliary (*nei gongfeng* 內供奉; Hucker no. 4210) are to provide service or be on duty in the imperial palace.
39. The abbot of Chongsheng Monastery 崇聖寺主 refers to Xuanjian 玄鑒 (see Fu Shiping, p. 168, n. 26). Makita (p. 56, n. 42) speculates that this

may have occurred when the founding ruler of the Former Shu, Wang Jian 王建 (847-918), subjugated Yunnan (see JWDS 136).

40. This is a role that Zanning would have been familiar with, having served in some such capacity for the ruler of Wuyue, Qing Chu 錢俶, when Wuyue territory was amalgamated to the Song dynasty in 978.
41. Reading *tu* 土 for *shi* 士.

[43]

GRANTING THE TITLE ‘[GREAT] MASTER’

賜師號¹

The title ‘Master’ refers to granting [the status of] ‘Great Master’ to a particular person. It happened long ago that Liang Emperor Wudi titled Louyue ‘Dharma Master’.² Following this, the Sui Emperor Yangdi titled Zhiyi ‘Chan Master’.³ Both [titles] indicate the wisdom [of the recipient], but they lack the two [Chinese] characters for [the title] ‘Great Master.’

Tang Emperor Zhongzong (r. 705-710) titled Wanhui as ‘Duke Fayun’,⁴ <adding the single character for ‘Duke’.> During the *kaiyuan* era (713-741) of Emperor Xuanzong, there was Dharma Master Huiji. After he was inducted into the Buddhist precepts and became ‘Master’, [inspired by] Yijing,⁵ he traveled to the regions of the west, and upon his return, he promoted the true face [of Buddhism] and Buddhist Sanskrit texts. The emperor was pleased, and granted him the title ‘Benevolent’, but still did not employ the characters for ‘Great Master’.⁶

At the court of Emperor Muzong (r. 820-824), when the Military Governor of the Tianping Army, Liu Zong, petitioned the throne to leave home [to become a monk], he was granted a purple robe, and titled ‘Master of

Great Enlightenment'.⁷ <[The title includes] only the one character for 'Master' (but not the specific designation 'Grand Master').>

In the eleventh year of the *xiantong* era (870) of Emperor Yizong, as a result of the discussions and debates on the occasion of the emperor's birthday on the fourteenth day of the eleventh month, Yunhao of the Left Precincts [of the Capital] was granted [the title] 'Great Master of the Three Wisdoms', Sengche of the Right Precincts of the Capital was granted [the title] 'Great Master of Pure Light', Kefu [was titled] 'Great Master of Dharma Wisdom', and Chongqian was [titled] 'Great Master of the Blue Lotus'.⁸ [Thus], granting the title of '[Great] Master' was initiated at the court of Yizong. <To understand clearly the references to specific 'Great Masters,' see the *Wuyun tu* (Illustration of the Five Fates).>

At the court of Xizong (r. 873-888), there was Registrar of Monks, 'Great Master' Yunhao,¹⁰ and at the court of Zhaozong there was 'Great Master' Yuanming.¹¹

When the [Later] Liang appropriated the mandate from the Tang dynasty, they granted [the title] to such people as Yinyou of Lingwu circuit, making him 'Great Master' Zhenghui.¹² [The ruler] granted [the title] to Hongyin of Jingshan in Wuyue, making him 'Great Master' Faji (Savior of the Law).¹³

In the first year of the *longde* era (911), [an order was issued] prohibiting monks from seeking the title 'Master' and purple robe improperly.¹⁴ The Later Tang, Jin, Han, and Zhou [dynasties] all followed this policy.

At present, the Great Song dynasty refrains from handing out titles of 'Master' or purple robes,¹⁵ but a title of 'Great Virtue' is permitted to appointees to the office of the Buddhist Registrar. Prior to this, in the previous [periods] from the *kaibao* era (968) to the fourth year of the *taiping xingguo* era (979), it was permissible for monks within the four seas to enter the palace, and request to be tested in the three branches of learning. Under [the authority of] the Commissioner of Merit and Virtue of the Superior Prefecture of Kaifeng,¹⁶ it was determined

who became monks, and responsibility was assigned for scriptures, precepts, or commentaries [according to individual specialty]. When ten stipulations were completely fulfilled,¹⁷ they were granted purple robes and referred to as “monks with [official] certificate in hand,”¹⁸ because when meeting [officials] face to face, they present the certificate with their hands. Subsequently, because [certificates] were issued by the Commissioner of Merit and Virtue, individual Buddhist “houses” (i.e., factions) of the realm that did not have recourse to “certificates in hand” sought recommendation via imperial decree. As a result of this, on each occasion of the emperor’s birthday, from the hereditary prince of the first rank (i.e., the heir to the throne), to the prime minister, regional commanders, down to the provincial governors, [all] could petition the emperor and recommend purple robes and ‘Master’ titles for Buddhist monks and Daoist [priests] that they knew. Only upon the recommendation of the Buddhist and Daoist Registrars of Both Precincts [of the Capital] could entrance into the Imperial Palace be permitted. Certificates granted by the Chancellery¹⁹ for this occasion are referred to as titles for “Masters facing the screen” (i.e., Master who has an audience with the emperor).²⁰ Those allotted purple robes and the four essentials for a monk’s livelihood are called “Purple Robes facing the screen” (i.e., Purple Robes of one who has an audience with the emperor).²¹ These are the [titles] held in highest regard [in the present, Song dynasty]. Aside from these, those recommended by the nobility were initially proposed on holidays. After [monks] are examined in detail in accordance with the stipulated regulations, Prefectural Governors and Prefects are delegated to grant [titles].²²

[四十三] 賜師號

師號謂賜某大師也。遠起《梁》《武帝》號《婁約》「法師」。次，《隋》《煬帝》號《智顗》「禪師」。並為智者。而無「大師」二字。

《唐》《中宗》號《萬迴》為「法雲公」<加公一字。>

《玄宗》《開元》中，有《慧日》法師。

《中宗》朝得度師，《義淨》游西域，迴進真容梵夾。帝悅賜號「慈敏」。亦未行「大師」之字。

《穆宗》朝，《天平》軍節度使《劉總》，奏乞出家賜紫衣，號「大覺師」。<止師一字。>

至《懿宗》《咸通》十一年十一月十四日延慶節，因談論，左街《雲顥》賜「三慧大師」，右街《僧徹》賜「淨光大師」，《可孚》「法智大師」，《重謙》「青蓮大師」。賜「師」號《懿宗》朝始也。<分明言某「大師」，見『五運圖』。>

《僖宗》朝有僧錄《雲皓》「大師」。《昭宗》朝有《圓明》[大師]。

《梁》革《唐》命，賜《靈武》道《寅尤》等，為「證慧大師」。

賜《吳越》國《徑山洪諲》，為「法濟大師」。

至《龍德》元年，不許僧妄求師號紫衣。《後唐》《晉》《漢》《周》咸同。

今大《宋》止行「師」號紫衣，而「大德」號許僧錄司簡署。先是《開寶》至《太平興國》四年以前，許四海僧入殿庭，乞比試三學。下《開封》府功德使差僧，證經律論義。十條全通賜紫衣，號為手表僧。以其面手進表也。尋因功德使奏，天下一家不須手表，求選敕依。自此每遇皇帝誕節，親王，宰輔，節度使至刺史，得上表薦所知，僧道紫衣師號。唯兩街僧錄道錄所薦得入內。是日授門下牒，謂之「簾前師」號。給紫衣四事，號「簾前紫衣」。此最為榮觀也。其外王侯薦者，間日方出。節制簾廉問牧守轉降而賜也。

[43A]. TITLES FOR VIRTUE 德號附

Titles for virtue have been flourishing for a long time. In the ages of the Wei and Jin [dynasties], in the translated passages pertaining to the confession of transgressions in the vinaya texts, everyone is referred to as a "Monk of Great Virtue."²³ A scripture refers to the birth of a deity of

great virtue.²⁴ A commentary refers to those of great virtue possessing spiritual powers.²⁵ And even though various records and chronicles often refer personally to worthies among the monastic [community] with [the title] 'Great Virtue,' it was not a title assigned by dynastic courts.

When Emperor Daizong (r. 763-779) of the Tang dynasty, [ordered] a case of incense be taken from the imperial palace and sent to [the Memorial Hall of] the Former Elder of Great Virtue, Daoxuan of Ximing Monastery, and had [Buddhist ceremonies] conducted in the imperial palace, it was the first appearance [of the title 'Great Virtue'] in historical records.²⁶ In addition, in the second year of the *dali* era (767) of Emperor Daizong, the Preceptor of Great Virtue of Anguo Monastery, Chengru, petitioned [the throne], "With regard to the property and miscellaneous possessions of deceased monks, I request that you determine their incidental and permanent property in accordance with the monastic precepts."²⁷ It was agreed to. One sees [titles] similar to these supplied in imperial decrees. Nevertheless, in some imperial rescripts the generic term for a particular monk is "elder." This is by no means an officially assigned [title]. It is undoubtedly nothing more than a convenient honorific used for the occasion. The [title] 'Great Virtue' for Daoxuan and 'Preceptor Great Virtue' for Chengru are also used in the same way (i.e., as convenient honorifics).

On the fifth day of the fourth month of *xingguo* year, the sixth year of the *dali* era (771), it was decreed that monks and nuns in the capital city each designate ten persons as the Great Virtuous of the Ordination Platform in order to [officiate at] regular [ordination] ceremonies, and that when vacancies occurred they were to be filled at once. This [title] ties the Ordination Platform with the two [Chinese] characters for 'Great Virtue'. This, then, is the beginning of officially designated titles for '[Great] Virtue.'

At the court of Xianzong, Duanfu served as Great Virtuous Who Guide the Imperial Carriage.²⁸ In this case, it (i.e., Great Virtue) is tied to "guiding the imperial carriage" to form the title.

On the day that falls on the emperor's birthday in the sixth month of the fourth year of the *dazhong* era (850) of Emperor Xuanzong, two Imperial Palace monks, Bian and Zhao [were designated] Great Virtuous of Meditation.²⁹ In this [instance], the title is obtained by connecting [the characters for Great Virtue] with the study of meditation.

Also during the *dazhong* era, by imperial decree, the Great Virtuous of the Ordination Platform of Shengshou Monastery, purple [robe] conferee Huiling, was appointed Elder of Zongzhi Monastery; Great Virtuous of Lectures and Debates of Chongfu Monastery, purple [robe] conferee Ruichuan, was appointed Abbot; and the Great Virtuous of the Ordination Platform of Fushou Monastery, purple [robe] conferee Xuanchang, was appointed Chief Deacon.³⁰ In the tenth year of the *dazhong* era (858), [the title for] Xuanchang was changed to Elder Great Virtuous; Xuance was made Abbot Great Virtuous; and Jianxin was made Bringer of Joy to the Assembly.³¹ All were appointed by imperial decree. It is clear that titles [including the designation "virtuous"] granted by imperial appointment flourished.

In the sixth year of the *xiantong* era (865) of Emperor Yizong, the Buddhist monk Faxin of the Xiliang prefecture received an order from the court of Military Governor Zhang Yi of the same district to promote the *Commentary and Notes on the Treatise on a Hundred Elements (Baifa lun shuchao)* compiled by Dharma Master Cheng'en.³² The details of [the regulations governing] Both Precincts [of the Capital] were established and could thereby be implemented and followed. It was agreed to by imperial decree. Faxin himself was granted a purple robe, and appointed Great Virtuous of his home district.

Also, at the beginning of the *wende* era (888) of Emperor Zhaozong, on the occasion of the imperial birthday congratulatory party, Buddhists and Daoists of Both Precincts [of the Capital] were ordered to lecture and debate.³³ At dusk, each [member of the debate] was granted special accoutrements and silver utensils. Of those Buddhists and Daoists granted the title 'Master', two were from the Right Precincts; [of those granted]

purple robes, there were four from each of the Right and Left Precincts; [of those granted] titles as 'Virtuous', there were ten from each of the Right and Left Precincts.

In the Zhu (i.e., Later) Liang, Later Tang, [Later] Jin, [Later] Han and [Later] Zhou [dynasties], [the title] was sometimes implemented and sometimes not. The court government of the present, Great Song dynasty has not implemented the title 'Virtuous'. During the *kaibao* era (968-975), the Buddhist Registrar of Monks of the Right and Left Precincts [of the Capital], following former imperial decrees, was able to appoint monks with the designations of the Three Branches of Learning and [other] miscellaneous categories. Some were called Great Virtuous Meditators; others were Lecturers on the Scriptures, Precepts, or Commentaries, or various categories like Petitioners, Eulogists, or Physicians, adding the two words 'Great Virtue' as appropriate.

Recently, the Buddhist Registrar Daoshen does not follow the list of categories, and frequently draws from [Chinese] characters [expressing] esteem and excellence to create titles at random.³⁴ He simply awards an honor with up to a four character or a six character [title], and afterwards it is implemented.

South of the Yangzi River, in the area of Liangzhe,³⁵ among the cloisters of the ten monasteries, inexperienced practitioners have been permitted appointments to monastic service.³⁶

[四十三附] 德號附

德號之興其來遠矣。《魏》《晉》之世，翻譯律本羯磨文中，皆曰「大德僧」。經云。為大德天生。論云。諸大德有神通者。及諸傳紀私呼僧中賢彥，多云「大德」，非國朝所補也。

至《唐》《代宗》，內出香一合，送《西明寺》「故上座大德」《道宣》掌內，始見史傳。又《代宗》《大曆》二年，《安國寺》「律大德」《乘如》奏。「亡僧物色，乞依律斷輕重，」宜依。觀此文，似敕補也。然或詔敕中云，長老僧某。豈是補署邪。蓋一期之推飾耳。「大德」《道宣》，「律大德」《乘如》，亦同此也。

《大曆》六年辛亥歲四月五日，敕京城僧尼，「臨壇大德」各置十人，以為常式。有闕即填。此帶臨壇，而有「大德」二字。乃官補德號之始也。

《憲宗》朝，《端甫》為「引駕大德」。此帶引駕為目。

《宣宗》《大中》四年六月降誕日，內殿「禪大德」，《辯》《肇》二人。此帶禪學得名。

又，《大中》中，敕補《聖壽寺》「臨壇大德」，賜紫《慧靈》為《總持寺》上座。《崇福寺》「講論大德」。賜紫《叡川》充寺主。《福壽寺》「臨壇大德」，賜紫《玄暢》充都《維那》。

《大中》十年，《玄暢》遷「上座大德」。《玄則》為「寺主大德」。《堅信》為悅眾。並從敕補。敕補號益分明矣。

《懿宗》《咸通》六年，《西涼府》僧《法信》，稟本道節度使《張義》朝差，進《乘恩》法師所撰『百法論疏抄』。兩街詳定可以行用，敕宜依。其《法信》賜紫衣，充「本道大德」。

又，《昭宗》《文德》初，生辰號嘉會節，詔兩街僧道講論。至暮各賜分物銀器。僧道賜「師」號者，右街兩人。紫衣各四人。「德」號各十人。

《朱梁》《後唐》《晉》《漢》《周》或行或不行。今大《宋》朝，廷罕行「德」號。《開寶》中，左右街僧錄，準舊敕得簡署三學雜科僧名題。或曰「禪大德」。或講經，律，論；表白，聲讚，醫術諸科，宜與「大德」二字。

近僧錄《道深》不循科目，多妄張懿美文字為題。至于四字六字，唯納賂而後行。

江南《兩浙》之地，至有十寺院中，無長行可以充僧役也。

NOTES

1. This section concerns the awarding of titles for Buddhist monks by the emperor. Although the section heading indicates that the topic here is the title 'master' (*shi* 師), Zanning's real concern is the awarding of the title 'great master' (*dashi* 大師).
2. See XGSZ 6 (T 50.468b21-470a12), biography of Huiyue 慧約; Huiyue's family name was Lou 婁, hence the alternate name Louyue 婁約.
3. Zhiyi 智顗 was granted the title Zhizhe 智者 ("one who is wise" or "the wise one") in the eleventh year of the *kaihuang* era (592) (see Zhiyi's biography in XGSZ 17). He also is often referred to as a "Chan Master" (*chan shi* 禪師). When Sui Emperor Yangdi received the bodhisattva precepts, he referred to Zhiyi as Tiantai Precept Master, Chan Master Zhiyi (*Lüshi Tiantai Zhiyi Chanshi* 律師天台智顗禪師).
4. On Wanhui 萬迴 (632-711) and the granting of the title 'Duke Fayun' 法雲公, see SGSZ 18 (T 50.823c-824c).
5. Yijing 義淨 (635-713) was Tang period monk originally from Shandong 山東. Inspired by the accomplishments of such monks as Xuanzang 玄奘 and Faxian 法顯, he traveled to India to study Buddhism, leaving in 671 and returning in 695. During his twenty-five year stay, he traveled through more than thirty states, gathering many Sanskrit texts. After his return to China, he translated some 50 texts in 230 fascicles, concentrating particularly on Sarvāstivāda 說一切有 and Vinaya 戒律 works. He also translated with Śikṣānanda the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. Among his more famous writings are the *Nanhai jigui neifa chuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 and the *Datang xiyu qiufa gaoseng chuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳. (Mueller DDB; consulted April 23, 2012).
6. On Huiji 慧日, see SGSZ 29 (T 50.890a-c), where it is said that Emperor Xuanzong conferred on Huiji the name "Benevolent Tripiṭaka Master" (*cimin sanzang* 慈愍三藏) in the seventh year of *kaiyuan* (719). The relevant portions of his record read as follows: "

He was ordained during the reign of Zhongzong. After receiving the complete precepts, he encountered Tripiṭaka Yijing 義淨. Having always admired this monk who had ascended to the heights of the one vehicle and personally traveled to India, Huiji vowed to travel to the Western Regions. ... For thirteen years he searched out Sanskrit

manuscripts and visited “spiritual friends.” Having received training in the Law, he wanted to bring benefit to others. And so he lifted his ring-staff and headed home, setting out on the long journey alone. For four years he passed by Central Asian villages among the Snowy Peaks [i.e. the Himalayas]. ...

In the seventh year of the Kaiyuan era (719) Huiji finally reached Chang'an where he submitted to the Emperor [Xuanzong] images of the Buddha, Sanskrit manuscripts, and so on. The Emperor's mind was enlightened thereby, and he conferred on the monk the name “Benevolent Tripiṭaka Master.” (adapted from Kieschnick, draft translation of the SGSZ)."

Huiji is also discussed by Ono Genmyō 小野玄妙, “Jimin sankyō no jōdokyō” 慈愍三教の浄土教, in *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi* 仏教の美術と歴史.

7. According to JTS 16 entry for the second month of the first year of *zhangqing* (822) in the reign of Muzong, Liu Zong 劉總, the Military Governor of the province of You 幽州, petitioned the throne to leave his position, cut his hair and become a monk. In the third month, Liu Zong requested that his personal residence be designated a Buddhist Monastery. Subsequently, the emperor dispatched an emissary to grant the it status as a monastery called Bao'en 報恩 (Repaying Gratitude), and also granted Liu Zong a monk's robe and the title “Great Enlightenment.” See also Liu Zong's record in JTS 143. Liu Zong is also mentioned in connection with “granting Dharma-ages” in SSL section 48 below.
8. Sengche's 僧徹 title ‘Great Master of Pure Light’ (*jingguang dashi* 淨光大師) is mentioned in his biography in SGSZ 6 (T 50.744c-745a), but the names of the other recipients are not given. FZTJ 42 also records this, but the names of the monks given are different. Yunhao 雲顥, Kefu 可孚, and Chongqian 重謙 are known from their participation in the parading of the Buddha's relic housed at Famen si 法門寺 through the streets of Chang'an (see Sengche's record of the event, the *Datang gantong qisong qiyang zhenshen zhiwen* 大唐感通啓送岐陽真身志文).
9. The *Wuyun tu* refers to the *Sanbao wuyun lu* 三寶五運圖 [Illustration of the Five Fates of the Three Treasures], a no longer extant text compiled by Xuanchang 玄暢 (797-875), introduced in SSL I section 1.
10. The Buddhist Registrar Yunhao 雲皓 was introduced in SSL II, section 31, in the context of Buddhist Registrars for the Left and Right Precincts.

11. Regarding Yuanming 圓明, see CDL 23 (T 51.396c), biography of Zhilang 志朗 of the Huguo Monastery 護國寺 in Suizhou 隨州.
12. Yinyou 寅尤, 'Great Master Zhenghui' 證慧大師, is otherwise unknown.
13. Regarding Hongyin 洪諲 (d. 901), see SGSZ 12 (T 50.781a-b), where mention of him is attached to the biography of Qingzhu 慶諸 (807-888). Previously, Tang Emperor Xizong granted the cloister where Hongyin lived an official plaque as "Pacifier of the State in the Qianfu Era" (*qianfu zhengguo* 乾符鎮國), *qianfu* being a reign era title of Xizong (874-879). In the third year of the *zhonghe* era (883), a purple robe was also granted to Hongyin, and in the second year of the *jingfu* era (893) of the state of Wuyue, the ruler Qian Liu 錢鏐 submitted a memorial requesting that Hongyin be granted the name Grand Master Faji 法濟大師 (Savior of the Law).
14. Regarding the petition by Li Shu 李樞 and order by emperor Modi, see JWDS 10, entry in the Record of Modi 末帝紀下, first year of the *longde* era.
15. This would seem to contradict the claim in the previous section that "at present ... [purple robes] are granted on the emperor's birthday."
16. A "superior prefecture" is Hucker's translation for *fu* 府 (no. 2034[5]). A superior prefecture is distinguished from an ordinary prefecture (*zhou* 州) by its strategic location, often (as in this case) the environs of a capital city.
17. The ten stipulations are not specified. They presumably refer to the mastery of the knowledge and techniques requisite for a monk to be classified as superior (i.e., worthy of an honorific robe and special designation).
18. In Chinese, *shoubiao seng* 手表僧.
19. The Chancellery (*menxia sheng* 門下省) is an executive agency in the central government's top echelon, responsible for advising rulers on proposals submitted through the Secretariat (*zhongshu sheng* 中書省), remonstrating with rulers over the practical and moral implications of policy decisions, and serving as the channel through which imperial pronouncements were put into final form and transmitted to the Department of State Affairs (*shangshu sheng* 尚書省) for implementation (Hucker no. 3939).
20. In Chinese, *lianqian shihao* 簾前師號. The "screen" here refers to the barrier separating one who has an audience with the emperor.

21. The four essentials of a monks livelihood (*sishi* 四事) are: clothing 衣服, food 飲食, bedding 臥具, medicine (or herbs) 湯藥. (see the *Wufen lü* 五分律; T 22.39a28).
22. In the early Song, Prefectural Governors (*mushou* 牧守) functioned as court dignitaries delegated to administer ordinary prefectures (see Hucker no. 4041[4]). I read *shou* 守 here as an abbreviation of *taishou* 太守 (Prefect), as suggested by Hucker no. 5355(3), and described as a common quasi-official or unofficial reference to a Prefect during the Song (Hucker no. 6221[3]). I follow Makita in reading *lianwen* 廉問 (to investigate, to ask; i.e., to examine in detail) for *lianwen* 簾問 (screen + to ask), as making most sense in this context.
23. A check of the SAT Daizōkyō Text Database confirms the common usage of the term *dade seng* 大德僧 in vinaya text translations.
24. A line regarding the birth of a deity of great virtue (*dade tian* 大德天) appears in Kumarajiva's translation of the *Lotus sūtra* (T 9.24b19).
25. The idea of those of great virtue having spiritual powers (諸大德有神通) is found in fascicle one of the *Dazhidu lun* (T 25-1509). Specific references are found in the *Shanjian lü piposha* 善見律毘婆沙 (T 24-1462.716b4) and the *Sifen lu shanfan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔 (T 40-1804.2b21).
26. In Daoxuan's 道宣 biography in SGSZ 14 (T 50.791b), the event is said to have occurred in the tenth month of the eleventh year of the *dali* era (776), when it was decreed to be an annual event where incense was burned for the sake of national prosperity. The fact that it was sent to Daoxuan's [memorial] hall 堂 is clear from the SGSZ.
27. The "property and miscellaneous possessions" of deceased monks translates *wuse* 物色; "incidental and permanent property" is a translation of *qingzhong* 輕重 (literally "light and "heavy"). According to SGSZ 15 (T 50.801c), it states that prior to Chengru 乘如, when a member of the clergy died, his or her clothing and implements were all taken into the official coffers. Chengru, citing the Regulations, argued that when a man becomes a *bhikṣu*, he acquires incidental property, and that when he dies, this property should be passed on to the clergy. That is, a monk never really owns property, and it should not revert to official coffers on a monk's demise. In the new system suggested by Chengru, the goods are dealt with according to the methods of the Regulations and determined as incidental and permanent property, and retained by the monastery. The SGSZ also stipulates that on the twenty-seventh day of the eleventh month of the second year of the *dali* era (767), an edict was promulgated

- which said: "From this time forward, when a monk dies, his property will enter the monastic coffers. Such transactions shall continue to be reported in documentation to be submitted to the Palace Secretary. This procedure is to be followed throughout the empire." For this contribution, Zanning expresses true admiration of Chengru. (Kieschnick, draft translation of the SGSZ).
28. See Duanfu's 端甫 (770-836) biography in SGSZ 6 (T 50.741a-c), but there is no mention of the title Great Virtuous Who Guide the Imperial Carriage (*yinjia dade* 引駕大德); see, however, the preface to the tomb inscription for Dharma Master Dada 大達法師. (referred to by Fu Shiping, p. 175, n. 7). On Guiding the Imperial Carriage, see the next section, no. 44.
 29. The monk Bian 辯 is Hongbian 弘辯 of Dajianfu Monastery 大薦福寺; see CDL 9 (T 51.269a-270a). The identity of Zhao 肇 is unclear.
 30. Xuanchang 玄暢 (797-875) is the compiler of the no longer extant *Sanbao wuyun tu* 三寶五運圖, referred to in SSL I. Regarding the appointments mentioned here, see also SSL II, section 31, Buddhist Registrars for the Left and Right Precincts [of the Capital] 左右街僧錄, especially the note which cites Huiling's 慧靈 biography in SGSZ 16 (T 50.807b-c).
 31. Xuance 玄則 is unknown; a seventh century monk of this name is referred to in various sources (大般若經初會序 [CBETA T 5-220.1a5]; 宋高僧傳 [CBETA T 50-2061.731a1]; 法苑珠林 [T 53-2122.1023c17]), but it cannot be the person referred to here. Jianxin 堅信 is also unknown.
 32. Regarding this, see section 42, above.
 33. According to JTS 20A, the event occurred on the twenty-second day of the second month of the first year of *longji* (889).
 34. Daoshen 道深 is mentioned briefly in SGSZ 7 (T 50.751a-b), in the biography of Fuzhang 傅章 (910-964), as Buddhist Registrar of the Left Precincts who submitted a memorial to Song Emperor Taizu which led to Fuzhang being granted the honorific name *Yiming* 義明 (Elucidator of Doctrine).
 35. Liangzhe 兩浙 ("two Zhe") designates the two regions of Eastern Zhe and Western Zhe, the regions south and north of the Qiantang 錢塘 river, roughly corresponding to contemporary Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces.
 36. As it stands, this sentence hardly fits the present context. Following Makita's suggestion for reading *zi* 字 (character) for *si* 寺 (monastery), it would read, "South of the Yangzi River, in the area of Liangzhe,

there are inexperienced practitioners among the cloisters who have been appointed to monastic service [with titles] of as many as ten characters.”

PALACE CLERICS AND GUIDING THE IMPERIAL CARRIAGE

內供奉并引駕¹

Buddhist monks who were invested with the authority to provide service in the Imperial Palace began from [the reign of Emperor] Suzong (r. 756-762) of the Tang dynasty. When [the emperor] assembled troops at Lingwu, and moved them back to Fufeng in the first year of the *zhide* era (756),² the monk Yuanjiao received a verbal command to set up a Sanctum for the Medicine Buddha,³ and was ordered to accompany the imperial carriage on its way [to the capital].⁴ When requested by official edict to go to the Kaiyuan Monastery in Fengxiang prefecture,⁵ [Yuanjiao] proceeded to the Sanctum of the Medicine Buddha, and thirty-seven people (i.e., monks) engaged in Buddhist worship practices during the six times [of the day and night].⁶ At the time, a cluster of plum trees suddenly sprouted inside the Sanctum. When the emperor was informed of this, he ordered [a palace attendant] dispatched to verify the report--the plum trees numbered forty-nine.⁷ When Yuanjiao submitted a notice of congratulations, the imperial response said, "The flourishing of the auspicious plums is an omen of the country's revival. From the fact that

they sprouted in the sanghārāma we know that the day of the Buddha will again dawn. A response such as this is highly felicitous; I share in the Master's celebration."⁸ In addition, Li Rangguo [referred to Yuanjiao] in a public decree as "Palace Cleric, Buddhist Yuanjiao."⁹ Of those who have been placed in this office, Yuanxiao was the first. Following him, there was Zilin, a man from Quanzhou.¹⁰ He inherited the role [from Yuanjiao].

At the court of Emperor Xianzong (r. 805-820), Duanfu, Haoyue, and Xibai 栖白 were ordered to succeed each other [in the position].¹¹ In the Zhu (i.e., Later) Liang, Later Tang, [Later] Jin, [Later] Han and [Later] Zhou [dynasties], and our own Great Song dynasty, nothing is heard of this position.

