

京都大學人文科學研究所報告

# 雲岡石窟

西曆五世紀における中國北部  
佛教窟院の考古學的調査報告

東方文化研究所調査

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水 野 清 一

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## 例 言

『雲岡石窟』十五卷を印刷してゆくうちに、第十六卷を追加することの必要が痛感された。それは既刊の十五卷に對して展望をあたへるためと若干の遺漏を追加するためとであつた。いま第十六卷は上下の二冊にわかれ、上册補遺は石窟の總括として「雲岡造營次第」をおさめ、さらに雲岡、大同近傍諸遺蹟の調査記をくはへた。また、これを機會に、かねて企圖してみた「魏書釋老志」の英譯を、本所教授塚本善隆氏、また本所にたまたま遊學中であつた米國留學生 Leon Hurvitz 氏によつて作成し、收載するはこびにいたつたことは、われわれのふかく喜びとするところである。その印刷校正に對しては、とくに本所助手藤吉慈海、牧田諦亮、および陳顯明諸氏がなみなみならぬ努力をつひやされた。下冊索引は全卷に對する索引と總目次とをおさめるが、その作成には陳顯明、波多野茂男兩氏の絶大な協力えた。挿圖は例により助手高柳重雄氏、北野正男氏の手になり、寫眞はもと所員羽館易氏の撮影になるものが多い。また本卷の編纂については、もとより齋藤菊太郎、陳顯明、助手岡崎敬諸氏のたゆまぬ努力に俟つところ大で、こゝに感謝の微意を表するしだいである。

いよいよ、この卷をもつて『雲岡石窟』十六卷の刊行をはるわけであるが、調査をはじめた昭和十三年以來のことをおもひ、印刷をはじめた昭和二十五年以來のことをかんがへると、いさゝか感慨なきをえない。このすぐる十八年間の調査と研究において、有形無形さまざまの援助をあたへられた人々は實に多い。しかも、そのうちには、すでに不歸の客となられた人さへある。いま、その最終卷を世におくるにあたって、これらの人々に對し感謝のおもひを新らたにするのであるが、とくにこの莫大な刊行費について、特別な配慮をはらはれた文部省および京都大學の當局に對して深甚の敬意を表するものである。それとともに、この刊行をたすけて、豫定どほりの進行をえせしめた雲岡刊行會の方々に對しても、深甚の謝意をおくりたい。最後に、この事業のために多大の煩勞をかけた前所長貝塚茂樹、現所長塚本善隆兩氏および本所事務當局に對して、また調査から報告の全期間にわたつて、あらゆる勞苦をともにされた研究協力者の諸氏に對して、心からなる感謝をさゝげるしだいである。

1956年3月

著 者

## FOREWORD

THIS SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME OR VOLUME XVI has been added to contain the supplements to the previous fifteen volumes. During the eighteen years since 1938 we have devoted ourselves to the investigation, report and publication of the Yün-kang sites. The long period over which this work has been spread has inevitably resulted in some confusions in our descriptions and in the conclusions of the volumes. It has thus been necessary to publish a supplementary volume which also included the index of the whole fifteen volume work as well as a report of the investigation of the Fang-shan site. We are very fortunate to be able to add in this volume the valuable English translation of the *Shih-lao-chih* with detailed commentary made by Prof. Z. Tsukamoto of our Institute and Mr. L. Hurvitz, the young American scholar who has generously given some of his valuable time during his study of Buddhism in our country to a willing help in this work. Mr. J. Fujiyoshi and Mr. T. Makita, both assistants of the Institute, generously took charge of the proof-reading.

The text is the joint authorship of S. Mizuno and T. Nagahiro. The translation was made by Mr. P. C. Swann of the Museum of Eastern Art, Oxford University. Mr. Ch'ên Hsien-ming and Mr. S. Hatano helped compile the index. The drawings were done by M. Kitano and Mr. S. Takayanagi, assistant of the Institute. The photographs were made by Mr. O. Hatachi, former Institute photographer.

The printing of this volume was made possible by funds of the Institute with the encouragement of the Ministry of Education and Kyoto University.

To the gentlemen and the Government agencies mentioned above are due our sincerest thanks. We wish also to record our warm regard and gratitude to Mr. K. Saitō, Mr. Ch'ên Hsien-ming and Mr. T. Okazaki, assistant of the Institute, who have devoted themselves whole-heartedly to the heavy task of publishing this, the last volume of our work, as well as to those whose names are not mentioned here but who helped or encouraged us, directly or indirectly during these years of our researches.

JIMBUNKAGAKU-KENKYUSHO

KYOTO UNIVERSITY

March, 1956

SEIICHI MIZUNO

TOSHIO NAGAHIRO

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## 總 括

# 雲 岡 造 窟 次 第

『雲岡石窟』十五卷にわたる記述は、印刷からいふと六年間にわたり、執筆からいふと戦時中以來の十數年にわたるものであった。そのながいあひだには、いろいろの變化があり、齟齬、矛盾するところがないわけではない。すくなくとも、前後の照應がわるく、讀者に誤解をまねくやうなところがあるにちがひない。それで、いまこゝに補遺の一卷をおくるにあたり、もっぱら雲岡石窟造建の順序について要約をこゝろみたいとおもふ。

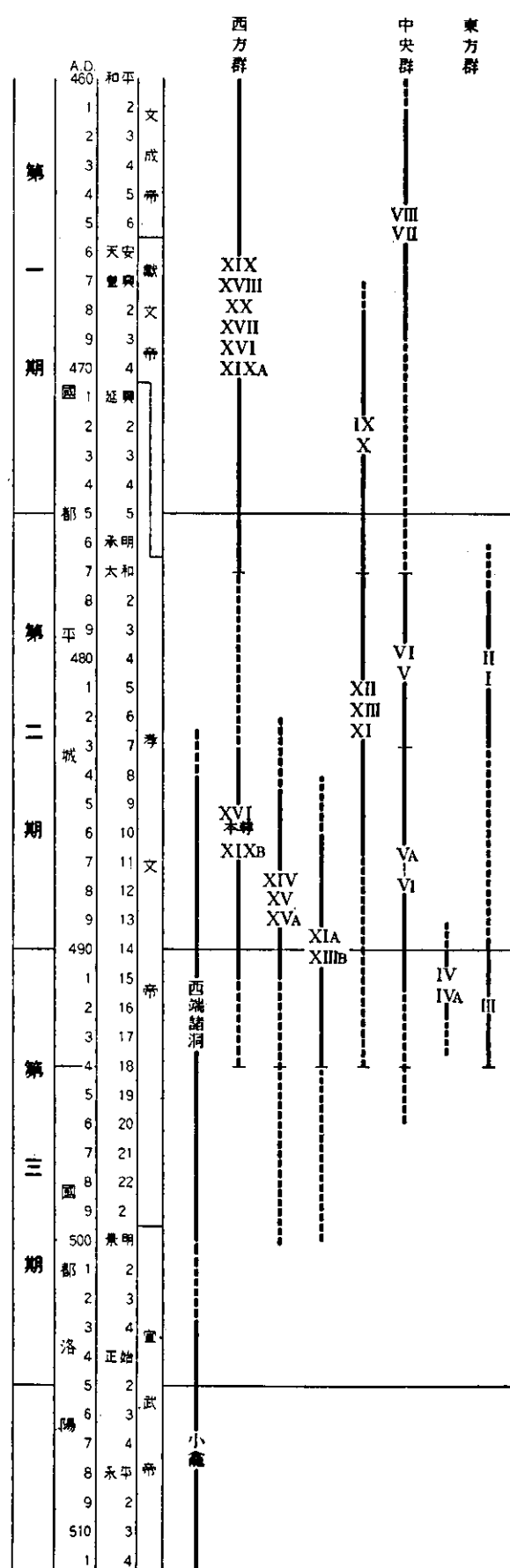
### 1

第十六洞から第二十洞までの五窟を曇曜五窟と稱するのは、この五窟が曇曜の奏請して開鑿した五窟と推定されるからである。このことについては、まったくだれにも異論がない。着手したのは和平元年(A.D. 460)、たゞ、その竣功の年がわからないのみである。(第十三・第十四卷終章)

この曇曜五窟の終末をおさへるものは第五洞、第六洞一雙窟の造營である。この統一ある一雙窟の完成は、彪大な造營力と迅速な竣功を豫想せしめずにはおかない。それに、あの中國式服裝を中核とする新様式は孝文帝と、それから、あの膨湃としておこった獻文帝のための追善といふ事實とをもとにしてかんがへるほかはないとおもふ。かくて第五、第六洞の着工を太和元年(A.D. 477)として、その竣功を、孝文帝の第三次石窟寺行幸の太和七年(A.D. 483)としたわけである。(第二、第三卷終章)

それから、もうひとつのポイントは、最大石窟第三洞の未完成である。この大石窟の工事は、よほどの人物が、よほどの決意ではじめたにちがひない。しかも、それが、あのやうに明白な未完成ではあってゐることは、帝室の造營と、その豫期に反した突然な中止とを意味する。この説明には孝文帝と、その洛陽遷都といふ事實をもつてするよりほかはない。それで、その着手の年は嚴密にわからぬにしても、造營の中心は太和十八年(A.D. 494)ごろにあることは明白である。(第一卷終章)

最後の年をきめるものは造像紀年である。これは太和七年(A.D. 493)にはじまって太和二十年(A.D. 496)にをはる一群と、正始四年(A.D. 507)にはじまり延昌四年(A.D. 515)にいたる四種の一群とがある。前者は第十一洞から第十七洞にいたる間に分布し、後者は第十九B洞以西の小龕にある。また第四洞内には正光(A.D. 520-524)かとよまれる小龕がある。とにかく、これが雲岡にお



雲岡石窟造營次第年表  
Chronology of Caves in Yün-kang.

ける造營の終末を暗示することはいふまでもない。しかも、この第二群の紀年佛龕すら、すべてごく小さい佛龕で、西端諸洞においても、けっして重要な存在でないことである。このことは、この正始延昌ごろ、すでに雲岡における石窟造營は中止されてゐたことを暗示する。つまり雲岡における石窟の造營は正始よりもかなりまへにをはり、この佛龕などが雲岡石窟の最後になるのである。(第十五卷終章)

## 2

以上の四つの點がまづ基本になるとおもふ。もしこれを簡單化していへば、最初の十五年が曇曜五窟の時代であり、中の十五年が第五、第六洞の時代であり、最後の十五年が西端諸洞の時代であるといへるであらう。さうして、さらにこれを詳細にみようとするならば、これを様式的に整序してゆくよりほかはない。

まづ第七洞、第八洞であるが、この一雙窟は、その様式的觀點から曇曜五窟との併行がかんがへられる。曇曜五窟よりは、いくぶんおくれて着手したかも知れないが、様式的にはまったくおなじである。西方の丘に對して、中央の丘では、この一雙窟がまっさきに造建されたのである。曇曜五窟があくまで尊像本位で、非構築的であつたに對して、これは整然とした構築的な石窟であつた。たゞこの二窟の前後をいへば第八洞がさきて、第七洞がおくれてゐるとおもふ。(第四、五卷終章)

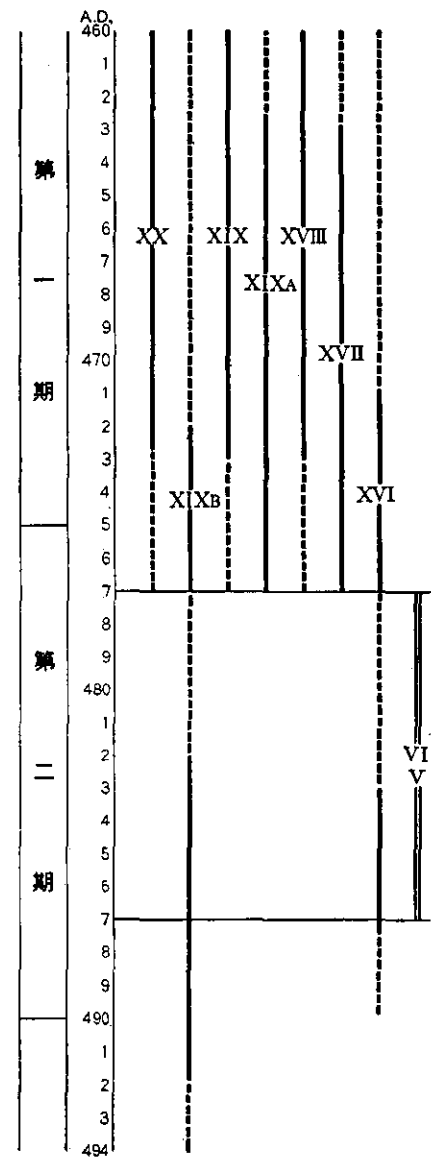
これについて第九洞、第十洞の一雙窟がつくられたことは、その様式からして、またこの位置からしてあきらかである。まづ第九洞、ついで第十洞であらう。ところが、第一洞、第二洞の一雙窟となると、

第九、第十洞の様式をおそひながら、かなり第五、第六洞と共通するものがみられる。だから、第七、八洞の一雙窟とこゝにあげた二組の一雙窟とを一直線上にならべれば第七、第八洞から第九、第十洞になり、それから第一、第二洞になる。しかし、この第一、第二洞の一雙窟を第五、第六洞の一雙窟と一直線にならべるのは、いさゝか躊躇されとおもふ。といふのは、この兩者の共通性は第一、第二洞にはじまったものでなく、第五、第六洞よりの感化といふふうにみられるからである。だから、ちがった傳統のもとに出發した第一、第二洞が第五、第六洞からつよい感化をうけたものであらう。

したがって、第一、第二洞は第五、第六洞と併行して造營され、いくらかはやく完成したものとおもはれる。してみると、第五、第六洞開始までの十五、六年を二つにわけて、前半を第七、第八洞の造營期、後半を第九、第十洞の造營期とし、さらに第五、第六洞の造營期に併行して第一、第二洞のそれがみとめられる。つまり、第一卷終章(P. 32)は若干訂正されて、第一、第二洞は太和初年(A.D. 477)ごろの開始、第九、第十洞は皇興、延興(A.D. 467-475)の造建、第七、第八洞は和平、皇興(A.D. 460-471)の造建と、いちおう解されるであらう。(第一、第六、第七卷終章)

つぎに第十一洞、第十二洞、第十三洞についてであるが、これらが、その位置よりして、また様式便化のあとよりして、第九、第十洞以後につくられたことはうたがひなからう。してみると、大ざっぱにいつて第五、第六洞との併行がかんがへられる。たゞくはしくいへば、その着手において若干の先行がみとめられるであらう。それは、この三洞がみな第七洞から第十洞にいたる様式をとってゐるからである。とくに、その様式で一貫された第十二洞のごときは、この感がつよい。けれども、あきらかに第五、第六洞様式のつよい感化もある。たとへば、第十一洞西壁七佛、第十三洞南壁七佛のごときはそれである。だから、この三洞の造營については、太和初年(A.D. 477)からの數年間がかんがへられるであらう。しかも、第十一洞は未完成窟である。つまり、そ

の形式の萎微にみられるやうに、あまり力のいれられなかつた石窟であらう。しかし、この窟内東壁上層に太和七年(A.D. 483)の佛龕がある。これは、そのありばしよからいつて、この石窟の造營中につくられたものとおもはれる。それに、この石窟の内外には、太和云々の文字がいくつもあつて、明窓東側には太和十九年(A.D. 485)の佛龕がある。これは、この窟の造營が太和時代にありながら、太和の十九年には、もうすでにをはつてゐたことをしめすものにほかならぬ。(第八・第九卷、第



曇曜五窟造營次第年表  
Chronology of Caves XVI-XX, Yün-kang

さて第十四洞,第十五洞,第十五A洞は,第十六洞附屬の石窟である。ところが,第十六洞は曇曜五窟のうちでも,いちばん東にあり,いちばんおくれてつくられたものであらう。着手は,あまりおくれてゐなかつたにしても,工事がすゝまなかつたことはたしかである。とにかく,第一期に完了できず,本尊の佛立像と門口左右の脇佛立像は,みな第五,第六洞式につくられてゐるのである。こゝでも,この様式は自生的でない。だから,第五,第六洞からの影響をかんがへないわけにはいかない。したがって,その工事は第二期後半以後のものである。第十四,第十五,第十五A洞は,それとおなじときの造建で,おのづからこゝにも第五,第六洞ふうがみられるのである。けれども,壁面の下部まで,すべて彫りつくされるまでには,なほかなりの時間を要したとみえ,こゝには一様に第三次の工事をしめす繊細な佛龕様式がみとめられる。さうして,それには第十六洞の腰壁にもおよんでゐるのである。(第十一卷終章)

第十六洞本尊の三佛立像が雲岡第二期の工事であるといったが,第十九B洞も,また第二期の工事である。してみると,曇曜五窟は雲岡最初の石窟であつたけれども,第一期の終末には,まだ第十九B洞はできず,第十六洞本尊はできず,また第十九A洞本尊の趺座と第十七洞本尊の足もととは,まだ完成してゐなかつた。しかるに,なにか緊急事態がおこつたのであらうか,曇曜五窟の工事は一齊に中止されてしまった。さうして,ふたゝび着手されたときには,未完成のはなはだしい第十六洞と第十九B洞だけがとりあげられ,第十七洞と第十九A洞とはそのまゝに放任されたいのである。さうして,この緊急事態といふのは第二期を特色づける第五,第六洞の突貫工事にほかならないとおもふ。だから,こんど着手されたときの補充工事が,第五,第六洞ふうであつたことは,至極當然なりゆきだったといへよう。

曇曜五窟の開鑿は,もとより同時にはじめられたわけである。風化した,不規則な崖を切りとつて五窟に共通する垂直の壁面をつくることからはじめられた。けれども,いよいよ窟内のしごとがはじまると,かならずしも同一速度ですゝんだわけではない。第十九洞は五窟の最大で,もっとも力點がおかれたであらうから,やゝはやくすゝんだにちがひない。第十八洞も五窟のまんなかで,けつしてこれにおくれるやうなこともあるまい。第二十洞は,第十九洞左右脇洞と床面をひとしくしてゐるので,これもわりにはやく工事がすゝんだものかとおもふ。さうして,この三洞にやゝおくれて第十七洞があり,もっともおくれて第十六洞がついたものであらう。さうして,第十九洞は,もっとも力がそゝがれたけれども,なにぶんにも二脇洞をふくむことゝて,その脇洞の工事はやゝおくれてゐたらしい。そこに第五,第六洞の開鑿がはじまり,その迅速な完成を期して曇曜五窟



は犠牲となり、その進度の不そろひのまゝ一時中止の憂目をみたものとおもはれる。(第十二、第十三・十四卷、終章)

4

第四洞、第四A洞は第三洞附屬の石窟である。だから第三洞の着工後に開始されたことはうたがへない。たゞ、小窟であつたために、はやく完成をみたものであらう。また第五A洞以下の、上下二層にわたる小窟群は、やはり第五、第六洞の附屬である。第五、第六洞以後、おそらくその完成後に逐次つくられたものであらう。上層東端の方柱窟は未完成にをはってゐる。

第十一洞から第十三洞外壁における窟龕が第十一、第十二、第十三洞以後であること、自然第五、第六洞以後であることはいふまでもない。しかし、そのうちには太和十九年(A.D. 495)の紀年佛龕もみられるから、太和末年の作として誤ないであらう。この西端でも列柱窟の第十三A洞、方柱窟の第十三B洞が未完成にとゞまってゐる。東端の第五I洞の未完成とたがひに照應してゐるのは偶然であるまい。たぶん、遷都(A.D. 494)に際して運命をともにしたものとみられる。

第二十一洞以下の西端洞が、第十四、第十五、第十五A洞に照應して、第五、第六洞完了後にさかんになったことは想像できる。してみると第三期の工事である。第二十一洞からはじまって漸次西方におよんだものであらう。けれども第三十三洞から第三十七洞附近、また第三十九、第四十洞などもけっして最後といふわけではない。かへって第三十一、第三十二洞附近の小窟や第三十八洞、およびその附近の小窟がもっともおくれてゐるやうにみへる。それにしても、さきにいったごとく正始初年(A.D. 504)よりおくれることは、まづあるまい。だから、もう一步すすんでいへば、太和末、景明初年(A.D. 449, 500)で、いちおう雲岡の石窟工事は終止符をうったものと推定される。

以上の推測をだいたい正しいとすれば、第五、第六洞の造營に對して六年間、第七、第八洞に對しても、また第九、第十洞に對しても、それぞれ約八年間たらずの造營期間をみとめたことになる。曇曜五窟については、第一次の工事を十六年間とし、あとから若干年の工事がくはゝったとする。さうすれば、第三洞の、あの未完成工事に、五年以上かゝったとはおもへないであらう。龍門賓陽三洞のためには、第一次の失敗工事もくはへて22年、802,366人の勞力を要した。けれども、完成をみたのは、たゞ中洞だけで、北洞と南洞とは、ほゞ形をなしてゐたかも知れぬが、つひに未完成にをはってゐる。また奉先寺の造建は、咸亨三年(A.D. 672)四月一日に工をおこして上元二年(A.D. 675)二月三十日、三年九個月かゝつてゐる。これは案外迅速にできたやうであるが、それは石の大像のみの竣功であつたし、その岩壁は北魏のときにすてゝゐたものを再利用したものとみられる。また、寶山大住聖窟の造建には2,524人を要したといふ。さういふふうに見てくると、こゝに計算した雲岡の工事年數も、だいたい、穩當なところとしてうけとれるのではなからうか。

## 附 録 I

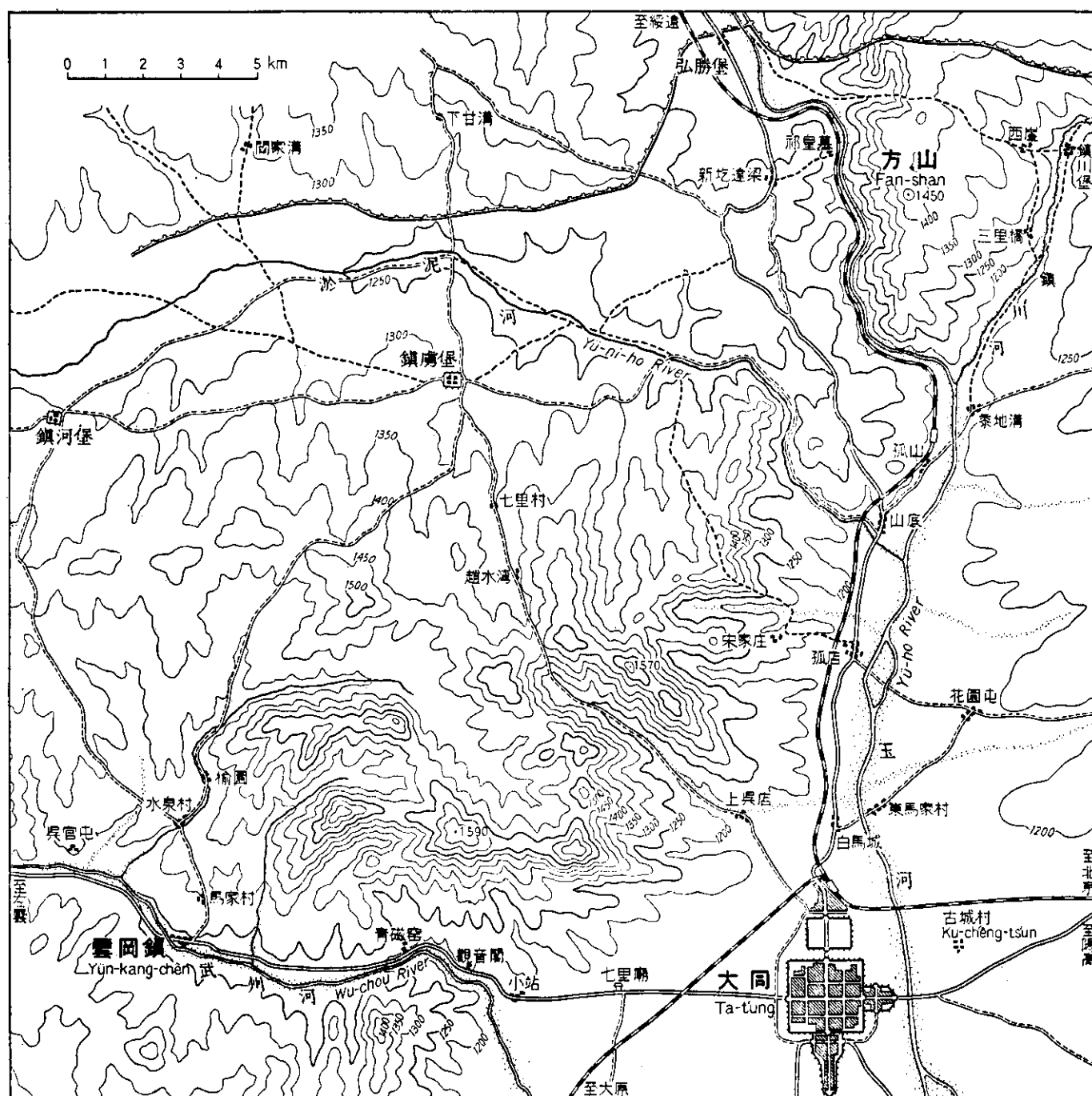
# 大同近傍調査記

大同は北魏の都、平城の地である。雲岡石窟が造營されつゝあったとき、こゝに都があり、宮殿がたちならんでゐた。だから、その結構の大要でも知りたいとは、雲岡石窟の調査に着手するまへからののぞみであつた。1938年の春、雲岡石窟調査のかたはら、いくらか心あたりをあるいてみたが、この千五百年まへの城壁をさぐりあてゑることは、なかなか困難なことであつた。それで翌1939年夏、東亞考古學會は原田淑人博士を主班とする調査隊を派遣したが、まだ都城、宮城の全貌をあきらかにするにはいたらなかった。たゞ、をりから大同驛の給水塔工事で礎石類が発見され、従来いはれてゐた宮城の位置が、より確實になってきたのは、なによりも幸であつた。これに反して、文明太后をはうむった永固陵、萬年堂の遺跡は、大同北方の方山山頂に嚴然とのこつてゐる。われわれも、1939年9月1日と1941年9月17日の二回、この方山の北魏遺跡をおとづれた。調査は短時間であつたが、その遺構のうかゞふべきものがあるので、こゝで簡略に報告したいとおもふ。また平城の遺跡についても管見のおよびえたものを録して、將來の研究に資したい。(Fig. 1)

### 1 平 城 遺 跡

〔古城村遺跡〕 平城の遺跡で、従来なにかといはれてゐたものは玉河の東の古城村であつた。それで、1938年5月15日さっそく、この方面の調査にいった。大同の東門をでゝ玉河をわたり、河床から一段たかい東岸にのぼると、坦々たる畑地に古城村の部落がある。部落の名が由來する古城は、村の北がはにあつて、その西南角をのこしてゐる。しかし、これが北魏のものでないことはすぐわかつた。たかさは四、五メートルあるが、うすい貧弱な土壁である。壁中には北魏の灰陶片とともに、もっとあたらしい土器片もふくんでゐる。したがつて、この土壁は、これよりも東方、北方にひろがる都城址の一部であらう。いま、京包線の北にも、土城のはしつてゐるのを見ることが、たぶん、これにつらなるもので、遼金ごろの營造であらうとおもふ。北邊中央のやゝたかいところに散布するのは遼金の瓦片のみである。(Fig. 2)

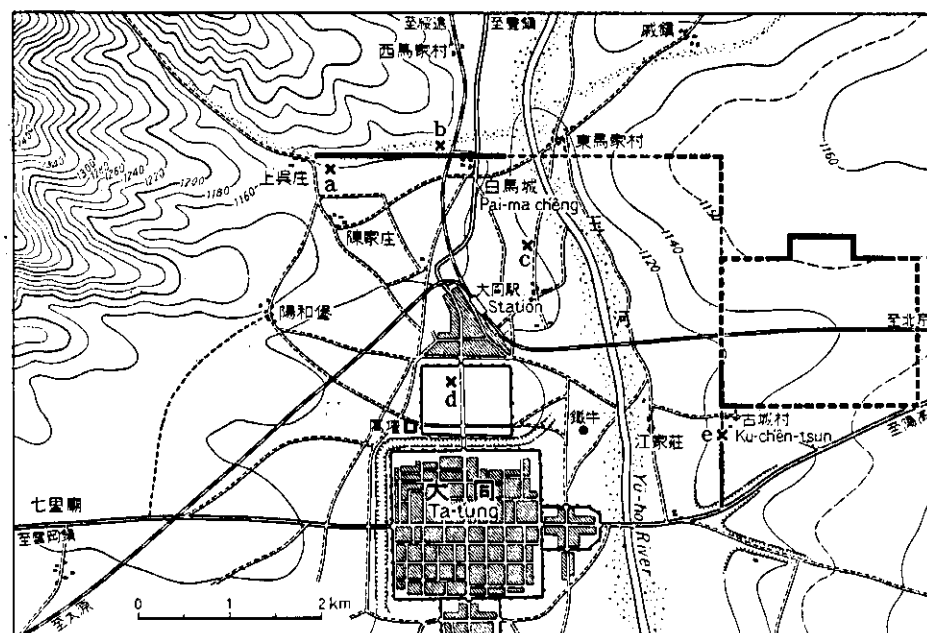
これと反對に北魏の遺物は村の南方に散布してゐる。蓮瓣瓦當があり、蓮瓣の種木瓦があり、唐草印文の灰陶片、あるひは波狀印文の灰陶洗の破片がある。みな代表的な北魏の遺品で、繩蓆文の瓦片がないことも漢の遺跡でなく、北魏の遺跡であることを明白にしてゐる。斷片はみんな小片のみで、主として南北にはしるひろい畑地から採集された。この畑地は、あたりの畑地よりは、わづかにたかくもりあがつて南北にながくとほつてゐる。あるひは古い城壁のなごりをしめすものかとおもはれた。



第一圖 大同方山附近圖  
Fig. 1. Map of Tatung and Fang-shan

〔北關遺跡〕 大同城の北門をでると、こゝに厲壇がある。『大同府志』卷六によると、このあたりが北魏の宮城といはれてゐる。いま、それを證するなにもものもないが、これからひろい北關内をめぐる南北の道路の溝に灰陶片の包含層があらはれてゐる。われわれは、1938年6月24日、西がはににあった北門倉庫ちかくで試掘(Fig. 9)をしたが、こゝからは同心圓文の瓦當と蕨手文の瓦當がでた。これにともなつて繩蓆文の灰陶片もたくさんにあつた。これらは北魏のものといふより、むしろ漢代の遺物とみられる。つまり漢の平城縣に關係のある遺跡であらう。ところが、また北魏式の印文のある灰陶片もすくなくない。包含層は二メートルにおよび、灰分の多い黒色土層、そのしたは砂層である。だから、こゝは漢代の遺跡であるとともに、北魏の平城の一部でもあったのであらう。

〔給水塔遺跡〕 京包線の大同驛は北關をでなほ數百メートル北にある。驛の背後に給水塔があり、1939年夏、その給水管をいける工事がいとなまれた。塔から河岸まで二、三百メートルあるが、その東端でたくさんの礎石が発見された。われわれは8月31日にいって見たが、東西にわたって二列になってゐた。礎石の間隔は約五メートルで、東西に七つならんでゐた。みな砂岩で、二メートル大の礎石(Fig. 10-13)である。雲岡西梁の寺院址(本書、第十五卷、Fig. 54)、方山遺跡(Fig. 5)にみるものと同じで、たしかに北魏のものである。その礎石の規模からみると、たぶん宮殿の一部と判斷してよささうである。あるひは回廊の一部であらうか。それにしても、残念なことは、それ以上の走向とか、配列のぐあひが知られなかつたことである。なほ附近には波狀平瓦當片が若干散布してゐたが、けっして多くはなかつた。



第二圖 大同北魏都城址  
Fig. 2. Northern Wei Capital of Tatung.

〔北壁遺跡〕 この驛附近より北方はいくらか土地がたかくなり、北兵營はその中央形勝の地にある。1938年5月22日、この方面を踏査したが、兵營附近にはなにもない。たゞその東部で若干の灰陶片を採集したのみであった。ところが、これより北方で、一條の大きな溝が西から東にはしり、玉河にはいつてゐるのがみられた。だが、もとより溝には水なく、たゞ夏期の一時的出水のためのものとおもはれる。まづ、この大溝は、ほとんど東西に一直線であることが注意されるが、よくみると浸蝕された南岸には歴々として版築のあと(Fig. 14-16)があらはれてゐる。のみならず、南岸の地上には、たかき三、四メートルの土坡がのこつてゐる。これがみな版築である。版築のあつきは現在では三メートル、北がはにあらはれてゐるところをみると、その基底までのたかさが現在で約四メートルである。これを北魏平城の北壁とみてよささうである。『魏書』に「平城外廊、三十二里」といふが、一邊八里とすれば一邊ははゞ4kmである。河東の古城村の遺跡は、その東壁のなごりであらうか。さうすると北壁と東壁とはわかつたわけであるが、西壁と南壁とがまだわからないのである。

この東西にはしる北壁は、一方は京包線をこえて河岸に達してゐるし、他方はほとんど山麓に達してきてゐる。どうしても南にをれる西壁の存在をみとめがたいのは遺憾である。たゞ西端にちかい城壁の内部で、繩藩

文灰陶片の豊富な包含層をみた。また東方、京包線の北走するところ、城壁の北岸で縄文灰陶片の包含層や散布地などがみられた。はたして、漢代平城縣に關する遺跡であらうか。



第三圖 方山遺跡圖 Fig. 3. Map of Fang-shan Site.

水野清一「大同通信」(考古學, IX-8), 大阪1938年刊。

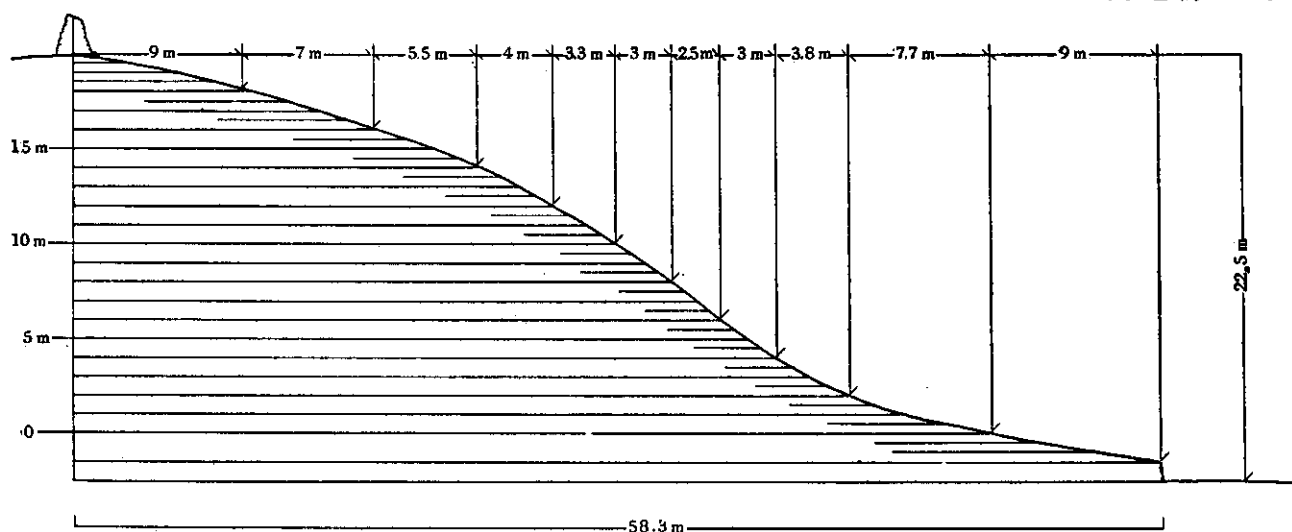
水野清一「大同再信」(考古學, IX-9), 大阪1938年刊。

## 2 方山遺跡

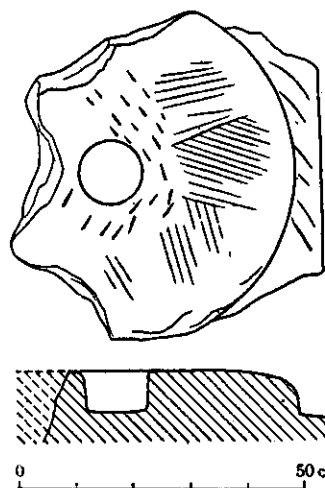
大同から北をのぞむと、山頂のたひらな山がはるかに見える。これが、いまいふ方山である。比高にしておよそ100mあらうか、玄武岩の溶岩臺地である。いまの玉河、いにしへの如渾水は西北から、この山の西麓をながれ、鎮川河は東北からこの東麓をながれ、山南で合流してゐる。大同から約20km、鎮川河にそうてすゝみ、山麓にある西崖底とよぶ小部落から臺上(Fig. 1)にあがる。鎮川堡の大部落がはるか東北の對岸にみえ、約一キロばかりかなたに外長城が東西に谷をわたってはしつてゐる。のぼりつめると小墓の北であった。二回目には南の三里橋から臺上にのぼり、白佛臺のところにでた。(Fig. 3)

〔大墓と小墓〕 臺上にあがると、東北端に高大な墳丘(Fig. 18)がある。たかさ約13mの圓墳であるが、基底は一邊約60mの方形をなす。これは孝文帝の壽陵であつたが、のち洛陽遷都のため、こゝに埋葬されなかつた。だから、たゞ形骸を存するのみで、酈道元(A.D. 469-527)の『水經注』では萬年堂とよばれてゐる。

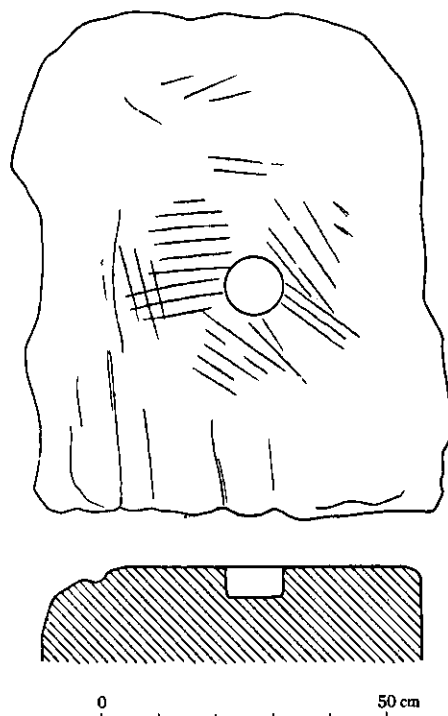
これから南にすすむと、674mはなれてより大きな墳丘(Fig. 17)がある。これが文明太后をほうむった永固陵である。まはり開墾されて畑地になつてゐるが、土の量はいたつてすくなく、ところどころにあばたの玄武岩がかほをだ



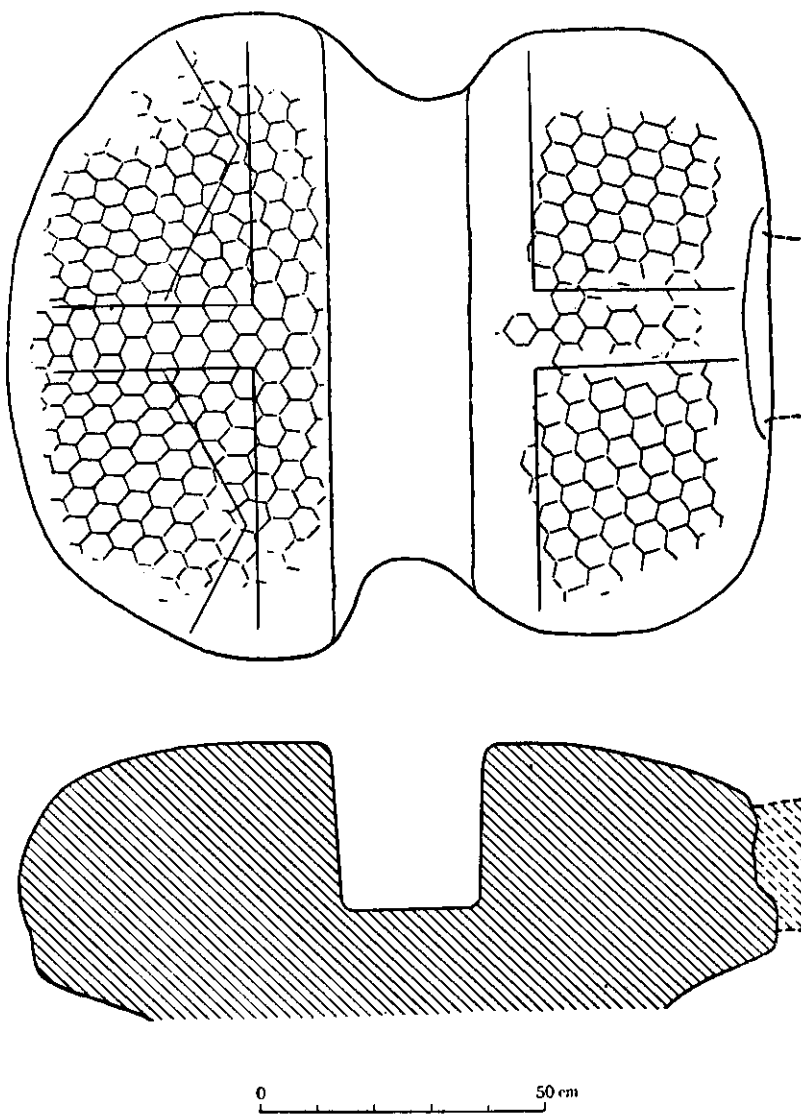
第四圖 方山大墓斷面圖  
Fig. 4. Section of Large Tomb at Fang-shan.



第五圖 方山白佛臺礎石  
Fig. 5. Pillar Base at Pai-fo-tai, Fang-shan.



第六圖 方山白佛臺龜趺  
Fig. 6. Tortoise Base at Pai-fo-tai.



第七圖 方山草堂山礎石  
Fig. 7. Pillar Base at Ts'ao-t'ang-shan, Fang-shan.

してゐる。墳丘のたかさは22.50m, 圓墳のかたちであるが, 基底は, けづられてほぼ方形をなす。ともかく, この方が大きく, 完好なふくらみ(Fig. 4)をもつてゐる。

なほ兩墓の北方にも二三の小さい墳丘があるやうであつた。

〔白佛臺〕 永固陵の南に, これをまつる祠堂のあつたことは文獻につたへるごとくである。いま永固陵から南569.50mのところの完好な北魏式の礎石がある。この礎石(Fig. 5, 25)を西南隅として, これより東方, 北方にかけて縦横の石づみがみられる。おそらく, これがその祠堂たる永固堂のあと(Fig. 21-24)をしめすものとおもはれる。傳祚無窮の瓦當が多く, 萬歲富貴の瓦當もある。蓮瓣瓦當の破片も多く, なかでもめづらしいのは, 蓮瓣のまんなかに, むっくりと厚肉の化生童子をいれたものである。また青味のある緻密な砂岩に, 山水その他の浮彫のみえる斷片がある。これなどは『水經注』にいふ忠臣, 孝子, 貞婦, 順良の畫像と姓名とを彫つた青石といふものがおもひあはされて, 興味がふかい。まんなかどこに龜趺(Fig. 6, 27, 28)がある。頭をうしなふが, 龜甲がこまかく表現されて, 實に堂々としてゐる。正しく文明太后の功德をたゞへたといふ永固堂の碑の臺であらう。また圓礫をふくんだ黄色の石灰岩を採集したが, これも永固堂の建築にもちひたといふ文石の斷片であらう。

いま, この部分の遺構は南北中心線より東方だけにしかない。しかし, 瓦片はこの白佛臺一帯に散布し, その南邊に石壘(Fig. 29, 30)がある。さらにこの中央からジグザクの御道があつて, したの臺地にみちびかれてゐる。

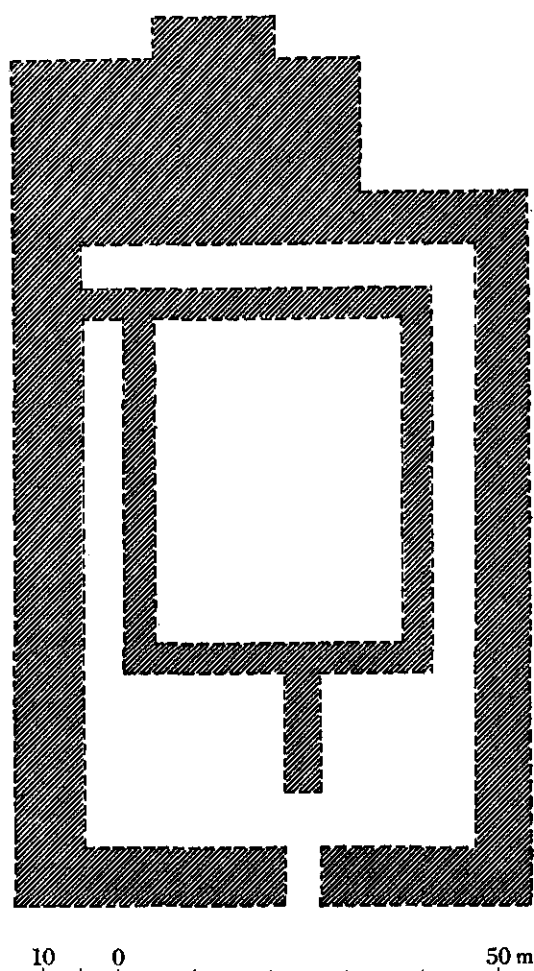
いま西南隅にある烽臺は, もとよりあたらしい遺構である。

〔草堂山〕 したの臺地には方形のプラン(Fig. 8, 19)がうかがはれる。内部に瓦片の散布が多い。これは方形の塔を中心にし, 回廊をめぐるした塔院であらう。瓦片の散布は多い。たぶん文獻にいふ思遠浮圖の遺跡であらう。この西北の一角にも一個の礎石(Fig. 7, 26)がある。

なほ, これより東方の臺上にも, なにかの遺構のあと(Fig. 20)があり, 南方の一段ひくい臺上にも遺構があるが, こゝには瓦片の散布をみない。たぶん『水經注』にいふ南門の二石闕の地であらう。なほ白佛臺よりくだつてきた御道はジグザグについて草堂山の廢址に達してゐる。

なほ水邊にあつた臨泉宮や長楊池は, もっとくだつた河畔の平地にもとめらるべきであらう。いまでも二水の合流する黍地溝のあたり(Fig. 19)は, 河畔に白楊多く, うつくしい水郷を呈してゐる。これを臺上に比定したウェンレー氏の説はまちがつてゐる。

A. G. Wenley, *The Grand Empress Dowager Wên Ming and the Northern Wei Necropolis* (Freer Gallery of Art, Occasional Papers, I-1), Washington 1947.



第八圖 方山草堂山遺址

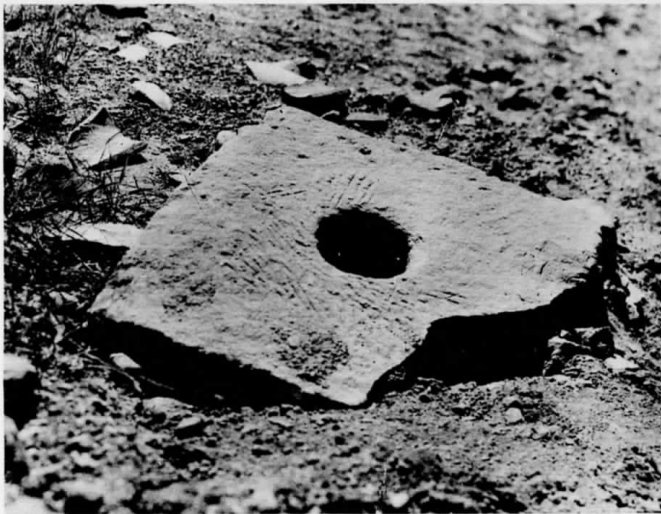
Fig. 8. Ruin of Ts'ao-t'ang-shan, Fang shan.





第九圖 大同北關遺蹟

Fig. 9. Site at Pei-kuan, Tatung.



第十圖 大同給水塔附近礎石



第十一圖 大同給水塔附近礎石



第十二圖 大同給水塔附近礎石



第十三圖 大同給水塔附近礎石

Figs. 10-13. Pillar Bases on Site near Water-Tower, Tatung.





第十四圖 大同古城北壁版築

Fig. 14. North Wall of Pounded Earth (from North).



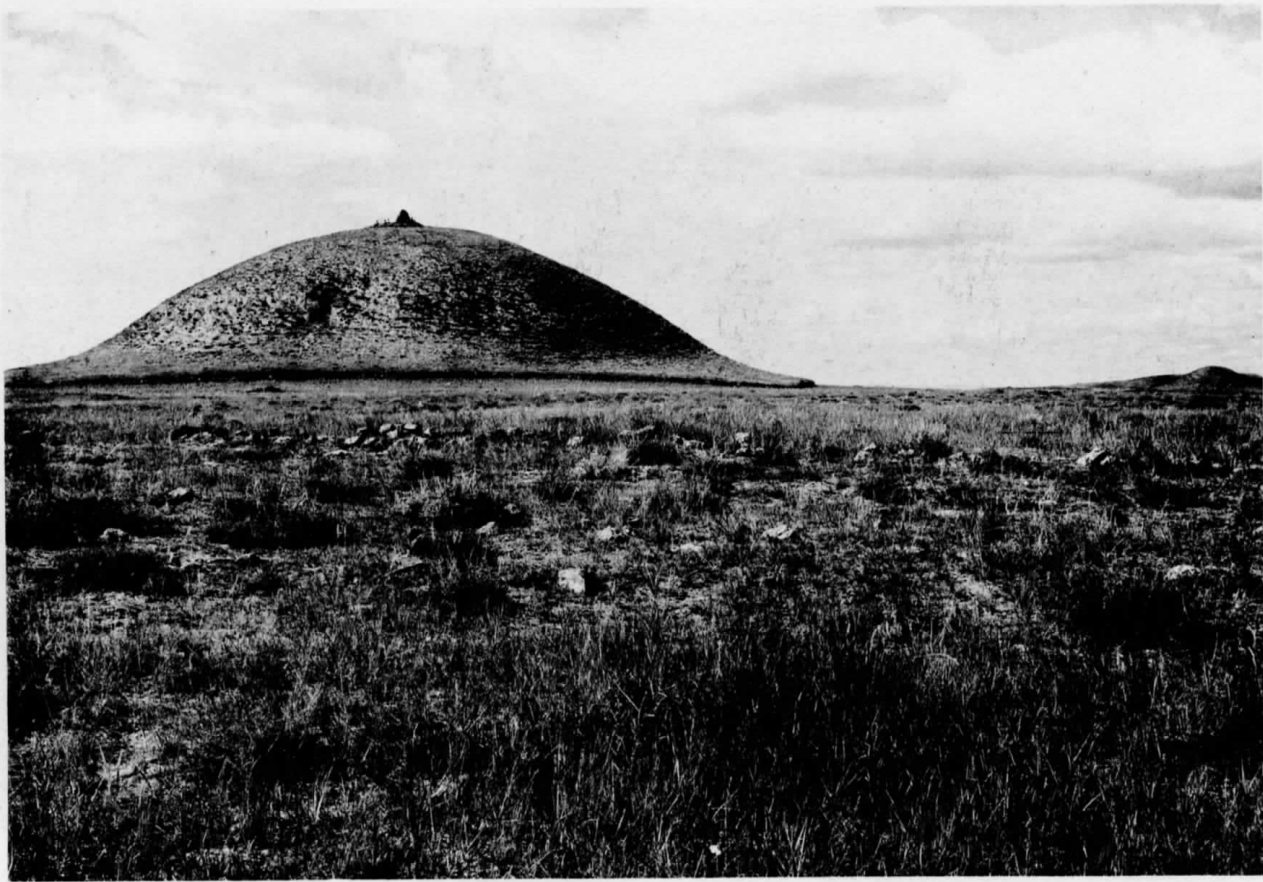
第十五圖 大同古城北壁版築

Fig. 15. North Wall of Pounded Earth (from South).



第十六圖 大同古城北壁版築(斷面)

Fig. 16. North Wall of Pounded Earth (Section).



第十七圖 方山大墓

Fig. 17. Large Fang-shan Tomb (from South).



第十八圖 方山小墓

Fig. 18. Small Fang-shan Tomb (from North-East).





