

Zhipan's Account of the History of Buddhism in China



# Zhipan's Account of the History of Buddhism in China

VOLUME 2

Fozu tongji, *juan* 39–42:  
*From the Sui Dynasty to the Wudai Era*

*By*

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Cover illustration: The great pagoda in the Ayuwang Monastery of Ningbo (photograph by Thomas Jülch).

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at <http://catalog.loc.gov>  
LC record available at <http://lccn.loc.gov/2019007338>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: [brill.com/brill-typeface](http://brill.com/brill-typeface).

ISBN 978-90-04-44591-8 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-44748-6 (e-book)

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## Acknowledgements

In working on the translations presented in the present volume I was repeatedly confronted with difficult textual passages, which I could not come to terms with alone. I was privileged in receiving insightful advice from many scholars, to whom I am deeply grateful for their help. In particular I wish to thank Chan Wai Keung (Hong Kong Baptist University), Fujii Jun (Komazawa University), Huang Chi-chiang (Hobart and William Smith Colleges), Jun Fang (Huron College), Edmund Lien (University of Washington), Lin Pei-ying (University of California at Berkeley), Luo Manling (Indiana University), Richard John Lynn (University of Toronto), Paul L. Swanson (Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture), Albert Welter (The University of Arizona), Wu Jiang (The University of Arizona), Xiong Cunrui (Western Michigan University).





## Introduction to *Fozu tongji*, juan 39–42

With the present volume I present the second part of my translation from the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (T 2035, Comprehensive History of the Buddhist Patriarchs). The translation project aims at offering a complete translation of the “Fayun tongsai zhi” 法運通塞志 (Monograph on Success and Obstructions in the Spread of the Dharma), which covers *Fozu tongji*, juan 34–48. The “Fayun tongsai zhi” is an annalistic chronicle of Buddhism in China. In the first volume I presented a translation of *Fozu tongji*, juan 34–38, which refers to the period from the birth of the Buddha to the Nanbeichao era. With the present volume I add the translation of *Fozu tongji*, juan 39–42, which refers to the period from the Sui dynasty to the Wudai era. In the third volume a translation of *Fozu tongji*, juan 43–48, which refers to the Song dynasty, shall follow.

With regard to the overall textual structure of the “Fayun tongsai zhi,” it needs to be explained that apart from the main text, the work contains supplements, commentary passages, and annotations. Supplements are enhancements that in the materials translated for the present volume are added to the main text in the end of juan 39, juan 40, and juan 42. Shi Daofa 釋道法 has published a modern edition of the *Fozu tongji*, which integrates the supplements into the annalistic display fitting them in wherever they chronologically belong.<sup>1</sup> In the present translation project I do however not follow this approach. Instead I translate the text of the “Fayun tongsai zhi” as it appears in the Taishō. Commentary passages are designed to provide further information on a subject of an entry in the main text or also on a subject of an entry in a supplement. They therefore appear subsequent to the entry they refer to, and are in the present translation project presented as indented to the text of this entry. Annotations appear within the main text, within supplements and within commentary passages. They are of very different content. Those that carry important information are in the present translation project translated in footnotes to the relevant passage.

The materials translated for the present volume have partially already been translated by Jan Yün-hua.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately in Jan Yün-hua’s translation much of the text is omitted. Supplements, commentary passages, and annotations are generally excluded from the translation. When it comes to the paragraphs

1 Shi Daofa 釋道法, *Fozu tongji xiaozhu* 佛祖統紀校注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012).

2 Jan Yün-hua, *A Chronicle of Buddhism in China, 581–960 A.D. Translations from Monk Chih-p’an’s Fo-tsu-T’ung-chi* (Santiniketan: Visva Bharati, 1966).

of the main text, the translation occasionally stops in the middle of a paragraph, and many of the paragraphs are missing completely. Jan Yün-hua does not include omission signs, and he does not indicate where the textual segments he chooses to translate appear in the text. This makes it rather laborious for the reader to identify which text portions Jan Yün-hua's translation is referring to. One also wonders which criteria Jan Yün-hua's choices of including or excluding textual segments depend on, as he does not offer an explanation concerning this matter. The quality of the translations we are offered seems questionable. Jan Yün-hua's translation style is overly free and sometimes he appears to be retelling rather than translating the text. Jan Yün-hua does offer footnotes in which he critically compares the contents of the text with relevant references in other sources. His appreciation of intertextuality does however have its limitations. It appears to me that more should be done in identifying sources. Also in explaining historical backgrounds and contexts one could be more elaborate. For these reasons I have decided to include this part, which was previously already subject to the work of Jan Yün-hua, into my translation of the "Fayun tongsai zhi" again.

Subsequently my introduction to *Fozu tongji*, juan 39–42, will fall into four parts. Firstly I will look at how the Buddhist-Confucian confrontation and the Buddhist-Daoist confrontation are represented in the text. Secondly I will contrast the representations of Tiantai-Buddhism and Chan-Buddhism against each other. Thirdly I will outline the context of Chinese Buddhist historiography discussing which place the *Fozu tongji* and the "Fayun tongsai zhi" occupy in it. Fourthly I will introduce sources of relevance to the translated text that have not yet been covered in the previous parts of the introduction.

## 1      **The Buddhist-Confucian Confrontation and the Buddhist-Daoist Confrontation in the "Fayun tongsai zhi"**

During its early history in China, Buddhism as a religion coming from abroad needed to justify its emergence in Chinese society, which resulted in a rich production of Buddhist apologetic literature employing different strategies in stating the case for Buddhism both in reaction to Confucianism and in reaction to Daoism. This apologetic endeavor is also reflected in the annalistic records of the "Fayun tongsai zhi," where we usually find brief references to the publication of relevant works as well as to other relevant events. The Buddhist-Daoist confrontation and the Buddhist-Confucian confrontation each play their role in both the materials translated for the first volume and in the materials translated for the present second volume of this *Fozu tongji* translation project. In

what follows I will first refer to the representation of the Buddhist-Confucian confrontation, and subsequently to the representation of the Buddhist-Daoist confrontation.

First, with regard to the Buddhist-Confucian confrontation, we should be aware of different aspects. Generally speaking, state and society in medieval China were conditioned by Confucianism. Buddhism as a religion of Indian origin found itself in various conflicts with the Confucian norms. An eminent conflict standing symbolically for the entire struggle between the Buddhist *saṃgha* and the Confucian state system was the debate on whether or not Buddhist monks should bow to the emperor. In ancient India religion enjoyed a superior status, against the background of which it would have been unthinkable for a religious dignitary to bow to any worldly authority. Basing themselves on this tradition, Buddhist apologists in medieval China claimed that Buddhist monks should not be requested to bow to worldly authorities, as such requirements would impair the status of Buddhism as a religion free of control from worldly authorities. In the Confucian state system, the emperor was however seen as the head of all religions practiced in the empire, so that no religion practiced in China could evade imperial control. In early Chinese Buddhism the main incident of protest against this Confucian understanding of the status of religion was the composition of the “Shamen bujing wangzhe lun” 沙門不敬王者論 by Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416).<sup>3</sup> Within the material translated in the present volume, further incidents of prominent protest find their representation. In *Fozu tongji*, juan 39, we find a reference to the controversy that during the Sui dynasty triggered the composition of the “Futian lun” 福田論 by Yancong 彥琮 (557–610),<sup>4</sup> which—after the “Shamen bujing wangzhe lun”—was the second prominent work in that segment of Buddhist apologetic literature. The debates on whether or not monks should bow to the emperor were closely related to yet another battlefield in the Buddhist-Confucian confrontation. The Confucian concept of filial piety required that anybody

3 The “Shamen bujing wangzhe lun” is preserved in *Hongming ji* 弘明集, T 2102, juan 5. For a translation, see: Leon Hurvitz, “‘Render unto Cesar’ in Early Chinese Buddhism: Huiyuan’s Treatise on the Exemption of the Buddhist Clergy from the Requirements of Civil Etiquette,” in: *Liebenthal Festschrift*, ed. Kshitis Roy (Santiniketan: Visvabharati, 1975): 80–114; see also: Peng Ziqiang 彭自強, *Fojiao yu Ru Dao de chongtu yu ronghe* 佛教與儒道的衝突與融合 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe 巴蜀書社, 2000), 213–250.

4 The “Futian lun” is preserved in *Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集, T 2103, juan 25. For a translation, see: Thomas Jülch, “On Whether or Not Buddhist Monks Should Bow to the Emperor: Yancong’s Treatise on the Fields of Blessedness,” in: *Monumenta Serica* 60 (2012): 1–43. On Yancong, see: Lan Jifu 藍吉富, *Suidai fojiao shi shulun* 隋代佛教史述論 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshu guan 臺灣商務印書館, 1998), 206–211.

in the empire should pay homage to his parents. This, too, provoked the resistance of the Buddhist saṃgha, as in the Buddhist understanding becoming a monk meant to leave one's family and to become member of the family of the Buddha. The Chinese Buddhist terminology expresses this claim in its very term for becoming a monk, which is 'chu jia' 出家, literally 'leaving the family,' but translated as 'renouncing secular life' in the present translation project. Also the Buddhist resentment against the Confucian commandment of paying homage to one's parents led to several confrontations in medieval China. One particularly important example for such conflicts is rather briefly represented in *Fozu tongji*, juan 39 (T 2035, p. 367, a27–28). That the Buddhist protest against Confucian claims that monks should bow to the emperor, and the Buddhist protest against Confucian claims that monks should bow to their parents jointly form one important aspect of medieval Chinese Buddhist apologetic thought has its evidence in the fact that during the Tang dynasty, under the title of *Ji shamen bu ying bai su deng shi* 集沙門不應拜俗等事 (T 2108), a major collection of texts was compiled in which all the works relevant to this aspect of Buddhist apologetic literature are represented.<sup>5</sup>

Another aspect of the Buddhist-Confucian confrontation in medieval China derives from the fact that in medieval China ordination certificates could be purchased, on the basis of which even people with little interest in Buddhism often became monks, simply in order to evade taxation and corvée labor. Through this phenomenon, the Chinese state was to a significant extent deprived of financial income and work force. The state reacted by introducing examinations in which monks had to demonstrate their understanding of the sūtras. Monks who did not pass were returned to laity. Such measures provoked the protest of the Buddhist saṃgha, as they posed a potential threat to all monks. When we read about plans of introducing monks' examinations in Buddhist historiography the entry usually comes with the proud remark that the plans were dropped. In *Fozu tongji*, juan 42, we find a record of one prominent case, where the plans were dropped also due to the discredit of the initiator (T 2035, p. 385, b14–17). Since through such measures the state did not achieve to significantly reduce the numbers of monks, the rage in the face of growing losses of financial income and work force was the main cause triggering the third great persecution of the Buddhist saṃgha in Chinese history, which occurred during the Huichang era of Tang Wuzong. In commenting on Tang Wuzong's persecution policy, the "Fayun tongsai zhi" seeks to demonstrate

5 For a comparative study of Buddhist apologetics directed against the Confucian claim that Buddhist monks should bow to the emperor and to their parents, see: Eric Reinders, *Buddhist and Christian Responses to the Kowtow Problem in China* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

that by harming the samgha Tang Wuzong accumulated an enormous amount of negative karma. Hence it is stressed that, as a karmic retribution, abscesses developed on his back,<sup>6</sup> and that after his death his soul was to be arrested with that of the Lord of the Western Sea (T 2035, p. 386, a29–b2).

A third aspect of the Buddhist-Confucian confrontation, which plays a significant role in the materials translated in the present second volume of the translation project, is the assessment of the anti-Buddhist polemicism of the Confucian scholar Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824). As Han Yu lived during the Tang dynasty, the main treatment of his activity is seen in the second volume, but already in the materials translated in the first volume Han Yu is quoted and referred to in several commentary passages. In those commentary passages the image of Han Yu is downrightly negative. Most notably, in the supplements appearing in the end of *Fozu tongji*, juan 35, we find a lengthy quotation of a text by Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (1037–1101), which harshly opposes Han Yu for his slander of Buddhism (T 2035, p. 334, b3–24). When it comes to the materials of the “Fayun tongsai zhi” translated in the second volume, the assessment of Han Yu is however not generally negative. In *Fozu tongji*, juan 41, it is rather attempted to reinterpret the image of Han Yu calling his anti-Buddhist disposition into question. Zhipan goes to great length in presenting anecdotes testifying to the positive relationship between Han Yu and the Buddhist dharma master Dadian 大顛 (T 2035, p. 382, a10–b12). Subsequently, in a commentary passage, Zhipan quotes yet another text of Su Dongpo regarding Han Yu. It says that—in letters to Meng Jian 孟簡, an official in the rank of “jianyi dafu” 諫議大夫 (or Grand Master of Remonstrance) responsible for the supplies for state sacrifices—Han Yu expressed his affection for Dadian (T 2035, p. 382, b13–14). Subsequent to the quotation of Su Dongpo, Zhipan adds that certain other texts ascribing anti-Buddhist statements to Han Yu were of dubious origin (T 2035, p. 382, b17–20).

When it comes to the Buddhist-Daoist confrontation, the conflict basically arises from the fact that both Buddhism and Daoism were in medieval China established as influential religious systems, which therefore found themselves in a state of natural competition and rivalry with each other. Many of the apologetic treatises authored by medieval Chinese Buddhist apologists were directed against Daoism. In early Chinese Buddhism, important apologetic treatises of that kind were the *Erjiao lun* 二教論 (Treatise of the Two Teachings)<sup>7</sup> and

6 The passage I am concerned with here is developed from the Taishō apparatus of textual criticism appearing in T 2035, p. 386, a25. The part I am referring to reads: 上發背疽煩懣，旬日不語，遂崩。

7 This treatise is preserved in *Guang hongming ji*, juan 8 (T 2103, p. 136, b13–p. 143, c12). For a study and translation, see: Catherine Despeux, “La culture lettrée au service d’un plaidoyer

the *Xiaodao lun* 笑道論 (Treatise of Laughing at the Dao).<sup>8</sup> When it comes to the materials translated in the present volume, the matter of the Buddhist-Daoist confrontation is strongly represented in connection with the early Tang dynasty. The Tang dynasty based itself on Daoism in legitimizing its claim to power, and Daoist priests took advantage of the situation polemicizing against Buddhism. This triggered the composition of complex apologetic works culminating in the treatises of *Poxie lun* 破邪論 (T 2109) and *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論 (T 2110) by Falin (572–640)<sup>9</sup> and the *Zhenzheng lun* 甄正論 (T 2112) by Xuanyi (fl. late 7th century).<sup>10</sup> After Xuanyi, up to the Yuan dynasty no major Buddhist apologetic works directed against Daoism were composed. However the tradition of Buddhist-Daoist court debates was taken further. When the Buddhist-Daoist confrontation reached its culmination point in the early Tang dynasty, the Buddhist historiographer Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) composed the *Ji gujin foday lunheng* 集古今佛道論衡 (T 2104, hereafter: *Foday lunheng*), which sums up the contents of the major Buddhist-Daoist court debates conducted up to Daoxuan's life times.<sup>11</sup> With regard to the remaining part of the Tang dynasty, for the Wudai period, and for the Song dynasty, we do not have source material as elaborate as that. However the annalistic records of the “Fayun tongsai zhi” allow us to take the list of Buddhist-Daoist court debates further. Unfortunately the *Fozu tongji* does not inform us about the content of the court debates, but usually confines itself to mentioning that at a certain date a court debate was conducted and to naming the main participants.

Another prominent representation of the Buddhist-Daoist confrontation within the contents of the “Fayun tongsai zhi” translated in the present vol-

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pour le Bouddhisme: Le ‘Traité des deux doctrines’ (‘Erjiao Lun’) de Dao’an,” in: *Bouddhisme et lettrés dans la Chine médiévale*, ed. Catherine Despeux (Paris: Peeters, 2002): 145–227.

8 This treatise is preserved in *Guang hongming ji*, juan 9 (T 2103, p. 143, c20–p. 152, c17). For a study and translation, see: Livia Kohn, *Laughing at the Tao: Debates among Buddhists and Daoists in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

9 On Falin's apologetic treatises, see: Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik: die Mission des buddhistischen Tang-Mönchs Falin*, 3 vols. (München: Utz, 2014); Thomas Jülch, “In Defense of the Saṃgha: The Buddhist Apologetic Mission of the Early Tang Monk Falin,” in: *The Middle Kingdom and the Dharma Wheel: Aspects of the Relationship between the Buddhist Saṃgha and the State in Chinese History*, ed. Thomas Jülch (Leiden et al.: Brill, 2016): 18–93.

10 On this treatise, see: Thomas Jülch, *The Zhenzheng lun by Xuanyi: A Buddhist Apologetic Scripture of Tang China* (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2019).

11 For translations from the *Foday lunheng*, see: Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik*, vol. 3, 205–270; Friedrieke Assandri, *Dispute zwischen Daoisten und Buddhisten im Fo Dao lunheng des Daoxuan (596–667)* (Gossenberg: Ostasien-Verlag, 2015).

ume is presented in different shape. While all of the above is introduced as part of the annalistic display in connection with a prominent event ascribed to a particular date, in *Fozu tongji*, jian 40, we find a lengthy commentary passage elaborately detailing on aspects of anti-Daoist propaganda as seen in Buddhist apologetic literature (T 2035, p. 371, c2–p. 372, b16). The commentary passage relates to a main text sequence referring to the historical incident that under Tang Zhongzong paintings of Laozi based on the *Huahu jing* 化胡經 were banned from Buddhist monasteries (T 2035, p. 371, b20–c1). In the commentary passage relating to this main text sequence the reference to the image of Laozi developed in the *Huahu jing* is taken as an occasion to go into great detail in presenting much of the Buddhist apologetic argumentation designed to refute the huahu 化胡 theory. An introduction to the *Huahu jing*, the huahu theory, and Buddhist counter strategies is seen in Erik Zürcher.<sup>12</sup>

## 2 The Representation of Chan- and Tiantai-Buddhism in the “Fayun tongsai zhi”

While the matter of Buddhist apologetic thought concerns Buddhism as a whole, the *Fozu tongji* is a historiographic scripture written with one particular sectarian preference. As already pointed out in the introduction to the first volume of the present translation project, the “Fayun tongsai zhi” is in the first place a general history of Buddhism in China, but since Zhipan, the author of the *Fozu tongji*, belonged to the Tiantai school, and since the *Fozu tongji* was written when during the Song dynasty Chan and Tiantai Buddhism stood in fierce competition with each other, the “Fayun tongsai zhi” in its annalistic display tends to represent the history of Tiantai Buddhism more generously than the history of Chan Buddhism. In the introduction to the previous volume, I gave the example of a comparison of the representations of Bodhidharma (late 4th to early 5th century), the alleged founder of Chan 禪 Buddhism, and Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597), the founder of Tiantai 天台 Buddhism. While Bodhidharma is represented in surprisingly scarce style, aspects of the biography of Zhiyi appear in a great multitude of annalistic entries. The representation of Zhiyi began in the treatment of the Chen dynasty, which is part of the material translated in the first volume, but most of the entries detailing on the biography of Zhiyi are seen in the treatment of the Sui dynasty,

12 Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaption of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 290–320.

which is part of the present volume. Concerning the life of Zhiyi the most original sources are the *Guoqing bailu* 國清百錄 (T 1934, Hundred Documents of the Guoqing [Monastery]) and the *Sui Tiantai Zhizhe dashi biezhuàn* 隋天台智者大師別傳 (T 2050, Alternative Biography of the Sui Dynasty Great Master Zhiyi from the Tiantai Mountains).<sup>13</sup> The references to the life of Zhiyi seen in the “Fayun tongsai zhi” go back to these texts. With regard to Zhiyi and his main disciple Guanding, the emphasis on the Tiantai tradition in the “Fayun tongsai zhi” can indeed be observed. However subsequent to Zhiyi and Guanding throughout the Tang and Wudai eras we find relatively few references to the Tiantai tradition and broad coverage of Chan Buddhism. The only reference to the legacy of another significant master of Tiantai Buddhism is the mention of Zhanran 湛然, who is referred to as the Meditation Master of the Jing Brook 荊溪禪師.<sup>14</sup> Despite Zhipan’s inclination to Tiantai Buddhism, the lack of references to the Tiantai tradition should not surprise us. Zhiyi was importantly involved in the religious legitimation of the Sui dynasty, which is why with the rise of the Tang dynasty the Tiantai school largely fell into eclipse. With regard to the Tang dynasty the heavy emphasis on the Chan tradition simply has its explanation in the fact that through much of the Tang dynasty the Chan tradition was the most relevant of the Buddhist schools in China. The Song dynasty saw a great comeback of the Tiantai school, which is why the materials to be translated in the third volume of the present translation project have more to say about Tiantai Buddhism again.

Within the materials translated for the present volume we are however at least shown how, in the Tiantai Buddhist understanding, the teachings of the Tiantai school were transmitted after Zhiyi. One of the most important works of Zhiyi is the *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 (T 1911, The Great Calming and Contemplation),<sup>15</sup> which is basically Zhiyi’s guide to meditation. The term ‘mohe’ is a transliteration of Skr. ‘mahā’ (= great); ‘zhi’ 止, translated here as ‘calming,’ stands for the Indian spiritual technique of śamatha; ‘guan’ 觀, translated

13 For a study of this work, see: Koichi Shinohara, “Guanding’s Biography of Zhiyi, the Fourth Patriarch of the Tiantai Tradition,” in: *Speaking of Monks: Religious Biography in India and China*, ed. Phyllis E. Granoff. (Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic, 1992): 97–218.

14 The references to Zhanran, which are rather scarce, are seen in *Fozu tongji*, juan 41. As Chen Jinhua points out, there is confusion in the sources as far as the identity of this monk is concerned (Chen Jinhua, “One Name, Three Monks: Two Northern Chan Masters Emerge from the Shadow of Their Contemporary, the Tiantai Patriarch Zhanran (711–782),” in: *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 22, no. 1 [1999]: 1–91).

15 For a complete translation of the *Mohe zhiguan*, see: Paul L. Swanson, *Clear Serenity, Quiet Insight: T’ien-t’ai Chih-i’s Mo-ho chih-kuan*, 3 vols. (Honolulu: The University of Hawai’i Press, 2017).



here as ‘contemplation,’ stands for the Indian spiritual technique of vipaśyanā. Against this background, what is shared in the *Mohe zhiguan* is often referred to as the zhiguan teachings. According to the “Fayun tongsai zhi,” the zhiguan teachings were after Zhiyi passed on from master to master. This makes up for a transmission lineage, which allows Tiantai historiography to claim that even though after Zhiyi the Tiantai school was largely in eclipse there was still a functional lineage reaching back to Zhiyi. From Zhiyi the “teachings of calming and contemplation” were passed on to Guanding. And since Guanding the transmission went on as summed up below. As the “Fayun tongsai zhi” also tells us, Zhanran composed a commentary on the *Mohe zhiguan*.<sup>16</sup>

Transmitted by	Transmitted to	Source in the <i>Fozu tongji</i>
Guanding	Fahua Zhiwei 法華智威	juan 39 (T 2035, p. 362, a22–23)
Fahua Zhiwei 法華智威	Tiangong Huiwei 天宮慧威	juan 39 (T 2035, p. 366, c20–21)
Tiangong Huiwei 天宮慧威	Zuoxi Xuanlang 左溪玄朗	juan 39 (T 2035, p. 369, c14–15)
Zuoxi Xuanlang 左溪玄朗	Jingxi Zhanran 荊溪湛然	juan 40 (T 2035, p. 374, c1–2)
Meditation Master of the Jing Brook 荊溪禪師 (i.e. Zhanran)	Daosui 道邃	juan 41 (T 2035, p. 378, c12–13)
Daosui 道邃	Guangxiu 廣修	juan 41 (T 2035, p. 379, c29– p. 380, a1)
Guangxiu 廣修	Wuwai 物外	juan 42 (T 2035, p. 385, a24–25)
Wuwai 物外	Yuanxiu 元琇	juan 42 (T 2035, p. 389, a25–26)
Yuanxiu 元琇	Qingsong 清竦	juan 42 (T 2035, p. 389, c19–20)
Qingsong 清竦	Xiji 羲寂	juan 42 (T 2035, p. 391, c17–18)

16 See: *Fozu tongji*, juan 41 (T 2035, p. 379, b18–24).

In the materials translated for volume three we continue with the transmission from Xiji 義寂 to Yitong 義通, which is noted in *Fozu tongji*, juan 43 (T 2035, p. 395, a26–27).

As the “Fayun tongsai zhi” also covers the Chan tradition, we find many gong’an 公案 (public case) accounts. While gong’an is the Chinese pronunciation of the term, the Japanese pronunciation, which is more popular in the West, is kōan. The kōan tradition emerged in Chan Buddhism during the late Tang dynasty, and remained important also during the Song dynasty. A kōan account would present a situation in which a Chan master offers a peculiar and mysterious reaction supposed to inspire deep insight in his disciples. Reflection on kōans was a form of meditation, which formed an alternative to the zhiguan tradition of Tiantai Buddhism.<sup>17</sup> Kōans are usually preserved in texts known as Yulu 語錄 (recorded sayings). These are collections, in which notable sayings or reactions of important Chan masters are recorded. In the “Fayun tongsai zhi” much of the repertoire of notable Yulu collections is quoted. Collections of relevance include the *Pangjushi yulu* 龐居士語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Layman Pang, X69 // Z 2:25 // R 120),<sup>18</sup> the *Fenyang Wude chanshi yulu* 汾陽無德禪師語錄 (T 1992, Recorded Sayings of the Meditation Master Wude from Fenyang), the *Mingjue chanshi yulu* 明覺禪師語錄 (T 1996, Recorded Sayings of the Meditation Master Mingjue), the *Biyan lu* 碧巖錄 (T 2003, Blue Cliff Record),<sup>19</sup> and the *Congrong an lu* 從容庵錄 (T 2004, Congrong Hermitage Record). Kōans are however not only recorded in Yulu collections, but also in works of Chan historiography, the most important of which will be introduced in the subsequent chapter. Generally speaking, it needs to be said that—due to the mysterious character of kōans—the meaning of kōans can frequently not be revealed. In the present translation of the “Fayun tongsai zhi” kōans

17 For an edited volume with articles on the matter of kōan, see: Steven Heine (ed.), *The Koan: Texts and Contexts in Zen Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). For further articles, see: Hsieh Ding-hwa, “Yuan-wu K’o-ch’in’s (1063–1135) Teaching of Ch’an Kung-an Practice: A Transition from the Literary Study of Ch’an Kung-an to the Practical K’an-hua Ch’an,” in: *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 6, no. 1 (1983): 31–60; Robert Sharf, “How to Think with Chan Gong’an,” in: *Thinking with Cases: Specialist Knowledge in Chinese Cultural History*, ed. Charlotte Furth (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007): 205–243; Hsieh Ding-hwa, “Poetry and Chan ‘Gong’an’: From Xuedou Chongxian (980–1052) to Wumen Huikai (1183–1260),” in: *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 40 (2010): 39–70.

18 For translations, see: Ruth Fuller Sasaki, *The Recorded Sayings of Layman Pang* (New York: Weatherhill, 1971); James Green, *The Sayings of Layman Pang* (Boston: Shambhala, 2009).

19 For a translation, see: Thomas Cleary, *The Blue Cliff Record* (Boston: Shambhala, 2005).

are therefore often presented without a fully enlightening explanation, or also completely without of an explanation.

### 3 The Place of the *Fozu tongji* in Chinese Buddhist Historiography

During the Song dynasty, Tiantai and Chan Buddhism were the two main schools of Buddhism in China. In this bipolar situation a rivalry between Tiantai and Chan Buddhism developed, which on both sides triggered a massive production of historiographic works trying to demonstrate the legitimacy of the own school in the confrontation with the competing school. As the *Fozu tongji* was one of the historiographic works written in the context of this rivalry, I will here offer a brief account of how this historiographic confrontation developed, and I will outline the place the *Fozu tongji* takes within the confrontation. The matter was already touched upon in the introduction to the first volume, but I will go into the matter more deeply here. As we have seen, the beginning of the history of the Tiantai school is treated in the materials translated in the present volume. I take this as an occasion also to discuss the matter of what the rivalry between Tiantai and Chan Buddhism meant to Chinese Buddhist historiography in greater depth.

Scholar monks of the Chan school already during the Tang dynasty started to write historiographic works designed to demonstrate that the Chan school was based on an authentic lineage of dharma transmission reaching back to the Buddha. In doing so, Chan scholarship counts twenty-eight Indian patriarchs from the Buddha to Bodhidharma, and six Chinese patriarchs from Bodhidharma to Huineng 慧能 (638–713).<sup>20</sup> The first work in which we see this concept articulated is the *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳, which was composed in 801.<sup>21</sup> Later on, in referring to the transmission of the dharma from the Buddha to the Chinese Chan masters and within the Chan school, the metaphor of “transmitting the lamplight” (chuandeng, 傳燈) was coined. Hence in Chan historiography we would find the lamplight transmission histories, of which the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (T 2076, Record of the Transmission of the Lamplight [Compiled during the] Jingde Era) compiled by Daoyuan 道原 in

20 John R. McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986), 75.

21 Philip Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 48 f.; Mario Poceski, *Ordinary Mind as the Way: The Hongzhou School and the Growth of Chan Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 100.

1004 was the first.<sup>22</sup> The work was followed by four further less prominent lamplight transmission histories, i.e. the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄 compiled by Li Zunxu 李遵勗, the *Jiatan pudenglu* 嘉泰普燈錄, compiled by Leian Zhengshou 雷庵正受, the *Jianzhong jingguo xudeng lu* 建中靖國續燈錄, compiled by Foguo Weibai 佛國惟白, and the *Zongmen liandeng huiyao* 宗門聯燈會要, compiled by Huiweng Wuming 晦翁悟明. In 1253 Dachuan Puji 大川普濟 (1179–1253) published the *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 (T 1565, Collected Essentials of the Five Lamplight Histories), in which he sums up the contents of the five afore-mentioned works.

The attempts of the Chan school to establish a lineage of patriarchs reaching back to the Buddha provoked disagreement since earliest times. The first author to oppose this concept was Shenqing 神清 (d. ca. 814), who with his *Beishan lu* 北山錄 (T 2113) wrote a work that voiced massive objections.<sup>23</sup> Shenqing was not officially a Tiantai scholar, and he did not develop a lineage of Tiantai patriarchs to offer an alternative to the Chan lineage. But when, centuries later, Tiantai historiographers presented their view of history, they followed the argumentation introduced by Shenqing.<sup>24</sup> Only in the eleventh century Tiantai historiographers began to engage in this controversy with Chan Buddhism.<sup>25</sup> After its composition, the *Beishan lu* first fell into oblivion. When it resurfaced in the eleventh century, it was the Chan scholar Qisong 契嵩 (1007–1072), who with his *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* 傳法正宗記 (T 2078, Record of the True Lineage of the Dharma Transmission) presented a strong rebuttal.<sup>26</sup> Written in the 1050s, the *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* is again a sequence of biographies designed to demonstrate the authenticity of the Chan transmission lineage in the style of the *Jingde chuandeng lu*.<sup>27</sup> In turning against this style of Chan historiography, the eleventh century Tiantai historiographers had to do more than calling the Chan transmission lineage into question. These arguments were not new anymore. So rather than simply repeating what Shenqing had already said, the Tiantai historiographers developed a

22 For a partial translation of this work, see: Christian Wittern, *Jingde chuandeng lu: Aufzeichnungen von der Übertragung der Leuchte aus der Ära Jingde* (Frankfurt: Insel, 2014).

23 On this work, see: Wong Kwok-yiu, “The Mid-Tang Scholar-Monk Shenqing and His Beishan lu,” in: *Monumenta Serica* 63, no. 1 (2015): 32–78.

24 Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, *Die Identität der buddhistischen Schulen und die Kompilation buddhistischer Universalgeschichten in China: Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte der Sung-Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982), 59.

25 Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, *Die Identität der buddhistischen Schulen*, 73.

26 Elizabeth Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs: Qisong and Lineage in Chinese Buddhism* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 133.

27 Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, *Die Identität der buddhistischen Schulen*, 52.

new genre of Buddhist historiography, which was considered superior to simply producing sequences of biographies. The new genre was modeled on the *jizhuan* 記傳 style known from worldly historiography.<sup>28</sup> In worldly historiography the basic work written in *jizhuan* style is the *Shiji* 史記 by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145–90 BC). The only extant histories written in *jizhuan* style are the *Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統 (X 1513, On the Orthodox Transmission of Buddhism) and the *Fozu tongji*.<sup>29</sup> The *Shimen zhengtong* was composed around 1200 AD. The original composer was Wu Keji 吳克己 (1140–1214), a layman who only turned to Buddhism after a serious eye disease, and accepted the dharma name Kaian 鑑菴. Wu Keji died before he was able to complete the work, and the work was completed by Zongjian 宗鑑.<sup>30</sup> Zhipan took the *Shimen zhengtong* as his example in composing the *Fozu tongji*.<sup>31</sup>

The structure of the *Fozu tongji* rather loosely corresponds to the structure of the *Shiji*. I cannot offer an in-depth analysis of the structural comparability here, but roughly speaking the comparability can be observed when considering the following features. In both works we find “basic annals” (*benji*, 本紀), which in the *Shiji* portray the reigns of the emperors, and in the *Fozu tongji* the lives of the Buddha and the patriarchs.<sup>32</sup> In both works we find the accounts of the “hereditary houses” (*shijia*, 世家), which in the *Shiji* refer to the princes, and in the *Fozu tongji* to branches of the Tiantai school.<sup>33</sup> In both works we find “monographs” (*zhi*, 志), which in both cases refer to specific themes.<sup>34</sup> The “Fayun tongsai zhi” is one of the texts presented as monographs in the *Fozu tongji*.

The “Fayun tongsai zhi” is a lengthy text completely composed in annalistic style, which is in Chinese known as *biannian* 編年. The inclusion of a *biannian* text of such length within the monograph section is untypical for the *jizhuan* style. No comparable *biannian* text is seen in the monograph section of the *Shiji*. Basically the *biannian* style is a mode of historiographic composition, which is opposed to the *jizhuan* style. While the *jizhuan* style is based on the *Shiji*, the *biannian* style is based on the *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals). While in worldly historiography all the dynastic histories followed the *jizhuan* style defined by the *Shiji*, the Song dynasty historiographer Sima Guang

28 Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, *Die Identität der buddhistischen Schulen*, 89.

29 Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, *Die Identität der buddhistischen Schulen*, 93.

30 Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, *Die Identität der buddhistischen Schulen*, 83.

31 Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, *Die Identität der buddhistischen Schulen*, 95.

32 Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, *Die Identität der buddhistischen Schulen*, 113.

33 Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, *Die Identität der buddhistischen Schulen*, 115.

34 Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, *Die Identität der buddhistischen Schulen*, 117 f.

司馬光 (1019–1086) with his *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive Mirror to Aid Government) composed the second major historiographic work in bian-nian style. So, as we see, jizhuan and biannian are two completely different historiographic traditions. Looking at their transfer into Tiantai Buddhist historiography, the *Shimen zhengtong* would appear to be a work purely composed in jizhuan style, while the *Fozu tongji* would have to be seen as work basically composed in jizhuan style but with a long biannian insertion.<sup>35</sup>

In Buddhist historiography the biannian style was in the first place employed by the Chan school however. As the collections of patriarchal biographies turned out to be an inferior mode of historiographic display, Chan historiographers embraced the biannian style. The major works of Chan historiography composed in biannian style during the Song dynasty were the *Longxing biannian tonglun* 隆興佛教編年通論 (X75, no. 1512, Annalistically Organized Comprehensive Discussion of Buddhism [compiled in the] Longxing [Era]) authored by Zuxiu 祖琇 (foreword dated 1164), and the *Shishi tongjian* 釋氏通鑑 (T 1516, Comprehensive Mirror of the Śākya Clan), authored by Benjue 本覺 (foreword dated 1270).<sup>36</sup> With the “Fayun tongsai zhi” the *Fozu tongji*, which was composed between 1258 and 1269,<sup>37</sup> includes the lengthy biannian section, which is subject to the current translation project. As the inclusion of such a massive biannian section is highly untypical for the jizhuan style the *Fozu tongji* is basically written in, it is safe to say that it was the ascendancy of the biannian style in Chan historiography that motivated Zhipan to include the “Fayun tongsai zhi” in the *Fozu tongji*. By employing the biannian style, Chan historiography defined a new historiographic fashion of the times. Since the composition of the *Longxing biannian tonglun*, the biannian style was seen as having the advantage over the jizhuan style. According to Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer the commitment of the Tiantai school to the jizhuan style was even partially responsible for the eclipse of the Tiantai school after the Song dynasty<sup>38</sup> (while the Chan school remained at least modestly successful when during the Yuan dynasty Tibetan Buddhism became dominant in China). Against this background it becomes understandable why Zhipan with his “Fayun tongsai zhi” at least wanted to include a massive biannian section in his *Fozu tongji*.

35 Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, *Die Identität der buddhistischen Schulen*, 90f.

36 Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, *Die Identität der buddhistischen Schulen*, 134.

37 Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, *Die Identität der buddhistischen Schulen*, 108.

38 Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, *Die Identität der buddhistischen Schulen*, 91.

#### 4 Sources the “Fayun tongsai zhi” Relies On

Above having contextualized the “Fayun tongsai zhi” with the wider context of Chinese Buddhist historiography, I will subsequently look at the sources the “Fayun tongsai zhi” relies on. Many of the works in which we find passages that reappear in the “Fayun tongsai zhi” have however already been introduced in the chapters above. Below I will introduce works of relevance that have not been covered yet.

Apart from the historiographic works written with motivations of sectarian struggle, there are also the general collections of monks’ biographies. In that regard we see a continuity between the materials translated for the first and the second volume of the present translation project. The three great Chinese collections of monks’ biographies are the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (T 2059, Biographies of Eminent Monks) by Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554), the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (T 2060, Further Biographies of Eminent Monks) by Daoxuan, and the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (T 2061, Biographies of Eminent Monks [Compiled] During the Song Dynasty) by Zanning 贊寧 (920–1001). While the materials translated for the first volume of the present translation project evaluate the *Gaoseng zhuan* and the first part of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, the materials translated for the second volume evaluate the second part of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* and the first part of the *Song gaoseng zhuan*. Apart from the biographies in those collections, monks of outstanding prominence were additionally honored with independent biographies. Four of those independent biographies are relevant as sources to the materials translated in the second volume. These would be the biography of Falin entitled *Tang hufa shamen Falin biezhuān* 唐護法沙門法琳別傳 (T 2051),<sup>39</sup> the biography of Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) entitled *Da Tang Daciē si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (T 2053); and the biography of Budai heshang 布袋和尚 (fl. 9th century) entitled *Dingying dashi Budai heshang zhuan* 定應大師布袋和尚傳 (X86, no. 1597).

Another source of importance also related to the actions of monks is the *Da Song seng shilüe* 大宋僧史略 (T 2126) by Zanning.<sup>40</sup> It does not contain

39 For a translation of this work, see: Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik*, vol. 3, 1–166.

40 This work has recently received much scholarly attention. See: Douglas Skonicki, “Using History to Defend Buddhism’s Place in the Socio-Political Order: An Analysis of Zanning’s *Sengshilüe*,” in: *Monumenta Serica* 64, no. 1 (2016): 47–71; Albert Welter, “Confucian Monks and Buddhist Junzi: Zanning’s Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy (*Da Song seng shi lue* 大宋僧史略) and the Politics of Buddhist Accommodation at the Song Court,” in: *The Middle Kingdom and the Dharma Wheel: aspects of the relationship between the Buddhist Saṃgha and the state in Chinese history*, ed. Thomas Jülch (Leiden: Brill, 2016):

monks' biographies, but rather accounts of various themes that generally characterize everyday life in Chinese Buddhist monasteries. Individual monks and their actions are mentioned in those accounts where they are employed as examples. Even though in three juan the *Da Song seng shilüe* happens to be a comparatively short text, it is a compendium bringing together important key anecdotes of historical relevance. Unlike the monk biographies, the *Da Song seng shilüe* is usually not the earliest source on a given matter, but as it sums up many of the anecdotes that are considered historically important, it includes many issues that also come up in the "Fayun tongsai zhi."

Also miracle accounts are often quoted in the materials translated for the present volume. As we have seen, in the first volume of this *Fozu tongji* translation project played their role, too. The intention behind miracle accounts is to demonstrate the sacrosanctity of Buddhism by presenting spectacular miracles it could bring about. With regard to the materials translated for the present volume, mostly other collections of miracle accounts would however be relevant than for the materials translated for the first volume. The only collection of miracle accounts relevant for the materials translated in both volumes would be the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive Records of the Taiping [Xingguo] Era).<sup>41</sup> The work was compiled during the Taiping xingguo 太平興國 era (976–983) of Song Taizong 宋太宗—hence the title. The *Taiping guangji* is a compilation of accounts that previously appeared in other accounts. Thus the content of the *Taiping guangji* refers to a long time span, which is why the "Fayun tongsai zhi" quotes it both in the materials translated for the first and for the present volume. Many of the original miracle account collections, whose content reappears in the *Taiping guangji*, are now lost. This makes the *Taiping guangji* an invaluable source in retrieving much of the content quoted in the "Fayun tongsai zhi." The more original collections of miracle tales relevant for the materials translated in the present volume include the *Mingbao ji* 冥報記 (Records of Miraculous Retribution), compiled in the mid-seventh century by Tang Lin 唐臨, a devout Buddhist layman,<sup>42</sup> and the *Guangyi ji* 廣異記

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222–277. We also have a richly annotated translation: Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy (Da Song Seng shilüe)* (Amherst: Cambria, 2018).

41 On this work, see: Johannes L. Kurz, "The Politics of Collecting Knowledge: Song Taizong's Compilations Project," in: *T'oung-pao* (2001): 289–316; Johannes L. Kurz, *Das Kompilationsprojekt Song Taizongs* (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 2003).

42 For a translation, see: Donald Gjetson, *Miraculous Retribution: A Study and Translation of T'ang-lin's Ming pao chi* (Berkeley: Centers for South and Southeast Asia Studies, 1989).



(Record of Widespread Anomalies), a text that is not fully preserved, but must have been written by Dai Fu 戴孚 during the late Tang.<sup>43</sup>

Finally, also works of worldly historiography play their role as important sources to the “Fayun tongsai zhi.” Of relevance here are especially the dynastic histories, i.e. the *Suishu* 隋書, the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, and the *Xin Wudai shi* 新五代史. Occasionally we also see anecdotes that are known from the *Tang huiyao* 唐會要.

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43 For a study, see: Glen Dudbridge, *Religious Experience and Lay Society in T'ang China: A Reading of Tai Fu's Kuang-i chi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

## Preliminary Remarks

The textual basis for the present translation is the Taishō edition (T 2035, juan 39–42). The reproduction of the text in the Taishō is however not free of mistakes, and therefore needs to be approached also in terms of textual criticism. In the present translation I rely on the Shi Daofa edition in correcting many of the printing mistakes seen in the Taishō. There are however also questionable wordings which unanimously appear both in the Taishō edition and in Shi Daofa. In many of the cases in which the wordings seen in both editions do not seem to make sense, the intended wording can be reconstructed on the basis of the historical sources the “Fayun tongsai zhi” is quoting.

As far as the supplements in the end of juan 39, juan 40, and juan 42 are concerned, I have decided against integrating them into the main text as seen in the Shi Daofa edition, since the content of the supplements exclusively refers to matters of Daoism and Confucianism, and would therefore rather pose a distraction in the main text.

Even though the current translation does not follow the presentation mode of the Shi Daofa edition, the textual organization seen in Shi Daofa is still of importance, as it shows that the contents of the supplements can all be assigned annalistically. Integrating the contents of the supplements into the main text, Shi Daofa ascribes each passage to the times of a certain ruler, to a specific reign period and year. In the Taishō edition the annalistic applicability of the supplement passages is also indicated, but the information necessary for the annalistic assignment is not always provided. So following the Taishō edition uncritically would frequently result in assigning supplement passages to wrong times. In the present translation information necessary for the correct annalistic assignment of supplement passages is therefore added relying on Shi Daofa wherever it is missing from the Taishō edition.

In a column accompanying the translation at the left respectively right margin, I name—for each entry appearing in the annalistic display—the location the translated text is taken from. As the translation basically follows the Taishō edition, I usually provide Taishō references here. Since all of those references refer to T 2035, this general work number is omitted. Occasionally entire annalistic entries are developed from the apparatus of textual criticism of the Taishō, which cannot be referred to by common Taishō referencing. In those cases the column points to the apparatus.

To organize the text the annalistic display provides within any given reign era, I use two different kinds of interruption marks. The textual segments referring to the years within a reign era are separated from each other by extra lines

filled with a three dots symbol, while the subordinate entries appearing within the years are separated from each other by extra lines filled with a dash. This practice differs from the approach employed in the first volume of the present *Fozu tongji* translation project. In the first volume, the subordinate entries within any given year were marked by the margin references at the beginnings of the entries, while subparagraphs within the entries were marked as subparagraphs by going without margin references. In the first volume this approach could be employed, since entries were usually short, and entries including subparagraphs were rare. In the text translated for the present second volume, we do however have several entries of great length. Presenting these entries without margin references at the beginnings of their many subparagraphs would mean to present huge quantities of text without margin referencing. Therefore I decided to introduce the dash as a subordinate interruption mark, which can serve to separate the entries from each other. This way, I can present margin references at the beginnings of all subparagraphs.

Stylistically the text of the “Fayun tongsai zhi” is characterized by frequent employment of parallel structures. In the English translation, parallelisms cannot always be recreated with the structural clarity they possess in the Chinese original. So when it comes to the more notable parallel structures, I have inserted the full Chinese phrases into the translation in order to offer a graphical display of the parallel construction.

Referring to available research tools, it should be mentioned that a Japanese translation of the “Fayun tongsai zhi” is seen in the *Kokuyaku issaikyō* 國譯一切經. It is however not a very helpful translation, since it is not annotated as carefully as other translations seen in the *Kokuyaku issaikyō*. Also the syntactical understanding presented here is not always correct. I therefore chose not to follow the *Kokuyaku issaikyō* in my present translation.



*Translation*





## *Fayun tongsai zhi*, juan 6

(i.e. Fozu tongji, juan 39)

SUI

With Chang'an as capital 都長安.

### *Emperor Wen*

文帝

[Personal name:] Yang Jian 楊堅. He received the succession from the [Northern] Zhou.

**Kaihuang era**, first year: Early on, the emperor received the letter of abdication [of the last ruler of the Northern Zhou], and in an audience the śramaṇa Tanyan 曇延 convinced [the emperor] to reestablish the Buddha dharma.<sup>1</sup> Thereupon [the emperor] issued an edict ordering that all monasteries given up during the [Northern] Zhou were to be rebuilt, and that within the state everybody was free to renounce secular life. The population was also instructed to donate money for the production of sūtras and statues. As a result the Buddhist sūtras were spread among the people in greater numbers than the texts of the Six Arts. p. 359, b19

Early on, Zhixian 智仙, a nun from the Bore Monastery 般若寺 at Tongzhou 同州, penetrated meditative contemplation, and her predictions about the good or bad fortunes of people always became true. When Emperor Wen had just been born in the monastery, the nun said to Taizu 太祖:<sup>2</sup> “This infant has been blessed by the Buddhas and deities.” Therefore he was named Nārāyaṇa 那羅延.<sup>3</sup> Taizu entrusted [Zhi]xian with taking care of him and fostering him.<sup>4</sup> One day the emperor’s mother came to hold him in her arms. She saw that the infant turned into dragon shape. Being shocked she let him drop to the ground. The p. 359, b22

1 This is known from the biography of Tanyan in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 8 (T 2060, p. 489, a7).

2 Taizu here refers to Yang Zhong 楊忠, the father of Sui Wendi. For a biography of Yang Zhong, see: *Zhoushu*, juan 19 (Linghu Defen 令狐德棻, *Zhoushu* 周書 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003], vol. 2, 314–319).

3 An annotation reads: “This means: hooked and chained hero” 此云鉤鎖力士 (T 2035, p. 359, b25). Nārāyaṇa is a powerful deity adopted into Buddhism from the Hindu tradition. He is equivalent to Viṣṇu.

4 On the name Nārāyaṇa and Zhixian’s care of the future emperor, see: Arthur F. Wright, *The Sui Dynasty* (New York: Knopf, 1978), 55; Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs, Kinship and Kingship: Tanqian in Sui Buddhism and Politics* (Kyoto: Scuola Italiana di Studi sull’Asia orientale, 2002), 79–82.

nun cried out involuntarily and said: “That you shocked my infant<sup>5</sup> will cause him to gain control over the world later [than he would if he had not been dropped].” When he had grown up, she secretly told him: “As [the period of] the semblance dharma has reached its end, all spirits and deities are [fleeing] to the West. But as you will emerge as [a person of] great nobility, once when the Buddha dharma has been temporarily eclipsed, it will through you come to flourish again.” When Zhou Wu[di] wiped out the teaching [of the Buddha], this nun finally retreated into the imperial family.<sup>6</sup>

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p. 359, c1 An edict proclaimed that a monastery was to be built at the battle field of Xiangzhou 相州 to ensure the [post-mortal] wellbeing of the soldiers who had died in the war.

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p. 359, c2 It was ordered that the dharma master Sengmeng 僧猛 was to take residence in the Daxingshan Monastery 大興善寺,<sup>7</sup> and was to be installed as General Superintendent [of the samgha] in the Sui state.<sup>8</sup>

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p. 359, c3 The śramaṇa Zhizhou 智周 of the Chen state of the Southern dynasties returned from India, and submitted 260 Sanskrit sūtras to the imperial palace.<sup>9</sup> The emperor summoned him, expressed his sympathy, and presented him with silks and money.

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p. 359, c6 Third year: An edict [proclaimed] that in all under heaven in the first, the fifth, and the ninth [month]<sup>10</sup> as well as [each month] on the six fasting days it was not allowed to kill living beings.<sup>11</sup>

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5 Even though Zhixian is not his biological mother, she feels as if she was his mother, since she is fostering him.

6 This is a reference to the imperial family of the Sui dynasty. During the great persecution of Buddhism under Zhou Wudi, the Yang clan was not the imperial family yet. The sentence needs to be understood as a historiographer's note referring to the Yang clan as the imperial family to be.

7 This is known from the biography of Sengmeng in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 23 (T 2060, p. 631, a20).

8 This is known from the biography of Sengmeng in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 23 (T 2060, p. 631, a21–22).

9 This is known from *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀, juan 12 (T 2034, p. 102, a2–3).

10 The first, the fifth, and the ninth month were traditionally known as “the three whole months of abstinence” 三長齋月 (A.C. Muller, DDB, 三長齋月).

11 The six fasting days are the eighth, the fourteenth, the fifteenth, the twenty-third, twenty-ninth, and the thirtieth day of each month. Traditionally during those days, known as poṣadha in Sanskrit, also lay Buddhist practitioners were expected to observe the “eight pure precepts” 八齋戒 (A.C. Muller, DDB, 六齋日).



Li Yuan, the Duke of Tang 唐公李淵,<sup>12</sup> donated his house in Chang'an to the śramaṇa Tanchong 曇崇. The emperor granted the name Zhiqing Monastery 製清禪寺.<sup>13</sup> p. 359, c7

The śramaṇa Huiying 惠盈 from Hailing 海陵 during all of the six [day]times paid homage to the three thousand Buddhas to save the people from the hardships of a famine. One day when he preached the *Lotus sūtra*, there was a deity supporting and following him. It was the 'Great God of the Five Paths' 五道大神,<sup>14</sup> who asked him to bestow the dharma of the precepts announcing [plans of] going on patrol at the Eastern Sea. [On behalf of the deity] [Hui]ying offered a sacrifice [to the Buddha], bestowed the precepts, and left.<sup>15</sup> p. 359, c8

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Fourth year: The Vinaya Master Lingzang 靈藏 first had corresponded with the emperor[-to-be] [as a person clad] in cloth.<sup>16</sup> When the emperor ascended the throne, he erected the Daxingshan Monastery 大興善寺 to accommodate him. [The emperor] ordered the chief administrators among his attendants to inquire after the master every two days.<sup>17</sup> Once when he accompanied the [emperor's] carriage to Luozhou 洛州 (i.e. Luoyang), many people took refuge with him. A handwritten order from the emperor said: "This disciple is the son of heaven for the common people. The vinaya master is the son of heaven for the followers of the way. Those who wish to depart from commoner's life should rely on the master to convert them."<sup>18</sup> p. 359, c12

弟子是俗人天子。

律師是道人天子。

12 An annotation reads: "Early on (i.e. before becoming emperor) Gaozu was enfeoffed with Tang" 高祖初封於唐 (T 2035, p. 359, c7).

13 This is known from the biography of Tanchong in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 17 (T 2060, p. 568, b14–16).

14 The Great God of the Five Paths is a prominent deity in Chinese Buddhism. The origin of this deity has been subject to debates, but is still uncertain. For a recent study, see: Frederick Chen, "The Great God of the Five Paths (Wudao dashen) in Early Medieval China," in: *Journal of Chinese Religions* 46, no. 2 (2018): 93–121.

15 For a discussion of this passage, see: Frederick Chen, "The Great God of the Five Paths (Wudao dashen) in Early Medieval China," 113.

16 This means that he had contact with him as a commoner (or even a pauper) without political interests or motifs.

17 While in the Taishō edition we read: 兩旦參問起居, the Shi Daofa says reads: 兩日一參問起居. I here follow Shi Daofa, as the Shi Daofa version is in agreement with a representation of this sentence seen in the biography of Lingzang in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 21 (T 2060, p. 610, b20–21).

18 This order of the emperor is known from the biography of Lingzang in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 21 (T 2060, p. 610, b29–c1).

At that time the number of those who were converted [by him] reached several ten thousands. To those who had doubts about him, the emperor said: “The vinaya master changes people for the better. And I prohibit that people change for the worse. Thus our intentions are the same.”<sup>19</sup>

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p. 359, c19 Fifth year: The dharma master Fajing 法經 was ordered to provide the bodhisattva vow in the Daxing Hall 大興殿.<sup>20</sup>

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p. 359, c20 Sixth year: During a great drought the dharma master Tanyan 曇延 was ordered to [come to] the main hall. He ascended the imperial seat and taught the dharma facing south.<sup>21</sup> The emperor and his ministers all sat on the ground and received the precepts of the eight abstinences. Suddenly clouds emerged, and a great rain [blissfully] moistened [the place].<sup>22</sup>

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p. 359, c23 Seventh year: The dharma master Tanqian 曇遷 was installed as General Superintendent of the Zhaoxuan Department 昭玄大沙門統.<sup>23</sup>

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p. 359, c24 Eighth year: The dharma master Tanyan died. The emperor suspended the [activities at] court, and ordered the princes and dukes to participate in the funeral. The palace scribe Xue Daoheng 薛道衡 pronounced words of mourning: “When the sagelike emperor rose to power, the semblance dharma stood in blossom.<sup>24</sup> [Now, Tanyan] stood out among the monks, and he was the greatest among the good men. He subdued the power of the north-polar star (i.e. of the emperor). He explains the ritual texts of the corpus of teachings.

屈宸極之威重。

申師資之禮文。

19 This statement of the emperor is known from the biography of Lingzang in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 21 (T 2060, p. 610, c2–4).

20 This ceremony is noted in *Bianzheng lun*, juan 3 (T 2110, p. 509, a7–8).

21 In the traditional Chinese understanding, the emperor would face south. On this matter, see the first volume of the present *Fozu tongji* translation project, p. 141 note 119. In the present passage the statement is that the dharma master Tanyan symbolically was given the position of an emperor, which is a sign of the enormous respect shown to him.

22 This is known from the biography of Tanyan in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 8 (T 2060, p. 489, a27–b1).

23 On this matter, see: Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs, Kinship and Kingship: Tanqian in Sui Buddhism and Politics* (Kyoto: Scuola Italiana di Studi sull' Asia orientale, 2002).

24 The period of “semblance dharma” (chin.: xiangfa, 像法) is the second of three phases in the process of the decay of the dharma. It is followed by the period of the “final dharma” (mofa, 末法), in which the transmission of the dharma ends. Saying that the semblance dharma stood in blossom means that at that time the dharma transmission was still far from complete decay.

The three jewels<sup>25</sup> rely on his great understanding. Because of him the twofold truth<sup>26</sup> has widely been preached. He guided the people in performing good deeds, and he helped the state in practicing humaneness. 以誘人為善之德。為助國行仁之方。How could one come to terms with the pillar of the dharma having suddenly fallen, with the ship of mercy having unexpectedly sunk? 豈謂法柱忽傾。慈舟遽覆。Not only the four groups<sup>27</sup> are struck by sorrow, but also the one man (i.e. the emperor) is overwhelmed by his emotions. 匪直悲纏四眾。固亦酸感一人。<sup>28</sup>

Du Qi 杜祈 from the capital suddenly died. When he arrived in the office of hell, the King [of Hell] judged his name and said: “This is a mistake.” He asked [Du] Qi whether he would know Zhou Wudi. The answer was: “I was employed as a Zuo Wuhou sifa 左武侯司法, and always stayed with His Majesty.” The King [of Hell] looked back to his officials [asking them] to bring [Du Qi] to an iron chamber. Looking into [the iron chamber] through a window, [Du Qi saw] one person with a meager body and an earnest facial expression. He was bound by iron shackles. When [Du] Qi saw him, he said in tears: “How is it that Your Majesty encountered such misery?” The answer was: “Having trusted Wei Yuansong 衛元嵩,<sup>29</sup> I wiped out the Buddha dharma. Therefore I received this punishment.” [Du] Qi said: “I have been pulled [into hell] by mistake, and shall return [into the human sphere]. Does Your Majesty have a message [for the realm of humans]?” [Zhou Wudi] said: “When you go back, express to the Son of Heaven of the Great Sui that previously I have eaten from the same granary with him,<sup>30</sup> and that I am now suffering great distress on grounds of having wiped out the Buddha dharma. I hope that he will create merit on behalf of me, so that I can be saved.” When [Du Qi] returned, he made the matter known [to

25 The “three jewels” are Buddha, dharma, and saṃgha.

26 The term of the “twofold truth” refers to the absolute truth of the dharmadhatu on the one hand, and the conventional truth of saṃsāra on the other hand.

27 The term of the “four groups” refers to the four kinds of Buddhist practitioners: bhikṣu (monk) and bhikṣuṇī (nun), upāsaka (layman) and upāsikā (laywoman).

28 This is a slightly modified quotation of one part of the mourning speech presented by Xue Daoheng. The speech is seen in the biography of Tanyan in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 8. For the full speech, see: T 2060, p. 489, c9–21. For the part quoted here, see: T 2060, p. 489, c16–21.

29 Wei Yuansong, a defrocked monk who argued in favor of Confucianism hoping to further his career, advised Zhou Wudi negatively about Buddhism. He articulated his advice in a memorial, which is preserved in *Guang hongming ji*, juan 7 (T 2103, p. 131, c28–p. 132, b28). For a translation, see: Livia Kohn, *Laughing at the Tao: Debates among Buddhists and Daoists in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 177 ff.

30 This is a metaphoric expression through which Zhou Wudi wishes to say that he previously closely cooperated with the present Sui Wendi.

Sui Wendi]. The emperor thereupon ordered the people in all under heaven to contribute one coin to create merit on behalf of [Zhou] Wudi.<sup>31</sup>

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p. 360, a12 Ninth year: Li Shiqian 李士謙,<sup>32</sup> who had deep affections for the study of Buddhism and also excelled in the mysterious conversations, was questioned by a guest about superiority and inferiority among the three teachings. [Li] Shiqian said: "Buddhism resembles the sun; Daoism resembles the moon; Confucianism resembles the five stars."<sup>33</sup> 佛日也。道月也。儒五星也。 The people of the time considered this a striking description.<sup>34</sup>

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31 An annotation reads: "In the *Tang gaoseng zhuan* and in the *Fayuan zhulin* it is said that [instead of Du Qi] it was Zhao Wenchang who went into hell. Perhaps at that time both of these matters occurred, so that both accounts can be taken as evidence." 見唐高僧傳。法苑珠林。作趙文昌入冥。恐當時有此二事。皆可為證。(T 2035, p. 360, a10–11). *Tang gaoseng zhuan* can be understood as an alternative title of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, alluding to the fact that the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* was composed in the Tang dynasty. In the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* the present story appears in juan 25 in the biography of Wei Yuansong (T 2060, p. 657, c25–p. 658, a11). Here the person observing the sufferings of Zhou Wudi is however referred to as Du Qi. An abridged account, where the person observing the sufferings of Zhou Wudi is referred to as Zhao Wenchang, is seen in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 17 (T 2061, p. 819, b20–24). Also the elaborate account seen in *Fayuan zhulin*, juan 79, speaks of Zhao Wenchang (T 2122, p. 875, c14–p. 876, a24). On Wei Yuansong, see: Kenneth K.S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 187–190.

32 Li Shiqian has an elaborate biography in *Suishu*, juan 77 (Wei Zheng 魏徵, *Suishu* 隋書 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008], vol. 6, 1752–1754).

33 This dialogue between Li Shiqian and his guest who speaks against Buddhism appears in the biography of Li Shiqian in the *Suishu* (Wei Zheng, *Suishu*, vol. 6, 1753 f.). As seen in the *Suishu* the dialogue is more complex, while Li Shiqian's picture of Buddhism resembling the sun, Daoism resembling the moon, and Confucianism resembling the five stars is seen towards the end of the relevant passage. So the quotation presented in the *Fozu tongji* in fact confines itself to presenting Li Shiqian's closing statement. That the dialogue partner arguing against Buddhism is introduced as Li Shiqian's guest reminds us of a trope seen in various places of Chinese Buddhist apologetic writing. Most prominently, the Buddhist apologetic treatise "Futian lun" 福田論 by Yancong 彥琮 (557–610) (preserved in *Guang Hongming ji*, juan 25: T 2103, p. 280, c18–p. 283, a9) is written as a controversy between a polemicist arguing against Buddhism introduced as the guest (ke, 客), and a Buddhist apologist introduced as the host (zhu, 主). For a study and a translation of this treatise, see: Thomas Jülch, "On Whether or Not Buddhist Monks Should Bow to the Emperor: Yancong's (557–610) 'Futian lun' (Treatise on the Fields of Blessedness)," *Monumenta Serica* 60 (2012): 1–43. The composition of controversial dialogues between a host (zhu, 主) and a guest (ke, 客) can be interpreted as a fashion with roots in the Chinese antiquity (on ancient Chinese host and guest symbolism, see: Maria Khayutina, "Host–guest Opposition as a Model of Geo-political Relations in Pre-imperial China," *Oriens Extremus* 43 [2002]: 77–100).

34 An annotation reads: "[Source:] *Sūtra of the Buddha of Immeasurable Life*. I only wish that

Tenth year:<sup>35</sup> In the first month a letter to [Zhi]yi of the Guangzhai [Monastery] 光宅[寺] said: “Previously, when Wu of Zhou destroyed the [Buddhist] teachings, I, the [present] emperor, made it my commitment to ensure that [Buddhism] would be protected and maintained. So when I received the mandate from heaven, [Buddhism] was immediately reestablished. You, the master, have gone beyond the worldly bonds to cultivate yourself and to transform the people. I certainly hope you will encourage the progress of the clergy so as to add lustre to the Great [Buddhist] Way.”<sup>36</sup> p. 360, a15

It was ordered that ministers and officials, noblemen and commoners, should be allowed to renounce secular life if they desired to do so. In this year people converted to become monks amounted to 500,000. p. 360, a18

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Eleventh year: The dharma master Lingyu 靈裕 from Xiangzhou 相州 was summoned to the capital to be installed as national supervisor [of the saṃgha]. [Ling]yu declined three times.<sup>37</sup> As the emperor could not make him stay, he said to the councilor Su Wei 僕射蘇威: “I understand that Master [Ling]yu is a man with a strong [sense of] proper [action]. I cannot subdue him.”<sup>38</sup> With opulent presents [Lingyu] returned to his mountains, and the emperor personally inscribed “Lingquan” 靈泉 as a name for his monastery [there]. p. 360, a20

In the eleventh month, [Yang] Guang, the Prince of Jin 晉王 (i.e. the later Sui Yangdi),<sup>39</sup> became the governor of Yangzhou 揚州.<sup>40</sup> He invited the meditation p. 360, a23

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Buddhism, [which is like] the sun, will teach me to base my view on the state of pure karma” 無量壽佛經。惟願佛日教我觀於清淨業處。(T 2035, p. 360, a14).

35 An annotation reads: “In this year the Sui conquered the Chen and began to carry the [dynastic] legitimacy (i.e. the mandate of heaven).” 是年隋滅陳始承正統 (T 2035, p. 360, a15).

36 This is a strongly abridged version of the “Edict issued by Emperor Wen, the founder of the Sui dynasty” 隋高祖文皇帝勅書, in which Sui Wendi praises the reestablishment of Buddhism that took place under his rule after the dharma had been destroyed under Zhou Wudi. The edict appears in the *Guoqing bailu* 國清百錄 as document 22 (T 1934, p. 802, c10–25). The parts being quoted here are T 1934, p. 802, c11–13 and T 1934, p. 802, c18–19.

37 The biography of Lingyu in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 9, just says that he “declined and asked [for permission] to return” 表辭請還 (T 2060, p. 496, b20).

38 This is a modified quotation from the biography of Lingyu in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T 2060, p. 496, b26–27).

39 An annotation reads: “He was the second son of Emperor Wen” 文帝次子 (T 2035, p. 360, a23).

40 Before Yang Guang became emperor, he was appointed as Governor of Huaihai 淮海, the capital of which was Yangzhou (sometimes also referred to as Jiangdu 江都 in the

master [Zhi]yi to his residential town, offered a feast for thousand monks, and received the bodhisattva precepts.<sup>41</sup> The noble master was given the honorific name of “Zhizhe” 智者 (the wise one).<sup>42</sup>

p. 360, a26

**Commentary:** In the world it is said that Emperor Yang received the precepts and studied wisdom, and killed his father to replace him as emperor.<sup>43</sup> Why did Zhiyi not know to foretell this? One could compare this to the case of Ajātaśatru (who killed his father, Bimbisāra, to become king).<sup>44</sup> If one uses this to judge the matter, the obstruction [of Zhiyi not having foretold the patricide of Emperor Yang] dissolves all by itself. Thus, in the commentaries on the *Sūtra of Contemplation* 觀經, the matter is interpreted as having two [possible] explanations. The first is: The matter might depend on previous causes, and based on that old grudge [the retribution] might have come as the father's son. Therefore Ajātaśatru is here named ‘weishengyuan’ 未生怨 (i.e. unborn grudge). The second is: [In holding on to] power, there was a manifestation of conflict [between Ajātaśatru and his father]. This is not something that could be compared with heinous evil among the common people. Thus, the Buddha said: “Previously, in [the times of] Buddha Vipasyin, Ajātaśatru aroused bod-

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sources). Zhiyi visited Yang Guang in Yangzhou to grant him the bodhisattva precepts. The matter is subject to descriptions in various sources. The most elaborate account is seen in *Guoqing bailu*, document 93. While document 93 is a lengthy text, which recounts much of Zhiyi's career as a spiritual dignitary, the section relevant to the matter we are concerned with here is: T 1934, p. 817, b29–c16.

41 In the *Sui Tiantai Zhizhe dashi biezhuan* 隋天台智者大師別傳 we find a full quotation of the petition, with which Yang Guang asks Zhiyi to grant him the bodhisattva precepts. Within this petition, Yang Guang says: “Presently on the 23rd day of the 11th month of the 11th year of the Kaihuang era, I have organized a feast for 1,000 monks in the Jincheng Hall of the governor's [residence], within which I would like to [ask you] respectfully to condescend to offering the bodhisattva precepts [to me]” 以今開皇十一年十一月二十三日，於總管金城殿設千僧會，敬屈授菩薩戒。(T 2050, p. 195, a13–15).

42 As we read in the *Sui Tiantai Zhizhe dashi biezhuan*, Zhiyi—after having granted Yang Guang the bodhisattva precepts—also granted Yang Guang the Buddhist name of “Zongchi” 總持, whereupon Yang Guang granted Zhiyi the honorific name “Zhizhe” (T 2050, p. 195, a18–19).

43 On the patricide Sui Yangdi was traditionally held responsible for, see: Xiong Cunrui, *Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty: His Life, Times, and Legacy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 30.

44 On the patricide of Ajātaśatru, see: Michael Radich, *How Ajātaśatru was Reformed: The Domestication of ‘Ajase’ and Stories in Buddhist History* (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 2011), 1–76.

hicitta, and has therefore never fallen into hell.”<sup>45</sup> Again the Buddha made a prophecy, saying that [Ajātaśatru] later on would attain Buddhahood under the name ‘Pure Body’ 淨身.<sup>46</sup> Also the *Chuiyu ji* 垂裕記 [says]: “When Ajātaśatru had not yet attained his [spiritual] reward he requested forgiveness, which inspired countless people to arouse bodhicitta.”<sup>47,48</sup>

If somebody is able to ponder seriously about the meaning of all of these quotes, he will know the deep meaning of Zhiyi’s view of Emperor Yang.<sup>49</sup> Therefore Zhiyi himself said: “I have deep karmic bonds with the Prince of Jin 晉王 (i.e. Yang Guang, the later Sui Yangdi).” If today we look at his (i.e. Sui Yangdi’s) early life, he protected Mount Lu and administered the Yuquan [Monastery], [while, if we look at his] later life, he established the Guoqing [Monastery] and guarded [Zhiyi’s] tomb.

始則護廬山主玉泉。

終則創國清保龕壟。

And when [Guanding from] Zhang’an 章安 compiled [Zhiyi’s] teachings, [Sui Yangdi] for ten years offered donations [to the Guoqing Monastery]. If we take this for a comparison [with the case of Ajātaśatru], we will understand that the matter of Emperor Yang should include the two matters of previous causes and manifestation of conflict.<sup>50</sup>

45 An annotation reads: “This is related in the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*” 涅槃經云 (T 2035, p. 360, b4).

46 An annotation reads: “[Source:] *Shewang shoujue jing*” 闍王受決經 (T 2035, p. 360, b5). The matter is seen in the *Asheshāwang shoujue jing* 阿闍世王授決經 (T 509, p. 778, a22–25).

47 The *Chuiyu ji* should be the *Weimo jing lue shu chuiyu ji* 維摩經略疏垂裕記 (T 1779), by the Song dynasty Tiantai scholar Zhiyuan 智圓, who is also known as Gushan 孤山. I can however not find the present quotation in this work.

48 Through all of the above, the present commentary passage seeks to suggest that even though Ajātaśatru killed his father, he was still a holy man.

49 This means that Zhiyi respected Sui Yangdi even though Sui Yangdi had killed his father, since—like Ajātaśatru—Sui Yangdi is considered a holy man despite the patricide. In the beginning of the present commentary passage the question was raised why Zhiyi could not foretell that the Prince of Jin (i.e. the later Sui Yangdi) would kill his father. As we see here, the answer the commentary wants to give would be that Zhiyi did not wish to predict the patricide as it would have meant to accuse the Prince of Jin. The deeper message here would appear to be that, since the Prince of Jin was a supporter of Buddhism, his ascension to power served the spread of the Buddha dharma, so that the patricide, which was necessary to enable his ascension to power, would appear to be a part of his holy mission.

50 This refers back to the “two [possible] explanations” for Ajātaśatru’s patricide, that were presented above. The first possible explanation arguing with “previous causes” said that the patricide could have been a karmic retribution of things that happened in former lifetimes (T 2035, p. 360, a29–b1). The second possible explanation arguing with “manifestation of conflict” said that the patricide could have been a necessity in securing the throne

p. 360, b11

Gushan 孤山<sup>51</sup> said: “Even bodhisattvas who abide in the śūraṅgama-samādhi 首楞嚴定 (i.e. such as Sui Yangdi) occasionally encounter [situations in which] the path gets lost,<sup>52</sup> so that they could be a mirror to ther hundred kings.”<sup>53</sup>

p. 360, b14

Xin Yanzhi, the Regional Inspector from Luzhou 潞州刺史辛彥之, established pagodas of fifteen stories. When Zhang Yuan 張元, an inhabitant of [Lu]zhou, suddenly died, he again came back to life and said: “My spirit travelled up into heaven, and saw a hall of ultimately esteemed beauty. A celestial man said: ‘The Regional Inspector Xin has great merit. This hall has been created to wait for him.’”<sup>54,55</sup>

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p. 360, b17

Twelfth year: The second patriarch [of Chan Buddhism], the meditation master Huike 慧可, had previously transmitted the dharma to Sengcan 僧粲 of Yuzhou 舒州, who in this year (i.e. in the twelfth year) went to the Zhengjiu

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(T 2035, p. 360, b1–2). In the present passage, the commentary draws the conclusion that these two explanations should also be available to justify the patricide committed by the Prince of Jin.

51 Gushan is a scholar of Tiantai Buddhism previously mentioned in *Fozu tongji*, juan 34 (T 2035, p. 328, a5–6). As we have seen, he is also the author of the *Weimo jing lüe shu chuiyu ji* 維摩經略疏垂裕記, which is mentioned above.

52 This is a reference to situations such as the one in which Sui Yangdi had to kill his father. On the one hand, patricide would be an incident in which the path would get lost. On the other hand, the example of Sui Yangdi shows that a person who once had to act in such a way—if he acts as a devout supporter and patron of Buddhism—could still be a saint.

53 An annotation reads: “The matter is known from the *Zhizhe benji*” 事見智者本紀 (T 2035, p. 360, b13).

54 This means that the hall was created for Xin Yanzhi to live in, once when having been reborn in heaven. Since, at the time, his worldly life was however not finished yet, the hall was being empty awaiting the time when Xin Yanzhi would pass away to assume his new residence in heaven.

55 This tradition goes back to the biography of Xin Yanzhi 辛彥之 in *Suishu*, juan 75. There we read: “With respect [Xin] Yanzhi also trusted the path of the Buddha, and inside the city walls he erected stūpas at two places—each being 15 storeys tall. In Kaihuang 11 Zhang Yuan, an inhabitant of [Lu]zhou suddenly died, and after several days came back to life. He said that he had travelled up into heaven, and saw one hall which was designed in adorable beauty. When [Zhang] Yuan asked for what reason [it had been constructed], somebody said to him: ‘Xin Yanzhi, the Regional Inspector from Luzhou, has merit, and this hall was established to lodge him.’” 彥之又崇信佛道，於城內立浮圖二所，並十五層。開皇十一年，州人張元暴死，數日乃蘇，云遊天上，見新構一堂，制極崇麗。元問其故，人云潞州刺史辛彥之有功德，造此堂以待之。(Wei Zheng, *Suishu*, vol. 4, 1709).



Monastery in Guancheng to preach the dharma. There was a dharma master named [Bian]he [辯]和 who had previously preached the *Nirvāṇa* [sūtra] in this monastery. [After Huike's arrival] the disciples gradually rather came to him to listen to the dharma. [Master] [Bian]he could not control his anger and libeled [Huike] in front of the local magistrate. Even though the allegations were unlawful, the master happily accepted his execution,<sup>56</sup> and died at the age of 107. Already before he had said to [Seng]can: "I have a debt from past lives, which I will have to repay now."<sup>57</sup>

In the twelfth month the meditation master Zhizhe arrived on Mount Yuquan 玉泉山 of Jingzhou 荊州, where he practiced meditation for seven days. He invoked [the deity] Prince Guan 關王 and his son, who employed divine powers to establish the foundations and to erect the monastery. [Prince Guan and his son] requested to receive the five precepts [from Zhizhe]. Since the master had come to reside on [Mount] Yuquan, monks and commoners amounting to 5,000 people came to him to receive the precepts and to listen to his lectures.<sup>58</sup>

...

Thirteenth year: The emperor personally went to Qizhou 岐州, and had a hunt arranged on the Southern Mountain. Chasing a beast he entered an old cave. [The beast] suddenly disappeared, and he saw that the cave was full of broken Buddha statues. The śramaṇa Tanqian 曇遷 explained that, when [Emperor] Wu of the Northern Zhou had destroyed the dharma, sacred statues had frequently been thrown into ravines. The emperor therefore issued an edict saying

56 A.C. Muller translates 'weishun' 委順 as "let nature take its course," and he adds that it refers to the death of a monk (A.C. Muller, DDB, 委順). Literally means "to submit and follow." Uniting A.C. Muller's interpretation and the literal meaning, the context in the present passage suggests that Huike happily accepted his execution.

57 This tradition is also seen in other sources such as *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, juan 3 (T 2076, p. 221, a11–16) and *Longxing biannian tonglun* 隆興編年通論, juan 9 (X75, no. 1512, p. 154, a6–9 // Z 2B:3, p. 256, c14–17 // R130, p. 512, a14–17).

58 An annotation reads: "[Prince Guan is] Guan Yu, the general of the first ruler of Shu (i.e. Liu Bei 劉備). For a detailed account see the biography of Zhiyi 蜀先主將關羽。詳見智者本紀。 (T 2035, p. 360, b25). As Jan Yün-hua points out, earlier sources such as the *Sui Tiantai Zhizhe dashi biezhu* only say that Zhiyi had built a temple on Mount Yuquan (T 2050, p. 195, a25–27), but do not mention the name of Guan Yu in this context, so that the involvement of Guan Yu referred to here in the *Fozu tongji* would appear to be a later tradition. In another annotation seen below the *Fozu tongji* does again come back to this matter (see: T 2035, p. 361, c6–7).

that, whenever remnants of broken torsos of Buddha statues were found, they were to be examined by the local officials, and to be brought into the monasteries, where they were to be decorated.<sup>59</sup>

- p. 360, c1 In the fourth month, Zhizhe preached the *Fahua xuanyi* 法華玄義 (T 1716) in the Yuquan [Monastery].<sup>60</sup> The dharma master [Guan]ding from Zhang'an had participated in hearing [the lecture].

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- p. 360, c2 In the seventh month the name plate for the Yuquan Monastery 玉泉寺 was presented to Zhiyi.

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- p. 360, c4 Fourteenth year: It was ordered to build the Chanding Monastery 禪定寺.<sup>61</sup> The dharma master Tanqian was called to assemble 120 [monks of] fame and virtue from all over the world to reside in it.<sup>62</sup>

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- p. 360, c5 Zhizhe preached the *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 (T 1911) in the Yuquan [Monastery].<sup>63</sup> The audience comprised 1,000 people, and [Guanding] from Zhang'an had participated in hearing [the lecture].

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59 This is an abridged quotation of a passage seen in the biography of Tanqian in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 18 (T 2060, p. 573, b3–12). As we learn from the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, it was however not the emperor who entered the cave. Rather than that the emperor had ordered the Prince of Shu 蜀王 to do so.

60 During his stay in the Yuquan Monastery, Zhiyi indeed gave lectures which became the basis for the *Fahua xuanyi* (Koichi Shinohara, "Guanding's Biography of Zhiyi, the Fourth Patriarch of the Tiantai Tradition," in: *Speaking of Monks: Religious Biography in India and China*, ed. Phyllis Granoff [Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1992], 192).

61 The 14th year of the Kaihuang era was 594. According to Chen Jinhua, Sui Wendi however decreed the establishment of the Chanding Monastery only in 603 (Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs, Kinship and Kingship*, 6).

62 Chen Jinhua writes: "Nominated as the abbot of this new monastery, Tanqian was commissioned to select one hundred and twenty meditation masters from all over the country to take up residence there. Historical records show that the selection was swiftly completed and one hundred and twenty accomplished monks, each accompanied by two attendants, arrived in the capital shortly afterwards and were stationed at the Chandingsi. In the history of Chinese Buddhism, this was the first time that the central government had implemented a nation-wide selection of such a huge number of meditation practitioners" (Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs, Kinship and Kingship*, 6).

63 During his stay in the Yuquan Monastery, Zhiyi gave lectures which became the basis for the *Mohe zhiguan* (Koichi Shinohara, "Guanding's Biography of Zhiyi," 192). For a translation of the *Mohe zhiguan*, see: Paul L. Swanson, *Clear Serenity, Quiet Insight: T'ien-t'ai Chih-i's Mo-ho chih-kuan*, 3 vols. (Honolulu: The University of Hawai'i Press, 2017). See also: Neal Donner, Daniel B. Stevenson, *The Great Calming and Contemplation: A Study and*

Tenth month, winter: When Zhizhe passed through Yuezhou 岳州,<sup>64</sup> he passed on the dharma of the precepts to the governor, Wang Xuanwu. The śramaṇa Tanjie and others asked [Zhizhe] to lecture on the *Sūtra of Golden Light* 金光明經. More than thousand laypeople from all the five districts of the commandery as well as from other places came to listen to the dharma and to witness the event. All of them gave up fishing.<sup>65</sup>

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*Annotated Translation of the First Chapter of Chih-I's Mo-Ho Chih-Kuan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993).

- 64 Yuezhou 岳州 is a place in present-day Hunan, corresponding to the modern city of Yueyang 岳陽 (*Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian* 中國歷史地名大辭典, ed. Wei Songshan 魏嵩山 [Guangzhou: Guangdong jiaoyu chubanshe 廣東教育出版社, 1995], 668).
- 65 In the *Guoqing bailu* we find a letter, listed as document 104, which is presented under the heading “Zhiyi Sends a Letter to Xie Baguo, The Governor of the County of Linhai, Referring to the Pool for Releasing Living Beings” 智者遺書與臨海鎮將解拔國述放生池 (T 1934, p. 822, b2–p. 823, a26). Xie Baguo is a local official with responsibility for the Tiantai Mountains, where already in the Chen dynasty Zhiyi had established a “Pool for Releasing Living Beings” (i.e. a reservation in a river delta where the local fishermen determined to give up on their profession released the fishes). As Zhiyi bemoans in the letter, under the responsibility of Xie Baguo the killing of fishes had become common again, and he seeks to motivate him to take action so that the killing of fishes is again prohibited. To demonstrate the blissful effects it has to refrain from killing fishes, Zhiyi tells the story which is recounted here in the *Fozu tongji*: When Zhiyi travelling to the West was passing through Yuezhou, he found that people there generally nourished themselves through hunting. But as the local official, Wang Xuanwu 王宣武, was attached to Buddhism, the scholar [monk] Tanjian 學士曇捷 could invite Zhiyi to preach. Subsequent to Zhiyi's preaching the local residents all gave up hunting, as a result of which auspicious omens manifested. Wang Xuanwu reported the matter to the higher authorities, and he was richly rewarded (T 1934, p. 822, c15–20). The account seen in the *Fozu tongji* is characterized by several imprecisions. Firstly, the *Fozu tongji* refers to the monk who invited Zhiyi as Tanjie 曇捷, while in the *Guoqing bailu* the second character is written ‘jian’ 捷. Secondly, the *Guoqing bailu* does not say that Zhiyi preached the *Sūtra of Golden Light* in Yuezhou. According to the *Guoqing bailu*, Zhiyi preached the *Sūtra of Golden Light* when he led the fishermen to give up on fishing at the coast close to the Tiantai Mountains (T 1934, p. 822, b12–14). With regard to Yuezhou, the *Guoqing bailu* simply says that Zhiyi was invited to preach 請講, without saying what he preached. Thirdly, the *Fozu tongji* seems to confuse the matter of giving up fishing at the coast close to the Tiantai Mountains with the matter of giving up hunting in Yuezhou. The *Guoqing bailu* speaks of fishing in connection with the Tiantai Mountains, and of hunting in connection with Yuezhou. As the Tiantai Mountains are close to the sea they are associated with fishing. As in Yuezhou forests were more prevalent, the place is associated with hunting. To be precise, in connection with Yuezhou the *Guoqing bailu* speaks of “killing and hunting” 殺捕 (which might imply fishing), but in referring to Yuezhou fishing is not mentioned explicitly.

p. 360, c10 Fifteenth year: The dharma master Zhenguan 真觀<sup>66</sup> established the Tianzhu Monastery 天竺寺 on Mount Hulin 虎林山 in Hangzhou.<sup>67</sup>

p. 360, c11 In the second month the Prince of Jin sent a messenger to invite Zhizhe to the Chanzhong Monastery 禪眾寺 of Yangzhou. [Zhizhe accepted and planned to] submit the *Expository Commentary on the Vimalakīrti-sūtra* 淨名義疏, which he had written, [to the prince].<sup>68</sup> In the ninth month he departed and returned to the Tiantai Mountains.

p. 360, c13 Jñānagupta 闍那崛多 from Northern India in the Daxingshan Monastery 大興善寺 translated 33 works including the *Fo benxing jing* 佛本行經,<sup>69</sup> and he dictated [the translations] to the sūtra translation scholar Fei Zhangfang 費長房 and others.<sup>70</sup>

...

p. 360, c16 Sixteenth year: Shi Daoxiang 釋道相 from the Lingyan Monastery 靈巖寺 in Qizhou 齊州 suddenly died. When he arrived in the office of hell, he saw Mahāsthāmaprāpta 勢至菩薩, who was just inspecting the hell of monks.

p. 360, c17 There was a placard saying: “A group of monks sent Fajiong 法迺 to the capital to request an entrance plate for the Lingyan Monastery. Carrying hundred rolls of silk and two donkeys he arrived in the capital and met the Tongshisheren 通事舍人, the chief donor of the Lingyan [Monastery]. He told him that he had obtained the entrance plate without even paying one coin.<sup>71</sup> [However] [Fa]jiong thought to himself: ‘This entrance plate has been obtained because of me. [This service of mine] should be worth the money one would get when selling thirty of the silks.’ Thereupon [using the money he got from selling the silks]

66 An annotation reads: “He was a disciple of Zhizhe” 智者門人 (T 2035, p. 360, c10).

67 An annotation reads: “In the Tang dynasty the ‘hu’ (of Hulin) became a ‘wu’” 唐時改虎為武 (T 2035, p. 360, c11).

68 In the *Sui Tiantai Zhizhe dashi biezhuān* we read that Zhiyi composed a *Commentary on the Vimalakīrti-sūtra* (here written 淨名經疏) for the Prince of Jin (T 2050, p. 195, c3–4). The text is not preserved.

69 This is a short title of the *Fo benxing ji jing* 佛本行集經 (T 193, Sūtra of the Collection of the Past Activities of the Buddha).

70 Fei Zhangfang is mainly known as the author of the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 (T 2034). He is however frequently also referred to as “sūtra translation scholar” 翻經學士 (T 2034, p. 22, c28). A.C. Muller confirms that he “worked with Jñānagupta 闍那崛多 on the *Fo benxing ji jing* 佛本行集經 and several other texts” (A.C. Muller, DDB, 費長房).

71 This means that he had encountered the opportunity to obtain the entrance plate at incredibly advantageous conditions, since actually he was supposed to offer the hundred rolls of silk and the two donkeys in exchange for it.

he bought silken cloth and fragrant medicine, only using these items for himself. [For this] he will have to go to the Liangya Hell 梁壓地獄.” When [Fa]jiong heard [of this judgement], he immediately admitted his guilt and gave the [purchased] items [to the monastery].

There was another placard saying: “Somebody stole an apricot tree from a monastic forest. He chopped it down using it as material to make combs. The monastery’s monk Daoguo 道郭 took one piece of spoiled wood with him, which was still adequate for making combs, worth 80 coins [per piece].<sup>72</sup> [For this] he will have to fall into the Huoshao Hell 火燒地獄.” When [Dao]guo heard of this statement, he immediately admitted and gave [the combs to the monastery].

There was another placard saying: “The śrāmaṇera Daohong 道弘, when preparing dumplings for the [monastic] community, first stole one bowl [of dumplings for himself] to eat. [For this] he will have to fall into the Tiewan Hell 鐵丸地獄.” After for several years [Dao]hong had had tumors in the mouth, he prepared an offering for the [monastic] community. There were more than thirty cases of this kind.

Within seven days, [Shi] Daoxiang died thirteen times. [Each time] he saw Bodhisattva [Mahāsthāmaprāpta] explaining the characteristics of guilt [accumulated by particular monks], which [when returning into the human sphere] he passed on to all the [relevant] people. All of them immediately gave back what they had stolen, and the placards in hell thereupon disappeared.<sup>73</sup>

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Seventeenth year: The sūtra translation scholar Fei Zhangfang submitted the *Kaihuang sanbao lu* 開皇三寶錄 (i.e. the *Lidai sanbao ji*) in 15 juan.<sup>74</sup> [Fei]

72 Both in the Taishō edition and in the Shi Daofa edition of the *Fozu tongji* we read 直八十錢. The character 直 here however needs to be understood as a misrepresentation of the graphically similar 值, which means “to be worth.”

73 An annotation reads: “[Source:] *Sengjing lu*” 僧鏡錄 (T 2035, p. 360, c29).

74 The *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 (T 2034, Records of the Three Treasures throughout the Successive Dynasties) is a sūtra catalogue submitted to the throne in the Kaihuang era. Due to its date of submission, it is also known as *Kaihuang sanbao lu*. For studies of this work, see: Max Deeg, “Zwischen Spannung und Harmonie: Das Problem von Chronologie und Synchronologie in der frühen chinesischen buddhistischen Historiographie,” in: *Geschichten und Geschichte: Historiographie und Hagiographie in der asiatischen Religionsgeschichte*, ed. Peter Schalk (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2010): 96–139; Tanya Storch, “Fei Changfang’s Records of the Three Treasures Throughout the Successive Dynasties (*Lidai sanbao ji*) and its Role in the Formation of the Chinese Buddhist Canon,” in: *Spreading the Buddha’s Work in East Asia: The Formation and Transformation of the Chinese Buddhist Canon*, ed. Wu Jiang (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016): 109–142.

Zhangfang had previously been a śramaṇa. When Wu of Zhou purged [the saṃgha, Fei Zhangfang] returned to laity. When the Sui dynasty rose to power, he came and was put in charge of the translation of sūtras.

- p. 361, a3 In the tenth month the Prince of Jin 晉王 sent a messenger to invite Zhizhe. When [on his way to the audience with the prince] the master arrived in Shicheng, he became ill. To his disciple Zhiyue 智越 he said: “The great prince wanted to make me come over [to see him again], and I will not renege on my promise. But I know that my life [will end] here. Therefore I do not need to advance further.”<sup>75</sup> Thereupon [lying on his] right side and having turned to the West he focused on reciting [the name of] Amitābha. On the 24th day of the 11th month he preached the dharma for the community and entered the samādhi. His disciples carried his coffin to [Mount] Folang 佛隴, and buried it on the Southeastern Peak.

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- p. 361, a9 Eighteenth year: Guanding 灌頂 and Puming 普明, the monastic messengers of the disciples of the deceased Zhizhe, brought a letter left [by Zhiyi before his death] and the *Expository Commentary on the Vimalakīrti-sūtra* 淨名義疏 to Yangzhou 揚州 (i.e. to the Prince of Jin).<sup>76,77</sup> The prince wrote in reply: “With regard to your request of erecting a monastery in the Tiantai [Mountains], I now send you the Adjutant Wang Hong 司馬王弘, who will follow your instructions.”<sup>78</sup>

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75 This is a quotation from the *Sui Tiantai Zhizhe dashi biezhuān* (T 2050, p. 196, a9–11).

76 Shortly before Zhiyi died on his way to the audience with the Prince of Jin, Zhiyi composed a letter to the prince, which is preserved in the *Guoqing bailu* as document 65 (“Sending a Letter to the Prince of Jin” 遺書與晉王; T 1934, p. 809, c5–p. 810, c6). The prince’s reply to this letter is preserved in the *Guoqing bailu* as document 66 (“The Prince’s Response” 王答遺旨文; T 1934, p. 810, c7–p. 811, b13). From the prince’s response we understand that Zhiyi’s letter had been delivered to the prince by Zhiyi’s messengers Guanding 灌頂 and Puming 普明, who along with the letter also handed over the *Expository Commentary on the Vimalakīrti-sūtra* (Jingming yishu, 淨名義疏) to the prince (T 1934, p. 810, c8–11).

77 Zhiyi’s commentary on the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* is preserved under the title of *Weimoluoji jing wen shu* 維摩羅詰經文疏 (X 338).

78 This is a quotation from *Guoqing bailu*, document 66 (T 1934, p. 811, a11–12). In the letter Zhiyi had written before his death, he had asked the Prince of Jin to support the construction of the monastery in the Tiantai Mountains (i.e. the Guoqing Monastery) (T 1934, p. 810, b6–10). Even though Zhiyi had worked out the construction plan for the monastic complex, the buildings had not taken shape yet. In his reply, the Prince of Jin grants the requested support.

Twentieth year: The Prince of Jin was established as crown prince.<sup>79</sup> It was decreed that if, in the notable feudal states, anybody should destroy images of the Buddha or the Celestial Worthy 天尊, that would be discussed as a matter of treason and heresy. p. 361, a12

**Renshou era**, first year: An edict [proclaimed] that in all notable feudal states of the world, numinous pagodas were to be built. The śramaṇas Jingye 淨業<sup>80</sup> and Zhenyu 真玉<sup>81</sup> were sent to distribute the relics, storing [one] in each of the 111 pagodas of the commanderies [of the notable feudal states]. Traces of numinous splendor [emitted by these pagodas] are mentioned in many places of the [*Xu gao*] *seng zhuan*.<sup>82</sup> p. 361, a14

The trepiṭaka Dharmagupta 達磨笈多 from Southern India and Jñānagupta from Northern India translated in the Daxingshan Monastery retranslated the *Fahua jing* (T 262, i.e. the Lotus Sūtra), arranged it in eight juan, and named it *Tianpin fahua jing* 添品法華經 (T 264, Lotus Sūtra with Added Sections).<sup>83</sup> p. 361, a16

Tenth month: Guanding and Zhizao 智瓘, the messengers of the Tiantai monks, arrived in the capital to convey gratitude to the crown prince for the construction of the monastery. p. 361, a18

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Second year: The śramaṇa Shetisina 闍提斯那 from Western India came [to the court] and reported: “In India a stone stele has been found, which says: ‘In the p. 361, a21

79 On Yang Guang’s establishment as crown prince, see: Xiong Cunrui, *Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty*, 22–25.

80 Jingye has a biography in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 12 (T 2060, p. 517, b16–c21).

81 Zhenyu has a biography in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 6 (T 2060, p. 475, b19–c25).

82 An annotation reads: “[The vinaya master of the] Southern Mountain (i.e. Daoxuan) composed the [*Xu*] *gaoseng zhuan* of the Tang dynasty” 南山撰唐高僧傳 (T 2035, p. 361, a16).

83 Concerning the purpose of the *Lotus Sūtra with Added Sections* Stephen F. Teiser and Jacqueline Stone offer the following explanation: “Entitled *The Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma with Added Sections*, it was translated by Jñānagupta (Zhenajueduo [523–600]), a monk from Gandhara (modern Pakistan), and Dharmagupta (Damojieduo [d. 619]), from central India, and completed in 601 or 602. These two translators were worried about the discrepancies among the translations of the *Lotus Sūtra* that existed in their day. They compared the Chinese versions and also consulted various Sanskrit manuscripts held in sūtra repositories in the capital. The resulting text largely reproduces Kumarajiva’s version, adding some material not present in his original” (Stephen F. Teiser; Jacqueline Stone, “Interpreting the Lotus Sūtra,” in: *Readings of the Lotus Sūtra*, ed. Stephen F. Teiser and Jacqueline Stone [New York: Columbia University Press, 2009], 28).

Eastern [region of] Zhendan, there is a state named the Great Sui, a city named Daxing, and a king named Jian, who intended to re-established the Three Jewels.’<sup>84</sup>

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p. 361, a23 Third year: Wang Tong 王通 (584?–617)<sup>85</sup> from Longmen in the Luoyang area went to the palace and presented Twelve Strategies for [the Attainment of] Taiping. The emperor could not use it. [Wang Tong] returned and gave instructions between the [Huang]he and the Fen[shui]. He studied the six classics to find out about their intentions.<sup>86</sup> The master said: “I transmitted the [*Book of*] *Documents* to maintain the solidity of [the states of] Han and Jin 吾續書以存漢晉之實.”<sup>87</sup> Since the Han ruled the world, evils and immorality were done away with to grant the people a new beginning. [This lasted] from Han Gao[zu] to Jin Wu[di].<sup>88</sup> “I composed the *Primal Classic* to break the doubts regarding the Northern and Southern [dynasties] 吾修元經以斷南北之疑.”<sup>89</sup> The world was without [a system of] reward and

84 This is a quotation from the biography of Shetisina in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 26 (T 2060, p. 668, b12–13). Daxing stands for Daxingcheng 大興城. Jian stands for Yang Jian 楊堅.

85 Wang Tong was a Sui dynasty Confucian scholar posthumously known as Master Wenzhong 文中子. The most famous text associated with Wang Tong is the *Zhongshuo* 中說 (Discourses on the Mean), which is also known as *Wenzhongzi* (i.e. [The Collected Writings of] Master Wenzhong). For studies of Wang Tong and the *Zhongshuo*, see: Howard Wechsler, “The Confucian Teacher Wang T’ung 王通 (584?–617): One Thousand Years of Controversy,” in: *T’oung Pao* 63 (1977): 225–272; Ding Xiang Warner, “Wang Tong and the Compilation of the *Zhongshuo*: A New Evaluation of the Source Materials and Points of Controversy,” in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121, no. 3 (2001): 370–390; Ding Xiang Warner, *Transmitting Authority: Wang Tong (ca. 584–617) and the Zhongshuo in Medieval China’s Manuscript Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

86 This means that, as the Twelve Strategies for [the Attainment of] Taiping had been rejected by the emperor, Wang Tong studied the six classics to formulate better political advice.

87 This is a quotation from *Zhongshuo*, chapter “Liyue pian” 禮樂篇: There we read: “吾續《書》以存漢、晉之實” (source: ctext.org—characters here given in simplified form as they appear there).

88 An annotation reads: “all together fifty chapters” 凡百五十篇 (T 2035, p. 361, a27).

89 This is a quotation from *Zhongshuo*, chapter “Liyue pian” 禮樂篇: “修《元經》以斷南北之疑” (source: ctext.org—characters here given in simplified form as they appear there). The *Primal Classic* 元經 is a chronicle traditionally ascribed to Wang Tong, which covers the period from 290 (the death year of Jin Wudi) to 589 (the final year of the Chen dynasty) (Howard Wechsler, “The Confucian Teacher Wang T’ung,” 250f.). Nowadays the text is regarded as “a piecemeal compilation of fragments and citations culled from other sources, most likely by Ruan Yi in the eleventh century” (Ding Xiang Warner, *Transmitting Authority: Wang Tong (ca. 584–617) and the Zhongshuo in Medieval China’s Manuscript Culture*, 104 note 18). While Ruan Yi 阮逸, a low-ranking official of the Song dynasty, appears



punishment for 300 years. Therefore from Jin Hui[di] to the Kaihuang era of the Sui, praise and disparagement replaced reward and punishment.<sup>90</sup> “I transmitted the [Book of] *Songs* to distinguish the customs of the Six dynasties of Jin, Song, Later Wei, Qi, Zhou, and Sui 續詩以辨晉、宋、後魏、齊、周、隋六代之俗。”<sup>91,92</sup> “I corrected the [Record of] *Rites* and the [Record of] *Music* so that the mistakes of later kings will become manifest 正禮、樂以旌後王之失。”<sup>93,94</sup> “I praised the way of the [Book of] *Changes* so that the

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to be the true compiler of the *Primal Classic*, the *Fozu tongji* still regards the *Primal Classic* as the work of Wang Tong, and hence introduces it as part of Wang Tong’s reception of the canonical classics of Confucianism. Even though the *Primal Classic* does not directly refer to the canonical classics, it still fits into this context, since—as the following annotation within the *Fozu tongji* explains—the *Primal Classic* is seen as a sequel to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋, which is one of the canonical classics. As we read in the annotation, *Primal Classic* would in the first place be an alternative title of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, while Wang Tong allegedly adopted that title for his own work (see: T 2035, p. 361, b1–3).

- 90 An annotation reads: “The meanings of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* include five [sorts of chronological representations of] beginning. Therefore a present-day alternative title is ‘Primal Classic.’ It comprises 50 sections in total. [Continuing the mode of] chronology seen in the ‘Primal Classic,’ [Wang Tong in his own work] notes [the sequence of] emperors, springs, and first months from the time of [Emperor] Hui of Jin (i.e. the second emperor of the Western Jin) to the Eastern Jin. Wei Xiaowen (i.e. Tuoba Hong 拓跋宏), as a successor of the [Liu-]Song dynasty, in the first year of the Taihe era (i.e. 477, Yuanhe 元 and here) is a misrepresentation of Taihe 太和 here) gained control over central China as he was able to move the capital to Luoyang. Up to the [Northern] Zhou and Sui dynasties all of the [succeeding] reigns are considered legitimate. When it comes to the Liang, Qi, and Chen dynasties, they are equated with the four barbarian [tribes]. The Southern and the Northern dynasties call each other Yi- or Lu-babarians. (Yi is a contemptuous expression referring to the Southern dynasties. Lu is a contemptuous expression referring to the Northern barbarians.) Now [Wang Tong] illuminates [which reigns are] legitimate, in order to overcome the problems in understanding.” 春秋義包五始。故今別名元經。凡五十篇。元經紀年。書帝春正月。起晉惠至東晉。宋繼魏孝文。元和元年以能遷都洛陽得中國。以及於周、隋。故皆稱正統。以齊、梁、陳同四夷也。南北二史夷、虜相稱。今明正統。以斷其疑也。(T 2035, p. 361, b1–3).