Regarding [the title] "Great Virtuous Guide of the Imperial Carriage," only Duanfu alone had this designation. This is assuredly an appointment made by imperial edict. How can one claim it by personally assuming the title oneself? Imperial orders [designating] this [title] have also not been heard of in recent times. Nevertheless, when the emperor returns to the capital by carriage from tours of inspection, Buddhist monks and Daoist priests without fail go far out to welcome him with banners and streamers, conches and cymbals. The Buddhist Registrar and Daoist Registrar mount horses to guide the imperial carriage [back to the capital], but none of them dare to proclaim themselves "[Great Virtuous] Guides of the Imperial Carriage." [Song] Taizu, Heroic Militant, Cultured Sage, and Spiritually Virtuous Emperor,¹² ordered Buddhists and Daoists of Both Precincts [of the Capital] to each provide a sense of decorum in welcoming the imperial carriage. It is presently considered as normal protocol [for such occasions].

[四十四] 內供奉并引駕

內供奉授僧者，自《唐》《肅宗》。聚兵《靈武》《至德》元年，迴趨《扶風》。僧《元皎》受口敕，置藥師道場。令隨駕仗內赴。請公驗往《鳳翔府》《開元寺》，御藥師道場。三七人六時行道。時道場內忽生一叢李樹。奉敕使驗實。李樹四十九莖。《元皎》表，賀批答。「瑞李繁滋，國興之兆。生《伽藍》之內，知佛日再

興。感此殊祥。與師同慶。」又，《李讓國》宣敕云。敕「內供奉僧《元皎》」。置此官者，《元皎》始也。

次，有《子麟》者，《泉州》人也。繼受斯職。

《憲宗》朝，《端甫》《皓月》《栖白》相次應命。《朱梁》《後唐》《晉》《漢》《周》我大《宋》，無聞此職。

為「引駕大德」者，唯《端甫》稱之。此必敕補。儻自號私署，安可稱之。此命近亦不聞矣。然則車駕巡幸還京，僧道必具旛幢螺鈸遠迎。僧錄道錄騎馬引駕，而無敢自稱「引駕」者。《太祖》《英武》《聖文》《神德》皇帝敕兩街僧道，各備威儀迎駕。今以為常式矣。

NOTES

1. According to Hucker (no. 4210), the office of *nei gongfeng* 內供奉 was instituted in the Tang dynasty literally to provide service or be on duty in the imperial palace. In the Buddhist context it is a title for the monk who served at the altar in the imperial palace.
2. The son of Emperor Xuanzong, Suzong ascended the throne when his father fled to Sichuan during the An Lushan 安祿山 rebellion in 756. Suzong (under his pre-ascension name, Li Heng 李亨 fled in the opposite direction, to Lingwu, where he was declared emperor by the army. Lingwu 靈武 is located near Yinchuan, in modern day Ningxia province. Fufeng 扶風 is located in modern Shaanxi province, roughly 110 kilometers west of Chang'an (modern Xi'an), and nearly 600 kilometers south of Lingwu. Much of Emperor Suzong's reign was spent in quelling the aforementioned rebellion, which was ultimately put down in 763 during the reign of his son Emperor Daizong. As part of the background to the ascension of Buddhist monks granted power to operate in the imperial palace, it is interesting to note that during Emperor Suzong's reign the tradition of eunuchs becoming top-ranked officials began, initiating a legacy of eunuch power that continued through Chinese imperial history. During Suzong's reign, the eunuch Li Fuguo 李輔國 became commander of the imperial guards and possessed nearly absolute power. Li Fuguo was involved with political machinations at the end of Suzong's reign, but was killed by Suzong's son and successor, Daizong, after he assumed the throne.
3. The Medicine Buddha (Yaoshi 藥師) refers to Bhaisajyaguru.
4. Yuanjiao 元皎 hailed from Korea (Kor., Wonhyo); his biography is found in SGSZ 24 (T. 50.864b-c). A fuller version of events is provided there.

Xuanzong traveled to Shu 蜀 at the end of the *tianbao* era (755), while [soon-to-be] Emperor Suzong trained troops in Lingwu, planning to retake the capital. With general consensus, Suzong was asked to assume the throne, and the era name was changed to *zhide* [in 756]. In the second year (757), the imperial carriages set off for Fufeng. The Emperor had always relied upon Buddhists, and so he wished to choose a pure and lofty monk to lead the way, and clear away maleficent influences. With recommendations from the region of the

northern lands and the western rivers, Yuanjiao was selected for the position, and was summoned to accept the edict, and accompany the imperial cortege on its way to the capital. Before long, an edict ordered Yuanjiao to proceed ahead. When he reached Fengxiang, he established an imperial “Medicine Master Sanctum” at the Kaiyuan Monastery. He further selected thirty-seven monks to carry out rituals for the six watches (i.e. 24 hours a day). Lighting lamps, singing hymns, praising and reciting scriptures, none of the monks dared mention their fatigue; their refined purity can hardly be imagined. Suddenly, a cluster of plum trees sprouted up in the midst of this gathering of the Law, forty-nine stems in all. The Emperor was informed of this, and a palace attendant dispatched to verify the report. The Emperor was surprised and delighted, saying, “This is a greatly auspicious sign.”

On the eighteenth day of the fourth month, Inspector of the Imperial Medicine Master Sanctum and Chanter, Yuanjiao, and others submitted a memorial of congratulations. The imperial response read, “The flourishing of the auspicious plums is an omen for the revival of the state. The fact that they sprouted in the sanghārāma is sufficient to illustrate the glory of the *bodhi* tree [i.e. Buddhism]. A response (*gan* 感) such as this is highly felicitous; I share in the Master’s celebration.” The merit accrued through Yuanjiao’s chanting was always sufficient to penetrate and evoke response. He was further granted the position of Palace Cleric. (following Kieschnick, draft translation, SGSZ).

5. Fengxiang prefecture 鳳翔府 is a strategic location roughly 150 kilometers west of Xi’an.
6. The custom of six time periods existed in India, and during the Tang, Shandao 善導 created the six periods of worship 六時禮讚 carried out in the following manner: (1) at sunset, by singing the twelve epithets of Amitābha, (2) at the beginning of the night by singing Shandao’s hymns, (3) in the middle of the night by singing Nāgārjuna’s 龍樹 hymns, (4) at the end of the night by singing Vasubandhu’s 世親 hymns, (5) in early morning by singing Yancong’s 彦琮 hymns, and (6) at midday by singing Shandao’s hymns on the sixteen meditations 十六觀 from the *Contemplation Sūtra* (see the *Wangsheng lizan jie* 往生禮讚偈 T .47.438b17). (Mueller, DDB, consulted April 25, 2012). STOP HERE
7. Also noted in FZTJ 52 (T 49.458a7).

8. The response is noted in QTW 44.6a-b as *Da yu Yaoshi daochang nian-song seng Yuanjiao deng biao he ruili chi* 答御藥師道場念誦僧元皎等表賀瑞李敕. The biography of Zhang Hao 張鎬 in JTS 111 provides a different account of these events. Amid the tense situation that the Tang dynasty faced as a result of An Lushan's 安祿山 rebellion, Emperor Suzong arranged for Buddhist monks serve as clerics (*gongfeng* 供奉) in an Imperial Palace Sanctum (*nei daochang* 內道場), chanting the name of the Buddha (*nianfo* 念佛) day and night. The sound of the chanting inspired several hundred people outside the forbidden precincts (i.e., the palace). In response, Zhang Hao petitioned the emperor: "Your humble servant has heard that the Son of Heaven cultivates blessings, desiring to bring about a peaceful transformation of the empire by calmly nourishing all beings possessing life. I have yet to learn how the trivial teachings of Buddhism bring about peace and security (*taiping* 太平). I humbly request that Your Majesty concentrate on [the Daoist teaching of] non-activity (*yi wuwei wei xin* 以無為為心) (i.e., letting things take their natural course), and not interrupt the sagely plan with [the teachings of] a lesser vehicle (*xiaosheng* 小乘)." Suzong, we are told, very much agreed with Zhang Hao's view.
9. The title *nei gongfeng* 內供奉 or "Palace Cleric" is confirmed in Yuanjiao's biography in SGSZ 24.
10. On Zilin 子麟, see SGSZ 3 (T 50.721c-722a). Zilin is noted for having a close relationship with Emperor Suzong, frequently being summoned to the palace to engage in discourse, noting that he was granted a purple robe and given the title Palace Cleric.
11. Regarding Duanfu 端甫, see SSL sections 31 (Buddhist Registrars for the Left and Right Precincts [of the Capital] 左右街僧錄), 32 (Assistants to Buddhist Superiors 僧主副員), 33 (Directors who Lecture on Scriptures and Treatises 講經論首座), 39 ([Buddhist] Chapels in the Imperial Palace 內道場), 42 (Granting Purple Robes to Monks 賜僧紫衣), and 43A (Titles for Virtue 德號). Haoyue 皓月 is referred to briefly in the biography of Zhizang 智藏 in SGSZ 11 (T 50.775c21). Xibai 栖白 appears in various contexts, in Dunhuang manuscripts Pelliot no. 3886, Stein no. 4654, *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 823, and so on (for details see Fu Shiping, p. 178, n. 3).
12. This is a list of Song Taizu's honorific titles: 英武聖文神德.

[45]

GRANTING OFFICIAL RANKS [TO BUDDHIST MONKS]

封授官秩¹

Those who leave home [to become monks] aspire to ascend through five ranks.² People who realize the Way obtain its fruits (i.e., enlightenment) by transforming the two kinds of pollution.³ If I venture to speak of progressing toward this [realization of the Way and obtaining these fruits] -- awaken through contemplation to the truth of dependent arising, attain realization by accessing the four fruits [of arhatship] through constant sitting in meditation,⁴ and manifest the roar [of awakening] after experiencing a hundred eons of existences in the past, present, and future.⁵ This is the ordering of ranks for [Buddhist] sages and worthies. It is appropriate that the distinctive results achieved through cultivation be acknowledge with special designations.

This [recognition of ranks] follows a sinified style in Cathy,⁶ where the worthy are admitted to [ranks of] nobility.⁷ They (i.e., the worthy) are thereby honored [as nobles] by virtue of what they are esteemed for.⁸ In former times, the Later Wei dynasty appointed Śramaṇa Faguo of Zhao Commandery as Śramaṇa Supervisor.⁹ Owing to a lack of provisions for

granting, he was also provided an official rank, and subsequently granted [the titles of] Bulwark of State, Viscount of the City of Yi,¹⁰ and Loyal and Faithful Marquis,¹¹ and eventually promoted to the rank of Duke,¹² and referred to as [Duke] Ancheng.¹³ The appointment of Buddhists as officials began with Faguo.

The court of the Liang dynasty made Huizhao "Scholar of the Zhouguang Hall."¹⁴ In addition, Ling Fahe had very high official rank.¹⁵

The Later (i.e., Northern) Zhou dynasty selected Buddhists and Daoists who excelled in their studies, and appointed them "Scholars of the Institute for Penetrating the Way," also changing the color of their robes.¹⁶

The court of the Sui dynasty regarded Yanzong as "Scholar of the Scripture Translation Bureau."¹⁷

In the Tang dynasty, after the construction of Shengshan Monastery was completed during the second year of the *shenlong* era (706) of Emperor Zhongzong, it happened that nine people -- Huifan, Huizhen, Fazang, Daxing, Huiji, Yuanbi, Renfang, Chongxian, and Jinguo -- were promoted to the fifth rank; they were also [designated] Grand Masters for Closing Court, and became District Dukes.¹⁸ Lodging, daily use utensils, and food provisions were allotted them completely as if they were Regular Officials,¹⁹ for their efforts in repairing large [Buddhist] statues.

Subsequently, Huifan was promoted to Grand Master of Correct Deportment, Commandery Duke in the Service of the Emperor,²⁰ Abbot of Shengshan Monastery, and ultimately Grand Master of Imperial Entertainments with Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon, and was provided with salary and provisions, and lodgings for one who serves at the highest level in affairs of state, completely on a par with government officials.²¹

In addition, the Abbot of Anle (Peace and Joy) Monastery, the monk Wansui, was promoted to Grand Master for Closing Court,²² appointed District Duke,²³ and made Chief Buddhist Deacon of Shengshan Monastery.²⁴ He was also provided an emolument equal to that of

government officials. Through his efforts, [Buddhist] statue [construction activities] were carried out.

Moreover, the Śramaṇa Kuoqing was appointed Commissioner for the Cultivation of Merit and Virtue, and Temporary Director of the Imperial Palace Administration.²⁵

Following this, when Emperor Xuanzong prognosticated about how to quell domestic disturbances, the monk Qingrun was appointed an official of the third rank, and when [Qingrun] alleviated the suffering of Prince Ning, after his recovery, he granted the monk a robe of red silk.²⁶

Emperor Daizong promoted Tripiṭaka Master Bukong as Commander Unequalled in Honor, Majestic Duke of State.²⁷ [Among Buddhist monks], Bukong alone [was among] the elite of the noble class.²⁸

Commentary: When the imperial court values dispensing titles of nobility, Buddhists will naturally compete for official ranks. Official rank is not their life's devotion; covetous desires [that accompany secular power] bring no satisfaction. How free they are from supporting spouses and children and going down on their knees to show respect for their lords and parents! How different they are from the weaving girl's moving seven times and the cowherd's carrying the yoke on his back!²⁹ Those who possess advanced intelligence (i.e., the Buddhist clergy) are freed from grasping after those things [that preoccupy others]. [Still], they are not equal to [the likes of] Ling Fahe and Shi Daoping who ably offered their services in defending the country and who accepted provisional designations as officials.³⁰

[四十五] 封授官秩

夫出家之者，望五位以升階。得道之人，轉二依而就果。敢言其次，緣覺應真，以四果一坐而證成。經三生百劫而彰號。此聖賢之品秩也。宜修選業，可取殊科。

其有震旦華風，縻賢好爵。因其所貴而以貴之。昔，《後魏》以《趙郡》《沙門法果》為《沙門》統。供施之不足，又官品之。

遂授「輔國」，「宜城子」，「忠信侯」，尋進「公爵」，曰「安城」。釋子封官自《法果》始也。

《梁》朝以《慧超》為「《壽光殿》學士」。又，《陸法和》甚高官位。

《後周》選僧道中學問優瞻者，充「通道觀學士」，仍改服色。

《隋》朝以《彥琮》為「翻經館學士」。

《唐》《中宗》《神龍》二年，造《聖善寺》，成《慧範》《慧珍》《法藏》《大行》《會寂》《元璧》《仁方》《崇先》《進國》九人，加五品。並「朝散大夫」，縣公。房室器用料物，一如正員官給。以修大像之功也。

尋加《慧範》「正儀大夫」，「上庸郡公」，「《聖善寺》主」，至「銀青光祿大夫」，俸料房閣一事已上同職官給。

又，《安樂寺》主僧《萬歲》，加「朝散大夫」，封縣公，「《聖善寺》都《維那》」俸祿。亦同職官給。以營像成也。

又，《沙門廓清》，充「修功德使」，「檢校殿中監」。

其次，《玄宗》卜平內難，僧《清潤》封官三品。醫《寧王》疾，愈僧賜緋袍。

《代宗》加《不空》三藏，至「開府儀同三司」「肅國公」。階爵之極，唯《不空》矣。

論曰。朝廷尚行於爵秩，釋子乃競於官階。官階勿盡期。貪愛無滿分。胡不養其妻子跪拜君親。何異乎織女七襄牽牛負軛者哉。有識達者於此無取焉。不同《陸法和》《釋道平》能施衛社之功，致有假官之目也。

NOTES

1. The contents of this entry are closely aligned with *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 22.
2. Within Buddhism there are various renditions of five stage divisions according to text and tradition. For example, in the Yogācāra path of practice 唯識修道五位: the stage of preparation 資糧位, the stage of application 加行位, the stage of proficiency 通達位, the stage of practice 修習位 and the stage of completion 究竟位; in the five stages taught in the *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra* 金剛五位: the stage of faith 信位, stage of deliberation 思位, stage of cultivation 修位, stage of practice 行位, and the stage of nonattachment 捨位. (DDB, consulted April, 2012). The fifty-two stages of the Bodhisattva path 菩薩階位 may be broken down into five groups: the ten stages of faith 十信, ten abodes 十住, ten practices 十行, ten dedications of merit 十迴向, ten grounds 十地, virtual enlightenment 等覺 (also known as 無垢地), and marvelous enlightenment 妙覺. Zanning, however, seems to be referring here to the description of attainments that follows. In any case, the Buddhist system of five ranks intended by Zanning is paired with sinified style (*huafeng* 華風) of five ranks for Chinese officials introduced below.
3. The two kinds of pollution (*eryi* 二依) refer to unclean things that exist within the body such as blood, puss, phlegm, etc., and the unclean aspects that appear on the outside of the body, such as inflammation, swelling, rotten skin, etc. (see the *Yuqie lun* 瑜伽論; T 30.428c). (DDB, consulted April, 2012).
4. An alternate reading has *yisheng* 一生 instead of *yizuo* 一座, making the sentence read “attaining realization of the four fruits [of arhatship] throughout the course of one’s life.” The four fruits (*siguo* 四果) refer to realizations of the *śrāvaka* path: reversing the flow of karma (i.e., stream-winner), attaining the stage of a once-returner, a non-returner, and an arhat who will enter nirvāṇa and no longer be subject to rebirth.
5. *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 22 reads: “Regarding aspiring to ascend through five ranks, those who obtain the fruits (i.e., realize enlightenment) by transforming the two kinds of pollution are bodhisattvas of the supreme vehicle. Those who attain realization by entering the four fruits [of arhatship] through constant sitting in meditation, and [those who] manifest the roar [of awakening] by experiencing a hundred eons

of existences in the past, present, and future, awaken through contemplation to the truth of dependent arising.”

6. “Sinified style” here is a translation of *huafeng* 華風. Cathy is a translation of *Zhendān* 震旦, an ancient Indian name for China.
7. According to Hucker (no. 1715), Nobility (*jue* 爵) is a general term designating the ranks and titles conferring noble status, normally including (in descending order): Prince (*wang* 王), Duke (*gong* 公), Marquis (*hou* 侯), and Earl (*bo* 伯), Viscount (*zi* 子), and Baron (*nan* 男). See also, Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), “Royal, Aristocratic, and Imperial Titles,” pp. 108-110. Many of these titles appear in Zanning’s account that follows.
8. Translating *gui* 貴 here as alternately “honored” and “esteemed.”
9. See the *Shilao zhi* 釋老志 in the *Wei shu* 魏書. Faguo’s 法果 appointment occurred in the *huangshi* era (396-398). Faguo succeeded Senglang in this capacity. On the issue of whether Faguo, as a member of the governmental bureaucracy, need reverence the ruler, Emperor Taizu, contrary to Buddhist scriptures that stipulated monks not do so, Faguo proclaimed Taizu as a living Tathāgata—reverence to Taizu was one and the same as reverencing the Tathātagata. (See Kenneth Ch’en, *Buddhism in China*, p. 146). Ch’an (p. 253) notes that in the beginning Faguo’s title was *daoren tong* 道人統, and later changed to *shamen tong* 沙門統. On the office of *shamen dutong* 沙門都統, see SSL II, section 30. The discussion of Faguo there indicates that he received these titles during the *yongxing* era (409-413) of Emperor Taizong, but firmly refused them all.
10. According to Hucker (no. 7519), a Viscount (*zi* 子) follows Prince (*wang* 王), Duke (*gong* 公), Marquis (*hou* 侯), and Earl (*bo* 伯) in rank.
11. According to Hucker (no. 2205), the title of Marquis (*hou* 侯) is next in prestige after Prince (*wang* 王) and Duke (*gong* 公), sometimes hereditary and sometimes conferred for special merit (as is the case here), and is often conferred with a variety of qualifying prefixes (also as here).
12. According to Hucker (no. 3388), the title Duke (*gong* 公) is the highest noble rank after Prince (*wang* 王), and is normally reserved for members of the imperial family. Through the Tang dynasty, the conferring of this title qualified one for membership in the feudal noble elite and was accompanied by land grants for support.
13. Ancheng 安城 refers to the name of the landed territory conferred upon Faguo in connection with his title of Duke (*gong* 公), making his official name Duke Ancheng.

14. Regarding Huizhao 慧超, see XGSZ 6 (T 50. 468a-b), where the title “Scholar of the Zhouguang [Hall]” 壽光學士 granted by Liang Emperor Wenti is mentioned.
15. Regarding Ling Fahe 陸法和 see the *Bei Qi shu* 北齊書 32 and *Bei shi* 北史 89. Although the Liang emperor regarded Ling Fahe as Commander-in-Chief (*dudu* 都督) and Provincial Governor of Yingzhou 鄧州刺史, bestowing on him the title Duke of Jiangcheng prefecture 江乘縣公, Ling was devoted to Buddhist learning and refused to consider himself an official. He did not use the seal bearing his title in official writings, preferring to refer to himself as Minister of Education (*situ* 司徒).
16. The *Zhou Gaozu dengchao lunbing fo fa'an fashi shanglunshi* 周高祖登朝論屏佛法安法師上論事 contained in *Ji gujin fodao lunheng* 集古今佛道論衡 2, places the event on the seventeenth day of the fifth month of the third year of the *jianide* era (573) [of Later Zhou Emperor Gaozu], claiming that *tongdao guan* 通道觀 were separately established, and one-hundred and twenty famous Buddhists and Daoists (indicated by their clan names *fo* 佛 and *li* 李) were all granted robes and caps [as emblems of their status] and titled “Scholars of the Institute for Penetrating the Way” (*tongdao guan xueshi* 通道觀學士). Although Hucker has no separate entry for *tongdao guan* 通道觀, the reading of *guan* 觀 as Institute follows Hucker’s rendering of *chongwen guan* 崇文觀 (no. 1670) as synonymous with *chongwen guan* 崇文館. The other possibility would be to read *guan* as “Temple,” but this has Daoist associations that do not fit the context in which it is used here in reference to both Buddhism and Daoism. At the time of the suppression of Buddhism and Daoism orchestrated by Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou in 574, a *tongdao guan* 通道觀 was established to preserve the fundamental doctrines of both teachings, at which scholars of outstanding talent were selected to serve. The institution survived the demise of Emperor Wu’s reign, but it is unknown how long it lasted after this (Tang Yongtong 湯用彤, *Foxue dazidian* 佛學大詞典; http://fodian.goodweb.cn/dict_read1.asp?ID=16244; consulted April, 2012). On this, see also the appendix on the Buddhist persecution of the Northern Zhou, in Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆, *Gisho Shaku-roji no kenkyū* 魏書釋老志の研究 (*A Study of the Wei shu Shilao zhi*).
17. Regarding Yanzong 彥琮 (557-610), see XGSZ 2 (T 50.436b-439c). He was appointed “Scholar of the Institute for Penetrating the Way” (*tongdao guan xueshi* 通道觀學士) by emperor Wudi of the Northern Zhou dynasty at the age of twenty-one (under his previous name, Daojiang 道

江). A Scripture Translation Bureau (*Fanjing guan* 翻經館) was established for him at Shanglin yuan 上林園 in Luoyang in the second year of the *daye* era (606). Yanzong was one of the rare Chinese monks who acquired a thorough knowledge of Indian languages, preferring simple, unadorned language close to the truth to a polished style that deviated from the meaning of the original. (See Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 371-372.

18. Reference to this is found in FZTJ 40, entry for the second year of the *shenlong* era (706). Other than Huifan 慧範 (see below), most of the nine mentioned here are largely unknown. The exception is Fazang 法藏, the famed third patriarch of the Huayan school (see SGSZ 5). Daxing 大行 also has a record in SGSZ 24. Regarding the building of the Shengshan Monastery 聖善寺 (Monastery of Sagely Goodness), see JTS 7 (record of Emperor Zhongzong) and *Tongjian* 通鑑 208. On Grand Masters for Closing Court (*chaosan dafu* 朝散大夫), see Hucker no. 334. On the title of Grand Master (*dafu* 大夫), see Hucker no. 5939. On District Duke 縣公, see Hucker (no. 2512).
19. According to Hucker (no. 455), a Regular Official (*zhengyuan* 正員) is an appointee whose term is not temporary, provisional, acting, or honorific. I read the suffix *guan* 官 (of *zhengyuan guan* 正員官), also meaning Official, as redundant.
20. According to Hucker (no. 1767), a Commandery Duke (*jungong* 郡公) is a title of nobility normally granted to sons of Imperial Princes by secondary wives or concubines, but in the Tang also granted to Dukes of State (*guogong* 國公), etc. Hucker has no entry for *shangyong* 上庸, and I have interpreted *shang* here as referring to the Emperor (see Hucker, no. 4970) and *yong* as service or employment (following the Chinese-Japanese character dictionary *Shin ji en*, p. 330b, nos. 4 & 5).
21. Regarding Huifan 慧範, see FZTJ 51 (T 49.453c11-14), and SSL II, section 35. According to FZTJ 40, he was appointed abbot of Shengshan Monastery upon its completion. Hucker has no separate entry for *zhengyi dafu* 正儀大夫 (Grand Master of Correct Deportment). According to Hucker (no. 7981), *yingqing guanglu dafu* 銀青光祿大夫 (Grand Master of Imperial Entertainments with Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon) is a prestige title for officials of 3b rank.
22. On the office of *chaosan dafu* 朝散大夫 (Grand Master for Closing Court), see Hucker (no. 334).
23. On District Duke 縣公, see Hucker (no. 2512).

24. Śramaṇa Wansui 萬歲 is mentioned receiving such titles in FZTJ 40, entry for the second month of the *shenlong* era of Emperor Zongzong. There is also a Wansui 萬歲 mentioned in CDL 9, but without a record. On the position of Chief Buddhist Deacon, see SSL II, section 35. It was one of three administrative offices of a monastery: Abbot (*sizhu* 寺主), Head Monk (*shangzuo* 上座), and Bringer of Joy to the Assembly (*yuezhong* 悅眾), a.k.a. Chief Buddhist Deacon (*du weina* 都維那).
25. *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 52 mentions that a Śramaṇa Kuoqing 廓清 of Xingshan Monastery 興善寺, was granted official (unspecified) rank. FZTJ 40, entry for the second month of the *shenlong* era of Emperor Zongzong, mentions his appointment. On the office of *xiu gongde shi* 修功德使, see Hucker no. 2625. It was one of several titles granted Buddhist monks, under the supervision of the Court of State Ceremonial (*honglu si* 鴻臚寺), charged with the regulation of the issuance of ordination certificates and the state obligations of Buddhist monks throughout the country. Zanning also discusses the office in SSL II, section 37, “Administrative Jurisdiction of Buddhist Monks and Nuns.” Breaking down the office of *jianjiao dianzhong jian* 檢校殿中監, *jianjiao* straightforwardly reads as meaning “to inspect or verify,” but it also developed into a title prefix for an official holding one regular post, assigned on a temporary basis to function in another post (see Hucker, no. 804), which seems to be the case here. The office of *dianzhong jian* during the Tang (Hucker no. 6558[4]) referred to the Director of the Palace Administration.
26. The identity of Qingrun 清潤 is unclear. Makita (p. 62, n. 71) speculates that the intended name may be Daoping 道平, who appears in SSL II, section 42. In the same section (Granting Purple Robes), a monk by the name of Chongxian 崇憲 is said to have provided the remedy for Prince Ning 寧王 and to have been given a red robe in return. An event is also recorded in JTS 95, Biographies of Princes (*Zhuwang zhuan* 諸王傳), entry for the twenty-eighth year of the *kaiyuan* era (740), where Prince Xian 憲王 is said to contract the illness and a monk, Chongyi 崇一, is honored for providing the cure.
27. The title Commander Unequaled in Honor (*kaifu yitong sansi* 開府儀同三司) is a prestige title for both civilian and military officials (see Hucker, no. 3105). Duke of State (*guogong* 國公) is the third highest of nine titles of nobility, but in the Tang, one of only three noble titles: Prince (*wang* 王), Duke (*gong* 公) and Marquis (*hou* 侯). It was normally conferred on the heirs of Commandery Princes. The translation of the prefix to *guo-*

- gong, su* 肅, is uncertain, and I follow the possible rendering suggested by the translation of *suwei* 肅衛 as Majestic Guardsmen (Hucker no. 5855).
28. According to Zanning, Bukong 不空 (Amoghavajra, 705-774) had a profound impact on the adoption of Buddhist ritual practices by the Chinese state. He is mentioned frequently in the SSL in sections 23, 25, 39, 45, 56, and 57. Zanning's biography of Bukong in the SGSZ has been translated by Chou Yi-liang, "Tantrism in China." The general account of Bukong by I. Sinclair and Lang Chen in DDB (consulted April, 2012) encapsulates his career and its importance. See also, Goble, "Chinese Esoteric Buddhism: Amoghavajra and the Ruling Elite;" Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, pp. 56-58 and 77-83; Lehnert, "Amoghavajra: His Role in and Influence on the Development of Buddhism;" and Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism*
 29. This is a reference to the famous Chinese folk tale about the cowherd (symbolized by the star Altair) and weaving girl (symbolized by the star Vega), and how they become separated on opposite sides of the Milky Way. While I am uncertain about the precise meaning of the terminology given here, it is clear that Zanning wishes to contrast the great effort exhibited in the fulfillment of their duties with the freedom that members of the clergy have from such obligations.
 30. Regarding Daoping 道平, see also SSL section 42, Granting Purple Robes to Buddhist Monks. Zanning's position may be summarized as follows. On the one hand, Zanning maintains a traditional view of Buddhist renunciation, maintaining aloofness from the entanglements of administrative duties and secular power that are seen as antithetical to the Buddhist spiritual quest. On the other hand, he values even more highly the service provided by those Buddhists who devote themselves unflinchingly to administrative service, and tie their Buddhist missions closely to national aims.

[46]

FANGDENG (I.E., MAHAYANA) ORDINATION PLATFORMS

方等戒壇¹

The existence of ordination platforms in this land (China) was initiated by Tripiṭaka Master Gunabhadra in the Southern Dynasties (420-589).² When he administered the precepts for the ordination of *bhikṣus* at the court of [Liu] Song on the banks of [the Xiaohe river in] Caizhou, it was the first time.³ Even though in due course platforms were erected [throughout] the north and south in rapid succession, there was still no special name for them.