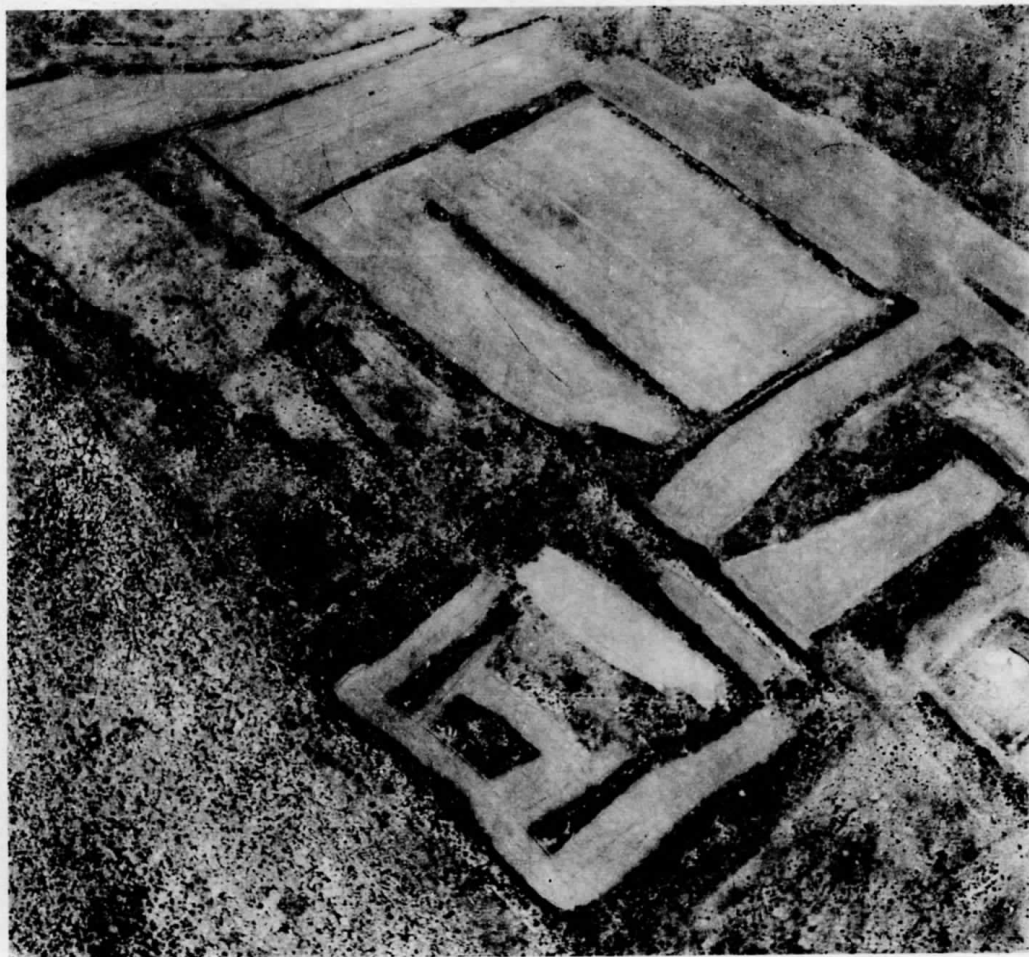
第十九圖 方山より大同を望む



第二十圖 方山をのぞむ Fig. 20. General View of Fang-shan (Aerial Photo).



Fig. 19. General View from Pai-fo-t'ai to South.



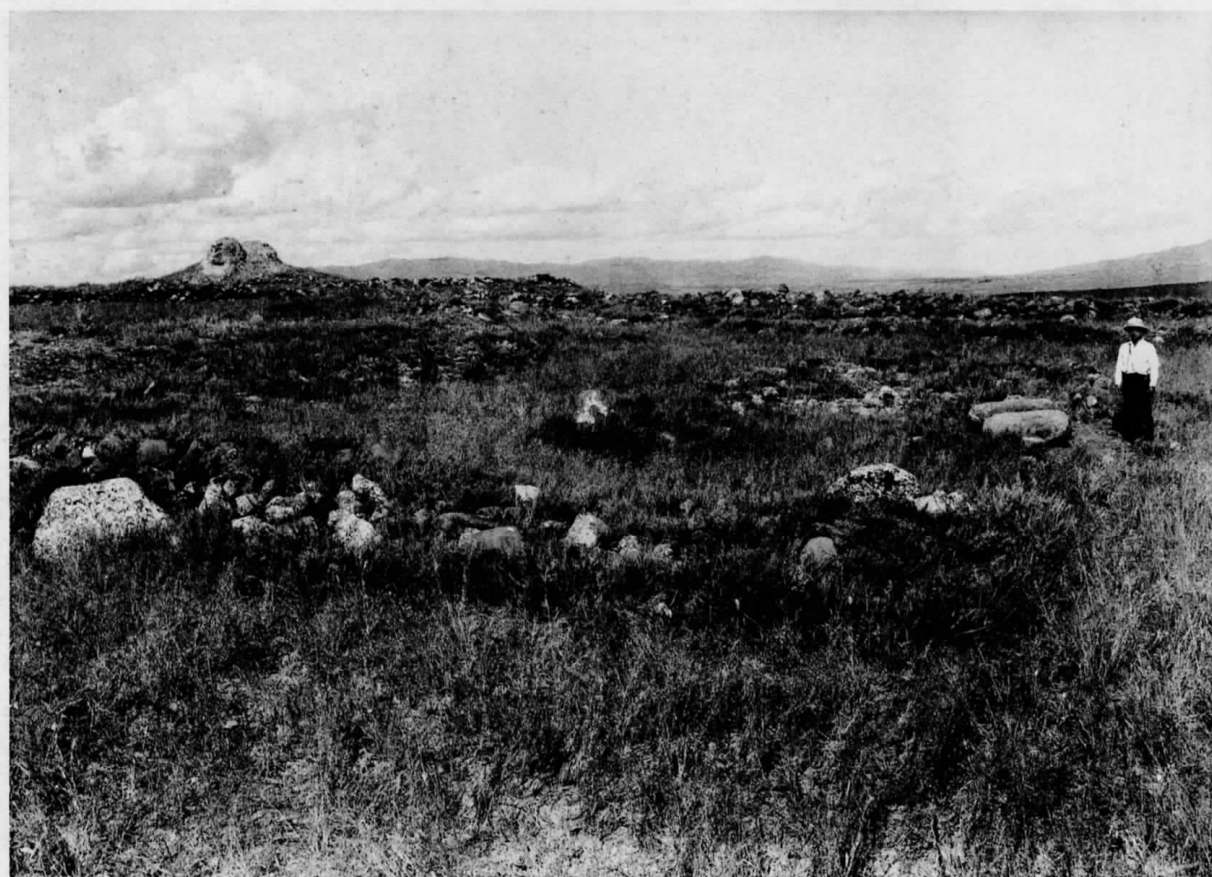
第二十一圖 方山白佛臺遺址  
Fig. 21. Ruins of Pai-fo-t'ai, Fang-shan (Aerial Photo).





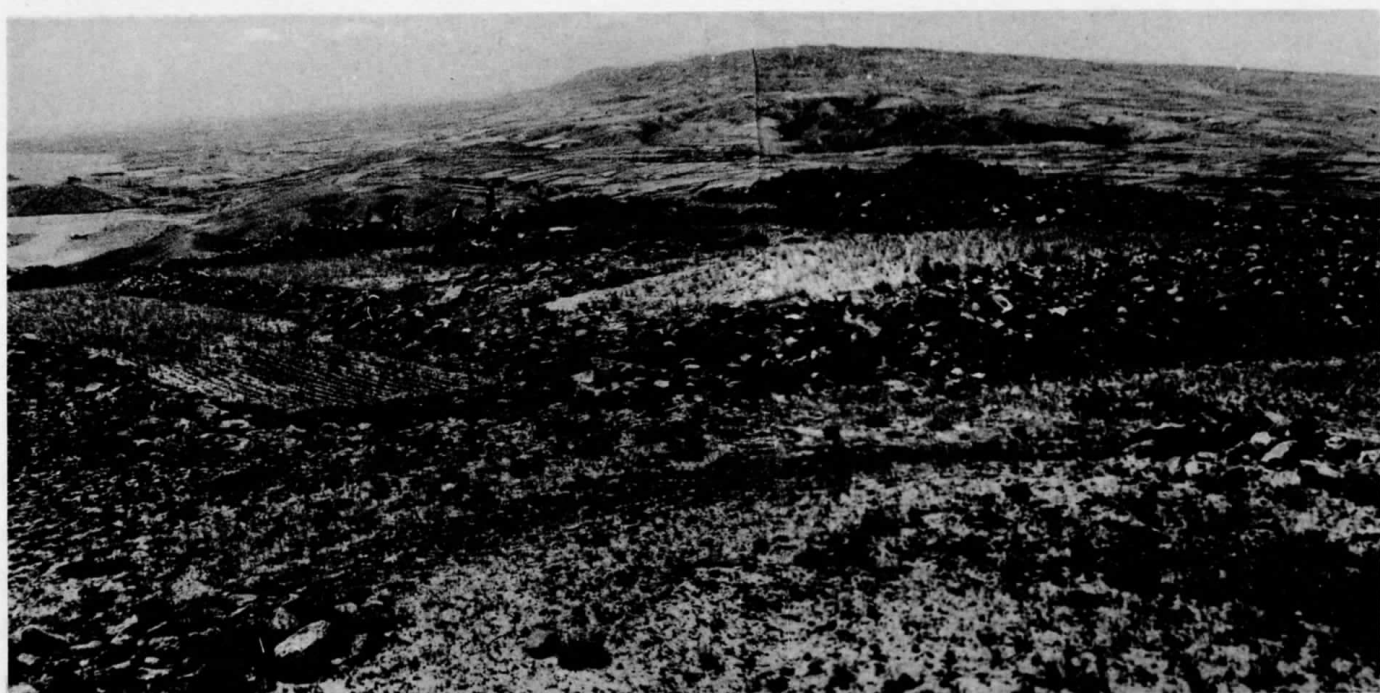
第二十二圖 方山 白佛臺 南面

Fig. 22. South Face of Pai-fo-t'ai, Fang-shan (from South).



第二十三圖 方山 白佛臺 遺址

Fig. 23. Ruins of Pai-fo-t'ai, Fang-shan (from West).



第二十四圖 方山白佛臺遺址

Fig. 23. Ruins of Pai-of-t'ai, Fang-shan (from West).



第二十五圖 方山白佛臺礎石



第二十六圖 方山草堂山礎石



第二十七圖 方山白佛臺龜趺



第二十八圖 方山白佛臺龜趺

Fig. 25. Pillar Base in Pai-fo-t'ai Ruins, Fang-shan.

Fig. 26. Pillar Base in Ts'ao-t'ang-shan Ruins, Fang-shan.

Figs. 27, 28. Tortoise Base in Pai-fo-t'ai Ruins, Fang-shan.





第二十九圖 方山白佛臺石壘 Fig. 29. Piles of Stones on South Side of Pai-fo-t'ai Ruins (from West).



第三十圖 方山白佛臺石壘  
Fig. 30. Piles of Stones in South Part  
of Pai-fo-t'ai Ruins.

# SUMMARY

## CHRONOLOGY OF YÜN-KANG CAVES

THESE 15 VOLUMES OF THE "YÜN-KANG" SERIES have been printed during the last six years, but many of the manuscripts were completed even earlier, some of them during the war. Over this long period, a number of changes have been made and consequently a few confusions may have arisen. Some sentences may now appear contradictory and thus cause readers not to understand as completely as might be wished. In this supplementary volume it would seem desirable, therefore, to make a synthesis and summary of the chronology of the caves, which were discussed individually in the concluding chapter of each volume.

### 1

It was concluded that Caves XVI to XX were called the Five Caves of T'an-yao 曇曜 because they were the first five caves initiated by the Imperial Household on the petition of the priest T'an-yao. This conclusion has never been doubted. The excavations were certainly begun in the first year of the Ho-p'ing 和平 era (A.D. 460), but the respective years of the completion of the various caves are not mentioned in the literary sources. (Conclusions of Vols. XIII-XIV)

The clue for deciding the date of the end of the works on the T'an-yao caves is to be found in the excavation of the twin Caves V and VI. The completion of these large elaborate twin caves must have been the result of an enormous power to construct and they must have been rapidly finished. In these caves a new style prevailed in which Chinese costume is seen and this would have intimately reflected new tendencies of the time of Emperor Hsiao-wên 孝文帝 who was well versed in Chinese culture. They were also connected with the several memorial services held for the benefit of Emperor Hsien-wên 獻文帝 on the occasion of his untimely death. This leads one to conclude that the works on Caves V and VI began in the first year of the T'ai-ho era 太和 (A.D. 477) and were completed in the seventh year of the T'ai-ho era (A.D. 483) when Emperor Hsiao-wên visited the cave-temples of Yün-kang for the third time. (Conclusions of Vols. II and III)

The next most remarkable feature is the manner in which Cave III, the largest cave in Yün-kang was left unfinished. This huge cave must have been planned by a very active man with a very powerful will. Unfortunately his name is not recorded and the works were abandoned in a miserable unfinished condition. These facts have lead us to conclude that the founder clearly belonged to the Imperial



Household and that the sudden abandonment of the cave, which so peculiarly contradicts the original powerful impetus, was the result of an unexpected accident. In more concrete terms, the founder must have been Emperor Hsiao-wên and the end of the work was the result of the transfer of the capital to Lo-yang 洛陽 in A.D. 494. (Conclusion of Vol. I)

Finally, the dated inscriptions. These fall into two groups; one group covers the period from A.D. 483 to 496 and other from A.D. 507 to 520 or 524. There is no doubt that in general they cover whole period of the works in Yün-kang, and especially the last part of that period. The caves which they have dated niches, i.e. Caves IV, XIXB, XXVIIIB and XXXV, were clearly excavated before the period A.D. 507 to 515. The western-end caves and the medium-sized caves in the central and eastern groups are not later than these. It is most probable that they were made in the T'ai-ho and Ching-ming 景明 eras (A.D. 477-503), and almost all of them were finished in the Chêng-shih 正始 to Yen-ch'ang 延昌 eras (A.D. 504-515). These were the last days of the Yün-kang excavations. (Conclusion of Vol. XV)

## 2

The four points mentioned above can be summarised as follows:—

The first fifteen years from the beginning, i.e. from A.D. 460, was taken up by the excavation of the T'an-yao caves, the next fifteen years by Caves V and VI, and the last fifteen years by the western-end caves. More detailed conclusions can only be reached by a careful stylistic analysis.

It is suggested that the twin Caves VII and VIII were executed approximately contemporaneously with the T'an-yao caves. Their beginning may have been slightly later, but, from a stylistic point of view, they much resemble them. Thus, parallel with the excavations in the western group, they were the first of the central group to be worked. As opposed to the non-architectural and figural caves of T'an-yao they are very regular and architectural. Of these two caves, Cave VIII, from a stylistic point of view, would appear to be earlier than Cave VII. (Conclusions of Vols. IV and V)

The more developed style and the adjacent situation of the twin Caves IX and X suggest strongly that they were begun immediately following the excavation of the twin Caves VII and VIII. Cave IX of the two is without doubt earlier than Cave X. On the other hand, the twin Caves I and II in the eastern group bear much resemblance to the twin Caves IX and X and also to Caves V and VI. Thus it is possible to work out a chronological order among these three pairs of caves; namely the twin Caves IX and X are the earliest, followed by the twin Caves I and II and finally the twin Caves V and VI. However, Caves V and VI do not seem to have followed immediately after Caves I and II, since their similarities suggest influences from the former rather than having naturally originated in the latter. Caves I and II, though they spring from a different tradition, were surely much influenced by Caves V and VI. In other words, the former were partly contemporaneous with the work on the latter and were surely commenced somewhat earlier. Thus, dividing the first fifteen years into two parts, to the first part belongs the excavation of Caves VII and VIII, and to the second that of Caves IX and X.

## CHRONOLOGY OF YÜN-KANG CAVES

The excavation of Caves I and II probably began in the second half of this period and continued into the next when Caves V and VI were in course of construction. Thus, correcting slightly the conclusions stated in Vol. I (p. 95), it is now concluded that Caves I and II were begun in about A.D. 477, Caves IX and X were made from about A.D. 467 to 475, and Caves VII and VIII from about A.D. 460 to 471. (Conclusions of Vols. I, VI, and VII).

With regard to Caves XI and XIII, it is clear from their style and situation that they were made after Caves IX and X. Thus, they may have been approximately contemporaneous with Caves V and VI. However, as in style they follow Caves VII-X, their beginning was probably a little earlier than Caves V and VI. Cave XII which was consistently carried out in this style must be considered somewhat the earlier of these. Caves XI and XIII reveal the influences of the imposing style of Caves V and VI, especially in the seven standing Buddhas in each cave, and they can be placed during the several years circa A.D. 477.

In addition, Cave XI is unfinished and shows the decline of the style of Caves IX and X. In the upper corner of the east wall is carved a niche dated A.D. 483. Its high position on the wall suggests that the cave was in the process of excavation at that time. Inside and outside this cave there are a number of inscriptions bearing dates within the T'ai-ho era (A.D. 483-496), and on the east reveal of the window is a niche dated A.D. 485. It was probably at this time that the works in this cave were abandoned leaving them in the condition seen today. (Conclusions of Vols. VIII-IX and X)

### 3

Caves XIV, XV and XVA adjoin Cave XVI, which is the most easterly of the western group and the last of the T'an-yao caves to have been excavated. Cave XVI may not have been started late, but certainly the work on it must have been the most delayed. It was not completed during the first fifteen years, and the main standing Buddha and the attendant Buddhas were all carried out in Cave VI style. This style did not originate in this cave but was borrowed from other caves, such as Caves V and VI.

Thus, they must have been carved during the second fifteen years, particularly during the later half of the second period. It was during this time that the adjacent Caves, XIV, XV and XVA were constructed. It is therefore understandable that the Cave VI style prevailed in these caves. But much more time was required to carve the lowest part of the caves, where the more delicate style of the third fifteen years prevails. This style was also used for the bottom wall of Cave XVI. (Conclusion of Vol. XI)

The trinity of Buddhas in Cave XVI are works of the second period, as is also Cave XIXB. Although the T'an-yao caves were excavated from the very beginning, the main Buddha and attendants of Cave XIXB were not started by the end of the first period. Cave XVII and Cave XIXA contained main images of which the feet or thrones were not finished and Cave XVI also has been left without any main image. However, due to some accident which happened at that time, the works on the

T'an-yao caves were stopped. When they were recommenced, work on Caves XVI and XIXB, which had been left in a very unfinished condition, was continued and Caves XVII and XIXA were abandoned. The above mentioned "accident" appears to have been the urgency of the work on Caves V and VI which took up the main part of the second period. Consequently, it is only natural that the secondary works were executed in the style of Caves V and VI.

All the T'an-yao caves were probably started simultaneously. The work was started by making a vertical wall common to all five caves. However, the work in each cave could not have been conducted at the same speed. Since Cave XIX was the largest of the five caves and considered to be particularly important, its execution would have been the quickest. Work on Cave XVIII, situated in the middle of the five caves was no less speedy, Cave XX, judging from its floor height, was like Caves XIXA and B, quite early. The work on Cave XVII was slightly delayed, and that on Cave XVI followed much later. Although considerable importance had been attached to the work on Cave XIX and consequently it was the most urgently pressed forward, the vastness of the whole scheme resulted in the carving of the side-caves falling behind. As a result, the urgent demands for work on Caves V and VI must have resulted in the stoppage of work on these side caves with the consequence that some were left in an unfinished condition. (Conclusions of Vols. XII, XIII and XIV)

## 4

Caves IV and IVA adjoin Cave III, and were doubtless begun after the commencement of the latter. However, since they are small, they were probably completed earlier. The small caves on two different levels are located to the east of Cave V and also adjoin Caves V and VI. Thus they should have been made after Caves V and VI were completed. The easternmost cave in the upper terrace has a central pillar which was left unfinished.

The niches and small caves on the outside wall of Caves XI to XIII were, of course, added later than these caves, and consequently later than Caves V and VI. Among them is a niche dated the 13th year of the T'ai-ho era (A.D. 489), and thus they were all probably made at the end of the T'ai-ho era. At the end of this group is Cave XIII A with its outside columns and Cave XIII B which has a central pillar. Neither was finished. They are balanced at the eastern end by Cave VI which was also finished. The work on all of them was most probably abandoned on the removal of the capital in A.D. 494.

It is also most logical to conclude that the western-end caves from Cave XXI, like Caves XIV, XV and XVA of the eastern end, were executed later than Caves V and VI. In short, they were excavated during the third fifteen years. It is almost certain that they were begun with Cave XXI and the excavations continued in succession towards the west. However, the caves near Cave XXXVI and Caves XXXIX and XL were not the last. The small caves near Caves XXXI and XXXII and Cave XXXVIII and the nearby caves are the most delicate in workmanship and seem to be rather later than the above. They may have been carved not later than A.D. 504-515, when the last and

## CHRONOLOGY OF YÜN-KANG CAVES

small dated niches were carved. To conclude, it is clear from the above chronology that the excavations of the caves in Yün-kang ended in about A.D. 500.

If the above conclusions are correct, about six years were required for excavating Caves V and VI, and eight years for Caves VII and VIII and Caves IX and X respectively. The T'an-yao caves took sixteen years in the first instance and later a few more years were devoted to them. For the unfinished Cave III, five years would have sufficed. The excavation of the three Pin-yang caves 賓陽洞 in Lung-mên, including the fruitless labours of the first unsuccessful attempt, needed 802,366 labourers over a period of 22 years, and at the end of this only the one cave in the middle was completed. The construction of the Fêng-hsien Temple 奉先寺 also at Lung-mên was begun on April 1st, 672 and completed on February 30th, 675, a period of three years and nine months. This seems a comparatively short period, but it was required for the carving of only the stone statues and moreover it is possible that they used the cliff which was half prepared in the Northern Wei period. At Pao-shan in An-yang, Honan province, a Sui period cave named Ta-chu-shêng-k'u 大住聖窟 was made by the labour of 2,524 men. The above statistics lend support for the above assessment of the time taken for the Yün-kang caves.

# APPENDIX I

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF TATUNG AND FANG-SHAN

TATUNG WAS THE CAPITAL OF THE NORTHERN WEI DYNASTY, at which time it was called P'ing-ch'êng 平城. During the period when the Yün-kang cave-temples were hewn, it was a capital city with many splendid palace buildings. Thus, during the several seasons of our work at Yün-kang, we felt a desire, and indeed a deep need, to explore their actual sites and to work out the plan of the city. In the spring of 1938, a chance presented itself to explore several sites both inside and outside the present city of Tatung 大同. However, it was difficult to trace the city walls as they were 1,500 years ago. In the summer of the following year, 1939, an archaeological party directed by Dr. Y. Harada investigated the capital.

The plans of the city and palaces, however, were not entirely revealed. It was only an accidental discovery of several pillar bases behind the railway station of Tatung, which enabled them to identify the site of the former central palace in the northern part of the present city. As opposed to the uncertainty concerning the site of the ancient city, the mausolea of the Northern Wei dynasty standing on Mount Fang-shan 方山, could be identified with certainty as those of the Empress Dowager Wên-ming 文明太后 and the Emperor Hsiao-wên 孝文帝. On Sept. 1st, 1939 and on Sept. 17th, 1941, one-day visits were made to the site and, although the time spent there was extremely restricted, the outline of the ruins was easily ascertained. The following brief report is based upon these regrettably hasty surveys.

### 1. SITE OF P'ING-CH'ENG

[KU-CH'ENG-TSUN SITE] Ku-ch'êng-tsun 古城村 or Ku-ch'êng Village has long been noted by archaeologists as a result of its name. On May 15th, 1938, we examined the site.

Leaving from the east gate of Tatung and crossing the river Yü-ho 玉河 which flows from north to south, we ascended the east bank from the river-bed. The vast flat plain where the village Ku-ch'êng-tsun is situated extends from this bank. On the north side of the village the south-west corner of a ruined wall, about 4-5.00 metres high, remains. It was, however, a thin wall containing pot-sherds of the Northern Wei as well as of later periods, and it was easy to conclude that it was not actually of the Northern Wei period. It perhaps belongs to a ruined city extending eastwards and northwards across the Peking-Pao-t'ou railway. To the north of the railway is its central quarter, where an abundance of tile fragments only of the Liao-Chin periods were found. This ruined city can surely

be dated to those periods.<sup>1)</sup>

As opposed to this, relics of the Northern Wei period were found scattered about in an area south of the village. They were particularly plentiful in a small raised field running for a considerable distance in a north-south direction. The round eave-tiles found among them as well as the rafter-end tiles had designs of lotus flowers. The grey pot-sherds often had impressed patterns of floral-scrolls and wavy lines, which are undeniable evidence of Northern Wei production. The paucity of tiles with cord-impressions indicates that this site does not date from the Han period. Although the pot-sherds and tiles were very fragmentary, this long raised field running north-south may occupy the area of the now entirely decomposed ruins of the Northern Wei period east wall.

[PEI-KUAN SITE] Pei-kuan 北關, the street extending outside the north gate of Tatung, was not inhabited and was almost entirely used for military purposes. It was, however, walled. To the west of this street and very near to the north gate, stands the Li-t'an 厲壇, or Devil Shrine. This locality was said to be the site of the palace of the Northern Wei. No evidence was available to support this claim but in the drains of this north extended street was found a cultural stratum containing pot-sherds of the grey ware. On June 22nd, 1938, a small trial pit (Fig. 9) was dug in the vacant land belonging to the military warehouse situated to the west of the street. In it, round eave-tiles with designs of concentric circles and *warabi-te* 厥手 spirals were found as well as grey pot-sherds with cord impressions. These belong rather to the Han dynasty than to the Northern Wei. The site probably belongs to the P'ing-ch'êng prefecture of the Han period. However, specimens of grey ware with floral impression in the Northern Wei style were also found, though these were very few in number. The cultural stratum, 2.00m deep, is of blackish earth containing much ash. Beneath this lies a layer of sand.

[SITE NEAR WATER TOWER] The railway station is about 500m. north of Pei-kuan the street extended north. Behind it stands a water tower and in the summer of 1939 a trench was dug from the river Yü-ho to this in order to lay water pipes. This work accidentally resulted in the discovery of two rows of stone pillar bases, which without doubt date to the Northern Wei period. There were seven or eight of these in the longer row and they were spaced about 5.00m. apart. They were made of sandstone and measured about 2.00m. across (Figs. 10-13), resembling those found on the Northern Wei temple site of Hsi-liang 西梁 in Yün-kang (Vol. XV, Fig. 54) and the Northern Wei sites on Mount Fang-shan (Figs. 5, 27). They were probably part of the palace though, unfortunately, efforts to discover its plan did not meet with success. A few fragments of Northern Wei tiles were also discovered but no cultural layer.

[NORTH WALL SITE] The land becomes higher north of the railway station, and here the Northern Barracks occupy a commanding position. On May 22nd, 1938, this area was explored, but near the barracks nothing was found except for a few small fragments of the grey pottery.<sup>2)</sup> However, a dried-up gully running from the mountain to the river Yü-ho was encountered. Its course is in an east-

<sup>1</sup> S. Mizuno, *Taido-Tsūshin* (Letter from Tatung) (*Kōkōgaku*, XI 8), Osaka 1938.

<sup>2</sup> S. Mizuno, *Taido-Saishin* (Second Letter from Tatung) (*Kōkōgaku*, IX 9), Osaka, 1938.



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west direction, and along the south bank a long dyke about 3–4.00m. high was found (Fig. 14, 15). Judging from where the surface of the bank was damaged, it was clear that it was made of pounded clay (Fig. 16) and measured about 4.00m. high and about 3.00m. wide in its present state. This pounded clay wall is probably a Northern Wei structure. In the *Wei-shu* the outer wall of P'ing-ch'êng is mentioned as being 32 *li* around. Thus, the north wall may have been 8 *li* or about 4km. long.

This ruined wall may be identified as this north wall. From these investigations some indications of the east and north walls were discovered but nothing concerning the west and south walls.

Inside the north wall and in a small gully near its western end, a cultural layer was found. The layer contained many fragments of the grey ware decorated with cord impressions. Outside the same wall and near the opposite end, were found three areas in which fragments of the grey-ware with cord impressions were scattered. They clearly belong to the Han, and naturally indicate a Han period dwelling site.

### 2. SITE OF FANG-SHAN

Far away to the north from Tatung station, a low plateau, about 100m. high, with a flat summit made of lava is clearly visible. This flat summit has given it its name Fang-shan 方山, which means square mountain. The river Yü-ho, i.e. the river Ju-hun-shui 如渾水 of the Northern Wei period, comes from the north-west, runs along its west side and joins the tributary Chên-ch'üan-ho 鎮川河 south of the mountain. This tributary flows from the north-east along the eastern foot. By truck the party followed this tributary and then, leaving the truck at the small village of Hsi-ai-ti 西崖底 at the eastern foot, ascended to the lava plateau of Fang-shan (Fig. 25). On the opposite bank is the large village of Chên-ch'üan-p'u 鎮川堡 and at a distance of about 1km. runs the outer line of the Great Wall crossing the river from east to west.

[THE TWO MAUSOLEA] At the north-east of the plateau is a mound (Fig. 18), measuring about 13m. high and about 60m. long at its square base. This was first intended as the mausoleum of Emperor Hsiao-wên 孝文帝, but on his death, which occurred after the transfer of the capital to Lo-yang it was not used and since that time it has remained empty. According to the *Shui-ching-chu* 水經注 by Li Tao-yüan 酈道元 (A.D. 469–527), it was called the Wan-nien-t'ang 萬年堂 or Ten-thousand-year Hall.

674m. south of this mound, stands another large mound (Fig. 17), which was built as the mausoleum for the Empress Dowager Wên-ming. This, according to the *Shui-ching-chu*, is the Yung-ku-ling 永固陵 Mausoleum. The conical mound is 22.50m. high and the base is at present square. To the north of these two mounds are visible a few smaller ones, but it is not known for whom they were provided.

[PAI-FO-T'AI] About 600m. south of the Yung-ku-ling Mausoleum a flat lava plateau extends. This is now called the Pai-fo-t'ai 白佛臺. At its south end it drops abruptly for 30m. (Fig. 22). An abundance of pot-sherds, tiles and other building materials are found on the plateau. This area is certainly the site of the Yung-ku-t'ang or the Yung-ku Hall as recorded in the *Shui-ching-chu*. The

round eave-tiles usually have the four characters *Wan-sui fu-kuei* 萬歲富貴 and less frequently the four characters *Chuan-tsu wu-ch'ung* 傳祚無窮. Eave-tiles with quite highly executed lotus blossoms showing the upper part of the body of reborn children are unusual. The boy is, as usual, naked and has hands together. A few carved fragments of a slightly bluish sandstone were also found. These may have belonged to the blue stone screen with carved figures of loyalty, filial piety etc, as described in the *Shui-ching-chu*.

The eastern quarter is mainly remarkable for the rectangle of piled stones (Fig. 21, 26). There remains at present, in the south-west corner a stone pillar base (Fig. 28) and in the middle a stone tortoise base for a stele (Figs. 23, 29, 30). The carved tortoise has a fine shell pattern on its back. The *Shui-ching-chu* says that in front of shrine a stele was erected with an animal base i.e. tortoise base, the material of which was of the finest. The stele would have had an inscription praising the merit of the Grand Empress Dowager. Moreover, according to the same book, there were also structures made of spotted stone 文石. On the plateau some fragments of beautiful yellow stone which contains pebbles were found.

At the end of the plateau there still remain original piles of stone (Fig. 30, 31). The beacon tower situated at the south-west corner is new. From this a zigzag road descends to the lower plateau, and from this it again descends to the west. It may have led to Yung-ku-hsien or Yung-ku prefecture 永固縣, which was to the west of the plateau.

[Ts'AO-T'ANG-SHAN] On the lower plateau, Ts'ao-t'ang-shan 草堂山 there are also several remains consisting of piles of stones (Figs. 19, 21). In the centre is a square which suggests that it was a Buddhist pagoda site. Fragments of tiles are abundant, and may be identified as belonging to the Ssü-yüan-ling-tu 思遠靈圖 or Ssü-yüan Stūpa. In the north-west corner a stone pillar base remains (Fig. 28).

To the east of this plateau is another plateau with some more remains, and on a still lower plateau to the south are also some remains which may mark the site of the two stone pillars 二石闕 at the south gate also mentioned in the *Shui-ching-chu*.

According to the *Shui-ching-chu* there were the Lin-ch'üan-kung 臨泉宮 or Lin-ch'üan Palace and the Ch'ang-yang-ch'ih 長楊池 or Long-poplar Pond whose sites should be sought at the river side with its many poplar trees, and not on the plateau as did Mr. A. G. Wenley.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. G. Wenley, *The Grand Empress Dowager Wên Ming and the Northern Wei Necropolis* (Freer Gallery of Art, Occasional Papers, I-1), Washington 1947.

# **APPENDIX II**

**WEI SHOU**

**TREATISE ON BUDDHISM AND TAOISM**

**AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION  
OF THE ORIGINAL CHINESE TEXT OF WEI-SHU CXIV AND  
THE JAPANESE ANNOTATION OF TSUKAMOTO ZENRYŪ**

**BY**

**LEON HURVITZ**

## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE PURPOSE OF THIS TRANSLATION is to make more available to the reading public the text of the *Shih-lao-chih*, which bears on the great Yün-kang caves. In the opinion of Professor TSUKAMOTO, the English translation of this text done in 1933 and published in *T'oung Pao* by Professor James R. WARE<sup>1</sup> had too many errors to warrant its republication. Accordingly, the Professor was good enough to read the text in seminar with several persons, myself included, giving his interpretation of the more obscure passages and discussing the various possible interpretations of ambiguous phrases. In the Japanese section of the volume there appears Professor TSUKAMOTO's own rendition of this text into modern Japanese, accompanied by his own original annotation and identification of classical allusions. What appears here is merely the English version, supplemented by translator's comments designed to elucidate those points on which the Occidental reader may not be presumed to have any background knowledge. Apart from these comments, every thing—from the interpretation of the text to the annotation—is exactly as Professor TSUKAMOTO has prescribed. The only things left untranslated are the classical passages from which certain phrases in the *Shih-lao-chih* are drawn. I have left them in Chinese on the assumption that they will be of interest only to the Sinologist, who will want them in the original language.

<sup>1</sup> To be precise, it was only the Buddhist portion that appeared in *T'oung Pao*, the Taoist section appearing the same year in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Professor Tsukamoto, because of limited time, has preferred to only publish the Buddhist portion of this text, which already is considerable. He expects to publish, however, the Taoist section in the near future.

# THE BOOK OF WEI

魏 書

ROLL ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEEN

卷 一 百 一 十 四

BY

WEI SHOU OF CH'I

齊 魏 收 撰

TREATISES, CHAPTER TWENTY

TREATISE NUMBER TEN

志 十 第 二 十

BUDDHISM AND TAOISM

釋 老

[1] 大人有作,司牧生民。結繩以往,書契所絕,故靡得而知焉。自羲、軒已還,至於三代,其神言秘策,蘊圖緯之文,範世率民,垂墳典之迹。秦肆其毒,滅於灰燼。漢採遺籍,復若丘山。司馬遷區別異同,有陰陽、儒、墨、名、法、道德六家之義。劉歆著七略,班固志藝文,釋氏之學所未曾紀。

GREAT MEN<sup>1)</sup> once arose and shepherded the people.<sup>2)</sup> But everything anterior to the tying of knots is unmentioned in literary records. Therefore there is no way of knowing about it.<sup>3)</sup> From Fu-hsi<sup>4)</sup> and Hsüan-yüan<sup>5)</sup> down through the Three Dynasties,<sup>6)</sup> the preternatural words and mystical scriptures were accumulated in the writings of the diagrams and apocrypha.<sup>7)</sup> The art of setting an example to the ages and of guiding the people was handed down in the traces of the *fên*<sup>8)</sup> and *tien*.<sup>9)</sup> Ch'in,<sup>10)</sup> reckless in its wrongdoing, reduced them to ashes.<sup>11)</sup> Han<sup>12)</sup> picked up the surviving texts and piled them once again like hills and mountains.<sup>13)</sup> SSŪ-MA Ch'ien's<sup>14)</sup> classification of their contents in terms of differences and similarities contains the principles of six schools, viz., 'yin-yang' dualism, Confucianism, the school of Mo-ti, Nominalism, Legalism and Taoism.<sup>15)</sup> LIU Hsin published the Seven Epitomes and PAN Ku<sup>16)</sup> composed his Treatise on Arts and Letters,<sup>17)</sup> but the doctrines of the Śākya clan<sup>18)</sup> had never yet been recorded.<sup>19)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. I, *Shang-ching* 易,上經:飛龍在天,大人造也。文言曰,夫大人者,與天地合其德,與日月合其明,與四時合其序,與鬼神合其吉凶。

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. *Tso-chuan*, *Hsiang-kung* 14 左傳,襄公十四年:天生民而立之君,使司牧之。

<sup>3)</sup> Cf. I, *Hsi-tz'u* 易,繫辭 ii:上古結繩而治,後世聖人易之以書契,百官以治,萬民以察。

<sup>4)</sup> A mythical ruler of ancient China.

<sup>5)</sup> The alleged name of the equally mythical Yellow Emperor.

<sup>6)</sup> I.e., the legendary Hsia dynasty and the historical Yin (Shang) and Chou dynasties.

<sup>7)</sup> The phrase "diagrams and apocrypha" probably refers to the legendary chart spewed forth by the Yellow River, the books believed to have been produced by the River Lo, and

the so-called "woof books." These last are supposed to have been commentaries to the "warp books" (i.e., the canonized classics), predicting the future and prognosticating good and ill fortune on the basis of the allegedly hidden meanings contained in the classical texts. There were supposed to have been seven of these books, including commentaries to the *Book of Changes* and the *Book of History*. Forgeries of this kind, purporting to be the work of Confucius, made their appearance toward the end of the Former Han, and came to be used quite extensively by Confucianists and the scholarly world in general during the Latter Han and after.

<sup>8</sup> Works attributed to Fu-hsi, Shên-nung, and the Yellow Emperor.

<sup>9</sup> Works attributed to the mythical rulers Shao-hao, Kao-hsin, Chuan-so and T'ang-yü.

<sup>10</sup> B.C. 255-206.

<sup>11</sup> This refers to the notorious book-burning of the first Ch'in emperor.

<sup>12</sup> B.C. 206-A.D. 220.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Ch'i-lüeh*, *Tsung-hsü* 七略總序: 孝武皇帝敕丞相公孫弘廣開獻書之路, 百年之間, 書積如邱山。

<sup>14</sup> Author of the *Shih-chi*, the first of the dynastic histories.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Shih-chi*, *T'ai-shih-kung tzü-hsü* 史記, 卷百三十太史公自序: 夫陰陽, 儒, 墨, 名, 法, 道德, 此務爲治者也。

<sup>16</sup> Author of the *Ch'ien-han-shu*, second of the dynastic histories.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Han-shu*, *I-wên-chih* 漢書, 藝文志: (劉歆) 於是總群書而奏其七略, 故有輯略, 有六藝略, 有諸子略, 有詩賦略, 有兵書略, 有術數略, 有方技略, 今刪其要, 以備篇籍。

<sup>18</sup> I.e., the Buddhist religious community and by extension the Buddhist religion. Early Chinese clerics, upon entering the religious community, would take a new surname, usually indicative of their master's national origin. Tao-an (A.D. 312-385), compiler of the first Chinese Buddhist literary catalogue, declared that all Buddhist clerics were alike of the seed of the Founder, and that all should therefore take the surname SHIH (\*śāk). This became a universal practice in the Chinese Buddhist clergy, and thereafter the Buddhist community was frequently referred to as the "Śākya clan."

<sup>19</sup> This opening paragraph, by way of describing the introduction of Buddhism into China, begins with the intellectual situation in China before the introduction of the new religion. The point of view maintained here was common to virtually all educated Chinese of the Nan-pei-ch'ao (Northern and Southern Dynasties). This applies not merely to the historical point of view but to the political and ethical as well. Among the Confucian classics, i.e., among the books which constituted required reading for any Chinese aspiring to a

bureaucratic career, was a work enjoying a position of considerable authority among Chinese intellectuals more or less contemporaneous with the author of the *Shih-lao-chih*. In this work, K'UNG An-kuo's 孔安國 Preface to the *Book of History*, we find a passage similar in tone to the above paragraph: 古者伏羲氏之王天下也, 始畫八卦, 造書契, 以代結繩之政, 由是文籍生焉。伏羲神農黃帝之書, 謂之三墳。言大道也。少昊顓頊高辛唐虞之書, 謂之五典。言常道也。……及秦始皇滅先代典籍, 焚書坑儒, 天下學士, 逃難解散, 我先人用藏其家書于屋壁。漢室龍興, 開設學校, 旁求儒雅, 以闡大猷。

Contemporary scholarship does not regard this Preface as the work of K'UNG An-kuo, a personality of the Former Han, but rather as a forgery by someone of the Three Kingdoms period or the Tsin dynasty. During the Nan-pei-ch'ao, however, it was universally assumed to have come from the pen of K'UNG An-kuo, and as such must have been familiar to Wei Shou and his contemporaries. It is therefore possible that the opening sentences of the *Shih-lao-chih* were influenced by it. In studying the *Shih-lao-chih* as a record of the history of Buddhism and Taoism one need not necessarily go into each and every Chinese classical text on which the above paragraph may have drawn, but one must bear in mind that Chinese society—its ruling classes in particular—was convinced that its country had been ruled in antiquity by "Sages," and that this society was under the authoritative influence of the classical texts which were supposed to be true records of the government and ethic of these Sages. For it was into a milieu in which the restraints of the Classics were effective that Buddhism was introduced. In the Chinese state, as a consequence, which regarded the Confucian classics as the yardstick of politics and morality, things such as Buddhism and Taoism, standing as they did outside of the framework of these classics, were not the sort of things likely to have a whole treatise devoted to them in a dynastic history compiled by the State. In fact, the composition of such a treatise as the *Shih-lao-chih* was unprecedented in Chinese historiography. Wei Shou, recognizing Buddhism and Taoism as "weights of the moment" (當今之重), i.e., as institutions occupying an extremely important position in his society, deliberately broke the precedent set by previous dynastic histories and devoted a special treatise to these two heterodox religions, but even in his case the restraints and the belief in the superiority of the Confucian classics were at work. The reader is asked to bear in mind that the *Shih-lao-chih* is a history of Buddhism and Taoism written with all of the prejudices common to the Chinese bureaucrat of the time.

[2] 案漢武元狩中, 遣霍去病討匈奴, 至皋蘭過居延, 斬首大獲。昆邪王殺休屠王, 將其衆五萬來降, 獲其金人, 帝以爲大神, 列於甘泉宮。金人率長丈餘, 不祭祀, 但燒香禮拜而已。此則佛道流通之漸也。

If one reflects, the Han emperor Wu, during the Yüan-shou period,<sup>1</sup> dispatched Huo Ch'ü-ping to chastise the Hsiung-nu.<sup>2</sup> He reached Kao-lan<sup>3</sup> and passed Chü-yen,<sup>4</sup> cutting off heads and taking much booty. King Hun-yeh killed King Hsiu-ch'ü<sup>5</sup> and, at the head of a multitude fifty thousand strong, came to Ch'ü-ping and capitulated to him. Ch'ü-ping acquired a golden man from him.<sup>6</sup> The Emperor, considering him a great god, installed him in his own quarters in the Kan-ch'üan-kung.<sup>7</sup> The golden man was somewhat more than a rod in height. They did not sacrifice to him, but merely burnt incense and did obeisance before him. This, then, was the modest beginning of the influx of the Way of the Buddha.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 122-116.

<sup>2</sup> The Hsiung-nu were a non-Chinese nation intermittently at war with the Chinese for centuries. There are detailed accounts of Huo Ch'ü-ping's expedition against them in *Shih-chi*, *Hsiung-nu lieh-chuan* 史記, 匈奴列傳, *ibid.*, *Wei-chiang-chün p'iao-ch'ü lieh-chuan* 衛將軍驃騎列傳, *Han-shu*, *Wu-ti chi* 漢書, 武帝紀, *ibid.*, *Wei-ch'ing Huo Ch'ü-ping chuan* 衛青霍去病傳, and *ibid.*, *Hsiung-nu chuan* 匈奴傳. In 120 B.C., (a) the expeditionary force won a victory in the vicinity of Mount Kao-lan during its spring campaign and acquired the "golden man"; (b) won another victory beyond the Chü-yen marshes during its summer campaign; and (c) accepted the surrender of King Hun-yeh during its fall campaign. The *Shih-lao-chih* sums up the fruits of these three campaigns in one notice and puts the acquisition of the golden man at the very end, thus giving a misleading view of the historical facts.

<sup>3</sup> Name of a mountain in what is now Kansu Province.

<sup>4</sup> Name of a marsh in the same province.

<sup>5</sup> These are the names of two Hsiung-nu chieftains.

<sup>6</sup> The golden idol which King Hsiu-t'u presented to the Chinese was probably not a Buddha figure. Cf. SHIRATORI Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉, *Kyōdo no Kyūshō-ō no ryōiki to sono saiten no kin-jin ni tsuite* 匈奴の休屠王の領域とその祭天の金人に就いて (in *Miyake hakushi koki shukuga kinen rombunshū* 三宅博士古稀祝賀記念論文集). It is worthy of note, however, that as early as the era of the Three Kingdoms the gold idol of the Hsiung-nu was identified by CHANG Yen 張晏 with the Buddha. In *Han-shu* lv, Huo Ch'ü-ping's biography, the phrase 收休屠祭天金人 is interpreted thus in the commentary: 張晏曰, 佛徒祠金人也. Ts'ui Hao of the Northern Wei also interpreted it in this way, as we can see from the *Soyin* 索隱 to *Shih-chi*, *Hsiung-nu chuan*: 崔浩云, 胡祭以金人爲主, 今浮圖金人是也. Thus it is to be supposed that, in identifying the "golden man" with the Buddha, Wei Shou was merely echoing one of the commonly accepted ideas of his time.

<sup>7</sup> Lit. "Sweet Spring Palace," the place in which the Han emperors worshipped Heaven. Cf. *Han chiu-i* 漢舊儀, as quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, *Li-i-pu* 太平御覽, 禮儀部: 漢法三歲一祭天子雲陽宮甘泉壇. Also, in a note on *Yün-yang hsien* 雲陽縣 in *Han-shu*, *Ti-li-chih* 漢書, 地理志, we read as follows: 有休屠金人及徑路神祠三所.

<sup>8</sup> The passage dealing with the killing of King Hsiu-ch'ü by

King Hun-yeh and presentation of the golden man may well be compared with the following, quoted from the *Han Wu ku-shih* 漢武故事 by LIU Hsiao-piao 劉孝標, a Liang dynasty personality, in a note in *Shih-shuo hsün-yü* 世說新語 i-b, *Wên-hsüeh* 文學: 昆邪王殺休屠王, 以其衆來降, 得其金人之神, 置之甘泉宮. 金人皆長丈餘, 其祭不用牛羊, 唯燒香禮拜. 上(漢武帝)使依其國俗祀之.

It is likely that Wei Shou's account of these events is drawn from the abovementioned *Han Wu ku-shih*, a work identified as extant in *Sui-shu*, *Ching-chi-chih* 隋書經籍志 ix, *Chiu-shih lei* 舊事類, at the very beginning of the list: 漢武故事二卷今存. But this notice makes no mention of the author. When we come to the Sung dynasty, we find in *Yü-hai* 玉海 li, the statement, quoted from the *Ch'ung-wên-mu* 崇文日, that it was the work of PAN Ku, and this tradition became generally accepted. However, it is unfounded. The Sung writer CHAO Kung-wu, 晁公武 in *Chün-chai tu-shu chih* 郡齋讀書志, ii-b quotes the T'ang author CHANG Chien-chih 張柬之 to the effect that it was the work of the Southern Ch'ü writer WANG Chien 王儉: 漢武故事二卷, 右世言班固撰. 唐張柬之[書洞冥記後]云, 漢武故事, 王儉造. Happily, the words of CHANG Chien-chih are recorded in the *Tung-ming-chi hou-pa* 洞冥記後跋, in CHAO Tsai-chih's 晁載之 *Hsü-t'an-chu* 續談助 i, and they seem to be well founded.

The Ch'ing scholar SUN I-jiang 孫詒讓, on the basis of Ko Hung's 葛洪 Preface to the *Hsi-ching tsa-chi* 西京雜記, holds that the *Han Wu ku-shih* was also the work of Ko Hung. (Cf. *Chai-i* 札遂 xi.) It may be that Ko Hung's *Han Wu ku-shih* in one roll developed into WANG Chien's in two. In any case, it was a type of novel, composed during the Eastern Tsin or the Nan-pei-ch'ao and based on the stories that circulated with regard to Han Wu-ti's belief in the occult arts. Thus it is impossible to accept this work at face value as a record of historical fact. It will suffice to be aware that well before Wei Shou's time it was believed that the golden idol mentioned by the *Shih-chi* and other historical texts as having been presented to Wu-ti was a Buddha figure, and that Wei Shou himself so interpreted the incident.

Also, the *Han Wu-ti ku-shih* now extant is not the same text as that current during the Six Dynasties. For the latter one should consult the text reconstructed by the Ch'ing scholar HUNG I-hsüan 洪頤煊 in *Ching-tien chi-lin* 經典集林 xvi (section 38 of *Wên-ching-t'ang ts'ung-shu* 問經堂叢書).



[3] 及開西域,遣張騫使大夏,還傳其旁有身毒國,一名天竺,始聞有浮屠之教。

When the western areas were opened, the Throne dispatched CHANG Ch'ien on a mission to Ta-hsia. Upon his return he reported that on that country's flank was a land called Shen-tu, of which another name was T'ien-chu.<sup>1</sup> It was then that we first heard of the teaching of Buddha.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Shên-tu (\*šin-dok) is apparently a corruption of some Prakritic form of Sindhu, possibly \*sindhuka, and T'ien-chu (\*t'ien-diuk) is apparently a further corruption of the same word. The reference, of course, is to India.

<sup>2</sup> The sources for CHANG Ch'ien's western expedition are *Shih-chi* xvi and cxxii and *Han-shu* li and cxv. A good secondary study is KUWABARA Jitsuzō's 桑原騰藏 *Chō Ken no ensei* 張騫の遠征 (in *Tōzai Kōshōshi ronsō* 東西交通史論叢). *Shih-chi* cxxii (*Ta-yüan-chuan* 大宛傳) tells as follows of CHANG Ch'ien's account of the land of Shên-tu, situated southeast of Ta-hsia: 其(大夏)東南有身毒國,騫曰,臣在大夏時,見邠竹杖蜀布,問曰,安得此,大夏國人曰,吾賈人往市之身毒。

身毒在大夏東南可數千里,其俗土著大與大夏,而卑淫暑熱云,其人民乘象以戰,其國臨大水焉。Both the *Shih-chi* and the *Han-shu* say that CHANG Ch'ien heard of India itself, but make no mention of his having heard of Buddhism. The last sentence in the above paragraph is merely a conjecture on the part of WEI Shou. However, the Han Court did know of India's existence, and traffic between East and West did flourish considerably subsequently because of a vigorous policy of trade with the western nations. Hence it is only natural that the Chinese should come to know of Buddhism, and that Buddhism should one day enter their land.

[4] 哀帝元壽元年,博士弟子秦景憲受大月氏王使伊存口授浮屠經,中土聞之,未之信了也。

In the first year of the Yüan-shou period of Emperor Ai,<sup>1</sup> the 'po-shih ti-tzū' CH'IN Ching-hsien received oral instruction on the Buddhist scriptures from I-ts'un, envoy of the King of the Ta-yüeh-chih,<sup>2</sup> but while the Middle Land<sup>3</sup> had heard of the scriptures, they were not yet believed in.

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 2

<sup>2</sup> This statement is taken from the *Wei-lüeh* 魏略, written by the Wei (Three Kingdoms) official YÜ Huan 魚豢 of Ching-chao 京兆, and quoted in *San-kuo-chih Wei-chih Hsi-jung-chuan* 三國志魏志西戎傳: 昔漢哀帝元壽元年,博士弟子景憲(\*釋老志外秦景憲)受大月氏王使伊存口授浮屠經。For "oral instruction" (口授) the note in *Shih-shou hsün-yü Wen-hsüeh-p'ien* has "oral transmission" (口傳), while the

T'ang scholar TU Yu's 杜佑 *T'ung-tien* 通典 cxciii, s.v. *T'ien-chu*, agrees with the *Shih-lao-chih*. For a closer study of this passage, cf. FUJITA Toyohachi 藤田豊八, *Bukkyō denrai ni kansuru Giryaku no hōbun ni tsuite* 佛教傳來に關する魏略の本文について (in *Tōzai kōshōshi no kenkyū*, *Saiki-hen* 東西交渉史の研究, 西域篇).

<sup>3</sup> I.e., China.

[5] 後孝明帝夜夢金人,頂有白光,飛行殿庭,乃訪羣臣,傳毅始以佛對。帝遣郎中蔡愔,博士弟子秦景等,使於天竺,寫浮屠遺範。愔仍與沙門攝摩騰、竺法蘭,東還洛陽,中國有沙門及跪拜之法,自此始也。

\*頂當作項。 \*\*白當作日。

Later, Emperor Hsiao-ming<sup>1</sup> dreamed one night of a golden man, sunlight issuing from the nape of his neck, flying about the palace courtyard.<sup>2</sup> Thereupon he made inquiry of the assembled ministers. FU I was the first to answer that it was the Buddha. The Emperor dispatched the 'lang-chung' TSAI Yin and the 'po-shih ti-tzū' CH'IN Ching with a party on a mission to T'ien-chu to copy the canons left behind by the Buddha. Yin then returned east to Lo-yang with the monks SHĒ Mo-t'êng<sup>3</sup> and CHU Fa-lan.<sup>4</sup> The existence in the Middle Kingdom of Buddhist monks and the kneeling ceremony dates from this.

<sup>1</sup> R. A.D. 58-76.

<sup>2</sup> The *Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei Ming-ch'ao-pên* 冊府元龜明抄本 and *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai* 佛祖歷代通載 vii read "the nape of the neck" (項). The *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan-chi* 洛陽伽藍記 agrees with it, and we have chosen to follow it (cf. s.v. *Po-ma-ssü* 白馬寺). In the *P'u-yao-ching* 普曜經, i.e., Dharmarakṣita's rendition of the life of the Buddha, we read as follows: 見三十二相, 軀體金色, 頂有肉髻, 其髮紺青, 眉間白毫, 項出日光. It is possible that in these accounts of the distinguishing marks of the Buddha the crown of the head

and the nape of the neck become confused. We have also emended the *Shih-lao-chih*'s "white light" (白光) to read "sunlight" (日光), in accordance with the above quotation.

<sup>3</sup> This is an abbreviation of CHIA-SHÈ Mo-t'êng (\*ka-šjēp ma-d'ing), presumably a transcription of KĀŚYAPA Mātāṅga.

<sup>4</sup> CHU stands for T'ien-chu, indicating Indian origin. Fa-lan is not a transcription but a Chinese name, meaning "the orchid of the Law." Subsequent scholarship has come to regard this entire story as fiction, and consequently to consider both Mātāṅga and Fa-lan as fictitious characters.