- 91 This is a quotation from *Zhongshuo*, chapter “Liyue pian” 禮樂篇: “續《詩》以辨六代之俗” (source: ctext.org—characters here given in simplified form as they appear there).

- 92 An annotation reads: “all together 360 chapters” 凡三百六十篇 (T 2035, p. 361, b4).

- 93 This is a quotation from *Zhongshuo*, chapter “Liyue pian” 禮樂篇: “正《禮》《樂》以旌后王之失” (source: ctext.org—characters here given in simplified form as they appear there).

- 94 An annotation reads: “The Lilun has 25 sections. The Yuelun has 20 sections. Later kings, who did not act in terms of the constitution of the Duke of Zhou, are discussed and corrected there.” 禮論二十五篇。樂論二十篇。後王不合周公制作者。

intentions of former kings can be expressed 贊易道以申先王之旨.<sup>95,96</sup> To the world this is known as [the interpretation of] the six classics by Mr. Wang [Tong].<sup>97</sup> The court summoned [Wang Tong] three times, but each time he did not come, [and finally] he died in his family.<sup>98</sup> [Wang Tong's] disciples posthumously called it the *Wenzhongzi*. Fang Xuanling 房玄齡, Du Ruhui 杜如晦, Wei Zheng 魏徵, Li Jing 李靖, Wen Yanbo 溫彥博, Dou Wei 竇威, Du Yan 杜淹, Wen Daya 溫大雅, Chen Shuda 陳叔達, and Wang Gui 王珪 all received the way facing the north,<sup>99</sup> and became officials and chancellors in the world. The disciple Xue Shou 薛收 and others collected the [master's] answers to questions, and called it *Zhongshuo*. In its words, the way of the three powers and of the five constant virtues as well as the realms of deities and humans as well as the nature of living beings are all complete.<sup>100</sup>

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則論而正之。(T 2035, p. 361, b4–5). The point here is that, in making the mistakes of later kings manifest, Wang Tong would follow the examples of the Lilun 禮論 and the Yuelun 樂論. Lilun and Yuelun are chapters of the *Xunzi* 荀子. For the Lilun, see: Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Xunzi jijie* 荀子集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), vol. 2, 346–378. For the Yuelun, see: *ibid.* vol. 2, 379–385.

- 95 This is a quotation from *Zhongshuo*, chapter “Liyue pian” 禮樂篇: “贊 《易》道以申先師之旨” (source: ctext.org—characters here given in simplified form as they appear there).
- 96 An annotation reads: “[Wang Tong] praised the 70 sections of the *Yi*[*jing*] in order to express and illuminate the intentions and the meanings of the Ten Wings of Confucius (i.e. the ten *Yijing* commentaries, which are associated with the Confucian tradition)” 贊易七十篇。申明孔子十翼之旨意。(T 2035, p. 361, b6).
- 97 An annotation reads: “Ruan Yi’s foreword to the *Zhongshuo* says: ‘Fang [Xuanling] and Du [Ruhui] (being disciples of Wang Tong) could not reach the master’s excellence. Therefore their continuation [of the work on] the scripture did not excite [the audience].’” 阮逸序中說謂。房、杜諸公不能臻師之美。故續經不振。(T 2035, p. 361, b6–7). The *Zhongshuo* was not authored by Wang Tong himself. It is a compilation of dialogues of the master, done by the master’s disciples.
- 98 That Wang Tong presented his “Twelve Strategies for [the Attainment of] Taiping” to the throne shows that in principle he was eager to offer political advice to the emperor. Now having established his political wisdom on the basis of the six classics, the emperor summoned him, but he did not follow the summons. One might assume that, as previously the emperor did not employ the Twelve Strategies, Wang Tong was no longer prepared to cooperate with him.
- 99 This means that they received the way in front of the master who (like the emperor) faces the south. In how far all of those people were truly disciples of Wang Tong is however not clear. Wechsler writes: “The identities of Wang’s major disciples, said to have numbered in all more than a thousand, are routinely disputed. Several of these same went on to become eminent statesmen of the early T’ang period (618–906), but their ‘master’ is mentioned not at all in any of their biographies in the two T’ang Standard Histories” (Howard Wechsler, “The Confucian Teacher Wang T’ung,” 226).
- 100 An annotation reads: “Ruan Yi’s foreword says: ‘Truly great are the meanings the

In the *Wenzhongzi* it is said: “Even though the [Book of] Songs and the [Book of] Documents flourished, the Qin dynasty came to an end. This was not the fault of Confucius. Even though the [teachings of] the empty mystery (i.e. Daoism) excelled, the Jin dynasty was thrown into chaos. This was not the fault of Laozi and Zhuangzi. Even though the precepts of abstinence were cultivated, the Liang state fell. This was not the fault of Śākyamuni.” p. 361, b13

詩書盛而秦世滅。非仲尼之罪也。

虛玄長而晉室亂。非老莊之罪也。

齋戒修而梁國亡。非釋迦之罪也。

Somebody asked about the Buddha. The master said: “He is a sage.” [The person] asked: “What are his teachings like?” [The master] said: “They are the teachings from the West. [In comparison the teachings of] China can only be regarded as mud.” Upon reading the [*Hongfan*] *Dangyi* [洪範] 讜議 the master said: “The three teachings (i.e. Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism) could therefore be one.”<sup>101</sup>

Somebody asked for the way of longevity and of divine immortals. The master said: “If humaneness and righteousness are not cultivated filial piety and fraternal respect cannot be established. What should longevity be good for?” p. 361, b19

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[*Wen*]zhong[*zi*] expresses! From the *Yi*[*jing*] it emphasizes [the numerals] two and five. From the *Chunqiu* it emphasizes balance. From the *Shu*[*jing*] it emphasizes the universal [care] of the emperor. From the *Li*[*ji*] it emphasizes the doctrine of the mean.” 阮逸序曰。大哉中之為義。在易為二五。在春秋為權衡。在書為皇極。在禮為中庸。(T 2035, p. 361, b12–13). The numerals two and five both point to the middle path: Two is in the middle between one and three, a sequence of numbers seen in *Laozi* 42: “The Dao begets one; one begets two; two begets three; three begets the myriad things” 道生一，一生二，二生三，三生万物 (Richard John Lynn, *The Classic of the Way and Virtue: A New Translation of the Tao-te ching of Laozi as Interpreted by Wang Bi* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1999], 135). Five is to be understood in terms of the Five Agents 五行: Metal 金, Wood 木, Water 水, Fire 火, Soil 土. In the traditional system of correlations, wood is associated with the East, metal is associated with the West, fire is associated with the South, water is associated with the North, and soil is associated with the center. In this way referring to the center, also the number of five points to the middle path.

101 An annotation reads: “The master’s (i.e. Wang Tong’s) grandfather Xiangong wrote the *Huangji dangyi*. It says: ‘The meaning of ‘huangji’ constituting the fifth part of the *Hongfan* particularly stresses the middle path. The position of human beings is between heaven and earth. From that one knows that, even though there are three teachings, they are all one in [addressing] man.’ 子之祖獻公述皇極讜議。謂洪範五皇極義貴中道。人位天地之中。則知教雖有三。人即一也。(T 2035, p. 361, b18–19).

## Emperor Yang

煬帝

[Personal name:] Guang 廣. Second son of Emperor Wen. Posthumously he was known as “the one who opposed heaven and suppressed the people” 逆天虐民, called Yang. Duke Yang of Lu 魯煬公 [who appears] in the *Zuozhuan*,<sup>102</sup> and [Chen Shubao], during the Sui dynasty posthumously known as “the Last Lord of Chen” 陳後主,<sup>103</sup> were also called Yang. Today (i.e. in the Song dynasty) [both of them] are still posthumously called Yang. It is as if there was retribution involved.<sup>104</sup>

p. 361, b23 **Daye era**, first year, ninth month: When the emperor personally visited Yangzhou, the Tiantai monks sent Zhizao, who reached [the emperor] at the temporary residence where he resided during his sojourn. [Zhizao] was summoned to the Daya hall and ordered to choose a name for the monastery in the Tiantai [Mountains]. Zhizao revealed: “Previously during the Chen dynasty there was the meditation master Dingguang 定光. After he had died, [Zhiyi] in a dream saw his spirit, which said: ‘You wish to build a monastery, but the time for it has not yet come. When the three states have been unified, there will be a man of great power who will build a monastery for them. When the monastery is completed, the state will be purified. It should be called State Purification Monastery (Guoqing si 國清寺).’” The emperor said: “This is the numinous

102 Duke Yang of Lu was the first ruler of the state of Lu of the Spring and Autumn Period. He is in fact only mentioned briefly in the *Zuozhuan* (Stephen Durrant, *Zuo tradition—Zuozhuan: commentary on the ‘Spring and Autumn Annals’* [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016], vol. 3, 1737). The standard reference to his reign, even though also brief, is seen in *Shiji*, juan 31 (William H. Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe’s Records, vol. v.1: The Hereditary Houses of Pre-Han China, Part 1* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006], 141). In *Shiji*, juan 38, we also read that Duke Yang of Lu was murdered by Fusi 鮒祀, who claimed the throne for himself (ibid. 277 f.).

103 Chen Shubao 陳叔寶, commonly known as “the Last Lord of Chen,” was the last ruler of the Chen dynasty. His reign is subject to description in *Chenshu*, juan 6 (Yao Silian 姚思廉, *Chenshu* 陳書 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972], vol. 1, 105–120), and in *Nanshi*, juan 10 (Li Yanshou 李延壽, *Nanshi* 南史 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975], vol. 1, 301–311). In both sources we read: “his posthumous name was Yang” 謚曰煬 (Yao Silian, *Chenshu*, vol. 1, 117; Li Yanshou, *Nanshi*, vol. 1, 311). In the dynastic histories the Last Lord is criticized for his sexual indulgence and for his love of extravagance.

104 As we have seen, Duke Yang of Lu suffered a dreadful fate, while the Last Lord of Chen had a deviant character. Against this background it is noted here that Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty shares the name of these two men. And since Emperor Yang was a ruler who in later histories is given a negative image, too, it is said that it seems as if the negativity associated with Duke Yang of Lu and with the Last Lord of Chen was transferred to Emperor Yang.

message of a former master,” and immediately he took it as the name. Thereupon he sent the Tongshi sheren Lu Zhengfang 通事舍人盧正方<sup>105</sup> to bestow the name plate that would secure the monastery. The Bishujian Liu Guyan 祕書監柳顧言 was ordered to establish a stele for Zhizhe, and to erect it at the monastery gate.<sup>106</sup> On the anniversary on the 24th [day] of the 11th month a feast for thousand monks was arranged. The administration verified that the number [of monks] amounted to exactly 1,000, but close to the feast the number [of monks] receiving the dakṣiṇā had increased by one person.<sup>107</sup> Everybody said that in a transformation body Zhizhe had come to receive the state sacrifice. In the afternoon of that day the messengers [of the court] and the [monastic] community [jointly] opened [Zhiyi's] coffin, and found an empty bed and a forsaken net.<sup>108</sup>

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Second year: An edict [proclaimed] that both śramaṇas and Daoist priests had to bow to the king. The śramaṇa Mingzhan 明瞻<sup>109</sup> and others opposed the edict and did not follow. The emperor rebuked them, and their reply was: “If

p. 361, c8

105 With regard to this name we observe an imprecision. While the *Fozu tongji* speaks of the Tongshi sheren Lu Zhengfang, the *Guoqing bailu* repeatedly speaks of the Tongshi sheren Lu Zhengli 通事舍人盧政力. One instance is found in juan 1: T 1934, p. 793, a18–19. Two instances are found in juan 4: T 1934, p. 816, b3 and T 1934, p. 816, b21–22.

106 The lengthy text of this stele is preserved in the *Guoqing bailu*, as document 93 (T 1934, p. 817, a7–p. 819, b8).

107 This story is known from *Guoqing bailu*, document 93 (T 1934, p. 818, c7–9).

108 An annotation reads: “According to the tradition, in the treasure hall of the Yuquan [Monastery] on one day the [dharma] wheel was turned. Lord Guan took possession of a person, and spoke [through the person's mouth]: ‘The worldly body of my master (i.e. Zhiyi) is here, and you should not move the flying wheel above him.’ From that we know about the spiritual power of King Guan. From the Tiantai Mountains he brought the treasure to this place.” 相傳玉泉藏殿一日推輪。關王附人語曰。我師肉身在此。不得動飛輪其上。自是知關王神力。自天台移藏此地。(T 2035, p. 361, c6–7). Lord Guan is Guan Yu 關羽 (162–220), who towards the end of the Eastern Han fought as a general for the Liu Bei 劉備, the founder of the Shu 蜀 state. Finally killed by Sun Quan 孫權, the founder of the Wu 吳 state, he was apotheosized and described as the spirit of Mount Yuquan. As such he later on appeared to Zhiyi when the latter was in deep meditation at the place. Zhiyi pointed out to Guan Yu that he had accumulated negative karma by killing people, and thus was able to convert Guan Yu to following the Buddhist teachings (Prasenjit Duara, “Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 47, no. 4 [1988], 778f.). On this basis Zhiyi is referred to as Lord Guan's master in the present annotation. In the main text it was said that Zhiyi's tomb was found empty. Now Lord Guan saying that his master's worldly body was here is supposed to provide evidence that Zhiyi had physically left his tomb after his death.

109 Mingzhan has a biography in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 24 (T 2060, p. 632, c1–p. 633, b2). Mingzhan 明瞻 is also written Mingshan 明瞻.

Your Majesty wishes to make the rules and the system destroy the path [of the Buddha], we will not dare not to comply. But if you do understand that the great dharma deserves to be respected, then the monks that wear dharma robes should not [be bound to] bow as in the rituals of laypeople.” The emperor became silent, and [the edict] was rescinded.<sup>110</sup>

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p. 361, c11 The meditation master Sengcan 僧粲, the third patriarch [of Chan Buddhism], died. Early on the master, still wearing the commoners’ robe, visited the meditation master [Hui]ke.<sup>111</sup> [Hu]ike then transmitted the dharma and gave the robe [to him].<sup>112</sup> When Wu of Zhou discarded the [Buddhist] teachings, [Sengcan] for more than ten years [remained attached to] Mount Sikong 司空山—sometimes coming, sometimes leaving. In the beginning of the Kaihuang era of the Sui dynasty, he resided on Mount Wangong 皖公山,<sup>113</sup> transmitted the dharma to the śramaṇera Daoxin 道信, and in leisurely and carefree style he resided in Jiangguo 江國. In this year he returned to his former residence, preached the dharma for the [monastic] community, and passed away in perfectly upright [sitting] posture. At the Shangu Monastery 山谷寺 a pagoda [for his relics] was erected.

p. 361, c16 The śramaṇa Daoming 道明 from Xiangzhou 相州 died. In the evening the monk Xuanxu 玄緒, who was his house mate, went into the wilderness, and suddenly saw a saṃgha-arāma. When he went there to seek refuge, he met Daoming. [His appearance] was not different from everyday life, and he guided [Xuan]xu to the house. [Xuan]xu secretly wondered about this. When

110 The full exchange between Sui Yangdi and Mingzhan is seen in the “Futian lun” 福田論, which appears in *Guang hongming ji*, juan 25 (for the relevant passage, see: T 2103, p. 280, c20–p. 281, a12), as well as in *Ji shamen buying baisu* 集沙門不應拜俗, juan 2 (T 2108, p. 452, b16–c1). For a translation of the passage based on the “Futian lun,” see: Thomas Jülch, “On Whether or Not Buddhist Monks Should Bow to the Emperor: Yancong’s Treatise on the Fields of Blessedness,” in: *Monumenta Serica* 60 (2012): 11–13.

111 Huike is the second patriarch of Chan Buddhism. He has been mentioned above, see: T 2035, p. 360, b17.

112 Sengcan (d. 606?) is the reputed third patriarch of the Chan tradition. He does however not have a biography in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*. The matter is commonly explained as follows: “Little is actually known of this mysterious figure, and he may simply have been a later invention created to connect the Bodhidharma-Huize line of early Chan with the East Mountain teachings (Dongshan famen) of Daoxin (580–651) and Hongren (602–675). Most of what is known of Sengcan is constructed retrospectively in such early Chan genealogical histories as the *Baolin zhuan*, *Lengqie shizi ji*, *Chuan fabao ji*, and *Lidai fabao ji*, and in later Chan histories known as ‘transmission of the lamplight records’ (*Chuandeng lu*)” (Robert E. Buswell, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014], 792 f.).

113 An annotation reads: “It is located in Shuzhou” 在舒州 (T 2035, p. 361, c14).

it became late night, [Dao]ming rose and said to [Xuan]xu: "This is not an ordinary place. You should carefully avoid passing the hall." [Having said that,] [Dao]ming left, and [Xuan]xu went [to the hall] stealthily. He saw the rector singing and offering rice. All of it had the color of blood. The rice was distributed to all monks. When they had once eaten it for a long time, their whole bodies were on fire. When the rector struck the signal for silence, [the monks] no longer had the characteristics of suffering. [Xuan]xu was afraid and returned to the place where he had been [before]. When [Dao]ming arrived, [Xuan]xu questioned him. The reply was: "This is hell. I took one piece of firewood from the saṃgha to make fire [under a pot in which I was going to] dye [my clothes]. I forgot to repay [the saṃgha], and I was punished by having my feet burned<sup>114</sup> for one year." When he rolled up his trousers so that one could see his knees, [it turned out that] his lower legs were all burned black. [Daoming] went on to say: "I hope that—on my behalf—you, sir, can buy 100 pieces of firewood to repay the [monastic] storage house, and additionally write one copy of the Lotus sūtra, so that my suffering can be remitted." [Xuan]xu promised it. He returned to the monastery and took action following his promise.<sup>115</sup> [Later on,] he went to the place again to look for the monastery, but everything was silent and nothing could be seen.<sup>116</sup>

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Third year, first month: An edict [proclaimed] that in the provinces and commanderies of all under heaven the way was to be practiced for seven days. In total, a thousand [men] were converted to become monks. The emperor personally wrote a vow text, which said: "[I], the Emperor Yang and disciple of the bodhisattva precepts, retain [the Buddhist teachings], prostrate and pay obeisance to the Buddhas of the ten directions. [It is my] wish to employ the merit of converting people to renouncing secular life to universally purify both the highest level of [material] existence and the [hell of] uninterrupted [suffering]<sup>117</sup> from moral defilement, bringing everybody there jointly to enlightenment."<sup>118</sup>

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114 In both the Taishō edition and the Shi Daofa edition of the *Fozu tongji* we read 然足. The character 然 here however needs to be understood as a misrepresentation of the homophone and graphically similar 燃, which means "to burn."

115 Both in the Taishō edition and in the Shi Daofa edition we read 依言為辨, which does not make sense. The 辨 needs to be seen as a misrepresentation of 辦. The term of 為辦 can be translated as "to take action."

116 An annotation reads: "[Source:] *Sengjing lu*" 僧鏡錄 (T 2035, p. 361, c27).

117 An annotation reads: "[i.e.] heaven and hell" 天宮地獄 (T 2035, p. 362, a2).

118 This is a strongly abridged and modified version of the original edict of Sui Yangdi, which

p. 362, a5 Fifth year: In an edict those among the monks of all under heaven, who had not performed works of virtue, were all ordered to give up the path. The monasteries [were reduced] depending on what was still required for the number of monks, and the remaining ones were all taken down. [Upon hearing this,] the meditation master Dazhi 大志 from the Fulin 福林 [Monastery] on Mount Lu 廬山<sup>119</sup> wore his mourning dress and cried in front of the Buddha for three days.<sup>120</sup> He swore to give up his body to save the [Buddhist] path. Thus he went to the Eastern Capital (i.e. Luoyang) where he submitted a petition, which said: “If Your Majesty would foster the Three Jewels, I, this poor monk, would offer my arm to repay this mercy of the state.”<sup>121</sup> The emperor granted it with respectful gesture. Thereupon [Dazhi] covered his arm with cloth and wax, ascended into a big shed, sat in upright posture, and applied fire [to his arm] to burn it.<sup>122</sup> When it had burned completely, he entered into meditation. [He remained] sitting in cross-legged posture for seven days and died.<sup>123</sup> Henceforth the edict that had been issued was no longer practiced.<sup>124</sup>

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p. 362, a12 Ninth year: An edict [proclaimed] that in all under heaven [the term] ‘si’ 寺 (monastery) was to be changed to ‘daochang’ 道場 (bodhi maṇḍala).<sup>125</sup>

p. 362, a12 The emperor personally visited Weiyang 維揚, and summoned the divine monk Faxi 法喜 to come in for an audience. For one day he walked around in the palace asking for a sheepshead. The emperor was annoyed about it, and entrusted the Chamberlain for Law Enforcement with the matter. [Even though] the jail guard was very strict on him, the officials saw that on the same

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is recorded in *Guang hongming ji*, juan 28 (T 2103, p. 328, b24–c11). For the rare passages of intertextual agreement, see: T 2103, p. 328, b25–26 and T 2103, p. 328, c11.

119 An annotation reads: “He was a disciple of Zhizhe” 智者門人 (T 2035, p. 362, a7). That Dazhi was a disciple of Zhiyi is known from the biography of Dazhi in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 27 (T 2060, p. 682, b5–6).

120 This is known from the biography of Dazhi in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 27 (T 2060, p. 682, b19–20).

121 This is an abbreviated quotation from the biography of Dazhi in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 27 (T 2060, p. 682, b22–23).

122 This is known from the biography of Dazhi in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 27 (T 2060, p. 682, b26). Both in the *Fozu tongji* and in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* version we find the character ‘ran’ 然, which needs to be understood as a misrepresentation of the homophone and graphically similar ‘ran’ 燃, which means “to burn.”

123 This is known from the biography of Dazhi in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 27 (T 2060, p. 682, c1).

124 On this matter, see: James A. Benn, *Burning for the Buddha: Self-Immolation in Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007), 85–86, 228–229.

125 This is also seen in *Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統, juan 4 (X75, no. 1513, p. 311, a2 // Z 2B:3, p. 408, c10 // R130, p. 816, a10).



day he was begging on the market place. The emperor ordered to investigate it, [but the investigators] only found [Faxi's] kāṣāya covering a lock of yellow gold, which held together [Faxi's] skeleton. [The emperor] ordered to use fragrant clay to sculpt his body. On the same evening, the clay sculpture stood up and walked around. [It resembled Faxi] talking and laughing as before. The emperor wondered about this, and issued an order releasing [Faxi] from his imprisonment. Before long [Faxi] became ill and died. He was buried on Mount Xiang 香山. After several years, somebody who returned from Hainan 海南 [related that] he had seen the master in perfectly disease-free shape. [The administration] opened his tomb to look for him, but only found an empty coffin. When Emperor Yang was killed in Jiangdu 江都, the previous prophecy of [Faxi] asking for the sheepshead was finally understood.<sup>126,127</sup>

### *Emperor Gong*

恭帝

[Personal name:] You 侑. Second son of Emperor Yang.

**Yining era**, first year: The meditation master Guanding 灌頂 from Zhang'an 章安, the fifth patriarch [of Tiantai Buddhism], in the Guoqing Monastery in the Tiantai [Mountains] preached the essence of the [Mohe] *zhiquan* for the meditation master Zhiwei 智威. p. 362, a22

### TANG

With Chang'an as capital 都長安.

### *Emperor Gaozu*

高祖

[Personal name:] Li Yuan 李淵. He received the succession from the Sui.

**Wude era**, first year: An edict [ordered] that three sandal wood life-size Buddha images [were to be carved to commemorate] the [Tang] Taizu<sup>128</sup> and his p. 362, a26

<sup>126</sup> The surname of Sui Yangdi was Yang 楊, which is a homophone of 'yang' 羊 meaning sheep. As Faxi was asking for a sheepshead, the corresponding sheep would obviously have been dead. So by asking for a sheepshead when meeting the emperor, Faxi prophesized that Sui Yangdi was about to die.

<sup>127</sup> This story is known from *Taiping guangji*, juan 91 (Li Fang 李昉, *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986], vol. 2, 603–604).

<sup>128</sup> Li Hu 李虎, the grandfather of Tang Gaozu, is referred to as Tang Taizu.

ancestors. For the śramaṇa Jinghui, who had prophesized that the emperor would come to hold the mandate of heaven, the Shengye Monastery 勝業寺 was established.<sup>129</sup> For the śramaṇa Tanxian 曇獻,<sup>130</sup> who towards the end of the Sui dynasty provided rice gruel to save the starving population, the Cibe Monastery 慈悲寺 was established. For the rise of the righteous army in Taiyuan 太原, the Taiyuan Monastery was established.<sup>131</sup> Furthermore an edict [proclaimed] that in Bingzhou 并州 the Yixing Monastery 義興寺 was to be erected, to award the merit of the rebellion [that led to the establishment of the Tang dynasty].<sup>132</sup>

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- p. 362, b3 Second year: An edict [proclaimed] that following the Buddhist regulations the execution [of criminals], butchery and fishing were forbidden in the first, the fifth, and the ninth month [of each year] as well as on [each] month's ten fast-ing days. This became a permanent directive of the state.

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- p. 362, b6 Fourth year: Early on Shi Zhiyan 釋智嚴 (602–668)<sup>133</sup> had served the Sui as Huben zhonglang jiang 虎賁中郎將.<sup>134</sup> He always had a water filter hanging from the top of his bow, and never drank water [contaminated with] insects.<sup>135</sup> In this year he gave up his official career and went to Mount Wan 皖山 to study the [Buddhist] path. He met an extraordinary monk measuring more than one zhang,<sup>136</sup> who said to him: “You will live to an age of 81 years, and ought to renounce secular life.”<sup>137</sup> His comrade Lüqiu Yin 閭丘胤 went to the mountain

129 On this matter, see: Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 7f. For source references, see Weinstein's footnote 10 (ibid. 153).

130 Tanxian has a biography in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 20 (T 2060, p. 598, c28–p. 599, a25).

131 Weinstein explains: “To reassure the T'ang imperial family of her loyalty Empress Wu gave the name T'ai-yüan ssu to the monastery that she founded in 670 in memory of her mother, T'ai-yüan being the area from which the Li family arose. Needless to say, the name of the monastery was changed after she reduced the T'ang imperial family to impotence” (Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 39).

132 In the biography of Zhiman 智滿 in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 19, we read that in the first year of the Wude era (i.e. 618) it was decreed to turn the house where Zhiman lived into the Yixing Monastery (T 2060, p. 583, b11).

133 Zhiyan, whose name is written 智嚴 rather than 智巖, is regarded as the second Huayan Patriarch.

134 This is known from the biography of Zhiyan in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 20 (T 2060, p. 602, a29–b1).

135 This is known from the biography of Zhiyan in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 20 (T 2060, p. 602, b1–3).

136 This is known from the biography of Zhiyan in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 20 (T 2060, p. 602, b15).

137 This is a quotation from the biography of Zhiyan in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 20 (T 2060, p. 602, b16).

to look for him. He saw the mountain cliffs standing loftily, and the birds and beasts crying sadly. So he said to the master (i.e. to Shi Zhiyan): “Oh [Zhong]lang jiang, are you mad? Why do you reside here?” The reply was: “As for my madness, I wish to awaken from it. As for your madness, it keeps growing.”<sup>138</sup> With a sigh the comrade withdrew.

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Sixth year: The Office Manager Li 李錄事 from the Huze District 濩澤縣 died. p. 362, b13  
He had constantly gone to the dharma master Yu 餘法師,<sup>139</sup> to whom he listened as he preached the *Vimalakīrti sūtra*. [Li] discussed [the preachings] with the people. The master asked him: “Who was moved by listening to my preaching of the sūtra today?” The answer was: “Above the heads of the people the spirits and deities [were also listening], and reaching up to all the heavens, the multiple [celestial] layers were all full. Thus I saw that all the deities perceived that the dharma master was stinking from wine. They all listened turning their faces away.” [The dharma master] Yu repented his mistake, and did not drink wine again. A spirit also said: “Not only in this meeting alone all the deities were moved, but also when he has dharma services in the future, none [of the deities] will not descend.”<sup>140</sup>

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The śramaṇa trepiṭaka Xuanzang 玄奘 was instructed to take residence in the Great Zhuangyan Monastery 大莊嚴寺.<sup>141</sup> p. 362, b19

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Seventh year: The emperor personally visited the Shidian 釋奠 debate<sup>142</sup> in the Imperial Academy. He instructed the Erudite Xu Kuang 徐曠 to lecture p. 362, b20

138 This summarizes a passage in the biography of Zhiyan in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 20 (T 2060, p. 602, b22–26).

139 I could not find out the full name of this master.

140 This tradition goes back to *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 15 (T 2060, p. 542, b22–c1).

141 On this matter, see: Alexander Leonhard Mayer, *Xuanzang: Übersetzer und Heiliger* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), 38.

142 The Shidian debate of the year 625 was a debate among representatives of the three teachings held in the Imperial Academy. Tang Gaozu instrumentalized the debate to give expression to the pro-Daoist and anti-Buddhist policy he supported, declaring that the arrangement according to which the participants were seated was supposed to symbolize the rank of the relevant teaching in Chinese society: the Daoist participants were seated in the first position, the Confucian participants in the second position, and the Buddhist participants in the third position. An account of the debate is seen in *Fodao lunheng*, juan 3 (T 2104, p. 381, a16–p. 382, b11; translation: Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik: die Mission des buddhistischen Tang-Mönchs Falin* [München: Utz, 2014], vol. 3, 220–229). The term “Shidian debate” derives from the fact that the debate was held after the Confucian Shidian rite, which under Tang Gaozu was carried out three times in 623, 624, and 625.

on the *Classic of Filial Piety* 孝經,<sup>143</sup> the śramaṇa Huicheng 慧乘 to lecture on the *Heart sūtra* 心經,<sup>144</sup> and the Daoist priest Liu Jinshan 劉進善 to lecture on the *Laozi* 老子.<sup>145</sup> The Erudite Lu Deming 陸德明<sup>146</sup> pointed out the meanings of all aspects, and comprehensively he analyzed the main points.<sup>147</sup> The emperor was pleased and said: “While the three men are sincere debaters, [Lu] Deming could summarize [a whole statement] just by giving one [example].”<sup>148</sup>

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p. 362, b24 Eighth year: The Grand Astrologer Fu Yi 太史令傅奕 (555–639) submitted a petition which said: “When the Buddha appeared in the Western territories, his words were demonic and his way [to China] was far. When translating the foreign texts into Chinese, [the translators] indulge in faking them. They cause [people] to be disloyal and unfilial [to the effect that they] respect ruler and parents by shaving the hair;<sup>149</sup> [they cause people] to lack an occupation and beg for food [to the effect that they] change their dress to evade the taxes.

不忠不孝。削髮而揖君親。

遊手竊食。易服以逃租賦。

But birth and death, long or short life depend on nature; punishment and virtue, authority and merit depend on the monarch.

生死壽夭出於自然。

刑德威福關於人主。

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On the Shidian rite, see: David McMullen, *State and Scholars in T'ang China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 32.

143 Xu Kuang has a biography in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 189, part 1 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu* [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975], vol. 15, 4942 ff.).

144 Huicheng has a biography in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 24 (T 2060, p. 633, b3–p. 634, c10).

145 Liu Jinshan 劉進善 is a misrepresentation of the name Liu Jinxi 劉進喜. Liu Jinxi is otherwise known for having authored a now lost anti-Buddhist treatise entitled *Xianzheng lun* 顯正論, which the Buddhist apologist Falin replied to in his *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論 (T 2110) (Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik*, vol. 1, 37).

146 An annotation reads: “His original name was Yuanlang” 本名元朗 (T 2035, p. 362, b22).

147 Lu Deming has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 189, part 1 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 15, 4944 f.) and *Xin Tangshu*, juan 123 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu* [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975], vol. 18, 5639 f.). On Lu Deming, see also: Kishima Norio 木島史雄, “Riku Tokumei gakujutsu nenpu” 陸德明學術年譜, in: *Tōhō gakuho* 東方學報 68 (1996): 69–98.

148 This paragraph is not developed from the account of the Shidian debate seen in *Fodao lunheng*, juan 3, but from an account seen in the biography of Lu Deming in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 189, part 1 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 15, 4945), where Xu Kuang is referred to as Xu Wenyan 徐文遠.

149 This means that—seen from the Confucian perspective—Buddhist monks respect their parents and the ruler in a way which would rather deserve to be called disrespect.

However the stupid monks pretend that all of this derives from the Buddha. They steal the authority of the monarch! They occupy the power of creation!<sup>150</sup>

竊人主之權。

擅造化之力。

Thereby they harm the government. Certainly one should sigh with grief.”<sup>151</sup> This petition remained unacknowledged.

Kaian 鑑菴 (i.e. Wu Keji 吳克己) said: Fu Yi had the disposition of a narrow-minded man. One day he submitted a document slandering Buddhism and defaming the teachings. At that time [this was a matter] which all the ministers in general did not accept. Only Gaozu in his weak belief was misled by [Fu Yi's] statements. If today we look at Fu Yi's commentaries and at the Shatai Decree, both do not go beyond saying that [monks] are lazy and steal their food,<sup>152</sup> and carelessly evade taxes and corvée labor. Alas! Studying the holy path striving to leave saṃsāra, spreading the manifestations of kindness to help ordering the world;

p. 362, c1

學聖道以求出世間。

敷慈化以贊理天下。

elucidating the consequences of good and evil to warn the ignorant commoners, exhausting the instructions for conscious beings to accomplish true cultivation

明善惡之應以警昏俗。

窮性命之旨以悟真修。

—this is what students of the Buddha generally devote themselves to. It can be practiced complementary to the teachings of the Confucians and will not contradict them. So how could one see [monks] as comparable to those mean people who pay taxes and perform corvée labor? Somebody said: “Men who study Buddhism frequently come from farmers’ hamlets. If one denied them [permission to] turn their back on [field work], they would still value the farm-

150 This means that, through the requirement of celibacy, Buddhism undermines the natural customs of domestic companionship, through which under normal conditions generation after generation comes into being.

151 This is an abridged quotation of an anti-Buddhist speech by the Daoist priest Fu Yi 傅奕 (555–639), which survives in the biography of Fu Yi in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 79 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 8, 2715). For a general study of Fu Yi's anti-Buddhist agitation, see: Arthur F. Wright, “Fu Yi and the Rejection of Buddhism,” in: *Journal of the History of Ideas* 12, no. 1 (1951): 33–47.

152 In the anti-Buddhist argumentation it is maintained that many monks renounce secular life only to evade taxes and corvée labor. It is implied that these monks do not belong into the monasteries. On this basis it can be argued that, if they still pursue the monastic life style, as part of which they get food for free, they virtually steal this food.

ers' customs. But does one not take a different approach when it comes to the sons of farmers' families nowadays participating in the imperial civil examinations? How would one deny them [permission] for that?"<sup>153</sup>

p. 362, c11 How much more is the path of the Buddha enormously tolerant in not asking whether [a disciple] is stupid or wise? If one criticizes [Buddhism] for being vulgar while hiding all the [Buddhist] worthies, this would have its parallel in [the matter of] [Liu] Zihou [柳]子厚 (i.e. Liu Zongyuan) criticizing [Han] Tuizhi [韓]退之 (i.e. Han Yu) for being upset with the outside aspects [of Buddhism] while evading the inner aspects [of Buddhism].<sup>154</sup> From this one may know that, [when beholding] a stone, one will never know whether it hides jade [inside].<sup>155</sup>

p. 362, c14 Today [Han Yu] is referred to as a Confucian scholar, but [in Confucianism] people of such petty-minded endowment have always been frequent. One has not yet heard that, because [those people] are no good, it would suddenly be requested to abolish the teachings of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius. If, among those who have renounced secular life, there are vulgar people, this is because their personal genius has not yet manifested. This is not the fault of the path of the Buddha.

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p. 362, c18 Ninth year: Fu Yi for the seventh time submitted a petition requesting a ban of the Buddha dharma. The emperor took his petition and entrusted his ministers with discussing it. The high ministers all said: "Buddhism has been flourishing for many dynasties. It has spread out the good, obstructed the evil, and mysteriously it [even] supported the state. Its principles were never discarded or abolished." The chancellor Xiao Yu 宰相蕭瑀<sup>156</sup> said: "The Buddha

153 This means that if people are allowed to turn their back on farming work in favor of an official career, they should be allowed to turn their back on farming work in favor of monastic life, too.

154 This suggests that Han Yu did not criticize the inner aspects of Buddhism, as he knew that he could not find strong counter-arguments there.

155 This means that Han Yu should not have polemicized against Buddhism, since, even if it seemed crude to him, he was ignorant of the fact that it would still contain a great wisdom treasury in teachings hidden from the gaze of the outside observer. This is an allusion to the classical anecdote of "the jade of Mr. He" 和氏之璧, which tells us that Mr. He presented a stone to three different sovereigns, but was rejected until in the end it turned out that the stone was hiding precious jade inside itself. The story is seen in *Hanfei zi*, chapter 13 (Wang Xianshen 王先慎, *Hanfei zijie* 韓非子集解 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998], 95; Wilmar Mögling, *Die Kunst der Staatsführung: Die Schriften des Meisters Han Fei* [Leipzig: Kiepenheuer, 1994], 111).

156 An annotation reads: "He was the son of Emperor Ming of the Later Liang" 後梁明帝之子 (T 2035, p. 362, c21). Xiao Yu has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 63 (Liu

was a sage, and [Fu] Yi slandered him. Slandering a sage is unlawful. His offense must be punished!" [Fu] Yi said: "Among the main concerns in human relationships, nothing is more important than [respecting] the ruler and the father. The Buddha rebelled against his father when he was a prince, and opposed the son of heaven when he was an ordinary man. 佛以世嫡而畔其父。以匹夫而抗天子。Xiao Yu, who was not born in Kongsang 空桑,<sup>157</sup> follows this teaching of fatherlessness. An unfilial person is without relatives. This is just what [Xiao] Yu is like!" [Xiao] Yu joined his palms and reacted by saying: "Hell was made exactly for this [type of] person."<sup>158</sup>

The emperor one day asked his ministers: "Fu Yi always says that the teachings of the Buddha are of no use. How do you think?" Pei Ji, the Chief Administrator to the Left 左僕射裴寂,<sup>159</sup> said: "Your Majesty previously raised the armies of righteousness (i.e. in establishing Tang rule), intending to rely on the three jewels, announcing to ascend the [position of] nine-five,<sup>160</sup> and swearing to open up the mysterious gate (i.e. Buddhism).<sup>161</sup> Now, as the world has returned to humaneness, and you are richly in possession of the four seas (i.e.

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Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 7, 2398–2406), and *Xin Tangshu*, juan 101 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 13, 3949–3952).

157 Kongsang is considered the birthplace of Confucius (on this matter, see: Robert G. Henricks, "On the Whereabouts and Identity of the Place Called 'K'ung-sang' (Hollow Mulberry) in Early Chinese Mythology," in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 58, no. 1 [1995], 69, 71). Saying that Xiao Yu was not born in Kongsang means that he cannot be counted as a 'shengren' 聖人 or sage.

158 An annotation reads: "See the *Old History of the Tang* (i.e. the *Jiu Tangshu*)" 見舊唐史 (T 2035, p. 362, c26). The statement of Xiao Yu is seen in the biography of Fu Yi in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 79 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 8, 2716).

159 Pei Ji has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 57 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 7, 2285–2289) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 88 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 12, 3736–3739).

160 The expression of "nine-five" 九五 refers to the throne. It is a term originating from the *Yijing*. In the hexagrams the number of 'nine' 九 refers to the unbroken Yang lines, while the number of 'six' 六 refers to the broken Yin lines. The first hexagram is QIAN 乾, which consists of Yang lines only. For the "fifth Yang" (i.e. the nine in the fifth position), the *Yijing* offers the following phrase: "When a flying dragon is in the sky, it is fitting to see the great man" 飛龍在天，利見大人 (Jin Jingfang, *Zhouyi quanjie* [Jilin: Jilin daxue chubanshe, 1989], 7; Richard John Lynn, *The Classic of Changes* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1994], 137). The "great man" is the emperor. The flying dragon in the sky is a symbol for a new emperor to emerge.

161 Pei Ji argues that Li Yuan had ascended the throne relying on Buddhism, and swearing to promote Buddhism when having established his rule. Pei Ji implies that now as Li Yuan has achieved his objective he should not betray his oath. Even though in establishing the Tang rule Li Yuan was in fact rather supported by the Daoist clergy, Pei Ji here reads a Buddhist connection into the process of the dynastic establishment hoping to cause the emperor to feel indebted to Buddhism.

the world), you wish to accept the words of [Fu] Yi. How should it be possible that this would not damage your past virtue and display present faults?"<sup>162</sup>

p. 363, a1 The emperor also made the petition [of Fu Yi] public among all the monks, asking them how renouncing the world would benefit the state.<sup>163</sup> [Thereupon] the śramaṇa Falin 法琳 (572–640) composed the *Poxie lun* 破邪論, which says: "The teachings of the Buddha penetrate the source of the tenthousand dharma, while Confucius and Laozi established their words exclusively to regulate wordly society.<sup>164</sup> Those who renounce family life (i.e. Buddhist monks and nuns) maintain the intention to thoroughly understand the [Buddhist] path, spread out goodness and augment charity, thus guiding ignorant people and benefitting the state in no insignificant way."<sup>165</sup> At that time Yu Shinan 虞世南,<sup>166</sup> the Secretary of the Residence of the Prince of Qin 秦王,<sup>167</sup> wrote a foreword to praise it (i.e. the *Poxie lun*).<sup>168</sup>

162 This is a small part of the lengthy critical speech with which Pei Ji replied to Tang Gaozu. An elaborate quotation of the speech is seen in the *Tang hufa shamen Falin biezhuān* 唐護法沙門法琳別傳 (T 2051, p. 201, a17–28; translation: Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik*, vol. 3, 16f.). For the part quoted here in the *Fozu tongji*, see: T 2051, p. 201, a25–28.

163 After Fu Yi had published his anti-Buddhist polemicism, Tang Gaozu turned to the saṃgha asking for Buddhist apologetic replies. As one of the replies that were submitted, Falin composed a treatise entitled *Poxie lun* (T 2109). As received today, the *Poxie lun*, apart from the core text written by Falin, is enhanced by other texts brought together by Yu Shinan 虞世南 (558–638), who also added a foreword to the collection. *Poxie lun*, juan 2, includes the text of the statement with which Tang Gaozu turned to the saṃgha asking for justification (T 2109, p. 489, b13–15; translation: Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik*, vol. 1, 371).

164 In the Taishō we read: 時域中之治. But following Shi Daofa, 時 needs to be replaced with 特.

165 This would appear to be a summary of the general contents of the *Poxie lun*, rather than a quotation of any particular passage.

166 Yu Shinan was an important calligrapher of the early Tang dynasty. In the competition for succession among the sons of Tang Gaozu, Yu Shinan belonged to the faction of Li Shimin, who succeeded in ascending the throne as Tang Taizong, and installed Yu Shinan as the Director of the State Library (mishu jian, 秘書監). As an advocate of Buddhism, Yu Shinan wrote the foreword to the *Poxie lun* to support Buddhist apologetics. Yu Shinan has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 72 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 8, 2565–2571) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 102 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 13, 3969–3973). For studies of Yu Shinan, see: Ozaki Yasushi 尾崎康, "Gu Seinan no Tei-ō ryaku ni tsuite" 虞世南の帝王略について, in: *Shidō Bunko ronshū* 斯道文庫論集 5 (1967): 185–224; Liu Weizhi 劉維治, Lu Yuying 魯玉瑩, "Yu Shinan" 虞世南, in: *Zheji wenhua mingren pingzhuan* 浙籍文化名人評傳, Tang Wudai juan 唐五代卷, ed. Chen Yaodong 陳耀東 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe 浙江大學出版社出版, 2003): 13–23.

167 The Prince of Qin is Li Shimin 李世民 (599–649), the later Tang Taizong.

168 For the foreword by Yu Shinan, see: T 2109, p. 474, c17–p. 475, a27; translation: Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik*, vol. 1, 189–195.



The dharma master Minggai 明概 composed the *Juedui lun* 決對論, in which p. 363, a6 he blamed [Fu] Yi for slandering the saṃgha in eight respects.<sup>169</sup>

There was Li Shizheng 李師政, a Supervisor of Rites at the Residence of the Prince of Qin 秦王府典儀. He composed the *Neide lun* 內德論,<sup>170</sup> in which it is said: “The extent to which [Buddhism] persuades for the good and promotes the virtues cannot be rivalled by the six classics. The depth with which [Buddhism] guards against evil and wards off calamities cannot be paralleled by the nine schools.

勸善、進德之廣。六經所未逮。

戒惡、防患之深。九流莫之比。

[Through the potentials for] investigating the mind and understanding the transformations, its words are impressive and respect inspiring. [Through the potentials for] eliminating misconceptions and cutting off defilement, its path is profound and hard to follow.

窮神知化。其言宏大而可驚。

去惑絕塵。厥軌清邈而難蹈。”<sup>171</sup>

“There are wonderful techniques that did not appear in the earliest antiquity, but were made available by the sages of later ages.

能事未興於上古。

聖人開務於後世。

[The introduction of] houses transformed the dwelling on trees, and written characters replaced the rule of the knot script.

棟宇易檜巢之居。

文字代結繩之政。

The practices of drinking blood and eating fur were previous matters that had not been refined yet. The merits of frying [food] and grain consumption were later matters that were not harmful any more.

飲血茹毛之饌。則先用而未珍。

火化粒食之功。雖後作而非弊。

169 The full title of the treatise is *Juedui Fu Yi fei foseng shi* 決對傳奕廢佛僧事 (A firm reply concerning the matter of Fu Yi discarding the Buddhist monks). It is preserved in *Guang hongming ji*, juan 12 (T 2103, p. 168, b21–p. 175, c12).

170 The *Neide lun* (Treatise of the Inner Virtue) is preserved in *Guang hongming ji*, juan 14 (T 2103, p. 187, b15–p. 195, a14). For a modern edition, see: *Zhongguo fojiao sixiang ziliao xuanbian* 中國佛教思想資料選編, ed. Shi Jun 石峻 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), section 2, vol. 3, 366–383. As we know from the *Tang hufa shamen Falin biezhu*, Li Shizheng authored two pro-Buddhist treatises directed against Fu Yi. One was the *Neide lun* and the other the *Zhengxie lun* 正邪論 (Treatise Correcting the False) (T 2051, S. 199, a23). The *Zhengxie lun* is however not preserved.

171 This is a quotation from the *Neide lun* (T 2103, p. 187, b18–20).

So how could one claim that because the [*Book of*] *Songs* and the [*Book of*] *Documents* were early, their seeds should thrive; while because the palm-leaf scriptures (i.e. the Buddhist sūtras)<sup>172</sup> came later, they should rather be replaced?

豈得以

詩書早。播而可隆。

貝經晚。至而宜替。”<sup>173</sup>

p. 363, a15 “Furthermore the inexhaustible cause of birth and death, the unfading teachings of karmic retribution have been illuminated in Buddhism but have not been understood in the Huanglao tradition.

死生無窮之緣。

報應不朽之說。

釋氏之所明

黃老之未喻也。”<sup>174</sup>

p. 363, a16 Moreover Huicheng 慧乘 composed the “Ten Explanations” 十喻 and “Nine Admonishments” 九箴 of the *Bianzheng lun*, to contradict the mistakes of the “Ten Discrepancies” 十異 and the “Nine Confusions” 九迷.<sup>175</sup>

p. 363, a17 When the emperor had read the rejoinders of all śramaṇas, he realized that [Fu] Yi had [in a biased way] praised Daoism and defamed Buddhism. Therefore he ordered a concurrent investigation of the meanings of both teachings.

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172 The character ‘bei’ 貝 here stands for ‘beiduo’ 貝多, which is a transliteration of the Sanskrit-term ‘pattrā’ (meaning palm-leaf). The palmleaf scriptures are the Buddhist scriptures of India.

173 This is a quotation from the *Neide lun* (T 2103, p. 189, a21–26).

174 This is a quotation from the *Neide lun* (T 2103, p. 189, b13–14).

175 In fact the author of the *Bianzheng lun* was not Huicheng but Falin. The work was written as a rejoinder to anti-Buddhist pamphlets from two Daoist priests: the *Xianzheng lun* 顯正論 (Treatise Illuminating the Correct) by Liu Jinxi 劉進喜 and the *Shiyi jiumi lun* 十異九迷論 (Treatise on the Ten Discrepancies and the Nine Confusions) by Li Zhongqing 李仲卿. Both pamphlets are connected with the anti-Buddhist agitation of Fu Yi, since, as we know from *Fodao lunheng*, juan 3, it was Fu Yi who submitted them to the throne (T 2104, p. 382, b15–16, Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik*, vol. 3, 230). Falin replies to Li Zhongqing’s *Shiyi jiumi lun* in two scriptures, both of which appear in *Bianzheng lun*, juan 6: the “Ten Explanations” 十喻 reply to Li Zhongqing’s “Ten Discrepancies” 十異 (T 2110, p. 524, c28–p. 529, c3; translation: Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik*, vol. 2, 229–287); and the “Nine Admonishments” 九箴 reply to Li Zhongqing’s “Nine Confusions” 九迷 (T 2110, p. 529, c4–p. 537, a28; translation: Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik*, vol. 2, 288–384). In *Guang hongming ji*, juan 13, we find a presentation of the “Ten Explanations” (T 2103, p. 175, c21–p. 180, c1) and the “Nine Admonishments” (T 2103, p. 180, c2–p. 186, b1) in slightly better textual quality. For a modern edition, see: *Zhongguo fojiao sixiang ziliao xuanbian*, section 2, vol. 3, 338–361.

In the fifth month an edict was issued [to the following effect]: “The śramaṇas and Daoist priests carelessly evade taxes and corvée labor, but they do not maintain the religious discipline. The Buddhist monasteries or Daoist abbeys are situated near markets, and are mixed in with butcheries and liquor stores. This is not how one would represent a religion. Those Buddhist monks and Daoist priests whose practice of the precepts is insufficient are all ordered to give up the path. Those who with devotion and diligence perform their practice shall all move to the bigger Buddhist monasteries or Daoist abbeys to receive food and clothing. Within the capital three Buddhist monasteries and one Daoist abbey shall remain, while in all commanderies one [of each] shall remain. The other ones shall all be closed.”<sup>176</sup> p. 363, a19

Sixth month, genshen: The Crown Prince [Li] Jiancheng 皇太子[李]建成 and the Prince of Qi [Li] Yuanji 齊王[李]元吉 unsuccessfully schemed against the Prince of Qin. The Prince of Qin [Li] Shimin 秦王[李]世民 punitively killed them.<sup>177</sup> p. 363, a24

176 Having considered all the Buddhist apologetic statements, Tang Gaozu did not feel appeased and issued an edict entitled *Shatai fodao zhao* 沙汰佛道詔 (Edict to Purge Buddhism and Daoism), which is here quoted in highly abridged form. The full text is preserved in *Guang hongming ji*, juan 25 (T 2103, p. 283, b8–c5), in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 1 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 1, 16f.), and in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 3 (Dong Gao 董誥, *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001], vol. 1, 38). The edict pretends to condemn Buddhism and Daoism equally, while in effect it turns against Buddhism much more strongly than against Daoism (Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 8).

177 This refers to the Xuanwu Gate 玄武門 incident. Saying that Li Jiancheng and Li Yuanji had schemed against their brother Li Shimin is an interpretation formulated in favor of Li Shimin. In fact Li Shimin schemed against Li Jiancheng and Li Yuanji, seeking to establish himself as crown prince. In the competition for succession among the sons of Tang Gaozu, Li Shimin had positioned himself as a supporter of Buddhism—apparently to win the support of the population. While the crown prince Li Jiancheng supported his father's anti-Buddhist policy, Li Shimin opposed it. When the “Edict to Purge Buddhism and Daoism” was issued, Li Shimin saw his chance to present himself as the savior of Buddhism. At the Xuanwu Gate of the imperial palace in Chang'an Li Shimin ambushed Li Jiancheng and Li Yuanji with twelve of his closest followers, and killed them. As this rendered Li Shimin the only living son of Tang Gaozu acceptable for succession, Li Shimin was able to establish himself as crown prince, which gave him the power to annul the “Edict to Purge Buddhism and Daoism.” Commenting on the anti-Buddhist directives in the edict, Howard J. Wechsler writes: “These directives can barely have had time to be carried out, for they were reversed three months later, on the day that Li Shih-min usurped control of government. This raises the possibility that Kao-tsu's removal from power might in some way have been related to his repressive measures against Buddhism and Taoism.

p. 363, a25 [The emperor] installed the Prince of Qin as crown prince, and a general amnesty for all under heaven was declared.<sup>178</sup> [The new crown prince] stopped the previous “Edict to Purge Buddhism and Daoism” 沙汰僧道詔.

p. 363, a27 In the eighth month an edict declared that the throne was transferred to the crown prince. Having ascended the throne, [Emperor Taizong] asked Fu Yi: “The path of Buddha is profound and wonderful. Its holy traces are worth being studied. And furthermore the matter of karmic retribution is obvious. Why do only you alone not understand its (i.e. Buddhism’s) principle?” The reply was: “The Buddha was a crafty and cruel man of the Western territories, [whose teachings] are not beneficial to this state. It is not that I do not understand them, but they are primitive and should not be studied.” The emperor was deeply offended by these words.<sup>179</sup>

p. 363, b2 Afterwards Fu Yi got a bad disease, and his entire body was rotten to the core. He howled and died. In a dream Feng Changming 馮長命 of the Directorate for Imperial Manufactories found himself in the office of hell, where he saw many people who had died before. Thus he asked which retribution Fu Yi now had to suffer, after he had defamed Buddhism and had died of a bad disease. The reply was: “I have already heard that after being assigned to Yuezhou 越州 [while yet alive] he was brought into niraya 泥犁.” Knowledgeable people of the time said that ‘niraya’ means hell.<sup>180</sup>

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We at least know that members of Shih-min’s retinue had made both written and verbal defences of Buddhism prior to his rise to power, which suggests that Shih-min and his men were bidding for the support of the Buddhist faithful throughout the empire” (Howard J. Wechsler, “The Founding of the T’ang Dynasty: Kao-tsu [reign 618–626],” in: *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3, ed. Denis Twitchett [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979], 180 f.).

178 This is known from the *Tang hufa shamen Falin biezhuàn* (T 2051, p. 201, b4–5), where the expression ‘cultured emperor’ 文帝 stands for Tang Taizong. The matter is also seen in the biographies of Falin in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 24 (T 2060, p. 637, c25–26) and in *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄, juan 8 (T 2154, p. 554, c21).

179 This is an abridged and modified version of a dialogue between Fu Yi and Tang Taizong seen in the biography of Fu Yi in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 79 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 8, 2716 f.). The famous dialogue also appears in *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑, juan 192 (Sima Guang 司馬光, *Zizhi tongjian* [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976], 6029). Both in the *Jiu Tangshu* and in the *Zizhi tongjian* we do however not read that the emperor was deeply offended by Fu Yi’s words. On the contrary, the accounts in the *Jiu Tangshu* and in the *Zizhi tongjian* say: “Taizong firmly agreed” 太宗頗然之 respectively “the emperor firmly agreed” 上頗然之.

180 An annotation reads: “[Source:] *Kubao ji*” 苦報記 (T 2035, p. 363, b6). *Kubao ji* (Records of Painful Retribution) is here used as an alternative title referring to the *Mingbao ji*

*Emperor Taizong*

太宗

[Personal name:] Shimin 世民. Second son of Gaozu.

**Zhenguan era**,<sup>181</sup> first year, first month: In an edict the virtuous monks of the capital were instructed to come to the inner palace to practice the way for seven days in order to convert 3,000 monks and nuns from all under heaven.<sup>182</sup> An edict [decreed] to convert the imperial family's old residence, the Tongyi Palace 通義宮, into the Xingsheng Monastery 興聖寺. p. 363, b8

An edict [instructed] the śramaṇa Prabhākaramitra 光智 to translate five works including the *Baoxing jing* 寶星經 in the Daxingshan Monastery 大興善寺.<sup>183</sup> Fang Xuanling, the Chief Administrator to the Left 左僕射房玄齡,<sup>184</sup> was the patron [of the project].<sup>185</sup> p. 363, b10

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冥報記 (Records of Miraculous Retribution). In the *Mingbao ji* we find an account of Fu Yi, which the *Fozu tongji* here presents in abridged style (Donald Gjetson, *Miraculous Retribution: A Study and Translation of T'ang-lin's Ming pao chi* [Berkeley: Centers for South and Southeast Asia Studies, 1989], 264–265).

181 While the Taishō edition speaks of a “Zhengguan” 正觀 era here, the Shi Daofa edition correctly reads “Zhenguan” 貞觀.

182 On this matter, see: Arthur F. Wright, “T'ang T'ai-tsung and Buddhism,” in: *Perspectives on the Tang*, ed. Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 247. The edict entitled “Du seng yu tianxia zhao” 度僧於天下詔, with which Tang Taizong ordered the ordination of 3,000 monks, is seen in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 5 (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 1, 66f.). A quotation of this edict is seen below (T 2035, p. 364, c6–12), where it is however listed as issued in the ninth year of the Zhenguan era.

183 Prabhākaramitra was an Indian monk who had studied in Nālandā under Śīlabhadra, and afterwards went to the West Turks to spread the dharma. The Tang court dispatched the Prince of Gaoping 高平王 (with personal name Li Daoli 李道立) to the West Turks, and the prince succeeded in bringing Prabhākaramitra to Chang'an. The scholarship of Prabhākaramitra was of great importance to Chinese Buddhism. On imperial orders, Prabhākaramitra in 629 began to translate Buddhist scriptures in the Daxingshan Monastery 大興善寺. In doing so he was supported by a team of nineteen Chinese monk scholars (Kuwayama Shōshin, “How Xuanzang learned about Nālandā,” in: *Tang China and Beyond*, ed. Antonino Forte [Kyōto: Scuola Italiana di Studi sull' Asia Orientale, 1988], 23–29).

184 In the Taishō version of the *Fozu tongji* the name Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 is miswritten as Fang Yuanling 房元齡. In the Shi Daofa edition we see the name written correctly.

185 This is known from the biography of Prabhākaramitra in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 3 (T 2060, p. 440, a29–b2). Fang Xuanling (578–648) had been a member of Li Shimin's faction in the times of competition for succession among the sons of Tang Gaozu. When Li Shimin ascended the throne, Fang Xuanling was awarded most high-ranking state positions. He is

p. 363, b13 Second year, third month: An edict said: "Since the establishment of righteousness (i.e. since the beginning of the Tang dynasty), people I, the emperor, have personally slain may amount to 1,000. For all of them we should organize fasting ceremonies and practice the way, and wholeheartedly we should ritually repent. I hope that those who are suffering from hardships in the three [negative] destinies can on this basis attain liberation."<sup>186</sup>

p. 363, b16 **Commentary:** Some people say that Taizong having slain by his own hands is truly an atrocious person. To one's surprise those people do not know that the Sui dynasty had lost the path, and that heaven was about to establish the Tang dynasty. Taizong was confronted with a difficult situation in the military. [Some of the officers] were antagonistic and impaired his policies. It struck his eyes that if he would not immediately eradicate these people, they would impede the state affairs. He accepted the mandate of heaven to disperse the cruel bandits, and he cannot be compared to Jie 桀 and Zhou 紂, who by killing innocent people created an abundance of evil. When all under heaven has been pacified, the heart of humaneness would arise all by itself. Because he knew the Buddha dharma, he was able to rescue [all under heaven]. And as he offered feasts and practiced repentance, the benefits reached the dark pass. This way he expelled the deep suffering, in order to satisfy all living beings. [Taizong] truly is a humane and lenient ruler.

p. 363, b24 In the fifth month it was ordered that on the anniversaries of previous emperors of this dynasty, each time a feast should be offered and incense should be burned in the Zhangjing Monastery 章敬寺. This became a standing procedure for all times.

p. 363, b25 In the seventh month an edict [instructed] the Buddhist monks and Daoist priests of the capital and all commanderies to read the scriptures and practice the way for seven days and seven nights to request good fortune for the people to secure the autumn harvest. This was seen to become common practice each year in the first month and in the seventh month.<sup>187</sup>

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also author of the *Jinshu* 晉書. Fang Xuanling has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 66 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 7, 2459–2467) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 96 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 12, 3853–3858).

186 The full text of this edict is seen in *Guang hongming ji*, juan 28 (T 2103, p. 329, a7–20).

187 This is known from *Bianzheng lun*, juan 4 (T 2110, p. 512, b7–8).

Third year, first month: An edict [instructed] the śramaṇas of the capital to practice the way and read the *Scripture for Humane Kings* 仁王經 each month on the 27th day to request good fortune for the state. The officials provided meal offerings. p. 363, b28

In the third month an edict [instructed] the meditation master [Ming]jing [明]淨 from Mizhou 密州 to come to the capital to pray for rain.<sup>188</sup> The master organized a fasting ceremony, sat in meditation, and under his influence in the northwestern sky the image of a white rainbow was seen.<sup>189</sup> Great rain aided universally. p. 363, b29

In the eighth month the śramaṇa Xuanzang 玄奘 submitted a petition requesting [permission to] go to India to obtain [Buddhist] scriptures.<sup>190</sup> p. 363, c2

In the twelfth month an edict said: “As the Sui dynasty had lost the way, the nine provinces were in rebellion. I, the present emperor, had to assume the position of the supreme commander [of the imperial troops] to accomplish that [the rebels] were brought to justice. At the places where, since the establishment of righteousness, soldiers have been deployed, all the righteous men and bandits who have died in military service had temples erected for them with excellent associates being invited over to establish a field of blessedness,<sup>191</sup> so that the troubled souls [of those who died in battle] could be saved.<sup>192</sup> I would like to take this as a praise of my compassionate intention.”<sup>193</sup> p. 363, c3

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188 This is known from the biography of Mingjing in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 20 (T 2060, p. 594, b23–24).

189 This is known from the biography of Mingjing in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 20 (T 2060, p. 594, b29).

190 Even though Xuanzang had requested permission for his journey to India, the permission had not been given, and Xuanzang embarked on his journey without permission (Alexander Leonhard Mayer, *Xuanzang: Übersetzer und Heiliger*, 92).

191 This means that Taizong's compassion was not confined to his own soldiers, but also extended to the rebels he was fighting against.

192 An annotation reads: “The records of the Laozi annotate that ‘yingpo’ means ‘hunpo’ (i.e. ‘soul’). The *Lushan ji* [says]: ‘The dharma of the mind is the soul of the bright god.’” 老子載營魄注魂魄也。廬山集。心法者。神明之營魄也。(T 2035, p. 363, c7). The quotation presented here is also seen in *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄, juan 99 (T 2016, p. 949, a10–11).

193 An annotation reads: “All of the above is seen in the *Jiu Tangshu*. In the *Xin Tangshu* by Ouyang [Xiu] this has been deleted and is not represented any more” 已上並見唐舊史。歐陽新書刪去不存。(T 2035, p. 363, c8). Part of this edict text is indeed seen in *Jiu Tang-*

p. 363, c8 Fourth year, first month: A senior official was ordered to embroider an image of Buddha Śākyamuni at a size of 1.6 zhang.<sup>194</sup> It was respectfully placed in the Shengguang Monastery 勝光寺, where a fasting ceremony for thousand monks was organized.

p. 363, c10 In the fifth month the monasteries established on the battlefields were completed, and the ministers were ordered to compose stele texts. As Liu Wuzhou 劉武周<sup>195</sup> had been defeated in Fenzhou 汾州, the Hongji Monastery 弘濟寺 was erected there. [The stele text for it] was composed by Li Baiyao 李百藥.<sup>196</sup> As Song Laosheng 宋老生<sup>197</sup> had been defeated in Juzhou 莒州, the Puji Monastery 普濟寺 was erected there. [The stele text for it] was composed by Xu Jingzong 許敬宗.<sup>198</sup> As Xue Ju 薛舉<sup>199</sup> had been defeated in Binzhou 邠州, the Zhaoren Monastery 昭仁寺 was erected there. [The stele text for it] was composed by Zhu Zishe 朱子奢.<sup>200</sup> As Song Jin'gang 宋金剛<sup>201</sup> had been defeated in Jinzhou 晉州, the Ciyun Monastery 慈雲寺 was erected there. [The stele

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*shu*, juan 2, where—in agreement with the date given in the *Fozu tongji*—it is presented under the 12th month of Zhengguan 3 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 1, 37). Different versions of the text of this edict are also seen in *Tang huiyao*, juan 48 (Wang Pu 王溥, *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006], vol. 1, 994 f.), and in *Guang hongming ji*, juan 28 (T 2103, p. 328, c12–27).

- 194 This matter is also known from *Bianzheng lun*, juan 4 (T 2110, p. 513, a7–8). According to Jan Yün-hua, the term 'shanggong' 上宮, appearing both in the *Bianzheng lun* and in the *Fozu tongji*, should be read as a misrepresentation of 'shangguan' 上官, which I translate as 'senior official' here.
- 195 Liu Wuzhou (?–622), a former Sui officer, who had declared himself emperor in 617 and captured Taiyuan from the Tang in 619, but was defeated by Li Shimin in 620, has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 55 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 7, 2253–2256) and *Xin Tangshu*, juan 86 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 12, 3711–3715).
- 197 Song Laosheng (?–617), was a Sui general who opposed the establishment of the Tang dynasty (Woodbridge Bingham, *The Founding of the Tang dynasty: The Fall of Sui and Rise of Tang* [New York: Octagon, 1975], 98 f.).
- 198 Xu Jingzong (592–672), a Tang official and supporter of Wu Zetian's bid to become empress, has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 82 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 8, 2761–2765), and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 223, part 1 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 20, 6335–6339).
- 199 Xue Ju (?–618), a former Sui officer, who in 617 rebelled with his son Xue Rengao, declared himself emperor, and established Tianshui 天水 in Gansu as his capital, has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 55 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 7, 2245–2247), and *Xin Tangshu*, juan 86 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 12, 3705–3707).
- 200 Zhu Zishe (?–641) was a Tang dynasty scholar official (*Zhongguo lidai renming da cidian* 中國歷代人名大辭典, ed. Zhang Huizhi 張撫之 [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999], vol. 1, 555).
- 201 Song Jin'gang (?–620), a late Sui warlord, joined Liu Wuzhou, who established him as



text for it] was composed by Chu Suiliang 褚遂良.<sup>202</sup> As Wang Shichong 王世充<sup>203</sup> had been defeated on Mount Mang 邙山, the Zhaojue Monastery 昭覺寺 was erected there. [The stele text for it] was composed by Yu Shinan 虞世南.<sup>204</sup> As Dou Jiande 竇建德<sup>205</sup> had been defeated in Fanshui 汎水, the Dengci Monastery 等慈寺 was erected there. [The stele text for it] was composed by Yan Shigu 顏師古.<sup>206</sup> As Liu Heita 劉黑闥<sup>207</sup> had been defeated in Luozhou 洛州, the Zhaofu Monastery 昭福寺 had been erected. [The stele text for it] was composed by Cen Wenben 岑文本.<sup>208</sup>

This year there was a good harvest in all under heaven, and [the price for] p. 363, c17  
rice fell to three coins per peck. Front doors did no longer need to be closed [as people did not steal food], and travelers did not need to bring provisions [as food was easily available anywhere]. There were only 29 executions, and

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Prince of Song 宋王. Both of them were defeated by Li Shimin. Song Jingang has a biography in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 86, which appears as part of the biography of Liu Wuzhou (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 12, 3712 f.).

202 Chu Suiliang (596–658 or 597–659), a Tang chief minister and calligrapher favored by Tang Taizong, has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 80 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 8, 2729–2739), and *Xin Tangshu*, juan 105 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 13, 4024–4029).

203 Wang Shichong (?–621), a former Sui official who had been in charge of Sui Yangdi's security, declared himself emperor in 619, but surrendered to the Tang in 621. He has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 54 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 7, 2227–2234), and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 85 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 12, 3689–3696).

204 Yu Shinan (558–638), an important calligrapher and one of Tang Taizong's most favored officials, has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 72 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 8, 2565–2571), and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 102 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 13, 3969–3973).

205 Dou Jiande (573–621), a Sui loyalist who killed Yuwen Huaji 宇文化及, the murderer of Sui Yangdi, and rebelled against the early Tang state, was captured by Li Shimin. He has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 54 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 7, 2234–2242), and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 85 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 12, 3696–3703).

206 Yan Shigu (581–645), a Tang dynasty scholar official, who wrote the definite *Hanshu* commentary and co-authored the *Suishu*, has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 73 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 8, 2594–2596), and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 198 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 18, 5641–5642).

207 Liu Heita (?–623), a rebel leader who had raised an army and captured South of Hebei, but was defeated by Li Shimin, has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 55 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 7, 2258–2260), and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 86 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 12, 2715–2718).

208 Cen Wenben (595–645), a Tang chief minister and an excellent prose writer in charge of drafting edicts and involved in the composition of the *Zhoushu* 周書, has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 70 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 8, 2535–2539), and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 102 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 13, 3965–3967).

all under heaven was perfectly regulated. The emperor said to all his ministers: “That Wei Zheng 魏徵<sup>209</sup> persuaded me to practice benevolence and righteousness brought about this result. Therefore I also realize that personally killing more than thousand people when I previously pacified all under heaven was unworthy of the Great Peace.”<sup>210</sup> Therefore he offered his imperial robes to all monasteries and instructed the monks to practice [rites of] repentance.<sup>211</sup>

p. 363, c23

Kaian 鑑菴 (i.e. Wu Keji 吳克己) said: What a ruler has done must be noted. Only then one could speak of a historiographic work. The historiographers therefore record the traces that had been lost or gained in contemporary times. Therefore, if somebody should be evil enough to assassinate the ruler it will certainly be recorded; or if somebody should be disgraceful enough to roast his mother it will certainly be recorded. 以故惡如弑君必書。醜如蒸母必書。 How should it be possible that they would not record their disgraceful or evil doing? Thus we know that those who formulate the histories will not ignore good or evil matters of their contemporary times. Thus we could speak of credible historiography here. In former times, Fan Ye 范曄 wrote the [*Hou*] *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan* 後漢書西域傳,<sup>212</sup> which for the first time discussed the Buddha dharma.<sup>213</sup> Chen

209 Wei Zheng (580–643) was Tang Taizong’s most trusted advisor. His words and deeds are recorded in the *Zhenguan zhengyao* 貞觀政要, and he has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 71 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 8, 2545–2563), and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 97 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 12, 3867–3885).

210 This might possibly allude to a passage in the biography of Wei Zheng in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 71. While we find rather little intertextual agreement, both in the *Fozu tongji* and in the *Jiu Tangshu* the relevant passages are however related to Tang Taizong speaking in praise of Wei Zheng. Where the *Fozu tongji* says “all under heaven was perfectly regulated” 天下大治, the *Jiu Tangshu* says “all under heaven was perfectly pacified” 天下大寧. While in the *Fozu tongji* the phrase is seen prior to the statement of Tang Taizong, in the *Jiu Tangshu* it is part of the statement of Tang Taizong. In both cases it is however implied that this state was reached through Wei Zheng’s influence on Tang Taizong. Hence the key phrase, “Wei Zheng persuaded me” 魏徵勸朕, is at the heart of the emperor’s statement both in the *Fozu tongji* and in the *Jiu Tangshu* (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 8, 2558).

211 An annotation reads: “The matter is seen in the old history [i.e. in the *Jiu Tangshu*]. In the *Xin [Tang]shu* by Ouyang [Xiu] this has all been deleted” 事見舊史。歐陽新書並刪去之。(T 2035, p. 363, c22).

212 The “Xiyu zhuan” is seen in *Hou Hanshu*, juan 88 (Fan Ye 範曄, *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006], vol. 10, 2909–2938).

213 What is referred to here as the discussion of the Buddha dharma appears in: Fan Ye, *Hou*

Shou 陳壽 wrote the *Chronicles of the Three States* (i.e. the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志), in which he ignored [things] and did not record them. [Under] Tang Taizong the *Jinshu* 晉書 was formulated. From the noble purport of the śramaṇas some bits were included. As part of the *Beishi*, Wei Shou composed the “Folao zhi” 佛老志.<sup>214</sup> As part of the *Nanshi* 南史, Li Yanshou 李延壽 composed the “Biography of Gu Huan” 顧歡傳.<sup>215</sup> Generally speaking [matters of] emperors and princes, dukes and officials destroying or praising Buddhism or Daoism are in no case not recorded. [For this reason] when it comes to the biased and correct views, the strengths and weaknesses of the two teachings (i.e. Buddhism and Daoism), then both in the old days and in the present times nobody would not understand their tendencies.<sup>216</sup> When in composing the [*Xin*] *Tangshu* [新]唐書 and the *Wudai shi* 五代史, Mr. Ouyang [Xiu] 歐陽氏 encountered matters of Buddhism or Daoism, he deleted them. The *Tangshu*, as the correct history of the Tang dynasty, is not a private book of Ouyang [Xiu]. Even if he thought that [Buddhism and Daoism] are not good enough, he should still have discussed them. How is it possible that, basing himself on his personal dislikes, he deleted everything? From that we know that those who do not possess a penetrating understanding do not suffice to be employed for the writing of histories. Accepting or rejecting the Buddha dharma generally depends on the likes or the dislikes of a person. Han [Yu], Ou[yang Xiu], and Sima [Guang] first did not like Buddhism. So when they made their statements upon encountering [Buddhist] matters, they necessarily had to bring up criticism. [But] later on [Han] Tuizhi (i.e. Han Yu) asked Dadian about the path, and [Ouyang] Yongshu (i.e. Ouyang Xiu) heard about the dharma from Yuanlong. 及退之問道於大顛。永叔聞法於圓通。[Sima] Junshi (i.e. Sima Guang) expanded the elaborations of the *Wenzhongzi* 文中子 by composing a Hymn on Chan:

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*Hanshu*, vol. 10, 2931f. The passage has been quoted in *Fozu tongji*, juan 35 (T 2035, p. 330, b8–17). For a translation see vol. 1 of the present translation project, p. 57 f.

214 This is the “Shilao zhi” 釋老志 of *Weishu*, juan 114 (Wei Shou 魏收, *Weishu* 魏書 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006], 3025–3062). For a translation, see: Leon Hurvitz, *Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism, Wei Shou: An English translation of the original Chinese text of Wei-Shu CXIV and the Japanese annotation of Tsukamoto Zenryū* (Kyōto: Jimbunkagaku Kenkyūsho, 1956).

215 The biography of Gu Huan is seen in *Nanshi*, juan 75 (Li Yanshou 李延壽, *Nanshi* 南史 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975], vol. 6, 1874–1880).

216 This means that only because previous historiographers did include details concerning

p. 364, a12 “[Those whose] words can become a teacher for hundred generations, [those whose] actions can become a model for all under heaven, [those who] became worthies and became great sages—they are referred to as Buddhas and bodhisattvas.”<sup>217</sup>

p. 364, a14 These three worthies (i.e. Han Yu, Ouyang Xiu, and Sima Guang) first hated Buddhism, but in the end they liked it. It is unfortunate that they heard about the path of the Buddha so late, as the words they had stated they could not take back any more. Aah! Accepting or rejecting the Buddha dharma indeed depends on the likes or the dislikes of a person! Could one not think about it more deeply?

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p. 364, a18 Fifth year, first month: An edict [proclaimed] that Buddhist monks and nuns as well as Daoist priests had to bow to their parents.<sup>218</sup>

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p. 364, a19 An edict [proclaimed] that in the Qingshan Palace 慶善宮 the Cide Monastery 慈德寺 was to be established for the Empress Dowager Mu 穆太后, and the Puguang Monastery 普光寺 for the Crown Prince Chengqian 皇太子承乾. The śramaṇa Fachang 法常 was ordered to live there and to give the bodhisattva precepts to the crown prince.

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p. 364, a21 In the eleventh month the meditation master Sengyong 僧邕 of the Huadu Monastery 化度寺 died. The emperor paid homage, mourned, and donated a piece of silk. He ordered Li Baiyao, a Secretary to the Right 右庶子李百藥, to compose a stele text, and he instructed Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 to inscribe it.<sup>219,220</sup>

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the development of Buddhism and Daoism, these historical details were still known when Kaian wrote the present text.

217 An annotation reads: “[Source:] Stanza no. 6 of the Hymn on Chan; see the *Collected Works of Sire Sima*” 禪頌六章見司馬公文集 (T 2035, p. 364, a14).

218 An annotation reads: “[Source:] *Zhengguan zhengyao*” 正觀政要 (T 2035, p. 364, a18). The matter is seen in *Zhengguan zhengyao*, section 29 (Pian Huaqian 駢驂騫, *Zhengguan zhengyao* [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009], 194).

219 This is known from the biography of Sengyong in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 19 (T 2060, p. 584, a22–23).

220 An annotation reads: “On the stone inscription received today the characters are all demolished. But the canonic version is considered correct” 今有收石本者。文字殘闕。藏以為寶。 (T 2035, p. 364, a23).

Zoroaster 蘇魯支 from Persia established the teachings of Mani (i.e. of Manichaeism) and of Zoroastrianism 末尼火祆教.<sup>221</sup> He was instructed to establish the Daqin Monastery in the capital.<sup>222</sup>

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Sixth year: An edict [proclaimed] that in the Eastern Capital<sup>223</sup> the “Former Mansion of the Dragon in Hiding” 龍潛舊宅 was converted into the Tiangong Monastery 天宮寺.<sup>224</sup>

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An edict [proclaimed] that the monk Dushun 杜順 was to come for an audience. He was granted the [honorific] title “Heart of the Emperor” 帝心.

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On the seventh day of the [Guanding] from Zhang'an passed away in the Guoqing [Monastery]. Extraordinary fragrance filled the room.

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221 An annotation reads: “[Zoroaster] was a barbarian deity. He was a non-Buddhist brahmin” 胡神。即外道梵志也。(T 2035, p. 364, a24). The term of “brahmin” 梵志 is here to be understood in the sense of “priest.” In the context of Song dynasty Chinese Buddhism the understanding of Zoroastrianism was very vague, so that the terminology Zhipan uses in referring to these matters is imprecise. Also Manichaeism and Zoroastrianism were often confused. The present passage even seems to suggest that both Manichaeism and Zoroastrianism were founded by Zoroaster.

222 An annotation reads: “Persia is situated in the Western Seas. It is called Daqin.” 波斯國在西海。此云大秦。(T 2035, p. 364, a25). The term Daqin usually refers to the Roman Empire. As we see here, the *Fozu tongji* however defines it as referring to Persia. In a subsequent annotation (see: T 2035, p. 370, a1–2) and a subsequent main text passage (see: T 2035, p. 375, b28–29) the term also reappears in that sense. The matter may be interpreted in such a way that Zhipan, for reasons of lacking geographical knowledge or awareness, simply confused Persia and the Roman Empire. Also in *Da Song seng shilüe* 大宋僧史略, juan 3, the term of Daqin is mistaken as referring to Persia in connection with a report of Manichaeism (T 2126, p. 253, b20). Commenting on this instance, Albert Welter offers an elaborate explanation of the problem (Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy* [Amherst: Cambria, 2018], 609 note 1).

223 An annotation reads: “i.e. Luoyang” 洛陽 (T 2035, p. 364, a26).

224 In *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 4, we read: “The Tiangong Monastery was the former mansion where [Tang] Gaozu [lived] in his time as the submerged dragon” 天宮寺是高祖潛龍時舊宅。(Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 1, 82). The term of the “submerged dragon” 潛龍 here refers to the retired emperor. The term alludes to *Yijing*, hexagram QIAN, where we read: “A submerged dragon does not act” 潛龍勿用 (Jin Jingfang, *Zhouyi quanjie*, 19f.; Richard John Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 132). In the present passage of the *Fozu tongji*, the term of 潛龍 becomes 龍潛, while I translate the latter as “dragon in hiding.” Tang Gaozu became the retired emperor, when he was forced to abdicate by his son who established himself as Tang Taizong. The “Former Mansion of the Dragon in Hiding” is the palace

p. 364, a29 Seventh year: The trepiṭaka Prabhākaramitra 明友 from Central India came to translate the *Mahāyāna-Sūtra-alaṃkāra-śāstra* 大乘莊嚴[經]論 (T 1604). Li Baiyao wrote a foreword which says: “Both the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna take this śāstra as their basis. If one does not possess a thorough understanding of it, one will not be able to spread the dharma.”<sup>225</sup>

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p. 364, b2 Buddhist monks and Daoist priests were ordered to stop paying homage to their parents.

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p. 364, b3 Master Hanshan 寒山子 went into retreat on the Han cliffs of the Tiantai [Mountains]. When at that time he visited the Guoqing Monastery, there was Shide 拾得 who at the age of ten had been picked up from the wayside at [Mount] Chicheng 赤城 by the meditation master Fenggan 豐干. [Fenggan] carefully enquired about [Shide's] homelessness, and handed [Shide] over to the [monastic] kitchen hall to nourish him. Three years later, [Shide] was placed in charge of the [monastic] dining hall. He always collected remnants of vegetables in bamboo tubes, which Hanshan took along whenever he came round. Occasionally [Hanshan] shouted out happily in the [monastic] aisles. When the monks of the monastery drove him out and scolded him, he just clapped his hands and laughed. When Lüqiu Yin 閻丘胤 was appointed Regional Inspector of Taizhou, he suffered from a headache on the way to his post. He met Fenggan, who told him that he came from the Guoqing [Monastery] in the Tiantai [Mountains], and sprinkled water to cure the disease. In an instant [Lüqiu Yin] recovered. [Lüqiu] Yin asked: “What wise men are there in the Tiantai [Mountains]?” The master said: “Those who meet them do not recognize them. Those who recognize them do not meet them. If you wish to meet them, you should not judge them by their appearance. Hanshan is Mañjuśrī, who hides his traces in the Guoqing [Monastery]. Shide is Samantabhadra, whose way of being is like that of a poor man.” When [Lüqiu] Yin arrived in the county, he immediately went to the Guoqing [Monastery] asking for the room of Fenggan. The monk Daoqiao 道翹 led him to an empty room, where tiger traces were seen all over the place. He said: “When the meditation master is here, he would during the day merely husk rice for the saṃgha, and would during the night sing songs for his own enjoyment.” When [Lüqiu Yin] also asked for Hanshan and Shide, he was guided to the kitchen,

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where Tang Gaozu resided after his abdication. Later on the palace was transformed into a monastery, which was named Tiangong Monastery.

225 This is a quotation from the Li Baiyao's foreword to the *Mahāyāna-Sūtra-alaṃkāra-śāstra* or *Dacheng zhuangyan jing lun* 大乘莊嚴經論 (T 1604, p. 590, a19–20).

in front of which he met the two men as they were laughing by the fire. When [Lüqiu] Yin bowed in front of them, the two men shouted out to him saying: "Fenggan may have a loose tongue, but if you do not know Amitābha, what is the point in bowing to us?" After that the two men held each other by the hand and with laughter they went to the Han cliffs, never returning to the monastery. [Lüqiu] Yin thereupon ordered Daoqiao to spread the more than 300 songs and poems, which [Hanshan and Shide] had inscribed on the cottages of other people of the village as well as on bamboo and rocks, in the world.<sup>226</sup>

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Eighth year: An edict [decreed] to build the Hongfu Monastery 弘福寺 for the Empress Dowager Mu 穆太后. The [emperor's] carriage went, so that [the emperor] could personally attend [the inauguration ceremony], and [the emperor] himself painted the eyes of the Buddha [image]. p. 364, b21

The Minister Yu Shinan 尚書虞世南 wrote a note, which said: "When in my youth I suddenly fell seriously ill, I had in mind that on the day of my recovery I would organize a feast for thousand monks. Today in the bodhi-maṇḍala I cautiously offer a vegetarian feast for thousand monks. I hope that, through the merit of my vow, all beings in all worlds will forever be free of discomfort. I now make this vow jointly for the wide expanse of the seven worlds, with my antagonists and relatives in the six destinies."<sup>227</sup> p. 364, b22

The dharma master [Fa]chang [法]常 of the Puguang Monastery 普光寺 was summoned to the inner palace. He gave the precepts to the empress.<sup>228</sup> p. 364, b26

A report from Laizhou 萊州 [remarked] that monks from the three states including Koguryo 高麗<sup>229</sup> wished to come to China to study the Buddha p. 364, b27

226 This is a quotation from the "Hanshan zi shiji xu" 寒山子詩集序 (Foreword to the Collection of Poems by Master Hanshan), which is preserved in the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊, and has on that basis been translated in: Wu Chi-yu, "A Study of Han-shan," in: *T'oung Pao* 45 (1957), 411–414. The "Hanshan zi shiji xu" is also seen in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 162 (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 2, 1662f.). For a translation of the poems of Hanshan, Shide, and Fenggan, see: Paul Rouzer, *The Poetry of Hanshan (Cold Mountain), Shide, and Fenggan* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).

227 An annotation reads: "[Source:] a calligraphy model" 法帖 (T 2035, p. 364, b26).

228 The biography of Fachang is seen in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 15 (T 2060, p. 540, c14–p. 541, b23).

229 An annotation reads: "[Koguryo] with Silla and Paekche forms the three states" 與新羅、百濟為三國 (T 2035, p. 364, b27). Koguryo, Silla, and Paekche were the three states on the Korean peninsula.

dharma, whereas their [true] intention may have been to spy out strength and weakness. Wei Zheng 魏徵 said: “Your Majesty—if you are doing well you might be a model for the barbarians; if you are not doing well, of what use would it be to the state to deny access to the barbarians?” An edict allowed them [to enter].

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- p. 364, c2 Ninth year, tenth month: The dharma master Xuanwan 玄琬 died in the Yanxing Monastery 延興寺. He left behind a memorial, in which he says: “As the sagely emperor respects the three jewels, he should not cause śramaṇas to be judged by the laws for laity. I beg that monks who have committed offenses shall all be brought to the place where they belong, so that in punishing them the Buddhist vinaya can be employed.” The emperor was pleased and accepted the suggestion. After all he sent the crown prince to participate in the mourning [for Xuanwan], and he also instructed the administration to arrange the funeral.<sup>230</sup>

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- p. 364, c6 In the eleventh month an edict said: “Recently, because of the disorder, the number of monks has decreased. Therefore [in case of many] lotus daises and jeweled stūpas if one takes a look one does not find people. So it is ordered that in all under heaven 3,000 people shall be converted to become monks or nuns. The administration chose them carefully, having to select people famous for their virtuous deeds and for their skillfulness. If any monk should pretend magical healing, mislead the community through heretical paths, or pay visits to the officials’ offices seeking to commit bribery, I, the emperor, will keep that in mind, and certainly there will be no pardon for any of the offenders. The administration shall be instructed to follow the standards of the Buddhist vinaya, and to formulate regulations in a clear style.”<sup>231</sup>

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- p. 364, c12 An edict said: “The surname of Laozi was Li 李, which makes him my (i.e. the emperor’s) ancestor.<sup>232</sup> His name and position shall be placed before that of the Buddha.”<sup>233</sup>

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230 An annotation reads: “Orders for burials of śramaṇas began with Master [Xuan]wan” 敕葬沙門，自琬師始 (T 2035, p. 364, c6).

231 This is a strongly abridged quotation of an edict seen in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 5 (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 1, 66f.). The matter was referred to above (see: T 2035, p. 363, b8–9).

232 On the Tang ruling house’s dynastic ideology styling Laozi as the imperial ancestor, see: Barbara Hendrischke, “Der Taoismus in der T’ang-Zeit,” in: *Minima Sinica* 1 (1993), 112–115.

233 This refers to an edict which is preserved in *Fodao lunheng*, juan 3 (T 2104, p. 382, b29–c15). For a translation, see: Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik*, vol. 3, 233ff.



The śramaṇas Zhishi 智實 and Falin 法琳 went to the palace to voice their protest. An edict [declared] that this was not permissible.<sup>234</sup> When the imperial carriage went to Luoyang, [Zhi]shi and his companion again refused to leave and insisted on their criticism, arguing that even though the Daoist priests claimed to base themselves on Laozi they actually followed the three Zhang 三張 in matters such as talisman water and ceremonial charms,<sup>235</sup> so that they should not be placed above Buddhism.<sup>236</sup> [The emperor] ordered the chancellor Cen Wenben 岑文本 to proclaim a decree.<sup>237</sup> But [Zhi]shi and his companion insisted that they would not follow the edict. The emperor became angry and had [Zhi]shi caned in a hall at court. His clothing was transformed into lay style,<sup>238</sup> and he was sent into banishment in Lingbiao where he died.<sup>239</sup> There were people who had ridiculed him for not maintaining a sense of propriety. But [Zhi]shi [used to] say: “I certainly know that edicts that have already been issued will not be taken back. But through strong opposition [I wish to] let later generations know that there was a [true] monk.” Those who heard this felt ashamed.

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234 This is known from *Fodao lunheng*, juan 3 (T 2104, p. 382, c15–16); see: Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik*, vol. 3, 235.

235 An annotation reads: “During the Later Han, Zhang [Dao]ling and his sons taught the people to repent their errors, and ordered them to contribute five pecks of rice. Afterwards there were Zhang Xiu and Zhang Jiao, who followed his (i.e. Zhang Daoling’s) laws using talisman water to cure diseases. Therefore the world called it the Way of the Five Pecks of Rice” 後漢張陵父子。教民悔過。令輸米五斗。其後有張修、張角。效其法用符水以治病。故世稱五斗米道。(T 2035, p. 364, c16). While in the Taishō edition we read 今輸米五斗, Shi Daofa says 令輸米五斗.

236 The *Fodao lunheng* does not mention that Falin accompanied Zhishi to voice the protest in Luoyang. The matter is however also presented in the *Tang hufa shamen Falin biezhuān*. On this issue, see: Thomas Jülch, “In Defense of the Saṃgha: The Buddhist Apologetic Mission of the Early Tang Monk Falin,” in: *The Middle Kingdom and the Dharma Wheel: Aspects of the Relationship between the Buddhist Saṃgha and the State in Chinese History*, ed. Thomas Jülch (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 35 f. While the *Fodao lunheng* presents an elaborate quotation of the protestation note (T 2104, p. 382, c18–p. 383, a6), here in the *Fozu tongji* we merely find a brief summary formulated without literal intertextual agreement.

237 The decree proclaimed by Cen Wenben is seen in the *Fodao lunheng*. It says that the original decision of placing Daoist priests above Buddhist monks cannot be rescinded and that monks who maintain their protest will be caned (T 2104, p. 383, a6–7).

238 This means that he was returned to laity.

239 According to the *Fodao lunheng*, the monks that had supported the protestation largely accepted the decree proclaimed by Cen Wenben, while only Zhishi maintained his protest, whereupon he was caned and banished (T 2104, p. 383, a7–10).

p. 364, c22 Twelfth year: After the Minister Yu Shinan had died, the emperor saw him in a dream. Therefore he issued a decree saying: “[Yu] Shinan’s virtuous practice was pure and complete, and he aspired after loyalty and beneficialness. Suddenly he passed away, and I have been hurt indeed. Yesterday I had a night dream in which I abruptly came to see this person, who still offered me advice, and seemed alive like before. Close to his house I will establish a hall for 500 monks [endowed with] a Buddha statue—because of the aid I received from this post-mortem merit, and in order to express my intention of a long-standing spiritual connection.”<sup>240</sup>

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p. 364, c27 Thirteenth year: An edict [ordered] the Chancellor of the National Academy Kong Yingda 國子祭酒孔穎達, the śramaṇa Huijing 慧淨 and the Daoist priest Cai Huang 蔡晃 to come to the Hongwen Palace 弘文殿 to discuss the three teachings.<sup>241</sup> When [Hui]jing lectured on the Lotus [sūtra], Cai Huang asked: “As the sūtra has this preface placed in the first position (di yi, 第一), I have doubts whether the preface is placed in the right location.” [Hui]jing said: “When the tathāgata entered the samādhi he released a ray of light,<sup>242</sup> and it rained flowers. [By releasing this ray of light, the Buddha] laid the mighty foundations for breaking twofoldness,<sup>243</sup> with which he established [a basis] for a gradual elucidation of the oneness.<sup>244</sup> Therefore it is called ‘preface.’<sup>245</sup>

240 An annotation reads: “[Source:] *Old History of the Tang* (i.e. the *Jiu Tangshu*)” 舊唐史 (T 2035, p. 364, c26). This is an abridged and modified version of a decree seen at the end of the biography of Yu Shinan in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 72 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 8, 2571).

241 The following is an abridged statement of the fifth debate in Daoxuan’s *Fodao lunheng*, juan 3 (T 2104, p. 383, a28–b29). For a translation, see: Friederike Assandri, *Dispute zwischen Daoisten und Buddhisten im Fo Dao lunheng des Daoxuan* (596–667) (Gossenberg: Ostasien-Verlag, 2015), 54–57.

242 This is said in the “preface” (xupin, 序品) appearing in *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, juan 1. There we read: “At that time the Buddha emitted a ray of light from the tuft of white hair between his eyebrows. It illuminated all the eighty thousand worlds in the east, down as far as the lowest hell, Avīci, and up as high as the Akaniṣṭha Heaven.” 爾時佛放眉間白毫相光，照東方萬八千世界，靡不周遍，下至阿鼻地獄，上至阿迦尼吒天。(see: T 262, p. 2, b16–18; Tsugunari Kubo, *The Lotus Sutra* (*Taishō Volume 9, Number 262*), *Translated from the Chinese of Kumārajīva* [Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2007], 5).

243 The term of ‘twofoldness’ here refers to the subject-object duality, which defines saṃsāra.

244 The term of ‘oneness’ here refers to the dharmadhātu, which is free of subject-object duality.

245 The point is that, by releasing the ray of light, the Buddha laid the foundations for overcoming saṃsāra. And because this matter is pointed out in the preface, the preface has to stand at the beginning of the sūtra.

The term of 'position' (di, 第) means 'to be situated.' The term of 'first' (yi, 一) means 'beginning.'<sup>246</sup> The preface is situated in front, and therefore one speaks of the 'first position.'<sup>247</sup> [Cai] Huang said: "The words did not come out of the mouth of the master [clearly]."<sup>248</sup> How could one accept them then?" The master (i.e. Huijing) said: "When the bodhisattva preached the dharma, his voice shook [the world in its] ten directions,<sup>249</sup> and only the Daoist priests were sitting in their seats like being misled or like being drunk."<sup>250</sup> [Cai] Huang said: "When a jackal [like you] preaches the dharma, which cause would there be to listen?"<sup>251</sup> [Hui]jing said: "This palace of [the son of] heaven is guarded strictly, and it is carefully ensured that there are no traces of foxes in here. It seems that this Daoist priest is mentally deranged, so that he calls a man an animal."<sup>252</sup> The emperor was greatly pleased, and the people on all the seats jumped with joy.

The fangshi Qin Shiyong 秦世英 defamed the *Poxie lun* by Falin for having slandered the imperial family. It was ordered to deport [Falin] to Yizhou 益州, where he died.<sup>253</sup>

246 So taken together the term of 'first position' (di yi, 第一), which Cai Huang had employed in his question, means 'to stay at the beginning.'

247 The present exchange between Cai Huang and Huijing is seen in the *Fodao lunheng* (T 2104, p. 383, b4–8). For a translation, see: Friederike Assandri, *Dispute zwischen Daoisten und Buddhisten im Fo Dao lunheng*, 54.

248 As Assandri explains, the 'master' referred to here is Huijing, while the term appears to be ambivalent and may at the same time also refer to the Buddha (Friederike Assandri, *Dispute zwischen Daoisten und Buddhisten im Fo Dao lunheng*, 169 note 22). Huijing might understand the term as referring to the Buddha, if his reply is interpreted as opposing Cai Huang by referring to the strength of the speech of the Buddha.

249 Speaking of the 'bodhisattva' Huijing might refer to the Buddha prior to his attainment of enlightenment, or we read 'pusa' 菩薩 in plural referring to all the bodhisattvas.

250 The present exchange between Cai Huang and Huijing is seen in the *Fodao lunheng* (T 2104, p. 383, b15–17). For a translation, see: Friederike Assandri, *Dispute zwischen Daoisten und Buddhisten im Fo Dao lunheng*, 56.

251 Even though Huijing had replied to Cai Huang's polemicism praising the strength of the speech of the bodhisattva rather than arguing in defense of himself, Cai Huang keeps directing his polemicism against Huijing. At least Huijing sees the term of 'jackal' as referring to himself, since in reply he argues that he cannot be a jackal, as jackals would not be allowed into the palace at all.

252 The present exchange between Cai Huang and Huijing is seen in the *Fodao lunheng* (T 2104, p. 383, b18–19). For a translation, see: Friederike Assandri, *Dispute zwischen Daoisten und Buddhisten im Fo Dao lunheng*, 56.

253 Qin Shiyong sued Falin for having slandered Laozi, the imperial ancestor, in the *Bianzheng lun*. The matter is seen in the *Tang hufa shamen Falin biezhuàn*, in the Falin biography in

p. 365, a9 There was a monk coming from the Western territories who excelled in the art of spells. He could make men die and bring them back to life and again. And when the emperor ordered him to put spells on [the enemy's] flying cavalry 飛騎, all [of the spells] proved effective. Fu Yi 傅奕 said: "These are false tricks! Please let [the monk] put a spell on me." When he put a spell on him, it had no effect, but the monk suddenly fell to the ground, as if he had been struck by something. He never came back to life.<sup>254</sup>

p. 365, a12 Moreover there was a Brahmin monk who obtained a tooth of the Buddha. Whatever one struck with it, none of the objects in front could withstand. [Fu] Yi said to his son: "I have heard that a diamond could only be broken by the horns of an antelope. You may go there and try it." So he went there, saw the tooth, took out the horn and knocked on it (i.e. on the tooth). Through his hand, [the Buddha tooth] was smashed.<sup>255</sup>

p. 365, a16 **Commentary:** Mantras take the middle path as their essence. To employ it, one needs to maintain the good and to obstruct the evil. This is the method through which great sages profoundly convert beings. And those who uphold this method are indeed only the [true] practitioners of that tradition. Therefore the *Sūbahu-paripṛcchā-tantra* 蘇婆呼童子等經 and other sūtras say: "For all mantras there are the heads of the groups, the wise kings, all the authoritative powers, as well as spirits and deities to protect them.<sup>256</sup> The compassion of the wise kings and the heads of the groups cover and protect the mantra masters, as [the wise kings and the heads of the groups] do not see their mistakes. But when the poisonous spirits see that there are reciters who for the sake of making profit give wrong explanations, and if [the poisonous spirits] see that those fools hold the thunderbolt in misleading style, then [the poisonous spirits] become angry, and take their lives."

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the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, and in the *Fodao lunheng* (for a critical discussion with source references, see: Thomas Jülch, "In Defense of the Saṃgha: The Buddhist Apologetic Mission of the Early Tang Monk Falin," 36). The *Fozu tongji* is mistaken in saying that Qin Shiyang's campaign was directed against the *Poxie lun*.

254 This is seen in *Taiping guangji*, juan 285, under the heading "The Foreign Monk" 胡僧 (Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, vol. 6, 2268f.).

255 This is seen in *Taiping guangji*, juan 197, under the heading "Fu Yi" 傅奕 (Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, vol. 4, 1478f.).

256 An annotation reads: "The heads of the groups are like Buddha Śākyamuni and Bodhisattva Guanyin. The wise kings are the kings of the ṛṣis possessing the dhāraṇīs. The deities of authoritative powers are the vajra deities and the yakṣa generals. All of them are deities protecting the mantras." 部主如釋迦佛及觀音菩薩。明王即持明仙王。威德神即金剛神藥叉將。諸護呪神。(T 2035, p. 365, a19–20).