Later on, there was the Southern Grove Ordination Platform.⁴ In the second year of the *qianfeng* era of Emperor Gaozong (665), when Precept Master Daoxuan of Nanshan erected the Spiritual Resonance Ordination Platform at the vihara in the village of Qingguan, the famous and virtuous of the empire all came to emphasize the importance of the provisions stipulated by the precepts.⁵ After the construction of the platform was completed, a monk with long eyebrows expressed his admiration in front of the platform. It was none other than Pindola (i.e., the first of the sixteen arhats).⁶

On the twenty-eighth day of the third month of the year of *yongtai* (765), Emperor Daizong ordered all the officials to provide whatever was needed for the Mahayana Ordination Platform at Daxingshan Monastery (Monastery of Great Flourishing Goodness).⁷ In the fourth month [Daizong] ordered the monks and nuns of the capital city to each appoint ten people as the Great Virtuous of the Provisional [Ordination] Platform.⁸ This has ever since been the usual custom [at such ceremonies].

The so-called Mahayana (*fangdeng*) Ordination Platform is undoubtedly based on ordination platform practices originally stemming from the vinaya precepts of various [schools].⁹ The vinaya precepts are the teaching of the lesser vehicle. In the teachings of the lesser vehicle, one must follow an itemized list of rules; when there is even a slight infraction, [the rules] stipulate that the violator not receive ordination. Because people who face the platform have committed violations, it is referred to as the teaching of the vinaya (i.e., the rules of discipline). The greater vehicle *fangdeng* teaching, on the other hand, does not restrict [people] according to deficiencies in aptitude and circumstantial differences (i.e., those who are not monks or nuns), and everyone, without exception, is allowed to receive [ordination]. This surely impels people to develop great determination to comply with them (i.e., the precepts) fully. *Fangdeng*, in other words, has the meaning of universal.¹⁰

The *Treatise on Cessation and Contemplation in the Mahayana* says;¹¹

Fangdeng, in other words, refers to expansiveness and equality. What is at present called *fang*, [refers to] the method. It is similar to *prajñā* having four kinds of methods, that is to say, entering the cool, refreshing pond (i.e., nirvāṇa) via four gateways. This is *fang*. Because the principle behind the pledge [to save all beings] is the great wisdom of equality (i.e., applicable to all), it is called *deng*.

Because the Ordination Platform was erected after receiving and following the texts [which explain] *fangdeng*, it is known as the “*Fangdeng* Platform.” Since [the *fangdeng* precepts] do not constrain [practitioners] with [detailed] prohibitions [as with the vinaya precepts of the lesser vehicle],

they are extensive and equal, and we can refer to them as “expansive” (i.e., universal) and “equal” (i.e., applicable to all).

After the devastation of the *huichang* era (841-846), Emperor Xuanzong II (r. 846-859) again allowed monks and nuns to leave home [to live according to their monastic calling], [but] worrying how they could not be without transgression after living as lay people, he made them confess their serious sins before reinstating them into the provisions stipulated by the precepts.¹² If not for the *fangdeng* [precepts], they could never have been allowed to re-enter [monastic life]. Because they are taken as universal and all-inclusive, it is referred to as the “Fangdeng Ordination Platform.”

As it happens, some only follow the rules of the vinaya when it suits them, and pay no heed to minor transgressions. [On the other hand], when one abides by the behaviors pertaining to the world of Buddhist clerics according to the four [different] types (i.e., monks, nuns, male and female novices), they cannot be referred to as “fangdeng” (i.e., universal and all-inclusive). Thus, when regarded altruistically, people delight in disregarding them; when strictly adhered to, matters are intrinsically respected. In an era of declining virtue (*modai*), abbots [of monasteries] would do well to uphold these [vinaya precepts] strictly and lessen the ability to regard them altruistically.

[四十六] 方等戒壇

此土之有戒壇，起南朝《求那跋摩》三藏。為《宋》國《比丘》，於《蔡州》岸，受戒而為始也。自爾南北相次立壇，而無別名。

後有「南林戒壇」。《高宗》《乾封》二年，終《南山》《道宣》律師，建「靈感戒壇」於《清官》村精舍，天下名德皆來重增戒品。築壇方成，有長眉僧，壇前讚歎。即《賓頭盧》也。

《代宗》《永泰》年三月二十八日，敕《大興善寺》「方等戒壇」所須一切官供。至四月敕京城僧尼，「臨壇大德」各置十人。永為常式。

所言「方等戒壇」者，蓋以壇法本出於諸律。律即小乘教也。小乘教中須一一如法。片有乖違，則令受者不得戒。臨壇人犯罪。故謂之律教也。若大乘方等教，即不拘根缺緣差。並皆得受。但令發大心而領納之耳。方等者即周遍義也。

『止觀論』曰。「方等者或言廣平。今謂方者法也。如般若有四種方法，即四門入清涼池，故此方也。所契之理即平等大慧，故云等也。」

稟順方等之文而立戒壇，故名「方等壇」也。既不細拘禁忌，廣大而平等，又可謂之廣平也。

《宣宗》以《會昌》沙汰之後，僧尼再得出家。恐在俗中，寧無諸過，乃令先懺深罪，後增戒品。若非方等，豈容重入。取其周遍包容，故曰「方等戒壇」也。

脫或一遵律範，無聞小過。入僧界法四種皆如，則不可稱為方等也。然汎愛則人喜陵犯。嚴毅則物自肅然。末代住持宜其嚴而少愛則為能也。

NOTES

1. The “Mahāyāna” in Mahāyāna Ordination Platforms is the Chinese translation for *vaipulya*, *fangdeng* 方等, another name for Mahāyāna, but with the nuance of *fang* as bringing extensive benefits to sentient beings, and *deng* as preaching by relating all teachings equally. The origins of ordination platforms in China is commented on by Daoxuan 道宣 in his preface to the *Guanzhong zhuangli jietan tuxing* 關中創立戒壇圖經 (CBETA T 45-1892.807a):

As regards the prosperity of ordination platforms, they are necessary in order to establish the precepts. The precepts are the root of practice for the multitude of sages, and are the animating force for the three aspects of the Dharma (i.e., teaching, practice, and realization). Enlightened rulers depend on these to promote mercy; when unenlightened folks rely on them, they arrive at extinction (i.e., nirvāṇa). Therefore, when texts pose the question, “How can we know whether the Buddha-dharma will perpetuate? If ten people in China or five people from border regions are ordained in the precepts according to the Dharma, it is referred to as perpetuating the true Dharma.” From this we know that if the body of *bhikṣus* do not follow the precepts, it will not survive. The Way (i.e., Buddhism) must be propagated by human beings; if they do not follow the precepts, [the Way] will not be established. If the precepts are to subdue the effects of karmic activity, one’s effort arise from a physical location. This location is called the “ordination platform.”

2. Makita (p. 63, n. 75) claims it was actually Samghavarman 僧伽跋摩 rather than Gunabhadra 求那跋摩, (394-468) who carried out the first ordinations (see GSZ 3; T 50.342b). Yoshikawa and Funayama, trans., *Kōsōden*, p.308, n. 4, date Samghavarman’s death to the ninth month of the eighth year of the *yuanjia* era (431).
3. Zanning appears to follow Daoxuan 道宣, who outlines the history of ordination precept platform construction in China in the *Daoxuan lüshi gantonglu* 道宣律師感通錄 (T 52. 441b19-c18), and makes the same claim regarding the ordination platform at Caizhou 蔡州.
4. Reference to the Southern Grove Ordination Platform (*nanlin jietan* 南林戒壇) is found in Gunabhadra’s 求那跋摩 record in GSZ 3 (T 50.341b19).

- Yoshikawa and Funayama, trans., *Kōsōden*, p. 294, n. 13, suggest the possibility that the Southern Grove Ordination Platform was the earliest ordination platform in Chinese Buddhist history, following Daoxuan, *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing* 關中創立戒壇圖經 (T 52. 812c).
5. While there is no mention of Doxuan 道宣 erecting a Spiritual Resonance Ordination Platform (*linggan jietan* 靈感戒壇) in his biography (SGSZ 14; T 50.790b-791b), there is reference to the Chongyi Vihara 崇義精舍 in the village of Qingguan 清官 (T 50.790b26-28). Daoxuan's Spiritual Resonance Platform (*linggan tan* 靈感壇) is mentioned at the end of the biography of Mingke 名恪 (T 50.792b24; attached to the biography of Wengang 文綱).
 6. Daoxuan's biography (SGSZ 14) states: "Once, when Daoxuan built a ritual platform, a monk with long eyebrows suddenly appeared and spoke with him of the Way. It was none other than Pindola." In early Indian Buddhist scriptures Pindola 賓頭盧 is one of four arhats asked by the Buddha to remain in the world to preach the Dharma.
 7. There is an imperial order for an Ordination Platform (*kaitan chi* 戒壇敕) during the reign of Daizong recorded in QTW 48, but it is not clear if it is the same as the one referred to here. Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, p. 78, notes that Bukong 不空 received permission from the emperor to erect an altar for tantric consecrations (*guanding daochoang* 灌頂道場) at Daxingshan Monastery 大興善寺 "for the benefit of the empire," where esoteric rituals were to be performed four times yearly, and how, on the anniversaries of the deaths of emperors Suzong and Xuanzong in 764, Daizong ordered the ordination of several hundred Buddhist and Daoist monks. On Daizong's sponsorship of Buddhist ordinations in general, see Weinstein, pp. 78-88. For further information on establishing ordination platforms in the Tang, see FZTJ 53, entry on "Erecting Platforms for Precept Ordinations" (*litan shoujie* 立壇受戒).
 8. Makita (p. 63, n. 79) notes that this marks the beginning of Great Virtuous of the Provisional [Ordination] Platform (*lintan dade* 臨壇大德) ordinations.
 9. On the reading of the term *tanfa* 壇法 as "ordination platform practices," see Ui Hakuju, *Bukkyō jiten*, 720b (for the reading of Ui's use of *shuhō* 修法 in his definition, see Ui, 485a and Nakamura *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, 617b-c, which would give the term an esoteric meaning).
 10. As in universally adhered to and applicable to all.
 11. *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 2 (T 46.13c2-5).

12. On the restoration of Buddhism under the reign of Xuanzong II (Hsuentzung), see Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, pp. 136-144. Weinstein notes (p. 141), specifically, that a separate edict was issued in 848 authorizing special "penitential" Mahāyāna ordination platforms (*xichan fangdeng tan* 洗懺方等壇) where ex-members of the clergy could repent their transgressions of the vinaya rules committed during their forced laicization, and reaffirm their precepts. (drawing from FZTJ 387a). Weinstein also explains (p. 202, n. 22) how special platforms were necessary for the ordinations, as certain offences committed by laicized monks and nuns would automatically preclude readmission to the Order, and, as a result, ordinary ordination platforms were not acceptable.

[47]

MUTUAL BENEFIT SOCIETIES AND DHARMA ASSOCIATIONS

結社法集

During the Jin and [Liu] Song [dynasties], there was Dharma Master Huiyuan of Mount Lu, who taught and practiced in Xunyang.¹ Eminent scholars and people seeking escape [from the world of suffering] converged at [the Monastery of] the Eastern Grove, all desiring to convene to burn incense (i.e., make offerings with incense). At the time, such people as Lei Cizong,² Zong Bing,³ Zhang Quan, Liu Yimin,⁴ and Zhou Xuzhi⁵ joined together [to form] the White Lotus Society.⁶ They set up an image of Maitreya to seek rebirth in the Land of Ease and Comfort. They called it the Lotus Society.⁷ The name “Society” [to refer to such groups] began with this.

In the Qi dynasty, when Prince Wenxuan of Jingling (460-494) enlisted Buddhist monks and lay people to practice the teaching of pure abiding, it was also a “Pure Abiding Society.”⁸

In the Liang dynasty, Sengyou compiled the text, *City Associations Creating Merit [Through] Dharma Societies*.⁹ Throughout the ages since, whenever a Buddhist monastery is created, it forms a “Dharma Association

Society.” The method of the Society is to achieve one important [goal] through numerous minor [activities]. The completion of worship services to create merit is not a recent development by societies [such as these]. Current societies are for the purpose of creating mutual blessings. Their regulations are even stricter and clearer than public law-codes. As practitioners enthusiastically endeavor together, striving for cultivation and realization, these societies are very effective in achieving good results.

I have recently heard that in the region of Zhouzheng many City Societies have formed protective *Gengshen* Associations.¹⁰ They begin meetings by clanging cymbals together and praising the Buddha with laudatory hymns; the assembled people invoke the Buddha by circumambulating [his image]. Sometimes, motivated by stringed and fluted instruments, they do not sleep the entire night in order to prevent the three corporeal parasites from coming out and reporting to God on High (*shangdi*), and to prevent [God on High] from registering their sins and deducting years from their lives. However, this is actually a Daoist technique. Without knowing anything about [true] sons of the Buddha, people enter the associations to scheme for petty advantages. They have not even sought out the basic information [regarding true Buddhist societies]; by erroneously engaging in non-Buddhist practices, what serious harm they do!

[四十七] 結社法集

《晉》《宋》間有《廬山》《慧遠》法師，化行《潯陽》。高士逸人輻湊于《東林》，皆願結香火。時，《雷次宗》《宗炳》《張詮》《劉遺民》《周續》之等，共結「白蓮華社」。立《彌陀》像，求願往生安養國。謂之「蓮社」。社之名始於此也。

《齊》《竟陵》《文宣王》募僧俗行淨住法，亦「淨住社」也。

《梁》《僧祐》曾撰『法社建功德邑會』文。歷代以來成就僧寺，為「法會社」也。社之法以眾輕成一重。濟事成功，莫近於社。今之結社，共作福因。條約嚴明，愈於公法。行人互相激勵，勤於修證，則社有生善之功大矣。

近聞《周鄭》之地，邑社多結守「庚申會」。初集鳴鑪鉦，唱佛歌讚。眾人念佛行道。或動絲竹，一夕不睡，以避三彭奏上帝，免注罪奪算也。然此實道家之法。往往有無知釋子，入會圖謀小利。會不尋其根本。誤行邪法，深可痛哉。

NOTES

1. On Huiyuan 慧遠, see GSZ 6 (T 50.357c-361b); Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 103-112. Xunyang 潯陽 is near Jiujiang 九江, in Jiangxi.
2. On Lei Cizong 雷次宗 (386-448), see Walter Liebenthal, "A Biography of Chu Tao-sheng," *Monumenta Nipponica* 11, no. 3 (1955): 299-300 n. 65 (reference courtesy of Michael Radich entry on Lei Cizong in DDB).
3. According to Michael Radich, Zong Bing 宗炳 (375-443) was a layman from a noble family of Nanyang 南陽 in modern Henan, a devotee of *qingtán* 清談 ("pure conversation"), who avoided official service. Liebenthal claims "there is no doubt he met Huiyuan personally on Lushan where he spent some weeks" (n. 175) He was the author (around 433, according to Liebenthal) of the *Mingfo lun* 明佛論, which Liebenthal sees as the single most important document in debates of the era over the mortality or immortality of the soul. Zong argues for the immortality of the soul, a position common among elite Buddhists of his day, and supports his position by reference to the Chinese classics. The *Mingfo lun* has been translated in part by Walter Liebenthal in "The Immortality of the Soul in Chinese Thought," *Monumenta Nipponica* 8, no. 1/2 (1952): 378-394 (T 52.2102.9b05-11b11). For aspects of his biography see Liebenthal, n. 175. (DDB entry on Zong Bing).
4. According to Michael Radich, Liu Yimin 劉遺民 (352-410) was a layman active at Mt. Lu 廬山 under Huiyuan 慧遠. He was the author of a reply to Sengzhao's *Bore wu zhi lun* 般若無知論, which Daosheng 道生 brought with him on his return from Chang'an in 408. More famously, Liu was also the author of the famous vow taken by Huiyuan and the other founding members (otherwise all lay) of his 'White Lotus Society.' See Walter Liebenthal, "A Biography of Chu Tao-sheng," *Monumenta Nipponica* 11, no. 3 (1955): 293; 299 n. 62. (DDB entry for Liu Yimin).
5. On Zhou Xuzhi 周續之 (358-423), see Walter Liebenthal, "A Biography of Chu Tao-sheng," *Monumenta Nipponica* 11, no. 3 (1955): 299 n. 63 (reference courtesy of Michael Radich entry on Zhou Xuzhi in DDB).
6. On the later history of the White Lotus Society 白蓮華社, see Barend ter Haar, *White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History*.
7. On Huiyuan's Lotus society, see *Shishi yaolan* 釋氏要覽 1 entry on *Lian-she* 蓮社 (CBETA T 54-2127.263a8-a25).

8. Prince Wenxuan of Qi 齊文宣王 is also known as Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良, was a prominent and influential official at the Qi court, son of Emperor Wu of Qi, and known as Prince of Jingling 竟陵太子. Regarding him, see *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 40; *Nan shi* 南史 44; GHMJ 19 (T 52.232b-234a); and the *Poxie lun* 破邪論 2 (Treatise on Refuting Error; T 52.485b21). There is a monograph in German on Xiao Ziliang by Thomas Janzen, *Höfische Öffentlichkeit im frühmittelalterlichen China. Debatten im Salon des Prinzen Xiao Ziliang* [The Courtly Public Sphere in Early Medieval China: Debates in the Salon of Prince Xiao Ziliang] (Freiburg i.Br.: Rombach, 2000; Rombach Wissenschaft / Reihe Historiae; 11), which is being prepared for an English manuscript version, *Courtly Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval China: Debates in the Salon of Prince Xiao Ziliang* (publisher unknown). “Pure Abiding” (*jingzhu* 淨住) refers to the ritual confession of transgressions on uposatha days, dedicated to cleansing the defiled mind. The *Qi taizai jinling Wenxuan wang faji lu* 齊太宰文宣王法集錄 (CSZJJ 12; CBETA T 55-2145.85b-86a) contains notifications of several vegetarian banquet sponsored in conjunction with uposatha rituals.
9. Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518) was a Chinese monk of the Liang Period, and one of the earlier catalogers of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. He earned the respect of Emperor Wudi 梁武帝 of the Liang Dynasty, who often consulted with him on matters concerning the Buddhist establishment. His major work was entitled the *Chusan zang jiji* (A Compilation of Notes on the Translation of the Tripiṭaka; 出三藏記集) (C. Mueller, DDB, accessed May 2012). The text cited here, *Fashe jian gongde yihui* 法社建功德邑會, is mentioned in CSZJJ 12 (T 55-2145.91a9).
10. A *Gengshen* Association 庚申會 constitutes a group devoted to performing a vigil on the night of *gengshen* days (the fifty-seventh day of the sixty day cycle), a custom inspired from the Daoist *gengshen* vigil. The belief is that three parasitic worms or corpses in the body (the so-called “three corporeal parasites” said to inhabit the brain, heart, and abdomen) ascend every *gengshen* day to report misdeeds to the high god Shangdi after the host fell asleep, and returned to punish the host by making them sick and causing death. By staying awake, the worms/corpses can be prevented from ascending. In the Daoist rite, people would meet to drink wine, perform music, and stay up through the night to prevent them from ascending (adapted from the entry “Daoism in Korea” by Jung-Jae Seo, in Livia Kohn, ed., *Daoism Handbook* [Brill: Leiden, 2000], p. 815; and Anthony DeBlasi, *Reform in the Balance: The Defense of Literary Cul-*

ture in Mid-Tang China [Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002], p. 106). The custom goes back to the Chinese Daoist Ge Hong 葛洪 (283-343), who laid out the theory in the *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (“The Man who Embraces Simplicity”). In the Buddhist version of such vigils, emphasis was placed on abstention and fasting rather than on drinking and merriment, as the proper means to thwart the mission of the three parasites. A good source to consult for a variety of information on this vigil is Fabrizio Pregadio, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* (Routledge-Curzon, 2008).

[48]

GRANTING DHARMA-AGES (I.E., YEARS IN THE BUDDHIST CLERGY SINCE ORDINATION)

賜夏臘¹

At the court of Tianhou [Empress Wu Zetian] (r. 690-705), the Daoist priest Du Ai had a change of heart and petitioned to become a Buddhist monk.² By imperial decree, he was allowed to shave [his head] and dye [his robes], and was put in charge of the Foshouji (Granting Prediction of Buddhahood) Monastery.³ His Buddhist name was Xuanyi. By decree, he was granted a Dharma-age of thirty years [as credit for the years he had been a Daoist]. Because he had only just entered the Dharma-stream and should have occupied a lower status, he was granted a provisional Dharma-age as a makeshift measure so that he could at once act [in the capacity of] an elder.⁴ The granting of Dharma-ages originated from this.

Following this, in the third month of the first year of the *changxian* era (821), when the Military Governor of the Tianping Army, Liu Zong, used his personal residence in Youzhou as a Buddhist monastery, an imperial edict named it Baoen (Repaying Kindness).⁵ Furthermore, he

commissioned the eunuch Jiao Xiansheng to grant it an authorization tablet [marking its status] as a monastery. Because [Liu] Zong disposed of (i.e., killed) his father, he was psychologically unstable.⁶ To compensate for his act, he created a Buddhist monastery, and sought by petition to become a monk by requesting ordination. By decree, he was granted the title “Great Enlightened Master,”⁷ and furthermore was granted a Dharma-age of fifty years. It was exceptionally favorable treatment for this individual, who wished to be made a member of the Dharma (i.e., Buddhist order) with eminence of rank. Moreover, vinaya teaching requires a company of three people to induct people into the precepts. At the same time [Liu Zong] entered the Dharma (i.e., became a member of the Buddhist clergy), he also received tonsure and was referred to as “Great.” Should exceptions be made for the children of great clans and royalty? Because the dynastic court government, long dependent on Master Liu in Youzhou, praised [Liu] Zong and began to acknowledge his devotion to [Buddhist] principles, they granted added years to his Dharma-age to appease his concerns.

During the *kaiping* era of the [Later] Liang dynasty (907-911), the Wuyue monarch, Master Qian, petitioned to have Li Nan leave home [to become a monk]. His Dharma name was Lingyin. By decree, he was granted a purple robe and titled “Great Master Faxiang”;⁸ thirty years were added to his Dharma-age. After this, [the practice] was discontinued, and at present one does not hear of carrying it out.

Regarding Dharma-ages, since the scriptures and the vinaya regard the sixteenth day of the seventh month as the beginning of the year when [members of] the five divisions of *bhikṣus* are born into the body of the Dharma, the fifteenth day of the seventh month is the last day for [inclusion in the calculation of] Dharma-age [for that year]. After *bhikṣus* leave secular life, they do not count [their age] on the basis of their years as a secular person. Instead, they only count their Dharma-age (i.e. the years since joining the Buddhist clergy). The scriptures

and vinaya, moreover, refer to the fifteenth day as the last day of the Buddhist Dharma-year.

[四十八] 賜夏臘

《天后》朝，道士《杜乂⁹》迴心求願為僧。敕許剃染，配《佛授記寺》。法名《玄嶷》。敕賜三十夏。以其乍入法流，須居下位，苟賜虛臘，則頓為老成也。賜夏臘，起於此矣。

次，《長慶》元年三月，《天平》軍節度使《劉總》，以《幽州》私第為佛寺，詔以《報恩》為名。仍遣中官《焦仙晟》，以寺額賜之。《總》以幽父之故，神情慌匆。故造佛寺，尋奏乞度為僧。敕賜「大覺師」號。仍加五十臘。此優異其人，欲令入法位高也。且律教許三人同引受戒。得法一時尚推頭名為大。豈分大族王門子弟邪。朝廷以《劉》氏久據《幽州》。美《總》創知順理故，加賜臘之慰其意也。

《梁》《開平》中，《吳越》王《錢》氏奏令《季男》出家。法名《令因》。敕賜紫衣，號「法相大師」。加三十臘。自此止。今不聞行此也。

所言臘者，經律中以七月十六日，是《比丘》五分法身生來之歲首，則七月十五日為臘除也。《比丘》出俗，不以俗年為計。乃數夏臘耳。經律又謂十五日為佛臘日也。

NOTES

1. Granting Dharma-sges refers to calculating seniority as a member of the Buddhist Clergy, based on years of service. The calculation is usually straightforward, the number of years since ordination, except in exceptional cases like those treated by Zanning in this section.
2. Biography in SGSZ 17 (T 50.813b), under his Buddhist name Xuanyi 玄嶷 (see below). The SSL has Du You 杜又 instead of Du Ai 杜乂 (as in the SGSZ), and the former is likely a mistake for the later.
3. According to his biography, he served as head priest of the Daheng [Daoist] Monastery 大恒觀 in Luoyang, was well-versed in the “seven categories” of secular literature, and mastered the principles of the “three profundities” (the *Laozi*, *Zhuangzi*, and *Yijing* [Book of Changes]). Members of the Daoist clergy put him forth as their leader. When the “Celestial Empress” [Wu Zetian] revered Buddhism and propagated its doctrines, Du Ai realized that the “knotweed he had been eating was not sweet,” and retreated to an isolated dwelling and reverted to wearing the clothes of a layman. When he heard of the Buddha and took refuge therein, he asked to take the tonsure and an imperial order permitted his ordination. After his conversion, Xuanyi composed a work entitled *Treatise on Identifying the Correct* (*Zhenzheng lun* 甄正論; T 52-2112) in which he criticized the mistakes of Daoists and pointed them to the correct and true teaching of Buddhism. The Foshouji Monastery 佛授記寺 was located in Luoyang 洛陽.
4. The term *xula* 虛臘, literally “false (or illegitimate) age” is taken here as “provisional age.”
5. Liu Zong 劉總 is also mentioned by Zanning in SSL section 43, Granting the Title of “Master.” On the significance of the Military Governor (*jiedu shi* 節度使), see Hucker no. 777 (translated as Military Commissioner).
6. According to JTS 147, Liu Zong attained his position by poisoning his father, Liu Ji 劉濟 and killing his elder brother, Liu Gun 劉綬.
7. See section 43, above.
8. See FZTJ 52 (T 49.390b25-26), where Lingyin 令因 is granted the honorific name Great Master Wuxiang (Formless) 無相大師, instead of Faxiang 法相.
9. Following *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 17 (T 50.813b), reading Du Ai 杜乂 instead of Du You 杜又.

[49]

APPELLATIONS [USED BY MONKS] TOWARD RULERS

對王者稱謂¹

The names first given [monks] in the regions of the west remained unaltered throughout their lives. For example, Ānanda [was given his name when he] was born on the night that the Buddha attained enlightenment, and referred to as Qingxi (“Auspicious Joy”).² And when he received a prediction of future enlightenment at the council convened after [the Buddha’s] death, he was still referred to as Ānanda. Everyone, without exception, followed this example. Recently, I have seen Indian monks arriving [in China], many with such names as Kāśyapa and Mañjuśrī. In the lands of the west, such [names] are not distasteful, and are similar to types [of names] like Xiangru and Zikong in China.³

According to the *Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Seas*, [those who] receive the precepts in the regions of the west are referred to as “Junior Monks” for the first ten years;⁴ after ten years they are referred to as “Independently Established.”⁵ Those who have mastered the scriptures and treatises are frequently called “Experienced Learners” and “Seekers of Tranquility.”⁶ These are all common appellations. If

one simply refers to a “monk,” four [types of] people, as above, can be called this.⁷ At present, [members of the Buddhist clergy] are called “monks” [regardless] of the different appellations [attached to them], but there is no reason for concern with this. Just as two thousand five hundred soldiers constitute “the army,” in other cases a single soldier alone is referred to as [a member of] “the army.” The situation of monks is also like this.

The Vinaya Master Nanshan [Daoxuan] says:

[The term] śramaṇa [is used] to refer equally to common people and sages. In India, non-Buddhists also [used] the title śramaṇa. As a result, [Buddhists] utilize the character *shi* (for Śākya) [as their family name] in order to differentiate themselves. The appellations combining these two styles are similar to people of this country being referred to by rank or locale as well as by family name. As a result, the family name [in this case] is the same [as Buddhist use of the character *shi*]. Those using only their given name and nothing more go by a single name. [The use of] single names, however, is regarded as a violation.⁸

Since the Wei and Qin [dynasties], śramaṇa often follow the “family” names of their masters. For example, Zhi Daolin, whose family name was Guan, followed the family name of his master, Zhi.⁹ Dao’an, whose family name was Wei, [initially] followed the family name of his master, Fotudeng, Bo. When [Dao]an experienced awakening, he said: “Following my master is no different than [following] the Buddha.” The Buddha’s original family name was Shi, and it subsequently became common to make the family names of *bhikṣus* Shi. In China, the appellation “Master Shi” originated from [Dao]an.¹⁰

Later, when the Sanskrit text of the *Āgama sūtras* arrived and a translation was issued, there was a passage stating that ultimately, just as the four rivers that return to the sea have no original name besides [the sea], the family names of the four [groups of monks] who leave home [to

become monks] are all referred to as the “Shi” clan.¹¹ [This explanation] unambiguously tallied with [the custom introduced by Dao’an].

A recent translation [for *bhikṣu*], *pichu*, is a name based on the five virtues possessed by *pichu* grass.¹² [The standard characters], *piqiu*, are a corruption of the Sanskrit word [*bhikṣu*]. Furthermore, regarding older translation references [to *bhikṣu*] as *chujin* (“alleviating hunger/desire”), Kang Senghui’s note in the *Dharma Mirror Scripture*, “Since common folk in the realms of the six sense-desires are comparable to hungry ghosts [always] dreaming of food, people who leave home [to become monks] to deprive the six sense-desires are called *chujin*.”¹³

Moreover, Xi Zuochi referred to Dao’an as a *Daoshi*.¹⁴ In the regions of the west, people often refer to themselves with the word “I” (*wo*) to humble themselves in the presence of the honored, and such reference is not at all distasteful. It is the reason Ānanda said: “Thus have I (*wo*) heard” [when introducing the Buddha’s teachings].