[6] 愔又得佛經四十二章及釋迦立像,明帝令畫工圖佛像,置清涼臺及顯節陵上,經緘於蘭臺石室。愔之還也,以白馬負經而至漢,因立白馬寺於洛城雍關西。摩騰、法蘭咸卒於此寺。

Yin also obtained a Buddhist scripture in forty-two chapters and a standing image of Śākya.<sup>1</sup> Emperor Ming commanded artists to figure Buddha images and install them on the Ch'ing-liang-t'ai<sup>2</sup> and atop the Hsien-chieh-ling.<sup>3</sup> The scripture was sealed away in the stone chamber of the Lan-t'ai.<sup>4</sup> Yin on his return journey loaded the scripture on a white horse and so reached China. Therefore a Po-ma-ssü<sup>5</sup> was built west of the Yung Pass of Lo-yang.<sup>6</sup> Mātāṅga and Fa-lan<sup>7</sup> both died in this temple.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For "standing image" (立像) *Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei Ming-ch'ao-pên* has "jade image" (玉像). The printed edition, however, has "standing image," as has *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai* vii. Consequently we are following that reading.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., "the clear, cool terrace."

<sup>3</sup> "The Mausoleum of the Manifest Mean," built by Emperor Ming during his own lifetime. Cf. *Li-huo-lun* 理惑論: 明帝存時, 預修造壽陵, 陵曰顯節, 亦於其上, 作佛圖像。

<sup>4</sup> "The Orchid Terrace," repository of the secret documents of the Han dynasty. It was as director of this library that PAN Ku composed the annals of Emperor Kuang-wu.

<sup>5</sup> I.e., "White Horse Temple."

<sup>6</sup> For "Pass" 關 many texts read "Gate" 門. The Yung Gate was the second from the south on the west side of the walled city of Lo-yang. Cf. *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan-chi* i: 西面有四門, 南頭第一門西門……次北曰西陽門, 漢曰雍門, 魏晉曰西門, 高祖改爲西陽門. Also cf. op. cit. s.v. *Po-ma-ssü*: 白馬寺, 漢明帝所立也, 佛入中國之始, 寺在西陽門外三里御道南, ……時白馬負而來, 因以爲名, 明帝崩, 起祇洹於陵上, 自此後, 百姓塚上或作浮圖焉. The earliest extant references to the Lo-yang Po-ma-ssü are the epilogues to Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Paramārthasamvṛtisatyānirdeśa* 文殊師利淨律經, translated in the fourth lunar month of A.D. 289, and of the *Mañjuśrīvikurvāṇaparivarta* 魔逆經, translated in the tenth lunar month of the same year. The latter refers to "the White Horse Temple west of the Lo-yang wall" (洛陽城西白馬寺).

The Po-ma-ssü at this time was one of the more influential temples in Lo-yang, but it is difficult to determine the time of

its construction. The *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan-chi* has the following to say about the Po-ma-ssü during the late Northern Wei, immediately following the passage just quoted: 上經函至今猶存, 常燒香供養之, 經函時放光明, 耀於堂宇, 是以道俗敬禮之, 如仰真容. 浮圖前柰林蒲萄, 異於餘處, 枝葉繁衍, 子實甚大, 柰林實重七斤, 蒲萄實偉於棗, 味並殊美, 冠於中京, 帝至熟時, 常詣取之, 或復賜官人, 官人得之, 轉餉親戚, 以爲奇味, 得者不敢輒食, 乃歷數家, 京師語曰, 白馬甜榴一實直牛. …… The temple's prize possession, scriptural texts said to have been brought over at the time of the introduction of Buddhism into China, was the object of special veneration, we are further told. According to this same account, its delicious pears and grapes (both objects introduced into China from the west), which did not have their like anywhere else, were the unique property of the Imperial Household, and were highly valued throughout the Capital. The Po-ma-ssü, during the period in which Lo-yang was the Imperial Capital of the Northern Wei, believed as it was to be the temple associated with the introduction of Buddhism into China, and growing on its grounds the rare fruits to be furnished to the Imperial table, must have occupied a position of great importance.

<sup>7</sup> *Kao-sēng-chuan* 高僧傳 i has the biographies of both Mātāṅga and Fa-lan, but they cannot be accepted at face value.

Of works antedating the *Shih-lao-chih* and containing the story of Emperor Ming's dream and the pious mission motivated by it, one may mention Mou-tzū *Li-huo-lun* (*Hung-ming-chi* i), *Ssü-shih-êrh-chang-ching* *hsü* 四十二章經序 (*Ch'u-san-tsang chi-chi* 出三藏記集 vi), YUAN Hung's 袁宏 *Hou-han-chi* 後漢記 x, FAN Yeh's 范曄 *Hou-han-shu* 後漢書 cxviii,

the biographies of SHE Mo-t'êng and CHU Fa-lan in Hui-chiao's 慧皎 *Kao-sêng-chuan* i, YANG Hsüan-chih's 楊街之 *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan-chi*, T'AO Hung-ching's 陶弘景 *Chên-kao* 真誥 ix, *Lao-tzū hua-hu ching* 老子化胡經 (quoted in CHEN Luàn's 甄鸞 *Hsiao-tao-lun* 笑道論), etc. Of these, the accounts that come closest to that of the *Shih-lao-chih* are those of Hui-chiao and YANG Hsüan-chih. However, it is equally possible that many other separate accounts of the origin of the Po-ma-sū were in circulation at that time, and that WEI Shou's account was drawn from one of them. The historicity of this tale has been argued on both sides by scholars. Some story of this type about the introduction of Buddhism into China was already in existence under the Western Tsin and became even more widespread under the Eastern Tsin and during the Nan-pei-ch'ao, until it came to be universally recognized, even by non-Buddhist scholars and religionists. WEI Shou apparently interpreted this universally accepted story to mean an official transmission of the Buddhist religion, complete with images, scriptures, and clergy (i.e., the Three Jewels), and giving rise immediately to the construction of temples and statues and the translation of scriptural texts. For an official historian, charged with the duty of compiling a dynastic chronicle, it would be no more than natural to make special note of such an event.

We are far from insisting on the historicity of this tale, but we are in a position to know, from the edict addressed by Emperor Ming to his half-brother, Prince Ying of Ch'u, head of a devout Buddhist household, that during this Emperor's reign there was not only a knowledge of Buddhism among the

educated classes, principally at the Lo-yang Court, but also believers in Buddhism like the Emperor's half-brother. There was some missionary activity on the part of persons known as 'sha-mên' and 'yu-p'o-sê' (see below), probably foreign monks and lay devotees, and within the center of Chinese civilization there were Chinese who honored and supported these persons.

This identification of King Hsiu-chu's golden idol with the Buddha and the literal acceptance of the story about Emperor Ming's dream characterize not only the *Shih-lao-chih* but LIU Hsiao-piao's notes to the *Shih-shuo hsün-yü* as well. LIU Hsiao-piao, taken prisoner as a young man by the Northern Wei army, spent some time in the Ta-t'ung area, where he associated with the local Buddhists. Thus it is scarcely any wonder that WEI Shou, whose life spanned the late Northern Wei and the early Northern Ch'i, should tell essentially the same story as LIU Hsiao-piao, and we can see from this that this account of the introduction of Buddhism into China was believed not only by WEI Shou but by everyone else as well.

The story of the dream and the mission of Emperor Ming has been studied by Henri MASPERO, and since his time there have been not a few studies of the same subject by Chinese and Japanese scholars. Among the more recent studies is that made in T'ANG Yung-t'ung's 湯用彤 *Han-Wei liang-Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao fo-chiao shih* 漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史, specifically chapter 2, *Yung-p'ing ch'iu-fa ch'uan-shuo chih k'ao-chêng* 永平求法傳說之考證, and chapter 3, *Ssü-shih-erh-chang-ching k'ao-chêng* 四十二章經考證, where the source material has been thoroughly assembled and well laid out.

[7] 浮屠正號曰佛陁。佛陁與浮圖聲相近。皆西方言。其來轉爲二音。華言譯之。則謂淨覺。言滅穢成明。道爲聖悟。

'Fou-t'u' is properly pronounced 'fo-t'o'.<sup>1</sup> 'Fo-t'o' and 'fou-t'u', which resemble each other in sound, are both a western word, which, in coming over, changed into two sounds. If interpreted in the Chinese language, it would be rendered by "pure awakening".<sup>2</sup> This means the extinction of defilements and the attainment of enlightenment, leading to saintly perception.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Fou-t'u' (\*bwəu-d'o) is probably derived from some form such as 'budho,' while 'fo-t'o' (\*bwut-d'a) is derived from 'buddha.'

<sup>2</sup> The rendition of 'buddha' by "pure awakening" (淨覺) is not very common. But there do survive examples of it from about the time of WEI Shou. For example, the inscription on the three-storeyed pagoda built in A.D. 524 under the Northern Wei by LIU Kên 劉根 and forty of his fellows (now in the possession of the Kaifêng Museum), as well as the *Yüan □ têng fa-i erh-shih-yü-jên tsao-hsiang-chi* 元□等法儀二十餘人造像記, dating from A.D. 533 and found in the Lotus Cave 蓮華洞 at Lung-mên near Lo-yang, contain the following phrase: 大誓莊嚴,理無虛應,十方淨覺,見爲我證. Also, the *Hsiu-hsiang t'i-tsan ping hsü* 繡像題贊並序, dating from A.D. 486 and contained in *Kuang hung-ming-chi* xvi, reads in part as follows:

維齊永明四年歲次丙寅秋八月己未朔二日庚申。第三皇孫所生陳夫人。含微宅理。炳慧臨空。結言寶住。騰心淨覺。敬因樂林寺主比丘尼釋寶願。造繡無量壽尊像一軀。Most particularly interesting, however, is the use of this expression in the first *chüan* of Bodhiruci's translation of Vasubandhu's *Daśabhūmivyākhyāna* 十地經論, done under the Northern Wei from A.D. 508 to 511 (cf. *Taishō shinshū dai-zōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 xxvi, 127c): 何故淨覺人念智功德具。The translation of the *Daśabhūmivyākhyāna* was made with official state support, as a time when Buddhism was enjoying its greatest prosperity at the Northern Wei Court in Lo-yang, by the two Indian monks Ratnamati and Buddhaśānta, assisted by over a thousand clerics and laymen, and the study of this translation was pursued with extreme vigor during the period spanning the end of the Northern Wei and the

beginning of the Northern Ch'i. It was during this period of the vigorous study of this new translation that Wei Shou composed the *Shih-lao-chih*. There also survives what purports to be Dharmabodhi's translation of the same Vasubandhu's Commentary to the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, a work in one 'chüan' which opens with the words "Homage to the sea of pure awakening!" There is some doubt as to whether this commentary is in fact the work of Vasubandhu and whether Dharmabodhi did in fact translate it. It may possibly be a Chinese forgery, but the fact remains that it was used by the Ti-lun 地論 Sect under the Sui dynasty. *Chung-ching mu-lu* 衆經目錄 (a catalogue compiled at Imperial command during the Jên-shou 仁壽 era, A.D. 601-605) i (*Taishō* lv, 153b) has the following entry: 大般涅槃經論一卷達磨菩提譯; *Ching-t'ai-lu* 靜泰錄 i, compiled under the T'ang, carries the same notice (*ibid.*, 186a); but the following catalogue, *Ta-T'ang nei-tien-lu* 大唐內典錄 (*ibid.*, 270b), places it after the *Chung-ching mu-lu* of the Northern Wei layman Li Kuo 李廓, stating that it was placing this alleged translation at the end of the Northern Wei catalogue because it was not clearly dated and therefore subject to some suspicion. The Sui monk Kuan-ting 灌頂 says in his *Nieh-p'an-ching-su* 涅槃經疏 that the sevenfold division of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* expounded in this treatise was adopted by the Ti-lun masters of North China. Apart from the place and date of the translation or composition of the treatise, it appears to have had its place in North China toward the end of the Northern Dynasty. We may therefore infer that this treatise, beginning with the phrase "Homage to the sea of pure awakening!", was in use among the Ti-lun scholars of North China under the Northern Ch'i, i.e., by Wei Shou's contemporaries. The use by Wei Shou of the comparatively rare term "pure awakening" is interesting for the light it sheds on the use of new Chinese equivalents for Buddhist technical terms by the Buddhist scholars of his day.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase 言滅穢成明道爲聖悟 is an obscure one. WARE, who takes the character 'fan' 凡 immediately following to be part of the sentence, interprets the whole thing to mean that one purges out defilements, achieves the Illustrious Way, becomes a Sage, and brings common men to enlightenment. However, the character 'fan' is in fact an initial particle introducing the following sentence. In the *Shih-lao-chih* text reproduced in *Kuang hung-ming-chi* ii there is a 'yeh' 也 between 'shêng-wu' 聖悟 and 'fan.' The quotation given in *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai* vii reads 滅穢明道爲聖悟也, also concluding the sentence with 'yeh,' but omitting the character 'ch'êng' 成 which in our text occurs between 'hui' 穢 and 'ming' 明. Both texts agree in reading 'fan' not in the sense of "common" but as an introductory word meaning "on the whole," "in general," etc. *Ch'u-hsieh-chi* 初學記 xxiii reproduces without change the phrase beginning with 凡其經旨, and *Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei* cmxcvi reads 華言譯之,則謂淨覺滅穢成明道爲聖悟.服其道者,相與和居 ..... obviously breaking the sentence at 'shêng-wu.' However, accepting our

reading of 'fan,' the sentence still has two possible interpretations:

A) The interpretation given above, breaking the text into four-character phrases. This would be an explanation of pure awakening, "pure" being paraphrased by "the extinction of defilements and the attainment of enlightenment," and "awakening" by "leading to saintly perception." This is, in other words, an exposition of the two very common Buddhist notions of self-enlightenment (滅穢成明) and the enlightenment of others (道爲聖悟). WARE interprets 'ming-tao' 明道 to refer to 'bodhi,' but there appear to be no examples of such a rendition. If 'ming' is to be interpreted as the Chinese translation of an Indian word, it represents 'vidyā' rather than 'bodhi.' In the eighth 'chüan' of Sêng-chao's 僧肇 commentary to the *Vimalakīrtinīrdeśa* 注維摩經, recognized by the entire Buddhist church from the Northern Wei to the Northern Ch'i and by Wei Shou himself as the authoritative commentary to that scripture, we see the word 'ming' interpreted as follows: 肇曰,明惠明也,無明癡冥也. By this is meant the wisdom of the enlightened person who has purged himself of folly. In the *Shih-chia-wên-fo hsiang-ming* 釋迦文佛像銘, by the Liang layman SHÊN Yüeh 沈約, we encounter the phrase 積智成明, sharing the expression 'ch'êng-ming' 成明 with our own text. In our opinion, it was generally believed in the Buddhist church of North China at the time of Wei Shou that the meaning of the Mahāyāna scriptures and treatises was that every human being has an innate Buddha-nature pure and undefiled, which, befouled and concealed by the 'kleśas,' can be brought back to its pure pristine form only by religious practice, and that this is what is meant by "enlightenment." Needless to say, such clerical scholars as Sêng-chao were guilty of no such relativistic interpretation as would oppose 'kleśas' to enlightenment, holding that the latter shines through only when the former have been cleared away. On the contrary, they would have maintained that the 'kleśas' in and of themselves are 'bodhi' (煩惱即菩提), i.e., that one attains to wisdom in the very midst of ignorance. But the commonly held point of view was far different. For example, in a discussion of Yin 'chung-chün' 殷中軍 in *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* 世說新語 i-b, *Wên-hsieh-p'ien*, we read as follows: 佛經以爲祛練神明,則聖人可致. This is interpreted by LIU Hsiao-piao in the following manner: 釋氏經曰:一切衆生,皆有佛性,但能修智慧,斷煩惱,萬行具足,便成佛也. And this was truly representative of the understanding of Buddhism on the part of the Chinese intellectuals of the time who were at all concerned with the religion.

In our translation we have read 'tao-wei' 道爲 in the sense of 導爲, combining the two characters into one verb to refer to the leading of the common man to the estate of the enlightened one. In this connection, cf. WANG Ch'ung's 王充 *Lun-hêng* 論衡 ii, *Shuai-hsing-p'ien* 率性篇: 善漸於惡,惡化於善,成爲性行. Cf. also *ibid.*: 然而韋弦附身,成爲完具之人. Cf. also *Ta-po-nieh-p'an-ching* ii, *Shou-liang-p'in* 壽量品 (*Taishō* xii, 374c): 純陀答言:文殊師利,今何故貪爲

此食,而言多少,足與不足,令我時施。 Cf. also *Kuo-ch'ing po-lu* 國清百錄 ii: 願運大慈悲,垂爲申達。 In our opinion, it is possible to interpret 'tao-wei' in the same way as the 'ch'êng-wei' 成爲, 't'an-wei' 食爲, and 'ch'ui-wei' 垂爲 in the above-quoted passages.

B) The alternative reading is 言滅穢,成明道,爲聖悟(也). If this reading is adopted, 'ming-tao' will refer to 'bodhi' and 'shêng-wu' to the Buddha. The *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai*, rightly or wrongly, omits 'ch'êng,' reading, "The elimination of de-

filements and the clarification of the Way are what constitutes saintly perception," a much more readable and intelligible version. But one is entitled to have one's doubts about removing, on the basis of a Yüan text, a character which is found in both the *Wei-shu* and the *Kuang hung-ming-chi*.

We do not rule out the possibility of textual corruption in the case of this sentence, but, given the tools we have, we choose reading A) over reading B).

[8] 凡其經旨大抵言生生之類,皆因行業而起。有過去當今未來,歷三世,識神常不滅。凡爲善惡,必有報應。漸積勝業,陶冶麤鄙,經無數形,藻練神明,乃致無生而得佛道。其間階次,心行等級非一。皆緣淺以至深,藉微而爲著。率在於積仁,順蠲嗜慾,習虛靜而成通照也。

\*藻當作澡。

The core<sup>1</sup> of the scriptures is as follows: The varieties of living beings all come into existence because of their own actions. There are past, present, and future, and the conscious soul which lives through all three eras never perishes.<sup>2</sup> Whenever one does good or evil, one is sure to have one's retribution. Thus one gradually accumulates superior works, smelting out one's baseness, passing through innumerable forms,<sup>3</sup> and refining the spirit,<sup>4</sup> until one effects no-birth and attains to the Ultimate of Buddhahood. In this process, the stages and the mental states accompanying them are many and varied. In every case one lays hold on the shallow and makes one's way to the profound, makes use of the imperceptible and achieves the preeminent. The essential lies in accumulating humility, purging out desires, practicing quietude, and achieving pervasive illumination.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Shih-chi, Li-shu* 史記,禮書: 應劭言,抵至也。臣瓚云抵歸也。索隱云,案大抵猶大略也。臣瓚以抵訓爲歸,則是大略大歸。

<sup>2</sup> This exposition of the essence of Buddhist doctrine will also be found in the *Kuang hung-ming-chi* text, as well as in *P'o-hsieh-lun* 破邪論 i, *Ch'u-hsieh-chi* xxiii, *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 太平御覽 delciii, *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* 佛祖統紀 xxxviii, and *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai* vii.

In the sentence 有過去當今未來歷三世識神不滅 the phrase 歷三世 is not altogether clear. One feels inclined either to emend it to read 經歷三世 or, following the *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai*, to strike out the character 'li' 歷. The *variae lectiones* are as follows:

a) *Kuang hung-ming-chi* 廣弘明集: 有過去當今未來,歷三世識神不滅也。

b) *P'o-hsieh-lun* 破邪論: 有過去當今未來三世也。(The *Kuang hung-ming-chi* also reproduces this very sentence as a quotation from the *Wei-shu* at the end of the *Hou-han-shu*, *Chiao-ssü-chih* 後漢書郊祀志.)

c) *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai* 佛祖歷代通載: 有過去當今

未來三世識神常不滅也。

d) *Ch'u-hsieh-chi* 初學記: 有三世識神不滅也。

e) *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* 佛祖統紀: 三世識神常不滅。

<sup>3</sup> For "forms" 形 the Korean edition of the *Kuang hung-ming-chi* reads "kalpas" 劫. However, inasmuch as the *Sui-shu ching-chi-chih*'s account of Buddhism, based on the *Shih-lao-chih*, reads "incalculable bodies" 無量身 instead of "innumerable forms" 無數形, we consider "forms" to be preferable to "kalpas."

<sup>4</sup> In the phrase 藻練神明 the *Ch'u-hsieh-chi* and the *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* read 澡 for 藻. The character 藻, as in the word *tsao-hui* 藻繪, can mean to color and beautify, which would justify its use here, but 澡 presents less of a problem. The Tsin writer SHU Hsi 束皙, in his *Tu-shu-fu* 讀書賦, uses the following expression: 澡練精神,吸清虛. Interpretations of Buddhism similar to that of WEI Shou and dating also from the Nan-pei-ch'ao may be seen in such writings as the above-mentioned reference to YIN 'chung-chün' in *Shih-shou hsin-yü* i-a, *Wên-hsüeh-p'ien*.

[9] 故其始修心,則依佛法僧。謂之三歸。若君子之三畏也。又有五戒。去殺盜淫妄言飲酒。大意與仁義禮智信同,名爲異耳云。奉持之則生天人勝處,虧犯則墜鬼畜諸苦。〔善〕惡生處,凡有六道焉。

\*當補善字。

Therefore he who first trains his mind puts his reliance in the Buddha, the Law, and the Order. One calls this the Triple Refuge, and it is like the Triple Veneration of the gentleman-scholar.<sup>1</sup> Then there are the Five Negative Injunctions, which prohibit killing, stealing, adultery, lying, and the taking of strong drink. Their general meaning is the same as that of humanity, rectitude, propriety, wisdom, and good faith; only the names are different, so it is said.<sup>2</sup> If one keeps them, one is reborn into the superior status of god or man; if one breaks them, one descends to the status of demons and beasts and other such miseries. Of the states of being there are six.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Lun-yü* xvi, 8: Confucius said, "The gentleman-scholar has a triple veneration: He venerates Heaven's Mandate, he venerates great men, and he venerates the words of the Sages. The little man does not know Heaven's Mandate and does not venerate it. He treats the great man with familiarity and contemns the words of the Sages."

<sup>2</sup> In the household precepts of one of Wei Shou's contemporaries, Yen Chih-t'ui 顏之推, also of the Northern Ch'i, we read as follows: 內典初門,設五種之禁,與外書仁義禮智信五常符同,仁者不殺之禁也,義者不盜之禁也,禮者不邪之禁也,智者不酒之禁也,信者不妄之禁也。It would appear that the identification of the Five Commandments of Buddhism with the Five Norms of Confucianism was by this time a foregone conclusion among the Buddhists of the Chinese intelligentsia, a social class steeped in Confucian lore. This outlook was particularly common among the Buddhists of the Northern Ch'i, as is evidenced by the fact of the widespread reading of the *T'i-wei Po-li ching* 提謂波利經, a pseudo-sūtra of Chinese origin which preaches the Triple Refuge and the Five Commandments to lay Buddhists, and in particular likens the Five Commandments to the Five Norms, the Five Elements, the Five Directions, etc., calling the Five Commandments "the Mother of the Buddhas," "the Root of Heaven and Earth," "the fountainhead of the multitudinous spirits," "the mother of the myriad things," "the father of the myriad gods," "the origins of the Great Way," "the basis of Nirvāṇa," etc., etc.

One would be safe in looking on this description of Buddhist doctrine as an elaboration, made possible by the spread of the knowledge of Buddhism and the doctrines of *karman* and *buddhatā*, on the following simple exposition of the essentials of Buddhism made by Yuan Hung (328-376) in *Hou-han-chi* x: 佛者漢言覺,將悟群生也。其教以修善慈心爲主,不殺生,專務清淨,其精者號爲沙門,沙門者漢言息心,蓋息意去欲,而歸於無爲也。又以爲,人死精神不滅,隨復受形,生時所行善惡,皆有報應,故所貴行爲修道,以鍊精神而不已,以至無爲,而得爲佛也。The word 'shên' 神, as used by Wei Shou in such words as 'shih-shên' 識神 and 'shên-ming' 神

明, does not mean "god" but rather the minds and spirits of living beings, as opposed to their bodies. This use of the word is the same as that of Yen Chih-t'ui in the abovementioned *Yen-shih chia-hsin* 顏氏家訓, e.g., 神滅形消 (*Ming-shih-p'ien* 名實篇), 形體雖死精神猶存 (*Kuei-hsin-p'ien* 歸心篇), etc. The question of whether or not the human soul perishes with the body is one that was heatedly argued by the scholars of the Eastern Tsin and the Nan-pei-ch'ao. The Buddhists among them, believing in the immortality of the soul throughout the ages, felt that the passage of this soul through innumerable lives in accordance with the conduct of the individual was at the very heart of Buddhist doctrine, and came out in opposition to the theory of the mortality of the soul advanced by the Confucianists. It was only after Kumārajīva translated and taught the doctrines of Nāgārjuna and Deva that the Buddhist concept, so vigorously preached, of the insubstantiality of the conscious soul came to be understood by China's leading Buddhist clerics and lay devotees, as we are told by Sêng-jui, a pupil of Tao-an who after his master's death had the opportunity of studying under Kumārajīva: 此土先出諸經,於識神性空,明言處少,存神之文,其處甚多,中百二論文未及此,又無通鑒,誰與正之 (*P'i-mo-lo-chieh-t'i-ching i-su* 毘摩羅詰提經義疏). Until that time Chinese Buddhists, although they were taught from the Buddhist scriptures in Chinese translation of the insubstantiality of things, were not taught about the insubstantiality of the soul; on the contrary, they were taught that it was immortal. And even after Kumārajīva's time an understanding of the doctrine of insubstantiality reaching to everything without distinction was the prerogative of a tiny number of specialists, while as a general rule the very core of the Buddha's preaching was believed to have been the doctrine that the soul is immortal, and that because of the good and evil a person does in this life his soul is reincarnated in the next. It was precisely this idea that was capable of appealing to men's feelings during the Tsin and Nan-pei-ch'ao and of attracting them in large numbers into the Buddhist faith. An idea of the spirit of the times may best be had by

a careful reading of the above-quoted exposition of Buddhist essentials by YUAN Hung, concluding with the sentence, "Therefore, of kings, princes, and great men who contemplate the limits of death, life, and retribution, there is none who does not lose himself to fear and trembling." (*Hou-han-chi* x) The Buddhist piety that spread itself throughout the society of the Nan-pei-ch'ao attained the height of its popularity on the basis of this set of ideas. Particularly, inasmuch as P'i-t'an 毗曇 scholarship, i.e., the study of the Abhidharma, the collection of treatises containing the doctrines of the Hīnayāna Sarvāstivāda school, which set forth in great detail the principle of retribution for good and evil, was very much in vogue at Wei Shou's time, it can have been no more than natural for the *Shih-lao-chih* to contain this sort of description of Buddhist philosophy.

In using two designations for the human soul, 'shih-shên' and 'shên-ming,' Wei Shou was probably distinguishing on the one hand between that property whose function is sensation and cognition of the world outside of itself, and on the other that immaterial substance which is by its very nature pure and past comprehension.

Among the sayings of WANG Pi 王弼, a Wei (Three Kingdoms) thinker who exerted an extraordinary influence on the minds of the Tsin dynasty, is the following: 聖人茂於人者, 神明也, 同於人者, 五情也. (WANG Pi's biography by Ho Shao 何劭 王弼傳). Sêng-chao, who combined these ideas with Buddhism, said, "Now that indeed which distinguishes... the Sage from others is his spirit. Therefore one simply cannot find him by looking for things and forms." (*Pan-jo wu-chih lun* 般若無知論) "Things cannot encumber the spirit of the Ultimate Man." (*Pu-chên-k'ung lun* 不真空論). The "spirit" is the essential nature of the "Sage" and the "Ultimate Man," i.e., the Buddha and bodhisattva.

Wei Shou's contemporary YEN Chih-t'ui defines 'shên-ming' as follows: 若其愛養神明, 調護氣息, 慎節起臥, 均適寒暄, 禁忌食飲, 將餌藥物, 遂其所稟, 不爲夭折者, 吾無間然 (*YEN-shih chia-hsün, Yang-shêng-p'ien* 顏氏家訓養生篇).

It would seem possible to sum up the views of both the lay thinkers and the Buddhists of the Northern Ch'i on this subject in these words: "The wondrous, incomprehensible spirit is immanent in all men. A human being, by refining this spirit and bringing out his own true nature in its pristine purity, can become a genie, a Sage, or a Buddha." This is especially true of the Buddhists, for early in the fifth century the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* was translated in both North and South China, where it was then subjected to energetic study and exegesis. As a result, the idea that all living beings contain the eternal Buddha-nature gained wide currency. 'Shên-ming' came to be understood as synonymous with 'buddhatā.' The above-quoted passage from LIU Hsiao-piao is one example of this. The period spanning the decline of the Northern Wei and the emergence of the Northern Ch'i also saw a vigorous study of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*. Furthermore, during the sixth century, under the Northern Wei, Bodhiruci and

others translated into Chinese a new set of Mahāyāna scriptures and treatises, containing the doctrine, systematized by Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, that posits a single entity, called variously by the names 'ālayavijñāna,' 'tathāgatarbha,' and 'bhūtata-thatā,' as the source of all things, and the study of these new translations came speedily into vogue. If one will bear in mind that Wei Shou wrote his description of Wei Buddhism after growing up in a Buddhist milieu of this type and associating with learned clerics who believed in doctrines such as these, one will perforce agree that his association of the word 'shên-ming,' used by Chinese thinkers ever since the Tsin, with the Buddhist concepts of 'buddhatā,' 'tathāgatarbha-citta,' etc., and his identification of these words as synonyms were only natural.

As to the account of the stages of religious practice leading to the attainment of Buddhahood, it should be projected against the background of two facts. First, Ti-lun study was at the zenith of its glory at about this time in Yeh (the Northern Ch'i capital), and there was great interest in the study of the degrees by which the bodhisattva proceeds from the initial stage of bodhisattvahood to the tenth and final stage directly preceding Buddhahood, a study based primarily on the *Daśa-bhūmivijyākhyāna* and kindred texts. Second, Buddhist scholars, who believed that the Buddha's preachings, i.e., the Scriptures, differed in content according to the person to whom they were being preached, whether man, god, śrāvaka, pratyekabuddha, or bodhisattva; that the "Law" contained in these scriptures proceeded accordingly from shallow to profound; and that they constituted a course of religious education for the believer intent upon salvation, were busily engaged at this time in arranging, classifying, and systematizing the scriptures—an activity that Japanese Buddhists were later to call *kyōsō han-jaku* 教相判釋. (This activity, premised on the assumption that the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna scriptures—which were in fact the products of separate schools of thought—had all been preached by the same Buddha, and that the apparent differences among them corresponded to different listeners and different times, consisted of uniting them into one purportedly harmonious whole, establishing their mutual relationships, assigning to each a specific value in terms of its relative "shallowness" or "profundity," and selecting one particular one as the apex of the Buddha's teaching, i.e., as the essence of Buddhism. This led to the formation of the Chinese Buddhist sects, a new tendency fundamentally different from anything to be found in Indian Buddhism.)

From the latter half of the Northern Wei onward, one of the most popular scriptural texts, one prescribing the course of religious practice to lay Buddhists, was the *T'i-wei Po-li ching*. During the Northern Ch'i there originated the so-called "Fivefold Chronological Classification of the Northland," which divided the Buddha's preaching career into five periods of time and placed this particular scripture at the very beginning, as one which explained to merchants how to be reincarnated in the superior status of god or man. *T'i-wei Po-li ching* is not



the Chinese translation of an Indian original, but an original Chinese work written about A.D. 460 by some Buddhist missionary zealot for the purpose of preaching the faith to laymen, following the promulgation of the edict of religious toleration that put an end to Emperor T'ai-wu's persecution of Buddhism (A.D. 441-451). In an appendix to T'an-yao's 曇曜 biography in *Hsü kao-sêng-chuan* i, we read as follows: 時又有沙門曇曜者,以創開佛日,脩譯諸經並從焚蕩,人間誘導,遷准無因,乃出提謂波利經二卷,意在通悟,而多妄習。 Having been written for the purpose of recommending a course of religious practice to laymen, it is simple and popular in tone, containing many elements of Chinese popular belief and preaching the merits of talking the Triple Refuge and keeping the Five Commandments. This forgery was very successful in capturing the hearts of lay believers, and the late sixth century saw the emergence even in Northwest China of popular religious societies ('i-i' 邑義), which conducted meetings twice monthly. The above-quoted passage from the *Hsü kao-sêng-chuan* is immediately succeeded by the following: 隋初開皇 (A.D. 581-600),闢壤往々民間猶習提謂,邑義各持衣鉢,月再興齋,儀範正律,遞相監檢,甚具翊集云。 In this scripture, the Buddha, in the seventh day following his attainment of enlightenment, preaches to five hundred merchants led by T'i-wei (Trapuṣa) and Po-li (Bhallika) the necessity of taking the Triple Refuge and keeping the Five Commandments, saying that he who does the latter shall be reborn as a human being, and he who does the former, as a god, etc., etc. The readers of this scripture believed that the first thing the Buddha had preached to his clerical followers was the Āgamas, which he had propounded in the Deer Park, but that even before that he had preached the contents of the *T'i-wei Po-li ching* to Trapuṣa and his fellows. This scripture very early caught the eye of Liu Ch'iu 劉虬 (A.D. 438-495), a Buddhist lay recluse of Chiang-ling who had the respect of both the Court and the populace. Liu Ch'iu divided the Buddha's entire preaching mission into two types of doctrine, sudden and gradual, and further divided the latter into five chronological periods and seven degrees. The "sudden doctrine" was the content of the Buddha's great perception, which he delivered exactly as he had perceived it, without even rising from his seat under the bodhi-tree. The content of this sermon, recorded in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, was supposedly quite unintelligible to the Buddha's listeners, who had no background knowledge whatsoever. Thereupon the Buddha, in order to bring his listeners by stages from the shallow doctrine to the profound, devised a course of sermons which divides into five chronological periods and seven degrees. The record of this series of sermons is the various scriptures setting forth the several doctrines, i.e., the Tripiṭaka.

| CHRONOLOGICAL PERIOD | DOCTRINE                     | SCRIPTURE OR VEHICLE             | STAGE |
|----------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------|
| 1.                   | Doctrine of Men and Gods 人天教 | <i>T'i-wei Po-li ching</i> 提謂波利經 | 1.    |

|    |                                            |                                                                  |                |
|----|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| 2. | Separate Doctrine of Three Vehicles 三乘別教   | Śrāvakayāna 聲聞乘<br>Pratyekabuddhayāna 緣覺乘<br>Bodhisattvayāna 菩薩乘 | 2.<br>3.<br>4. |
| 3. | Mahāyāna Doctrine of Insubstantiality 大乘空教 | <i>Prajñāpāramitā</i> , <i>Vimalakīrtinīrdeśa</i> 般若經,維摩經        | 5.             |
| 4. | Doctrine of One Vehicle 一乘教                | <i>Saddharmapuṇḍarīka</i> 法華經                                    | 6.             |
| 5. | Doctrine of Eternity 常住教                   | <i>Mahāparinirvāṇa</i> 涅槃經                                       | 7.             |

This classification into five chronological periods, which divided the Buddha's whole preaching mission in the manner set forth above, arranging the Chinese translations of the scriptures and organizing them into a single, all-embracing whole, pronouncing a value-judgment on each of them, and purporting to clarify the Buddha's ultimate doctrine, was adopted by subsequent Buddhist scholars of the Nan-pei-ch'ao. South Chinese scholars, however, accepted it with one reservation, namely, that they eliminated from the scheme the Doctrine of Men and Gods, on the grounds that it did not conduce to Buddhahood. In North China, on the other hand, the following fivefold classification was in vogue from the end of the Wei to the Sui:

| CHRONOLOGICAL PERIOD | DOCTRINE                         | SCRIPTURE                                         |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1.                   | Doctrine of Men and Gods         | <i>T'i-wei Po-li ching</i>                        |
| 2.                   | Doctrine of Substantiality 有相教   | Āgamas                                            |
| 3.                   | Doctrine of Insubstantiality 無相教 | <i>Vimalakīrtinīrdeśa</i> , <i>Prajñāpāramitā</i> |
| 4.                   | Doctrine of Common Destiny 同歸教   | <i>Saddharmapuṇḍarīka</i>                         |
| 5.                   | Doctrine of Eternity             | <i>Mahāparinirvāṇa</i>                            |

If one will read the *Shih-lao-chih*'s exposition of Buddhist essentials with the understanding that in the North Chinese Buddhist church at the time of writing the belief was commonly held that the Buddha's first sermon, contained in the *Avataṃsaka*, and his last, contained in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, embodied the profoundest doctrines in Buddhism, and that the area of Buddhahood to which Śākyamuni had attained by his own exertions and to which he was trying to convey everyone else was described in these two scriptures, the significance of this section of our text will be clear.

A work on which the *Shih-lao-chih* presumably drew quite heavily for its description of the essentials of Buddhist doctrine was the *Hou-han-chi* of the Tsin writer YUAN Hung 袁宏 (courtesy name Yen-po 彦伯), specifically the account contained in the tenth *chüan*, and one of the works which in turn manifestly drew on the *Shih-lao-chih* is the *Sui-shu ching-chih*, specifically its section on Buddhism.

<sup>3</sup> Viz., gods, men, 'asuras,' beasts, 'pretas,' and hell-dwellers. 'Asuras' are traditionally described as beings engaged in endless strife, while 'pretas' are described as demons condemned to eternal hunger.

[10] 諸服其道者,則剃落鬚髮,釋累辭家,結師資,遵律度,相與和居,治心修淨行,乞以自給。謂之沙門,或曰桑門,亦聲相近。總謂之僧,皆胡言也。僧譯爲和命衆,桑門爲息心,比丘爲行乞。

\*命當作合。

Those who submit to this Way shave off their hair and beard, renounce their worldly ties and take leave of their families, establish the bond of master and disciple, follow the rules of the Discipline, live in harmony with one another, regulate their minds and practice purity, and go about begging in order to sustain themselves. One calls such 'sha-mên' or 'sang-mên.'<sup>1</sup> These words also resemble each other in sound. The collective term for them is 'sêng.'<sup>2</sup> All these are foreign words. 'Sêng,' if interpreted, means "harmoniously united multitude."<sup>3</sup> 'Sang-mên' means "one who rests his mind."<sup>4</sup> 'Pi-ch'iu' means "wandering mendicant."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Both are transcriptions of some Prakritic form of Skt. 'śramaṇa,' "ascetic" (cf. Pāli 'samaṇa').

<sup>2</sup> From Skt. 'saṅgha,' "assemblage, host, company, community."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Ta-chih-tu-lun* 大智度論 iii: 僧伽秦言衆,多比丘一處和合,是名僧伽。……諸比丘和合,故僧名生。'Saṅgha' refers to a group living together in harmony. 'Ho-ming' 和命 may possibly have had this meaning, but it is more likely to be a copyist's error for 'ho-ho' 和合。The Chinese translations of the Buddhist scriptures frequently make use of the word 'ho-ho-chung' 和合衆, but not of the word 'ho-ming-chung' 和命衆。

<sup>4</sup> As has been observed in a previous note, the Chinese forms 'sha-mên' and 'sang-mên' are derived not from the Sanskrit 'śramaṇa' but from some Prakritic form more or less akin to the Pāli 'samaṇa.' The Buddhist missionaries to China, not knowing the correct etymology of the word, apparently mistook

it for a derivative of the verb '√śam' rather than '√śram,' both of which have the meaning "to exert oneself, to practice austerity." But while '√śam' also has the meaning "to rest," '√śram' has not. Hence WEI Shou's misinterpretation of the meaning of 'sang-mên.'

<sup>5</sup> 'Pi-ch'iu' (\*bi-k'iu) derives from a Prakritic form of Skt. 'bhikṣu,' "beggar" (cf. Pāli "bhikkhu"), one of the standard appellations of a mendicant monk. Somewhere in this paragraph there must have originally been a sentence such as "they (those who submit to this Way) are also called 'pi-ch'iu,'" otherwise its sudden appearance in this context is difficult to account for. In Sêng-chao's *Chu Wei-mo-ching* 註維摩經 ii-a we read such statements as the following: 肇曰:比丘秦言或名淨乞食 indicating that the transcriptions 'pi-ch'iu,' 'sha-mi,' and the like were not made directly from the Sanskrit. Professor Sylvain Lévi has advanced the theory that they were made from Kuchan.

[11] 俗人之信憑道法者,男曰優婆塞,女曰優婆夷。

Of laymen who believe in the religion, men are called 'yu-p'o-sê,'<sup>1</sup> women 'yu-p'o-i.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Yu-p'o-sê' (\*u-b'a-sik) represents Skt. 'upāsaka,' "one who sits at another's feet, disciple," the standard term for a layman who has declared his allegiance to the Buddhist faith.

<sup>2</sup> 'Yu-p'o-i' (\*u-b'a-i) derives ultimately from Skt. 'upāsikā,' but through the medium either of some Indian vernacular form or of some Central Asian language.

[12] 其爲沙門者,初修十誡曰沙彌。而終於二百五十,則具足成大僧。婦人道者,曰比丘尼。其誡至于五百。皆以五戒爲本,隨事增數,在於防心、攝身、正口、心去貪、忿、癡,身除殺、淫、盜,口斷妄、雜,諸非正言。總謂之十善道。能具此謂之三業清淨。凡人修行粗爲極云。可以達惡善報漸階聖迹。

\*人當作入。 \*\*諸本闕五戒二字,據廣弘明集。

Now the śrāmaṇa first practices the Ten Commandments, at which time he is called 'sha-mi.'<sup>1</sup> Then finally, having been graduated to full status with the receipt of the Two Hundred and Fifty Commandments, he becomes a senior monk. Women who enter upon the Way are called 'pi-ch'iu-ni';<sup>2</sup> their commandments total five hundred. In all cases the principal emphasis is upon the Five Commandments,<sup>3</sup> which, as occasion presented itself, were increased in number. This consists of guarding the mind, holding the body in check, and rectifying the mouth. The mind casts out greed, anger, and folly; the body renounces murder, adultery, and theft; and the mouth desists from lies, embellished language,<sup>4</sup> and all manner of wrong speech. The collective term for this is the Way of the Ten Righteousnesses. The ability to muster all of them at once is called the Purity of the Three Kinds of Works. In general, in the religious practices of men this is more or less the high point, so it is said. Thereby one may escape the retribution of evil and good and gradually ascend to the traces of the Saint.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Sanskrit form is 'śrāmaṇera.' The huge difference between the two forms may be accounted for by (a) passage through an Indian vernacular language, (b) passage through a Central Asian language, or (c) a different original word to begin with. The ten commandments of the śrāmaṇera are (1) not to kill, (2) not to steal, (3) not to commit adultery, (4) not to lie, (5) not to drink intoxicating beverages, (6) not to sleep in a high or wide bed, (7) not to wear flower garlands or other ornaments, (8) not to participate in singing or dancing, (9) not to own precious objects, (10) not to take food except at the proper time (i.e., once a day and only between 6 a.m. and noon).

<sup>2</sup> 'Pi-ch'iu-ni' (\*bi-k'u-ni) derives from some Prakritic form of 'bhikṣuṇī,' the feminine form of 'bhikṣu' (cf. Pāli 'bhikkhuni').

<sup>3</sup> There is a lacuna in our text, and the reading "the Five Commandments" is a conjectural one, based on the context.

<sup>4</sup> The text has 'wang-tsa' 妄雜, probably embracing 'wang-yü' 妄語 ('mrṣāvāda') and 'ch'i-yü' 綺語 ('saṃbhinnapralāpa'). The latter is rendered 'tsa-hui-yü' 雜穢語 by Hsüan-tsang.

<sup>5</sup> The phrase which we have rendered "escape the retribution of evil and good" reads 達惡善報 in our text. The phrase "the retribution of evil and good" 惡善報 is quite rare. It may possibly be an error for "the retribution of evil works" 惡業報 or "the retribution of good and evil" 善惡報. 'Ta' 達 (\*dat) may also be an error, either for 't'o' 脫 (\*d'awt), which resembled it in sound, or for 't'ao' 逃, which resembles it in form. It is in that sense that we have translated it.

[13] 初階聖者,有三種人,其根業太差,謂之三乘聲聞乘,緣覺乘,大乘,取其可乘運以至道爲名。

Of those who first mount to sainthood there are three kinds of men, whose backgrounds are very different. They are called the Three Vehicles, namely, the voice-hearer's vehicle,<sup>1</sup> the cause-perceiver's vehicle,<sup>2</sup> and the great vehicle.<sup>3</sup> They have the name "vehicle" because they are capable of conveying one to the Ultimate.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. 'shêng-wên-ch'êng' 聲聞乘. This corresponds to Skt. 'śrāvakayāna,' but 'shêng-wên' seems to have been literally translated from some third language. One may conjecture that 'śrāvaka,' a 'vṛddhi'-derivative of '√śru' (to hear) with a '-ka' termination, was mistaken for a compound of '√śru' and 'vāc' (voice). This would then have been so rendered into some Central Asian language in which the verb follows its object, and thence without change into Chinese. For the inversion of the normal Chinese word order that we encounter in 'shêng-wên' cannot be accounted for in terms of the Chinese itself or of the Sanskrit original, even if that Sanskrit original

be misinterpreted as above.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. 'yüan-chüeh-ch'êng' 緣覺乘, a mistranslation of Skt. 'pratyekabuddhayāna.' A pratyekabuddha ("individually awakened") is one who attains to enlightenment by his own exertions in an age in which there is no Buddha. But the word "pratyeka" (alone, separate, individual) became confused at some point with the 'pratītya' ("by going back to," i.e., depending upon) of 'pratītyasamutpāda' (dependent origination, the Buddhist doctrine of cause and effect). As a consequence the idea developed that a pratyekabuddha is one who attains to enlightenment by perceiving the truth of the Twelve-

fold Chain of Causation. Hence the Chinese 'yüan-chüeh,' "the cause-perceiver," which must also have been translated from some third language, since it too, like 'shêng-wên,' departs from the normal Chinese verb-object order. Hsüan-tsang finally amended this error by rendering 'pratyekabuddha' by 'tu-chüeh' 獨覺, but 'yüan-chüeh' by this time had acquired too firm a footing in Chinese Buddhism to be displaced by this new translation.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. 'ta-ch'êng' 大乘, corresponding to Skt. 'mahāyāna,' and in this case referring to the course of the bodhisattva. It is not out of place to mention here that 'yāna,' although having the meaning of "vehicle," probably was intended to mean "course, path" in these Buddhist terms.

In the famous parable of the hare, the horse, and the elephant, contained in *Mahāparinirvāṇa* xxvii (*Taishō* xii, 523) and *Upāsakaśīla* i (*ibid.*, xxiv, 1038), the hare crosses the river afloat, the horse treading ground in shallow water and swimming in deep, the elephant walking all the way. In this parable, made available to the Chinese during the Northern Liang dynasty through the translations of Dharmakṣema 曇無讖, the three animals are likened to the Three Vehicles, each of which performs a course of religious practice commensurate with its respective abilities. Furthermore, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* has the parable of the three carriages. The above scriptures were very much in vogue not merely under the Northern Wei and the Northern Ch'i but throughout the Nan-pei-ch'ao, and knowledge of these parables was consequently very widespread. For example, the Sui monk

Chih-i 智顗 says in *Fa-hua hsüan-i* 法華玄義 viii, "The three animals are likened to the three men [i.e., the bodhisattva, the pratyekabuddha, and the śrāvaka]. The two vehicles [pratyekabuddha and śrāvaka], being of little wisdom, are unable to seek profoundly, and hence are likened to the hare and the horse, whereas the bodhisattva's wisdom is profound and is to be likened to the great elephant. Only the bodhisattva is able to reach bottom [i.e., to penetrate the ultimate truth]."

The terms Small Vehicle to refer to the śrāvaka and Middle Vehicle to refer to the pratyekabuddha are not very common, but we do find in the *Fa-hua wên-ta* 法華問答, discovered by Aurel Stein, the following example (*Taishō* lxxxv, 200): 問: 門外三車, 譬於何法。答: 譬三乘。羊車譬小乘, 鹿車譬中乘, 牛車譬大乘。羊形小而力小, 故譬聲聞小乘。鹿形中而力中, 故譬緣覺。牛形大而力大, 故譬菩薩乘。 At any rate, in China from the Nan-pei-ch'ao onward, and certainly at the time of Wei Shou himself, the idea was widespread throughout the Buddhist church that there are three grades of wisdom and capacity ('kên' 根) among Buddhist religious practitioners, high, middle, and low, and that three varieties of religious practice have been prescribed to correspond to them, namely, the courses (or, as the Chinese would have it, the vehicles) of the śrāvaka, the pratyekabuddha, and the bodhisattva. It was further believed that these three can and must ultimately be reduced to the One Vehicle, i.e., the all-embracing perception of the Buddha, and that the repository of this doctrine is the Mahāyāna canon.

[14] 此三人惡迹已盡, 但修心, 滋累, 濟物, 進德。初根人爲小乘, 行四諦法; 中根人爲中乘, 受十二因緣; 上根人爲大乘, 則修六度。雖階三乘, 而要由修進萬行, 拯度億流, 彌長遠乃可登佛境矣。

From these three kinds of men all vestiges of evil have vanished. They merely refine their minds, shake off all ties, ferry the beings across, and advance their own virtue. The person of elementary receptivity is the Small Vehicle; he practices the rule of the Four Truths.<sup>1</sup> The person of medium receptivity is the Middle Vehicle; he receives the Twelve Causes and Conditions.<sup>2</sup> The person of superior receptivity is the Great Vehicle; he practices the Six Perfections.<sup>3</sup> Although they are graded into three vehicles, yet the important thing common to all of them is that, if they perfect all their ways and rescue the myriad kinds, then in the course of much time they can ascend into the precinct of the Buddha.

<sup>1</sup> One of the cardinal doctrines of Hīnayāna Buddhism: (1) the truth of suffering ('duḥkhasatya,' 'k'u-ti' 苦諦), (2) the truth of the origin of suffering ('duḥkhasamudgamasatya,' 'chi-ti' 集諦), (3) the truth of the suppression of suffering ('duḥkhanirodhasatya,' 'mieh-ti' 滅諦), (4) the truth of the path leading to the suppression of suffering ('duḥkhanirodha-gāminī pratipat,' 'tao-ti' 道諦).

<sup>2</sup> Another of the cardinal doctrines of Hīnayāna Buddhism: (1) ignorance ('avidyā,' 'wu-ming' 無明), (2) constitution ('saṃskāra,' 'hsing' 行), (3) consciousness ('vijñāna,' 'shih' 識), (4) name and form ('nāmarūpa,' 'ming-sē' 名色), (5) the six senses ('ṣaḍāyatana,' 'liu-ju' 六入), (6) contact ('sparśa,' 'shu' 觸), (7) sensation ('vedanā,' 'shou' 受), (8) lust ('trṣṇā,' 'ai' 愛), (9) the kindling of desire ('upādāna,' 'ch'ü' 取),

(10) existence ('bhava,' 'yu' 有), (11) birth ('jāti,' 'shēng' 生), (12) old age, death, torment, wailing, ill-being, ill-disposition, and irritation ('jarāmarāṇaśokaparidevaduḥkhadaurmanasyopāyāsa,' 'lao-ssū yu-pei k'u-nao' 老死憂悲苦惱).

\* The six attributes of the bodhisattva, viz., (1) the perfection of giving ('dānapāramitā,' 'pu-shih' 布施), (2) the perfection

of discipline ('śīlapāramitā,' 'ch'ih-chieh' 持戒), (3) the perfection of forbearance ('kṣāntipāramitā,' 'jên-ju' 忍辱), (4) the perfection of exertion ('vīryapāramitā,' 'ching-chin' 精進), (5) the perfection of meditation ('dhyānapāramitā,' 'ch'an-ting' 禪定), (6) the perfection of wisdom ('prajñāpāramitā,' 'chih-hui' 智慧).

[15] 所謂佛者,本號釋迦,文者譯言能仁,謂德充道備,堪濟萬物也。釋迦前有六佛,釋迦繼六佛而成道。處今賢劫,文言將來有彌勒佛,方繼釋迦而降世。

\*劫當作劫。 \*\*文當作又。

He who is spoken of as Buddha was originally called Shih-chia-wen, which, being interpreted, means "capable-of-benevolence." That is to say, his virtue fulfilled and his way complete, he is able to save the myriad beings.<sup>1</sup> Before Śākya there were six Buddhas.<sup>2</sup> Śākya, succeeding the six Buddhas, achieved his enlightenment and dwells in the present age, the Noble Era.<sup>3</sup> It is written<sup>4</sup> that in time to come there will be a certain Mi-lo-fo, who, succeeding directly to Śākya, will come down to this world.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In our text this paragraph opens as follows: ..... 本號釋迦文者譯言能仁。 *Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜 cmxcvi, s. v. 'ti-i' 韃譯, quotes this sentence without change. Nevertheless, the character 'chê' 者 in this context is odd. Is it possible that the text originally read 本號釋迦文釋迦文者譯言能仁, and that the copyist failed to write *Shih-chia-wên* 釋迦文 twice? On the other hand, 'chê' may possibly be a copyist's error for 'tz'ü' 此, since this same passage as quoted in the *Fo-tsu li-tai tung-tsai* reads 本號釋迦文,此譯能仁, a more intelligible reading. *Shih-chia-wên* (\*šiäk-ka-mwun) is a transcription of Śākyamuni. In this connection, cf. the following in CHU Ta-li's 竺大力 and K'ANG Mêng-hsiang's 康孟詳 translation, made under the Latter Han, of the *Caryā-nidāna* 修行本起經: 名釋迦文(漢言能仁),劫名波陀(漢言爲賢) as well as the following in CHIH Ch'ien's 支謙 translation, made during the Wu (Three Kingdoms), of the *T'ai-tzū jui-ying pên-ch'i-ching* 太子瑞應本起經: 劫號爲賢,汝當作佛,名釋迦文(天竺語釋迦爲能文爲儒義名能備) (It is to these scriptures that Wei Shou is referring when he speaks below of the "scriptures of the Buddha's origin.") Later the transcription 'Shih-chia-mou-ni' 釋迦牟尼 (\*šiäk-ka-məu-ni) became general. 'Śākya' is a clan name, the 'vṛddhi'-derivative of 'śakya,' "capable, powerful, mighty," derived ultimately from the root '√śak,' "to be able." 'Muni' means "silent," and becomes by extension an honorific appellation signifying "the ascetic, the holy man." 'Śākyamuni' as a consequence means "the holy man of the Śākya clan." "Capable-of-benevolence" is our rendition of 'nēng-jên' 能仁. 'Nēng' 能 corresponds properly enough to 'śakya,' and 'jên' 仁 seems to us to be used as a synonym for 忍 (although the difference in tone would not seem to warrant such a substitution). The combination 能忍 is in fact found as a Chinese equivalent

for Śākyamuni, and it cannot be denied that there is a kinship in meaning between "silence" and "forbearance" on the one hand and between "forbearance" and "benevolence" (or "humanity") on the other, in addition to the phonetic similarity between 仁 and 忍.