Today we see that the monks from the West do not know the meaning of “maintaining the good and to obstructing the evil,” but wish to apply themselves to incantations, introducing them from afar to the East (i.e. to China). They earn money by pronouncing mantras to kill people, wishing to achieve becoming famous with the emperor.<sup>257</sup> They have the mindset of greed, and they do not have the approach of śramaṇas. 有利欲之心。無沙門之行。 This should mean that the spirits and deities protecting the mantras will burst with anger and kill them (i.e. the monks from the West). [By pronouncing their] mantras [the monks from the West are able to] slay mounted soldiers, but [by pronouncing their] mantras they could not kill Fu Yi. [Fu] Yi was a petty-minded person who slandered the dharma. He had to be punished in niraya. It is not the case that [Fu] Yi would have had the power to defend himself. This matter is most mysterious. Only those who explore the matter of mantras can understand it. Objects such as the Buddha’s relics, teeth, and bones cannot be destroyed. The tooth this Brahmin brought along, was unfortunately not a real Buddha relic. As it was smashed by an antelope’s horn, it may just have been a forged object created out of a diamond. Even though this would suffice to be an example demonstrating the broad knowledge of Fu Yi, he finally was unable to understand our Buddha’s indestructible Vajra body. Those in the world who cherished favorable views of [Fu] Yi did not know the [true] facts, and therefore regarded him as distinguished. Maybe they can evade the guilt of having slandered the dharma and be saved from the suffering of dropping into hell.<sup>258</sup> 庶幾乎免[於]謗法之罪。而救[於]淪墜之苦也。

An edict said: “The *Yijiao jing* 遺教經 (T 389) was preached by the Buddha when he was close to [entering] nirvāṇa. [The Buddha here offers] extremely detailed and important admonishments to his disciples. As in the customs of recent times black and white [robes] (black robes standing for monastics and white robes for laity) did not know to respect it. [In order to ensure] that the holy teaching is eternally embraced, and that thought is used to greatly elucidate it, I shall order the administration to produce further copies of the sūtra, and

257 The phrase of 邀名人主 needs to be understood as 邀名於人主. The statement here is that those monks would hope to be employed by the emperor for assassinations.

258 The line of argumentation in the concluding parallelism is as follows: As Fu Yi had slandered the dharma, those who supported him would under normal conditions share his guilt. But since the matter of the forged Buddha tooth, which would have revealed the misleading nature of Fu Yi’s wisdom, did not become known to them, they may be excused for having supported Fu Yi, and might therefore evade the fate of being reborn in hell.

send one to each of the capital officials and regional inspectors. If the actions and practices of a monk or a nun are not in agreement with the sūtra, officials and private people should encourage [him or her], and necessarily cause him to practice [the *Yijiao jing*] faithfully.”<sup>259</sup>

p. 365, b12

**Commentary:** Taizong knew that the root of occupying oneself with the saṃgha was [to be seen] in the *Yijiao [jing]*. For this reason he could order the administration to produce copies of the sūtra to instruct [the clergy] both publicly and privately, and to cause people to avoid mistakes. This way they could get hold of the humane king's intention of protecting the dharma.<sup>260</sup>

p. 365, b15

Tenth month: In the Yishan Monastery 義善寺 the monk Dushun 杜順 (557–640)<sup>261</sup> died in sitting posture. He had a disciple who went to Mount Wutai to pay homage to Mañjuśrī. Just when he arrived at the foot of the mountain, he saw an old man who said to him: “Today Mañjuśrī is at Mount Zhongnan 終南山. It is the monk Dushun.”<sup>262</sup> The disciple quickly returned [to the Yishan Monastery], [and found that] the master had already gone forever.<sup>263</sup>

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259 An annotation reads: “[Source:] *Wenguan cilin*” 文館詞林 (T 2035, p. 365, b11). Buddhist texts frequently refer to the *Wenguan cilin* when quoting the text of this edict. To quote a more handy source, the edict is however also seen in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 9, where it appears under the title *Fo yijiao jing shixing chi* 佛遺教經施行敕 (Order to Implement the *Fo yijiao jing*) (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 1, 109–110). The *Fo yijiao jing* (Scripture of the Teachings Bequeathed by the Buddha) is a scripture claiming to contain the final advice the Buddha gave his disciples before he passed away. It puts forth monastic regulations going beyond those of the vinaya. In his edict, Tang Taizong employs the *Fo yijiao jing* to bind the śramaṇas to additional rules, such as the prohibition of interfering with secular affairs, which had the intended effect of preventing the śramaṇas from taking action in opposition to the government (Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 21f.).

260 Even though Tang Taizong's edict was in fact designed to serve the interests of the state rather than the interests of the saṃgha, the emperor based himself on a well-known Buddhist scripture wishing to cause the impression that the edict merely sought to implement Buddhist concepts of purity. The present commentary passage of the *Fozu tongji* adopts this view, and on this basis praises Tang Taizong as a humane king wishing to protect the dharma.

261 Dushun is regarded as the first Huayan 華嚴 Patriarch (see: Francis H. Cook, *Hua-yen Buddhism: The Jewel Net of Indra* [University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977], 24).

262 This means that Dushun had appeared as Mañjuśrī.

263 This means that Dushun's corpse was no longer present in the Yishan Monastery, as he was now staying on Mount Zhongnan in the shape of Mañjuśrī.

Fifteenth year: The dharma master Shandao 善導 went to Xihe 西河, where he met the meditation master [Dao]chuo 道綽, who in the bodhi-maṇḍala of the nine levels preached and recited the *Sūtra of Contemplation* 觀經.<sup>264</sup> [Having heard the lecture, Shandao] happily exclaimed: “These are the essentials of entering the ford of the Buddha. While by cultivating other practices this is impracticable or hard to accomplish. Only through this teaching on meditation one will remotely transcend [the cycle of] life and death.” Upon arriving in the capital he nurtured and inspired the four groups [of Buddhist disciples]<sup>265</sup> for more than thirty years, multiplicatively practiced the way, produced one million copies of the *Amitābha-sūtra* 彌陀經 (i.e. the *Smaller Sukhāvati-vyūha sūtra*), and painted pictures of the Pure Land on more than 300 walls.<sup>266</sup> The entire [population of] Chang’an followed his teachings. Some of them in their whole lives recited the *Sukhāvati-vyūha sūtra* 100,000 times or even 300,000 to 500,000 times, or each day pronounced the name of Buddha [Amitābha] 10,000 to 100,000 times. When the master actualized Buddha [Amitābha] (i.e. nianfo or Buddha-anusmṛti practice)<sup>267</sup>

264 The *Sūtra of Contemplation* (i.e. the Foshuo guan Wuliang shou fo jing 佛說觀無量壽佛經, or *Sūtra of Contemplation on the Buddha of Immeasurable Life Preached by Buddha Śākyamuni*, T 365) differentiates between three classes of rebirth in the Sukhāvati of Amitābha, each of which is subdivided into three levels, so that in total we find nine levels. The upper class (*shangpin*, 上品) is subdivided into the levels of *shangpin shangsheng* 上品上生, *shangpin zhongsheng* 上品中生 and *shangpin xiasheng* 上品下生. The middle class (*zhongpin*, 中品) is subdivided into the levels of *zhongpin shangsheng* 中品上生, *zhongpin zhongsheng* 中品中生, and *zhongpin xiasheng* 中品下生. The lower class (*xiapin*, 下品) is subdivided into the levels of *xiapin shangsheng* 下品上生, *xiapin zhongsheng* 下品中生, and *xiapin xiasheng* 下品下生 (T 365, p. 344, c9–p. 346, a26; Meiji Yamada, *The Sūtra of Contemplation on the Buddha of Immeasurable Life as Expounded by Śākyamuni Buddha* [Kyoto: Ryukoku University, 1984], 76–110). The “bodhi-maṇḍala of the nine levels” 九品道場 would be a place where spiritual practices leading to those rebirths in the Sukhāvati are carried out. At this place Daochuo preached and recited the *Sūtra of Contemplation*.

265 The four groups of Buddhist disciples are monks (bhikṣu) and nuns (bhikṣuṇī), laymen (upāsaka) and laywomen (upāsikā).

266 Most of the above is known from the beginning of the biography of Shandao in *Jingtu wangsheng zhuan* 淨土往生傳, juan 2 (T 2071, p. 119, a25–b1).

267 Buddha-anusmṛti is a practice of Pure Land spirituality, in which the practitioner recites the name of Buddha Amitābha in order to attain rebirth in Amitābha’s Pure Land, the Sukhāvati. In Chinese, buddha-anusmṛti is known as ‘nianfo’ 念佛, the Japanese pronunciation of which is ‘nembutsu.’ The term is translated into English as “actualizing Buddha [Amitābha].” On Shandao’s mastery of buddha-anusmṛti, see: Fujiwara Ryosetsu, *The Way to Nirvana: The Concept of Nembutsu in Shan-tao’s Pure Land Buddhism* (Tokyo: Kyoiku Shincho Sha, 1974).

bright light came out of his mouth.<sup>268</sup> Afterwards, under the reign of Gaozong, [to honor Shandao] a monastery was instituted, which was given the name “Bright Light.”

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p. 365, b28 Sixteenth year: The emperor personally visited the Hongfu Monastery 弘福寺 to perform rites for the [postmortal] happiness of [his deceased mother,] the Empress Dowager Mu 穆太后.<sup>269</sup> [The emperor] himself [composed] a verse of praise, in which he referred [to himself] as “Emperor and disciple of the bodhisattva precepts” 皇帝菩薩戒弟子.<sup>270</sup>

p. 365, b29 To Daoyi 道懿, the abbot of the monastery, [the emperor] said: “A while ago, I, the emperor, placed Laozi, because he is the ancestor of my family, in front of Śākyamuni. Are you able to remain free of resent against this?”<sup>271</sup> The answer was: “Your Majesty! Honoring one’s ancestors has long been established as a tradition. How could one dare to feel bitterness?”<sup>272</sup> The emperor said: “Whether the Buddha or Laozi deserves more respect is a matter knowledgeable people would judge for themselves. How could it be that, because in this time [Daoism] has been placed above [Buddhism], it would also be superior? My family descends from Laozi. Therefore I put Laozi in the first position. But whenever [the accumulation of] merit was concerned, [I] went towards the gates of Buddhist [monasteries].<sup>273</sup> I have built Buddhist temples on all the battlefields of past days,<sup>274</sup> and my former residence in Taiyuan has also been dedicated to the Buddha. Since early on, I never established any Daoist abbeys. If you keep that in mind, you shall be able to understand.”

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268 This is known from the closing part of the biography of Shandao in *Jingtu wangsheng zhuan*, juan 2 (T 2071, p. 119, b12).

269 The following is an abridged statement of the eighth debate in *Fodao lunheng*, juan 3 (T 2104, p. 385, c13–p. 386, a20). For a translation, see: Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik*, vol. 3, 266–270.

270 Tang Taizong refers to himself in this way, at the beginning of ‘verse of praise.’ For the complete text of the ‘verse of praise,’ see: T 2104, p. 385, c20–p. 386, a5; Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik*, vol. 3, 266 ff.

271 This is a modified quotation from the *Fodao lunheng* (see: T 2104, p. 386, a5–6; Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik*, vol. 3, 269).

272 This is an abridged quotation from the *Fodao lunheng* (see: T 2104, p. 386, a7–9; Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik*, vol. 3, 269).

273 This sentence is in modified style adopted from the *Fodao lunheng* (see: T 2104, p. 386, a11; Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik*, vol. 3, 269).

274 This sentence is adopted from the *Fodao lunheng* (see: T 2104, p. 386, a12–13; Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik*, vol. 3, 269).



Seventeenth year: The meditation master Daoxin 道信, the fourth patriarch p. 365, c8 from Huangmei 黃梅 in Qizhou 蕪州, declined four invitations to court. So some noble silk was sent [to his monastery], to complement him on his [practice of the] way.<sup>275</sup>

The Weiweicheng Li Yibiao 衛尉丞李義表 and the Huangshuiling Wang Xuance 黃水令王元策<sup>276</sup> were sent to the Western territories.<sup>277</sup> Having passed through more than hundred countries, they reached the house of Vimalakīrti in the Northeast of the city of Vaiśālī 毘耶離城. [Wang] Xuance measured it with his tablet of office, and [found that the house was] ten tablets of office long and ten tablets of office deep. This is where the term Fangzhang 方丈 (i.e. ten square feet) derives from.<sup>278</sup> Moreover they ascended Mount Gr̥dhra-kūṭa 耆闍崛山, [where they erected] an inscribed stele recording power and virtue of the Tang.

In the eighth month a report from Yuanzhou 原州 [remarked]: In the Hongchi Valley 鴻池谷 of the Changsong District 昌松縣 there were five stones with blue bodies and white text. They said: “The sea of Emperor Gao[zu] produced many sons:<sup>279</sup> Li Shimin, the Son of Heaven of Great Peace; Li Zhi, the crown prince of thousand years;<sup>280</sup> seven Buddhas and eight bodhisattvas.<sup>281</sup>

275 Daoxin has a biography in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 20 (T 2060, p. 606, b2–28).

276 In the Taishō version of the *Fozu tongji* the name Wang Xuance 王玄策 is consistently miswritten as Wang Yuance 王元策. In the Shi Daofa edition we see the name written correctly.

277 Tang Taizong sent the envoys Wang Xuance and Li Yibiao on missions to India, the holy land of Buddhism. The best account of the matter is probably seen in: Alexander Leonhard Mayer, *Xuanzang: Übersetzer und Heiliger*, 113 ff. See also: Tansen Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade: The Realignment of Sino-Indian Relations, 600–1400* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 23 f.; Hans Bielenstein, *Diplomacy and Trade in the Chinese World 589–1276* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 73 f.

278 Literally ‘fangzhang’ 方丈 means “ten square feet.” By definition the term refers to the abbot’s quarters in a monastery. Even though Vimalakīrti was a layman, he was an important example to all Buddhist practitioners, which is why the abbots’ rooms were modelled on Vimalakīrti’s house.

279 The term of “sea” (hai, 海) here is to be understood in a symbolic sense. It stands for Gaozu’s court, reign, power, and any related matters.

280 According to the annalistic display here in the *Fozu tongji*, the prophecy appeared in the eighth month, of the 17th year, of the Zhengguan era of Tang Taizong. At that time Li Zhi, the later Tang Gaozong, was already installed as crown prince. So Li Shimin and Li Zhi were all the royalty the “sea of Tang Gaozu” had produced to that point.

281 The term of “seven Buddhas and eight bodhisattvas” 七佛八菩薩 refers to the future emperors of the Tang dynasty. At the time when the prophecy appeared, the fabricator

[Under the rule of this dynasty the world will attain] the ultimate fruit of the Buddha field,<sup>282</sup> and the emperors will have both literary and military skills. Having a proper perspective [the Tang dynasty] will flourish and become great. The emperors' order will extend to the four directions."<sup>283</sup>

p. 365, c17 In the eleventh month the emperor sent a messenger with jade and silk into the Hongchi Valley to make a sacrifice expressing gratitude to the deities for their grants.<sup>284</sup>

p. 365, c22 **Commentary:** [Tang] Gaozu obeyed and carried the mandate of heaven. Because śramaṇa Jinghui had made a prophecy, statues were erected, monasteries established, feasts arranged, and killing prohibited—all in speedy fashion, without daring to delay. But one day the emperor was misled by the strange words of Fu Yi. Therefore he thought that the Buddha dharma would be useless, and purged it. Afterwards the persecution [of Buddhism] in China finally occurred. But even though the order had already been issued, it was not carried out. Taizong became emperor, and he greatly spread the culture of Buddhism. The prophecy text on the auspicious stones in the Hongchi [Valley] became bright,<sup>285</sup> and one observes that its (i.e. the Tang dynasty's) successive courts engaged in translating

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could not yet know how many emperors the Tang dynasty would come to have. So the fabricator just chose to speak of the "seven Buddhas and eight bodhisattvas" in referring to all the Tang emperors that were still to come.

282 The Buddha field is the first of the Eight fields of Blessedness 八福田. The fields of blessedness are means of accumulating positive karma. The first field is the means of accumulating positive karma by worshipping the Buddhas.

283 This is an abridged quotation from *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 37 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 4, 1349f.) or *Xin Tangshu*, juan 35 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 3, 913).

284 An annotation reads: "In the *Jiu Tangshu* this is seen in the Basic Annals (actually it does not appear in the Basic Annals of the *Jiu Tangshu*, but in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 37). In the *Xin Tangshu* this is seen in Wuxing zhi (i.e. *Xin Tangshu*, juan 35). According to the *Luyi ji*, Li Xiyu, the Regional Inspector of Liangzhou, reported: In Changsong there are auspicious stones, which naturally brought forth text—all together 110 characters. Summarized briefly they say: ... [The following account is omitted, as its language can hardly be decoded]" 舊史在本紀。新書移入五行志。案錄異記。涼州刺史李襲譽奏。昌松有瑞石自然成文。凡一百十字。其略云。(T 2035, p. 365, c18–21).

285 The original text of the prophecy quoted above in the main text of the *Fozu tongji* was simply intended as an omen testifying to the rightful claim of the Tang dynasty to the mandate of heaven. While the original prophecy text does not refer to Buddhism, Zhipan in the present commentary passage takes up the matter interpreting the prophecy as an encouragement for the Tang emperors to turn to Buddhism, and—as seen in the subsequent text of the commentary passage—Zhipan argues that the subsequent Tang emperors chose to promote Buddhism indeed.

scriptures, and that its (i.e. the Tang dynasty's) various sages wrote prefaces [for the translated scriptures].<sup>286</sup>

[Thereby the Tang dynasty] established the high seat of the humane king, and directed the true yāna of prajñā. 建仁王之高座。注般若之真乘。They received the precepts and preached the sūtras, enquired about the path and listened to the dharma. 受戒講經。問道聽法。They cast statues and built monasteries, examined the sūtras and converted people. 鑄像建刹。試經度人。This is all due to [these emperors'] innate qualities and [due to] the abilities that emerge from their long-held talents. They indeed were aware that this path implies the merit of supporting the state and saving the world; provides the methods of cultivating oneself and pacifying the mind. 誠知此道有助國救世之功。為修身治心之法。This is why it can be practiced in parallel with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius without conflict. As to its rites that honor monks throughout various generations, [the course of the Tang dynasty] is especially unusual compared to previous times. p. 365, c28

Therefore [Taizong] honors their (i.e. the monks') status, and does not force them to consider themselves subjects; values their (i.e. the monks') virtue, and grants them ranks and emolument. 故崇其位則不使稱臣。重其德則加之爵秩。 p. 366, a5

In dividing up the possessions of a deceased [monk among his fellow monks], everything depends on the monastic vinaya. In punishing [monks] who are guilty, only the inner (i.e. Buddhist) disciplinary department is in charge. p. 366, a6

分亡物則悉依僧律。

罰有過則唯稟內科。

If [the Tang emperors] were not the seven Buddhas and eight bodhisattvas manifesting themselves in the human world as predicted by the prophecy [carved on] the stones [at Yuanzhou], how could they continue worship the Buddhist teaching without end?<sup>287</sup>

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286 The terms of “successive courts” 屢朝 and “various sages” 列聖 both refer to the emperors of the Tang dynasty. The prophecy appeared during the rule of Tang Taizong, and could therefore only refer to Tang Gaozu, his son Li Shimin, and his grandson Li Zhi by name. But the commentary passage we are reading here was written by Zhipan from the perspective of the Song dynasty. Looking back to the Tang dynasty, Zhipan says that all the Tang emperors did indeed promote the translation of scriptures and the writing of prefaces.

287 This means that the Tang emperors are indeed incarnations of seven Buddhas and eight bodhisattvas and that this is the reason why they protect Buddhism.

p. 366, a10 Eighteenth year: Cen Wenben 岑文本 became Secreteriat Director 中書令. When [Cen] Wenben was young, he constantly recited the “Universal Gateway Chapter” 普門品 of the *Lotus sūtra*.<sup>288</sup> Once when he was riding in a boat on River Wu, the boat capsized and the passengers all died. [Cen] Wenben sank into the water. There was a person who said: “If one only prays to the Buddha, one certainly will not die.” Afterwards he was gushed forth by the waves, and when he reached the shore he had achieved to escape [death]. Afterwards, when he reached his house, he arranged a feast. After [the preparations were complete] one monk came [to him], and said to him: “All under heaven is at present in disorder, but fortunately you are not destined for disaster. You will enjoy peace for the rest of your life, and reach wealth and rank.” As soon as he had concluded his statement, he was not seen any more. When [Cen] Wenben held the feast, he also found two relics in his eating bowl.<sup>289</sup>

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p. 366, a17 Nineteenth year, first month: The trepiṭaka Xuanzang 玄奘 returned from India. Fang Xuanling, the Governor of Chang'an 長安留守房玄齡, had prepared a Buddhist ceremony, and welcomed [Xuanzang] in the Hongfu Monastery. On that day there was a five-colored cloud covering the sūtras and images [which Xuanzang had brought along from India]. In the second month [Xuanzang] went to Luoyang and met the emperor at the Yiluan Palace. [The emperor] questioned him about the affairs of the Western territories, and ordered him to write the *Xiyu ji*,<sup>290</sup> which describes geography and customs of the hundred states [Xuanzang] had travelled through. [Those states] were unheard of in previous histories. [Xuanzang] was ordered to settle down in the Hongfu Monastery, and to do the translation work together with the śramaṇa Daoxuan 道宣 and others.<sup>291</sup>

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288 This is chapter 25 of the *Lotus Sūtra* (T 262, p. 56, c2–p. 58, b7; Tsugunari Kubo, *The Lotus Sutra*, 295–302).

289 This is an abridged quotation of a story seen in *Mingbao ji* 冥報記, juan 2 (T 2082, p. 795, a11–18). For a translation, see: Donald Gjertson, *Miraculous Retribution: A Study and Translation of T'ang-lin's Ming pao chi*, 210.

290 The full title is *Da Tang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (T 2087, Account of the Western Territories [composed during] the Great Tang dynasty). *Xiyu ji* is a common abbreviation. The work has famously been honored with an early translation, which is today obsolete and should not be used any more: Samuel Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist records of the Western world* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1906). For a modern translation, see: Li Rongxi, *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions* (= Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai, vol. 79) (Berkeley: Numata, 1996).

291 On Xuanzang's accommodation and translation activity in the Hongfu Monastery, see:

Twentieth year, seventh month: The dharma master [Xuan]zang submitted his new translations of the *Pusa zang jing* 菩薩藏經 (T 316), the *Xianyang shengjiao lun* 顯揚聖教論 (T 1602) and others, all together five texts. He asked the emperor to compose a foreword.<sup>292</sup> p. 366, a24

It was ordered to install the meditation master Fahua Zhiwei 法華智威 as Chaosan dafu 朝散大夫 for the four great masters. [Zhi]wei in his previous incarnation was the Buye Xu Ling 僕射徐陵 of the Chen dynasty. Upon hearing Zhiyi preach sūtras, he made five wishes. The first was that in his death hour [he wanted to maintain] correct meditation. The second was that he did not want to fall into the three [negative] destinies. The third was that he wanted to be reborn as a human being. The fourth was [that he wanted to feel the need of] renouncing secular life already during childhood. The fifth was that he did not want to become a monk dropping to [the level of] following current fashions. In a later life he was born into the Zhu family 朱氏 of Jinyun 縉雲.<sup>293</sup> At the age of 18 he wanted to marry a wife, but on the road he met an Indian monk, who said to him: “For which reason do you, in your young years, wish to betray your previous oath?” Thereupon he showed him his [former] five wishes. As soon as the master (i.e. Fahua Zhiwei) had finished hearing this, he did not return to his family any more, immediately went to the Guoqing [Monastery], chose [Guanding from] Zhang’an for his master, requested and received the essence of Guanding’s heart, and immediately accomplished the samādhi of the *Lotus sūtra*.

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22nd year: When the emperor personally visited the Yuhua Palace of Fangzhou, he summoned the dharma master [Xuan]zang. As he arrived, the emperor said: “I, the emperor, have suffered from the heat in the capital. So I came p. 366, b4

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Alexander Leonhard Mayer, *Xuanzang: Übersetzer und Heiliger*, 67. On Daoxuan’s cooperation with Xuanzang in the Hongfu Monastery, see: *ibid.* 37 f.

292 On Xuanzang’s request for Tang Taizong’s foreword, see: Alexander Leonhard Mayer, *Xuanzang: Übersetzer und Heiliger*, 298 (note 1000).

293 This might mean that Xu Ling was raised by Baozhi 寶誌 (also written 保誌). As we know from the biography of Baozhi in *Gaoseng zhuan*, juan 10, Zhu 朱 was Baozhi’s worldly surname (T 2059, p. 394, a15). In an earlier passage of the “Fayun tongtai zhi” (*Fozu tongji*, juan 36), it was also pointed out that Baozhi, here being named Mr. Zhu 朱氏, raised a child he found in an eagle’s nest (T 2035, p. 346, b5–6). This child may have been Xu Ling. Another tradition seen in the same juan does however say that Xu Ling, when being a child, was taken along by his father to meet Sire Zhi 誌公, i.e. Baozhi (T 2035, p. 347, c13–14). So the matter is not clear. But at least the second tradition confirms that Xu Ling, when being a child, had contact to Baozhi.

[here to enjoy] the cool among the springs and rocks on this mountain. I was thinking of meeting you, the dharma master, and therefore sent a messenger, which may have reduced you.<sup>294</sup> Which sūtras did you translate these days?"<sup>295</sup> [Xuan]zang said: "Recently I translated the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* 瑜伽師地論 (T 1579) by Maitreya 譯彌."<sup>296</sup> The emperor announced that he would personally read the śāstra. To his closest servants he said: "Buddhism is extensive as if one was looking into the sky or watching over the sea, while nobody can conceive the height [of the sky] or the depth [of the sea]. [Compared to the Buddhist scriptures] the scriptures of the nine schools are like water at the riverbank compared to the ocean."<sup>297</sup> In the world it is said that the three teachings (i.e. Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism) are equal. But this is erroneous talk."<sup>298</sup> Thereupon the administration was ordered to produce copies of the newly translated sūtras and śāstras, and to send them to the governors of the nine provinces.<sup>299</sup> The emperor wrote a "Foreword to the holy tripiṭaka teachings of the great Tang" 大唐三藏聖教序, which was placed at the beginning of the translations,<sup>300</sup> and the crown prince was ordered to compose a Postscript to these *Pusa zang jing* 菩薩藏經 (T 316).<sup>301</sup> From then on the emperor discussed the meaning of the dharma uninterruptedly. He also treated the dharma master with more reverence than his own family members. Once he asked the master: "What would be most important [measure] in supporting the Buddhist

294 The emperor deferentially implies that the dharma master's status is such, that it reduces him to be invited for an audience by the emperor.

295 This is a modified version of a statement of Tang Taizong seen in *Da Tang Dacien si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳, juan 6 (T 2053, p. 255, a8–10).

296 This is a modified version of a reply Xuanzang offers to Tang Taizong, which is seen in *Da Tang Dacien si sanzang fashi zhuan*, juan 6 (T 2053, p. 255, c25–26).

297 An annotation reads: "The expression 'water at the riverbank' means 'brook'." 汀滢小水也 (T 2035, p. 366, b9–10).

298 This is a modified version of a statement of Tang Taizong seen in *Da Tang Dacien si sanzang fashi zhuan*, juan 6 (T 2053, p. 256, a6–11).

299 An annotation reads: "At that time, all under heaven was divided into nine provinces" 時分天下為九道 (T 2035, p. 366, b11).

300 An annotation reads: "Today the edition [inscribed on] stone is used. The head of this text says: 'One should have heard that the two primary forces (i.e. heaven and earth) have their forms, which cover respectively bear all sentient beings.' This is exactly that foreword" 今時石本行。其文首云。蓋聞二儀有像。顯覆載以含生。即此序也。(T 2035, p. 366, b12–13). The present annotation offers a quotation of the first sentence of the foreword composed by Tang Taizong. The complete foreword is seen in *Guang hongming ji*, juan 22 (T 2103, p. 258, a27–c16).

301 An annotation reads: "The two texts (i.e. the 'Foreword to the holy tripiṭaka teachings of the great Tang' and the 'Postscript to these *Pusa zang jing*') were both placed in front of the Buddhist canon" 二序具在藏經之前 (T 2035, p. 366, b14).

doctrine?" The reply was: "To spread the dharma, the most important thing is to convert men to become monks." The emperor was pleased.

In the ninth month an edict [proclaimed] that in the capital and in all the com- p. 366, b16  
manderies five new monks were to be converted for each monastery. In total  
1,700 men were converted.

When in the tenth month the [emperor's] carriage returned to the capital, it p. 366, b18  
was ordered that towards the West of the Danei Ciwei Hall 大內紫微殿 at the  
Northern gate house [of the imperial palace], the Hongfan Court (i.e. Court  
for Spreading the Dharma) was to be established, and the dharma master  
[Xuan]zang was ordered to take residence there. Seven [monks of] fame and  
virtue were selected to follow [Xuanzang]. During the days, [Xuanzang] accom-  
panied the emperor discussing the mysterious. In the evenings, [Xuanzang]  
returned to the [Hongfan] Court, and translated [scriptures]. The emperor  
ordered him to translate the *Daode jing* 道德經 into Sanskrit to release it in  
India.<sup>302</sup> However the master said: "There are big differences between the  
teachings of the Buddha and Laozi. So how could one use the words of the  
Buddha, employing [them] to penetrate the meaning of the Laozi?<sup>303</sup> Apart  
from that the meaning established in the Laozi is shallow. If it is seen in India,  
it might guide [the people there] to despise us." Thereupon [the order] was  
dropped.

When the fourth patriarch, meditation master [Dao]xin,<sup>304</sup> lived on Mount p. 366, b24  
Potou 破頭山, there was an old monk called 'Practitioner of the Way Plant-  
ing Pine Trees' 栽松道者, who asked him: "Can I get to hear the dharma and  
the way?" The patriarch said: "You are old. If you hear it, how could you still  
spread it? If you can come again, I will wait for you."<sup>305</sup> Thereupon [the old  
monk] left, and went to a river bank, where he saw a daughter of the Zhou  
family 周氏 washing clothes. He greeted her, and asked whether he could seek

302 Tang Taizong ordered Xuanzang to translate the *Daode jing* into Sanskrit involving the cooperation of Buddhist monks and Daoist priests. This matter is subject to the tenth debate in *Fodao lunheng*, juan 3, which has been translated by Paul Pelliot (T 2104, p. 386, b24–p. 387, b11; Paul Pelliot, "Autour d'une traduction sanscrite du Tao Tö King," *T'oung Pao* 13 [1912], 351–430).

303 To this point the statement is known from the biography of Xuanzang in *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, juan 4 (T 2060, p. 455, b18–19).

304 Daoxin 道信 (580–651) is the reputed fourth patriarch of the Chan tradition (Robert E. Buswell, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 215).

305 This means that Daoxin would wait for the old monk to appear in rebirth.

residence in her. [When the lady] returned home, she was pregnant.<sup>306</sup> Her parents chased her away,<sup>307</sup> and on a daily basis she was employed in a spinning mill. In the nights she slept in a public building.<sup>308</sup> When she gave birth to her son, she threw him into a river. But the next day she saw that he came back floating against the current. [The child's] life-force was flourishing, and its body clean. So [the mother] accepted it. Together with the mother, [the child] always begged for food, and they met the fourth patriarch on the Huangmei Road. The patriarch told the child's mother to make [the child] renounce secular life. [This child] became the meditation master Hongren 弘忍. He inherited [the patriarchy from Daoxin], resided on the Eastern Mountain, and greatly practiced the way. The public building [in which his mother had slept] later on became the Monastery of the Buddha's Mother 佛母寺.<sup>309</sup> And in Dongshan 東禪 there was the Tomb of the Buddha's Mother 佛母冢.<sup>310</sup>

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p. 366, c4 When the fourth patriarch (i.e. Daoxin) ascended the main summit of Mount Lu 廬山, he saw that Mount Potou [was covered] by purple haze like by a baldachin. Underneath [the purple haze] there was white haze, which horizontally was spreading into six directions. When he asked the great assembly about it, Hongren said: "Is it not the case that after this branch there will be a side branch of the Buddha dharma?" The patriarch said: "It will be that way."<sup>311</sup>

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p. 366, c7 In the twelfth month the crown prince erected the Cien Monastery 慈恩寺 for [the wellbeing of] Empress Wende 文德皇后. 50 [monks] of great virtue from the capital were chosen to live there. Each of them converted six men

306 This means that the old monk had died, and miraculously transferred himself into her womb for rebirth.

307 It is implied that she was repudiated by her parents, because it was considered shameful that she became pregnant without being married and without being able to present a father.

308 This means that she lived in poor conditions, so that she had to reside in an asylum for homeless people.

309 This seems to suggest that Hongren attained Buddhahood, so that his mother was referred to as "Mother of the Buddha."

310 An annotation reads: "[Source:] *Linjian lu*" 林間錄 (T 2035, p. 366, c4). The story appears in *Linjian lu*, juan 1 (X87, no. 1624, p. 248, a3–16 // Z 2B:21, p. 295, d13–p. 296, a8 // R148, p. 590, b13–p. 591, a8). It is also seen in *Linquan laoren pingchang touzi qing heshang song gu kongguji* 林泉老人評唱投子青和尚頌古空谷集, juan 5 (CBETA, X67, no. 1303, p. 312, c4–17 // Z 2:22, p. 310, d6–p. 311, a1 // R117, p. 620, b6–p. 621, a1).

311 An annotation reads: "[Source:] *Jingde chuandeng lu*" 景德傳燈錄 (T 2035, p. 366, c7). The story appears in *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, juan 3 (T 2076, p. 222, b20–23).



to be his attendants. It was ordered [to play] the nine kinds of music of the Department for Ceremonials to respectfully welcome the Sanskrit manuscripts of all the sūtras, the splendid images, the relics, and the fifty [monks] of great virtue as they entered the monastery. The emperor himself stood at the gatehouse of the Anfu Gate 安福門,<sup>312</sup> and held an incense burner to show his respect.

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23rd year, fourth month: The emperor personally visited the Cuiwei Palace 翠微宮, and summoned the dharma master [Xuan]zang to accompany him. With a sigh the emperor said: “I regret that I can only meet you so late, as I did not yet realize my intention of spreading the dharma.” In the fifth month the emperor died.<sup>313</sup>

### *Emperor Gaozong*

高宗

[Personal name:] Zhi 世民. Ninth son of Taizong.

**Yonghui era**, first year: An edict [proclaimed that] the meditation master Tian-gong Huiwei 天宮慧威 was to be invested as [one of] the four great masters, and as Chaosan dafu.

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Second year, ninth month: The meditation master and fourth patriarch [Dao]xin sat in stillness and passed away. A stūpa [containing his bodily remains was erected] in the Huangmei Monastery 黃梅寺 on the Eastern Hill. On the eighth day of the fourth month of the next year, the stūpa door sprang open all by itself, and [Daoxin's] body appeared as if it were alive. [Daoxin's] disciples did not dare to close the door again.

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The meditation master Fahua [Zhi]wei 法華[智]威 preached the teachings of calming and contemplation for the meditation master Tiangong Huiwei.

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Whenever the śramaṇa Shanfu 善伏 of the Anguo Monastery 安國寺 of Changzhou 常州 preached the dharma for the assembly, he said: “Practicing compassion and ahiṃsā 不殺 (i.e. abstaining from killing) is the main point of

<sup>312</sup> The Anfu Gate was one of the gates in the Western wall of the imperial city in Chang'an (Thomas Thilo, *Chang'an: Metropole Ostasiens und Weltstadt des Mittelalters 583–904, Teil 1: Die Stadtanlage* [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997], 31, 89).

<sup>313</sup> On this matter, see: Alexander Leonhard Mayer, *Xuanzang: Übersetzer und Heiliger*, 71.

Buddhism. If one respects the teachings but fails to practice them, it is like discouraging on propriety but practicing arrogance.” He had also persuaded people to carry out sacrifices to [the beings of] the six destinies, since [in his view] people having died before could not liberate themselves from the sphere [they were reborn in].<sup>314</sup>

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p. 366, c26 Third year: The dharma master [Xuan]zang asked for a pagoda to be built in the Cien Monastery to store the Indian relics, sūtras and images.<sup>315</sup>

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p. 366, c27 The śramaṇa Atigupta 無極高 from Central India arrived in Chang'an and translated the *Dhāraṇī-samuccaya-sūtra* 陀羅尼集經 (T 901).<sup>316</sup> At that time Nadi 那提 translated sūtras at the Cien Monastery, and Divākara 地婆訶羅 translated sūtras at the Hongfu Monastery. At that time it was declared that in translating they all brought out the best of their chosen [texts]. The Buddhist [community] honored them.

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p. 367, a2 Fourth year: Japan sent the śramaṇa Dōshō 道照. He came to China to transmit the dharma from the dharma master [Xuan]zang [to Japan].<sup>317</sup>

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p. 367, a4 Sixth year: As earlier the dharma master [Xuan]zang had translated the *Nyāyapraveśa*,<sup>318</sup> the medical officer Lü Cai 呂才 composed an explanation, in which he defamed [the translation]. The dharma master Huili 慧立 sent a letter to the Chief Administrator to the Left, Yu Zhining 左僕射于志寧, to criticize Lü Cai.<sup>319</sup> And Liu Xuan, an Erudite of the Department for Ceremonials 太常博士柳宣, rebuked [Lü] Cai for his presumptuous outburst. An edict ordered

314 An annotation reads: “[Source:] *Gaoseng zhuan*” 高僧傳 (T 2035, p. 366, c25). The statements of Shanfu are quoted from his biography in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 20 (T 2060, p. 603, a27–29).

315 This pagoda is the Dayan ta 大雁塔 (Great Wild Goose Pagoda), which was constructed 652–654 and is one of the very few Tang dynasty buildings that exist until today. On this matter, see: Alexander Leonhard Mayer, *Xuanzang: Übersetzer und Heiliger*, 71 ff.

316 This is known from the biography of Atigupta in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 2 (T 2061, p. 718, b28).

317 On this matter, see: Yoshiro Tamura, *Japanese Buddhism: A Cultural History* (Tokyo: Kosei, 2005), 45.

318 Here in the *Fozu tongji* the work is referred to as *Yinming lun* 因明論, which is short for *Yinming ruzhengli lun* 因明入正理論. The latter is the Chinese title of the *Nyāyapraveśa* (Introduction to Logic), which Xuanzang had translated into Chinese in 647 (A.C. Muller, DDB, 因明入正理論).

319 On this matter, see: Alexander Leonhard Mayer, *Xuanzang: Übersetzer und Heiliger*, 36, 128.

the officials and scholars to bring [Lü] Cai to the Cien Monastery, to beg the dharma master's pardon.

Buddhatrāta 佛陀多羅 from Kashmir in the Baima Monastery 白馬寺 translated the *Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經 (T 842).<sup>320</sup>

The Yongxin Monastery 永欣寺 of Guiji 會稽 was visited by an extraordinary monk. He had blue eyes and he was lean. He himself said: "I am Kang Senghui 康僧會."<sup>321</sup> As soon as his statement was concluded, he established his transformation (i.e. he passed away). The monastic community was amazed. Thereupon [the monks] lacquered his body and worshiped it. When people prayed to him, he offered a response.

**Xianqing era**, first year, first month: [Li] Hong, the Prince of Dai 代王[李]弘, was installed as crown prince.<sup>322</sup> It was ordered to arrange a feast for 5,000 monks in the Cien Monastery.

320 This is known from the biography of Buddhatrāta in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 2 (T 2061, p. 717, c8–9). *Yuanjue jing*, or Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment, is a short title of the *Da fangguang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyi jing* 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經. The account of the translation by Buddhatrāta is today however seen critically: "Although it purports to have been translated into Chinese by Buddhatrāta in 693, the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* has been shown by modern scholarship to be an 'apocryphal' text composed in China sometime around the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century. Its teaching was based on two other apocryphal works, the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* and *Awakening of Faith*" (Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002], 54).

321 Kang Senghui (?–280) was a Parthian monk who visited the court of Sun Quan 孫權 (r. 222–252), the ruler of Wu. The matter is mentioned in the materials of the *Fozu tongji* I translated for the first volume of the present translation project—see: *Fozu tongji*, juan 35 (T 2035, p. 331, c10–19). Saying that during the reign of Tang Gaozong a monk who self-identified as Kang Senghui appeared in the Yongxin Monastery means that Kang Senghui chose to show himself in reincarnation.

322 Li Hong 李弘, the first son of Tang Gaozong and Wu Zhao, was installed as crown prince in 656 (i.e. Xianqing 1). In 655 Wu Zhao had been formally enthroned as empress, and the installment of her son as crown prince cemented her new position. The new reign title of Xianqing 顯慶 (Manifest Felicity) was adopted to celebrate Li Hong's installation of the crown prince and the related change in dynastic policy (Denis Twitchett, "Kao-tsung [Reign 649–683] and the Empress Wu: The Inheritor and the Usurper," in: *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3, ed. Denis Twitchett [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979], 249). Li Hong has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 86 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 9, 2828–2831), and *Xin Tangshu*, juan 81 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 12, 3588–3590).

p. 367, a13 Yu Zhining, the Chief Administrator to the Left 左僕射于志寧,<sup>323</sup> and Lai Ji, the Head of the Ministry of Personnel 吏部尚書來濟,<sup>324</sup> were both [installed as] Commissioners for the Revision of Sūtra Translations 譯經潤文使.

p. 367, a14 In the third month, when a stele the emperor personally had inscribed for the Great Cien Monastery was completed, the dharma master [Xuan]zang submitted a memorial to express his gratitude.<sup>325</sup>

p. 367, a15 In the fifth month the dharma master [Xuan]zang fell ill. The emperor personally sent the imperial physician Jiang Xiaozhang 御藥蔣孝章 to cure him. The master thereupon entrusted [Jiang Xiaozhang] with the submission of two complaints [to the emperor]: Firstly, during the Zhenguan era the name of Laozi was placed before that of the Buddha. I previously expressed this to the previous emperor, who had agreed to change it [but did not do so]. Secondly, in the beginning of the Yonghui era, it was ordered that if Buddhist monks or Daoist priests committed offenses, which judging from reason were hard to understand, examinations and interrogations were to be done according to the law for commoners. In the lawsuits carried out in border areas, it frequently happened that [Buddhist monks and Daoist priests] had to go in cangue.<sup>326</sup> This is an abuse of the dharma! The emperor said: “The positions of the names of Buddhism and Daoism is a matter originating from the previous reign. [This matter] still needs to be discussed. As far as [the second matter of] judging monks based on commoners’ law is concerned, I shall immediately declare my disapproval, so that it will be dropped.”

p. 367, a21 In the eleventh month Empress Wu gave birth to a prince. Divine splendor filled the room, and [the prince] was given the name Prince of Buddhist Splendor 佛光王.<sup>327</sup> One month later an edict [instructed] the dharma master

323 Yu Zhining has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 78 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 8, 2693–2700), and *Xin Tangshu*, juan 104 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 13, 4003–4009).

324 Lai Ji has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 80 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 8, 2742f.), and *Xin Tangshu*, juan 105 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 13, 4031ff.).

325 As Mayer explains, the stele was placed in the eastern yard of the monastery, while the inscription personally composed by Tang Gaozong in 656 testifies to the emperor’s refined calligraphic abilities (Alexander Leonhard Mayer, *Xuanzang: Übersetzer und Heiliger*, 74f.).

326 This means that, as Tang Taizong had sympathies for Buddhism, he would not have allowed for this to happen in areas closer to the capital. It is implied that in the border regions such things could happen, as Tang Taizong’s control of legal procedures was less effective there.

327 An annotation reads: “This was [Tang] Zhongzong” 即中宗也 (T 2035, p. 367, a22). The

[to guide the prince] in leaving the family and having his hair shaved in the [Cien] Monastery. [Xuanzang] bestowed the refuges and precepts [on the prince].<sup>328,329</sup>

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Second year: It was ordered to build the Ximing Monastery 西明寺. [It comprises] thirteen great halls and 4,000 towers, terraces, and colonnades.<sup>330</sup> In an edict the vinaya master Daoxuan 道宣 was appointed to be the head monk,<sup>331</sup> the dharma master Shentai 神泰 was appointed to be the abbot,<sup>332</sup> and Huaisu 懷素 was appointed to be the rector. When the vinaya master [Dao]xuan lived in the Ximing [Monastery], he composed the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 in 30 juan, which covers the period from the Tianjian era of the Liang dynasty to the Zhengguan era of the Tang dynasty. p. 367, a24

It was decreed that Buddhist monks and Daoist priests were not allowed to receive veneration from their parents or from their elders.<sup>333</sup> p. 367, a27

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matter is known from *Da Tang Dacien si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳, juan 9 (T 2053, p. 271, b2–6).

328 On this matter, see: N. Harry Rothschild, *Emperor Wu Zhao and her Pantheon of Devis, Divinities, and Dynastic Mothers* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 200.

329 An annotation reads: “[This refers to] the refuges to the three jewels and to the bestowal of the five precepts” 歸依三寶及授五戒 (T 2035, p. 367, a23).

330 Weinstein explains: “The second major temple built by Kao-tsung was the magnificent Hsi-ming ssu, consisting of thirteen halls and having in all more than 4,000 rooms, commissioned in the year 656 to commemorate the investiture of the new Crown Prince, Li Hung, the first child born to Wu Chao, who had successfully maneuvered herself into the position of empress during the preceeding year” (Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the Tang*, 28). For further details on the construction, design, and history of the Ximing Monastery, see: Thomas Thilo, *Chang'an: Metropole Ostasiens und Weltstadt des Mittelalters 583–904, Teil 1: Die Stadtanlage*, 170 f.

331 Both Chen Huaiyu and Eric Reinders refer to Daoxuan's position as abbot of the Ximing Monastery (Chen Huaiyu, *The Revival of Buddhist Monasticism in Medieval China* [New York: Peter Lang, 2007], 108; Eric Reinders, *Buddhist and Christian Responses to the Kowtow Problem in China* [London: Bloomsbury, 2015], 53).

332 On Shentai, see: Friederike Assandri, *Dispute zwischen Daoisten und Buddhisten im Fo Dao lunheng*, 43.

333 The edict referred to here is entitled “Sengni bude shou fumu bai zhao” 僧尼不得受父母拜詔 (Edict Requiring that Buddhist Monks and Nuns do not Receive Homage from their Parents). It is preserved in *Tang da zhaoling ji* 唐大詔令集, juan 113 (Song Minqiu 宋敏求, *Tang da zhaoling ji* [Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1959], 587). It stands in the tradition of former edicts requiring monks to bow to the emperor. Protesting against such requirements Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416) had written his “Shamen bujing wangzhe lun” 沙門不敬王者論 (*Hongming ji*, juan 5: T 2102, p. 29, c19–p. 32, b11) and Yancong 彥琮 (557–610) his “Futian lun” 福田論 (*Guang hongming ji*, juan 25: T 2103, p. 280, c18–

p. 367, a28 On Mount Niutou 牛頭山 in Jinling 金陵 (i.e. present-day Nanjing) the meditation master Farong 法融 passed away.<sup>334</sup> This master had received the dharma from the fifth patriarch [of Chan Buddhism]. He was the founder of the Niutou [branch of the Chan order]. [The foundation of this branch] fulfills [Daoxin's] prophecy of "a side branch of the Buddha dharma."<sup>335</sup>

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p. 367, b1 In the Pujiang Monastery 浦江寺 of Wuzhou 婺州 the meditation master Baozhang 寶掌 from India passed away while sitting [in meditation]. It was estimated that his age amounted to 1,072 years.<sup>336,337</sup>

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p. 283, a9). Prohibiting monks to receive veneration from their parents is a different matter, however in both cases the intention of the imperial authorities was to clarify that the Buddhist sangha was supposed to submit to the traditional Confucian order of the Chinese society, in which absolute respect for the emperor and filial piety (i.e. the principle of sons paying homage to their parents rather than vice versa) were regarded as cardinal values. Pointing to the position Buddhism had in the Indian society, the Buddhist sangha did however claim to be exempted from having to submit to the Confucian rules for the general society. Against this background, Huiyuan and Yancong had written their apologetic treatises. When in 657 Tang Gaozong issued his edict prohibiting monks to receive veneration from their parents, the Buddhist sangha organized a protest movement, which was mainly headed by Daoxuan and Weixiu 威秀 (Eric Reinders, *Buddhist and Christian Responses to the Kowtow Problem in China*, 53–56; Tonami Mamoru, "Policy towards the Buddhist Church in the Reign of T'ang Hsüan-tsung," *Acta Asiatica* 55 [1988], 40 f.). The "Shamen bujing wangzhe lun," the "Futian lun," and the protestations formulated within the protest movement headed by Daoxuan and Weixiu, are all included in a Tang dynasty collection of documents of the Buddhist opposition against imperial attempts of making the sangha submit to the social norms of Confucianism. Yancong 彦棕 (life dates unknown, not to be confused with Yancong 彦琮, the author of the "Futian lun") compiled it in six juan. The title is *Ji shamen bu ying bai su deng shi* 集沙門不應拜俗等事 (T 2108, Collection [of texts] on the matter that śramaṇas should not bow to secular authorities).

334 Farong has a biography in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, juan 20 (T 2060, p. 603, c17–p. 605, b24).

335 This prophecy was referred to above (T 2035, p. 366, c6). For a general introduction to Farong and the Niutou school, see: Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism: A History, vol. 1: India and China* (New York: Macmillan, 1988), 115 ff. The Niutou school has its name from Mount Niutou. The mountain is called 'Niutou' (ox head), since its shape seemed to resemble the head of an ox.

336 An annotation reads: "This would mean that he was born in the times of King Weilie of Zhou, which was in the times of the Seven States" 當周威烈王十九年生。在七國之時。(T 2035, p. 367, b2–3). The Seven States are the states of Yan 燕, Qin 秦, Chu 楚, Qi 齊, Han 韓, Zhao 趙, Wei 魏 of the Zhanguo era (5th century BC–221 BC). The reign of Eastern Zhou ruler Weilie is dated 425–401 BC, which places him in the beginning of the Zhanguo era. If Baozhang had been born in India 1,072 years prior to Xianqing 2 (i.e. 657), he would have been born in the year 415 BC, which would indeed have been during the reign of King Weilie.

337 A biography of Baozhang is seen in *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 (Sources for the Five

Third year: An edict [instructed] the śramaṇa Yibao 義褒, the Daoist priest Huang Yi 黃頤 and others to come to the court for a debate. [In the debate] the Daoist priest Li Rong 李榮 presented the theory of the original bound. There were four rounds of exchange. [In the end,] the theory [of the Daoists] was broken, and the speech [of the Daoists] was blocked. The emperor ordered the guards to take [Li] Rong outside, and rewarded [Yi]bao by presenting him with silks.<sup>338</sup> p. 367, b4

The state of Japan sent the śramaṇa Chitsū 智通 to China to obtain the dharma of the mahāyāna.<sup>339</sup> p. 367, b6

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Fourth year: An edict [instructed] Buddhist monks and Daoist priests to come to the Hebi Palace 合璧宮 for a debate. [In the debate] the dharma master Huiyin 會隱<sup>340</sup> presented the theory of the five skandhas, and [the dharma master] Shentai 神泰<sup>341</sup> explained the meaning of the nine understandings that cut through [illusion].<sup>342</sup> The Daoist priest Li Rong 李榮 was in the dark and did not understand. So instead he presented the theory of the Dao giv- p. 367, b8

Lamps), a collection of biographies of Indian and Chinese patriarchs, which was compiled by the Linji monk Dachuan Puji 大川普濟 in 1253. The biography of Baozhang appears in juan 2 of the work (X80, no. 1565, p. 69, a3–b5 // Z 2B:11, p. 41, d18–p. 42, b8 // R138, p. 82, b18–p. 83, b8).

338 As Friederike Assandri points out, Yibiao's debate with Huang Yi is only documented through the present passage in the *Fozu tongji*, and through a short note in *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載, juan 12 (T 2036, p. 579, b17). According to Assandri it would appear that Huang Yi challenged Yibiao subsequent to the debate between Yibiao and Li Rong, which is preserved in *Fodao lunheng*, juan 4 (T 2104, p. 389, c20–p. 391, a3), while the debate between Yibiao and Huang Yi is not preserved (Friederike Assandri, *Dispute zwischen Daoisten und Buddhisten im Fo Dao lunheng*, 159 note 46).

339 Chitsū 智通 was a Japanese priest, who together with Chitatsu 智達 went to China in 658 to study the Faxiang 法相 teachings with Xuanzang. Faxiang being pronounced Hossō in Japanese, this was considered the second transmission of the Hossō school (Yoshiro Tamura, *Japanese Buddhism: A Cultural History*, 46).

340 On Huiyin, see: Friederike Assandri, *Dispute zwischen Daoisten und Buddhisten im Fo Dao lunheng*, 42.

341 On Shentai, see: Friederike Assandri, *Dispute zwischen Daoisten und Buddhisten im Fo Dao lunheng*, 43.

342 The presentations of Huiyin and Shentai referred to here are mentioned in the beginning of the first debate of *Fodao lunheng*, juan 4 (T 2104, p. 387, c14–15; translation: Friederike Assandri, *Dispute zwischen Daoisten und Buddhisten im Fo Dao lunheng*, 58). The concepts of the five skandhas 五蘊 and the nine understandings that cut through [illusion] 九斷知 are elucidated by Assandri in her annotations (Friederike Assandri, *Dispute zwischen Daoisten und Buddhisten im Fo Dao lunheng*, 169f. notes 3 and 4).

ing birth to all things. The dharma master Huili 慧立 questioned [Li Rong] by going through it from the beginning. [Li] Rong was at loss of words and left.<sup>343</sup>

p. 367, b<sub>11</sub> An edict [proclaimed] that the Yuhua Palace 玉華宮 at Fangzhou 坊州 was to be converted into a monastery. The dharma master [Xuan]zang was instructed to live there. The master translated the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* 大般若經, which he accomplished in four years. In total it comprises 600 juan.<sup>344</sup> He also [translated] the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra* 般若心經 as well as other sūtras and śāstras—all together 75 works.

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p. 367, b<sub>15</sub> Fifth year: An edict [instructed] to transfer the finger bone of Buddha Śākya-muni, the true body protecting the state, from the Famen Monastery 法門寺 of Qizhou 岐州 to the imperial palace at Luoyang for sacrifices to be made. The empress donated a golden box of nine segments [for the storage of the precious relic].<sup>345</sup> The vinaya master [Dao]xuan was ordered to bring [the relic] back to the Famen Monastery.

p. 367, b<sub>17</sub> Xiaozhi 孝贇, a śramaṇa of the Shengguang Monastery 勝光寺 in the Western Capital (i.e. in Chang'an), was often visited by his relatives. Frequently he took fruits of the monastery to feed them. Before long, he obtained a disease making him vomit blood. He said himself: "Each time when my disease occurs, I see a messenger clad in red clothes. He guided me into the black forest, where a great storm was blowing and dispersed my limbs. After a while [the messenger] further guided me onto a terrace, from where I looked upwards. There was one person of scary appearance. With strict words he accused me: 'How can you take the fruits of the monastic family to feed them to your relatives?' As soon as the statement was concluded, he disappeared. [Xiao]zhi was afraid, immediately calculated a price,<sup>346</sup> and repaid the community of the monks. After more than one month he escaped [death]."<sup>347</sup>

343 The controversy between Li Rong and Huili is the first of the main disputes seen in the first debate of *Fodao lunheng*, juan 4 (T 2104, p. 387, c17–p. 388, a26; translation: Friederike Assandri, *Dispute zwischen Daoisten und Buddhisten im Fo Dao lunheng*, 58–63).

344 On this matter, see: Alexander Leonhard Mayer, *Xuanzang: Übersetzer und Heiliger*, 124.

345 On this matter, see: Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 37.

346 Both in the Taishō edition and in the Shi Daofa edition of the *Fozu tongji* we read 計直. The character 直 here however needs to be understood as a misrepresentation of the graphically similar 值, which means "price."

347 This story originates from juan 2 of the *Shimen zijing lu* 釋門自鏡錄 (Records of Bud-



**Commentary:** According to the precepts established by the Buddha, in all p. 367, b24  
 saṃgha-ārāmas money, grain, vegetables, fruits, tools, accommodations, fields, and mountains should [be seen as] objects that in all ten directions constantly remain in the possession of the community of the monks. One cannot personally take them for private use. If one covers them taking them as private, even though it may just be above four coins, one is treated in terms of the fault of a thief, and finally one will not escape the retribution of falling [into hell]. When it now comes to the allegation against Xiaozhi feeding his relatives with fruits, it was recorded and made public. So faults [such as] having stolen from the coins and grain, or having stolen from the forest trees, can be seen from that. Could one not pay attention to this?

**Longshuo era**, first year: Wang Xuance 王玄策<sup>348</sup> presented the relic of the p. 367, c2  
 Buddha skull, which he had obtained in India, [to the emperor].

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Second year: The śramaṇa Huiyi 會贖 from the Huichang [Monastery] 會昌[寺] p. 367, c3  
 was ordered to go to Mount Wutai to worship the true image of Mañjuśrī. [While Huiyi performed the worship,] the assembly saw golden splendor filling the hall, and out of space a voice sang “How wonderful!”<sup>349</sup>

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The śramaṇa Huining 會寧 from the West of Shu 西蜀 took a ship from Nanhai p. 367, c4  
 南海 to the state of Heling 訶陵國. He met the śramaṇa Jñānabhadra 智賢, who from Sri Lanka took along the latter part of the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*. Immediately they translated it face to face, producing [a text of] two juan.<sup>350</sup>

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Third year: The śramaṇa Fusheng 福生 from Central India translated three p. 367, c8  
 works including the *Vyūharāja sūtra* 莊嚴王經 (T 1375) in the Cien Monastery.

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dhists Mirroring Themselves) by the Tang dynasty monk Huaixin 懷信 (T 2083, p. 822, b22–c5).

348 In the Taishō version of the *Fozu tongji* the name Wang Xuance 王玄策 is consistently miswritten as Wang Yuance 王元策. In the Shi Daofa edition we see the name written correctly.

349 In *Fayuan zhulin*, juan 14, we read that Huiyi basically went to the Wutai Mountains to repair temples and pagodas, among which he found a statue of Mañjuśrī (T 2122, p. 393, a9–17).

350 This is known from *Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳, juan 1 (T 2066, p. 4, a2–21). While the *Fozu tongji* presents the name Jñānabhadra in Chinese translation (zhixian, 智賢), the *Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* first presents it in Chinese transcription (ruonabatuoluo, 若那跋陀羅).

p. 367, c10 **Linde era**, first year, second month: The dharma master [Xuan]zang instructed the assembly to invoke Buddha Maitreya. Lying on his right side he passed away. This evening there was a white rainbow with four bows. Passing through the lunar mansion of 'jing' 井宿, it directly came down at the pagoda of the Cien Monastery. The emperor cried with sadness and suspended the court for five days. Turning to [his ministers] to the left and to the right he said: "The jewel of the state has been lost forever. It truly hurts my heart!" He ordered that, because of [Xuanzang's] connection with the Buddha, a golden inner coffin and a silver outer coffin were to be used. Five edicts [ordered] to praise and to pity [Xuanzang]. He was buried on the Eastern [banks] of River Chan 滻水. From all directions a million of people came to participate in the funeral.

p. 367, c15 **Qianfeng era**, first year: [The emperor] offered a Feng[shan] sacrifice at Mount Dai 岱嶽 (i.e. Taishan).<sup>351</sup> In his imperial carriage he personally went to Bo[zhou] 亳[州],<sup>352</sup> where he paid homage to Laojun.<sup>353</sup> The emperor honored him with the title Xuanyuan huangdi 玄元皇帝.<sup>354</sup> The holy mother (i.e. Laozi's mother) was named Xiantian taihou 先天太后.<sup>355</sup> [The emperor] personally visited Lu 魯 to sacrifice to Confucius, and he endowed him with the title of "Grand Tutor" 太師.<sup>356</sup>

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351 On Tang Gaozong offering the Fengshan 封禪 sacrifice, Denis Twitchett has the following explanation: "In 659 Hsü Ching-tung, at the request of the empress, memorialized the emperor suggesting that he perform the feng and shan sacrifices. After a long delay, during which the precise form of the sacrifices, largely forgotten after so many centuries of disuse, was debated and determined, Kao-tung eventually began the complicated ritual at the foot of the mountain on new year's day 666, ascending T'ai-shan to complete the ceremonies the followinnng morning" (Denis Twitchett, "Kao-tung [reign 649–683] and the empress Wu: the inheritor and the usurper," 259). The first year of the Qianfeng era is exactly the year 666.

352 Even though the Fengshan sacrifice is not related to the worship of Laozi, Tang Gaozong connected his journey to the Taishan with a visit to Bozhou, where he paid homage to Laozi. Laozi was regarded as the ancestor of the Tang dynasty, and for this reason he played an important role in the imperial ideology.

353 The connection of Bozhou with the worship of Laozi goes back to the legend of Laozi once having been incarnated in Bozhou. In a commentary passage seen in *Fozu tongji*, juan 40, we read: "Laozi descended into [worldly] incarnations many times. In the times of Gaozong of the Shang dynasty (i.e. Wuding 武丁) he was born in Bozhou, and riding on a deer ascended into heaven." 老子數數下生。商高宗時生於亳州。乘鹿升天。(T 2035, p. 371, c3–4).

354 The bestowal of the title is documented in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 5 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 1, 90). For a contextualization, see: Timothy H. Barrett, *Taoism under the T'ang: Religion and Empire During the Golden Age of Chinese History* (London: Wellsweep, 1996), 32.

355 On this title, see: Livia Kohn, "The Mother of the Tao," in: *Taoist Resources* 1, no. 2 (1989), 39.

356 This is known from *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 5 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 1, 90).

Second year, tenth month, third day: The vinaya master [Dao]xuan passed away on Mount Zhongnan 終南山. The assembly heard celestial men with a joint voice requesting Maitreya's return into the inner yard.<sup>357</sup> [Daoxuan] had built the stone ordination platform at the Jingye Monastery 淨業寺.<sup>358</sup> The śramaṇas from the [five] marchmounts and the [four] great rivers again received the full set of precepts. There had been a monk with long eyebrows<sup>359</sup> who came and said: "In former times Buddha Kāśyapa 迦葉佛 established a platform here." The master [Daoxuan] had thereupon composed a scripture on platforms,<sup>360</sup> which was spread in the world.

Early on the master was in the Ximing Monastery 西明寺. In the middle of the night he walked on the road. His feet stumbled on the stairs in front of him. There was a sage who supported his feet. The master asked who [the sage] would be. The reply was: "Naṭa, the crown prince of the Heavenly King of the North 北天王太子那吒, received an order to come and protect you." The master said: "The power of the crown prince [is that of] omnipotence. Does India have Buddhist services, that [I] could perform? [If so] I would like to go for it." The crown prince thereupon took out a tooth of the Buddha he had treasured, and passed it on to him. During the night, the master held it in both hands and walked on the road; during the day he hid it in a hole in the ground. Only his disciple Wengang 文綱 knew about that. [The master] also widely asked about the vinaya characteristics and the holy traces of the Western Paradise. All together [he asked about] 3,800 matters. [The replies he received became a book, which was] entitled *Tianren gantong zhuan* 天人感通傳.<sup>361,362</sup> The celes-

357 This means that Daoxuan was an incarnation of Maitreya.

358 On this matter, see: John R. McRae, "Daoxuan's Vision of Jetavana: The Ordination Platform Movement in

Medieval Chinese Buddhism," in *Going Forth: Visions of Buddhist Vinaya*, ed. William M. Bodiford (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 78–84.

359 An annotation reads: "This was Piṇḍola in his worldly manifestation" 即住世賓頭盧 (T 2035, p. 367, c21).

360 This is a reference to the *Guanzhong chuanglei jietan tujing* 關中創立戒壇圖經 (T 1892, Illustrated Scripture on the Establishment of the Ordination Platform within the Passes).

361 This is a reference to a text by Daoxuan, which is preserved in the Taishō under two different titles: *Lüxiang gantong zhuan* 律相感通傳 (T 1898) and *Daoxuan gantong lu* 道宣律師感通錄 (T 2107). The text reveals how celestial men revealed miraculous events to Daoxuan. For a study of this text, see: Liu Yuanru 劉苑如, "Shenyu: Lun 'Lüxiang gantong lu' zhong qianshi jinsheng de kuajie shuxie" 神遇：論《律相感通傳》中前世今生的跨界書寫, in: *Qinghua xuebao* 清華學報 43, no. 1 (2013): 127–170.

362 To this point the matter is also seen in *Rentian baojian* 人天寶鑑, juan 1 (X87, no. 1612, p. 10, a7–15 // Z 2B:21, p. 58, a10–18 // R148, p. 115, a10–18). (The *Rentian baojian* is a work

tial man Feishi 費氏 said: “Each of the Four [Heavenly] Kings has eight generals, protecting the people who renounced secular life. In Uttarakuru the Buddha dharma is scarcely manifested. In the remaining three continents, the Buddha dharma is greatly spread. On the Eastern and the Western continent, the irritations are hard to be transformed. As far as the Southern continent is concerned, even though there are many offenders, they could be transformed to follow the good, and their minds could easily be soothed. The Buddha told the Four Heavenly Kings: ‘If you do not protect those who transgress the precepts, who would be able to practice my dharma?’ So when the Four Heavenly Kings saw [people] breaking the precepts, they did not blame them, they pitied and and protected them. And when they saw them performing one wholesome action, they did not blame them for 10,000 mistakes.”<sup>363</sup>

p. 368, a6 **Zongzhang era**, first year: An edict [instructed] the hundred officials as well as Buddhist monks and Daoist priests to assemble in the Baifu Palace 百福殿 to discuss the *Laozi huahu jing* 老子化胡經.<sup>364</sup> The śramaṇa Faming 法明 expelled [the views of] the assembly, and stood out [among them]. He said: “We have no translation date for this scripture.<sup>365</sup> How could it not be a forgery?” This caused astonishment among the assembly, and there was nobody who would have been able to counter. Thus it was ordered to search and collect the forged copies, so that they could all be burned.

p. 368, a10 **Xianheng era**, second year: At the [coast of the] Southern Sea, the śramaṇa Yijing 義淨 (635–713) embarked on a ship in order to go to India to obtain sūtras.<sup>366</sup>

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by the Song dynasty monk Tanxiu 曇秀. It is a compilation of accounts from Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism.) The rest of the paragraph is a quotation from the *Lüxiang gantong zhuan*.

363 This is an abridged quotation of a statement of one of the celestial men speaking to Daoxuan in the *Lüxiang gantong zhuan* (T 1898, p. 875, a4–11).

364 In the Taishō we read 儀老子化胡經. But according to Shi Daofa 儀 is 議, which means “to discuss.” In my translation of this sentence I base myself on the Shi Daofa version.

365 The *Laozi huahu jing* purports to be a Buddhist sūtra, and hence also purports to be a translation from a Sanskrit original. The argument that the *Laozi huahu jing* must be a forged scripture because it cannot be determined when it was translated from the Sanskrit is seen in the biography of Faming in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 17 (T 2061, p. 813, c1–2).

366 Yijing embarked on his journey in 671 (i.e. Xianheng 2), and he returned in 695. He composed a travel record entitled *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 (T 2125, A Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the Southern Seas), while the term of the “inner law” refers to the Buddhist sūtras he brought back from the South (Tansen Sen, “Yijing and

The meditation master Shenying 神英 from the Fahai Monastery 法海寺 in the Western capital obtained the [*Record of*] the *Ceremony of Sacrifices [to the Deities] of Water and Land* 水陸齋儀 of [Emperor] Wu of Liang, which had been preserved by Yiji 義濟, a monk from Wu 吳.<sup>367</sup> Following the laws [Shenying] cultivated [the practice], and perceived that Prince Zhuangxiang of Qin 秦莊襄王 as well as Zhang Yi 張儀, Chen Zhen 陳軫, and the rulers and ministers of the feudal states manifested and expressed their gratitude.<sup>368</sup>

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Third year: It was ordered to carve a niche with a statue of Buddha Vairocana 龕盧舍那佛 being 85 chi tall on Mount Longmen 龍門山 of Luoyang.<sup>369</sup>

Meditation master Hongren 弘忍, the fifth patriarch [of Chan Buddhism], transmitted the dharma to the practitioner Huineng 慧能. When [Hui]neng had just arrived, the patriarch asked him where he came from. The answer was: "From Lingnan 嶺南." The patriarch asked: "What do you want?" The answer was: "I only want to attain Buddhahood." The patriarch said: "People from Lingnan do not have the Buddha nature." The answer was: "There may be [a difference between] people from the north and from the south, but how could it be that way as far as the Buddha nature is concerned?" The patriarch had doubts about it and said: "Go to the horse barn!" [Huineng] went to the grinding workshop, took a stone and pounded [rice].<sup>370</sup>

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the Buddhist Cosmopolis of the Seventh Century," in: *Texts and Transformations: Essays in Honor of the 75th Birthday of Victor H. Mair*, ed. Haun Saussy [Amherst: Cambria, 2018], 346).

367 The *Fozu tongji*, in juan 33, articulates the claim that Liang Wudi inaugurated a Ceremony of Sacrifices [to the Deities] of Water and Land 水陸齋, and that a record of that ceremony had been preserved by Yiji (T 2035, p. 321, b17–c14). Tian Xiaofei offers a summary and an assessment of the *Fozu tongji* account: "According to the thirteenth-century monk Zhipan's history of Buddhism, in 505 Emperor Wu inaugurated the Assembly of Water and Land, a ritual that involves making food offerings to wandering water spirits and hungry ghosts on land. Inspired by a dream, the emperor reportedly spent three years studying various scriptures in order to create the proper ritual ceremony. Zhipan's late date and the lack of corroborating evidence in dynastic histories compromise the veracity of his account" (Tian Xiaofei, *Beacon Fire and Shooting Star: The Literary Culture of the Liang* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007], 64).

368 An annotation reads: "For detailed [explanations] see the *Guangxian zhi*" 詳見光顯志 (T 2035, p. 368, a13).

369 This is a reference to the Great Vairocana Shrine at Longmen (see: Amy McNair, *Donors of Longmen: Faith, Politics and Patronage in Medieval Chinese Buddhist Sculpture* [Honolulu: The University of Hawai'i Press, 2007], 111–119).

370 This is known from the biography of Huineng in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 8 (T 2061, p. 754, c22–25).

p. 368, a19 After eight months, the fifth patriarch asked each [monk] of the assembly to compose a gāthā, saying that if the intention deeply matches [the dharma], he would entrust [the composer] with the [patriarchal] robe and the dharma. At that time, among the 700 [monks] of the assembly, Shenxiu 神秀 sat in the foremost seat. On the wall of the corridor he wrote a gāthā saying: “Our bodies are like the bodhi tree. Our minds are like a dais of a bright mirror. At all times we carefully keep them clean, and they shall never be defiled.”<sup>371</sup>

身是菩提樹。

心如明鏡臺。

時時勤拂拭。

莫遣有塵埃。

When [Hui]neng heard it, he said: “It is beautiful indeed, but there are matters it does not comprise yet.” By nightfall he asked a boy to come into the enclosure, and to write a gāthā which said: “Bodhi is originally not [related to] a tree. The bright mirror is also not [related to] a dais. Since originally there was not even one object, why would one need to clean away defilements?”

菩提本非樹。

明鏡亦非臺。

本來無一物。

何用拂塵埃。

When the fifth patriarch got to know this gāthā, he at night instructed people to summon [Hui]neng, and he said to him: “The Buddha took the canon of the eye of the correct dharma to be successively transmitted [from patriarch to patriarch]. Today I pass it on to you, along with the transmitted kāṣāya, which shall be seen as expressing a token.”<sup>372</sup> [Hui]neng prostrated towards the feet [of Hongren], received the robe and left. This same evening he went to the South.<sup>373</sup>

p. 368, a28 When the senior monk Daoming 道明 heard about this, he pursued him to the Dayu Mountain Ridge 大庾嶺, where [Hui]neng promptly threw robe and bowl on a rock and said: “This robe expresses a token. Can [not everybody try] his power in competing for it? Would you, sir, try to pick it up?” [Dao]ming [attempted to] lift it, but it did not move. So he said: “I came to request the dharma [teachings], not because of the robe.” [Hui]neng said: “Do not think of the good; do not think of the evil. Exactly at the time [when you achieve this state of mind], that will be the original face and eyes (i.e. the original nature)

371 This is known from *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 3 (T 2076, p. 222, c16–22).

372 This is known from *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 3 (T 2076, p. 222, c29–p. 223, a15).

373 This is known from *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 3 (T 2076, p. 223, a24).

of [you,] [Dao]ming, [the scholar] of the highest seat.” [Dao]ming immediately had a great insight. He prostrated [to Huineng] and said: “Apart from the secret meaning of the secret words above, do you still have further main ideas?” [Hui]neng said: “What I said today is nothing secret. As you are reflecting on yourself, you find the secret on your side.”<sup>374</sup> [Dao]ming prostrated, expressed his gratitude and returned [to the monastery].<sup>375</sup>

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Fourth year: The meditation master Wanhui 萬回 was ordered to come to the court to receive donations. Wanhui was a person from Wenxiang 閩鄉,<sup>376</sup> and his surname was Zhang 張. When he had just become ten years old, his brother Wannian 萬年 defended Liaodong 遼東. Their mother, Mrs. Cheng 程氏, was thinking of him (i.e. about Wannian).<sup>377</sup> [She planned on] offering food to monks, asking them to pray [for him]. [Wan]hui wrapped up the remainder of a meal and went out of the door. When it became evening, he came back with a letter from his brother [Wannian]. His mother thereupon knew that he [had performed] the divine miracle of crossing a distance of 10,000 *li* and coming back [in one day]. The people therefore called him Brother Wanhui. Later on he shaved his head, put on a brown robe, and became a monk.<sup>378</sup> p. 368, b7

**Shangyuan era, first year:** [The emperor] summoned the hermit Sun Simiao 孫思邈 for an audience. [It was his wish to] install him as a Grand Master of Remonstrance 諫議大夫. [But Sun Simiao] strongly declined.<sup>379</sup> The p. 368, b13

374 Huineng is saying that what he had explained was no secret at all, and that the secret Daoming was thinking of rather resulted from the instability of his mind which complicates things.

375 This is known from *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 4 (T 2076, p. 232, a5–14).

376 An annotation reads: “[Wenxiang] is situated in the Hu District of Hongnong” 在弘農湖縣 (T 2035, p. 368, b8).

377 As her son served in the military and was positioned in a border region, the mother was worried about him.

378 At the beginning of the story Wanhui is introduced as a monk, while subsequently we are told the story of his early life, which explains how he became that. The tale is known from the biography of Wanhui in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 18 (T 2061, p. 823, c29–p. 824, a4) and *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 27 (T 2076, p. 433, a27–29).

379 This is known from the biography of Sun Simiao in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 191 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 16, 5095). The subsequent story of Sun Simiao's appreciation for the *Avatamsaka sūtras* is however not seen in his *Jiu Tangshu* biography. In the context of the *Fozu tongji* the statement that Sun Simiao “strongly declined” 固辭 to follow the invitation to court needs to be understood in such a way that, even though he declined strongly, he finally still accepted. This is suggested by the fact that he persuaded the emperor to follow the *Avatamsaka sūtras*, and by the fact that after the exchange with the emperor he “requested to return into the mountains” 求還山. For an elaborate treat-

emperor asked: "Which is the greatest among the Buddhist sūtras?" [Sun] Simiao said: "None is comparable to the Avataṃsaka sūtras." The emperor said: "Recently the dharma master [Xuan]zang translated the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras in 600 juan. How should not that be the greatest?" [Sun] Simiao said: "The dharma-dhātu of the Avataṃsaka sūtras is the universal teaching. Any of its [detail] teachings could be developed into sūtras of thousands of juan. The Prajñāpāramitā sūtras are one of those [detail] teachings of the Avataṃsaka sūtras." Thereupon the emperor followed the Avataṃsaka sūtras. Within the year [Sun] Simiao requested to return into the mountains. After his return to Mount Zhongnan, he remained in his hermitage, and with single-hearted devotion [he studied] Buddhist texts. Beforehand and afterwards he produced [a grand total of] 750 copies of the Avataṃsaka sūtras.<sup>380</sup> When he was 150 years old, he abandoned Huayuan 華原, his old residence on Mount Yu 玉山, and converted it into a Buddhist Monastery.

p. 368, b22 Lu Zhaolin 盧照隣 said: "When [Sun Si]miao in unrestrained fashion discussed the Orthodox Unity, [he employed] the ancient Zhuangzi from the Meng District;<sup>381</sup> and when he deeply entered nonduality, [he employed the] the present Vimalakīrti."<sup>382</sup>

高談正一。則古之蒙莊子。

深入不二。則今之維摩詰。

When [Sun] Simiao dwelled on Mount Zhongnan, he was on good terms with the vinaya master [Dao]xuan.<sup>383</sup> At that time there was a great drought, and

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ment of the Sun Simiao biographies in *Jiu Tangshu* and *Xin Tangshu*, see: Nathan Sivin, *Chinese Alchemy: Preliminary Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), 87–136.

380 An annotation reads: "The [Avataṃsaka] sūtras have been translated [into Chinese] during the Jin dynasty in 60 juan. As the master was long-lived, if in one year he could produce ten handwritten copies, then in 80 years he should have been able to produce 750 copies" 此經是晉譯六十卷者。先生既長壽。若一年手書十部。則八十年中可足七百五十部矣。(T 2035, p. 368, b20–21).

381 That Zhuangzi came from the Meng district is noted in the *Wenxuan* commentary by Li Shan 李善. In juan 23, within an annotation to the second poem of the "Diaowang" 悼亡 cycle by Pan Anren 潘安仁, we read: "Zhuangzi was a person from Meng. Therefore he is called Zhuangzi from Meng" 莊子蒙人，故云蒙莊子。(Xiao Tong 蕭統, *Wenxuan* [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986], vol. 3, 1092).

382 An annotation reads: "See the *Huayan Ganying zhuan* and the *Tang benzhuān*" 見華嚴感應傳及唐本傳 (T 2035, p. 368, b23). *Tang benzhuān* refers to the *Jiu Tangshu*. The quotation of the Tang poet Lu Zhaolin 盧照隣 (ca. 636–ca. 695) appears in the biography of Sun Simiao in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 191 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 16, 5095).

383 The friendship between Sun Simiao and Daoxuan is referred to in the biography of Daoxuan in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 14 (T 2061, p. 790, c8–23). See also: Chen Huaiyu, *The Revival of Buddhist Monasticism in Medieval China*, 161.



monks from the Western regions at the Kunming Lake established an altar and prayed for rain. After seven days the water surface was reduced by seven *chi*. There was an old man who in the night beseeched the [vinaya] master for help. He called himself 'Dragon of the Lake.' The master said: 'You can go and ask Sire Sun.' When the old man arrived at [Sun Simiao's] chamber, [Sun] Simiao said: "I have heard that in the dragon palace of the Kunming [Lake] there are thirty immortality recipes. If you can transmit them, I will save you." The old man said: "The highest emperor does not allow for these recipes to be wantonly transmitted. But the present matter is an emergency." Soon he arrived holding the recipes in two hands. [Sun] Simiao said: "You may return [into the lake] without worries. From now on the water in the lake will rise and overflow." [Sun] Simiao wrote the *Qian jin* [yao]fang 千金[藥]方 in 30 juan. In each juan he included one recipe, and the [people of] the world could not deviate [from this placement].<sup>384</sup>

I would like to remark that in the *Xiangshan yelu* 湘山野錄 it is said: p. 368, c4 "Towards the beginning of the [Tang] state, there was a monk from Chengdu 成都, who had the merit of having recited the *Lotus sūtra*. One day a mountain servant came to invite him to [his native] brooks and hills. [There the monk] saw a pavilion built across a brook. The servant went in to report [that he had invited the monk]. When he came out, he said to the monk: 'My superior asks you to recite the *Lotus* [sūtra] to all the way to the chapter of the Jeweled Stūpa 寶塔品 (i.e. chapter 11).' The superior [was wearing] farmer's clothes, [carried a] bramble stick, and his eyebrows reached to the shoulders. He burned incense, greeted [the monk], listened [to his sūtra recitation], and [afterwards] came in providing him with a [dish of] millet and rice, Gouqi berry<sup>385</sup> and chrysanthemum, which [tasted] like sweet dew. [Finally the superior offered the monk] a gratification of one *huan* 銖.<sup>386</sup> When the servant had brought [the monk] halfway back, [the monk] asked what the surname and the given name of the superior would be. The servant said that the surname was Sun, and afterwards wrote the characters 'simiao' 思邈 into the palm of the monk. The monk thereupon sighed with surprise, and the servant was suddenly not seen any more.

384 An annotation reads: "[Source:] *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎 (T 2035, p. 368, c3). The *Youyang zazu* (Youyang Miscellany) is a Tang dynasty collection of stories in 30 juan compiled by Duan Chengshi 段成石 (d. 863). For a translation of the relevant passage, see: Paul U. Unschuld, "Der chinesische Arzneikönig Sun Simiao: Geschichte, Legende, Ikonographie," in: *Monumenta Serica* 42 (1994), 221f.

385 The character 'qi' 杞 is short for 'gouqi zi' 枸杞子, which in the West is known as *Lycium barbarum*. Commonly the term is translated as 'Guoqi berry.'

386 An annotation reads: "Today it is said that one *huan* roughly equals 100 coins" 今言一銖者且約百錢也 (T 2035, p. 368, c9).

[The monk] again went back, searching [for Sun Simiao], but after three days he had finally lost his way. Having returned [back home], he saw the gratification he received had turned into 100 coins of gold, and through the meal he had received his body was rejuvenated and disease-free. The dynastic histories of the Tang dynasty say that he became 150 years old.”<sup>387</sup> The time when the master was asked to recite the sūtra as [seen] in the [*Xiangshan yelu*], was in the beginning of the [present] state (i.e. in the beginning of the Song dynasty). So it has already been three hundred years ago.

p. 368, c15 **Yifeng era**, first year: The śramaṇa Divākara 日照 from Central India arrived in the capital to translate eighteen scriptures including the *Lalitavistara sūtra* 方廣大莊嚴經 (T 187).

p. 368, c16 Early on the śramaṇa Buddhapāla 佛陀波利 from Kashmir arrived on Mount Wutai to pay obeisance to Mañjuśrī. He met an old man who said: “In this place people commit much evil, as the *Foding zunsheng zhou* 佛頂尊勝呪 is [employed as] a secret means of getting rid of guilt. You should return to the West to obtain [the Sanskrit original of] the sūtra and spread it.” And suddenly the old man disappeared. [Buddha]pāla thereupon returned [to the West]. Upon arrival, he obtained the sūtra, and came back to submit it [to the throne]. The emperor ordered Du Xingyi 杜行顗 and Divākara to jointly translate it, but the sūtra was kept inside [the palace library]. [Buddha]pāla said under sobs: “My intention was to spread it widely. How can one keep it confined to oneself?” The emperor thereupon gave the Sanskrit original back [to Buddhapāla]. Thereupon in the Ximing Monastery [Buddha]pāla together with the śramaṇa Shunzhen translated it again. [Afterwards] he took the Sanskrit original, went to Mount Wutai, and never came back.<sup>388</sup>

p. 368, c23 The practitioner Huineng from [Xia]lu [夏]盧 arrived at the Faxing Monastery 法性寺 of Guangzhou 廣州, where he met the meditation master Yinzong 印宗. [Yinzong] shaved his hair, and asked the vinaya master Zhiguang 智光 of the same monastery to approach the [ordination] platform [with Huineng] and to

387 The *Xiangshan yelu* 湘山野錄 is a collection of stories in three juan compiled by the Song dynasty monk Wenying 文瑩. For the present tale, see: SKQS, *Xiangshan yelu*, juan 3, p. 16.

388 This is known from *Guang qingliang zhuan* 廣清涼傳 (Extended Records of Mount Qingliang), juan 2 (T 2099, p. 111, a29–b22). Mount Qingliang is an alternative name of Mount Wutai. The *Guang qingliang zhuan* is a work in three juan, which was composed by the Song dynasty scholar monk Yanyi 延一.

pass on the full set of precepts to him. This [ordination] platform had been established in the [Liu-]Song dynasty by Guṇavarman 求那跋摩,<sup>389</sup> who had prophesized that one day an incarnate bodhisattva would receive the precepts there.<sup>390</sup> In the Liang dynasty Paramārtha 真諦 planted two bodhi trees to the sides of the [ordination] platform.<sup>391</sup> He prophesized that in 120 years there would be a mahāsattva preaching the unsurpassable path underneath those trees.<sup>392</sup> And when the master (i.e. Huineng) greatly revealed the doctrines of the Dongshan 東山 [branch of Chan Buddhism] underneath these trees, it was as if this would fit the previous prophecy. In the following year [Huineng] returned into the Baolin Monastery 寶林寺 of Caoxi 曹溪 in Shaozhou 韶州.

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Second year: Early on, in the *Zunsheng jing* 尊勝經 (i.e. the afore-mentioned *Foding zunsheng zhou*) as translated by Du Xingyi, [the characters] being subject to state taboos were all avoided. For instance “shizun” 世尊 was replaced with “shengzun” 聖尊, and “qiuzhi” 救治 was replaced with “qiuchu” 救除.<sup>393</sup> The emperor said: “How is it possible that in the text of Buddhist sūtras tabooed [characters] need to be avoided?” Thereupon it was ordered to correct this.<sup>394</sup>

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Zhigui 智瓊, a monk of the Guoqing Monastery 國清寺, became labor steward. From the monastic storage house, he took ten pieces of cloth passing them

389 On this matter, see the previous volume of the present *Fozu tongji* translation project: T 2035, p. 344, c24–29.

390 It is implied that this bodhisattva would be Huineng. On Guṇavarman's prophecy, see: John Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng, the Sixth Patriarch: Hagiography and Biography in Early Ch'an* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 174.

391 According to the *Jiu Wudai shi* 舊五代史, Paramārtha planted one bodhi tree at the Faxing Monastery of Guangzhou (see: John Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 304). As Jorgensen points out, the legend of Paramārtha having planted two bodhi trees at the monastery originates from *Caoxi dashi zhuan* 曹溪大師傳 (ibid. note 136).

392 It is implied that this mahāsattva would be Huineng. On Paramārtha's prophecy, see: John Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 506.

393 An annotation reads: “Under [Tang] Taizong ‘Shimin’ was taboo. Under [Tang] Gaozong ‘Zhi’ was taboo.” 太宗諱世民。高宗諱治。(T 2035, p. 369, a3). Li Shimin was the personal name of Tang Taizong. Li Zhi was the personal name of Tang Gaozong. So the term of ‘shizun’ had to be replaced because ‘shi’ was part of the personal name of Tang Taizong, and the term of ‘qiuzhi’ had to be replaced because ‘zhi’ was part of the name of Tang Gaozong.

394 This is known from the *Xu gujin yijing tuji* 續古今譯經圖紀 (Continuation of the Illustrated Record of Translated Scriptures Past and Present), a work in one juan by the Tang dynasty scholar monk Zhisheng 智昇 (669–740) (T 2152, p. 368, c20–29).

on to Li Yiji, the assistant of the magistrate of the Shifeng District 始豐縣丞李意及.<sup>395</sup> For a long time [Li Yiji] did not return [the ten pieces of cloth]. After [Zhi]gui had died, he [was reborn] as a slave of the monastic family. On his back he there were the characters “Zhigui.” Soon, the assistant of the magistrate died as well. He [was reborn] as a slave of the monastic family as well. On his back there were the characters “Li Yiji.”<sup>396</sup>

p. 369, a9

**Commentary:** Under the present trend of the times, families [of officials] would frequently exploit their privileges to take things from monasteries under false names, while sons, cousins, and gifted servants [of official families] as a result of this all become evildoers. They would confiscate mountains to build tombs [for themselves]. This way, they make their parents fall into a place of unrighteousness. Throughout the four seasons they obtain money, grain, bamboo, and wood through blackmailing, which they regard as normal. They do not reflect on the suffering of repaying by being punished in hell on a later day. If one becomes a Confucian scholar or if one becomes an official, one would be unlucky to shoulder this experience. If this way one teaches one's sons, if this is what one demands from ones servants, one gains little and loses much. Could one not guard oneself [against this]? That Li Yiji becoming a slave of the monastic family was rated as a light retribution, is today deliberately expressed as a warning to those who enjoy committing graver offenses.

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p. 369, a17 Third year: Lord Lao descended into the Pure Temple 清廟 on Mount Beimang 北邙山,<sup>397</sup> and [Tang Gaozong] ordered a Daoist priest to attach himself to the

395 An annotation reads: “In the Sui and Tang dynasties, the Tiantai district was called Shifeng district” 天台縣在隋唐時為始豐 (T 2035, p. 369, a6).

396 An annotation reads: “See: *Mingxiang ji*” 見冥祥記 (T 2035, p. 369, a8). This must be a misattribution. The *Mingxiang ji* is a collection of Buddhist miracle tales written at the end of the fifth century by Wang Yan 王琰 (for a translation, see: Robert Ford Campany, *Signs from the Unseen Realm: Buddhist Miracle Tales from Early Medieval China* [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012]). As in the annalistic display of the “Fayun tongsai zhi” the present tale falls into the Yifeng era of Tang Gaozong, and as the tale mentions the Guoqing Monastery which was only constructed in the Sui dynasty, the tale cannot date back to Nanbeichao times. The tale can be traced back to the *Shimen zijing lu* 釋門自鏡錄, a Tang dynasty collection of tales composed by the monk Huaixin 懷信, where it appears in juan 2 (T 2083, p. 820, c1–5).

397 The temple on Mount Beimang was part of the worship of Laozi propagated by the imperial house of the Tang dynasty. Livia Kohn explains: “The god's [i.e. Laozi's] exploits, moreover, were depicted in colorful murals, the most famous of which were those executed by the court painter Wu Daozi (ca. 689–758). Located in the god's temple on Mount Beimang

Court of Imperial Clan Affairs,<sup>398</sup> where he would rank [just] below all the [Four Heavenly] Kings. He instructed all of those participating in civil examinations to penetrate the *Laozi Daode jing*.

**Commentary:** Since the appearance of the Buddha, the world spoke of “Buddhism and Daoism,” arranging the two words in this sequence.<sup>399</sup> Kan Ze 闕澤 of the Wu dynasty said: “The Dao serves heaven, and heaven serves the Buddha.”<sup>400</sup> When Li Shiqian 李士謙 of the Sui dynasty discussed superiority and inferiority among the three teachings, he called Buddhism the sun, Daoism the moon, and Confucianism the five stars.<sup>401</sup> When Wei Shou 魏收 composed the “Monograph on Buddhism and Daoism” [of the dynastic history] of the Northern Wei, he always put the Buddhist monks first and the Daoist priests second. The structure [of Buddhism being put first and Daoism being put second] has already been defined.

Taizong said: “Laozi’s surname is ‘Li’ 李, which makes him the ancestor of the dynasty.” If for this reason he ordered that [Daoism] has to rank

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north of Luoyang, they were so beautiful that they inspired a poem by Du Fu and were restored and even expanded under the following dynasties” (Livia Kohn, *God of the Dao: Lord Lao in History and Myth* [Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1998], 50).

398 Yining 3 (i.e. 678) was the year in which the Court of Imperial Clan Affairs (Zongzheng si, 宗正寺) was founded. Timothy H. Barrett writes: “In 678 the relationship between the Taoist church and the imperial family may have been given institutional recognition with the transfer of administrative responsibility for the Taoists to the Court of Imperial Clan Affairs, Tsung-cheng ssu, though the documentary evidence for this is not as good as it might be” (Timothy H. Barrett, *Taoism under the Tang*, 38).

399 This means that Buddhism was placed first and Daoism second.

400 Kan Ze was the director of palace writers under Sun Quan (r. 182–252), the first ruler of Wu. The dialogue between Kan Ze and Sun Quan, in which Kan Ze seeks to convince Sun Quan of the excellence of Buddhism, originates from the pseudo-*Wushu*, a Buddhist forgery created in the second half of the sixth century after the original *Wushu* compiled by Wei Zhao 韋昭 (204–273) had been lost. The pseudo-*Wushu* is now also lost (Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik*, vol. 1, 149). A summary of the dialogue between Kan Ze and Sun Quan is seen in *Poxie lun*, juan 1 (T 2109, p. 480, c10–p. 481, a7; translation: Thomas Jülch, *Bodhisattva der Apologetik*, vol. 1, 259 f.). The summary seen in the *Poxie lun* does not include the statement “The Dao serves heaven, and heaven serves the Buddha” 道事天。天事佛。 Apparently it was included in the dialogue as seen in the pseudo-*Wushu*, but as the pseudo-*Wushu* is lost we cannot verify this any more.

401 This is the closing statement of Li Shiqian speaking in defense of Buddhism as seen in his biography in *Suishu*, juan 77 (Wei Zheng, *Suishu*, vol. 6, 1754). The matter has been mentioned above (T 2035, p. 360, a12–14).

above Buddhism,<sup>402</sup> this opposed the principles so that the rites were lost. How could this have been the intention of Laozi? The bright lord Taizong has at times also been stupid!

p. 369, a26

When it came to Gaozong asking the Daoist priest to attach himself to the Court of Imperial Clan Affairs, this opposed the principles so that the rites were lost, and it is an extreme of stupidity! After this, Wuzong appreciated Daoism and abolished Buddhism. Both of these two rulers (i.e. Gaozong and Wuzong) taught their stupidity.

p. 369, a29

**Diaolu era**, first year: Huideng 惠澄, the abbot of the Qifu Monastery 啟福寺 of Fenzhou 汾州, was infected with a disease. He howled like an ox and died. Changning 長寧, a monk of the monastery, saw [Hui]deng coming during the night. His body looked haggard. He said: "Because I borrowed objects of the three jewels (i.e. Buddhist devotional objects), I have suffered calamities beyond description. All faults [taken together] are rather light, and only using the objects of the saṃgha-arāma is considered the gravest. I hope that you could offer me help." [Chang]ning immediately recited sūtras and repented sins [on his behalf]. After more than one month, [Huideng] again came back, and said: "The benefits I received could already ease my suffering, and I now live in another place.<sup>403</sup> But still I do not know on which day I will attain liberation."<sup>404</sup>

p. 369, b6

**Commentary:** As for śramaṇas who do not understand cause and effect, and privately take away objects of the monastic storage house applying them to their own benefit, both those who get the benefit and those who receive the objects, will equally face their punishments. In light cases, [offenders] will be reborn as animals or slaves. In heavy cases, [offenders] will suffer [punishments such as] being boiled in a cauldron or being burned in a stove on top of the coals. If one truly discusses these retributions, would one not find this saddening?

p. 369, b9

When it comes to the powerful families and to people on important positions, they also would not know the meaning of effect and retribution, so that they willingly accept seduction by the stupid monks with-

<sup>402</sup> Tang Taizong's order that Daoist priests were to rank above Buddhist monks was subject to a debate recorded in *Fodao lunheng*, juan 3. The edict which triggered the debate is quoted within the text. For the relevant passage, see: T 2104, p. 382, c14–15. The matter has been referred to above (T 2035, p. 364, c12–13).

<sup>403</sup> This means that he did not stay in hell any more.

<sup>404</sup> This tale can be traced back to *Shimen zijing lu*, juan 2 (T 2083, p. 822, a3–13).

out realizing their mistakes. They take possession of mountains to build their tombs,<sup>405</sup> and sell documents [enabling anybody] to reside at a monastery.<sup>406</sup> Hosts (referring to monks living in the monasteries) and guests (referring to officials visiting the monasteries) both enter the gates of punishment. People of that kind should be deeply ashamed.

**Yonglong era**, first year: The śramaṇa Zhiyun 智運 at Mount Longmen 龍門山 p. 369, b13 of Luoyang carved 15,000 Buddha images out of the rocks.<sup>407</sup>

**Yongchun era**, first year, eleventh month: The dharma master Kuiji 窺基 of the Cien [Monastery] passed away. It was ordered that in all monasteries there had to be his image for worship. The master had received the *Yugie shidi* [lun] 瑜伽師地[論] (T 1579, i.e. the Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra) and the instructions of the Yogācāra school from the dharma master [Xuan]zang. He was styled as the “master of hundred śāstras” 百部論主, and his school was known to the world as the Cien tradition.<sup>408,409</sup>

The Daoist priest Pan Shizheng 潘師正 from Mount Song passed away.<sup>410</sup> His posthumous name was Master Tixuan 體玄先先. In his youth [Pan] Shizheng was a disciple of Wang Yuanzhi, who passed on the [*Dengzhen*] *yinjue* [登真]隱訣 to him. For 20 years he lived in a remote valley, and only ate pine tree leaves. The emperor respected his path, personally visited his valley, and

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405 This means that noble families would take away land from the monasteries in the mountains.

406 This refers to the selling of ordination certificates, which was also considered a misdeed, as it enabled unqualified and unserious people to become monks.

407 Zhiyun was a nun of the Palace Chapel in Chang'an, who was among the sponsors of the Wanfo Grotto 萬佛洞 in Longmen. The Wanfo Grotto houses 15,290 Buddha images, which the *Fozu tongji* here rounds down to the number of 15,000 (Amy McNair, *Donors of Longmen: Faith, Politics, and Patronage in Medieval Chinese Buddhist Sculpture* [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007], 135).

408 An annotation reads: “The teaching of the three periods of Śīlabhadra as represented in the biography of the master [Xuan]zang [presents] the teaching [contents] of firstly being, secondly non-being, neither being nor non-being” 樊師傳戒賢三時教。一有二空三不有不空教。(T 2035, p. 369, b17–18).

409 Most of this is known from the biography of Kuiji in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 4 (T 2061, p. 725, b17–p. 726, c5).

410 In the *Maoshan zhi* 茅山志 by Liu Dabin 劉大彬 (fl. 1317–1328), Pan Shizheng 潘師正 (585–682) is counted as the eleventh patriarch of Shangqing Daoism (Isabelle Robinet, “Shangqing,” in: *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio [London: Routledge, 2008], vol. 2, 861).

asked him what he would need. The reply was: "There are flourishing pine trees and clear springs. On the mountain nothing is missing."<sup>411</sup> The emperor ordered to build the Chongtang Abbey 崇唐觀 to accommodate him at the place where he lived.

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- p. 369, b<sub>19</sub> Second year: The śramaṇa Daoshi 道世 from the Ximing Monastery 西明寺 was the younger brother of the vinaya master [Dao]xuan. As it appeared to him that the canon of the [Buddhist] teachings was hard to understand even to erudite scholars, he composed the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (T 2122) in 100 juan. [It is an encyclopedia] dividing the teachings into categories for the convenience of the readers.<sup>412</sup>

### Wu Zetian

則天武后

[Personal name:] Zhao 曩. At a young age she entered the palace as a lady of talent. When Taizong died, she left [the palace] and became a nun of the Ganye Monastery 感業寺. When Gaozong visited the monastery to burn incense, he approved of her, took her into the back palace, and included her into his harem. One year later she was installed as empress. In the first year of the Hongdao era Gaozong died, and his crown prince ascended the throne. It was Zhongzong. In the first year of the Guangzhai era, she dismissed Zhongzong, naming him Prince of Luling 廬陵王, and Empress Wu established herself as the ruler.

The character 曩 is pronounced like 照. The Empress Wu herself created that character.

- p. 369, b<sub>25</sub> **Chuigong era**, third year: The trepiṭaka Bodhiruci 菩提流志 from Southern India came [to China].<sup>413</sup>

<sup>411</sup> This is known from the *Xu shishuo* 續世說 by the Northern Song dynasty author Kong Pingzhong 孔平仲. In chapter 23, "Qiyi" 棲逸 (Hermits), we read: "Pan Shizheng was called to a remote valley on Mount Song, where he only ate leaves of pine trees and drank water. [Tang] Gaozong summoned him for an audience, and asked him what he would need [for his life] on the mountain. Shizheng replied: 'What I need are the pine trees and the clear springs. On the mountain nothing is missing.'" 潘師正召嵩山逍遙谷服松葉飲水而已。高宗召見，問山中所須，師正對曰：「所須松樹清泉，山中不乏。」 (source: www.ctext.org).

<sup>412</sup> On the *Fayuan zhulin*, see: Stephen F. Teiser, "T'ang Buddhist Encyclopedias: An Introduction to Fa-yüan chu-lin and Chu-ching yao-chi," in: *T'ang Studies* 3 (1985): 109–128.

<sup>413</sup> Bodhiruci has a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 3 (T 2061, p. 720, b<sub>3</sub>–c<sub>12</sub>).



**Yongchang era**, first year: The trepīṭaka Yijing 義淨 sent the Sanskrit originals to the state of Śrīvijaya 室利佛逝國. He composed the *Nanhai jigui* [neifa] *zhuan* 南海寄歸[內法]傳 (T 2125) and the *Qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 求法高僧傳 (T 2066).<sup>414</sup> Within the same year he returned to Guangzhou 廣州, and in the winter he again went to Śrīvijaya.<sup>415,416</sup> p. 369, b26

Daochang 道昶, a śramaṇa of the Baita Monastery 白塔寺 of Yangzhou, was in charge of overseeing the monks' material objects, and wantonly took them away for his usage. Suddenly several officers from hell appeared. In broad daylight they entered his house, and dragged [Dao]chang into hell. When they wanted to cut off his neck, [Dao]chang cried in fear and begged for his life. The officers said with a strict voice: "If you give back the material goods in all your rooms to the monks, you will remain alive." [Dao]chang prostrated and said: "I will not disobey this order." Immediately he made the bell resound to assemble the community. Exhaustively he gave away his clothing in order to erect a statue and in order to arrange a feast. After three days the officers of hell came back and saw that [Dao]chang [only possessed] one bowl and one patchwork robe. Without saying anything [the officers] left. [Dao]chang from here on practiced [the Buddhist path] ambitiously. Finally he developed brilliant behavior.<sup>417</sup> p. 369, b28

**Zaichu era**, first year: The śramaṇa Falang 法朗 [as head of a team of] nine people retranslated the *Mahāmegha sūtra* 大雲經 (Great-cloud sūtra).<sup>418</sup> All of p. 369, c7

<sup>414</sup> On the composition of the *Nanhai jigui neifa jing* and the *Qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, see: Nancy Elizabeth Boulton, *Early Chinese Buddhist Travel Records as a Literary Genre*, PhD dissertation, Georgetown University, 1982, 15.