If [a monk] was in the presence of rulers in this land [China], in the Han, Wei, and the two Jin [dynasties] (i.e., the Western and Eastern Jin), some referred to themselves by their given name (*ming*), some as “I” (*wo*), and some as “Humble man of the Way” (*pindao*). Consequently, when Fakuang sent a letter to the Jin Emperor Jianwen (r. 371-373), he referred to himself as “Humble man of the Way.”¹⁵ When Zhi Dun sent a letter [to the emperor] requesting to return to Yan, he also referred to himself as “Humble man of the Way.”¹⁶ When Dao’an rebuked Fu Jian (i.e., Jin Emperor Xuanzhao, r. 357-385), he referred to himself as “Humble man of the Way” and called [Fu] Jian “Buddhist Patron” (*tanyue*, Skt. *danapati*).¹⁷ At the time, there was still no standardized style [for these appellations].

Furthermore, when Gunabhadra replied to [Liu] Song emperor Li Wu, he stated, “[I] at the bottom of the palace steps [humbly] request...”¹⁸ In this case, he clearly referred to [himself] as “[I] at the bottom of the palace steps” (*bixia*).

In the Southern Qi dynasty, two people, Faxian and Xuanchang, divided [the duties of] Buddhist Rector.¹⁹ When they met with the Emperor [Wudi] to discuss and debate, they referred to themselves by their given names and did not sit. Later, because Sengzhong of Zhongxing Monastery referred to himself as “Humble man of the Way” when offering reply [to the emperor], the emperor was irritated at this, and put the question to Wang Jian,²⁰ “When senior śramaṇa converse with the emperor, shouldn’t they refer [euphemistically] to [the emperor as] “Main Hall” (*zhengdian*; i.e., the position of the emperor) and [to themselves as] “Surrounding Seats” (*huanzuo*; i.e., one seated at audience with the emperor)?”

[Wang] Jian replied, “In the Han and Wei [dynasties], the Buddha-Dharma had yet to flourish, and nothing [on this subject] appears in documents and records. When it gained some degree of prominence in the illegitimate countries, [Buddhist monks] all referred to themselves as “Humble man of the Way,” and we also hear [the emperor referred to as] “Seat Provider” (*yuzuo*, i.e., one who has granted audience”). [Appellations] like these were also used at the beginning of the Jin dynasty. In the intervening dynasties [prior to the Southern Qi], some people such as Yu Bing and Huan Xuan wanted to make śramaṇa [behavior] conform completely to the [Chinese] rites [and pay homage by bowing to the emperor].²¹ Discussions at the court government became heated, and [Buddhist] practices were completely curtailed. Dynastic courts during the [Liu] Song dynasty also forced adherence to [Chinese] rites, and as a consequence [Buddhist customs] were not practiced. From that time down to the present, it was customary [for monks to refer to the emperor as] “Seat Provider” (*yuzuo*), while they refer to themselves as “Humble man of the Way” (*pindao*).”

The Emperor said, “The spiritual accomplishments of the two monks [Xuan]chang and [Fa]xian being what they are, they should refer to themselves by their own given names. How on earth is this excessive? Being made to bow [before the emperor] is quite sufficient. Referring to themselves by their names is by no means distasteful.” As a result

of this, [the custom of] śramaṇa all referring to themselves by their given name [in audience] with the emperor originated with [Fa]xian and [Xuan]chang.²²

In recent court governments and in the current dynasty, the Way has become weak and people have turned their backs on it. When [Buddhist monks] refer to themselves in memorials to the throne, they refer to themselves as “Your humble servant bows his head to the ground” (*chen dunshou*). By bowing the head to the ground (*dunshou*), they pay homage [to the emperor]. To refer to oneself as “your humble servant” (*chen*) is the utmost in humility. If one inquiries into when this [style of address] arose, [one finds that] it did not appear in the Tang period.

In the Sui dynasty, in scriptures translated at the Da Xingshan Monastery and presented in Śramaṇa Fajing’s, etc., *Catalogue of Scriptures*,²³ there was still no reference to “your humble servant” (*chen*). It simply says, “We, the Śramaṇa Fajing and so on, respectfully address the Emperor as “Great Patron” (*da tanyue*).”²⁴

In the Later (i.e., Northern) Zhou dynasty, in a memorial criticizing an imperial order, Shi Tanji also referred to himself merely by his given name (*ming*) while addressing the Emperor as “Great Patron,” and later [in the memorial] referred to himself as “Humble man of the Way” (*pindao*).²⁵ Similarly, in the Later (Northern) Zhou dynasty, when Shi Ren Daolin replied to an edict of Emperor Wudi, he also referred to himself as “your humble servant” (*chen*).²⁶ If we examine this carefully, at the time [Dao]lin had already changed his outer attire [for monk’s robes], just the same as Fotudeng’s Dharma-heir, Wang Mingguang had done.²⁷ After Daolin became a monk, he did not always refer to himself as “your humble servant” (*chen*).²⁸

In the Tang dynasty, when Śramaṇa Xuanze of Ximing Monastery presented [to the throne] the *Wondrous Records of the Chan Grove*,²⁹ in the latter preface he simply referred to [the compilers] with two characters, *sengdeng* (Various Buddhist Monks). In this regard, the *Preface* says, “Consequently, in acknowledgement of our craftsmanship, the emperor,

in his astute farsightedness, personally granted us congratulatory titles specially appended to the end of our official names. we various Buddhist monks (*sengdeng*) respond with gratitude to join in the imperial cause and unite with the beneficence of generosity bestowed upon us.”³⁰

It is said that in the Tang dynasty, Tripitaka [Xuanzang]’s *Memorial Requesting His Majesty Compose a Preface for the [Prajñāpāramitā] Scripture*, referred to himself as “Śramaṇa Xuanzang.”³¹ In response, since the imperial edict said: “It is ordered that [Xuan]zang [write the preface],” how could [the edict] not use his name?

During the *zhenguan* era (627-650), by imperial edict, [Buddhist] monks and nuns were placed below Daoists [in imperial court ranking]. When Śramaṇa Zhishi of the capital city petitioned the throne to dispute the ranking, he also referred to himself by his name (*ming*) alone.³²

When Emperor Gaozong (r. 649-683) ordered [followers of] the two teachings, the Buddhist and Daoist clergies, to pay homage to the ruler and his associates, the Ministry of War criticized them saying,³³ “As for being unfilial, nothing surpasses severing a family lineage. Why not order them to marry? As for being disloyal, nothing is worse than not being ‘a humble servant.’ Why not order them to refer to themselves as ‘humble [male] servants’ (*chen*) and ‘humble female servants’ (*qie*)?”³⁴ As a result of this, we know that in the [first] three reigns of the Tang dynasty, [Buddhist monks] did not yet refer to themselves as “your humble servant” (*chen*).

On the eighth day of the third month of the first year of the *shangyuan* era (760), Emperor Suzong issued a communique and dispatched it with Imperial Commissioner Liu Chujiang, requesting that the robe and bowl that had been transmitted to the Sixth Patriarch Caoqi be brought to the imperial palace, and in addition, ordered the [Sixth Patriarch’s] disciple, Lingtao [to appear]. [Ling]tao by letter declined [due to] his age, and dispatched his disciple, Mingxiang, [to go in his stead].³⁵ In the letter that was presented [to the throne], he referred to himself as “your

humble servant" (*chen*). The appearance [of *chen* as an appellation used by Buddhist monks] in historical records originated from this.

Some say that when Falin presented a petition [to the throne in the early Tang dynasty] arguing that Daoists be placed above Buddhist monks [in the imperial ranking], he stated: "Your humble servant (*chen*), pressed by the onset of old age,³⁶ first encountered the world in the *taiping* era (556-557) and ever since the fragile years of my youth I have been subject to your majesty who is sagely and brilliant."³⁷ But if this is the case, and Falin had already referred to himself as "your humble servant" (*chen*), why did the Ministry of War at Gaozong's court criticize [Buddhists], saying: "As for being unfilial, nothing surpasses severing a family lineage. Why not order them to marry? As for being disloyal, nothing is worse than not being 'a humble servant.' Why not order them to refer to themselves as 'humble [male] servants' (*chen*) and 'humble female servants' (*qie*)?" If, per chance, Master [Fa]lin did refer to himself [as "your humble servant"], the Ministry of War would not have needed to make such a statement.

In response [to this concern], none [of the Buddhist monks], Precept [Master Dao]xuan, Weixiu, and so on, referred to themselves as "your humble servant" (*chen*).³⁸ It is probably the case that when Falin was keenly feeling the dangers pressing upon him, he took to referring to himself in this way [as a precautionary measure]. Because imperial court governments had not yet authorized a formal rule by statute, and the assembly [of monks] did not agree on how to refer to themselves, the Ministry of War said: "Why not order them to refer to themselves as 'humble [male] servants' (*chen*) and 'humble female servants' (*qie*)?" Following this, however, I suspect that transcribers of the text may simply have made a mistake [and attributed the use of "your humble servant" to Falin]. According to their explanation, Falin's reference to himself as "your humble servant" (*chen*) would constitute the beginning [of this practice].

In the second year of the *zhide* era (757) of Emperor Suzong, the monk Yuanjiao who accompanied the imperial carriage, oversaw the Medicine

Master's Sanctum, and served as Palace Cleric, reported that forty-nine willow tree shoots sprouted in the Sanctum.³⁹ In the memorial [regarding this] he stated, "We, your humble servants (*chendeng*), however lowly, are ministers of state (*chenzi*)."⁴⁰

On the eighth day of the ninth month of the first year of the *shangyuan* era (760), it was decreed: "Henceforth, [Buddhist] monks and nuns will not be required to refer to themselves as 'your humble servant' (*chen*) or pay homage by bowing [to the emperor] in respect at imperial court ceremonies."⁴¹ This [was decreed] because [earlier], in the *kaiyuan* era (713-741), [a decree] ordered Buddhists and Daoists to pay homage by bowing [to the emperor] and at all times refer to themselves as 'your humble servant' (*chen*).⁴² After [the *shangyuan* decree] was put into effect, these [rules] were eliminated.

In the eighth year of the *dali* era (773), [Buddhists] were also allowed positions in the imperial entourage at new year's court celebrations marking the end of winter.

Eventually, in the age of Emperor Daizong (r. 763-779), lords and subjects both within and outside the palace together esteemed the gateway of emptiness (i.e., the teaching of Buddhism). This flourishing [of Buddhism] after long being subjected to harm [affirms the truth] that what has been denied will ultimately prevail.⁴³

[四十九] 對王者稱謂

《西域》從始立名，至終不改。如《阿難》，是佛成道夜生。號為慶喜。及受記結集，亦號《阿難》。諸皆效此。近見梵僧到，多名為《迦葉》《文殊》等。西土無嫌，亦如東夏《相如》《子貢》之類也。

案『寄歸傳』曰。西方受戒，以十夏前稱「小師」。十夏稱「住位」。通經論，多者曰「多聞」「求寂」。此皆通稱也。若單云僧，則四人以上方得稱之。今謂分稱為僧。理亦無爽。如萬二千五百人為軍，或單己一人亦稱軍也。僧亦同之。

《南山》律師云。「《沙門》者凡聖同稱也。《西天》異道亦號《沙門》。故須釋字以別之。二種合稱，猶此方人稱爵里及姓氏也。然姓所同也。苟用單名，名所獨也。獨則簡濫焉。」

自《魏》《晉》以來，《沙門》多從師姓。如《支道林》姓《關》，從師姓《支》。《道安》姓《衛》，從師《佛圖澄》姓《帛》。《安》獨悟曰。「從師莫過於佛。」佛本姓《釋》。遂通令《比丘》姓《釋》。東夏稱《釋》氏，自《安》始也。

後，《阿含經》梵本至譯出，果有四河歸海無復本名。四姓出家咸稱《釋》氏之文。自相符合也。

新翻《苾芻》者，由《苾芻》草有五德，因號之。《比丘》者訛梵語也。又，舊曰「除饑」者，《康僧會》注『法鏡經』曰。「凡夫於六情境，如餓夫夢食。出家人除去六情，名為除饑也。」又，《習鑿齒》呼《道安》為道士。

《西域》人多稱我，卑於尊所稱亦無嫌。故《阿難》云。「如是我聞也」。

若此方對王者，《漢》《魏》兩《晉》或稱名，或云我，或云貧道。故《法曠》上書於《晉》《簡文》，稱貧道。《支遁》上書乞歸《剡》，亦稱貧道。《道安》諫《符堅》，自稱貧道，呼《堅》為《檀越》。于時未為定式。

又，《跋陀》對《宋》《孝武》云。「從陛下乞順。」此見呼陛下也。

至《南齊》時，《法獻》《玄暢》二人分為僧正。對帝言論，稱名而不坐。後因《中興寺》《僧鐘》啟答，稱貧道，帝嫌之。問《王儉》曰。「先輩《沙門》與帝王共語，何稱「正殿」「還坐」不。」

《儉》對曰。《漢》《魏》佛法未興，不見紀傳。自偽國稍盛，皆稱「貧道」，亦聞「預坐」。及《晉》初亦然。中代有《庾冰》《桓玄》等，皆欲使《沙門》盡禮。朝議紛紜，事皆休寢。《宋》之中朝，亦令致禮。尋且不行。自爾迄今，多「預坐」而稱「貧道」。

帝曰。「《暢》《獻》二僧道業如此，尚自稱名。況復餘者。令揖拜則太甚。稱名亦無嫌。」由是，《沙門》皆稱名於帝王，《獻》《暢》為始也。

近朝今代，道薄人乖。稱謂表章，稱「臣頓首」。夫「頓首」者拜也。稱「臣」卑之極也。尋其所起，不出唐時。

《隋》《大興善寺》翻經《沙門法經》等，進『眾經目』錄，猶未稱「臣」。止云。眾《沙門法經》等，謹白皇帝「大檀越」。

《後周》《釋曇積》諫沙汰表，亦唯稱名，白皇帝「大檀越」，後稱「貧道」。若《後周》《釋任道林》，對《武帝》詔曰。又稱「臣」。詳其時，《林》形服已變，猶《佛圖澄》法孫《王明廣》同也。如作僧《道林》，必不稱「臣」也。

《唐》《西明寺》《沙門玄則》，上『禪林妙記。後序中但稱僧等二字。故『序』云。「遂以匠⁴⁴物之餘，親迂睿旨，正名之末，特繕嘉題。僧等荷鎔施之恩，緘紹隆之澤。」

云《唐》《三藏》『請御製經序表』，稱「《沙門玄奘》」。答，詔云。「敕《奘》」。尚而不名也。

《貞觀》中詔僧尼居道下。京邑《沙門智實》上表論班位，亦唯稱名。

《高宗》勒僧道二教，拜君親時，司戎議狀曰。「不孝莫過於絕嗣。何不制以婚姻。不忠莫大於不臣。何不令稱臣妾。」由是知之，《唐》之三葉猶未稱「臣」也。

《肅宗》《上元》元年三月八日，降御札，遣中使《劉楚江》，請《曹谿》《六祖》所傳衣鉢入內。并詔弟子《令韜》。《韜》表辭年老，遣弟子《明象》。上表稱「臣」。見于史傳，自此始也。

或曰，《法琳》上表，論道居僧上云。「臣年迫乘榆，始遇《太平》之世。貌侵蒲柳，方值聖明之君。」若然者，《法琳》已自稱「臣」。何以《高宗》朝司戎議云。「不忠莫大於不臣。何不令稱臣妾。」苟或《琳公》已稱，司戎必無此句。

答曰。《宣律》《威秀》等皆不稱「臣」。恐《法琳》危迫情切，乍稱之耳。朝廷未著于令式，眾不同稱，故司戎云。「何不令稱臣妾。」其次又疑傳寫者錯誤耳。據此說，則《法琳》稱「臣」，又在初也。

《肅宗》《至德》二年，隨駕檢校藥師道場，內供奉僧《元皎》。奏道場內生李樹四十九莖。表中云。「臣等忝為臣子。」

至《上元》元年九月八日敕。「今後僧尼朝會並不須稱臣及禮拜。」斯乃因《開元》中，令僧道拜時皆稱「臣」。至是方免也。

《大曆》八年，又放元日冬至朝賀陪位。

蓋以《代宗》之世，君臣表裏偕重空門。此亦久污，則隆既否終泰也。

NOTES

1. As the content of this section makes clear, the subject dealt with is not limited to appellations used by monks toward rulers, but includes appellations of monks themselves as well.
2. In the *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集 1 (Collection of Meanings and Terms in Translation) section on the “Ten Great Disciples” (*shida dizi* 十大弟子), entry on Ānanda states (T 54-2131.1064a12-15):

In most treatises in the wording of Qin (i.e., China), Ānanda is [referred to as] Qingxi (“Auspicious Joy”). When the Buddha attained enlightenment, a messenger from Droṇodana arrived at the house of the King and reported to King Śuddhodana, “A son has been born to your esteemed younger brother.” The King, delighted, responded, “Today is an occasion of great good fortune,” and spoke to the messenger who had come, “This son shall be given the name Ānanda.” As he brought the country joy and blessings, he was also called Qingxi (“Auspicious Joy”)....

3. Zikong 子貢, of course, is the name of the famous disciple of Confucius. Xiangru 相如 is also found among luminaries in early Chinese history, like Sima Xiangru 司馬相如.
4. “Junior Monks” is a translation of *xiaoshi* 小師, literally, “little masters.”
5. *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 3 (T 2125-52.220a); Li Rongxi, trans., *Buddhist Monastic Traditions of South Asia*, p. 100. Literally “Abiding Positions” (*zhuwei* 住位); i.e., those in positions to abide by themselves, independent of their teachers).
6. “Experienced Learners” translates *duowen* 多聞, literally “learning much through listening.” According to the *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 3 (T 2125-52.219b; Li Rongxi, trans., *Buddhist Monastic Traditions of South Asia*, p. 94), “seeker of tranquility” (*qiuji* 求寂 “seeker of quietude” in Li Rongxi’s translation) is a translation for the term *sramanera*, a novice who aims to seek the condition of perfect tranquility, nirvāṇa, but Zanniing seems to infer here that the “seeker of tranquility” is reserved for a practitioner much more learned and experienced.
7. According to the recounting in Yijing’s 義淨 *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 3, the custom of appellations for monks in India (provided with Sanskrit transliterations along with Chinese translations)

is: *duoheluo* 鐸曠擢 (*dahara*), translated as *xiaoshi* 小師 (young monk, ordained less than ten years); *xitaxueluo* 悉他薛擢 (Sanskrit equivalent unknown), translated as *zhuwei* 住位 (independent rank of those who have established positions independent of their teachers), is for those who have attained to the rank of *wobotuoye* (*upādhyāya*), meaning preceptor (and often translated into Chinese as *heshang* 和尚). All monks, according to Yijing, have documents allowing them to come and go freely, identifying them as “Seeker of Tranquility (*qiujī* 求寂) so and so”, “Junior *Bhikṣu* (*xiao pichu* 小苾芻) so and so”, and “Independently Established *Bhikṣu* (*zhuwei pichu* 住位苾芻) so and so”. Those who master Buddhist and non-Buddhist learning, and exhibit high moral conduct are referred to as “Experienced Learner *Bhikṣu* (*duowen pichu* 多聞苾芻) so and so.” None are referred to as “Monk (*seng* 僧) so and so,” as “monks (*seng* 僧) refer to individuals in the great assembly, the saṃgha (*sengqie* 僧伽). This latter point appears to be different than the Chinese custom described by Zanning here. *luo*

8. The source of Nanshan’s 南山 statement has not been traced. On Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667), see Huaiyu Chen, *The Revival of Buddhist Monasticism in Medieval China*.
9. Zhi Daolin 支道林 (314-366; a.k.a. Zhi Dun 支遁) has a biography in GSZ 4; the historical record is unclear as to who his master was. He is treated extensively by Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp. 116-130.
10. On Shi Dao’an 釋道安 (312-385), see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp. 184-204. Dao’an’s biography (GSZ 5; T 51.351c-354a) acknowledges Fodudeng as his teacher, and switching his “family” name to Shi in recognition of Śākyamuni as the original teacher of all Buddhists.
11. See the *Zengyi Ahan jing* 增一阿含經 21 (Skt. *Ekōttarāgama-sūtra*). What appears here is a summary (see T 2.658b26-c17). Zanning’s text here follows the wording in Dao’an’s biography in GSZ 5.
12. According to Huilin’s 慧琳 compilation, the *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義 fascicle 2 (CBETA T 54-2128.320b20-b21), the term *pichu* 苾芻 is the Sanskrit name for a kind of grass, or vegetation (*cao* 草). Huilin recounts that according to Sengzhao 僧肇, a *pichu* has four outstanding qualities: begging for food with pure motive, destroying karma inducing afflictions (*kleśa*), ability to uphold the precepts, and ability to dispel evil demons. The *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集 1 (CBETA T 54-2131.1074a15-a24) states that *pichu* have five aspects: a soft temperament able to tame crude and uncivilized behavior; transmitting the Dharma to save people;

- spreading the fragrance of precept virtues to others; ability to alleviate pain and suffering by removing afflictions; never turning one's back on the light of the Buddha-sun. In both cases, the reference is to virtues possessed by *bhikṣu* monks rather than *pichu* grass.
13. Although CSZJJ 6 contains Kang Senghui's 康僧會 preface to the *Dharma Mirror Scripture* (*Fajing jing* 法鏡經; T 55.46b19-c12), the translated text itself is lacking. However, there is reference to the relevant passage from the *Fajing jing* in *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義 3, entry on *chujin* 除饑 (CBETA T 54-2128.364b19-b22), which cites the *Mingdu wujijing yinyi* 明度無極經音義 compiled by Xuanying 玄應.
 14. *Daoshi* 道士 is an appellation with a wide variety of meanings. While it is normally a reference to Daoist scholars, practitioners and hermits, it is also used for various types of Indian religious practitioners, including Buddhists, and many early Buddhist monks were referred to as *daoshi*. Xi Zuochi 習鑿齒 (?-383) was a contemporary of Dao'an, and author of such famous works as the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo zhi* 三國志). His association with Dao'an is noted in GSZ 5 (see T 50.352b23-24) and CSZJJ 15 (see T 55.108b7). Xi Zuochi's admiration for Dao'an is noted by Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, p. 189. He refers to Dao'an as a *daoshi* in a letter to Xie An 謝安 recorded in Dao'an's biography in GSZ 5 (T 50.352c9-11).
 15. The letter is referenced in Fakuang's 法曠 biography, GSZ 5 (the usages of *pindao* 貧道 is at T 50.356c24); Yoshikawa and Funayama, *Kōsoden* 2, p.182. Note that Fakuang also employs the usage *bixia* 陛下 (356c21).
 16. On Zhi Dun's 支遁 (Zhi Daolin 支道林) use of the term *pindao* 貧道, see GSZ 4 (T 50.349a5); Yoshikawa and Funayama, *Kōsoden* 2, pp. 56-76.
 17. See GSZ 5 (T 50.353b5-7) for references to *pindao* 貧道; the term *tanyue* 檀越 does not appear there, but is recorded in Dao'an's reply to Fu Jian 符堅 in CSZJJ 15 (T 55.108c19).
 18. See GSZ 3 (T 50.344c12-13).
 19. This entire section, down to "[the custom of] śramaṇa all referring to themselves by their given name [in audience] with the emperor originated with [Fa]xian and [Xuan]chang," is drawn, with some variances, from the record of Faxian 法獻 in GSZ 13 (T 50. 411c11-27). On Xuanchang 玄暢, see GSZ 8 (T 50.377a-b). On the institution of Buddhist Rec-tor, see SSL section 28.
 20. Regarding Wang Jian 王儉 (452-489), see *Nan Qi shi* 南齊史 23 and *Nan shi* 南史 23 (appended to the bio. of Wang Tanshou 王曇首). He was a

- prominent official at the court of the Southern Qi dynasty, whose power rivaled and even surpassed that of the prime minister.
21. Regarding Yu Bing 庾冰 (296-344), see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, esp. pp. 106-108 & 160-162. Yu Bing was a member of a prominent Jin dynasty clan and regent to the emperor who argued against the Buddhist right “not to pay homage to the ruler” (*bubai wang* 不拜王). On Huan Xuan 桓玄, see Zürcher, esp. pp. 231-239. Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369-404) promoted a similar anti-clerical policy to remove this Buddhist right some decades later, in 402.
 22. As noted above, this same conversation between Wang Jian 王儉 and the Emperor Wudi 武帝 appears nearly verbatim in GSZ 13 (T 50.411c10-27).
 23. Fajing 法經, etc., compilation, the *Zhong jing mulu* 眾經目錄 (CBETA T-2146).
 24. See the *Zongjing mulu* 7 (T 55.148c7).
 25. Shi Tanji’s 釋曇積 memorial, *Jian Zhou Taizu shatai sengbiao* 諫周太祖沙汰僧表, is contained in GHMJ 24 (T 52.279a3-c1; the term for “great patron” [*tanyue* 檀越] appears at 279a4; the term *pindao* 貧道 at 279b28).
 26. Shi Ren Daolin’s 釋任道林 reply, *Zhouzu xunye qing kai fofa shi* 周祖巡鄴請開佛法事, is contained in GHMJ 10 (T 52.154a11-157a14; the use of the term *chen* 臣 is at 157a14).
 27. See Wang Mingguang’s 王明廣 memorial, *Zhou tianyuan li you shang-shizhe dui Wei Yuansong* 周天元立有上事者對衛元嵩, in GHMJ 10 (T 52.157a15). Here (157a16) Wang Mingguang identifies himself as a “former monk” (*qianseng* 前僧).
 28. The point here is that the use of the term *chen* (Your Humble Servant) was commonly used by government officials when addressing the emperor, and is appropriate for secular officials, but not for Buddhist monks.
 29. The title of a text in thirty fascicles, the *Chanlin chaoji* 禪林鈔記 (Record of Selections from the Chan Grove) attributed to Xuanze 玄則, is listed in *Fayuan zhulin* 100 (T 53.1023c15-18). In SGSZ 4, record of Huiyin 會隱 (T 50.731a1-4), the title is given as *Chanlin yaochao* 禪林要鈔 (Essential Selections from the Chan Grove). The preface to the *Chanlin miaoji* 禪林妙記 (Wondrous Records of the Chan Grove), referred to here, is contained in GHMJ 20, referred to below.
 30. From Xuanze’s 玄則 Later Preface (*houxu* 後序) to the *Chanlin miaoji* 禪林妙記 (T 52.246a1-3). The lofty prose employed here is difficult to translate, and many questions remain.

31. The *Qing yü zhi jingxu biao* 請御製經序表, an abbreviation of *Qing yü zhi dabore jingxu biao* 請御製大般若經序表, is contained in the *Si Shamen Xuanzang shangbiao ji* 寺沙門玄奘上表記 (Record of Monastery Śramaṇa Xuanzang's Memorials to the Throne; T 52.826b17-c8). The scripture refereed to is Xuanzang's translation of the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (T-220). Xuanzang's preface is contained at T 5.1a3-b2.
32. Zhishi's 智實 petition is contained in *Fodao lunheng* 佛道論衡 (T 52.382c17-383a6). For his biographical record, see XGSZ 24 (T 50.634c-636a), where the issue of the ranking of Buddhists at court is discussed at some length. Zanning considers the issue of Buddhist and Daoist ranking at court in SSL section 38.
33. According to Hucker (no. 5664), the title *sirong* 司戎 was an official variant of *bingbu* 兵部 (both Ministry of War and the Ministry's Bureau of Military Appointments) between the years 662 and 670.
34. The Ministry of War petition, *Sirong shaochangbo hujun zheng qintai yuan wailang qin huai ke deng yizhuang* 司戎少常伯護軍鄭欽泰員外郎秦懷恪等議狀, is contained in *Ji shamen buying baisudeng shi* 集沙門不應拜俗等事 3 (T 52.458b3-459c3). The term *qie* 妾 literally means "concubine," but it is also used by women as a self deprecating reference, a counterpart to the use of *chen* 臣 by men.
35. The details of this episode are chronicled in various places--the *Liuzu tanjing* 六祖壇經, Huineng's 慧能 records in SGSZ 8 and CDL 5--especially the *Sōkei daishi betsuden* (C. *Caoqi dashi biechuan*) 曹溪大師別傳, a biography of Huineng and the product of a leading faction of Huineng's followers, led by Lingtao 令韜 (also known as Xingtao 行韜), the guardian of Huineng's stupa at Caoqi. For a summary of the *Sōkei daishi betsuden*'s contents, see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, pp. 70-76. Mingxiang 明象 is also known as Huixiang 惠象. On a general note, Huineng's robe plays a significant role in early Chan history, and has been the subject of a number of scholarly studies, too numerous to mention here.
36. With Makita (p. 67, n. 119), I follow the *Gozan* 五山 edition, reading *sangyu* 桑榆 (literally, "mulberry and elm trees," but referring here to sunset or old age) for *chengyu* 乘榆. The *Tang hufa Shamen Falin biechuan* 唐護法沙門法琳別傳 2 (T 50-2051.203c26) has *lin* 琳 (as in Falin 法琳) for *chen* 臣, negating the point being made by Zanning here, but see below.
37. In portions from the *Tang hufa Shamen Falin biechuan* 唐護法沙門法琳別傳 following the text cited here in the SSL, Falin does refer to *chen* 臣

in addressing the emperor. For the sake of consistency, I have left the translation of *chen* as “humble servant,” where “minister” would otherwise be more appropriate in this context. The full response reads as follows:

I, Lin, pressed by the onset of old age, first encountered the world in the *taiping* era (556-557) and ever since the fragile years of my youth I have been subject to your majesty who is sagely and brilliant. It has been whispered to me that if a son manifests a single act of goodness he should display it to his father, and if a humble servant (*chen*) manifests a single act of goodness he should display it to his lord. In dealing with sovereigns and fathers, how do humble servant (*chen*) and sons not dare exert themselves to the utmost for them! Why? When my father is in conflict with me, his son, I do not resort to unrighteousness. When I, as a gentleman, am in conflict with a friend, I do not depart from the duties of my mandated position. Even though I, Lin, and others previously left home [to become monks], we still occupy positions as humble servants (*chen*) and sons. Any flaws I may have I do not hide from your view, but I dare not reveal them! (T 50.203c26-204a3)

Regarding Falin, see also XGSZ 24 (T 50.636b-639a).