<sup>2</sup> The idea that Śākyamuni's appearance in this world was anticipated by six predecessors, viz., (1) Vipasyin, (2) Śikhin, (3) Viśvabhūj, (4) Krakucchanda, (5) Kanakamuni, and (6) Kāśyapa, is a common one in Buddhism, and may be found documented, for example, in *Dirghāgama* i, *Samyuktāgama* xv, *Ekottarāgama* xlv, etc. One also encounters the phrase "the Seven Buddhas of the Past" 過去七佛, which includes Śākyamuni as well. The *Ekottarāgama*, in fact, begins with the following expression of homage to the Seventh Buddha Śākyamuni: 自歸能仁第七仙.

<sup>3</sup> Skt. 'bhadra-kalpa,' Ch. 'hsien-chieh' 賢劫. 'Bhadra,' transcribed 'pa-t'ō' 跋陀 (\*bat-d'a, cf. Pāli 'bhadda'), is rendered in Chinese by 'shan' 善 (good) or 'hsien' 賢 (noble). 'Kalpa,' transcribed 'chieh-po' 劫波 (\*kap-pa) or simply 'chieh' 劫 (\*kap, cf. Pāli 'kappa'), means "division," and is translated "divided time" 分別時節 or "great era" 大時. According to *Mahāvibhāṣā* cxxxv, the word 'kalpa' is used because it distinguishes units of time. The 'kalpa,' according to this same source, is the largest possible division of time, hence it has become a general appellation. *Ta-chih-tu-lun* xxxviii says that the smallest unit of time is one-sixtieth of a 'kṣaṇa,' while great units of time are called 'kalpa'. In sum, 'kalpa' refers to an extremely large division of time. The name 'bhadra-kalpa' sets the present age off from the preceding age, the 'alambitakalpa,' and the coming age, the 'nakṣatrakalpa.' Its full name is 'pratyutpannabhadra-kalpa' (the present noble era). It was believed that the Bhadrakalpa is

the age in which the Thousand Buddhas will make their appearance. Cf. *Ta-chih-tu-lun* xxxviii: “‘Chieh-po’ 劫簸 (\*kap-pa), in the language of Ch’in [Kumārajīva at the time was living under the Latter Ch’in dynasty], means ‘divided time,’ and ‘pa-t’o’ 跋陀 (\*bat-d’a) means ‘good.’ In this kalpa the Thousand Buddhas shall arise and the pure heaven-dwellers shall rejoice, whence it is called the Good Kalpa.” Śākyamuni made his appearance during the Bhadrakalpa. The belief in the imminent appearance of the Thousand Buddhas during the Bhadrakalpa was very strong during the Nan-pei-ch’ao and widespread particularly in the North, as can be seen from carvings in all the Buddhist caves.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Wên yen’ 文言 may possibly be an error for ‘yu yen’

又言, “it is also said”.

<sup>5</sup> ‘Mi-lo-fo’ (\*mi-lik-bwut) corresponds to Skt. Maitreya Buddha, but probably derives from some form such as \*mitraka-buddha. The prophesy that Maitreya will come down to earth in the next cosmic era is made in *Madhyamāgama* xiii, *Dirghāgama* vi, *Ekottarāgama* xlv, *Maitreyavyākaraṇa*, *Mi-lo ta-ch’êng-fo-ching* 彌勒大成佛經, *Hsien-yü-ching* 賢愚經 xii, etc., etc., and by the time of writing was the object of general belief in North China. In this connection, cf. our *Shina Bukkyō-shi kenkyū*, *Hokugi-hen* 支那佛教史研究, 北魏篇, pp. 364–380, *Ryūmon sekkutsu ni arawaretaru Hokugi Bukkyō* 龍門石窟に現れたる北魏佛教, and pp. 243–290, *Hokugi no Bukkyō-hi* 北魏の佛教史.

[16] 釋迦即天竺迦維衛國王之子。天竺其總稱。迦維別名也。初釋迦於四月八日夜，從母右脅而生。既生姿相超異者，三十二種。天降嘉瑞以應之，亦三十二。其本起經說之備矣。

Śākya was the son of the King<sup>1</sup> of Chia-wei-wei<sup>2</sup> in T’ien-chu. T’ien-chu is a general appellation, while Chia-wei<sup>3</sup> is a specific name. Now Śākya, in the fourth month on the eighth day, at night, was born out of his mother’s right side. At birth his extraordinary features were thirty-two in number, and Heaven rained down auspicious portents in response thereto, also thirty-two in number. The scriptures of the Buddha’s origin explain this in full.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Skt. Śuddhodana, Ch. Ching-fan-wang 淨飯王。

<sup>2</sup> Both the Chinese versions of the Jātakas and the *Kuang-hung-ming-chi* text of the *Shih-lao-chih* give Chia-wei-lo-wei 迦維羅衛 (\*ka-wi-la-wēi), the transcription of some corrupted form of *Kapilavastu*.

<sup>3</sup> Note the further abbreviation.

<sup>4</sup> This will be found in both *Hsiu-hsing pen-ch’i-ching* a and *T’ai-tzū jui-ying pen-ch’i-ching* a. The latter reads as follows: 到四月八日夜明星出時，化從右脇生…身黃金色，有三十二相。光明徹照…當此日夜，天降瑞應，有三十二種，一者地為大動，坵墟皆平，二者道巷自淨，臭處更香，三者…。The text then goes on to enumerate the thirty-two portents.

[17] 釋迦生時，當周莊王九年。春秋魯莊公七年：「夏四月，彗星不見，夜明」，是也。至魏武定八年，凡一千二百三十七年云。

The time of Śākya’s birth corresponds to the ninth year in the reign of King Chuang of the Chou. It is to this that the *Spring and Autumn Annals* refer when they say, “Lu Chuang-kung, seventh year, summer, fourth month: The fixed stars could not be seen, and the night was bright.”<sup>1</sup> From then until the eighth year of Wu-ting of the Wei<sup>2</sup> is one thousand two hundred and thirty-seven years, so it is said.

<sup>1</sup> The seventh year of Lu Chuang-kung corresponds to the tenth year of Chou Chuang-wang, i.e., B.C. 687. The full quotation, actually from the *Tso-chuan*, is as follows: 夏，彗星不見，夜明也。星隕如雨，與雨偕也。The author of the *Li-tai san-pao-chi* says that the Buddha was conceived in the

ninth year of the reign of Chou Chuang-wang and born in the tenth.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., A.D. 550, the last year of the Eastern Wei and the first year of the Northern Ch’i.

[18] 釋迦年三十成佛，導化羣生，四十九載，乃於拘尸那城娑羅雙樹間，以二月十五日，而入般涅槃。涅槃譯云滅度，或言常樂我淨，明無遷謝及諸苦累也。

Śākya achieved Buddhahood at the age of thirty. He converted the manifold beings for forty-nine years, then, in Chū-shih-na city,<sup>1</sup> between two *so-lo* trees,<sup>2</sup> in the second month on the fifteenth day, entered *pan-nieh-p'an*.<sup>3</sup> *Nieh-p'an*, being interpreted, means "extinction-and-passing-over". According to some, it means "eternal, joyous, personal, pure,"<sup>4</sup> which can be explained as being without transmigration and any sufferings.

<sup>1</sup> Chū-shih-na (\*ku-si-na) corresponds to Skt. *Kuśinagara*, i.e., "Kūśi city". The Chinese have attached *na*, the first syllable of *nagara*, "city", to the proper name.

<sup>2</sup> *So-lo* (\*sa-la) is a transcription of some form of Skt. *śāla* (cf. Pāli *sāla*), the name of an Indian tree (*vatica robusta*).

<sup>3</sup> *Po-nieh-p'an* (\*par-nier-b'an) is a transcription of Skt. *parinirvāṇa*, "complete extinction".

<sup>4</sup> "Eternal, joyous, personal, pure" 常樂我淨 is one of the most insistently stated phrases in the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, and had become by Northern Wei and Northern Ch'i times the stock expression of the state of nirvāṇa. The essential message of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* is that the nirvāṇa thought of by the Hīnayāna Buddhists as devoid of any personal entity or joy was simply proof that they had no understanding of nirvāṇa at all; that the state of nirvāṇa is, on the contrary, eternal, joyous, personal, and pure; and that the nirvāṇa sought by the Mahayanist (bodhi-sattva), unlike that sought by the Hīnayānist (śrāvaka and pratyekabuddha), is eternal, joyous, personal, and pure, i.e., the very state of Buddhahood itself. An oft-read and oft-copied scriptural text during the Northern Wei and Northern Ch'i was Dharmakṣema's translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*. In the second *chüan* of that work we read as follows: 無我者，名為生死。我者名為如來。無常者聲聞緣覺。常者如來法身。苦者一切外道。樂者即是涅槃。不違者為法。淨者諸佛菩薩所有正法。是名不顛倒。若欲遠離四轉倒，應知如是[常樂我淨]。In the twenty-third *chüan* we read as follows: 二乘所得，非大涅槃。何以故，無常樂我淨故。常樂我淨，乃得名為大涅槃也。China's Buddhists also accepted this unique doctrine of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* and propagated the text itself. Tao-lang 道朗 of Liang-chou, who collaborated with Dharmakṣema in his translations, composed a preface to the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, which says, in part, "The text of

this Scripture sets forth the eternal, joyous, personal, pure nature of nirvāṇa, and this makes it a source of cardinal doctrine". (斯經解章，叙常樂我淨，為宗義之林) In the Tun-huang MS of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* now in the possession of Mr. MITSUI Takakimi 三井高公, we find the following postscript to the thirty-first *chüan*: 大周保定元年(561)歲次辛巳，比丘尼道英，謹性常樂幽玄，我淨難識，故割衣資，敬寫涅槃經一卷。To the Buddhists of the early Nan-pei-ch'ao, raised in a *sūnyatā* tradition based on the *Prajñāpāramitā* sūtras and closely associated with an interest in the Lao-CHUANG theories of "nothingness" (無) that went back to the Wei-Tsin era, Buddhist enlightenment consisted of the attainment of an impersonal state of emptiness, and one look at the doctrine of an "eternal, joyous, personal, pure" nirvāṇa, which seemed to contradict their accepted ideas at every turn, was enough to convince many of them that the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* was not a Buddhist text at all, but the work of infidels. This development assured this text a lively interest on the part of the Buddhist church. Such being the case, it became the object of intensive study, and the principle preached in it, that all living beings possess the Buddha-nature, and that therefore the basest and most evil of men can attain Buddhahood, made a strong appeal to the hearts of religious seekers. In addition, it was widely believed that this scripture, containing the Buddha's last sermon on earth, must embody his ultimate doctrine. And it was precisely at the time in which the *Shih-lao-chih* was being written that there was arising in China a "Nirvāṇa Sect" (涅槃宗), which regarded the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* as the very pinnacle of the Buddha's doctrine and endeavored to arrange the entire Buddhist canon in such a way as to make it appear ancillary to the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*.

WARE's translation of this passage, for all the effort that went into it, is grossly in error.

[19] 諸佛法身有二種義。一者真實，二者權應。真實身，謂至極之體。妙絕拘累，不得以方處期，不可以形量限。有感斯應，體常湛然。

"The Buddhas' Body of the Law"<sup>1</sup> means two things. One is the true body, the other is that of momentary response. "True" means the ultimate substance, wondrously surpassing all bonds and impediments, not to be restricted to place or direction, not to be delimited by form or measure. When there is a stimulus, it responds, but the substance is ever tranquil.



<sup>1</sup> Skt. *dharmakāya*, Ch. *fa-shén* 法身.

[20] 權應身者,謂和光六道,同塵萬類,生滅隨時,修短應物,形由感生,體非實有。權形雖謝,真體不遷。但時無妙感,故莫得常見耳。明佛生非實生,滅非實滅也。

However, the “body of momentary response” refers to the one that blends its light with that of the six paths of existence, that shares defilement with the myriad kinds,<sup>1</sup> whose birth and extinction accord with the times, whose length or shortness is in response to the beings. Its form comes into being because of a stimulus, but its substance is not truly existent. Although the temporary form may take its leave, the true substance does not move. It is only because at times there is no great stimulus that it cannot always be seen. It is clear that the Buddha’s birth is not a real birth, his death not a real death.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Tao-tê-ching* 道德經 4: 道冲而用之或不盈。淵兮 吾不知誰之子。象帝之先。似萬物之宗。挫其銳解其紛。和其光同其塵。湛兮似或存。

[21] 佛既謝世,香木焚尸,靈骨分碎,大小如粒。擊之不壞,焚亦不燄,或有光明神驗。胡言謂之舍利。弟子收奉,置之寶瓶,竭香花致敬慕。建宮宇謂爲塔。塔亦胡言,猶宗廟也。故世稱塔廟。

When the Buddha had already taken leave of the world, his corpse was burnt in a flame of fragrant wood, and his sacred bones, both large and small, crumbled to the size of rice kernels. When struck they would not disintegrate, when kindled they would not scorch. Some had bright light and miraculous efficacy. In the barbarian tongue they are called *shê-li*.<sup>1</sup> His disciples gathered them up and placed them in a jewelled jar. Then, with all due incense and flowers and observation of respect, they lovingly built them a tabernacle, which they called *t’a*.<sup>2</sup> *T’a* is also a barbarian word; it is like a family tomb. Therefore they are commonly called *t’a-miao*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Shê-li* (\**śja-li*) derives from an abbreviated form of Skt. *śarīra*, “body”, in Buddhist technical language the relics of a Buddha’s body.

“tuft, crest, pile”, the Buddhist technical term for “reliquary” (cf. Pāli *thūpa*).

<sup>2</sup> *T’a* (\**t’ap*) derives from some Prakritic form of Skt. *stūpa*,

<sup>3</sup> Combining the imported word *t’a* with the native word *miao* 廟, “temple, shrine, mausoleum”.

[22] 於後百年,有王阿育,以神力分佛舍利,於諸鬼神,造八萬四千塔,布於世界。皆同日而就。今洛陽,彭城,姑臧,臨渭,皆有阿育王寺,蓋承其遺迹焉。

\*於當作役。 \*\*渭當作瀋。

One hundred years later there was a King A-yü,<sup>1</sup> who with his supernatural powers distributed the Buddha’s relics. Through the workmanship of the gods<sup>2</sup> he built eighty-four thousand reliquaries and thus distributed the relics throughout the world. The reliquaries were all completed on the same day. Now Lo-yang,<sup>3</sup> P’êng-ch’êng,<sup>4</sup> Ku-tsang,<sup>5</sup> and Lin-tsū<sup>6</sup> all have temples named Temple of King Aśoka. These temples have all adopted his heritage.

<sup>1</sup> *A-yü* (\*a-yuk) represents a corruption of the name *Asoka*, the great Buddhist monarch of North India and grandson of Candragupta Maurya. By the time of the introduction of Buddhism into China *Asoka* had already been idealized by Indian Buddhists as a model of regal piety. The name of this idealized and by now legendary king and the fame of his pious works were noised about both by missionaries coming from abroad and by Chinese who had made pilgrimages to India. In addition, his biography and other Jātaka-type tales about him were translated into Chinese in rapid succession. And since the ruling families and the nobles and bureaucrats who held the reins of government during the Eastern Tsin and the Nan-pei-ch'ao were believers in Buddhism, knowledge of the exploits of this idealized Buddhist unifier of India spread throughout the Chinese Buddhist community. Lastly, since the stūpa was the central building in the Chinese temple compounds of the time, and since the scriptures made much of the building and veneration of reliquaries, *Asoka's* alleged

miraculous construction of eighty-four thousand pagodas captured the fancy of China's Buddhists.

<sup>2</sup> Our text reads 於諸鬼神, while *Kuang hung-ming-chi*, *P'o-hsieh-lun* 破邪論 a, and *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai* vii all read 役諸鬼神, which must surely be correct.

<sup>3</sup> 在城西一里,故白馬寺南一里許古基,俗傳爲阿育王舍利塔。(道宣撰,集神州三寶感通錄上)。

<sup>4</sup> Unknown.

<sup>5</sup> 涼州姑臧塔者,依檢諸傳,咸云,姑臧有育王塔,然塔未詳(同上)。

<sup>6</sup> Reading 潏 for 渭. Cf. the following in *Chi-shên-chou-san-pao-kan-t'ung-lu* 集神州三寶感通錄 (*Taishō lii*, 406a) 青州古城寺塔者,代歷周秦,莫知其地,石趙時,佛圖澄者在鄰,勒虎敬重,廣置寺塔,而少露盤,方欲作之,澄曰臨舊城中,有阿育王寺,猶有佛像露盤,在深林巨樹下,上有伏石,可尋而取也,虎使求之,依言指授,入地二十丈獲之至鄰. This idea was also advanced by the Tsin personality TSUNG Ping 宗炳 in his *Ming-fo-lun* 明佛論 (*Taishō lii*, 12c).

[23] 釋迦雖般涅槃,而留影迹爪齒於天竺,於今猶在。中土來往,並稱見之。

\*土當作途。

Śākya, although in parinirvāṇa, has left his image and footprints, nails and teeth, in India.<sup>1</sup> Even now they are still there. Chinese who come and go thither<sup>2</sup> all say that they have seen them.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the following statement in *Ming-fo-lun*: 今影骨齒髮遺器餘武,猶光於本國,此亦通之證也。Fa-hsien 法顯, in his *Fo-kuo-chi* 佛國記, also states that he and his party made pilgrimages in Northwest India to caves containing the Buddha's image and stūpas containing his hair and nails, and that they were also witnesses to ceremonies in which great respect was paid to the Buddha's teeth and skull. A similar story is told by SUNG Yün 宋雲 and Hui-shēng 慧生, who made the pilgrimage from North China during the Northern Wei. The

knowledge on the part of the Chinese of the Six Dynasties that the Buddha's remains survived in India and were the objects there of respect and veneration had much to do with the fostering of Buddhist religious feeling in China at this time.

<sup>2</sup> Our text reads 中土來往, while *Kuang hung-ming-chi* and *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai* read 中途往來者. The latter reading would seem to mean, "those who in their travels pass by there".

[24] 初釋迦所說教法,既涅槃後,有聲聞弟子大迦葉、阿難等五百人,撰集著錄。阿難親承囑授,多聞總持,蓋能綜覈深致,無所漏失。乃綴文字,撰載三藏十二部經。如九流之異,統其大歸,終以三乘爲本。

To begin with, Śākya preached the Law. After his nirvāṇa there were voice-hearing disciples, Ta-chia-shê,<sup>1</sup> A-nan,<sup>2</sup> and others, numbering five hundred, who selected, compiled, and recorded the teachings.<sup>3</sup> Ānanda had personally received the Buddha's commission; he was both attentive and retentive. Thus he was able to penetrate to its very limit the Profound Ultimate, without losing or missing any of it. Accordingly, he put together the words and composed the scriptures of the Three Storehouses<sup>4</sup> and Twelve Divisions.<sup>5</sup> They are like the differing traditions of the Nine Schools.<sup>6</sup> Their ultimate point is based on the Three Vehicles.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., Mahākāśyapa (Kāśyapa the Great), *ta* 大 being a translation and *chia-shē* (\*ka-śjēp) a transcription.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., Ānanda.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to the famous, albeit legendary, Council of Five Hundred (*pañcaśatasamgiti*), allegedly held at Rājagṛha and known to the Chinese as *wu-po chieh-chi* 五百結集 or *wu-po chi-fa* 五百集法. All three branches of the Buddhist canon make reference to this, but a notice very similar to that found in our text will be seen in the first *chüan* of the *Fu fa-tsang yin-yuan chuan* 付法藏因緣傳, supposedly translated by the Northern Wei monk T'an-yao 曇曜 and his associates: 大迦葉言阿難比丘多聞總持有大智慧常隨如來梵行清淨最後法中利安衆僧知見具足佛常讚歎宜可使彼集修多羅.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. *san-tsang* 三藏, a translation of *tripitaka*, lit. "three baskets", i.e., the threefold division of the Buddhist canon into the Buddha's sayings (*sūtra*, Ch. *ching* 經), disciplinary texts (*vinaya*, Ch. *lü* 律), and treatises by later Buddhists (*abhidharma*, Ch. *lun* 論).

<sup>5</sup> Skt. *Dvādaśakadharma pravacana*, viz., (1) *sūtra*, (2) *geya*, (3) *vyākaraṇa*, (4) *gāthā*, (5) *udāna*, (6) *nidāna*, (7) *avadāna*, (8) *itivṛttaka*, (9) *jātaka*, (10) *vaipulya*, (11) *adbhūta-dharma*, (12) *upadeśa*.

<sup>6</sup> Confucianism, Taoism, *yin-yang* dualism, Legalism, Nominalism, (Mo Ti's) Universalism, the schools of the Vertical and Horizontal Alliances, and the miscellaneous schools. As has been stated in the text itself, all of these schools are discussed in *Han-shu i-wên-chih*.

[25] 後數百年,有羅漢、菩薩、相繼著論,贊明經義,以破外道。摩訶衍、大小阿毗曇、中論、十二門論、百法論、成實論等是也。皆傍諸藏部大義,假立外問,而以內法釋之。

Several hundred years later there were Lo-han and P'u-sa<sup>1</sup> who in succession published treatises clarifying the scriptures' principles, and thereby refuting alien ways. These are the *Mo-ho-yen*,<sup>2</sup> the Greater and Lesser *A-p'i-t'an*,<sup>3</sup> the *Treatise of the Mean*,<sup>4</sup> the *Treatise of Twelve Gateways*,<sup>5</sup> the *Treatise of the Hundred Laws*,<sup>6</sup> the *Treatise of the Attainment of Truth*,<sup>7</sup> and others. All of them, basing themselves on the great doctrines of the Storehouses and Divisions, artificially set up a question from an outsider and, by resort to the Inner Doctrine,<sup>8</sup> resolve it.

<sup>1</sup> *Lo-han* is an abbreviation of *a-lo-han* 阿羅漢 (\*a-la-han), derived from some Prakritic form of *arhan*, nom. s. of Skt. *arhant* (cf. Pāli *araham*). An *arhant* (this is the strong stem of the word, the more common form *arhat* being the weak stem), lit. "worthy," is a person who, having intuited the truths preached by Hīnayāna Buddhism, will attain complete nirvāṇa at death and will never again be reincarnated. The reference here is to the great systematizers of Hīnayāna doctrine, specifically the Sarvāstivāda scholars who composed the Abhidharma treatises. *P'u-sa* is an abbreviation of *p'u-t'i-sa-to* 菩提薩埵 (\*b'o-d'āi-sat-ta), derived from some Prakritic form of Skt. *bodhisattva* (cf. Pāli *bodhisatta*). A *bodhisattva* is a being who, having attained to the truths preached by the Mahāyāna, foregoes "acceptance" of them and the consequent states of nirvāṇa and Buddhahood in order to remain in the world and bring others to enlightenment. The reference here is to the great Mahāyāna scholars, specifically Nāgārjuna, author of the *Ta-chih-tu-lun* (this is questionable), the *Madhyamaka-vṛtti*, and the *Dvādaśanikāya*; Deva, author of the *Śata-taka*; and Harivarman, author of the *Satyasiddhi*. Subsequent Buddhist scholarship in China ceased to regard the last-named treatise as a Mahāyāna work, but it was so regarded by the Chinese Buddhist church before the establishment by Chi-tsang 吉藏 during the Sui dynasty of the San-lun Sect 三論宗, and as such it was much read. Both the Abhidharma and the Mahāyāna treatises were brought into China about

the fifth century A.D. and translated into Chinese, the former chiefly by Kashmiri monks, the latter by Kumārajīva, and were propagated vigorously under the Northern Dynasties.

<sup>2</sup> *Mo-ho-yen* (\*ma-ha-yen) is a transcription of Skt. *mahā-yāna*. In this case it is an abbreviation of *Mo-ho-yen-lun* 摩訶衍論, another name for the hundred-*chüan* work entitled *Ta-chih-tu-lun*, supposedly written by Nāgārjuna and translated by Kumārajīva. The name *Mo-ho-yen-lun* was, in fact, quite common during the Nan-pei-ch'ao. For examples of this nomenclature as well as evidence of the eagerness with which this treatise was studied at the time of Wei Shou, cf. our *WARE Hakushi no Gisho Shakurōshi yakuchū o hosei-su* ウェーシャー博士の魏書釋老志譯註を補正す (in *HANEDA Hakushi shōju kinen Tōyōshi ronsō* 羽田博士頌壽記念東洋史論叢).

<sup>3</sup> *A-p'i-t'an* (\*a-b'i-d'am) is a transcription of some Prakritic form of Skt. *abhidharma* "the super-Law" (cf. Pāli *abhidhamma*). The reference here is to the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivāda school. For further details, cf. *op.cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Ch. *Chung-lun*, 中論 Skt. *Madhyamaka-vṛtti*.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. *Shih-erh-mên-lun* 十二門論, Skt. *Dvādaśanikāya*.

<sup>6</sup> Our text reads *Po-fa-lun* 百法論, whereas the normal Chinese name for this treatise is *Po-lun* 百論, corresponding to Skt. *Śata-taka*.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. *Ch'êng-shih-lun* 成實論, Skt. *Satyasiddhi*.

<sup>8</sup> I.e., Buddhism.

[26] 漢章帝時，楚王英喜爲浮屠齋戒，遣郎中令，奉黃縑白紵三十匹，詣國相以贖愆。詔報曰：「楚王尚浮屠之仁祠，潔齋三月，與神爲誓。何嫌何疑，當有悔吝。其還贖，以助伊蒲塞桑門之盛饌，因以班示諸國」。

\*章當作明。

In the time of Emperor Chang of the Han, Prince Ying of Ch'u delighted in observing Buddhist fasts and religious practices.<sup>1</sup> He sent a *lang-chung-ling* to make a presentation of thirty pieces of yellow and white silk. He went to a minister of his own state and paid atonement for his sins. An Imperial edict said in response:

The Prince of Ch'u reveres the Buddhist shrines.

He purifies himself and fasts during three months.<sup>2</sup>

He has made a vow to his god.

Why should we suspect him? Why should we doubt him?

He must be repenting his sins.

Let the ransom be returned and used to supplement the food of the upāsakas and śramaṇas.

Let this be promulgated to all the provinces<sup>3</sup>!

<sup>1</sup> The Han here mentioned is the Latter Han, and the event described took place during the reign not of Emperor Chang but of his father, Emperor Ming. The latter, the son of Emperor Kuang-wu, was particularly close to his younger half-brother, Prince Ying, also the son of Emperor Kuang-wu but by a different mother.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to fasts conducted from the first to the fifteenth of the first, fifth, and ninth months, during which time the Five Commandments or the Eight Commandments are observed. The latter prescribe abstinence from (1) the taking of life, (2) the taking of anything not given to one, (3) sexual intercourse, (4) the telling of lies, (5) the taking of alcoholic beverages, (6) the wearing of ornaments and attendance at exhibitions of singing or dancing, (7) sitting in a high, wide chair or lying on a high, wide bed, and (8) taking food in the afternoon. In addition, a strictly vegetarian diet is observed and all kinds of improper conduct avoided during this period. The collective name for this observance is the Three Major Fast Months 三長齋月. Cf. the final *chüan* of the *Brahmajāla Sūtra* 梵網經, as well as *Mūrdhābhīṣiktarājopamāna* 佛說灌頂王喻經 xii, *T'i-wei Po-li ching* (also quoted in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* 法苑珠林), etc. The twelfth *chüan* of the second-named source, also known as the *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra* 藥師經, states that monks, nuns, and pious laymen and laywomen who observe the six monthly fasts and the three major yearly ones shall be welcomed into paradise by the eight bodhisattvas and be reborn on lotus blossoms without passing through any of the eight inopportune births, and that they shall take pleasure in the sounds of Nature's music. The eight bodhisattvas are (1) Mañjuśrī, (2) Avalokiteśvara, (3) Mahāsthāmaprāpta, (4) Akṣayamati, (5) Pao-t'an-hua 寶檀華

(even PELLIOU, writing about this in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* iii, 1903, pp. 33-37, made no attempt to restore the Sanskrit original of this name, and the Sanskrit MS of the *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra* discovered near Gilgit in Kashmir in 1931 and published in 1939 in vol. i of the *Gilgit Manuscripts*, pp. 1-32, lacks this catalogue of eight names entirely), (6) Bhaiṣajyarāja, (7) Bhaiṣajyasamudgata, (8) Maitreya. The eight inopportune births (*aṣṭāv akṣaṇāni*) are those states of being which are obstructed in any way from salvation, viz., (1) *narakāḥ* (hell-dwellers), (2) *tiryāṇcaḥ* (beasts), (3) *pretāḥ* (see above), (4) *dirghāyuso devāḥ* (long-lived gods), (5) *pratyantajanapada* (a remote geographical area), (6) *indriyavaikalya* (deficient senses), (7) *mithyādarśana* (addiction to false views), (8) *tathāgatānām anutpādaḥ* (birth in a cosmic age in which there is no Buddha). The *T'i-wei Po-li ching* says that those who observe the three major monthly fasts shall gain length of life, release from sin, and good fortune accompanied by wealth. Both of these works were the objects of a most particularly earnest belief on the part of Buddhist lay adherents during the period spanning the end of the Northern Wei and the beginning of the Northern Ch'i. The Tsin Buddhist layman Hsi Chia-pin 郗嘉賓, in his *Feng-fa-yao* 奉法要, preserved in *Hung-ming-chi* xiii, says that the three yearly fasts are conducted from the first to the fifteenth of the first, fifth, and ninth months. He also prescribed the manner in which the fasts are to be observed, stating that one is not to eat flesh or fish nor take food in the afternoon, not to ride horses or oxen nor to bear arms, etc., etc. These fasts were made the occasion for special religious observation on the part of lay Buddhists in China from Tsin times onward.

<sup>3</sup> There are detailed accounts of Prince Ying's devotion to Buddhism in *Hou-han-chi* x and in the prince's biography in *Hou-han-shu* xliii. The *Shih-lao-chih*'s account of this incident seems to be a simplified version of the latter.

[27] 桓帝時,襄楷言:佛陀黃老道,以諫欲令好生,惡殺,少嗜慾,去奢泰,尚無爲。

In the time of Emperor Huan,<sup>1</sup> HSIANG K'ai spoke of the Way of Buddha, the Yellow Emperor, and Lao-tzū, and thereby remonstrated with His Majesty. He wished to cause His Majesty to love life-giving and hate killing, to lessen his desires and do away with extravagance, and to hold inaction highly.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> R. A.D. 147-168.

<sup>2</sup> *Hou-han-shu* xxx, containing HSIANG K'ai's biography, gives the text of his memorial to the Throne, from which the *Shih-lao-chih* has excerpted a few words. The memorial is dated A.D. 166. Accounts of Emperor Huan's worship of the

Yellow Emperor, Lao-tzū, and the Buddha within the palace will be found in *Hou-han-shu*, both the *pên-chi* and the *Hsi-yü-chuan* 西域傳, as well as *Hsi-han-chih* 續漢志 and other writings. "Inaction" is *wu-wei* (無爲), q. v. inf.

[28] 魏明帝,曾欲壞宮西佛圖。外國沙門,乃金盤盛水,置於殿前,以佛舍利,投之於水,乃有五色光起。於是帝歎曰:「自非靈異,安得爾乎」。遂徙於道〔東〕,爲作周閣百間。佛圖故處鑿爲濊汜池,種芙蓉於中。

\*諸本闕東字。破邪論作道東。當補。

Emperor Ming of the Wei<sup>1</sup> once wished to dismantle the reliquary west of the palace. A foreign śramaṇa then filled a golden basin with water, placed it in front of the palace building, and threw the relics into the water. Immediately a five-colored ray arose. Thereupon the Emperor sighed, saying, "If it were not divine, how could it do this?" He then moved it east<sup>2</sup> of the road and erected a hundred buildings about it.<sup>3</sup> On the former site of the reliquary was dug the Mêng-fan pool<sup>4</sup> and lotus<sup>5</sup> planted in its midst.

<sup>1</sup> R. A.D. 227-240.

<sup>2</sup> Our text has a lacuna here.

<sup>3</sup> 魏明帝洛城中,本有三寺,其一在宮之西,每繫幡刹頭,輒斥見宮內,帝患之,將毀除壞。時外國沙門居寺,乃齎金盤盛水以貯舍利,五色光明,騰焰不息。帝嘆曰,非夫神効,安得爾乎。乃於道東造周閣百間,名爲官佛圖精舍云。(道宣,集神州三寶感通錄,卷上)

<sup>4</sup> Mêng-fan, according to Chinese tradition, was the place into which the sun set. As for the digging of Mêng-fan pools

under the Northern Wei, *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan-chi* i says that there was such a pool north of the Ch'ang-ch'iu-ssü 長秋寺, which was filled with water in summer but dry in winter: 長秋寺,劉騰爲長秋令卿,因以爲名。北有濊汜池。夏則有水,冬則竭矣。 There will be further reference to Liu T'êng 劉騰, a eunuch connected with the digging of the Lung-mên caves.

<sup>5</sup> "Lotus" is our translation of *fu-jung* 芙蓉, which WARE renders "mallows".

[29] 後有天竺沙門曇柯迦羅,入洛宣譯誠律,中國誠律之始也。

Afterward there was an Indian monk, T'an-ko-chia-lo,<sup>1</sup> who entered the Capital and publicized and translated the Discipline. It is the origin of śīla in China.

<sup>1</sup> T'an-ko-chia-lo (\*d'am-ka-ka-la) is the Chinese transcription of the name of an Indian monk whose biography is carried in *Kao-sêng-chuan* i. Since the meaning of his name in Chinese is given as 'fa-shih' 法時, the original must have been some form of *dharmakāla*, possibly \**dhammakakāla*? Dhar-

makāla arrived in Lo-yang some time during the Chia-p'ing 嘉平 period of the Wei (Three Kingdoms), i. e., some time between 249 and 253. There he translated the Mahāsāṃhika Vinaya. The translation does not survive.

During the Nan-pei-ch'ao the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya was cur-

rent in the South, while the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya was followed in the North. The latter, as will be seen below, was

brought to China by Fa-hsien and translated into Chinese by Buddhahadra.

[30] 自洛中構白馬寺,盛飾佛圖,畫迹甚妙,爲四方式。

After the Po-ma-ssū had been built in the Capital, the reliquaries were highly adorned and the paintings very lovely, and they became the model for all corners of the Empire.

[31] 凡宮塔制度,猶依天竺舊狀,而重構之,從一級至三、五、七、九,世人相承,謂之浮圖,或云佛圖。晉世,洛中佛圖,有四十二所矣。

The general rule for reliquaries, still based on the old Indian form, is one, three, five, seven, or nine storeys. People of the world, learning the words one from the other, called them *fou-t'u* or *fo-t'u*.<sup>1</sup> In the age of Tsin there were forty-two such reliquaries in the Capital.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a confusion of the word for stūpa with the name for the Buddha.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan-chi*, Preface: 至晉永嘉,惟有寺四十二所。However, the fourth *chüan* of the same work,

s. v. *Pao-kuang-ssū* 寶光寺, quotes the recluse CHAO I 趙逸 as follows: 晉朝三十二寺,盡皆湮滅,惟此寺獨存。"Thirty" 卅 may possibly be a copyist's error for "forty" 卌.

[32] 漢世沙門皆衣赤布,後乃易以雜色。

The śramaṇas of the age of the Han all wore red robes. Afterward this was changed to robes of mixed color.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Li-huo-lun* says, "Now the monks wear red robes". According to the *Śāriputraparipṛcchā* 舍利弗問經 the Dharmaguptakas wore red robes, and according to the *Mahābhikṣutrisāhasrakarman* 大比丘三千威儀, the Sarvāstivādins did the same. Nevertheless robes of mixed color were the rule in China. "Mixed color" 雜色, as we can see from the *locus classicus* in the *Rites of Chou*, 黻纁之事,雜五色, does

not refer to the five discreet colors of green (blue), yellow, red, white, and black, but rather to one color which was a mixture of all of them. In China this meant specifically the reddish-black of the magnolia. In India, the color of the robes worn by the monks differed with the schools to which they belonged.

[33] 晉元康中,有胡沙門支恭明,譯佛經維摩、法華、三本起等,微言隱義,未之能究。

During Yüan-k'ang of the Tsin<sup>1</sup> there was a foreign śramaṇa, CHIH Kung-ming, who translated the Buddhist scriptures *Wei-mo*,<sup>2</sup> the *Lotus of the Law*,<sup>3</sup> and three scriptures of the Buddha's origin,<sup>4</sup> but the subtle words and hidden meanings thereof could not yet be fathomed.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 291-300.

<sup>2</sup> Short for *Wei-mo-lo-chi* 維摩羅詰 (\*wi-ma-la-kit), derived from some Prakritic form of Skt. *Vimalakīrti* (the Pāli form, for example, according to normal rules of phonetic correspondence, would be *Vimalakitti*). The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* was one of the most popular of the Buddhist scriptures during the Six Dynasties.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*, also one of the most beloved of the Buddhist scriptures in China.

<sup>4</sup> There is an error in this account of CHIH Kung-ming's translations. By Yüan-k'ang CHIH Kung-ming was already

dead, but another Yüeh-chih missionary, Dharmarakṣita (Ch'u Fa-hu 竺法護), was very active at this time. Furthermore, Dharmarakṣita was a monk, while CHIH Kung-ming was a layman. Hence the reference to the "foreign śramaṇa CHIH Kung-ming" is also in error.

The biography of CHIH Ch'ien 支謙 (Kung-ming was his courtesy name) is to be found in *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi* xiii. He was the son of a Yüeh-chih immigrant who had taken up his residence in Lo-yang during the reign of Emperor Ling of the Latter Han (r. 168-189), hence had a Chinese education and at the same time was proficient in a Central Asian

language. He studied Buddhism under CHIH Liang 支亮, who in turn had been the disciple of the great Lokarakṣa (CHIH Lü-chia-ch'an 支婁迦讖, who had come to Lo-yang and taught Mahāyāna Buddhism during the reigns of Emperors Huan and Ling. As the Han dynasty was coming to an end, specifically toward the end of the reign of Emperor Hsien (r. 189–220), he sought safety in the land of Wu, where, his talents coming to the attention of the Wu sovereign, SUN Ch'üan 孫權, he was entrusted with the education of the heir apparent. Of his activities as a translator we are told as follows: 從黃武元年(222)至建興中(252–253),所出維摩詰,大般泥洹,法句,瑞應本起等二十七經,曲得聖義,辭旨文雅。又依無量壽,中本起經,製讚菩薩連句,梵唄三契,注了本生死經,皆行於世。 Tao-an numbers CHIH Ch'ien's translations at thirty items (the last three of those above mentioned being not translations but original works), to which Sêng-yu 僧祐 adds six, making a total of thirty-six. One of them is the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (which, however, had been lost by Sêng-yu's time), mentioned in our text, but one of the others mentioned in the *Shih-lao-chih*, namely, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, is lacking in both lists. Both of these scriptures, on the other hand, were translated by Dharmarakṣita, and both translations, until Kumārajīva retranslated them, were much read. The "three scriptures of the Buddha's origin" are presumably three biographies of Śākyamuni, viz., (a) *Chung pên-ch'i ching* 中本起經, two *chüan*, translated during the Latter Han by T'an-kuo 曇果 and K'ANG Mêng-hsiang 康孟詳; (b) *Hsiu-hsing pên-ch'i ching* 修行本起經, two *chüan*, translated during the Latter Han by CHU Ta-li and K'ANG Mêng-hsiang; and (c) *Jui-ying pên-ch'i ching* 瑞應本起經, two *chüan*, translated during the Wu by CHIH Ch'ien. Note that only the last of the three was translated by CHIH Ch'ien. The precise date of

CHIH Ch'ien's death is not known, but the above-quoted passage from his biography that mentions his translations continues as follows: 後太子登位,遂隱於穹隘山,不交世務,從竺法蘭道人,更練五戒,凡所遊從皆沙門而已。後卒於山中,春秋六十。吳主孫亮,與衆僧書曰,支恭明不救所疾。其業履冲素,始終可高,爲之惻愴不能已已。 If his death was the occasion of sorrow to SUN Liang, then he probably died during the latter's reign (252–257). Hence by Yüan-k'ang he was no longer living.

In discussing the development of Chinese Buddhism before Kumārajīva one may not neglect to devote a word to the activities of a great monk of Yüeh-chih ancestry born at Tun-huang, namely, Dharmarakṣita. The development of Buddhism in North China before the time of Kumārajīva owed a great debt to this man's tremendous work of translation and preaching, far more than it ever owed to CHIH Ch'ien. This is particularly true of the translation and dissemination of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. Furthermore, the Yüan-k'ang period, by which time CHIH Ch'ien was already dead, was in fact the period in which Dharmarakṣita's activity was at its height. This being the case, the author of the *Shih-lao-chih*, while gathering his material, probably misplaced the name of Dharmarakṣita and associated the facts about him with CHIH Ch'ien, since both men were the Chinese-born descendants of Yüeh-chih immigrants, both were versed in Chinese and a Central Asian language, and both were engaged in the translation of Mahāyāna texts. In any case, this portion of the *Shih-lao-chih* has garbled some of the facts of Buddhist history. For more about Dharmarakṣita's Buddhist religious activities in North China, cf. our article in *Jōron kenkyū* 肇論研究, published by Kyoto University's Institute of Humanistic Studies 京都大學人文科學研究所.

[34] 後有沙門常山衛道安。性聰敏,日誦經萬餘言。研求幽旨,慨無師匠,獨坐靜室十二年,覃思構精,神悟妙蘊,以前所出經多有舛駁,乃正其乖謬。石勒時,有天竺沙門浮圖澄,少於烏菟國,就羅漢入道。劉曜時,到襄國。後爲石勒所宗信,號爲大和尚。軍國規謨,頗訪之,所言多驗。

Afterward there was the śramaṇa WEI Tao-an of Ch'ang-shan,<sup>1)</sup> by nature perceptive and sharp. In a single day he would intone more than ten thousand words of the Scriptures. He sought out their profound essence, and regretted that he had no teacher. He sat alone in a quiet room for twelve years. Extending his thoughts and exercising his spirit, he wondrously perceived the sublime subtleties. Since the previously published scriptures had many contradictions, he corrected their errors. In the time of SHIH Lo<sup>2)</sup> there was the Indian monk Fou-t'u-têng,<sup>3)</sup> who in his youth in the kingdom of Wu-chang<sup>4)</sup> had entered upon the Way under the guidance of an Arhant.<sup>5)</sup> In LIU Yao's time<sup>6)</sup> he reached Hsiang-kuo, and afterward became the object of the reverence and trust of SHIH Lo. He was styled Ta-ho-shang.<sup>7)</sup> In military and political plans he was rather often consulted, and what he said usually came true.



<sup>1</sup> Tao-an's biography is to be found in *Kao-sêng-chuan* v, *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi* xv, and *Meisôdenshō* 名僧傳抄. Wei was his secular surname.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 273-332, founder of the short-lived dynasty of the Latter Chao, over which he ruled from A.D. 318 until his death, becoming in 330 the actual master of all of North China.

<sup>3</sup> The name is more usually given as Fo-t'u-têng 佛圖澄 (\*bwut-d'o-ding), but no one has yet succeeded in reconstructing its original form. May one venture *Buddhadinna*? His biography is to be found in *Kao-sêng-chuan* ix and other sources. Cf. also Hu Shih's 胡適 edition of *Fêng-shih wên-chien-chi* 封氏聞見記. Fo-t'u-têng's biography has been translated into English by Arthur F. Wright in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, volume 11, Nos. 3 and 4, December 1948, pp. 321-371.

<sup>4</sup> *Wu-chang* (\*u-çiang) is a transcription of Udyāna.

<sup>5</sup> I.e., a Hinayāna master.

<sup>6</sup> Liu Yao was the sovereign of the Hsiung-nu kingdom of

the Former Chao, which was overthrown in A.D. 229 by SHIH Lo. The latter, also a Hsiung-nu, after overthrowing Liu Yao and establishing his state of the Latter Chao, set up his capital in Hsiang-kuo (southwest of the present Hsing-t'ai-hsien 刑臺縣 in Hopei Province). After SHIH Lo's death SHIH Hu moved the capital to Yeh 鄴, where the honors he heaped upon Fo-t'u-teng became more and more extravagant.

<sup>7</sup> *Ta-ho-shang* is another case of the combination of a native Chinese word with a foreign loan-word. *Ta* 大 means "great". *Ho-shang* (\*wa-çiang) is the transcription of a corrupted form of *upādhyāyam*, acc. s. of Skt. *upādhyāya*. The intervocalic *p* turns into a *v* or *w* sound, *dhy* becomes *jñh* (as in Pāli), *āya* contracts to *ā* (as sometimes in Pāli, cf. Pāli *Kaccāna*-Skt. *Kātyāyana*), and the final *m* turns into an *anusvāra* (as also in Pāli), giving an end result something like \*uvajñhām or \*uwajñhām, from which the Chinese \*wa-çiang is derived. An *upādhyāya* is "one under whom one goes over (one's lessons)," i.e., a master.

[35] 道安曾至鄴候澄。澄見而異之。澄卒後，中國紛亂，道安乃率門徒南遊新野。欲令玄宗在所流布，分遣弟子各趣諸方。法汰詣揚州，法和入蜀，道安與慧遠之襄陽。道安後入苻堅，堅素欽德，問既見宗以師禮。

Tao-an once went to Yeh and visited [Fo-t'u]-têng. Têng, seeing him, marvelled at him. After Têng's death<sup>1</sup> China fell into turmoil, and Tao-an led his disciples south to Hsin-yeh<sup>2</sup>. Wishing to spread the profound Principle everywhere, he divided his disciples and sent them in different directions. Fa-t'ai<sup>3</sup> went to Yang-chou. Fa-ho<sup>4</sup> entered Shu. Tao-an and Hui-yüan went to Hsiang-yang,<sup>5</sup> and Tao-an later entered the lands of Fu Chien. Chien had always admired his virtue and learning, but when once he had seen him he revered him with the honors due a master.

<sup>1</sup> About A.D. 348-9 Fo-t'u-têng and SHIH Hu died within a short time of each other at Yeh, and the state of the Latter Chao descended into chaos. This short-lived dynasty was then destroyed by JAN Min 冉閔, who established the state of Wei at Yeh and proceeded to slaughter all the non-Chinese there. Among the latter was a not inconsiderable number of Buddhists. Tao-an, to keep clear of these troubles, first took up his residence at Huo-tse 獲澤 (in what is now Chin-hsien 晉縣 in Shansi Province), then floated about the area of the T'ai-hang 太行 mountain range, building temples and preaching.

<sup>2</sup> In A.D. 365 MU-JUNG K'ô 慕容恪 (of the Hsien-pi nation) struck south of the Yellow River. Tao-an took his disciples as far as Hsin-yeh, where he scattered them. Cf. the quota-

tion from the *Ch'in-shu* 秦書 in Tao-an's biography in the *Kao-sêng-chuan* and the commentary to *Shih-shuo* 世說新語 *shang-yü-p'ien* 賞譽篇. The *Kao-sêng-chuan* passage reads as follows: 南投襄陽，行至新野，謂徒衆曰，今遭凶年，不依國主，則法事難立，又教化之體，宜令廣布，咸曰，隨法師教，乃令法汰詣揚州，曰，彼多君子，好尚風流，法和入蜀山水，可以修閑，安與弟子慧遠等四百余人渡河。

<sup>3</sup> 梁高僧傳，卷五，竺法汰傳

<sup>4</sup> 梁高僧傳，卷五，法和傳

<sup>5</sup> In A.D. 379 the army of Fu P'ei 苻丕 captured Hsiang-yang and took Tao-an back to Ch'ang-an. The trust and honor which Fu Chien conferred on Tao-an are described in great detail in the latter's biography.

[36] 時西域有胡沙門鳩摩羅什，思通法門。道安思與講釋，每勸堅致羅什。什亦承安令問，謂之東方聖人，或時遙拜致敬。

At the time there was in the western regions a foreign śramaṇa named Chiu-mo-lo-shih,<sup>1</sup> who thought to give currency to the Law. Tao-an thought of lecturing and commenting with him, and always urged Chien to send for [Chiu-mo-lo-]shih. [Chiu-mo-lo-]shih also, hearing of [Tao-]an's noble reputation, called him the Saint of the East, and at times would worship him and pay him homage from afar.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Chiu-mo-lo-shih* (\*ku-ma-la-žip) is the transcription of some form of *Kumārajīva*, the name of one of the greatest of all the translators.

<sup>2</sup> This story is also told in Tao-an's biography. It is interesting to note that the third *chüan* of the *Fa-hua i-chi* 法華義記, discovered by STEIN at Tun-huang (S. 2733) and bearing a postscript to the effect that the copying was completed by the monk Tao-chou in 508 (正始五年五月十日釋道周所集在中京廣德寺寫訖) (the commentary is now in print in *Taishō* lxxxiii), comments as follows on the passage in the *Dharmabhāṇakapariṣvarta* that says that wherever the preacher

of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* goes it is the duty of all men to honor him there (其所至方應隨向禮, *sa yena yenaiva prakrāmet tena tenaiva sattvair añjalikarāṇīyaḥ*): 其所至方應隨向禮者,明四依所在之處,應遙加敬也。什公來時,其母語之俱摩羅什,汝向東方漢地,有一肉身菩薩,名為道安,汝於神朝,遙禮敬之,可得度難往到此是其事。We see from this that Tao-an was believed to have been honored as a bodhisattva-in-the-flesh. It gives us an idea of the position enjoyed by him in the estimation of the Buddhist church of the Northern Wei.

[37] 道安卒後二十餘載,而羅什至長安,恨不及安,以為深慨。道安所正經義,與羅什譯出,符會如一,初無乖舛。於是法旨,大著中原。

37 More than twenty years after An's death<sup>1</sup> Lo-shih arrived in Ch'ang-an. Regretting that he had not reached An, he made this the occasion of great sorrow. An's corrections to the Scriptural doctrines tallied with Lo-shih's translations as if they had been one; from beginning to end there was no disagreement. Hereupon the essence of the Law was greatly manifested in the Middle Plain.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tao-an died in A.D. 385 and Kumārajīva entered Ch'ang-an in A.D. 401. The phrase "more than twenty years" is to be found in Tao-an's biography as well. It may be a simple case of miscalculation, but it is more probably a case of con-

fusion of Tao-an's death date with the date of his entry into Ch'ang-an (A.D. 379), which latter was in point of fact twenty-two years earlier than Kumārajīva's.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., China.

[38] 魏先建國於玄朔。風俗淳一,無為以自守。與西域殊絕,莫能往來。故浮圖之教,未之得聞,或聞而未信也。

When the ancestors of the Wei established their kingdom in the bleak North, their customs were simple, and without any ado<sup>1</sup> they kept themselves. From the Western Regions they were cut off, and there was no coming and going between them. Therefore they had not yet heard of the doctrine of Buddha, or, if they had heard of it, they did not yet believe in it.

<sup>1</sup> A reference to the Taoist goal of "inaction" 無為, the ideal state in which everything comes right precisely because no one makes any effort.

[39] 及神元,與魏晉通聘,文帝又在洛陽,昭成又至襄國,乃備究南夏佛法之事。

With Shên-yüan came communication with Wei and Tsin. Emperor Wên also lived in Lo-yang, and Chao-ch'êng went as far as Hsiang-kuo, where he fully studied the Buddhism of South China.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For more about the Buddhist policies of Shên-yüan (Li-wei 力微), Wên-ti (Sha-mo-han 沙漠汗), and Chao-ch'êng (Shih-i-ch'ien 什翼犍), cf. our *Hokugi kenkoku jidai no Bukkyô seisaku to Kahoku no Bukkyô* 北魏建國時代の佛教政策と河北の佛教 (in *Shina Bukkyô-shi kenkyû Hokugi-hen*, pp. 62-68).

Li-wei, in order to maintain the power center which he had built up in what are now northern Shansi and Hopei provinces, sent his son Sha-mo-han as a hostage to the Court of the Western Tsin, but Sha-mo-han was killed in A.D. 277, on his way home. Then the T'o-pa (Tabghač) nation suffered a division within its ranks and left China proper altogether. It is highly questionable that Sha-mo-han studied Buddhism, but, even if he did, it is scarcely conceivable that a knowledge of Buddhism spread throughout the Tabghač nation as a result. This seems to be an attempt on the part of the author to carry the love of Buddhism, which did characterize the Northern Wei at the height of its glory, back to Emperor Shên-yüan, the founder of the dynasty.