<sup>415</sup> Śrīvijaya was a state extending over much of Java, Sumatra, and the Malay peninsula. On Yijing's stay in Śrīvijaya, see: Hermann Kulke, "Śrīvijaya Revisited: Reflections on State Formation of a Southeast Asian Thalassocracy," in: *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 102 (2016), 48, 78.

<sup>416</sup> As J.D. Legge remarks, the works of Yijing are "one of the sources for the existence of the kingdom of Śrīvijaya" (J.D. Legge, "The Writing of Southeast Asian History," in: *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia, Vol. 1: From Early Times to c. 1800*, ed. Nicholas Tarling [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992], 10). O.W. Wolters goes into greater detail in pointing out the relevance of Yijing's works for present-day knowledge about this kingdom (O.W. Wolters, "Śrīvijayan Expansion in the Seventh Century," in: *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1961): 417–424).

<sup>417</sup> This is an abridged quotation from *Shimen zijing lu*, juan 2 (T 2083, p. 820, c7–17).

<sup>418</sup> This refers to the composition of a commentary on the *Mahāmegha sūtra* or *Dayun jing* 大雲經 (Great-cloud sūtra). The commentary is entitled *Dayun jing shenhuang shouji yishu* 大雲經神皇授記義疏 (Commentary on the interpretation of the prophecy regarding the divine empress in the Dayun jing), and it was written to reinterpret the *Dayun jing* as a prophecy legitimizing Wu Zetian's accession to the throne. Falang was one of nine

them were enfeoffed as District Dukes, and presented with purple kāśāyas and silver bags in tortoise style.<sup>419</sup>

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p. 369, c9 Second year: It was ordered that following the traditional hierarchy Buddhist monks and nuns should rank above Daoist priests and priestesses.

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p. 369, c10 The meditation master Shenxiu 神秀 from Jingzhou 荊州 was ordered to come to the capital to practice the way.<sup>420</sup> Through three reigns he was respected as imperial preceptor.

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p. 369, c11 The śramaṇa Devaprajña 天智 from Khotan translated six works including the *Zaoxiang gongde* [jing] 造像功德[經] (T 694).

p. 369, c13 **Ruyi era**, first year: It was ordered to give up butchery and fishing in all under heaven.

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p. 369, c14 Second year: The meditation master Tiangong [Hui]wei 天宮[慧]威 preached the teachings of calming and contemplation for the meditation master Zuoxi [Xuan]lang 左溪[玄]朗.

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p. 369, c15 The śramaṇa Maṇi-cinta 寶思惟 from Northern India translated seven works including the *Wenshu yizizhou jing* 文殊一字呪經.<sup>421</sup> The śramaṇa Dharmaruci from Southern India translated ten works including the *Baoyu jing* 寶雨經.<sup>422</sup>

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bhadantas, or “monks of great virtue” (chin.: dade, 大德), who composed the commentary. On this matter, see: Antonino Forte, *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century: Inquiry into the Nature, Authors and Function of the Dunhuang Document S. 6502 Followed by an Annotated Translation* (Kyoto: Scuola Italiana di Studi sull' Asia Orientale, 2005), 3–27.

419 An annotation reads: “[The tradition of dignitaries] being presented with purple [kāśāyas] began here” 賜紫始此 (T 2035, p. 369, c8).

420 Shenxiu (606?–706), the putative founder of the “Northern school” (beizong, 北宗) of Chan Buddhism, was one of the favorite Buddhist masters of Wu Zetian (R.W.L. Guisso, *Wu Tse-t'ien and the Politics of Legitimation in Tang China* [Bellingham: Western Washington University, 1978], 48; N. Harry Rothschild, *Wu Zhao: China's only Woman Emperor* [New York: Pearson Longman, 2008], 143).

421 This is a short title of the *Dafang guang pusa zangjing zhong Wenshushili genben yizi tuoluoni jing* 大方廣菩薩藏經中文殊師利根本一字陀羅尼經 (T 1181).

422 This is a short title of the *Fo shuo Baoyu jing* 佛說寶雨經 (T 660). Here in the *Fozu tongji* the translator of the *Baoyu jing* is named Faxi 法希, which is a Chinese translation of the

Two girls from Jiangzhou 絳州 following a nun renounced secular life. The nun recited the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* for one day and passed away in sitting posture. The two girls were deeply affected. Each day they visited the grave and cried. p. 369, c17

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Third year: Suddenly a lotus flower with five stalks grew out of the ground. The commandery reported the matter to the empress. [Wu] Zetian ordered to examine the roots of the flower, and it was found that they arose from the tongue [of the buried nun]. Thereupon [the empress] summoned the two girls to the palace. She personally shaved their heads and instructed them to take residence in the Tiannü Monastery 天女寺.<sup>423</sup> p. 369, c19

It was ordered to create the character 𠄎 for the Buddhist sūtras. It refers to the totality of the virtues of the Tathāgata 如來 and Lakṣmī 吉祥, and it is pronounced ‘wan.’<sup>424</sup> p. 369, c21

I would like to remark that the *Fanyi mingyi* 翻譯名義<sup>425</sup> quoting the *Zuanyao* 纂要 says: “The Tathāgata has a mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa (i.e. a mark of a great man) on his chest. ...”<sup>426</sup> p. 369, c24

[In the further course of this commentary passage we are told that this mark would be similar to particular Chinese written characters. As those characters cannot be displayed in common fonts, I cannot offer a meaningful translation here. It is however made clear that all of those undisplayable characters are meant to imitate the mark on the Buddha’s chest, as it was seen in India, while the Chinese representation of that mark would be the character 𠄎.]

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Sanskrit name Dharmaruci. In T 660 the translator of the Baoyu jing is named Damoliuzhi 達摩流支, which is a Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit name Dharmaruci.

423 This story is known from *Dafang guang fo huayan jing ganying zhuan* 大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳, juan 1 (T 2074, p. 177, a22–b12).

424 An annotation reads: “[Source:] *Huayan yinyi*. The terms of ‘da zhou’ (i.e. the Great Zhou dynasty) and ‘changshou’ (a reign era) were created when Empress Wu once replaced the Tang with the Zhou, and introduced the reign title Changshou (692–694), which later one was replaced with Ruyi (692)” 華嚴音義。作大周，長壽者。蓋武后嘗改唐稱周。年號長壽。後改為如意。(T 2035, p. 369, c22–23). Zhipan made a mistake here. In fact the Ruyi era (692) preceded the Changshou era (692–694).

425 This is a short title of the *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集 (Compilation of Translated Buddhist Terms), completed by Fayun 法雲 during the Southern Song in 1143.

426 The matter is seen in *Fanyi mingyi ji*, juan 6 (T 2131, p. 1147, a3–4).

p. 369, c29 **Yanzai era**, first year: It was ordered that the [registration of] monks and nuns, which was previously allocated to the Administration of Guests 司賓,<sup>427</sup> was now to be allocated to the Ministry of Sacrifices 祠部.<sup>428</sup>

p. 370, a1 A “bishop” 拂多誕<sup>429</sup> from the state of Persia 波斯國<sup>430</sup> maintaining the false teachings of the *Erzongjing* 二宗經 (Sūtra of the Two Principles) came to the court.<sup>431</sup>

p. 370, a3 **Commentary:** In the times of [Tang] Taizong the Persian Muhu 穆護 introduced Zoroastrianism 火祆教.<sup>432</sup> He was ordered<sup>433</sup> to build a Daqin Monastery 大秦寺.<sup>434</sup> In the times of Empress Wu, a bishop from Per-

427 An annotation reads: “This is the Court for Dependencies (i.e. the Department of Foreign Affairs) 即鴻臚寺 (T 2035, p. 369, c29).

428 An annotation reads: “[The registration of monks and nuns was allocated to the Ministry of Sacrifices] because the teaching of the Buddha has the merit of protecting the state and saving the people, as well as the virtue of resolving misfortune” 以佛教有護國救人之福、解厄之德 (T 2035, p. 370, a1).

429 The term “fuduodan” 拂多誕 is a translation of the Persian term ‘aftādān,’ which is equivalent to lat. ‘episcopus’ or bishop (G. Haloun, “The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, The Buddha of Light,” in: *Asia Major*, new series 3 [1953], 188 note 1). Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer is slightly imprecise in directly equating “fuduodan” with “episcopus” (Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, “Der Manichäismus in China,” in: *Japanische Studien zum östlichen Manichaeismus*, ed. Hans-Joachim Klimkeit [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991], 21). That “fuduodan” is not a personal name but a term meaning “bishop,” is again stressed by Shigematsu Sunsho (Shigematsu Sunsho, “Manichäismus und Dämonenlehre während der T’ang und Sung-Zeit,” in: *Japanische Studien zum östlichen Manichaeismus*, ed. Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, 66).

430 An annotation reads: “a person from the state of the Daqin” 西海大秦國人 (T 2035, p. 370, a1–2). As pointed out before, the term of Daqin normally refers to the Roman Empire, while Zhipan seems to confuse the Roman Empire with Persia.

431 Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer explains that with this mention the *Fozu tongji* offers documentation of an early case of a Manichaean priest coming to China. He also points out that, while documentation of the early Manichaean preaching activity in China is mostly found in Buddhist sources, those Buddhist sources generally tend to offer negative assessments of the competing foreign teaching (Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, “Der Manichäismus in China,” in: *Japanische Studien zum östlichen Manichaeismus*, ed. Hans-Joachim Klimkeit [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991], 21).

432 Donald Daniel Leslie explains the term “muhu” 穆護 saying: “The standard interpretation of this term is that it simply means Magus, i.e. wise man or leader of the Mazdeans (i.e. the Zoroastrians).” But he also problematizes the matter pointing out that in some sources the term appears to be a man’s name and so forth (Donald Daniel Leslie, “Persian Temples in T’ang China,” in: *Monumenta Serica* 35 [1981–1983], 279).

433 While in the Taishō edition we read: 敕建大秦寺, the Shi Daofa says reads: 敕建大秦寺. I here follow Shi Daofa.

434 As pointed out above, the term “Daqin Monastery” would normally refer to Nestorian tem-

sia introduced the *Erzong jing*. Thereafter, in the Dali era (766–779), the commanderies of Jing, Yang, Hong, and Yue each built a temple of Manichaeism. These are diabolic teachings and false doctrines. But ignorant people easily got gradually defiled. Because rulers and ministers of many dynasties, [even though respected for their] reputation and virtue in their present generations, still could not distinguish between false and correct, and could not tell apart [teachings] in agreement from [teachings] in disagreement, these laws [of Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism] were practiced in the world, and have not been prohibited. They should belong to the 95 non-Buddhist paths of the Western territories.

[The śramaṇa of] Liangzhu 良渚<sup>435</sup> said: “According to the ordinance of the state dynasty, I (i.e. Liangzhu) ask<sup>436</sup> [the emperor to constitute] that, when it comes to the records of the *Erzong jing* and of other scriptures that are not included in the [Buddhist] canon, and to texts that are not rooted in the [Buddhist] sūtras, transmitting and studying them will mislead the community, and should therefore be penalized as a fault of discussion of leftist paths. The *Erzong [jing]* says that men and women should not marry, and should support each other without having conversation. [It also says that] when being ill one should not take medicine, and that the dead should be buried naked. [Related] texts that are not rooted in the [Buddhist] sūtras include the *Fofu tulian shi* 佛佛吐戀師, the *Foshuo tilei* 佛說啼淚, the *Daxiao mingwang chushi jing* 大小明王出世經, the *Kaiyuan kuodi bianwen* 開元括地變文, the *Qitian lun* p. 370, a9

ples (Donald Daniel Leslie, “Persian Temples in T’ang China,” 278). Zhipan however seems to employ the term differently, while he is also inconsistent in the meanings he ascribes to it. Above Zhipan employed the term as referring to a Manichaean Monastery (T 2035, p. 364, a24–25), while here the context requires to understand the term as referring to a Zoroastrian Monastery. All this can only be explained in such a way that to Zhipan Christianity, Manichaeism, and Zoroastrianism—as religions coming from what one might call the Far West (i.e. from beyond India)—were more or less the same.

435 This is the Zongjian 宗鑑, who compiled the *Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統, an important work of Tiantai sectarian historiography, which was completed in 1237 (see: Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, *Die Identität der buddhistischen Schulen und die Kompilation buddhistischer Universalgeschichten in China: Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte der Sung-Zeit* [Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982], 96–108). In the colophon to the work Zongjian is introduced as the “śramaṇa of Liangzhu” 良渚沙門 (X75, no. 1513, p. 254, c2 // Z 2B:3, p. 357, b2 // R130, p. 713, b2). Indeed the following text is a quotation from the *Shimen zhengtong*.

436 In the Taishō edition we read: 諸以二宗經. But following Shi Daofa, 諸 needs to be replaced with 請.

齊天論, and the *Wulaiziqu* 五來子曲. Their laws (i.e. the laws of those who adhere to the above scriptures) are not to consume pungent foods and [not] to drink wine. They would sleep during the day and rise during the night, using incense as a notification [to wake up]. They secretly make connection with each other, regarding each other as reliable friends.<sup>437</sup> Now that between commanderies and towns there are little fissures, they create disorder like wolves. For instance Fang La 方臘 and Lü Ang 呂昂 acted like this.<sup>438</sup> According to their statements the Chan practitioners in all under heaven merely transmit the twelve false meditations of Postulant Lu 廬行者.<sup>439</sup> [And they claim:] ‘Only [the meditations practiced by] our disciples are true meditations.’ But they say: ‘The dharma, as the seed of bodhi, should be cultivated as a seedling on the ground of the heart, [so that it can] penetrate the numinous terrace.’<sup>440</sup> And if one asks: ‘Where does one go after death?’, their reply is: ‘One should not [aspire] rebirth in the heavens, and one should not [aspire] to enter hell. One

437 This means that they conspire with each other and create secret networks.

438 As Chikusa Masaaki points out, characteristics Manichaeans were commonly recognized by do not necessarily allow us to identify a person as a Manichean. On this basis Chikusa argues that Fang La may have been mistakenly regarded as a Manichean (see: Chikusa Masaaki, “Über die vegetarischen Dämonenverehrer,” in: *Japanische Studien zum östlichen Manichaeismus*, ed. Hans-Joachim Klimkeit [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991], 34).

439 The “Postulant Lu” is Huineng, the sixth patriarch of Chan Buddhism. As we see in his biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 8, Lu 廬 was his original surname (T 2061, p. 754, c1). A postulant is a lay worker in a monastery waiting to be ordained as a monk. Jorgensen explains: “For example, in the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* Hui-neng is depicted as an illiterate southern barbarian of a hunting tribe who works as a postulant doing menial labour” (John Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 74). So, if we may trust the *Shimen zhengtong* in this regard, the Manichaeans referred to Huineng using a term with a pejorative connotation.

440 The term of the “numinous terrace” 靈臺 is a metaphor referring to the deepest ground of a person’s mind (i.e. the Buddha nature). It originates from the *Zhuangzi*, where we find it in different places. In *Zhuangzi*, chapter 19, we find a passage where the numinous terrace is differentiated from the common mind: “Craftsman Chui could draft as accurately free-hand as if he were using compass and L-square because his fingers evolved with things and he did not calculate with his mind. Therefore, his numinous terrace remained unified and unfettered.” 工倕旋而蓋規矩，指與物化而不以心稽，故其靈臺一而不桎。(Chen Guying 陳鼓應, *Zhuangzi jinzhu jinyi* 莊子今注今譯 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001], vol. 2, 492; Victor H. Mair, *Wandering on the Way: Early Taoist Tales and Parables of Chuang Tzu* [Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1994], 184). The requirement of getting in touch with one’s own numinous terrace is a concept of Buddhist spirituality. The point Zongjian, the śramaṇa of Liangzhu, makes here is that even though the Manichaeans claim that only their own meditations are true meditations, the very basis of their understanding of spirituality is borrowed from Buddhism.

should not search for the Buddha, and one should not stroll through the other paths. One ought to directly pass [all of that].’”<sup>441,442</sup>

When it comes to diabolic teachings like this, stupid people all enjoy practicing them. Their disciples regard not to kill, not to drink [alcohol], not to [consume] pungent herbs as the most urgent [commandments].<sup>443</sup> If among the śramaṇas there are some, who do not practice [these commandments] carefully, they encounter the mockery [of the adepts of those diabolic teachings]. Could those who renounced secular life in observing the law not maintain their own initiative?<sup>444</sup>

In the capital there was a woman who called herself the Holy Bodhisattva. The empress dowager summoned her for an audience, and for all [the woman] said there was evidence. At that time the meditation master Da'an 大安 arrived. The empress dowager invited him to visit the palace, and ordered the woman to see him. Da'an said: "I have heard that you excel in viewing the mind [of other people]. So [what do you think] where my mind is?" The reply was: "It is on top of the pagoda in the bell of the dharmacakra sign." When after a short while he asked her again, she replied: "It listens to the dharma in the palace of Maitreya in the Tuṣita Heaven 兜率天." When he asked her for a third time, she replied: "It is in the Fei fei xiang Heaven 非非想天." Each time it was as she had said. The empress dowager was pleased. Da'an thereupon asked her once more, and the woman did not know how to reply. [Da]an scolded her saying: "I placed my mind in an abode of arhats. If already this you do not know, how could you know about the abodes of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas?" The

441 The concept of not searching for the Buddha is well-known from many Chan texts (see e.g. *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 6: T 2076, p. 250, b20–21). The point is that one should not rely on the Buddha as an outside authority, but recognize the Buddha nature in the ground of one's own mind as the true Buddha. Of course also avoiding rebirth in the heavens and avoiding to enter hell are all concepts of Buddhism. So here Zongjian, the śramaṇa of Liangzhu, again demonstrates that in fact the Manichaeian teachings are constructed out of Buddhist concepts.

442 This is a quotation from *Shimen zhengtong*, juan 4 (X75, no. 1513, p. 314, c6–19 // Z 2B:3, p. 412, b8–c3 // R130, p. 823, b8–p. 824, a3).

443 Saying that to the adepts of diabolic teachings these commandments are most urgent to be followed, seems to imply that to Buddhist practitioners there would be more important objectives, such as purifying the mind.

444 This means that, as the commandments referred to here are indeed also part of the Buddhist vinaya, the Buddhist śramaṇas should observe them more carefully based on their own commitment, rather than being urged by mockery coming from non-Buddhist paths.

woman was at loss of words, ashamed and afraid. She turned into a female fox,<sup>445</sup> went down the stairs and left.<sup>446</sup>

p. 370, b6 **Zhengsheng era**, first year: The empress felt that in the Jin dynasty translation of the *Avatamsaka* [sūtra] the [preachings held in nine the] assemblies at [seven different] places were not complete. A messenger was sent to Khotan to invite Śikṣānanda 實叉難陀 to retranslate it together with Bodhiruci 菩提流志 in the Great Biankong Monastery 大遍空寺 of the Eastern Capital.<sup>447</sup> The śramaṇa Fuli 復禮 connected the sections, Fazang 法藏 wrote everything down, and Hongjing 弘景 confirmed the interpretations. [The translation] had 80 juan and a royal preface.<sup>448</sup>

p. 370, b10 When the translation bureau had just been opened, sweet dew rained down from heaven, and a lotus with one stalk and hundred leaves grew out of the inner pond.<sup>449</sup>

445 Saying that the woman turned into a female fox means that it became clear what she really was. Foxes are demonic beings often described in Chinese fiction as appearing in human shape in order to mislead human beings. Also in Buddhist miracle tales, foxes play their role. Naming the present story as one of the many cases, Rania Huntington describes the wider scope of foxes appearing in Buddhist miracle tales as follows: “Foxes sometimes exploit their skill at deception by taking the forms of bodhisattvas and hoodwinking the devout. In these stories, spectacular displays of Buddhist proselytizing are blended with demonic deception. Some stories of this type express Tang ambivalence about Buddhism even more explicitly by linking religious and sexual deception, as male foxes in the guise of bodhisattvas seduce human women” (Rania Huntington, *Alien Kind: Foxes and Late Imperial Chinese Narrative* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003], 12 f., see especially note 24).

446 An annotation reads: “[Source:] *Guangyi ji*” 廣異記 (T 2035, p. 370, b5). Glen Dudbridge lists the story as tale 264 of the *Guangyi ji* (Glen Dudbridge, *Religious Experience and Lay Society in T'ang China: A Reading of Tai Fu's Kuang-i chi* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995], 225).

447 An annotation reads: “The Jin dynasty translation comprises 60 juan [that were preached] in eight assemblies at seven different places. The new translation comprises 80 juan [that were preached] in nine assemblies at seven different places” 晉譯六十卷。七處八會。新譯八十卷。七處九會。(T 2035, p. 370, b8). On the translation of the *Avatamsaka sūtra* presented to Wu Zetian by Śikṣānanda, see: R.W.L. Guisso, *Wu Tse-t'ien and the Politics of Legitimation in T'ang China*, 48; N. Harry Rothschild, *Emperor Wu Zhao and her Pantheon*, 202 f.

448 Most of this is known from the biography of Śikṣānanda in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 2 (T 2061, p. 718, c24–p. 719, a4). As is evident from this account, the monk in the team that “confirmed the interpretations” 證義, whom the *Fozu tongji* refers to as Hongjing 弘景, was more commonly known as Hengjing 恒景. Under the latter name he does have a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 5 (T 2061, p. 732, b15–c6).

449 An annotation reads: “The *Huayan gantong zhuan* says: ‘In the human realm a [lotus]



**Wansui tongtian era**, first year: A messenger was sent to present [Hui]neng, p. 370, b12 the sixth patriarch [of Chan Buddhism], with a crystal bowl, a mānavaka robe, a white garment, and fragrant tea. The Prefect of Shaozhou 韶州守臣 was instructed to appease the mountain gate (i.e. a metonymy referring to the entire monastery and its saṃgha).

Du Yi 杜義, the abbot of the [Daoist] Hongdao Abbey 弘道觀 in Luoyang, p. 370, b14 requested to become a [Buddhist] monk. He was given the name Xuanyi 玄嶷, he was granted thirty years of seniority,<sup>450</sup> and he was instructed to reside in the Foshouji Monastery 佛授記寺. [Xuan]yi composed the *Zhenzheng lun* 甄正論 to honor the teachings of the Buddha.<sup>451</sup>

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flower has more than ten leaves. In the heavens a [lotus] flower has hundred leaves. In the sukhāvatī a [lotus] flower has thousand leaves” 華嚴感應傳云。人間華十餘葉。天華百葉。淨土華千葉。(T 2035, p. 370, b11). The presented quotation derives from *Dafang guang fo Huayan jing gantong zhuan* 大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳, juan 1 (T 2074, p. 176, b13–14).

450 In the text we read: 賜夏三十臘. The characters ‘xia’ 夏 (summer) and ‘la’ 臘 (year end sacrifice) both refer to matters that occur once per year. Therefore taken together the two terms here form one expression simply meaning ‘year’. In A.C. Muller we find the expression of ‘xiala’ 夏臘 defined as “age in terms of years spent as a monk or nun” (A.C. Muller, DDB, 夏臘). Saying that Xuanyi was granted thirty years of seniority means that he was to be treated with the respect due to a person who had been a monk for thirty years.

451 Du Yi was originally a Daoist priest, and as such prior of the Hongdao guan 弘道觀 in Luoyang. It appears that already before Wu Zhao ascended the throne as Wu Zetian in 690, he had been on good terms with the future sovereign. In 689 Xue Huaiyi 薛懷義, the dubious favorite of Wu Zhao, converted the Hongdao guan and its prior to Buddhism. While there was resistance in the monastery, Du Yi—apparently out of loyalty to Wu Zhao—agreed to his conversion, chose the dharma name Xuanyi 玄嶷, and took residence in the Baima Monastery, which Xue Huaiyi was abbot of. In an attempt of avoiding to contextualize Xuanyi with a figure as dubious as Xue Huaiyi, the *Fozu tongji* does however not mention the Baima Monastery here. Xuanyi is simply given another affiliation, claiming that he stayed in the Foshouji si 佛授記寺, the “Monastery of the Prophecy Conferred by the Buddha” (whose name probably refers to the prophecy of Wu Zetian’s ascension to the throne, formulated in the new commentary on the *Mahāmegha sūtra* or *Dayun jing* 大雲經, referred to in T 2035, p. 369, c7). Between the 16th of October 690 and the 9th of June 694 Xuanyi, as a śramaṇa of the Baima Monastery, wrote the *Zhenzheng lun*, a Buddhist apologetic treatise demonstrating that Buddhism is superior to Daoism. With the commentary on the *Dayun jing*, Wu Zhao’s ascension to the throne was legitimized by a soteriological ideology which was based on Buddhism, since the new sovereign sought to dissociate herself from the Tang rulers, who saw themselves as descendants of Laozi, and in that sense based themselves on a Daoist legitimation system. The *Zhenzheng lun*, as a work arguing in favor of Buddhism and against Daoism, sought to further strengthen the basis Wu Zetian’s legitimation rested on. For a more elaborate and documented explanation of all of this, see: Thomas Jülch, *The Zhenzheng lun by Xuanyi: A Buddhist Apologetic*

p. 370, b17

**Commentary:** In receiving the precepts according to the Buddhist system, how early or how late [one received them] determines [one's position in] the hierarchical order. Now Xuanyi, who has newly received the precepts, is placed above monks who [received them] thirty years ago. Even though this means that the favor of the state truly opposes the system of Buddhism, after this [incident] Liu Zong 劉總 was presented with fifty years of seniority.<sup>452</sup> Liang Lingyin 梁令因 was granted a seniority of thirty years. All of that is an unlawful practice beginning at that day [on which Xuanyi was granted his seniority of thirty years].

p. 370, b21

The śramaṇa Huicheng 慧澄 of the Fuxian Monastery 福先寺 requested [the throne] to conform to the preceding dynasty and destroy the *Laozi huahu jing* 老子化胡經. Eight scholars, including the Qiuguanshilang Liu Rurui 秋官侍郎 劉如睿, were ordered to discuss the matter. All of them said that the documents from the Han to the Sui dynasty all noted it, and that it should not be banned.<sup>453</sup>

p. 370, b24

**Commentary:** The *Tang yiwen zhi* 唐藝文志 contains one juan entitled "Ba xueshi yizhuang" 八學士議狀. Even though documents [written] from Han to Sui times maintain the Huahu theory, [the eight scholars] did not know that what Wang Fu 王符 had falsely established was wrong. It was discussed precisely in the first year of the Shenlong era of [Tang] Zhongzong.

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*Scripture of Tang China*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, vol. 70 (New York: Routledge, 2019), 1–3.

452 In *Da Song seng shiliu* 大宋僧史略, juan 3, the following is said about Liu Zong: "The Taiping jun jiedushi Liu Zong submitted a petition requesting to renounce secular life. He was granted a purple robe, and given the title Master Dajue" 天平軍節度使劉總奏乞出家賜紫衣。號大覺師。(T 2126, p. 249, b7–8).

453 The basis for this account is a passage seen in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 59, where we find the following bibliographic entry: "*Yi huahu jing jiang*, 1 juan: In the first year of the Wansui tongtian era, the monk Huicheng made an application to the throne asking for the destruction of the *Laozi huahu jing*. It was decreed that Liu Ruxuan, Vice Minister of the Autumn Administration, and others should discuss [the matter] and present memoirs" 議化胡經狀一卷萬歲通天元年，僧惠澄上言乞毀老子化胡經，敕秋官侍郎劉如璿等議狀。(Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 5, 1521). While the *Fozu tongji* incorrectly speaks of Liu Rurui 劉如睿, the correct name of the minister, as seen in the *Xin Tangshu*, is Liu Ruxuan 劉如璿. For a critical discussion of this *Fozu tongji* passage, see: Antonino Forte, *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century*, n6f.

An edict [instructed] the meditation master Huian 慧安 from Mount Song 嵩岳 to come to the palace to be questioned about the way.<sup>454,455</sup> p. 370, b27

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An edict [instructed] the śrāmaṇera Fazang 法藏 (643–712)<sup>456</sup> to reveal the teachings of the Huayan school in the Taiyuan Monastery 太原寺. [When he gave the teachings, the audience] perceived that white splendor brightly erupted out of his mouth, and in an instant formed an umbrella. When the Chief Secretary 都講 had reported the matter [to the throne], the order was issued that ten monks of great virtue from the capital were to bestow the full set of precepts on [Fazang], and that he was to be awarded the honorific name of Xianshou 賢首 (head of the wise men).<sup>457</sup> An edict [instructed] him to enter the Great Biankong Monastery and to assist Śikṣānanda in translating the *Avatamsaka* [sūtra]. p. 370, b27

**Shengli era**, first year, fifth month: The trepiṭaka Yijing returned from India. [Empress Wu] in her royal carriage personally welcomed him at the Upper East Gate [of Luoyang].<sup>458</sup> An edict [instructed] that the image of the Buddha on the diamond throne 金剛座 (vajrāsana), the relics, and the Sanskrit scriptures, which [Yijing] had brought along, were to be brought into the bodhi maṇḍala of the Foshouji Monastery.<sup>459</sup> The assembly was convened to translate [the scriptures]. p. 370, c3

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Second year, tenth month: The dharma master Fazang was ordered to retranslate the *Avatamsaka* [sūtra] in the Foshouji Monastery. When he came to the chapter “The Flower Bank World,”<sup>460</sup> the preaching hall and the ground were both shaken.<sup>461</sup> On the same day in an audience [with the Empress p. 370, c6

454 On this matter, see: Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 45.

455 An annotation reads: “[Huian] was a side branch dharma heir of the fifth patriarch [of Chan Buddhism]” 五祖旁出 (T 2035, p. 370, b27).

456 Fazang is regarded as the third Huayan patriarch.

457 This is known from *Longxing biannian tonglun*, juan 14 (X75, no. 1512, p. 178, a8–12 // Z 2B:3, p. 280, c2–6 // R130, p. 560, a2–6). For a translation and a discussion of this account, see: Chen Jinhua, *Philosopher, Practitioner, Politician: The Many Lives of Fazang* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 94f.

458 On this matter, see: Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 44.

459 This is known from the biography of Yijing in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 1 (T 2061, p. 710, b20–22).

460 This is chapter five of the *Avatamsaka sūtra* (Thomas Cleary, *The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra* [Boston: Shambhala, 1993], 202–253).

461 This is known from *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* 續華嚴經略疏刊定記, juan 1 (*Wan Xuzang jing* 已續藏經, no. 221, p. 594, b14–21); for a translation of the relevant passage, see: Chen Jinhua, *Philosopher, Practitioner, Politician: The Many Lives of Fazang*, 306.

Wu] in the Changsheng Palace 長生殿 [Fazang] explained the deep meaning [of the text]. He pointed at a golden lion at a corner of the palace and employed it as an example, which enabled the empress to understand quickly. The master was installed as “Preceptor Xianshou Bodhisattva” 賢首菩薩戒師, and his words were written down under the title “Treatise on the Golden Lion” 金師子章.<sup>462</sup> The scholars respectfully called it the “Teaching of Xianshou.”

p. 370, c11 Deng Yuanying 鄧元英 from Huayin 華陰 had a relative who previously had found a sudden death. After seven days he came back to life. To repay [Deng] Yuanying he said: “I have seen the officials of hell chasing your father. You should quickly accumulate merit to avert them.” [Deng] Yuanying was frightened and asked: “Which merit should I accumulate to avoid this matter?” [The relative] said: “You should quickly produce one copy of the Avataṃsaka sūtras.” Yuanying hastily bought paper, and called over many sūtra copyists from the neighboring monastery. After no more than ten days the copying of the sūtra was already completed, so that finally the calamity could be avoided. Also from the place of his mother’s grave, a flower arose among the withered stalks in the winter months. The empress wondered about this. She ordered to present him with a gate of filial piety<sup>463</sup> to grant him an honor.<sup>464</sup>

p. 370, c18 **Jiushi era**, first year, fourth month: An edict [instructed] to collect one coin per day from [each of] the monks and nuns in all under heaven to erect a great statue at the Baisima slope 白司馬坂.<sup>465</sup>

p. 370, c19 An edict [instructed] the trepīṭaka Yijing to translate the *Jingguangming zuishengwang jing* 金光明最勝王經 (T 665). The Empress [Wu Ze]tian composed a “Preface to the Holy Teachings” 聖教序.<sup>466</sup>

462 The “Treatise on the Golden Lion,” with which Fazang explained the essentials of Huayan philosophy to Wu Zetian, is probably the most famous work by Fazang. For an elaborate introduction, see: Chen Jinhua, *Philosopher, Practitioner, Politician: The Many Lives of Fazang*, 176–197.

463 This was an award for filial piety common in medieval China.

464 This story is known from *Dafang guang fo huayan jing ganying zhuan* 大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳, juan 1 (T 2074, p. 177, 210–21).

465 In fact Wu Zetian was criticized for erecting such a huge monument, for which this much money had to be collected. On this matter, see: Antonino Forte, *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century*, 220 f.

466 On this matter, see: Antonino Forte, *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century*, 177 f. note 44.

**Dazu era**, first year: [A report from] Chengzhou 成州 declared that a big footprint of the Buddha had been discovered. [For this reason] an edict changed the reign title to Dazu 大足 (Great Footprint).<sup>467</sup> p. 370, c21

**Supplements for *Fayun tongsai zhi*, juan 6  
(i.e. for *Fozu tongji*, juan 39)**

**[Zhenguan era, ninth year, eleventh month:]** It was decreed that in Runzhou 潤州 on Mount Mao 茅山 the Taiping Abbey 太平觀 was to be erected and to be offered to the Perfected Wang Yuanzhi 王遠知. Early on, [Wang] Yuanzhi's mother dreamt that a numinous phoenix circled round and alighted. Thereupon she became pregnant. Sire Zhi 誌公 (i.e. Baozhi 寶誌) had said: "She will give birth to a son who will become a divine immortal and receive veneration." Later on the master (i.e. Wang Yuanzhi) served Tao Yinju 陶隱居 (i.e. Tao Hongjing), who passed on the laws of the three caves to him. When Gaozu was still a "dragon in hiding" 龍潛 (i.e. the emperor-to-be)<sup>468</sup> the master secretly told him that he would become emperor. The Prince of Qin 秦王 and Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 in plain clothes went to see him. The master said to them: "[The Prince of Qin] will become the Son of Heaven of Great Peace 太平天子. I hope you will take care of yourself."<sup>469,470</sup> p. 370, c24

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**[Zhenguan era, ninth year,] beginning of the 11th month:** The old system from the Wude era [of arranging] the Shidian 釋奠 [debate] in the National Academy took the Duke of Zhou as the premier sage, and Confucius as the premier master relying on standing by [the sage's] side. At that time Fang Xuanling p. 371, a1

467 Because it was rumoured that the Buddha had left a footprint in Chengzhou, on the 15th of February 701 the term of "Dazu" was established as the new reign title (Norman Harry Rothschild, "An Inquiry into Reign Era Changes Under Wu Zhao," in: *Early Medieval China* 12 [2006], 140).

468 Even though the term of a "dragon in hiding" 龍潛 was above employed in referring to a retired emperor (T 2035, p. 364, a26), it can also refer to an emperor-to-be, as both retired emperors and emperors-to-be could be described as being "in hiding."

469 Wang Yuanzhi expresses this hope, as if the Prince of Qin died early he would not succeed in becoming emperor.

470 All the content presented here is known from the biography of Wang Yuanzhi in the *Maoshan zhi* 茅山志. For a translation of the biography, see: Florian C. Reiter, *The Aspirations and Standards of Taoist Priests in the Early T'ang Period* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 22 f.

房玄齡<sup>471</sup> and others suggested to stop sacrificing to the Duke of Zhou, to establish Confucius as the premier sage 先聖, and Master Yan [Hui] as the premier master relying on standing by [the sage's] side 先師陪饗. An edict approved of this. Apart from that, the offspring of Confucius was granted the title of "Marquis of Baosheng" 褒聖侯.<sup>472</sup>

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p. 371, a6 [Zhenguan era,] fourteenth year: The emperor personally visited the Imperial Academy to observe the Shidian [debate]. He ordered the libationer Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648)<sup>473</sup> to preach the *Xiaojing* 孝經.<sup>474</sup> He greatly called together famous Confucians employing them as scholar officials. Students, who could [at least] understand one scripture, were all given government posts. 1,200 additional student dormitories were built, and the number of students increased to 3,260. Some of the positions of the Encampments of Flying Cavalrymen were given to erudites, asking them to teach based on the scriptures. Thereupon from among the students of the four directions, [including] Koguryo and Tibet, sons and cousins were sent for studies. Those who ascended the preaching mats amounted to 8,000 people. The masters referred to above preached on different subjects. Kong Yingda composed a commentary on the Five Classics, and [the emperor] ordered the students to study it.

p. 371, a14 **Commentary:** Han Mingdi personally entered the Biyong 辟雍.<sup>475</sup> All the Confucian scholars held scriptures in their hands, and asked [the emperor] about difficult passages. Those who were wearing official dress

471 In the Taishō version of the *Fozu tongji* the name Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 is miswritten as Fang Yuanling 房元齡. In the Shi Daofa edition we see the name written correctly.

472 On this matter, see: James A. Flath, *Traces of the Sage: Monument, Materiality, and the First Temple of Confucius* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 59.

473 An annotation reads: "He was a descendant of Confucius" 孔子之後 (T 2035, p. 371, a7).

474 This is known from the biography of Kong Yingda in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 73 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 8, 2602). See also: David McMullen, *State and Scholars in T'ang China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 32.

475 The Biyong (Jade-ring moat) was an institution in pre-modern China, which has been described as follows: "The bi yong was considered in the Han period to be a western Zhou ritual building established by the Son of Heaven (the Zhou king). It has been likened to the Ming tang. The first archaeological evidence of the bi yong dates from Wang Mang's reign (9–23 CE). It ... comprised a four-square room on a round raised platform in a square courtyard, surrounded in turn by a circular moat" (Angela Zito, "Bi yong," in: *The RoutledgeCurzon Encyclopedia of Confucianism*, ed. Yao Xinzong [London: Routledge Curzon, 2003], vol. 1, 28).

surrounded the gates [that were connected by] bridges, while the spectators and listeners amounted to hundreds of millions. 諸儒執經問難。搢紳之人闌橋門而觀聽者以億萬計。<sup>476</sup> Tang Taizong personally visited the Directorate of Education 國子監, and ordered the libationers to preach the scriptures. He added student dormitories and summoned famous Confucians giving them positions as scholar officials. Those who came for studies from the four directions and ascended the lecture mats, amounted to 8,000 people. How wonderful! In the Han and Tang dynasties, only these two rulers (i.e. Han Mingdi and Tang Taizong) brought about such an abundance of [achievements in] culture and education.

[Zhenguan era,] 21st year: The emperor (i.e. Tang Taizong) received a secret prophecy saying: “After the first three reigns of the Tang dynasty, the Woman Emperor Wu will replace [the Tang dynasty] in possessing all under heaven.”<sup>477</sup> Thereupon [the emperor] secretly summoned the Taishiling Li Chunfeng 太史令李淳風 to investigate the matter. [Li] Chunfeng said: “I made a divination to calculate it. The omen [announced in the prophecy] has already taken shape, and now lives in the palace of Your Majesty. In [more than] 30 years [that person] will possess all under heaven.” The emperor said: “Those who seem likely to be [the person in question] shall be killed.” The reply was: “The mandate of heaven cannot be changed. Moreover, the true king will not die. Only causing the deaths of those who seem likely to be [the person in question], will excessively hit innocent people.” The emperor thereupon dropped the matter.<sup>478</sup>

<sup>476</sup> This is an abridged quotation from *Hou Hanshu*, juan 70, part 1. There we read: “When the Xiangshe rite was concluded, the emperor sitting in upright posture personally gave a lecture. All the Confucian scholars held scriptures in their hands, and asked the person in front (i.e. the emperor) about difficult passages. Men wearing official dress surrounded the gates [that were connected by] bridges, while the spectators and listeners amounted to hundreds of millions.” 饗射禮畢，帝正坐自講，諸儒執經問難於前，冠帶縉紳之人闌橋門而觀聽者蓋億萬計。(Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, vol. 9, 2545f.). So the character 闌 in the *Fozu tongji* needs to be understood as a misrepresentation of 闌, which is seen in the *Hou Hanshu*, and has the meaning “to surround.”

<sup>477</sup> On this prophecy, see: C.P. Fitzgerald, *Son of Heaven: A Biography of Li Shih-Min, founder of the T'ang Dynasty* (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen, 1970), 204.

<sup>478</sup> This is known from the biography of Li Chunfeng in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 79 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 8, 2718f.).

p. 371, a26 An edict [ordered that] Zuo Qiuming 左丘明,<sup>479</sup> Meng Ke 孟軻,<sup>480</sup> Guliang Chi 穀梁赤,<sup>481</sup> Gongyang Gao 公羊高,<sup>482</sup> Fusheng 伏勝,<sup>483</sup> Mao Chang 毛萇,<sup>484</sup> Gao Tangsheng 高堂生,<sup>485</sup> Kong Anguo 孔安國,<sup>486</sup> Dai Sheng 戴聖,<sup>487</sup> Liu Xiang 劉向,<sup>488</sup> He Xiu 何休,<sup>489</sup> Zheng Zhong 鄭眾,<sup>490</sup> Ma Rong

479 This is the author of the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (i.e. one of the three classical *Chunqiu* commentaries).

480 This is Mengzi.

481 This is the author of the *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳 (i.e. one of the three classical *Chunqiu* commentaries).

482 This is the author of the *Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳 (i.e. one of the three classical *Chunqiu* commentaries).

483 Fusheng was a Qin dynasty scholar credited with having hidden the *Shangshu* 尚書 (Book of Documents) in his house, when Qin Shihuang ordered the burning of the books (Robert P. Kramers, "The development of the Confucian schools," in: *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 1, ed. Denis Twitchett [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986], 760).

484 Mao Heng 毛亨 and his son Mao Chang were scholars of the second to third century BC credited with the only extant of four transmissions of the *Shijing* 詩經 (Book of Poetry). One speaks of the *Mao Family tradition* 毛氏傳 (Paul Rakita Goldin, "The Thirteen Classics," in: *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, ed. Victor H. Mair [New York: Columbia University Press, 2001], 90).

485 Gao Tangsheng was a scholar of Confucian ritual mentioned in *Shiji*, juan 121 (Sima Qian, *Shiji* [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963], vol. 10, 3118).

486 Kong Anguo was a twelfth generation descendant of Confucius credited with having discovered a significant corpus of Confucian classics hidden in the house of Confucius from the burning of books under Qin Shihuang (Michael Loewe, "Kong Anguo," in: *The RoutledgeCurzon Encyclopedia of Confucianism*, ed. Yao Xinzong [London: Routledge Curzon, 2003], vol. 1, 331; Michael Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods* [Leiden: Brill, 2000], 206).

487 Dai Sheng was a scholar of Confucian ritual (Michael Loewe, "Dai Sheng," in: *The RoutledgeCurzon Encyclopedia of Confucianism*, ed. Yao Xinzong [London: Routledge Curzon, 2003], vol. 1, 175; Michael Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods*, 56f.).

488 Liu Xiang (79–8 BC) was a bibliographer regarded as the author of the *Hanshu Yiwenzhi* 漢書藝文志, i.e. *Hanshu*, juan 30 (Michael Loewe, "The Religious and Intellectual Background," *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 1, ed. Denis Twitchett [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986], 651). He is also credited with being the compiler of important works such as the *Zhangguo ce* 戰國策 (James I. Crump, *Chan-Kuo Ts'ê* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1970]), the *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 (Anne Behnke Kinney, *Exemplary Women of Early China: The Lienü zhuan of Liu Xiang* [New York: Columbia University Press, 2014]), and the *Lixian zhuan* 列仙傳 (Max Kaltenmark, *Le Lie-sien tchouan* [Peking: Centre d'études sinologiques de Pékin, 1953]). For a biographical account, see: Michael Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods*, 372–375.

489 He Xiu (129–182) was a scholar who authored commentaries to the *Xiaoqing* and the *Lunyu* (Rafe de Crespigny, *A Bibliographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms* [Leiden: Brill, 2007], 315).

490 Zheng Zhong (d. 114) was a eunuch at the court of Han Mingdi, who had "a leading role in



馬融,<sup>491</sup> Lu Zhi 盧植,<sup>492</sup> Zheng Xuan 鄭玄,<sup>493</sup> Fu Qian 服虔,<sup>494</sup> Du Zichun 杜子春,<sup>495</sup> Fan Ning 范甯,<sup>496</sup> Du Yu 杜預,<sup>497</sup> Wang Su 王肅,<sup>498</sup> and Wang Bi 王弼<sup>499</sup>—[all together] 21 people, comprehensively were to be honoured with sacrifices following upon the premier sages in the temple.

discussions of policy" (Rafe de Crespigny, *A Bibliographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms*, 1130).

- 491 Ma Rong (79–166) was one of the most important Confucian scholars of the Later Han dynasty (Ch'en Chi-yün, "Confucian, Legalist, and Taoist thought in Later Han," in: *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 1, ed. Denis Twitchett [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986], 786; Rafe de Crespigny, *A Bibliographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms*, 648 f.).
- 492 Lu Zhi (d. 192) was a student of Ma Rong (Rafe de Crespigny, *A Bibliographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms*, 623 f.).
- 493 Zheng Xuan (127–200) was another student of Ma Rong (Rafe de Crespigny, *A Bibliographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms*, 1126 ff.).
- 494 Fu Qian (d. ca. 195) was a scholar who composed a commentary to the *Zuozhuan* (Rafe de Crespigny, *A Bibliographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms*, 232).
- 495 Du Zichun was a scholar who composed a commentary to the *Zhouli* (Rafe de Crespigny, *A Bibliographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms*, 186).
- 496 Fan Ning, the son of Fan Wang 范汪, has a biography in *Jinshu* 晉書, juan 75, where it appears as an addendum to the biography of his father (Fang Xuanling 房玄齡, *Jinshu* [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008], vol. 7, pp. 1984–1989).
- 497 Du Yu has a biography in *Jinshu*, juan 34 (Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, vol. 4, 1025–1033).
- 498 Wang Su (195–256) has a biography in *Sanguo zhi*, juan 13 (Chen Shou 陳壽, *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982], vol. 2, 414–420).
- 499 Wang Bi was one of the most important scholars of the Xuanxue 玄學 movement. His scholarship has been subject to many studies. One example would be: Rudolf G. Wagner, *Language, Ontology, and Political Philosophy in China: Wang Bi's Scholarly Exploration of the Dark (Xuanxue)* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2003).

# *Fayun tongsai zhi*, juan 7

(i.e. Fozu tongji, juan 40)

## *Emperor Zhongzong*

中宗

[Personal name:] Xian 顯. Seventh son of Gaozong.

p. 371, b9 **Shenlong era**, first year: An edict [ordered] the meditation master Huineng 慧能 of Shaozhou 韶州 to come to the capital, but he did not follow it.

p. 371, b9 An edict [instructed] that in all under heaven people were to be converted [to monastic life] based on an examination in the sūtras. The acolyte monk Dayi 大義 from the Lingyin [Monastery] 靈隱[寺] at Shanyin 山陰, who was 12 years old, recited the *Lotus sūtra*, and reached the best result in the examination.<sup>1</sup> [Da]yi had learned [the methods of] calming and contemplation from Zuoxi 左溪.<sup>2</sup> Upon approaching death he sat [in meditation] and passed away. He was welcomed by heavenly music.

p. 371, b12 It was ordered to send a messenger to invite the meditation master Huineng from Shaozhou to come to the capital to practice the way. The master declined on grounds of a disease. Thereupon he was presented with a kāṣāya, a water bottle, and a bowl, to give expression to the veneration His Majesty felt for him.<sup>3</sup>

p. 371, b14 An edict [instructed] the trepiṭaka Yijing to translate the *Mahā-māyūrī-vidyā-rājñī-sūtra* 孔雀呪王經 (T 985) at the bodhi-maṇḍala of the inner [palace]. The emperor personally composed a Preface to the Holy Teachings to crown the beginning of the sūtra.<sup>4</sup> When the emperor had previously been

1 That in the examination he reached the best result is known from the biography of Dayi in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 15 (T 2061, p. 800, a21).

2 This is known from the biography of Dayi in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 15 (T 2061, p. 800, b4).

3 This story is known from *Longxing biannian tonglun* 隆興編年通論, juan 14 (X75, no. 1512, p. 179, b14–c14 // Z 2B:3, p. 281, d14–p. 282, b2 // R130, p. 562, b14–p. 563, b2).

4 This was not only a preface to the *Mahā-māyūrī-vidyā-rājñī-sūtra*, but a text designed to honor all the translations of Yijing. The full title is “Da Tang Longxing sanzang shengjiao xu” 大唐龍興三藏聖教序 (Preface to [the Translations of] Sacred Teachings [Prepared by] the Master of Three Canons during the Period of Dragon-like Rise of the Great Tang). The text was modelled on the “Da Tang sanzang shengjiao xu” 大唐三藏聖教序, with which Tang Taizong had previously honored the translations of Xuanzang. The latter text is mentioned

banished to Fangbu 房部,<sup>5</sup> and prayed to Tathāgata Bhaiṣajya-rāja 藥師如來, he thereupon found back to felicity.<sup>6</sup> Therefore [the emperor] ordered the master to translate the *Yaoshi qifo jing* 藥師七佛經 (T 451).<sup>7</sup> The emperor himself wrote [the translation] down. In total the master translated 56 sūtras.

Fang Rong, the Zhongshu menxia pingzhang shi 中書門下平章事房融, was demoted to [serve in the provincial administration of] Gaozhou 高州.<sup>8</sup> When he arrived in Nanhai, he met the Central Indian śramaṇa Pramiti 般刺密諦. Thereupon he stopped at the Zhizhi Monastery. [Together they] translated the *Śūraṅgama-sūtra* 大佛頂首楞嚴經 (T 945). [Fang Rong] acted as the scribe.<sup>9</sup>

In the ninth month [the emperor] sacrificed at the Hall of Light 明堂<sup>10</sup> and issued a great amnesty. An edict said: “As one hears, in all the Daoist abbeys

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in *Fozu tongji*, juan 39 (T 2035, p. 366, b11–12). On the “Da Tang Longxing sanzang shengjiao xu,” see: Chen Jinhua, “Another Look at Tang Zhongzong’s (r. 684, 705–710) Preface to Yijing’s (635–713) Translations: With a Special Reference to Its Date,” in: *Indo Tetsugaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (*Studies in Indian Philosophy and Buddhism, Tokyo University*) 11 (2004), 3–27.

5 Fangbu here stands for Fanzhou 房州. When Wu Zetian took over the political power, her son, Tang Zhongzong 唐中宗, the former emperor, was banished to Fangzhou in present-day Hubei. The banishment is documented in *Zizhi tongjian*, juan 203 (Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 6420).

6 After the abdication of Wu Zetian, Tang Zhongzong was reinstalled as emperor. His second incumbency lasted from 705 to 710 (R.W.L. Guisso, “The reigns of the empress Wu, Chung-tsung and Jui-tsung (684–712),” in: *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3, ed. Denis Twitchett [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979], 322 f.).

7 This is a sūtra referring to Bhaiṣajya-rāja, the Medicine Buddha.

8 Fang Rong had served under Wu Zetian, and was exiled to Gaozhou when Tang Zhongzong was reestablished as emperor. This is known from *Zizhi tongjian*, juan 208 (Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 6584).

9 As Étienne Lamotte and James A. Benn point out, this would appear to be an apocryphal text actually composed (rather than translated) by Fang Rong and not identical with the true Indian *Śūraṅgama-samādhi-sūtra* (Étienne Lamotte, *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra: The Concentration of Heroic Progress, An Early Mahayana Buddhist Scripture* [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2003], 98; James A. Benn, “Another Look at the Pseudo-Śūraṅgama sūtra,” in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 68, no. 1 [2008], 62 f.).

10 A basic definition of the concept of the Mingtang (Hall of Light) reads as follows: “Acting both as a sacred building for religious services and as a focus for displaying imperial authority and harnessing loyalties, the Ming tang evoked traditions of the preimperial age, but references in early writings are inconsistent or anachronistic” (Michael Loewe, “Ming tang,” in: *The RoutledgeCurzon Encyclopedia of Confucianism*, ed. Yao Xinzong [London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003], vol. 1, 430 f.). For an in-depth study, see: Hwang Ming-chorn, *Ming-tang: cosmology, political order and monuments in early China*, PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1996.

images of [Laozi] teaching the barbarians and becoming the Buddha have been painted, and in all the Buddhist monasteries the appearance of Lord Lao is also painted [in abusive style]. [Even though the Buddha and Lord Lao are both] subject to worship, the two religions abuse each other, which I deeply disapprove of. From now on, [those images] shall all be destroyed. In many dynasties the *Huahu jing* 化胡經 had been destroyed. From now on, any remaining copies of this forged scripture, and any records mentioning the *Huahu [jing]*, should all be deleted. Anybody who refuses to follow this order should be punished in accordance with the law.”

p. 371, b25 Huan Yandao 桓彥道 from the Hongdao Abbey 弘道觀 [insisted on] preserving the *Huahu jing*. An order said: “My, the emperor’s, intention is to return to purity, and [my] passion is to maintain the banishment of the false. Although my time is occupied with governmental matters, I have briefly looked into the three teachings. Among the sermons of the two chapters on Dao and De (i.e. Daoism), and the discourses on the two truths of existence and inexistence (i.e. Buddhism) none does not develop the mysterious gate and propagate the wonderful principle. 道德二篇之說。空有二諦之談。莫不敷暢玄門。闡揚妙理。 Why [should it be necessary to preserve] the forgery of this false *Huahu [jing]* in order to promote the school of Laozi? As the intention [of this text] is misleading, the story [presented in this text] needs to be deleted.”

p. 371, c2 **Commentary:** Xie Shouhao 謝守灝 from Yongjia 永嘉 composed the *Laojun shilu* 老君實錄 in which he quoted all sorts of documents with the following words: Laozi descended into [worldly] incarnations many times. In the times of Gaozong of the Shang dynasty<sup>11</sup> he was born in Bozhou 亳州, and riding on a deer ascended into heaven. (This was his first incarnation.) In the times of Zhou of Shang 商紂 he descended to Mount Qi 岐山, and when it came to [the reign of] King Wu of Zhou 周武王 he became an archivist. [Thereupon] in the 22nd year of King Zhao 昭王 he crossed the [Hang]u pass, dictated the *Daode jing* to the Guardian Yin

11 Shang Gaozong is the Shang sovereign Wuding 武丁. In *Shiji*, juan 4, we read: “When Emperor Wuding passed away, his son, Emperor Zugeng, was enthroned. ... He established his [father’s] temple as ‘the Gaozong Temple.’ Subsequently he wrote ‘The Day of Gaozong’s Yong sacrifice’ and ‘The Lessons of Gaozong’” 帝武丁崩，子帝祖庚立。... 立其廟為高宗，遂作高宗彤日及訓。 (Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol. 1, 104; William H. Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe’s Records, vol. 1: The Basic Annals of Pre-Han China* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994], vol. 1, 48). “The Day of Gaozong’s Yong sacrifice” is a text preserved in *Shangshu*, juan 9 (Kong Anguo 孔安國, *Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義 [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007], 377). “The Lessons of Gaozong” was also included in the *Shangshu* but has been lost.

[Xi] 尹[喜]令, travelled to the West and did not return. (This was his second incarnation.) In the 25th year of King Zhao he also descended to the house of Li Taiguan 李太官 in Shu. He had a meeting with Master Yin [Xi] in the Black Sheep Shop 青羊肆 of Chengdu 成都, and went to the Western territories to teach the barbarians. In the state of Khotan 于闐國 he ascended into heaven. (This was his third incarnation.<sup>12</sup>) The *Shiji* [says]: In the third year of King Ding 定王 [Laozi] incarnated in the Ku district 苦縣 of Chu, and became an archivist. Confucius visited [this archivist of the] Zhou, and consulted him about ritual. In the first year of King Jing 敬王 he went to the [Hangu] pass to preach the *Daode jing* [jing] in 5,000 words for the Guardian Yin [Xi], and with Master Yin [Xi] he went westwards to the Drifting Sands 流沙. (This was his fourth incarnation.) The traces of the matters of these earlier and later incarnations cannot be declared to be inexistent. But the reigns of [King] Zhao and [King] Ding are both said to be the times of [Laozi] preaching the *Daode jing* for the Guardian Yin [Xi].<sup>13</sup> If we assume that Laozi lived in the times of Confucius, the latter story would have to be the correct one.<sup>14</sup>

Explanation: In refuting the absurdities of huahu 化胡 (i.e. teaching the barbarians) there are nine statements. The biography of Laozi in the *Shiji* says that Laozi wrote a text of 5,000 words and left, while nobody knows where he ended up. The annotations to his biography, quoting the *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳, say: "Together Yin Xi and Laozi went to the Drifting Sands, and nobody knows where they ended up."<sup>15</sup> In present-day printed publications of the *Liexian zhuan* the two characters 'huahu' (teaching the barbarians) are added to 'liusha' (drifting sands). This is the first deception. The *Laozi xisheng jing* 西昇經, which was composed by Master Yin [Xi], says: "It has been heard of that in Zhuqian 竺乾 (i.e. in India) there was an ancient and venerable master. He was my teacher." Today

12 The annotation runs on as follows: "The above is all quoted from the [*Laojun*] *shilu*. [Xie] Shouhao was a man of the times of [Song] Xiaozong, and an old disciple of Lin Lingsu" 已上並實錄引。守灝孝宗時人。林靈素舊徒也。 (T 2035, p. 371, c9).

13 The above text of the present commentary passage lists four stories describing alleged incarnations of Laozi. In the second of these stories it is claimed that Laozi dictated the *Daode jing* to Yin Xi in the times of King Zhao. In the fourth of these stories it is claimed that Laozi was born in the times of King Ding, and preached the *Daode jing* to Yin Xi in the first year of King Jing.

14 This means that, if the tradition of Confucius having consulted Laozi about ritual is supposed to be correct, the fourth story would have to be the correct one. So Laozi would have been born in the times of King Ding.

15 Max Kaltenmark, *Le Lie-sien tchouan*, 65 ff.

the [*Laojun*] *shilu* does not support [the understanding] that [Laozi] took the Buddha as his teacher. So it was replaced by “it was my body.” This is the second deception. The *Huahu jing* says that when Laozi reached Kashmir to teach the barbarians and make them shave their heads, it was the 27th year of King Zhao. At that time the Buddha had just been born two years ago, and in the world one had not yet heard about the Buddha. So the matter of [Laozi] appearing in Kashmir to make people shave their heads should be unhistorical. This is the third deception. In forged sūtras it is also said that Laojun ordered Master Yin [Xi] to transform himself into the golden body of 1.6 zhang known as the Buddha. Originally one spoke of teaching the barbarians [implying that Laozi appeared as the Buddha], now one claims that Master Yin [Xi] became the Buddha. This is the fourth deception. In forged sūtras it is said that when the Buddha [went into] extinction his life expired forever, while divine immortals ascend in flight, [enjoy] longevity and do not die. Originally it had been said that to teach the barbarians [Laozi] became the Buddha. So one should not praise the immortals and defame the Buddha. This is the fifth deception. In forged sūtras it is said that Laojun ordered King Fantuo 煩陀王 of the Brahma Heaven 梵天 to descend into a [worldly] incarnation as the Buddha during the time of the two Zhuang.<sup>16</sup> But Śākyamuni originally descended from the Tuṣita Heaven in the jiayin year of King Zhao. There is no mention of Fantuo, and he also did not descend from the Brahma Heaven. This is the sixth deception. In forged sūtras it is said that Master Yin [Xi] transformed himself into Śāriputra 舍利弗, Piṇḍola 賓頭盧, the brilliant female deities, and the ninety-five kinds. But all of these people are disciples of Śākyamuni and should not be described as transformations of Master Yin [Xi]. The authors of the forged sūtras also do not know which intention Śāriputra had in mind. This is the seventh deception.

p. 372, a7

The [*Laojun*] *shilu* absurdly claims (1) that the disciples guarding the tomb of the Buddha were referred to as ‘sangmen’ 喪門 and that only Kumārajīva turned this into ‘sangmen’ 桑門 or ‘shamen’ 沙門;<sup>17</sup> (2) that

16 The “the two Zhuang” 二莊 are the Duke Zhuang of Lu 魯莊公 and King Zhuang of Zhou 周莊王 who ruled contemporaneously.

17 Both ‘sangmen’ 桑門 and ‘shamen’ 沙門 are Chinese transliterations of the Sanskrit expression ‘śramaṇa.’ The *Laojun shilu* claimed that the original term was ‘sangmen’ 喪門, which would have a negative connotation, as ‘sang’ 喪 means ‘loss.’ Since the *Laojun shilu* explains the term as referring to the disciples guarding the tomb of the Buddha, the loss would seem to point to the loss of the Buddha. Defining monks and nuns through this

Laojun sent the Big Dipper to subdue the demons and is therefore known as the vajra-ruler who controls unclean places; (3) that the path of immortality is an alternative transmission outside the [Buddhist] teachings. All of this is a falsely established discussion [based on] deceiving plagiarism from the Buddhist sūtras. This is the eighth deception.

The [*Laojun*] *shilu* does not acknowledge that the longevity of the Buddha is enormous. Seeing that the *Sūtra of [Golden] Light* [金]光明經 speaks of [the Buddha's] life span in its shortness merely reaching 80 years,<sup>18</sup> they do not know what it means,<sup>19</sup> and conveniently employ this phrase to disparage the remoteness of the extinction of the Buddha. This is the ninth deception.

Laozi down [on earth] presents himself as a master of the law, and up [in the heavens he] presents himself as the head of the deities. [But] among all the deities there is not one who does not serve the Buddha. Even though present-day Daoism wishes to respect the Dao and to value heaven, it still establishes its theories in a way which is at loss of reason. As it turns out, it accumulated the fault of slandering the Buddha. Is that not frightening? Previously Wang Fu 王符 had falsely written this scripture. When after his death he fell into hell, Yama 閻王 rebuked him saying: "Only when all the false scriptures circulating in the world have been destroyed, you can be freed from your fault." The present-day person who composed the [*Laojun*] *shilu*, abundantly quoted forged texts, and willingly accumulated guilt to the same degree as Wang Fu. Should one not feel compassion for him?<sup>20</sup>

While under many reigns, such as under Wei Xiaoming 魏孝明 of the Northern dynasties (r. 515–528) as well as under Tang Gaozong and under [Tang] Zhongzong, [the huahu theory] was expelled and clearly

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loss would make them appear in a negative light. So the *Laojun shilu* here presents a piece of anti-Buddhist polemicism, which the *Fozu tongji* quotes to display the absurdity of such polemical arguments. It is implied that it is not true that śramaṇas were originally referred to as 'sangmen' 喪門, and that the common transliterations had always been 'sangmen' 桑門 and 'shamen' 沙門.

18 That the lifespan of Śākyamuni amounted to 80 years is subject to discussions in *Jin guangming jing* 金光明經, juan 2 (T 663, p. 335, c19–20).

19 In fact it means that Śākyamuni in his nirmāṇa-kāya emanation stayed in the world for eighty years, while the true form of the Buddha in the dharma-kāya is eternal, infinite and endless.

20 An annotation reads: "The statements of the false scriptures can roughly be seen from what has been quoted here. Apart from that they should not further be recorded" 偽經諸說。略見所引。更不別錄。(T 2035, p. 372, a19).

identified as false talk, only in the dynasty of Empress Wu there were eight scholars who could not distinguish it [from the correct view], and should have criticized it more clearly. Therefore the world demanded that about the Laozi huahu [theory] two statements had to be made: The first was that the time [of Laozi's appearance] has to be investigated. The second was that the sources [expounding Laozi's life history] have to be apprehended. What is meant by investigating the time? One needs to know that the Buddha was born in the times of King Zhao, while Laozi was born in the times of King Ding. When it came to the times of King Jing, Confucius visited [the archivist of] the Zhou, and consulted Laozi on ritual. This matter was 300 years after the Buddha. So while one can say that there was a Buddha, [how] can one say that Laozi was able to transform the barbarians?<sup>21</sup> What is meant by apprehending the sources? The *Liexian zhuan* says: "Laozi and Master Yin [Xi] went to the Drifting Sands together." The biography of Xiang Kai of the Han [dynasty] says: "Laozi entered the territories of the Yi and Di [tribes] to spread the teachings of the Buddha." The *Gaoshi zhuan* 高士傳 of the Jin dynasty, the *Weidianlüe* 魏典略, and the *Xirong zhuan* 西戎傳, all say that Laozi adjusted himself to the manners of the Rong barbarians and [in that way] became the Buddha. The "Xiyu zhuan" 西域傳 of the *History of the Sui* 隋史 (i.e. of the *Suishu* 隋書), the *Xixing ji* 西行記 of Song Yun 宋雲 of the Wei [dynasty], and the *Tang taizi shilu* 唐太子實錄 all say that in Khotan 于闐 there was a Bhīmā Monastery 毘摩寺, which is where Laozi taught the barbarians.

p. 372, b3

In the times of [Wu] Zetian of the Tang [dynasty] the śramaṇa Huideng requested to abolish the *Huahu jing*. So eight scholars [headed by] Liu Rurui 劉如睿 each discussed its style. All of them claimed that according to all the books from the Han to the Sui the huahu theory should be correct, and should not be revoked. [But] if today one examines all the books, they say that Laozi entered the Western territories and stopped in Khotan, which is situated East of the Congling 葱嶺 Range. Beyond doubt this (and not India) is the actual land of the barbarians. If one wishes to confirm the matter, the following needs to be said about [the huahu theory]: "Laozi is an incarnation of the Venerable Kāśyapa 迦葉尊者. The Buddha sent him to teach the East (i.e. China). First he preached the *Daode [jing]* in 5,000 words to familiarize himself with the opportu-

21 This means that the true appearance of the Buddha may not be interpreted in terms of the huahu theory.



nities.<sup>22</sup> Afterwards he returned to the Western territories using the Buddhist path to exhort [those who maintained] the barbarian customs to conversion, and he made them attain the path of the Buddha.” Discussing the matter in this way would be in agreement with reason. Previously based on all the books Wang Fu composed the [*Huahu*] *jing*. If he would merely have mentioned the state of the barbarian location of Khotan, he could even be trusted. But he broadly referred to Kashmir 罽賓 and Vipaśyin 維衛 (i.e. the seventh Buddha of the Past), not understanding that these are Indian matters. The barbarians and the Indians are 20,000 li apart from each other. How can they be confused like this? Among the false preachings the debacles are not few. If there should be somebody able to disprove the nine deceptions listed above, I will cut off my tongue to thank him.

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Second year: It was ordered that the meditation master Wanhui 萬回 was to be awarded the [honorific] titles “Duke of the Dharma Cloud” 法雲公 and “Mahāsattva of Perfect Penetration” 圓通大士.<sup>23</sup> p. 372, b17

The Imperial Preceptor Shenxiu 神秀國師 of the Northern Lineage [of Chan Buddhism] passed away in the Tiangong Monastery 天宮寺 of the Eastern Capital.<sup>24</sup> His posthumous name was meditation master Datong 大通. This master had received the dharma [robe] from the fifth patriarch [of Chan Buddhism]. Since the reign of Empress Wu, he had been summoned to reside in the bodhi-maṇḍala of the inner [palace]. When the emperor had installed him as Imperial Preceptor, the chancellor Zhang Yue 宰相張說<sup>25</sup> questioned him about the dharma, and maintained acting as his disciple.<sup>26</sup> p. 372, b18

In the second month it was ordered to build the Shengshan Monastery 聖善寺. [Among the monks residing in there,] the śramaṇa Huifan 慧範 was appointed as Zhengyi dafu 正議大夫 and installed as Shangyong jungong 上庸郡公; nine men including Fazang 法藏 and Huizhen 慧珍 were all p. 372, b21

22 An annotation reads: “This idea can be seen in the *Dazang mengmu yinyuan jing* and in the *Fuxing*” 義見大藏冢基因緣經并輔行 (T 2035, p. 372, b9).

23 The award of the first of these two honorific titles is documented in the biography of Wanhui in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 18 (T 2061, p. 824, a13).

24 Shenxiu has a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 8 (T 2061, p. 755, c26–p. 756, b17).

25 Zhang Yue has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 97 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 9, 3049–3059) and *Xin Tangshu*, juan 125 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 14, 4404–4411).

26 That Zhang Yue became Shenxiu's disciple is documented in the biography of Shenxiu (T 2061, p. 756, a18–19).

appointed as Chao[san] dafu 朝[散]大夫 and installed as district dukes. The salaries they received from the state, were exactly identical with other staff [in the state service].<sup>27</sup>

p. 372, b23 Bodhiruci 菩提流志 was ordered to translate scriptures in the Foguang Hall 佛光殿. The emperor commanded the dharma assembly, and personally wrote down [the translations as dictated by Bodhiruci]. The hundred officials were sitting next to him. The empress and maids of honor all watched.<sup>28</sup>

p. 372, b25 In the fifth month the Imperial Preceptor Huian 慧安國師 from Mount Song 嵩嶽 [received] a purple māṇavaka robe, [and was allowed to] ordain fourteen [new monks to be his] disciples.<sup>29</sup> Three years later he died at the age of 128 years.

p. 372, b27 An edict [instructed] that on the death anniversary of seven royal ancestors a feast should be arranged and incense should be burned in the inner palace.

p. 372, b28 When the Shengshan Monastery was completed, the Shangyong [jun]gong Huifan 上庸[郡]公慧範 was promoted to the rank of Yinqing guanglu dafu 銀青光祿大夫, and appointed as abbot [of the monastery]. The śramaṇa Wansui 萬歲 was promoted to the rank of Chaosan dafu 朝散大夫, installed as district duke, and appointed as rector. The śramaṇa Guangqing 廣清 [was in charge of] checking the Palace Directorate, and appointed as Commissioner of Meritorious Affairs 功德使.<sup>30</sup>

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p. 372, c3 Third year: Cui Siliang, the Magistrate of Gaoan 高安令崔思亮, was ordered to go to Sizhou 泗州 to welcome the great master Sengqie 僧伽. The master was a native of the He State 何國 in the Western territories. During the time of

27 For a discussion of this passage, see: Chen Jinhua, "A Complicated Figure with Complex Relationships: The Monk Huifan and Early Tang Saṃgha-state Interactions," in: *The Middle Kingdom and the Dharma Wheel: Aspects of the Relationship between the Buddhist Saṃgha and the State in Chinese History*, ed. Thomas Jülch (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 147.

28 Bodhiruci has a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 3 (T 2061, p. 720, b3–c12). The present matter is however not noted there.

29 The matter is related in the biography of Huian in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 18 (T 2061, p. 823, c11–12). However according to the biography the matter did not occur in the fifth month but in the ninth month (of the second year of the Shenlong era). And according to the biography Huian did not ordain fourteen but 27 new monks to be his disciples.

30 For a discussion of this passage, see: Chen Jinhua, "A Complicated Figure with Complex Relationships," 148.

[Tang] Gaozong, [Sengqie] had come to Luoyang. When travelling and teaching he reached Sizhou, the local resident He Ba 賀跋 offered his house to be transformed into a monastery [for Sengqie to live in]. As the master ordered to dig into the ground, a stele was found on which it said: “[At this site] Li Long 李龍 of the Qi dynasty offered his house and built the Xiangji Monastery 香積寺.”<sup>31</sup> Also a golden Buddha [statue] was found. The master said: “This is [a statue of] the Puzhaowang Buddha 普照王佛.” Therefore [the monastery] was named Puzhaowang [Monastery] 普照王[寺]. The emperor was concerned about a taboo [resulting from the personal name of] Empress [Wu Ze]tian, and changed [the name] to Puguangwang [Monastery] 普光王[寺].<sup>32</sup> When the master arrived [in the capital], he was treated with the respect due to an Imperial Preceptor. Having left [the Puguangwang Monastery] he took residence in the Jianfu Monastery 薦福寺. The emperor and the hundred officials all presented themselves as his followers, and he ordained Huiyan 慧儼, Huian 慧岸, and Mucha 木叉 to be his disciples. The name plate for the Monastery was in royal calligraphy.<sup>33</sup>

The vinaya master Wengang 文綱 was ordered to come to the great inner [palace] to practice the way in a meditation retreat. p. 372, c10

Bodhiruci was ordered to translate the *Ratnakūṭa-sūtra* 寶積經 (T 310) in the Western Chongfu Monastery 西崇福寺.<sup>34</sup> Wu Pingyi, a scholar of the Institute for the Cultivation of Literature 修文館學士武平一, [was appointed as] sūtra translation commissioner. Lu Zangyong 盧藏用 and others [were appointed as] style editors. p. 372, c11

31 This means that the same site had been transformed into a monastery already once before in the Qi dynasty.

32 Wu Zetian's personal name was Wu Zhao 武曌. The taboo referred to here is merely of phonetic nature: the ‘zhao’ 照 in Puzhaowang is pronounced like the ‘zhao’ 曌 of Wu Zhao. Hence the name Puzhaowang was changed to Puguangwang.

33 This story is known from the biography of Sengqie in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 18 (T 2061, p. 822, a12–22) and from *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 27 (T 2076, p. 433, a4–17). Sengqie, a Central Asian Buddhist thaumaturge, is a semi-legendary figure who was regarded as an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara. The Puguangwang Monastery became the center of his cult. For an elaborate discussion of Sengqie, see: Yü Chün-fang, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 211–222.

34 On this matter, see: Chen Jinhua, *Philosopher, Practitioner, Politician: The Many Lives of Fazang*, 233, 406–408. It appears that the translation project was repeatedly restarted, as below we find two further references to the matter of Bodhiruci translating the *Ratnakūṭa-sūtra* (see: T 2035, p. 372, c29–p. 373, a1; T 2035, p. 373, a14–15).

p. 372, c13 An edict [instructed] the vinaya master Daoan 道岸 to come to the palace to bestow the refuges and precepts on the concubines and princesses. When the emperor arrived, all masters rose from their mats, and only [Dao]an [merely] bowed with clasped hands. The emperor appreciated his conduct, gave orders to paint his appearance [on a wall] in the Linguang Palace 林光宮, and honored him with a eulogy.<sup>35</sup>

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p. 372, c16 Fourth year,<sup>36</sup> third month, third day: The great master Sengqie passed away in sitting posture. It was ordered that in the Jianfu Monastery 薦福寺 his body was to be lacquered and a stūpa was to be erected [for him]. Suddenly foul air filled the city. So an edict ordered to bring [Sengqie's corpse] back to Sizhou 泗州, and in an instant fragrance [was perceived] in the capital. The emperor asked Wanhui 萬回 who Sengqie would have been. The answer was that he was a nirmāṇa-kāya emanation of Guanyin.<sup>37</sup>

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p. 372, c19 In the fifth month there was a great drought. Bodhiruci was ordered to establish an altar in the Chongfu Monastery 崇福寺 and to pray for rain. For three days there were heavy rains.

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p. 372, c20 An edict [instructed] to arrange a dharma assembly without discrimination at the Huadu Monastery 化度寺.

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p. 372, c21 When Bodhiruci submitted his new sūtra translation, the emperor at the Linguang Palace 林光殿 offered a feast [for the saṃgha], and observed the discussions among the śramaṇas. He ordered the painter Zhang Xun 張訓 to paint [a picture of the monk of] great virtue who translated the sūtra and all the scholars [participating in the feast] on the palace wall. [The emperor] himself composed a praiseful poem.<sup>38</sup>

35 This is known from the biography of Daoan in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 14 (T 2061, p. 793, b23–24).

36 Actually the Shenlong era of Tang Zhongzong did not have a fourth year, as it only lasted from the 30th of January 705 to the 4th of October 707. Chen Jinhua suggests that therefore the content of Shenlong 4 may have to be interpreted as referring to Jinglong 4 (Chen Jinhua, *Philosopher, Practitioner, Politician: The Many Lives of Fazang*, 262 note 72). For Jinglong, which was the second reign era of Tang Zhongzong, Zhipan does not offer any entries at all.

37 This is known from *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 27 (T 2076, p. 433, a17–20). The dialogue between Wanhui and the emperor is also seen in the biography of Sengqie in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 18 (T 2061, p. 822, a28–29).

38 For a contextualization of this passage, see: Chen Jinhua, *Philosopher, Practitioner, Politician: The Many Lives of Fazang*, 261 f.

*Emperor Ruizong*

睿宗

[Personal name:] Dan 旦. Eighth son of Gaozong.

**Jingyun era**, first year: In the Xingsheng Palace 興聖宮, a former residence of [Tang] Gaozu, a Persimmon tree, which had been withered for many years, blossomed again. Thereupon a general amnesty for all under heaven [was declared], hundred officials were given higher ranks, and 30,000 Buddhist monks and Daoist priests were ordained. In the beginning [of the Jingyun era] the emperor received the throne, and asked the dharma master Fazang to receive the bodhisattva precepts from him.<sup>39</sup>

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Second year: Bodhiruci was ordered to translate the *Mahāratnakūṭa-sūtra* 大寶積經 (T 310) in the Ganlu Pavilion 甘露亭 of the Northern Garden together with Fazang and Chenwai 塵外. The chancellor Zhang Yue 宰相張說, the Assistant Director to the Right Lu Zangyong 右丞盧藏用, the Erudite He Zhizhang 博士賀知章, the Attendant Gentleman Lu Xiangxian 中書侍郎陸象先, the Shangshu Guo Yuanzhen 尚書郭元振, and the Palace Attendant Wei Zhigu 侍中魏知古 [were appointed as] style editors and supervisors.

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The families of the highest ranking concubines and of the princesses were ordered to begin building courts of merit.<sup>40</sup>

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Wanhui, the Sire of the Dharma Cloud 法雲公萬回, died in sitting posture. [Posthumously] he was awarded [the titles of] Situ 司徒 and Duke of the Gui State 虢國公. He was buried in the Xiangji Monastery 香積寺 to the West of the capital.<sup>41</sup> During the reign of [Wu] Zetian [Wan]hui was invited to the palace, where he was presented with a silken robe. The palace maids were also ordered to serve him. When the imperial prince Zhuanghui 莊惠太子 was born,<sup>42</sup> [Wu] Zetian held [him] and showed him [to Wanhui]. [Wan]hui said: “He is the spirit of a tree in the Western territories, which will raise him [in a way making him]

39 In the Chinese text we read 從受菩薩戒. To understand the sentence grammatically, a 之 needs to be inserted: 從之受菩薩戒.

40 These “courts of merit” (gongde yuan, 功德院) are a cloisters built next to tombs—in particular next to tombs of high-ranking officials.

41 This is known from *Jingde chuangdeng lu*, juan 27 (T 2076, p. 433, b8–10).

42 The term ‘taizi’ 太子 is often translated as ‘crown prince,’ in which case the relevant person is described as the prospective heir apparent. In the present context it is however important to understand that Zhuanghui was not the heir apparent.

suit his brother.”<sup>43</sup> The Anle Princess 安樂公主 relied on Empress Wei 韋后 wishing to plan a rebellion.<sup>44</sup> When [Wan]hui met her, and saw the dust [raised by her entourage] on the road, he spat out in front of her, and said: “She is stinking to such a degree that I do not want to get near her.” Later on, as a result [of her involvement in her mother’s rebellion,] the Anle [Princess] was executed.<sup>45</sup> When Xuanzong [prior to becoming emperor] was on his fief, [Wanhui] visited him, patted his back, and said: “You will be Son of Heaven of Great Peace [with a reign of] 50 years.”<sup>46</sup> When Ruizong became Prince of Xiang 相王 (i.e. when he became emperor-to-be), each time when he went out, [Wan]hui said to the people on the market place: “The Son of Heaven is coming!”<sup>47</sup>

p. 373, a12 **Xiantian era**, first year: The Indian śramaṇa Poluo 婆羅 (Pāla?) requested to ignite candles as an offering to the Buddha. When the emperor personally went to the Yanxi Gate 延熹門<sup>48</sup> to see it from near, there was a wheel

43 This is known from the biography of Wanhui in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 18 (T 2061, p. 824, b25–27). Wanhui is here making a prophecy suggesting that Zhuanghui being the incarnation of the spirit of a tree in the Western territories would know to cede precedence in imperial succession to his younger brother. Zhuanghui was the second son of Tang Ruizong. As we will see, Empress Wei and the Anle Princess, representing the lineage of Tang Zhongzong, were in opposition to the lineage of Tang Ruizong. But Wanhui supported Tang Ruizong, who in turn was successfully reestablished as emperor. Following the prophecy of Wanhui, Zhuanghui in his father’s succession did not claim the throne for himself, but left it to his younger brother, the later Tang Xuanzong.

44 Empress Wei was a concubine of Tang Zhongzong, and the Anle Princess was their youngest daughter. Saying that “the Anle Princess relied on Empress Wei wishing to plan a rebellion” means that the Anle Princess supported her mother’s rebellion plans. Denis Twitchett explains the rebellion as follows: “In the sixth month of 710 the Empress Wei, fearing that her position was threatened, poisoned Chung-tsung and forged a testamentary edict appointing to the throne his fourth and youngest son Li Ch’ung-mao. The empress Wei was to preside over the court as empress dowager” (Denis Twitchett, “Hsüan-tsung,” in: *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3, ed. Denis Twitchett [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979], 335). Li Chongmao 李重茂 ruled as Tang Shangdi 唐陽帝, but his rule only lasted for seventeen days (8 July 710–25 July 710). He was succeeded by Tang Ruizong.

45 This is known from the biography of Wanhui in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 18 (T 2061, p. 824, b27–29).

46 This is known from the biography of Wanhui in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 18 (T 2061, p. 824, b20).

47 This is known from the biography of Wanhui in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 18 (T 2061, p. 824, b23–24).

48 The Yanxi Gate was one of the gates in the Eastern wall of the imperial city in Chang’an (Thomas Thilo, *Chang’an: Metropole Ostasiens und Weltstadt des Mittelalters 583–904, Teil 1: Die Stadtanlage*, 31, 89).

of lamps being 20 zhang tall, dotted with 500 gold and silver lamps. Looking at it, it seemed like a blooming tree.

Bodhiruci and others retranslated the *Ratnakūṭa-sūtra* (T 310) in 120 juan. The emperor personally composed a Preface to the Holy Teachings 聖教序 to crown the beginning of the sūtra.<sup>49</sup>

11th month: Fazang, the dharma master being the head of the wise men, passed away. [Posthumously] he was awarded [the position of] Chief Minister of the Court for Dependencies 鴻臚卿, and he was buried at the Shenhe Plateau 神和原.<sup>50</sup>

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Second year: The Investigation Commissioner Wang Zhiyin 王志愔<sup>51</sup> was ordered to ensure that in all commanderies the monasteries that were built without imperial order were all dismantled. Previously the śramaṇa Huiyun 慧雲 had seen that north of the Sui river 隋河 there were strange vapors. Thereupon he went to Bianzhou 汴州 (i.e. Kaifeng) and upon arriving at the pool of the Sima Park 司馬園 he saw that a celestial palace was [mirrored] in the water. He wished to make plans for establishing a monastery, and collected money to cast a Maitreya statue measuring 1.6 zhang. He acquired the house of Zheng Jing 鄭景 and transformed it into a monastery. When he dug into the ground, he found a stele on which it said: “In the sixth year of the Tianbao era of the Northern Qi the Jianguo Monastery 建國寺 was established [here].” Therefore [Huiyun also] named [his new monastic foundation] Jianguo [Monastery]. When [Wang] Zhiyin arrived, [Hui]yun prostrated to the statue and prayed under tears. The statue suddenly released a beam of light. [Wang] Zhiyin reported the matter, and the emperor also had had an omen-like dream in advance, which mysteriously agreed with what had been reported. As he had been the Prince of Xiang 相王 before he arose as the dragon (i.e. before he became emperor), he donated the name Daxiangguo Monastery 大相國寺.<sup>52</sup>

49 On Tang Ruizong's preface to Bodhiruci's translation of the *Ratnakūṭa-sūtra*, see: Chen Jinhua, “Another Look at Tang Zhongzong's (r. 684, 705–710) Preface to Yijing's (635–713) Translations: With a Special Reference to Its Date,” in: *Indo Tetsugaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (*Studies in Indian Philosophy and Buddhism, Tokyo University*) 11 (2004), 22 note 59.

50 In the Taishō we read 神和原. However 原 is lexically defined as an alternative of 塬, which means “plateau.” On Fazang's burial place, see: Chen Jinhua, *Philosopher, Practitioner, Politician: The Many Lives of Fazang*, 170.

51 Wang Zhiyin has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 100 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 9, 3118–3123) and *Xin Tangshu*, juan 128 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 14, 4463f.).

52 This story is known from the biography of Huiyun in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 26 (T 2061,

- p. 373, a26 Eighth month: In the Guoen Monastery 國恩寺 of Xinzhou 新州 the meditation master [Hui]neng [慧]能 passed away in sitting posture. However he was buried in Caoxi 曹溪 of Shaozhou 韶州, where a stūpa was erected for him.<sup>53</sup> To the world he was known as the sixth patriarch [of Chan Buddhism].

### *Emperor Xuanzong*

玄宗

[Personal name:] Longji 隆基. Third son of Ruizong.<sup>54</sup>

- p. 373, a29 **Kaiyuan era**, first year: It was ordered to use the wood of an old sleeping hall to build a Buddha Maitreya Hall 彌勒佛殿 in the Anguo Monastery 安國寺.

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- p. 373, b2 Second year, first month: Since [the times of Tang] Zhongzong, the emperor's relatives had requested to ordain [further] people as monks. So from rich households many strong men had shaved their hair to evade corvée labor. The Ziweiling Yao Chong 紫微令姚崇 (650–721)<sup>55</sup> submitted a report requesting to prohibit the ordination of further monks. It said: “Buddhism does not depend on the outside. Enlightenment has its causation in the mind. Practicing matters that are beneficial, causing all people to be safe and secure—this is the principle of Buddhism.”
- p. 373, b5 The emperor followed it, and ordered the administration to sift out the false ones among the monks and nuns. 12,000 people were ordered to return to lay-life. [Furthermore] he instructed the hundred officials not to allow the

p. 874, b24–c23). For a summary of the account, see: Alexander C. Soper, “Hsiang-Kuo-Ssu: An Imperial Temple of Northern Sung,” in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 68, no. 1 (1948), 20f. note 4. Soper also describes the fame the monastery reached later on during the Song dynasty.

53 On this matter, see: John Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 135f.

54 In official chronology, the reign of Tang Xuanzong begins with the Xiantian era, which the *Fozu tongji*—both in the Taishō edition and in the Shi Daofa edition—still subsumes under the reign of Tang Ruizong. Tang Ruizong abdicated in 712, and yielded the throne to Tang Xuanzong. Still Tang Ruizong only died in 716, and within the entries listed under the Xiantian era, the *Fozu tongji* keeps referring to Tang Ruizong as “the emperor.” E.g. we read: “The emperor also had had an omen-like dream in advance, which mysteriously agreed with what had been reported. As he had been the Prince of Xiang before he arose as the dragon (i.e. before he became emperor), he donated the name Daxiangguo Monastery” 帝亦預有瑞夢與所奏冥符。以自相王龍飛。因賜名大相國寺。(T 2035, p. 373, a24–25). So in order to avoid confusion I have decided to keep the Xiantian era listed as part of the reign of Tang Ruizong also in the present translation.

55 Yao Chong has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 96 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 9, 3021–3029) and *Xin Tangshu*, juan 124 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 14, 4381–4389). He was chancellor under Wu Zetian, Tang Ruizong, and Tang Xuanzong.



construction of further monasteries. And the people were not allowed to cast Buddha images or to copy sūtras. Those who considered it necessary [could only] go to the monasteries to buy [Buddha images or sūtras].<sup>56</sup>

In the second month Buddhist monks and Daoist priests were ordered to pay homage to their parents. In the fourth month [the ordered of] paying homage was rescinded.<sup>57</sup> p. 373, b8

**Commentary:** From Jin Chengdi to Sui Yang[di] [emperors] four times summoned śramaṇas to make them pay respect to the monarch. But the dharma master [Hui]yuan [慧]遠 said: “The kāṣāya is not a garment worn at imperial audiences.”<sup>58</sup> And the dharma master [Ming]zhan [明]瞻 said: “Monks do not have statutes of paying homage to secular authorities.”<sup>59</sup>

遠法師謂。袈裟非朝宗之服。

瞻法師謂。僧無敬俗之典。

Thereupon the matter was dropped. Since Tang Taizong and the Brilliant Emperor 明皇 (i.e. Tang Xuanzong) [emperors] twice summoned Buddhist monks and Daoist priests to make them pay respect to their parents. Immediately [the matter] was dropped. But it is not known upon whose suggestion [the decision has been made] at that time. How could one not say: “If one examines the Buddhist documents, [one will find that] those who renounced secular life respectfully abide by the three jewels, and become a field of blessedness for the world. How could one violate the rules of Buddhism in following the [worldly] law of a given time by still making them conversely pray to their parents?” Does the suggestion to drop [the matter of asking monks to pay respect to their parents] not originate from this reflection? From the Brilliant Emperor to my present

56 On this matter, see: Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 51.

57 On this matter, see: Tonami Mamoru, “Policy towards the Buddhist Church in the Reign of Tang Hsüan-tsung,” in: *Acta Asiatica* 55 (1988), 39–47.

58 This is a quotation from the biography of Huiyuan in *Gaoseng zhuan*, juan 6 (T 2059, p. 360, c13).

59 Mingzhan said so in reaction to an edict issued by Sui Yangdi, which claimed that monks should pay homage to secular authorities. The full exchange between Sui Yangdi and Mingzhan is seen in the “Futian lun” 福田論, which appears in *Guang hongming ji*, juan 25 (for the relevant passage, see: T 2103, p. 280, c20–p. 281, a12), as well as in *Ji shamen buying baisu* 集沙門不應拜俗, juan 2 (T 2108, p. 452, b16–c1). In abbreviated form, the exchange between Sui Yangdi and Mingzhan is also noted in the relevant place of the annalistic display in the “Fayun tongsai zhi” (see: *Fozu tongji*, juan 39: T 2035, p. 361, c8–11).

dynasty (i.e. to the Song dynasty) there has never again been a person making that kind of wrong suggestion.

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p. 373, b19 Third year: The meditation master Yixing 一行 was summoned for an audience. The emperor consulted him concerning the way of pacifying the state and comforting the people, as well as concerning the essence of the supramundane dharma. [On that basis Yixing] was called Master of the [Son of] Heaven 天師.<sup>60,61</sup>

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p. 373, b20 The emperor asked: “How is the destiny of the state?” The reply was: “When the imperial carriage travels across 10,000 li, the deity of land and grain (i.e. the state) will finally [encounter] auspiciousness.”<sup>62</sup> He took a golden box, submitted it [to the emperor], and said: “When you have reached 10,000 li, open it immediately and look inside. [Inside you will find] a little bit of Danggui 當歸.”<sup>63</sup> During the rebellion of [An] Lushan [安祿山] the emperor personally went to Chengdu, and when he arrived at the 10,000 Li Bridge, he recalled the hint of the Danggui.<sup>64,65</sup> Feeling relieved, the emperor forgot his sorrows. Finally the auspiciousness found its end with the reign of [Tang] Zhaozong, as previously [Li Bao 李保] had been enfeoffed as Prince of Ji 吉王.<sup>66</sup>

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60 An annotation reads: “[i.e.] Master of the Son of Heaven” 天子之師 (T 2035, p. 373, b20). The main text of the *Fozu tongji* only says “tianshi” 天師, which would actually mean “Heavenly Master.” The annotation suggests that “tianshi” is here to be understood as an abbreviation of “tianzi zhi shi” 天子之師, which means “Master of the Son of Heaven” (i.e. Master of the Emperor). Yet, despite the explanation given in the present annotation, it should be taken into account that there are further sources in which Yixing is referred to as “tianshi.” In an evaluation of those sources Jeffrey Kotyk translates the title as “Heavenly Master” (Jeffrey Kotyk, “Yixing and Pseudo-Yixing: a Misunderstood Astronomer-Monk,” in: *Journal of Chinese Buddhist Studies* 31 [2018], 15).

61 According to the biography of Yixing in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 191, Xuanzong did not summon Yixing in the third but in the fifth year of the Kaiyuan era, i.e. not in 715 but in 717 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 16, 5112). On this matter, see also: Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the Tang*, 55f.

62 This is known from the biography of Yixing in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 5 (T 2061, p. 733, b21–22).

63 Danggui 當歸 is a medical substance whose name, if translated, would have the meaning “must return.”

64 This means that having reached the bridge, the emperor realized that the bridge name was what the hint of the Danggui referred to. And so he returned.

65 This is known from the biography of Yixing in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 5 (T 2061, p. 733, b24–27).

66 We have a word play here, as “auspiciousness” is written using the character that also

Fourth year: The Indian trepiṭaka Śubhakarasiṃha [善]無畏 arrived. [Tang] p. 373, b26  
 Ruizong had first heard the name of the master. He sent the general Shi Xian  
 將軍史獻 to welcome [Śubhakarasiṃha] at the Yumen [Pass] 玉門[關]. At  
 that time the emperor dreamed that an extraordinary monk had come to  
 visit [him], and gave orders to paint his face on a wall. When the master (i.e.  
 Śubhakarasiṃha) came for an audience, he was in no way different from the  
 image on the wall. The emperor was pleased, and had the bodhi-maṇḍala of  
 the inner [palace] decorated to accommodate him, and honored him [with the  
 title] “head of the teachings” 教主.<sup>67</sup> The master translated the *Vairocana-sūtra*  
 (i.e. the *Darījing*, T 848)<sup>68</sup> and other scriptures 毘盧遮那等經. From there on  
 the esoteric teachings blossomed [in China].

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 The state of Japan sent the śramaṇa Genbō<sup>69</sup> to China request the dharma p. 373, c1  
 [teachings].<sup>70</sup>

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Seventh year: The Indian trepiṭaka Vajrabodhi 金剛智 via Nanhai 南海 arrived p. 373, c3  
 in Guangzhou 廣州. When he came to the capital, he was summoned for  
 an audience, and was ordered to take up residence in the Cien Monastery  
 慈恩寺.<sup>71</sup> Vajrabodhi transmitted the esoteric teachings of the yoga of  
 Nāgārjuna. Wherever he arrived he built a platform to perform the abhiṣeka  
 in ordaining people.<sup>72</sup> When he prayed for rain or averted disasters, evidence  
 [of his powers] was seen most clearly.

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appears in the title “Prince of Ji.” The Prince of Ji was supposed to become emperor,  
 but Tang Zhaozong asserted himself and became emperor instead of the Prince of Ji.  
 Indeed the reign of Tang Zhaozong marks the decline of the Tang dynasty, which came  
 to an end soon afterwards. So the expression of “the auspiciousness found its end” refers  
 both to the Prince of Ji being deprived of his reign and to the decline of the Tang  
 dynasty.

67 This is known from the biography of Śubhakarasiṃha in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 2  
 (T 2061, p. 715, a26–b1).

68 This is known from the biography of Śubhakarasiṃha in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 2  
 (T 2061, p. 715, b17–20).

69 Both in the Taishō edition and in the Shi Daofa edition of the *Fozu tongji*, the name of the  
 Japanese monk Genbō 玄昉 is miswritten as 元昉.

70 On this matter, see: Wang Zhenping, *Ambassadors from the Islands of Immortals: China-  
 Japan Relations in the Han-Tang Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 196.

71 This is known from the biography of Vajrabodhi in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 1 (T 2061,  
 p. 711, b18).

72 This is known from the biography of Vajrabodhi in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 1 (T 2061,  
 p. 711, b18–19).

p. 373, c6 The śramaṇa Huiji 慧日 from the Wangji Monastery 罔極寺 in Chang'an<sup>73</sup> came back from his journey to India. He presented an image of the Buddha and palm-leaf scriptures. He was summoned for an audience in the inner palace to preach the dharma. He enlightened the emperor's mind, and was granted the title trepiṭaka Cimin 慈愍. The dharma master had travelled through 70 states, and spent twenty years on his journey.<sup>74</sup>

p. 373, c9 In the third month, the elder Li Tongxuan 李通玄 felt that the various scholars' commentaries on the Great Avataṃsaka sūtras were all too many. So he took the new translation of the sūtras (i.e. the translation by Śikṣānanda), and went to the house of Gao Shannu 高山奴 in Taiyuan 太原 to compose a new commentary.<sup>75</sup> For three years he only ate ten dates and one cake of cedar leaves per day. The world called him "mahāsattva of dates and cedars" 棗柏大士. When he took the sūtras along to Hanzhuang 韓莊, he suddenly saw a tiger on the road. The elder placed the sūtras on its back,<sup>76</sup> and withdrew climbing to an earth niche on Mount Fang 方山, where he [chose to] stay. As the room was without candle lights, he spitted white splendor which brightly illuminated the writings. There were two women who each day supplied him with one plate of food as well as with ink and paper. On the day he passed away while sitting in meditation, white splendor erupted from his head, and on high it penetrated to the Taiwei [star]. The treatises he composed comprise 40 juan.<sup>77</sup>

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73 On this prominent monastery, see: Thomas Thilo, *Chang'an: Metropole Ostasiens und Weltstadt des Mittelalters 583–904, Teil 1: Die Stadtanlage*, 252.

74 This is known from the biography of Huiji in *Jingtu wangsheng zhuan* 淨土往生傳, juan 2 (T 2071, p. 120, a27–b1).

75 Li Tongxuan was an important lay-scholar of Huayan Buddhism, and allegedly a descendant of the imperial clan of the Tang dynasty. He is mainly known for his *Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論 (T 1739), a commentary on Śikṣānanda's translation of the Avataṃsaka sūtras (Robert E. Buswell, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 476 f.; Thomas Cleary, *Entry Into the Inconceivable: An Introduction to Hua-yen Buddhism* [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983], 15 f.; Kimura Kiyotaka, "What is the Meaning of Studying Huayan Philosophy in Today's Global World?" in: *Avataṃsaka Buddhism in East Asia: Huayan, Keron, Flower Ornament Buddhism*, ed. Robert Gimello [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012], 12 f.).

76 This means that Li Tongxuan employed the tiger to come along with him transporting the sūtras.

77 An annotation reads: "Within the [Buddhist] canon there is a biography of the elder in one juan" 藏中有長者事迹一卷 (T 2035, p. 373, c16).

Eighth year: The trepiṭaka Amoghavajra 不空 (705–774)<sup>78</sup> from Northern India p. 373, c17  
via Nanhai arrived in the capital. In the Cien Monastery the great dharma of  
the yoga was transmitted to him by Vajrabodhi.

In the fifth month the population of the capital widely [suffered from] diseases. p. 373, c18  
The Medicine King Wei Laoshi 醫王韋老師 provided herbs to save [the peo-  
ple]. Nobody did not recover. Each time when the master attentively made a  
vow, those who watched him had their diseases immediately cured. When the  
emperor heard this, he summoned him for an audience, and heralded him as  
the Medicine King Bodhisattva 藥王菩薩. [Wei] Laoshi was a native of Kash-  
gar 疏勒國. He always wore a fur gown. Several hundreds of bottle gourds were  
hanging down from his waist, on his head he wore a gauze kerchief, [in the  
hand] he held a walking cane, and a black dog was walking with him. He him-  
self said that he was 500 years old. In the times of Yao 堯, Shun 舜, Tang of  
Yin 殷湯,<sup>79</sup> the Zhou dynasty, the Qin dynasty, the Han dynasty, and the Tang  
dynasty he had seven incarnations, [each time] coming to save the ill people.  
One day his dog transformed himself into a black dragon, which carried [Wei]  
Laoshi on his back and ascended into heaven.<sup>80</sup>

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Ninth year: An edict [instructed] the meditation master Yixing to establish the p. 373, c26  
Dayan calendar 大衍歷.<sup>81</sup> [Upon hearing this] Xing Hepu 邢和璞 said to Yin  
Yin 尹愔: “In the Han dynasty Luoxia Hong 洛下閎 said: ‘In 800 years [the cal-  
endar] will be wrong by one day, and a sage will appear to correct it.’<sup>82</sup> Now  
Yixing establishes a calendar to correct the error. The words of Luoxia [Hong]  
turned out to be true!”<sup>83</sup> Six years later [Yixing] died. His posthumous name  
was Meditation Master of Great Wisdom 大慧禪師.

78 For a translation of the hagiographic sources concerning Amoghavajra, see: Raffaello Orlando, *A Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Amoghavajra* (A.D. 705–774), PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1981.