38. Regarding Weixiu, 威秀 see SGSZ 17 (T 50.812b-c); also GHMJ 25 (T 52.284a-c). Weixiu defended the right of the Buddhist clergy to not bow before their parents and the emperor, submitting a memorial arguing against an edict issued in 662 requiring that they do so. Weixiu's memorial, [*Da Zhuangyan si seng Weixiu deng shang*] *shamen bu he bai [su biao]* 大莊嚴寺僧威秀等上沙門不合拜俗表, is contained in GHMJ 25 (T 52.284a-b).
39. This event was also noted in SSL section 44, “Palace Clerics and Guiding the Imperial Carriage.”
40. It is hard to capture the sense of the double use of *chen* 臣 here. The reading of *chendeng* 臣等, as a plural form of *chen*, is straightforward; *chenzi* 臣子 (literally “minister-sons”), I take it as an institutional designation for Minister (as in Hucker, no. 392, with *zi* functioning as a suffix), a general term for persons holding positions in government.
41. Makita (p. 68, n. 123) references *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 47, but I have not been able to find it. There is mention of such a decree in FZTJ 40, under the first year of the *shangyuan* era.

42. An decree contained in 唐會要 47 for the thirteenth day of the second month of the second year of *kaiyuan* (714) stipulates that Buddhists and Daoists pay homage by bowing to their parents, but the implication here is clearly aimed at bowing before the emperor.
43. Much of the information covered in this section is also treated by Hu Yin 胡寅 (1098-1156) in his *Chongzheng bian* 崇正辯 (Upholding the Correct), fascicle 3 (<http://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=290125> section 140), compiled in 1134. The *Chongzheng bian* is one of the first texts to highlight the importance of the Cheng brothers, and is one of the strongest anti-Buddhist diatribes ever written in China (Hans Van Ess, in Xingzhong Yao, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Confucianism* [Routledge, 2015], entry on Hu Yin).
44. Following 禪林妙記後集序, reading *jiang* 匠 for *suo* 所.

[50]

AUTHORIZED PERSONNEL FOR THE ORDINATION PLATFORM

臨壇法位¹

According to the vinaya [rules], the [number of] qualified personnel² on the ordination platform to administer the precepts in China is ten in the case of monks and twenty in the case of nuns. Since it is difficult to find masters versed in the vinaya in border areas, I have heard that [aspirants] obtain the precepts in the presence of five [clergy] in the case of monks and ten [clergy] in the case of nuns, <five *bhikṣus* and five *bhikṣuṇīs*.> These are the numbers that the words of the Sage (i.e., Buddha) authorize.³

Recently, nuns have taken it upon themselves to administer [the precepts] with ten nuns from their own congregation alone in attendance (i.e., without the presence of monks), and obtain [ordination] exclusively through their own teachings (i.e., without the justification of the vinaya). Just two or three out of ten months are [designated] months for ordinations, and to try to fulfill unfulfilled [vinaya rules], it is necessary for members of both groups of the clergy, including monks, to be in attendance so that [ordinations of nuns] can be [properly] completed.

In the case of Emperor Daizong, during the *yongtai* era (765) it was decreed that the capital city appoint ten members [of the clergy] of “Great Virtue” for each of the ordination platforms for monks and nuns.⁴ Thus, in accordance with the vinaya [rules], in China there are twenty [ordination officials]. It has long been considered accepted custom [to be followed at ordination ceremonies], and whenever there is a vacancy, it is filled accordingly by appointing someone selected for their superior understanding of the vinaya and superior virtue in practice. The provision [establishing] Ordination Platform [Masters] of Great Virtue originated from this.

In the twelfth year of the *zhenyuan* era (796), Emperor Dezong decreed that Yongtai Monastery set up a precept platform to ordain monks. At the time, Venerable Huanxi and [members of] the Baotang Chan faction were both ordered by imperial decree to administer the precepts.⁵

When Xuanchang (797-875) thoroughly mastered vinaya teachings during the *huichang* (841-846) and *dazhong* (847-859) eras, he was appointed [Ordination Master] of Great Virtue for Ordination Platforms Within and Outside the Imperial Palace.⁶ Examined in detail, the designation “Within and Outside the Palace” had already been in existence prior to Master [Xuan]chang’s [appointment]. In the past, a daughter of Xue Daoheng, Defang, was a talented student who lived in the palace of Emperor Taizong (r. 626-649).⁷ Later on, when she petitioned to leave her householder’s life [to become a nun], the Emperor built the Helin Monastery for her within the palace, and requested that ten men, [Masters] of Great Virtue, be brought to the palace to administer her ordination.⁸ This constituted an ordination platform within the palace.

In addition, when Emperor Yizong (r. 859-873) constructed an [ordination] platform in the Xiantai Hall to ordain the nuns of the Fushou Monastery [located] within the imperial palace, in order to administer full ordination, he had twenty [Masters] of Great Virtue, monks and nuns of Both Precincts [of the Capital], brought in [to officiate]. Because Xuanchang had previously been awarded this Dharma rank, they added “Ordination

Platform Within the Imperial Palace” [to the title here]. On the first day of the fourth month of the third year of the *xiantong* era (862), [Emperor Yizong] ordered the establishment of [Mahayana] *fangdeng* ordination platforms at each of four monasteries for monks and nuns of Both Precincts [of the Capital].⁹ When the two monasteries on the Right Precinct, Qianfu (Thousand Blessings) [Monastery] and Yantang (Extend the Tang) [Monastery] each ordained people on the third and seventh days, Master [Xuan]chang again arranged the personnel for this. Because of him, [ordination masters] were referred to as “[Ordination Masters] of Great Virtue for Ordination Platforms Within and Outside the Imperial Palace.”

At present, the situation of people referring to themselves as “[Masters] of Ordination Platforms Within and Outside the Imperial Palace” without having participated at platform [ordinations] within the imperial palace is truly laughable. In addition, I hear at times of some who refer to the Buddhist Registrar as the Head of the [Vinaya] School. This is not correct. The most eminent member of the Vinaya School is referred to as the Head of the School.¹⁰ To the Buddhist Registrar [title] is added the heading, “Selected and Trained for the Ordination Platform.”¹¹

The Later Liang, Tang, Jin, Han, and Zhou (i.e., the Five Dynasties, 906-959) carried out [ordinations in accordance with] the law [stipulating the use] of ten masters, and in addition, there were [ordination] platforms outside the palace having no more than five or six members. Remembering the emperors of past dynasties--the Jin, [Liu] Song, Northern Qi, Northern Wei, [Northern] Zhou, Sui, Liang, and Chen¹²--there were none that did not ordain monks.

In the Tang dynasty, Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712-756) especially emphasized [the ceremony for] cleansing oneself through repentance at the [Mahayana] *fangdeng* [ordination] platform.¹³ The [numbers of] monks who were ordained [at this time] were not insignificant.

From the first year to the seventh year of the *taiping xingguo* era (976-983) of our Great Song dynasty, [the number of] ordained monks surpassed

one hundred seventy thousand,¹⁴ greater than [at any time] in the past. At no time like the present have the followers of Buddhism thrived so greatly.

[五十] 臨壇法

壇上員位準律，中國僧十人。尼二十人中受戒。邊方難得明毘尼師，則聽僧五人尼十人中得戒。《比丘》五人。尼五人也。此之聖言可為定量。

近代尼但於本眾之中，十尼邊受止得本法而已。此之戒月方十，二三將圓未圓。必須二部僧中乃得成就耳。

案《代宗》《永泰》中，敕京城置僧尼臨壇「大德」各十人。即依律中，中國二十人也。永為通式。闕則填之，仍選明律德行優者充之。臨壇大德科目自此始也。

《德宗》《貞元》十二年，敕《永泰寺》置戒壇度僧。時《歡喜》和尚《保唐》禪宗並敕令受戒。

至《會昌》《大中》中，《玄暢》通明律教，充「內外臨壇大德」。詳其「內外」之名，《暢》公之前已應有矣。

昔，《薛道衡》女德芳有才學，在《太宗》宮中。後願出家，帝為造內《鶴林寺》。請十人大德入內受戒。此即內臨壇也。

及《懿宗》，於《咸泰殿》築壇，度內《福壽寺》尼受大戒。兩街僧尼大德二十人入。《玄暢》預茲法席，故補「內臨壇」。《咸通》三年壬午歲四月一日，敕兩街僧尼，四寺各置方等戒壇。右街《千福》《延唐》二寺度人各三七日，《暢》公復預此數。故云「內外臨壇大德」。

今有未臨內壇，而自稱「內外臨壇」，良可笑也。又，聞于時或以僧錄為宗主，不然。則律宗極高者號宗主。僧錄則加「臨壇選練」之目也。

《梁》《後唐》《晉》《漢》《周》唯行十師法，餘有壇外員位更五六人而止矣。追思《晉》《宋》《北齊》《北魏》《周》《隋》《梁》《陳》歷代帝王，非不度僧。

唯《唐》《宣宗》重洗懺方等壇。度僧不少。

我大《宋》《太平興國》初年及七年，度僧一十七萬有餘。古之莫比，緇徒孔熾在于茲矣。

NOTES

1. While the SSL text has simply 臨壇法 (Ordination Platform Teachings) here, I follow the SSL table of contents which has 臨壇法位, with *fawei* 法位 referring to a member of the clergy, with the grade or position of a monk (i.e., authorized personnel).
2. “Qualified personnel” is a translation for *yuanwei* 員位, which literally refers to “personnel/members with rank” or “ranked personnel/members.”
3. This follows vinaya provisions recorded in the *Sifenlü xingshi chao* 四分律行事鈔 fascicle 1 (T 40-1804.4a29-6b10) section on “Explaining the Fundamental Source and Revealing Merit” (*biaozong xiande* 標宗顯德), and fascicle 3 (T 40.152a1-155b10) section on “Special Practices for the Community of Nuns” (*nizhong biexing* 尼眾別行).
4. Regarding this, see also SSL section 46, “*Fangdeng* (i.e., Mahāyāna) Ordination Platforms.”
5. Regarding Huanxi 歡喜, see SGSZ 29 (T 50.891c), which notes that in the twelfth year of the *xingyuan* era (probably a mistake for the twelfth year of the *zhenyuan* era, 796), an imperial edict assigned him to the ordination platform of Yongtai Monastery where he administered ordinations. He also received a separate edict to administer the precepts for the Baotang Chan faction. The Baotang Chan faction is a reference to the monk Wuzhu 無住 of Baotang si 保唐寺 (see CDL 4 and XGSZ 16). On Wuzhu and Baotang Chan, see Wendi Adamek, *The Mystique of Transmission* (NY: Columbia University Press, 2007); and Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山, *Shoki no zenshi II: Rekidai hōki* 初期禪史 II: 歷代法寶記 (*Zen no goroku* 3 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1971)).
6. Regarding Xuanchang 玄暢, see SGSZ 17 (T 50.818a-b). According to the information there, his appointment came in the *dazhong* era, at which time he was also granted a purple robe (noted in SSL section 42, “Granting Purple Robes to Monks”; he is also mentioned in SSL section 49, “Appellations [Used By Monks] in the presence of Rulers”).
7. Xue Daocheng 薛道衡 was a high level official in the Sui Dynasty, but was executed in 609 due to jealousy that Emperor Yang had for his literary talent (see *Sui shu* 57 and *Beishi* 36). Nothing else is known of his daughter, Xue Defang 薛德芳. His son, Xue Shou 薛收 declined to serve under the Sui dynasty, and eventually joined the rebellion led by the

general Li Yuan 李淵 in 617, serving under Li Yuan's son Li Shimin 李世民. After Li Yuan founded Tang Dynasty in 618 as Emperor Gaozu, Xue Shou continued to serve Li Shimin as a secretary and advisor. Li Shimin eventually succeeded his father to become Emperor Taizong.

8. The biography of Xuanzang, the *Da Tang ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐慈恩寺三藏法師傳 8 (T 50.266b22 -c3), mentions Nun Xue 薛尼, wife of He Dongjun 河東郡, receiving the precepts in the second month of the first year of the *xianqing* era (656).
9. The biography of Sengche in SGSZ 6 (T 50.744c-745a) describes the event, where Emperor Yizong ordered four monasteries of both precincts of the capital to carry out the *Fangdeng* Confession Ritual 方等懺法和 ordain monks at an ordination platform for twenty-one days. Twenty individuals, including monks, nuns, and venerables entered the Xiantai Hall 咸泰殿 to establish an ordination platform in the palace, and the nuns of Fushou Monastery 福壽寺 copied the *Great Repository of [Buddhist] Scriptures*.
10. Regarding the term *zongzhu* 宗主 (Head of the [Vinaya] School), see SGSZ 16 (T 50.811a), Addendum to the biography of Chengchu 澄楚. There it stipulates three schools of the Vinaya--that of Fali 法礪, of Huaisu 懷素, and that of Daoxuan 道宣--each with its own Head, and that the terms for "school" (*zong* 宗) and "head" (*zhu* 主) derive from the *Āgama* Scriptures (see, for example, *Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經; T 26.667a2, and 731c1). (Kieschnik, draft translation of SGSZ 16).
11. In the absence of context, I have rendered *lintan xuanlian* 臨壇選練 literally.
12. The dynasties are not all given in chronological order.
13. See also SSL section 46, "*Fangdeng* (i.e., Mahāyāna) Ordination Platforms."
14. Citing the *Guochao huiyao* 國朝會要, FZTJ 43 asserts that monks were ordained freely in the first year of the *taiping xingguo* era (976), amounting to one-hundred seventy thousand (T 49.396c19-20). In addition, FZTJ provides extensive information regarding the use of ordination platforms at this time, involving Buddhist monks, Daoist priests, and Confucian scholars.

The True Lord (i.e., Emperor Taizong) propagated the Dharma by assembling nine [types of] ordination platforms. The top three [types of] ordination platforms were for serving the nation. The top one (A1) was referred to as the "Platform for Obeying Heaven and Invigorating

he Country.” Three thousand six hundred were assigned this rank, to perform great sacrifices throughout Heaven. The second one (A2) was referred to as the “Platform for Prolonging the Blessings and Safeguarding the Life [of the Emperor].” Two thousand four hundred were assigned this rank, to perform great sacrifices for all of Heaven. The third one (A3) was referred to as the “Seasonal Platforms to Pray for the Blessings of Good Harvests.” One thousand two hundred were assigned this rank, to perform sacrifices covering Heaven.

The middle three [types of] ordination platforms were for residing officials. The top one (B1) was referred to as the “Platform of the Yellow Register [Observance] for Extending Life” (The Yellow Record Observance was a Daoist funeral rite prevalent in the Song dynasty; see K. Matsumoto, *Funeral rites in Song period*: - Huang-lu Zhai and Confucian funeral rites/Les rites funéraires durant la priode Song: - Huang-lu Zhai et les rites funéraires confucianistes (*Toshokan Joho Daigaku kenkyu hokoku*. 20(1), 43). Referred to in <http://www.daoiststudies.org/bibliography/funeral-rites-song-period-huang-lu-zhai-and-confucian-funeral-ritesles-rites-funéraires->). Six hundred and forty were assigned this rank. The second one (B2) was referred to as the “Platform of the Yellow Register [Observance] for Preeminent Congratulations.” Four hundred and ninety were assigned this rank. The third one (B3) was referred to as the “Platform of the Yellow Register [Observance] for Dispelling Evil.” Three hundred and sixty were assigned to this rank.

The bottom three [types of] ordination platforms were for the multitudes of scholars. The top one (C1) was referred to as the “Platform for Replenishing Life.” Two hundred and forty were assigned to this rank. The second one (C2) was referred to as the “Platform for Gathering Blessings.” One hundred and twenty were assigned to this rank. The bottom one (C3) was referred to as the “Platform for Alleviating Disasters.” Eighty-one were assigned to this rank.

Heraldic banners, shiny swords, bows and arrows, and other implements are examples of furnishings [provided], each according to specific displays as determined by ceremonial regulations, etc. (This is also discussed in the first fascicle of the *Yisheng baode zhuan* by Wang Qinruo (<http://www.ctcwri.idv.tw/CTCW-XDJQJ/CH07093翊聖保德傳/CH07093-1翊聖保德傳卷上.htm>). The True Lord commanded all the myriad souls of Heaven, the multitude of Daoist immortals,

and the Indian Buddha, to all congregate before the Emperor in the Hall of Pervasive Brilliance. He further commented that the Buddha is one of the three pacifying [spiritual leaders], and has a special Brahma Heaven to reside in. To the Emperor, [the arrangement outlined above] is comparable to the Nine Ministries serving the Son of Heaven. (T 49.396c20-397a4)

[51]

ORDAINING MONKS FOR FINANCIAL PROFIT

度僧規利

When we think well into the past, former imperial courts consistently ordained monks, and of the [ordination] platform rituals that they instituted, there were none that were not beneficial to others. In brief periods of crises, however, [imperial governments] sought [to use ordinations] to benefit the country [financially]. Even though [the measures] were sanctioned legally, [the governments that sponsored them] ultimately courted disaster by turning their backs on [Buddhist principles]. At present, I would like to comment briefly on the origins of this in order to warn future generations [against it].

In the Tang, when Emperor Suzong (r. 756-762) reestablished [the dynasty] in Lingwu and dynastic rule itself was in jeopardy, what was most urgently needed were military supplies.¹ As a result of this, a deceptive strategy was devised.² The Grand Councilor at the time, Pei Mian (d. 770),³ accompanied the imperial chariot to Fufeng and issued a decree authorizing selling government positions and selling ordination [certificates] to [would be] Buddhist monks and nuns and Daoist priests, considering the raising

of money for the military as his responsibility. Anyone who did not want to do it was ordered by law to comply with the decree. As the value became lower and lower, the situation [surrounding the sale of ordination certificates] became more and more corrupt.⁴ The selling of Buddhist and Daoist ordination [certificates] started from [Pei] Mian.⁵

Later on, even though [the practice] was criticized in various jurisdictions, it was adopted in some. For example, in Xuzhou, Wang Zhixing (758-836) decreed the setting up of a precept [ordination] platform at a Buddhist monastery in Linhuai, [promising] to grant ordination only after first collecting the money.⁶ As it turned out, many who had been bribed into giving money were in the end not even granted Dharma [certificates]. Li Deyou (787-850), living in Runzhou, reported on this matter carefully [in a memorial].⁷

From the end of the Tang dynasty onwards, when the various members of the nobility contended with each other increasingly about insufficient supplies for the military, they invited [people] to become ordained Buddhist monks and nuns or Daoist priests, first of all collecting their assets, referring to this as “money for the purchase of scented water,” and afterwards granting official certificates [to them].⁸ I regard this as a corrupt practice that has repeatedly damaged Buddhist teaching. How regrettable!

[五十一] 度僧規利

緬想，前朝度僧相繼，所開壇法，無不利他。俄有澆時，乃求利國。雖是權宜之制，終招負處之殃。今序少端用遮後世。

《唐》《肅宗》在《靈武》，新立百度惟艱，最闕軍須。因成詭計。時宰臣《裴冕》隨駕至《扶風》，奏下令賣官，鬻度僧尼道士，以軍儲為務。人有不願，科令就之。其價益賤事轉成弊。鬻度僧道，自《冕》始也。

後，諸征鎮尤而效焉。如《徐州》《王智興》奏置戒壇於《臨淮》佛寺，先納錢後與度。至有輸賄後不受法者多矣。《李德祐》在《潤州》，具奏其事云。

自《唐》末已來，諸侯角立，稍闕軍須，則召度僧尼道士先納財。謂之「香水錢」。後給公牒云。念此為弊事，復毀法門。吁哉。

NOTES

1. As a result of the chaos arising from the rebellion of An Lushan 安祿山, which left the dynasty's fate in jeopardy, the government relocated to Lingwu 靈武.
2. Regarding this, see JTS 48, *Shihuo zhi shang* 食貨志上, and XTS 51.
3. Reading *zaichen* 宰臣 as equivalent to *zaixiang* 宰相 (Hucker no. 6819, literally "steward and minister"), a quasi-official reference to a paramount executive official sharing penultimate power in the central government.
4. The same information is recorded in Pei Mian's 裴冕 biography in JTS 113 (see also XTS 140, and SGSZ 8, bio. of Shenhui 神會; see also Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, pp. 90-91). When the military governor An Lushan rebelled in 755 and had established a new state of Yan in 756, Yan forces approached Chang'an, forcing Emperor Xuanzong to flee toward Shu Commandery (蜀郡, roughly modern Chengdu, Sichuan). Emperor Xuanzong's son, Li Heng, the Crown Prince, did not follow the emperor but instead headed toward the important military outpost Lingwu. Pei Mian accompanied Li Heng to Lingwu, and with his (and that of Du Hongjian), Li Heng declared himself emperor (i.e., Emperor Suzong). Believing it necessary to gather money for government use, Pei Mian advocated selling government offices and also letting people purchase Buddhist and Taoist ordination certificates and use them to gather money. Political honors, as a result, are said to have become worthless.
5. While the official sale of ordination certificates may date from this time, there are also references to the practice during the reigns of Zhongzong (r. 705-710) and Ruizong (r. 710-712); see JTS 111, p. 3327 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju edition, 1971; reference from Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, p. 60, n. 4--reign of Su-tsung).
6. On Wang Zhixing's 王智興 actions, see JTS 156 and XTS 172, as well as JTS 17 (chronicle for Emperor Muzong 穆宗) and the bio. of Li Deyou 李德祐 (see the following note).
7. On Li Deyou 李德祐, see JTS 174 and XTS 180, which contain the text of the memorial. Li Deyou's actions were prompted by the excesses of Emperor Jingzong. In late 824, when Wang Zhixing the military governor (*jiedu shi*) of Wuning 武寧 Circuit (contemporary Xuzhou, Jiangsu) requested permission to let people become ordained as Buddhist monks,

ostensibly to seek divine favors for Emperor Jingzong, but actually to raise money for Wang Zhixing, Emperor Jingzong initially agreed. As a result, people thronged to Si Prefecture to take tonsure and avoid taxes. When Li Deyu submitted his objection and pointed out that if this continued, the regions would be deprived of some 600,000 battle-capable young men, Emperor Jingzong ordered a stop to the practice (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 243).

8. The translation “money for the purchase of scented water” (*xiangshui qian* 香水錢) follows Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, p. 60. It is used, famously, in the bio. of Shenhui 神會, the Chan protagonist and disciple of Huineng who was recalled from exile during the chaotic aftermath of the An Lushan rebellion to solicit funds for the government through the sale of such certificates (SGSZ 8; T 50.757a3).

GRANTING POSTHUMOUS TITLES

賜諡號

Because Buddhist monks follow myriad practices (*wanxing*), they leave an impression through them. Through their practice of good deeds (*shanxing*), they are honored posthumously with a congratulatory title. When their conduct is evil, they are despised.¹ Accordingly, the group of six *bhikṣus* [who lived at the time of the Buddha] in the end were denied the title of *dhuta* (“ascetic”),² [but] superior practitioners who abide in the six ways to live in harmony were definitely distinguished by a title that [reflected their] change (i.e., elevation) [in status].³

During the Han, Wei, Jin, and [Liu] Song [dynasties], there was no mention of such a rite [for honoring monks with posthumous titles]. The Later Wei dynasty esteemed the eminent monk Faguo.⁴ While he was alive, [the emperor] appointed him as a government official;⁵ after he died, [the emperor] personally showed his favor toward him by attending his funeral, <with a posthumous name;> he was subsequently conferred the posthumous title “Duke Huling” (Foreign-Sacred-Duke). This marks the beginning of posthumous titles for monks. <[Fa]guo served as Śramaṇa Supervisor, was enfeoffed with the rank of Duke, and conferred the posthumous title “Huling” (Foreign Sacred [One]).>

If we inquire into the origins of this [practice], it started at the Court of Imperial Sacrifice. In the ages of the Later Zhou and Sui [dynasties] and at the beginning of the Tang dynasty, no one practiced [the conferring of posthumous titles on monks]. During the reign of the Empress Dowager (i.e., Empress Wu Zetian), Shenxiu of the Northern School [of Chan] lived in Jingzhou. In the second year of the *shenlong* era (706), by edict he was conferred the posthumous title “Chan Master of Great Understanding” (*datong chanshi*).⁶

In addition, there was [the monk] Bodhiruci from the regions of the west, who arrived in Luoyang in the second year of the *changshou* era (693), and stayed at Shouji Monastery.⁷ In the second year of *shenlong* (706), he accompanied the imperial carriage to the western capital and resided at Chongfu Monastery, translating scriptures.⁸ He exchanged correspondences with [Emperors] Zhongzong (r. 705-710) and Ruizong (r. 710-712). During the *kaiyuan* era (713-741), when he reached one hundred fifty-six years in age, by decree he was conferred [the title] “Chief Minister of the Court of State Ceremonial.” After he passed away, he [was given] the posthumous title “Omniscient Tripitaka Master.”⁹

Also, after Śramaṇa Yixing passed away, he [was conferred] the posthumous title “Meditation Master of Great Wisdom” (*dahui chanshi*).¹⁰

The court of Emperor Wenzong posthumously titled Duanfu as “Dharma Master of Great Attainment” (*dada fashi*).¹¹

Emperor Xuanzong posthumously titled Huiyuan of Mount Lu as “Great Enlightened Dharma Master” (*dajue fashi*).¹²

Emperor Yizong posthumously titled Nanshan Daoxuan as “Great Master of Clear Illumination” (*chengzhao dashi*).¹³

After this, as various districts [of the country] petitioned to honor famous monks and retired officials, the granting of posthumous titles by court governments has persisted through subsequent regimes.

僧循萬行，故有跡焉。善行，則諡以嘉名。惡行，則人皆不齒。是以六群比丘終非《杜多》之號。六和勝士方旌所易之名。

自《漢》《魏》《晉》《宋》無聞斯禮。《後魏》重高僧《法果》。生署之以官。死幸之而臨去聲，乃追贈「《胡靈》公」。此僧諡之始也。《果》為《沙門》統，封公爵，追贈「胡靈」諡也。>

原此出於太常寺矣。《後周》《隋》世，《唐》初皆不行。至《天后》朝，有《北宗》《神秀》居《荊州》。《神龍》二年，詔賜諡「大通禪師」矣。

又，有《西域》《菩提留支》，《長壽》二年，至《洛陽》止《授記寺》。《神龍》二年，隨駕西京，住崇福寺翻經。《中宗》《睿宗》曾親筆授。《開元》中年，一百五十六歲，敕賜「鴻臚卿」。卒諡「一切遍知三藏」。

又，《沙門一行》卒，諡「大慧禪師」。

《文宗》朝諡《端甫》為「大達法師」。

《宣宗》諡《廬山》《慧遠》為「大覺法師」。

《懿宗》諡《南山》《道宣》為「澄照大師」。

此後諸道奏舉名僧逸士，朝廷加諡，累代有之。

NOTES

1. According to a passage in the *Liji* 禮記, *buchi* 不齒 means “not placing them in the same rank,” following the *Wang zhi* 王制 section: “all who professed particular arts for the service of their superiors, ... when they left their districts, they did not take rank with officers.” 凡執技以事上者 ... 出鄉不與士齒 (James Legge, trans., <http://ctext.org/liji>), but I choose a stronger meaning in this instance.
2. This refers to the so-called “evil *bhikṣus*,” mentioned in such texts as *Sengzhilu* 僧祇律 9, who did not follow the rules and constantly interfered with the cultivation of others.
3. As mentioned in such scriptures as the *Renwang jing* 仁王經 (Scripture on Benevolent Kings; T 8.813b). A description of *liuhe* 六和 as the six ways Buddhist practitioners live in harmony is given by Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo daijiten* (p. 1461a-b), as being amicable and respectful (1) in their deportment, (2) in their chanting, (3) in their purpose, (4) in observing the precepts, (5) in their views, and (6) in their benefits (profit, deeds, discipline, donation).
4. Regarding Faguo 法果, see the *Wei shu Shilao zhi* 魏書釋老志 and SSL sections 24, 29, and 30.
5. Faguo was the first to hold the position Chief of Monks (discussed by Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 253-254).
6. Regarding Shenxiu 神秀, see SGSZ 8 (T 50.755c-756b). Shenxiu is discussed extensively in McRae, *The Northern School*; Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*; and Welter, *Monks, Rulers and Literati*, esp. pp. 27-33.
7. Regarding Bodhiruci 菩提留支, see SGSZ 3 (T 50.720b-c), where his name is written differently, as *Pudiliuzhi* 菩提流志.
8. According to Weinstein (*Buddhism under the T'ang*, p. 44), Bodhiruci translated fifty-three texts before his death in 727.
9. Bodhiruci's biography in SGSZ 3 (T 50.756b) confirms the titles he received, with slight variation.
10. On Yixing 一行, see SGSZ 5 (T 50.732c-733c), where it also note that the emperor composed a stupa inscription.
11. On Duanfu 端甫, see SGSZ 6 (T 50.741a-c), where it states his title was conferred in the seventh year of the *kaicheng* era (837).
12. Xuanzong conferred Huiyuan's 慧遠 title in the second year of the *dazhong* era (848); see *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類 12 and FZTJ 16.