Shih-i-ch'ien (referred to in our text as Emperor Chao-ch'êng) spent the years from A.D. 329 to 338 in the state of the Latter Chao under the wing of SHIH Lo and SHIH Hu. In A.D. 338 he returned home and became King of Tai. In the SHIH clan's capital Fo-t'u-têng was treated almost as a living god, and Buddhism was climbing to great heights of glory thanks to the efforts of Tao-an and his fellows. Chao-ch'êng, after SHIH Hu's eclipse, became very friendly with MUJUNG Yen 慕容燕, the next person to make his capital at Yeh. When Fu Chien began to loom large at Ch'ang-an, Chao-ch'êng shifted his allegiance to him and had his son educated at Ch'ang-an. In Ch'ang-an under Fu Chien, with Tao-an as prize booty from the sack of Hsiang-yang, Buddhism was in a very prosperous state. Therefore by Chao-ch'êng's time Buddhism had probably penetrated the Tabghač nation to some extent under the influence of the Latter Chao and the Former Ch'in, but certainly not to the extent that the *Shih-lao-chih* would have us believe.

[40] 太祖平中山,經略燕趙,所逕郡國佛寺,見諸沙門道士,皆致精敬,禁軍旅無有所犯。帝好黃老,頗覽佛經。但天下初定,戎車屢動,庶事草創,未建圖宇,招延僧衆也。然時時旁求。

\*旁當作訪。

When T'ai-tsu<sup>1</sup> pacified Chung-shan<sup>2</sup> and undertook the administration of Yen and Chao, throughout all the districts, lands and temples which he passed he saw how the śramaṇas paid him the utmost respect, and restrained his armies so that there was no offense against them. His Majesty was fond of the Yellow Emperor and Lao-tzū and had seen rather many Buddhist scriptures. But the Empire had only just settled down, war chariots were frequently moving, the multitudinous affairs of state were still beginning, and there was as yet no building of reliquaries or inviting of the clergy. Yet from time to time they would be visited<sup>3</sup> or sought out.

<sup>1</sup> T'o-pa Kuei 拓跋珪 ascended the throne as King of Tai in A.D. 386. From A.D. 396 to 398 he took over what are now Shansi and Hopei provinces. Leaving Yeh, he established a capital on the Chinese model at P'ing-ch'êng 平城 (the present Ta-t'ung 大同), and was enthroned Emperor of the Wei in A.D. 398. In 409 he died, and was posthumously styled T'ai-tsu (the Grand Ancestor). It was at this time that the active efforts of Buddhist clerics to convert the simple

Tabghač people had much to do with the establishment of the Northern Wei, for the entire P'ing-ch'êng area had been the scene of vigorous missionary activity on the part of Fo-t'u-têng, Tao-an, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The western part of the present Chin-hai-tao 津海道 in Hopei Province.

<sup>3</sup> Reading *fang* 訪 for the *p'ang* 旁 of our text.

[41] 先是,有沙門僧朗,與其徒,隱于秦山之琨珉谷。帝遣使致書,以繒素旃罽銀鉢爲禮。今猶號曰朗公谷焉。

Before this there had been a śramaṇa named Sêng-lang, who with his followers concealed himself in the K'un-jui valley of T'ai-shan.<sup>1</sup> The Emperor sent him a messenger with a letter, and honored him with silk, felt, and a silver begging-bowl. The place is still called the Valley of Sir Lang.

<sup>1</sup> We are reading *juí* 瑞 on the basis of a notice in *Shui-ching-chu* 水經注 viii, in preference to the 珣 of our text, a character not listed even in the K'ang-hsi Dictionary. The notice reads as follows: (朗公谷)舊名珣瑞溪,有沙門竺僧朗,少事佛圖澄,碩學淵通,尤明氣緯,隱於此谷,因謂之朗公谷。故車頻奏書云,荷堅時,沙門竺僧朗,嘗從隱士張巨和遊,巨和常穴居,而朗居珣瑞山,大起殿舍,連樓累閣,雖素飾不同,並以靜外致稱,即此谷也。The letter from the

Emperor to Sêng-lang, the text of which is reproduced in *Kuang hung-ming-chi* xxviii, reads in part as follows: 皇帝敬問太山朗和上。…上人德同海岳,神算遐長,冀助威謀,克寧荒服,今遣使者,送素二十端,白氎五十領,銀鉢二枚,到願納受。Sêng-lang's biography is to be found in *Kao-sêng-chuan* v and *Ming-hsiang-chi* 冥祥記 (the latter quoted in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* 法苑珠林 xix).

[42] 天興元年,下詔曰:「夫佛法之興,其來遠矣。濟益之功,冥及存沒,神蹤遺軌,信可依憑。其敕有司,於京城建飾容範,修整官舍,\*令信向之徒,有所居止」。是歲始作五級佛圖,耆闍崛山及須彌山殿,加以續飾,別構講堂,禪堂及沙門座,莫不嚴具焉。

\*官當作宮。

In the first year of T'ien-hsing<sup>1</sup> an edict was handed down, saying:

Since the rise of the Law of Buddha it is now a long time. Its saving and beneficent powers mysteriously reach to life and death. Its divine traces and the models it has bequeathed may indeed be trusted. We hereby command the officials to build and adorn images and repair the official residences in the Capital<sup>2</sup> and see to it that the believers have places in which to stay.

In this year there were first made the Five-Storeyed Reliquary and the Mount Ch'i-shê-chü<sup>3</sup> and Mount Hsü-mi<sup>4</sup> halls. To these were added paintings and decorations, and there were built in addition a lecture hall, a meditation hall, and cells for śramaṇas, all thoroughly accoutred.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 398, the year in which T'ai-tsu was proclaimed Emperor of the Wei.

<sup>2</sup> P'ing-ch'êng.

<sup>3</sup> Ch'i-shê-chü (\*g'i-žja-gut) is a transcription of some Prakritic form of Skt. *Gr̥dhṛakūṭa*, "Vulture Peak" (cf. Pāli *Gijjhakūṭa*), one of the mountains on which the Buddha was believed to

have done much of his preaching.

<sup>4</sup> A transcription of some abbreviated form of *Sumeru*, the mountain which according to Indian cosmology is at the center of the world.

<sup>5</sup> For more about this, cf. our *Taisō no kenkoku to Bukkyō* 太祖の建國と佛教 (*op. cit.*, pp. 68-78).

[43] 太宗踐位,遵太祖之業,亦好黃老,又崇佛法,京邑四方,建立圖像,仍令沙門,教導民俗。

When T'ai-tsung<sup>1</sup> ascended the throne, he followed the actions of T'ai-tsu. He both loved the Yellow Emperor and Lao-tzū and held highly the Law of Buddha. In all corners of the Capital he set up images and statues and commanded the śramaṇas to guide the people's customs.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> R. A.D. 409-424.

<sup>2</sup> For more on this subject, cf. our *Taisō to Bukkyō* 太宗と佛教 (*op. cit.*, pp. 79-96).

[44] 初皇始中,趙郡有沙門法果,誠行精至,開演法籍。太祖聞其名,詔以禮徵赴京師。後以爲道人統,綰攝僧徒,每與帝言,多所愜允,供施甚厚。至太宗彌加崇敬。永興中,前後授以輔國宜城子,忠信侯,安成公之號,皆固辭。帝常親幸其居。以門小狹,不容輿輦,更廣大之。年八十餘,泰常中卒。未殯,帝三臨其喪,追贈老壽將軍,趙胡靈公。

Once, during Huang-shih,<sup>1</sup> the prefecture of Chao had a śramaṇa, Fa-kuo, whose monkish conduct was pure and who explained the religious books. T'ai-tsu, hearing his name, decreed that he was to be summoned with honors to the Capital. He was afterwards made Supervisor of Religions and managed the community of monks. Whenever he spoke with His Majesty, he usually pleased him, and his gifts were very lavish. Under T'ai-tsung he was even more highly venerated. During Yung-hsing<sup>2</sup> he was proffered, at various times, the titles Helper of the State, Viscount of I-ch'êng, Loyal and Faithful Marquess, and Peaceful and Accomplished Duke, but he firmly declined them all. The Emperor used to go personally to his dwelling, but, since the gateway was small and narrow and would not admit a palanquin, he made it wider and larger. At the age of more than eighty, during T'ai-ch'ang,<sup>3</sup> he died. Before he was buried, the Emperor thrice visited his place of state, and posthumously entitled him the Aged General and Divine Duke of the Chao Barbarians.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 396-398.

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 416-424.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 409-414.

[45] 初法果每言：「太祖明教好道，即是當今如來。沙門宜應盡禮」。遂常致拜。謂人曰：「能鴻道者人主也。我非拜天子，乃是禮佛耳」。

Fa-kuo had alway used to say, "T'ai-tsu is enlightened and loves the Way. He is in his very person the Thus-Having-Come-One." Śramaṇas must and should pay him all homage." Then he would always do obeisance. Fa-kuo would say to others, "He who propagates the teaching of the Buddha is the lord of men. I am not doing obeisance to the Emperor, I am merely worshipping the Buddha."

<sup>1</sup> Ch. *ju-lai* 如來, corresponding to Skt. *tathāgata*. *Tathāgata* seems in fact to mean "the thus (*tathā*) gone (*gata*) one", i.e., he who has followed the same course that all Buddhas must follow in order to attain to perfect enlightenment. The Chinese translation seems to be premised on the supposition

that *tathāgata* is a compound of *tathā* and *āgata*, and from the linguistic point of view this is certainly an admissible interpretation, but seems not to be correct. Fa-kuo means here that T'ai-tsu is a living Buddha.

[46] 法果四十，始爲沙門。有子曰猛，詔令襲果所加爵。

Fa-kuo had become a śramaṇa only at forty and had a son named Mêng. A decree commanded that he was to inherit the titles conferred upon [Fa-]kuo.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is a brief notice on Fa-kuo in *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai* vii (*Taishō* xlix, 532c-533a).

[47] 帝後幸廣宗。有沙門曇證，年且百歲。邀見於路，奉致果物。帝敬其年老志力不衰，亦加以老壽將軍號。

The Emperor later went to Kuang-tsung, where there was a śramaṇa, T'an-chêng, whose age was just a hundred years. The monk met the Emperor on the road, and humbly offered him some fruit. The Emperor, admiring the fact that, though his years were advanced, his will had not weakened, also conferred upon him the title of Aged General.

[48] 是時鳩摩羅什爲姚興所敬。於長安草堂寺集義學八百人重譯經本。羅什聰辯有淵思，達東西方言。時沙門道彤、僧略、道恒、道惻、僧肇、曇影等，與羅什共相提挈，發明幽致。諸深大經論十有餘部，更定章句，辭義通明。至今沙門共所祖習。

At this time Kumārajīva was being honored by YAO Hsing.<sup>1</sup> At Ch'ang-an's Ts'ao-t'ang-ssū<sup>2</sup> he gathered doctrinal scholars to the number of eight hundred and reinterpreted scriptural texts. Kumārajīva was deeply perceptive and discerning, and his thought reached to the local speech of East and West. At the time the śramaṇas Tao-jung,<sup>3</sup> Sêng-lüeh,<sup>4</sup> Tao-hêng,<sup>5</sup> Tao-piao,<sup>6</sup> Sêng-chao,<sup>7</sup> T'an-ying,<sup>8</sup> and others, working hand-in-hand with Kumārajīva, elucidated the Obscure Ultimate. For profound and great scriptures and treatises, more than ten in number, they redefined the sentences and phrases, and the meaning of the words came through clear. Even now they are conned by all the śramaṇas.

<sup>1</sup> YAO Hsing reigned as King of the Latter Ch'in from A.D. 394 to 415, hence was contemporaneous with T'ai-tsu and T'ai-tsung of the Northern Wei. In A.D. 402 he raised an army to put the new state down, but, failing, established friendly relations with it and gave his daughter's hand in marriage to T'ai-tsung in A.D. 415. Since Kumārajīva was received in Ch'ang-an at the end of A.D. 401, the period of his domination of the Latter Ch'in Buddhist church coincides with the period of friendship between Ch'ang-an and Ta-t'ung. Later there was the northern campaign of LIU Yü 劉裕 (Sung Wu-ti 宋武帝). The Northern Wei aided the Latter Ch'in in its resistance to Liu Yü, but to no avail, and in A.D. 417 LIU Yü advanced into Ch'ang-an, occupied it, and put an end to the Latter Ch'in. The next year HO-LIEN Po-po 赫連勃勃 occupied Ch'ang-an and persecuted the Buddhists there. Kumārajīva's disciple Hui-shih 慧始 fled this persecution to make his home at the Northern Wei capital. One may conjecture that as a result first of the collapse of the Latter Ch'in, then of Po-po's Buddhist persecutions, the Buddhists of the Latter

Ch'in i.e., the members of Kumārajīva's school, must have entered the territories of the Northern Wei in great numbers.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "Grass Hut Temple".

<sup>3</sup> For the *t'ung* 彤 of our text we read *jung* 彤, an alternate form of 融. Cf. *Liu-ch'ên chu Wên-hsüan* 六臣註文選 xv, *Ssü-hsüan-fu* 思玄賦: 彤彤融融和也。融與彤古字通也. Tao-jung's biography is in *Kao-sêng-chuan* vi.

<sup>4</sup> Sêng-lüeh 僧略 is the same as the Sêng-lüeh 僧略 whose biography is carried in *Kao-sêng-chuan* vi. 略 and 略 are homophones. The latter character is found in *Chin-shu* YAO Hsing *tsai-chi* 晉書姚興載記 and *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi*.

<sup>5</sup> Biography in *Kao-sêng-chuan* vi.

<sup>6</sup> Biography in *Kao-sêng-chuan* vi: 時恒有同學道標,亦雅有才力,當時擅名,與恒相次。秦主姚興,以恒標二人,神氣俊朗,有經國之量,乃勅僞尚書令姚顯,令敦逼恒標罷道助振王業。…標作舍利弗毘曇序并弔王喬文,并行於世。

<sup>7</sup> For an estimate of the significance of Kumārajīva and Sêng-chao in the history of Chinese Buddhism, cf. *Jōron kenkyū*.

<sup>8</sup> Biography in *Kao-sêng-chuan* vi.

[49] 道彤等皆識學洽通,僧肇尤爲其最。羅什之撰譯,僧肇常執筆,定諸辭義。注維摩經,又著數論,皆有妙旨,學者宗之。

Tao-jung and his fellows were of knowledge and learning all-pervasive, and Sêng-chao was the greatest of them. When Kumārajīva made a translation, Sêng-chao would always take pen in hand and define the meanings of words. He annotated the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, also published several treatises. They all have subtle meaning, and scholars venerate them.

[50] 又沙門法顯慨律藏不具,自長安遊天竺。歷三十餘國,隨有經律之處,學其書語,譯而寫之。十年乃於南海師子國,隨商人汎舟東下。晝夜昏迷,將二百日,乃至青州長廣郡不其勞山,南下乃出海焉。是歲神瑞二年也。

Also, the śramaṇa Fa-hsien, regretting that the Storehouse of the Discipline was incomplete, went from Ch'ang-an to India, passing more than thirty countries.<sup>1</sup> Wherever there were Scriptures and Discipline, he would learn the script and language, then translate and copy them. Ten years later, in Lion Land<sup>2</sup> on the southern sea, he accompanied a merchant aboard ship and descended eastward. Day and night they wandered for nearly two hundred days, then arrived south of Lao-shan in Pu-ch'i-hsien, Ch'ang-kuang-chün, Ch'ing-chou,<sup>3</sup> disembarked, and left the sea. The year was the second of Shên-jui.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the opening passage of the *Fo-kuo-chi* (*Fa-hsien-chuan*): 法顯昔在長安,慨律藏殘缺,於是遂以弘始二年歲在己亥...至天竺尋求戒律。The author of the *Shih-lao-chih* had obviously seen the *Fo-kuo-chi*, for this is not the only passage in our text that reflects its influence.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., Ceylon, the Sanskrit name being *Sinhala* and the word

for "lion" being *siṃha*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the very end of the *Fo-kuo-chi*. In the latter work *Lao-shan* is written 牢山. It is situated sixty *li* southeast of the present Chi-mo-hsien 即墨縣.

<sup>4</sup> A.D. 415.

[51] 法顯所逕諸國傳記之,今行於世。其所得律,通譯未能盡正。至江南更與天竺禪師跋陀羅辯定之。謂之僧祇律。大備于前。爲今沙門所持受。

Fa-hsien recorded all the countries through which he had passed, and the record still circulates. The disciplinary texts which he had obtained, since he had not been able fully to correct his translation, he fixed with the Indian Ch'an master Pa-t'o-lo<sup>1</sup> when he had arrived south of the River,<sup>2</sup> and called it the Sêng-hsi Discipline.<sup>3</sup> It is much more complete than those before it, and is received and observed by the śramaṇas of today.

<sup>1</sup> Short for Fo-t'o-pa-t'o-lo 佛陀跋陀羅 (\*bwut-d'a-bat-d'ala), i.e., Buddhahadra.

<sup>2</sup> The "River" is the Yangtze, and the term, though frequently inaccurate, was used to refer to South China in general, particularly during the Nan-pei-ch'ao.

<sup>3</sup> *Sêng-hsi* is short for *Mo-ho-sêng-hsi* (\*ma-ha-sī'ng-ghī), i.e., Mahāsāṃghika. The *Fo-kuo-chi* says that Fa-hsien obtained a copy of the Mahāsāṃghika vinaya at a Mahāyāna monastery at Pāṭaliputra in Magadha. This he translated in collaboration with Buddhahadra at the Tao-ch'ang-ssü 道場寺 in Chien-k'ang under the title *Mo-ho-sêng-hsi-lü* 摩訶僧祇律 in forty *chüan*. Item No. 7 in *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi* iii is a list of four vinaya texts that had recently come into China (新集律來漢地四部序錄律). Cf. the postscript (後記) to *P'o-ts'u-ju-lo lü* 婆伽富羅律 (*Vāṣṭputrīya vinaya*). The Dharmaguptaka vinaya, propagated by Tao-hsüan 道宣 during early T'ang, came eventually to form the basis for the monastic discipline in both China and Japan, but under the Northern Wei, the Northern Ch'i and the Northern Chou the Mahāsāṃghika vinaya was the most commonly accepted on the part of the Buddhist monastic community. Cf. Hui-hsün's 慧詢 biography in *Kao-sêng-chuan* xi: 趙郡人...經遊長安,受學

什公,研精經論,尤善十誦,僧祇乃更製條章,義貫終古。The monk Hui-kuang 慧光, a contemporary of Wei Shou, drew listeners in crowds to his expositions of the Mahāsāṃghika vinaya, while the monk Ling-tsang 靈藏 (A.D. 519-586) of Hsin-fêng 新豐 in Yung-chou 雍州 said that it was known in the world as the crowning glory of the Scriptures (僧祇一部世稱冠冕). In the northwest the Mahāsāṃghika remained the basis for vinaya study into Sui times (cf. biography of Hung-tsun 洪遵 in *Hsü kao-sêng-chuan* xxi). According to Tao-hsüan and Gyōnen 凝然, who built sects around the Dharmaguptaka vinaya in China and Japan respectively, the monk Fa-ts'ung 法聰 was the first to preach the Dharmaguptaka under the Northern Wei during the reign of Emperor Hsiao-wên (Kao-tsu), but that he left no commentary. Then, after a commentary was composed late in the Northern Wei by the monk Tao-fou 道覆, it was propagated very vigorously by Hui-kuang, who had preached the Mahāsāṃghika in his youth, and came to supersede the latter. Wei Shou's statement that the Mahāsāṃghika vinaya "is received and observed by the śramaṇas of today" is accurate as far as the Northern and Eastern Wei are concerned.

[52] 先是,有沙門法領,從揚州入西域,得華嚴經本。定律後數年,跋陀羅共沙門法業,重加譯撰,宣行於時。



Before this there had been the śramaṇa Fa-ling, who from Yang-chou entered the Western Regions and obtained a copy of the Garland Scripture.<sup>1</sup> Several years after fixing the text of the Discipline, Buddhahadra, together with the śramaṇa Fa-yeh, again did a translation and spread it about.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Skt. *Avataṁsaka Sūtra*, Ch. *Hua-yen-ching* 華嚴經.

<sup>2</sup> This account of the translation of the *Avataṁsaka* agrees with the following account in *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi* ix: 華嚴經胡本, 凡十萬偈, 昔道人支法領, 從于闐得此, 三萬六千偈, 以義熙十四年歲次鶡火三月十日, 於揚州司空謝石所立道場寺, 請天竺禪師佛陀跋陀羅, 手執梵文, 譯胡爲晉, 沙門釋法業, 親從筆受, 時吳郡內史孟顗, 右衛將軍褚叔度爲檀越, 至元熙二年六月十日出訖, 凡再校胡本, 至大宋永初二年辛丑之歲十二月二十八日校畢。CHIH Fa-ling returned to China with manuscripts of more than two hundred Mahāyāna scriptures, as we are informed by Sêng-chao's letter to Liu I-min 劉遺民 in the *Chao-lun*.

As we learn from the T'ang monk Fa-tsang's 法藏 *Hua-yen-ching chuan-chi* 華嚴經傳記 and Ch'êng-kuan's 澄觀 *Hua-yen-ching sui-su yen-i-ch'ao* 華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 xv, the *Avataṁsaka* was highly regarded and seriously studied from about the middle of the Northern Wei into the Northern Ch'i. In particular, the monk Ling-pien 靈辨 (A.D. 477-522) entered the Ch'ing-liang-ssū 清涼寺 on Wu-t'ai-shan 五臺山,

where he studied this sūtra, later preached it to the Imperial Court, and in A.D. 520 completed a hundred-chüan commentary to it, the *Hua-yen-lun* 華嚴論. The earnestness of the belief of the North Chinese in the *Avataṁsaka* may be measured by the story, told by Hou Chün-su 侯君素 in his *Ching-i-chi* 旌異記, that a eunuch, some time in T'ai-ho (A.D. 477-500), bemoaning the loss of his virile organs, betook himself to a mountain retreat carrying a copy of the *Avataṁsaka*. After intoning it single-mindedly for a time, he regained his sexual apparatus completely. When he had memorialized this fact to the Court, "Kao-tsu believed even more, the inner palace was amazed, and thereafter in the land of North Tai the *Hua-yen* flourished ever more." WEI Shou's own time saw the emergence of a *Ti-lun* school, devoted primarily to the study of the *Daśabhūmividyāyāna*, a commentary to the *Daśabhūmiparivarta*, one chapter of the *Avataṁsaka*. The *Hua-yen* Sect, which emerged during the T'ang, was a continuation of the *Ti-lun* School.

[53] 世祖初卽位,亦遵太祖太宗之業,每引高德沙門,與共談論。於四月八日,與諸佛像,行於廣衢,帝親御門樓,臨觀散花,以致禮敬。

At that time Shih-tsu<sup>1</sup> had just ascended the throne. He also, continuing the actions of T'ai-tsu and T'ai-tsung, always used to invite śramaṇas of high character and discuss with them. On the eighth day of the fourth month<sup>2</sup> he used to mount the Buddha images on carriages and march them through the wide streets. The Emperor would personally drive to the gate tower and watch; he would scatter flowers and thus perform acts of veneration.

<sup>1</sup> R. A.D. 424-452.

<sup>2</sup> The ceremony of anointing the Buddha and parading images on the Buddha's birthday is very old in China. Fa-hsien records that on his way to India he was witness in Khotan to a gigantic parade of images, in which statues of the Buddha, two bodhisattvas, and the Hindu deities were mounted in a caparisoned four-wheeled carriage more than thirty feet high and conducted in this carriage, which seemed like a moving palace, to the city gate, where they were welcomed and showered with flowers by the King, the Queen, and the harem. He also saw at Pāṭaliputra in Magadha, Central India, a ceremony in which a caparisoned carriage mounting a Buddha image was paraded through the city, and he observes that this was the case wherever he went in India (國國皆爾). This elaborate celebration of the Buddha's birthday, which by about A.D. 400 was already a feature of all the Buddhist communities of India and Central Asia, accompanied Buddhism into China at a very early period. We read in Fo-t'u-têng's biography

that SHIH Lo, on the eighth of every fourth month, would make a personal pilgrimage to a Buddhist temple, perform the ceremony of the anointment of the Buddha, and pray for the welfare of his children (每至四月八日,勒躬詣寺,灌佛,爲兒發願). According to the *Yeh-chung-chi* 鄴中記, SHIH Hu had skilled craftsmen make a four-wheeled carriage mounting images of the Buddha, nine dragons, and some monks. As the carriage moved, the dragons would emit water through their mouths onto the image of the Buddha, one monk would rub the Buddha's chest with his hand, and more than ten monks would walk about the Buddha, each one making obeisance and throwing incense into a censer as he came in front of him. This was also presumably a part of the Buddha's birthday celebration.

According to the *Ming-hsiang-chi*, as quoted in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* v and vi, at a celebration of the Buddha's birthday at Wu-ch'ang in A.D. 337, Yü Fa-k'ai's 于法開 "moving sacred image" (行尊像) paraded through the streets. The images

referred to in our text were of the same type as those mentioned in this note, part of a religious ceremony that by Shih-tsu's time was in the process of becoming an official observance everywhere in China. That it was observed with great pomp throughout the Nan-pei-ch'ao is attested to by *Ching-Ch'u sui-shih chi* 荆楚歲時記, *Fa-yüan chu-lin* xiii, etc., and the extraordinary circumstance that attended its observance under the Northern Wei can be seen from the notice on the Ching-ming-ssü 景明寺, a temple south of the Lo-yang city wall just outside the Hsüan-yang Gate 宣陽門 (*Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan-chi* iii): 時世好崇福,四月七日,京師諸像,皆來此寺。尚書祠

部曹錄像,凡有一千餘軀。至八日,以次入宣陽門,向閭闔官前,受皇帝散花。於是金花映日,寶蓋浮雲,幡幢若林,香煙似霧,梵樂法音,聒動天地,百戲騰驤,所在駢比,名僧德衆,負錫爲群,信徒法侶,持花成蓋,車騎填咽,繁衍相傾。The *Shih-lao-chih* account is a simplified one. Cf. also the biography of Tu Pi 杜弼 in the *Pei-ch'i-shu*: 四月八日,魏帝集明僧于顯陽殿,講說佛理,弼與楊惜,邢邵,魏收等,並侍法筵,勅弼昇獅子座,當衆敷演。Wei Shou actually took part in the elaborate ceremonies conducted by the Eastern Wei Court in honor of the Buddha's birthday.

[54] 先是沮渠蒙遜在涼州,亦好佛法。有罽賓沙門曇摩識,習諸經論。於姑藏與沙門智嵩等,譯涅槃諸經十餘部。又曉術數禁呪,歷言他國安危,多所中驗。蒙遜每以國事諮之。

Before this, when CHU-CH'U Mêng-hsün was in Liang-chou, he also loved Buddha's Law.<sup>1</sup> There was a Chi-pin śramaṇa, T'an-mo-ch'en,<sup>2</sup> who conned scriptures and treatises. In Ku-tsang, with the śramaṇa Chih-sung<sup>3</sup> and others, he translated the *Nirvāṇa*<sup>4</sup> and other scriptures, more than ten in number. He was also wise in fortune-telling and the casting of spells. He spoke one after another of the fortunes of other countries, and many of his words proved right. Mêng-hsün always consulted him on affairs of state.

<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the fifth century, Liang-chou, i.e., the general area of what is now Kansu Province, was divided into the kingdom of the Western Liang, ruled by Li Kao 李嵩 from Tun-huang, and comprising northwest Kansu, and that of the Northern Liang, ruled by CHU-CH'U Mêng-hsün from Chang-i 張掖 and comprising Central Kansu to west of the Yellow River. But in A.D. 421 Mêng-hsün overthrew the Western Liang and took control of the main entry into Kansu through Tun-huang, which was the primary gateway of east-west contact, hence of the propagation of Buddhism. Shih-tsu of the Northern Wei acceded to the throne in A.D. 423 at the age of sixteen. At the time he was bordered on the east by the Northern Yen and on the south by Liu Yü's newly established Sung dynasty, which only a short time before (in A.D. 420) had accepted the surrender of the Eastern Tein. It was a time in which the control of the Empire might go either way. Shih-tsu first overthrew the Northern Yen, then turned on the Northern Liang, thus unifying North China and ushering in that period of division known as the Nan-pei-ch'ao.

Liang-chou about A.D. 400 was, economically and geographically as well as in other respects, an area conducive to the passage back and forth of Chinese and foreign monks, to the housing of them, and to their missionary activities. The Kashmiri monk Dharmamitra (A.D. 356-442, also called Fa-hsiu 法秀 by the Chinese) went through Kucha to Tun-huang, where he built a temple and caused it to flourish by planting a crab-apple orchard on its grounds. From there he went to Liang-chou, where he repaired another temple, and where "his disciples were numerous and the practice of contempla-

tion was very earnestly pursued" (學徒濟濟禪業甚盛). Then in A.D. 424 he crossed the Yangtze from Shu into Ching-chou (cf. his biography in *Kao-sêng-chuan* iii). The degree to which *dhyāna* was practiced in the Liang-chou area at this time may be adequately deduced from the account in the *Ming-hsiang-chi* (quoted in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* xix) of the dhyāna-master Hui-ch'üan 慧全 of Liang-chou and his five hundred disciples.

In the biography of Dharmanandin in *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi* xiii, we read of the Northern Liang monk CHU Fo-nien 竺佛念, who was expert in several languages and who was engaged in translation throughout the Former and Latter Ch'in: 竺佛念,涼州人也。志行弘美,辭才辯贍,博見多聞,備識風俗,家世河西,通習方語,故能交譯戎華,宣法關渭,符姚二代,常參傳經,二錄(增一阿含經中阿含經)之具,蓋其功也。Also, among those who accompanied Fa-hsien out of Kansu on his pilgrimage, Pao-yün 寶雲 is recorded as a man of Liang-chou, and Chih-yen 智嚴 as a man of the Western Liang. From the fourth century, before CHU-CH'U Mêng-hsün took over this area, Liang-chou had been inhabited by persons familiar with the languages the knowledge of which was necessary to the translation of the Buddhist scriptures. Accordingly it produced many persons with a Buddhist education, some of whom, going east, propagated the religion at Ch'ang-an, while others, going west, went as far as Tun-huang or even farther, to Central Asia and India, in quest of the Law, thence to return and to play important roles in the introduction of Buddhism into China. CHU-CH'U Mêng-hsün, who early in the fifth century made his home in this territory, whence he took

over Tun-huang and became the ruler of the entire Kansu region, was, as we learn from Dharmakṣema's biography and Tao-lang's 道朗 *Nieh-p'an-ching hsü* 涅槃經序, a devout Buddhist who took an active interest in the propagation of the faith and devoted much energy to the translation of the Scriptures and the building of temples. He is reported to have made a sixteen-foot stone Buddha image for his mother (cf. Dharmakṣema's biography) and to have dug some Buddhist caves in a mountain in the southern part of his territories (cf. Tao-hsüan's *Chi Shên-chou san-pao kan-t'ung-lu* 集神州三寶感通錄 b).

Mêng-hsün's successor, Mao-ch'ien 茂虔, was also a devout Buddhist, as we learn from the biography of the Central Asian Hinayāna monk Buddhavarman (also known in Chinese as Fa-k'ai 法銳, biography in *Kao-sêng-chuan* iii): 西域人也。…習學三藏,偏善毘婆沙論。常誦持此部,以爲心要。宋元嘉之中,達于西涼。先有沙門道泰,少遊葱右,遍歷諸國,得毘婆沙梵本十有萬偈,還至姑臧。…聞跋摩遊心此論,請爲翻譯。時蒙遜已死,子茂虔襲位,以虔承(永)和五年歲次丁丑四月八日,即宋元嘉十四年,於涼州城內(苑)閑豫宮(寺)中,請跋摩譯焉。泰即筆受,沙門慧嵩、道朗與義學僧三百餘人,考正文義,再周方訖。凡一百卷。沙門道挺爲之作序。有頃魏虜托跋騊,西伐姑臧,涼土崩亂,經書什物皆被焚蕩,遂失四十卷,今唯有六十存焉。跋摩避亂西反。(Cf. also Tao-t'ing's 道挺 *Pi-p'o-sha-ching hsü* 毘婆沙經序 in *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi* x.)

Mêng-hsün's cousin Ching-shêng 京聲, Marquess of An-yang, received the Five Commandments as a child and chanted the Scriptures earnestly. As a young man he went to Khotan, where he studied Mahāyāna doctrine under the Indian monk Buddhāsena. He also obtained there a copy of the *Ch'an-yao pi-mi ch'ih-ping ching* 禪要祕密治病經, which he took back to Liang-chou and there translated it into Chinese (cf. his biography in *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi* xiv).

Mao-ch'ien's younger brother An-chou 安周 was also a devout Buddhist, as we learn from Fa-chin's 法進 biography in *Kao-sêng-chuan* xii and the *Chü-ch'ü An-chou tsao-sü kung-tê pei* 沮渠安周造寺功德碑 (the original of which was discovered in Kara-Khoto and is now in Germany).

From this we see that the Northern Wei conquest of Liang-chou took place at precisely a time in which Dharmakṣema, under the patronage of a pious ruling house, was becoming the central figure in Buddhist scriptural translation and proselytization and was causing the Buddhist faith to prosper more and more.

<sup>2</sup> *T'an-mo-ch'en* (\*d'am-ma-ts'im) is probably a transcription of some form of *Dharmakṣema*, but this is only conjectural. Our text says that he was from Chi-pin (Kashmir), but the preface to the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* says that he was originally a Brahman from Central India. He began as a student of the Hinayāna, but later, upon seeing the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, he was converted to the Mahāyāna. He took a copy of this sūtra with him to Kashmir and thence to Kucha, but, finding no believers in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* in either country, he

proceeded further east through Tun-huang to Ku-tsang, where he gained the confidence of CHU-CH'Ü Meng-hsün and engaged in translation and proselytization. He returned to Central Asia once, to bring more scriptural texts from Khotan to China and to continue his missionary work (cf. his biographies in *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi* xiv and *Kao-sêng-chuan* ii). In Tao-lang's *Nieh-p'an-ching hsü* we read as follows: 天竺沙門曇摩讖者,中天竺人,婆羅門種。…將乘運流化,先至燉煌,停止數載。大沮渠河西王,至德潛著,建隆王業,雖形處萬機,每思弘大道,爲法城壘,會開定西夏,斯經與讖自遠而至。…讖既達此,以玄始十年歲次大梁十月二十三日,河西王勸請令譯。… His principal extant translations, exclusive of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, are as follows:

(a) *Mahāvaiṣṭyasaṃnipāta* 大方等大集經 (30 *chüan*)

This may be considered a sort of compendium of many Mahāyāna scriptures. Its several chapters praise the incalculable powers of the Buddhas, the bodhisattvas, and the gods, and preach the efficacy of mystical incantations. The famous Ching-t'u 淨土 monk T'an-luan 曇鸞, who was active in central Shansi during the latter half of the Northern Wei, aspired to a commentary on this scripture before he became a believer in the Pure Land. This will give one an idea of the extent to which Dharmakṣema's translations circulated in the territories of the Northern Wei. The current sixty-*chüan* text is a combination of Dharmakṣema's translation with Narendrayāśas' translation of the *Jih-tsang-fên* 日藏分 and the *Yüeh-tsang-fên* 月藏分. The latter was done under the Northern Ch'i and the Sui, and the combination was made in A.D. 586 by Sêng-chiu 僧就 and others.

(b) *Karuṇāpundartka* 悲華經 (10 *chüan*)

This also seems to be a collection of several scriptures. Most noteworthy is the fact that it contains Jātaka-tales about Śākyamuni and Amitābha and, like (a), stresses the efficacy of the Buddha's vows, his supernatural powers, and the protective powers and efficacy of mystical incantations.

(c) *Mahāmegha* 大方等大雲經 (6 *chüan*)

This sūtra has many points in common with the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, e.g., the idea that the Tathāgata is eternal and undying, that all living beings have the Buddha-nature, that consequently anyone can achieve Buddhahood, that nirvāṇa is not devoid of attributes but rather eternal, joyous, personal, and pure, etc. Here again the efficacy of mystical incantations is praised.

(d) *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* 金光明經 (4 *chüan*)

This scripture tells us at the very outset that it is an error to suppose that the Buddha achieved an all-conclusive parinirvāṇa, that the *dharmakāya* is unperishing and its life unlimited. It goes on to preach the necessity and the manner of the repentance of sins, then narrates some Mahayanized Jātaka-stories (e.g., the story of how Jalavāhana saved the lives of ten thousand fishes and the story of how he fed himself live to a hungry tiger). It tells of the protective powers of the Four Heavenly Kings, the god of earth, the god of trees, Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, and other Indian deities and again of the efficacy

of mystical incantations.

Dharmakṣema's achievements were extraordinarily great as a proselytizer among the simple peoples of North China, to whom he brought not the theoretical, philosophical Buddhism of the Wei-Tsin era with its *Prajñāpāramitā* doctrine of insubstantiality, but a practical, concrete religion with an emphasis on the mystical powers of the Buddhas, the gods, and the mantras. His translations furthered the development of the ritual of penance, exerted an influence on Buddhist art, and spread the knowledge of Buddhist tales among the people.

Apart from the above, it is most worthy of note that he translated a number of Mahāyāna disciplinary texts, which prescribe the rules and religious practices to be observed by the lay and clerical believers in Mahāyāna Buddhism and the methods by which they are to be sworn to and actually observed, and thereby gave an added impetus to the spread of Buddhist religious practice, viz.:

(e) *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 菩薩地持經 (10 *chüan*)

(f) *Bodhisattvapratimokṣa* 菩薩戒本 (1 *chüan*)

(g) *Upāsakaśīla* 優婆塞戒經 (10 *chüan*)

The postscript to the translation of (g) (譯出後記, written in A.D. 426) gives one an idea of the extent to which the observance of the Discipline and the Buddhist way of life in general had progressed among the aristocracy of the Northern Liang: 河西王世子撫軍將軍錄尚書事大沮渠與國,與諸優婆塞等五百人,共於都城之內,請天竺法師曇摩識,譯此在家菩薩戒。The debt owed by the monastic community to Dharmakṣema for the diffusion of the Mahāyāna discipline will be understood more clearly by consulting his biography in *Kao-seng-chuan* ii. In it we are told that the monk Tao-chin 道進, who wished to have the Mahāyāna commandments administered to him, was prescribed a very rigid ritual of penance by Dharmakṣema and only then received the commandments at his hands: 於是從進受者,千有餘人。傳授此法,迄至于今。皆識之餘則。

<sup>3</sup> This monk does not have a biographical notice in the *Kao-seng-chuan*, but in Tao-t'ing's *P'i-p'o-sha-ching hsi* in *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi* x we read as follows: 時天竺沙門浮陀跋摩,周流敷化,會至涼境。遂以乙丑之歲四月中旬,於涼城內苑閑豫宮寺,請令傳譯理味。沙門智嵩道朗等三百餘人,考文詳義,務存本旨。至丁卯歲七月上旬都訖。通一百卷,會涼城覆沒,淪湮遐境,所出經本,零落殆盡。From this we see that until the Northern Wei occupied Liang-chou he and Tao-lang were typical monks of the area. Cf. also the following: 河西王沮渠蒙遜,聞識名呼與相見,接待甚厚。蒙遜素奉大法,志在弘通,請令出其經本,識以未參土言,又無傳譯,恐言舛於理,不許即翻。於是學語三年,翻爲漢言,方共譯寫。是時沙門慧嵩,道朗,獨步西河,值其宣出法藏,深相推重,轉易梵文,嵩公筆受,道俗數百人,疑難縱橫,識臨機釋滯,未嘗留礙。嵩朗等更請更廣出餘經。次譯大集,大雲,大虛空藏,海龍王,金光明,悲華,優婆塞戒,菩薩地持,并前所菩薩戒本,重二十部(出三藏記集十四,曇無讖傳) The above-mentioned Hui-sung is probably the same person as our Chih-sung. The latter's *Nieh-p'an-ching*

*i-chi* seems, unfortunately, not to survive.

We should not take leave of Chih-sung (Hui-sung) without mentioning another of Dharmakṣema's collaborators, Tao-lang: 河西道朗法師,與曇無讖法師共翻涅槃經,親承三藏,作涅槃義疏,釋佛性義,正以中道爲佛性,爾後諸師皆依朗法師義疏得講涅槃,乃至釋佛性義(吉藏,大乘玄論三) His *I-su* 義疏 does not survive, but we know from Chitsang's *Nieh-p'an-ching yu-i* 涅槃經遊意, as well as Kuan-ting's 灌頂 *Ta-po-nieh-p'an-ching su* 大般涅槃經疏 i, that he divided the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* into "five gateways" (五門). There is also in *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi* viii a *Nieh-p'an-ching hsi* 涅槃經序 by Tao-lang, from which we know that he accorded to the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* a particular place of honor even among the Buddhist scriptures.

<sup>4</sup> The translation of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* had an extraordinarily great influence on Chinese Buddhism during the period of its growth. The Buddhism of the Wei-Tsin era, in line with its interest in the thought of Lao-tzū, derived its inspiration from such scriptures as the *Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and made a special study of "emptiness" (空) and "original nothingness" (本無) as the central thought of Buddhism. Under Kumārajīva's leadership this type of Buddhist scholarship reached its peak. In the next period came Fa-hsien and Dharmakṣema, the translators of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, a scripture which preaches not insubstantiality so much as the eternity of the Buddha and the eternal, joyous, personal, and pure nature of nirvāṇa, and stresses the idea that all men have the Buddha-nature and that to all alike is given the possibility of achieving Buddhahood. The second *chüan* of this scripture says:

That which is without self (*ātman*) is life-and-death, but it is the Self that is the Tathāgata. Finite are the śrāvaka and the pratyekabuddha, but eternal is the Tathāgata's Dharmakāya. Pain is the way of infidels, but joy is nirvāṇa. Impure are the constituted objects (*saṃskṛtadharma*), but pure is the true dharma possessed by the Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

The twenty-third *chüan* says, "The perception attained to by the Two Vehicles is not mahāparinirvāṇa, for it is not eternal, joyous, personal, and pure." In the twenty-third *chüan* we read:

In this *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* the Tathāgata is eternal and unchanging. He is eternal, joyous, personal, and pure, and never enters nirvāṇa. All living beings have the Buddha-nature. Even the *icchantin* [the person whose sole goal in life is the satisfaction of his gross passions] who maligns the vaipulya [Mahāyāna] sūtras, who commits the five unlimited crimes [(1) matricide, (2) the killing of an arhant, (3) parricide, (4) the creation of discord within the monastic community, (5) the perpetration, with malice aforethought, of bodily harm to a Buddha] and offends against the four grave prohibitions [(1) murder, (2) theft, (3) adultery, (4) lying], is capable of attaining to the Way of Bodhi. . . . There are some who, upon hearing these

doctrines preached, are affected with disbelief, and think that this *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* is the work of infidels and not the doctrine of the Buddha at all.

The doctrines preached in this sūtra are so at variance with what one finds in such early Mahāyāna writings as the *Prajñāpāramitā* that its authors themselves anticipated an unfavorable reception on the part of persons who would surely brand it the work of infidels. Consequently the Chinese Buddhist church produced both those who maintained that this sūtra is in very deed the ultimate doctrine of the Buddha, the occupant of first place among the Mahāyāna scriptures, and those who repudiated it as the work of the Devil. In spite of the latter, however, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* came to be venerated and studied as the most important of all the Mahāyāna scriptures. Eventually there came to circulate in South China a text based on the translations of both Dharmakṣema and Fa-hsien, but under the Northern Wei and Northern Ch'i it was the translation of the former that was current. In both North and South China during the Nan-pei-ch'ao there developed the vogue, inspired by the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, of

organizing all of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist scriptures as the word of the Buddha and trying to determine which of them was his ultimate doctrine. This led in Sui times to the organization of the Chinese Buddhist sects as we know them. The two sects that merged most thoroughly with Chinese life, namely, the Ching-t'u and the Ch'an, as well as the T'ien-t'ai, the Hua-yen, and the others all include among their basic tenets the notion, preached in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* that "all men have the Buddha-nature and the possibility of achieving Buddhahood, and in that respect all men are equal." One may say with perfect justice that the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* was an important cornerstone for all the Chinese Buddhist sects. In the North China more or less contemporaneous with Wei Shou the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* was earnestly studied and a school built around it, a school devoted to its exegesis, as can be demonstrated from the *Hsü kao-seng-chuang* and many other literary sources. Wei Shou had his own reasons for singling out the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* from among Dharmakṣema's numerous translations, but the history of Buddhism in the Northern Wei justifies him in this.

[55] 神廟中,帝命蒙遜,送識詣京師。惜而不遣。既而懼魏威責,遂使人殺識。識死之日,謂門徒曰:「今時將有客來,可早食以待之」。食訖而走使至。時人謂之知命。

During Shên-chia<sup>1</sup> the Emperor commanded Mêng-hsün to send [T'an-mo-]ch'ên to the Capital, but, grudging this he did not send him. Later, fearing the reproaches of Wei, he sent a man to kill Ch'ên. On the day of his death Ch'ên spoke to his disciples, saying, "Soon now there will be a guest coming. Let us eat early and await him." When they had finished eating, an express rider arrived. The men of that time said that Ch'ên knew what was fated.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 428-432.

[56] 智嵩亦爽悟,篤志經籍。後乃以新出經論,於涼土教授。辯論幽旨,著涅槃義記。戒行峻整,門人齊肅。知涼州將有兵役,與門徒數人,欲往胡地。道路饑饉,絕糧積日。弟子求得禽獸肉,請嵩彊食。嵩以戒自誓,遂餓死於酒泉之西山。弟子積薪焚其屍,骸骨灰燼,唯舌獨全,色狀不變。時人以爲誦說功報。

Chih-sung was also of clear perception, and heartily aspired to the Scriptures. Later he taught in the land of Liang, using the newly edited scriptures and treatises and eloquently discoursing on their subtle meaning. He published the Record of the Nirvāṇa Doctrine.<sup>1</sup> His monastic conduct was sublime and perfect, and his disciples were all strict. Knowing that in Liang-chou there would soon be war, he wished to go with several of his followers to barbarian land. On the way there was famine, and they were without grain for many days. His disciples sought and found the flesh of bird or beast, and begged [Chih-]sung to eat it even against his will. But since Sung had vowed to keep the Commandments, he finally died of hunger in the mountains west of Chiu-ch'üan. His disciples heaped up firewood and burnt his corpse. His bones turned to ashes, only his tongue alone remaining whole,

the color and shape unchanged. The men of the times considered it a reward for his recitation and preaching.

<sup>1</sup> The title of a commentary to the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*.

[57] 涼州自張軌後,世信佛教。敦煌地接西域,道俗交得其舊式。村塢相屬,多有塔寺。

Liang-chou had from CHANG Kuei<sup>1)</sup> onward for generations believed in Buddhism. Tun-huang touches upon the Western Regions, and the clergy and laity both acquired the old fashions. The villages, one after the other, had many reliquaries and temples.

<sup>1</sup> Courtesy name Shih-yen 士彥. CHANG, originally a powerful local figure in An-ting Wu-shih 安定烏氏 (northeast of the present P'ing-liang-fu 平涼府 in Kansu Province), served the Western Tsin, distinguishing himself as governor of Liang-chou during the reign of Emperor Hui (A.D. 301–312). He thereby made himself master of the area and founded the dynasty of the Former Liang. It was at this time that Dharmarakṣita was busily engaged in missionary work over the area spanning his native Tun-huang, Ch'ang-an, and Lo-yang. Kuei was

succeeded by CHANG Shih 張寔, whose son, CHANG Chün 張駿 (A.D. 324–345), brought the dynasty to the height of its power. During the reign of CHANG T'ien-hsi 張天錫 (A.D. 364–376) the state of the Former Liang capitulated to Fu Chien, chief of the Former Ch'in. One can gather from Tao-an's list of Scriptures Peculiar to the Land of Liang 涼土異經, numbering fifty-nine titles in seventy-nine *chüan* (cf. *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi* iii), that Buddhism must have been fairly widespread in this area under the dynasty of the Former Liang.

[58] 太延中,涼州平,徙其國人於京邑。沙門、佛事皆俱東,象教彌增矣。尋以沙門衆多,詔罷年五十已下者。

During T'ai-yen Liang-chou was pacified and the people of the country moved to the Capital.<sup>1)</sup> The śramaṇas and Buddhist practices both went east, and both the images and the doctrine<sup>2)</sup> prospered more and more. Then, since the śramaṇas were numerous, an Imperial edict ordered that those of age under fifty be unfrocked.<sup>3)</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The event referred to took place in the fifth year of T'ai-yen (A.D. 439), in the ninth lunar month. In the chronicle of Shih-tsu in *Wei-shu* iv we read as follows: 十月辛酉,車駕東還,徙涼州民三萬餘家 (the *Shih-liu-kuo Ch'un-ch'iu* 十六國春秋 refers to it as 十萬戶) 于京師. In view of the state of Buddhism in Liang-chou there must have been many Buddhists among those shifted in this forced transfer of population, as indeed there must also have been in the conquering Wei army. An example of the latter is Tu Ch'ao 杜超, related by marriage to the ruling house, who extended his invitation to the eminent monk Hsüan-kao 玄高. As we read in the latter's biography in *Kao-sêng-chuan* xi: 沮渠蒙遜深相敬事, … 魏虜拓跋焘僭據平城,軍侵涼境,燕舅陽平王杜(超)請(玄)高同還僞都,既達平城,大流禪化,僞太子拓跋珪,事高爲師. The T'an-yao 曇曜 whose biography is attached to that of Hsüan-kao is probably also one of those forced to take up residence in the Wei capital following the capitulation of the Liang.

<sup>2</sup> *Hsiang-chiao* 象教 here does not refer to the *prairūpaka-dharma*, the age in which an outward semblance of religion is maintained while the inner content perishes. Cf. the *Li sêng-*

*ni-chih shao* 立僧尼制詔 of Emperor Hsiao-wên of the Wei, quoted in *Ch'u-hsüeh-chi* xxiii: 自象教東流,千齡以半. Cf. also Hui-yüan's biography in *Kao-sêng-chuan* vii: 時沙門釋道安,立寺於太行恒山,弘讚像法. Cf. also the *Fu-t'ien-lun* 福田論 of the monk Yen-ts'ung 彥琮 of Chao-chün 趙郡 (d. 610): 金人照於漢殿,像法通於洛浦. Cf. also the biography of Ching-sung 靖嵩 in *Hsü kao-sêng-chuan* x: 令推義學長者,即弘像教. Cf. also the decree of Emperor Wên of the Sui promulgated in A.D. 604 and quoted in the biography of Hung-tsun 洪遵 in *Hsü kao-sêng-chuan* xxi: 遵奉聖教,重興象法. From this we can see that during the Nan-pei-ch'ao the words *hsiang-chiao* 象教,像教 and *hsiang-fa* 像法 were not infrequently used simply in the sense of "Buddhism". PELLIOU also discusses this problem in *T'oung Pao* xxvi.

<sup>3</sup> This edict was not promulgated following the conquest of Liang-chou. As we read in the Imperial chronicles in *Wei-shu* iii and *Pei-shih* ii under T'ai-yen 4 (A.D. 438), third month, *kuei-wei* 癸未 day, "śramaṇas aged fifty and less were unfrocked" (罷沙門五十已下). This is the correct version, since there was no *kuei-wei* day in the third lunar month of T'ai-yen 5 (A.D. 439).

[59] 世祖初平赫連昌,得沙門惠始,姓張家本清河。聞羅什出新經,遂詣長安,見之觀習經典。坐禪於白渠北,晝則入城聽講,夕則還處靜坐。三輔有識多宗之。

When Shih-tsu had pacified HO-LIEN Ch'ang,<sup>1</sup> he acquired the śramaṇa Hui-shih,<sup>2</sup> whose clan name was CHANG and whose family had originally been of Ch'ing-ho. The latter, hearing that Kumārajīva had put out some new scriptures, went to Ch'ang-an to see him. He conned the Scriptures and sat in contemplation north of the White Canal. In the daytime he would enter the city and listen to the expositions, and in the evening he would return to his place and quietly sit. Of the possessors of knowledge in the Three Mainstays<sup>3</sup> many revered him.

<sup>1</sup> Courtesy name Huan-kuo 還國, third son of HO-LIEN Po-po, king of Hsia, one of the so-called Sixteen Kingdoms of the Five Barbarian Nations 五胡十六國. He succeeded his father on the throne in A.D. 425. The following year Shih-tsu took Ch'ang-an, putting Ch'ang to flight, and the year after that he took the latter's place of refuge, T'ung-wan. The following year Ch'ang himself was taken captive and his kingdom of Hsia collapsed. Ch'ang was enfeoffed Prince of Ch'in by Shih-tsu, but in A.D. 434 he revolted and was punished with death for himself and his whole family. As we read in Shih-tsu's chronicle in the *Wei-shu* under Shih-kuang 始光 3 (A.D. 426): 十有一月戊寅,帝率輕騎二萬,襲赫連昌,壬午,至其城下,徙萬餘家而還。It was probably at about this time that Hui-shih was moved from Ch'ang-an to P'ing-ch'êng. For more about this, cf. *Wei-shu* xcv and *Shih-liu-kuo ch'un-ch'iu* 十六國春秋。

<sup>2</sup> Hui-shih is listed as T'an-shih 曇始 in both the *Kao-sêng-*

*chuan* and the *Ming-hsiang-chi*. The latter, quoted in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* xix, reads as follows: 前魏太武時,沙門曇始,甚有神異,常坐不臥五十餘年,足不離殿,跣行泥穢中,奮足便淨,白色如面,俗號白足阿練也。至赫連昌破長安,不信佛法,刑害僧尼,始被白刃不傷,由是僧尼免死者衆。太武敬重,死十餘年,形式不改。In addition to his biography in *Kao-sêng-chuan* x, there is a *T'an-shih hsing-chuang-chi* 曇始行狀記 in *Shan-yu shih-k'o ts'ung-pien* 山右石刻叢編 ii. Also, as a Buddhist missionary to Korea he has a biographical notice in the *Haedong kosŭngjŏn* 海東高僧傳。

<sup>3</sup> Ch. *san-fu* 三輔. *Fu* originally meant a prop designed to keep a cart from falling apart. The three *fu*, established by the Han, were (1) Ching-chao-yin 京兆尹, east of Ch'ang-an, (2) Tso-p'ing-i 左馮翊, north of Ch'ang-ling 長陵, and (3) Yu-fu-fêng 右扶風, west of Wei-ch'êng 渭城. They are all in what is now Kuan-chung-tao 關中道 in Shen-si Province.