79 Yin 殷 is an alternative name of the Shang 商 dynasty, whose first ruler was Tang 湯.

80 In *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集, juan 1, we find an account quoted from a “Bencao xu” 本草序, in which Wei Laoshi is introduced (T 2131, p. 1062, b4–13). The present passage in the *Fozu tongji* is an abridged statement of that introduction.

81 On this matter, see: Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China, Vol. 3: Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 202f.

82 As David W. Pankenier explains, Luoxia Hong “was a central figure in the Grand Inception calendar reform of 104 BCE” (David W. Pankenier, *Astrology and Cosmology in Early China: Conforming Earth to Heaven* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013], 92 note 21).

83 This is known from the biography of Yixing in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 191 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*,

p. 374, a1 The śramaṇa Zhiyan 智嚴 from Khotan came and translated four sūtras.<sup>84</sup>

p. 374, a1 Yao Chong died. He left behind an instruction [to his family] which said: “The Buddha regarded purity and compassion as the basis. But foolish people copy sūtras and produce images hoping to attain merit. You shall not follow those ignorant disciples.”<sup>85</sup> His son made offerings on behalf of his postmortem fate.<sup>86</sup>

p. 374, a4 **Commentary:** Where do we find the way of the Buddha? It will certainly be in the monasteries, among the sūtras and images, or among the śramaṇas that the disciples who serve the dharma<sup>87</sup> will behold it. And [only] after that they can practice the transformations of purity and compassion. [Yao] Chong did not know this path, and only relied on hollow principles to adorn his crude views. Therefore, when [Yao Chong] served as an axle,<sup>88</sup> he prohibited the ordination of monks, the construction of monasteries, the casting of Buddha statues, and the copying of sūtras; and when [Yao Chong] was covered with a blanket,<sup>89</sup> his testament instructed and admonished his children to refrain from practicing Buddhist matters. 其當軸也。則禁度僧創寺鑄佛寫經。其屬纊也。則遺令戒兒曹勿舉佛事。 He managed to make his sovereigns display their stubborn views as Taiwu [Di] of the [Northern] Wei had done,<sup>90</sup> and so [he acted] just like [Taiwu

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vol. 16, 5113) and from *Shimen zhengtong*, juan 8 (X75, no. 1513, p. 364, c16–18 // Z 2B:3, p. 462, b13–15 // R130, p. 923, b13–15).

84 Zhiyan has a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 3 (T 2061, p. 720, a2–13).

85 This is known from the biography of Yao Chong in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 96 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 9, 3028).

86 This means that, because his father had supported an anti-Buddhist attitude, the son practiced on his behalf to avoid that his father would be reborn in hell.

87 This refers to lay practitioners such as the family of Yao Chong.

88 The term of ‘dangzhou’ 當軸, which can literally be understood as ‘serving as an axle,’ is a metaphor meaning ‘important official’ (i.e. an official as important to the state as the axle to the cart). The expression originates from *Hanshu*, juan 66, where it is employed to praise the “Chancellor on the Carriage” 車丞相, i.e. a honorific title of Tian Qianqiu 田千秋, who was chancellor under Han Zhaodi 漢昭帝 (Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu* 漢書 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009], vol. 9, 2904).

89 The term of ‘shukuang’ 屬纊 means ‘covering [somebody who has died] with a blanket.’ The expression originates from *Liji*, chapter “Sang daji” 喪大記 (Wang Wenjin 王文錦, *Liji yijie* 禮記譯解 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001], vol. 2, 630). Here in the *Fozu tongji*, the expression “when Yao Chong was covered with a blanket” means ‘when Yao Chong had died.’

90 This means that under the influence of Yao Chong the policy of Tang Xuanzong became

Di's] contemporary Cui Hao 崔浩.<sup>91</sup> [All of them] were not permitted to live up to the end [fate would have determined].<sup>92</sup>

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Thirteenth year: A sacrifice<sup>93</sup> at the tomb of Confucius was made. It was ordered to establish Confucius temples in the commanderies of all under heaven. Each generation [of the offspring of Confucius] was to adopt the family tradition, and one son was to be given an official position.<sup>94</sup>

Taishō  
apparatus  
of textual  
criticism

Fourteenth year: The śramaṇas Yōei<sup>95</sup> and Fushō 普照 from the state of Japan arrived in Yangzhou 揚州. Respectfully the [Japanese] head of state had ordered them to offer ten saṃghāṭis to Jianzhen 鑒真, a Chinese vinaya master of noble conduct. [Jianzhen] received the robes, and as he felt that in the foreign country there was the seed of Buddhism, he took a ship to the East together with [Yō]ei and [Fushō]. Upon arrival, the king [of Japan] welcomed them, lodged them in the Vairocana Hall 毘盧遮那殿, and asked them to bestow the refuges and precepts, which they gave to the [king's] wife and ministers following their [hierarchical] sequence. This was the beginning of the Japanese Risshū (actually 律宗, here 律教).<sup>96</sup>

p. 374, a11

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almost as anti-Buddhist as the policy of Taiwu Di of the Northern Wei had been. While Taiwu Di was responsible for the first great persecution of Buddhism in China, also Tang Xuanzong employed a religious policy which was directed against Buddhism—see: Tonami Mamoru, “Policy towards the Buddhist Church in the Reign of T’ang Hsüan-tsung,” in: *Acta Asiatica* 55 (1988): 27–47.

91 Cui Hao was chancellor under Taiwu Di like Yao Chong was chancellor under Tang Xuanzong. Cui Hao is treated elaborately in the material translated for the first volume of the present *Fozu tongji* translation project suggesting that he misled his emperor in guiding him to an anti-Buddhist attitude—see: *Fozu tongji*, juan 38 (T 2035, p. 354, a26–b7; b13–18; b21–c1). In the present commentary passage the statement is that Yao Chong sought to mislead Tang Xuanzong as Cui Hao had misled Taiwu Di.

92 This means that, as a karmic retribution for the anti-Buddhist views they supported, they died ahead of the time fate would have defined to be their natural death hour.

93 In the Taishō version of the *Fozu tongji* we read 祠孔子墓, which does not make sense. In the Shi Daofa edition we read 祠孔子墓. The character 祠 can be translated as “to sacrifice.”

94 In the Taishō version of the *Fozu tongji* we read 賜一子宮. In the Shi Daofa edition we read 賜一子官. The character 官 basically means “official,” but can be translated as “official position” as well.

95 Both in the Taishō edition and in the Shi Daofa edition of the *Fozu tongji* the name of the first Japanese monk Yōei 榮叡 is miswritten as 榮睿. The name Yōei is also pronounced Eiei.

96 Jianzhen (688–763), who is in Japanese known as Ganjin, went to Japan with Yōei and Fushō, and in Japan he became the founder of the Japanese Vinaya school, which is in

p. 374, a17 Fifteenth year: It was ordered that in all under heaven the little Buddhist temples within villages were all to be dismantled. The religious services [of those little temples] were moved to the nearby monasteries, and it was [also] ordered to close the big Buddhist temples. When officials and commoners heard about this policy, all the big houses [of worship] and the big statues were also destroyed. The order was sent to Yuzhou 豫州. But Li Xu, the Prefect of Xinxi 新息令李虛, just happened to be drunk when the tally to [Yu]zhou arrived. Greatly annoyed he arranged that his subordinate officials would take care in killing all those who dared to participate in the demolitions. [Li] Xu was frequently rebellious in his actions. He did not have the intention of protecting the Buddhist houses [of worship].<sup>97,98</sup> Afterwards he died of a disease. After his corpse was placed in the coffin, from within the coffin one heard a sound of 'zhijia' 指戛 (onomatopoeic). His mother urged [people] to open it, and he was alive. As it was the time of the hot [summer] months, his body was covered with tumors and rotten. Only after one month he recovered. He himself said: "When I had just died, I was detained and brought into the palace of Yamarāja by two subordinate officials [of hell], and I saw a former subordinate official of Xinxi 新息吏, who had already been dead for several years. He said to me: 'You, my senior official, made killing your intention, and now you will receive the retribution.' Greatly frightened I listened and asked for rescue. The subordinate official said: 'Last year, when [the emperor ordered to] tear down the Buddhist halls, only those within the borders of my senior official's [area of responsibility] were preserved. This merit fills heaven. You will not be pursued and captured in here [for long]. If Yamarāja should later on ask you, only reply in terms of that.' When after a short while I saw Yamarāja, there was a person who held a memorandum book. It was a subordinate official who read out: 'Li Xu focused on studying how to cut off the feet of sheep. He shall receive 100 cane beats, and the flesh of his body shall be cut off.'<sup>99</sup> I said: 'When last year it was ordered to destroy the Buddhist halls only those

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Japanese referred to as Risshū 律宗. On this matter, see: Dorothy Wong, "An Agent of Cultural Transmission: Jianzhen's Travels to Japan, 743–763," in: *China and Beyond in the Medieval Period: Cultural Crossings and Inter-Regional Connections*, ed. Dorothy C. Wong (Delhi: Manohar, 2014): 63–99; Lin Pei-ying, "The Rebirth Legend of Prince Shōtoku: Buddhist Networks in Ninth Century China and Japan," in: *Buddhist Encounters and Identities Across East Asia*, ed. Ann Heirman (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 314 f.

97 This means that Li Xu did not act as a defender of Buddhism, but as a subversive person who generally was unwilling to respect orders of the emperor.

98 On this matter, see: Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 44 f.

99 Cutting off the feet of sheep means to cause suffering to living beings, which according



within the borders of my [area of responsibility] remained intact. I hope that this merit would reduce my previous fault.' Yamarāja was surprised and asked: 'Did it really happen this way?' The subordinate official said: 'In heaven there is a record of [Li Xu's] merits.' Yamarāja ordered to investigate it, and the subordinate official read out: 'Last year, when the Buddhist halls were destroyed, only those of the Xinxi district were preserved. This is sufficient to annihilate countless faults [accumulated within] one lifetime, and his life should be prolonged by 30 years.' As soon as he had concluded his speech, [my] record of fault burst into flames, and [my fault] was deleted. [Yamarāja] ordered two subordinate officials to bring me back [into the human world]." After 30 years he died free of diseases.<sup>100</sup>

Bodhiruci died at the age of 156. His posthumous title was Yiqie bianzhi sanzang 一切遍知三藏, and he was [posthumously] awarded [the position of] Chief Minister of the Court for Dependencies 鴻臚卿. p. 374, b6

Fang Guan 房琯 became Governor of Lushi 盧氏宰. The Daoist priest Xing Hepu 邢和璞 went on travels with him. Having passed Xiakou 夏口, they entered an abandoned monastery and sat down underneath an old pine tree. They made somebody dig into the ground, and [preserved] in a jar they obtained paintings and calligraphies of Lou Shide 婁師德 and the meditation master Yong 永. [Xing Hepu] said to [Fang] Guan: "Do you still remember this a little bit?" [Fang] Guan indistinctly realized that in his previous life he had been Master Yong.<sup>101</sup> p. 374, b8

Ren Shan 任善 from Suizhou 遂州 died of a disease. Together with several commoners and one monk he arrived at Yama's office. The monk said: "I have constantly recited the Diamond sūtra." Yama immediately joined his palms, and suddenly there was a cloud of five colors welcoming the monk and taking him into the heavens. The officials of hell said to [Ren] Shan: "You also recited it 21 times." And immediately they ordered to bring him back [into the human sphere]. p. 374, b11

There was also Zhao Bi 趙璧 from Lianshui 漣水, who came to the capital for the official examinations. On the road he met his deceased wife, who said [to p. 374, b15

to the Buddhist teachings creates negative karma. As a karmic retribution Li Xu was sentenced to the punishment the official of hell pronounced here.

100 An annotation reads: "[Source:] *Taiping guangji*" 太平廣記 (T 2035, p. 374, b6). The tale is seen in *Taiping guangji*, juan 104 (Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, vol. 3, 703f.).

101 This tale is seen in *Taiping guangji*, juan 148 (Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, vol. 3, 1066).

him]: “I am now in hell. The punishment I receive is beyond description. My clothes are at the house of my mother-in-law. You can pick them up and sell them [using the gains] to produce one copy of the *Diamond sūtra*.” [Zhao] Bi followed her words. [Having gone through the copying process] from the beginning to the completion of a half juan, upon passing the site of [his wife’s] grave he saw an old man who called himself Master of the Earth, and said: “Your wife has yesterday already attained rebirth in heaven.”<sup>102</sup>

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p. 374, b20 Seventeenth year: It was ordered that in all under heaven monks and nuns once in three years had to register their names.<sup>103</sup>

p. 374, b21

**Commentary:** Renouncing secular life and studying the way has its essence in abiding by the system of following a master and receiving the precepts. Early on [those who renounced secular life] did not register their names in the records of the local authorities. From Han Ming[di] to the beginning of the Tang [dynasty] there was no [time during which] it would not have been all like that. When it came to the Yanzai era of [Wu] Zetian, it was first ordered that the two groups (i.e. monks and nuns) were to serve the Ministry of Sacrifices. When it came to the Kaiyuan era of the Brilliant Emperor,<sup>104</sup> it was first ordered that once in three years the records were to be established.

至則天延載。始令二眾隸祠部。  
而明皇開元。始令三歲造籍。

In the Zhide era of [Tang] Suzong the sale of ordination certificates was again permitted, and one spoke of ‘fragrant water money.’<sup>105</sup> When it came to my dynasty (i.e. the Song) being transferred to the South, the tax for avoiding corvée labor was established,<sup>106</sup> and one spoke of ‘leisure

102 An annotation reads: “[Source:] *Jingang ganyan lu*” 金剛感驗錄 (T 2035, p. 374, b19).

103 An annotation reads: “This was the beginning of taking register [of monks and nuns]” 供帳始此 (T 2035, p. 374, b20). This registration of monks and nuns is also recorded in *Tang huiyao*, juan 49, where we find additional information. As we read, 5,358 monasteries, 75,524 monks, and 50,576 nuns were counted (Wang Pu, *Tang huiyao*, vol. 1, 1011).

104 The Brilliant Emperor is Tang Xuanzong. The Taishō edition of the *Fozu tongji* speaks of the “Zhengguan era of the Brilliant Emperor” 明皇正觀 here. However under Tang Xuanzong there was no such era. In the Shi Daofa edition the mistake is corrected. Here we read of the “Kaiyuan era of the Brilliant Emperor” 明皇開元.

105 The term of “fragrant water money” 香水錢 refers to money paid to obtain ordination certificates.

106 While usually male adults (including monks) were obliged to perform corvée labor when needed, the “tax for avoiding corvée labor” 免丁之賦 offered a possibility to get around having to perform this duty.

time money.<sup>107</sup> Aah! The words of the [secular] law do not regulate us. But the remaining aspects [of the secular law] will in no way be ignored by the adepts of purity (i.e. by Buddhist monastics). Is that not also because the Tathāgata uses his Buddha-eye viewing us disciples of the final age of the dharma in such a way that we get encouraged to follow the laws of the state. Aah!

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Eighteenth year: The meditation master Zuoxi [Xuan]lang 左溪[玄]朗 (673–755) preached the dharma teachings of calming and contemplation for Jingxi Zhanran 荆溪湛然 (711–782).<sup>108</sup> p. 374, c1

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An edict [instructed] Buddhist monasteries and Daoist abbeys to establish a bodhi-maṇḍala to wish the emperor longevity on the occasion of his birthday. p. 374, c2

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Zhisheng 智昇, a śramaṇa of the Chongfu Monastery 崇福寺 of the Western capital, submitted the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (T 2154) in 20 jian, which he had composed.<sup>109</sup> [The work] defined [that the Buddhist scriptures comprise] a total number of 5,048 jian. It was ordered to incorporate it into the Buddhist canon. p. 374, c3

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Su Gui, the assistant of the district magistrate of Wugong 武功縣丞蘇珪, constantly recited the *Diamond sūtra*, and his entire family [consisting] of fifty people followed a vegetarian diet. When his wife, Miss Cui 崔氏, because of being meager and haggard stole meat for herself to eat, she turned bony and her breath got blocked. After several ten day periods she came back to life, and reported that she had seen Yamarāja, who had accused her saying: “Your husband is an incarnate bodhisattva! Why did you steal meat for yourself to eat? Based on your merit in reciting sūtras your life will be prolonged by 20 years. You may return and spread [the news] among the people.” Immediately the p. 374, c5

107 In the Taishō edition we read 清閒錢, while the Shi Daofo edition says 清閑錢. The latter means “leisure time money,” and thus gives a better sense, as the money was paid to avoid corvée labor, and thus to buy leisure time.

108 The hagiographic materials on Zhanran have elaborately been studied in: Chen Jinhua, “One Name, Three Monks: Two Northern Chan Masters Emerge from the Shadow of Their Contemporary, the Tiantai Patriarch Zhanran (711–782),” in: *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 22, no. 1 (1999): 1–91. Zhanran’s master, Zuoxi Xuanlang, has a biography in *Shimen zhengtong*, jian 2 (X75, no. 1513, p. 272, c12–p. 273, b23 // Z 2B:3, p. 375, b12–p. 376, a17 // R130, p. 749, b12–p. 751, a17).

109 On the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, see: Tanya Storch, *The History of Chinese Buddhist Bibliography: Censorship and Transformation of the Tripitaka* (Amherst: Cambria, 2014), 116.

emperor heard about it, and also made up his mind to continuously practice [the recitation of] sūtra texts. Those who were moved through that were very many.

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Taishō apparatus of textual criticism Nineteenth year: It was ordered that all the commanderies of the two capitals were to erect Taigong temples 太公廟,<sup>110</sup> and that together with Zhang Liang, the Duke of Hanliu 漢留侯張良, he would receive sacrifices. Choosing from the ancient and famous generals, ten wise men were selected.<sup>111</sup>

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p. 374, c10 The śramaṇa Haitong 海通 carved a rock on the banks of the great river of Jiazhou 嘉州 transforming it into a statue of Buddha Maitreya. Being 360 chi tall, it was covered by a nine-storeyed pavilion. A tablet for the monastery was created, on which it said Lingyun [Monastery] 陵雲[寺].<sup>112</sup>

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p. 374, c13 Twentieth year: The trepiṭaka Vajrabodhi died. His posthumous title was Abhiṣeka Imperial Preceptor 灌頂國師. Following his last will, his disciple, the trepiṭaka Amoghavajra, went back to India. When he arrived in Sri Lanka, he met Nāgabodhi 龍智,<sup>113</sup> from whom he received the methods of the Abhiṣeka of the Eighteen Assemblies 十八會灌頂之法,<sup>114</sup> as well as other sūtras and śāstras, all together more than 500 works.

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110 An annotation only seen in the Shi Daofa edition reads: “[This is a reference to] Lü Wang, the Taigong of Qi” 齊太公呂望. The Taigong, who is also known by many other names, was the military counselor of King Wen of Zhou and King Wu of Zhou, the founders of the Zhou dynasty. On this matter, see: David McMullen, “The Cult of Ch’i T’ai-kung and T’ang Attitudes to the Military,” in: *T’ang Studies* 7 (1989), 85.

111 In the Taishō edition we read 備十啟, while the Shi Daofa edition says 備十哲. The latter means “wise” or also “wise man.”

112 This is a reference to the famous Maitreya Buddha of Leshan, commonly known as Leshan dafo 樂山大佛, the construction of which is noted in *Zizhi tongjian*, juan 251 (Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 8151).

113 On Amoghavajra’s meeting with Nāgabodhi, see: Raffaello Orlando, *A Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Amoghavajra*, 10.

114 The “the methods of the Abhiṣeka of the Eighteen Assemblies” would be the contents of the *Vajraśekhara sūtra* or *Jingangding jing* 金剛頂經 (jap.: Kongōchō kyō), which became one of the most important texts of esoteric Buddhism in China and Japan, even though it only survives in essentialized versions that do not come close to the alleged complexity of the original Sanskrit material. With regard to the role Amoghavajra played in summarizing the contents of the Sanskrit original, Taikō Yamasaki offers the following explanation: “Shingon traditionally considered the *Kongōchō kyō* to have consisted of eighteen parts (jūhatte, ‘eighteen assemblies’) in 100,000 verses, compiled from teachings given at eighteen different places. The eighteen parts were thus considered to comprise the complete

Previously during the Western Jin dynasty there was the monk Yixing 義興, who erected a Buddhist temple 佛祠 on a cliff among the mountains and valleys 30 li Southeast of the Mao district 鄆縣.<sup>115</sup> When it came to this [twentieth year of the Kaiyuan era] the eminent monk Farui 法睿 following the ancient traces erected a temple on the Eastern foot of the mountain. [The Director of] the Palace Library, Wan Jirong 祕書萬齊融,<sup>116</sup> erected a Prabhūtaratna pagoda 多寶塔 at its Southwestern corner. The master (i.e. Farui) stayed at this place each day when he recited the *Lotus sūtra*, and he perceived that, in the guise of a Heavenly Lad 天童, Venus 太白 came to bring him offerings.<sup>117</sup> When [Farui] circumambulated the pagoda during the nights, people saw that the master's body was as tall as the pagoda. Therefore he was called the "Venus Meditation Master" 太白禪師, and the mountain was named Heavenly Lad.<sup>118</sup>

It was declared that Manichaeism was in its origin a false doctrine that [merely] pretended to be based on the Buddhist teachings.<sup>119</sup> As it was [however] a

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sutra, and Amoghavajra wrote a text called the *Kongōchō kyō Yuga Jūhatte Shiikki* (Indication of the Basis of the Eighteen Assemblies of the *Kongōchō kyō*), which is said to be an outline of the complete sutra he received in Ceylon" (Taikō Yamasaki, *Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism* [Boston: Shambhala, 1988], 85).

115 Yixing is mentioned in the materials translated for the first volume of the present *Fozu tongji* translation project (see: *Fozu tongji*, juan 36; T 2035, p. 338, c24–26). While *Fozu tongji*, juan 36, only says that he erected a "hut" 廬 on a mountain, here in *Fozu tongji*, juan 40, we read that it was a temple. Apparently the matter is to be understood in such a way that a hut erected by a monk could be seen as a temple.

116 Wan Jirong does not have his own biography in official historiography, but he is mentioned in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 190, part 2 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 15, 5035). Three prose texts written by him are seen in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 335 (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 4, 3389–3394).

117 Here the account of Yixing seen in *Fozu tongji*, juan 36, again becomes relevant. There it is said that Yixing was supplied with firewood and water by Venus 太白, who appeared to him in the guise of a "boy" 童子 (T 2035, p. 338, c25–26). As Farui erected his temple "following the ancient traces" of Yixing we now read that Farui, too, received offerings from Venus, who appeared to him in the guise of a "heavenly lad." So apparently we are to understand that Farui took over Yixing's connection with Venus as he established his temple in the same place where Yixing's temple had been.

118 An annotation reads: "Those who transmit in the world that the meditation master [Farui] was the founder [of the Buddhist tradition on this] mountain, are mistaken" 世傳啟禪師開山者誤 (T 2035, p. 374, c22). This means that Yixing of the Western Jin dynasty was the true founder of the Buddhist tradition on this mountain.

119 The edict quoted here is seen in *Tongdian* 通典, juan 40 (Du You 杜佑, *Tongdian* 通典 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992], 1103). It is also referred to in *Da Song seng shiliu* 大宋僧史略, juan 3 (T 2126, p. 253, b20; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy* [Amherst: Cambria, 2018], 606).

teaching of foreigners from the West, its disciples could still freely practice it without having to fear punishment.

p. 374, c24

**Commentary:** The Buddha proclaimed that the 96 non-Buddhist paths<sup>120</sup> would be corrected by the path of the Buddha. Thus one knows that all of the remaining false doctrines are not even worth being discussed. Manichaeism is exactly one of those false views. The court should prohibit it. But now [the court] gives free rein to their practices, and does not inflict punishments. But it did not reflect on [the matter] that establishing this [tolerance] would also influence their studies (i.e. the studies of the Buddhist disciples). Falsehood on top of falsehood reaches the level where it contaminates the Buddhadharma. Aah! I do not know why the rulers and ministers of those times could not differentiate [between Buddhism and the non-Buddhist paths].

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p. 375, a1 21st year: The *Shanding sifen jieben* (i.e. the *Sifenlü shanfan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔, T 1804, “Summarized account of monastic conducts, based on the Four-part vinaya, redundancies removed and gaps filled from other sources”),<sup>121</sup> which the vinaya master Nanshan Daoxuan 南山道宣 had published, was spread among those who had renounced worldly life for recitation and study.

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p. 375, a3 23rd year: The trepiṭaka Śubhakarasiṃha [善]無畏 passed away. A pagoda for him was erected on the western mountain of [the sanctuary of] the Longmen 龍門 [grottos].

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p. 375, a5 24th year: It was ordered to spread the imperial explanation of the *Diamond sūtra* in all under heaven.<sup>122</sup>

p. 375, a6 The Palace Secretary 中書 suggested that it should be ordered to put the monks and nuns of all under heaven under the command of the Court for Dependencies 鴻臚寺.

p. 375, a6 Wu Daoxuan 吳道玄, whose *zi* was Daozi 道子, excelled in painting. He widely followed [the style of] Zhang Sengyao 張僧繇.<sup>123</sup> The emperor sum-

120 The 96 non-Buddhist paths are paths of non-Buddhist philosophy (A.C. Muller, DDB, 九十六種外道).

121 On this work, see: Chen Huaiyu, *The Revival of Buddhist Monasticism in Medieval China*, 1.

122 This is a reference to the *Yuzhu Jingang bore boluomi jing* 御注金剛般若波羅密經 by Tang Xuanzong (Venerable Yong You, *The Diamond Sutra in Chinese Culture* [Los Angeles: Buddha's Light Publishing, 2010], 18–20).

123 Zhang Sengyao, a painter active during the reign of Liang Wudi, was noted in the material

moned him [to the palace] to offer him presents. On the walls of the Jinggong Monastery 景公寺 he painted [several] scenes from hell. The people from the capital all viewed them; all of them came to fear bad actions and to cultivate good actions. The two markets of the butchers and hucksters (i.e. animal killers and mean traders) stopped their sales.<sup>124,125</sup>

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25th year: It was ordered to put Buddhist monks and nuns under the command of the Department of Sacrifices, and to put Daoist priests under the command of the Court of the Imperial Clan, since the kin of Li [Er] belongs to the pedigree of the imperial [family].<sup>126</sup> p. 375, a10

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26th year: In all under heaven each commandery was ordered to establish a Longxing Monastery and a Kaiyuan Monastery 龍興開元二寺.<sup>127</sup> p. 375, a12

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translated for the first part of the present *Fozu tongji* translation project, where he is mentioned in connection with his attempt to paint Baozhi 寶誌 (T 2035, p. 348, c3–5) and in connection with the image of Vairocana and the ten disciples of Confucius he painted on a wall of the Tianhuang Monastery 天皇寺 (T 2035, p. 352, a29–b4).

124 An annotation reads: “Today the world [also] has a Guanyin [image] by [Wu] Daozi, which is made of stone” 今世有石本道子觀音 (T 2035, p. 375, a9).

125 Wu Daoxuan was Tang court painter under Tang Xuanzong. He has a biography in the *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 by Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠, a painter and calligrapher of the late 9th century. The section on Wu Daoxuan appears in juan 9. We find one remark, which may explain the influence of Zhang Sengyao on Wu Daoxuan, which the *Fozu tongji* refers to: “Zhang Huaiguan said: ‘The paintings of Mr. Wu [are as if] there had been a deity supporting him when he used the ink brush. He is a reincarnation of Zhang Sengyao’” 張懷瓘云: 吳生之畫, 下筆有神, 是張僧繇後身也。 (Wang Yuanhua 王元化, *Lidai minghua ji yizhu* 歷代名畫記譯注 [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002], 437 ff.). While the *Lidai minghua ji* offers no reference to Wu Daoxuan's wall paintings in the Jinggong Monastery, this matter is seen in *Sita ji* 寺塔記, juan 1 (T 2093, p. 1023, a17–19).

126 This edict is also known from *Da Song seng shilüe* 大宋僧史略, juan 2 (T 2126, p. 245, c10–11; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 417), where it is dated Kaiyuan 15. As Welter explains, the date given in the *Da Song seng shilüe* is probably inaccurate, while Kaiyuan 25, which is the date seen here in the *Fozu tongji*, should be the correct date (ibid. 430 note 19).

127 The establishment of the Longxing Monasteries in fact goes back to Tang Zhongzong, who celebrated his restoration after the reign of Wu Zetian ordering the construction of one (Buddhist) Zhongxing Monastery 中興寺 and one (Daoist) Zhongxing Abbey 中興觀 in each prefecture. In 707 Tang Zhongzong issued an edict ordering to change the names of the institutions. From then on they were known as Longxing Monasteries and Longxing Abbeys (Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the Tang*, 48). Under Tang Xuanzong the

p. 375, a13 The śramaṇa Faxiu 法秀 dreamt of an extraordinary monk who urged him to offer 500 kāśāya [robes] as donations to the Huixiang Monastery 回向寺. When he woke up he wondered about it. Thereupon he begged people until he had accumulated that number [of robes]. Suddenly on one day he met a monk who said: “I will guide you to the Huixiang Monastery.” He followed him into the Zhongnan Mountains, where he saw that on the half height of a cliff there was a red gate towering up. A placard [on the gate] said: “Huixiang [Monastery].” Hasting there he saw an old monk on high (i.e. in the environment of the red gate). And [also] all the [other] monks greeted him. [Fa]xiu took out the kāśāya [robes], donating them all to the monastery. The old monk guided [Fa]xiu into an empty room, and said: “This was the former room of the Son of Heaven of the Tang 唐天子.” He ordered his servants to bring a jade flute,<sup>128</sup> and said: “When [the Son of Heaven of the Tang] lived here, he loved vocal music. He was demoted to become emperor of the humans, but after some time he will come back again.” [The old monk] ordered [Fa]xiu: “Take the jade flute as well as his [former] kāśāya [robe], and bring them back to the Son of Heaven of the Tang.” When [Fa]xiu returned, he visited the palace, and reported the matter. The emperor took the flute and adjusted it to be as it was when he used it previously.<sup>129</sup>

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p. 375, a23 27th year: It was ordered that in all under heaven, on the occasion of royal death commemorations, Buddhist monks and Daoist priests were to go the Longxing Monasteries to practice the way and to arrange feasts; while on the occasion of royal birthdays they were to express their felicitations by going to the Kaiyuan Monasteries.<sup>130</sup>

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p. 375, a25 28th year: The meditation master Qingyuan Xingsi 清源行思 from Jizhou 吉州 died. The master had received the dharma [robe] from the sixth patriarch [of

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Longxing monasteries were given new responsibilities. In 738 (i.e. Kaiyuan 26) Tang Xuanzong instituted yet another network of state-supported Buddhist monasteries and Daoist abbeys—these being the Kaiyuan Monasteries 開元寺 and the Kaiyuan Abbeys 開元觀 named after Tang Xuanzong’s present reign title of Kaiyuan (ibid. 53f.).

128 In the Taishō edition we read 玉蕭, while the Shi Daofa edition says 玉簫. The character 蕭 seen in the Taishō needs to be understood as a misrepresentation of the graphically similar 簫, which means “flute.” The misrepresentation of the character meaning “flute” reappears in the further course of the current paragraph.

129 An annotation reads: “[Source:] *Gaoseng zhuan*” 高僧傳 (T 2035, p. 375, a22). The tale is seen in the biography of Faxiu in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 18, where it is presented in much more elaborate style (T 2061, p. 827, b17–c22).

130 This is known from *Tang huiyao*, juan 50 (Wang Pu, *Tang huiyao*, vol. 1, 1030).



Chan Buddhism]. During the reign of [Tang] Xizong he was given a posthumous name, [as one spoke of] the stūpa of the meditation master Hongji 弘濟 returning into the truth.<sup>131</sup>

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29th year: Ji Huan, the Caifangshi of Henan 河南採訪使齊澣,<sup>132</sup> said: “The highest way deserves respect. [But even though] one should show veneration, [Buddhist monks and Daoist priests] are not exempted from corporal punishment, which abuses their appearance. I would wish that those Buddhist monks and Daoist priests who have accumulated guilt, would be sure to be punished according to the standards for Buddhist monks and Daoist priests. The prefects of the commanderies and districts cannot arrogate themselves to convict.” The petition was accepted.<sup>133</sup> p. 375, a27

Amoghavajra returned from Sri Lanka to Guangzhou. The Caifangshi Liu Juji 採訪使劉巨濟 asked him to establish methods [performed] on the altar for [administering] the abhiṣeka.<sup>134</sup> It was perceived that Mañjuśrī showed his body,<sup>135</sup> and up to ten million people were converted. p. 375, b1

Tianbao era, first year: Five states of the Western Regions [including] Sogdiana 康居 and Dashi 大石 invaded Anxi 安西.<sup>136</sup> The emperor summoned the trepiṭaka Amoghavajra to come to the inner quarters [of the imperial palace], and to p. 375, b4

131 This means that Xingsi was given a posthumous name in connection with honoring his stūpa. The matter is recorded in *Wudeng quanshu* 五燈全書, an encyclopedia compiled in the Qing dynasty. In *Wudeng quanshu*, juan 9, we read: “[Xingsi] ascended to the hall to address the assembly, sat in meditation posture and passed away. For his complete body a pagoda was erected on this mountain. [Later on] Xizong confirmed that it was the pagoda of the meditation master Hongji returning into the truth.” 陞堂告眾。跏趺而逝。全身建塔於本山。僖宗證弘濟禪師歸真之塔。(X81, no. 1571, p. 485, a16–17 // Z 2B13, p. 158, b1–2 // R140, p. 315, b1–2).

132 Ji Huan has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 190, part 2 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 15, 5036–5038) and *Xin Tangshu*, juan 128 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 14, 4468–4471).

133 This is known from *Tang huiyao*, juan 50 (Wang Pu, *Tang huiyao*, vol. 1, 1013).

134 This is known from the biography of Amoghavajra in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 1 (T 2061, p. 712, b12). As we see there, the name should be written Liu Julin 劉巨隣, while here in the *Fozu tongji* it is miswritten as Liu Juji 劉巨濟. The name Liu Julin is documented also in other sources, which are discussed in: Chou Yi-liang, “Tantrism in China,” in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8 (1945), 288f. note 22.

135 This is known from the biography of Amoghavajra in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 1 (T 2061, p. 712, b14).

136 An annotation reads: “In the Tang dynasty there was a division into the four commanderies of Andong, Anxi, Annan, and Anbei” 唐朝置安東、安西、安南、安北四府。(T 2035, p. 375, b5).

continuously recite the secret words of the *State Protection* [Sūtra] for *Humane Kings*. The emperor personally held the incense burner. Just when [the ceremony had been repeated] for fourteen times, the emperor saw more than 500 deities standing in the palace hall. [Pointing to the lead deity,] the master (i.e. Amoghavajra) said: “This is Dujian 獨健, the second son of King Vaiśravaṇa of the Northern Heaven 北天毘沙門王. He will assist Your Majesty in praying on behalf of the campaign [aiming at] reconquering Anxi. Please offer him food to dismiss him.” After four months in a report from Anxi it was said: “On the eleventh day of the second month within a black cloud above the Northeast of the city there was a man in golden armor measuring more than one zhang. The voices of the drums and horns within space made heaven and earth tremble. Between the tents of the bandits there were golden mice biting through the bowstrings. [The armies of] the five states [of the Western Regions] immediately fled. After a moment it was seen that on top of the city tower the body of the Heavenly King appeared.” The emperor ordered an investigation of the matter, and it became clear that [all of this] happened on the day on which the incantation was recited.<sup>137,138,139</sup>

Taishō apparatus of textual criticism He Zhizhang, the Director of the Palace Library 秘書監賀知章, became arrogant and presumptuous in his old age. He called himself “crazy man from the Siming [Mountains] 四明[山]狂客.” Once he had a dream of travelling to the residence of the [heavenly] emperor. Thereupon he requested permission to become a Daoist priest,<sup>140</sup> and transformed his house to become the Qianqiu Abbey 千秋觀. He requested several hectares of the Zhougong Lake 周宮湖 to become a Pool for Releasing Living Beings 放生池. There was an order [instructing also] to provide him with a bay of the Jing Lake 鏡湖.<sup>141</sup>

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137 This means that the appearance of the man in golden armor, who gloriously defeated the hostile armies, occurred on the very day on which Amoghavajra recited the *State Protection Sūtra* for *Humane Kings*.

138 For a discussion of this legendary tradition, see: Valerie Hansen, “Gods on Walls: A Case of Indian Influence on Chinese Lay Religion?” in: *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China*, ed. Patricia Buckley Ebrey (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 82 f.

139 An annotation reads: “For this reason, in our present times a statue of the Heavenly King was erected in the military camp at the city tower” 今城樓軍營立天王者因此 (T 2035, p. 375, b13).

140 Since he was employed in state service, he had to request permission.

141 This story is also seen in *Longxing biannian tonglun*, juan 16 (X75, no. 1512, p. 190, a5–9 // Z 2B:3, p. 293, a5–9 // R130, p. 585, a5–9). On He Zhizhang, see: Russell Kirkland, “From Imperial Tutor to Taoist Priest: Ho Chih-chang at the T'ang Court,” in: *Journal of Asian*

Second year: Laojun was granted the title “Dashengzu xuanyuan huangdi 大聖祖玄元皇帝.”<sup>142</sup>

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An edict [said]: “According to the records in the Buddhist sūtras, Mount Luofu 羅浮山 is the seat of Bodhisattva Huashou 華首菩薩. A Yanxiang Monastery 延祥寺,<sup>143</sup> a Huashou Terrace 華首臺,<sup>144</sup> and a Mingyue Ordination Platform 明月戒壇<sup>145</sup> should specially be constructed.”

p. 375, b14

Previously the śramaṇa Chujin 楚金 recited the *Lotus sūtra* in the Qianfu Monastery 千福寺 of the capital. When he recited the “Chapter of the Jeweled Stūpa” 寶塔品,<sup>146</sup> his body and mind enjoyed stillness, and a jeweled stūpa suddenly appeared. Thereupon he sat in meditation for six years, and pledged to construct [a likeness of] this stūpa. On the day when the foundations were laid, the [monastic] community perceived celestial music and extraordinary fragrance. In the royal palace the emperor had a dream in which the two characters “chu jin” 楚金 appeared in midair. When [the emperor] asked his ministers about the matter, they all referred to the master (i.e. to the śramaṇa Chujin). Thereupon [the emperor] personally inscribed “Stūpa of Prabhūtaratna” 多寶塔 on a name plate, and donated both silk and money to support the construction work.<sup>147</sup>

p. 375, b15

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Third year: The emperor saw that on a numinous tally in a golden chest<sup>148</sup> the sentence “the Tianbao era shall last for 10,000 years” 天寶萬載 was written.

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*History* 23 (1989): 101–133; Russell Kirkland, “The Making of an Immortal: The Exaltation of Ho Chih-chang,” in: *Numen* 38 (1992): 214–239.

142 On this matter, see: Timothy H. Barrett, *Taoism under the Tang*, 63.

143 On the Yanxiang Monastery on Mount Luofu, see: Michel Soymié, “Le Lo-feou chan: étude de géographie religieuse,” in: *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 48, no. 1 (1956), 5.

144 On the Huashou Terrace on Mount Luofu, see: Michel Soymié, “Le Lo-feou chan: étude de géographie religieuse,” 20.

145 On the Mingyue Ordination Platform on Mount Luofu, see: Michel Soymié, “Le Lo-feou chan: étude de géographie religieuse,” 5.

146 This is chapter 11 of the *Lotus sūtra* (see: *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, juan 4: T 262, p. 32, b16–p. 34, b22; for a translation see: Tsugunari Kubo, *The Lotus Sutra* (Taishō Volume 9, Number 262), *Translated from the Chinese of Kumārajīva* [Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2007], 167–177). In this chapter a jeweled stūpa appears, in which Buddha Prabhūtaratna is sitting.

147 This tale is seen in the biography of Chujin in *Shimen zhengtong*, juan 7, where it is presented in more elaborate style (X75, no. 1513, p. 346, c24–p. 347, a4 // Z 2B3, p. 444, c4–8 // R130, p. 888, a4–8).

148 Both in the Taishō edition and in the Shi Daofa edition of the *Fozu tongji* we read 金匱. The

Thereupon [in chronology] the term ‘nian’ 年 was replaced with ‘zai’ 載.<sup>149</sup>

p. 375, b21 The Stūpa of Prabhūtaratna constructed in the Qianfu Monastery was completed. A five-colored cloud shrouded the top of the stūpa, and thousands [of people] assembled for the ceremony [at which the completed work could be] viewed. Chujin also assembled monks of great virtue at the foot of the stūpa, and practiced the saddharma-puṇḍarīka-samādhi,<sup>150</sup> and 3,070 pieces of relics were obtained.<sup>151</sup>

p. 375, b23 It was ordered that in the Kaiyuan Monasteries of all prefectures gold-plated bronze statues of the Buddha were to be cast in the size of the body of the emperor.

p. 375, b24 The meditation master Benjing 本淨 from Mount Sikong 司空山 was summoned to the palace, where he was questioned about the essentials of the Chan school. He was ordered to reside at the Bailian Monastery 白蓮寺.<sup>152</sup>

p. 375, b26 The meditation master Huairang 懷讓 from the Nanyue passed away. His posthumous name was Meditation Master Dahui 大慧, [and he was granted] the “Stūpa of the Most Victorious Wheel” 最勝輪之塔.<sup>153</sup> The master received the dharma [robe] from the sixth patriarch [of Chan Buddhism].

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character 匱 here however needs to be understood as a misrepresentation of the graphically similar 櫃, which can be translated as “chest.”

149 The characters 年 and 載 both mean “year.” This paragraph is saying that, since in the text, which appeared as a good omen for the dynasty, the character 載 was used, it was decided that henceforth 載 should be used in chronology. Consequently in the subsequent paragraphs the statement of the year in the beginning of annalistic entries is given using the character 載. On this matter, see also: Franciscus Verellen, “A Forgotten T’ang Restoration: The Taoist Dispensation after Huang Ch’ao,” in: *Asia Major*, third series 7, no. 1 (1994), 130f.

150 The Sanskrit title of the *Lotus sūtra* is *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* (i.e. Sūtra of the Lotus of the True Dharma). So the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-samādhi* (i.e. the Meditation of the Lotus of the True Dharma) is a meditation practice based on the *Lotus sūtra*.

151 The continuation of the tale is also seen in the biography of Chujin in *Shimen zhengtong*, juan 7 (X75, no. 1513, p. 347, a4–8 // Z 2B:3, p. 444, c8–12 // R130, p. 888, a8–12). The version presented here in the *Fozu tongji* is strongly abridged.

152 This is known from the biography of Benjing in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 8 (T 2061, p. 758, c17).

153 This is known from *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 5 (T 2076, p. 241, a24–26).

Fourth year: It was ordered that, as the teaching of the Persian scriptures comes from Daqin 大秦,<sup>154</sup> the Persian monasteries of the two capitals (i.e. Chang'an and Luoyang) should be renamed Daqin [monasteries].

The Daoist priest Wu Yun 吳筠 from the central mountain 中岳 was summoned for an audience. [The emperor] asked him for the essence of the way. [Wu Yun] replied: "[Among scriptures introducing] the way profoundly, none is as good as Laozi's text of 5,000 characters."<sup>155</sup> Furthermore [the emperor] enquired about the methods of regulating and refining [employed by] the divine immortals. The reply was: "These are matters of the common people, who spend months and years requesting them. It is not something the ruler of men should pay attention to." At that time the Palace Attendant Gao Lishi 內侍高力士 (i.e. Feng Yuanyi 馮元一), who consistently served the Buddha, slandered [Wu Yun] in front of the emperor. Thereupon [Wu Yun] departed and returned to Mount Mao 茅山.<sup>156</sup> On grounds of [the slander] [Wu] Yun was rebuked, [and so, on his part,] he established statements slandering Buddhism. Chen Shaoyou, the Surveillance Commissioner from West of [River] Zhe 浙西觀察使陳少遊, asked the dharma master Shenyong 神邕 to compete with [Wu Yun]. Face to face [with Wu Yun], [Shen]yong discussed [what would be] false and [what would be] correct. When the banners and drums (i.e. the support groups of the two debaters) had just met, [Wu] Yun was completely defeated.<sup>157</sup> [Shen]yong thereupon composed the *Fanxie lun* 翻邪論 in order to attack the remaining confederates [of Wu Yun].<sup>158</sup> [Through having arranged this debate,] [Chen] Shaoyou became famous at court, and it was ordered that [Shen]yong would become superintendent of monks.<sup>159</sup>

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154 As pointed out before, the term of Daqin normally refers to the Roman Empire, while Zhipan seems to confuse the Roman Empire with Persia (see: *Fozu tongji*, juan 39, T 2035, p. 364, a24–25).

155 On this statement, see: Jan de Meyer, *Wu Yun's Way: Life and Works of an Eighth Century Daoist Master* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 5.

156 On this matter, see: Jan de Meyer, *Wu Yun's Way*, 50.

157 On Wu Yun's confrontation with Shenyong, see: Jan de Meyer, *Wu Yun's Way*, 82.

158 According to the biographies of Shenyong in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 17 (T 2061, p. 816, a6–7) and in *Shimen zhengtong*, juan 2 (X75, no. 1513, p. 273, c16–17 // Z 2B:3, p. 376, b16–17 // R130, p. 751, b16–17) the title of this work was not *Fanxie lun* 翻邪論 but *Fanmi lun* 翻迷論.

159 An annotation reads: "[Shen]yong was the dharma heir of Zuoxi [Xuanlang]" 邕嗣左溪 (T 2035, p. 375, c8). That Shenyong was a disciple of Zuoxi Xuanlang 左溪玄朗 is known from the biography of Shenyong in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 17 (T 2061, p. 815, c5–6).

p. 375, c9 Fifth year: Sri Lanka sent a messenger coming to the court. He contributed a [copy of] the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* [written on] palm leaves, a diadem, and white cloth.

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p. 375, c10 The trepiṭaka Amoghavajra was ordered to reside at the Court for Dependencies. He entered the palace, and carried out the practice of abhiṣeka for the emperor.<sup>160</sup> At that time it had not rained for a long while. The master established a platform, practiced the dharma, and rain fell all over the place.<sup>161</sup> Furthermore he banished the great storms, whereupon the storms subsided.

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p. 375, c12 Sixth year: It was ordered to transfer monks and nuns in all under heaven to the Commissioner of Meritorious Affairs of the Two Streets 兩街功德使 (i.e. of Chang'an).<sup>162</sup> From then on the Ministry of Sacrifices 祠部 was in charge of bestowing the [ordination] certificates, [for the production of which] silk fabrics were used.

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p. 375, c14 It was ordered that the monasteries in all under heaven were to choose youngsters being genuine in their practice, and that in each commandery three of them were to be ordained.<sup>163</sup>

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Seventh year: Laojun was granted the title “Shengzu dadao xuanyuan huangdi” 聖祖大道玄元皇帝.<sup>164</sup>

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160 This is known from the biography of Amoghavajra in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 1 (T 2061, p. 712, c12–13).

161 This is a brief summary of events described in more detail in the biography of Amoghavajra in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 1 (T 2061, p. 713, b5–8).

162 According to Victor Xiong, the term of “liangjie” 兩街, literally meaning “two streets,” refers to “the areas right and left of Zhuquemen Street,” the central axis of Tang dynasty Chang’an running from the Zhuquemen 朱雀門 (Gate of the Red Bird) in the Imperial City to the Mingdemen 明德門 (Gate of Shining Virtue) in the outer city walls. Hence “liangjie” is to be understood as a metonymy referring to all of Chang’an. Victor Xiong refers to the title “liangjie dade” 兩街大德, which he translates as “honored monk of Chang’an” (Xiong Cunrui, *Sui-Tang Chang’an: A Study in the Urban History of Medieval China* [Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2000], 264). For a city plan of Tang dynasty Chang’an, on which the Zhuquemen and the Mingdemen as well as the central axis connecting them are shown, see: Thomas Thilo, *Chang’an: Metropole Ostasiens und Weltstadt des Mittelalters 583–904, Teil 1: Die Stadtanlage*, 411.

163 This is known from *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 15 (T 2061, p. 802, c23–24).

164 On this matter, see: Timothy H. Barrett, *Taoism under the Tang*, 63.

Thirteenth year: Laojun was granted the title “Dashengzu gaoshang dadao jin-jue xuanyuan tianhuang dadi” 大聖祖高上大道金闕玄元天皇帝.<sup>165</sup>

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Fourteenth year: The emperor believed that the people of the north were resolute and steadfast in their inborn nature. So in all temples mostly riding and archery were taught.<sup>166,167</sup> The śramaṇa Biancai 辯才 was ordered to act as an “instructor on the platform”<sup>168</sup> employed to offer guidance.

p. 375, c16

### Emperor Suzong

肅宗

[Personal name:] Heng 亨. Third son of Xuanzong.

**Zhide era**, first year: In the first month An Lushan, the Military Commissioner of Fanyang 范陽節度使安祿山反, rebelled. In the fifth month [Tang] Xuanzong, the crown prince, and the hundred officials left Chang'an intending to go to Shu. When they reached Mawei 馬嵬, several thousands of commoners asked the crown prince to stay in the East to destroy the homes of the rebels.<sup>169</sup> Daoping 道平, a śramaṇa from Jincheng 金城, forcefully persuaded [the crown prince] to “debate [the principles of] warfare” in Lingwu 靈武, intending to reconquer [the territories controlled by An Lushan].<sup>170</sup> There-

p. 375, c19

165 On this matter, see: Timothy H. Barrett, *Taoism under the Tang*, 63.

166 This means that, as the people of the north were resolute and steadfast in their inborn nature, the emperor thought that they would be perfectly suited to martial arts, and therefore ordered that in the temples of the north riding and archery should be taught.

167 This is known from the biographies of Biancai in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 16 (T 2061, p. 806, a17–19) and in *Jingtu wangsheng zhuan* 淨土往生傳, juan 3 (T 2071, p. 121, a26–28).

168 In the biography of Biancai in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 16, we read that [Biancai] “on the platform converted people” 臨壇度人 (T 2061, p. 806, a19–20). Converting people here seems to mean instructing people with regard to the afore-mentioned skills. In the biography of Biancai in *Jingtu wangsheng zhuan*, juan 3, we read: “[Bian]cai gave the instructions, and on the platform he trained [the monks]” 才為教誡。臨壇以調習之。(T 2071, p. 121, a28–29).

169 When An Lushan was about to conquer Chang'an, Tang Xuanzong with his court left the capital heading for Shu (i.e. Sichuan) where he hoped to be safe. Short of provisions the imperial convoy stopped in Mawei 馬嵬. For a description of what happened there, see: Howard S. Levy, “The Career of Yang Kuei-fei,” in: *T'oung Pao* 45 (1957), 473. From Mawei Tang Xuanzong continued his journey to Shu, while his crown prince, the later Tang Suzong, turned around to reconquer the Eastern part of China including the capital from the An Lushan rebellion.

170 The expression “to debate [the principles of] warfare” 議兵 alludes to a passage in *Xunzi* 荀子, chapter 15. There we read: “The Lord of Linwu and Master Xun Qing debated [the

upon [Dao]ping was employed as General in Chief of the Imperial Insignia 金吾大將軍. They marched to Lin'gao 臨臯, where they again and again fought battles against the rebels beating them in devastating fashion. When the situation was pacified, [the emperor] granted rewards. But [Dao]ping resolutely rejected. He was appointed to reside both at the Chongfu and the Xingqing Monastery 崇福興慶二寺,<sup>171</sup> and he was presented with a purple robe, as well as with gold and silk.<sup>172</sup> In the seventh month, the crown prince ascended the throne in Lingwu. [Tang] Xuanzong was given the position of a "Taishang huang" 太上皇.

principles of] warfare before King Xiaocheng of Zhao" 臨武君與孫卿子議兵於趙孝成王前 (John Knoblock, *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works* [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990], vol. 2, 218). Here in the *Fozu tongji* the term needs to be understood in the sense of "to collect troops." In the biography of An Lushan in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 200, part 1, we read: "Xuanzong personally went to Shu, while the crown prince collected troops in Lingwu" 玄宗幸蜀，太子收兵靈武。(Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 16, 537; Howard Levy, *Biography of An Lu-shan*, Chinese Dynastic Histories Translations No. 8 [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960], 41).

171 This means that Daoping was honored by being placed in charge of two monasteries.

172 Daoping does not have a biography in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*. The story is known from *Da Song seng shilüe* 大宋僧史略, juan 3. There we read: "At the end of the Tianbao era, the śramaṇa Daoping lived in a monastery in the Jincheng prefecture. When [An] Lushan rebelled, [Tang] Xuanzong personally went to Shu. When [Tang] Suzong (i.e. Tang Xuanzong's crown prince, the Tang Suzong to be) passed by the monastery, [Dao]ping courteously counseled him to discuss [the principles of] warfare in Lingwu, in order to recover [control of] Chang'an. Suzong subsequently enlisted [Daoping] into the military, and employed him as General in Chief of the Imperial Insignia of the Left. When they arrived at Lin'gao, they met the rebels in great battles, and time after time emerged successfully. Afterwards, [Daoping] requested to become a monk again. He was appointed to the Chongfu and the Xingqing Monastery, and granted a purple robe" 天寶末。沙門道平住金城縣寺。遇祿山逆亂。玄宗幸蜀。肅宗過寺。平懇勸論兵靈武。收復長安。肅宗遂以兵屬之。用為左金吾大將軍。至臨臯遇賊大戰。累次立功。後還乞為僧。勅配崇福、興慶兩寺。賜紫衣。(T 2126, p. 248, c22–26; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 487). While my translation of the above passage largely relies on the translation presented by Albert Welter, I deviate from Welter's translation in some respects. I would like to point out one matter in particular. When it comes to the phrase of 平懇勸論兵靈武, Welter translates: "[Dao]ping courteously counseled him on the spiritual valor of soldiers." So Welter does not take Lingwu as a place name, but translates it as "spiritual valor of soldiers." To take Lingwu as a place name, one needs to assume that an 於 has fallen out, as the grammatically complete phrase would be 平懇勸論兵於靈武. The dropout of grammatical particles is however not unusual, and based on the above-quoted passage in the biography of An Lushan in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 200, part 1, we know that Lingwu is a place name here. Howard Levy elaborately comments on the matter in an annotation to his



When the emperor was [on his campaign] in Lingwu,<sup>173</sup> the chancellor Pei Mian 宰相裴冕<sup>174</sup> requested [the government] to sell ordination certificates for Buddhist monks and Daoist priests, since the supplies for the army were insufficient. [The support accumulated this way] was referred to as “Money for Fragrance and Waters” 香水錢.<sup>175,176</sup>

When at that time a rebellion was growing strong, somebody persuaded the emperor to rely on the protection of the Buddha. A decree [ordered] that hundred śramaṇas were to enter the [emperor's] temporary palace to recite and to chant from the morning to the evening. The emperor one evening dreamt of a śramaṇa with a gold-colored body, who recited [the name of] Ratnaketu Tathāgata 寶勝如來. When he asked his attendants, one of them replied: “In the Baicao Valley 白草谷 of Helan 賀蘭 there was Wulou 無漏, a monk from Silla,<sup>177</sup> who frequently recited this name.” [Wulou] was summoned to the [emperor's] temporary palace. After a while [also] Amoghavajra arrived. Thereupon [the emperor] left them both [in the temporary palace], asking them to pray for good fortune.<sup>178</sup>

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translation of the An Lushan biography: “Ling-wu was the name of both a district and a commandery on the nw frontier, occupying virtually the same site as modern Ling-wu (eastern Ning-hsia). The Heir Apparent and his followers reached this point August 9, 756. He proclaimed himself Emperor three days later. He is known in history by his temple name of Su-tsung” (Howard Levy, *Biography of An Lu-shan*, 79 note 147).

- 173 The term of “emperor” here again refers to the later Tang Suzong, who should more accurately be referred to as “emperor-to-be” when reference is made to the Lingwu campaign.
- 174 Pei Mian has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 113 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 10, 3353–3356) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 140 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 15, 4644–4646).
- 175 An annotation reads: “The sale [ordination] certificates began here” 賣牒始此 (T 2035, p. 375, c27). As Gernet points out, certificates for leading positions in the saṃgha were already subject to sales during the Northern Wei, while common monk ordinations remained a purely religious matter up to the Tang dynasty. It is important to note that in fact the sale of certificates for monk ordinations already began under Tang Zhongzong, and not only under Tang Suzong (Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society*, 48 ff.). Even though the Lingwu campaign did not mark the true beginning of the sale of ordination certificates, the number of monk ordinations here increased spectacularly, as many certificates had to be sold to overcome the rebellion of An Lushan (Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society*, 37).
- 176 This is a highly essentialized statement of information provided in *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 3 (T 2126, p. 252, b18–27; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 577).
- 177 Wulou has a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 21, according to which he was the third son of the King of Silla (T 2061, p. 846, a24–c12).
- 178 This story is also seen in *Longxing biannian tonglun*, juan 17 (X75, no. 1512, p. 192, b5–11 // Z 2B3, p. 295, b11–17 // R130, p. 589, b11–17).

p. 376, a3 Du Hongjian 杜鴻漸<sup>179</sup> reported that Biancai 辯才 resided at the Longxing Monastery 龍興寺. It was ordered to confer [the title of] “Shuofang guannei jiaoshou” 朔方管内教授 on him.<sup>180</sup>

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Taishō apparatus of textual criticism Second year: In the first month, Qingxu 慶緒, the son of [An] Lushan, killed his father to establish himself [as his heir].<sup>181</sup> In the ninth month the Fuyuanshuai Guo Ziyi 副元帥郭子儀 defeated Qingxu and recaptured the capital.<sup>182</sup>

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p. 376, a4 When the emperor's father (i.e. Suzong's father Xuanzong) rested in Chengdu, the attendant Gao Lishi 內侍高力士 reported: “In the southern market of Cheng[du] there is the monk Yinggan 英幹, who on the main intersections gives out porridge to save the poor and starving [population]. He prays for the imperial fortune to become pure again, and for reconquering the territory [from the rebellion]. He wishes to establish a monastery to the east of the governmental office in favor of the empire's prosperity and fortune.” The emperor's father was pleased, [contributed] a name plate saying “Dashengci Monastery” 大聖慈寺 in royal calligraphy, and donated 1,000 mu of land. The meditation master Kim from Silla established the regulations for it.<sup>183</sup> All together it comprised 96 yards and 8500 sections. Later on the meditation master Kim went to Mount Jiuhua 九華山 in Chizhou 池州 and passed away. His body did not decay and his bones seemed like [kept in place by] a golden chain. He had become 99 years old.

179 Du Hongjian has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 108 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 10, 3282–3284) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 126 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 14, 4422–4424).

180 This is known from the biographies of Biancai in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 16 (T 2061, p. 806, a20–21) and in *Jingtu wangsheng zhuan*, juan 3 (T 2071, p. 121, a29–b1).

181 This is known from the biography of An Lushan in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 200, part 1 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 16, 5374; Howard Levy, *Biography of An Lu-shan*, 48).

182 On this matter, see: Denis Twitchett, “Hsüan-tsung,” in: *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3, ed. Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 461.

183 The text of the *Fozu tongji* is faulty here, as in fact we read of a “Meditation Master Quan from Silla” 新羅全禪師. Quan 全 is a misrepresentation of the Korean name Kim 金, which means “golden.” The full name of the Korean monk referred to here is Kim Chijiang 金地藏, which means “Golden Kṣitigarbha.” The name of this monk derives from the fact that he was regarded as an incarnation of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha (Zhiru, *The Making of a Savior Bodhisattva: Dizang in Medieval China* [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007], 6). Kim Chijiang has a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 20 (T 2061, p. 838, c16–p. 839, a19). It does not refer to the matter of the Dashengci Monastery. However the monk introduced in this biography can be identified with the monk mentioned here in the *Fozu tongji*, as in both cases we read that Kim Chijiang came from Silla, became affiliated with Mount Jiuhua, and reached an age of 99 years.

In the twelfth month the emperor's father returned from Chengdu to the capital. p. 376, a11

The śramaṇa Yuanjiao 元皎 was summoned to the Kaiyuan Monastery 開元寺 of Fengxiang 鳳翔 to establish a Medicine Buddha bodhi-maṇḍala. Suddenly within the [dharma] assembly 49 plum trees emerged. [Yuan]jiao and the others expressed felicitations. An imperial response said: "That the auspicious plum [trees] have grown numerous is an omen for the prospering of the state. As the place of their emergence is within a saṃgha-arāma, they also remind of the glory of the bodhi tree. Upon experiencing this distinguished omen, the emperor joined the master in his joy."<sup>184</sup>

An edict instructed that the Buddha relic of the Famen Monastery 法門寺 in Fengxiang was to be brought to the palace, where a bodhi-maṇḍala was to be erected. The assembly of śramaṇas was ordered to praise and worship it from morning to evening. It was also ordered to build a monastery on each of the five marchmounts, and carefully chosen [monks] of noble conduct [were installed] as their abbots. White clad [men] (i.e. lay practitioners) [able to] recite 500 pages received the attribute "qualified through mastery of the scriptures" 明經出身 and were accepted as monks. At that time Sengbiao 僧標 was considered as first choice. Those [who were willing to] to pay hundred stings of coins, were also allowed to request [ordination] certificates and to be tonsured.<sup>185</sup>

When the śramaṇa Huichang 慧常 from Mount Luofu 羅浮山 was plucking tea [leaves], he entered a mountain cave, where he saw a placard with golden characters [reading] "Holy Monastery of Arhats" 羅漢聖寺. Having stayed there for three days, he came out and found himself on Mount Mao 茅山. In the human society five years had passed.<sup>186</sup>

**Qianyuan era**, first year: The trepiṭaka Amoghavajra was ordered to come to the palace, to do the abhiṣeka for the emperor and to bestow the dharma of p. 376, a23

184 This story is known from the biography of Yuanjiao in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 24 (T 2061, p. 864, b23–c2).

185 This story is also seen in *Longxing bianmian tonglun*, juan 17 (X75, no. 1512, p. 192, c3–9 // Z 2B:3, p. 295, c15–d3 // R130, p. 590, a15–b3).

186 Soymié does not mention this legend, but he shows that the connection between Lofu and Maoshan has a long history (Michel Soymié, "Le Lo-feou chan: étude de géographie religieuse," 86).

the precepts on him.<sup>187</sup> [Amoghavajra] invoked Bodhisattva Mahāpratibhāna 大樂說菩薩, who emitted a beam of light to validate [the bestowal of] the precepts.

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- p. 376, a25 Second year, third month: An edict [ordered] that in all under heaven commanderies comprising military compounds, and having outer walls in a distance of roughly five li from rivers, should build pools for releasing living beings 放生池.<sup>188</sup> [This applied to] 81 places in total. Yan Zhenqing, the Regional Inspector of Shengzhou 昇州刺史顏真卿, composed a stele text [to be placed at the pools]. It said: “Creatures and plants live in the water and live on the land. In all under heaven pools have been constructed; and the whole world is covered by bliss. Employing the power of the dhāraṇī and of grace, we will embark on the ford leading out of the ocean of suffering and out of the cycle of life and death.

舉天下以為池。

罄域中而蒙福。

乘陀羅尼、加持之力。

竭煩惱海、生死之津。”<sup>189</sup>

—

- p. 376, a29 An edict [ordered] the meditation master Nanyang Huizhong 南陽慧忠 to come [to the imperial palace] for an audience. He was ordered to reside in the Qianfu Monastery,<sup>190</sup> and the title Imperial Preceptor was bestowed on him. The emperor asked: “What are the teachings you received from Caoxi 曹溪 (i.e. Huineng)?” The master asked: “Your Majesty, have you seen a cloud in the sky?” The emperor said: “Yes.” The master asked: “Was it nailed there or was it just hanging there?”<sup>191</sup> The emperor asked: “How about the ‘ten-body con-

187 That Amoghavajra did the abhiṣeka for the emperor is known from the biography of Amoghavajra in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 1 (T 2061, p. 712, c13).

188 This is known from *Longxing biannian tonglun*, juan 17 (X75, no. 1512, p. 193, a16–17 // Z 2B:3, p. 296, a16–17 // R130, p. 591, a16–17). The point is that military units would usually kill living beings, so that pools for releasing living beings should be created to accumulate karmic compensation.

189 This is an excerpt from a much longer stele text seen in *Longxing biannian tonglun*, juan 17 (X75, no. 1512, p. 193, b16–17 // Z 2B:3, p. 296, c4–5 // R130, p. 592, a4–5).

190 This is known from the biography of Huizhong in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 9 (T 2061, p. 762, c29–p. 763, a3).

191 An annotation reads: “The Fifth Patriarch and Master of the Precepts said alternatively: ‘A good thing isn’t as good as nothing’” 五祖戒師代云。好事不如無。(T 2035, p. 376, b3). The statement “A good thing isn’t as good as nothing” 好事不如無 is a famous kōan frequently seen in Chan Buddhist Yulu 語錄 collections. Just to name two Yulu passages of the many possible, one could refer to *Biyan lu* 碧巖錄, juan 9, case 86

troller?”<sup>192</sup> The master stood up and said: “Can you [understand] now?” The emperor said: “I cannot.” The master turned to his attendants and said: “Give this old monk a bottle of clean [water].”<sup>193,194</sup>

**Shangyuan era**, first year: An Imperial Commissioner was sent to Caoxi 曹溪 in Shaozhou 韶州 to get hold of the sixth patriarch's robe and pātra. [Both relics] were brought to the palace, where sacrifices were made in front of them. p. 376, b5

The śramaṇa Baoyu 抱玉 from Wuxing 吳興 entered the capital to receive the precepts. The emperor had been dreaming that a monk from Wu[xing] recited the *Lotus sūtra*, while five-colored splendor came out of his mouth. The next morning, the master (i.e. Baoyu) entered [the area surrounded by] the passes.<sup>195</sup> The pass officials asked him what he had come for. [Baoyu] replied: “The monk excelling in reciting the *Lotus sūtra* has come to receive the precepts.” The pass guardian made [this] known [to the emperor]. When the emperor summoned [Baoyu] for an audience, he finally [found that] it was the one he had seen in his dream. [The emperor] allowed him to sit down and to recite the [*Lotus*] *sūtra*. When he reached the chapter “[Merits of] Joyful Acceptance” 隨喜[功德]品,<sup>196</sup> from the corners of his mouth he released five-colored

(T 2003, p. 211, b16) or to *Fenyang Wude chanshi yulu* 汾陽無德禪師語錄, juan 1 (T 1992, p. 605, a25). The kōan is also seen in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 16 (T 2076, p. 327, a23–24).

192 The term of the “ten-body controller” 十身調御 is the theme of *Bīyan lu*, juan 10, case 99. We find a dialogue between Tang Suzong and Huizhong. As we read, Suzong asks Huizhong: “What is the Ten-Body Controller?” 如何是十身調御 (T 2003, p. 222, b3). As the commentary to the *Bīyan lu* explains, the Ten-Body Controller is the emperor of the great Tang himself (T 2003, p. 222, b4). As Tang Suzong says that he does not understand, Huizhong concludes by saying that Tang Suzong does not recognize his own true nature (T 2003, p. 222, b6–7). For an English translation of the dialogue including commentary, see: Thomas Cleary, *The Blue Cliff Record* (Boston: Shambhala, 2005), 546.

193 The matter of giving the old monk a bottle of clean water goes back to an account entitled “A Clean Bottle in Nanyang” 南陽淨瓶 seen in *Congrong an lu* 從容庵錄, juan 3 (T 2004, p. 254, b22–26).

194 This passage is seen in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 5 (T 2076, p. 244, c11–15). For a translation, see: Christian Wittern, *Jingde chuandeng lu: Aufzeichnungen von der Übertragung der Leuchte aus der Ära Jingde* (Berlin: Insel, 2014), 112 f.

195 The geographical term of the ‘area surrounded by the passes’ 關中 refers to Central China (zhongyuan, 中原). Chang’an is imagined as its center. Wuxing being situated in present-day Zhejiang does not belong to the area signified by that term.

196 This is chapter 18 of the *Lotus sūtra* (see: *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, juan 6: T 262, p. 46, b21–p. 47, c1; for a translation see: Tsugunari Kubo, *The Lotus Sutra*, 245–250).

splendor. The emperor was greatly pleased. The emperor ordered to newly construct a fragrant altar, especially for [Baoyu] to receive the precepts. He granted him the name “[Master of] Great Splendor” 大光, and bestowed the “Highest Seat in All Under Heaven” 天下上座 on him.<sup>197</sup>

p. 376, b12 It was ordered that monks and nuns should not refer to themselves as “servant [of the emperor]” when having court audiences.<sup>198</sup>

p. 376, b14 Hong Juefan (i.e. Juefan Huihong 覺範慧洪, 1071–1128) said: “[Qi]song 契嵩, [the Great Master] Mingjiao 明教大師, each time sighed about the nobility of the śramaṇas. When he saw the emperor, he did not perform the rites of the servant 臣禮. Beginning with Lingtao 令瑫 of the Tang dynasty, the principle [of monks calling themselves ‘servant’ in front of the emperor] had been broken.<sup>199</sup> Through generations [people] followed him, and therefore there was no doubt [about the propriety of the matter]. If the Son of Heaven cannot employ the hermits of the mountain forests as his servants, how much more should the path of the śramaṇas, in which one respects the abiding by the three jewels, and takes refuge on behalf of the world, [reject being servant to the emperor]! Therefore, [even though] in the records [quoted in the] *Zhengzong ji* 正宗記<sup>200</sup> the term ‘servant’ is taken as a self-reference from the beginning to the end in order to preserve their original style,<sup>201</sup> in those parts [Qisong] had written himself, he stopped [this practice] and used his name. In his times, among the dukes and officials there was nobody who did not value his sublime understanding.”

p. 376, b21 **Commentary:** The *Yi[jing]* says: “This one does not concern himself with the affairs of kings or feudal lords but works to elevate his own higher pur-

197 This story is known from the biography of Baoyu in *Shimen zhengtong*, juan 8 (X75, no. 1513, p. 351, b14–20 // Z 2B:3, p. 449, a5–11 // R130, p. 897, a5–11).

198 This is seen in *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 3 (T 2126, p. 252, a9; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 556).

199 An annotation reads: “It is unclear where this is known from” 此事未見所出 (T 2035, p. 376, b15).

200 This is the *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* 傳法正宗記 (T 2078) by Qisong.

201 The *Zhengzong ji* quotes many texts written by other authors who refer to themselves as ‘servants [of the emperor]’. In order to preserve the original style of those texts, Qisong leaves those self-references in place.

suits.”<sup>202</sup> The [*Li*]/*ji* says: “Among the Confucian scholars there are those who towards the highest level do not wish to be servants to the son of heaven, and towards the lower levels do not wish to attend upon the dukes.”<sup>203</sup> In the Later Han dynasty, Wang Ruzhong 王儒仲 was summoned. When he saw Guangwu [di] 光武[帝], he stated his name, rather than calling himself ‘servant.’ When the administration asked for the reason, the reply was: “There are those who are not servants of the Son of Heaven.”<sup>204</sup> Even the Confucian scholars and the hermits know to employ the path to elevate themselves. How much more would those who study Buddhism beyond the [common] world, make their names dwell in the fields of blessedness! How could they accept the matter of being servants serving the ruler of the [common] world, thereby loading shame upon themselves! When it comes to [Tang] Suzong, it can be said that he knows to respect Buddhism, and that he deeply understands the cardinal principle.<sup>205</sup>

202 This is a quotation from *Yijing*, hexagram 18 (Jin Jingfang 金景芳, Lü Shaogang 呂紹綱, *Zhouyi quanjie* 周易全解 [Jilin: Jilin daxue chubanshe 吉林大學出版社, 1989], 154; Richard John Lynn, *The Classic of Changes: A New Translation of the I Ching as Interpreted by Wang Bi* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1994], 252). The passage is quoted here in support of Qisong’s view that—as an alternative to calling oneself a servant of the emperor—it is also legitimate to develop oneself spiritually and to define other priorities for oneself.

203 This is a quotation from *Liji*, chapter “Ruxing” 儒行 (Wang Wenjin 王文錦, *Liji yijie* 禮記譯解 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001], vol. 2, 892). Like the above *Yijing* passage, also this *Liji* quotation is offered as a statement in support of Qisong, saying that even among the Confucian scholars there were also those who would neither serve the emperor nor the dukes, and would follow more individual ideals instead.

204 Ruzhong is the *zi* of Wang Ba 王霸, a tiller and hermit living in the times of Guangwu (r. 25–58AD), the first emperor of the Later Han. The anecdote referred to here is seen in the biography of Wang Ba in *Hou Hanshu*, juan 83: “When during the Jianwu era he was summoned by the Director of the Imperial Secretariat, he bowed and stated his name rather than calling himself servant. When the administration asked for the reason, [Wang] Ba said [paraphrasing the *Liji*]: ‘The Son of Heaven has those who are not his subjects, the feudal lords have those who are not their friends.’” 建武中，徵到尚書，拜稱名，不稱臣。有司問其故。霸曰：「天子有所不臣，諸侯有所不友。」 (Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, vol. 10, 2762; see also Aat Vervorm, *Men of the Cliffs and Caves. The Development of the Chinese Eremitic Tradition to the End of the Han Dynasty* [Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1990], 80). The *Liji* passage paraphrased by Wang Ba appears in *Liji*, chapter “Ruxing” 儒行. It reads: “Among the scholars there are those who [looking to] the highest rank do not see themselves as subjects of the Son of Heaven, and [looking to] the lower ranks do not serve the dukes” 儒有上不臣天子。下不事諸侯。 (Wang Wenjin, *Liji yijie*, vol. 2, 892).

205 In the passage of the main text, which the current commentary passage is referring to, it

p. 376, b28 The śramaṇa Zilin 子隣 was summoned to the imperial palace to preach the sūtras. He was presented with a purple robe, and was granted [the title of] a courtier.<sup>206</sup>

p. 376, b29 When previously the master returned from educational journeys, he found that his mother had died three years ago. He went to an ancestral temple on Mount Tai 泰山 to recite the *Lotus sūtra*, and pledged [to dedicate his spiritual effort to the objective of] seeing the King of the Uniform Heaven 天齊王.<sup>207,208</sup> As soon as the King had shown his body, he said: “At the time when you were born, your mother frequently ate eggs, or took the egg white applying it to the wounds on her head.”<sup>209</sup> For this reason she is now suffering in hell.”<sup>210,211</sup> [Zi]lin moaned with grief and asked for a remedy. The King said: “Go to Mount Mao and pay homage to the Aśoka pagoda, and perhaps the sins [of your mother] can be forgiven.” [Zi]lin immediately went to the mountain monastery, and in sorrowful mood he gave his report. When he had done 400 prostrations, he heard a voice out of mid-air. When he raised his head, he saw his deceased mother. Riding on cloudy haze, she thanked him and said: “Through your [spiritual] power I have now already been reborn in the Trāyas-triṃśa Heaven 忉利天.”<sup>212</sup> [Until] today, on the summit behind the monastery, there is the Cuiwei Temple, which is where the master used to stay and rest.

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was said that, on orders of Tang Suzong, monks and nuns were no longer expected to refer to themselves as “servant [of the emperor].” On this basis Tang Suzong is here praised for his tolerance towards Buddhism.

206 This is known from the biography of Zilin in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 3 (T 2061, p. 722, a19).

207 The King of the Uniform Heaven is the deity of Mount Tai. In *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 8, we read: “[In the thirteenth year of the Kaiyuan era] the deity of Mount Tai was installed as King of the Uniform Heaven” 封泰山神為天齊王 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 1, 188).

208 This is known from the biography of Zilin in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 3 (T 2061, p. 722, a4–5).

209 In the sentence of 取白傳頭瘡, the character 傳 needs to be understood as a misrepresentation of 傳, which means ‘to apply.’

210 Eating eggs or using egg white to treat wounds is considered an offense against the Buddhist law of nonviolence (ahiṃsā), as living beings would have emerged from the eggs if they had not been eaten. The rebirth in hell was the karmic retribution for this offense.

211 The statement of the King of the Uniform Heaven is also seen in the biography of Zilin in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 3 (T 2061, p. 722, a8–9). Here the phrase referring to the egg white is written correctly with 傳, rather than with 傳 as seen in the *Fozu tongji*.

212 All of this is also known from the biography of Zilin in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 3 (T 2061, p. 722, a9–15).



The Left Aide of the Imperial Secretariat Wang Wei 尚書左丞王維 and his younger brother [Wang] Jin [王]縉 both faithfully believed in serving the Buddha, wore white robes and followed a vegetarian diet. Their villa was in Wangchuan 輞川,<sup>213</sup> where they tasted reciting [prayers] and roaming [through the countryside]. When their mother died, they submitted a petition for their mansion in Wangchuan to be transformed into a Buddhist monastery. p. 376, c7

**Baoying era**, first year: The nun Zhenru 真如 from Henan 河南, on grounds of the rebellion of [An] Lushan, hid herself in Chuzhou 楚州. In a moonlit night, two [monks wearing] black robes 二皂衣 guided her along the Eastern path ascending into heaven. [When within heaven] she arrived at a big city, she saw the Heavenly Emperor 天帝<sup>214</sup> as well as all the Heavenly Kings 天王,<sup>215</sup> who said to each other: “Down on earth there is mourning and violence, while massacres are extremely frequent. Please use the second hidden treasure to guard the state [of the Tang dynasty].”<sup>216</sup> Thereupon [the Heavenly Emperor] in detail transmitted the names of the treasures as well as the guarding methods to Zhenru, and ordered the two afore-mentioned officials<sup>217</sup> to guide her back. [Zhen]ru informed the [magistrate of her] commandery about the situation. All of the thirteen treasures were precious gems with white jade. When she offered them during midday, white splendor filled the heaven, and during the night they [shone] like the moon. Their names were: Xuanhuang tianfu 玄黃天符, Gubi 穀璧, Ruyi zhu 如意珠, Yuyin 玉印, Bise bao 碧色寶, and others. The Regional Inspector Cui Shen 刺史崔旆 submitted them [to the emperor], and the emperor said to the crown prince: “The gracious favor of the highest heaven can only be attained by those who are virtuous.”<sup>218</sup> Previously having p. 376, c10

213 Wangchuan is subject to descriptions in the *Wangchuanji* 輞川集, a collection of twenty poems by Wang Wei (Chou Shan, “Beginning With Images in the Nature Poetry of Wang Wei,” in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 42, no. 1 [1982], 118 note 1).

214 An annotation reads: “This should be the heavenly ruler Śakra” 當是帝釋天主 (T 2035, p. 376, c12).

215 An annotation reads: “These should be the 32 Heavenly Kings and the Heavenly Kings of the four aspects” 當是三十二天王。及四門天王。(T 2035, p. 376, c12).

216 This should be understood in such a way that the Heavenly Kings ask the Heavenly Emperor to proceed in this way.

217 This should be the “two [monks wearing] black robes” 二皂衣, who had guided Zhenru into heaven. They were not common people but mystery monks and at the same time heavenly officials.

218 The term of “gracious favor” 眷祐 is also written 眷佑. The matter alludes to a passage in *Shangshu*, chapter “Taijia” 太甲. There we read: “Great Heaven has graciously favored the House of Shang, and granted you, O young king, at last to become virtuous” 皇天眷佑有商。俾嗣王克終厥德。(Kong Anguo 孔安國, *Shangshu zhengyi*

been the Prince of Chu 楚王 you became crown prince, and now, by presenting the treasures to Chuzhou, heaven wanted to bless you.”<sup>219</sup> [With these words, the emperor] gave all the treasures to him, and changed the reign title from [Shang]yuan to Baoying 寶應. He granted Zhenru the title of Baohe taishi 寶和太師, and ordered to establish the Baoying Jinlun Monastery 寶應金輪寺 in Chang’an.<sup>220</sup>

p. 376, c23

**Commentary:** From Suzong to Zhaozong there were all together thirteen emperors, [after which] the Tang rule declined.<sup>221</sup> From that we know that the presentation of the thirteen treasures was a means of expressing [the heaven’s] blessings [for each of them]. Even though the historiographers noted this, one does not know what hinted to the heavenly causation of the matter.

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尚書正義 [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007], 314; Clae Waltham, *Shu Ching: Book of History* [London: George Allen and Unwin, 1972], 79). In the context of the *Fayun tongsai zhi*, the point is that heaven had sent the thirteen treasures to graciously favor the crown prince (i.e. Li Yu 李豫), who had previously been Prince of Chu 楚王. As the treasures were supposed to be revealed to the authorities of Chu, heaven had summoned Zhenru, as a nun staying in Chu, to act as a transmitter.

219 The emperor is saying that heaven had sent the thirteen treasures to Chu as a sign of approvement of Li Yu’s promotion to the position of crown prince.

220 This story is formulated based on an account seen in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 10 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 1, p. 262f.).

221 These would be the emperors Daizong 代宗 (r. 762–779), Dezong 德宗 (r. 779–805), Shunzong 順宗 (r. 805), Xianzong 憲宗 (r. 805–820), Muzong 穆宗 (r. 820–824), Jingzong 敬宗 (r. 824–827), Wenzong 文宗 (r. 827–840), Wuzong 武宗 (r. 840–846), Xuanzong 宣宗 (r. 846–859), Yizong 懿宗 (r. 859–873), Xizong 僖宗 (r. 873–888), Zhaozong 昭宗 (r. 888–900, 901–904), Aidi 哀帝, (r. 904–907).

Supplements for *Fayun tongsai zhi*, juan 7  
(i.e. for *Fozu tongji*, juan 40)

[Kaiyuan era, first year:] Early on, Ye Fashan 葉法善 died by drowning.<sup>222</sup> After p. 376, c27  
three years he returned to his family, and said:<sup>223</sup> “The Azure Lad guided me to  
meet Laojun, which has been long ago.”

Once in a stone chamber he had met a divine man who said: “In your orig- p. 376, c28  
inal [incarnation] you have been the Ziwei zuoxian qing 紫微左仙卿, but you  
have been demoted to live in the human world, in order to establish merit  
by saving the people. I received an order from Laojun to transfer the meth-  
ods one, three, and five to you.” [Thereupon] [Tang] Gaozong summoned [Ye  
Fashan] to establish him as a superior official. But [Ye Fashan] did not accept  
and requested [permission] to become a Daoist priest. Afterwards he entered  
the Western Mountains to cultivate the Dao. In the Jinglong 景龍 era (707–  
710) the divine man again descended, and transmitted an instruction from  
Laojun: “You must assist [Tang] Ruizong and the Kaiyuan emperor (i.e. Tang  
Xuanzong). You cannot go into retreat in the mountain forests yet.”<sup>224</sup> In the  
eighth month of this year, he was finally summoned to go to the palace.<sup>225</sup> After-  
wards the Prince of Xiang 相王 was established as [Tang] Ruizong, and [Tang]  
Xuanzong [later on] inherited the throne. [During these reigns Ye Fashan] reli-  
ably foretold all auspicious and inauspicious developments. [The emperor]  
met a messenger sent by Tibet, who presented a precious box, and said: “[I  
would like to] ask Your Majesty to open it yourself, rather than letting other  
people know its secret.” [Ye] Fashan said: “This is an inauspicious device. You  
should ask the Tibetan messenger to open it himself.” [When the Tibetan  
messenger opened it,] a crossbow bolt<sup>226</sup> came out of the box, and hit the  
Tibetan messenger, who died immediately. The emperor valued him (i.e. Ye

222 Ye Fashan (631–720) was a famous magus at the court of Tang Xuanzong. He has a biogra-  
phy in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 191 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 16, 5107f.). The role he played at the  
court is briefly explained in Timothy H. Barrett, *Taoism under the T'ang*, 33, 52.

223 In the Taishō we read 後三年還家去. But following Shi Daofa, 去 needs to be replaced  
with 云, which means “said.”

224 An annotation reads: “At that time the original felicity of the two emperors (i.e. Tang  
Ruizong and Tang Xuanzong) could be known from both their temple names and their  
reign titles.” 時二帝本興，而廟號、年號皆預以告 (T 2035, p. 377, a5).

225 In the Taishō we read 赴闕, but in the Shi Daofa edition we find an annotation explaining  
that one might read 赴闕, which would mean “to go to the palace.”

226 In the Taishō we read 函中驚發. But following Shi Daofa, 驚 needs to be replaced with  
弩, which actually means “crossbow,” but may be interpreted as “crossbow bolt” here.

Fashan), granted him the title Yinqing guanglu dafu, [and installed him] as Duke of Yueguo 越國公. Afterwards he performed mortuary liberation and departed.<sup>227</sup>

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p. 377, a12 [Kaiyuan era,] sixth year: Li Quan 李筌 went to the Tiger Cliffs 虎巖 of Mount Song 嵩山, and obtained the *Huangdi yinfu jing* 黃帝陰符經. Having read it thousands of times he still did not understand its meaning. Once when he passed the foothills of Mount Li, where he met an old mother by the wayside. They saw that persistent fire was burning a tree. Therefore [the old mother] said to herself: "Fire is born out of wood. But when the disaster unfolds, it will have its restraint."<sup>228</sup> [Li] Quan had asked her in a frightened way,<sup>229</sup> and the mother said: "It took me three yuan 元,<sup>230</sup> and six zhou 周 of jiazi 甲子<sup>231</sup> to receive this book."<sup>232</sup> [Li] Quan in detail told her that he had [also] attained [this book]. The mother said: "In young ages the blood in the brain is not yet reduced, and the heart is free of malice. You can truly be my disciple." Then she sat on a stone and explained the meaning [of the book] to him: "The [*Huangdi yinfu jing*] has 300 characters: in hundred words it explains the way; in hundred words it explains the law; in hundred words it explains the art. Firstly it presents the way of divine immortals embracing unity. Secondly it presents the law of enriching the state and securing the people. Thirdly it presents the art of strengthening the soldiers and achieving victories.

上有神仙抱一之道。

中有富國安民之法。

下有強兵戰勝之術。

All of this on the inside originates from mental reflection, and on the outside harmonizes with the affairs of the people. Looking at its profound subtleness, the Eight Effulgences of the *Huangting jing* would not suffice to be regarded as mysterious. Investigating its distinguished essence, scriptures,

227 The full account of this story is seen in *Taiping guangji*, juan 26 (Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, vol. 1, 170–174).

228 This means that when the wood has all been burned, the fire must subside.

229 From the context we can tell, that the old mother must have quoted the aphorism on fire and disaster from the *Huangdi yinfu jing*. So upon hearing the old mother pronouncing these words, Li Quan became aware that she penetrated the text, which he was trying to understand. Therefore he started questioning her about it.

230 As one yuan equals sixty years, three yuan equal 180 years.

231 As one zhou equals three jiazi, while one jiazi equals 60 years, six zhou of jiazi equal 1,080 years.

232 This means that it took her 1,260 years to fully understand this book.

transmissions, belles lettres, and histories would not suffice to be regarded as cultured. Employing its ingenious wisdom, Sun[zi] 孫[子] and Wu[zi] 吳[子],<sup>233</sup> Han [Xin] 韓[信] and Bai [Qi] 白[起]<sup>234</sup> would not suffice to be regarded as extraordinary.

觀其精微。黃庭八景不足以為玄。

察其至要。經傳子史不足以為文。

任其巧智。孫吳韓白不足以為奇。

If [somebody] is not a master in possession of the Dao, [the *Huangdi yinfu jing*] should not be brought to his attention. Therefore accomplished people would use it and learn its way; rulers would use it and learn its art; petty-minded people would use it and meet disaster.

至人用之得其道。

君子用之得其術。

小人用之得其殃。

If one wishes to pass it on to congenial friends, it would necessarily [have to be a person] following a pure diet to receive it. If in the years of one's natal destiny<sup>235</sup> one recites it seven times per day, it will benefit one's thinking and enhance one's longevity." [The mother] took a bottle gourd out of her sleeve, and asked [Li Quan] to fetch water. The bottle gourd suddenly became heavy and sunk into the water. When [Li Quan] returned, he could not find the mother any more, and she had only left wheat food for him. [Li] Quan ate it, and from then on he avoided cereals.<sup>236</sup> When it came to the

233 Sunzi and Wuzi are military classics. Introduced semi-translations are seen in the following book: Ralph D. Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993). For the Sunzi, see pp. 145–186. For the Wuzi, see: pp. 187–224. For a full translation of the Sunzi, see: Roger T. Ames, *Sun-tzu: The Art of Warfare* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1993).

234 Bai Qi was a general of Qin in the Zhanguo period, who subdued the state of Zhao. Han Xin was a general of Liu Bang, the founder of the Western Han dynasty.

235 The year of one's natal destiny (i.e. the year of one's birth) would be counted as one year in a cycle of twelve years and would therefore recur every twelve years.

236 The term of 'avoiding cereals' (bigu, 絕粒) refers to a technique of Daoist spiritual fasting aiming at replacing the consumption of common food consisting of grain with nutrition through consuming pure 'energy' (qi, 氣). The technique is also known as bigu 辟穀 or duangu 斷穀. (On this matter, see: Catherine Despeux, "bigu—abstention from cereals," in: *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio [London, New York: Routledge, 2008], vol. 1, 233 f.; Jean Lévi, "L'abstinence des céréales chez les taoïstes," in: *Études chinoises* 1 [1983]: 3–47; Kristofer Schipper, *The Taoist Body* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993], 167–170; Robert Ford Campany, *Making Transcendents: Ascetics and Social Memory in Early Medieval China* [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009], 62–87).

Kaiyuan era, he was installed as Vice Minister of Jiangling 江陵副使. Later on he entered a famous mountain to ask for the Dao. It is not known where he died.<sup>237</sup>

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p. 377, b3 [Kaiyuan era, 21st year:] The emperor sent the Attendant Gentleman Xu Qiao 中書侍郎徐嶠 to present a sealed document to summon the fangshi Zhang Guo 方士張果 to come for an audience. At that time Xing Hepu 邢和璞 excelled in the arts of fortune-telling. He could foretell the lifespans of people, but he was unable to estimate [the lifespan of Zhang] Guo. The Master Yeguang 夜光 excelled in seeing ghosts. But when the emperor secretly sat down with [Zhang] Guo, Yeguang could not see it.<sup>238</sup> The emperor had heard that those who could drink qin juice 堇汁<sup>239</sup> without suffering harm would be true miracle men. [The emperor] gave him three goblets of it, and [Zhang Guo] became intoxicated like in inebriety. To the people to his left and to his right he said: "This is not good wine."<sup>240</sup> [Zhang Guo] took an iron ruyi 鐵如意,<sup>241</sup> an knocked out his teeth with it. They were all scorched black. He took out divine medicine, and applied<sup>242</sup> it to his gingiva. After he had slept for a short while, his teeth were beaming like before. Afterwards he rejected [accepting further being comforted in the palace, intending to] depart and return into the mountains. [The emperor] issued an order saying: "Master Zhang Guo, what you intend to achieve is sublime. You mingle your traces with the brilliant and the dust.<sup>243</sup> You enquire from [the perspective of] the center of the Dao, and you deeply

237 This story is known from *Taiping guangji*, juan 63, where it is entitled "The Grandmother of Mount Li" 驪山姥 (Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, vol. 2, 394 ff.).

238 This means that Zhang Guo must have had spiritual powers beyond that of a ghost, as Yeguang was unable to detect him.

239 An annotation reads: "[This is] Wolfsbane, a poisonous substance" 附子毒也 (T 2035, p. 377, b7). This means that "qin juice" 堇汁 would be a liquid brewed with Wolfsbane, a poisonous plant.

240 It was seen as a testimony of Zhang Guo's spiritual power that consuming poison he would merely get drunk, and would simply regard the poisonous liquid as bad wine.

241 A 'rui' 如意 is a symbol of good luck. Translated literally, the term means "as one wishes." The object referred to as 'rui' is supposed to bring about blessings so that everything will turn out as one wishes.

242 In the Taishō edition of the *Fozu tongji* we read 出神藥傳其斷. In the Shi Daofa edition of the *Fozu tongji* we read 出神藥傳其斷. The latter is correct. The character 傳 means "to apply." In the Taishō edition it is misprinted as 傳.

243 This is a reference to *Laozi*, chapter 4. There we read: "[The vessel of the Dao] ... merges with the brilliant, and becomes one with the very dust" 和其光。同其塵。 (Chen Guying 陳鼓應, *Laozi zhuyi ji pingjie* 老子注譯及評介 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003], 75; Richard John Lynn, *The Classic of the Way and Virtue* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1999], 57). So saying that Zhang Guo mingles his traces with the brilliant and the dust means that he is like the Dao.

meet the utmost of the teaching. I should elevate you to the position of a Yinqing guanglu dafu 銀青光祿大夫, and grant you the title Master Tongxuan 通玄先生." Afterwards he went to Mount Heng 恒山, and it is not known where he died.<sup>244,245</sup>

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[Kaiyuan era, 23rd year:] Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎 passed away. It was ordered that he would posthumously be known as Master Zhenyi 貞一先生. When Ruizong previously stayed in the Tiantai Mountains, he summoned [Sima Chengzhen] to enquire about the Dao. [Sima Chengzhen] replied: "The pursuit of the Dao means having less each day."<sup>246</sup> The emperor said: "I can govern my body. How about governing the state?" [Sima Chengzhen] said: "The state it is like the body. One follows the matters in a selfless way and all under heaven will be in order." The emperor sighed and said: "These are the words of Guangcheng 廣成."<sup>247</sup> p. 377, b14

When [Tang] Xuanzong held court, he sent a messenger welcoming [Sima Chengzhen] to come to the capital, and [Tang Xuanzong] received the methods and registers [from Sima Chengzhen]. [Thereupon Sima Chengzhen] departed and returned into the Wangwu Mountains. p. 377, b18

There was a young man [named] Jiao Jing 焦靜, who met an immortal maiden, who said to him: "You can visit the Lord of Donghua Qingtong 東華青童君 and receive the Methods of the Three Sovereigns 三皇法." He asked [her] for the name [of the master, and she said]: "It is [Sima] Zhenyi." [The p. 377, b19

244 An annotation reads: "During the Liang and Chen dynasties, [Zhang] Guo examined [the face of] Zhiyi's brother Chen Zhen [to foretell his fate]" 果在梁陳時。相智者兄陳鍼者。 (T 2035, p. 377, b13).

245 Zhang Guo has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 191 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 16, 5106–5107) and *Xin Tangshu*, juan 204 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 18, 5810–5811). The present matter is seen in both biographies.

246 This is a quotation from *Laozi*, chapter 48. There we read: "The pursuit of learning means having more each day. But the pursuit of the Dao means having less each day" 為學日益。為道日損。 (Chen Guying, *Laozi zhuyi ji pingjie*, 250; Richard John Lynn, *The Classic of the Way and Virtue*, 143).

247 This is an abridged quotation of a conversation between Sima Chengzhen and Tang Ruizong, seen in the biography of Sima Chengzhen in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 192 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 16, 5127 f.). According to *Zhuangzi*, chapter 11, Guangcheng was the teacher of the Yellow Emperor (Chen Guying, *Zhuangzi jinzhuzhuyi*, vol. 2, 278 f.; Victor H. Mair, *Wandering on the Way*, 94–97). Cui Shang 崔尚, an official in the Ministry of Sacrifices, praised Sima Chengzhen by comparing the counsel he gave to Tang Ruizong with the counsel Guangcheng had given to the Yellow Emperor (Russell Kirkland, "Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen and the Role of Taoism in the Medieval Chinese Polity," in: *Journal of Asian History* 31, no. 2 [1997], 114 f.). Against this background we understand why Tang Ruizong, when hearing the advice offered by Sima Chengzhen, exclaimed: "These are the words of Guangcheng."

young man] returned and paid respect to him. [The master] happily provided him with the [Methods of the Three Sovereigns].

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- p. 377, b22 [Kaiyuan era, 27th year,] eighth month: It was decreed to confer the posthumous title 'King Wenxuan' 文宣王 on Confucius.<sup>248</sup> [As the emperor was seated facing South, within the Shidian Rite 'the hanging up of musical instruments in the palace' 宮懸 was employed.<sup>249</sup> Master Yan [Hui] was [posthumously] honored with the title Duke of the Yan State 兗國公. [The other] disciples [of Confucius] were posthumously honored with titles of dukes, counts, or earls.<sup>250</sup>

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- p. 377, b27 [Kaiyuan era, 28th year,] fourth month: The emperor dreamt that Lord Lao, the August Emperor of Mysterious Origin 玄元皇帝, said: "There is an image of mine Southeast of the capital." Thereupon [the emperor] sent a messenger to the Tiered Abbey 樓觀 in the Zhouwu district 整屋縣.<sup>251</sup> He saw a purple cloud drooping and covering [the place]. White splendor penetrated the heaven, and he attained a jade statue being three chi tall. [The messenger] welcomed [the statue] and brought it to the Xingqing Abbey 興慶宮. [The emperor] ordered

248 On this title of Confucius, see: Thomas A. Wilson, "Wenxuan wang," in: *The RoutledgeCurzon Encyclopedia of Confucianism*, ed. Yao Xinzong (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), vol. 2, 659.

249 An annotation reads: "The *Liji* [says]: 'Generally, when beginning the establishment of a school, one needs to perform the Shidian rite in front of the former sage and the former master.' Note: 'Shidian is a consecration rite, for which one arranges the presentation of a feast of delicacies. The former sage is the Duke of Zhou. The former master is Confucius.' The *Zhouli* says: 'Kings perform Gongxuan (i.e. the hanging up of musical instruments in the palace), while dukes perform Xuanxuan.' Note: 'Gongxuan means that one has zhong and qing musical instruments hanging from a beam. In a king's palace they will be hanging on four walls. In case of a duke, one wall would be left blank.'" 禮記: 凡始立學, 必釋奠于先聖、先師。注: 釋奠者, 設薦饌酌奠也。先聖、先師, 周公、孔子。周禮: 王, 宮懸; 諸侯, 軒懸。注: 宮懸, 鐘磬懸於筓虞者, 王宮懸四面, 諸侯去一面。(T 2035, p. 377, b23–24). For the *Liji* quotation, see: *Liji*, chapter "Wenwang shizi" 文王世子 王文錦, *Liji yijie* 禮記譯解 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001], vol. 1, 271). For the *Zhouli* quotation, see: *Zhouli*, chapter "Xiaoxu" 小胥 (Yang Tianyu 楊天宇, *Zhouli yizhu* 周禮譯注 [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007], 336).

250 On these matters, see: David McMullen, *State and Scholars in T'ang China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 45.

251 According to traditions from the Laozi hagiography, Lougan (tiered abbey) was a tower built by the pass guardian Yin Xi 關令尹喜 to watch for Laozi as he was approaching the Hangu pass 函谷關. It became a place of importance in the worship of Laozi (Vincent Goossaert, "Louguan," in: *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio [London, New York: Routledge, 2008], vol. 1, 708f.).



the administration to write [a eulogy] on the Original Face of the Myterious Origin 玄元真容 (i.e. on Laozi), and had one copy of it placed in each commandery's Kaiyuan Abbey 開元觀.<sup>252</sup>

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[Kaiyuan era, 29th year,] first month: It was ordered to build Xuanyuan Huangdi Temples 玄元皇帝廟 in all commanderies, so that within each commandery students could be instructed to study the *Daode jing*, the *Zhuangzi*, the *Liezi*, and the *Wenzi* inside the building.<sup>253</sup> Each year, judging from their understanding of the scriptures, the administration would choose [the best students] and bring them to the palace. [And the government] would provide one teaching assistant [per commandery]. In the ninth month, the emperor personally went to the gate house of the Xingqing Abbey, and personally tested whether [the students] understood the *Daode jing*, the *Zhuangzi*, and the *Liezi*. At that time Yao Ziyān 姚子彥 and others qualified themselves by replying to the emperor. p. 377, c4

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[Tianbao era, first year,] first month: Laojun descended outside of the Danfeng Gate 丹鳳門,<sup>254</sup> standing at the edge of a cloud. To the Administrator Tian Tongxiu 田同秀 he said: "When I reached the Drifting Sands 流沙, I hid the golden coffer with the numinous talisman in the old house of the [Pass] Guardian Yin [Xi] in the peach tree grove. You can submit this [information] so that the emperor can take [the talisman] to protect the state." [Tian] Tongxiu made the matter known [to the emperor], and [the emperor] ordered an expedition to obtain it. [The members of the expedition team] saw a purple cloud and a white rabbit underneath the Yin [Xi] Terrace, and when they dug there, they obtained a golden coffer with a jade tablet on which there were red characters in fine seal script. They welcomed it and brought it into the Lingchang Palace 靈昌殿. That night, the storied pavilions [of the palace], even though they were empty, were all filled with divine light. The hundred officials reported the matter, and it was considered an auspicious omen [presenting itself as a] hidden reaction. Thereupon the emperor issued an order changing the reign title from [Shang]yuan to Tianbao.<sup>255</sup> p. 377, c9

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<sup>252</sup> This is known from *Zizhi tongjian*, juan 214 (Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 6843).