13. On Daoxuan 道宣, see SGSZ 14 (T 50.790b-791b), where it says Daoxuan was posthumously titled “Vinaya Master of Clear Illumination” (*chengzhao lushi* 澄照律師).

BODHISATTVA MONKS

菩薩僧

In the past, the dynastic courts of the Han, Wei, and Jin did not agree on which titles for śramaṇa were to be adopted and which rejected. As a result, they referred to Zhu Fahu as the “Bodhisattva of Dunhuang,”¹ and in addition there was the “Bodhisattva of India,” Zhu Foshuo, and the “Bodhisattva of Yuezhi” (i.e., Tokhara), Zhichen, and so on.² In the illegitimate countries, I have not heard this [reference to monks as Bodhisattvas] spoken of.³

In the Later Zhou dynasty, Emperor Taiwu (i.e., Wudi; r. 561-578) rejected the teachings of both Buddhism and Daoism. In the third year of the *jiande* era (574), he decreed that those Buddhists and Daoists possessed of fame and virtue be selected and [housed in] a specially built Daoist temple, and that they change their bodily attire to that of scholars.⁴ The emperor conferred an ivory tablet on Xiao Dao'an (Little Dao'an), positioning him with imperial rank, he did not accept it.⁵

Following the collapse of [the reign of Emperor] Wudi, when Emperor Tianyuan Xuandi (r. 578-579) was enthroned, he harbored a desire to gradually revive Buddhist teaching, but in the end, did not revoke the laws of the former emperor.⁶

In the first year of the *daxiang* era (579) [of Emperor Jingdi (r. 579-581)] a decree stated:

Because Emperor Taiwu detested chaos and corruption, he persecuted [Buddhism] and did not support it. I (i.e., the Emperor) am selecting two hundred and twenty monks who are elderly in years and experienced in their studies; they shall not shave their heads or do harm to their bodies; residing in the Zhihu monasteries of both the eastern and western capitals, they will practice the Way for the sake of the nation; their means of livelihood is to be provided by the government.⁷

At the time, there was an eminent monk Zhizang, whose family name was Xun. In the second year of the *jiande* era (573), he concealed himself far to the south, on Zige (Purple Pavilion) Peak. During the reign of Emperor Xuandi, he came out of hiding and paid a visit to the emperor. By decree, he was ordered to let his hair grow long and deemed a “Bodhisattva monk,” and made the abbot of Zhihu Monastery.⁸

In the second year of the *daxiang* era (580), when Sui dynasty Emperor Wen[di] was acting as Minister [for Northern Zhou Emperor Xuandi] (i.e., before Wendi became emperor), [Zhi]zang paid him a visit.⁹ As a result, he was allowed to cut his hair.¹⁰

In addition, Shi Yancong did not want to become a “Daoist Temple Scholar Expert.”¹¹ Those accorded the “Bodhisattva Monk” [title] were made to don ornate headgear and wear necklaces of precious stones in imitation of the style of Bodhisattva [images], but eminent monks detested adopting this attire as it violated Buddhist law. When the positions for the Temple for Daoist Experts were first established, one hundred and twenty people were appointed, selected from the followers of Buddhism and Daoism at the time that were famed for their activities. They wore robes, headgear, tablets, and shoes that [distinguished them] as “Daoist Temple Scholar Experts.” <At the time, Buddhists and Daoists were mixed together [i.e., not distinguished from each other]. To a great extent, it forced Buddhist monks to break the precepts, and become Daoists.>

Formerly, there was the Śramaṇa Fan Pukuang.¹² He was pompous and enjoyed teasing people. The emperor esteemed him greatly, and pressed him to join the Academy of Daoist Experts.¹³ He declined, and regularly shaved his head but kept his beard.

When the emperor questioned him [about this], he responded: “I, your humble servant, study by your majesty’s grace, and even though [the distinction between] the two teachings (Buddhism and Daoism) has been eliminated, the Academy of Daoist Experts still survives. Because the beard is a conventional adornment, I keep it, but because hair [on the head] violates conventional teachings, I dispense with it.”

The Emperor said: “Convention dictates that one retains one’s hair and puts a cap on it. Why do you say it violates [conventional] teachings?”

[Pu]kuang said: “How can gentlemen without hair be deemed to be in violation of [conventional] teachings! What harm is there if I, your humble servant, wish to add a cap to it (my shaved head)!”

After this, [Pukuang] regularly wore a tasseled cap on his cleanly shaven head. When people asked him about it, he responded: “I suffer from the heat.”

In addition, Linggan shaved his head only after he was selected to become a Bodhisattva Monk.¹⁴

When one devotes their mind, and takes pleasure in Buddhist principles, and in one’s practice keenly experiences the emptiness of suffering, when the depths and elevated status which the sage has attained are thereby discarded, one is freed from the [conventions for] attire for śramaṇa. Whether the Buddha Dharma declines or flourishes [results from] laws that the emperor and his ministers enact. Whenever [Buddhism] encounters such repressive laws, how well we know what the result will again be. All students consider this and reflect on it.

昔《漢》《魏》《晉》朝，《沙門》名號用捨不同。故有號《竺法護》，為「燉煌菩薩」。及「天竺菩薩」，《竺佛朔》，「月支菩薩」，《支識》等。偽國不聞此說。

《後周》《太武》皇帝廢釋道二教。《建德》三年，詔擇釋道有名德者，別立道觀。改形服為學士。帝賜《小道安》牙笏，位以朝列不就。

尋《武帝》崩《天元宣帝》立，意欲漸興佛教，未便除先帝之制。

《大象》元年敕曰。「《太武》皇帝為嫌濁穢，廢而不立。朕簡耆舊學業僧二百二十人，勿翦髮毀形。於東西二京《陟岵寺》，為國行道所資公給。」

時有高僧《智藏》，姓《荀》氏。《建德》二年，隱終南《紫閣峰》。至《宣帝》時出謁。敕令長髮，為「菩薩僧」，作《陟岵寺》主。

《大象》二年，《隋》《文》作相，《藏》謁之。因得落髮。

又，《釋彥琮》不願為「通道觀學士」。以其「菩薩僧」，須戴花冠衣瓔珞，像菩薩相。高僧惡作此形，非佛制也。初立通道觀員，置百二十人，選釋李門人有當代名行者。著衣冠笏履，為「通道觀學士」。<于時，僧道混然。大較是令毀戒僧入道也。>

有前《沙門樊普曠》者，彭亨調笑。帝頗重之，抑入通道。退常剪髮留鬚。

帝問，對曰。「臣學陛下，二教雖除，猶存通道。鬚為俗飾故留。髮非俗教故遣。」帝曰。「俗有留髮，加冠。何言非教。」

《曠》曰。「無髮之士，豈是無教耶。臣願加之冠何損。」

自爾常淨髮著冠纓。人問，答曰。「我患熱也。」

又，《靈幹》者初簡入菩薩僧，後方剃髮矣。

究其心游佛理，行切苦空。證聖之深，登地以去。則無沙門之形也。佛法污隆，王臣制作。遇其抑勒，知復奈何。凡百學徒觀此思事。

NOTES

1. Zhu Fahu 竺法護 is acknowledged as the “Bodhisattva of Dunhuang” 敦煌菩薩 in his biographical record in GSZ 1.
2. Zhu Foshuo 竺佛朔 is called the “Bodhisattva of India” 天竺菩薩 and Zhichen 支讖 the “Bodhisattva of Yuezhi” 月支菩薩 (i.e., Tokhara) in CSZJJ 7 (entry on the *Panchou sanmei ji* 般舟三昧記). Note that the Old Chinese pronunciation for *yuezhi* 月支 appears to have been *Tok^war* (Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road: A History of Central Eurasia from the Bronze Age to the Present*, page 5, n.16).
3. The “illegitimate countries” (*weiguo* 偽國) refer to jurisdictions that did not submit to and, therefore, were not subject to imperial authority. As a result, there was, generally speaking, no documentation of their practices.
4. See GHMJ 6 (T 52.125c), and the biography of Dao'an of Da zhongxing Monastery 大興寺道安 in XGSZ 23 (T 50.629b20), where it states that the Jin dynasty destroyed the two schools of Buddhism and Daoism, and instituted a separate, common Daoist temple, housing experts from both schools (i.e., Buddhists were forced to identify as Daoists).
5. Xiao Dao'an 小道安 is the compiler of the *Erjiao lun* 二教論 (Treatise on the Two Teachings) and associated with the Da zhongxing Monastery 大興寺, and so designated to avoid confusing him with his more famous namesake.
6. Xuandi was enthroned in the sixth month of the first year of the *xuanzheng* era (578), and his reign did not last through the following year. The implication here is that since Xuandi's reign was brief, his intention to revive Buddhism went unrealized.
7. The decree *Zhouzu xunye qing kai fofa shi* 周祖巡鄴請開佛法事, by Ren Daolin 任道林, is contained in GHMJ 10 (T 52-2103.157a2-10). The number of monks selected is given here as one hundred (rather than two hundred noted in the SSL) and twenty. While the wording is more extensive, it for the most part agrees with Zanning's rendering of it (except there is no specific mention of Emperor Taiwu). It is uncertain when the Zhihu monasteries 陟岵寺 were first established. Zhizang 智藏 dwelled in the one in Chang'an in the Western Wei between 535 and 556. In the Northern Zhou, Emperor Wendi built five outlying temples where extensive ordinations were carried out. Dao'an dwelled at the monastery during

the reign of Emperor Wudi. In the third year of the *jiande* era (574), when Wudi initiated his persecution of Buddhism, he ordered all the Buddhist temples and monasteries of the realm destroyed and monks and nuns be forced to return to lay life. The Zhihu monasteries (and Buddhism) were revived through the decree issued here, and Zhizang was allowed to return (see below).

8. See Zhizang's 智藏 bio. in XGSZ 19 (T.50.581a16), as Fazang 法藏; it confirms that Zhizang was ordered to let his hair grow, wear the robe and cap of a Bodhisattva, and serve as abbot of Zhihu Monastery. On the institution of "bodhisattva monks" in the Northern Zhou and Sui dynasties, see Jinhua Chen, "*Pusaseng* (Bodhisattva-monks): A Peculiar Monastic Institution at the Turn of the Northern Zhou (557-581) and Sui Dynasties (581-618)."
9. Sui Wendi (Yang Jian 楊堅) served as Grand Counseopr-in-Chief (*dashengxiang*, Hucker no. 5889) under Emperor Xuandi of the Northern Zhou.
10. See T 50.581b9-11.
11. On Shi Yancong 釋彥琮, see XGSZ 2 (T 50.436c11). The title Daoist Temple Scholar Expert (*tong daoguan xueshi* 通道觀學士) was instituted in the Northern Zhou during the reign of Emperor Wudi (r. 561-578), in conjunction with his order to house Buddhists in a specially built Daoist temple (see above).
12. On Fan Pukuang 樊普曠, see XGSZ 11 (T 50.512a21-c2; for the incident here, see 512b14) Pukuang and the information mentioned here is noted in Li Gang, "State Religious Policy," in John Lagerwey and Pengzhi Lü, eds., *Early Chinese Religion: The Period of Division (220-589 AD), Part Two, Volume 1*, pp. 268-269.
13. The *tongdao guan* 通道館 is literally the Academy for Understanding Daoism.
14. On Linggan 靈幹, see XGSZ 12 (T 50.518a27-c27; see 518b8 for the order inducting him among the group of Bodhisattvas).

[54].

THE FRUITS REALIZED FROM OBTAINING ENLIGHTENMENT

得道證果¹

Question: In the areas where the Buddha preached in India,² many people realized the fruits [of their efforts] (i.e., obtained enlightenment). Even though the Dharma has been received in China [for some time], why have there been such meager results (i.e., why have so few obtained enlightenment in China)?

Answer: Our teaching considers belief, understanding, cultivation, and realization in terms of stages [of attainment]. If you believe the word of the Buddha, you will then understand the Buddha's intention. Should you cultivate the Sacred One's practices, you will surely obtain the realization of the fruits [of these practices]. Moreover, if you investigate it (i.e., Buddhism) through the four seeds of teaching, principle, practice, and fruits (i.e., enlightenment), these are temporally determined as [the period of] the True Dharma and [the period of] the Imitative Dharma.³ If the time since the departure of the Sacred One is recent, the four seeds are still robust. As the memory of the Sacred One becomes more and more distant, the four seeds become increasingly weak.

Someone asked: I cure my illnesses by taking cinnabar rather than by vegetarianism.⁴ Even after the illness subsides I continue taking it, as it will inevitably lead to immortality. Since immortality has no end, I will soar through the sky like a bright sun. Wouldn't it be something to witness a Buddhist technique as rare and as effective as this?

Answer: As an analogy, it is like sowing seeds [in spring], each reaching fruition in autumn. That [teaching of Daoism which you refer to] considers the release from the body to soar through the sky as pivotal. Mine, on the other hand, leads one through [the stages of] the worthies (i.e., Buddhist practitioners) to [the realm of] the sacred (i.e., enlightenment) by severing one's hindrances and releasing one from entanglements. After you have accomplished this, you will perform the work of the Buddha while enjoying the miraculous powers [appropriate to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas] for the purpose of converting and benefiting beings possessed of feeling (i.e., sentient beings). How can it (i.e., the Daoist technique which you referred to) compare with this pivotal event of self-realization and self-transformation [in Buddhism]? As you have sought to know of this [matter], I will provide a brief summary.

According to the *Han faben neizhuan* (Anecdotal book about Buddhist teachings in the Han dynasty),⁵ after Moteng (Kāśyapa Mātanga) was victorious in a match of Dharma-debating skills, he flew into the sky and uttered a gatha, and so on.⁶ This indicates the first [instance of] a verifiable enlightenment experience [in China].

In addition, when Anqing measured the serpent [at the monastery] on Lake Gongting, he thoroughly understood his accumulated karma from the three ages [of the past, present, and future] (i.e., he experienced enlightenment).⁷

Following this, there was the flying staff on [Mount] Tiantai,⁸ and the floating saucer on Guabu [River].⁹

Zhenti (Paramartha) spread out his mat and [miraculously] crossed the river.¹⁰

[Fo]tudeng cut open his stomach and intestines, and cleaned and washed them.¹¹

Daokai satisfied his hunger with stone pebbles,¹² and when the monk [Fakai] was offered mutton and wine, he consistently refused.¹³

Fajin walked [in the air] with his feet off the ground.¹⁴

[Qiuna]bamo (Gunavarman) danced lively on the flowers on his mat.¹⁵

Master Fayun daily walked ten thousand *li*.¹⁶

Master Sengjia made his bodily form appear in Sibir.¹⁷

In this manner, various masters, contrary [to your expectations], have obtained the fruits [of enlightenment], have they not?

In my religion (i.e., Buddhism), we emphasize transcending [physical] life. Therefore, it is known for its arguments on transcending [physical] life. When, during the course of life, one fundamentally transcends it, one thus obtains the great fruit [of enlightenment]. Your religion (i.e., Daoism) emphasizes [physical] life. Therefore, it is known for [prolonging] the physical body through life after life. Why exhaust yourself [in this way], obstinately insisting on walking the tightrope [of physical existence]? It is useless to expect that you will soar through the sky like a bright sun. Compared with activity that is free of karmic effect (i.e., Buddhist activity), concocting molten potions in even the slightest amounts constitutes an activity that causes your spirit to transmigrate endlessly. Why do you say that you have never seen or heard [of any Buddhist technique to compare with this]? It is you who have shut your own ears, refusing to cherish the sound of the peal of thunder (i.e., Buddhist enlightenment).

[五十四] 得道證果

問曰。《竺乾》化境證果人多。何以法被中華窮無蹤跡。

答曰。我教以信解修證為階。若信佛言則解佛意。當修聖行必登果證也。又以教理行果四種檢之，則時有正法，像法。去聖如近，四種猶全。望聖纔遙，四種多缺矣。

或曰。服食素治已病。病損連服，必至長生。長生不已，則白日上升。豈非目擊，何釋門罕聞此驗耶。

答曰。譬猶下種，秋成各殊。彼以尸解上升為極。我則斷障出纏，由賢入聖。然後游戲神通而作佛事，為化利有情之故。豈同其自了自遷而為極事也。如其要知，略陳梗概。

案『漢法本內傳』。《摩騰》角法既勝，踊身虛空說偈等。此現通驗果證之始也。

又，《安清》度《郟亭湖》蛇，了三世殘業。

次則《天台》飛錫，《瓜步》浮《杯》。

《真諦》敷坐具而涉江。

《圖澄》開腹腸而洗淨。

《道開》《石子》而充食，乞僧羊酒而卻存。

《法進》足離地而行。

《跋摩》蹈席華而潔。

《法雲》公日行萬里。

《僧伽》師身現《泗濱》。

如此諸師還得果不。

[我宗中重無生，故名無生論。一生本無故而獲大果也。他宗重生，故名生生身。]¹⁸ 乘剛躡桷，何為究盡。無以白日上升。少許修鍊而比於無漏業，資現神逞變之作也。何云罕見聞耶。自聵其耳，非雷霆之吝聲也。

[54A] Nuns 尼附

In the Jin Dynasty there was a nun Jingjian, the very first woman to be ordained in this land (i.e., China). One morning there was a light-beam in the courtyard reaching to the heavens above, appearing in the form

of a rainbow. In the midst of it was a heavenly maiden. When they saw each other, they clutched hands in joy. [Jing]jian subsequently led her students away by treading the light-beam [to heaven].¹⁹

In addition, when Huan [Wen], [Duke] Xuanwu [of the Southern Commandery],²⁰ observed a nun entering the bathhouse, he was terrified when he saw her cut open her stomach. When she came out, she was no different [from before]. [The reason she did this] was undoubtedly in order to warn Xuanwu, and as a result, [Huan] Wen relinquished his domineering ways.²¹

And, in the Sui dynasty, the nun Zhixian knew that Wendi would become emperor.²² ‘The comprehension of the changes is unfathomable’ (i.e., it was unfathomable how she could know this), and students at that time really thronged around her.²³

As in the outstanding examples chosen here, it is proper that nuns be esteemed. How much more so for male disciples of the Buddha!

[五十四附] 尼

《晉》代有尼《淨檢》。此方女人得戒之上首也。一旦中庭有光，上屬於天，若虹霓狀。中有天女。相見欣然攜手。《檢》遂引弟子躡光而去。

又，《桓》《宣武》窺尼入浴室，見其剗割可畏。出而無他。蓋以誠《宣武》溫。由是滅其跋扈。

又，《隋》尼《智仙》知《文帝》當為天子。「通變不測」，厥徒實繁。略舉尤者，尼女尚然。況丈夫釋子者乎。

NOTES

1. The adoption of the question and answer format, while a commonly used technique in Buddhist doctrinal and polemical treatises, is unique to this section in the SSL, as is the content, which does not fit the overall tone of a work devoted to Buddhist social and political institutions. The section seems obviously intended to counter Daoist claims, and this explains why the fruits from realizing Buddhist enlightenment are discussed almost exclusively in terms of the attainment of supernatural, miraculous powers. Readers may wish to contrast Zanning's comments here with the Buddha's famous discourse on the fruits of the life of a śramaṇa, the *Samaññaphala Sutta* (Ñāṇamoli, Bhikkhu, trans., and Bodhi, Bhikkhu, ed., *The Middle-Length Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Majjhima Nikāya*).
2. Reading *huajing* 化境, literally "transformation region" as the area where the Buddha transformed people through his preaching.
3. According to Buddhist doctrine, the tenure of the Dharma on earth is divided into three periods: the "True Dharma" (*zhengfa* 正法), when the authentic teaching of the Buddha is present; the "Imitative Dharma" (*xiangfa* 像法), when only a semblance of the true Dharma remains; and the "Degenerate Dharma" (*mofa* 末法), a period of the decay and ultimate termination of the Dharma.
4. *Fushi* 服食, literally "clothes and food," is a Daoist term for "ingesting cinnabar" (*danyao* 丹藥) as a means of prolonging life and attaining immortality.
5. According to the *Xuji gujin fodao lunheng* 續集古今佛道論衡 (T 52-2015.397b25) the *Han faben neizhuan* 漢法本內傳 was a product of the *yongping* era (57-75 CE) of the Han dynasty (see also GHMJ 1; T 52.100c17). Concerning the formation of the *Han faben neizhuan*, see Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊, *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* 道教と仏教, section on "Dōbutsu nikyō no taibensho" 道仏二教の対辯書; see SSL I, section 1, n. 13.
6. On Jiashe Moteng 迦葉摩騰 (Kāśyapa Mātāṅga), see GSZ 1 (T 50.322c-323a). The episode is referred to in *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記 1 (T 51-2075).

7. On Anqing 安清 (An Shigao 安世高), see GSZ 1 (T 50.323b27-c24). The story relates how An Shigao libertated a large python (*daman* 大蟒) from its fate.
8. This referes to an unidentified Buddhist master, who arrived at the capital miraculously flying with his staff (*feixi* 飛錫).
9. This refers to Beidu 杯度 (literally “Saucer Crosser”), so-called for his propensity for crossing rivers riding in large wooden cup-like saucers. The incident referred to here is mentioned in his bio in GSZ 10 (T 50.390c1-3), where the Guabu River 瓜步江 is referred to as the Yanbu River 延步江.
10. Regarding Zhenti’s 真諦 exploit here, see XGSZ 1 (T 50.430a23-27), where he is known also as Junaluotuo 拘那羅陀 (Paramartha).
11. Fotudeng’s 佛圖澄 deed is described in GSZ 9 (T 50.386c27-387a1).
12. According to Daokai’s 道開 bio. in SGSZ 1 (T 50.387b4-6), whjen he dispensed with grains, he survived by eating the seeds of cedar tress, and when these were hard to come by, he survived on pine resin, and later on, fine stone pebbles, downing several in one gulp.
13. This is a reference to an event involving Fakai 法開, recorded in GSZ 4 (T 50.350a). Once when Fakai begged for food from a particular hojusehold, he happened on the wife in desparate straights in the grass. When various remedies proved ineffective and the whole family became concerned, Fakai assured them that an easy remedy was at hand. The husband at once butchered a sheep to offer as a sacrifice, and Fakai instructed him to first make a soup with a small portion of the flesh, and inject it into the wife to stimulate her *qi* energy. All at one, a baby emerged from her amniotic fluid (*yangmo* 羊膜, literally, “sheep’s membrane”)—translation tentative. There is no mention of wine, and the connection to this episode is otherwise uncertain, as is the identification with Fakai.
14. On this, see Fajin’s 法進 bio. in XGSZ 18 (T 50.576b24).
15. Regarding this incident involving [Qiuna]bamo 求那跋摩 (Gunavarman), see GSZ 3 (T 50.348b8-9), where it says that when a believer picked flowers to spread over the mats [for practitioners at] at the lower monastery at Dinglin 定林下寺, the flowers all fell on Qiunabamo’s mat. This was taken as an auspicious mark of a sacred one.
16. This feat is attributed to Wanhui 萬迴 in SGSZ 18 (T 50. 824c); the connection to Master Fayun 法雲公 is unclear.
17. Regarding this, see the bio. of Sengjia 僧伽 in SGSZ 18 (T 50.823a6-10).

18. Following the Ming 明 edition, provided in [brackets]. Compare the Taishō 大正 edition: 我宗中重生，故名生論。一中本待生故而獲大果也。他宗重往，故名生生身。
19. Regarding the event involving Jingjian 淨檢 here, see *Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳 1 (T 50.935a1-4).
20. Huan Wen 桓溫 (312–373), was known as Duke Xuanwu of the Southern Commandery (南郡宣武公), a general of the Jin Dynasty (265–420) and commonly viewed as one of the greatest Chinese generals. When his son Huan Xuan temporarily usurped the Jin throne in 403 and established himself as the emperor of Chu 楚, he was posthumously honored as Emperor Xuanwu of Chu with the honorific name Taizu 太祖.
21. On this, see *Jin shu* 晉書 98 and FZTJ 36 (T 49.340c12–15). According to FZTJ, Huan Wen observed the nun's naked body and saw her cut open her abdomen and sever both her feet with a sword. When she emerged, she warned Huan Wen that should he became emperor, he must be prepared to act in such a way [befitting an emperor]. The event is dated to the first year of the *ningkang* era (373).
22. Regarding Zhixian's 智仙 prediceiton, see *Ji jingu fodao lunheng* 集今古佛道論衡 2 (T 52.379a15). The event is also related in the biography of Daomi 道密 in XGSZ 26 (T 50.667b–c).
23. The phrase *tongbian buce* 通變不測 derives from the *Yi jing* 易經, *Xi Ci I* 繫辭上 (The Great Tereatise I): “The exhaustive use of the numbers (that turn up in manipulating the stalks), and (thereby) knowing (the character of) coming events, is what we call prognosticating; *the comprehension of the changes* (indicated leads us to) what we call the business (to be done). That which *is unfathomable* in (the movement of) the inactive and active operations is (the presence of a) spiritual (power)” (James Legge, trans.) 極數知來之謂占，通變之謂事，陰陽不測之謂神。(http://ctext.org/ancient-classics).

[55]

THE PERSIAN [GOD] MAṆI

大秦末尼¹

<[Maṇi] is a foreign deity.² In the *Statutes of Officials*, there is [reference to] the Director of [the religion of] Ohrmazd (i.e., Zoroastrianism).³>

The teachings of the Fire-God Ohrmazd [or Ahura Mazda] [Zannning's note: Pronounced (in Chinese) "Hun"] originated in the great country of Persia, where he is referred to as Zarathustra.⁴ He had a disciple named Xuanzhen who mastered the doctrines of his master and was installed as the Grand Patriarch of the Mountain of Fire in Persia.⁵ Later on, he disseminated his teaching in China. In the fifth year of the *zhenguan* era (631 CE), a transmitter of the teaching, Helu the majestic and protective, presented the teachings of Zoroastrianism to the emperor and petitioned the throne.⁶ By decree, the emperor ordered the building of a Zoroastrian temple in the Chonghua precinct of Chang'an, calling it the Da Qin Temple. It was also known as the "Persian Temple."

On the fifteenth day of the eighth month of the twentieth year of the *kaiyuan* era (732), it was decreed:

Manichaeism is fundamentally an erroneous view falsely identified with Buddhism that deceives and beguiles the common people. As it is the case that foreign peoples from the west, etc., follow its masters and teachings and practice it voluntarily, they should not be punished or penalized [for doing so].⁷

In the seventh month of the fourth year of the *tianbao* era (745), it was decreed:

The scriptures and teachings of Persia issuing out of Da Qin that came to be transmitted and learned here, have long been present in China. The first temple constructed here took [Da Qin] as its name on account of this. We would like to inform people that it is essential that [the names of these temples] conform to their origins. The Persian temples in the two capitals shall change [their names] to Da Qin Temple. All prefectures and commanderies in the empire that have [Persian temples] are to follow this [example].⁸

In the sixth month of the third year of the *dali* era (768), it was decreed that temples established by Uighurs should be conferred official tablets identifying them as Great Cloud Bright Light Temples. In the first month of the sixth year, it was further decreed that Xing[zhou], Yue[zhou], Hong[zhou], and the various prefectures, each establish one Great Cloud Bright Light Temple.⁹

In the third year of the *huichang* era (843), Emperor Wuzong decreed that [devotees of] Manichaean temples of the realm all be prohibited from entering the imperial palace.¹⁰ In the capital city, seventy-two female Manicheans were put to death. In addition, the Uighurs and various Manicheans, etc., who lived in this land, were exiled to various frontier jurisdictions. Over half of them died. In the fifth year (845) it was again decreed, "The [devotees] of the Persian majestic and protective fire god Ohrmazd, over two-thousand people in total, are all ordered to return to lay life."¹¹ In spite of this, [Manichaeism] was not completely exterminated, and as time passed it grew and prospered.

In the [Later] Liang dynasty, in the sixth year of the *zhenming* era (920), a political faction of Manicheans in Chenzhou established Muyi as emperor. When the army was sent out to suppress this, they captured Muyi. The remaining members of the faction were sent in shackles to the palace court, and executed in the city.¹²

Early on, it was the custom [for people] in the Chenzhou area to delight in learning unorthodox ways. [Ostensibly] based on the teaching of the Buddha, they established their own unique religion, calling it “the most supreme vehicle.” They refrained from eating strong smelling and spicy foods. They beguiled ordinary people. The [sexes] mixed illicitly [to practice] licentious obscenities, gathering at sunset and dispersing at dawn. Because the Regional Chief Prince Hui, You Neng, often engaged in unlawful activities,¹³ it resulted that suspicious types and criminals assembled there to boast [of their exploits]. Even though there were numerous critiques of him, [the situation] was unsettled. In the end, it was resolved during the *zhenming* era, with the execution [of the guilty parties].

At the time of the Later Tang and Shi [Later] Jin [dynasties], the secret [organization] was again active. They put forward one person to serve as ruler [of Chenzhou], and the miscellaneous affairs [of government] were handled accordingly. Sometimes they depicted King Yama [the Lord of Hell] seated in a crouched position, and the Buddha washing his feet, with the caption: “The Buddha has only the Great Vehicle; ours, on the other hand, is the Most Supreme Vehicle.”

Without doubt, [their teaching] is akin to Buddhism in appearance, and may be referred to as a similar path. Sometimes there are [Buddhist] *bhikṣus* who, owing to the scarcity of food, on occasion attach themselves to such groups and follow [their ways] for the benefits [it offers]. Those who are aware of this should distance themselves far from them. The teaching of this group lures people directly into hell. Be careful of this!