[60] 劉裕滅姚泓,留子義真,鎮長安。義真及寮佐,皆敬重焉。義真之去長安也,赫連屈丐追敗之,道俗少長,咸見坑戮。惠始身被白刃,而體不傷。衆大怪異,言於屈丐。屈丐大怒,召惠始於前,以所持寶劍擊之,又不能害,乃懼而謝罪。統萬平,惠始到京都,多所訓導。時人莫測其迹。世祖甚重之,每加禮敬。始自習禪,至於沒世,稱五十餘年,未嘗寐臥。或時跣行,雖履泥塵,初不汗足,色愈鮮,世號之曰白脚師。太延中,臨終於八角寺,齊潔端坐。僧徒滿側,凝泊而絕。停屍十餘日,坐既不改,容色如一。舉世神異之。遂瘞寺內。至眞君六年,制城內不得留瘞,乃葬於南郊之外,始死十年矣。開殯儼然,初不傾壞。送葬者六千餘人,莫不感慟。中書監高允,爲其傳,頌其德迹。惠始冢上,立石精舍,圖其形像。經毀法時,猶自全立。

\*齊當作齋。

When Liu Yü<sup>1</sup> had destroyed Yao Hung, he left his son I-chên to hold down Ch'ang-an. I-chên and his officers all respected Hui-shih. When I-chên left Ch'ang-an, HO-LIEN Ch'ü-kai<sup>2</sup> pursued and defeated him. Clergy and laity, young and old were all buried alive. Hui-shih's person was struck with a bare blade, but his body was not harmed. The multitude, astonished, told it to Ch'ü-kai. Ch'ü-kai in great anger summoned Hui-shih into his presence and, with the jewelled sword he was holding, struck him, but even so he could not hurt him. Then in fear he confessed his sins. When



T'ung-wan had been pacified, Hui-shih went to the Capital, and gave much teaching and guidance. Of the men of his time none fathomed his greatness, but Shih-tsu held him very highly and always conferred courtesies and respects upon him. From the time he first practiced contemplation until the end of his life, said to have come to more than fifty years, he never lay down. Sometimes he would go barefoot and, though he might tread on mud and dirt, he would never soil his feet, but their color was all the purer and whiter. His contemporaries styled him the White-Footed Master. During T'ai-yen,<sup>3</sup> as he faced his end in the Pa-chiao-ssü,<sup>4</sup> he fasted and purified himself and sat upright and, with his monkish followers crowded by his side, calm and concentrated he expired. The corpse was kept for more than ten days. It remained seated without change, and its form and color were as before, and the whole world marvelled thereat. Finally he was buried within the temple. In the sixth year of Chên-chün,<sup>5</sup> when it was decreed that no bodies were to be left buried within the city wall, he was reinterred outside the southern extremity. He had been dead just ten years. When the tomb was opened, he was solemn and not in the least decomposed. Those who accompanied his funeral procession were more than six thousand, and there was none who did not mourn him profoundly. The 'chung-shu-chien' KAO Yün<sup>6</sup> composed a biography in which he lauded his virtuous acts. Over Hui-shih's tomb was set a stone, and in a chapel his likeness was drawn. Throughout the time of persecution of the Law<sup>7</sup> it still stood whole.

<sup>1</sup> After the death of YAO Hsing, the King of the Latter Ch'in who had welcomed Kumārajīva into Ch'ang-an, his son Hung acceded to the throne (A.D. 416). LIU Yü (Sung Wu-ti), sensing evidences of internal strife, struck at Ch'ang-an and overthrew the Latter Ch'in. Leaving his son I-chên in charge, he returned south, two years later (A.D. 420) to put an end to the Tsin dynasty and take the throne as first Emperor of the Sung.

<sup>2</sup> One of the courtesy names (the other being Ch'ü-chieh 屈子) of HO-LIEN Po-po (A.D. 381-425), a member of one branch of the Hsiung-nu nation, who in A.D. 407 established the state of of Ta-hsia, in A.D. 413 built the city of T'ung-wan, and distinguished himself for his brutality. It was in A.D. 418 that he put LIU Yü's son I-chên to rout. He has biographical notices in *Chin-shu* cxxx and *Wei-shu* xciv. We read in *Chi sha-mên pu-ying-pai-su têng shih* 集沙門不應拜俗等事 ii that when Po-po occupied Ch'ang-an he called himself a Buddha and required all monks to bow down to him. Kumārajīva's disciple Sêng-tao 僧導, leaving Ch'ang-an with a group of his disciples, concealed I-chên among them and so saved his life. LIU Yü, in gratitude, built him a Tung-shan-ssü 東山寺 at Shou-ch'un 壽春 (the *Shui-ching-chu* 水經注 refers to it as *Tao-kung-ssü* 導公寺), where he expounded the scriptures and—so we are told—gathered more than a thousand disciples to him. This is a noteworthy fact for the light it sheds on the spread of Kumārajīva's school into the territories of the Southern Dynasties. (Cf. Sêng-tao's biography in *Kao-sêng-chuan* vii.)

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 435-440.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. "Eight-Cornered Temple."

<sup>5</sup> A.D. 445. The full name of the period is T'ai-p'ing Chên-

chün 太平眞君 (A.D. 440-452).

<sup>6</sup> Courtesy name Po-kung 伯恭, a native of Hsiu 蓀 in Po-hai 渤海 (390-487). He lost his father in childhood, and at the age of a little more than ten years entered the clergy with his two younger brothers, taking the clerical name Fa-ching 法淨. A short while later, however, he returned to lay life, where he devoted himself diligently to study, becoming expert in the Classics, the Histories, astronomy, and mathematics, and having an especial fondness for the *Ch'un-ch'iu Kung-yang-chuan* 春秋公羊傳. In A.D. 430, when Emperor T'ai-wu's father-in-law, Tu Ch'ao, Prince of Yang-p'ing 陽平, was serving as Commandant of Yeh, he was appointed *ts'ung-shih chung-lang* 從事中郎 and was praised for his honesty and fairness. Later he abandoned the official career for teaching, attracting more than a thousand pupils. In A.D. 431 he was appointed *chung-shu po-shih* 中書博士, then *shih-lang* 侍郎. He assisted Emperor T'ai-wu's favorite younger brother, Prince Fan of Lo-an province 樂安王範, when the latter was Commandant of Ch'ang-an. He also distinguished himself in the conquest of Liang-chou, and ultimately became one of the most important figures in the central government. He gained the confidence of the Heir Apparent, Prince Huang 晃 (known to history as Emperor Kung-tsung), and on one occasion reproved the Prince for managing his gardens with a view to making a profit on them. A profound believer in Buddhism, he sponsored fasts and lectures, abstained from the taking of life, and maintained a simple, pious existence. During the reign of Hsien-tsu he pacified the Ch'ing-chou 青州 and Ch'i-chou 齊州 areas and gave financial aid to those members of the Chinese gentry who had come upon evil days



subsequent to the forced move to Ta-t'ung. He also did his utmost to see to it that the able men among them were elevated to positions commensurate with their capacities. He died at the age of ninety-eight, according to the Chinese reckoning, the Grand Old Man of the Northern Wei government, favored

by Emperor Kao-tsu and the Dowager Empress Wên-ming 文明, quoted in *Wei-shu* xlvi and *Pei-shih* xxxi.

<sup>7</sup> The first great persecution of Buddhism in China, A.D. 446–452.

[61] 世祖即位,富於春秋,既而銳志武功,每以平定禍亂爲先。雖歸宗佛法,敬重沙門,而未存覽經教,深求緣報之意。及得寇謙之道,帝以清淨無爲,有仙化之證,遂信行其術。

When Shih-tsu ascended the throne<sup>1</sup> he had many springs and autumns ahead of him. Later he sharpened his will to military exploits, and always put the pacification of rebellion first. Although he professed the Law of Buddha and honored the śramaṇas, he did not yet look at the teachings of the Scriptures nor did he profoundly seek out the meaning of cause and retribution. On learning of the system of K'ou Ch'ien-chih, the Emperor felt that it was pure and quiescent and that it had proof of the supramundane. He then professed and practiced these arts.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 424.

[62] 時司徒崔浩,博學多聞,帝每訪以大事。浩奉謙之道,尤不信佛。與帝言,數加非毀,常謂虛誕,爲世費害。帝以其辯博,頗信之。

The 'ssü-t'u' of the time, Ts'ui Hao,<sup>1</sup> was widely learned and much informed. The Emperor would always consult him on great matters. Hao did homage to Ch'ien-chih's system, and particularly did not believe in the Buddha. When he spoke with the Emperor, he frequently heaped slander upon Buddhism, always calling it vain and false and saying that it was a drain upon the world. The Emperor, because of his eloquence, rather believed him.

<sup>1</sup> Courtesy name Po-hsiao 伯瀟, a native of Ch'ing-ho (381–450), eldest son of the great minister Ts'ui Hung 崔宏, who as *li-pu shang-shu* 吏部尚書 was the object of the particular trust of Emperors T'ai-tsu and T'ai-tsung and played a very important part in the organization of the early government of the Northern Wei. Hao was widely read in the Classics and Histories and especially learned in astronomy and *yin-yang* science. Among his relatives by marriage were some intense Taoists, and Hao himself became a Taoist with an extreme

hatred of Buddhism. Along with the Taoist practitioner K'ou Ch'ien-chih he gained the confidence of Shih-tsu and became a central figure in the government, in which capacity he successfully proposed the outlawing of Buddhism. We should like to direct the reader to the fuller treatment of this subject in the chapter entitled *Hokugi Taibu-tei no haibutsu kishaku* 北魏太武帝の廢佛毀釋 in our *Shina Bukkyōshi kenkyū Hokugi-hen*. There are biographical notices on Ts'ui Hao in *Wei-shu* xxxv and *Pei-shih* xxi.

[63] 會蓋吳反杏城,關中騷動。帝乃西伐,至於長安。先是長安沙門,種麥寺內。御騶牧馬於麥中。帝入觀馬,沙門飲從官酒。從官入其便室,見大有弓矢矛楯,出以奏聞。帝怒曰:「此非沙門所用,當與蓋吳通謀,規害人耳。」命有司案誅一寺,閱其財產,大得釀酒具,及州郡牧守富人所寄藏物,蓋以萬計。又爲屈室,與貴室女,私行淫亂。

Just then KAI Wu rebelled in Hsiang-ch'êng,<sup>1</sup> and within the Barrier was confusion. The Emperor then campaigned westward and reached Ch'ang-an. Before this the śramaṇas of Ch'ang-an had planted barley within the monasteries, and the Imperial grooms grazed the horses on the barley. When the

Emperor entered to look at the horses, the śramaṇas gave the attendants wine to drink. The attendants entered the common room and, seeing that there were many bows and arrows, spears and shields, went out and so reported. The Emperor in anger said, "These are not things used by monks! They can only be in league with Kai Wu, planning to harm others." He commanded the officials to examine and punish the whole monastery. When they inspected the temple property, they found wine-making implements, as well as pawned articles of treasure of the local officials and persons of wealth, numbering in the tens of thousands. They had also made clandestine rooms<sup>2</sup> in which with the daughters of noble families they had practiced debauchery.

<sup>1</sup> A local rebellion, led by a man designated in the Imperial chronicles as "Kai Wu, a barbarian from Lu-shui" (盧水胡蓋吳). Cf. *Wei-shu* iv-b under T'ai-p'ing Chên-chün 6 (A.D. 445), ninth month.

<sup>2</sup> "Clandestine rooms" is our translation of the text's *ch'ü-*

*shih* 屈室, identical with the *k'u-shih* 窟室 of *Tso-chuan*, Hsiang-kung 襄公 30. It is also written *chüeh-shih* 掘室 and *chu-shih* 窟室. It means a secret room that does not come to the attention of men's eyes.

[64] 帝既忿沙門非法,浩時從行,因進其說.詔誅長安沙門,焚破佛像.勅留臺下四方令,一依長安行事.

The Emperor was already enraged at the śramaṇas' lawlessness, and Hao, who happened to be accompanying him at the time, thereupon advanced his own view. An edict was issued ordering the killing of the śramaṇas of Ch'ang-an and the burning and breaking of the Buddha-images. It was also decreed to the Liu-t'ai that all alike in the four corners of the Empire were to copy the action of Ch'ang-an.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The text reads 勅留臺下四方令一依長安行事. *Liu-t'ai* 留臺 refers to the Heir Apparent, Prince Huang, who remained at the national capital, P'ing-ch'êng, in charge of affairs of state. Shih-tsu, who frequently took personal command of military campaigns, left his Crown Prince in control of the civil government on such occasions. Cf. the chronicle of Kung-tsung Ching-mu Huang-ti 恭宗景穆皇帝 (i.e., Prince Huang), attached to that of Shih-tsu (T'ai-wu-ti) in the *Wei-shu*: 世祖東征和龍,詔恭宗錄尚書事,西征涼州,詔恭宗監國.眞君四年,恭宗從世祖討蠕蠕...自是恭宗所言軍國大事,多見納用,遂知萬機. In the chronicle of Shih-tsu himself, under T'ai-p'ing Chên-chün 5 (A.D. 444), we read as follows: 五年春正月壬寅,皇太子始總百揆,侍中中書監宜都王穆壽,司徒東郡公崔浩,侍中廣平公張黎,侍中建興公古弼,輔太子以決庶政.諸上書者皆稱臣,

上疏儀表同. Prince Huang's regency began in A.D. 444, and Shih-tsu's campaign against Kai Wu took place in 445 and 446. *Tzū-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑 cxxiv, under Sung Yüan-chia 元嘉 23 (i.e., Wei T'ai-p'ing Chên-chün 7, 446) quotes the *Shih-lao-chih* in its treatment of events beginning with the campaign against Kai Wu and ending with the suppression of Buddhism. Hu San-hsing 胡三省 comments as follows: 魏王出征,太子居守,故謂平城爲留臺.下避祿觀. Cf. *Pei-shan-lu* 北山錄 v (*Taishō* lii, 603b): 由是下詔焚破經像,惟留臺下四寺如長安. Cf. also *Shih-shih t'ung-chien* 釋氏通鑑 iv: 先誅長安沙門,焚其經像,唯留臺下四寺,勅下四方,一依長安法. We cannot agree with *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai* 佛祖歷代通載 viii (*Taishō* xlix, 537c): 先盡誅長安沙門,焚燒經像,還宮勅臺下四方,命一依長安法.

[65] 又詔曰:「彼沙門者,假西戎虛誕,妄生妖孽,非所以一齊政化,布淳德於天下也.自王公已下,有私養沙門者,皆送官曹,不得隱匿.限今年二月十五日,過期不出,沙門身死,容止者誅一門」.

Another decree<sup>1</sup> stated:

Those śramaṇa persons borrow the vain falsehoods of the Western barbarians and recklessly

create disaster and calamity. Theirs is not the way to make uniform the effects of government or to spread earnest virtue through the world. From princes and dukes on down, if there be persons who are privately supporting śramaṇas, they shall all send them to the officials; they may not conceal them. The limit is the fifteenth day of the second month of this year. Anyone who exceeds the limit without surrendering the śramaṇas shall himself die. If anyone harbors them, the whole family shall be executed.

<sup>1</sup> This is excerpted from an edict promulgated in T'ai-p'ing Chên-chün 5 (A.D. 444), first month, *wu-shên* 戊申 day and reproduced in Shih-tsu's chronicle in *Wei-shu* iv-b, also in *Pei-shih* ii. The former reads as follows: 愚民無識,信惑妖邪,私養師巫,挾藏讖記陰陽圖方伎之書,又沙門之徒,假西戎虛誕,生致妖孽,非所以壹齊政化,布淳德於天下也。自王公已下至於庶人,有私養沙門師巫及金銀工巧之人,互其家者,皆遣詣官曹,不得容匿,限今年二月十五日,過期不出,師巫沙門身死,主人門誅,明相宣告,咸使聞知。The interpolation here of this edict, which was in fact promulgated before the campaign against K'ai Wu, confuses the chronological sequence of events. In the ninth lunar month

of this year, at Ts'ui Hao's recommendation, the monk Hsüan-kao of Liang-chou, whom Prince Huang had made his own teacher, and another Liang-chou monk, Hui-ch'ung 慧崇, who had been the teacher of the minister of state HAN Wan-tê 韓萬德 and who enjoyed a reputation almost the equal of Hsüan-kao's, were arrested and executed. This was apparently an act designed to clear influential clerics out of the entourage of the nobility and bureaucracy. The actual suppression needed nothing now but an excuse, and that was soon furnished by the incident at the Ch'ang-an monastery during the campaign against K'ai Wu. (Cf. our *Hokugi Taibu-tei no haibutsu kishaku*.)

[66] 時恭宗爲太子監國。素敬佛道,頻上表陳刑殺沙門之濫,又非圖像之罪,今罷其道,杜諸寺門,世不修奉,土木丹青,自然毀滅。如是再三,不許。乃下詔曰:「昔後漢荒君,信惑邪僞,妄假睡夢,事胡妖鬼,以亂天常。自古九州之中無此也。夸誕大言,不本人情,叔季之世,闇君亂主,莫不眩焉。由是政教不行,禮義大壞,鬼道熾盛,視王者之法蔑如也。自此以來,代經亂禍,天罰亟行,生民死盡,五服之內,鞠爲丘墟,千里蕭條,不見人迹,皆由於此。朕承天緒,屬當窮運之弊,欲除僞定真,復義農之治。其一切盪除胡神,滅其蹤迹,庶無謝於風氏矣。自今以後,敢有事胡神及造形像泥人銅人者,門誅。雖言胡神,問今胡人,共云無有。皆是前世漢人,無賴子弟,劉元真、呂伯彊之徒,〔接〕乞胡之誕言,用老莊之虛假,附而益之。皆非真實,至使王法,廢而不行。蓋大姦之魁也。有非常之人,然後能行非常之事。非朕孰能去此歷代之僞物。有司宣告征鎮諸軍刺史,諸有佛圖形像及胡經,盡皆擊破焚燒,沙門無少長悉坑之」。是歲眞君七年三月也。

\*諸本無接字,今據廣弘明集。

At the time, Kung-tsung was Crown Prince Regent, and had always honored the Way of Buddha. He frequently handed up memorials setting forth the error of killing the śramaṇas. He also stated that the sins were not the sins of the portraits and statues, that if this religion were stopped and all the temple gates shut and for generations not repaired or worshipped, the earth and wood and the red and green colors would naturally crumble. He so pleaded two or three times but was not heeded. Then an edict was handed down, saying:

Formerly, a reckless Sovereign of the Latter Han believed in and was led astray by evil and deceit. On the false pretext that he had dreamt of them, he served the malignant demons

of the barbarians and thereby disturbed Heaven's order. From of old the Nine Provinces<sup>1</sup> had never had such a thing in their midst. Its exaggerated grandiloquence is not based on human nature. In later ages, among ignorant lords and sovereigns gone astray, there was not one who was not dazzled by it. Therefore government and education have not been observed, propriety and righteousness have greatly decayed. The way of the demons prospered, and looked upon the law of kings as it were nought. Since then each age has passed through disorder and calamity. Heaven's punishment has been quick to come, and the people have perished utterly. Within the five ministering areas<sup>2</sup> all became mounds and ruins. For a thousand leagues there is desolation, and one does not see human traces. All is because of this.

We have received the Heavenly line, as it has chanced, amid the evils of exhausted fortune. We desire to remove the false, establish the true, and restore the rule of [Fu]-hsü and [Shên]-nung. We will completely shake off the barbarian gods and annihilate their vestiges, and thereby, We hope, have no occasion to beg forgiveness of the clan of Fêng.<sup>3</sup> If from now on there be any who dare serve the barbarian gods or make images, statues, or figures in clay or bronze, they shall be executed with their whole households.

Although one speaks of the "barbarian gods," when one questions the barbarians of today, they all say that they do not have such. They are all the work of followers of men of the former age of Han, two unreliable youths, Liu Yüan-chên and Lü Po-ch'iang,<sup>4</sup> who sought the false words of the barbarians, used the Emptiness<sup>5</sup> of Lao and CHUANG, and arbitrarily grafted them together and added to the product; they are completely untrue. And inasmuch as they caused the King's law to stand idle and not function, they were the instigators of great unrighteousness.

When there are extraordinary men, only then can there be extraordinary acts. Were it not for Us, who could do away with this age-old counterfeit? Let the officials proclaim to the generals of garrisons and the governors that all Buddhist reliquaries, images, and barbarian scriptures are to be completely destroyed and burnt, and that the śramaṇas, without distinction of youth or age, are all to be buried alive.<sup>6</sup>

This was in the third month of the seventh year of Chên-chün.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.e., China.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. *wu-fu* 五服. A *fu* 服, according to Chinese tradition, was a square with the Capital at its center. The five *fu* were five concentric squares the largest of which was five thousand *li* square. The meaning here is the entire area over which the dynastic authority of the Northern Wei extends.

<sup>3</sup> Supposedly the clan name of the mythical emperor Fu-hsi.

<sup>4</sup> The identity of Lü Po-ch'iang is not certain, but Liu Yüan-chên was the teacher of the eminent monk CHU Ch'ien 竺潛 (A.D. 286-374). As we read in the latter's biography in *Kao-sêng-chuan* iv: 竺潛字法深,姓王,瑯琊人,晉丞相武郡公敦之弟也,年十八出家,事中山劉元真爲師。元真早有才解之譽,故孫綽贊曰:索々虛矜,翳々閑沖,誰共體之,在我劉公,談能彫飾,照足開曠,懷抱之內,豁爾每融,潛伏膺已後,剪削浮華,崇本務學,微言興化,譽洽西朝。He was respected during the former half of the third century A.D. as

a Buddhist thinker adept in "dark learning" 玄學 and "pure talk" 清談, i.e., those intellectual activities, based on the thought of Lao-tzū and CHUANG-tzū, that had come to be fashionable at the time. By training the younger brother of Wang Tun, elevating him to a position of paramount honor at Court and among the nobility during his lifetime and making him so important as to warrant a State funeral after his death, he paved the way for the conversion of the ruling family and nobility of the Tsin to Buddhism. Lü Po-ch'iang may possibly be identical with the Lü Shao 呂韶 of Yen-mên 雁門 mentioned as one of the disciples of K'ang Fa-lang 康法朗 of Chung-shan 中山. Cf. the latter's biography in *Kao-sêng-chuan* vi: 康法朗,中山人,少出家,善戒節,嘗讀經,見雙樹鹿苑之處。鬱而歎曰:吾已不值聖人,寧可不觀聖處。後還中山,門徒數百,講法相係,後不知所終。孫綽爲之讚曰:朗弟子令韶,其先雁門人,姓呂。後移柳泉山鑿穴宴坐,朗終後,刻

木爲像。朝夕禮事。孫綽正像論云。呂紹凝神於中山。即其人也。Cf. also the biography of Chu [Tao]-ch'ien 竺道潛 himself, *ibid.*: 竺道潛。字法深。姓王。瑯琊人。晉丞相武昌郡公敦弟也。年十八出家。事中州劉元真爲師。元真早有才解之譽。故孫綽曰。索索虛矜。翳翳閑沖。誰其體之。在我劉公。談能雕飾。照足開曠。懷抱之內。豁爾每融。潛伏膺已後。剪削浮華。崇本務學。微言興化。譽洽西朝。…至年二十四。講法華大品。既蘊深解。復能善說。故觀風味道者。常數盈五百。晉永嘉初。避亂過江。…遁後與高麗道人書云。上座竺法深。中州劉公之弟子。體德貞峙。道俗倫綜。 Note that

these two personalities did not live in the Former Han as Shih-tsu supposed.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. *hsü* 虛, indicating perfect passivity. Because of the similarity in meaning between *hsü* and *k'ung* 空, the latter being the word used to render Skt. *śūnya* ("empty", i.e., devoid of attributes or of substantial existence), the adepts at "dark learning" and "pure talk" came to regard them as synonyms.

<sup>6</sup> This merely refers to execution, and is not to be taken literally.

<sup>7</sup> A.D. 446.

[67] 恭宗言雖不用。然猶緩宣詔書。遠近皆豫聞知。得各爲計。四方沙門。多亡匿獲免。在京邑者。亦蒙全濟。金銀寶像。及諸經論。大得秘藏。而土木宮塔。聲教所及。莫不畢毀矣。

Kung-tsung, although his words has not been heeded, yet nonetheless softened the text of the edict, and far and near, all hearing and knowing in advance, were able each to make his plans. Of the śramaṇas of the four directions, most fled and hid and were able to escape. Those in the Capital also enjoyed a complete rescue. Of the gold, silver, treasure, and images, as well as the scriptures and treatises, much could be concealed. But buildings and reliquaries wherever the proclamation reached were completely destroyed.

[68] 始謙之與浩同從車駕。苦與浩諍。浩不肯。謂浩曰。『卿今促年受戮。滅門戶矣。』後四年浩誅。備五刑。時年七十。

When Ch'ien-chih first followed the Imperial carriage together with Hao, he remonstrated severely with Hao, but Hao would not yield. He addressed Hao, saying, "Your Lordship in a few short years from now will suffer death with your whole family." Four years later Hao was executed by the five punishments.<sup>1</sup> At the time his age was seventy.

<sup>1</sup> Our text reads 誅備五刑. 'Chu' 誅, according to the *Shih-ming* 釋名, refers to those cases in which the punishment for a "crime extends to persons other" than the criminal. According to the same source, 誅 is a synonym of 株, because it is "as if the stump, the wood, the root, the branches, and the leaves all fell off" (罪及餘人曰誅。誅株也。如株木根枝葉盡落也). For the "five punishments" 五刑, cf. the following: 墨罰之屬千, 劓罰之屬千, 剕罰之屬五百, 宮刑之屬三百, 大辟死刑之罰, 其屬二百, 五刑之屬三千 *Shang-shu* 尚書, *Lü-hsing-p'ien* 呂刑篇; 墨罪五百, 劓罪五百, 宮罪五百, 剕罪五百, 殺罪五百 (*Chou-li* 周禮, *Ch'iu-kuan ssü-hsing* 秋官司刑). In antiquity the five punishments were (1) *mo* 墨, having the skin of the forehead dug out and the

cavity permanently stained with black ink, (2) 'i' 劓, having the nose cut off, (3) 'fei' 剕, having the feet cut off, (4) 'kung' 宮, sterilization (castration for men, sealing of the vaginal tract for women), (5) 'ta-p'i' 大辟, death. From the Sui until the Republic the five punishments were (1) 'ch'ih' 笞, beating with a light bamboo switch, (2) 'chang' 杖, flogging with a heavy whip, (3) 't'u' 徒, imprisonment at hard labor, (4) 'liu' 流, banishment, (5) 'ssü' 死, death. Whichever may be meant in this case—and the former seems the more likely—, it is clear that Ts'ui Hao was put to death in the most atrocious manner imaginable. With him died 127 of his family and friends.

[69] 浩既誅死。帝頗悔之。業已行。難中修復。恭宗潛欲興之。未敢言也。佛淪廢。終帝世積七八年。然禁稍寬弛。篤信之家。得密奉事。沙門專至者。猶竊法服誦習焉。唯不得顯行於京都矣。

\*業可作事。

After Hao's death the Emperor was somewhat regretful, but, the deed having already been done, it was difficult to undo midway. Kung-tsung secretly desired to make restoration, but did not yet dare say so. The Buddhist suppression, which ended with the Emperor's reign, continued seven or eight years. But the prohibition was gradually relaxed, and the households of earnest believers were able secretly to hold their services. The extreme among the śramaṇas still secretly wore religious habits and repeated their incantations. Only they could not openly practice the religion in the Capital.

[70] 先是,沙門曇曜有操尚,又爲恭宗所知禮。佛法之滅,沙門多以餘能自效,還俗求見。曜誓欲守死,恭宗親加勸喻,至於再三,不得已乃止。密持法服器物,不暫離身。聞者歎重之。

Before this the śramaṇa T'an-yao,<sup>1</sup> who had a noble character, was also known and respected by Kung-tsung. When the Law of Buddha was suppressed, most of the śramaṇas, making use of their other talents, returned to the laity and sought the eye of the Crown Prince.<sup>2</sup> But [T'an-]yao took an oath, wishing to keep his vows until death. Kung-tsung personally pressed him with urgings and remonstrances as many as two or three times, but, unable to prevent him, stopped. He secretly kept his religious habits and vessels, never putting them away from his person. Those who heard of this admired him.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Shamontō Don'yō to sono jidai* 沙門統曇曜とその時代 in our *Shina Bukkyōshi kenkyū*, *Hokugi-hen*.

<sup>2</sup> Our text reads 求見, which seems to mean that they sought audiences with Prince Huang for the purpose of entering his

service. On the other hand, 'hsien' 見 might be a misprint for 'yüan' 原, in which case it would mean that they besought him to intercede in their behalf in order to escape death.

[71] 高宗踐極,下詔曰:「夫爲帝王者,必祇奉明靈,顯彰仁道。其能惠著生民,濟益群品者,雖在古昔,猶序其風烈。是以春秋嘉崇明之禮,祭典載功施之族。況釋迦如來,功濟大千,惠流塵境。等生死者,歎其達觀;覽文義者,貴其妙明。助王政之禁律,益仁智之善性,排斥群邪,開演正覺。故前代已來,莫不崇尚,亦我國家,常所尊事也。世祖太武皇帝,開廣邊荒,德澤遐及,沙門道士,善行純誠,惠始之倫,无遠不至。風義相感,往往如林。夫山海之深,怪物多有,姦淫之徒,得容假託,講寺之中,致有兇黨。是以先朝因其瑕釁,戮其有罪。有司失旨,一切禁斷。景穆皇帝,每爲慨然,值軍國多事,未遑修復。朕承洪緒,君臨萬邦,思述先志,以隆斯道。今制諸州郡縣,於衆居之所,各聽建佛圖一區,任其財用,不制會限。其好樂道法,欲爲沙門,不問長幼,出於良家,性行素篤,無諸嫌穢,鄉里所明者,聽其出家。率大州五十,小州四十人,其郡遙遠臺者十人,各當局分,皆足以化惡就善,播揚道教也」。

\*等當作尋。

When Kao-tsung ascended the throne,<sup>1</sup> he handed down a decree, which said:

Now those who are emperors and kings must humbly revere the illustrious spirits and make manifest the way of humanity. Those who were able to bestow compassion on the people and

rescue the beings, be it even in antiquity, there is yet record of their great deeds. Therefore the *Spring and Autumn annals* approve the worship of the gods,<sup>2</sup> and the Sacrificial Codes record those who achieved great exploits.<sup>3</sup> How much the more is this true of Śākya Tathāgata, whose merits save the Grand Chiliocosm<sup>4</sup> and whose compassion flows out to the grimy regions<sup>5</sup>! Those who inquire into life and death as equal admire his supreme vision; those who look at writings and doctrines honor his wondrous clarity. He supports the prohibitions and regulations of kingly government, and enriches the good nature of humanity and wisdom. He drives away the many evils and sets forth right perception. Therefore since former ages none has failed to do him honor. Even in our realm has he been ever revered and served.

Shih-tsu, the Emperor T'ai-wu, opened up and broadened the wild outlands, his virtue and munificence reached afar. Of śramaṇas and Tao-masters, men of good conduct pure and sincere, the likes of Hui-shih, there was none so distant that he did not come. Those who responded to their good character were as numerous as the trees in a forest. But, just as in the depths of the mountains and seas strange things are many, so in the world there are immoral persons, who, when given latitude, practice falsehoods. They caused the preaching halls to house wicked factions. Our Predecessor's Court, because of their misdeeds, eliminated the guilty, but the officials, mistaking his meaning, forbade all. Emperor Ching-mu<sup>6</sup> was ever grieved at this, but since, as it happened, the army and the State had much business, he never had leisure to make amends.

We, having received the great succession, hold sway over the myriad lands. We intend to give expression to Our Predecessor's intent, and thereby prosper this Way. We now command the various provinces, prefectures, and sub-prefectures, wherever multitudes dwell, to permit the building of one reliquary in each place and to tolerate the expense, setting no limit. Those who love the Way and the Law and wish to become śramaṇas, be they old or young, if they come from a good family, if their nature and conduct have always been sincere, if they are not suspected of indecency, and if they are vouched for by their native villages, shall be permitted to leave the household life, as a rule fifty in the large provinces, forty in the small provinces, and ten in prefectures far from the Capital. If each applies himself to his particular function, they should all suffice to turn the evil to good and spread abroad the Way and the Doctrine.

<sup>1</sup> In A.D. 452.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Tso-chuan*, Hsi-knng 僖公 21: 任宿,須句,顓臾,風姓也。實司大禘與有濟之祀,以服事諸夏。邾人滅須句,須句子來奔,因成風也。成風爲之言於公曰:「崇明德(尊崇神明之祭祀)保小寡,周禮也。蠻夷猾夏,周禍也。若封須句,是崇禘濟,而修祀紓禍也。」 Cf. also Tu Yü's 杜預 commentary to the same.

<sup>3</sup> Our text reads 祭典載功施。 Cf. *Li-chi chi-fa* 禮記祭法: 夫聖王之制祭祀也,法施於民則祀之,以死勤事則祀之,以勞定國則祀之。能禦大菑則祀之,能捍大患則祀之。 And note that the source reads not 'kung-shih' 功施 but 'fa-shih' 法施。

<sup>4</sup> The Grand Chiliocosm (there are also a Middle Chiliocosm and a Small Chiliocosm) is the 'trisāhasramahāsāhasraloka-

dhātu', Ch. 'san-ch'ien ta-ch'ien shih-chieh' 三千大千世界。 It is an Indian cosmological expression, found frequently in the *Āgamas*, the *Abhidharmakośa*, the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, the *Ta-chih-tu-lun*, and other works.

<sup>5</sup> These are the six objects of sensual perception ('ṣaḍ āyatānāni', 'liu-ju' 六入), viz., (1) 'rūpa', 'sē' 色 (form), (2) 'śabda', 'shēng' 聲 (sound), (3) 'gandha', 'hsiang' 香 (odor), (4) 'rasa', 'wei' 味 (taste), (5) 'spraṣṭavya', 'shu' 觸 (tactile objects), (6) 'dharma', 'fa' 法 (objects of mentation), corresponding to the six sensory organs ('ṣaḍ indriyāṇi', 'liu-kên' 六根), viz., (1) 'cakṣus', 'yen' 眼 (the eye), (2) 'śrotra', 'ērh' 耳 (the ear), (3) 'ghrāṇa', 'pi' 鼻 (the nose), (4) 'jihvā', 'shē' 舌 (the tongue), (5) 'kāya', 'shēn' 身 (the body), (6) 'manas', 'i' 意 (the mind). "Grime", Ch. 'ch'ên' 塵, is a

literal translation of Skt. 'rajas', "dust particle", an alternate name for the objects of sensual perception. <sup>6</sup> I.e., the Crown Prince Huang, who never actually reigned.

[72] 天下承風,朝不及夕,往時所毀圖寺,仍還修矣。佛像經論,皆復得顯。

Once the Empire received the tidings, morning had not given way to evening when the reliquaries and temples formerly destroyed were again restored. Buddha-images and scriptures and treatises all once more were able to appear openly.

[73] 京師沙門師賢,本屬賓國王種人。少入道,東遊涼城。涼平赴京,罷佛法時,師賢假爲醫術還俗,而守道不改。於修復日,即反沙門。其同輩五人,帝乃親爲下髮。師賢仍爲道人統。

The metropolitan śramaṇa Shih-hsien was originally of the seed of the kings<sup>1</sup> of the land of Ch'pin. In his youth he had entered upon the Way and travelled to the land of Liang. When Liang was pacified he proceeded to the Capital. At the time of the suppression of the Law of Buddha, Shih-hsien ostensibly practiced medicine and returned to the laity, but he kept the Way and did not change. On the very day of the restoration he returned straightway to the life of a śramaṇa. For him and his fellows, five men in all, the Emperor personally shaved off the hair. Shih-hsien accordingly became Comptroller of Religious.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., a kṣatriya.

[74] 是年,詔有司,爲石像令如帝身。既成,顏上足下,各有黑石,冥同帝體上下黑子。論者以爲純誠所感。

This year the officials were commanded by Imperial edict to have made a stone likeness of the Emperor's person. When it was finished, on both the face and the soles of the feet were black pebbles, which mysteriously resembled the moles on the upper and lower parts of the Emperor's body. Those who discussed this thought that it was in response to his purity and sincerity.

[75] 興光元年秋,敕有司,於五級大寺內,爲太祖已下五帝,鑄釋迦立像五,各長一丈六尺,都用赤金二萬五千斤。

\*級當作級。

In the autumn of the first year of Hsing-kuang<sup>1</sup> the officials were commanded by Imperial edict to cast within the great five-storeyed temple, for the sake of the five emperors beginning with T'ai-tsu,<sup>2</sup> five standing Śākya-figures, each of one rod and six feet in length. Together there were used twenty-five thousand pounds of copper.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 454.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., (1) T'ai-tsu Tao-wu-ti 太祖道武帝, (2) T'ai-tsung Ming-yüan-ti 太宗明元帝, (3) Shih-tsu T'ai-wu-ti 世祖太武帝, (4) Kung-tsung Ching-mu Huang-ti 恭宗景穆皇帝 (who

never sat on the throne), (5) Kao-tsung Wên-ch'êng-ti 高宗文成帝 (then reigning). Cf. our *Unkō sansoku* 雲岡三則 in *Shina Bukkyōshi kenkyū Hokugi-hen*.



[76] 太安初,有師子國胡沙門邪奢遺多,浮陀難提等五人,奉佛像三,到京都,皆云:「備歷西域諸國,見佛影迹,及肉髻。外國諸王相承,咸遣工匠,摹寫其容,莫能及難提所造者。去十餘步,視之炳然,轉近轉微」。又沙勒湖沙門,赴京師,致佛鉢并畫像迹。

\*湖當作胡。

Early in T'ai-an<sup>1</sup> there were five barbarian śramaṇas from Lion Land, Yeh-shê-i-to,<sup>2</sup> Fou-t'o-nan-t'i,<sup>3</sup> and others, who, bearing three Buddha-images, arrived in the Capital. They all said that they had traversed all the countries of the Western Regions and seen the Buddha's image and top-knot. The kings of the foreign lands, one after the other, had all sent artisans to copy the form, but there had been none who could equal that made by [Fou-t'o-]nan-t'i. If one stood ten-odd paces away from it and looked, it was bright, but the closer one came to it the dimmer it became.<sup>4</sup> Also, a barbarian śramaṇa from Sha-lo went to the Capital and presented the Buddha's begging-bowl and portrait.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 455-460.

<sup>2</sup> Yeh-shê-i-to (\*ya-šja-wi-ta) seems to derive from some form of Yaśovida.

<sup>3</sup> Fou-t'o-nan-t'i (\*bwəu-d'a-nan-d'əi) derives from some form of Buddhānandī.

<sup>4</sup> This image was in a cave in Nagarahāra 那竭國, and was seen by both Fa-hsien's party and that of Sung Yün 宋雲 and Hui-shēng 慧生. This passage in our text shows the influence

of the following passage in Fa-hsien's notice on Nagarahāra in the *Fo-kuo-chi* 佛國記: 那竭城南半由延,有石室,佛留影此中,去十餘步觀之,如佛真形,金色相好,光明炳著。轉近轉微,髣髴如有。諸方國王,遣工畫師模寫,莫能及。After the circulation of Fa-hsien's report, knowledge of this cave became widespread throughout the Northern and Southern Dynasties period, and the cave and its image became the objects of worship and fond attachment.

[77] 和平初,師賢卒,曇曜代之,更名沙門統。初曇曜,以復佛法之明年,自中山被命赴京。值帝出見于路御馬前,銜曜衣。時以爲馬識善人,帝後奉以師禮。

Early in Ho-p'ing<sup>1</sup> Shih-hsien died and T'an-yao replaced him under the changed title Comptroller of Śramaṇas. Earlier, T'an-yao, in the year after the restoration of the Law of Buddha,<sup>2</sup> left Chung-shan and proceeded, in obedience to a command, to the Capital. As it happened, the Emperor had come into view on the road, and his chariot-horse came forward and nibbled at [T'an-]yao's robe. At the time this was thought to mean that even the horse knew a righteous man. The Emperor later honored him with the respect due a teacher.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 460-466.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 453.

[78] 曇曜白帝:「於京城西武州塞,鑿山石壁,開窟五所,鑄建佛像各一。高者七十尺,次六十尺,彫飾奇偉,冠於一世」。

T'an-yao humbly begged the Emperor to dig out the mountain wall of Wu-chou Pass, west of the Capital, open up five caves, and carve Buddha-images in them, the tallest to be seventy feet high, the next tallest sixty feet high, with carvings and decorations superb, a crowning glory to the world.

[79] 曇曜奏:「平齊戶及諸民,有能歲輸穀六十斛,入僧曹者,即爲僧祇戶,粟爲僧祇粟,至於儉歲賑給飢民」。又請:「民犯重罪及官奴,以爲佛圖戶,以供諸寺掃洒,歲兼營田

輸粟」。高宗並許之。於是僧祇戶粟及寺戶，徧於州鎮矣。<sup>\*</sup>

<sup>\*</sup>宗當作祖。

T'an-yao petitioned that the households of P'ing-ch'i<sup>1</sup> and those of the people who could yearly convey sixty 'hu' of grain and present them to the clerical officials constitute saṃgha-households, and their grain be designated Saṃgha-grain, to be used in lean years to relieve the famine-stricken people. He also requested that those of the people who committed grave crimes, as well as the public slaves, be constituted Buddha-households, to serve the temples as sweepers and sprinklers, and also manage the fields and transport the grain. Kao-tsu<sup>2</sup> granted all these requests. Thereafter Saṃgha-households and Saṃgha-grain and temple-households were to be found everywhere in the prefectures and garrisons.

<sup>1</sup> This refers to the gentry and commonalty of P'ing-ch'i-chün 平齊郡, who had been moved from the old provinces of Ch'ing and Ch'i to the P'ing-ch'êng area following the conquest of Shantung. Cf. our *Hokugi no Sôgiko, Butoko* 北魏の僧祇戶・佛圖戶 in *Shina Bukkyôshi kenkyû*, *Hokugi-*

*hen*.

<sup>2</sup> Our text reads 'Kao-tsung' 高宗, and the *Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei* merely says "the Emperor" (帝). We take this to be an error for 'Kao-tsu' 高祖. Cf. *op. cit.*

[80] 曇曜又與天竺沙門常那邪舍等譯出新經十四部。又有沙門道進、僧超、法存等，有名於時，演唱諸異。<sup>\*</sup>

<sup>\*</sup>異當作典。

T'an-yao also translated and published, with the Indian śramaṇa Ch'ang-na-yeh-shê<sup>1</sup> and others, fourteen new scriptures. There were also the śramaṇas Tao-chin,<sup>2</sup> Sêng-ch'ao,<sup>3</sup> and Fa-ts'un,<sup>4</sup> all famous in their time, who set forth and recited the various texts.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Ch'ang-na-yeh-shê' (\*dž'iang-na-ya-šia) seems to be a transcription of some form of 'Jñānayaśas', but this monk is otherwise unknown.

<sup>2,3,4</sup> Otherwise unknown.

<sup>5</sup> Our text reads 'chu-i' 諸異, while the *Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei* reads 'chu-tien' 諸典. We are following the latter reading.

[81] 顯祖即位，敦信尤深，覽諸經論，好老莊，每引諸沙門及能談玄之士，與論理要。

When Hsien-tsu<sup>1</sup> mounted the throne, his earnest faith was most profound. He examined the various scriptures and treatises and delighted in Lao and CHUANG. He always invited śramaṇas and gentlemen able to discourse on the mysterious,<sup>2</sup> and with them discussed the essence of the Great Principle.

<sup>1</sup> T'U-PA Hung 拓跋弘, eldest son of Kao-tsung and the Lady Li 李, was born in the seventh lunar month of A.D. 454, designated Crown Prince in the second lunar month of 456, and ascended the throne in the fifth lunar month of 465, when he was less than eleven years old. He is known to history as

Hsien-tsu Hsien-wên-ti 顯祖獻文帝.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., persons adept at "dark learning" and "pure talk," the metaphysical speculation and dialectic based on the Neo-Taoism of the Wei-Tsin commentators WANG Pi 王弼, Ho Yen 何晏, Kuo Hsiang 郭象, etc.

[82] 初高宗太安末，劉駿於丹陽中興寺設齋。有一沙門，容止獨秀。舉衆往目，皆莫識焉。沙門惠璩起問之，答：「名惠明」。又問所住，答云：「從天安寺來」。語訖忽然不見。駿君<sup>\*</sup>

臣,以爲靈感,改中興爲天安寺。是後七年,而帝踐祚,號天安元年。是年,劉彧徐州刺史薛安都,始以城地來降。明年,盡有淮北之地。其歲,高祖誕載。於時,起永寧寺,構七級佛圖,高三百餘尺,基架博敞,爲天下第一。又於天宮寺,造釋迦立像,高四十三尺,用赤金十萬斤,黃金六百斤。

\*往當作注。

Previously, in late T'ai-an<sup>1</sup> under Kao-tsung, Liu Chün<sup>2</sup> held a fast at the Chung-hsing-ssü in Tan-yang. There was a śramaṇa whose bearing was unique. The whole assembly went and looked at him, but none knew him. The śramaṇa Hui-chü rose and questioned him. He replied that his name was Hui-ming. Again he was asked his place of residence. He answered, saying, "I have come from the T'ien-an-ssü." When he had finished speaking, he suddenly disappeared. Chün and his subjects considered it a miraculous portent, and changed the name of the Chung-hsing-ssü to T'ien-an. Seven years later the Emperor mounted the throne and designated the year the first of T'ien-an.<sup>3</sup> In that year Liu Yü's Governor of Hsü-chou, Hsien An-tu,<sup>4</sup> first came in submission, surrendering his walled cities and lands. The following year<sup>5</sup> the Empire possessed everything north of the Huai. In that year Kao-tsu was born. At the time the Yung-ning-ssü<sup>6</sup> was built and the seven-storeyed reliquary erected, more than three hundred feet in height. Its base and frame were vast, and it was the first in the Empire. Also, in the T'ien-kung-ssü<sup>7</sup> was erected a standing Śākya-figure, forty-three feet high. On it were used one hundred thousand pounds of copper and six hundred pounds of gold.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 455-460.

<sup>2</sup> Liu Chün is the name of the (Nan-ch'ao) Sung emperor Shih-tsu Hsiao-wu-ti 世祖孝武帝. His courtesy name was Hsiu-lung 休龍, and his childhood name Tao-min 道民. He was the third son of Emperor Wên 文 (Liu I-lung 劉義隆), and was born in A.D. 430. In the fourth lunar month of A.D. 453 he ascended the throne at the New Pavilion 新亭, which he subsequently renamed the Restoration Pavilion 中興亭. The Chung-hsing-ssü (Restoration Temple) was situated in this memorial ground. What the author of the *Wei-shu* knew about Liu Chün is contained in the latter's biography in the ninety-seventh *chüan*. Mention is made there of the T'ien-an-ssü (Temple of Heavenly Tranquillity), the temple mentioned below in our text: 駿乃僭即大位于新亭, … 太安二年,駿改年爲大明,駿於新亭造中興佛寺,設齋。忽有一僧,形貌有異,衆皆愕然,問其名,答云:名惠明,從天安寺來。言竟倏然而滅。乃改爲天安寺,至天安初,而彭城歸國。 The story that the Chung-hsing-ssü was renamed T'ien-an-ssü after the sudden appearance and equally sudden disappearance there of the mysterious monk Hui-ming during a fast seems to have circulated far and wide during the Nan-pei-ch'ao. It is to be found also in the *Ming-hsiang-chi* (written about A.D. 479-480 by the Southern Ch'i writer Wang Yen 王琰 of T'ai-yüan 太原), in the biography of the monk Tao-wên 道溫 of the Chung-hsing-ssü in the (Nan-ch'ao) Sung capital as recorded in the seventh *chüan* of the *Kao-sêng-chuan* (written by the monk Hui-chiao 慧皎 of the Chia-hsiang-ssü 嘉祥寺 of K'uai-

chi 會稽), and in the account of India 天竺傳 in the ninety-seventh *chüan* of the *Sung-shu* (written by the Liang writer Shen Yüeh 沈約). In A.D. 460 the Emperor's mother, the Lady Lu 路 (Empress Dowager Chao 昭), had an image of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva made and lodged in the Meditation Hall of the Chung-hsing-ssü 中興禪房, where she sponsored a series of doctrinal lectures. About that time Tao-wên was summoned by the Emperor to take up his residence in the Chung-hsing-ssü, and at some time during Ta-ming 大明 (A.D. 457-465) was made Bishop of the Capital 都邑僧主. It was at such a solemn religious ceremony as this that an uninvited monk took his place and, when asked by the priest in charge as to his name and temple of origin, replied Hui-ming and T'ien-an respectively, then vanished. Tao-wên, judging the mysterious visitor to have been some sort of god and the event to have been an auspicious portent, memorialized, "Your Imperial Majesty's wisdom ('hui' 慧) illumines the corners of the seas, and your clarity ('ming' 明) beflowes the Sun and the Moon. Therefore he called himself Hui-ming. Receiving Your line from Heaven, You have raised up the Imperial sacrifices [i.e., elevated the Imperial Throne to the position of dignity that it deserves], and Your example trails down without limit. Therefore he called his temple T'ien-an [Heavenly Tranquillity]" (陛下慧燭海隅,明華日月。故以慧明爲人名。繼天興祚,式垂無疆。故以天安爲寺稱). The Chung-hsing-ssü was accordingly renamed T'ien-an-ssü and became the vehicle for publicizing to the world the alleged auspicious

portent allegedly revealed to the newly enthroned Son of Heaven. The adherents of the Wei, on the other hand, used this story to prove the exact opposite. Linking it to the fact of Hsien-tsu's surrender of Hsü-chou, they proclaimed this to be a portent prognosticating that the might and virtue of Wei's Son of Heaven would eclipse those of Sung. For the way it spread and for the various uses made of it during the Nan-pei-ch'ao, this story is very interesting indeed.

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 466.

<sup>4</sup> For his biography, cf. *Sung-shu* lxxxviii and *Wei-shu* lxi. Hsien (the name was common to some three thousand households) was of a powerful local family of Fên-yang 汾陽 in Ho-tung 河東. He participated in the suppression of the rebellion of Kao Wu, but, gaining nothing thereby, transferred

his allegiance to the (Nan-ch'ao) Sung, who made him governor of Hsü-chou. In A.D. 465, when Liu Yü (T'ai-tsung) ascended the throne, he rebelled, surrendering his person and his territory to the Wei and throwing himself upon the mercy of Hsien-tsu. In A.D. 467 the Wei also designated him Governor of Hsü-chou, as well as Duke of Ho-tung. In A.D. 468 he entered P'ing-ch'eng, where he and his family were very courteously treated, and in A.D. 469 he died.

<sup>5</sup> A.D. 467.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. "Temple of Eternal Tranquillity." Cf. *Shui-ching-chu* x. Kao-tsu sponsored several religious gatherings at this temple in the early years of his reign.

<sup>7</sup> Lit. "Temple of the Heavenly Palace." 'T'ien-kung' 天宮 is a translation of Skt. 'devapura', "city of the gods."

[83] 皇興中,又構三級石佛圖。榱棟楣楹,上下重結。大小皆石,高十丈,鎮固巧密,爲京華壯觀。

In Huang-hsing<sup>1</sup> there was also built a three-storeyed stone reliquary. The beams, the chevrons, the lintels, and the pillars, joined together from top to bottom, were all, whether large or small, of stone. The height was ten rods. Firm, solid, cunning, and compact, it was the grand sight of the Capital.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 467-471.

[84] 高祖踐位,顯祖移御北苑崇光宮。覽習玄籍,建鹿野佛圖於苑中之西山。去崇光右十里,嚴房禪堂。禪僧居其中焉。

When Kao-tsu ascended the throne,<sup>1</sup> Hsien-tsu moved to the Ch'ung-kuang-kung<sup>2</sup> in the Northern Park. He pored over mysterious books<sup>3</sup> and built a Lu-yeh Fo-t'u<sup>4</sup> on the western mountain within the park. Ten leagues to the right of Ch'ung-kuang was the Yen-fang Ch'an-t'ang,<sup>5</sup> and a monkish practitioner of contemplation dwelt therein.

<sup>1</sup> In A.D. 471.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "Palace of Exalted Light".

<sup>3</sup> I.e., LAO-tzū, CHUANG-tzū, the *I-ching*, the Buddhist scriptures, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. "Deer Park Pagoda", 'lu-yeh' 鹿野 being a translation of Skt. 'mṛgadāva' (another common translation is 'lu-yeh-yüan' 鹿野苑), where the Buddha was believed to have first preached the doctrine. The Lu-yeh in question was created by T'ai-tsu in A.D. 399. Cf. T'ai-tsu's chronicle in the *Wei-shu*: 以所獲高車聚,起鹿苑於南台陰,北距長城,東包白登,屬之西山,廣輪數十里,鑿渠引武川水注之,苑中疏爲三溝,分流宮城內外,又穿鴻鴈池。We read also in Hsien-tsu's chronicle, under Huang-hsing 4 (A.D. 470), twelfth month, that the Emperor "on 'chia-ch'ên 甲辰 day went to the Cave Temple 石窟寺 in the Deer Park", from which we learn that there was such a temple in the Deer Park even before Hsien-tsu's abdication, and that it was a cave temple. Hsien-tsu abdicated in the eighth lunar month of the following

year (A.D. 471), and died in A.D. 476 at the age of twenty-three. Cf. also the biography of Kao-tsu's consort, the Lady FENG 馮 (Empress Wên-ming) in *Wei-shu* xiii: 顯祖即位,尊爲皇太后,丞相乙渾謀逆,顯祖年十三,居于諒闇,太后密定大策,誅渾達,臨朝聽政,及高祖生,太后躬親撫養,是後罷令不聽政事。太后行不正,內寵李奕,顯祖因事誅之,太后不得意,顯祖暴崩,時言太后爲之也。Cf. also the treatise on astronomy 天象志 in *Wei-shu* cv: (皇興)四年十月,誅濟南王慕容白曜。明年上迫於太后,傳位太子,是爲孝文帝。In the encomium 贊 at the end of Hsien-tsu's chronicle we read: 史臣曰:…早懷厭世之心,終致宮闈之變。將天意哉。Hsien-tsu's aloofness, his abdication, and his violent death were all strangely connected with the hostility of the Dowager Empress Wên-ming, who seems always to have been lurking in his shadow, maintaining a protective hold over him in his childhood and adolescence, when he was still Crown Prince, and thereby gaining complete control of the state.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. "the meditation tabernacle of the Crag Cell."