<sup>253</sup> On the matter of the Xuanyuan Huangdi Temples, see: T.H. Barrett, *Taoism under the T'ang*, 61f.

<sup>254</sup> The Danfeng Gate was the main entrance gate of the Daming gong 大明宮, the imperial palace in Chang'an (Thomas Thilo, *Chang'an: Metropole Ostasiens und Weltstadt des Mittelalters 583–904, Teil 1: Die Stadtanlage*, 27, 55).

<sup>255</sup> The legendary tradition quoted here has been summed up by Charles D. Benn in the following words: "On February 17, 742, T'ien T'ung-hsiu, and official in the household of one

p. 377, c15 In the second month it was ordered to honor Zhuangzi as Nanhua zhenren 南華真人, Wenzi as Tongxuan zhenren 通玄真人, Liezi as Chongxu zhenren 沖虛真人, and Gengsangzi as Dongling zhenren 洞靈真人. The books of those four masters were established as the true scriptures.<sup>256</sup> [Per commandery] one erudite and one teaching assistant were provided, and there were one hundred students.

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of Hsüan-tsung's sons, was standing outside the main gate of the Ta-ming Palace when a purple cloud formed above his head. Beneath the cloud Lao Tzu appeared riding a white horse and informed T'ian that he had hidden a talisman in the home of Yin Hsi at the Han-ku Pass east of Ch'ang-an, when he, Lao Tzu, left China on his way left. On learning of this development Hsüan-tsung sent a commission to investigate the matter. It unearthed a stone casket containing a jade tablet on which was inscribed in red script the talisman promised" (Charles D. Benn, *The Cavern Mystery Transmission: A Taoist Ordination Rite of A.D. 711* [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1991], 160 note 20). Charles D. Benn subsequently in elaborate style offers source references pointing out the complex origination of this tradition. As Timothy H. Barrett adds, the finding of this talisman offered the occasion for Tang Xuanzong to change the reign title to Tianbao, i.e. Heavenly Treasure (T.H. Barrett, *Taoism under the T'ang*, 62f.).

256 Tang Xuanzong canonized these four Daoist masters associated with four important classics of Daoism, giving each of the four classics a new name. On this matter, see: Kristofer Schipper, "Nanhua zhenjing," in: *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), vol. 1, 58.

# Fayun tongsai zhi, juan 8

(i.e. Fozu tongji, juan 41)

## Emperor Daizong

代宗

[Personal name:] Yu 豫. Oldest son of Suzong.

**Yongtai era**, first year, ninth month: A gold-plated bronze statue of the Buddha was cast. At the Guangshun Gate 光順門 [the emperor] leading [a retinue of] hundred officials paid homage [to the statue].<sup>1</sup> p. 377, c26

In the tenth month Tibetan invaders threatened the capital.<sup>2</sup> [The library of the] inner palace was ordered to send two carriage loads of [copies of] the *Sūtra for Humane Kings* to the Ximing Monastery and all [the monasteries of comparable importance] 西明諸寺.<sup>3</sup> An edict [instructed] the trepiṭaka Amoghavajra to establish hundred high seats for preaching the sūtra. The emperor himself [was present] burning incense and making prostrations.<sup>4</sup> After the conclusion p. 377, c27

1 This is known from *Xin Tangshu*, juan 6 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 1, 172). The matter is also seen in *Shishi tongjian* 釋氏通鑑, juan 9 (X76, no. 1516, p. 101, b10–11 // Z 2B:4, p. 471, b5–6 // R131, p. 941, b5–6).

2 The rebellion referred to here was headed by Pugu Huaen 僕固懷恩, a former Tang general of Turkish origin. When Pugu was dismissed from his post as commander of the Shuofang 朔方 garrison, he fled to Lingwu 靈武 in present-day Ningxia 寧夏, formed an alliance with the Tibetans in 764, and led a Tibetan invasion striking deep into the Chinese territory. In 765 (Yongtai 1) he formed a broader alliance with the Tibetans, the Uighurs and other tribes aiming at invading the capital of Chang'an. However he fell ill and died in Lingwu before the attack on Chang'an could be launched (C.A. Peterson, "Court and province in mid- and late T'ang," in: *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3, ed. Denis Twitchett [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979], 491; Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 77).

3 Stanley Weinstein writes: "Copies of the *Jen-wang ching* were carried from the court through the streets of Ch'ang-an in a solemn procession and finally deposited in the Hsi-ming ssu and the Tzu-sheng ssu, two of the leading monasteries in the capital, where the sūtra was chanted in elaborate ceremonies attended by prominent members of the court" (Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 78).

4 In *Zizhi tongjian*, juan 223, we find an account mentioning that at the Zisheng Monastery 資聖寺 and at the Ximing Monastery 西明寺 hundred high seats were instituted, and that from the inner palace two carriage loads of copies of the *Sūtra for Humane Kings* were delivered to be preached on those high seats. The account does not mention that the emperor was present. However we read that at the Guangshun Gate the sūtras were welcomed by hun-

the invaders were defeated.<sup>5</sup> An edict said: “The precious *Sūtra for Humane Kings* 仁王寶經 has the function of advocating [actions in favor of] protecting the state. In previous translations its principles have not been fully understood.” Thereupon the trepīṭaka Amoghavajra and the śramaṇas Feixi 飛錫 and Liangben 良賁 were ordered to retranslate it in the Southern Peach Garden 南桃園 of the Daming Palace 大明宮.<sup>6</sup> The emperor personally compared [the translations], and said: “Even though the old and the new version are in agreement with regard to the principles [of the sūtra], the literary style of the new translation is absolutely perfect.” Thus the emperor wrote a foreword to the text,<sup>7</sup> and granted Amoghavajra [the title] “Specially advanced Official of the Court for Dependencies” 特進鴻臚卿。

- p. 378, a5 An edict [said]: “The śramaṇas having renounced the world are part of the three jewels. For this reason the governmental offices in all under heaven are ordered to avoid dishonoring monks or nuns by lashing them.”<sup>8</sup>

dred officials (Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 7176). So while the *Fozu tongji* in the preceding entry speaks of hundred officials welcoming a gold-plated bronze statue of the Buddha at the Guangshun Gate, the *Zizhi tongjian* does not mention a gold-plated bronze statue, but ascribes the scene at the Guangshun Gate to the welcoming of the sūtras.

- 5 In medieval China the *Sūtra for Humane Kings* enjoyed great popularity as a state protection sūtra, which could be recited to guard the state against misfortune. The *Fozu tongji* here implies that the defeat of the rebellion headed by Pugu Huaïen was owed to the recitation of the *Sūtra for Humane Kings* on the hundred high seats. On this matter, see: Charles D. Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 77.
- 6 Feixi and Liangben both have biographies in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*. Both biographies mention the translation activities in the Daming Palace. For Feixi, see *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 3 (T 2061, p. 721, c9–11). For Liangben, see *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 5 (T 2061, p. 735, b2–18). The *Sūtra for Humane Kings* had previously been translated by Kumārajīva under the title of *Renwang bore poluomiduo jing* 仁王般若波羅蜜經 (T 245). Amoghavajra (with the assistance of Feixi, Liangben and others) retranslated it under the title of *Renwang huguo bore poluomiduo jing* 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經 (T 246). So in the Amoghavajra translation the expression ‘huguo’ 護國 (protecting the state) has been added to the title, which highlights the sūtra’s function as a state protection sūtra. The Amoghavajra translation has been translated into English in Charles D. Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism*, 207–274.
- 7 This preface is preserved at the beginning of *Renwang huguo bore poluomiduo jing*, juan 1 (T 246, p. 834, a14–b25).
- 8 This edict is also noted in the *Fanwang jing pusa jie lueshu* 梵網經菩薩戒略疏, a Ming dynasty source. The reference appears in juan 8 (X38, no. 695, p. 766, c8–9 // Z 1:60, p. 457, c3–4 // R60, p. 914, a3–4).

It was ordered to build a vaipulya ordination platform at the Daxingshan Monastery. Ten [monks] of great virtue were established as [masters] by the side of the platform. p. 378, a7

The emperor dreamt that the sixth patriarch [of Chan Buddhism] (i.e. Huineng) requested to return his bowl and robe to the mountains [of Caoxi 曹溪].<sup>9,10</sup> Thus he ordered Liu Chongjing 劉崇景 to return those items with utmost respect, and instructed Yang Jian, the Regional Inspector of Shaozhou 韶州刺史楊瑊, to enshrine them deferentially.<sup>11</sup> p. 378, a8

Hundred śramaṇas were ordered to practice contemplation and recite the dharma. [The place for this] was called the bodhi-maṇḍala of the inner [palace].<sup>12</sup> [The participating monks were allowed] to come and return riding on horseback, and all their needs were provided for from the stockpile. p. 378, a9

The śramaṇa Chonghui 崇慧 from Zhangjing 章敬 defeated a Daoist priest competing in [expounding interpretations of] the dharma. [The emperor] ordered to present him with a purple robe.<sup>13</sup> p. 378, a11

9 Caoxi 曹溪 (or Cao Creek), a stream southeast of Shaozhou 韶州 in Guangdong 廣東, is the place where—in the Baolin Monastery 寶林寺—Huineng spent the last phase of his life and finally passed away. We see this in the foreword to the Platform sūtra: *Liuzu dashi fabaotan jing* 六祖大師法寶壇經, juan 1 (T 2008, p. 345, c17–18).

10 Huineng died in 713. The present passage says that after his death he appeared to Tang Daizong in a dream, asking him to return his bowl and robe to the Baolin Monastery in the mountains at the Cao Creek.

11 This is known from *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 5 (T 2076, p. 236, c27–p. 237, a1) and from *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元, juan 1 (X80, no. 1565, p. 47, c12–17 // Z 2B:11, p. 20, d3–8 // R138, p. 40, b3–8).

12 The term “bodhi-maṇḍala of the inner [palace]” (neidaochang, 內道場) refers to an institution also referred to as “palace chapel.” On the palace chapel at the court of Tang Daizong, see: Chen Jinhua, “The Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels,” in: *Journal of Chinese Religions* 32 (2004), 134f.

13 An elaborate account of the Buddhο-Daoist competition referred to here is provided in the biography of Chonghui in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 17, where the event is however dated Dali 3 (768). Summarized briefly, the account has the following content: The Daoist priest Shihua 史華 of the Taiqing Abbey 太清宮 asked the throne for a competition with the Buddhists. Thereupon in front of the Dongming Abbey 東明觀 swords were arranged to form a ladder 架刀成梯, and Shihua ascended on it as if it was a path of common stone treads 常磴道. When Chonghui heard about the matter, he asked for a much higher ladder of swords to be constructed in front of the Zhangxin Monastery 章信寺. Chonghui ascended and descended on it barefooted without of showing the slightest sign of discomfort. After Chonghui had still provided further evidence of his supernatural ability,

- p. 378, a12 It was ordered that, from all the abhiṣeka bodhi-maṇḍalas [that had been established] by Vajrabodhi, 27 śramaṇas were to be selected<sup>14</sup> to extensively recite the Fodingzhou 佛頂呪 to benefit the state.
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- p. 378, a14 The trepiṭaka Chuntuo 純陀 from the Zhenguo [Monastery] 鎮國[寺] died at an age of 600 years.<sup>15</sup>
- p. 378, a15 **Dali era**, first year: The śramaṇa Liangben was ordered to compose a commentary on the *Sūtra for Humane Kings* in the Peach Garden 桃園 [of the Daming Palace], and to submit it to the emperor.<sup>16</sup>
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- p. 378, a16 The śramaṇa Daozun 道遵 from Mount Zhixing 支硎山 in Gusu 姑蘇<sup>17</sup> established a court [for studying] the *Lotus sūtra*,<sup>18</sup> and selected fourteen men of noble conduct who would constantly maintain [the standards of] the *Lotus [sūtra]*.<sup>19</sup> The [periods of] day[light] were enhanced using candles, so that the compassionate voice of the great hero (i.e. the Buddha) could be spread. Wei Yuanfu, the Regional Inspector of the prefecture 郡刺史韋元甫,<sup>20</sup> and the Shangshu Liu Yan 尚書劉晏,<sup>21</sup> suggested to name it “Lotus [sūtra] bodhi-

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Shihua retreated in shame (T 2061, p. 816, c25–p. 817, a7). A succinct account is also seen in *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 3 (T 2126, p. 248, c27–29; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 487).

- 14 While in the Taishō edition of the *Fozu tongji* we read 撰沙門二七員, the Shi Daofa edition of the *Fozu tongji* says 選沙門二七員. The Shi Daofa version makes more sense here, as 選 means “to select.”
- 15 Chuntuo has a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 29 (T 2061, p. 890, c23–p. 891, a6).
- 16 This commentary is preserved as *Renwang huguo bore poluomiduo jing shu* 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經疏 (T 1709). It has three juan.
- 17 An annotation reads: “[He was] a disciple of Zuoxi” 左溪弟子 (T 2035, p. 378, a16). The term of “Zuoxi” (left stream) refers to Xuanlang 玄朗, who according to his biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 26, went into retreat “at the cliffs of the left stream” 隱左溪巖 (T 2061, p. 875, c20). As we also know from Xuanlang’s biography, Daozun was one of his disciples (T 2061, p. 876, a13–14).
- 18 This is known from the biography of Daozun in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 27 (T 2061, p. 879, a20–21).
- 19 This is known from the biography of Daozun in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 27 (T 2061, p. 879, a27–28).
- 20 Wei Yuanfu has a biography in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 115 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 10, 3376).
- 21 Liu Yan has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 123 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 11, 3511–3516) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 149 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 15, 4793–4799).

maṇḍala.” Thereupon east of the Yangtse seventeen courts [for studying] the sūtra were established, all of which adopted the model [introduced by] the master (i.e. Daozun).<sup>22</sup>

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Zhou Boda, the Biejia of Weizhou 衛州別駕周伯達, constantly upheld [reciting] the *Diamond sūtra*. Suddenly he saw that amidst splendor there was an Indian monk who called himself Subhūti 須菩提.<sup>23</sup> He said: “You have recited the sūtra for many years. Why do you not give up eating meat?” [Zhou] Boda was shocked, quickly [confined himself to] vegetarian food, [also] shifted to adding endeavor to his recitation [practices], and sensations of blessedness repeatedly manifested.<sup>24</sup> p. 378, a20

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Second year: An edict [permitted] the assistant councilors and the grand ministers to start building [private] temples of punya 功德院. p. 378, a24

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When Du Hongjian 杜鴻漸 previously pacified Bashu 巴蜀,<sup>25</sup> he sent a messenger to Baiya 白崖 to invite the nonabiding meditation master 無住禪師<sup>26</sup> to come to the city so that he could be questioned about the way. The master said: “Whatever appears in front of the eyes is all alike.”<sup>27</sup> [Du] Hongjian thereupon p. 378, a24

22 This is known from the biography of Daozun in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 27 (T 2061, p. 879, a22–27).

23 Subhūti was one of the disciples of the Buddha.

24 This story is also seen in *Shishi tongjian* 釋氏通鑑, juan 9 (X76, no. 1516, p. 103, a21–23 // Z 2B:4, p. 473, a10–12 // R131, p. 945, a10–12) and in *Jingang jing ganying zhuan* 金剛經感應傳, juan 1 (X87, no. 1632, p. 487, a2–7 // Z 2B:22, p. 75, c17–d4 // R149, p. 150, a17–b4).

25 Du Hongjian was a chief minister under Tang Daizong. He has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 108 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 10, 3282–3284) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 126 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 14, 4422–4424).

26 This is a reference to the “meditation master devoid of characteristics from Yizhou” 益州無相禪師, who has a biography in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 4 (T 2076, p. 234, b9–p. 235, a7), where he is also referred to as the “nonabiding meditation master” 無住禪師 (T 2076, p. 234, b10).

27 The full dialogue between Du Hongjian and the nonabiding meditation master is seen in the biography of the latter in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 4. What the *Fozu tongji* quotes here is a short excerpt from the closing statement the nonabiding meditation master offers in this dialogue. To enable a better understanding of this excerpt, I here present a full translation of the closing statement: “The master said: ‘All students of the way who are occupied with saṃsāra do not know the enlightened mind. Those who possess the enlightened mind contemplate on life but do not get entangled with life. In the cessation of contemplation they still do not rely on extinction, [enjoy a lifestyle of] neither coming nor leaving, neither order nor chaos, neither taking nor rejecting, neither sinking nor

settled his mind in the joy of meditation. In his late years he became chancellor, and on grounds of a disease he retired [later on]. When he was close to death he took a bath, wore a saṃghāṭī 僧伽梨 over his courtier robe, shaved his beard and hair, retreated from the public and passed away. His body was cremated following the regulations for śramaṇas.

- p. 378, a29 The dharma master Fazhao 法照 in the Yunfeng Monastery 雲峯寺 on the Nanyue beheld a five-colored cloud in his alms bowl. He saw that among the mountain streams and stone gates there was a monastery name plate saying “Monastery of the Great Sage’s Bamboo Grove” 大聖竹林寺.<sup>28</sup> Thereupon, together with his comrades, he went to visit the Wutai Mountains, where he saw a storeyed building with a golden gate. It was all as previously seen in the bowl.<sup>29</sup> Having entered the monastery he went to the lecture hall, where he saw Mañjuśrī 文殊 and Samantabhadra 普賢 sitting on separate seats and preaching the dharma. Tenthousands of bodhisattvas paid homage in front of the masters, and asked: “What could be an essential practice for the age of the final dharma?” Mañjuśrī said: “Among all practices there is none which would compare to buddha-anuśmṛti.”<sup>30</sup> When the master [was about to] depart and leave, he made prostrations. When he raised his head again, [the monastery] was all gone.<sup>31</sup> Thereupon at the place where he had seen it he erected a monastery, and named it [Monastery of] the Bamboo Grove 竹林[寺].<sup>32</sup>

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floating, devoid of action and devoid of characteristics. They live in the carefree state of everyday unimpededness. The essence of their mind is the hardest to be attained, and it cannot be imagined. Whatever appears in front of the eyes is all alike [to them], and there is nobody [among them] who would not yet have recognized his true nature (i.e. his Buddha nature).” 師曰。一切學道人隨念流浪。蓋為不識真心。真心者。念生亦不順生。念滅亦不依寂。不來不去。不定不亂。不取不捨。不沈不浮。無為無相。活鱗鱗平常自在。此心體畢竟不可得。無可知覺。觸目皆如無非見性也。(T 2076, p. 235, a1–6). The dialogue between Du Hongjian and Wuzhu, the nonabiding meditation master 無住禪師, is also subject to discussion in Wendi L. Adamek, *The Mystique of Transmission: On an Early Chan History and Its Contexts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 281f.

- 28 This is known from the biography of Fazhao in *Jingtu wangsheng zhuan* 淨土往生傳, juan 3 (T 2071, p. 121, b19–21).
- 29 This is known from the biography of Fazhao in *Jingtu wangsheng zhuan*, juan 3 (T 2071, p. 121, c8–10).
- 30 This is known from the biography of Fazhao in *Jingtu wangsheng zhuan*, juan 3 (T 2071, p. 121, c20–27).
- 31 This is known from the biography of Fazhao in *Jingtu wangsheng zhuan*, juan 3 (T 2071, p. 122, a9–11).
- 32 This is known from the biography of Fazhao in *Jingtu wangsheng zhuan*, juan 3 (T 2071,



Third year: An edict [ordered] the Imperial Preceptor Huizhong 慧忠國師 to come to the palace, which attracted a person from Mount Taibai 太白山 who came to see him. The preceptor asked: "Which abilities did you gather?" The mountain dweller said: "I know the mountains, I know the earth, I know [written] characters, and I am good at arithmetics." The preceptor asked: "Is the mountain where you live a male mountain or a female mountain?" Vacantly he did not know how to reply. The preceptor said: "What sort of location is there on top of the palace?" The reply was: "Let me calculate." The preceptor made a stroke on the ground and asked which character it would be. The reply was: "It is the character meaning 'one.'" The preceptor said: "But if one puts the stroke on top of the character 土, it means 'king'" The preceptor asked: "How much is three times seven?" The reply was: "21." The preceptor asked: "Why would three plus seven not be 10?"<sup>33</sup> The preceptor said to the emperor: "I asked him about mountains, and he did not know about mountains; I asked him about earth, and he did not know about earth; I asked him about characters, and he did not know characters; I asked him about arithmetics, and he did not know arithmetics. 問山不識山。問地不識地。問字不識字。問算不識算。 Your majesty, where did you get this fool from?" The emperor turned to the mountain dweller and said: "This preceptor is the jewel of the state!"<sup>34</sup> Once when the emperor stayed at his resting palace, he pointed at the eunuch Yu Chaoen 宦者魚朝恩,<sup>35</sup> and said to the preceptor: "[Yu] Chaoen also understands the Buddha dharma." [Yu] Chaoen stepped forward, and asked the preceptor: "What is ignorance and what does it arise from?" The preceptor said: "If [now] even slaves [claim to] understand and question the Buddha dharma, this would have to be a sign of decay in front of [my] eyes." [Yu] Chaoen was greatly annoyed. The master said: "This exactly is ignorance. Ignorance arises from this."<sup>36</sup> Later on at court there was an adjudication about which he had not [been informed] in advance. Immediately he said angrily: "[How could there

p. 122, a27–28). On the account of Fazhao and the Monastery of the Bamboo Grove (Zhulin si), see: Lin Wei-cheng, *Building a Sacred Mountain: The Buddhist Architecture of China's Mount Wutai* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 124–127.

33 The point here is that 三七 can either mean "three times seven" or "three plus seven."

34 This is also seen in *Longxing biannian tonglun* 隆興編年通論, juan 17 (X75, no. 1512, p. 195, a2–13 // Z 2B:3, p. 298, a2–13 // R130, p. 595, a2–13), and in *Shishi tongjian* 釋氏通鑑, juan 9 (X76, no. 1516, p. 101, c14–p. 102, a1 // Z 2B:4, p. 471, c15–d8 // R131, p. 942, a15–b8).

35 Yu Chaoen has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 184 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 15, 4763–4765) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 207 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 19, 5863–5866).

36 This is also seen in *Longxing biannian tonglun*, juan 18 (X75, no. 1512, p. 199, c4–8 // Z 2B:3,

be anything among] the matters of all under heaven which does not depend on me?" When the emperor heard about this, he was not happy. He charged him with treason, and had him hanged.

p. 378, b23 The meditation master Faqin 法欽 from Mount Jing 徑山 was summoned to come in for an audience. The emperor treated him as his master. Once when [Faqin] saw the emperor in the inner court, he stood up to receive him. The emperor said: "Why would my master stand up?" The master said: "How—within the four postures—could you, the *dānapati* 檀越, [otherwise] see this poor monk?"<sup>37</sup> The emperor was greatly pleased. From the gifts [of the emperor] [Faqin] did not accept one. In his cloth robe and with his porcelain bowl he begged for food with his disciples on a daily basis. Yang Wan, the Counselor-in-chief 相國楊綰,<sup>38</sup> said with a sigh: "He truly is a world renouncer 方外士!"<sup>39</sup> The Grand Councilor Cui Huan 平章崔渙<sup>40</sup> asked: "Can this disciple become a monk?" The master said: "Becoming a monk is a matter for a great man. How could it be achieved by generals or chancellors?" Pei Du, the Duke of Jin 晉公裴度, and others, all together more than 30 people, asked [Faqin for teachings of] the way, and considered themselves his followers. When [Faqin] afterwards requested to return to Mount [Jing], he was given the title "Meditation Master of the Unity of the State."<sup>41</sup> The Prefect of Hangzhou was ordered to build another monastery on Mount [Jing], so that high-ranking officials could go there each month to greet [the master]. Previously the master had been a disciple of the meditation master [Xuan]su [玄]素. [Xuan]su admonished him saying: "When walking you should do so following a stream. When stopping

p. 302, c14–18 // R130, p. 604, a14–18), and in *Shishi tongjian*, juan 9 (X76, no. 1516, p. 102, a12–15 // Z 2B:4, p. 472, a1–4 // R131, p. 943, a1–4).

37 The four postures are those of walking, standing, sitting, and lying (see: A.C. Muller, DDB, 四威儀). Faqin is saying that if he was walking away he would move out of sight, if he was sitting or lying his body might be concealed by other objects, so that the standing posture remains as the only one making it possible for the emperor to see him.

38 Yang Wan has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 119 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 10, 3429–3437) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 142 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 15, 4664–4666).

39 This is known from the biography of Faqin in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 9 (T 2061, p. 764, c13–15).

40 Cui Huan has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 108 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 10, 3280–3282) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 120 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 14, 4318–4319).

41 This is known from the biography of Faqin in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 9 (T 2061, p. 764, c19–20).

you should do so at [Mount] Jing.”<sup>42</sup> Master [Faqin] thereupon went south and arrived in Lin'an 臨安, where he saw a mountain in the northeast. When he met a woodcutter, he asked him for [the name of] the place. The answer was: “Mount Jing,” and so he put his staff to rest there.<sup>43</sup>

In the seventh month an edict [ordered] to set up an Ullambana festival 盂蘭盆會,<sup>44</sup> within which the memorial tablets arranged in the ancestral temple covering seven generations prior to [Tang] Gaozu were moved from the ancestral temple to the bodhi-maṇḍala of the inner [palace]. On the streets [the procession] was accompanied by prayer flags and a marching band, while hundred officials paid homage. [From here on] this was done each year. The next day, glossy ganoderma (an immortality drug) sprouted in both halls of the royal ancestral temple. p. 378, c6

In an edict the śramaṇa Fazhao 法照 from the Nanyue [was awarded the title] Imperial Preceptor. When the preceptor reported that his master Chengyuan 承遠 from the Nanyue possessed extraordinary virtues, the emperor turned to the South and prostrated in his direction. Surmising his path, [the emperor thought] that he would never [visit the court to receive honors], and so he called his abode “pratyutpanna bodhi-maṇḍala” 般舟道場 to honor his status.<sup>45</sup> p. 378, c9

42 Xuansu has a biography in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 4, where this statement also appears (T 2076, p. 230, a14–15).

43 This is known from the biography of Faqin in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 9 (T 2061, p. 764, b26–28).

44 On the origin of the Ullambana (or yulanpen 盂蘭盆) festival, see: Stephen F. Teiser, “Ghosts and Ancestors in Medieval Chinese Religion: The Yu-lan-p'en Festival as Mortuary Ritual,” in: *History of Religions* 26, no. 1 (1986), 47 ff.; Stephen F. Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 79 f.

45 While staying on Mount Lu, Fazhao had completed a practice known as “pratyutpanna samādhi” (banzhou sanmei, 般舟三昧), after which he had a vision of an old monk visualizing Amitābha. When Amitābha notified Fazhao that the old monk was the well-known Pure Land adept Chengyuan 承遠 staying on Mount Nanyue, Fazhao set out for Mount Nanyue to join Chengyuan's circle (Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 73; James Robson, *Power of Place: The Religious Landscape of the Southern Sacred Peak (Nanyue) in Medieval China* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009], 301). Since Fazhao had the vision of Chengyuan in connection with the “pratyutpanna samādhi,” the emperor chose to honor Chengyuan through a “pratyutpanna bodhi-maṇḍala.”

p. 378, c12 At Mount Folang 佛隴 of the Tiantai Mountains the Meditation Master of the Jing Brook 荆溪 (i.e. Zhanran)<sup>46</sup> preached the teachings of calming and contemplation for the dharma master Daosui 道邃.<sup>47</sup>

p. 378, c13 It was ordered that the Uighurs, who are followers of Manichaeism, were to build 'Great Cloud Bright Light Temples' 大雲光明寺.<sup>48</sup>

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p. 378, c15 Fourth year: The emperor established a bodhi-maṇḍala in the Daming Palace, which called for the light of the Buddha to manifest itself. All princes and princesses as well as court attendants and ministers saw the appearance of the light, which lasted from midnight till cock-crow. Chancellor Pei Mian 宰相裴冕<sup>49</sup> submitted his congratulations [to the emperor].

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p. 378, c17 Fifth year: When a comet appeared in the East, an edict [ordered] the trepiṭaka Amoghavajra to practice the dharma, whereupon the comet vanished.<sup>50</sup> During that year it had not rained during spring and summer. An edict [ordered] to establish a platform to pray [for rain]. After two days a great rain moistened [the ground] sufficiently.<sup>51</sup>

p. 378, c19 Early on, when the śramaṇa Zijue 自覺 lived on Mount Ping 平山, he expounded the sūtras for the spirits. Zhang Zhao, the Military Commissioner

46 From the biography of Zhanran 湛然 in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 6, we know that Zhanran lived at the Jing Brook of a place called Jinling 晉陵 (T 2061, p. 739, b10). Jinling was situated in a historical commandery named Changzhou 常州, which was located in the territory of present-day Jiangsu.

47 Daosui has a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 29. As we read, Zhanran entrusted Daosui with a transmission of the *Zhiguan fuxing ji* 止觀輔行記 (T 2061, p. 891, a10–11), which is short for *Zhiguan fuxing zhuan hongjue* 止觀輔行傳弘決 (T 1912), a commentary on Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan* (The Great Calming and Contemplation).

48 In *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 3, the matter is explained more clearly. There we read: "In the sixth month of the third year of the dali era (i.e. 768), it was decreed that temples established by the Uighurs should be conferred official tablets identifying them as Great Cloud Bright Light Temples" 大曆三年六月。勅迴紇置寺。宜賜額大雲光明之寺。(T 2126, p. 253, c2–3; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 606).

49 Pei Mian has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 113 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 10, 3353–3356) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 140 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 15, 4644–4646).

50 This is known from the biography of Amoghavajra in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 1 (T 2061, p. 713, a18–19).

51 This is known from the biography of Amoghavajra in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 1 (T 2061, p. 713, b5–8).

from Dangyang 當陽節度使張昭, personally went to the mountain to express his request. He said: "I do not have political skills. So for three years there has been a drought, but holding myself responsible is of no avail. I have heard that the nāgas 龍神 came to you to listen to the dharma, and forgot their [duty of] rain-making. I hope you could arouse their mahā-karuṇā 大悲 (i.e. great compassion)."<sup>52</sup> The master prayed as he burned incense looking towards the remote ponds and caves (i.e. the environment where the nāgas dwell). After a short while clouds arose, a good rain suddenly came down,<sup>53</sup> and [from then on] the years had autumns again.<sup>54</sup>

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Sixth year: Li Youqing, the Regional Inspector of Chuzhou 滁州刺史李幼卿, submitted a sketch of the Buddhist temple the śramaṇa Fachen 法琛 had built on Mount Langye 瑯琊山. The emperor had travelled to a mountain monastery in his previous night's dream, and when he saw the sketch it was entirely like what he had seen in his dream. Therefore he named [the temple] Baoying Monastery 寶應寺 (Monastery of the Precious Response).

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The Uighurs asked [for permission] to establish 'Great Cloud Bright Light Temples' 大雲光明寺 in Jingzhou 荊[州], Yangzhou 揚[州], Hongzhou 洪[州], and Yuezhou 越[州].<sup>55</sup> Their disciples (i.e. the Uighur Manichaeans) wear white robes and white hats.

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Eighth year: It was ordered that in all under heaven novices should go through exams in the three disciplines of sūtra, vinaya, and śāstra, [before they are] given their certificates and granted their ordination.

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Ninth year: The emperor dreamt that a pratyekabuddha 辟支佛 from Mount Niushou 牛首山 in Jiankang 建康 (i.e. Nanjing) came to show himself. Gu

52 This is known from the biographies of Zijue in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 26 (T 2061, p. 874, a3–7) and in *Jingtu wangsheng zhuan*, juan 3 (T 2071, p. 122, b13–18).

53 This is known from the biography of Zijue in *Jingtu wangsheng zhuan*, juan 3 (T 2071, p. 122, b18–20).

54 The autumn is the harvest season. In the given context, autumn metaphorically stands for harvest. While in the previous three years there had been no harvests because of the drought, there could now be annual harvests again.

55 In *Da Song seng shiliu*, juan 3, we read: "In the first month of the sixth year it was further decreed that Xing[zhou], Yue[zhou], Hong[zhou], and the various prefectures, should each establish one Great Cloud Bright Light Temple" 六年正月又勅荆越洪等州。各置大雲光明寺一所。(T 2126, p. 253, c3–5; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 606).

Shen, the supervisor of the household of the crown prince 太子詹事古侏, was ordered to erect a seven-storeyed pagoda on Mount [Niushou].<sup>56</sup>

p. 379, a4 In the sixth month the trepiṭaka Amoghavajra fell ill. An edict granted him [the title] “Kaifu yitong sansi” 開府儀同三司, installed him as Duke of Suguo 肅國公, and [permitted him] to claim tribute from 3,000 households.<sup>57</sup> When he passed away, the emperor paused the court [activity] for three days. A sacrifice was offered, and he was awarded the [posthumous rank of] Sikong 司空. His posthumous title was Dabianzheng guangzhi sanzang 大辯正廣智三藏.<sup>58</sup>

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p. 379, a8 Tenth year: It was ordered to establish a pagoda for the trepiṭaka Amoghavajra in the Daxingshan Monastery 大興善寺.<sup>59</sup>

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p. 379, a9 Eleventh year: It was ordered to consult the three dignified elders<sup>60</sup> of the Chongsheng Monastery 崇聖寺, saying that anybody who had heard about the tooth relic of the Buddha Śākyamuni that the vinaya master Wengang 文綱<sup>61</sup> had personally passed on to his previous master, the vinaya master Daoxuan, should present it to the emperor via the Yintai Gate to the Right 右銀臺門,<sup>62</sup> in order to support the emperor’s intention of prostrating to it.<sup>63</sup>

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56 This is also documented in the article on “Niutou shan” 牛頭山 in the *Foguang da cidian* (Foguang da cidian 佛光大辭典, ed. Xingyun Dashi 星雲大師 [Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 1989], vol. 2, 1506). The term ‘Niushou shan’ 牛首山, which we find here in the *Fozu tongji*, is an alternative name of “Niutou shan,” as both ‘shou’ 首 and ‘tou’ 頭 mean ‘head.’

57 This is known from the biography of Amoghavajra in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 1 (T 2061, p. 713, b20–22).

58 That Tang Daizong bestowed this title on Amoghavajra is known from a great variety of sources including *Da Tang zhenyuan xu kaiyuan shijiao lu* 大唐貞元續開元釋教錄, juan 1 (T 2156, p. 755, a16–17), and *Daizong zhaozeng sikong dabian zhengguangzhi sanzangheshang biaozihi ji* 代宗朝贈司空大辯正廣智三藏和上表制集, juan 4 (T 2120, p. 849, c16–17).

59 As we know from the biography of Amoghavajra in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 1, Amoghavajra lived in the Daxingshan Monastery (T 2061, p. 712, c27–28). On his relics and the pagoda erected for him there, see: T 2061, p. 713, c4–9.

60 An annotation reads: “These are the three positions of the abbot, the officer, and the director” 寺主、知事、維那為三 (T 2035, p. 379, a9).

61 Wengang has a biography in *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, juan 14 (T 2061, p. 791, c15–p. 792, b24).

62 The Yintai Gate to the Right was one of the gates in the Western wall of the Daming gong 大明宮, the imperial palace in Chang’an (Thomas Thilo, *Chang’an: Metropole Ostasiens und Weltstadt des Mittelalters 583–904, Teil 1: Die Stadtanlage*, 55).

63 All of this is known from the biography of Daoxuan in *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, juan 14 (T 2061, p. 791, a25–b8).

Twelfth year: Li Zhongqian, a military commander from Huaixi 淮西兵馬使 李重倩, donated his house to become an archive for Buddhist sūtras. [The emperor] bestowed the name “Baoying yiqie jing archive” 寶應一切經坊. p. 379, a12

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Thirteenth year: An edict [ordered] Yuanzhao, the Lintan dade of the two streets 兩街臨壇大德圓照,<sup>64</sup> and others, all together 14 people, to assemble in the Anguo Monastery 安國寺 and to define the *Four-part vinaya* 四分律 [based on] the old and the new commentaries, merging it to become one joint edition.<sup>65</sup> p. 379, a14

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Fourteenth year: Sengqie dashi 僧伽大師 from Sizhou 泗州 suddenly made his body appear in the palace. He said to the emperor: “The leader of the commandery<sup>66</sup> ordered that the Puguangwang Monastery 普光王寺<sup>67</sup> had to offer funds to support the couriers of ten relay stations. This service should be waived.” The emperor immediately sent a messenger to instruct the administration to donate silks and a bathtub of yellow gold [to Sengqie]. He also ordered to produce a portrait [of Sengqie] and to place it in the palace for sacrifices to be made.<sup>68</sup> p. 379, a16

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In the fifth month the emperor died, and the crown prince ascended the throne. An edict [declared] that for the time being there was a ban on the foundation of Buddhist monasteries and Daoist abbeys as well as on requesting the ordination of monks and nuns.<sup>69</sup> p. 379, a20

64 ‘Liangjie lintan dade’ should all be one title. While ‘liangjie’ refers to the two streets, ‘lintan dade’ means ‘monk of great virtue approaching the altar.’

65 This is known from the biography of Yuanzhao in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 15 (T 2061, p. 804, b26–28).

66 An annotation reads: “This is a Taishou [whose responsibility] includes being in charge of the military” 太守兼職兵者 (T 2035, p. 379, a17).

67 As is known from the biography of Sengqie in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 18, the Puguangwang Monastery was Sengqie’s own monastery (T 2061, p. 822, a2).

68 This is known from the biography of Sengqie in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 18 (T 2061, p. 822, c3–7).

69 This edict is seen in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 12, where we read: “From now on it is no longer allowed to request permission for the establishment of Buddhist monasteries respectively Daoist abbeys or to ordain people” 自今更不得奏置寺觀及度人 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 1, 321).

*Emperor Dezong*

德宗

[Personal name:] Kuo 适.<sup>70</sup> Son of Daizong.

p. 379, a23 **Jianzhong era**, first year: The śramaṇa Yuanzhao 圓照 submitted the newly defined commentary to the *Four-part vinaya*. It was ordered to bestow a purple robe on him. He was installed as Inner Sacrificial Officer 內供奉, as Inspector of the Court for Dependencies 檢校鴻臚卿, [and he was permitted] to claim tribute from 300 households.<sup>71</sup>

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p. 379, a25 Second year: Tibet sent a messenger requesting the court to offer śramaṇas that would excel in preaching the principles of Buddhism. The emperor ordered Liangxiu 良琇 and Wensu 文素 to go there,<sup>72</sup> and to proceed to preach the dharma and to offer guidance. Once per year [the śramaṇas in charge of this duty] were to be exchanged.

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p. 379, a27 Hu Youzhen 胡幽貞, [also known as] Upāsaka Wusheng from Siming 四明無生居士, composed the *Huayan ganying zhuan* 華嚴感應傳 in one juan,<sup>73</sup> comprehensively recording the traces of those who spread the [*Huayan*] *sūtras* through the ages. [In the work, Hu Youzhen] says: “What was handed down by Nāgārjuna 龍樹 from the nāga palace originally comprised 100,000 gāthās.<sup>74</sup> What today in the lands of the East (i.e. in China) has been translated

70 In both the Taishō and the Shi Daofa edition of the *Fozu tongji*, we read Zao 造. The correct personal name of Tang Dezong is however Li Kuo 李适. The mistake may have its explanation in the fact that 适 and 造 are graphically similar.

71 The awards Yuanzhao received are known from his biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 15 (T 2061, p. 805, c2–4). As we read there, Yuanzhao did however only receive tribute from 100 and not from 300 households.

72 Those two monks are named as Chinese envoys to Tibet also in *Tang huiyao*, juan 97 (Wang Pu 王溥, *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006], vol. 2, 2055).

73 This is a short title of the *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* 大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳 (T 2074, Account of the Stimuli and Responses Related to Da Fangguangfo Huayan Jing), which was edited by Hu Youzhen after 783 on the basis of a two-juan text prepared by Huiying 惠英 after 701 (and more likely after 712). For further detail, see: Chen Jinhua, *Philosopher, Practitioner, Politician: The Many Lives of Fazang*, 22 note 35.

74 This is a reference to a well-known aspect of the legendary tradition: “According to legend, Nāgārjuna retrieved from the Dragon King’s (i.e. Nāga King’s) palace at the bottom of the sea the ‘Perfection of Wisdom in One Hundred Thousand Lines’ (*Śātasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*), which the Buddha had entrusted to the undersea king of the nāgas for safekeeping” (Robert E. Buswell, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 561).



in 80 juan, only comprises 45,000 gāthās. The rest is still hidden in India. Therefore I establish the vow [that I will dedicate myself] to begging grievously that the remaining gāthās of the sūtra will all still be spread in this place (i.e. in China).<sup>75,76</sup>

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The meditation master Caoyi 草衣 from Nanyan 南嚴 in Xinzhou 信州 had been sitting quietly for 30 years. [During that time] he did not put his feet on the ground, and his mouth did not taste any delicacies. Even if he went through ten thousand hardships, his body still did not move. The Attendant Gentleman Quan Deyu 侍郎權德輿<sup>77</sup> wrote his biography, in which he said: “When it comes to those who in antiquity were referred to as ‘people living alone leaving trivial things behind and departing from human society,’ would that not just be an alternative way of referring to the present matter of sitting quietly [as practiced by Caoyi]?”<sup>78</sup>

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Third year: [An edict] ordered: “If monks or nuns break the law, the three directors [of the monastery] 三綱<sup>79</sup> should report [the matter] to the commandery. The identity documents should be handed over, [the names should be] noted, and [the documents should be] destroyed. In the capital the cases should be brought before the Ministry of Sacrifices 祠部.”<sup>80</sup>

75 This is a strongly abridged quotation of a passage seen in the *Da Fangguangfo huayan jing ganying zhuan* (T 2074, p. 178, a1–11).

76 To understand this story it is important to take into account that Nāgārjuna was of importance to the Chinese Huayan school, as the concept of śūnyatā, which originates from Nāgārjuna’s interpretation of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* (Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras), is at the heart of Huayan philosophy (Francis H. Cook, *Hua-yen Buddhism*, 37 ff.).

77 Quan Deyu has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 148 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 12, 4001–4005) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 165 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 16, 5076–5080).

78 In *Shishi tongjian*, juan 10, we find a statement of Quan Deyu’s account of the meditation master Caoyi, which is entitled “Record of the Meditation Master Caoyi Sitting Quietly” 草衣禪師宴坐記 (X76, no. 1516, p. 108, a10–21 // Z 2B:4, p. 477, d18–p. 478, a11 // R31, p. 954, b18–p. 955, a11).

79 The three directors of a monastery are: (1) the sthavira (elder or president), chin.: shangzuo 上座; (2) the vihārasvāmin (temple head or abbot), chin.: sizhu 寺主; (3) the karmadāna (rector), chin.: weina 維那 (see: A.C. Muller, DDB, 三綱).

80 An annotation reads: “If in the Tang dynasty one spoke of ‘identity documents,’ the term had the meaning ‘identification marks of officials.’ Today the term only refers to monks’ certificates.” 唐稱符告者。與品官告身同。今時但稱度牒。 (T 2035, p. 379, b8–9). This means that, even though in the language usage of the Tang dynasty the term ‘identity documents’ would have referred to ‘identification marks of officials,’ the *Fozu tongji* as a text written in the Song dynasty in using that term refers to monks’ certificates.

p. 379, b<sub>10</sub> **Xingyuan era**, first year: [An edict] instructed: “Capital and goods of the deceased monks and nuns previously remained in the monasteries. And belongings left over after the funeral were shared among the collective. But recently, because of certain incidents, they were taken by the officials, which led to disturbances and harm. From now on the reception [by officials] shall be stopped. The three directors shall inform [the saṃgha], and the remaining wealth shall be distributed according to the vinaya.”<sup>81</sup>

p. 379, b<sub>13</sub> The dharma master Fazhao 法照 in Bingzhou 并州 employed five [kinds of] chant in teaching the people buddha-anusmṛti.<sup>82</sup> In the palace the emperor constantly heard that in Northeastern direction there was a voice [reciting] buddha-anusmṛti. He sent a messenger to search [for the voice]. Having arrived in Taiyuan 太原, [the messenger] then saw the abundance [of people that flocked to] the preaching of the master. [Fazhao] was then welcomed in the palace, where he taught the courtiers buddha-anusmṛti, again employing five [kinds of] chant.<sup>83</sup>

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p. 379, c<sub>2</sub> **Zhenyuan era**, first year: Wei Gao 韋臯 became Military Commissioner of Xichuan 西川節度使.<sup>84</sup> Previously, when he was just one month old, there was an Indian monk who [came] to see him. He said: “[I have not seen you] for a long time. Are you free of diseases?” The child [merely] smiled at him. When the people of the household asked for the reason, the monk said: “This is a reincarnation of Zhuge Wuhou (i.e. Zhuge Liang).<sup>85</sup> In his policies he will remain dedicated to Shu.” In our present times this has its evidence in [the fact] that

81 An annotation reads: “The *Sifen lü xing* [*shi chao*] (i.e. the Four-part vinaya by Daoxuan, T 1804), the “Yifa pian” (i.e. a chapter in juan 2 of the *Commentary on Karman in the Four-part vinaya*: T 1808, p. 505, b6), the [Explanations on] things left behind at death by the five kinds of Buddhist adherents (i.e. a general term appearing in many vinaya texts), and the [*Liangchu*] *jingzhong yi* (T 1895) of the Nanshan [lüzong] in detail explain the methods of splitting wealth” 南山事鈔、衣法篇及亡五眾、輕重儀，備述分財法。(T 2035, p. 379, b<sub>13</sub>). This annotation says that all of the mentioned texts point out details on how to distribute belongings of members of the saṃgha after their death.

82 On Fazhao's five chants of buddha-anusmṛti, see: Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the Tang*, 73 f.

83 On Fazhao at court, see: Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the Tang*, 74.

84 Wei Gao has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 140 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 12, 3821–3826) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 158 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 16, 4933–4937).

85 “Wuhou” 武侯 (Martial Lord) is a honorific name of Zhuge Liang (181–234), the military strategist of Shu towards the beginning of the Sanguo era.

[Wei] Gao has now been in Shu for 21 years,<sup>86</sup> with his merits being the best in all of Southeast China.<sup>87</sup>

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Second year:<sup>88</sup> The Hanlin scholar Liang Su 翰林學士梁肅 studied the Tiantai teachings from the Meditation Master of the Jing Brook 荆溪 (i.e. Zhanran),<sup>89</sup> and deeply understood their core. As the contents of the text on calming and contemplation (i.e. the *Mohe zhiguan*) were extensive and broad so that the readers wasted their days, he produced an abbreviated [edition] in six juan, which he spread in the world. Li Hua, a physician of the Ministry of Personnel 吏部郎中李華, had learned [the methods of] calming and contemplation from [the Meditation Master of] the Jing Brook.<sup>90</sup> [The Meditation Master of] p. 379, b18 (moved from above based on the chronology as seen in Shi Daofa)

86 This refers back to the beginning of the story, where it was said that Wei Gao was serving as Military Commissioner of Xichuan. Xichuan was situated in Shu.

87 This story is known from *Lebang yigao* 樂邦遺稿 (Manuscripts from Paradise), juan 2 (T 1969B, p. 245, a5–8). The *Lebang yigao* is a supplement to the *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類 (T 1969A, Paradise Anthology) by Zongxiao 宗曉 (1151–1214).

88 The Taishō edition of the *Fozu tongji* lists all of the subsequent annalistic entry as Xingyuan 3, while the Shi Daofa edition lists the same content as Zhenyuan 2. Consequently the Shi Daofa edition also moves the entire annalistic entry into the Zhenyuan section. As I follow the Shi Daofa edition in this chronology issue, the presentation of textual segments does in this case not follow the sequence seen in the Taishō edition.

89 Chen Jinhua offers the following explanation: “Liang Su is well known for his close ties to the Tiantai master Zhanran, whom he respected as a master. Regarded as the most important lay disciple of this Tiantai master, Liang Su composed an inscription for him” [the inscription Chen refers to is seen in the biography of Zhanran in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 6 (T 2061, p. 740, a3–9)] (Chen Jinhua, “One Name, Three Monks: Two Northern Chan Masters Emerge from the Shadow of Their Contemporary, the Tiantai Master Zhanran (711–782),” in: *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 22, no. 1 [1999], 11f. note 30).

90 That Zhanran composed the *Zhiguan dayi* explicitly for Li Hua is known from a dedication seen towards the beginning of the text (T 1914, p. 459, a15). To understand the relationship between Li Hua and Zhanran, one should consider that Li Hua was author of the “Epitaph for the Stele of the Late ‘Grand Master of the Left Stream,’ with Preface” (Gu Zuoxi dashi beiming bing xu 故左谿大師碑銘并序). The ‘Grand Master of the Left Stream’ is Xuanlang 玄朗 (673–754), the master of Zhanran. Silvio Vita explains that—according to Qisong 契嵩 (1011–1072)—Zhanran had asked Li Hua to compose the epitaph, because Li Hua was very close to him (Silvio Vita, “Li Hua and Buddhism,” in: *Tang China and Beyond*, ed. Antonino Forte [Kyoto: Scuola di Studi sull’Asia Orientale, 1988], 107). Vita also points out that Li Hua and Liang Su are both listed as disciples of Zhanran, while Li Hua would only be named in sources later than the *Song gaoseng zhuan* (while the titles of those later sources are unfortunately not provided) (ibid. 107 note 36).

the Jing Brook composed a work entitled *The General Meaning of Calming and Contemplation* 止觀大意 (T 1914) for him, which contained the main aspects [of the text], [explained as clearly] as pointing to one's palm.<sup>91</sup> At that time people jointly [devoting themselves] to the studies, such as the Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary Cui Gong 散騎常侍崔恭 and the Grand Master of Remonstrance Tian Dun 諫議大夫田敦, all learned [the matter of] calming and contemplation from [the Meditation Master of] the Jing Brook.

p. 379, b24 (moved from above based on the chronology as seen in Shi Daofa) The Records of Liang Su say: Mrs. Huang from Jinling 晉陵黃氏 had two daughters, who in their youth heard somebody reciting the *Lotus sūtra*. Having listened to it, they said: "We understood the meaning of this." When he tested them by making them expound [what they had understood], they could deeply discourse on the intentions of the true characteristics [of the *Lotus sūtra*]. Afterwards they entered the Anguo Monastery 安國寺 in the capital to become nuns. The older one was named Chifa 持法. The younger one was named Huiren 慧忍. Together they practiced the samādhi of the Lotus sūtra. Suddenly there was a nun named Konggu 空姑. Her words and appearance were absolutely extraordinary. She came to stay together with them. Each time at midnight, her body sparkled impressively. After it had been that way for three nights, she left. When people asked the two nuns, they always laughed and did not reply. People said that this had been Samantabhadra 普賢.

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p. 379, c7 Third year: Yuwen Xuan, the mayor of the capital 京兆尹宇文炫, requested to use the forsaken monastic [buildings] of the countryside as construction material for school houses. An order said: "To transform the palaces of the Buddha into Confucian schools, would constitute an act of blasphemy slandering the three jewels, which would be an unforgivable offense."<sup>92</sup> Imbued by fear, [Yuwen] Xuan on the same day resigned from office, and returned [to his native place].

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91 The expression of "pointing to the palm" 指掌 goes back to *Lunyu* 3.11. There we read: "Someone asked about the theory of *di* sacrifice. The master said, 'It is not something I understand, for whoever understands it will be able to manage the empire as easily as if he had it here,' pointing to his palm" 或問禘之說。子曰：「不知也。知其說者之於天下也，其如示諸斯乎！」指其掌。(D.C. Lau, *Confucius: The Analects* [Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1992], 22 f.). In the *Fozu tongji* we find 指諸掌 instead of 指掌. The meaning is the same. The character 諸 here merely functions as a grammatical particle meaning 之于.

92 On this matter, see: Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 95.

Li Bi 李泌 (722–789, also pronounced Li Mi) was appointed as Attendant Gentleman 中書侍郎 and as Manager of Affairs 平章事 (i.e. as chancellor).<sup>93</sup> Previously the meditation master Mingzan 明瓚 lived in Shangfeng 上封 at the Nanyue. The people called him Lancan.<sup>94</sup> When [Li] Bi went to see him, he heard him reciting a sūtra. In the beginning [the recitation] was sorrowful, and towards the end it became joyful. Knowing that he was a hermit, [Li Bi] waited for a long time. When [Ming]zan took taros out of the fire to eat them, he said: “You will receive the chancellor’s [position] for a period of ten years.”<sup>95</sup>

When it came to that, [Li] Bi became active in communicating the virtuous practices [of Mingzan] to the emperor. [The emperor issued] an edict to summon him. When the messenger reached the cave and read out the document, [Ming]zan sat motionless with cold mucus trickling down to his chin, and did not care about the summons. The messenger returned and reported the matter. The emperor sighed with respect even more.

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Fourth year: The meditation master Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 from Jiangxi 江西 died. The master had received the dharma [robe] from the meditation master [Huai]rang 懷讓 of the Nanyue.<sup>96</sup> Afterwards the fifth gener-

93 Li Bi, enfeoffed as “Marquis of Ye” 鄴侯, was an important advisor to the court under Tang Suzong, Tang Daizong, and Tang Dezong. In 787 he became chancellor. His deeds are recorded in the *Yehou jiazhuang* 鄴侯家傳 (Family Accounts of the Marquis of Ye) by his son Li Fan 李繁, and he has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 130 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 11, 3620–3623) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 139 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 15, 4631–4638). On the *Yehou jiazhuang*, see: Albert E. Dien, “The Use of the Yeh-hou chia-chuan as a Historical Source,” in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 34 (1974): 221–247.

94 The origin of Mingzan’s byname “Lancan” 懶殘 (also written 懶殘), which means “Lazy Leftovers,” has been explained as follows: “Mingzan earned the ‘lazy’ part of his nickname Lancan because of his habit of sitting back comfortably while others worked. Yet, when he was scolded, he felt no shame” (James Robson, *Power of Place*, 266—with reference to the biography of Mingzan in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 19; T 2061, p. 834, a1–14).

95 This is known from the biography of Mingzan in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 19 (T 2061, p. 834, a17–27). On the encounter between Mingzan and Li Bi, see also: James Robson, *Power of Place*, 266 (where 泌 is transcribed as “mi,” so that the name becomes “Li Mi”).

96 On Mazu Daoyi and his master Huairang, see: Mario Poceski, *Ordinary Mind as the Way: The Hongzhou School and the Growth of Chan Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 21–43.

ation of his descendants split up into two lineages, known as Guiyang 為仰<sup>97</sup> and Linji 臨濟.<sup>98,99</sup>

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- p. 379, c20 Fifth year: [An edict] ordered: “As the teachings of Buddhism and Daoism are a blessing to all beings, the aisles, through which [Buddhists and Daoists] would walk, need to provide [a sensation] of cleanliness. From here on Buddhist monasteries and Daoist abbeys may not offer accommodation to visitors from outside. The places that have been damaged should be restored.”

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- p. 379, c23 Sixth year, first month: An edict [gave orders] to bring the bone of Buddha Śākyamuni from the Famen Monastery 法門寺 in Fengxiang 鳳翔 to the palace for worship. It also was to be brought to all the monasteries, [so that the monks] could prostrate to it. In the second month the bone of the Buddha was brought back to the [Famen] Monastery.

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- p. 379, c25 The meditation master Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 from Mount Heng 衡山 died.<sup>100</sup> The master had received the dharma [robe] from the meditation master Qingyuan [Xing]si 清源[行]思. Afterwards [his disciples] were divided into three schools: In the fifth generation the Dongshan 洞山 [school] was formed;<sup>101</sup> in the seventh generation the Yunmen 雲門 [school] was formed;<sup>102</sup> in the ninth generation the Fayen 法眼 [school] was formed.<sup>103</sup>

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97 The Guiyang school was founded by Lingyou 靈祐 (771–853) and his disciple Huiji 慧寂 (807–883). Centers of the school were Mount Gui 為山 in present-day Hunan and Mount Yang 仰山 in present-day Jiangxi. The name of the school derives from the two mountains.

98 The Linji school was founded by Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (d. 866/867), who in 851 moved into the Linji Monastery 臨濟院 in present-day Hebei. The monastery gave the name to the school he founded.

99 The schools of Guiyang and Linji are the two of the “Five Schools of Chan” 禪門五宗 that belong to the lineage of Mazu Daoyi, while the other three of the Five Schools of Chan belong to the lineage of Shitou Xiqian, and are introduced below (T 2035, p. 379, c25–27). On this matter, see: Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism: A History, vol. 1: India and China* (New York: Macmillan, 1988), 214.

100 On Shitou Xiqian, see: James Robson, *Power of Place*, 260, 281–300.

101 Usually this school is referred to as Caodong 曹洞 school, rather than just as Dongshan school. The school was founded by Liangjie 良价 (807–869), who resided on Mount Dong 洞山 in present-day Jiangxi. His disciple Benji 本寂 (840–901) resided on Mount Cao 曹山 in present-day Jiangxi. The common school name of Caodong refers to both of these mountains.

102 The Yunmen school was founded by Wenyan 文偃 (864–949) through the establishment of the Guangtai Chan-Monastery 光泰禪院 on Mount Yunmen 雲門山.

103 The Fayen school was founded by Wenyi 文益 (885–958), who posthumously was awarded

Tenth year: Yu Di, the Regional Inspector of Huzhou 湖州刺史于頔,<sup>104</sup> submitted *The Collection of Poems from Mount Zhu* 杼山詩集, [composed by] the śramaṇa Jiaoran 皎然.<sup>105</sup> It was stored in the imperial library. p. 379, c28

The dharma master [Dao]sui [道]邃 in the Guoqing Monastery preached the teachings of calming and contemplation for the dharma master Guangxiu 廣修.<sup>106</sup> p. 379, c29

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Eleventh year, eleventh month: Siṃharāja 師子王 of the state of Uḍa 烏荼國 from Southern India sent [the text of a chapter of] the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 as tribute. He submitted a memorial in which he said: “I, Siṃharāja, personally having copied the ‘Chapter on the Vows of Samantabhadra’ 普賢行願品 (i.e. a chapter of the *Huayan jing*), hereby submit it to the Great Propitious Son of Heaven of the State of the Great Tang of Mahā-cīna 摩訶支那大唐國大吉祥天子. I wish that [the two of us] may soon meet in the assembly of Tathāgata Maitreya under the nāga-puṣpa [tree] 龍華[樹],<sup>107</sup> obtain knowledge of our previous lives, recognize each other upon seeing each other, and jointly receive the prophecy of the Buddha.”<sup>108</sup> p. 380, a2

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the title Fayan da chanshi 法眼大禪師 (Great Chan-Master Dharma Eye), which gave the name to the school.

104 Yu Di has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 156 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 13, 4129–4136) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 172 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 17, 5199–5201).

105 Jiaoran 皎然 (ca. 720–ca. 798) was a poet-monk who was member of the scholar elite and had (unsuccessfully) participated in the official examinations before he entered the saṃgha (Stephen Owen, *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High Tang* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986], 287–295; Stephen Owen, “The cultural Tang,” in: *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature*, vol. 1 [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010], 325).

106 That Daosui had received the zhiguan teachings (teachings of calming and contemplation) from Zhanran was mentioned above (T 2035, p. 378, c12–13). I could not find evidence demonstrating that Daosui passed on the zhiguan teachings to Guangxiu.

107 Maitreya is the Buddha of the future whose Buddhahood will, according to a prophecy, manifest in succession to that of the present Buddha Śākyamuni. The nāga-puṣpa tree is the tree under which Maitreya is supposed to have the meditation with which he will attain Buddhahood. The statement of Siṃharāja is that at the time when Maitreya will attain Buddhahood underneath the nāga-puṣpa tree, he would hope to be present together with Tang Dezong.

108 This is an abridged and modified quotation from the commentary to *Huayan jing*, juan 40 (T 293, p. 848, b26–27; p. 848, c10–11).

p. 380, a6 In the fourth month, on [the emperor's] birthday, an edict [instructed] the dharma master Chengguan 澄觀 to come to the palace to lecture on sūtras.<sup>109</sup> As his wonderful dharma tranquilized the emperor's heart, he was given the title "tranquilizing dharma master, professor and monk."<sup>110</sup>

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p. 380, a9 Twelfth year, first month: The crown prince was ordered to assemble all the meditation masters in the inner palace to carefully determine what was collateral and what was orthodox in the transmissions of the dharma.<sup>111</sup>

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p. 380, a10 In the fourth month, on [the emperor's] birthday, [the emperor] went to the Linde Palace 麟德殿, and ordered the Palace Steward Xu Dai 給事中徐岱<sup>112</sup> to organize a debate on the three teachings (i.e. Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism) under participation of the śramaṇa Tanyan 覃延 and the Daoist priest Ge Cancheng 葛參成.<sup>113</sup>

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p. 380, a12 An edict [instructed] the trepiṭaka Prajñā from Kashmir and others to translate—in the Chongfu Monastery 崇福寺 of Chang'an—[the chapter of] the *Huayan jing*, [the king of] Uḍa had submitted.<sup>114</sup> [The śramaṇas] Yuanzhao 圓照, Jianxu 鑑虛, Lingsui 靈邃, and Chengguan 澄觀 acted as style editors and proof readers. The emperor personally was in charge of the translation place, and in the composition process he considered and amended.<sup>115</sup> The Commissioners of Merit and Virtue of the Left and the Right Street, Huo Xianming

109 Chengguan (737–838) was the fourth patriarch of Huayan Buddhism (Francis H. Cook, *Hua-yen Buddhism*, 23 f.).

110 Chengguan has a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 5 (T 2061, p. 737, a4–c20). The biography does not include the story seen here in the *Fozu tongji*. However we learn that Chengguan was a monk of the Qingliang Monastery 清涼寺 in the Wutai Mountains (T 2061, p. 737, a4). As 'qingliang' is the term which translates as 'tranquilized' or 'tranquilizing' in the story, one may assume that the emperor alluded to Chengguan's home monastery when saying that he tranquilized his heart.

111 On this matter, see: Jeffrey Lyle Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 74, 239 note 28.

112 Xu Dai has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 189, part 2 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 15, 4975–4976) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 161 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 16, 4984).

113 This is known from *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 3 (T 2126, p. 248, b4–7; Albert Welte, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 476).

114 This may allude to a passage in the biography of Chengguan in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 5 (T 2061, p. 737, b14–16).

115 This may allude to a passage in the biography of Chengguan in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 5 (T 2061, p. 737, b24).



and Dou Wenchang 左右街功德使霍仙鳴、竇文場, were exclusively entrusted with the supervision.<sup>116</sup>

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Thirteenth year: The śramaṇa Duanfu 端甫 was summoned to the inner palace for a debate with a Confucian and a Daoist scholar. He was awarded a purple monk's robe, and he was instructed to serve the crown prince in the Eastern Palace. Emperor Shun 順帝 (i.e. the succeeding emperor Shunzong) revered him like an elder brother.<sup>117</sup> p. 380, a16

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Dou Wenchang, the Commissioner of Merit and Virtue of the Left Street, reported that the previous master Chujin 楚金 at the beginning of the Tianbao era [of Tang Xuanzong] erected a pagoda and established a Saddharma-puṇḍarīka bodhimaṇḍala 法華道場 for [the benefit of] the state. [Chujin] instructed to undertake that the sūtra recitation voice of the assembly should not stop for more than 60 years.<sup>118</sup> It was requested to confer testimonials of merit on him, and by an [imperial] order he was posthumously [awarded the title] Dharma Master of Great Completion 大圓法師.<sup>119</sup> p. 380, a18

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Fourteenth year, second month: The trepiṭaka Prajñā 般若 and the dharma master Chengguan submitted the new translation of the *Huayan jing* in 40 juan.<sup>120</sup> p. 380, a22

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116 This may allude to a passage in the biography of Chengguan in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 5, which does however only mention Huo Xianming (T 2061, p. 737, b23–24).

117 This is known from the biography of Duanfu in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 6 (T 2061, p. 741, b14–16).

118 Both in the Taishō edition and in the Shi Daofa edition of the *Fozu tongji* we read 令儋眾經聲不絕者. The character 儋 is lexicalized as an alternative of 担, which can be translated as “to undertake.”

119 This is known from the biography of Chujin in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 24 (T 2061, p. 864, c29–p. 865, a4).

120 An annotation reads: “This sūtra has been translated three times. The Jin dynasty translation (T 278) comprised 60 juan. The translation done under Empress Wu of the Tang (T 279) comprised 80 juan. The present translation done under [Emperor] Dezong (T 293) comprises 40 juan, and includes the Chapter on the Vows of Samantabhadra.” 此經三譯。晉譯六十卷。唐武后朝八十卷。今德宗朝四十卷。并普賢行願品一卷。(T 2035, p. 380, a23–24). The annotation says that the earlier two translations did not include the Chapter on the Vows of Samantabhadra, while the translation done under Dezong was the first to include it. Both the main text and the annotation would however appear to be misleading. As a matter of fact, the present translation, which was designed by a group of translators headed by Prajñā, was not a translation of the entire *Huayan jing*, but merely a translation of the *Gaṇḍavyūha sūtra* being one of the scriptures the *Huayan jing* consists of (Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 98). For an

p. 380, a25 Fifteenth year, seventh month: The emperor personally visited the Anguo Monastery 安國寺 to offer the Ullambana sacrifice 盂蘭盆供. The high-ranking officials all followed him.

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p. 380, a27 20th year: The state of Japan sent a mission to visit the court.<sup>121</sup> This way the scholar Tachibana no Hayanari 橘逸勢 and the śramaṇa Kūkai 空海 came to China. [The latter] studied the esoteric teachings from Amoghavajra's disciple Huiguo 慧果.<sup>122</sup>

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p. 380, b1 21st year, 10th month, third day: The śramaṇa Shaokang 少康 from Xinding 新定 emitted light and passed away.<sup>123</sup> Previously, when the master arrived at the Baima Monastery 白馬寺 in Luoyang,<sup>124</sup> he saw that one book in the hall emitted splendor. He took it out, and it happened to be the *Text on Worshipping the West* 西方禮文 by the monk Shandao 善導.<sup>125</sup> Thereupon he went to the Hall of Images of the Guangming Monastery 光明寺 of Chang'an, where he greatly piled up offerings. Suddenly he saw the image of the Master Shandao ascending into space and saying: "If you follow my teachings to benefit the living beings, then through your merit you will be born in paradise."<sup>126</sup> When in the South he went to Jiangling 江陵, on the road he met a monk who said: "If you want to teach people, you need to go to Xinding."<sup>127</sup> As soon as he had concluded his statement, he disappeared. The master thereupon went into the commandery to beg for money, which he used to persuade little children to recite Buddhist sūtras. After more than one month, children reciting Buddhist sūtras and asking him for money were many. After it had been that way for one year, no matter whether people were old or young, rich or poor, when seeing the master they would exclaim "Emitufo" 阿彌陀佛.<sup>128</sup> Thereupon he established

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account of the *Gaṇḍavyūha sūtra* and its influence in East Asian art, see: Jan Fontein, *The Pilgrimage Sudhana: a study of Gandavyuha illustrations in China, Japan and Java* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1967).

121 In the Taishō edition of the *Fozu tongji* we read 日本國遣使者朝. In the Shi Daofa edition we see a 來 being inserted, so that we read: 日本國遣使者來朝. In my translation I base myself on the Shi Daofa edition here.

122 On this matter, see: Wang Zhenping, *Ambassadors from the Islands of Immortals: China-Japan Relations in the Han-Tang Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 189 f.

123 Shaokang has a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 25 (T 2061, p. 867, b11–c26).

124 In the text we read 洛下, which is an alternative name for Luoyang 洛陽.

125 The reference to the West in the title being introduced here points to the Pure Land of Buddha Amitābha (i.e. the *sukhāvātī*), which is imagined as situated in the West.

126 The term of 'paradise' 安養 here refers to the Pure Land of Buddha Amitābha.

127 An annotation reads: "This is present-day Yanzhou" 今嚴州 (T 2035, p. 380, b7).

128 The term of "Emitufo" is a Chinese transliteration of "Amitābha."

a bodhi-maṇḍala, assembled a community and ascended the preaching seat. On top of his voice, he sang [the name of] the Buddha one time, and the community saw one Buddha leaving his mouth. When he sang it ten times, there were ten Buddhas [leaving his mouth] like pearls lined up on a string.

### *Shunzong*

順宗

[Personal name:] Song 誦. Oldest son of Dezong.

**Yongzhen era**, first year: An edict [ordered] the meditation master Shili 尸利 p. 380, b14 to come to the inner palace to answer questions concerning the principles of meditation. The emperor said: “How is it that all living beings on earth can realize their [true] nature and attain Buddhahood?” [Shi]li said: “The Buddha dharma is like the moon [being mirrored] in the water. The moon can be seen but cannot be touched.” The emperor was happy.<sup>129,130</sup>

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The Japanese śramaṇa Saichō 最澄 came to study the teachings from the p. 380, b17 dharma master [Dao]sui of the Tiantai [Mountains].<sup>131</sup> He exhaustively copied this school’s treatises and commentaries to bring them home [to Japan]. This was the beginning of the transmission of the teachings to Japan.

### *Xianzong*

憲宗

[Personal name:] Chun 純. Oldest son of Shunzong.

**Yuanhe era**, first year: The śramaṇa Duanfu 端甫 was ordered to record the p. 380, b20 saṃgha affairs of the streets to the left, and to manage the dharma services in the inner palace.<sup>132</sup> The śramaṇa Lingsui 靈邃 recorded the saṃgha affairs of the streets to the right.<sup>133</sup>

129 This is known from *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 7 (T 2076, p. 253, a17–19).

130 An annotation reads: “The master had received the dharma [robe] from Shitou [Xi]qian” 師得法於石頭遷師 (T 2035, p. 380, b16). Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 (700–790) was a Chan master from Mount Heng 衡山 mentioned above (T 2035, p. 379, c25–27).

131 On the relationship between Saichō and Daosui, see: Paul Groner, *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2000), 40–43.

132 This is known from the biography of Duanfu in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 6 (T 2061, p. 741, b28–29).

133 An annotation reads: “[The position of] the monks’ registrar had begun with [Master] Faqin of the [Former] Qin dynasty” 僧錄始於姚秦法欽師 (T 2035, p. 380, b21).

p. 380, b21 An edict [ordered] the śramaṇa Zhixuan 知玄 to enter the palace to be questioned about the way. He was awarded the epithet Imperial Preceptor Wuda 悟達國師. When he was five years old, he was able to recite poems. He renounced secular life and became a śramaṇera, and at the age of fourteen he lectured on the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*. Li Shangyin 李商隱<sup>134</sup> bestowed a poem, which reads: “As a śramaṇera at the age of fourteen he explained and taught sūtras, and [already] seemed to have the age of a master carrying a bottle. As a śramaṇera he preached the dharma for the śramaṇas to listen, not because he would have been older but because of the numinosity of his inner nature.”<sup>135</sup>

p. 380, b26 The Uighurs sent a messenger, who together with the false supporters of Manichaeism came to the court.<sup>136</sup>

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p. 380, b27 Second year: Tutu Chengcui 吐突承璀 was appointed as Commissioner of Merit and Virtue of the Left and the Right Street 左右街功德使. Both Buddhist monks and Daoist priests were subservient to him.<sup>137,138</sup>

p. 380, b28 In the third month an edict said: “Male adults and female workers form the basis of agriculture and weaving. Those who carelessly evade corvée labor by becoming Buddhist monks or Daoist priests, but in reality stay clear of the implications of renouncing secular life, should be reported by the local administration department in charge.”<sup>139</sup>

134 Li Shangyin, a prominent poet of the ninth century, has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 190, part 3 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 15, 5077–5078) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 203 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 18, 5792–5793). For a translation of Li Shangyin's poetry, see: James J.Y. Liu, *The Poetry of Li Shang-yin: Ninth Century Baroque Chinese Poet* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

135 This is a poem Li Shangyin wrote in praise of Zhixuan. Apparently the oldest retrievable source for this poem is the present passage of the *Fozu tongji*. Li Shangyin's general respect for Zhixuan is however also documented otherwise, as in the biography of Zhixuan in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 6, we read that for a long time Li Shangyin had admired Zhixuan's studies of the way 道學 (T 2061, p. 744, b21–23).

136 This is known from *Xin Tangshu*, juan 217, part 1 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 19, 6126).

137 On this matter, see: *Da Song seng shiliu*, juan 2 (T 2126, p. 245, c15–18; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 417 f.).

138 An annotation reads: “His surname was Tutu and his given name [Cheng]cui. He was an official.” 姓吐突名璀。官者。(T 2035, p. 380, b28). Tutu Chengcui has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 184 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 15, 4768–4769) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 207 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 19, 5869–5870).

139 This is a modified statement of an edict also seen in *Tang huiyao*, juan 50 (Wang Pu 王溥, *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006], vol. 1, 1032).

An edict [ordered] the meditation master Dayi 大義 from Ehu 鵝湖 to come p. 380, c2 to the Linde Palace 麟德殿 for a debate with all the [other] dharma masters. A dharma master asked: “What are the four [noble] truths?” The master [Dayi] replied: “As the holy emperor is the first truth/emperor, how can there be further three truths/emperors?”<sup>140</sup> [A dharma master] asked: “What is the way of meditation?” The master [Dayi] pointed into space. The [other] dharma masters were bewildered. The emperor said: “The dharma master has pointed it out to you. [Why are you] still not getting it?”<sup>141</sup> The emperor asked: “What is referred to as Buddha nature?” The master [Dayi] replied: “[The answer] is no different from the question of your majesty.”<sup>142</sup> The emperor agreed silently.<sup>143</sup> The Shangshu Li Xiang 尚書李翔 asked: “What does [the bodhisattva] of great compassion use thousand hands and eyes for?”<sup>144</sup> The master [Dayi] replied: “[Talking about] present times, what did the emperor employ you for?”<sup>145,146</sup>

The śramaṇa Huilin 慧琳 from Hezhongfu 河中府 composed the *Yiqie jing yinyi* 一切經音義 (Pronunciation and Meaning of All the Scriptures) in 103 juan.<sup>147</sup> He went to the palace to submit it. [The emperor] ordered to include

140 This is seen in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 7 (T 2076, p. 253, a6–7). Dayi strategically employs a word play equating the homophone and graphically similar characters 諦 (truth) and 帝 (emperor) (both pronounced ‘di’). He thus succeeds in choking off any argumentative patterns his opponent may have hoped to develop by asking about the four noble truths.

141 This is seen in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 7 (T 2076, p. 253, a9–11).

142 This means that in śūnyatā everything is the same.

143 This is seen in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 7 (T 2076, p. 253, a20–21).

144 The identity of the person referred to as Li Xiang is not clear. One might think of a poet named Li Xiang 李翔, whom Neil Schmid briefly introduces as the late Tang author of a collection of Daoist poetry entitled *Shedao shi* 涉道詩 (Poems on Entering the Way), adding that he is otherwise unknown (Neil Schmid, “Tun-huang Literature,” in: *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, ed. Victor H. Mair [New York: Columbia University Press, 2001], 981). Speculating about the name Li Xiang seen in the *Fozu tongji*, Jan Yün-hua however says that the name would appear to be miswritten. He argues that ‘xiang’ 翔 ought to be a misrepresentation of the graphically similar character ‘ao’ 翱. Li Ao 李翱 (772–841) was a well-known Confucian scholar. Even though the *Jingde chuandeng lu* does not mention Li Ao in the context of the present story, Li Ao was said to have had a meeting with Dayi (see: Timothy H. Barrett, *Li Ao: Buddhist, Taoist, or Neo-Confucian?* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992], 50). So at least it would not seem far-fetched to assume that the *Fozu tongji* contextualizes Li Ao with Dayi. At the end of the day it would however be impossible to say with certainty whom the *Fozu tongji* is referring to here.

145 This is seen in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 7 (T 2076, p. 253, a2–3).

146 An annotation reads: “The master [Dayi] had received the dharma [robe] from Mazu [Daoyi]” 師得法於馬祖 (T 2035, p. 380, c8).

147 This is mentioned in the biography of Huilin (783–807) in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 5 (T 2061, p. 738, a28), where we however read of 100 rather than of 103 juan. In the early times of Chinese Buddhism a huge amount of texts had to be translated into Chinese. As

it into the Buddhist canon, and presented [Huilin] with a purple robe, different silks, and medical tea.

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- p. 380, c11 Third year: An edict [instructed] the meditation master Huaiyun 懷惲 from the Zhangjing [Monastery] 章敬[寺]<sup>148</sup> to come to the capital and summoned him for an audience in the inner palace, [where the emperor] sought advice from him concerning the methods of meditation.

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- p. 380, c13 Fourth year: An edict [instructed] the meditation master Weikuan 惟寬 (755–817)<sup>149</sup> to come [to the palace] for an audience and to be questioned about the essence of meditation. He was ordered to reside at the Anguo Monastery 安國寺. Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846)<sup>150</sup> asked the master: “As you are known as a meditation master, why do you [also] preach the dharma?” The master said: “The unsurpassable bodhi when employed by the body is called vinaya, when preached by the mouth is called dharma, and when practiced by the mind is called meditation. 被於身為律。說於口為法。行於心為禪。 Vinaya is the same as the dharma, and the dharma is no different from meditation.”<sup>151</sup>

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the Chinese language did not have the vocabulary to offer proper equivalents matching the greater variety of spiritual terms commonly used in Sanskrit, translators often chose to transliterate such terms instead of translating them. This means that the translators chose Chinese characters to resemble the sound rather than the meaning of the Sanskrit terms. To define and standardize those transliterations, glossaries were produced. The earliest of those glossaries was the *Yiqie jing yinyi* by Xuanying 玄應 (fl. 645–656), a member of the translation team around Xuanzang. Later on Huilin expanded that glossary by adding further terms and published the enlarged work under the same title (Robert E. Buswell, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 1030 f.).

- 148 Huaiyun has an elaborate biography in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 7 (T 2076, p. 252, b19–c23) and a shorter biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 10 (T 2061, p. 767, c25–p. 768, a12). While in the first source the name is written ‘Huaiyun’ 懷惲 like in the *Fozu tongji*, the latter source misrepresents the name with a graphically similar second character as ‘Huaihui’ 懷暉. In both sources the person being subject to the biography is however identified as a monk of the Zhangjing Monastery 章敬寺 and as a native of Quanzhou 泉州, which suggests that it is indeed the same monk.
- 149 Weikuan was a prominent representative of the Hongzhou school 洪州宗 of Chan Buddhism. He has biographies in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 10 (T 2061, p. 768, a13–b11) and in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 7 (T 2076, p. 255, a12–b14).
- 150 Bai Juyi has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 166 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 13, 4340–4358) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 119 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 14, 4300–4305). For a translation of the biography in the *Jiu Tangshu*, see: Eugene Feifel, “Biography of Po Chü-i: Annotated translation from chüan 166 of the Chiu T’ang-shu,” in: *Monumenta Serica* 17 (1958): 255–311.
- 151 Mario Poceski offers the following explanation concerning the dialogue between Bai Juyi

Malangfu 馬郎婦 was a native of Xiayou 陝右.<sup>152</sup> Originally, according to the customs of this place, people were used to horseback riding and arrow shooting. They disdained hearing about the matter of the three jewels. Suddenly a young woman arrived, and said to the people: “If there should be somebody able to understand the ‘The Chapter of the Gateway to Every Direction’ 普門品 [of the *Lotus sūtra*]<sup>153</sup> within one night, I will commit myself to him (i.e. marry him).” In the next morning those who recited [the text] in penetrating style, added up to twelve men. Next, she asked them [to recite] the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras, and in the morning there still were ten men who understood them. Thereupon she further instructed them [concerning the complete] *Lotus sūtra*, [expecting that] after approximately three days they would understand it in penetrating style, [but after all] only the son of the Ma family could understand it. He thereupon made preparations [for marriage] and welcomed her with due respect.<sup>154</sup> But when the [young] woman came, she requested another

p. 380, c17

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and Weikuan, in which Poceski—following the Tang dynasty phonetics—speaks of Bo Juyi rather than of Bai Juyi: “Bo Juyi and Weikuan first met in 814, after Bo returned to the capital to assume the post of assistant secretary to the crown prince, following a three-year mourning period for his deceased mother. At that time, Bo went to Xingshan monastery to request Weikuan’s instructions about the teachings of the Chan school. Bo himself recorded some of the conversations with the aged monk. They consist of four questions posed by Bo, followed by Weikuan’s responses. The first question is about the role of a Chan teacher, and the other three are about related aspects of spiritual practice” (Mario Poceski, *Ordinary Mind as the Way: The Hongzhou School and the Growth of Chan Buddhism*, 65). The question and answer quoted here in the *Fozu tongji* is the first of the four exchanges. While Weikuan’s answer is here presented in abridged style, Poceski has the translation of the complete answer (ibid.). The dialogue between Bai Juyi and Weikuan is part of the *Chuanfa tang bei* 傳法堂碑 (Inscription for the Hall of Transmission of the Dharma), which Bai Juyi had composed as a memorial inscription for Weikuan. For a study and complete translation of the *Chuanfa tang bei*, see: Mario Poceski, “Bo Juyi’s Memorial Inscription for Chan Teacher Weikuan,” in: *Journal of Chinese Buddhist Studies* 31 (2018): 39–74. For the reception in earlier research, see: Arthur Waley, *The Life and Times of Po Chü-i* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1951), 99.

152 Malangfu 馬郎婦 is a famous incarnation of Guanyin. The name literally means ‘wife of Mr. Ma.’ The story reveals how she became the wife of Mr. Ma. For a discussion of the legendary tradition, see: Yü Chün-fang, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara*, 186 f.

153 This is chapter 25 of the *Lotus sūtra* (see: *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, juan 7: T 262, p. 56, c2–p. 58, b7; for a translation see: Tsugunari Kubo, *The Lotus Sutra*, 295–302).

154 In fact the young woman is an incarnation of Malangfu. As the people of Xiaoyou had no interest in Buddhism, she appeared as an attractive young woman, and offered marriage to him who would excel in studying the Buddhist sūtras. But after the Pumen Chapter of the *Lotus sūtra* had been studied, twelve men remained in the competition, and after the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras had been studied ten men were still left. After the full text of the

residence because of a disease.<sup>155</sup> Before the guests [of the wedding ceremony] had gone, the woman died.<sup>156</sup> In an instant her body decayed. Thereupon [Mr. Ma] buried her. After several days, there was an old monk with a purple robe who went to her grave. He used his monk's staff to move her corpse, picked a golden collarbone and said to the community: "This is Bodhisattva Samantabhadra,<sup>157</sup> who mourns about your heavy hindrances [in studying Buddhism]. Therefore she used this upāya."<sup>158</sup> Immediately he ascended into space and left.

p. 380, c26 Ji Junzuo 齊君佐 from the Wu commandery 吳郡 studied ambitiously but lived in poor conditions. He wanted to beg for food in the Tianzhu Monastery 天竺寺, as he was so hungry that he could not move forward. An Indian monk turned around, smiled at him and said: "Does the dharma master not recall having preached the *Lotus sūtra* in the Tongde Monastery 同德寺?"<sup>159</sup> [Ji Jun]zuo said: "I do not recall it." The [Indian] monk immediately took a jujube out of his bag and gave it to him to eat. Immediately [Ji Jun]zuo realized that in his previous life he had been this sūtra preaching monk. The [Indian] monk said: "At that time, we were five people [preaching the *Lotus sūtra*], but only I became enlightened. Because on the [high] seat you, the master, elaborately discussed non-Buddhist aspects, you caused problems in understanding among the students. Your precepts were broken, and your disposition was shallow. The karmic retribution [for this misperformance] should be your present situation." As soon as he had concluded his speech, he was not seen any more. [Ji Jun]zuo immediately sought refuge in the Lingyin [Monastery],

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Lotus sūtra had been studied, there was finally only one man left who was still able to follow. He was then to become her husband.

- 155 In effect the woman requested another residence as she did not wish to consummate the marriage. As we will see, the woman was a bodhisattva in disguise, who had offered marriage only in order to motivate people to study the dharma. The true reward for the students was the insight into the dharma teachings, and actually practicing sexuality was out of the question for the bodhisattva.
- 156 As an incarnation of Guanyin, the young woman caused her own death to stay clear of marriage.
- 157 This appears to be a textual variant different from the common version of the story, since as remarked above in the hagiographic tradition Malangfu is regarded as an incarnation of Guanyin rather than as an incarnation of Samantabhadra.
- 158 This means that the bodhisattva had undertaken this measure to motivate the people of Xiayou to study Buddhism.
- 159 As the name indicates, Ji Junzuo was at that time a layman. However, as the Indian monk indicates, he was a dharma master having preached the Lotus sūtra in a previous lifetime.



renounced secular life, changed his name to Jiankong 鑒空,<sup>160</sup> and established his practices in sublime and aloof style.<sup>161</sup>

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Fifth year: The emperor asked the Imperial Preceptor Chengguan 澄觀國師 p. 381, a5 what would be referred to as the Huayan fajie 華嚴法界 (i.e. the dharma-dhātu of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*). The master said: “Fajie (dharma-dhātu) is the nature of all living beings. The world honored one spoke of the fajie nature when he preached the *Huayan jing*. [It means that] reality and principle are in harmony with each other, and there is nothing that would not extend all over.”<sup>162</sup> The emperor understood immediately, and ordered the administration to cast a golden seal [for him], and he was installed as Datong Qingliang Imperial Preceptor 清涼國師.<sup>163</sup>

The Hanlin scholar Bai Juyi 翰林學士白居易 asked the meditation master p. 381, a8 [Fa]ning [法]凝 about the essence of mind, and received [an answer] in eight words, which he expanded into eight gāthās. [The words were:] ‘jue’ 覺 (awakening), ‘guan’ 觀 (contemplation), ‘ding’ 定 (meditation), ‘hui’ 慧 (wisdom), ‘ming’ 明 (understanding), ‘tong’ 通 (penetration), ‘ji’ 濟 (helpfulness), ‘she’ 捨 (equanimity). The gāthā on ‘guan’ ran: “Use the eye within the heart to contemplate on the manifestations outside the heart. Find out where they arise. Find out where they end. And as you make contemplation after contemplation, you will [be able to] differentiate between right and wrong.”<sup>164,165</sup>

160 This was his dharma name (fahao, 法號).

161 This story is known from *Lebang yigao*, juan 2 (T 1969B, p. 243, c8–21).

162 This is a description of śūnyatā, a state beyond subject-object duality.

163 This is an abridged statement of a story seen in various Buddhist collections. See e.g. *Longxing biannian tonglun* 隆興編年通論, juan 21 (CBETA, X75, no. 1512, p. 210, c22–p. 211, a8 // Z 2B:3, p. 313, d4–14 // R130, p. 626, b4–14) and *Shishi tongjian* 釋氏通鑑, juan 10 (CBETA, X76, no. 1516, p. 108, b7–15 // Z 2B:4, p. 478, b3–11 // R131, p. 955, b3–11).

164 An annotation reads: “For all of the eight gāthās, see the Changqing Collection” 八偈見長慶集 (T 2035, p. 381, a12). This is a reference to the *Changqing Collection of Mr. Bai* 白氏長慶集, i.e. the collected works of Bai Juyi.

165 The exchange between Bai Juyi and Faning has been recorded in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 29. Faning offers one gāthā on each of the eight head words, and all the eight gāthās are fully seen in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* account. The sequence differs slightly from the list presented in the *Fozu tongji*: ‘guan’ (contemplation): T 2076, p. 454, c25–26; ‘jue’ (awakening): T 2076, p. 454, c28–29; ‘ding’ (meditation): T 2076, p. 455, a2–3; ‘hui’ (wisdom): T 2076, p. 455, a5–6; ‘ming’ (understanding): T 2076, p. 455, a8–9; ‘tong’ (penetration): T 2076, p. 455, a11–12; ‘ji’ (helpfulness): T 2076, p. 455, a14–15; ‘she’ (equanimity): T 2076, p. 455, a17–18.

以心中眼。  
 觀心外相。  
 從何而有。  
 從何而喪。  
 觀之又觀。  
 則辨真妄。

Whenever [Bai] Juyi stayed at the Bota Monastery 鉢塔寺, he received the Eight Purification Precepts 八關齋戒 from the great master [Yuan]ru [院]如 nine times.<sup>166</sup>

p. 381, a13 The meditation master Zhichang 智常 from Guizong [Monastery] 歸宗[寺] had received the dharma [robe] from Mazu [Daoyi]. Li Bo, the Regional Inspector from Jiangzhou 江州刺史李渤, asked the master: “Nobody has ever asked how Mount Sumeru could contain a mustard seed. But how could a mustard seed contain Mount Sumeru?” The master said: “The people say that you, the commissioner, have read books amounting to 10,000 juan [in total]. Is that true?” [Li] Bo said: “Yes.” The master said: “From the head to the heels you just have the size of a coconut palm. So at what place did you attach the 10,000 juan of books?”<sup>167</sup> The master had double pupils in his eyes, and when he massaged them with hands [smeared with] medicine, the canthuses of his eyes both became red. In the world he was known as the red eyed Guizong [monk].<sup>168</sup>

p. 381, a19 The upāsaka Pang Yun 龐蘊<sup>169</sup> visited Mazu [Daoyi] and asked him: “What kind of people are those who do not become comrades of the tenthousand dhar-

166 This is also reflected in the poem “The Great Master Yuanru of the Bota [Monastery]” 鉢塔院如大師 by Bai Juyi. Here we read: “Each year I receive the eight [purification precepts] nine times. And I value each precept as much as 1,000 pieces of gold” 每歲八關蒙九授，殷勤一戒重千金。The poem is seen in *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩, juan 450 (Sun Tonghai 孫通海, *Quan Tangshi* [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999], vol. 7, 5109).

167 The story of Zhichang and Li Bo is seen in the biography of Zhichang in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 7 (T 2076, p. 256, b9–13).

168 The story of Zhichang’s eyes is also seen in the biography of Zhichang in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 7 (T 2076, p. 256, b17–18).

169 Pang Yun (740–808) was a famous upāsaka of the Chan tradition. In English he is commonly referred to as Layman Pang. Discourses ascribed to Pang Yun have been compiled in the *Pang jushi yulu* 龐居士語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Layman Pang, X69 // Z 2:25 // R 120). For English translations of this work, see: Ruth Fuller Sasaki, *The Recorded Sayings of Layman Pang* (New York: Weatherhill, 1971); James Green, *The Sayings of Layman Pang* (Boston: Shambhala, 2009).

mas?" [Ma]zu said: "When you with one mouthful have drunk up all the water of the Western river course, I will reply to your question." Through these words, the upāsaka suddenly understood the essence of the mysterious.<sup>170</sup>

Within the Yuanhe era he travelled north to [the rivers] Xiang 襄 and Han 漢, where he dwelled in a small hut west of the outer city walls. His one daughter named Lingzhao 靈照 constantly produced bamboo sifters selling them to provide for the [daily] living costs from morning to evening. [When Pang Yun] was about to die, he asked Lingzhao to go out and observe the sun from the early to the late [hours of the day], and to inform him when noontime was reached.<sup>171</sup> Suddenly his daughter said: "The day has now reached its middle, yet there is some obscurity." When the upāsaka went outside to see it, his daughter immediately ascended her father's seat, joined her palms and passed away in sitting posture. The upāsaka smiled and said: "My daughter has fitted the arrowhead to the shaft."<sup>172</sup> Thereupon he stayed alive for another seven days. The Prefectural Governor Yu Di 州牧于頔 enquired about [the upāsaka's] disease. The upāsaka replied: "Our hollow desires comprise what is something (i.e. form). The awareness that has no substance comprises what is nothing (i.e. emptiness)." 但願空諸所有。慎勿實諸所無。As soon as he had concluded his statement, he took the sire's knees as a pillow [for his head], and passed away.<sup>173</sup>

The [Grand Master of] Remonstrance Meng Jian 諫議孟簡<sup>174</sup> and the Rectifier of Omissions Xiao Fu 補闕蕭俛 became [appointed to] control the sūtra translation style editors at the Liquan Monastery 醴泉寺.<sup>175</sup>

170 This anecdote is adopted from the *Pang jushi yulu* 龐居士語錄 (X69, no. 1336, p. 131, a19–21 // Z 2:25, p. 28, a13–15 // R120, p. 55, a13–15; trans.: James Green, *The Sayings of Layman Pang*, 17). It is also seen in many later works, such as in *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, juan 8 (T 2076, p. 263, b14–16).

171 He wanted to be informed about the matter, as he considered exact noontime, with the sun perfectly standing at the zenith, an auspicious moment to die.

172 This means that she had reached enlightenment.

173 The anecdote of Layman Pang's death is adopted from the *Pang jushi yulu* (X69, no. 1336, p. 134, b8–12 // Z 2:25, p. 31, b8–12 // R120, p. 61, b8–12; trans.: James Green, *The Sayings of Layman Pang*, 121f.).

174 Meng Jian has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 163 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 13, 4257–4258) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 160 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 16, 4968–4969).

175 This is known from *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 3 (T 2061, p. 722, a26–b9).

p. 381, b1 The meditation master Wuzhuo 無著<sup>176</sup> went to the Wutai [Mountains] requesting to see Mañjuśrī 文殊. When he arrived at the Vajra Cave 金剛窟, he saw an old man on the mountain, who was guiding a cow along a brook. [Wu]zhuo said: “I would like to see the mahāsattva (i.e. Mañjuśrī).” The old man guided the cow back, and [Wu]zhuo followed him into a monastery. When the old man called for Kunti 均提,<sup>177</sup> a boy came out to welcome him. [The boy] guided [Wu]zhuo ascending into the hall, [asking him] to take a seat. The boy gave [Wuzhuo] a Hawksbill turtle cup, and face to face [Wuzhuo and the old man] drank sweet cream. Immediately [Wuzhuo] recognized that [the old man’s] state of mind was superior and bright. The old man asked: “Where did you just come from?” [Wuzhuo] said: “From the South.” The old man asked: “How is the Buddha dharma of the South being maintained?” [Wuzhuo] said: “The bhikṣus of the final age [of the dharma] rarely respect the precepts and the vinaya.” The old man asked: “What is the size of the saṃgha?” [Wuzhuo] said: “Sometimes 300, sometimes 500 [people].” [Wu]zhuo asked: “How is Buddhism being preserved here?” The old man said: “Dragons and snakes are intermingled. Common and sagely people come together.” [Wuzhuo] asked: “How many members does the community have?” The old man said: “Previous three-three. Latter three-three.”<sup>178</sup> When sunset came, [the old man] called the boy [asking him] to guide [Wuzhuo] out [of the monastery]. [Wu]zhuo asked the boy which monastery it was, and [the boy] replied: “It is the Bore Monastery 般若寺.” [Wu]zhuo regretfully realized that the old man had been Mañjuśrī.<sup>179</sup> Immediately [Wuzhuo] prostrated to the boy’s feet, asking for just one word from him. The boy hid his body and sang the following [stanza]: “[Only when you are] clear of anger on the face, you should prepare the offerings. [Only when you are] clear of anger in your mouth (i.e. in your speech), you can utter [words of] wonderful fragrance. [Only when you are] clear of anger in your

176 Wuzhuo has a biography in *Guang qingliang zhuan* 廣清涼傳, juan 2 (T 2099, p. 1111, b24–p. 1112, c16).

177 Kunti is the name of one of the attendants of Mañjuśrī (see: A.C. Muller, DDB, 均提).

178 The present exchange between the old man (i.e. Mañjuśrī) and Wuzhuo is also seen in *Biyan lu*, juan 4, case 35 (T 2003, p. 173, b29–c8; Thomas Cleary, *The Blue Cliff Record*, 216–220). The phrase “previous three-three, latter three-three” can be understood through an explanation given in the context of that passage in the *Biyan lu*. The explanation reads: “Crazy words, insane talk. But tell me, how many are they? Even the Great Compassionate One with a thousand hands could not count them all” 顛言倒語。且道是多少。千手大悲數不足。(T 2003, p. 173, c8; Thomas Cleary, *The Blue Cliff Record*, 217).

179 This means that Wuzhuo regretted having missed the opportunity of talking to Mañjuśrī as he would have talked to him if he had been aware that it was him.

mind, you can become a precious treasure. When you are free of dirt and influence you will immediately attain nirvāṇa.”

面上無嗔供養具。

口裏無嗔吐妙香。

心內無嗔是珍寶。

無垢無染即真常。

Wuzhuo thereupon frequently parked his monk's staff in the Wutai [Mountains], as he later on frequently had meetings with Mañjuśrī.<sup>180</sup>

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Sixth year: There was a great harvest in all under heaven, and the price for one dou of rice was two coins.<sup>181</sup>

Taishō  
apparatus  
of textual  
criticism

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The trepiṭaka Prajñā translated the *Bensheng xindi [guan] jing* 大乘本生心地觀經 (T 159). Meng Jian, the Grand Master of Remonstrance 諫議大夫孟簡, was the style editor, and the emperor personally composed a foreword.

p. 381, b16

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Ninth year: The meditation master Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 died. The master had received the dharma [robe] from Mazu [Daoyi]. Since [the establishment of] the Shaolin [Monastery] 少林[寺], [Chan monks] frequently resided in the monasteries of the Vinaya [School] to preach the dharma.<sup>182</sup> [Only] this master began to establish a meditation abode, where [the chief monk] called 'Changlao' 長老 assumed his seat in the upper hall.<sup>183</sup> Hosts and guests (i.e. monks and lay visitors) had [conversations of] asking and reciprocating,

p. 381, b18

180 An annotation reads: “Another text records a gāthā pronounced by the old man. It says: ‘If for a thought-moment one has a pure mind, this is bodhi. If in overwhelming style one constructs seven-jewel stūpas as numerous as the grains of sand in the Ganges, after all the jewel stūpas will be turned into sand. If for a thought-moment one has a pure mind, one attains the correct awakening.’” 別文載翁說偈曰。一念淨心是菩提。勝造恒沙七寶塔。寶塔畢竟化為塵。一念淨心成正覺。(T 2035, p. 381, b15).

181 This means that, since the harvest was good, an abundance of rice was available, and therefore the price was low.

182 Traditionally, the foundation of the Shaolin Monastery by Bodhidharma was seen as the founding act of the Chan order. Here it is objected that in early Chan Buddhism, monks did however frequently reside in the monasteries of the Vinaya school, which suggests that one cannot speak of a Chan order with regard to those times.

183 The present paragraph points out that independent Chan monasteries, where monks had to follow specific regulations of Chan monasticism, only came into being with Baizhang Huaihai, the successor of Mazu Daoyi. The matter needs to be understood against the following background: “Mazu's disciples dedicated a monastery known as Dazhi Shengshou Chansi (Chan Monastery of Great Wisdom and Sagacious Longevity) on Mt. Baizhang (whence Huaihai derived his toponym) and appointed Baizhang Huaihai to be its founding patriarch (kaizu). According to later Song-dynasty accounts, Baizhang compiled for

all being inspired by the doctrinal essentials.<sup>184</sup> The [monk] scholars entered the monks' hall in the sequence of their monastic age.<sup>185</sup> Lengthy interconnected couches were provided, which were endowed with racks, and there were shelves where [the monks] could hang their religious accessories. The "monastic workshops of the ten services"<sup>186</sup> were established to manage the concerns of the [monastic] collective. In later generations [the Chan school] followed and expanded this [system], calling it Chanyuan qinggui 禪院清規.<sup>187</sup>

p. 381, b23 The dharma master Zhibian 智辯<sup>188</sup> composed much, but followers listening [to his lectures] were few. Therefore he gave up preaching and took residence in the Hengyue Monastery 衡岳寺. One day there was a venerable elder who examined what the master had written, and said: "What you have composed is greatly in agreement with the intentions of the Buddha, but it is detached from the conditions of the people. You should carry through with offering food

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this first independent Chan monastery a novel code of monastic regulations known as the Baizhang qinggui" (Robert E. Buswell, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 93).

184 This means that even casual talk between monks and people visiting the monastery was focused on the Buddhist doctrine.

185 Paul W. Kroll offers the following definition of 臘: "end of the monastic year coinciding with the end of summer retreat in the 6th month; marks the end of year when counting a monks religious age, i.e. years since taking monastic vows" (Paul W. Kroll, *A Student's Dictionary of Classical and Medieval Chinese* [Leiden: Brill, 2015], 250).

186 The term "monastic workshops of the ten services" 十務寮舍 can be understood based on a passage seen in juan 10 of the revised edition 重雕補註 of the *Chanyuan qinggui* 禪苑清規. There we read: "Ten services' points to the monastic workshops. Each [of the workshops dedicated to one of the services] is administered by one head who supervises all the assigned workers, and instructs everybody in fulfilling his responsibilities. (He who presides over the rice [workshop] calls himself 'head of the rice.' He who presides over the vegetable [workshop] calls himself 'head of the vegetable.' The others all follow these examples.)" 置十務謂之寮舍。每用首領一人管。多人營事。令各司其局也。(主飪者自為飯頭。主菜者自為菜領。餘皆倣此)。 (X63, no. 1245, p. 550, c1–3 // Z 2:16, p. 466, b3–5 // R11, p. 931, b3–5).