〈胡神也。官品令有祆正〉

火祆 火煙切 教法本起大《波斯》國。號《蘇魯支》。有弟子名《玄真》，習師之法，居波斯國大總長如火山。後行化於中國。

《貞觀》五年，有傳法《穆護何祿》，將祆教詣闕聞奏。敕令《長安》《崇化坊》立祆寺，號《大秦寺》。又名《波斯寺》。

《開元》二十年八月十五日敕。「《末尼》本是邪見。妄稱佛教。誑惑黎元，以西胡等既是師法，當身自行，不須科罰。」

至《天寶》四年七月敕。¹⁴「《波斯》經教出自《大秦》，傳習而來，久行中國。爰初建寺，因以為名。將欲示人，必循其本。其兩京《波斯寺》宜改為《大秦寺》。天下諸州郡有者準此。」

《大曆》三年六月，敕《迴紇》置寺，宜賜額《大雲光明》之寺。六年正月又敕《荊》《越》《洪》等州，各置《大雲光明寺》一所。

《武宗》《會昌》三年敕。「天下《摩尼寺》並廢入宮。」京城女摩尼七十二人死。及在此國，《迴紇》諸《摩尼》等配流諸道，死者大半。五年再敕，《大秦》《穆護火祆》等二千餘人並勒還俗。然而未盡根荄，時分蔓延。

《梁》《貞明》六年，《陳州》《末尼》黨類立《母乙》為天子。發兵討之，生擒《母乙》。餘黨械送闕下，斬於都市。

初，《陳州》里俗喜習左道。依《浮圖》之教，自立一宗，號上上乘。不食葷茹。誘化庸民。糅雜淫穢，宵集晝散。因刺史《惠王友能》動多不法，由是妖賊嘯聚。累討未平。及貞明中，誅斬方盡。

《後唐》《石晉》時，復潛興。推一人為主，百事稟從。或畫一《魔王》踞座，佛為其洗足云。「佛止大乘，此乃上上乘也。」

蓋影傍佛教，所謂相似道也。或有《比丘》，為飢凍故往往隨之效利。有識者尚遠離之。此法誘人直到地獄。慎之哉。

NOTES

1. Mistaken understandings abound in this section, reflecting the hazy knowledge about the farthest regions of the West in China at the time. Since the Han Dynasty, *daqin* 大秦 (Great Qin) was used as the term for the Roman Empire, on the pretext that it was an empire that rivalled Qin 秦 (China) itself. The Roman Empire was rivalled by Persian dynasties on its eastern boundary, principally the Parthians and Sassanians, and it was this area that was nearest and most familiar to China. Parthians controlled the overland trade routes between Asia and the Mediterranean, as Parthian merchants served as resellers of Central Asian and Chinese wares, particularly silk. Buddhism was practiced in the easternmost regions of the Parthian Empire, and Parthian Buddhist missionaries were in considerable evidence in early periods of translation and transmission of Buddhism to China, distinguished by their surnames, An 安, signifying Parthia as their country of origin. As a result, the identity of Da Qin in Chinese minds became a hazy mixture of Roman and Persian, including religious developments from these regions. This confusion extends to the understanding of the term *moni* 末尼, written more commonly as *moni* 摩尼, indicating the *maṇi* jewel (*moni zhu* 摩尼珠, a magical jewel alleged to manifest whatever one wishes for (*ruyi zhu* 如意珠)). It is a metaphor for the teachings and virtues of the Buddha. However, here it refers to the fire/light of the sun that is the essence of the deity of Zoroastrianism, Ohrmazd. Zanning's intent in this section is to distinguish the *daqin moni* 大秦末尼 (Great Qin *maṇi*) from any mistaken Buddhist associations. The disentanglement was necessitated by such things as the establishment of a Daqin Temple 大秦寺 through the imperial order of Tang Taizong in the fifth year of the *zhenguan* era (630), dedicated to the teachings of *Maṇi* Ohrmazd 末尼火祇 (FZTJ 39). The following information recorded in ChinaKnowledge.de (<http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Religion/xianjiao.html>) may also serve as useful background:

While the two other "Persian" religions, Nestorianism and Manicheism are Christian or have at least a Christian base, Zoroastrianism (Zoroastrianism, Parsism, Mazdaism, in Chinese *xianjiao* 祆教) is a pure Persian religion that has influenced Manicheism and Buddhism—at least in

the belief in the Amitabha Buddha, the Light Buddha. The believers of Zoroastrianism are called Mazdayasnians because they venerate the highest deity Ahura Mazda. The founder of this dualistic religion was Zarathustra who lived around 1000 BC in Persia and wrote his religious chants in the language of Zend-Avesta, an old form of Persian. Creator of the world is the already mentioned Ahura Mazda, his counterpart is the deity Angra Mainyu who is the incorporation of dark and evil. This cosmic dualism is linked by ethics and the spiritual-mental world to the material world of man. All life and thought is thus acting in a state of everlasting fight of bad against evil. A further central point of Zoroastrianism is the tendency to a kind of eschatology that purposes the coming of the last judgement and physical resurrection. The pantheon of Zoroastrianism comprises angels and demons ("devils") like Mithras, a belief that influenced late Judaism and Christianity. The dualism of bad and evil that is reflected in the teachings of Mani, the founder of Manicheism, as well as in Buddhist teachings of heavens and hells, originates in the Persian dualism of the two gods Hormuzd and Ahriman.

The fire was a symbol for the good, for the light, and Parsians were called fire worshippers, a name that was also used by the Chinese (*baihuojiao* 拜火教, *huoxianjiao* 火祆教). During the Southern and Northern Dynasties, Zoroastrianism founded its roots in the city states of the Silkroad. During the Northern Qi Dynasty (6th century) a court of dependencies (*honglusi* 鴻臚寺) was installed that served as embassy of Persia. The ambassadors also administrated the Zoroastrian parishes (*safu* 薩甫) in China. The central administration of Zoroastrians was undertaken by an office called *sabaofu* 薩寶府. The spread of Zoroastrianism by missionaries was prohibited, and in the years from 841 on all foreign religions were prohibited, and although some parishes could survive until the Song period, Zoroastrianism soon lost its ground and vanished.

2. Mani was a prophet and founder of Manichaeism, whose teaching actually attempted to surpass Zoroastrianism, a distinction lost to the Chinese who tended to lump all religious movements from the Da Qin region together. Hence, the need for Zanning to thwart any associations with Buddhism. On misinterpretations along these lines, see Ma Xisha, "The Syncretism of Maitryan Belief and Manichaeism in Chinese History," and Lin Wushu, "A Study on Equivalent Names of Manichaeism in Chinese," in Xisha Ma and Huiying Meng, eds., *Popular Religion and*

Shamanism (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 19-54 and 55-122, which, among other things, documents the identification of Maṇi with “Maṇi the Buddha of Light.”

3. The *Statute of Officials* is *Guanpin ling* 官品令; the same statement is recorded in *Guangyun* 廣韻 2 (*Xia pingsheng* 下平聲), *Xian* 先 section 1 (<http://ctext.org/text.pl?node=293667&if=gb>).
4. According to the *Avesta*, Zarathustra (*Suluzhi* 蘇魯支) is actually the disciple who recived the fire god Ohrmazd's [or Ahura Mazda] (*Huoxian* 火祆) revelation. That Persia is specifically intended is indicated by the Chinese *Bosi* 波斯 (Persia). According to Lin Wushi, “A Study on Equivalent Names of Manichaeism in Chinese” (p. 67), the preferred name for Zoroastrianism in ancient Chinese sources is *Xian jiao* 祆教.
5. The *Bosiguo dazongzhang ruhuoshan* 波斯國大總長如火山. Other than Zanning's mention here, I have not been able to find any information on Xuanzhen 玄真.
6. According to the *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Daqin si 大秦寺 entry), a priest, Aluoben 阿羅本, brought the petition in the seventh month of the twelfth year of *zhenguan* (638). The identity of Helu the majestic and protective 穆護何祿 (referred to by Lin Wushi as Helu the Mogh, the meaning of which is unknown to me) is unclear to me. Aluoben (or Alopen, etc.) is the first recorded Christian missionary to reach China, known to us only through their Chinese Nestorian Stele. According to PY Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, 2nd ed. (Tokyo: Academy of Oriental Culture, 1951), his name may be a transliteration of the Semitic name Abraham. J.W. Ethridge, *The Syrian Churches* (London: Longman, Green, Brown & Longmans, 1846), speculated that it was an attempt to transliterate *aloho punoya* “the conversion of God.”
7. The decree is found in *Tong dian* 通典 40 (Zhiguan 職官).
8. The decree is found in *Tang huiyao* 49.
9. See JTS 18A and FZTJ 42.
10. JTS 18A & XTS 217 (bio. of Huigu 回鶻).
11. See JTS 18A.
12. See JWDS 10. Mui 母乙 (?-920) was the leader of a peasant uprising in Chenzhou 陳州, located south of Dongdu 東都, who took advantage of Manichaeism (*Ming jiao* 明教), referring to it as the supreme vehicle, to organize the masses. Starting with a group of a thousand people, he captured nearby villages. In the autumn of the sixth year of the *zhenming* era (920), his forces met with great success, repeatedly routing the forces of the Later Liang, and his influence extended throughout the

three provinces of Chenzhou, Yingzhou 潁州, and Caizhou 蔡州, to the extent that he was promoted as emperor. Later, he suffered defeat at the hands of the Liang imperial guard and several divisions of administrative troops.

13. Regarding Hui Wang You Neng 惠王友能, see JWDS 12 and XWDS 13.

14. Following Fu Shiping's reading, p. 218, n. 3.

[56]

DECORATED SCRIPTURE DESKS FOR LEADING THE IMPERIAL CARRIAGE

駕頭床子¹

[Decorated Scripture Desks for Leading the Imperial Carriage] are desks [made] of seven kinds of precious materials with scriptures on it.² The rules and regulations [associated with] these desks [are as follows]. They are formed by inlaying them with various cherished and precious objects. Their legs have engraved [patterns], and their sides are raised. The scripture that is placed on it is [*The Scripture on*] *How Benevolent Kings Protect the Country*.³ The cloth covering it was thin silk of the deepest red color. Eunuchs were entrusted to cautiously and carefully place [the desk] on horseback, and to proceed slowly when starting out. [The scripture desk] was one hundred paces in front of the imperial carriage, and was regarded as leading the procession. The origins of these conventions are not known.

As it says in the Qin dynasty translation of the *Scripture [on How Benevolent Kings Protect the Country]*,⁴

Make a desk with the seven kinds of precious materials, and place this scripture on it. Whenever the king travels, always place it in front of him a full one hundred paces, and it will ensure that the seven calamities will not occur within a one thousand *li* [radius].⁵ In cases when the king is stationed [in one place], make a tent with the seven kinds of precious materials, place this scripture [in it], and make offerings to it as if serving your father and mother, or serving Indra.

The copy of the Tang dynasty translation [of the *Scripture*] says,⁶

Place this scripture on a desk [made of] precious materials. Whenever the king travels, this desk is always in front, leading the way. Whenever [the king] is staying in residence, make a tent with the seven precious materials.

The remainder of the [Tang] text is for the most part the same [as the Qin text].

Now, I wonder, was this practiced in either the Later Qin or in the Tang period? There is no mention [of it] in the *Records on Carriages and Clothing*,⁷ and the dynastic histories lack entries [regarding it]. As a result, we have been denied clear proof [of its existence], and must infer on the basis of what is reasonable (i.e., according to *li*). I suspect that [the conventions regarding scripture desks] were established during the *yongtai* era (765-766) of Emperor Daizong in the Tang dynasty, following the retranslation [of the *Scripture on How Benevolent Kings Protect the Country*] by Tripiṭaka Master Bukong.⁸ When Bukong chanted mystical invocations contained in this scripture, it so moved the imperial crown prince that he ordered a legion of deities to break the Qiang barbarians encirclement of the city of Anxi.⁹ In addition, his prayers for clear weather and rain were often effective. At the time, he must have made a request [to the emperor] to set up the desk following [the explanation of] the *Scripture* and, on the basis of it, modeled the practice on former

precedents, but because he made his request privately, historians were not aware of it.

The imperial records of the Tang dynasty say,¹⁰

When the Qiang barbarians raided the area during the *yongtai* era, the capital city was placed under martial law, and because changes occurring among celestial bodies [portended disaster], both fascicles of the *Benevolent Kings Scripture* were brought out from the imperial palace and delivered to two Buddhist monasteries, Zisheng (Assisting the Sage monastery) and Ximing (Western Clarity monastery),¹¹ to open chapels for one hundred lectures on the *Benevolent Kings Scripture*.¹²

Examining this, we know that [the use of scripture desks] originated in the *yongtai* era. Moreover, sometimes on the occasion of [these] one hundred Dharma lectures, the emperor personally honored them with his presence. In platform ceremonies, it was surely [the practice] to lead the imperial carriage by using a desk [made] of precious materials with the [*Benevolent Kings*] *Scripture* placed on it; consequently, [the practice] was not abolished.

Some say that “Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712-756) continued to set up chapels for one hundred lectures [on the *Benevolent Kings Scripture*], but how could it have occurred during the *kaiyuan* era (713-741) [prior to the events associated with Bukong in the *yongtai* era]? At present, it is said that since Emperor Ming (i.e., Xuanzong) denigrated Buddhists, it is difficult to imagine him carrying out such a practice. However, even though he denigrated Buddhists, he was also profoundly inquisitive, and among the two explanations, this one involving Xuanzong is also possible.

Also, it is not known which version of the [*Benevolent Kings*] *Scripture* was used. If it were the old (i.e., Later Qin, Kumārajīva) translation, it existed prior to Xuanzong. If they used the new (i.e., Tang, Bukong) translation, then it originated with Daizong. As for the emperors after him, some displayed the desk without using [the scripture], explaining that there was no need for scriptures on the desk; sometimes they placed

the scripture on it without discussing it, saying that it had a ceremonial function. While the [impact of not using or discussing the scripture] is unknown, it will surely not add solemnity to the occasion.

Now, the laws and implements of the Great Song dynasty are excellent and complete, and [the emperor] uses these to lead officials and servants. When, waiting with anticipation [for the imperial procession], one sees this [scripture desk], one knows that the approach of the imperial carriage is one-hundred paces away. When speaking of its merits, the fact that it is [contained in] a carriage for warding off evil and has a unique physical form, together constitute its special features.

[五十六] 駕頭床子

盛經七寶案也。其制度，以雜瑰珍間填成之。款其足高其緣。所置之經即『仁王護國』也。所覆之巾即上深紅羅也。使中宮謹愿者馬上平持舒徐而啟行。望乘輿可百步，以為前道也。此之儀制未知始端。

如《秦》譯『經』云。「作七寶案。以經置上。若王行時，常於其前，足滿百步。令千里內七難不起。若王住時，作七寶帳置經。供養如事父母，如事《帝釋》。」

《唐》譯本云。「置經寶案。若王行時，常導其前。所在住處，作七寶帳。」餘文大同。

今疑行此，為《後秦》邪，為《唐》世邪。『輿服志』無文。諸朝史闕載。然則既亡明據。可以理求。蓋《唐》《代宗》《永泰》中，《不空》三藏重譯後置也。《不空》嘗誦此經中咒，感天王子領神兵解《安西》城《羌胡》胡之圍。又祈晴雨多驗。于時可以請依『經』置案，以象其前驅。祕其事故，史氏莫知也。

『唐紀』云。「《永泰》中《羌胡》胡寇邊，京城戒嚴。又因星變，內出『仁王經』兩卷，與付《資聖》《西明¹³》二佛寺，開百座『仁王』道場。」

檢此知，《永泰》為始也。又或百座法筵時，帝親臨御。壇儀中合用寶案置『經』引駕。因而不廢也。

有云。「《玄宗》累置百座道場。」莫起《開元》中邪。今謂《明皇》薄於釋氏，難行斯法也。然雖薄於釋氏，而且厚於好奇，兩說之中，與其《代宗》可矣。

又，未知『經』是何本。若是舊譯，則《玄宗》以前。如用新經，則《代宗》為始也。自後諸帝或設而不作，則說案上無經。或置而勿論，則云儀注合用。此蓋弗知，而不加鄭重矣。

今大《宋》法物克全用之引導群下。迎望見此，知駕近百步矣。語其功也，與辟惡之車殊形而共致焉。

NOTES

1. According to Makita (p. 74, n. 188), in the Song dynasty, the *jiatou chuangzi* 駕頭床子 was a desk made of fragrant wood with legs decorated in gold, carried during imperial processions (based on sources like Lu You 陸游, *Laoxuean biji* 老學庵筆記).
2. The seven kinds of precious materials refers to precious minerals and gems, listed variously in Buddhist scriptures, such as: Gold 金, silver 銀, lapis lazuli 琉璃, crystal 頗胝迦, agate 車渠, ruby 赤珠, cornelian 瑪瑙; Coral, amber, *cintāmaṇi*, *kiṃśuka*, *śakrābhilagna*, emerald, diamond; Gold, silver, lapis lazuli, coral, pearl, agate, the bright-moon gem, *cintāmaṇi*; Gold, silver, lapis lazuli, coral, amber, agate, cornelian (taken from Mueller and Reeves DDB entry for *qibao* 七寶).
3. *Renwang huguo jing* 仁王護國經 (T 8-245 & 246).
4. The translation by Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什; T 8-245, see p. 832c28-833a4.
5. Enumerated in the *Benevolent Kings Scripture*, the seven calamities are: sun and moon losing their order (eclipses) 日月失度難, irregularity in the formation of the constellations 二十八宿失度難, fire 火難, flood 水難, wind-storms 風難, drought 天地國土亢陽難, and bandits 賊難.
6. The translation by Bukong 不空 (Amoghavajra); T 8-246, see p. 843b6-26.
7. *Yufu zhi* 輿服志 are monographs on the etiquette surrounding carriages and clothing found in the dynastic histories.
8. According to Bukong's 不空 bio. in SGSZ 1 (T 50.713a), when the translation was completed, Emperor Daizong composed a preface for it. On the day it was promulgated, auspicious clouds suddenly appeared. All in the court expressed their congratulations. On the first day of the eleventh month of the first year of the *yongtai* era (765), Bukong was granted the position of Lord Specially Advanced Probationary Chief Minister of the Court of State Ceremonial 特進試鴻臚卿, and given the name Tripiṭaka Master Daguangzhi 大廣智三藏 ("Great Tripiṭaka Master of Expansive Knowledge").
9. See Bukong's bio. in SGSZ 1 (T 50.714a). On Bukong's influence on Emperor Daizong, see Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, pp. 77-89. Valerie Hansen, "Gods on Walls: A Case of Indian Influence on Chinese Lay Religion?" p. 82, identifies Anxi 安西 with Kucha, in present day Xinjiang province. The rescue of Anxi by a legion of deities sum-

moned by Bukong's invocations is described in detail in the next section [57] "Guardian Deities on the Gates of City Walls."

10. See the imperial record for Daizong 代宗 in the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (JTS 11, the eighth month of the first year of *yongtai* 永泰正年, 八月). The same events recorded later in Ouyang Xiu's 歐陽修 *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (XTS 6) omit any reference to Buddhist content.
11. The Taishō text has Xihu 西湖 (West Lake monastery), but this is a mistake.
12. The *Tangdai Zong huangdi jiang renwang bore xiangyu ganyiung* 唐代宗皇帝講仁王般若降雨感應, in *sanbao ganying yaolue lu* 三寶感應要略 錄 2 (CBETA T 51-2084.846b) documents the effective use of one-hundred lectures in praying for rain, with Bukong serving as Director of Lectures, in the first year of the *yongtai* era (765).
13. Reading *ming* 明 for *hu* 湖.

[57]

GUARDIAN DEITIES ON THE GATES OF CITY WALLS

城闍天王¹

Generally speaking, situating guardian deities on the gates of city walls is to serve as world protectors.² In the year of *renwu*, the first year of the *tianbao* era (742) of the Tang dynasty, three countries,³ Tibet, Arabia, and Sogdiana,⁴ came to invade Anxi (Kuche). On the eleventh day of the second month of that year, a petition to the throne requested that the army relieve the situation. Emperor Xuanzong ordered that a regiment be dispatched. It was calculated that [the distance being] over ten thousand *li*, it would take several months before [the army] arrived there.

At the time, the ministers close to the Emperor said, “You must summon Tripiṭaka Master Bukong (Amoghavajra).” The Emperor, following the petition, summoned Bukong to the imperial palace. Maintaining a state of mindfulness, [the emperor] prayed to [Buddhist] guardian deities to provide rescue.⁵ The emperor held the incense burner, and Bukong recited *dhāraṇī* from the *Scripture on How Benevolent Kings Protect the Country* twice, seven times. The emperor suddenly saw as many as five hundred divine beings wearing armor and carrying lances in front of the palace.

When the emperor, frightened and suspicious, asked Bukong [about them], he replied, "This is an army commanded by Nada, the second son of Vaiśravaṇa.⁶ They will assuredly assist in [fulfilling] Your Majesty's wish. Because they have come to rescue Anxi, they are simply here to be dispatched [for duty]. Please provide provisions and send them off."

In the fourth month of that year, a memorial from Anxi stated,

After the eleventh day of the second month [the day the emperor and Bukong issued their prayer], amidst a darkness of clouds and mist thirty *li* to the northeast of the city wall, there appeared a group of men over a *zhang* (three meters) in height, all wearing gold armor. In the early evening, there was a great clamor of drums and horns; the sound carried three hundred *li*; the earth shook and mountains toppled over. After two days had passed, [the soldiers] of the three countries, Arabia, Sogdiana, and so on, took the opportunity to flee in haste. Among the encampments [that the soldiers had occupied], there were golden haired rats that had gnawed through the strings of their bows and crossbows and destroyed their tools and weapons, [so that] they were all unsuitable for use. Just at that moment, on top of the pavilion tower of the city gate there was a bright light, and the guardian deity [Vaiśravaṇa] revealed his form; it was seen by everyone. I have carefully depicted the figure of the guardian deity, and have attached it to this document to present to the emperor.⁷

The emperor, as a result of this, decreed that Military Commissioners of the various circuits erect statues of the figure of the guardian deity [Vaiśravaṇa] and his associates on the northwest corner of the city walls in each of the ordinary and superior prefectures, and to provide offerings to them. In Buddhist monasteries as well, it was decreed that special cloisters install [guardian deities in them].

Down to the present day, [Military Commissioners of] the ordinary and superior prefectures offer incense, flowers, and food, and [sponsor] singing and dancing [ceremonies for the guardian deity]. This is known as "Celebrating the Guardian Deity." As for the one known as Vaiśravaṇa

[Pishamen], this guardian deity has particular affinity with the kingdom of Khotan, and manifested himself in Khotan with great frequency.⁸ Because there is a region in Khotan [called] Vaiśra (Pisha), he is referred to as the “Guardian Deity of the Gate [or Entrance] of Vaiśra (i.e., Pishamen).” This is the same as saying he is the “Guardian Deity of the Kingdom of Khotan.” This is also the same as when the Bodhisattva Guanyin (Avalokiteśvara) manifests his form, he is always referred to as “Guanyin of Mount Potalaka.”⁹

[五十七] 城闍天王

凡城門置天王者，為護世也。《唐》《天寶》元年王子歲，《西蕃》《大石》《康居》三¹⁰國來寇《安西》。其年二月十一日，奏請兵解援。《玄宗》詔發師。計一萬餘里，累月方到。

時近臣言。「且可詔問《不空》三藏。」帝依奏詔入內。持念請天王為救。帝秉香爐，《不空》誦『仁王護國經』《陀羅尼》二七遍。帝忽見神人可五百員帶甲荷戈在殿前。帝驚疑問《不空》，對曰。「此《毘沙門》第二子《獨健》領兵。是必副陛下意。往救《安西》，故來辭耳。請設食發遣。」

其年四月，《安西》奏云。「去二月十一日已後，城東北三十里，雲霧晦冥，中有人眾，可長丈餘。皆被金甲。至酉時，鼓角大鳴。聲振三百里。地動山傾。經二日，《大石》《康居》等三¹¹國，當時奔潰。諸帳幕間有金毛鼠，齧斷弓弩弦及器仗。悉不堪用。斯須城樓上有光明，天王現形。無不見者。謹圖天王樣。隨表進呈。」

帝因敕諸道節度，所在州府於城西北隅，各置天王形像部從供養。至於佛寺，亦敕別院安置。

迄今朔日州府上香華食饌動歌舞。謂之「樂天王」也。所號《毘沙門》者，由此天王與《于闐》國最有因緣。偏多應現《于闐》國。是《毘沙》部故號《毘沙門》天王。如言《于闐》國天王也。亦猶《觀音菩薩》所在現形而偏曰，《寶陀落山》《觀音》同也。

NOTES

1. For a discussion of this phenomena, see Valerie Hansen, "Gods on Walls: A Case of Indian Influence on Chinese Lay Religion?" Peter Gregory and Patricia Ebrey, *Religion in T'ang and Sung China*, pp. 75-113.
2. Deities for protecting the world (*hushi* 護世) in Buddhism, generally refer to the four world protecting kings 湖世四天王.
3. According to some versions of the SSL (including the Taishō version), there were five countries, but since only three are specified, and this concurs with the SGSZ (T 50.714a), I have stipulated three countries here. The *Pishamen yigui* 毘沙門儀軌 (CBETA T 21.228b8), compiled in the ninth century, stipulates "the five countries of the Abassid Caliphate and Samarkand," and Hansen, "Gods on Walls," pp. 104-105, n. 47, emends *dashi* 大石 to read *dashi* 大食, the strongest of the western countries, and so the Abassid Caliphate (following Michael T. Dalby, "Court Politics in Late T'ang Times," in Denis Twitchett, ed., *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3: *Sui and T'ang China, 589-906, Part I*, p. 609).
4. Following the emendation suggested by Hansen (see the previous note), the three countries stipulated might be Tibet, the Abassid Caliphate, and Samarkand. Samarkand functioned as a main center of Sogdian civilization for much of its history. Sogdiana (C. Kangju 康居) was the name of an ancient people and kingdom in Central Asia. It was a nomadic federation of unknown ethnic and linguistic origin that became for a couple of centuries the second greatest power in Transoxiana after the Yuezhi (Y. A. Zadneprovsky, "The Nomads of northern Central Asia," p. 463, in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia Volume II: The development of sedentary and nomadic civilizations: 700 B.C. to A.D. 250*). The ethnicity of the Kangju people is thought to be Turkic by Shiratori Kurakichi, based on textual studies (Shiratori Kurakichi. *Shiratori Kurakichi Zenshū*, p. 48; Originally published in *Tōyō Gakuhō* 14, no. 2 [1925]), but other scholars tend to consider them Iranian or even Tocharian (Mariko Namba Walter, *Sogdians and Buddhism*, Sino-Platonic Papers No. 174, p. 5).
5. According to the *Pishamen yigui* 毘沙門儀軌 (CBETA T 21.228b16-17), the emperor was intimately involved in the performance of the ritual. Bukong stipulates that the emperor carry an incense burner to the chapel where the ritual is to be conducted, and that the emperor should pray to the Heavenly King of the North to send divine troops to rescue them.

6. Dujian 獨健 (Uniquely Strong) is a Chinese translation for Nazha 哪吒, the transliteration for Nada (Nadakubara), one of Vaiśravaṇa's (Pishamen 毘沙門) five sons, noted for his ability to protect Buddhist countries. In some accounts, Nada is Vaiśravaṇa's eldest son. According to some explanations, Nada is not Vaiśravaṇa's son, but his grandson, the third son of his second son, Pañcika. The explanation that Zanning follows here, making Dujian 獨健 the second son, suggests a mixing of these accounts. On the cult to Pishamen (Vaiśravaṇa) in China, see Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, pp. 287-289, n. 50. As Davis notes, the Pishamen cult gained particular sway among military in the Late Tang and Five Dynasties, accounting for Zanning's focus on it here.
7. The earliest Chinese source to record this story is the aforementioned *Pishamen yigui* 毘沙門儀軌 (CBETA T 21-1249.227b8-228c1) compiled in the ninth century, and the source from which Zanning presumably drew. For a translation, see Hansen, "Gods on Walls," pp. 82-83. The veracity of the story is challenged by Matsumoto Bunzaburō 松本文三郎, *Bukkyōshi zakkō* 佛教史雜考, pp. 287-290; Chou Yi-liang, "Tantrism in China," p. 305, n. 103; and Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, p. 170, n. 41. The origins of the tale may lay outside Buddhism. Herodotus recounts a similar tale about Hephaestus, who despatched mice to assist an Egyptian priest in battle with an Arabian army, at which time the mice "gnawed their quirvers through, and through, too, the bows themselves and the handles of their shields, so that the next day they fled, defenseless, and many of them fell" (Herodotus, *The History*, David Greene, trans., p. 193).
8. As noted by Xuanzang 玄奘 in the *Xiyu ji* 西域記, Vaiśravaṇa was especially associated with the kings of Khotan, who claimed descent directly from him. On Vaiśravaṇa and his association with Khotan, see also Susan Whitfield, *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith*, pp. 137-138.
9. After Mount Potalaka 寶陀落山, the alleged palace and dwelling place of Avalokiteśvara 觀音.
10. Following the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* (T 50.714a), reading *san* 三 for *wu* 五.
11. Following the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* (T 50.714a), reading *san* 三 for *wu* 五.