[85] 延興二年,夏四月,詔曰:「比丘不在寺舍,遊涉村落,交通姦猾,經歷年歲,令民間,五五相保,不得容止。無籍之僧,精加隱括。有者送付州鎮,其在畿郡,送付本曹。若爲三寶,巡民教化者,在外齋州鎮維那文移,在臺者齋都維那等印牒,然後聽行。違者加罪」。

In the second year of Yen-hsing,<sup>1</sup> during the summer, in the fourth month, an Imperial edict<sup>2</sup> said:

Monks not living in temple dwellings have been drifting through the villages and associating with mischievous persons for many years now. We hereby command the people to group themselves by fives for mutual protection, that they may not harbor unregistered monks. A close investigation shall be conducted, and, if there be any such, they shall be sent to their respective provincial garrisons. Those in the vicinity of the Capital shall be sent to the central authorities.<sup>3</sup> As for those who for the sake of the Three Jewels circulate among the people teaching and converting, those in the outlying areas shall bear an official letter from the provincial Wei-na,<sup>4</sup> while those in the Capital area shall bear a document from the Wei-na General or some other such clerical official. Only then shall they be permitted to go about. Those who violate this shall be subjected to criminal punishment.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 472.

<sup>2</sup> Of this edict we read as follows in Kao-tsu's chronicle: 四月癸酉,詔沙門不得去寺浮遊民間,行者仰以公文。The clerical community grew so rapidly, thanks to the official policy of tolerance that followed the suppression of Buddhism, that it became necessary to impose some restraints upon it. From this action grew the Northern Wei regulations for the control of the Buddhist clergy, which in turn seem to have provided the basis for the clerical ordinances of the T'ang statutes and the 'Sōniryō' 僧尼令 of the Japanese 'Taihōryō' 大寶令. This shows us how rapidly and how noticeably the clerical community grew after the revocation of the edict of suppression, and the edicts quoted below will bear this out. At the same time, with the accession of the new emperor, the government invested a great deal of effort in political reform and in the enhancement of the national wealth and strength, which cannot have been totally unrelated to the decrees requiring the regulation of the clergy in A.D. 472 and the population census in A.D. 473. Cf. the Imperial chronicles under Yen-hsing 3 (A.D. 473), ninth month: 辛丑詔遣使者十人,循行州郡,檢括戶口,共有仍隱不出者,州郡縣戶主並論如律。十月太上皇帝親將南討,詔州郡之民,十丁取一,以充行,戶收租五十石,以備軍糧。

<sup>3</sup> This probably refers to the Chao-hsüan-ts'ao 昭玄曹。

<sup>4</sup> The 'wei-na' of a prefecture or garrison was the second in charge of all the clerics in the region, immediately subject to the chief of clerics, i.e., the 'sha-mên-t'ung' 沙門統. The 'tu-wei-na' 都維那 (Wei-na General) was the second in charge of all the clerics in the realm, the second in charge of the 'chao-hsüan-ts'ao' 昭玄曹. Wei-na is traditionally regarded as corresponding to the Indian 'karmadāna', the monk who supervised the communal life of a monastery and saw to it that all of the members lived together in harmony. 'Wei-na', consequently, is believed to be a compound of the second syllable of Ch. 'kang-wei' 綱維 ("rope", i.e., controlling regulations or regulator) and the final syllable of Skt. 'karmadāna' (cf. Tao-hsüan's *Hsing-shih-ch'ao* 行事鈔 and I-ching's *Nan-hai chi-kuei-chuan* 南海寄歸傳). Other versions interpret it to mean "in charge of affairs" (知事) or "gladdening the multitude" (悅衆). There are two arguments against the first interpretation. Firstly, 'karmadāna' is a neuter noun indicating not a person but an action. Secondly, 'wei-na' has all the appearance of a pure transcription, perhaps of some such word as 'vainayaka'. In our judgment, the first (and most generally accepted) version is a folk-etymology. In any case, the 'wei-na' referred to here are officials not of an autonomous clergy but of a secular government concerned with the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs.

[86] 又詔曰:「內外之人,興建福業,造立圖寺,高敞顯博,亦足以輝隆至教矣。然無知之徒,各相高尙,貧富相競,費竭財產,務存高廣,傷殺昆蟲,含生之類,苟能精緻,累土聚沙,福鍾不朽。欲建爲福之因,未知傷生之業。朕爲民父母,慈養是務。自今一切斷之」。

Another edict said:

Men in both the interior and outlying areas are raising up meritorious works and erecting reliquaries and temples. High and wide, extensive and imposing, they are also adequate to propagating and exalting the Ultimate Doctrine. And yet the ignorant outdo one another, and the poor and rich vie with one another. They exhaust their property, striving only for magnificence, but they harm and kill insects and other life-containing beings. If one has a pure and pious mind, even though engaged in heaping earth and gathering sand,<sup>1</sup> one's accumulated merit shall not perish. But they wish to create a cause for gaining merit while not yet knowing the effect of harming life. We are the Father and Mother of the People; lovingkindness and nurture, these are Our concern. From this time forward We forbid all such actions.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Saddharmapundarika* ii, *Upāyakauśalyapariṣvarta*, verse 82 (*Bibliotheca Buddhica* x, p. 50, ll. 11-12):  
 Sikaṭamayān vā puna kūṭa kṛtvā ye ke cid uddiṣya jināna  
 stūpān: kumārakāḥ kṛdīṣu tatra tatra te sarvi bodhīya  
 abhūṣi lābhinaḥ.  
 Rendered as follows by Kumārajīva (*Taishō* ix, 8c): 若於曠野中,積土成佛廟,乃至童子戲,聚沙爲佛塔,如是諸人等,皆已成佛道。

[87] 又詔曰:「夫信誠則應遠,行篤則感深。歷觀先世靈瑞,乃有禽獸易色,草木移性。濟州東平郡靈像發輝,變成金銅之色。殊常之事,絕於往古。熙隆妙法,理在當今。有司與沙門統曇曜,令州送像達都,使道俗咸覩實相之容,普告天下皆使聞知」。

Another edict said:

Now when faith is sincere, the response is far-reaching; when actions are earnest, the counter-action is profound. When one looks in order at the miracles of the past, one sees that at times birds and beasts changed their colors, grass and trees transformed their natures.

In Tung-p'ing-chün in Chi-chou<sup>1</sup> a wondrous statue gives off a gleam which turns gold and bronze in color. This is an extraordinary thing, surpassing antiquity. For magnifying and exalting the Law, there is good reason at this very time. The officials and the Comptroller of Śramaṇas, T'an-yao, shall order the provincial authorities to send the image to the Capital and cause clerics and laymen all to see its true form and announce it throughout the Empire, that all may see and know.

<sup>1</sup> The present Shantung Province.

[88] 三年十二月,顯祖因田鷹獲鴛鴦一,其偶悲鳴,上下不去,帝乃惕然,問左右曰:「此飛鳴者,爲雌爲雄」。左右對曰:「臣以爲雌」。帝曰:「何以知」。對曰:「陽性剛,陰性柔,以剛柔推之,必是雌矣」。帝乃慨然而歎曰:「雖人鳥事別,至於資識性情,竟何異哉」。於是下詔,禁斷驚鳥,不得畜焉。

In the the third year,<sup>1</sup> in the twelfth month, Hsien-tsu went hunting, and his hawk caught a mandarin duck. Its mate, wailing pitifully, fluttered up and down and would not go away. The Emperor, feeling sorry, questioned those about him, saying, "This one that is fluttering and wailing, is it the female or the male?"

They answered, saying, "We take it to be the female."

The Emperor said, "How do you know?"

They replied, saying, "The male nature is hard, the female nature soft. If one reckons by hardness and softness, this must be the female."

The Emperor then sadly sighed, saying, "Although men and birds have different functions, when it comes to sensation and emotion, in sum what difference is there?" Thereupon he handed down a decree forbidding birds of prey, not allowing them to be kept.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 473.

[89] 承明元年八月,高祖於永寧寺,設太法供,度良家男女,爲僧尼者,百有餘人。帝爲剃髮,施以僧服,令修道戒,資福於顯祖。是月又詔,起建明寺。

In the first year of Ch'êng-ming,<sup>1</sup> in the eighth month, Kao-tsu held a great religious offering<sup>2</sup> at the Yung-ning-ssü. The men and women of good family who were ordained then and became monks and nuns numbered more than a hundred. The Emperor shaved their hair and presented them with clerical robes, that the conduct and precepts observed by them might confer merit upon Hsien-tsu. In that month he also ordered the building of the Chien-ming-ssü.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the sixth lunar month of the first year of Ch'êng-ming (A.D. 476), the abdicated emperor Hsien-tsu died. The rash of memorial services and temple-building that followed in the wake of his death, from the ceremony at the Yung-ning-ssü in eighth lunar month to the building first of the Chien-ming-ssü (Temple of Brilliance Established) and then, in A.D. 480, of the Pao-tê-ssü (Temple of Virtue Rewarded), was all in memory of the deceased abdicated emperor, whose death at twenty-three had probably been compassed by the Dowager Empress Wên-ming.

One would do well to note that the Emperor himself performed the ceremony of the cutting of the hair. It will be remembered that shortly after promulgation of the edict of toleration that ended the persecution of Buddhism the then reigning emperor performed the same ceremony for the 'shamên-t'ung' Shih-hsien and several of his fellows. Back of this was the idea that the reigning emperor was the vicar of

Buddha on earth, or that he was at the very least the patriarch of the Northern Wei clergy. This point of view characterized both the Court's view of Buddhism and the Church's view of the Throne throughout the Pei-ch'ao.

<sup>2</sup> The expression "religious offering" (Ch. 'fa-kung-yang' 法供養, fr. Skt. 'dharma-pūjā'?) seems to derive from the title of thirteenth chapter of the Chinese translations of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* by CHIH Ch'ien, Kumārajīva, and Hsüan-tsang, namely, *Fa-kung-yang-p'in* 法供養品.

<sup>3</sup> For a notice on the building of the Chien-ming-ssü, cf. Kao-tsu's chronicle under Ch'êng-ming 1 (A.D. 476), tenth month: 辛未,興駕幸建明寺,大宥罪人。The completion of the temple was probably followed by a ceremony. The amnesty mentioned here and the one mentioned below in our text in connection with the Emperor's visit to the Yung-ning-ssü seem to have been a commutation of the criminals' sentences to service in the Buddha-households 佛圖戶。

[90] 太和元年二月,幸永寧寺設齋,赦死罪囚。三月,又幸永寧寺設會,行道聽講。命中祕二省,與僧徒討論佛義。施僧衣服,寶器有差。又於方山太祖營壘之處,建思遠寺。自正光至此,京城內寺,新舊且百所,僧尼二千餘人,四方諸寺六千四百七十八,僧尼七萬七千二百五十八人。

\*正當作興。

In the first year of T'ai-ho,<sup>1</sup> in the second month, he went to the Yung-ning-ssü, where he held a fast and pardoned prisoners condemned to death. In the third month he again went to the Yung-ning-ssü, held an assembly, practiced the Way, and listened to lectures. He ordered the officials of

the two Imperial secretariats to discuss Buddhist doctrine with the clerical community, and presented gifts of clerical garb and precious vessels according to rank. Also, on Fang-shan, on the site of T'ai-tsu's camp, he built the Ssü-yüan-ssü.<sup>2</sup> From Hsing-kuang<sup>3</sup> until this time the temples within the Capital, both new and old, numbered nearly a hundred, and the monks and nuns more than two thousand. The temples of the four directions numbered six thousand four hundred and seventy-eight, and the monks and nuns seventy-seven thousand two hundred and fifty-eight.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 477.

for future ones by living a good life in the present.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "Temple of Thinking [of what is] Far [away]", i.e., recollection of previous incarnations or the taking of thought

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 454-5.

[91] 四年春,詔以鷹師爲報德寺。

In the fourth year,<sup>1</sup> in the spring, he commanded that the falcon aviary be made into the Pao-tê-ssü.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 480.

<sup>2</sup> The building of the Pao-tê-ssü and the prohibition against the keeping of birds of prey should be associated with the following two notices in *Wei-shu*: 丁巳,罷畜鷹鷄之所,以其地爲報德佛寺 (Kao-tsu's chronicle under Tai-ho 4, first

month); 高祖詔曰,朕以虛寡,幼纂寶歷,仰恃慈明,緝寧四海,欲報之德,正覺是憑,諸鷲鳥傷生之類,宜放之山林,其以此地爲太皇太后,經始靈塔。於是罷鷹師曹,以其地爲報德佛寺 (Biography of Empress Wên-ming 文明皇后列傳)

[92] 九年秋,有司奏:「上谷郡比丘尼惠香,在北山松樹下死,屍形不壞。爾來三年,士女觀者有千百」。於時人皆異之。

In the ninth year<sup>1</sup> the officials memorialized that the nun Hui-hsiang of Shang-ku-chün had died under a pine tree on the northern mountain, and that her corpse had not decomposed for three years now; that the men and women who had come to see it numbered in the hundreds and thousands. People at the time all marvelled at it.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 485.

[93] 十年冬,有司又奏:「前被敕以勒籍之初,愚民僥倖,假稱入道,以避輸課,其無籍僧尼,罷遣還俗。重被旨,所檢僧尼,寺主維那,當寺隱審。其有道行精勤者,聽仍在道爲行。凡蠱者,有籍無籍,悉罷歸齊民。今依旨簡遣。其諸州還俗者,僧尼合一千三百二十七人」。奏可。

In the tenth year,<sup>1</sup> in the winter, the officials further memorialized:

Formerly we were advised in an Edict that at the beginning of the census foolish people, trusting to chance, falsely called themselves religious and thereby evaded the imposts, and that unregistered monks and nuns were to be unfrocked and returned to the laity. Again we received the command that in the case of the monks and nuns under scrutiny the residents and Wei-na were to conduct an examination each in his respective temple, that if there were any who followed the Way and exerted themselves with zeal they should be permitted to remain religious, but



that those whose conduct was mean and coarse, be they registered or unregistered, should all be unfrocked and returned to the common people. Now, in accord with the letter of command, those who have been sent back to their respective provinces and returned to lay life total—monks and nuns combined—one thousand three hundred and twenty-seven persons.

The memorial was approved.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 486. This memorial should be understood in connection with the adoption of the three-chiefs system and the strict keeping of census records adopted about this time. Cf.

Kao-tsu's chronicle: 太和十年二月甲戌,初立黨,里,隣三長,定民戶籍.

[94] 十六年,詔四月八日七月十五日,聽大州度一百人爲僧尼,中州五十人,下州二十人,以爲常準著於令。

In the sixteenth year<sup>1</sup> it was decreed that on the eighth day of the fourth month<sup>2</sup> and the fifteenth day of the seventh month<sup>3</sup> it was permitted to the great provinces to ordain one hundred persons, to the middle provinces fifty persons, and to the inferior provinces twenty persons. This was to be made a fixed standard and published in the law codes.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 492.

<sup>3</sup> Ullambana day.

<sup>2</sup> The Buddha's birthday.

[95] 十七年,詔立僧制四十七條。

In the seventeenth year,<sup>1</sup> by Imperial edict, there was established a Clerical Code in forty-seven articles.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 493

[96] 十九年四月,帝幸徐州白塔寺,顧謂諸王及侍官曰:「此寺近有名僧嵩法師,受成實論於羅什,在此流通。後授淵法師,淵法師授登紀二法師。朕每翫成實論,可以釋人深情,故至此寺焉」。

\*深當作染。

In the fourth month of the nineteenth year<sup>1</sup> the Emperor went to the Po-t'a-ssū<sup>2</sup> in Hsü-chou.<sup>3</sup> He turned and addressed the princes and attendant officials, saying, "In this temple recently was the renowned monk Sêng-sung, who received the Treatise of the Attainment of Truth from Kumārajīva and propagated it in this place. He later handed it on to Master Yüan, and Master Yüan handed it on to Masters Têng and Chi." We are constantly studying the Treatise of the Attainment of Truth, which is capable of explaining man's passions. Therefore we have come to this temple."

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 495.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "Temple of the White Stūpa."

<sup>3</sup> Kao-tsu in the eighth lunar month of A.D. 493, proclaiming his intention of putting an end to the dynasty of the Southern Ch'i, moved his capital to Lo-yang. The new emperor had acceded to the throne at the age of five, and while he was growing up under her tutelage, the real power in the State was

in the hands of the Dowager Empress Wên-ming (the Lady FENG, consort to the emperor's grandfather, Kao-tsung). As we are told of the Lady FENG in her biography: 自太后臨朝專政,高祖雅性孝謹,不欲參決,事無巨細,一稟於太后。The Dowager Empress died in the ninth lunar month of A.D. 490, at which time Kao-tsu's reign began in earnest. Kao-tsu, a man of profound filial piety and an overwhelming admiration

for Chinese civilization, observed the Confucian rules of mourning with a strictness described in the following terms: 高祖毀瘠, 絕酒肉, 不內御者三年。Thus the period before the transfer of the Capital to Lo-yang, although ostensibly the reign of Kao-tsu, was in fact the era of the Dowager Empress, the Lady FENG, and to the ardent Buddhist devotion of her and her family was due the prosperous estate of Buddhism at the capital in P'ing-ch'êng described in the following terms in *Shui-ching-chu* xiii: 京邑帝里, 佛法豐盛, 神圖妙塔, 榮時相望, 法輪東轉, 茲爲上矣。The status of Buddhism under Kao-tsu may be considered from the move to Lo-yang onward, but it must not be forgotten that the new emperor grew up in an entourage of devout Buddhists and was subjected to a Buddhist education at an early age. But he was more particularly fond of indigenous Chinese civilization, and was quite skilled himself in the writing of literary Chinese. Setting himself the ideal of casting aside the barbarian manners of his forebears and becoming the sovereign of a civilized state majestic in the perfection of its Chinese cultural apparatus, he overrode the objections of the Imperial house and most of his tribesmen to move his capital to Lo-yang. Late in A.D. 494 the Emperor left his as yet uncompleted new capital of Lo-yang to conduct into the next year a campaign for the overthrow of his Southern rival. During this campaign he spent some two weeks at P'êng-ch'êng in Hsü-chou in the fourth lunar month of A.D. 495, and it is probably during that fortnight that he visited the Po-t'a-ssü.

\* The biographies of Sêng-sung 僧嵩, Sêng-yüan 僧淵, Tao-têng 道登, and Hui-chi 慧紀 are all contained in the biographical notice on Sêng-yüan in *Kao-sêng-chuan* viii: 僧淵本性趙潁川人, 魏司空儼之後也。少好讀書, 進戒之後, 專攻佛義, 初遊徐邦, 止白塔寺, 從僧嵩, 受成實論毘曇學, 未三年, 功踰十年, 慧解之聲, 馳於遐邇, … 曇度, 慧紀, 道登, 並從淵受業, 慧紀兼通教數論, 道登善涅槃法華, 並爲魏主元宏所重, 馳名魏國。淵以僞太和五年卒, 春秋六十有八。

The biographical notice immediately following the one above quoted is that of T'an-tu 曇度, one of the disciples of Po-t'a-ssü Sêng-yüan. His secular surname was Ts'AI 蔡 and he was a native of Chiang-ling 江陵. He studied at the Southern capital, Chien-k'ang, and became expert in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, and the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā*. Smitten with beri-beri, he took up residence at Hsü-chou. Under Sêng-yüan's tutelage he studied and mastered the *Satyasiddhi*, becoming "unique for his time" (獨步當時). At Kao-tsu's request he went to P'ing-ch'êng, where he lectured for the Emperor. He continued his work as a teacher at P'ing-ch'êng, gathering more than a thousand pupils to him. In A.D. 489 he died. He composed *Ch'êng-shih-lun ta-i-su* 成實論大義疏 in eight *chüan*, which is said to have circulated widely in North China.

It is to be presumed that Tao-têng and Hui-chi were also

well-versed in the *Satyasiddhi*. It is from these disciples of Sêng-yüan that Kao-tsu became acquainted with this important Buddhist treatise.

The *Satyasiddhi*, translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva under the title *Ch'êng-shih-lun* 成實論, was written by the Indian monk Harivarman. Harivarman, originally a Hinayāna monk of the Sarvāstivāda school, could find no satisfaction in these doctrines and, after absorbing some of the influences of the Sautrāntikas and the Mahayanists, composed the *Satyasiddhi*—or so tradition says. This scripture was widely read during the Nan-pei-ch'ao (no doubt Kumārajīva's prestige as the translator had something to do with this), and was respected as a Mahāyāna treatise until the founding of the San-lun Sect under the Sui, after which time the Chinese came to regard it as only quasi-Mahāyāna (權大乘) or outright Hinayāna.

Hui-chi enjoyed the profound faith of Kao-tsu, as we learn from the latter's *Wei Hui-chi Fa-shih wang shih-po shê-chai shao* 爲慧紀法師亡施帛設齋詔, preserved in *Kuang hung-ming-chi* xxiv. In this edict he is referred to as "the Hsü-chou Dharma-master Hui-chi" (徐州法師慧紀). The same work says, "We command Hsü-chou to confer three hundred *p'i* of silk upon him and to conduct a fasting ceremony of five hundred persons, wherewith to honor, albeit belatedly, the benefits he has conferred upon us (可勅徐州施帛三百匹, 并設五百人齋, 以崇追益). This leads one to believe that he spent his last years in Hsü-chou.

Tao-têng, who has a separate biographical notice in *Kao-sêng-chuan* vi, was a native of Tung-kuan 東莞, and had the secular surname Jui 苒. Under the guidance of the Hsü-chou monk Sêng-yao 僧藥 he studied the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, and the *Śrīmālādevīsūhanāda*. Later, under Sêng-yüan, he also studied the *Satyasiddhi*. At the invitation of the Wei ruling house, he did a great deal of lecturing and preaching together with his colleague Fa-tu 法度 (another name for the T'an-tu mentioned above?). He died at the Pao-tê-ssü at the age of eighty-five. The biography is probably in error when it says that he died during the Ching-ming 景明 period (A.D. 500–503). Tao-têng, who enjoyed the complete faith of the Emperor, accompanied him on his southern campaign, and had an active part in the pacification of conquered enemy territory, as we learn from Prince Yao-ch'ang's 遙昌 biography in *Nan-ch'i-shu* xlv and that of Kao Tsun 高遵 (governor of Ch'i-chou 齊州) in *Wei-shu* lxxxix. There is also a story in the Treatise on Supernatural Portents 靈徵志 in *Wei-shu* cxii-a, telling in greater detail how Kao-tsu and Tao-têng both together saw a demon on one occasion: 太和十六年十一月乙亥, 高祖與沙門道登, 幸侍中省, 日入六鼓, 見一鬼, 衣黃褶袴, 當戶欲入, 帝以爲人叱之, 而退問諸左右, 咸言不見, 唯帝與道登見之。

[97] 時沙門道登, 雅有義業, 爲高祖眷賞, 恒侍講論, 曾於禁內與帝夜談, 同見一鬼, 二十

年卒。高祖甚悼惜之，詔施帛一千匹，又設一切僧齋，并命京城七日行道。又詔：「朕師登法師，奄至徂背，痛恨摧慟，不能已已。此藥治，慎喪，未容即赴，便準師義，哭諸門外，續素之。」

\*此當作比。

At the time the śramaṇa Tao-têng, who had always been righteous and of good conduct, was trusted and highly regarded by Kao-tsu, and constantly attended him as a lecturer. Once, within the inner palace, when he was having an evening conversation with the Emperor, they both saw a demon. In the twentieth year<sup>1</sup> he died. Kao-tsu, greatly grieved over him, commanded a gift of one thousand pieces of silk. He also held a fast for the whole clergy and ordered seven days of religious observance in the Capital. He further declared in an edict:

Our teacher, Master Têng, has suddenly left us. Our pain and grief know no end. But recently<sup>2</sup> We have been undergoing medical cure and must abstain from mourning; therefore We may not personally attend his funeral. So, in the manner befitting a teacher, We bewail him outside Our gate and present him with posthumous offerings.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 496.

<sup>2</sup> Reading 'pi' 比, with the *Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei*, the *Kuang hung-ming-chi*, and the *Pei-shan-lu*, for the 'tz'ü' 此 of our text.

<sup>3</sup> For the 'chi-su-chih' 續素之 of our text both the *Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei* and the *Ming-ch'ao-pên* read 'hui-su-chih' 續素之, while the printed text of the latter reads 'chi-tien-chih' 祭奠之. The *Kuang hung-ming-chi* has the completely unrelated reading 'tzü-su jung-chih' 緇素榮之. Whichever reading

may be correct, and whether or not anything was dropped in the copying, the wearing of mourning apparel seems to be intended here. Cf. *Li-chi pên-sang-p'ien* 奔喪篇: 哭父之黨於廟, 母妻之黨於寢, 師於廟門外, 朋友於寢門外, 所識於野張帷; *Ibid.*, *T'an-kung-p'ien* 檀弓篇: 師吾哭諸寢. The Emperor, convalescing from illness at the time, probably conducted his own private memorial ceremony outside the palace gate.

[98] 又有西域沙門, 名跋陀, 有道業, 深爲高祖所敬信。詔於少室山陰, 立少林寺, 而居之, 公給衣供。

Also, there was a western śramaṇa named Pa-t'ô,<sup>1</sup> who was of noble conduct and was profoundly respected and trusted by Kao-tsu. By Imperial edict the Shao-lin-ssū<sup>2</sup> was built for him on the northern side of Mount Shao-shih, and he was lodged there and clothed and maintained at the public expense.

<sup>1</sup> This Pa-t'ô is listed in *Hsü kao-sêng-chuan* xvi as the dhyāna-master Fo-t'ô 佛陀, which leads one to suspect that his full name was Fo-t'ô-pa-t'ô 佛陀跋陀 (\*bwut-d'a-bat-d'a), i.e., Buddhahadra. An Indian by origin, he travelled through several countries, arriving ultimately at the Northern capital, where he won the faith of Kao-tsu and led his assembled disciples in the practice of contemplation in a Buddhist cave. When

the capital was moved to Lo-yang he joined the move, and was lodged in a newly built hall of meditation in the new capital. However, he left the city for Sung-shan 嵩山, where, atop Shao-shih-shan 少室山, he built a temple and took up residence. This was supposedly the temple that in T'ang times was to come to be known as the Shao-lin-ssū 少林寺.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "Temple of the Lesser Grove".

[99] 二十一年五月詔曰：「羅什法師，可謂神出五才，志入四行者也。今常住寺，猶有遺地，欽悅修蹤，情深遐遠，可於舊堂所，爲建三級浮圖」。又：「見逼昏慮，爲道殄軀。既暫同俗禮，應有子胤。可推訪以聞，當加叙接」。

In the fifth month of the twenty-first year,<sup>1</sup> an Imperial edict said:

The Master Kumārajīva was one of whom one might say that his spirit exceeded the five elements,<sup>2</sup> that his will entered into the four practices.<sup>3</sup> Now the temple which he constantly inhabited still has its old land. We attend to the remains with pleasure, and deeply regret the master.<sup>4</sup> It is permitted on the site of the old hall to build for him a three-storeyed reliquary. Furthermore, pressed by an ignorant tyrant, he violated the integrity of the religious Way,<sup>5</sup> and briefly accorded with secular customs, whence he must have descendants. They should be sought and reported, that they may be invited hither and honored.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 497.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Tso-chuan*, *Chao-kung* 25: 則天之明,因地之性,生其六氣,用其五行; *Ibid.*, *Hsiang-kung* 27: 天生五才,民並之,度一不可。

<sup>3</sup> The source of this expression is not known, but it seems to be a Buddhist expression. For example, in Dharmakṣema's translation of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 菩薩地持經, in the *Caryāparivarta* 行品, we read as follows: 一者波羅蜜行,二者菩提分法,三者神力,四者成就衆生。At the conclusion of the same passage we read: 略說菩薩有四種行攝一切事,一者先習菩提善根,二者利益衆生,三者增長善法,四者成熟衆生,如是四種行,次第建立,是名最上建立。The study of the gradations of perception that mark the bodhisattva's march to enlightenment was very much in vogue during the Nan-pei-ch'ao. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* was taught and propagated by Wei Shou's contemporary Hui-kuang 慧光, the most important figure in the Buddhist church of the time (cf. his biography), and another monk, Hui-yüan 慧遠 (not to be confused with his earlier namesake), a typical Buddhist scholar of the late Northern Ch'i and Sui dynasties, wrote a commentary 義記 to it in ten *chüan*.

One cannot say for certain that the *Shih-lao-chih*'s "four

practices" are to be identified with those of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, but it seems clear in any case that the Emperor was honoring Kumārajīva as a Saint who had attained to the Mahāyāna enlightenment of the bodhisattva and had been active in converting the beings.

<sup>4</sup> Reading 'hsia-êrh' 遐邇, with the Chi-ku-ko 汲古閣 version and the *Kuang hung-ming-chi*, instead of the *hsia-yüan* 遐遠 of our text.

<sup>5</sup> Our text reads 爲道殄躬, while that of the Chi-ku-ko reads 爲殄道躬, which we prefer. Kumārajīva, after Kucha had been defeated by Lo Kuang's 呂光 armies, in A.D. 384, was taken and locked into a private room with a princess, made drunk with wine, and so made to violate his vow of celibacy. Later, after his entry into Ch'ang-an in A.D. 401, Yao Hsing provided him with a harem of ten, with whom he was made to live a secular life outside of the monastery wall. Cf. his biography in *Kao-sêng-chuan* ii: 姚主常謂什曰:大師聰明超悟,天下莫二。若一旦後世,何可使法種無嗣,遂以妓女十人,逼令受之。自爾已來,不住僧房,別立廨舍,供給豐盈。每至講說,常先自說,譬如臭泥生蓮花,但採蓮花,勿取臭泥也。This is what the *Shih-lao-chih* is referring to here.

[100] 先是立監福曹,又改爲昭玄。備有官屬,以斷僧務。

Before this there was set up the Office of the Establisher of Merit, later renamed the Illuminator of Mysteries.<sup>1</sup> Equipped with subordinate officials, it decided clerical affairs.

<sup>1</sup> We are following the *Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei*'s reading 建福曹 in preference to our own text's 監福曹. This was the office, headed by the 'tao-jên-t'ung' (whose title was later changed to sha-mên-t'ung), which supervised the affairs of the Buddhist clergy. The name 'chien-fu-ts'ao' seems to derive from the fact that this same office was in charge of the Court's programs of Buddhist good works, such as temple building, the making of statuary, religious assemblies, ordination, etc. Kao-tsu, who was fond of elegant Chinese names, changed the title of the office to 'chao-hsüan-ts'ao' after the move to Lo-yang. The location of the 'chao-hsüan-ts'ao', according to the *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan-chi*, was south of the Yung-ning-ssü, which in turn was one 'li' south of the Ch'ang-ho Gate 閭闔門 of

the Imperial palace, within the walled city. East of the temple was the 't'ai-wei-fu' 太尉府, and north of it was the 'yü-shih-t'ai' 御史臺, according to the same source. In the provinces there were branches of the 'chao-hsüan-ts'ao', entitled 'sêng-ts'ao' 僧曹, presided over by the provincial 'sha-mên-t'ung' and his assistant, the 'wei-na', while the corresponding presiding officers of the 'chao-hsüan-ts'ao' were the 'sha-mên ta-t'ung' 沙門大統 and the 'tu-wei-na' 都維那. The organization of the 'chao-hsüan-ts'ao' remained the same in North China until Sui times. An account of the expanded 'chao-hsüan-ts'ao' of the Northern Ch'i will be found in the *Sui-shu*'s Treatise on the Hundred Officials 百官志.

[101] 高祖時沙門道順、惠覺、僧意、惠紀、僧範、道辨、惠度、智誕、僧顯、僧義、僧利,並以義行知重。

101 In Kao-tsu's time the śramaṇas Tao-shun,<sup>1)</sup> Hui-chüeh,<sup>2)</sup> Sêng-i,<sup>3)</sup> Hui-chi,<sup>4)</sup> Sêng-fan,<sup>5)</sup> Tao-pien,<sup>6)</sup> Hui-tu,<sup>7)</sup> Chih-tan,<sup>8)</sup> Sêng-hsien,<sup>9)</sup> Sêng-i,<sup>10)</sup> and Sêng-li<sup>11)</sup> were all known and respected for their learning and conduct.

<sup>1,2</sup> Unknown.

<sup>3</sup> In *Hua-yen-ching chuan-chi* 華嚴經傳記 iii we read that "the Dharma-master I of the northern capital of Wei has a commentary, but it is not known how many rolls" (魏北臺意法師有疏,不知幾卷). The "Dharma-master I" is probably the Sêng-i of our text, presumably a scholar famous for his mastery of the *Avataṃsaka* when the capital was still at P'ing-ch'êng.

<sup>4</sup> The abovementioned disciple of Sêng-yüan.

<sup>5</sup> Unknown.

<sup>6</sup> This is the Wei Lo-yang Shih Tao-pien 魏洛陽釋道辯 whose biography is in *Hsü kao-sêng-chuan* vi. Originally of the T'ien 田 family of Fan-yang 范陽, he was well treated by Kao-tsu at P'ing-ch'êng and accompanied him on his move to Lo-yang. He read the eighty-chüan work entitled *Ta-fa tsun-wang-ching* 大法尊王經, which was very popular at his time, and, concluding that it was a forgery, had it burnt. He also composed commentaries to the *Vimalakṛtīnirdeśa*, the *Śrīmā-lādevtsīnhanāda*, and the *Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā*, as well as works entitled *Hsiao-shêng i-chang* 小乘義章, *Ta-shêng i-chang* 大乘義章, *Shên-hsüan-chao* 申玄照, and others. The fact that under the Northern Wei a pseudo-sūtra in as many as eighty chüan was able not only to circulate but also to achieve popularity; also the fact that the *T'i-wei Po-li ching*, written after the revocation of the edict of the suppression of Buddhism for the purpose of spreading the faith among laymen and incorporating many elements of popular religion, circulated far and wide; finally the fact that many other forged scriptures made their appearance under the Northern Dynasties, are all proof that Buddhism had become the

religion of the social mass. One may also get an idea from the scriptures on which he commented what sort of sūtras were most commonly read by the clerics and intellectuals of the capital at that time, and one may infer from the fact that this era was already producing monks capable of writing compendia of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna doctrine that the era of Chinese Buddhism properly speaking had arrived. For the Chinese clergy was now systematizing its knowledge of the vast amount of Buddhist doctrine that had been made available to it in translation and drawing its own conclusions as to what Buddhism really is.

<sup>7</sup> Unless this person is to be identified with the abovementioned T'an-tu [Fa-tu], one of the disciples of Sêng-yüan, he is otherwise unknown.

<sup>8</sup> Probably the Dharma-master Chih-tan who administered the discipline to T'an-chun 曇准, a monk originally from T'ang-yin 湯陰 in Wei-chün 魏郡 (cf. T'an-chun's biography in *Hsü kao-sêng-chuan* vi).

<sup>9</sup> This monk, chief of the Ssü-yüan-ssü in P'ing-ch'êng, succeeded T'an-yao as 'sha-mên tu-t'ung' 沙門都統, in which capacity he was in charge of the drafting of the Clerical Code in forty-seven articles in A.D. 493. Cf. *Kuang hung-ming-chi* xxiii, *I Sêng-hsien wei sha-mên tu-t'ung-shao* 以僧顯爲沙門都統詔 and *Li sêng-ni chih-shao* 立僧尼制詔.

<sup>10</sup> When Sêng-hsien was appointed 'sha-mên tu-t'ung', this monk was appointed his 'tu-wei-na'. His temple was the Huang-ch'iu-ssü 皇舅寺, a very famous temple built by Fêng Hsi 馮熙, elder brother of the Dowager Empress Wên-ming (cf. *Shui-ching-chu* xiii).

<sup>11</sup> Otherwise unknown.

[102] 世宗即位,永平元年秋,詔曰:「緇素既殊,法律亦異。故道教彰於互顯,禁勸各有所。自宜今已後,衆僧犯殺人已上罪者,仍依俗斷,餘犯悉付昭玄,以內律僧制治之」。

102 Upon Shih-tsung's accession, in the autumn of the first year of Yung-p'ing,<sup>1)</sup> an Imperial edict said:

White garb and black robes are distinct from each other, and laws and regulations also differ. Therefore the Way and the Doctrine set forth what is clearly in contrast, and their prohibitions and encouragements each have what is proper to them.<sup>2)</sup> From this time forward, monks who commit murder or any more serious crime shall be dealt with according to secular customs. For all other crimes they shall be handed over to the Illuminator of Mysteries and handled according to the rules peculiar to the Order.

<sup>1</sup> Shih-tsung's chronicle states that in this year (A.D. 508) the implementation of the penal code was reexamined. In the seventh month we also read of an edict requiring the

authorities to use every mercy in the judgment of criminals. This reform of the procedure for dealing with offenses by clerics was part of the general reform of penal administra-

tion.

<sup>2</sup> In other words, lay and clerical life both have their respec-

tive rules and regulations, requiring certain things and forbidding others.

[103] 二年冬,沙門統惠深上言:「僧尼浩曠,清濁混流,不遵禁典,精麤莫別。輒與經律法師,羣議立制。諸州,鎮,郡,維那,上坐,寺主,各令戒律自修,咸依內禁。若不解律者,退其本次。又出家之人,不應犯法,積八不淨物。然經律所制,通塞有方。依律,車牛淫人,不淨之物,不得爲己私畜。唯有老病,年六十以上者,限聽一乘」。又:「比來僧尼,或因三寶,出貨私財,緣州外<sup>\*\*</sup>」。又:「出家捨著,本無凶儀。不應廢道從俗。其父母三師,遠聞凶問,聽哭三日。若在見前,限以七日。或有不安寺舍,遊止民間,亂道生過,皆由此等。若有犯者,脫服還民。其有造寺者,限僧五十以上,啓聞聽造。若有輒營置者,處以違敕之罪。其僧寺,僧衆,擯出外州。僧尼之法,不得爲俗人所使。若有犯者,還配本屬。其外國僧尼,來歸化者,求精檢,有德行合三藏者,聽住。若無德行,遣還本國。若其不去,依此僧制,治罪」。詔從之。

\*淫當作淨。 \*\*是句當有脫文。

In the second year,<sup>1)</sup> in the winter, the Comptroller of Śramaṇas, Hui-shên, memorialized, saying:

The monks and nuns are many and far-flung, and pure and impure are mingled among them. Unless one follows a code of prohibitions, the fine and the crude cannot be separated. So, with the Masters of the Scriptures and Discipline, we have had a collective conference and established a rule. In all the provinces, garrisons, and prefectures the Wei-na, elders, and Residents-in-Chief shall see that the Commandments and regulations are practiced, and that all obey the clerical prohibitions. Those who do not understand the Discipline shall be retired to their former grade.

Also, men who have left the household life may not violate the law nor store up the eight unclean things.<sup>2)</sup> In the rules established by the Scriptures and Regulations, permission and prohibition have their place. According to the discipline, wagons, oxen, and clean persons<sup>3)</sup> are impure things, and one may not for one's own sake privately possess them. Only those who are aged or sick or over sixty years of age may be allowed—and limited to—one vehicle.

Also, recently some monks and nuns, making a pretext of the Three Jewels, are lending private property. Hereafter they may not do so.<sup>4)</sup>

Also, when one leaves the household life one abandons one's ties, and properly has no part in unhappy ceremonies. He should not forsake the Way and follow common customs. If he hears from afar the sad news of his father or his mother or his three masters,<sup>5)</sup> he is permitted to mourn three days. If it happened before his very eyes, the time is limited to seven days.

Some do not fix themselves in temple abodes but travel among the people. The disturbance of the Way and the rise of excesses all come from such as these. If there be offenders among them, let them be unfrocked and returned to the commonalty.

If there be those who build monasteries, let them be limited to such as may house fifty monks or more, and let them be permitted to build after reporting their intent. May those who

arbitrarily build be dealt with as if for the crime of disobeying an Imperial edict, and may the community of the monastery be banished to the outer provinces.

The laws of the monks and nuns do not permit them to be employed by laymen. If there be violators, let them be returned to their former authority.

As for foreign monks and nuns who come to be naturalized, let those be sought out who are strict and virtuous, whose conduct accords with the Three Storehouses, and let them be permitted to remain. If they have no virtue, let them be sent back to their former countries. If they do not leave, let them be punished according to this clerical rule.

It was decreed that this memorial be followed.

<sup>1</sup> As we have seen above, in the previous year it was decreed that for all crimes less grave than murder a monk was to be brought before the clerical authorities and punished according to clerical rules. The 'sha-mên-t'ung' thus found himself obliged to draw up a set of regulations by which such cases could be handled. This was probably no more than a series of amendments to the Clerical Code in forty-seven articles that had been promulgated in A.D. 493. This memorial (A.D. 509) probably pointed out only those regulations for the punishment of clerics that differed from the corresponding secular laws.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Hua-yen ta-su ch'ao* 華嚴大疏鈔, the monk may not (1) buy or sell land or buildings, (2) plant vegetables, (3) store up grain, (4) keep slaves or servants, (5) keep live stock, (6) accumulate gold, silver, money, or treasure, (7) accumulate ivory carvings or other such objects, (8) accumulate copper or iron utensils for the purpose of preparing his own meals.

According to *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* 佛祖統紀 iv, he may not possess (1) land, (2) plants, (3) grain or cloth, (4) human wards, (5) birds or animals, (6) money or treasure, (7) tapes-

tries or cooking utensils, (8) beds inlaid with ivory and gold or other objects of a similar nature.

<sup>3</sup> These were persons assigned to monks as servants and errand-boys. The Sarvāstivāda vinaya tells us that on one occasion King Bimbisāra saw Mahākāśyapa, covered with mud, fixing his house. Thereupon he took prisoner five hundred bandits and sent them to the Jetavana to perform for the monks those functions which the latter were forbidden by clerical regulations to do. This is traditionally regarded as the origin of the institution of "clean persons".

<sup>4</sup> Our text reads 緣州外, which in this context is quite unintelligible. The *Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei* has 自此不得更爾, which we are following.

<sup>5</sup> When the śrāmaṇera takes the vows of a bhikṣu, there must be present ten senior clerics, three masters and seven witnesses. Collectively they are also called the ten masters. The most important of the ten, however, are the (a) 'chieh-ho-shang' 戒和上, (b) 'chieh-mo-shih' 羯磨師, (c) 'chiaoshou-shih' 教授師. Any properly ordained monk must have had all three present at his ordination.

[104] 先是,於恒農荆山,造珉玉丈六像一。三年冬,迎置洛濱之報德寺。世宗躬觀致敬。

Before this there had been made on Ching-shan in Hêng-nung<sup>1</sup> one jade statue of a rod and six feet.<sup>2</sup> In the third year,<sup>3</sup> in winter, it was received and placed in the Pao-tê-ssū.<sup>4</sup> Shih-tsung personally visited it and paid it his respects.

<sup>1</sup> Ching-shan, located in the vicinity of what is now Chi-hsien 汲縣 in Honan Province, was a famous source of jade. "Jade" here is our rendition of the text's 'min' 珉.

<sup>2</sup> Traditionally regarded as the height of a Buddha.

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 510.

<sup>4</sup> According to the *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan-chi*, this temple was built by Kao-tsu, three 'li' outside of the K'ai-yang Gate 開陽門, for the welfare of the soul of the Lady FENG.

[105] 四年夏,詔曰:「僧祇之粟,本期濟施。儉年出貨,豐則收入。山林僧尼,隨以給施。民有窘弊,亦即賑之。但主司冒利,規取贏息。及其徵責,不計水旱。或償利過本,或翻改券契,侵蠹貧下,莫知紀極。細民嗟毒,歲月滋深。非所以矜此窮乏,宗尚慈拯之本意也。自今已後,不得傳委維那,都尉。可令刺史,共加監括。尚書檢諸有僧祇穀之處,州別列其元數,出入

贏息，賑給多少，并貸償歲月，見在未收，上臺錄記。若收利過本，及翻改初券，依律免之，勿復徵責。或有私債，轉施償僧，即以丐民，不聽收檢。後有出貸，先盡貧窮，徵債之科，一準舊格。富有之家，不聽輒貸。脫仍冒濫，依法治罪」。

\*傳當作專。

In the fourth year,<sup>1</sup> an Imperial edict said:

The Saṅgha-grain was originally intended to be charitably conferred, in spare years to be lent out, in plentiful times to be laid in. To the monks and nuns of the mountains and forests it was to be given away according to the circumstances,<sup>2</sup> and if the people should be in straits they were also immediately to be restored thereby. But the officials, coveting gain, schemingly took usurious interest and, when they came to demand payment, took no heed of flood or drought. At times the interest would exceed the principal, at times they would alter the notes. They injured the poor and lowly so that one does not know the limit of their misdeeds. The little people cried out at the injustice, every year and month more profoundly than the one before. This is not how We originally intended to pity these poor and needy and exalt merciful salvation.

From this time forward one may not consign this grain to the Wei-na and Tu-wei,<sup>3</sup> but shall order the governors all to conduct an inquiry, and the secretaries to investigate the places that have Saṅgha-grain, to list by prefectures the figures for original quantity, outlay and intake, interest, and charitable dispensations, as well as the dates of loan and those that have not yet been repaid, and present their reports to the Court. If the interest exceeds the principal or the original note has been altered, the debt shall be remitted according to law; there shall be no further demand for payment.

If there is a private debt which has been made payable to the clergy and payment is demanded of the lay debtor, forced collection shall not be permitted.

In future, when there are loans of grain, first the poor and needy shall all be attended to, and the rates of payment shall uniformly accord with the established tables. Wealthy households shall not be permitted to lend freely; if they do so in disregard of this, their crime shall be punished according to law.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 511.

<sup>2</sup> The "mountains and forests" should be understood not literally but in the general sense of "monasteries". That the Saṅgha-grain was given to the Buddhist temples we know from Kao-tsu's *Ling chu-chou sêng-chung an-chü Chiang-shuo*

shao 令諸州僧衆安居講說詔, preserved in *Kuang hung-ming-chi* xxvii. The expenses of the annual 'varṣāvāsa' 夏安居 in the monasteries throughout China were defrayed from the Saṅgha-grain.

<sup>3</sup> The provincial vice-governor.

[106] 又尙書令高肇奏言：「謹案故沙門統曇曜，昔於承明元年，奏涼州軍戶趙荀子等二百家，爲僧祇戶，立課積粟，擬濟飢年。不限道俗，皆以拯施。又依內律，僧祇戶，不得別屬一寺。而都維那僧暹、僧顯等，進違成旨，退乖內法，肆意任情，奏求逼召，致使吁嗟之怨，盈於行道，棄子傷生，自縊溺死，五十餘人。豈是仰贊聖明慈育之意，深失陛下歸依之心。遂令此等，行號巷哭，叫訴無所，至乃白羽貫耳，列訟宮闕。悠悠之人，尙爲哀痛。況慈悲之士，



而可安之。請聽荀子等還鄉課輸，儉乏之年，周給貧寡，若有不虞，以擬邊捍，其遲等違旨背律，謬奏之愆，請付昭玄，依僧律推處」。詔曰：「遲等特可原之，餘如奏」。

Furthermore, the Chief Secretary, KAO Chao,<sup>1</sup> memorialized, saying:

Your subject humbly submits that the late Comptroller of Śramaṇas, T'an-yao, formerly, in the first year of Ch'êng-ming,<sup>2</sup> memorialized that the military families of Liang-chou, those of CHAO Kou-tzū and others, two hundred households, be designated Saṃgha-households, that a quota be established for the laying in of grain, to be applied to the relief of lean years, and that with no restrictions of clergy or laity all benefit thereby. Furthermore, according to clerical regulations, the Saṃgha-households may not separately be under one temple.

Yet the Wei-na General Sêng-hsien<sup>3</sup> and Sêng-p'in on the one hand violate an established decree, on the other turn their backs on the clerical laws. Selfish in thought, reckless in feeling, they memorialize for compulsory services, causing crying anguish to fill the roadways. Those who have abandoned their children, killed, strangled themselves, and drowned are more than fifty persons. Is this what is meant by honoring saintly wisdom and merciful guidance? Nay, it profoundly misses Your Majesty's intent in taking the Refuges.<sup>4</sup> Finally, it causes these Your people to shout in the alleys and wail in the by-lanes, their grievances having no limit. With white feathers piercing their ears, they range their complaints at the palace gate. Even ordinary men are pained at this; how much the less can gentlemen of compassion be calm in the midst of it!

We beg that Kou-tzū and the others be permitted to return to their villages to provide their quotas, that in years of scarcity ready assistance be given to the poor and needy. If there be anything untoward, let the guilty be assigned to the frontier. As for Hsien and his colleague, for disobeying an Imperial edict, violating the Discipline, and submitting an unjust memorial, I beg that they be handed over to the Illuminator of Mysteries and dealt with according to clerical regulations.

An edict was promulgated, saying:

Let Hsien and his colleague be especially pardoned. The rest shall be as in the memorial.

<sup>1</sup> Of Korean ancestry, his courtesy name was Kung-wên 貢文. His father, Yang 陽 by name, entered the Wei territories from the then Korean kingdom of Koguryō 高句麗 early in Kao-tsu's reign. Awarded official position, he gave his daughter's hand in marriage to the Emperor, and was thus the grandfather of Emperor Shih-tsung. After the latter's accession Chao and his younger brother Hsien 顯, as well as the latter's son Mêng 猛, being related to the reigning emperor by marriage, occupied key political positions and enjoyed immense prestige in the State. The noble families, on the other hand, despised them. Accordingly they formed their own solid faction and went so far as to expel the nobles from the center of government, but to the State they were ardently devoted.

In A.D. 515 Shih-tsung died, and Prince I 懌 of Ch'ing-ho and Prince Ch'êng 澄 of Jên-ch'êng 任城 arranged his murder and the expulsion of all his confederates from Court. Cf. *Wei-shu* lxxxiii, *Pei-shih* lxxx.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 476.

<sup>3</sup> Sêng-hsien was not only pardoned for his offense but also, some time during Yen-ch'ang (A.D. 512-515), became 'sha-mên-t'ung'. We read in Fêng Liang's 馮亮 biography in *Wei-shu* xc that the 'sha-mên-t'ung' Hsien devoted great effort to the building of the Hsien-chü-ssü 閑居寺 on Sung-shan.

<sup>4</sup> This refers to the declaration of faith in the Buddha, the Law, and the Order, a layman's expression of his adherence to the Buddhist faith.

[107] 世宗篤好佛理,每年常於禁中,親講經論,廣集名僧,標明義旨。沙門條錄,爲內起居焉。

Shih-tsung sincerely loved the principles of the Buddha,<sup>1</sup> and every year would unfailingly, in the inner palace, personally lecture on the Scriptures and the Doctrine. The śramaṇas made a detailed record of this as the doings of the Court.

<sup>1</sup> Shih-tsung's devotion to Buddhism may be inferred from these two quotations from his chronicle: 帝於式乾殿,爲諸僧朝臣,講維摩經,雅受經史,尤長釋氏之義,每至講論,連夜忘疲。 Cf. our *Shina Bukkyōshi kenkyū Hokugi-hen*, pp. 394-412.

[108] 上既崇之,下彌企尙。至延昌中,天下州郡僧尼等,積有一萬三千七百二十七所,徒侶逾衆。

\*等當作寺。

Since the Supreme One revered the clergy, the lowly all the more looked up to them. By Yen-ch'ang<sup>1</sup> the monks and nuns in the provinces and prefectures of the Empire had a total of thirteen thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven places of residence, and the communities were ever more numerous.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 512-515.

[109] 熙平元年詔,遣沙門惠生,使西域,採諸經律。正光三年冬,還京師,所得經論一百七十部,行於世。

In the first year of Hsi-p'ing<sup>1</sup> an Imperial edict dispatched the śramaṇa Hui-shêng<sup>2</sup> on a mission to the Western Regions to fetch scriptures and disciplinary texts. In the third year of Chêng-kuang,<sup>3</sup> in the winter, he returned to the Capital. The scriptures and treatises which he had obtained, numbering one hundred and seventy, are current in the world.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 516.

<sup>2</sup> We read as follows of Hui-shêng's pilgrimage to India in the notice on the Hephthalites 嚙噠國 in the account of Central Asia 西域傳 in *Wei-shu* cii: 初熙平中,肅宗遣王伏子統,宋雲,沙門法力等使西域,訪求佛經。時有沙門惠生者,亦與俱行。正光中還,惠生所經諸國,不能知其本末,及山川里數。 We also read as follows in *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan-chi* v: 聞義里有敦煌人宋雲宅。雲與惠生俱使西域也。神龜元年十一月冬,太后遣崇立寺比丘惠生,向西域取經,凡得一百七十部,皆是大乘妙典。 The account is then concluded

with the following notice and the author's own observations: 至正光二年二月,始還天闕。(楊)街之按,惠生行記,事多不盡錄。今依道榮傳,宋雲家記,故並載之,以備缺文。 From this we see that the *Shih-lao-chih* was making use of the material on the journey of Hui-shêng and Sung Yün in the *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan-chi*. Hui-shêng's journal, entitled *Sêng Hui-shêng shih Hsi-yü chi* 僧惠生使西域記, can be found in *Taishō li*.