187 With regard to the *Baizhang qinggui* (Rules of Purity of Baizhang), Yifa explains: "This nonextant code, traditionally ascribed to Chan master Baizhang, has been a source of great controversy. Because of his supposed role as author of the first comprehensive Chan monastic code, Baizhang was long considered responsible for initiating Chan independence from other Buddhist schools. However, many modern scholars have come to doubt the existence of Baizhang qinggui" (Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China: An Annotated Translation and Study of the Chanyuan qinggui* [Honolulu: The University of Hawai'i Press, 2002], xxi). Yifa continues to say that the *Chanyuan qinggui* (Rules of Purity of the Chan monastery), which in 1103 was compiled by the Chan monk Changlu Zongze, is the earliest surviving example of the monastic codes of Chan Buddhism (ibid).

188 Zhibian has a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 21 (T 2061, p. 848, c9–p. 849, a14).

to birds and beasts, and in twenty years from now a collective will assemble [around you] all by itself." [Zhi]bian thereupon sold his robe exchanging it for rice. On a daily basis he cooked food and scattered it outside the city. He perceived that groups of birds came and assembled. [Zhi]bian expressed his best wishes for them saying: "I hope that those who eat my food will become my disciples [in their next lives]." Twenty years later, when he went to the city of Ye 鄴城 to hold a lecture, the audience comprised an assembly of thousand people, all of whom were of young age.

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Tenth year: Ma Zong, the Nanhai jinglüe shi 南海經略使馬總, submitted a petition asking [the emperor] to bestow a posthumous name on the sixth patriarch, [who was buried in] Caoxi 曹溪. [The emperor] ordered to bestow the posthumous name Meditation Master Dajian 大鑑 on him, [and he was granted] the "Stūpa of Numinous Illumination" 靈照之塔.<sup>189</sup> Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819)<sup>190</sup> composed a stele text for him.<sup>191</sup>

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Eleventh year: The meditation master Yinfeng 隱峯 went to Huaiyou 淮右 belonging to [the troops of] Wu Yuanji 吳元濟 (783–817) opposing the [governmental] forces.<sup>192</sup> When the governmental army faced the bandits, one could not tell who was winning and who was losing. The master (i.e. Yinfeng) shook his monk's staff and flew up into space. [The soldiers of] the two armies looked up and sighed with amazement. After a while, the governmental army attained the victory.<sup>193</sup>

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189 This is also documented in *Longxing biannian tonglun* 隆興編年通論, juan 21. There we read: "His [posthumous] name was Meditation Master Dajian, and his stūpa was the Stūpa of Numinous Illumination" 詔大鑑禪師。塔曰靈照之塔。(X75, no. 1512, p. 215, a16–17 // Z 2B:3, p. 318, a4–5 // R130, p. 635, a4–5).

190 Liu Zongyuan was one of the most prominent intellectuals of the late Tang dynasty. He has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 160 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 13, 4213–4214) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 168 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 16, 5132–5142).

191 This stele text by Liu Zongyuan is also preserved in *Longxing biannian tonglun*, juan 21 (X75, no. 1512, p. 215, a15–16 // Z 2B:3, p. 318, a3–4 // R130, p. 635, a3–4).

192 Wu Yuanji was a Tang dynasty warlord, who rebelled against Tang Xianzong. He has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 145 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 12, 3948–3952) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 214 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 19, 6005–6012).

193 This is known from the biography of Yinfeng in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 21 (T 2061, p. 847, a6–12). The story needs to be understood in such a way that Yinfeng acted in support of the governmental army. So when initially he was part of the rebel troops of Wu Yuanji, his participation may have been involuntary. He may simply have lived in the area where the rebellion arose, which would have left him no choice.

p. 381, c7 Fourteenth year, first month: It was ordered to bring a bone of the Buddha from the Famen Monastery 法門寺 in Fengxiang 鳳翔 to the palace, where it was ritually worshiped for three days. [Afterwards] one after the other ten monasteries of the capital received it. As handed down through the generations, [the relic] had to be revealed to the public once in thirty years. When it is revealed, there are plenteous harvests and the people are at peace. Both nobility and commoners watch the ceremonies and offer donations. People even refine fire on their heads burning their skin as an offering. Han Yu, an Attendant Gentleman of the Bureau of Punishments 刑部侍郎韓愈 (768–824),<sup>194</sup> submitted a memorial saying:

p. 381, c11 “In the oldest antiquity there was no Buddha. [In the days of] Han Ming[di] the Buddha dharma arrived. Since that time there has been chaos. From Jin and Wei times on, the duration of dynasties became short. Liang Wu[di] respected him (i.e. the Buddha), but by Hou Jing 侯景 he was compelled to die of hunger in the forbidden city. He served the Buddha hoping for bliss, but on the contrary he encountered disaster.<sup>195</sup>

194 Han Yu was one of the most prominent intellectuals of the late Tang dynasty. He has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 160 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 13, 4195–4204) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 176 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 17, 5255–5265). The memorial quoted subsequently marks the beginning of a lengthy series of passages elaborating on Han Yu's attitude to Buddhism (see: T 2035, p. 381, c11–p. 384, a23). Within this lengthy sequence Han Yu is often referred to as Han Tuizhi 韓退之. Tuizhi is his *zi*.

195 An annotation reads: “The customs of the earliest antiquity were profound, and therefore there was stability. The customs of the later ages were shallow, and therefore there was chaos. The Duke of Zhou and Confucius employed humaneness and righteousness to blaze the trail. The Buddha employed the correct path to save the world. They both aim at changing the shallow customs. The duration of reigns is connected with their predestined fate. One cannot blame the Buddha dharma for it. [Emperor] Wu of Liang was a sage of four realizations [having descended to] live in this world. When he was close to death, he still practiced the precepts of abstinence. But this was not sufficiently known to the contemporary historiographers. Therefore they reported that he was asking for honey, [could then only say] ‘hehe’ and died. [Han] Tuizhi turned this into the statement that [Emperor Wu of Liang] died of hunger in the forbidden city, which is an extreme blasphemy. The gentlemen of ages to come should refrain from employing that discourse.” 上古俗厚故治，後世俗薄故亂。周孔以仁義為前驅，佛以真道為救世，皆所以易薄俗也。國祚修短，係之定命，非佛法之可咎。梁武是住世四果聖人，臨終尚修齋戒，當時史臣不足以知，故言索蜜荷荷而崩。退之創為餓死臺城之言，甚為褻瀆，後世君子勿用此論。(T 2035, p. 381, c13–16). (The matter of Emperor Liang of Wu only being able to say ‘hehe’ immediately prior to his death, was also mentioned in the materials translated for the first volume of the present *Fozu tongji* translation project—see: *Fozu tongji*, juan 37: T 2035, p. 351, c7–8).



The Buddha is in his origin a man from the barbarian tribes. His mouth does not pronounce the legal sermons of the pervious kings. His body does not wear the legal robes of the previous kings. 口不道先王之法言。身不服先王之法服。 He does not understand the righteousness between duke and his ministers or the feelings between the father and his sons.<sup>196</sup> 不知君臣之義。父子之情。 Adding to that he has been dead for long. How can [your majesty allow that] this rotten bone, [which stands for] an abundance of heresy and defilement, [is considered] appropriate to be brought into the palace? I request that this bone shall be thrown into a river or into the fire, so that the root [of Buddhism in China] will be cut through forever. If the Buddha should have the numinosity to cause disaster or bliss, all calamities shall come upon the body of this servant [of yours].<sup>197</sup>

When this memorial reached [the palace], the emperor became enormously angry. And he wanted to compensate [for Han Yu's offense] by having him executed. Through the intervention of Pei Du 裴度 and others [Han Yu was merely] reduced to the post of Regional Inspector of Chaozhou 潮州刺史.<sup>198</sup>

196 An annotation reads: "The Buddha was a great sage who had descended to the states of Central India. If this place (i.e. China) is situated at the Eastern boundary of India, how could Central India be seen as [a land of] barbarians? The one great canon is all about the path of the previous Buddhas. How could it include words opposing the law? The yellow-brown colored kāṣāyas are the style of transcending the mundane world. How should it not be the legal robe? [As the monks] practice the law of the king of the dharma (i.e. the Buddha), the ruler cannot take them as servants. [As the monks] are men renouncing secular life, their [biological] fathers cannot take them as sons. On the path of loyalty and filial piety, the retributions they employ to pay back to their ruler and to their parents are not to be compared with the trivial approach of the worldly customs." 佛大聖人，降中天竺國，如此方乃天竺之東境邊方，豈當以中天為夷？一大藏，此皆先佛之道，豈非法言？壞色袈裟，出世標格，豈非法服？行法王法，故君不得而臣，為出家士，故父不得而子。然於忠孝之道，所以報君與親者，非世俗區區所能比。(T 2035, p. 381, c18–20).

197 This is a collection of abridged quotations from Han Tuizhi's famous anti-Buddhist essay "Discussion of the Buddha bone" 論佛骨表, which is preserved in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 548 (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 6, 5552–5553). For a translation, see: William Theodore De Bary and Irene Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), vol. 1, 583–584. The term of the "Buddha bone" refers to the relic that was brought from the Famen Monastery to the imperial palace. As Han Yu felt irritated by the accompanying ceremonies opulently celebrating Buddhism, he wrote this essay to criticize the presence of Buddhism in China.

198 An annotation reads: "The Buddha [seemingly] encountered life and death, but in actual fact he has not yet passed away. Preserving the obtained relics creates bliss for all living beings of the world. And the place where it is stored becomes a bodhi-maṇḍala. How could it be of harm to the royal palace? [The bones of the Buddha] are as firm as a diamond. Any object would fail in destroying them. So how could they be destroyed by [being thrown

p. 381, c27 Previously, when the relic was brought to the palace, it had emitted splendor during the night. In the next morning, all the ministers at court congratulated the emperor saying: “[The emission] was inspired by your majesty’s sagely virtue.” Only Han Yu did not speak. When the emperor asked him, he said: “This petty servant [of yours] has seen in the Buddhist sūtras that the splendor of the Buddha neither manifests in blue nor in yellow, nor in red, nor in white [color]. [What was emitted by the bone of the Buddha] may have been the splendor of the dragon spirit guardian [of China].” The emperor asked: “What is the splendor of the Buddha?”<sup>199</sup> [Han] Yu did not reply.<sup>200,201</sup>

p. 382, a3 In the second month, the Hanlin scholar Zhang Zhongsu 翰林學士張仲素 was ordered to compose a stele [text] concerning the bone of the Buddha. Put in

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into] a river or [into] the fire? The path of the Buddha is compassionate and merciful. Even though [Han Yu] wanted to destroy it (i.e. the Buddha bone), one would not bother, because the dharma protecting heavenly deities would on their part descend and punish [him]. Today the emperor is angry and wants to compensate [for Han Yu’s offense] by having him executed, and clearly [the matter that he wanted to see the bone of the Buddha destroyed] will need to have its retribution. Depending on the great minister’s (i.e. Pei Du’s) rescuing persuasion [of the emperor], and also based on a compassionate rescue through the power of the Buddha, the punishment did not go to the point of a death sentence.” 佛示現生死，實未嘗滅。留取舍利，為世生福，所在之處，是為道場，何有憐乎宮禁？金剛堅固，一切物不能壞，何能壞以水火？佛道慈恕，雖毀之不校。然護法天神自能降罰。今帝怒抵死，灼然必得其報。賴大臣救勸，是亦佛力慈救，罰不致死也。(T 2035, p. 381, c24–27).

199 The point here is that, by basing himself on the description of the splendor of the Buddha seen in the Buddhist sūtras, Han Yu acknowledged that the phenomenon of the splendor of the Buddha does exist. On this basis the emperor is asking him, what it would be like if it would not have those colors. Han Yu’s actual intention may have been that there could be no splendor of the Buddha at all. But by quoting the Buddhist sūtras he denied himself drawing that conclusion. So when the emperor asked what the splendor of the Buddha would then be like, Han Yu could not reply.

200 This appears to be a rough summary of a lengthy account originating from the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 (Collection from the Hall of the Patriarchs), which was compiled in 952 (see: Charles Hartman, *Han Yü and the T’ang-Search for Unity* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986], 95–98). For research on the *Zutang ji*, see: Christoph Anderl, *Studies in the Language of Zu-tang ji*, PhD dissertation, University of Oslo, 2004.

201 An annotation reads: “[Master Mingjue 明覺 from Mount] Xuedou replacing [Han Yu’s reply] said: ‘The sublime [words] Your Majesty has vouchsafed are a mirror of heaven. An ancient worthy (i.e. a former Chan patriarch) said: Let us allow Han Yu to familiarize himself with the Buddha’s light.’” 雪竇代云。陛下高垂天鑑。古德云。許韓愈識佛光。(T 2035, p. 382, a3). The statement of Master Mingjue replacing Han Yu’s reply is seen in *Mingjue chanshi yulu* 明覺禪師語錄, juan 4, where we also find the general story of Han Yu and the emperor discussing the splendor of the Buddha (T 1996, p. 695, b8–12).

brief it said the following: “At the Famen Monastery 法門寺 of Qiyang 岐陽 on the Mingluan Hill 鳴鸞阜 there was a pagoda erected by King Aśoka, which enshrined the Buddha’s finger bone. [Tang] Taizong built an extra monastery hall, and added a [multi-]storied pagoda. [Tang] Gaozong moved it to Luoyang. Empress [Wu Ze]tian offered a precious box. [Tang] Zhongzong had the matter recorded in the imperial history. [Tang] Suzong worshipped [the relic] in the inner palace. [Tang] Dezong paid homage to it in the palace of the dharma. 高宗遷之洛邑。天后薦以寶函。中宗紀之國史。肅宗奉之內殿。德宗禮之法宮。 According to the present tradition it must be revealed [to the public] once in 30 years, so that the jade candle will be tamed, and the golden mirror will become bright; so that the atmospheric demons will stand down, and agriculture will thrive.” On the 24th day the bone of the Buddha was brought back into the old pagoda in Qiyang.

When Han Yu reached Chaozhou 潮州, he heard of the fame of master Dadian 大顛,<sup>202</sup> and asked him to come to his commandery to be questioned about the way. [The master] stayed for ten days. Later on, when [Han Yu] was going to the sea to sacrifice to a deity, he ascended Mount Ling 靈山 to visit [Dadian’s place of] residence,<sup>203</sup> and asked the master how he had received the way. The master [did not reply] for a long time. [Han] Yu did not know how to deal with this. At that time Sanping Yizhong 三平義忠, who acted as [the master’s] attendant, three times stroke [the master’s] meditation chair. The master asked: “What’s the matter?” Sanping said: “First, through your meditation, you aroused [his affection for Buddhism]. Next, through your wisdom, you may extinguish [his misconceptions of Buddhism].” 先以定動。後以慧拔。[Han] Yu was greatly pleased and said: “The style of the school of the monks is truly sublime. [Sitting] next to the attendant I attained the opportunity of entering into the realm [of Buddhism].”

One day [Han Yu] asked the master (i.e. Dadian) how old he would be. The master [merely] raised his rosary and asked: “Can you [understand]?” The reply was: “I cannot.” The master said: “108 days and nights” (as a rosary has 108 pearls). [Han] Yu did not know how to deal with this. The next day [Han Yu] again went to [the monastery’s] gate, and met the head monk to enquire about [the master’s] previous remark. The head monk replied: “How would you, the

202 Dadian was a famous Buddhist monk, who has a biography in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 14 (T 2076, p. 312, c26–p. 313, a24).

203 An annotation reads: “[Da]dian had received the dharma [robe] from Master Shitou [Xi]qian 顛得法於石頭遷師 (T 2035, p. 382, a12). Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 (700–790) was a Chan master from Mount Heng 衡山 mentioned above (T 2035, p. 379, c25–27).

assistant minister, understand it?" [Han] Yu said: "What is the meaning of '108 days and nights'?" The head monk [only] knocked on his teeth three times. [Han] Yu went to the abbot's (i.e. Dadian's) quarters, and [again] voiced the previous question: "What is the meaning of '108 days and nights'?" The master [only] knocked on his teeth three times. [Han] Yu said: "I believe I [now] understand the Buddha dharma in general." The master asked: "Which principle do you derive that from?" [Han] Yu said: "I am just coming from the head monk, who did the same thing." [Thereupon] the master called the head monk and asked him: "You just now [explained] the Buddha dharma to the assistant minister, right?" The head monk said: "Yes." The master [thereupon] chased him out of the yard.<sup>204</sup>

p. 382, a25 In the eighth month, when [Han Yu] was transferred to become Regional Inspector of Yuanzhou 袁州刺史, he again went to his (i.e. Dadian's) cottage, and presented two robes as a parting gift [to Dadian]. When the Shangshu Mengjian 尚書孟簡 learned that [Han] Yu associated with Dadian, he sent him a letter in praise of the matter. [Han] Yu wrote a letter in reply, in which he said:

p. 382, a27 "Dadian is enormously wise, and he understands the principle. As I am (in my exile) [living] in a remote place, there is nobody I could talk to. Therefore I summoned [the master to come] from the mountains to the city of this prefecture to stay for ten days. [But this monk] can truly detach himself from his physical appearance, and is not influenced by [worldly] affairs. This is why I had exchange with him. When I offered a sacrifice to a deity at the sea, I visited his (i.e. Dadian's) cottage, and offered robes to him as a parting gift at my departure for Yuanzhou. My motivation was human affection, not belief in his dharma or the hope for the benefits of the fields of blessedness. Through accumulating good actions and through accumulating evil actions, positive and negative results each naturally manifest in a fitting way. How could I give up the way of the sages and abandon the laws of the former kings to follow the teachings of the barbarians striving for material benefits?"

p. 382, b6 Meng Jian also replied to this<sup>205</sup> saying: "The books of Yang [Zhu], Mo[zi] and Lao[zi] in their principles are inclined to emptiness, not to the essence of the middle path (Mādhyamika). The teachings of Buddhism are not like that. They greatly illuminate the different paths of good and evil, and examine the

204 An annotation reads: "Baoqing says: The head monk knew the first matter, but did not know the second matter. Master Dadian ordered him not act alone (i.e. arbitrarily)" 保慶云。首座知前不知後。大顛師令不單行。(T 2035, p. 382, a25).

205 In the Taishō edition of the *Fozu tongji* we read 孟簡復服之. In the Shi Daofa edition we read: 孟簡復報之. The character 報 can be translated as "to respond" or "to reply." So I base my translation on the Shi Daofa edition here.

subtleties of karmic retribution on the spiritual path of all under heaven. The objective is to spread the path, and not to strife for donations of cake and rice to afford one's livelihood or to benefit one's wife and sons. How could one only employ the sentiments and views of the stupid people, country folk, old men and women in dealing with it? Its (i.e. Buddhism's) dharma is being practiced in the world, and it causes all people to naturally be afraid of [practicing] the evil and to naturally cultivate [practicing] the good. How could this not be of great assistance in defending [our system of] education?"

[Su] Dongpo [蘇]東坡 (i.e. Su Shi) said: "Looking at the exchange of letters between [Han] Tuizhi [韓]退之 (i.e. Han Yu) and Meng Jian 孟簡, one will know that [Han] Tuizhi liked Dadian 大顛<sup>206</sup> as he liked Wenchang 文暢 and Chengguan 澄觀.<sup>207,208</sup> But a common person falsely composed alleged letters of [Han] Tuizhi to [Da]dian, whose wording was vulgar."<sup>209</sup> p. 382, b13

206 A letter by Han Tuizhi to Meng Jian, in which Han Tuizhi expresses his affection for Dadian, is quoted in the *Fozu tongji* above (T 2035, p. 382, a27–b5). By pointing to the fact that Han Tuizhi was fond of Dadian, Su Dongpo here seeks to suggest that Han Tuizhi had sympathies for Buddhism, and should not be characterized as an anti-Buddhist polemicist.

207 In the *Fozu tongji* we read 如文暢喜澄觀. Both the Taishō edition and the Shi Daofa edition are in agreement here. The textual version presented in the *Fozu tongji* is however questionable. It seems that Zhipan intended to create a parallelism placing the 'xi' 喜 in the same position as in the previous line: "one knows that [Han] Tuizhi liked Dadian as Wenchang liked Chengguan" 知退之喜大顛，如文暢喜澄觀. However in the "Ji Ouyang lun Tuizhi wen" 記歐陽論退之文 by Su Dongpo we read: "Han Tuizhi liked Dadian as much as Chengguan and Wenchang" 韓退之喜大顛，如喜澄觀、文暢 (Kong Fanli 孔凡禮, *Su Shi wenji* 蘇軾文集 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004], juan 66, 2055). The reading based on the "Ji Ouyang lun Tuizhi wen" seems more plausible.

208 The Chengguan referred to here is not the Chengguan, who was above introduced as the fourth patriarch of Huayan Buddhism. As Imre Hamar, with reference to research by Kamata Shigeo, points out, Han Yu had contact to another Chengguan, about whom he wrote his poem *Song Chengguan shi* 送澄觀詩 (Imre Hamar, *A Religious Leader in the T'ang: Chengguan's Biography* [Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 2002], 66f.; Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄, "Futari no Chōkan: Shishū Chōkan to Shōryō Chōkan" 二人の澄觀泗州澄觀と清涼澄觀, in: *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 41, no. 1 [1993]: 89–96). For a translation of the poem *Song Chengguan shi*, see: Erwin von Zach, *Han Yü's poetische Werke* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), 178f.

209 Su Dongpo argues that the letters Han Tuizhi had sent to Dadian were not really authored by Han Tuizhi, as they were composed in vulgar style, while Han Tuizhi would have formulated more elegantly. So in demonstrating that Han Tuizhi was in good terms with Dadian, Su Dongpo exclusively relies on Han Tuizhi's letters to Meng Jian. It seems strange that

There was a scholar who attached a note to the end, which said: 'Ouyang [Xiu] 歐陽[修] said: If these texts were not written by [Han] Tuizhi, nobody could have written them.' This is also a defamation of [Ouyang] Yongshu 歐陽永叔 (i.e. Ouyang Xiu)."<sup>210,211</sup> An alternative biography of [Han] Tuizhi, which has been spread recently, deeply slanders [Han] Tuizhi. Again there is an epilogue [allegedly composed by Ouyang] Yongshu, which says: "If [Han] Tuizhi came back to life, [confronted with all the allegations seen in that biography] he could not demonstrate his own innocence."<sup>212</sup> My friend Wu Yuanming 吳源明 said: "Xu Junping 徐君平 saw that [Wang] Jiefu [王]介甫 (i.e. Wang Anshi) did not like [Han] Tuizhi, and therefore wrote this text."<sup>213</sup>

p. 382, b21

**Commentary:** The three letters [Han] Tuizhi had sent to Dadian are all preserved in the *Collected Works [of Han Tuizhi]*. That [Han] Tuizhi met Dadian can on this basis be considered true. In their exchange of letters, [those three] should not be missing. If at one time [Han Tuizhi] wrote [letters] freely, how can one go through them sentence by sentence [making a judgement] this detailed and thorough? If people say that they have been

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Su Dongpo does not wish to employ Han Tuizhi's letter to Dadian to demonstrate that Han Tuizhi was in good terms with Dadian, as otherwise this letter exchange seems to be accepted as authentic. Charles Hartman offers the following explanation: "There exist among Han Yü's works three letters inviting Ta-tien to visit him in Ch'ao-chou. The first is dated early summer and mentions he has only recently arrived. He has long heard of Ta-tien's virtue (tao-te) and wished to meet him. He has instructed the county magistrate to deliver his calling card and arrange for water transport for Ta-tien to come to Ch'ao-chou. The second letter restates the invitation, adding that in distant Ch'ao-chou there is no one to converse with. If Ta-tien would only deign to come, he could return home after a day or two. The third letter acknowledges a reply from Ta-tien that apparently answered some questions Han Yü had put to the monk" (Charles Hartman, *Han Yü and the T'ang-Search for Unity*, 94).

210 Su Dongpo hereby claims that in fact Ouyang Xiu did not make the statement he is quoted with in the note attached to the end of the letter. As Su Dongpo considers the letters a forgery, the note praising the style of the letters is also unacceptable to him.

211 This is a quotation from the "Ji Ouyang lun Tuizhi wen" by Su Dongpo (Kong Fanli, *Su Shi wenji*, juan 66, 2055).

212 Saying that Han Tuizhi himself would not have been able to demonstrate his innocence means to suggest that the biography was written with that much prejudice and hatred that arguing against it would have been in vain.

213 Speaking of 'this text' 此文, the *Fozu tongji* refers to the alternative biography. The *Fozu tongji* here seeks to demonstrate that Han Tuizhi should be seen as a person who had sympathy for Buddhism. To serve this purpose the *Fozu tongji* here claims that the biography defaming Han Tuizhi was written with unjustified bias.

composed falsely, I fear that this would be an obsolete view. [However] when it comes to the words of the alternative biography [of Han Tuizhi], they are truly foolish. Here one cannot escape the understanding of [Su] Dongpo.<sup>214</sup>

Fuweng 涪翁<sup>215</sup> said: "After [Han] Tuizhi had met Dadian, [Han Tuizhi] wrote texts the reason of which was overwhelming. And in his anti-Buddhist statements, he became slightly more restrained." p. 382, b26

The *Yuandao* 原道 by Han Tuizhi says: "Those men of old who wished to cause the light of their inner moral force to shine forth before the entire world had first to establish orderly rule in their kingdoms. Wishing to establish orderly rule in their kingdoms, they had first to put their royal houses into balance; wishing to put their royal houses into balance, they had first to cultivate themselves; wishing to cultivate themselves, they first had to set rectify their minds; wishing to rectify their minds, they first had to set straight their opinions."<sup>216</sup> p. 382, b28

欲治其國者先齊其家。

欲齊其家者先修其身。

欲修其身者先正其心。

欲正其心者先誠其意。

So therefore what in ancient times was called 'rectifying minds' and 'setting straight opinions,' should be employed in practice. However today people wish to control their minds, but spurn the world as well as the state and the families by annihilating social ties. Sons no longer treat their fathers as fathers. Ministers no longer treat their rulers as rulers. The people no longer see their responsibilities as their main responsibilities.

子焉而不父其父。

臣焉而不君其君。

民焉而不事其事。

When Confucius composed the *Chunqiu*, he regarded those dukes who practiced barbarian rites as barbarian, but regarded [those dukes who despite

214 In the above-quoted statement, Su Dongpo claimed that Han Tuizhi's letters to Dadian had been fabricated (T 2035, p. 382, b14–15). Zhipan here disapproves of that view claiming that Han Tuizhi's letters to Dadian were authentic. However Zhipan supports the above statement that Han Tuizhi's alleged autobiography, which in fact deeply slanders Han Tuizhi, must have been forged (T 2035, p. 382, b17–19). So we can see that, even though Zhipan articulates a different view on the letters, Zhipan still seeks to defend Han Tuizhi against the polemicism brought up against him.

215 Fuweng is an alternative name of Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045–1105).

216 Andrew Plaks, *Ta Hsüeh and Chung Yung* (London: Penguin, 2003), 5.

being] barbarians took over Chinese [culture] as Chinese. The scriptures say: 'Barbarian tribes with their rulers are inferior to Chinese states without them.'<sup>217</sup> The [*Book of*] *Songs* says: 'Beat the Rong and Di! Punish the Jing and Xu!'<sup>218</sup> 戎狄是膺。荊舒是懲。 Today however the laws of the barbarians are introduced and placed above the teachings of the former kings. How could this not imply that all [people] will become barbarians?<sup>219</sup>

p. 382, c10 As this is how it is, what is to be done? Turn the followers [of Buddhism] into [common] people! Burn their books! Secularize their [monastic] estates! 人其人。火其書。廬其居。 Take the way of the former kings to guide them! This way the matter can be carried out."<sup>220</sup>

p. 382, c13 Liu Zongyuan's *Essay on seeing off the śramaṇa Haochu* 送沙門浩初序 says: "The Confucian scholar Han Tuizhi, who is in good terms with me,<sup>221</sup> once blamed me for being fond of the words of Buddhism, and criticized me for associating with a Buddhist [monk].<sup>222</sup> 病予嗜浮圖言。訾予與浮圖遊。 Recently a Mr. Li from Longxi 隴西李生 came [to me] from the Eastern capital (i.e. Luoyang), and brought me a letter from [Han] Tuizhi again faulting me. It says: 'I have seen that in the *Essay on seeing off Mr. Yuan* 送元生序<sup>223</sup> you

217 This is a quotation of *Lunyu* 3.5 (D.C. Lau, *Confucius: The Analects* [Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2002], 18f.).

218 This is a quotation from the song "The Closed Temple" 闔宮 in the "The Hymns of Lu" 魯頌 of the *Shijing* (Fang Yurun 方玉潤, *Shijing yuanshi* 詩經原始 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986], vol. 2, 638; Arthur Waley, *The Book of Songs: The Ancient Chinese Classic of Poetry*, ed. Joseph R. Allen [New York: Grove Press, 1996], 315).

219 This is a quotation from the *Yuandao* (Christoph Kaderas, "Das Yuan dao des Han Yu (768–824): Analyse und vollständige Übersetzung," in: *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 150 [2000], 264f.).

220 This is a quotation of the closing passage of the *Yuandao* (Christoph Kaderas, "Das Yuan dao des Han Yu (768–824)," 267).

221 Both Liu Zongyuan and Han Tuizhi were leading figures of the Guwen 古文 movement. On this matter, see: Chen Jo-shui, *Liu Tsung-yuan and Intellectual Change in Tang China, 773–819* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 57 f.

222 An annotation reads: "[Han] Tuizhi employs the matters of the words [of the Buddha] and associating [with the Buddhist monk] as his basis for criticizing [Liu Zongyuan]. [Liu] Zihou (i.e. Liu Zongyuan) subsequently presents two paragraphs of explanation, in which he presents the keys [to the refutation of both allegations]." 退之以言與遊兩端。為相責之本。子厚於後作兩節解釋。皆有關鍵。(T 2035, p. 382, c15).

223 This is a reference to the *Song Yuan shiba shanren nanyou xu* 送元十八山人南游序, which is seen in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 579 (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 6, 5849f.). The general statement of the text is that, even though different schools will take different paths, they should not oppose each other, as all of them would still make their contribution in benefitting the world.



did not refute Buddhism.<sup>224</sup> But in Buddhism there are truly points that are irrefutable,<sup>225</sup> as they are through and through in harmony with the *Yi* [*jing*] and the *Lunyu*. I am truly pleased about this. As these [irrefutable matters] are flourishing within the [inner] nature and the [expressed] feelings, they do not form a path that would diverge from Confucius.<sup>226</sup> [Han] Tuizhi's affection for Confucianism should not go beyond that of Master Yang (i.e. Yang Xiong).<sup>227</sup> The books of Master Yang include ideas from Zhuang[zi], Mo[zi], Shen[zi], and Han [Feizi]. How can Buddhism be inferior to [the ideas of] Zhuang[zi], Mo[zi], Shen[zi], and Han [Feizi], which tend to be strange, eccentric, dangerous, and sinister?<sup>228</sup>

If [Han Tuizhi] still calls him (i.e. the Buddha) a barbarian,<sup>229</sup> therefore does not believe in his path, and refutes him on grounds of his barbarianism, would this not be like befriending Elai 惡來 and the Robber Zhi 盜跖, while despising Ji Zha 季札 and You Yu 由余?<sup>230, 231</sup> p. 382, c23

224 An annotation reads: "This again states the point that [Han] Tuizhi faulted [Liu Zongyuan] for not having refuted Buddhism" 重述退之責不斥浮圖之意 (T 2035, p. 382, c17).

225 An annotation reads: "Firstly, [Liu Zongyuan] formulated this sentence as an explanation for his being fond of the words of the Buddha" 先立此句。為與浮圖言者之本。 (T 2035, p. 382, c18).

226 An annotation reads: "Secondly, [Liu Zongyuan] explains that its (i.e. Buddhism's) words are in harmony with the Confucian scriptures, and do not diverge from the former sages. [Saying that Buddhism does not diverge from Confucius] has these two meanings" 次釋其言與儒書合，與先聖不異。有此兩義。 (T 2035, p. 382, c20).

227 Liu Zongyuan is saying that, as Yang Xiong 楊雄 (53 BC–18 AD), a great Confucian scholar, allowed himself sympathies for non-Confucian authors, Han Tuizhi should have the open-mindedness to allow himself sympathy for Buddhism.

228 An annotation reads: "[Liu Zongyuan] criticized [Han] Tuizhi as lagging behind Master Yang (i.e. Yang Xiong). Master Yang just did not refute the absurdity and viciousness of Zhuang[zi] and Mo[zi]. But why did [Han] Tuizhi have to criticize the greatness of Buddhism?" 反責退之不及楊子。楊子尚不斥莊墨之怪險。退之何當斥浮圖之廣大。 (T 2035, p. 382, c22–23).

229 An annotation reads: "This transmits [Han] Tuizhi's statement saying that the Buddha was a barbarian" 騰退之指佛為夷之言 (T 2035, p. 382, c23–24). In the Taishō edition, the first character reads 騰. It has here been replaced with 騰 following Shi Daofa.

230 An annotation reads: "[Elai was] an ancestor of the Qin dynasty. Fei Lian was the father of Elai. Father and son both employed their talent and power in serving [King] Zhou of the Yin dynasty. The matter is known from the *Shiji*. Zhi was a great robber of the Qin dynasty. The matter is known from the *Zhuangzi*. Both [Elai and the Robber Zhi] came from the Central States. Ji Zha from Yanling, the son of the Duke of Wu, was a wise minister, while You Yu had joined the Qin coming from the Western Rong. These two men (i.e. Ji Zha and You Yu) originated from the Man and Rong." 秦之先，蜚廉生惡來，父子俱以材力事殷紂，見史記；跖秦大盜，見莊子，二皆中國人。吳公子延陵季札，賢臣；由余自西戎入秦，二人皆出於蠻戎。 (T 2035, p. 382, c25–26).

231 This parallelism says that befriending all those who are of Chinese origin, and despising

- p. 382, c26 This would not be what it means to disregard terms and to seek the truth.<sup>232</sup> I accept those aspects [of Buddhism] that are in harmony with the *Yi[jing]* and the *Lunyu*. If the sages [of Chinese antiquity] still lived today, [even] they could not refute them.<sup>233</sup> What [Han] Tuizhi rejects are merely its (i.e. Buddhism's) traces.<sup>234</sup>
- p. 383, a2 If [Han Tuizhi] refers to shaving [the head] and [wearing] black [robes], giving up [relationships with] wife and father, and living depending on others without practicing agriculture or sericulture,<sup>235</sup> then, with regard to these matters, I, too, am unhappy.<sup>236</sup>
- p. 383, a4 But [Han] Tuizhi, being upset about those surface [aspects], also remains distant from its (i.e. Buddhism's) innermost content. So [metaphorically speaking, when it comes to Buddhism] he knows [the outside of] the stones but not the hidden jade.<sup>237</sup> The reason why I am fond of the Buddhist teachings

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all those who are of barbarian origin would be misled. Elai and the Robber Zhi are both of Chinese origin, but both of them do not have a positive image in the Chinese tradition. Ji Zha and You Yu are of barbarian origin, but both of them are revered as wise men.

- 232 An annotation reads: "This blames [Han] Tuizhi for finally taking his (i.e. the Buddha's) dharma as barbarian. As a consequence the terms and the truth were both lost." 責退之果以其法為夷。則名與實俱失之矣。(T 2035, p. 382, c27).
- 233 An annotation reads: "This again expresses that because the words of Buddhism are in agreement with the Confucian scriptures, one cannot refute them." 再述浮圖之言與儒書合，不當斥(T 2035, p. 383, a1).
- 234 An annotation reads: "By first formulating this sentence, [Liu Zongyuan] blames [Han] Tuizhi for only looking at the traces [of Buddhism] and not knowing the heart [of Buddhism]" 先立此句。責退之但觀迹而不知心。(T 2035, p. 383, a2).
- 235 An annotation reads: "The point here is to point out [Han] Tuizhi's observation of the traces [of Buddhism]. [Han Tuizhi] wishes to employ the customs and duties of the secular world to blaming those who study what is beyond the secular world." 出退之觀迹之意，欲以世間之俗務責學出世間者。(T 2035, p. 383, a3-4).
- 236 An annotation reads: "[Liu Zongyuan] temporarily agrees with [Han] Tuizhi's viewpoint in observing the traces." 暫同退之觀迹之見(T 2035, p. 383, a4).
- 237 An annotation reads: "This blames [Han] Tuizhi for observing the traces [of Buddhism] without knowing the heart [of Buddhism]. The law of the śramaṇas [1] leads beyond the vanity of the secular world, which is why [the śramaṇas] have the appearance of shaved [heads] and dyed [robes]; [2] includes cultivating and studying the pure practices, which is why [the śramaṇas] are free of the fetters of marriage. When it comes to renouncing secular life and studying the path, they support the spirits of their parents in transcending [the mundane world] helping them to seek rebirth in the heavenly palace or in the pure land. If they achieve that, their reward is enormous. They are not like the common people, who only concern themselves with serving [the parents during their] lifetimes, [taking care of their] funerals, and performing the ancestral service. Much more than that, those who renounce secular life participate in the three jewels, and are respected by the world. How could one still blame them for not practicing agriculture and weaving? 'Without farmers there would be nobody to nourish

is this (i.e. the fact that hidden inside the stone there is the jade).<sup>238</sup> Those who associate with its (i.e. Buddhism's) people (i.e. monks),<sup>239</sup> are not necessarily able to understand its (i.e. Buddhism's) path.<sup>240</sup> And generally those who practice its (i.e. Buddhism's) path, would not like [to become] officials, and would not compete [to measure their] abilities. Most of them rejoice in the nature and are fond of a leisurely life.<sup>241</sup> I criticize that in the world [people] in a greedy way focus on [obtaining] official insignia to enter [state] service, by means of pushing away each other.<sup>242</sup> So if I abandoned the monks, whom should I be with?<sup>243</sup> It is for this reason that I prefer associating with Buddhists."<sup>244,245</sup>

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the ruler. ...' [*Mengzi*, 'Duke Teng of Wen,' part 1: 'Without a ruler, nobody will govern the farmers. Without the farmers, nobody will nourish the ruler.' 無君子莫治野人，無野人莫養君子。 D.C. Lau, *Mencius*, p. 57. In the present context the monks would stand for the rulers.] Please consider the meaning of this. That [Han] Tuizhi does not know the intentions with which those who renounce secular life study the way, can be compared with not knowing whether inside a stone there is jade." 正責退之觀迹不知心。夫沙門之法，去世浮榮，故為剃染之容；修習梵行，故無夫婦之累。至如出家、學道，所以升濟父母之神明而為天宮淨土之歸者如此報恩為至極也，非同俗士但在於生事、死葬、鬼享之而已。矧出家者，身參三寶、世所尊敬，豈復責之以不耕織乎？無野人莫養君子，請借此義。退之不知出家學道者之心，是不知石中有玉也。(T 2035, p. 383, a5–9).

- 238 An annotation reads: "This sentence explains that when it comes to [Liu Zongyuan's initial reference to] 'the words of Buddhism,' (see: T 2035, p. 382, c14) the meaning is here (i.e. in the fact that they are comparable to the jade hidden inside the stone)." 此一節解釋與浮圖言者。意在於此。(T 2035, p. 383, a9–10).
- 239 An annotation reads: "[Liu Zongyuan] formulated this sentence as his basis for associating with Buddhist [monks] (see: T 2035, p. 382, c14)" 立此句為與浮圖遊者之本 (T 2035, p. 383, a10).
- 240 An annotation reads: "A scholars of shallow learning would not seek to exhaustively penetrate the marvels of Buddhism" 俗儒不求盡通浮圖之妙 (T 2035, p. 383, a11).
- 241 An annotation reads: "One only knows that [Liu Zongyuan] enjoys their elegance and that they are different from those who follow the worldly customs" 但知喜其清散不與俗士同 (T 2035, p. 383, a12).
- 242 An annotation reads: "Correctly speaking, those who live in the worldly customs, only employ profit and fame instead of constant mindfulness" 正說俗士唯以利名為常念 (T 2035, p. 383, a14).
- 243 An annotation reads: "If one does not adore the Buddha, whom should one adore? [In the main text] the character 舍 needs to be read as 捨" 不慕浮圖。復何所慕。舍捨同。(T 2035, p. 383, a14–15).
- 244 An annotation reads: "This sentence explains that the matter of associating with Buddhist monks is addressed here." 此一節解釋與浮圖遊者在此 (T 2035, p. 383, a15).
- 245 This is a quotation of the *Essay on seeing off the monk Haochu* 送僧浩初序, which is seen in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 579 (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 6, 5852).

p. 383, a15 Now Haochu 浩初 had trained his nature, had pacified his emotions, and had studied his books.<sup>246</sup> He [also] penetrated the *Yi[jing]* and the *Lunyu*. Despite the enjoyment of nature, if he had cultural insights, he wrote them down.<sup>247</sup> Both father and son (i.e. both Haochu and his father) practiced its (i.e. Buddhism's) path to nourish themselves, abiding in peacefulness without of desire.<sup>248</sup> So they (i.e. Haochu and his father) were wiser than the teachings of Zhuang[zi], Mo[zi], Shen[zi] and Han [Feizi],<sup>249</sup> [whose followers] in a greedy way focus on [obtaining] official insignia to enter [state] service, by means of pushing away each other. They would also be greatly different [from Haochu].<sup>250</sup>

p. 383, a22 **Commentary:** [Han] Tuizhi did not know the Buddha, and therefore slandered the Buddha. When people of later generations saw Han [Tuizhi's] *Yuandao* 原道<sup>251</sup> and his *Letter in Reply to Meng Jian* 答孟簡書,<sup>252,253</sup> they felt drawn to comparing them with the opposition against Yang [Zhu] and Mo [Di]. But while the absurdity of Yang [Zhu] and Mo [Di] truly justified opposition, the path of the Buddha is extensive, so that all the nine schools of the mundane world are included. As there is not even one dharma which would be beyond the path of the Buddha, how could [this path] be comparable to [the teachings of] Yang [Zhu] and Mo [Di]? Somebody said: "Even though Master Liu (i.e. Liu Zongyuan) stated that the words of Buddhism are in harmony with the *Yi[jing]* and the *Lunyu*,<sup>254</sup> the *Yi[jing]* and the *Lunyu* are mundane teachings. How could they suf-

246 An annotation reads: "He correctly understood the Buddhist classics" 正通釋典 (T 2035, p. 383, a16).

247 An annotation reads: "Even at times when he was carefree and leisurely, he was still ready to write texts which were spread in the world" 雖在幽閑。亦足以垂世立言。(T 2035, p. 383, a17–18).

248 An annotation reads: "Certainly what they studied were methods they had received from their masters" 信其所學有所師法 (T 2035, p. 383, a19).

249 An annotation reads: "This is the reason why [Liu] Zihou conversed with him (i.e. with Haochu)" 此子厚所以與之言 (T 2035, p. 383, a20).

250 An annotation reads: "This is the reason why [Liu] Zihou associated with him (i.e. with Haochu)" 此子厚所以與之遊 (T 2035, p. 383, a21).

251 The *Yuandao* by Han Tuizhi has been quoted above (T 2035, p. 382, b28–c12).

252 In the Taishō edition of the *Fozu tongji* we read 答孟簡書, which does however not make sense. In the Shi Daofa edition we find the correct sequence of characters: 答孟簡書.

253 Han Tuizhi's letter in reply to Meng Jian has been quoted above (T 2035, p. 382, a27–b5). Even though in this letter Han Tuizhi expresses his affection for Dadian, he still comes to a negative conclusion with regard to Buddhism in general.

254 Liu Zongyuan said that in his *Essay on seeing off the śramaṇa Haochu*, which was quoted above. The relevant passage reads: "But in Buddhism there are truly points that are

fice to be aware of the extreme boundaries of the path of the Buddha?" This would mean: In conversing with the Confucian scholar [Liu] Zihou, Haochu could not refer to the deep mysteriousness [of Buddhism]. Therefore he used the *Yi[jing]* and the *Lunyu* to portray the essential meaning in terms of comparison, so that [Liu Zongyuan] could understand it more easily. Based on the inspiration Master Liu had received [through the conversation with Haochu], he again wished to admonish [Han] Tuizhi with regard to what he had not caught. What is not said in the *Yi[jing]* and the *Lunyu* is not easily understood by Confucian scholars. So [Liu] Zihou was on this basis finally able to enter this school (i.e. Buddhism) in sublime style. Therefore in his *Essay on seeing off Yuanju* he says: "The path of Buddhism is great and comprises many things."<sup>255</sup> On his *Stele for [the monk] Wuxing* he says: "[Buddhism] inherited the orthodox [tradition of Chinese thought] and follows the middle path."<sup>256,257</sup> In his *Essay on seeing off Master Chongxun* he says: "Since my childhood, I studied Buddhism. I have been seeking for its path for thirty years. What I received is enormous. This cannot be measured in terms of the *Yi[jing]* or the *Lunyu*."<sup>258</sup> Alas! [When it comes to] [Han] Tuizhi's refutation of Buddhism, if there had not been Master Liu, nobody would have sufficed to criticize it. Here I have employed some phrases and sentences from the *Essay on [seeing off the śramaṇa] Haochu* in order to explain it—hoping to elaborate on Master Liu's ability of expounding the matter.

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irrefutable, as they are on occasion in harmony with the *Yi[jing]* and the *Lunyu*" 浮圖誠有不可斥者，往往與易、論語合 (T 2035, p. 382, c17–19).

255 This is a quotation of the first sentence of the *Essay on seeing off Yuanju for his return to the Youquan Monastery* 送元舉歸幽泉寺, which is seen in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 579 (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 6, 5853).

256 The concept of the 'middle path' 中道 originates from a passage seen in *Mengzi*, chapter "Jinxin" 盡心, part 2. There we read: "Confucius [said]: 'Failing to find those who follow the middle path for associates, one would have to return to the undisciplined and the over-scrupulous.'" 孔子不得中道而與之，必也狂狷乎！(Zhu Xi 朱熹, *Sishuzhangjuzhuzhu* 四書章句集注 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983], 374; trans.: D.C. Lau, *Mencius* [London: Penguin, 2004], 166).

257 This is a quotation from the *Stele for the monk Wuxing of the Sheng'an Monastery of Yuezhou* 岳州聖安寺無姓和尚碑, which is seen in *Liu Hedongji* 柳河東集, juan 6: Buddhist steles 釋教碑. Considering the wider context we read: "The monks inherited the orthodox [tradition of Chinese thought] and follow the middle path. Generally speaking those who received education do not want to miss out on their teachings" 和尚紹承本統，以順中道，凡受教者不失其宗。(source: <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=677313>—accessed: 7th of January 2020).

258 This is a quotation from the *Essay on seeing off the monk [Chong]xun when he departed as*

p. 383, b14

When Han Yu was banished to Chaozhou 潮州, his fourth daughter, Na 拏, who was twelve years of age, died on the way. [Han Tuizhi] buried her on the foot of a mountain in Shangnan 商南. When later on he became capital official, he brought her bones into the Han family tomb in Heyang 河陽韓氏墓,<sup>259</sup> and composed a tomb inscription, which says: “When I became a Shaoqiu official 少秋官, I said: ‘The Buddha was a barbarian spirit, and his dharma will bring about chaotic reigns. [Emperor] Wu of Liang served him, and finally he was defeated by Hou Jing 侯景.’<sup>260</sup> [The Buddha dharma] should all at once be driven out, and one should not allow it to prosper.’”<sup>261</sup> The Son of Heaven said that his (i.e. Han Tuizhi’s) words were inauspicious, and he demoted him to [doing service] in the place of Jieyang 揭陽 in the Southern Sea.

p. 383, b20

**Commentary:** [Han] Tuizhi despised Buddhism as barbarian. In particular he blamed [Emperor] Wu of Liang for having caused disasters by serving the Buddha, in order to admonish the rulers of his times. Finally [it was surprising to see] how quickly the calamities, which [Han] Tuizhi suffered [as a result of having argued in favor of] driving out Buddhism, took shape. [Emperor] Wu of Liang was an arhat living in the world. He manifested himself as a ruler. Sire Zhi 誌公 and the Mahāsattva Fu 傅大士 together bestowed the teachings [on the emperor]. How could a mundane Confucian scholar surmise or understand such matters?

p. 383, b25

[In the essay] *On Reading Mozi* 讀墨子 by Han Yu it is said: “Confucianism and Mohism agree in approving of Yao and Shun, agree in discarding Jie [of Xia] and Zhou [of Shang], and agree in cultivating the body and rectifying the mind, in order to rule the states in all under heaven. So why are they not in harmony with each other? If I take this on for discussion, I would have to say that those

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he was summoned by the *Zhongcheng shufu* 送巽上人赴中丞叔父召序, which is seen in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 579 (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 6, 5851).

259

With regard to Han Yu’s journey to Chaozhou, Charles Hartman offers the following explanation: “He traveled slowly to allow his family time to overtake him, but the rigors of the trip still proved too much for his fourth daughter Han Na (808–819). She died on March 1, 819 near Shang-chou. Later, her body was reburied in the clan cemetery at Ho-yang, and Han Yü composed a ‘Tomb Inscription for My Daughter Na’” (Charles Hartman, *Han Yü and the T’ang-Search for Unity*, 87f.). On the tomb of Han Yu’s family in Heyang, see: Charles Hartman, *Han Yü and the T’ang-Search for Unity*, 19.

260

The matter of Liang Wudi and Hou Jing is covered in the material translated for the first volume of the present *Fozu tongji* translation project—see: *Fozu tongji*, juan 37 (T 2035, p. 351, b27–p. 352, a3).

261

This is an excerpt from the tomb inscription Han Yu had composed for his daughter. For a translation of the full text, see: Charles Hartman, *Han Yü and the T’ang-Search for Unity*, 88.

who are born as a late (i.e. present-day) disciples of Confucianism, all follow the teachings of these masters.<sup>262</sup> And only in case of paths that do not go back to these two masters it is not like that.<sup>263</sup> Confucius necessarily relied on Mozi, and Mozi necessarily relied on Confucius. 孔子必用墨子。墨子必用孔子。 If they would not have relied on each other, there would not have been the joint tradition of Confucianism and Mohism.”<sup>264</sup>

The meditation master Zuxiu of Zangliu 藏六祖秀 composed an alternative biography of Ouyang [Xiu],<sup>265</sup> which records that [the dharma master] Zuyin 祖印<sup>266</sup> and [Ouyang] Yongshu (i.e. Ouyang Xiu) discussed the way, and in doing so noted former people, who criticized [the ideas of] Han [Tuizhi]—briefly quoting the statements of Wang Jinggong 王荊公 (i.e. Wang Anshi),<sup>267</sup> Su Dongpo 蘇東坡, Master Long 龍先生,<sup>268</sup> and [Qi]song [契]嵩, [the Great Master] Mingjiao 明教[大師]. [Their criticisms of Han Yu are quoted subsequently:]

[Wang] Jinggong said: “Among the people there are those who are glad [to see] that Mengzi opposed Yang [Zhu] and Mo[zi], and who would refute Buddhism and Daoism [hoping to attain] merit. Alas! The summer insect 夏蟲 Zhuangzi is referring to<sup>269</sup> is just like those people.<sup>270</sup> The way stands for eternity. The sages [only] stand for a period of time. If one clings to one period of

262 Han Yu is saying that all Confucian scholars of his times follow both Confucius and Mozi.

263 Here Han Yu is saying that only scholars of deviant paths would not be prepared to follow both Confucius and Mozi.

264 This is a full quotation of the closing part of Han Yu's essay *On Reading Mozi* 讀墨子, which is seen in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 559 (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 6, 5656 f.).

265 From the *Yunwo ji tan* 雲臥紀譚 we know that Zuxiu composed a work entitled *Ouyang Wenzhong gong waizhuan* 歐陽文忠公外傳 (Alternative Biography of Ouyang [Xiu], [posthumously known as] Sire Wenzhong) 歐陽文忠公外傳 (X86, no. 1610, p. 660, b7–8 // Z 2B:21, p. 2, b1–2 // R148, p. 3, b1–2). This work is however not extant.

266 This is “Ju Ne, the dharma master Zuyin” 居訥祖印禪師, who has a biography in *Wudeng huiyuan*, juan 16 (X80, no. 1565, p. 329, c13–21 // Z 2B:11, p. 303, c11–d1 // R138, p. 606, a11–b1).

267 The *zi* of Wang Anshi was Jiefu 介甫. So above we saw Wang Anshi referred to as Wang Jiefu (T 2035, p. 382, b19–20). His noble title was Duke of the Jing state 荊國公. On this basis he is here referred to as Jinggong (i.e. Duke of Jing).

268 This is Long Changqi 龍昌期, a Confucian scholar from Shu 蜀 (i.e. present-day Sichuan), who is introduced within an extra paragraph within the biography of Hu Ze 胡則 in *Songshi* 宋史, juan 299 (Tuotuo 脫脫, *Songshi* [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977], vol. 28, 9942).

269 This is a reference to a passage in *Zhuangzi*, chapter 17. There we read: “You can't tell a summer insect about ice because it is confined by its season” 夏蟲不可以語於冰者，篤於時也 (Chen Guying, *Zhuangzi jinzhu jinyi*, vol. 2, 411; Victor H. Mair, *Wandering on the Way*, 153).

270 This means that people who seek to refute Buddhism hoping to attain merit, are as blocked in their understanding as a summer insect that cannot imagine the existence of ice.

time [like the summer insect] and has doubts about eternity, one will in the end not comprehend the way.”<sup>271,272</sup>

p. 383, c7 [Su] Dongpo said: “[When it comes to] [Han] Tuizhi’s understanding of the way of the sages, one should also know that he likes its name, but cannot rejoice about its truth. Why is that? [The intellectual level] of his discourses being enormously high, he deals with Confucius and Mengzi in terms of outmost respect, and opposes Yang [Zhu], Mo[zi], Buddhism and Daoism in terms of outmost strictness. When it comes to that he used his vigor in a way of which one could not call insufficient. But his discourses focus on the theory and not on the essence. Being fragmented he indulges in having no restraints.”<sup>273</sup> He frequently betrays his own statements without even knowing it.”<sup>274</sup>

p. 383, c12 Master Long from Western Shu wrote [the essay] “Against Han [Tuizhi]” 非韓 in 100 paragraphs. Summarized briefly it says: “As Meng Jiao 孟郊 (751–814)<sup>275</sup> lost three sons, [Han] Tuizhi dedicated a poem to him, which said: ‘Who is to be blamed [for the death] of your sons? I wish to blame the heaven above: You truly control the earth below. Why are you after all that partial in your [practice of] giving and taking?’<sup>276</sup> Which [benefit] would you get from others, so that you grant them [substantial] offspring and long lives? How could only he (i.e. Meng Jiao) alone have such faults, that [his sons] were born and died within ten days?’<sup>277</sup> From the 300 poems of the *Shi[jing]* the [Guo]feng [國]風 criticizes the rulers,<sup>278</sup> criticizing them as enormously inhumane. Still

271 This means that those who seek to refute Buddhism hoping to attain merit will never be able to attain a complete understanding of the way, which says that in referring to Buddhism they do not know what they are talking about.

272 I cannot find documentation of this statement in Wang Anshi’s own works. It is however also quoted in the *Linjian lu* 林間錄 by Juefan Huihong 覺範慧洪 (1071–1128). What we see in the *Fozu tongji* is an abridged version. In *Linjian lu*, juan 1, a longer version of the statement appears. For the part that is quoted in the *Fozu tongji*, see: X87, no. 1624, p. 257, c14–17 // Z 2B:21, p. 305, c18–d3 // R148, p. 610, a18–b3.

273 This means that Han Tuizhi’s arguments are incoherent and chaotic.

274 This is a quotation from the “Essay on Han Yu” 韓愈論 by Su Dongpo (Kong Fanli, *Su Shi wenji*, juan 4, 114). For a general review of this essay, see: Peter K. Bol, *This Culture of Ours’: Intellectual Transitions in T’ang and Sung China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 268.

275 Meng Jiao, a poet and friend of Han Yu, has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 160 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 13, 4204–4205) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 176 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 17, 5265–5267).

276 Han Tuizhi hereby accuses heaven of being partial in giving an inappropriate amount of suffering to Meng Jiao.

277 This is a quotation from Han Tuizhi’s poem “On Meng Dongye losing his sons” 孟東野失子. Dongye is the *zi* of Meng Jiao. The poem is seen in *Quan Tangshi*, juan 339 (Sun Tonghai, *Quan Tangshi*, vol. 5, 3804).

278 The Guofeng (Airs of the States) is the first part of the *Shijing* (see: Arthur Waley, *The Book of Songs, translated by Arthur Waley with Additional Translations by Joseph R. Allen*, 1–127).



their words are free of anger. How can you, out of resentment against heaven, insult and abuse it? How do we know that he (i.e. Han Tuizhi) also dares to destroy Buddhism and Daoism? Subsequently I list ten statements to document that: (1) He scolds the great sages Buddha and Laozi for being of barbarian origin.<sup>279</sup> (2) Even though Confucianism and Mohism are divergent paths, he now says that they go back to the same roots, which opposes Meng[zi] and blemishes Confucius.<sup>280</sup> (3) The way in its origin is common [to everybody], but the teachings are eternally divergent. While Confucianism administers the world, Buddhism and Daoism go beyond the world. [Han] Tuizhi emphasizes administering the world, and he opposes going beyond the world. This does not suffice to know the way.<sup>281</sup> (4) The human nature was originally one. Now he speaks of 'three levels of the five types of human nature.' This does not suffice to know the human nature.<sup>282</sup> (5) While actually human beings are the most precious, he now sees the barbarian tribes as well as birds and beasts as standing on the same level as human beings.<sup>283</sup> (6) The previous dynasty (i.e. the Tang

279 An annotation reads: "[Source:] *Yuandao*" 原道 (T 2035, p. 383, c20). This essay was quoted above: T 2035, p. 382, b28–c12. The *Yuandao* is a treatise arguing that the original Dao would be that of the Chinese antiquity, and that one should beware of allowing teachings from the lands of the barbarians, such as Buddhism, to dominate the intellectual discourse in China. Against this background, the *Yuandao* includes much polemicism directed against the lands of the barbarians. We read: "Barbarians with their rulers are inferior to the Chinese without them!" 夷狄之有君，不如諸夏之亡！(Ma Qichang 馬其昶, *Han Changli wenji jiaozhu* 韓昌黎文集校注 [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986], 17). The *Yuandao* adopts this sentence from *Lunyu* 3.5 (D.C. Lau, Confucius: *The Analects* [Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2002], 18f.).

280 An annotation reads: "[Source:] *On Reading Mozi*" 讀墨子 (T 2035, p. 383, c21). This essay was quoted above: T 2035, p. 383, b25–29. A key phrase would seem to be: "Confucianism and Mohism agree in supporting Yao and Shun; they agree in opposing Jie and Zhou; they agree in cultivating the body and rectifying the mind in order to regulate the states of all under heaven" 儒、墨同是堯舜，同非桀紂，同修身、正心，以治天下國家。(Ma Qichang, *Han Changli wenji jiaozhu*, 40). In Chinese Buddhist apologetic and historiographic texts Mohism is widely regarded as a deviant teaching. For this reason the *Fozu tongji* here says that ascribing a common root to Confucianism and Mohism would have to be seen as a disparagement of Confucianism.

281 An annotation reads: "[Source:] *Yuandao*" 原道 (T 2035, p. 383, c23). The third statement could be interpreted as a summary of the contents of the *Yuandao*, but does not seem to refer to any particular passage in its text.

282 An annotation reads: "[Source:] *Yuanxing*" 原性 (T 2035, p. 383, c24). The present passage has its explanation in two sentences seen in the *Yuanxing* by Han Yu: (1) "The levels of human nature include the three of superior, intermediate, and inferior" 性之品有上、中、下三。(2) "There are five types of human nature: humaneness, propriety, faithfulness, righteousness, wisdom" 性者五：曰仁、曰禮、曰信、曰義、曰智。(Ma Qichang, *Han Changli wenji jiaozhu*, 20).

283 An annotation reads: "[Source:] *Yuanren*" 原人 (T 2035, p. 383, c25). In *Yuanren* we read:

dynasty) welcomed the bone of the Buddha, promoting that both in the distance and in the proximity people rejoiced about our misfortune.<sup>284</sup> (7) [When Han Tuizhi] was demoted to serving as an official in Chaoyang, he suggested [to the emperor] to carry out a fengshan 封禪 rite,<sup>285</sup> which came close to offering flattery requesting to enter [the higher circles of administration again].<sup>286</sup> (8) As he feared mistakes in the writing of history, he dared to criticize Buddhism.<sup>287</sup> (9) He composed frivolous statements, and loved to play the *bosai* 博塞 game.”<sup>288,289</sup>

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“When it comes to the form above, sun, moon, and stars all belong to heaven. When it comes to the form below, grass and trees, mountains and rivers all belong to earth. As far as the life between those two is concerned, the barbarian tribes as well as birds and beasts all belong to the human realm” 形於上，日月星辰皆天也；形於下，草木山川皆地也；命於其兩間，夷狄禽獸皆人也。(Ma Qichang, *Han Changli wenji jiaozhu*, 25f.).

- 284 An annotation reads: “[Source:] *Zhijian biao*” 直諫表 (T 2035, p. 383, c26). In fact the *Zhijian biao* is a work by Dugu Ji 獨孤及 (725–777), which has no relevance here. Rather than that the sixth statement refers to Han Tuizhi’s *Lun fogu biao* 論佛骨表, in which Han Tuizhi criticized the emperor for welcoming a Buddha relic in the capital with an opulent ceremony. For the text of the *Lun fogu biao*, see: Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 6, 5553–5554. For translations of the text, see: Homer H. Dubs, “Han Yü and Buddha’s relic: An Episode in Medieval Chinese Religion,” in: *The Review of Religion* 11 (1946): 5–17; Rainer Hoffmann, *Neokonfuzianer und Sinobuddhisten: Drei Studien zur Entstehung der Lixue-Philosophie in der späten Tang-Dynastie* (Freiburg i.Br.: Arnold-Bergstraesser-Institut, 1997), 255–261.
- 285 On this matter, see: Charles Hartman, *Han Yü and the Tang Search for Unity*, 91.
- 286 An annotation reads: “He zun hao biao” 賀尊號表 (T 2035, p. 383, c27). This is a reference to the “He cezun hao biao” 賀冊尊號表, which is seen in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 548 (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 6, 5554–5555).
- 287 An annotation reads: “Letter in reply to Liu Xiucan” 答劉秀才書 (T 2035, p. 383, c28). This is a reference to the “Letter in reply to Liu Xiucan discussing historiography” 答劉秀才論史書, which is seen in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 554 (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 6, 5609–5610).
- 288 An annotation reads: “The term of ‘frivolous’ would refer to the *Maoying zhuan* or to the *Songqiong wen*. On the term of ‘bosai,’ see Zhang Ji’s letter [to Han Tuizhi]” 駁雜如毛穎傳、送窮文之類。博塞見張藉書。(T 2035, p. 383, c28–29). The *Maoying zhuan* and the *Songqiong wen* are texts by Han Tuizhi. For a translation of the *Maoying zhuan*, see: Elling O. Eide, “Another Go at the Mao ying chuan,” in: *Tang Studies* 8–9 (1990–1991): 107–111. Zhang Ji’s letter to Han Tuizhi mentioning ‘bosai,’ is seen in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 684. It is entitled “Letter to Han Changli” 上韓昌黎書 (Han Changli is Han Tuizhi), and it says: “How much more would the bosai game make people compete for wealth?” 況為博塞之戲與人競財乎 (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 7, 7007–7008).
- 289 I cannot verify the existence of Long Changqi’s article “Against Han [Tuizhi]” and the present quotation thereof.

[Qi]song, [the Great Master] Mingjiao, [wrote the essay] “Against Han [Tuizhi]” 非韓 in thirty paragraphs, which has the following content: “The *Old History of the Tang* 舊唐史 (i.e. the *Jiu Tangshu*) says that the nature of Master Han [Tuizhi] is eccentric and inclemently upright, [and hence was] unable to spread the way. When examining his books and viewing his actions, it is truly like that. If we hope that, like the ancients, Han [Tuizhi] will rest in the central way, he will definitely not be able to achieve that. This is certain! Knowledgeable people say that Han [Tuizhi] was just only somebody who was good at writing. But the purpose of articles is to transmit the way. If [an article] does not express the way, what—despite the depth—would it be good for? The students [of his articles] would not be able to discern [the problems in the contents], and would only imitate the writing style making it their own ability to ridicule and undermine the sages of the two teachings. So I have written this to discriminate the afore-mentioned practices, [aiming at] correcting those who in all under heaven enjoy destroying the teachings.”<sup>290,291</sup>

[Su] Dongpo said: “In ancient times there were many people who discussed the matter of inner nature, but could not define one common conclusion. In the beginning, Mengzi interpreted [inner nature] as being good; Xunzi interpreted [inner nature] as bad;<sup>292</sup> Master Yang [Zhu] interpreted [inner nature] as both good and bad. 孟子以為善。荀子以為惡。楊子以為善惡混。 Han Yu took the statements of those three masters, syncretized them, and used the following discourse of Confucius to differentiate between three categories of inner nature: ‘Average people can be changed for the better or for the worse, while

290 An annotation reads: “The words of this oppositional statement are roughly like those of Master Long” 其條攻之辭大略如龍先生 (T 2035, p. 384, a7). This is a reference to the statement of Long Changqi, that was quoted above (T 2035, p. 383, c12–29).

291 Qisong’s essay “Against Han [Tuizhi]” occupies juan 14–16 of the *Tanjin wenji* 鐔津文集, the Collected Works of Qisong. (Tanjin was birthplace of Qisong.) The passage quoted here in the *Fozu tongji* is part of the last of the thirty paragraphs the essay consists of. It appears in *Tanjin wenji*, juan 16 (T 2115, p. 738, a12–21). On Qisong’s essay, see also: Elizabeth Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs: Qisong and Lineage in Chinese Buddhism* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 116.

292 On the classical disagreement between Xunzi and Mengzi on human nature, see: David E. Soles, “The Nature and Grounds of Xunzi’s Disagreement with Mencius,” in: *Asian Philosophy: An International Journal of the Philosophical Traditions of the East* 9, no. 2 (1999): 123–134; Chong Kim-chong, “Xunzi’s Systematic Critique of Mencius,” in: *Philosophy East and West* 53, no. 2 (2003): 215–233; Chong Kim-chong, “Meng Zi and Xun Zi,” in: *History of Chinese Philosophy*, ed. Bo Mou (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009): 189–207.

the most intelligent and the most stupid people cannot be budged.<sup>293</sup> What the three masters (i.e. Mengzi, Xunzi, and Yang [Zhu]) pointed out all belongs to the [class of] the intermediate [people], while the highest [wisdom] and the lowest [stupidity] is not represented.

p. 384, a13 Alas! Because [Han Tuizhi] does not understand what inner nature means, he discusses it mistaking it for talent. Inner nature and talent are two matters that are related to each other but are not identical. [Inner nature] is given to the sages, it is shared by the petty-minded people, and none of them can escape it. This is what inner nature truly means. But when it comes to the matter of talent, I definitely think that there are differences. What is referred to as inner nature in all under heaven is discussed mistaking it for talent! Such statements are numerous, and they cannot be boiled down to one. The statement of Confucius, saying that the intermediate people can be influenced for the better or for the worse, while highest wisdom and lowest stupidity cannot be changed, is meant to discuss talent. When it comes to inner nature, [Confucius] did not speak of good or evil. Instead he just said: 'Men are close to one another by nature. They drift apart through behavior that is constantly repeated.'<sup>294</sup>

p. 384, a22 In what Han Yu said there is yet another absurdity, as he discusses emotion without [considering] human nature, while he discusses human nature [only] in combination with talent. 離性以為情而合才以為性 For this reason, his discourse finally cannot penetrate.<sup>295</sup>

p. 384, a24 Jia Dao 賈島 (779–843) early on early on became [a follower of] the Buddha, and was named Wuben 無本.<sup>296</sup> When he came to the Eastern Capital, [he was confronted with the reality of] monks not being allowed to leave [the monasteries] after noon. [Jia] Dao composed a poem [describing] his plight. Han

293 This is derived from the following two Lunyu passages. *Lunyu* 17.3 reads: "The Master said: 'It is only the most intelligent and the most stupid people who cannot be budged.'" 子曰：「唯上知與下愚不移。」 (D.C. Lau, *Confucius: The Analects* [Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2002], 170f.). *Lunyu* 6.21 reads: "The Master said: 'You can tell those who are above average about the best, but not those who are below average.'" 子曰：「中人以上，可以語上也；中人以下，不可以語上也。」 (D.C. Lau, *Confucius: The Analects*, 50f.).

294 This is a quotation from *Lunyu* 17.2 (D.C. Lau, *Confucius: The Analects* [Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2002], 170f.).

295 This is a quotation from the "Yang Xiong lun" 揚雄論 by Su Dongpo (Kong Fanli, *Su Shi wenji*, juan 4, 110).

296 Jia Dao is a poet of the late Tang dynasty. His poems are seen in *Quan Tangshi*, juan 571 (Sun Tonghai, *Quan Tangshi*, vol. 9, 6674–6686).

Yu therefore educated him in literature, and thus he gave up Buddhism and became a Jinshi 進士. There was a certain Li Dong 李洞, who revered the poems of [Jia] Dao. He cast an image [of Jia Dao] to devote himself to him, and called it the Jia Dao Buddha 賈島佛.<sup>297</sup>

297 In *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 7, we read that Li Dong adored Jia Dao (T 2061, p. 748, c12–13). A more elaborate representation of the tale is seen in the *Qidong yeyu* 齊東野語 (Folk Adages from the East of Qi) by the Southern Song scholar Zhou Mi 周密. In juan 16 we find the account under the heading “Jia Dao Buddha” 賈島佛. Here we read: “[Li Dong] adored the poems of Jia Langxian (i.e. Jia Dao), consequently cast his image to devote himself to him, and recited the words ‘Jia Dao Buddha’ without shutting his mouth. The contemporaries considered that extraordinary” 慕賈浪仙之詩，遂鑄其像事之，誦賈島佛不絕口，時以爲異。 (Source: SKQS).

## *Fayun tongsai zhi, juan 9*

(i.e. Fozu tongji, juan 42)

### *Emperor Muzong*

穆宗

[Personal name:] Heng 恒. Third son of Xianzong.

p. 384, b7 **Changqing era**, first year: The emperor personally composed a eulogy honoring the Vinaya Master of the Southern mountain 南山律師 (i.e. Daoxuan), which says: “[Each] epoch has an awakened person, acting as a messenger of the Tathāgata. Dragons and demons surrender to him; deities and humans served him. His fame spreads across the five [regions of] India; his words startled [people within] ten thousand li. When the golden raven descends in the West,<sup>1</sup> the sun of the Buddha arises in the West. I prostrate and take refuge to the lord who founded the Vinaya school.”<sup>2,3</sup>

代有覺人。為如來使。  
龍鬼歸降。天人奉事。  
聲飛五天。辭驚萬里。  
金烏西沈。佛日東舉。  
稽首歸依。肇律宗主。

p. 384, b10 Liu Zong, the Military Commissioner of Youzhou 幽州節度使劉總, submitted a petition asking [for permission] to renounce worldly life. The emperor did not grant it. [Liu] Zong thereupon [still] gave up his seal [of office]. Afterwards he himself shaved his hair, became a monk,<sup>4</sup> and took his private residence as his monastery. The emperor thereupon followed his will, granted him [the title of]

1 The term of the ‘golden raven’ 金烏 is a metaphoric expression referring to the sun.

2 This eulogy composed by Tang Muzong is also seen in *Shimen zhengtong*, juan 8 (X75, no. 1513, p. 362, a3–5 // Z 2B:3, p. 459, c6–8 // R130, p. 918, a6–8). Yet another work recording it is the *Nanshan zushi lizan wen* 南山祖師禮讚文, which was composed by Zhiyuan 智圓 (976–1022), a monk of the Northern Song dynasty, associated with the ‘shanwai’ 山外 branch of the Tiantai school. See: *Nanshan zushi lizan wen*, juan 1 (X74, no. 1504, p. 1078, b17–18 // Z 2B:3, p. 97, d14–15 // R130, p. 194, b14–15).

3 An annotation reads: “Until today in the Vinaya school, on the death anniversary [of Daoxuan], this eulogy is used to praise him” 至今律宗。修忌之日。用以稱讚。 (T 2035, p. 384, b10).

4 This matter is also referred to in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 16 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 2, 486).

Dajueshi 大覺師 (Master of Great Enlightenment),<sup>5</sup> and presented him with a monastic age of 50 years 僧臘五十.<sup>6</sup> His monastery was given the name Baoen [Monastery] 報恩[寺].

Pei Du, the Military Commissioner of Hedong 河東節度使裴度,<sup>7</sup> reported that auspicious clouds were seen above the Foguang Monastery in the Wutai Mountains 五臺佛光寺, while Mahāsattva Mañjuśrī 文殊大士 was riding on a lion in space, with a retinue of ten thousand [attendants].<sup>8</sup> The emperor sent messengers to make offerings to ten thousand bodhisattvas, and on that day auspicious clouds were again seen in the monastery.

Weiyang, a śramaṇa of the Longxing Monastery 龍興寺沙門惟英, was ordered to take office as an Academician Awaiting Orders 翰林待詔 and as a monk superintendent of two streets 兩街僧統.<sup>9</sup>

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Second year: The meditation master Wuye 無業 from Fenyang 汾陽,<sup>10</sup> whenever approached with questions by scholars, generally replied to them saying: “Do not [entertain] vain thoughts.” [Tang] Xianzong frequently sent messengers to summon him, but [Wuye] always declined on grounds of diseases. When Emperor [Muzong] ascended the throne, he thought of arranging a feast day. When it came to that, the emperor sent Lingfu, [the registrar of] the two streets 兩街靈阜, to hand over an edict to invite him (i.e. Wuye). The master laughed and said to the [monastic] community: “I will leave using an alternative way.”<sup>11</sup>

5 This matter is also referred to in *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 3 (T 2126, p. 249, b7–8; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 501f.).

6 Paul Kroll offers the following definition of 臘: “end of the monastic year coinciding with the end of summer retreat in the 6th month; marks the end of year when counting a monks religious age, i.e. years since taking monastic vows” (Paul W. Kroll, *A Student's Dictionary of Classical and Medieval Chinese* [Leiden: Brill, 2015], 250).

7 Pei Du has a biography in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 170 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 14, 4413–4435).

8 On this matter, see: Lin Wei-cheng, *Building a Sacred Mountain: The Buddhist Architecture of China's Mount Wutai* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 196 f.

9 This is known from *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 2 (T 2126, p. 243, c1–3; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 355).

10 An annotation reads: “see Mazu [Daoyi]” 見馬祖 (T 2035, p. 384, b18).

11 This is known from the biographies of Wuye in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 11 (T 2061, p. 773, a2–5), and *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 8 (T 2076, p. 257, a25–b1). Compared to the *Song gaoseng zhuan* account, the *Jingde chuandeng lu* account comes much closer to what we see in the *Fozu tongji*. In the *Fozu tongji* the text is however presented in abridged form.

By midnight he assembled the community to preach the dharma, and sitting upright he passed away. He was awarded the posthumous name “Imperial Preceptor Dada” 大達國師.<sup>12</sup>

p. 384, b22 Bai Juyi, the Drafter in the Secretariat 中書舍人白居易, [was installed to] administer Hangzhou. He went to enquire about the way [consulting] the Meditation Master of the Bird's Nest 鳥窠禪師. The master said: “Avoid all evil deeds. Practice all wholesome actions.” [Bai] Juyi said: “A three year old child could speak like this.” The master said: “Even though a three year old child can speak, an eighty year old man may not be able to act accordingly.” [Bai] Juyi found his words convincing, prostrated and left.<sup>13</sup>

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p. 384, b27 Fourth year: The śramaṇa Huijiao 惠皎 chiseled the *Lotus sūtra* into the cliffs of Mount Gu 孤山 at the West Lake 西湖. The Regional Inspector Bai Juyi [and others, all together] nine people, assisted him in his work. The chancellor Yuan Zhen 宰相元稹 (779–831)<sup>14</sup> created a report of this, in which he says: “The sublime marvelousness of the Buddha dharma should be expressed to me by the monks; it should not be expressed to the monks by me.”<sup>15</sup>

p. 384, c1 When Bai Juyi went to Mount Lu 廬山, he met the meditation master [Zhi]chang [智]常 from the Guizong [Monastery] 歸宗[寺], and caught the master plastering a wall. [The meditation master] asked: “[Do you belong to] the superior Confucian order or to the mean Confucian order?” [Bai] Juyi said: “[I belong to] the superior Confucian order.” [Thereupon] the master beat his plaster trowel once, and [Bai] Juyi supplied [the master] with further plaster, so

12 This is known from the biographies of Wuyue in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 11 (T 2061, p. 773, a29), and *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 8 (T 2076, p. 257, b12–13).

13 An annotation reads: “The master was named Daolin—see the [biographies of] Meditation Master [Dao]qin from Mount Jing” 師名道林。見徑山欽禪師。(T 2035, p. 384, b26). The annotation clarifies that the proper dharma name of the Meditation Master of the Bird's Nest is Daolin. For details we are referred to the biography of Daolin's master Daoqin 道欽. In *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 4, we find the biography of Daolin subordinate to the biography of his master Daoqin. For both biographies, see: T 2076, p. 230, a10–b29. For the present exchange between Daolin and Bai Juyi, see: T 2076, p. 230, b25–27.

14 Yuan Zhen has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 166 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 13, 4327–4339) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 174 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 17, 5223–5339).

15 This is a highly condensed statement of an account seen in *Longxing biannian tonglun* 隆興編年通論, juan 24 (X75, no. 1512, p. 226, a23–c8 // Z 2B:3, p. 329, a4–c1 // R130, p. 657, a4–p. 658, a1). For the praiseful report by Yuan Zhen, see: X75, no. 1512, p. 226, c6–7 // Z 2B:3, p. 329, b17–18 // R130, p. 657, b17–18.



that the master could conveniently use it. After a long time [the master] asked: “Are you not the sensitive and talented<sup>16</sup> Attendant Gentleman Bai [Juyi]?” [Bai] Juyi said: “I am not worth the honor.” The master said: “Only [you can] supply [me] with plaster.”<sup>17</sup>

The Secretariat Director Wang Zhixing 中書令王智興<sup>18</sup> requested [permission] p. 384, c6 to establish a vaipulya ordination platform 方等戒壇<sup>19</sup> in Sizhou 泗州,<sup>20</sup> so that on the emperor’s birthday it would be possible to use it for the ordination of monks. The establishment was granted. Li Deyu (787–850), the Surveillance Commissioner of Zhexi 浙西觀察使李德裕,<sup>21</sup> submitted a petition arguing that innumerable ordinations had already been carried out, so that the [Chang]jiang [長]江 and the Huai[shui] 淮[水] regions were lacking tens of thousands of corvée laborers.<sup>22</sup> The emperor did not accept [Li Deyu’s petition, which in effect claimed that not further monks should be ordained].

### *Emperor Jingzong*

敬宗

[Personal name:] Zhan 湛. Oldest son of Muzong.

**Baoli era**, first year: It was ordered to establish vaipulya ordination platforms p. 384, c11 in two streets, [which were to be located] in the Anguo Monastery 安國寺 of

- 16 In medieval colloquial Chinese the character 底 has the function of 的 in modern colloquial Chinese. Here it tells us that 快 and 俊 are to be read as adjectives.
- 17 This dialogue is also seen in the biography of Zhichang in *Liandeng huiyao* 聯燈會要, juan 4 (X79, no. 1557, p. 43, b4–6 // Z 2B:9, p. 250, a12–14 // R136, p. 499, a12–14).
- 18 Wang Zhixing has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 156 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 13, 4138–4140) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 172 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 17, 5201–5203).
- 19 The term of ‘vaipulya’ 方等 refers to a group of sūtras, which in fact comprises most of the mahāyāna sūtras. So, in effect, a vaipulya ordination platform is a mahāyāna ordination platform (i.e. an ordination platform where ordinations are conducted according to the mahāyāna tradition). The matter of the “vaipulya ordination platforms” is subject to a full chapter of the in *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 3 (T 2126, p. 250, b20–c17; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 531–537).
- 20 In another chapter of *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 3, we read about Wang Zhixing setting up an ordination platform at a Buddhist monastery in Linhuai (T 2126, p. 252, b23; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 578).
- 21 Li Deyu has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 174 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 14, 4509–4530) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 180 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 17, 5327–5344).
- 22 In the *Da Song seng shilüe* the name Li Deyu 李德裕 is miswritten as Li Deyou 李德祐 (T 2126, p. 252, b25). The protest note by Li Deyu is seen in his *Jiu Tangshu* biography (Liu

the left street,<sup>23</sup> and in the Xingfu Monastery 興福寺 of the right street.<sup>24</sup> The Army Supervisor Liu Gui 中護軍劉規 was installed as Commissioner of Merit and Virtue for both the left and the right street 左右街功德使.<sup>25</sup> [Among the saṃgha] those who practiced the precepts were selected as [monks of] great virtue. It was ordered to test who among the boys could by heart recite 150 sūtra pages, and who among the girls could recite 100 sūtra pages. [Those who passed] were allowed to have their heads shaved and to be ordained.

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p. 384, c15 Second year: Śramaṇas and Daoist priests, [all together] more than 400 people, were ordered to have a debate at the Daming Palace 大明宮,<sup>26</sup> where a feast was also arranged for them.

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p. 384, c16 The emperor personally visited the Xingfu Monastery and watched the śramaṇa Wenxu 文敘 preaching sūtras. The emperor praised [the presentation for] its excellence.<sup>27</sup>

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p. 384, c17 Bai Juyi wrote a *Record of the Huayan jing society* 華嚴經社記, in which it says: “Based on the lecture concerning the Shijie chapter of the *Huayan* [jing] 華嚴世界品 by the dharma master Daofeng 道峯 from the Lingyin [Monastery] 靈隱[寺], the śramaṇa Nancao 南操 from the Longxing Monastery 龍興寺 in Hangzhou, pledged to persuade 100,000 monks and laymen to study the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經. The 100,000 people persuaded thousand further people to intone one juan of the *Huayan jing*, and each year in all four seasons the community assembled for a ceremony. [Nan]cao offered incense, knelt down, and revealed the following to the Buddha: ‘In the next life, in the world of the

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Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 14, 4514). For a translation, see: Michael Höckelmann, *Li Deyu* (787–850): *Religion und Politik in der Tang-Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016), 35 f.

23 With regard to the Anguo Monastery, see: Thomas Thilo, *Chang'an: Metropole Ostasiens und Weltstadt des Mittelalters 583–904, Teil 1: Die Stadtanlage*, 268.

24 With regard to the Xingfu Monastery, see: Thomas Thilo, *Chang'an: Metropole Ostasiens und Weltstadt des Mittelalters 583–904, Teil 1: Die Stadtanlage*, 137, 158.

25 The installation of Liu Gui as Commissioner of Merit and Virtue is also mentioned in *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 2 (T 2126, p. 245, c17–18; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 418).

26 The Daming Palace was the main imperial palace of the Tang dynasty in Chang'an. For a study, see: Chung Saehyang, “A Study of the Daming Palace: Documentary Sources and Recent Excavations,” in: *Artibus Asiae* 50 (1990): 23–72.

27 Sources on the monk Wenxu are discussed in: Kenneth K.S. Ch'en, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism* (Princeton University Press, 1973), 254 f.

Avatamsaka treasure, together with the 100,000 people, I wish to stand in front of Buddha Vairocana 毘盧遮那佛, [who sits] within the golden wheel of precious lotuses, on the Great Ocean of Fragrant Water.’ Thereafter they pooled money within the community to buy 1,000 qing of land, [the income derived from which] was to be used for the purposes of the ceremonies. [Nancao] came and asked me to write this down, and I told him that I was also one of the ten thousand people.”<sup>28</sup>

### *Emperor Wenzong*

文宗

[Personal name:] Ang 昂. Second son of Muzong.

Taihe era, first year, tenth month: On the [emperor’s] birthday, an edict [ordered] Bai Juyi, the Director of the Palace Library 祕書監白居易, as well as Yilin, the grand master of welcoming the [imperial] carriage of the Anguo Monastery 安國寺引駕大師義林, and Yang Hongyuan, a Daoist Priest of the Shangqing Palace 上清宮道士楊弘元, to hold a debate of the three teachings in the Linde Palace 麟德殿.<sup>29</sup>

The grand master śramaṇa Shanxin 善信 studied with Mazu [Daoyi] 馬祖[道一], and understood the general idea of the Buddha dharma. Afterwards he went to Mount Wutai and organized an offering without hindrance 無礙供.<sup>30</sup> After a long time he saw an old man who said to him: “Your general conditions must be connected with Hong 洪 of Sui[zhou] 隨[州].” Relying on

28 In *Baishi wenji* 白氏文集, section 21, we find a text entitled *Ruxin dashi gongde zhuang ji* 如信大師功德幢記, which includes a *Huayan jing dushi ji* 華嚴經杜石記. The text presented here in the *Fozu tongji* is in part also seen in the *Huayan jing dushi ji*. The passage of interest reads as follows: 每齋操捧香跪后于佛曰。愿我来世生华藏世界大香冰海上宝蓬金轮中祇卢遽那如来前。兴十万人俱。 The *Baishi wenji* is preserved in *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊, vol. 724–747, and can be accessed online via [www.ctext.org](http://www.ctext.org). (I here present the relevant passage using simplified characters as seen in [www.ctext.org](http://www.ctext.org) to make it easier to retrieve the quotation.)

29 An annotation reads: “In the *Collected Works of [Bai] Letian* the complete questions and answers of this debate are preserved” 樂天文集具有問答 (T 2035, p. 384, c29). Letian is the *zi* of Bai Juyi. On this debate, in which Bai Juyi acted as the representative of Confucianism, see: Arthur Waley, *The Life and Times of Po Chü-i* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1951), 169f.

30 This may have been an offering conducted in the style of the “dharma assemblies without hindrance” (wuai fahui, 無礙法會), which I referred to elaborately in a footnote appearing in the first volume of the present *Fozu tongji* translation project (see: p. 223 note 90).

this instruction, the master went to Mount Dahong 大洪山.<sup>31</sup> He met the local residents, who employed animal sacrifices to pray for rain at the mountain's dragon pond. The master stopped it saying: "Do not kill for sacrifices. I will pray [for rain] on your behalf." Thereupon he ascended the mountain, sat in meditation, and [immediately] sweet rain fell in torrential form. [Thereupon] there were Zhang Wuling 張武陵 and his son, [who came to the place and] brought along [members of the local] community expressing their gratitude [to the master], for whom they established a bodhi-maṇḍala. Still within that year, [the master] suddenly expressed the following to the [local] community: "No sacrifice is as good as the sacrifice of the [own] body." Thereupon he took a sharp knife, cut off his left and his right foot, and placed them on a table. White milk gushed out [of the wounds]. His followers cried sadly, and took away his knife. But the master did not rise from his seat again, and accomplished entering into nirvāṇa. Zhang [Wuling] and his son stood by to the left and to the right, where free of worries they attained liberation and transformation. The people commended their numinous characteristics, and referred to them as the great sage (i.e. Shanxin) and the two sages (i.e. Zhang Wuling and his son).

p. 385, a11 Sire Cui, the Military Commissioner of Nanshan 山南節度使崔公, sent officials with offerings, who [also] attached golden seals to their (i.e. to the two sage's) bodies.<sup>32</sup> When the emperor heard about this, he granted the name Youjiyuan 幽濟院 for the [two sages'] residence. From then on, people saying prayers within this commandery, [perceived] a numinous echo as response.

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p. 385, a14 Second year: Shen Zhuanshi, the Surveillance Commissioner of Jiangxi 江西觀察使沈傳師,<sup>33</sup> asked [for permission] to establish a vaipulya ordination platform in Hongzhou 洪州, to ordain monks on the emperor's birthday. An edict gave the following reply: "At this time, because of state affairs, the ordination of monks has been temporarily paused. This order has already been issued, and [Shen] Zhuanshi opposes the prohibition. It is officially requested to punish him by not allowing him [his salary] for one month."<sup>34</sup>

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31 The reference to Hong of Suizhou was meant to be a mysterious hint pointing to Mount Dahong.

32 In the Taishō version of the *Fozu tongji* we read 傳其身, while in the Shi Daofa edition we find 傳其身. The character 傳 can be translated as 'to stick to' or 'to attach,' and hence gives a better sense here.

33 Shen Zhuanshi has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 149 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 12, 4034–4038) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 132 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 15, 4540–4542).

34 This is also seen in *Longxing biannian tonglun* 隆興編年通論, juan 24 (X75, no. 1512, p. 227, a1–3 // Z 2B:3, p. 329, c18–d2 // R130, p. 658, a18–b2).

Third year: The śramaṇa Qinghuang 清晃 and others engraved the *Lotus sūtra* p. 385, a18 and seven other [texts] on the rock of the Lotus [Sūtra] Court 法華院 of Gusu 姑蘇 (i.e. Suzhou). Bai Juyi, the Regional Inspector of the Commandery 郡刺史白居易, composed a report of the matter.<sup>35</sup>

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Fourth year: The Ministry of Sacrifices 祠部 requested to order that the monks p. 385, a20 and nuns that in all under heaven had been ordained illegally had to sign their names, and to apply at the provincial [government] for being given [proper] certificates. At that time 700,000 people went to apply.<sup>36</sup>

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Yilin, the grand master of welcoming the [imperial] carriage 引駕大師義林, p. 385, a21 requested a reconstruction of the Cien Pagoda 慈恩塔. On the day when the tomb [for the relics] was dug, an extraordinary fragrance struck people by surprise, [and it could be seen that] the true body [fully preserved] was lying on the side (i.e. in parinirvāṇa posture) on a brick platform, with all forty teeth intact and the face looking alive. The bricks were covered by moss of golden color, which was two cun thick and had the shape of numinous fungus.<sup>37</sup>

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In the Chanlin Monastery 禪林寺 of the Tiantai Mountains, the dharma master p. 385, a24 [Guang]xiu [廣]修 preached the teachings of calming and contemplation for the dharma master Wuwai 物外.<sup>38</sup>

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Fifth year: The prefectures and commanderies of all under heaven were p. 385, a26 ordered to prepare the documents [concerning the ordination] of monks and nuns.<sup>39</sup>

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35 A similar reference is also seen in *Fahua jing xianying lu* 法華經顯應錄, juan 1 (X78, no. 1540, p. 42, c11–13 // Z 2B:7, p. 429, b1–3 // R134, p. 857, b1–3).

36 On this matter, see: *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 2 (T 2126, p. 247, c26–29; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 470).

37 This is known from the “Inscription on the pagoda of Sire Ji, the great dharma master of the Great Cien Monastery” 大慈恩寺大法師基公塔銘, which was composed by Li Hongqing 李宏慶. The text of the inscription is seen in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 760 (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 8, 7895–7896).

38 Guangxiu has a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 30 (T 2061, p. 895, a15–b5).

39 On this matter, see: *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 2 (T 2126, p. 248, a1; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 470).

- p. 385, a27 Eighth year, twelfth month: The meditation master Puyuan 普願 from Nanquan 南泉 in Chizhou 池州 died.<sup>40</sup> The master had lived in Nanquan for 30 years. The Surveillance Commissioner Lu Gen 觀察使陸亘 had invited him to the commandery and acted as his disciple. [Lu] Gen said: “This disciple, too, had some contact with the Buddha dharma.” The master said: “What would a great man [like you] do during the 12 double hours [of one day]?” [Lu] Gen said: “I do not to put a single piece of silk on my body.” The master said: “In this case you are still on a low level.”<sup>41</sup>
- p. 385, b2 Lu Gen [once] saw people [playing] Shuanglu 雙陸. He took the dice and said: “[Just always] either this or not this—what is the point in merely trusting what color comes out [when throwing the dice]?” The master took [the dice out of Lu Gen’s hand] and said: “Oh Stinking skull, [why not bring me] 18 flowers?”<sup>42</sup>
- p. 385, b4 [Lu] Gen said: “The dharma master [Seng]zhao [僧]肇 explained the way in a truly strange fashion: ‘Heaven and earth have the same root. The ten thousand things share one body (i.e. are all part of one system).’” The master pointed to a peony blossom in front of the court, and said: “People behold this plant’s blossom like being in a dream.”<sup>43</sup>
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- p. 385, b6 The meditation master Weiyan 惟儼 from Mount Yao 藥山 in Lizhou 澧州 died. His posthumous name was Grand Master Hongdao 弘道.<sup>44,45</sup>
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- p. 385, b8 Ninth year: On top of the pagoda [enshrining] the Buddha bone at the Famen Monastery 法門寺 of Mount Qi 岐山, auspicious clouds were seen.
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40 An annotation reads: “see Mazu [Daoyi]” 見馬祖 (T 2035, p. 385, a27). The annotation points to the fact that Puyuan from Nanquan was a disciple of Mazu Daoyi.

41 This exchange is known from the biography of Puyuan in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 8 (T 2076, p. 258, b12–14; Christian Wittern, *Jingde chuandeng lu*, 155).

42 This exchange is known from the biography of Puyuan in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 8 (T 2076, p. 258, b18–21; Christian Wittern, *Jingde chuandeng lu*, 155).

43 This exchange is known from the biography of Puyuan in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 8 (T 2076, p. 258, c17–20; Christian Wittern, *Jingde chuandeng lu*, 158).

44 An annotation reads: “see Shitou” 見石頭 (T 2035, p. 385, b7). The annotation points to the fact that Weiyan from Mount Yao was a disciple of Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷.

45 Weiyan has a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 17 (T 2061, p. 816, a18–c12). With regard to the passing of Weiyan, see also the “Stele Inscription for the deceased great master Weiyan from Mount Yao in Lizhou” 澧州藥山故惟儼大師碑銘, which is preserved in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 536 (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 6, 5443–5445).

In the fourth month, the Hanlin scholar Li Xun (d. 835) 翰林學士李訓<sup>46</sup> requested to suspend the bodhi-maṇḍala of the inner [palace] [which was situated] in the Changsheng hall 長生殿, to remove those among the monks and nuns that seemed false or immoderate.<sup>47</sup> On the same day [also] the numinous statues (i.e. the Buddha statues) of the great inner [complex] were removed. During the night a great storm hurled down all of the four owl-like ornaments [on the roof corners] of the Hanyuan Hall 含元殿, uprooted three of the trees in front of the hall, destroyed the inner and the outer marks on the barracks of the Imperial Insignia Guard,<sup>48</sup> and the Guanghua Gate 光化門<sup>49</sup> and the Western city walls were all destroyed. The population was startled and shocked. The emperor realized that the request of [Li] Xun opposed the intention of heaven. Immediately he ordered to pause the previous measure of removing [monks and nuns], and to reinstitute the observances and statues in the great inner [complex]. Only then the storm subsided.<sup>50</sup>

In the seventh month Li Xun requested to order monks and nuns in all under heaven to take exams concerning their scriptural learning. Those who would not pass were supposed to be dismissed.<sup>51</sup> In the eleventh month Li Xun, because of having been accused of scheming to kill eunuchs,<sup>52</sup> was beheaded at the Kunming Lake 昆明池. It was ordered to drop [the matter of] examining monks and nuns concerning the scriptures.<sup>53</sup>

46 Li Xun has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 169 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 13, 4395–4398) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 179 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 17, 5309–5314).

47 On this matter, see: Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 110.

48 The term of “jinwuzhang” 金吾仗 here stands for “jinwuwei” 金吾衛, which Hucker translates as “Imperial Insignia Guard” (Hucker #1166).

49 The Guanghua Gate was one of the gates in Northern city wall of Chang'an (Thomas Thilo, *Chang'an: Metropole Ostasiens und Weltstadt des Mittelalters 583–904, Teil 1: Die Stadtanlage*, 31,71).

50 An annotation reads: “[Source:] Old History [of the Tang dynasty], chapter of ‘Wuxing zhi’” (T 2035, p. 385, b14). The record is seen in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 37 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 4, 1362–1363).

51 On this matter, see: Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 110.

52 The character 坐 here means “because.”

53 Li Xun headed an initiative seeking to oust the eunuchs—who tremendously gained influence during the 820s and 830s—from political power. As Tang Wenzong saw no other way of liberating the court from the eunuchs, he supported Li Xun and launched a conspiracy aiming at massacring the eunuchs in December 835. The emperor advised the chief eunuchs that sweet dew had descended onto a pomegranate tree in one of the palace courtyards, and instructed them to investigate the matter as an auspicious sign. Soldiers having orders to kill the eunuchs at this occasion were lying in wait, but the eunuchs became aware of them too early and manage to flee back into the palace. The

p. 385, b17 In the eighth month an edict [ordered] the śramaṇa Zongmi 宗密<sup>54</sup> to come to the inner palace to be questioned about the Buddha dharma. He was presented with a square purple robe.<sup>55</sup>

p. 385, b19 **Kaicheng era**, first year, first month: Duanfu 端甫, the dharma master of realization of enlightenment 悟達法師, grand master of welcoming the [imperial] carriage 引駕大師, [participant in] the debates among the three teachings 三教談論, inner offerer 內供奉, and monk registrar of the left streets 左街僧錄 passed away as he was lying on his right side (i.e. in parinirvāṇa posture). After the jhāpita 荼毘 (i.e. the cremation), 300 relics were obtained.<sup>56</sup> The master had guided the pure assembly for eleven years,<sup>57</sup> and disciples further transmitting his teachings amounted to more than thousand people. Pei Xiu, the Senior Compiler of the Historiographers' Institute 史館修撰裴休,<sup>58</sup> composed a stele inscription.<sup>59</sup>

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matter became known as the "Sweet Dew Incident" (ganlu zhibian, 甘露之變). While the emperor was henceforth held captive in the harem, Li Xun managed to escape, but was caught and executed (Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002], 85–87). Li Xun's and Tang Wenzong's campaign against the eunuchs was also related to anti-Buddhist inclinations, as Li Xun and Tang Wenzong regarded both the influence of the eunuchs and the influence of Buddhism as harmful. In 807 Tang Xianzong had transferred control over the Buddhist saṃgha to the eunuchs. (In *Fozu tongji*, juan 41, we have seen that Tutu Chengcui 吐突承璀, an eunuch of particularly great influence, was placed in charge: T 2035, p. 380, b27–28.) Since that time, the eunuchs used their control over the saṃgha to accumulate wealth and to further enhance their influence. Li Xun sought to restrict the influence of the eunuchs by reducing the size of the Buddhist saṃgha. For this purpose, in the fourth and seventh month of Dahe 9 (i.e. 835), he submitted the anti-Buddhist proposals the *Fozu tongji* refers to in the two preceding paragraphs (Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, 87f.).

54 An annotation reads: "[monastic] title: Guifeng, the sixth patriarch [of Chan Buddhism], [constituting] a side lineage in the sixth [patriarchal] generation" 號圭峯六祖旁出第六世 (T 2035, p. 385, b17–18). As a matter of fact, Guifeng Zongmi was honored as the fifth patriarch of Chan Buddhism (Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, 3).

55 On this matter, see: Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, 72.

56 This is known from the biography of Duanfu in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 6 (T 2061, p. 741, c16).

57 This is known from the biography of Duanfu in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 6 (T 2061, p. 741, b29).

58 Pei Xiu, who later on under Tang Xuanzong 唐宣宗 came to serve as chancellor from 852 to 856, has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 177 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 14, 4593–4594) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 182 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 17, 5371–5372).

59 This is known from the biography of Duanfu in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 6 (T 2061, p. 741, c20–21).



It was ordered to install the śramaṇa Yunduan 雲端 as monk registrar of the left and the right streets.<sup>60</sup> p. 385, b23

The emperor once said to his intimate ministers: “If in all under heaven there is anything that does not contribute to the civilizing process, but still eats up [the resources of] the state in beetle-like style, you may notify [me] about all of it.” Someone offered the following response: “Since [the times of] our ancestors, Buddhism has been widely spread [in China]. And the disciples in black [robes] (i.e. Buddhist monks) are becoming more and more. They are [indeed] just like beetles!” The emperor immediately ordered that both within the inner and the outer [regions of China] the disciples in black [robes] should stop preaching Buddhist sūtras. p. 385, b23

At that time in the kitchen for noble food [the cook] prepared the emperor’s meal and boiled chicken eggs. Suddenly it could be perceived that within the cauldron there was a very low voice. [The cook] heard it, and it turned out that coming from all the eggs there were screams for Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, which was extremely heartrending. The controller of the slaughterhouse made it known [to the emperor]. The emperor sent somebody to investigate the matter, and it was all as described. The emperor said with a sigh: “I did not know that the spiritual power of the path of the Buddha would be like that.” And he ordered that from then on it was not allowed to use chicken eggs. Another day [the emperor] was eating clams. There was one that would not open when [the emperor] attempted to split it. [The emperor considered it] a holy object, burned incense and prayed to it. Suddenly it transformed itself into the shape of the mahāsattva. The emperor summoned the meditation master Weizheng 惟政 from the Zhongnan Mountains and questioned him [about the two matters]. The master said: “Among those objects there is none which would have shown a meaningless response.”<sup>61</sup> This could possibly widen Your Majesty’s devotion to [Buddhism]. The [Lotus] Sūtra says: ‘If [sentient beings] are to be saved by this body, [the mahāsattva] will immediately manifest this body and preach the dharma for them.’<sup>62</sup> The emperor said: “Even though the p. 385, b27

60 This is known from *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 2. There is however a discrepancy with regard to the dating, as according to the *Da Song seng shilüe* Yunduan became monk registrar only after the Kaicheng era (T 2126, p. 243, c25; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 365).