[58]

LIGHTING LANTERNS
ON THE FIFTEENTH DAY
OF THE FIRST MONTH
(I.E., NEW YEAR)

上元放燈¹

According to the *Han faben neizhuan* (Anecdotal book about [Buddhist] teachings in the Han dynasty),² when Buddhism first arrived [in China] it was in competition with Daoism. When [the Daoists] burned [Buddhist] scriptures and images, they emitted light without being destroyed. Furthermore, the thirtieth day of the twelfth month (New Year's day) in the regions of the west is the fifteenth day of the first month in this land (China), and is known as "the month of the great transformation of the gods."³ In the Han dynasty, Emperor Ming (r. 57-75) ordered by decree to light lanterns [on this occasion] to represent the great illumination of the Buddha-Dharma.⁴ One [explanation] claims this derives from [the custom of] worshipping at shrines at the five times (spring, summer,

end of summer, fall, and winter) [during the reign of Emperor] Wu of the Han dynasty.⁵

As for burning fires through the night, it is probably taken from [the practice of] the Master Fire Director in the *Rites of Zhou* burning fires to provide illumination at places for worshipping spirits.⁶ Later on, the precedent was adopted [by Buddhism]. As a result, [the custom] originated in the official duty performed by the Fire Director in lighting fires at places for worshipping spirits. It was adopted in the Eastern (i.e., Later) Han dynasty [as a means] to represent the great illumination of the Buddha-Dharma. In addition, as changes [to the custom] evolved through successive dynasties, it never followed a regular pattern.

In the Tang dynasty, in the second year of the *xiantian* era (713), a monk from the regions of the west, Shatuo, requested that lanterns be lit on the fifteenth day of the first month.⁷

On the fourteenth day of the first month of the twenty-eighth year of the *kaiyuan* era (740), it was decreed that in the second month lanterns regularly be lit on the day of the full moon (the fifteenth day of the lunar month).⁸

On the eighteenth day of the sixth month of the sixth year of the *tianbao* era (747), a decree stated,

The main gate shall be opened at night [on the fifteenth day of the first month] in order to promote *yang* energy. The court shall hold a banquet for assembled ministers, to enjoy the amiable harmony of the occasion. Regarding [celebrations] on the fifteenth day of the first month (i.e., the New Year), good fortune should be cultivated through the sponsoring of vegetarian banquets.⁹ At celebratory gatherings such as these, the odors of spicy vegetables and meats are inevitably in evidence. Compared to following the old routines, would it not be better to seek the advantage [of cultivating good fortune]? Henceforth, it shall be made the normal custom to open the city marketplaces on the nights of the seventeenth and nineteenth days of the first month every year.¹⁰

Subsequently, it was [stipulated] further that they light lanterns on the night of the fifteenth. Emperor Dezong, in the third year of the *zhenyuan* era (787), decreed that they light lanterns on the fifteenth day of the first month. The reason for this is said to be that when Buddhism first arrived [in China] and was in competition with Daoism, Emperor Ming of the Han dynasty ordered by decree that they light lanterns to represent breaking the darkness.

In the Tang dynasty, when Emperor Xizong (r. 873-888) proceeded to Shu, in many instances he [lit lanterns] while traveling around the central plains, but in the cases of Emperors Zhao[zong] (r. 888-904) and Ai[zong] (r. 904-907), [the custom] completely fell into disuse.

In the [Later] Liang dynasty, in the third year of the *kaiping* era (908),¹¹ a decree proclaimed,

Because in recent years social conditions have not been peaceful and armed rebellions have been rampant, the [practice of] lighting lanterns on the first month has long been abandoned. Henceforth, for three nights [the fifteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth] the gates of the city marketplaces will be opened and publicly and privately lanterns will be lit to pray for blessings.¹²

When Emperor Zhuangzong [of the Later Tang dynasty] entered Luo[yang], this practice was again revived. Through the various imperial reigns that followed, some [followed the practice of] lighting [lanterns] and some did not.

In the sixth year of the *taiping xingguo* era (981) of our own Great Song dynasty, it was decreed that lanterns also be lit for three nights starting on the fifteenth day of the first month to pray for blessings for the military and civilians, and to provide offerings to heaven and earth, to the sun and moon and stars, and to Buddhists and Daoists.

[The practice of] lighting lanterns and [opening the city gates] to stroll freely at night on each of the three occasions (i.e., the fifteenth, seven-

teenth, and nineteenth days of the first month) originated from this, and came to be expressed in legal statutes.

[五十八] 上元放燈

案『漢法本內傳』云。佛教初來，與道士角試。燒經像無損而發光。又《西域》十二月三十日，是此方正月十五日，謂之大神變月。

《漢》《明》敕令燒燈。表佛法大明也。一云。此由《漢》《武》祭五時神祠。

通夜設燎，蓋取『周禮』司燿氏燒燎照祭祀。後率為故事矣。然則本乎司燿舉火供祭祀職。至《東漢》，用之表佛法大明也。加以累朝沿革必匪常規。

《唐》《先天》二年，《西域》僧《沙陀》，請以正月十五日然燈。

《開元》二十八年正月十四日，敕常以二月望日燒燈。

《天寶》六年六月十八日，詔曰。「重門夜開，以達陽氣。群司朝宴樂在時和。屬於上元，當修齋籙。其於賞會，必備葷羶。比來因循稍將非便，自今以後，每至正月，宜取十七日十九日夜開坊市以為永式。」

尋又重依十五夜放燈。《德宗》《貞元》三年，敕正月十五日然燈。是《漢》《明帝》因佛法初來與道士角法，敕令燭燈，表破昏闇云。

《唐》《僖宗》幸《蜀》，迴中原多事。至《昭》《哀》皆廢。

《梁》《開平》三¹³年，詔曰。「近年以風俗未泰兵革且繁，正月然燈廢停已久。今後三夜開¹⁴坊市門公私然燈祈福。」

《莊宗》入《洛》，其事復興。後歷諸朝，或然或不。

我大《宋》《太平興國》六年，敕下元亦放燈，三夜為軍民祈福，供養天地辰象佛道。三元俱然燈放夜自此為始，著于格令焉。

NOTES

1. The practice of lighting lanterns for new year's festivities is described in the Song dynasty work by Meng Yuanlao 孟元老, *Dongjing meng hua lu* 東京夢華錄 6, 十六日. On this work, see Stephen West, "The Interpretation of a Dream: The Sources, Influence, and Evaluation of the *Dongjing meng Hua lu*," *T'oung Pao* 71(1985): 63–108.
2. According to the *Xuji gujin foday lunheng* 續集古今佛道論衡 (T 52-2015.397b25) the *Han faben neizhuan* 漢法本內傳 was a product of the *yongping* era (57-75 CE) of the Han dynasty (see also GHMJ 1; T 52.100c17). Concerning the formation of the *Han faben neizhuan*, see Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊, *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* 道教と仏教, section on "Dōbutsu nikyō no taibensho" 道仏二教の対辯書; see SSL I, section 1.
3. Along with the fifth and tenth months, the first month is believed to be one of the three times that deities visit the earth.
4. According to FZTJ 35 entry for fourteenth year, first month and eleventh day in the reign of Emperor Ming (T 40.329c7-c17),

The Daoists of the five marchmounts and the eight mountains, Chu Shanxin 褚善信 [and others], all together 690 men, handed in a petition, in which they requested to compete regarding strength or weakness with the way of the Buddha from the Westernregions. Song Xiang, the Prefect of the Masters of Writing 尚書令宋庠, was ordered to organize a great assembly in the Baima Monastery for the 15th day [of the first month of the 14th year]. The emperor established a walking hall at the Southern gate of the monastery, and erected three altars. On the Eastern altar, the Daoists placed scriptures and [texts of] masters, talismans and records. Mātanga on the Western wayside placed an altar, where he secured [Buddhist] scriptures and statues as well as relics. On the middle altar foodstuff was offered as a sacrifice to the hundred deities. The Daoists circled around the altars and said under sobs: "The emperor believes in the heresies (i.e., in Buddhism), and the mysterious manners (i.e. Daoism) have lost their order. We dare to put the scriptures on the altar to test them with fire." Then they applied fire burning the scriptures. They were all transformed into ashes. The Daoists looked at each other and were deeply shocked. Those who practiced the arts of magic, entering the fire, or walking on water, all could not perform any more. When

the Buddhist sūtras were burned, a splendor in five colors ascended and manifested in the sky. The raging fire was extinguished. Sūtras and statues were in perfect shape. (Thomas Jülch, trans., *Zhipan's Account of the Early History of Buddhism in China: An Annotated Translation of the Fozu tongji*, juan 34-38)

5. This reportedly first occurred in the tenth month of the first year of the *yuanshou* era in the Former Han (122 BCE); see the *Shi ji* 史記, *Fengchan shu* 封禪書. The five times reference to to spring, summer, end of summer, fall, and winter is connected to “five phases” (*wuxing* 五行) thought and yin/yang cosmology that became prominent in the Han through the influence of Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒.
6. On the Fire Director (*siguan shi* 司燿氏), see Hucker no. 5678. The institution is mentioned in the *Xiagong* 夏宮 section of the *Zhou li* 周禮. On the meaning of *jisi* 祭祀, see Nakamura, *Bukkyō daijiten* 793d (which refers the reader to 制多 [Sanskrit *caitya*], 823d).
7. According to JTS 7, the event occurred in the first year of the *jingyun* era (710), and it is also noted for the second year of *xiantian*, in an event involving the monk Shatuo 沙陀. It is also recorded in *Tang huiyao* 49, entry on “Lighting Lanterns” (*randeng* 燃燈).
8. Recorded in JTS 9, *Xuanzong ji* 2 玄宗紀下. The original purpose was to halt a heavy snowfall.
9. At least this is how I tentatively read the tersely worded phrase, *dang xiu zhai lu* 當修齋籙. *Lu* 籙 here refers to a book of prophecy (eg., of dynastic fortunes), so I read it as referring to holding of vegetarian (i.e., Buddhist) banquets to cultivate good fortune. The following lines are difficult to translate as well.
10. The wording here follows the *Ling zhengyue yekai fangshimen zhao* 令正月夜開坊市門詔 in QTW 32 (<http://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=384751>). According to an entry for the third year of *tianbao* (744) in *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 49, an order was issued in the eleventh month of open the marketplaces and light lanterns on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth days of the first month, and that this became the established custom.
11. The SSL has the second year of *kaiping* (907), but this has been corrected in accordance with the *Wudai huiyao* 12 and JWDS 4.
12. The decree is recorded in JWDS 4 and *Wudai huiyao* 五代會要 4. Following the JWDS in reading *kai fang* 開坊 for *men fang* 門坊.

13. The SSL has the second year 二年 of *kaiping* (907), but this has been corrected to the third year 三年 in accordance with *Wudai huiyao* 五代會要¹² and *Jiu Wudai shi* 舊五代史 4.
14. Following *Jiu Wudai shi* 舊五代史 4, *kai fang* 開坊 for *men fang* 門坊.

[59]

GENERAL REMARKS

總論

Question: What is the reason that you have outlined the history of the saṃgha and inquired into the sources of its affairs?

Answer: I wish to revive the Way of the Buddha, and cause the True Law (*zhengfa*) to long endure.

Question: At the present time, the Son of Heaven (i.e., the emperor) esteems the Way of the Buddha, honors the gateway to the profound (i.e., Daoism), and implements the literati arts,¹ to bring about great peace [in the realm]. [Buddhism] has already been revived. How can the efforts of a single bhikṣu to turn the wheel [of the Dharma] be said to “revive the Way of the Buddha?”

Answer: I merely wish to further assist in this revival. If members of the Buddhist clan do not know the Dharma and do not cultivate and practice it, do not exert themselves in the branches of [Buddhist] learning, and do not understand where the origins [of their teachings] arise, how will they be able to assist the emperor in reviving it?

Someone asked: What power do you have to “cause the True Law to long endure?”

Answer: The Buddha claimed that by knowing the Dharma and knowing māṭṛkā (i.e., the sources of Buddhist teaching),² and by protecting and upholding, adopting and accepting it, [Buddhists] can cause the Dharma to not be discontinued.

Another questioner asked: Various masters have already written extensively to explain [Buddhist teachings]. What do you expect you can do [in addition]?

Answer: When applying the explanations written by our forebears, they are found to be lacking. They were uninformed as to the course the Three Teachings would take; how they would be suppressed and then again revived. So long as the One Person (i.e., His Majesty) occupies the position of highest eminence, [the Three Teachings] are not in jeopardy. As this One Person supports the revival of the Three Teachings, the Three Teachings assist the governing principles of the One Person. Moreover, in the case of Confucianism, it was appropriate when promulgated and implemented following [the age of] the three [Sage-] Kings.³ In the case of Daoism, it fit tacitly with the non-intrusive governing style prior to [the age of] the five emperors.⁴

In ancient times Sima Qian promoted Daoism in the *Records of the Historian*, placing it at the head of the nine schools. Ban Gu favored Confucians in the *Book of Han*, and crowned them as the first among [practitioners of] the arts and letters. Zichang (i.e., Sima Qian), wanting to go back to simplicity and return to purity, esteemed the Imperial Way. Mengqian (i.e., Ban Gu) hoping to make benevolence his basis and righteousness his foundation, implemented the Kingly Way. From the Xia, Shang, and Zhou [dynasties] down to the present, several hundreds, thousands of years have passed. When rulers governed using Yellow Emperor Daoism, it was as if they used mild remedies to cure serious illnesses (i.e., they were ineffective). According to their teaching, when benevolence and righteousness become weak, rites and punishments arise.⁵ When [people] violate these rites and evade these punishments, Confucians only fold their hands [and are also at a loss for what to do].⁶

As for the methods of Buddhists [on the other hand], they are effective under all circumstances. They transform pernicious evil with compassion; they transform grasping covetousness with joyful giving; they transform enmity and partiality with equanimity; and they transform anger and hatred with forbearance. [Buddhists] know that even though people die, their spirit does not perish; they know that they are bound for a future destiny, and will be re-born according to their enduring karma. Rewarding people with [rebirth in] a heavenly palace and punishing them with [rebirth in] hell is comparable to precisely casting forms in gold as opposed to crudely shaping forms with earth. Things depicted with poor models and defective forms inevitably turn out to be ugly in their appearance; shapes executed through good forms and excellent models inevitably convey their stately elegance. The situation cannot be understood through verbal discussions; people all have to see it with their own eyes.

As a result, when the emperor supports the [Buddhist] faith, his subjects will submit to it. “The grass bends at once when the wind blows over it.”⁷ So, wisdom formed by relying partially on Master Lao (i.e., Daoism), simultaneously making provisional use of the Confucians, [and combined with Buddhism], appears able to handle the three foolishnesses.⁸ For the sake of the nation, [his majesty] should carry out the work of the empire enthusiastically by paying homage to the various sages [of the Three Teachings]. Furthermore, [his majesty] should be respectively attentive to them (the Three Teachings) throughout the entire day;⁹ they constitute the emperor’s implements. [The relationship between the emperor and the Three Teachings] is comparable to the way the arm makes the hand move, or comparable to the way the hand makes the fingers move. Sometimes [the emperor] constricts them and sometimes he allows them to move freely. However he directs them, do they not remain in his storehouse (i.e., remain his possessions)?

In this way, the Three Teachings are the possessions of a single family, and the [commander of] ten-thousand chariots (i.e., the emperor) is the

lord of this family. When [the emperor] sees his family, he mustn't be biased in his affections for them. When his affections are biased, it will produce competition. When competition is produced, it will damage the teachings. If this [biased affection] already exists within [the family], [the family] will naturally feel uneasy. And if there is uneasiness, it will, regrettably, damage His Majesty's teachings. If you do not want to damage the teachings, then you must be unbiased. When the Three Teachings are in harmony, the Dharma will obtain long tenure [in the world].

Consider further, for example, when the emperor of the Qin dynasty Shihuangdi burned and buried Confucians and their works, the deed was devised by Li Si [and not the emperor];¹⁰ when śramaṇa were slaughtered in the Later Wei dynasty, it was perpetrated by Kou Qianzhi and Cui Hao [rather than the emperor];¹¹ and when Emperor Wu of the Zhou dynasty suppressed both the teachings of Buddhism and Daoism, the emperor was proud and overly impressed with his own brilliance.¹² Undoubtedly, there were no men of proper virtue at the courts [of these emperors to advise them]. When Emperor Wuzong in the Tang dynasty destroyed completely [Buddhist] temples and images, Buddhism was slandered though the combined efforts of the Daoist Zhao Guizhen, leading Liu Xuanjing.¹³ Even with the influence of Li, Zhao,¹⁴ and Cui, how quickly did the members of the nobility respond with investigations to assist these four emperors! I recommend that we [government officials] admonish each other and check one another, lest we be implicated in [the same kind of] tragedy.

If the emperor does not allow it, how will the Dharma be established? No matter how much the Daoists defend the treasure [of the country], [their teaching] does not suffice to lead the empire. Why prevent śramaṇa from joining them, and actively performing rituals [for the benefit of the country]? You should concur with the words of the Buddha, "have respect and trust in everything." Trust in Lord Lao as the foremost among sages; trust in Confucius as the foremost among teachers. If it were not for these two sages, how could we [Buddhists] have revealed and advanced

the teaching of Śākyamuni; how could all the practices [of the three teachings] be implemented together to make your Majesty the superior of Fuxi and the Yellow Emperor?¹⁵ Should we deny those words, we are no more than hoodlum sons and younger brothers provoking fights without cause, embarrassing our fathers and mothers, suffering criminal prosecution after going bankrupt. Even so, the damage that we do to the Grand Plan of the Three Teachings is nothing more than a slight blemish of short duration. How can the passing [darkness caused by] eclipses of the sun and the moon diminish our brilliant Majesty?

Have you not read that when the books of the “hundred schools” were burned in the Qin dynasty, sages anticipated this beforehand and concealed [their works] in the walls of their houses? Even though [the Qin] buried Confucians [alive] and ordered their complete extermination, Yang Xiong and Sima Qian both, in turn, continued to uphold [Confucianism] and it survived.¹⁶ And this is not the only example where this has happened. Even though Emperor Wudi rejected Daoism in the Liang dynasty, it revived quickly in the Later Wei dynasty. Even though the Toba (i.e., Wei dynasty) executed Buddhist monks, their descendants made Buddhism prosper again. Even though the Later Zhou dynasty destroyed both teachings (i.e., Buddhism and Taoism), the Sui dynasty supported their revival. Even though Tang Emperor Wuzong banished the teaching of Śākyamuni, in no time at all Emperor Xuanzong made it flourish ten-fold. How can one possibly stem the flow of the Yellow river or Han river with the palm of one’s hand? One cannot defend against the ferociousness of a violent tiger by using one’s fists.

It would be much better if Buddhist monks were like Dao’an. Dao’an associated with Xi Zuochi and held Confucianism in high regard.¹⁷ It would be much better if Buddhist monks were like Huiyuan. Huiyuan sent Liu Xiuji across Tiger Creek, and held Daoism in high regard.¹⁸ I emulate these two eminent monks. Even though some Buddhists disparage me for being fond of Confucianism and admiring Daoism, I hold these two teachings in high regard. Why do they despise me? I

implore them to trust in the conduct of Dao'an and Huiyuan; we should regard them as our model. The *Book of Odes* says: "Hew the axe handle! Hew the axe handle! Your pattern is right in front of you."¹⁹ Mencius says: "Opportunities of time vouchsafed by Heaven are not equal to advantages of situation afforded by the Earth, and advantages of situation afforded by the Earth are not equal to the union arising from the accord of Men."²⁰ How aptly do these sayings put it!

[五十九] 總論

問曰。略僧史求事端，其故何也。

答曰。欲中興佛道，令正法久住也。

曰。方今天子重佛道，崇玄門，行儒術致太平。已中興矣。一介比丘力輪何轉，而言中興佛道耶。

答曰。更欲助其中興耳。苟釋氏子不知法不修行，不勤學科不明本起，豈能副帝王之興之乎。

或曰。子有何力令正法久住乎。

答曰。佛言知法知《摩夷》，護持攝受，可令法不斷也。

又曰。諸師已廣著述。何待子之為邪。

答曰。古人著述用則闕如。曾不知三教循環，終而復始。一人在上高而不危。有一人故奉三教之興。有三教故助一人之理。且夫儒也者，三王以降則宣用而合宜。道也者，五帝之前則冥符於不宰。

昔者，《馬》『史』躋道在九流之上。班『書』拔儒冠藝文之初。《子長》欲反其朴而還其淳，尚帝道也。《孟堅》思本其仁而祖其義，行王道焉。自《夏》《商》《周》至于今，凡幾百千齡矣。若用《黃老》而治，則急病服其緩藥矣。由此仁義薄禮刑生。越其禮而逾其刑，則儒氏拱手矣。

釋氏之門周其施用。以慈悲變暴惡。以喜捨變慳貪。以平等變冤親。以忍辱變瞋害。知人死而神明不滅。知趣到而受業還生。賞之以天堂，罰之以地獄。如範脫土，若模鑄金。邪範漏模寫物，定成其寢陋。好模嘉範傳形，必告其端嚴。事匪口談。人皆目擊。

是以帝王奉信，群下歸心。「草上之風翕然而偃。」而能旁憑《老》氏兼假儒家成智，猶待於三愚。為邦合遵於眾聖，成天下之臺臺。復終日之乾乾。之於御物也。如臂使手。如手運指。或擒或縱。何往不臧耶。

夫如是則三教是一家之物。萬乘是一家之君。視家不宜偏愛。偏愛則競生。競生則損教。已在其內，自然不安。及已不安，則悔損其教。不欲損教，則莫若無偏。三教既和故法得久住也。

且如《秦》《始》焚坑儒術，事出《李斯》。《後魏》誅戮《沙門》，職由《寇謙之》《崔浩》。《周》《武》廢佛道二教，矜衒己之聰明。蓋朝無正人。《唐》《武宗》毀除寺像，道士《趙歸真》率《劉玄靖》，同力謗誣。《李》《趙²¹》《崔》影，助此四君，諸公之報驗何太速乎。奉勸吾曹相警互防，勿罹愆失。

帝王不容，法從何立。況道流守寶，不為天下先。《沙門》何妨饒禮以和之。當合佛言，一切恭信。信于《老君》先聖也。信于《孔子》先師也。非此二聖曷能顯揚釋教。相與齊行，致君於《犧》《黃》之上乎。苟弗斯言，譬無賴子弟，無端鬥競。累其父母，破產遭刑。然則損三教之大猷，乃一時之小失。日月食過何損於明君。

不見《秦》焚百家之書，聖人預已藏諸屋壁。坑之令勦絕，《揚》《馬》二戴相次而生。何曾無噍類耶。《梁》《武》捨道，《後魏》勃興。《拓跋》誅僧，子孫重振。《後周》毀二教，《隋》牽復之。《武宗》陷釋門，去未旋踵，《宣宗》十倍興之。側掌豈能截《河》《漢》之流，張拳不可防暴虎之猛。

況為僧莫若《道安》。《安》與《習鑿齒》交游，崇儒也。為僧莫若《慧遠》。《遠》送《陸脩靜》過《虎溪》，重道也。余慕二高僧。好儒重道，釋子猶或非之，我既重他。他豈輕我。請信《安》《遠》行事，其可法也。『詩』曰。「伐柯伐柯。其則不遠。」『孟子』曰。「天時不如地利。地利不如人和。」斯之謂歟。

NOTES

1. The “literati arts” (*rushu* 儒術) may be more narrowly construed as “Confucian arts,” referring to such things as poetry, calligraphy, painting, and so on. The intimation to Confuciansim is apparent from the parallel references to the other two of the “three teachings,” Buddhism and Daoism.
2. *Moyi* 摩夷 is an abbreviation of *modalijia* 摩怛理迦, a transliteration of the Sanskrit, meaning “mother,” and thus a source or origin, specifically a textual or scriptural source; translated as *mujing* 母經 (“mother scripture”).
3. The three kings refers to the three rulers of ancient China, the founding ruler of the Xia dynasty 夏代, King Yu 禹王; the founding ruler of the Yin 殷代 (or Shang 商) dynasty, King Tang 湯王; and the founding ruler of the Zhou dynasty 周代, King Wen 文王.
4. There are various explanations regarding the five emperors of ancient China. According to the *Shi ji* 史記 (Records of the Historian), they are the Yellow Emperor (*huangdi* 黃帝), Zhuanxu 顓頊, Emperor Ku 帝嚳, Yao 堯, and Shun 舜.
5. Note the following sentiment in *Daode jing* 道德經 38:

Hence when the way was lost there was virtue;
 When virtue was lost there was benevolence;
 When benevolence was lost there was rectitude (i.e., righteousness);
 When rectitude was lost there were the rites. The rites are the
 wearing thin of loyalty and good faith,
 And the beginning of disorder;
 Foreknowledge is the flowery embellishment of the way,
 And the beginning of folly.” (D.C. Lau trans.) 故失道而後、德。失
 德而後、仁。失仁而後、義。失義而後、禮。夫禮者、忠信之
 薄、而亂之首。

6. Contrast this with a sentiment expressed in *Daode jing* 道德經 38: “A man most conversant in the rites acts, but when no one responds rolls up his sleeves and resorts to persuasion by force.” (D.C. Lau, trans.) 上禮爲之而莫之應、則攘臂而扔之。
7. From the *Lun-yu* 論語, Bk. XII-19.

8. It is unclear what the three kinds of foolishness here refer to, but the idea seems to be here that each of the three teachings has a function to play in combating different kinds of foolish, unhealthy presumptions, detrimental to government rule. In Buddhism, foolishness (*yu* 愚) is one of the three kinds of delusions: covetousness, anger, and foolishness.
9. The phrase *gangan* 乾乾 may be taken as an abbreviation for the *gangan yiyi* 乾乾翼翼, which according to The Tang work, *Puze qiaozan* 蒲澤橋贊, refers to the Way of sage-emperors as respectful diligence or attentiveness (聖皇之道 · 乾乾翼翼).
10. This refers to the famous episode recorded in *Shi ji* 史記 6, Record of Qin Shihuang 秦始皇本紀, where the emperor implements the Legalist policies of Li Si 李斯.
11. This incident involving Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之 and Cui Hao 崔浩 is discussed in the *Shilao zhi* 釋老志, recorded in *Wei shu* 魏書 114. Kou Qianzhi, along with prime minister Cui Hao, worked to establish “New Code,” a Daoist theology envisioning a renewed and purified society. Under their influence, Emperor Taiwu underwent Daoist investiture rites, and changed his reign title to Perfect Lord of Great Peace (*taiping zhenjun* 太平真君). A massive persecution aimed at the Buddhist clergy was mounted in 446. Kou died in 448, and Cui was executed in 450, ending Daoist theocratic ambitions (Livia Kohn, in Fabrizio Pregadio, *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Taoism*, pp. 601-602).
12. See *Bei shi* 北史 10. In 567, a former Buddhist priest, *Wei Yuansong* 衛元嵩, submitted a memorial to Emperor Wu (r. 561-578) of the Northern Zhou Dynasty calling for the “abolishment of Buddhism.” Emperor Wu called for the destruction of Buddhist and Daoist images in 574 and again in 577, and had their clergies returned to lay life.
13. This is the famed Huichang era suppression (ca. 841-846), recorded in JTS 18A under the third month and fourth year of *huichang* (844), promoted by Zhao Guizhen 趙歸真 and Liu Xuanjing 劉玄靖. In an effort to appropriate war funds by stripping Buddhism of its financial wealth and to drive “foreign” influences from China, Wuzong forced all Buddhist clergy into lay life or into hiding and confiscated their property.
14. While the Taishō text references the name Zhu 朱 here, this makes no sense, given the context, and I have substituted it with Zhao 趙.
15. The Yellow Emperor (*Huangdi* 黃帝) and Fuxi 伏羲 were legendary founding emperors of Chinese antiquity, believed to have established the principles upon which China is based. The point is that the Song

Emperor Taizong has a superior arsenal of teachings, with the addition of Buddhism, than the founding sage-emperors of antiquity.

16. Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BCE-18 CE), courtesy name Yang Ziyun 揚子云, was a philosopher and writer of the late Former Han period 前漢 (206 BCE-8 CE). He was deeply impressed by the *Yijing* and the *Lunyu* and wrote writing books that were modeled on these two Classics. The *Yijing* was his model for the *Taixuanjing* 太玄經, and the *Lunyu* for his book *Fayan* 法言. Sima Qian 司馬遷 was, of course, the famous historian and compiler of the *Shi ji* 史記, which played a major role in the preservation of the Confucian legacy.
17. Dao'an 道安 association with Xi Zuochi 習鑿齒 (?-384), noted literati and historian of the Eastern Jin dynasty and author of the Han/Jin historical text, *Han jin chunqiu* 漢晉春秋, is discussed in Dao'an's biography in GSZ 5.
18. Huiyuan's 慧遠 association with Liu Xiuqing 陸脩靜 (406-477), a renowned Daoist priest of the Southern Song dynasty and compiler of the *Catalogue of Lingbao Texts* (comp. 437), contained in the Lingbao Daoist Canon, is noted in *Lushan ji* 廬山記 1, *Xushan bei* 叙山北.
19. See the *Shi jing* 詩經, Odes of Bin 邠風, "Fake" 伐柯. Legge translates as "In hewing an axe-handle, in hewing an axe-handle, The pattern is not far off." The point here is that when you use an axe to make an axe, the model is ready at hand; in the same way, we have clear models for how monks should behave.
20. See the *Mengzi* 孟子, Gong Sun Chou B 公孫丑下 (Legge trans.).
21. Replacing *zhu* 朱 with *zhao* 趙.

ABBREVIATIONS

CBETA Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association

CDL *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄

CSZJJ *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集

DDB *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*

FZTJ *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀

GHMJ *Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集

GSZ *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳

Hucker *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*

HMJ *Hongming ji* 弘明集

JTS *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書

JWDS *Jiu Wudai shi* 舊五代史

KK *Kokuyaku issai kyō* 国訳一切經.

Morohashi *Dai kanwa jiten* 大漢和辞典

Nakamura *Bukkyōgo daijiten* 仏教語大辭典

OED *Oxford English Dictionary*

QTW *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文

SGSZ *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳

SSL *Seng shilüe* 僧史略

T *Taishō shinshu daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經

XGSZ *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳

XWDS *Xin Wudai shi* 新五代史

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