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 521.

[110] 二年春,靈太后令曰:「年常度僧依限,大州應百人者,州郡於前十日,解送三百人,其中州二百人,小州一百人。州統,維那,與官及精練,簡取充數。若無精行,不得濫採。若取非人,刺史爲首,以違旨論。太守,縣令,綱寮,節級,連坐。統及維那,移五百里外異州,爲僧。自今,奴婢悉不聽出家,諸王及親貴,亦不得輒啓請。有犯者,以違旨論。其僧尼輒度他人奴

婢者,亦移五百里外爲僧。僧尼多養親識及他人奴婢子,年大私度爲弟子,自今斷之。有犯還俗,被養者歸本等。寺主聽容一人,出寺五百里,二人千里。私度之僧,皆由三長,罪不及己,容多隱濫。自今有一人私度,皆以違旨論,隣長爲首,里黨各相降一等。縣滿十五人,郡滿三十人,州鎮滿三十人,免官。寮吏節級連坐。私度之身,配當州下役」。時法禁寬弛,不能改肅也。

\*及可作乃。

In the second year,<sup>1</sup> in the spring, the Empress Dowager Ling commanded, saying:

Every year the ordination of monks shall have a limit. The large provinces that are allowed a hundred persons shall send ahead ten days early three hundred persons, middle-sized provinces two hundred persons, and small provinces one hundred persons. The provincial Comptroller of Śramaṇas and Wei-na as well as the secular officials shall make a careful examination and choice and fill the number. If there are none of strict conduct, they may not choose at random. If they choose a wrong person, they shall, beginning with the governor, be considered to have violated an Imperial edict. The prefect and the chief of the 'hsien,' as well as the principal officials, shall each, according to his rank, share in the guilt. The Comptroller of Śramaṇas and the Wei-na shall be removed five hundred leagues, to become common monks in another province.

From now on slaves are all forbidden to leave the household life. The princes and noble kin also may not memorialize requests to this effect. Violators shall be considered to have disobeyed an Imperial edict. Monks and nuns who arbitrarily ordain the slaves of others shall also be removed five hundred leagues, there to be common clerics. Monks and nuns often raise the children of slaves of personal acquaintances and others and then, when their years are more advanced, privately ordain them as their disciples. From now on this is forbidden. The violator shall return to the laity, and the person raised by him shall return to his original grade. If the Resident-in-Chief admits one such person, he shall be removed from his monastery by five hundred leagues; if two, by a thousand leagues.

Privately ordained monks are the responsibility of the three chiefs,<sup>2</sup> but, since the guilt has not touched them personally, they have tolerated many hidden offenses. From now on, if there be one person privately ordained, all concerned shall be considered to have disobeyed an Imperial edict. Beginning with the neighborhood chief, the heads of the *li* and *tang* shall each be reduced one grade. If in a *hsien* there are fifteen such persons, in a prefecture thirty, or in a provincial garrison thirty, the official in charge shall be relieved, and the other officials shall share in his guilt according to their rank. The person privately ordained shall be assigned to hard labor in his respective province.

At the time the laws and prohibitions were constantly being relaxed and discarded, and it was impossible to enforce them.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 517. Cf. above the edict of A.D. 492, setting an annual ordination quota of 100 monks for large provinces, 50 for middle provinces, and 20 for small provinces.

<sup>2</sup> Five households were organized into a 'lin' 隣, five 'lin' 隣.

into a 'li' 里, and five 'li' into a 'tang' 黨. Each of these units had its own chief, who was responsible for the maintenance of order within his own jurisdiction. For more about

the implementation of the three-chiefs system, cf. *Wei-shu*, Kao-tsu's chronicle, under T'ai-ho 19 (A.D. 495).

[111] 景明初,世宗詔大長秋卿白整,準代京靈巖寺石窟,於洛南伊闕山,爲高祖,文昭皇太后,營石窟二所。初建之始,窟頂去地三百一十尺。至正始二年中,始出斬山二十三丈至。大長秋卿王質,謂:「斬山太高,費功難就」。奏求下移就平,去地一百尺,南北一百四十尺。

Early in Ching-ming,<sup>1</sup> Shih-tsung commanded the Grand Chief Autumnal Prince, Po Chêng,<sup>2</sup> to make on the model of the stone caves of the Ling-yen-ssū<sup>3</sup> in the Tai capital<sup>4</sup> stone caves on Mount I-ch'üeh,<sup>5</sup> south of the Lo, for Kao-tsu and the Empress Dowager Wên-chao.<sup>6</sup> At first, when building was begun, the top of the caves was three hundred and ten feet above ground. By the middle of the second year of Chêng-shih<sup>7</sup> they began to hew at the mountain at a height of twenty-three rods. Then the Grand Chief Autumnal Prince, WANG Chih,<sup>8</sup> thinking that the mountain was being hewn too high and that such expense and labor would be difficult to supply, memorialized a request that the caves be levelled down to one hundred feet above ground for a distance of one hundred and forty feet from north to south.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 500-504.

<sup>2</sup> He has a biographical notice in *Wei-shu* xciv, among the Biographies of the Eunuchs 閹官傳. Castrated as a young man, he was employed in the palace, where he rose gradually in rank until in late T'ai-ho (A.D. 477-500) he was made Grand Chief Autumnal Prince, i.e., Lord Chamberlain.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "Temple of the Ghostly Crag". The reference is to Yün-kang.

<sup>4</sup> P'ing-ch'êng (the present Ta-t'ung).

<sup>5</sup> This reference is to Lung-mên.

<sup>6</sup> Kao-tsu's consort and Shih-tsung's mother.

<sup>7</sup> A.D. 505.

<sup>8</sup> WANG Chih's biography is also among those of the eunuchs in *Wei-shu* xciv. The biography says that he died shortly after being appointed Lord Chamberlain, which means that this memorial may have been one of his last official acts.

<sup>9</sup> The *Po-na* 百納 text (which has been our basic text throughout) has a lacuna between "hundred" 百 and "feet" 尺.

[112] 永平中,中尹劉騰奏,爲世宗,復造石窟一,凡爲三所。從景明元年,至正光四年六月已前,用功八十萬二千三百六十六。

During Yung-p'ing,<sup>1</sup> the 'chung-yin' Liu T'êng<sup>2</sup> memorialized that for Shih-tsung also there be constructed one stone cave, making three in all. From the first year of Ching-ming<sup>3</sup> up to the sixth month of the fourth year of Chêng-kuang<sup>4</sup> the work had required eight hundred and two thousand three hundred and sixty-six man-days.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 508-512.

<sup>2</sup> Liu T'êng's biography is also in *Wei-shu* xciv. As the most trusted aide of the Dowager Empress Ling, who was the real power behind the throne at the time, he was the all-powerful "boss" of the political world. Many persons with political ambitions found their way to success by bribing him. (Cf. the biography of FENG Hui 封回, attached to that of FENG I 封懿 in *Wei-shu* xxxii and *Pei-shih* xxiv.) Many of the

Dowager Empress' Buddhist good works were directed by him, as his biography tells us: 洛北永橋太上公,太上君,及城東三寺,皆主造營。(Cf. also *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan-chi* iii in this connection.) He also built the Ch'ang-ch'iu-ssū 長秋寺 (Temple of Eternal Autumn, cf. *ibid.* i.)

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 500.

<sup>4</sup> A.D. 522.

[113] 肅宗熙平中，於城內太社西，起永寧寺。靈太后親率百寮，表基立刹。佛圖九層，高四十餘丈。其諸費用，不可勝計。景明寺佛圖，亦其亞也。至於官私寺塔，其數甚衆。

During Su-tsung's Hsi-p'ing period,<sup>1</sup> west of the great shrine within the Capital wall, was built the Yung-ning-ssū.<sup>2</sup> The Empress Dowager Ling personally, at the head of all the officials, laid the foundation and set up a 'ch'a'.<sup>3</sup> The reliquary, of nine storeys, was more than forty rods high. The expense could not be reckoned. Even the reliquary of the Ching-ming-ssū<sup>4</sup> was second to it. Public and private temples and reliquaries were of number very many.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 516-7.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "Temple of Eternal Tranquillity", cf. *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan-chi* i, *Shui-ching-chu* xvi, and the biography of Shih-tsung's Empress Ling (the Lady Hu 胡) in *Wei-shu* xiii.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ch'a' (\*tṣ'iat) is a transcription of some form of Skt. 'chattra', "covering" (cf. Pāli 'chatta'). A 'chattra' is a sort of canopy, the erection of which was here a symbolic act, as was the laying of the foundation.

<sup>4</sup> The Ching-ming-ssū, situated outside of Lo-yang's Hsüan-yang Gate 宣陽門, was built by Shih-tsung during the Ching-

ming period (A.D. 500-504). During the Chêng-kuang period (A.D. 519-525) the Empress Dowager Ling built a seven-storey pagoda on its grounds. It was from here that the procession of the images on the Buddha's birthday began. Cf. *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan-chi* s.v. *Ching-ming-ssū*: 時世好崇福，四月七日，京師諸象，皆來本寺，尚書祠部曹錄象，凡有一千餘軀，至八日，以次入宣陽門，向闕闕官前，受皇帝散花。 This passage is followed by more description of this elaborate ceremony.

[114a] 神龜元年冬，司空公尚書令任城王澄奏曰：「仰惟高祖定鼎嵩瀝，卜世悠遠，慮括終始，制洽天人，造物開符，垂之萬葉。故都城制云：『城內唯擬一永寧寺地，郭內唯擬尼寺一所，餘悉城郭之外』。欲令永遵此制，無敢踰矩。逮景明之初，微有犯禁，故世宗仰修先志，爰發明旨，城內不造立浮圖，僧尼寺舍，亦欲絕其希覲。文、武二帝，豈不愛尚佛法。蓋以道俗殊歸，理無相亂故也。但俗眩虛聲，僧貪厚潤，雖有顯禁，猶自冒營。至正始三年，沙門統惠深，有違景明之禁，便云：『營就之寺，不忍移毀，求自今已後，更不聽立』。先旨含寬，抑典從諫，前班之詔，仍卷不行。後來私謁，彌以奔競。永平二年，深等復立條制，啓云：『自今已後，欲造寺者，限僧五十已上，開徹聽造。若有輒營置者，依俗違敕之罪，其寺僧衆，擯出外州』。爾來十年，私營轉盛，罪擯之事，寂爾無聞。豈非朝格雖明，恃福共毀，僧制徒立，顧利莫從者也。不俗不道，務爲損法，人而無厭，其可極乎。」

In the first year of Shên-kuei,<sup>1</sup> in the winter, the 'ssü-k'ung' and Chief Secretary, Jên-ch'êng's Prince Ch'êng,<sup>2</sup> memorialized, saying:

I humbly submit that Kao-tsu fixed the tripods<sup>3</sup> at Sung and Ch'an<sup>4</sup> and divined the ages forever and aye. His forethought embraced the end and the beginning, his statutes extended to Heaven and Man. Creating things and breaking tallies,<sup>5</sup> he handed them down for the myriads of generations.

Therefore the Capital Regulations say that within the inner wall there shall be designated land only for the one Yung-ning-ssū, and within the outer wall there shall be designated land only for one nunnery, and that the rest shall all be outside both the inner and outer walls. The wish was that these regulations be forever obeyed and that none dare transgress the rules.

By early Ching-ming<sup>6</sup> there had been some slight infraction of the prohibitions. Therefore Shih-tsung, reverently reinforcing his Predecessor's intent, thereupon issued a clear decree that within the inner wall there was to be no building of reliquaries, monasteries, nunneries, or religious houses. He also wished to thwart ambition. The two emperors Wên and Wu,<sup>7</sup> were they wanting in love or respect for Buddha's Law? Nay, they did as they did that, the clergy and laity having different goals, their principles might not be confounded each with the other. But the laity have been dazzled by the prospects of vain renown, the clergy have coveted lavish enrichment, and, although there was a clear prohibition, yet did they arbitrarily and unlawfully build.

By the third year of Chêng-shih<sup>8</sup> the śramaṇa Hui-shên, when there had been violations of the prohibition of Ching-ming, said that it was unbearable that finished temples be moved or destroyed, and requested that from that time forward no further permission be given to build. To the former edict was added leniency, the codes were suppressed and the request followed, and the commands of the former reign left rolled up and not put into effect. Since then private petitioners have all the more been vying with one another.

In the second year of Yung-p'ing,<sup>9</sup> [Hui-]shên and others revised their code and memorialized, saying:

From this time forward, let those who wish to build monasteries be restricted to those that can house fifty monks or more; let them be permitted to build when the report of their intent has been received. If there be any who arbitrarily build, let them be dealt with according to secular law for the crime of violating an Imperial edict. Let the community of that monastery be banished to the outer provinces.

For the past ten years private construction has been ever more flourishing, but punishment and banishment, lying quiescent, have not been heard of. Is it not that, although the Court's statutes are clear, men have made a pretext of merit and joined in violating them; that the clerical codes have stood idle while in the quest for gain none has followed them? No matter whether clerics or laymen, their occupation has been injuring the law. But for man to be insatiable, surely this must have its limits!

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 517.

<sup>2</sup> The son of Prince Yün 雲 of Jên-ch'êng, his biography is in *Wei-shu* xix. Of all the princes of the blood he was the most trusted by Kao-tsu, whom he assisted in the transfer of the capital to Lo-yang. Ch'êng was appointed 'ssü-k'ung' 司空 in the fourth lunar month of A.D. 515 and 'ssü-t'u' 司徒 in the fifth lunar month of A.D. 518, then died in the twelfth lunar month of the latter year. This means that the memorial here quoted was presented in his late years, and from the standpoint of an Elder Statesman.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Tso-chuan*, *Hsüan-kung* 3: 成王定鼎于郊鄆, 卜世三

十, 卜年七百。

<sup>4</sup> Mount Sung 嵩山 and the River Ch'an 澗水。

<sup>5</sup> This refers to Kao-tsu's building of the new capital at Lo-yang and his assignment of offices and titles, the bearers of which kept half of a tally in their own possession while the other half remained at the center of government.

<sup>6</sup> A.D. 500-503.

<sup>7</sup> I.e., Kao-tsu Hsiao-wên-ti and Shih-tsung Hsüan-wu-ti.

<sup>8</sup> A.D. 506.

<sup>9</sup> A.D. 509.

[114b] 夫學迹沖妙,非浮議所辯。玄門曠寂,豈短辭能究。然淨居塵外,道家所先,功緣冥深,匪尚華遁。苟能誠信,童子聚沙,可邁於道場,純陁儉設,足薦於雙樹,何必縱其盜竊,資

營寺觀。此乃民之多幸，非國之福也。然比日私造，動盈百數，或乘請公地，輒樹私福，或啓得造寺，限外廣制。如此欺罔，非可稍計。臣以才劣，誠忝工務，奉遵成規，裁量是總。所以披尋舊旨，研究圖格，輒遣府司馬陸利，屬崔孝芬，都城之中，及郭邑之內，檢括寺舍，數乘五百，空地表刹，未立塔宇，不在其數。民不畏法，乃至於斯。自遷都已來，年踰二紀，寺奪民居，三分且一。高祖立制，非徒欲使緇素殊途，抑亦防微深慮。世宗述之，亦不錮禁營福，當在杜塞未萌。今之僧寺，無處不有，或比滿城邑之中，或連盜屠沽之肆，或三五少僧，共爲一寺。梵唱屠音，連簷接響，像塔纏於腥臊，性靈沒於嗜慾，真僞混居，往來紛雜。下司因習而莫非，僧曹對制而不問。其於汙染真行，塵穢練僧，薰蕕同器，不亦甚歟。

Now the traces of Enlightenment<sup>1)</sup> are Void and Wondrous, and are not such as a frivolous mind could discern. The Darksome Gateway is empty and bare; how can few words exhaust it? Yet purely to dwell beyond defilement, this is what the practitioners of the Way put first. Merit and causation are obscure and profound, and set no great value on embellished retreats.<sup>2)</sup> If one can but sincerely believe, then the sand gathered by children can reach to the Seat of the Way,<sup>3)</sup> and Ch'un-t'o's spare offering is worthy of being served between the Two Trees.<sup>4)</sup> What need to give free rein to robbery, therewith to construct temples and monasteries? Thus indeed "the people's much trusting to luck is not to the State's good fortune".<sup>5)</sup> But of late private construction numbers nearly in the hundreds, some taking the slightest occasion<sup>6)</sup> to request public land, only to plant the seeds of their own merit, others obtaining by petition the right to build temples, only thereafter to extend the statutes beyond their limits. Deceptions such as these cannot easily be measured.

Your subject, though his talents be inferior, is truly honored with the charge of public works. Reverently obeying the established regulations, he coordinates the weighings and the measurings. Therefore he opened and examined the old decrees and studied the ecclesiastical regulations.<sup>7)</sup> Then he sent departmental secretary Lu Ch'ang's subordinate, Ts'ui Hsiao-fên, into the Capital and suburbs to reckon up the temples and clerical houses there. The number approaches<sup>8)</sup> five hundred, and empty land on which chattras have been erected but reliquaries not yet built are not included. The people's disrespect for the law has at last come to this. Since the moving of the Capital, the years have exceeded two dozen. The temples rob the people of their dwellings in nearly one case out of three.

Kao-tsu established his regulations not merely because he wished to make the black-robed and the white-robed go their respective ways, but even to slight mishaps<sup>9)</sup> did he give profound forethought. Shih-tsung, following him, also did not prevent or forbid. Rather did he lay up merit for the future and block ill luck ere yet it budded.<sup>10)</sup> But the monasteries of today, there is no place that does not have them! Either side by side they fill the interior of the walled cities, or one upon the other they overflow into the butcheries and wineries. At times three or five young monks together make one monastery. Brahman chants and the sounds of slaughter, each next door to the other, mingle their echoes. Statues and reliquaries are wrapped in the stench

of rotting meat, the spiritual is submerged in lust. Truth and falsehood have confounded their places, the comings and goings are tangled and mixed. The lower officials acquiesce and not one says nay, the hierarchs stand face to face with the regulations but ask no questions. When mud stains true practice, when grime soils refined monks, when fragrance and stench share the same vessel,<sup>11</sup> is it not indeed excessive?

<sup>1</sup> Reading 'chüeh' 覺 for the 'hsüeh' 學 of our text. The meaning is the area of enlightenment reached by the Buddha.

<sup>2</sup> "Embellished retreats" is our rendition of the text's 'hua-tun' 華遁. The word 'chia-tun' 嘉遁, originally found in the phrase 嘉遁貞吉以正志也 in the *Book of Changes*, was frequently used from Wei-Tsin times onward, as the life of the Taoist recluse was an honored one. Is it possible that 'hua-tun' is another way of saying 'chia-tun'? We also find in *T'ung-tien* 通典 v (*hsüan-chü* 選舉) the following words of SHEN Chi-chi 沈既濟: 以進士爲士林華選. The meaning seems to be a retreat from the world amid much circumstance, in this case a highly ornate Buddhist temple.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., the *bodhimāṇḍa*, and by extension the estate of Buddhahood.

<sup>4</sup> The story of Cunda's offering to the Buddha just before the latter's attainment of nirvāṇa between the two Śāla-trees is very well known. The Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* extols this as the noblest of offerings. As we have stated above, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* was the most popular of the Buddhist scriptures at this time.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Tso-chuan*, *Hsüan-Kung* 宣公 16.

<sup>6</sup> Reading 'tung' 動 for the 'ch'êng' 乘 of our text. The Ming-ch'ao-pên 明抄本 and the *Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei* both read 'shêng' 剩. 'Shêng', if the reading is correct, would seem to be synonymous with 'pien' 便, "then, thereupon, etc." It was frequently used in this sense from the Six Dynasties to the T'ang, and examples can be found in the *Yu-hsien-k'u* 遊仙窟, in the *Zasshō* 雜抄 of the Japanese emperor Shōmu 聖武 (r. A.D. 724-749), and in other places.

<sup>7</sup> A conjectural interpretation of the text's 't'u-ko' 圖格.

<sup>8</sup> Reading 'ch'ui' 垂 for the 'ch'êng' 乘 of our text.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the conspiracy of Fa-hsiu.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the incident of Ta-shêng.

<sup>11</sup> The *K'ung-tzū chia-yü* 孔子家語 says, "Fragrant and stinking things are not kept in the same vessel" (薰蕕不同器而藏). The *Tso-chuan*, *Hsi-kung* 僖公 4 says, "If one fragrant thing is mingled with one stinking thing, then after ten years there will still be a stench" (一薰一蕕,十年尚猶有臭).

[114c] 往在北代,有法秀之謀.近日冀州,遭大乘之變.皆初假神教,以惑衆心,終設姦誑,用逞私悖.太和之制,因法秀而杜遠,景明之禁,慮大乘之將亂.始知祖宗叡聖防遏處深,履霜堅冰,不可不慎.

Formerly in North Tai was the conspiracy of Fa-hsiu,<sup>1</sup> recently Chi-chou met with the incident of Ta-shêng.<sup>2</sup> Both began by making a pretext of the Divine Doctrine and thereby misleading the feelings of the multitude, and ended by establishing immorality and falsehood and thereby advancing their own treason. The regulations of T'ai-ho, made for the likes of Fa-hsiu, were to prevent the mishaps of the distant future; the prohibitions of Ching-ming took thought lest such as Ta-shêng might one day bring trouble. Now we know that our forefathers were of saintly wisdom, and that in their prevention they made profound disposition. "Tread on frost and it hardens to ice;"<sup>3</sup> one cannot afford not to be careful.

<sup>1</sup> In A.D. 481, while Kao-tsu was on an inspection tour of Chung-shan, Hsin-tu 信都, and other places in Hopei, the 'lan-t'ai yü-shih' 蘭臺御史, CHANG Ch'iu 張求, and over a hundred of his confederates, on the basis of an alleged omen reported by the metropolitan monk Fa-hsiu, gathered a large number of slaves and attempted the overthrow of the government. Fortunately the uprising was immediately quelled, but the large number of bureaucrats implicated in it terrified

the Court. When the Emperor returned to P'ing-ch'êng, he recommended lenient treatment of the rebels: 法秀妖詐亂常,妄說符瑞,蘭臺御史張求等一百餘人,招結奴隸,謀爲大逆,有司科以族誅,誠合刑憲,且矜愚重命,猶所弗忍,其五族者,止同族,三族止一門,門誅止身. (Kao-tsu's chronicle in *Wei-shu* 7a.) Cf. WANG Jui's 王叔 biography in the *Wei-shu*, the account of the Northern Wei 魏虞傳 in the *Nanch'i-shu*, and our *Hokugi no Bukkyōhi* 北魏の佛教匪 (*Shina*



*Bukkyōshi kenkyū Hokugi-hen*, pp. 256–260).

<sup>2</sup> 'Ta-shēng' is the Chinese translation of 'mahāyāna'. This rebellion was instigated by the monk Fa-ch'ing 法慶, who inveigled Li Kuei-po 李歸伯, a man of importance in Po-hai-chün 渤海郡, and others into an extremely brutal uprising

that gave the government much trouble. For details, cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 269–290.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *I-ching*, s.v. *k'un* 坤: 象曰:履霜 堅冰,陰始凝也。順致其道,至堅冰也。

[114d] 昔如來闡教,多依山林。今此僧徒,戀著城邑,豈湫隘是經行所宜,浮誼必栖禪之宅。當由利引其心,莫能自止。處者既失其真,造者或損其福。乃釋氏之糟糠,法中之社鼠,內戒所不容,王典所應棄矣。

Of old the Tathāgata, when he revealed his Doctrine, mostly abode on the mountains and in the forests. Now these monks passionately cling to the cities and towns. Are narrow ways<sup>1)</sup> fitting for religious practice? Are frivolity and turmoil really the abode of contemplation? It must be because gain wins their hearts and none can help himself. The dwellers have already lost the truth, and the builders may injure their own merit. These are the chaff of the Śākya clan, the altar-rats<sup>2)</sup> of the Law, whom the clerical discipline will not tolerate and whom the kingly codes must repel.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Tso-chuan*, *Chao-kung* 昭公 3: 子之宅近市,湫隘囂塵,不可以居,請更諸爽塏者。

<sup>2</sup> The *Yen-shih ch'un-ch'iu* 晏氏春秋 says that the great worry in government is wicked men in the service of the sovereign, who are likened to the rats that infest the altar of earth:

景公問曰:治國何患。晏子對曰:患夫社鼠,鼠之所以不可得殺者,以社故也。是亦國之社鼠也。By extension Prince Ch'êng is using the term here to refer to malignant beings in the body of the Buddhist church whom it is difficult to eliminate.

[114e] 非但京邑如此,天下州鎮僧寺亦然。侵奪細民,廣占田宅,有傷慈矜,用長嗟苦。且人心不同,善惡亦異,或有栖心真趣,道業清遠者,或外假法服,內懷悖德者。如此之徒,宜辨涇渭,若雷同一貫,何以勸善。然觀法贊善,凡人所知,矯俗避嫌,物情同趣。臣獨何爲孤議獨發。誠以國典一廢,道理至難,法網暫失,條綱將亂,是以冒陳愚見,兩顧其益。

Not only is the Capital like this, the monasteries of the provinces and garrisons of all the Empire are also thus. They encroach on and rob the little people, and extensively occupy their fields and houses. They injure mercy and thereby lengthen the cries of anguish. Now men's hearts are not the same, and good and evil also differ. There are some who repose their minds in the direction of truth, and whose way and actions are pure and sublime. There are others who outwardly display the garment of the Law and inwardly cherish revolt against virtue. In cases like these one must distinguish the pure from the impure. If they are made the same and strung together, wherewith shall one encourage good? But to look to the law and extol the good is something that most men know; to rectify custom and avoid suspicion is that to which the feelings of all the beings are equally inclined. It is not only this Your subject who discourses in loneliness and holds forth in isolation. Verily, when the national codes are all in desuetude, the pursuit of principle is extremely difficult; when the net of law is lost hold of for but a moment, its ropes and cords are soon to become entangled. Therefore I make bold to set forth my idle views and at the same time pray that they may be of benefit to both State and Church.

[114f] 臣聞,設令在於必行,立罰貴能肅物。令而不行,不如無令。罰不能肅,孰與亡罰。頃明詔屢下,而造者更滋,嚴限驟施,而違犯不息者,豈不以假福託善,幸罪不加。人殉其私,吏難苟劾。前制無追往之辜,後旨開自今之恕。悠悠世情,遂忽成法。今宜加以嚴科,特設重禁,糾其來違,懲其往失。脫不峻檢,方垂容借,恐今旨雖明,復如往日。

Your subject has heard that the enactment of regulations is based on the assumption that they shall be carried out, that in the establishment of penalties the highest value is laid on their ability to discipline mankind. Orders unobeyed are worse than no orders at all; punishments that cannot bring discipline, how do they differ from no punishments? Of late, clear edicts frequently come down, yet building is ever on the increase; strict limits are often imposed, yet violations do not cease. Is this not because men make a pretense of merit and an excuse of piety, and trust to the chance that their crimes will not be visited upon them? Men pursue their private interest, and the officials cannot easily censure them. The former regulations do not seek out the offenses of the past, while the later edicts open up the way of leniency for the future. And the world, with its free-and-easy feelings, eventually makes light of established laws. Now there must be added strict provisions, and severe prohibitions must be especially set up, to prevent future violations and to punish past misdeeds. If we are not strict, but dispense liberality, I fear that the present edict, although clear, may again be like those of days gone by.

[114g] 又旨令所斷,標榜禮拜之處,悉聽不禁。愚以爲,樹榜無常,禮處難驗。欲云有造,立榜證公。須營之辭,指言嘗禮。如此則徒有禁名,實通造路。且徙御已後,斷詔四行,而私造之徒,不懼制旨。豈是百官有司怠於奉法,將由網漏禁寬,容託有他故耳。

Furthermore, the provision in the regulations, that signs be set up at places of worship, is in every case a permission, not a prohibition. In my worthless opinion, the setting up of signs has no permanence, and places of worship are hard to identify. If one wishes to build, one sets up a sign notifying the public, and the words authorizing the construction designate the place as one of established worship. If this be the case, what is called prohibition in fact opens the way for more building. Furthermore, since the removal of the Capital, injunctions and edicts have gone out in all directions, but those who privately build do not fear regulations or decrees. Is this because the officials are lax in upholding the law? No, it is only because the net of the law leaks, the prohibitions are slack, and there is thus room for the pretense of false motives.

[114h] 如臣愚意,都城之中,雖有標榜,營造蠱功,事可改立者,請依先制,在於郭外,任擇所便。其地若買得券證分明者,聽其轉之。若官地盜作,即令還官。若靈像既成,不可移撤,請依今勅,如舊不禁。悉令坊內行止,不聽毀坊開門,以妨里內通巷。若被旨者,不在斷限。郭內準此商量。

In accord with Your subject's worthless opinion, within the Capital city, even if the sign has been set up, if the edifice is only partly built and can still be rebuilt elsewhere, it is requested that the former regulations be followed: Outside the outer walls let any convenient place be chosen. If the land has been purchased and there is a clear deed to prove it, let the aforesaid building be transferred thither. If it is public land which has been stolen, let it be forthwith ordered returned to the government. If a holy image is already complete on the old site and cannot be removed, it is requested that it be tolerated as before. In every case permit traffic through the streets,<sup>1</sup> and do not permit the mutilation of streets by the building of gates which will obstruct traffic within the 'li'. In cases of an explicit edict from the Court, this proposal shall not apply. Let everything within the suburbs be settled on the same basis.

<sup>1</sup> "Streets" is our rendition of the text's 'fang' 坊. This word, traditionally regarded as a synonym of 防, is supposed originally to have meant a "barrier" (障). It signifies a quarter surrounded by a fence, with a gate for ingress and egress. In Han and Wei (Three Kingdoms) times no one, not even a titled noble, whose living was less than ten thousand households could build a house facing the highway. Even in T'ang times the building of a house with its own fence and a gateway facing the highway was permitted only to officials of the top three grades. (Cf. *T'ang hui-yao* 唐會要 lxxxvi, s.v. *chieh-hsiang* 街巷, also *Ch'u-hsieh-chi* 初學記 and other writings.) The street system of Lo-yang under the Northern Wei seems also, like that of the Han and Wei, to have forbidden breaking into the 'fang' wall with a gateway

except in the case of outstanding personalities, but this seems frequently to have been the case where very large temples were concerned.

Of Lo-yang under the Northern Wei we are told as follows in *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan-chi* v: 京師東西二十里,南北十五里,戶十萬九千餘。廟社宮室府曹以外,方三百步爲一里,里開四門,門置里正二人,吏四人,門士八人。合有二百二十里。寺有一千三百六十七所。The 'li' gates were supervised by the 'li' magistrates and their subordinates, who watched all who entered and left and thus kept order within the 'fang.' Prince Ch'êng is here requesting that the temples no longer be permitted to have gateways other than the 'li' gates themselves and thus block traffic within the 'fang'.

[114i] 其廟像嚴立,而逼近屠沽,請斷旁屠殺,以潔靈居。

If a temple or statue stands firmly, but is hard by a butchery, I request that slaughter be forbidden, that the holy dwelling be purified.

[114j] 雖有僧數,而事在可移者,令就閑敞,以避隘陋。如今年正月,赦後造者,求依僧制,案法科治。

Even if there be the required number of monks, if they can be moved, let them be assigned to an open place rather than a congested one. In accordance with the edict of the first month of this year,<sup>1</sup> if there be any building hereafter, I beg that it be handled according to the clerical regulations and the provisions of the law.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 517.

[114k] 若僧不滿五十者,共相通容。小就大寺,必令充限。其地賣還,一如上式。

If the monks be fewer than fifty, let them merge together, the fewer going to the larger monastery, and let them be certain to fulfil the number. Let the sale and return of temple land be based uniformly on the above proposal.

[114] 自今外州,若欲造寺,僧滿五十已上,先令本州表列,昭玄量審,奏聽乃立。若有違犯,悉依前科。州郡已下,容而不禁,罪同違旨。

From now on, if any of the outer provinces desires to build a monastery, and if the monks fill the number of fifty or more, first let the said province give notice, and when the Illuminator of Mysteries has weighed and examined the case and the petition has been approved, then let it be built. If there are violations, let them be dealt with according to the previous provisions. In the provinces, prefectures, and lesser areas, if there is toleration unaccompanied by any restraints, the crime shall be equal to disobeying an Imperial edict.

[114m] 庶仰遵先皇不朽之業,俯奉今旨慈悲之令,則繩墨可全,聖道不墜矣」。奏可。

It is to be hoped that if, on the one hand, we follow His Former Majesty's imperishable precedent and, on the other, uphold the merciful ordinances of this edict, the standards may be whole and the Way of the Sages not decline.

The memorial was approved.

[115] 未幾,天下喪亂,加以河陰之酷,朝士死者,其家多捨居宅,以施僧尼,京邑第舍,略爲寺矣。前日禁令不復行焉。

But in no time the Empire was in confusion, and in addition there was the atrocity south of the River. Of the courtiers who died, many of the families donated their homes to the monks and nuns, and most of the mansions of the Capital became temples.<sup>1</sup> The prohibitive regulations of the previous day were not carried out at all.

<sup>1</sup> The Northern Wei dynasty, from about A.D. 520 onward, was plagued by an unremitting series of civil wars and foreign invasions that eventually rendered the authority of the central government completely ineffectual. In the second lunar month of A.D. 528 Emperor Su-tsung 肅宗 died at the age of nineteen without an heir, and the Dowager Empress Ling placed the three-year-old Prince Chao 釗 of Lin-t'ao 臨洮 on the throne. ÊRH-CHU Jung 爾朱榮, based at the time in T'ai-yüan, proclaimed the succession illegitimate and, pressing the claims of Prince Yu 攸 (known to subsequent history as Emperor Ching-tsung), led an army southward on Lo-yang and on the twelfth day of the fourth lunar month pitched camp in the field of Ho-yin (lit. "south of the River", i.e., the Yellow River), north of Mang-shan 邙山. The next day he descended on the nobility and gentry and in one swoop slaughtered more than thirteen hundred of them, including the Empress Dowager Ling and the infant sovereign. The Lo-yang aristocracy was thus almost completely exterminated in a single day. Although Ching-tsung was formally proclaimed emperor, for a time everyone in Lo-yang regardless of social station was in terror and, in the words of the first *chüan* of the *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan-chi*, "The noble houses

and the mighty families cast aside their homes and vied with one another in flight (貴室豪家,棄宅競竄)." From then on there was no peace at the Northern Wei capital but a succession of tragedies. In the midst of these tragedies the civilization that had developed around the luxurious mode of life of the Lo-yang aristocracy must have been dealt a mighty blow, but ironically enough the Buddhist temples only swelled in number as a result of them. Many of the mansions abandoned by their wealthy owners were turned into monasteries. The home of the most extravagant of the 'bons vivants' in the Imperial family, Prince Shên 玠 of Ho-chien 河間, became the Ho-chien-ssü. The mansion of Prince Lüeh 略 of Tung-p'ing 東平 became the Chui-kuang-ssü 追光寺. The palace of Prince Yung 雍 of Kao-yang 高陽, who had been the Prince of Ho-chien's rival in extravagance, became the Kao-yang-wang-ssü. And, as a final example, the home of the all-powerful eunuch Liu T'êng was also converted into a temple in A.D. 531 by order of ÊRH-CHU Shih-lung 爾朱世隆. Cf. *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan-chi* iv: 經河陰之役,諸元殲盡,王侯第宅,多題爲寺。壽邱里間,列剎相望,祇洹鬱起,寶塔高凌。

[116] 元象元年秋,詔曰:「梵境幽玄,義歸清曠,伽藍淨土,理絕囂塵。前朝城內,先有禁斷,自聿來遷鄴,率由舊章。而百辟士民,屆都之始,城外新城,並皆給宅。舊城中,暫時普借,更擬後須,非爲永久。如聞諸人,多以二處得地,或捨舊城所借之宅,擅立爲寺。如非已有,假此一名。終恐因習滋甚,有虧恒式。宜付有司,精加隱括。且城中舊寺及宅,並有定帳,其新立之徒,悉從毀廢」。

In the first year of Yüan-hsiang,<sup>1</sup> in autumn, an edict said:

The precinct of Brahman is obscure and mysterious, and by right reveres pure emptiness. The monastery is a Pure Land, and as a matter of principle is apart from turmoil and defilement. During former reigns there used to be restrictions within the Capital. Since then we have moved hither to Yeh, and in general have followed the old statutes. But when the officials, the gentry, and the people first arrived at the Capital, the new city outside the walls provided homes for all. Within the old city they rented homes indiscriminately. Since this was merely for temporary purposes, it was not to be for long. As We have heard, many have acquired land in two places, and some, donating the houses which they have been renting in the old city, are arbitrarily setting them up as temples. Knowing that it is not their own property, they are making a mockery of the name of piety. In the end, We fear, if there is an ever greater accumulation of such, harm will be done to the established norms. The officials must be ordered carefully to conduct an investigation. Now within the city the old temples as well as the houses are precisely recorded. Temples recently established must all be demolished.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 538. The Northern Wei had split into an eastern Eastern Wei 'nien-hao' 年號. and a western dynasty, and Yüan-hsiang (A.D. 538-9) was an

[117] 冬又詔:「天下牧,守,令,長,悉不聽造寺。若有違者,不問財之所出,并計所營功庸,悉以枉法論」。

In the winter there was another edict promulgated:

The 'mu,' 'shou,' 'ling,' and 'chang' of all the Empire shall in no case tolerate the building of temples. If there are violations, then without regard to the source of funds or the total amount of labor expended,<sup>1</sup> all shall be treated as having broken the law.

<sup>1</sup> The 'chi' 計 in our text may be an error for some other character. On the other hand, the 'pu' 不 that might be expected above it may have been dropped by the copyist. Another possibility is that the 'pu' of 'pu-wên' 不問 (which we have rendered above "without regard to") applies also to the 'chi.' It is noteworthy that *Tzū-chih t'ung-chien* clviii also omits it: 東魏始詔牧守令長,擅立寺者,計其功庸(庸用也,勞也,屨也)以枉法論。

[118] 興和二年春,詔以鄴城舊宮,爲天平寺。

In the second year of Hsing-ho,<sup>1</sup> in the spring, it was decreed that the old palace in the walled city of Yeh be made into the T'ien-p'ing-ssü.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 540. In the seventh lunar month of A.D. 534 the Northern Wei emperor Hsiao-wu fled to Ch'ang-an to escape the heavy hand of Kao Huan 高歡. There, with the help of Yu-wên T'ai 宇文泰, he established the dynasty of the West-

ern Wei. In the tenth lunar month Kao Huan enthroned Emperor Hsiao-ching as sovereign of the Eastern Wei, moving the capital to Yeh and renaming the period T'ien-p'ing (Heavenly Calm) 天平. Lo-yang, having ceased to be the capital, went to wrack and ruin, and even the Buddhist temples decayed, as we learn from the author's preface of the *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan-chi*: 暨永熙多難,皇輿遷都,諸寺僧尼,亦與時徙。至武定五年歲在丁卯,余因行役,重覽洛陽,城郭崩毀,宮室傾覆,寺觀灰燼,廟塔丘墟。…京城表裏,凡有一千餘寺。今日寥廓,鐘聲罕聞。At the end of the same work we read, "Lo-yang had had 1,367 temples, but after the capital was moved to Yeh in the first year of T'ien-p'ing [A.D. 534] there were only 421 left."

Cf. also Hsiao-ching's chronicle in *Wei-shu* xii: 天平元年(十一月)庚寅,車駕至鄴,居北城相州之廡。…徙鄴舊人西徑百里,以居新遷之人。

Thus we see that the aristocrats and bureaucrats who arrived in Yeh as a result of the hasty move of the capital from Lo-yang evicted the old inhabitants of the new capital and confiscated their homes. Emergency measure though this was, it was inevitable that in the hodge-podge of resettlement and occupation some injustices should occur. Also, there must have been a considerable movement on the part of the monks and nuns who had formerly occupied the 1,367 temples of Lo-yang and who now found themselves confronted with a housing shortage (for most of the Lo-yang clergy also moved to Yeh) to demand of the lay Buddhists, particularly the aristocrats and bureaucrats, that they establish monasteries

and nunneries for them. And, considering the rate at which these aristocrats and bureaucrats had built temples during the last days of Lo-yang, one might be safe in supposing that they built temples even in violation of the law at Yeh, a city with a shortage of monasteries and nunneries. Yeh began to settle down to an orderly existence as the new Imperial capital only in A.D. 539, when the city wall had been built. By the Wu-ting (A.D. 543-549) period law and order reigned, and Yeh began to witness the glories of an Imperial capital.

Cf. the Treatise on Penalties 刑罰志 in *Wei-shu* xxi: 天平後,遷移草創,百司多不奉法,貨賄公行。興和初,齊文襄王入輔朝政,以公平肅物,大改其風,至武定中,法令嚴明,四海知治矣。

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hsiao-ching's chronicle in *Wei-shu* xii under Hsing-ho 1 (A.D. 539): 九月甲子,發畿內民夫十萬人,城鄴城。…十一月癸亥,以新宮成,大赦天下,改元。二年正月,…丁丑,徙御新宮,大赦,內外百官,普進一階。From this we see that the completion of the new Imperial palace at Yeh rendered the old one superfluous, and accordingly it was converted into a temple and given the name of the first 'nien-hao' of the Eastern Wei. To this state-sponsored temple were gathered the great clerics of the Eastern Wei-Buddhist church, who made it the center of Buddhist scholarship from the end of the Eastern Wei to the Northern Ch'i. Cf. the biography of the monk Chên-yü 眞玉 of the T'ien-p'ing-ssü in *Hsü kao-sêng-chuan* vi: 齊天保中,文宣皇帝,盛弘講席,海內髦彥,咸聚天平。於時義學星羅,跨轡相架。(眞)玉獨標稱首,登座談敘,罔不歸宗。…常徒學士,幾百千人。

[119] 世宗以來,至武定末,沙門知名者,有惠猛,惠辨,惠深,僧暹,道欽,僧獻,道晞,僧深,惠光,惠顯,法榮,道長,並見重於當世。

From Shih-tsung<sup>1)</sup> until the end of Wu-ting,<sup>2)</sup> among the śramaṇas of renown were Hui-mêng,<sup>3)</sup> Hui-pien,<sup>4)</sup> Hui-shên,<sup>5)</sup> Sêng-hsien,<sup>6)</sup> Tao-ch'in,<sup>7)</sup> Sêng-hsien,<sup>8)</sup> Tao-hsi,<sup>9)</sup> Sêng-shên,<sup>10)</sup> Hui-kuang,<sup>11)</sup> Hui-hsien,<sup>12)</sup> Fa-jung,<sup>13)</sup> and Tao-ch'ang,<sup>14)</sup> all of whom were honored in their respective generations.

<sup>1</sup> R. A.D. 500-516.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 543-549.

<sup>3</sup> Brief biography in *Ku chao-hsüan sha-mên tu-wei-na fa-shih Hui-mêng mu-chih-ming* 故昭玄沙門都維那法師惠猛墓志銘 (in *Mang-lo chüing-mu i-wên hsiipien* 芒洛冢墓遺文續編). A native of Tun-huang, his secular surname was Yin 陰, and he was highly regarded by Kao-tsu. He rose to the rank of Wei-na General at Lo-yang.

<sup>4</sup> Otherwise unknown.

<sup>5</sup> 'Sha-mên-t'ung' under Shih-tsung, as we have seen above.

<sup>6</sup> During Yen-ch'ang (A.D. 512-516) he rose from Wei-na General to 'sha-mên-t'ung'. He also played a great part in the construction of the Hsien-chü-ssü on Sung-shan (cf. above, also Li Tang's 李瑒 biography in *Wei-shu* liii and FENG Liang's, 馮亮 *ibid.*, xc).

<sup>7,8</sup> Otherwise unknown.

<sup>9</sup> This is the famous Bodhiruci. His biography is in *Hsü kao-sêng-chuan* i. The biography writes the second character of his Chinese name 希 rather than the 晞 of our text. He made his home at the Yung-ning-ssü, the greatest of all the state-sponsored temples in Lo-yang, and among the seven hundred foreign monks there he was considered the "master translator". According to the *Li-tai san-pao-chi* 歷代三寶記, from A.D. 508 to 535 he translated 39 texts totalling 127 *chüan*, but there is a possibility that in this figure are included the translations of two later monks, Prajñāruci (Chih-hsi 智希) and Dharmaruci (Fa-hsi 法希). Here is a list of those of his translations that exerted the greatest influence on Chinese Buddhism:

1. *Lañkāvatāra* 入楞伽經 (10 *chüan*)

2. *Saṃdhinirmocana* 深密解脫經 (5 *chüan*)

3. *Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā* 金剛般若經 (1 *chüan*)

4. *V-upadeśa* 金剛般若經論 (by Vasubandhu, 3 *chüan*)
5. *Daśabhūmivākyāna* 十地經論 (by Vasubandhu, 12 *chüan*)
6. *Sukhāvatīvyūhopadeśa* 無量壽經優婆塞經論 (by Vasubandhu, 1 *chüan*)
7. *Saddharmapuṇḍarikopadeśa* 妙法蓮華經論 (by Vasubandhu, 2 *chüan*)
8. *Aryamahāratnakūṭadharmaparyāyaśatasahasrikapari-vartakāśyapapari-vartatikā* 大寶積經論 (by Sthiramati, according to Tibetan tradition; 4 *chüan*)

One can see at a glance that this man was a translator of the works of Vasubandhu's school. The translation of the *Daśabhūmivākyāna* led to the formation in late Wei and under the Northern Ch'i of the Ti-lun Sect, while that of the *Sukhāvatīvyūhopadeśa*, as further expanded by T'an-luan's commentary, the *Wang-shēng-lun-chu* 往生論註, became the fountainhead for the development of Ching-t'u doctrine and belief in China. In any case, he introduced the Chinese Buddhist world, which until then had been nurtured chiefly on the ideas of Nāgārjuna as made accessible by Kumārajīva, to a newer school of Mahāyāna thought, and thereby furnished a turning-point in the development of Buddhist doctrine on Chinese soil.

<sup>10</sup> Otherwise unknown.

<sup>11</sup> Biography in *Hsü kao-sēng-chuan* xxi. Hui-kuang's abilities were recognized in his youth by Buddhahadra, who is mentioned in the *Shih-lao-chih* as having enjoyed the respect of Kao-tsu. Raised by Buddhahadra in a strict tradition of obedience to the monastic discipline, he studied the Dharmaguptaka vinaya and furnished the impetus that eventually led to the formation of a Chinese sect based on that vinaya. Since, as we have seen above, this was an age in which strict adherence to the discipline was demanded of the clergy by the government, it was only natural for a vinaya scholar such as he to gain the confidence of the Court. He also assisted Bodhiruci and Ratnamati in their translation of the *Daśabhūmivākyāna*, thereby becoming an authority on that treatise. He preached on the *Avataṃsaka*, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, the *Daśabhūmika*, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, and other Mahāyāna scriptures and treatises, and composed commentaries to such scriptures as the *Śrīmālādevīsūhanāda*, the *I-chiao-ching* 遺教經, the *Wen-shih-ching* 溫室經, and the *Jen-wang pan-jo ching* 仁王般若經, in addition to writing works on the monastic discipline and gathering disciples "like trees in a forest". Chih-i 智顗 says in his *Fa-hua hsüan-i* 法華玄義 and elsewhere that Hui-kuang or his followers divided the Buddha's doctrine into Four Principles, viz., (a) the Principle of Causation 因緣宗 (preached in the Abhidharma), (b) the Principle of Tentative Names 假名宗 (preached in the *Satyasiddhi*), (c) the Untrue Principle 不真宗 (preached in the *Prajñāpāramitā* and the Four Treatises), (d) the True Principle 真宗 (preached in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, the *Avataṃsaka*, and the *Daśabhūmika*). According to this account, they held that the last three scriptures mentioned

contain the ultimate truth preached by the Buddha. As we have mentioned above, the Northern Wei Buddhist clergy was governed by the 'chao-hsüan-ts'ao' and its two chief officers, the 'sha-mên-t'ung' and the 'tu-wei-na'. The post of 'sha-mên-t'ung' at the end of the Northern Wei was filled by the aged monk Sēng-ling 僧令, who died at the age of eighty-one in A.D. 534, the year in which the dynasty split into eastern and western halves (cf. the *Chao-hsüan sha-mên-t'ung Sēng-ling fa-shih mu-chih-ming* 昭玄沙門統僧令法師墓誌銘). Hui-kuang was his 'tu-wei-na', and was elevated to the post of 'sha-mên-t'ung' by the Eastern Wei after Sēng-ling's death. Thus this great student of and strict adherent to the monastic discipline held positions of very high authority as supervisor of the Buddhist clergy under both the Northern and Eastern Wei, and after his death his work was carried on by his brilliant disciple Fa-shang 法上 and his colleagues, who further expanded the executive branch of the hierarchy. This era corresponds, it should be noted, to the Northern Ch'i, i.e., to that period in which Wei Shou was composing the *Wei-shu*. By Wei Shou's time the doctrines contained in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, the *Avataṃsaka*, and the *Daśabhūmika* had come to form the mainstream of the thought of the central Buddhist church. This is evident from the view of Buddhism expressed in the *Shih-lao-chih*. Hui-kuang was the principal leader in the Buddhist scholarly movement that embraced these tendencies.

<sup>12</sup> The corresponding passage in the *Kuang hung-ming-chi* reads 'yung' 頤 instead of 'hsien' 顯. In T'an-ning's 曇寧 preface to Bodhiruci's state-sponsored translation of the *Saṃdhinirmocana* we find the name of "the vinaya master Hui-yung" alongside those of Hui-kuang and Sēng-ling. He was probably an authority on the then very popular vinaya.

<sup>13</sup> Otherwise unknown. There was, however, a Tao-jung 道榮 who seems to have enjoyed the confidence of both Kao Huan and Hsiao-wu. When the latter fled to Ch'ang-an, the former by messenger begged him forty times to return to Lo-yang, but to no avail. The messenger on the last of these forty errands was Tao-jung, and it was only when Hsiao-wu had refused this request as well that Kao Huan proclaimed Hsiao-ching emperor of the Eastern Wei and moved his capital to Yeh. Cf. *Pei-shih* vi: 神武自發晉陽至此,凡四十啓,魏帝皆不答。九月庚寅,神武還至洛陽。乃遣僧道榮,奉表關中,又不答。乃集百寮沙門耆老,議所推立。The Fa-jung of our text and this Tao-jung may possibly be one and the same person. On a statue inscription of the Chēng-kuang period (A.D. 519-525), when the Lung-mên caves were being dug, we encounter the name of the Ta-t'ung-ssü 大統寺 monk Tao-jung several times. It is also possible that Fa-jung is identical with Hui-jung, 慧榮, but this is not certain either.

<sup>14</sup> This monk was famous in Yeh as a *Ta-chih-tu-lun* scholar. With his colleague Fa-mên 法門, who, like him, was a disciple of Hui-kuang, he was one of the most promising members of the Yeh Buddhist church. His name is also written 道場, since 長 and 場 are homophones. Cf. Chih-nien's 志念 bio-

graphy in *Hsü kao-sêng-chuan* xi: 爰至受具,問道鄴都,有道長法師,精通智論,爲學者之宗。In Fa-shang's biography, *ibid.*, viii, we are told that his contemporaries said that the most promising monks of the Capital were Tao-ch'ang and Fa-shang. The early Sui monk Hui-ying 慧影 says in the twenty-fourth *chüan* of his *Chih-tu-lun su* 智度論疏 that Hui-kuang's disciple Tao-ch'ang ensconced himself on Sung-shan, where for ten years he read the *Ta-chih-tu-lun*, thereafter becoming a great preacher on this treatise. The rise of *Ta-chih-tu-lun* studies, according to this same source, was the work of this man. The Sui and early T'ang monk Tao-ch'o 道綽 says in his *An-lo-chi* 安樂集 that the six virtuous monks Bodhiruci 菩提流支, Hui-ch'ung 慧聰, Tao-ch'ang

道場, T'an-luan 曇鸞, Ta-hai 大海, and Fa-shang 法上, were all "wondrous mirrors of the Two Truths and ropes of the Law of Buddha, who understood the Great Vehicle thoroughly and directed their steps longingly homeward to the Pure Land". In *Fa-yüan chu-lin* xv we read that at the time of Sui Wên-ti's revival of Buddhism there was a statue of Amita with a group of fifty bodhisattvas, which the monk Ming-hsien 明憲 had received from Tao-ch'ang, the dharma-master of the KAO state of Ch'i.

The Tao-ch'ang mentioned in these various Sui and T'ang documents, whichever way his name is written, seems to be identical with the Tao-ch'ang of our text, a contemporary of Wei Shou.

[120] 自魏有天下,至於禪讓,佛經流通,大集中國,凡有四百一十五部,合一千九百一十九卷。正光已後,天下多虞,王役尤甚,於是所在編民,相與入道,假慕沙門,實避調役。猥濫之極,自中國之有佛法,未之有也。略而計之,僧尼大衆二百萬矣。其寺三萬有餘,流弊不歸,一至於此。識者所以歎息也。

From the time Wei took possession of the Empire until it surrendered it,<sup>1</sup> the Buddhist scriptures that circulated and were collected in the Middle Kingdom were in all four hundred and fifteen works, totalling one thousand nine hundred and nineteen rolls. After Chêng-kuang<sup>2</sup> the Empire had many anxieties, and royal service was most frequent. Thereupon registered subjects, wherever they happened to be, joined one another in entering the clergy. They made a pretense of loving the life of a śramaṇa, but in fact they were evading conscripted service. Such an extreme of hypocrisy, since the Middle Kingdom had acquired the Law of Buddha, there had never been. By a rough count the community of monks and nuns was two millions. The temples were more than thirty thousand. The rampant evils, unabated, have come to this, and over them persons of knowledge sigh deeply.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 386-550.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 519-525.



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