61 This means that the mysterious displays seen in the eggs and the clams all have deeper meanings.

62 This alludes to a passage in *Lotus Sūtra*, juan 7, where in chapter 25 we find the following sentence: “If there is any land where sentient beings are to be saved by the

mahāsattva has already appeared, he has not preached the dharma yet.” The master said: “Your Majesty has now seen those matters. Do you regard them as common or as uncommon? Do you regard them as trustworthy or as untrustworthy?” The emperor said: “Such matters are rarely seen. How could I distrust them?” The master said: “So the dharma has already been preached.” The emperor was greatly pleased, and immediately ordered that in the monastic courtyards of all under heaven Guanyin statues were to be erected. He instructed the master to take residence in the Shengshou Monastery 聖壽寺. When [Tang] Wuzong ascended the throne, [the master] went into the Zhongnan Mountains to live as a hermit. When somebody asked for the reason, [the master] replied: “I avoid the enmity (i.e. the persecution of Buddhism).”<sup>63</sup>

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p. 385, c13 Third year, third month: Chengguan, the Imperial Preceptor of Qingliang 清涼國師澄觀, passed away. The emperor suspended the court [sessions] for three days, and all the important ministers wore white mourning dress. It was ordered to bury [Chengguan] in a cave in the Zhongnan Mountains 終南山. The master had lived through the reign periods of nine [emperors], seven of whom took him as their [personal] master. His body measured nine chi and four cun. When hanging down, his hands reached below his knees. Two scribes recorded [the lectures of] ten thousand words, [which he delivered] on a daily basis. He never took off his robe for the night, and for his whole life he followed the same diet.<sup>64</sup> The [later] chancellor Pei Xiu<sup>65</sup> received the order to compose a stele [to honor Chengguan].<sup>66</sup>

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form of a Buddha, Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara immediately manifests himself in a Buddha body and preaches the dharma for them.” 若有國土眾生，應以佛身得度者，觀世音菩薩即現佛身而為說法。(T 262, p. 57, a23–24).

63 The dialogue between the emperor and Weizheng is known from the biography of Weizheng in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 4 (T 2076, p. 234, a26–b6).

64 This means that for his whole life he contended himself with the same simple food.

65 Pei Xiu only became chancellor under Tang Xuanzong 唐宣宗 in 852.

66 The text of the stele for Chengguan is preserved in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 743 (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 8, 7694–7695) as well as in *Longxing biannian tonglun*, juan 25 (X75, no. 1512, p. 232, a12–c23 // Z 2B:3, p. 334, d14–p. 335, d1 // R130, p. 668, b14–p. 670, b1) and in *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載, juan 16 (T 2036, p. 633, c19–p. 634, c7). It was long believed that Pei Xiu was indeed the author of the stele text for Chengguan. However Elisa Cohen called this attribution into question. Her argumentation has been summed up by Imre Hamar (Imre Hamar, *A Religious Leader in the Tang: Chengguan's Biography*, 20f.).

Fourth year: A Palace Secretary 中書 reported: “On the [emperor’s] birthday the chancellor, the ministers, and the top officials [should be] ordered to go to a monastery and to arrange a feast for 1,000 monks.” An edict granted it, and at that time the famous monks all assembled. Among the people in general, there was not one who would not have shown them respect.

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Fifth year, first month: The meditation master Zongmi 宗密 from Guifeng 圭峯 died. The chancellor Pei Xiu composed a stele [text].<sup>67</sup>

### *Emperor Wuzong*

武宗

[Personal name:] Yan 炎. Fifth son of Muzong.

**Huichang era**, first year, ninth month: The Daoist priest Zhao Guizhen 趙歸真 [and his followers, all together] 81 people,<sup>68</sup> were summoned to the palace. [The emperor] personally received the methods and registers.

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Second year, sixth month: The Daoist priest Liu Xuanjing 劉玄靖<sup>69</sup> from Mount Heng 衡山 was summoned to come [to the palace] for an audience. [The emperor] ordered to bestow him with the official title Yinqing guanglu dafu 銀青光祿大夫. Together with [Zhao] Guizhen he resided in the forbidden city, and cultivated the methods and registers.

Taishō  
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Third year: The emperor wishing to ban Buddhism issued an edict ordering [the monks of] the two streets to point out in how far rise and fall [of ruling dynasties] would have been influenced since the introduction of Buddhism [into

p. 385, c24

67 Pei Xiu (787?–860) was a lay disciple of Zongmi. The stele text, which is entitled *Guifeng chanshi beiming* 圭峯禪師碑銘 (Stele Inscription for the Dharma Master Guifeng), is seen in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 743 (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 8, 7691–7694). Guifeng (i.e. ‘Gui Peak’) is a monastic title of Zongmi. For references to and partial translations of the stele text, see: Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, 21f., 28ff.

68 Zhao Guizhen was the Daoist priest who persuaded Tang Wuzong to launch his persecution of Buddhism. For a general account of Zhao Guizhen, see: Timothy H. Barrett, “Zhao Guizhen,” in: *Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio (London: Routledge, 2008), vol. 2, 1244f.

69 In both the Taishō edition and the Shi Daofa edition of the *Fozu tongji*, we read Liu Xuanjing 劉元靖, which is a misrepresentation of Liu Xuanjing 劉玄靖. For a general introduction to Liu Xuanjing, see: James Robson, *Power of Place*, 174ff. The misrepresentation as Liu Yuanjing, which is seen in various sources, is also referred to there.

China]. Xuanchang 玄暢, the grand master of the dharma treasure, composed the *Sanbao wuyun tu* 三寶五運圖 and submitted it.<sup>70</sup>

p. 385, c26 It was ordered that the Manichaean Monasteries 末尼寺 of the world were to be abolished. In the capital the 70 female [practitioners] of Manichaeism all died. Within the Uighur 回紇 [territory], [the Manichaeans] were wandering about on all ways. One half of them died.<sup>71</sup>

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p. 386, a2 Fourth year, first month: The emperor thought that prohibiting butchery during the fasting months came from Buddhism and disliked it. So he ordered that from that time on the prohibition would be confined to the first day of the year, the three prime days, and the days of state mourning.<sup>72</sup>

Taishō apparatus of textual criticism In the third month Zhao Guizhen 趙歸真 was installed as Daoist instructor of the left and the right streets.<sup>73</sup> The bodhi-maṇḍala of the inner [palace] [which was situated] in the Changsheng hall 長生殿 and the ceremonies<sup>74</sup> of the śramaṇas in the inner [palace] were suspended.

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70 The composition of the *Sanbao wuyun tu* 三寶五運圖 (Chart concerning the five fates of the three jewels) through Xuanchang is also mentioned in *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 2. While the *Sanbao wuyun tu* is no longer extant, we here find a useful explanation of the work's purpose: "[Xuan]chang subsequently composed the *Sanbao wuyun tu*, making clear the chronology of events pertaining to the transmission of the Buddha dharma, in the same style as Fei Zhangfang's *Kaihuang sanbao lu* (i.e. an alternative title of the *Lidai sanbao ji*, T 2034)" 暢遂撰三寶五運圖。明佛法傳行年代。若費長房開皇三寶錄同也。(T 2126, p. 243, c29–p. 244, a1; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 365). Given the context seen in the *Fozu tongji*, we may understand this in such a way that the *Sanbao wuyun tu* was a work of Buddhist historiography designed to demonstrate that the introduction of Buddhism had positive rather than negative effects on China.

71 On this persecution of the Uighur Manichaeans taking place in 843, see: Shunsho Shigematsu, "Manichäismus und Dämonenlehre während der T'ang und Sung-Zeit," in: *Japanische Studien zum östlichen Manichäismus*, hg.v. Hans-Joachim Klimkeit (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 70 f. As Shigematsu remarks, this persecution of Manichaeism can be seen as a precursor to the great persecution of Buddhism, which occurred two years later (see: T 2035, p. 386, a12–20).

72 This is known from *Longxing biannian tonglun*, juan 25 (X75, no. 1512, p. 234, b24–c2 // Z 2B:3, p. 337, b14–16 // R130, p. 673, b14–16).

73 This is known from *Longxing biannian tonglun*, juan 25 (X75, no. 1512, p. 234, c2–3 // Z 2B:3, p. 337, b16–17 // R130, p. 673, b16–17) and from *Shishi tongjian*, juan 11 (X76, no. 1516, p. 116, a1 // Z 2B:4, p. 485, d5 // R131, p. 970, b5).

74 While in the Taishō edition we read: 沙門內齋, the Shi Daofo says reads: 沙門內齋. The character 齋 can be translated as "ceremonies."

Fifth year, first month: Zhao Guizhen called for a debate with the Buddhists. p. 386, a2  
 An edict [instructed] the [Buddhist] monks and the Daoist [priests] to assemble in the Linde Palace. The emperor personally referred to Laozi discussing the meaning of [the phrase of] “ruling a large state is like cooking a small fish.”<sup>75</sup> The dharma master Zhixuan 知玄 ascended the discussant’s seat, and greatly explained the roots of how kings and emperors should order the way and spread the teachings. His argumentation was so strong that Daoist scholarship could not refute it. Thereupon [Zhixuan] said to the emperor that becoming a divine immortal was a matter of cultivating personal integrity for ego-centrics [dwelling in] the mountain forests, and that it was not something kings and emperors should pay attention to.<sup>76</sup> The countenance of the emperor was unrestful (meaning the emperor was unconvinced). [Zhixuan] was returned to the mulberry and catalpa,<sup>77</sup> and the emperor had the Wangxian Terrace 望仙臺 (Terrace of looking out for immortals) constructed in the southern suburbs.<sup>78</sup> [Zhao] Guizhen, basing himself on [the emperor’s] favor, defamed the way of the Buddha, saying that it should not be accepted in China, and ought to be abolished. The ministers and officials all said: [Zhao] Guizhen is crafty and evil. One should not associate with him or believe in him. [Zhao] Guizhen, realizing that he had personally become subject to criticism from others, recommended Deng Yuanchao 鄧元超 from [Mount] Luofu [to the

75 This phrase is seen in *Laozi* 60. The relevance of this phrase to governing the state can be understood based on the *Laozi* commentary by Wang Bi: “This means no stirring. Action results in much harm, but quietude results in the fulfilment of authenticity. Thus the larger the state, the more the ruler should practice quietude, for only then he can widely obtain the hearts of the mass of common folk” 不擾也，躁則多害，靜則全真，故其國彌大，而其主彌靜，然後乃能廣得眾心矣。(Richard John Lynn, *The Classic of the Way and Virtue: A New Translation of the Tao-te ching of Laozi as Interpreted by Wang Bi* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1999], 164). The emperor presents this phrase from the *Laozi* as the general theme for the interreligious debate between the Buddhists and the Daoists.

76 This is known from the biography of Zhixuan in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 6 (T 2061, p. 743, c20–22).

77 Saying that he “was returned to the mulberry and catalpa” 放還桑梓 means that he was returned to his home. The expression alludes to a couplet in *Shijing*, book “Xiaoya” 小雅, song “Xiaobian” 小弁, stanza 3, which associates mulberry and catalpa with home. The couplet reads: “Certainly the mulberry and catalpa of home are to be remembered and adored” 維桑與梓，必恭敬止。(Fang Yurun 方玉潤, *Shijingyuanshi* 詩經原始 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986], vol. 2, 407; Arthur Waley, *The Book of Songs: The Ancient Chinese Classic of Poetry*, ed. Joseph R. Allen [New York: Grove Press, 1996], 177).

78 On this matter, see: Timothy H. Barrett, *Taoism under the Tang*, 86.

emperor].<sup>79</sup> With their joined power they were determined in planning to destroy the Buddha dharma.

p. 386, a11 In the fourth month an edict [instructed] to check the number of monasteries, monks and nuns in all under heaven.<sup>80</sup>

p. 386, a12 In the fifth month it was ordered that in the left and the right streets of both capitals (i.e. Chang'an and Luoyang) only four monasteries were allowed to remain, with thirty inhabitants each. In each of the prefectures and commanderies of all under heaven only one monastery was allowed to remain. [In the prefectures and commanderies,] big monasteries were allowed twenty inhabitants. Intermediate monasteries were allowed ten inhabitants. Small monasteries were allowed five inhabitants.

p. 386, a14 In the eighth month it was ordered that all monasteries were to define a time for the destruction [of their buildings].<sup>81</sup> This included the 4,600 monasteries and the 40,000 aranya 蘭若 [hermitages] of all under heaven. The construction materials from the monasteries were used to restore public offices and relay stations. The gold and silver statues were handed over to the Ministry of Revenue. Out of the iron statues farming tools were cast. Out of the copper statues, bells and chimes coins were cast. Millions of qing of fertile farmland as well as 150,000 servants were taken over [by the state]. Monks and nuns being returned to laity amounted to 260,500 people. The muhu 穆護 priests of Zoroastrianism were all ordered to return to lay life. These were more than 2,000 people. The chancellor Li Deyu heading hundred officials submitted his felicitations.

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p. 386, a20 The monks of the Wutai [Mountains] mostly escaped to Youzhou 幽州. Li Deyu said to the Capital Liaison Representative 進奏官 [of Youzhou]: "When you return, tell your governor not to allow<sup>82</sup> travelling monks to enter other areas." The provincial governor Zhang Zhongwu 節度使張仲武 received this order. But Wei Bo, an official [in the department of] foreign relations 主客郎中韋博, said to [Li] Deyu: "The law of removing [monks and nuns] should not be too

79 This is known from *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 18, part 2 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 2, 603). Also in *Shishi tongjian*, juan 11, we read that Deng Yuanchao, jointly with Zhao Guizhen and Liu Xuanjing, polemicized against Buddhism (X76, no. 1516, p. 116, a10–11 // Z 2B:4, p. 485, d14–15 // R131, p. 970, b14–15).

80 This is known from *Tang huiyao*, juan 49 (Wang Pu, *Tang huiyao*, vol. 1, 1011).

81 This means that—certainly within certain time limits—monasteries had to make preparations for the destruction of their own buildings.

82 The characters 毋聽 need to be understood in the sense of "not to let somebody do something" here.

extreme.” [Li] Deyu became angry and demoted [Wei] Bo to be an Administrative Assistant in Wuling 武陵判官.<sup>83</sup>

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Sixth year: The emperor ate golden cinnabar, and in his inner nature he became more irascible. His joy and anger both became unpredictable. The Daoist priests deceived him saying: “This is because your bones are being transformed.” In the third month, the emperor’s disease became serious. The Palace Attendant Ma Yuanzhi 內侍馬元贇 established the Prince of Guang, [Li] Chen 光王[李]忱, as crown prince.<sup>84</sup> The emperor developed abscesses on his back, was annoyed and dissatisfied. For ten days he did not speak, and thereupon he died. The great ministers welcomed and established the crown prince in ascending the throne.<sup>85</sup>

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In Chang’an there was a man who during the night passed by the tomb of King Mu of Zhou 周穆王. There he saw a person descending from mid-air, who was clad in red and carried clappers. He inquired: “Where are the tomb guards?” The two officials shouted from within the tomb: “We are here!” The red clad one said: “At what time will the messenger who arrested the Lord of the Western Sea arrive?” The officials said: “Considering his journey, it may take eighteen days.” The red clad one said: “How can he be this much delayed?” The officials said: “As Li Yan 李炎 (i.e. Tang Wuzong) insisted on destroying Buddhism, he is deprived of his longevity and lost his throne. His soul will have to be arrested together with that of the Lord of the Western Sea.” There was a merchant who accompanied by the sound of a bell passed by coming from the East. Suddenly the red clad one and the two officials were not seen any more.<sup>86</sup> After several days the emperor fell ill and died.<sup>87</sup>

p. 386, a25

Lu Zhen, the Adviser to the Heir Apparent 太子賓客盧貞, had a son who became a monk. But because of the purging [of the saṃgha he was returned to laity] and was given [the position of] the Administrator of the Mansion of the Prince of Guang 光王府參軍. One night, in a dream his previous master

p. 386, b3

83 This is known from *Zizhi tongjian*, juan 248 (Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 8018–8019).

84 From *Xin Tangshu*, juan 8, we know that the military official Ma Yuanzhi established Li Chen 李忱, the Prince of Guang, as crown prince (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 1, 245).

85 Li Chen is the personal name of Tang Xuanzong 唐宣宗 (r. 846–859), the successor of Tang Wuzong.

86 This means that the red clad one and the two officials were mysterious beings not wishing to be seen by common people.

87 An annotation reads: “[Source:] *Taiping guangji*” 太平廣記 (T 2035, p. 386, b2). The story is seen in *Taiping guangji*, juan 116, where we find it presented in more elaborate style (Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, vol. 3, 812).

came to his house. Lu (i.e. the son of Lu Zhen) said: "To this low-ranking official [this occupation] is toilsome and demanding. It is not what I would like to do. I would rather wear the black silk again.<sup>88</sup> But I do not know on what day [this will become possible]." The master said: "The restoration [of the samgha] is pending. You should maintain your intention." Suddenly he saw banners and 10,000 mounted soldiers, who came over exclaiming: "We welcome the Prince of Guang to become Son of Heaven."<sup>89,90</sup>

p. 386, b7 In the fifth month, it was ordered to supply Yang Qinyi 楊欽義 with the official post of Gongdeshi of the Two Streets 兩街功德使.<sup>91</sup> He instructed both streets to add eight monasteries. For the monks and nuns that had been ordained, the Ministry of Sacrifices 祠部 was ordered to issue certificates.

p. 386, b9 It was ordered that each time on death anniversaries of emperors, incense should be burned in Buddhist monasteries exactly as seen in previous ceremonies. By the Daoist priests the previous ruler had been misled to abolish Buddhism. So Yang Qinyi, the Commissioner of Merit and Virtue, was ordered to apprehend Zhao Guizhen 趙歸真, Liu Xuanjing 劉玄靖,<sup>92</sup> Deng Yuanchao 鄧元超 and others, all together twelve people.<sup>93</sup> They were all assembled in a hall at court, where they were executed. Their corpses were put on display.

### *Emperor Xuanzong*

宣宗

[Personal name:] Chen 忱. Thirteenth son of Xianzong.

p. 386, b15 **Dazhong era**, first year, third month: An edict [declared]: "In the final years of the Huichang era the Buddhist monasteries were merged, and [their

88 This means that he wanted to be a monk again.

89 As Li Chen, the Prince of Guang, was hailed as the new emperor, the reign of Tang Wuzong ended. Li Chen ascended the throne as Tang Xuanzong, and under his rule Buddhism was restored. Expecting this political turn, Lu Zhen's master said that the time for Lu Zhen to rejoin the samgha would come.

90 This story is known from *Taiping guangji*, juan 278 (Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, vol. 6, 2209).

91 This is known from *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 2 (T 2126, p. 246, a2–3; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 419).

92 In both the Taishō edition and the Shi Daofa edition of the *Fozu tongji*, we read Liu Yuanjing 劉元靖, which is a misrepresentation of Liu Xuanjing 劉玄靖.

93 We find a shorter reference to this matter in *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 2, where we are only told that Yang Qinyi was instructed to apprehend Zhao Guizhen (T 2126, p. 246, a3; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 419).



number was] reduced. The tutelage and transformation exceeded all limits. If at the numinous mountains and holy precincts there should still reside old famous monks able to restore [the compounds], the administration should not hinder it.”<sup>94</sup>

For a long time Li Deyu had grabbed all the powers. The emperor resented this, and demoted [Li Deyu] to the rank of Sima of Chaozhou 潮州司馬. After a while he again demoted him to the rank of Sihou of Yazhou 崖州司戶. [Finally Li Deyu] became seriously ill and died. Previously there was a monk who understood the matters of the secular world. He said to [Li] Deyu: “[In all your life] you will travel 10,000 li into the South.<sup>95</sup> In all your life you will eat 10,000 goats. By now you have eaten 9,500. As the goats are not yet used up, you still have time left.” [Li] Deyu said: “Once I dreamt I was walking on Mount Jin 晉山, and I saw that on the mountain the view was all full of goats. The shepherd said: ‘These are the goats you have so far eaten in your life.’ After ten days the Zhenwu jiedu shi Li Ji 振武節度使李暨 presented me with 400 goats.”<sup>96</sup> The monk said: “When the 10,000 goats are eaten up, you may not have further remaining [days].” Afterwards [Li Deyu] died in Zhuya 朱崖.<sup>97</sup>

**Commentary:** Since ancient times rulers who destroyed Buddhism had to have assistants to accomplish this matter. Thus Taiwu[di] of the [Tuoba-] Wei had Cui Hao 崔浩 (d. 450).<sup>98</sup> [King] Wu of Zhou had Zhang Bin 張賓 and Wei Yuansong 衛元嵩.<sup>99</sup> Tang Wu[zong] had Li Deyu and Zhao

94 This is an abbreviated version of an edict seen in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 18, part 2 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 2, 617).

95 Having been demoted to low-ranking posts prompting him to serve at places in the South, Li Deyu had at that point already travelled this distance, which makes this statement a prophecy of his pending death. Subsequently we read that the monk also prophesized his death saying that he would die after having eaten 10,000 goats, of which he had already eaten 9,500. In both cases the number of 10,000 measures the length of Li Deyu's life.

96 This means that he also ate the 400 goats he received as a present, and thereby further reduced his remaining lifespan.

97 This story is known from *Taiping guangji*, juan 98 (Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, vol. 2, 651–652).

98 The case of Cui Hao is subject to descriptions in the materials translated for the first volume of the present *Fozu tongji* translation project—see: *Fozu tongji*, juan 38 (T 2035, p. 354, a26–b7; b13–18; b21–c1).

99 The case of Zhang Bin and Wei Yuansong is subject to descriptions in the materials translated for the first volume of the present *Fozu tongji* translation project—see: *Fozu tongji*, juan 38 (T 2035, p. 358, a21–b5).

Guizhen. [Each time] this finally caused a humiliation of the great dharma, and [each time] rulers and ministers both received negative retributions. Why did they load this much misfortune upon themselves? When it comes to performing purges [of the saṃgha] like those requested by Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369–404) in the Jin dynasty,<sup>100</sup> by Fu Yi 傅奕 (555–639) in the Tang dynasty,<sup>101</sup> by Yao Chong 姚崇 (650–721) under [Tang] Minghuang,<sup>102</sup> or by Li Xun 李訓 (d. 835) under [Tang] Wenzong,<sup>103</sup> these were all connected to the [political] situations of their times. When performed they [all] caused misfortune. Each, for its own reason, led to a temporary small misfortune, which would not compare to the extremes of the disasters brought about by the three Wu (i.e. Beiwei Taiwudi, Zhou Wudi, and Tang Wuzong). If Zhou Shizong (Later Zhou emperor, r. 954–959) had the disposition to destroy Buddhism, but could not find people who would have assisted him in doing so; and if Han Yu and Ouyang Xiu had the disposition to expel Buddhism, but did not live under rulers [prepared to support that], [one may think what would have happened if] [Zhou] Shizong would have had Cui Hao [as his chancellor], as then there would have been an extreme in in killing śramaṇas worse than the persecution under Taiwudi. And if Han [Yu] or Ou[yang Xiu] would have lived under the three Wu, there would have been destructions of statues and killing of monks no less [dramatic] than the extremes seen under Cui [Hao] and Li [Deyu]. Cui Hao was cut into two parts at the waist, and [Li] Deyu died in banishment.<sup>104</sup> As both of them did not exhaust their life spans, [those matters] could be seen as retributions. Lu Zhi said: [Han] Tuizhi met Dadian, and was restrained in opposing Buddhism. Zuxiu said: [Ouyang] Yongshu met Yuanlong, and his oppositional [intentions] dissipated from his heart.

魯直謂：退之見大顛，排佛為沮。

祖秀謂：永叔見圓通，排斥內銷。

100 The case of Huan Xuan is subject to descriptions in the materials translated for the first volume of the present *Fozu tongji* translation project—see: *Fozu tongji*, juan 36 (T 2035, p. 341, c2–5; p. 341, c22–26).

101 The case of Fu Yi is subject to descriptions in *Fozu tongji*, juan 39 (T 2035, p. 362, b24–p. 363, a6).

102 The case of Yao Chong is subject to descriptions in *Fozu tongji*, juan 40 (T 2035, p. 373, b2–8).

103 The case of Li Xun is subject to descriptions above in the present juan 42 of the *Fozu tongji* (T 2035, p. 385, b8–17; p. 385, b14–17).

104 This refers to his demotion to a low ranking post in a remote place.

Han [Tuizhi] and Ou[yang Xiu] afterwards found themselves in wholesome situations (i.e. compared to Cui Hao and Li Deyu). From that we also know that the power of the path [of the Buddha] brings up retributions.

Yang Hangong, the Tongzuojinjun 統左禁軍楊漢公, based on his merit in having chosen [the emperor], requested to reestablish Buddhism, and he begged [for permission] to consult the dharma master Zhixuan 知玄.<sup>105</sup> Thereupon [Zhixuan] was reestablished as a monk, took residence in the Baoying Monastery, and was entrusted with reciting sūtras on the royal birthday.<sup>106</sup> And he was installed as the Doyen of the Three Teachings 三教首座.<sup>107</sup> The emperor transformed an old mansion into [a monastic institution named] Faqian Monastery 法乾寺, and ordered the master to take residence there.

Bai Juyi 白居易 died. [The posthumous title] “Shangshu zuo buye” 尚書左僕射 was bestowed upon him. [Bai] Juyi, in his old age, valued Buddhism. Through months he did not eat meat, and he transformed his place of residence into a [monastic institution named] Xiangshan Monastery 香山寺 calling himself “Upāsaka of Xiangshan” 香山居士. He wrote a stotra saying:

In the ten directions of the world,  
both up in the heavens and down on earth,  
if I now exhaust all knowledge,  
there is nobody like the Buddha!

105 This means that Yang Hangong had had his share in establishing Li Chen 李忱 as emperor, and therefore enjoyed the emperor's favor, which brought him into a position allowing him to request the emperor to reestablish Buddhism. The matter is mentioned in the biography of Zhixuan in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 6 (T 2061, p. 744, a8–10).

106 This is known from the biography of Zhixuan in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 6 (T 2061, p. 744, a5–7).

107 Weinstein offers the following explanation: “To mark the occasion of his second birthday on the throne, Hsuen-tsung pointedly invited Chih-hsüan, one of the most prominent monks in China at the time, to lecture on Buddhist scriptures. Chih-hsüan, who had first been summoned to the court during the reign of Wen-tsung, had been forced to quit Chang'an and return to lay life in 844 after having incurred the wrath of Wu-tsung in the course of a debate with Taoist priests at the Palace. Almost as if to mock his predecessor, Hsuen-tsung heaped honors on the rehabilitated Chih-hsüan, awarding him the coveted purple robe and granting him the newly created title Doyen of the Three Teachings (San-chiao Shou-tso)” (Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 140).

Being lofty and boundless,<sup>108</sup>  
 he is the master of humans and deities.  
 Therefore I bow to his feet,  
 sing in admiration, and take refuge.<sup>109</sup>

十方世界。  
 天上天下。  
 我今盡知。  
 無如佛者。  
 巍巍堂堂。  
 為人天師。  
 故我禮足。  
 讚歎歸依。

p. 386, c20 Towards the beginning of the Huichang era, there was a guest ship running into a storm and being driven towards a big mountain. A Daoist priest said: "This is Mount Penglai 蓬萊山." One yard was closed very tightly. [The Daoist priest] said: "This is where Bai Letian 白樂天 (i.e. Bai Juyi) will live. He is still in the central states (i.e. in the human society of the Chinese mainland) and has not come yet." When [Bai] Letian heard that,<sup>110</sup> he wrote a poem saying:

I study sūnyatā (i.e. Buddhism) and do not study immortality (i.e. Daoism).  
 I am afraid what you are telling me is a hollow story.  
 The mountain in the sea is not the place I will seek refuge to.  
 In seeking refuge, I will seek refuge to the Tuṣita Heaven.<sup>111</sup>

108 The expression translated here as "being lofty and boundless" (i.e. 巍巍堂堂) is inspired by a passage seen in *Lunyu* 8.19, where we find the terms 'weiwei' 巍巍 and 'dangdang' 蕩蕩 (the latter being replaced here by 'tangtang' 堂堂): "Great indeed was Yao as a ruler! How lofty! It is heaven that is great, and it was Yao who modelled himself upon it! He was so boundless that common people were not able to put a name to his virtues." 大哉堯之為君也。巍巍乎。唯天為大。唯堯則之。蕩蕩乎。民無能名焉。(D.C. Lau, *Confucius: The Analects*, 72f.).

109 This poem alludes to a similar poem seen in *Fo benxing ji jing* 佛本行集經 (Sūtra of the Collection of the Past Activities of the Buddha), juan 4: "Both up in the heavens and down on earth there is nobody like the Buddha! In the ten directions of the world there is also nobody who would compare to him. Exhaustively having seen all there is in the world, there would still be nobody who would compare to the Buddha" 天上天下無如佛，十方世界亦無比，世間所有我盡見，一切無有如佛者。(T 190, p. 670, a7-8).

110 This means that the people from the guest ship afterwards returned to the mainland, and reported the matter to Bai Juyi.

111 With regard to this anecdote, see: Arthur Waley, *The Life and Times of Po Chü-i*, 197f.

吾學真空不學仙。  
 恐君此語是虛傳。  
 海山不是吾歸處。  
 歸即須歸兜率天。

[Bai] Letian had once made a vow saying: “I will persuade 148 people to unite themselves in one common intention, and unite the community of those born into [this world]. When walking we will recite the name of Maitreya; when sitting we will think of the appearance of Maitreya 行念慈氏名。坐想慈氏容。—hoping that in our next lives we will be sure to be born into the Tuṣita Heaven.”

When in his old age [Bai Letian] suffered from rheumatism, he ordered a worker to paint the Pure Land of the West. Day and night he made offerings [in front of the painting], and in praise of it he composed the following stanza:

The Pure Land of Sukhāvati  
 Is free of all the negative destinies and all sufferings.  
 I hope that when our bodies are old and ill,  
 We will jointly be born at the place of the Buddha of Infinite Life.  
 極樂世界清淨土，  
 無諸惡道及眾苦，  
 願如我身老病者，  
 同生無量壽佛所。

When one evening he was reciting the name of the Buddha, he suddenly passed away.<sup>112</sup>

• • •

Second year: It was ordered to establish monasteries in the main capital (i.e. p. 387, a3 Chang'an) in the Eastern Capital (i.e. Luoyang), in Jingyang 荊揚, in Bianyi 汴益, and in other prefectures. Vaipulya ordination platforms were built, so that monks and nuns that had been re-ordained could again receive the dharma of the precepts.<sup>113</sup> On the Wutai Mountains five monasteries were built. Each of them ordained 50 monks.

112 The entire section on Bai Juyi presented here is an abridged version of an account also seen in *Xiaoshi Jingang jing keyi huiyao zhujie* 銷釋金剛經科儀會要註解, juan 8 (X24, no. 467, p. 736, b24–c18 // Z 1:92, p. 204, c11–d11 // R92, p. 408, a11–b11).

113 On this matter, see: *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 3 (T 2126, p. 250, c10–17; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 533).

p. 387, a6

**Commentary:** I would like to remark that the *Seng shilüe* says: “If one takes the Vaipulya of the Mahāyāna—no matter whether one’s roots are deficient, or whether one’s condition is defective—one can develop the great mind [of enlightenment], and one will be able to tolerate anything. While in the Huichang era the saṃgha was being purged, monks and nuns had to remain within the laity, even if they had not done anything wrong. First they were instructed to regret their guilt, and afterwards they were [again] given the set of precepts. 先令懺罪。後增戒品。 If not through the Vaipulya of the Mahāyāna, how could one easily tolerate this repeatedly?”<sup>114</sup>

p. 387, a10

Pei Xiu, the Regional Inspector of Xuanzhou 宣州刺史裴休, reported [to the emperor]: “The [Buddhist] Monasteries and [Daoist] Abbeys of all under heaven are frequently used for the accommodation of officials and travelers. From now on, they should not be allowed to reside in monasteries. Offenders should receive severe punishments.” The proposal was accepted.

p. 387, a12

Xiuhui 修會, a śramaṇa of the Anguo Monastery 安國寺, based on his talent in [writing poems, composed eulogies] following the instructions [of the emperor]. Once he asked the emperor for a purple robe. The emperor said: “I do not [mean to be] stingy to you, but because your countenance has its deficits [I will not grant it].” Later on he did grant it, and [Xiuhui] died in the same night.<sup>115</sup>

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p. 387, a15

Third year, first month: During the fasting day, 8,000 [followers of] the way and laymen in the Ayuwang Monastery 阿育王寺 offered sacrifices at the relic stūpa. This caused heavenly flowers to fall down disorderly, which looked as if it was snowing. When touched by hands [the flowers] melted [like snow], and during the night they emitted a five colored splendor. The great assembly jumped with joy. During the next year, a monk from Silla during the night stole the stūpa. When holding [the stūpa] in his hands, he [could only] circumambulate the pavilion, and could not leave the place, so that the assembly discovered [the theft].

<sup>114</sup> This is a strongly abridged quotation from *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 3 (T 2126, p. 250, c3–12; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 532).

<sup>115</sup> This is seen in *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 3 (T 2126, p. 249, a4–7; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 487 f.).

It was ordered to install the śramaṇa Lingyan 靈晏 as monk registrar of the left p. 387, a19 and the right streets.<sup>116</sup>

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On the occasion of the birthday [of emperor Xuanzong] the [Grand Master] p. 387, a20 of Remonstrance Li Yisun 諫議李貽孫 and the dharma master Zhixuan 知玄 were ordered to hold a debate on the three teachings with the Daoist priests in the Linde Palace 麟德殿. [Zhi]xuan submitted a [petition saying that] the forsaken monasteries in all under heaven ought to be widely reinstituted. As the emperor generally valued the virtue of the master, he ordered for his image to be placed in the palace.<sup>117</sup>

• • •

Fourth year: It was ordered to bestow the name “Qifeng Monastery” 齊豐寺 p. 387, a23 on the residence of the meditation master Qi'an 齊安, from the Yanguan [district] 鹽官[鎮] of Hangzhou.<sup>118</sup> Early on, when the [present] emperor had been established as the Prince of Guang, [Tang] Wuzong envied him. [The prince] was detained in the back garden [of the palace] and was to be executed. A Zhongguan choushi 中官仇士 virtuously gave false report saying that the Prince of Guang had dropped off a horse and died. Thereupon he extricated [the prince], and [the prince] escaped. When he arrived in Xiangyan 香嚴, under the influence of a meeting with the meditation master [Zhi]xian 智閑, he had his hair shaved and became a śramaṇera. Together they travelled to Mount Lu 廬山, and Master [Zhi]xian made notes on a waterfall saying:

It penetrates the clouds and passes through the rocks without giving up the effort.

And only from a remote place one can recognize the height it pours down from.<sup>119</sup>

穿雲透石不辭勞。  
遠地方知出處高。

[Zhi]xian then stopped as he was thinking [how to end the poem]. The śramaṇera continued it saying:

116 This is known from *Da Song seng shiliu*, juan 2 (T 2126, p. 244, a2; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 365).

117 This is known from the biography of Zhixuan in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 6 (T 2061, p. 744, a8–11).

118 Qi'an has a biography in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 10 (T 2076, p. 279, b23–c13).

119 This is the first couplet of a poem recorded in *Lushan ji* 廬山記, juan 4 (T 2095, p. 1044, a12).

How could the pouring of the stream ever be stopped?

Finally it returns into the ocean, where it forms great waves.<sup>120</sup>

溪澗豈能留得住。

終歸大海作波濤。

From then on [Zhi]xian knew that [the śrāmaṇera] was an extraordinary person. When afterwards [the śrāmaṇera] went to Haichang 海昌 from the Yan-guan [district] to see the meditation master Qi'an, he introduced himself as Youguang 有光. [Qi]an was astonished about him, and appointed him as his secretary. At that time, the meditation master [Xi]yun [希]運 from Huangbo 黃檗 held the head seat [of the monastery].<sup>121</sup> One day when he was praying to the Buddha, [You]guang asked him: "As you do not display requests to the Buddha, why do you worship him?" [Xi]yun just slapped him. Again he asked: "As you do not display requests to the Buddha, [why] do you constantly practice this kind of matter?" [Xi]yun slapped him again. [You]guang said: "You are so rude!" [Xi]yun slapped him again, and said: "Which rudeness or gentleness are you referring to here?"<sup>122</sup>

p. 387, b6

One morning, Master [Qi]an said to him: "The time has come. You should not [stay here] blocked and obstructed by mud." So he [left and] offered instruction in the Buddha dharma. After a short while [Tang] Wuzong died, and the hundred officials asked the prince to ascend the throne. [As emperor] he frequently sent messengers to summon [Qi]an in terms of the rites due to a master. [Qi]an resolutely refused. When he died, [the emperor] ordered to confer the posthumous title Meditation Master Wukong 悟空 on him.

p. 387, b9

The emperor conferred the title "Coarse-acting Meditation Master" 粗行禪師 on [Xiyun 希運 from Mount] Huangbo. Pei Xiu submitted the request to change [the title] to "Boundless [Meditation Master]" 斷際.<sup>123,124</sup>

120 This is the second couplet of the poem recorded in *Lushan ji*, juan 4 (T 2095, p. 1044, a12–13). Thus, as the poem was completed by the śrāmaṇera (i.e. the Prince of Guang, who later on ascended the throne as Tang Xuanzong 唐宣宗), the *Lushan ji* records it as authored by Tang Xuanzong.

121 Xiyun has a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 20 (T 2061, p. 842, b26–c23).

122 The term 者裏 is a medieval colloquial Chinese expression for 這裏. The term 怎麼 is a medieval colloquial Chinese expression for 什麼.

123 This is known from *Biyan lu*, juan 2, case 11, where we read: "When with the Dazhong era [Tang Xuanzong] succeeded to the throne, he bestowed title 'Coarse-acting Ascetic' on [Xiyun from Mount] Huangbo. When Chancellor Pei was at court later, he proposed that [Xiyun] should be given the title 'Boundless Meditation Master' 大中後繼國位。賜黃檗為鹿行沙門。裴相國在朝。後奏賜斷際禪師。 (T 2003, p. 152, c10–12; Thomas Cleary, *The Blue Cliff Record*, 79).

124 An annotation reads: "[Mingjue 明覺 from Mount] Xuedou praised [Xiyun 希運 from



The state of Japan sent the śramaṇa Jōgyō 常曉 to China to request the esoteric teachings of Buddhism.<sup>125</sup> p. 387, b11

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Fifth year: It was ordered that on [the days of] state mourning in the prefectures and commanderies of all under heaven incense was to be burned, and no wine or meat should be brought into the monasteries.<sup>126</sup> p. 387, b13

Hongbian 弘辨 of the Jianfu Monastery 薦福寺 in the capital was summoned for an audience with the emperor. The emperor asked [him]: “What is sudden realization? What is meant by gradual cultivation?” The reply was: “Sudden realization [can be attained] by people whose nature is similar to that of the Buddha. But since time without of beginning [people have been characterized by] defiled habituation, to which conventional gradual cultivation is the antidote, as it makes [people] follow their nature in producing benefits. Equally if a man has a meal, he cannot still his hunger just by eating one mouthful.”<sup>127</sup> The emperor was pleased, and conferred the title “Meditation Master of Complete Wisdom” 圓智禪師 [on Hongbian].<sup>128</sup> p. 387, b14

Mount] Huangbo with the following words: ‘The Son of Heaven of the Dazhong era (i.e. Tang Xuanzong) has been lightly handled. Three times he personally felt those claws and fangs at work.’ This is [exactly what comes to mind] here” 雪竇頌黃檗云。大中天子曾經觸。三度親遭弄爪牙。是也。(T 2035, p. 387, b10–11). The words of Mingjue from Mount Xuedou are quoted from *Biyan lu*, juan 2, case 11 (T 2003, p. 152, b2–4; Thomas Cleary, *The Blue Cliff Record*, 77). In the *Biyan lu* commentary, we find an explanation: “The Son of Heaven of the Dazhong era has been lightly handled. Three times he personally felt those claws and fangs at work: [Xiyun from Mount] Huangbo is not just acting bad right here. He has always been like this.” 大中天子曾經觸。三度親遭弄爪牙。黃檗豈是如今惡脚手。從來如此。(T 2003, p. 152, b16–17; Thomas Cleary, *The Blue Cliff Record*, 78).

125 On Jōgyō, see: Jinhua Chen, “A Chinese Monk under a ‘Barbarian’ Mask? Zhihuilun (?–876) and Late Tang Esoteric Buddhism,” in: *T’oung Pao* 99 (2013), 103; *Foguang da cidian* 佛光大辭典, ed. Xingyun Dashi 星雲大師 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 1989), vol. 5, 4535.

126 This is seen in *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 2 (T 2126, p. 242, a4–5; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 305).

127 This is a similitude suggesting the following: Like a man cannot still his hunger by eating one mouthful, also the process of gradual cultivation takes time. To still one’s hunger one needs to fill the mouth many times. And to attain enlightenment via gradual cultivation, one needs to continuously practice spirituality.

128 This dialogue is seen in various Buddhist sources including the biography of Hongbian in *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元, juan 4 (X80, no. 1565, p. 100, a13–16 // Z 2B:11, p. 73, a6–9 // R138, p. 145, a6–9).

p. 387, b18 During the sixth month Sun Qiao, a Jinshi of the capital 京城進士孫樵, submitted a report saying: “The common people, such as males who plough and females who weave, do not [even have enough] to keep themselves warm or eat their fill. But the crowd of monks quietly sits in splendid buildings, and enjoys an abundance of delicious food. [The consumption of] roughly ten households would still not be enough to feed one monk. [Tang] Wuzong resented that things were this way, and defrocked 27,000 monks, so that 270,000 people could be given relief. Your Majesty is not in a position to expel the assembled evil like [Tang] Wuzong. But why do you [re]establish it, if it has already been abolished? I ask you to decree that monks who did not yet return [to their monasteries] may not return, and that monasteries that were not yet rebuilt may not be rebuilt.”<sup>129</sup> The emperor was angry and did not accept [the request].

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p. 387, b24 Ninth month: Zeng Zhiyuan 曾志願, a woman from Wuzhou 婺州, opened the pagoda of Mahāsattva [Fu] in the Shuanglin [Monastery] 雙林[寺]. She saw that [the body presented itself in] circular shape with head and feet touching each other. The teeth were not rotten. She took [the body] out [of the pagoda] and sacrificed to it for 49 days. Afterwards she again hid it in the pagoda.

• • •

p. 387, b28 Sixth year: An edict [ordered] to rebuild the Donglin Monastery 東林寺 on Mount Lu 廬山, and to bestow the posthumous name ‘Bianjue’ 辯覺 on the dharma master [Hui]yuan.<sup>130</sup> When in the Huichang era the monastery had been destroyed, two monks carried a statue of Mañjuśrī 文殊 [outside], and hid it on the summit above the Jinxiu Valley 錦繡谷. When it came to the present reestablishment of the monastery, they looked for [the statue] but could not retrieve it. The two monks suspected each other of having concealed it. Suddenly the auspicious sign of a round halo surged up into the sky. From then on, above the Heavenly Pond 天池 at the Buddha Hand Cliff 佛手巖, the sign of the halo frequently appeared.<sup>131</sup> This means that the Heavenly Pond situated on high is enormously revered. It is 20 li away from the Donglin [Monastery]. During the nights within space [above the Heavenly Pond] one could see sacred lamps having arrived from afar. At first there was only one light, but after a short while there were a billion lamps. Sometimes Mahāsattva Mañjuśrī was

129 This petition is also seen in *Zizhi tongjian*, juan 249 (Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 8047).

130 On this matter, see: *Lushan ji* 廬山記, juan 1 (T 2095, p. 1029, c23–28).

131 This is a quotation from *Lushan ji*, juan 1 (T 2095, p. 1028, b10–14).

seen among the clouds. Times of appearance and disappearance were inconsistent, but when people paid homage and made prostrations with a sincere mind, they were sure to behold the sacred halo.

The chancellor and the ministers said: “If the ordination of monks is not done in a pure way, the dharma of the precepts is impaired. If the construction of monasteries lacks restraint, the waste of financial resources goes to extremes.

度僧不精則戒法墮壞。

造寺無節則費財過多。

We request that henceforth only at special places or on famous mountains it should be allowed to order reconstructions [of monasteries], and that, as monks and nuns to be ordained to repopulate these old establishments, the vinaya masters of the relevant commandery should carefully select those who have the nature of the Way.”<sup>132</sup> The proposal was accepted.

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Seventh year: The meditation master Lingyou 靈祐 from Mount Wei 滌山 in Tanzhou 潭州 passed away. He was given the posthumous name Meditation Master Dayuan 大圓.<sup>133</sup>

• • •

Eighth year: It was ordered to install Bianzhang 辯章, the First Chair of the [Debates among the] Three Teachings 三教首座, as monk registrar of the left streets, and to install the śramaṇa Sengche as monk registrar of the right streets.<sup>134</sup>

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The śramaṇa Shuyan 疏言 of the Yuelu Monastery 岳麓寺 in Tanzhou 潭州 went to Taiyuan 太原 to get hold of the tripiṭaka. Lu Jun, the Military Commissioner of Hedong and Minister of Works 河東節度使司空盧鈞,<sup>135</sup> as well as the

<sup>132</sup> This petition is also seen in *Zizhi tongjian*, juan 249 (Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 8052). However only with regard to the parallelism in the beginning we find literal agreement. The rest of the text is paraphrased.

<sup>133</sup> An annotation reads: “See Baizhang” 見百丈 (T 2035, p. 387, c12). This is a reference to Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (749–814), who was elaborately referred to above in *Fozu tongji*, juan 41 (T 2035, p. 381, b18–23). Lingyou (771–853) was one of Baizhang’s direct disciples (Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 31).

<sup>134</sup> This is known from *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 2 (T 2126, p. 244, a4–6; Albert Welte, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 365f.).

<sup>135</sup> Lu Jun has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 177 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 14, 4591–4593) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 182 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 17, 5367–5369).

Vice Commissioner Wei Zhou 副使韋宙<sup>136</sup> donated the tripiṭaka to him. Li Jie, a Military Commissioner in the rank of Inspector 節度巡官李節,<sup>137</sup> composed an account [of the matter], which said:

p. 387, c17 The Confucian scholars like to refute Buddhism. In their statements they always say: “The eras of Yu [the Great], Tang [of Shang], Wen [of Zhou], Wu [of Zhou], [the Duke of] Zhou, and Confucius were all devoid of the Buddha. The rise of Buddhism began in the Han, extended into the Jin, and pervaded the [Liu-]Song, [Tuoba-]Wei, Qi, Liang, Chen, Sui, and Tang. So as it (i.e. Buddhism) was received in the times of decline, it should be exterminated at once, causing it not to thrive [any further].” The words of such debaters are crude.<sup>138</sup>

p. 387, c21 I request [permission] to discuss the matter in a better way. In former times there was a man [who possessed] vigorous skin and a harmonious complexion, [who possessed] a pure mind and an energetic uprightness. Happily he protected his [way of easily] getting along [with things]. When physicians prayed for him, it was of no use.<sup>139,140</sup> Another man was suffering from rheumatic arthritis—his back was weak and his feet lame; his ears were deaf and his eyes blind. Therefore [physicians] employed ‘gongyun’ 攻鬘<sup>141</sup> and carried out ‘ranggui’ 禳禱.<sup>142</sup> [Because] these two men act [in ways] opposite to each other, they differ in having or not having illnesses.<sup>143</sup>

136 Wei Zhou has a biography in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 197 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 18, 5632). He is also introduced in *Lushan ji*, juan 5 (T 2095, p. 1050, c19–25; Florian C. Reiter, *Der Bericht über den Berg Lu*—*Das Lu Shan Chi von Chen Shun-yü; ein historischer Beitrag aus der Sung-Zeit zum Kulturraum des Lu Shan (Mt. Lu)*, Ph.D. dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 1977, 266 f.).

137 The following lengthy account has an even more elaborate parallel in *Longxing biannian tonglun*, juan 26. Even though the version in the *Longxing biannian tonglun* significantly differs from the text presented here, both versions are introduced as the work of Li Jie. I will subsequently point out the intertextual agreement paragraph by paragraph.

138 This paragraph has a parallel in *Longxing biannian tonglun*, juan 26 (X75, no. 1512, p. 240, a11–15 // Z 2B:3, p. 342, d12–16 // R130, p. 684, b12–16).

139 Here we have an annotation, which mainly refers to matters of pronunciation, but also points out that the character 腠 appearing in the main text needs to be understood as 肥 (= vigorous) (T 2035, p. 387, c23).

140 This means that he did not need medical care or prayers for good health.

141 The term of ‘gongyun’ 攻鬘 means that the physician would boil medical herbs in a pot of water, soak a piece of cloth with the liquid and apply the cloth to the aching parts of the patient’s body.

142 The term of ‘ranggui’ 禳禱 means that the physician would offer sacrifices to the deities to help the patient overcome his disease.

143 This means that, if one employs ways of behavior through which one accumulates positive karma, one will encounter a wholesome fate, while, if one employs ways of behavior through which one accumulates negative karma, one will encounter an unwholesome fate.

Alas! Prior to the three dynasties the world was in peace. Towards the end of p. 387, c26  
the three dynasties the world was sick.<sup>144</sup>

三代之前世康矣。

三代之季世病矣。

Prior to the three dynasties Yu [the Great], Tang [of Shang], Wen [of Zhou], Wu [of Zhou], spread virtue and righteousness; the classical teachings of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius were supported.<sup>145</sup>

禹湯文武。德義播之。

周公孔子。典教持之。

Even though [nowadays] the wind of the way may have decreased, it still gradually influences [the people], and for this reason fraud cannot prevail over truthfulness. So how would one know to evade the good? Towards the end of the three dynasties, the social customs were in great decline, and the power of fraud multiplied.

With the abolition of the well-field [system] people only sought to annex p. 388, a1  
each other's possessions. Through greed for land and houses, people each day were in conflict with each other.

廢井田則唯務兼并。

貪土宅則日事戰爭。

Fraudsters under these conditions could have their will, while virtuous people could not find their place.

姦邪於是肆其志。

賢士不能容其身。

For this reason the former and the latter hated each other, which rapidly turned into customs of enmity.<sup>146</sup>

The teaching of Buddhism suggests to abide by oneself in peaceful and pure p. 388, a4  
style, to repress oneself [finding to] gentleness and harmony. On this basis it can be achieved to put resentful striving to rest. [The teaching of Buddhism] is to take cause and effect as an explanation, which will exhaustively point out why [people] are different.

以清淨自居。柔和自抑。則怨爭可得而息也。

以因果為言。窮達為分。則貴賤可得而安也。

144 The three dynasties 三代 are the dynasties of Xia, Shang, and Zhou.

145 The statement is that, like a person can suffer from diseases as a result of having employed the wrong ways of behavior, also the state could encounter misfortune when forsaking the true teachings.

146 This paragraph has a parallel in *Longxing biannian tonglun*, juan 26 (X75, no. 1512, p. 240, a15-b4 // Z 2B:3, p. 342, d16-p. 343, a11 // R130, p. 684, b16-p. 685, a11).

And on this basis it can be achieved that [the social conflicts] between the noblemen and the paupers are pacified. When resentful striving has been put to rest, war and crime will no longer be in ascendancy. When [the social conflicts] between the noblemen and the paupers are pacified, rulers and ministers [on the one hand] and the common people [on the other hand] will have their [proper social] distinction.

怨爭息則干戈、盜賊之不興。

貴賤安則君臣、民庶之有別。

This is the way through which the Buddha sage saves the waning world. How could [the world] be saved without Buddhism?<sup>147</sup>

p. 388, a9 People discussing the matter today do not criticize the customs of the waning world as being hard to transform, but blame the Buddhist monks for being useless.

不責衰世之俗為難移。

而尤釋氏之徒為無用。

This is like not feeling pity for sick people, and scolding the physician asking for whom he would pray.<sup>148</sup> They do not recognize the great benefit of Buddhism to saving the world and carrying out the teaching,<sup>149</sup> but [merely] despise the beauty of its temples, and the quantity of its members. Or they select its vulgar, mediocre, and unexamined monks as causes for gossip wishing to totally discard it. They [merely] see its downsides, and miss out its roots.

p. 388, a14 In the final year of the Huichang era, [Tang] Wuzong widely erased Buddhism. Its followers were clad in clothes [of commoners], and its estates were cleared [of monks]. Images made of earth and wood were sunk in the water. Treatises written on paper or silk were thrown into the fire.

容貌於土木者。沈諸水。

言論於紙素者。投諸火。

And censors were assigned to ride on post horses through all under heaven to search for those who dared to go into hiding, and to punish them. On this basis in all under heaven famous monasteries and authentic abbeys were destroyed as if they were [just being] swept away.<sup>150</sup>

147 This paragraph has a parallel in *Longxing biannian tonglun*, juan 26 (X75, no. 1512, p. 240, b5–9 // Z 2B:3, p. 343, a12–16 // R130, p. 685, a12–16).

148 This means that criticizing monks for not yet having corrected the waning customs of the society would be like not feeling pity for sick people, and rather blaming the physician for having other purposes in mind when seeing patients.

149 Until here, this paragraph has a parallel in *Longxing biannian tonglun*, juan 26 (X75, no. 1512, p. 240, b10–12 // Z 2B:3, p. 343, a17–b1 // R130, p. 685, a17–b1).

150 This paragraph has a parallel in *Longxing biannian tonglun*, juan 26 (X75, no. 1512, p. 240, b19–22 // Z 2B:3, p. 343, b8–11 // R130, p. 685, b8–11).

When the present son of heaven had just established his reign title (i.e. p. 388, a18 towards the beginning of the Dazhong era of Tang Xuanzong 宣宗) he wiped away [the shame] that Buddhism had been abolished, and immediately issued an edict to reestablish it. However people living far in the south of the [Dongting] Lake feared the law. And when the strict order of the court [concerning the abolition of Buddhism] was issued, they burned all of the sūtras and statues, and almost nothing was left. So even though the present-day bright order [to reinstitute Buddhism] was issued, they could not retrieve the scriptural materials.<sup>151</sup>

The Daolin Monastery 道林寺 is a wonderful resort in the West of Xiang p. 388, a21 湘西. There lived [a monk named] Shi Shuyan 釋疏言. He alone<sup>152</sup> said: “The city of Taiyuan is the old capital of the state, and it has the most Buddhist temples. By all means, I will go to Sire Lu, the Grand Marshal and Minister of Works 司空盧公, who is [the most] humane person in all under heaven, and request the lost texts. Maybe I will be able to obtain them.”<sup>153,154</sup>

When he visited the military headquarters (i.e. the official seat of Sire Lu), p. 388, a24 Sire [Lu] indeed granted the matter, and [dispatched riders] galloping into the four directions to search for the lost texts. Before one month was over, he obtained 5,048 juan of sūtras, vinayas, and śāstras, and returned [to his monastery] in his palanquin.

Alas! [Thinking of] the path through which Buddhism saves the world, I have p. 388, a26 already elaborated on it. Without our brilliant ruler, who deeply understands principles and origin [of Buddhism]—how could this path be restored? Without Sire [Lu], the Minister of Works, establishing the great dharma—how could all of these texts have been retrieved?

非我明君洞鑑理源。何能復行其道。

非司空公克崇大法。何能復全其書。

If the śramaṇa Shuyan would not have been deeply aware of the dharma cycle—how should it have been possible that he did not fear going to a remote place to make his request, so that this plentiful [corpus of] texts could be trans-

151 This paragraph has a parallel in *Longxing biannian tonglun*, juan 26 (X75, no. 1512, p. 240, b22–c1 // Z 2B:3, p. 343, b11–14 // R130, p. 685, b11–14).

152 Stressing that he alone said that suggests that all the other monks believed that the books were irretrievably lost.

153 This is the last paragraph of the present account for which we find a parallel in *Longxing biannian tonglun*, juan 26 (X75, no. 1512, p. 240, c1–4 // Z 2B:3, p. 343, b14–17 // R130, p. 685, b14–17).

154 To this point the entire account by Li Jie is also seen in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 788 (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 8, 8249–8250).

mitted? [All those mentioned above] followed the orders of the sage rulers, and gave rise to the teachings of Buddhism.

奉聖上之令。

興釋氏之宗。

The benefit extends to posterity, and one cannot exhaust the words [one would need to employ] to describe its merit and usefulness, but how could one dispense with recording [the matter]?<sup>155</sup>

p. 388, b4

**Commentary:** The words established and the principles formulated in the above article (T 2035, p. 387, c17–p. 388, b3) are sufficient to understand that in the world there are still many people who do not know about Buddhism. If one had shown this article to [Han] Tuizhi, it would certainly have made him feel ashamed [to such a degree that he would have started to] revere [Buddhism] without resting. [Liu] Zihou (i.e. Liu Zongyuan) says in his *Essay on [seeing off] Haochu* that [Buddhism] was in harmony with the *Yi[jing]* and the *Lunyu*,<sup>156</sup> and he could not point out as clearly as this that [Buddhism is mainly characterized by] the merit of rescuing the world. So this record certainly surpasses the one [by Liu Zihou]. [The author,] Li Jie 李節, whose given name is Wei 微,<sup>157</sup> is not mentioned in the dynastic histories of the Tang dynasty.

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p. 388, b9

Ninth year: The meditation master Xiyun 希運 from [Mount] Huangbo 黃檗 in Hongzhou 洪州 died. His posthumous name was Meditation Master Duanji 斷際 (i.e. Boundless Meditation Master).<sup>158</sup> The master had received the dharma [robe] from Baizhang 百丈. When the chancellor Pei Xiu 裴休 was [still] in charge of Xin'an, he asked the master to come to his prefecture, and questioned him about the methods of meditation. He acted as his disciple, and based on what he heard [from him] he composed the *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要, which was spread in the world.<sup>159</sup>

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155 While I could not find documentation for the final paragraphs of the present account, in the conception of the *Fozu tongji* the quotation of the account of Li Jie only ends here.

156 This statement in Liu Zongyuan's *Essay on seeing off the śramaṇa Haochu* 送沙門浩初序 was already quoted above in *Fozu tongji*, juan 41 (T 2035, p. 382, c18–19).

157 Prior to the quotation of the article, the author was named (T 2035, p. 387, c16–17).

158 How Xiyun received this name was pointed out above (T 2035, p. 387, b10).

159 On this matter, see the biography of Pei Xiu in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 12 (T 2076, p. 293, a28–b11).



Tenth year: It was ordered that each year the ordination of monks should depend on the teachings in the fields of precepts 戒, meditation 定, and wisdom 慧.<sup>160</sup> Only those who had the nature of the way and penetrated the dharma teachings were selected for ordination. Outside of this scope, miscellaneous arts were all forbidden. p. 388, b13

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Twelfth year: It was ordered that all of the monasteries in all under heaven should build pagodas for all the patriarchs and masters. p. 388, b16

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The śramaṇa Egaku 慧鑄 from the state of Japan<sup>161</sup> [practiced] worship in the Wutai Mountains and obtained a statue of Guanyin. Passing through the Siming [Mountains] he wanted to return to Japan. When his ship passed Mount Putuo,<sup>162</sup> it ran on a rock, and could not proceed further. The travelers were scared, and prayed towards [the statue]: “If the right time for the respected statue to cross the Eastern Sea (i.e. towards Japan) has not yet come, we request that it may stay on this mountain.” The ship immediately moved forward again. But as Egaku venerated [the statue], he could not leave [the mountain where he enshrined it]. So he built a hut at the seacoast to [stay there and] worship it.<sup>163</sup> When the people of Yin 鄞 (i.e. Ningbo) heard this, they asked for this statue to be brought back, and enshrined it in the Kaiyuan Monastery 開元寺.<sup>164,165</sup> p. 388, b16

160 This means that monks were to be selected for ordination depending on their proficiency in understanding the Buddhist teachings.

161 Egaku is a less known Japanese monk, whose journey to China is noted in the *Zenrin Kokuhōki* 善隣國寶記 (completed in 1470), the first book-length chronicle of Japan's foreign relations (see: Charlotte von Verschuer, “Japan's Foreign Relations 600 to 1200 A.D.: A Translation from *Zenrin Kokuhōki*,” in: *Monumenta Nipponica* 54, no. 1 [1999], 25f.).

162 Here in the *Fozu tongji* the name of the mountain is in fact given as “Mount Butuo” 補陀山. The mountain is however more commonly known as “Mount Putuo” 普陀山. Both are Chinese transliterations of the Sanskrit term “potalaka” (see the next paragraph). The Chinese terminology employed in transliterating Sanskrit terms is often inconsistent. Even though the *Fozu tongji* actually speaks of “Mount Butuo” I translate as “Mount Putuo,” since this is the name the mountain is nowadays generally known by.

163 An annotation reads: “Today to the side of the mountain there is the Xinluo Reef” 今山側有新羅礁 (T 2035, p. 388, b21). The point of this annotation is to define the place where the hut was built: It was built on the mountain to the side of which one could see a Xinluo Reef when the *Fozu tongji* was written.

164 An annotation reads: “Nowadays people sometimes refer to it as Wutai Monastery. They also refer to the Guanyin [statue] that will not leave” 今人或稱五臺寺。又稱不肯去觀音。(T 2035, p. 388, b22).

165 On this matter, see: Yü Chün-fang, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara*, 384.

Afterwards there was an extraordinary monk, who brought an excellent piece of wood into the monastery, and carved it to resemble [the Guanyin statue]. He locked the door [of the monastery], worked on it for just one month, and the statue took shape. Suddenly the monk disappeared. The [new statue] was brought to Mount Putuo.

p. 388, b25 Mount [Putuo] is situated in the great ocean. By sea route it is 600 li towards the southeast from the city of Yin 鄞城 (i.e. Ningbo).<sup>166</sup> It is what the *Avatamsaka* [sūtra] refers to in saying: “At the shore of the Southern Sea there is an isolated place, where one would find the famous mountain Potalaka 補怛落迦. Bodhisattva Guanyin resides there.”<sup>167</sup> And it is what the *Dabei jing* 大悲經 refers to in saying: “Mount Potalaka is the palace of Guanshiyin, which is the place where Buddha Śākyamuni preached the ‘Heart-seal of the [Mantra of] Great Compassion’ 大悲心印.”<sup>168</sup> This mountain has a Cave of Tidal Sounds 潮音洞. Through the tides [the water] gets sucked in and spit out, which creates noise day and night. In front of the cave there is a stone bridge. People doing prostrations go there to pray sincerely, and some would see the mahāsattva (i.e. Guanyin) in sitting meditation; some would see Sudhana 善財 nodding to and welcoming [Guanyin];<sup>169</sup> some would merely see [Guanyin’s] pure bottle of blue jade; some would only see the flying dance of the kalaviṅka 頻伽.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>166</sup> The distance from Ningbo to Mount Putuo is roughly 80 km.

<sup>167</sup> In the *Avatamsaka sūtra* the seat of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (in Chinese known as Guanshiyin 觀世音 or Guanyin 觀音) is referred to as Mount Potalaka. In Chinese Buddhism the mountain now known as Mount Putuo is believed to be the place this designation refers to. On this basis the name ‘Putuo,’ which is a Chinese transliteration of Potalaka, was created (Marcus Bingenheimer, *Island of Guanyin: Mount Putuo and its Gazetteers* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016], 2 f.).

<sup>168</sup> While each bodhisattva is associated with one particular quality, Guanyin is known as the Bodhisattva of Compassion. Against this background we are here told that it was in her palace that the Buddha revealed the Heart-seal of the Mantra of Great Compassion.

<sup>169</sup> Sudhana, a pilgrim appearing in the *Avatamsaka sūtra*, is in Chinese art frequently depicted as an attendant of Guanyin (Yü Chün-fang, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara*, 83, 89, 94).

<sup>170</sup> The Cave of Cave of Tidal Sounds is a place where, starting from Tang times, people had miraculous visions of Guanyin. This established the cave as a prominent place of Guanyin worship, and finally—even though there were sites of Guanyin worship also in other places—nourished the belief that the mountain, which on this basis became known as Mount Putuo, was the actual seat of Guanyin (Yü Chün-fang, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara*, 383 f.). Based on an early illustrated map of Mount Putuo, Marcus Bingenheimer offers the following description of the Cave of Tidal Sounds: “Toward the southeast the Tidal Sound Cave is featured prominently. In its grotto a white-robed Guanyin floats on a lotus petal, her face identical to that of the main icon

Six or seven li away from the cave there is a great aranya. This is [the place that people from] all the states east of the sea visit in their pilgrimages, and where all the merchants come and go. Among those who came to pay respect and devoted their sincerity [to the place], none did not receive [numinous] aid.<sup>171</sup>

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Thirteenth year: After the emperor had eaten the cinnabar of the Daoist priests, an abscess grew out of his back, and in the eighth month the emperor died.<sup>172</sup>

**Commentary:** [Tang] Wuzong destroyed Buddhism, and trusted Daoist [priests] in eating their cinnabar, whereupon [abscesses] grew out of his back so that he died. In the world this was seen as an admonishment. [Tang] Xuanzong [prior to his time as emperor] had become a monk to evade enemies, and finally he ascended the throne. He resented that in the Huichang era [the saṃgha] had been purged, and he killed Li [Deyu] and Zhao [Guizhen]. He erected vaipulya ordination platforms, so that monks and nuns could again receive the system of the precepts. His attitude [towards Buddhism] was absolutely immaculate. When he became old, he also employed the Daoist priests, who gave him golden cinnabar to eat, so that abscesses grew out of his back. His mistake was to cherish longevity, and he had not understood the [Buddhist] doctrine of all phenomena being impermanent. Therefore he finally encountered his misfortune. People of later ages laughed about him.

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depicted in the halo above. The opening on the roof of the grotto, where pilgrims would try to catch a glimpse of the Bodhisattva, is labeled 'Sky Window.' To the right pilgrims make prostrations, as they do further to the west at the Sudhana Cave, in which Sudhana stands with folded palms facing toward Guanyin in the Tidal Sound Cave. This is one of the earliest pictorial representations of an appearance of Guanyin at Mount Putuo" (Marcus Bingenheimer, *Island of Guanyin: Mount Putuo and its Gazetteers*, 58).

171 An annotation reads: "[Source:] *Caoan lu*" 草菴錄 (T 2035, p. 388, c5). The *Caoan lu* (Record of a Grass Hut) is a now lost work by Nanhu Daoyin 南湖道因 (1090–1167), who composed it between 1165 and 1173. It is a passage of importance in the process of identification of Mount Putuo as Potalaka (i.e. the home of Guanyin). In this context Yü Chün-fang translated the passage based on the present quotation in the *Fozu tongji* (Yü Chün-fang, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara*, 373).

172 Cinnabar here stands for Daoist immortality drugs, which were in various cases consumed by emperors. As those drugs contained substances that were in fact poisonous, the consumption often led to the death of the relevant emperor. Fabrizio Pregadio explains:

*Emperor Yizong*

懿宗

[Personal name:] Cui 崔. Oldest son of Xuanzong.

p. 388, c15 **Xiantong era**, third year: The four monasteries of the two streets were all ordered to build ordination platforms for the ordination of monks. In the palace the emperor established a preaching seat, where he personally sang sūtra titles.<sup>173</sup> He copied Sanskrit texts with [his own] hands, and personally paid visits to all the monasteries to offer donations.

...

p. 388, c18 Sixth year: The meditation master Xuanlan 宣鑒 from Deshan 德山 in Langzhou 朗州 passed away. His posthumous name was “Meditation Master Jianxing” 見性禪師.<sup>174</sup>

...

p. 388, c20 Seventh year: The meditation master Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 passed away.<sup>175</sup> His posthumous name was Meditation Master Huizhao 慧照. The scholars called him the head of the Linji [branch of Chan Buddhism].

...

p. 388, c22 Eighth year, first month: The meditation master Quanzhen 全真 from Mount Xiang 湘山 in Yongzhou 永州 passed away sitting erect [in meditation]. The master was a native of Chen 郴. Wandering from place to place, he arrived at Mount Xiang, where he built a sacred house named “Pure Land” 淨土. From the four directions the meditating monks assembled like clouds to receive the teachings. Towards the beginning of the Huichang era, [Quanzhen] said to his disciples: “Monks will encounter calamities, and ought to [disguise by] changing robes and caps.” Within one night his moustache and hair both became

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“Under the Tang, the imperial fascination with alchemy resulted in the death of at least two sovereigns due to elixir poisoning. According to the materials collected by Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1727–1814) in his *Nian'er shi zhaji* 廿二史劄記 (Notes on the Twenty-two Dynastic Histories), Xianzong (r. 805–820), Wuzong (r. 840–846) and Xuanzong (r. 846–859) died after ingesting elixirs” (Fabrizio Pregadio, “Elixirs and Alchemy,” in: *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn [Leiden: Brill, 2000], 171).

173 This alludes to a textual passage seen in the biography of Sengche in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 6 (T 2061, p. 745, a1–3). As we have seen above, Sengche was monk registrar of the right streets (T 2035, p. 387, c13–14). Through his responsibility for the concerns of saṃgha administration, he was involved into the present matter.

174 Xuelan has a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 12 (T 2061, p. 778, b21–c12).

175 On Linji Yixuan, see: Yanagida Seizan, “The Life of Lin-chi I-hsuan,” in: *The Eastern Buddhist*, new series 2 (1972): 70–94; Kim Seong-Uk, “The Zen Theory of Language: Linji Yixuan’s Teaching of ‘Three Statements, Three Mysteries, and Three Essentials,’” in: *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 37 (2015): 69–90.

long. He put on a robe of purple haze, which he called “Robe of Immeasurable Life” 無量壽衣. He wore a cap azure like the sky, which he called “Dharma Cap of True Emptiness” 真空法冠. Then [Tang] Wuzong abolished Buddhism. But when [Tang] Xuanzong reinstituted the Buddha dharma, the master still did not take off his Robe [of Immeasurable Life] and his Cap [of True Emptiness]. In the world it was said that the Buddha of Immeasurable Life 無量壽佛 had come in provisional manifestation.<sup>176</sup>

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Tenth year: The meditation master Liangjie 良玠 from Dongshan 洞山 in Ruizhou 瑞州 passed away. His posthumous name was “Meditation Master Wuben” 悟本禪師.<sup>177</sup>

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It was ordered to confer a posthumous name on the vinaya master Daoxuan 道宣 from Nanshan 南山, which was “Dengzhao” 澄照.<sup>178</sup>

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Eleventh year: The chancellor Pei Xiu died. [Pei] Xiu studied with [Xiyun 希運 from Mount] Huangbo, and understood his intention. Usually he did not touch wine or meat. He composed [an essay entitled] *Quan fa putixin* 勸發菩提心 (Persuasion to developing bodhicitta, X58, no. 1010) to stimulate the people of the world.<sup>179</sup> He composed Buddhist texts, such as the [prefaces to] the *Yuanjue jing* [lüe shu] 圓覺經[略疏] (Brief Commentary on the Yuanjue jing, T 1795), the *Fajie guan* 法界觀,<sup>180</sup> and the *Chanyuan quan zhu xu* 禪源詮諸序.<sup>181</sup> The world admired them for being precise and pointed.

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In the eleventh month, on the birthday [of emperor Yizong], [monks of] the two streets were ordered to hold a debate on the Buddha dharma in the Linde Palace 麟德殿. The title Grand Master Huizhao was conferred on Qinglan, the

176 This is known from the epitaph by epitaph by Li Zhiyuan 李知元, which is preserved in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 827 (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 9, 8720–8721).

177 Liangjie has a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 12 (T 2061, p. 779, c29–p. 780, a18), where the name is written 良价 rather than 良玠.

178 This is known from the biography of Daoxuan in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 14 (T 2061, p. 791, b10–12).

179 On this text, see: Jeffrey Lyle Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan*, 7.

180 This is the *Zhu huayan fajie guanmen* 注華嚴法界觀門 (T 1884, Commentary on the Huayan Dharma Sphere Discernment Gate).

181 This is the *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 (T 2015, Prolegomenon to the Collection of Expressions of the Chan Source). For a translation of Pei Xiu's preface to this text, see: Jeffrey Lyle Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan*, 192–196.

monk registrar of the left street; and the title Grand Master Mingche on Yanchu, the monk registrar of the right street.<sup>182</sup>

左街僧錄清蘭慧照大師。

右街僧錄彥楚明徹大師。

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- p. 389, a8 The emperor had formerly heard about the fame of the meditation master Yicun 義存 from Xuefeng 雪峯, and ordered to confer the title Grand Master Zhenjue on him.<sup>183</sup> The master lived on [different] mountains for 40 years. [The reputation connected with] his dharma seat surpassed all under heaven, and so the assembly [around him] reached 1,500 [listeners].<sup>184</sup> The King of Min 閩王 and the royal clan served [Yicun] employing the rites due to a master.

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- p. 389, a11 Twelfth year: The emperor personally visited the Anguo Monastery 安國寺, and presented the imperial preceptor Zhixuan 知玄國師 with a throne made of Agar 沉香 [wood] 寶座。

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- p. 389, a12 In the palace, the emperor arranged a feast for 10,000 monks, and he himself ascended the [preacher's] seat [to sing] hymns in praise [of the Buddha]. There was an Indian monk with long eyebrows who responded by presenting offerings. When the reception of the donations had been concluded, he flew into space and left.<sup>185</sup>

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- p. 389, a15 Fourteenth year, third month: Buddha statues, precious curtains, colored banners, and floral canopies were put into place, as [the monks of] the two streets were ordered to go to [the Famen Monastery in] Fengxiang 鳳翔 to bring the bone of the Buddha [to the capital]. The 300 li [from the capital to Fengxiang] were filled with an endless convoy of carriages and horses. All the ministers and advisors remarked that [Tang] Xianzong died when the bone of the Buddha was brought [to the capital]. [Previously] the emperor had said: "If I can live to see it, I will die without regret." On the eighth day of the fourth month (i.e. on the Buddha's birthday) the bone of the Buddha arrived, being accompanied

182 This is known from *Da Song seng shiliu*, juan 2 (T 2126, p. 244, a6–9; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 366).

183 This is known from the biography of Yicun in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 16 (T 2076, p. 327, a18).

184 This is known from the biography of Yicun in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 16 (T 2076, p. 328, b9–10).

185 An annotation reads: "This was Piṇḍola" 即賓頭盧 (T 2035, p. 389, a14). Piṇḍola is Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja, a prominent disciple of the Buddha (Robert E. Buswell, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 645f.).

by the palace guards as well as by music presented by officials and commoners. The splendor of the ritual exceeded [the ancient sacrifices to heaven in] the southern suburbs. The emperor himself stood at the Anfu Gate 安福門<sup>186</sup> and bowed towards the gatehouse to welcome the bone. He also offered different amounts of gold and silver to the śramaṇas and elderly people who had watched the reception [of the Buddha's bone] during the Yuanhe era (i.e. 806–820 under Tang Xianzong). The bone of the Buddha remained in the palace for a sacrificial [ceremony of] three days. [Afterwards] it was brought to the two monasteries of Anguo 安國 and Chonghua 崇化, so that it could be worshipped by the common people. In the twelfth month the bone of a Buddha, with a rite as the previous one, was brought back to Fengxiang.<sup>187</sup>

### *Emperor Xizong*

僖宗

[Personal name:] Xuan 儼. Fifth son of Yizong.

**Qianfu era, third year:** In the Guoqing [Monastery] 國清[寺] the dharma master [Wu]wai [物]外 preached the teachings of calming and contemplation for the dharma master Yuanxiu 元琇. p. 389, a25

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The pagoda of the meditation master Wuliao 無了 from Guiyang 龜洋 in Quanzhou 泉州 was flooded by a mountain spring. The disciples discovered that [the corpse of Wuliao] had not been damaged. When the Prince of Min heard about this, he sent a messenger to carry [the corpse of Wuliao] into his mansion for a sacrificial ceremony. Suddenly stinking gas was widely smelled. The prince burned incense, invoked it, [and said]: “It may be returned to its former place in Guiyang, where a [new] pagoda shall be built for it.” Immediately an extraordinary fragrance impregnated everything. The whole [population of the] city [went there to] prostrate, the local administration reported [the matter], and the emperor conferred the posthumous title Grand Master Zhenji 真寂大師 [on Wuliao]. The pagoda was named Lingjue 靈覺. [Wuliao's] disciple Huizhong 慧忠, who was eliminated through selection,<sup>188</sup> and died in a p. 389, a26

186 The Anfu Gate was one of the gates in the Western wall of the imperial city in Chang'an (Thomas Thilo, *Chang'an: Metropole Ostasiens und Weltstadt des Mittelalters 583–904, Teil 1: Die Stadtanlage*, 31, 89).

187 On this matter, see: *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 19, part 1 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 3, 683); *Zizhi tongjian*, juan 252 (Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 8165). The matter is also noted in Buddhist sources such as *Shishi tongjian*, juan 11 (X76, no. 1516, p. 122, a7–19 // Z 2B:4, p. 491, d1–p. 492, a5 // R131, p. 982, b11–p. 983, a5).

188 This means that he was returned to lay life.

white robe (i.e. as a layman), was buried to the east of his master's pagoda.<sup>189</sup> Today the two true bodies of Guiyang (i.e. that of Wuliao and Huizhong)<sup>190</sup> are relied upon by the common people as the legacy of the saṃgha.<sup>191</sup>

p. 389, b5 **Zhonghe era**, first year: The [rebellion of] Huang Chao 黃巢 invaded Chang'an, and proclaimed the Great Qi dynasty.<sup>192</sup> The emperor personally [took refuge in] Chengdu 成都.<sup>193</sup> An edict [ordered] the Imperial Preceptor Zhixuan 知玄國師 to go to the place where [the emperor had his new] residence to answer his questions. [The emperor] was greatly pleased, and he personally designed the honorific title "Imperial Preceptor Wuda" 悟達國師 [for the master]. Having stayed at the emperor's temporary residence for a long time, he returned to [his native] Jiulong 九隴.

p. 389, b7 In his meditation [Zhixuan] saw a bodhisattva patting his head and preaching the dharma. As soon as the bodhisattva had concluded his speech, he disappeared. Suddenly [Zhixuan] saw a pearl entering his left upper leg. [The leg] swelled and ached extremely, while on [the swelling] there were the characters "Chao Cuo" 晁錯. [Zhi]xuan knew that it was a compensation for karma from his previous life, immediately he conveniently lay down on his right ribs and passed away. In the world it was said that in his previous incarnation [Zhi]xuan was the dharma master Zhixuan 知鉉 from Mount Sanxue 三學山 in Hanchuan 漢川, who, when he was close to death, felt a disease of the kind of the present one.<sup>194,195</sup>

189 This means that even though he had died as a layman, he was still buried next to his master's burial place.

190 While in the Taishō edition of the *Fozu tongji* we read 一真身, in the Shi Daofa edition we find 二真身. Assuming that the common people relied on the true bodies of both Wuliao and his disciple Huizhong, I base myself on the Shi Daofa version here.

191 This story is also seen in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 8 (T 2076, p. 260, c11–19).

192 Huang Chao, originally a salt trader, started a rebellion in 875. In 879 he captured Guangzhou, in 880 Luoyang, and in early 881 Chang'an. In Chang'an he declared himself emperor proclaiming a new dynasty under the name of Great Qi. In 883 he was driven out of Chang'an, and in 884 he committed suicide or was killed by his nephew. Huang Chao has biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 200, part 2 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 16, 5391–5398) and in *Xin Tangshu*, juan 225, part 3 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 20, 6451–6464). For an investigation contextualizing Huang Chao with other rebel leaders of the late Tang, see: Robert M. Somers, "The end of the T'ang," in: *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3, ed. Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 723–747, 756–762.

193 On the exile of Tang Xizong in Chengdu, see: Robert M. Somers, "The end of the T'ang," 748ff.

194 This is also seen in *Longxing biannian tonglun*, juan 27 (X75, no. 1512, p. 244, b10–17 // Z 2B:3, p. 347, a16–b5 // R 30, p. 693, a16–b5).

195 An annotation reads: "The *Hanshu* [says:] In the times of Emperor Wen [of Han] the crown



Master [Zu]xiu [祖]琇 from Longxing 隆興 said: “In the world it is said p. 389, b18 that Zhixuan was a later incarnation of Yuan Ang 袁盎. In the more than 700 years from [Emperor] Wen of Han to [Tang] Xizong, [the time for Yuan] Ang to repay [Chao] Cuo should be over. But today he still died on grounds of receiving negative retribution. Why would that be? This

prince of Wu came in for audience and was made servant of the imperial crown prince. Playing [Liu]bo 六博 (i.e. an ancient Chinese board game) they fought for the way [treating each other] in disrespectful style. The imperial crown prince took the [Liubo] board, raised it and slayed the crown prince of Wu. The King of Wu for this reason declared himself ill and did not come to the court again. From that time on [the King of Wu] had plans of plotting a rebellion. The crown prince's household provisioner Chao Cuo repeatedly submitted reports [to the emperor] saying: ‘[The state of] Wu is acting subversively, and should be erased.’ But Emperor Wen was lenient, and did not accept [suggestions to] punish [the King of Wu]. When Emperor Jing [of Han] ascended the throne, [Chao] Cuo [attempted to] persuade the emperor saying: “Because of the killing of the King of Wu's previous crown prince, [the King of Wu] is asking the bad people of all under heaven to [participate in] planning the implementation of a rebellion. If you order to erase [the state of] Wu, it will rebel. If you do not order to erase [the state of Wu] it will also rebel.” When the states of Chu, Zhao, and Jiaoxi, because of their offenses, had to give up commanderies or districts [to the imperial government], the court officials were just discussing to erase the state of Wu. The King of Wu therefore sent messengers, formed an alliance of seven states that all wished to rebel, and took it as the objective to kill [Chao] Cuo. When Yuan Ang, the chancellor of Wu, came [to the imperial court] for an audience, the emperor was just organizing food supplies for the troops together with [Chao] Cuo. The emperor asked [Yuan] Ang [what he had come for]. [Yuan] Ang requested [the emperor] to send his attendants away. [Chao] Cuo quickly hid himself in the Eastern side room feeling deep resentment against [Yuan] Ang. [As the emperor had asked what Yuan Ang had come for, Yuan Ang now] replied: “The chancellors of Wu and Chu have been sending let/ters to each other saying that the traitorous servant Chao Cuo seeks to punish the dukes in unauthorized style, [and wishes to] erase and confiscate their territories. Therefore they are plotting a rebellion. They wish to jointly kill [Chao] Cuo, in order to retrieve their previous territories. According to my present plan, you would only need to kill [Chao] Cuo, send messengers [offering] an amnesty to the seven states, and give them back their previous territories. In this case the soldiers can avoid the bloodshed, and [the rebellion] will completely be given up.” After not having spoken for a long time the emperor said: “I cannot out of affection for one man (i.e. Chao Cuo) [risk a war, causing me to] apologize to all under heaven. The emperor ordered the [imperial] chancellor to prepare a report [listing the faults of Chao] Cuo, and on the Eastern marketplace [Chao Cuo's body] was cut into two parts at the waist.” 漢書。文帝時，吳太子入見，得侍皇太子，飲博爭道不恭，皇太子引博局提殺之。吳王由此稱疾不朝，始有反謀。太子家令晁錯數上書言：吳過可削。文帝寬不忍罰。及景帝即位，錯說上曰：吳王前有太子之却，誘天下亡人謀作亂，令削之亦反，不削亦反。及楚、趙、膠西三王皆以罪削郡縣，廷臣方議削吳。吳王因遣使，約七國俱反，以誅錯為名。吳相袁盎入見，上方與錯調兵食，上問盎，盎願屏左右。錯趨避東廂，甚恨盎。對曰：‘吳楚相遺書言：賊臣晁錯擅適諸侯，削奪其地，以故反。欲共誅錯，復故地。方今

should be because [Yuan] Ang and [Chao] Cuo from the beginning harbored personal resentment [against each other]. When [Chao] Cuo suggested to erase the seven states, so that the seven states rebelled, [Yuan] Ang at that time requested to execute [Chao] Cuo for this reason. Emperor Jing [of Han] [漢]景帝 was scared and followed the suggestion, which after all was not his original intention. When [Chao] Cuo had been killed, the armies of the seven states did not retreat. This shows that [Yuan] Ang utilized guiding people to rebel [as a means of] expressing his personal resentment.<sup>196</sup> This should mean that through ten lifetimes compensations from that previous life followed upon each other without interruption. Is this not frightening?”

p. 389, b25

**Commentary:** When Buddhism was persecuted under Zhou Wu[di], the dharma master Zhixuan protested strongly, but the emperor's [mind] could not be changed. When Tang Wu[zong] purged the dharma masters, Zhixuan ascended the debating seat, but the Daoist school could not be defeated. In both incarnations he was known as Zhixuan (even though the 'xuan' was written differently); in both incarnations he was confronted with an abolition of the [Buddhist] teachings; in both incarnations he acted as a dharma master at court; and in both incarnations his place was on the debater's mat. This means that the master had an oath remaining from a previous life, which caused things to be that way. When it came to Zhixuan 知鉉 from Mount Sanxue,<sup>197</sup> this name also remained unchanged. Looking at those three incarnations of śramaṇas in possession of the way,<sup>198</sup> the retribution from his previous lifetime (i.e.

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計，獨有斬錯，發使赦七國，復其故地，則兵可毋血刃而俱罷。’上良久曰。‘吾不愛一人以謝天下。’上令丞相劾奏錯，要斬[于]東市。(T 2035, p. 389, b12–17). This is seen in *Shiji*, juan 106 (Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol. 9, 2823) and in *Hanshu*, juan 35 (Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, vol. 7, 1906).

- 196 This means that in fact the seven states never had the intention of withdrawing their armies in case if the emperor should agree to have Chao Cuo executed. Yuan Ang falsely suggested this to the emperor in order to persuade him to order Chao Cuo's execution.
- 197 This is the Zhixuan the main text is referring to in saying that Tang Xizong granted him the title “Imperial Preceptor Wuda” 悟達國師 (T 2035, p. 389, b6–7). While in the main text “Zhixuan” is written 知玄, the name is here written 知鉉. Despite this imprecision, the reference to Mount Sanxue makes clear that it is the same person.
- 198 The three generations are the three incarnations of Zhixuan being named explicitly: (1) the incarnation of Zhixuan under Zhou Wudi; (2) the incarnation of Zhixuan under Tang Wuzong; (3) the incarnation of Zhixuan under Tang Xizong.

his lifetime as Yuan Ang) still had not been repaid. When previously Chao Cuo quickly went into the Eastern side room to hide himself from [Yuan] Ang, he already harbored deep resentment in his heart.<sup>199</sup> And when he was carried to the Eastern marketplace at the time when he was to be executed, he certainly harbored enormous resentment in his heart.<sup>200</sup> One would assume that when he was close to his execution, he necessarily developed the evil wish to create a retribution lasting for many incarnations to come. And therefore each time on the days when the dharma master gave up his life, he invariably saw the appearance [of the pearl]. Indeed it should be a retribution which Master [Zhi]xuan, through the power of the way, transformed into a lighter suffering. The character ‘zhu’ 珠 (i.e. pearl) stands for ‘zhu’ 誅 (i.e. killing). Previously [Yuan] Ang had requested the killing of [Chao] Cuo, so now [Chao] Cuo also kills [Yuan] Ang.

昔盎請誅錯。

今錯亦誅盎。

‘Xuan’ 玄 means ‘Yuan’ 袁.<sup>201</sup> So the name (i.e. [Zhi]xuan) is seen as being implied in the original surname (i.e. Yuan). How marvelous!

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Third year: The śramaṇa Daxing 大行 from Taishan 泰山 recited the *Amitābhāsūtra* 彌陀經 for 21 days. Suddenly in the night he saw the jeweled land of Virūḍhaka 流離. On a jeweled terrace the Buddha as well as two mahāsattvas and countless nirmāṇakāya-buddhas all manifested in front of him. When the emperor heard about this miracle, he ordered [Daxing] to come to the palace, and questioned him on what he had seen. He conferred the honorific title “Bodhisattva Nityodyukta” 常精進菩薩 on him, and enfeoffed him with Kaiguo 開國.<sup>202</sup>

p. 389, c10

199 This is a reference to a passage appearing in the textual segment quoted from the *Hanshu* in an annotation above. The relevant passage reads: “[Chao] Cuo quickly hid himself in the Eastern side room feeling deep resentment against [Yuan] Ang” 錯趨避東廂，甚恨盎。(T 2035, p. 389, b15–16).

200 This is a reference to a passage appearing in the textual segment quoted from the *Hanshu* in an annotation above. The relevant passage reads: “and on the Eastern marketplace [Chao Cuo’s body] was cut into two parts at the waist” 要斬(于)東市 (T 2035, p. 389, b17).

201 This is an equation based on the similar pronunciations of the syllables ‘xuan’ and ‘yuan.’ The point is to demonstrate that the name ‘Zhixuan’ is characterized by an intrinsic connection with the name ‘Yuan Ang.’

202 All of this is known from the biographies of Daxing in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 24 (T 2061, p. 865, a25–b6) and *Jingtu wangsheng zhuan*, juan 3 (T 2071, p. 124, c1–18).

Taishō apparatus of textual criticism A decree [ordered] that the Laojun Xuanzhong Abbey 老君玄中觀 of Chengdu had to be renamed Qingyang Palace 青羊宮.<sup>203</sup> On the fields close to the abbey the common people frequently planted onions and garlic. How could an abode of pureness and emptiness emit fumes that are stinking and dirty? [So the emperor] had already donated money to buy [the fields], which were given to the peaceful cottage (i.e. to the Qingyang Palace). The evidence to be trusted (i.e. the deed of ownership) was given to the sire (i.e. to the abbot of the Qingyang Palace).

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p. 389, c14 Fourth year: Liu Rang, the Regional Inspector of Sizhou 泗州刺史劉讓, reported: “While the pagoda of Mucha 木叉, a disciple of Sengqie 僧伽, was being restored, 800 pieces of relics were found, and submitted to the emperor.” It was ordered to take these bones and form a statue [of Mucha] out of them. [Mucha was granted] the posthumous name Zhenxiang 真相.<sup>204</sup>

### Emperor Zhaozong

昭宗

[Personal name:] Ye 曄. Seventh son of Yizong.

p. 389, c18 **Longji era**, first year: For the emperor’s birthday the Buddhist monks and the Daoist priests of the two streets were ordered to come to the inner palace to hold a debate.

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p. 389, c19 In the Guoqing [Monastery] 國清[寺], the dharma master [Yuan]xiu [元]琇 preached the teachings of calming and contemplation for the dharma master Qingsong 清竦.

203 By naming the abbey “Qingyang Palace” (Black Sheep Palace), the decree alludes to a particular aspect of the Laozi legend known from the *Wenshi neizhuan* 文始內傳: After Laozi had dictated the *Daode jing* to Yin Xi, Yin Xi wanted to join him on his travels. But Laozi said that to attain perfection Yin Xi should first recite the *Daode jing* ten thousand times. And Laozi added that thereafter Yin Xi should come to see him “in a black sheep shop at the gate of Chengdu market” (Livia Kohn, *God of the Dao: Lord Lao in History and Myth* [Ann Arbor: Center for the Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1998], 267f.). On this basis, the black sheep shop emerged as a legendary holy place in Daoist religiosity, and the abbey was here given the name “Qingyang Palace” to celebrate this tradition.

204 This is known from the biography of Sengqie in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 18 (T 2061, p. 823, a26–b5). For a mention of Mucha as Sengqie’s disciple, see: Yü Chün-fang, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara*, 218.

**Dashun era**, second year: The meditation master Huiji 慧寂 from Mount Yang 仰山 in Yuanzhou 袁州 passed away. The master received the dharma on Mount Gui 滄山. The world called him the founder of the Guiyang 滄仰 [lineage of Chan Buddhism].<sup>205</sup> Early on he had guided his disciples to settle on Mount Wangmang 王莽山, where one day his meditation chair sank into the ground.<sup>206</sup> The mountain god thought that it was not an adequate place [for Huiji] to live. In the Southeast there was Mount Dayang 大仰山, which was known to the world as an auspicious place. So [Huiji] moved there. For a long time the community kept growing and the accommodations became insufficient. One evening, the mountain god [of Mount Dayang] moved his temple to a walled field in a distance of 30 li to avoid [a lack of accommodation].<sup>207</sup>

**Jingfu era**, first year: Qian Liu, the King of Wuyue 吳越王錢鏐, erected the Ruixiang Monastery 瑞相寺 on Mount Shicheng 石城山 in the Shan District 剡縣, which was endowed with a stone statue of Maitreya 彌勒 carved through three generations.

**Qianning era**, second year: The meditation master Wenju 文矩 visited the meditation master Da'an 大安 from Xiyuan 西院. When [Da]an saw him from afar, he laughed and said: "You may go into the Nirvāṇa Hall 涅槃堂." The master agreed, and went there. At that time he found 500 monks all of whom suffered from seasonal diseases. The master one by one patted [the monks] with his staff, and those who had been patted arose [from their disease]. The Prince of Min 閩王 paid his respect to the miracle, and established [a monastery named] Guohuan yuan 國歡院 to accommodate [Wenju].<sup>208</sup>

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205 The origination of the Guiyang lineage—which is based on the mountains of Gui and Yang—has been referred to above in *Fozu tongji*, juan 41 (T 2035, p. 379, c17–19).

206 That on Mount Wangmang 王莽山 Huiji's meditation chair sank into the ground is to be understood as a bad omen suggesting that Mount Wangmang was not a good place for Huiji. The reason might be that, through its name, the mountain is connected with Wang Mang 王莽 (r. 9–23 AD), the usurper who ended the Western Han dynasty. In *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 11, we read that moving from Mount Wangmang to Mount Yang 仰山 helped Huiji to attract a large following, which demonstrates that Mount Yang was a preferable blessed land (T 2076, p. 282, c18–19). The *Fozu tongji* subsequently speaks of Mount Dayang 大仰山 (Great Mount Yang), which should however be the same mountain.

207 In *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載, juan 17, we find this information assigned to a "true record of this mountain" 本山實錄 (T 2036, p. 649, a1), which is not retrievable as such.

208 This is known from *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 11 (T 2076, p. 287, a6–9).

p. 390, a4 Third year: It was ordered to rebuild the Caotang Monastery 草堂寺 at the place where the dharma master Kumārajīva had translated sūtras.<sup>209</sup>

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p. 390, a5 Fourth year: The meditation master Congshen 從諗 of the Guanyin yuan 觀音院 in Zhaozhou 趙州 passed away. He had reached an age of 120 years. His posthumous name was “Meditation Master Zhenji” 真際禪師.

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p. 390, a6 Duke Wang, the Marshal of Zhao[zhou] 趙[州]帥王公, came into the [Guanyin] yuan and prostrated. [Congshen of the Guanyin yuan in] Zhaozhou was sitting [in meditation] and asked him saying: “Great [Duke] Wang, can you do that?” Wang said: “I cannot.” The master said: “Since I was young, I remained abstinent. Now my body is old, and when people [come to] see me, I do not have the power to get off my meditation chair.” Wang emphatically added further prostrations. The next day, a general in charge of the guests transmitted a message [from Wang to the master], and the master did get off his meditation chair to welcome him. When the attendants enquired about this, the master said: “First class people I would welcome sitting on my meditation chair. Second class people I would welcome getting off my meditation chair. The remaining people I would welcome outside the monastery gate.”<sup>210</sup>

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p. 390, a12 It was ordered to install the śramaṇa Juehui 覺暉 as assistant monk registrar of the left and the right streets.<sup>211,212</sup>

p. 390, a13 **Guanghua era**, second year: [The administration of] Fuzhou 撫州 declared: “On Mount Cao 曹山 there are Indian monks assembling on the summit. When the local people looked for them, they all flew away leaving their coolie hats<sup>213</sup> behind, which were manufactured in an absolutely extraordinary ancient style.

209 The relevance of the Caotang Monastery to the translation project of Kumārajīva has been subject to description in the materials translated for the first volume of the present *Fozu tongji* translation project—see: *Fozu tongji*, juan 36 (T 2035, p. 341, c6–10).

210 This is known from *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 10 (T 2076, p. 278, b1–8).

211 An annotation reads: “Assistant [monk registrar] positions began here” 副職始此 (T 2035, p. 390, a12).

212 The installation of Juehui is also mentioned in *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 2, even though the event is associated with the reign of Tang Xizong there, while here in the *Fozu tongji* the event is listed under Xizong’s successor Zhaozong (T 2126, p. 244, a9–10; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 366).

213 The character 笠 should stand for 箬笠, which means “coolie hat.”

Thereupon [the emperor] ordered that at that place the Heyu Monastery 荷玉禪寺 was to be erected.”

**Tianfu era**, first year: The mountain bandit Xu En 許恩 started a rebellion. p. 390, a16  
When he reached Mount Jing 徑山 of Hangzhou, he excavated the stūpa of the meditation master Guoyi 國一, and saw that the physical body [of Guoyi] was contained in two merged earthen jars. His face was covered by long hair. The rebel soldiers all became frightened and ran away. The King of Wuyue 吳越王 gave orders to bury [Guoyi's body] again.

• • •

Second year: The meditation master Daoying 道膺 from Yunju 雲居 in Hongzhou 洪州 passed away. His posthumous name was Hongjue 弘覺.<sup>214</sup> p. 390, a19

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Third year: The meditation master Benji 本寂 from Mount Cao 曹山 in Fuzhou 撫州 passed away. His posthumous name was Yuanzheng 元證. The master had received the dharma from [Liangjie from] Mount Dong 洞山. To the world they were known as [the founders of] the Caodong lineage 曹洞宗 [of Chan Buddhism].<sup>215</sup> p. 390, a21

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Since the monk Xiazi<sup>216</sup> from the capital had sealed his mind on Mount Dong,<sup>217</sup> he hid his traces in the Min 閩 area (i.e. in present-day Fujian).<sup>218</sup> p. 390, a22  
Each day he went along the river bank collecting shrimps and bivalves to nourish himself. In the nights he slept on the paper money in the Baima Temple 白馬廟. The meditation master [Xiu]jing [休]靜 of the Huayan [school] entered [the room with the] paper money to wait for him. When the master (i.e. Xiazi) arrived, [Xiu]jing blocked his way, and asked him: “How would this have been the intention of the patriarch master when he came from the

214 Daoying has a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 12 (T 2061, p. 781, b9–c6).

215 As Liangjie 良价 (807–869) dwelled on Mount Dong 洞山 and his disciple Benji 本寂 (840–901) on Mount Cao 曹山, the lineage that goes back to them was named Caodong 曹洞 (Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism: A History, vol. 1: India and China* [New York: Macmillan, 1988], 22).

216 Here in the *Fozu tongji*, the name Xiazi is written 蝦子, while in most other texts it is written 蜺子. Xiazi was a disciple of Liangjie (see: *Foguang da cidian* 佛光大辭典, ed. Xingyun Dashi 星雲大師 [Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 1989], vol. 6, 5597).

217 The expression of “sealing one's mind” 印心 here serves as a metaphor for renouncing secular life (i.e. becoming a śramaṇa). The statement here is that on Mount Dong Xiazi undertook the act of sealing his mind.

218 This means that he lived at that place anonymously seeking to hide the fact that he was a monk.

West?”<sup>219</sup> The master said: “A wine tray is placed in front of the deity.”<sup>220</sup> [Xiu]jing bowed, apologized, and left. Afterwards [Xiazi] entered the capital and pretended to be a madman living among the common people. He was a [man of] divine mystery, and nobody could get to the bottom [of his true nature].<sup>221</sup>

p. 390, a27 The meditation master Wenyan 文偃 from Yunmen 雲門 in Shaozhou 韶州 had assembled a thousand followers. The [Southern] Han ruler of the Liu family 漢主劉氏 summoned him to his palace,<sup>222</sup> to question him about the essence of the dharma. [The Southern Han ruler] served him employing the rites due to a master. The master had received the dharma from Xuefeng 雪峯.<sup>223</sup> He was referred to as the founder of the Yunmen [lineage of Chan Buddhism].<sup>224</sup>

### *Emperor Jingzong*

景宗

[Personal name:] Chu 杬. Ninth son of Zhaozong.

p. 390, b3 **Tianyou era**, first year: On the occasion of [the emperor's] birthday the Buddhist monasteries and Daoist abbeys of all under heaven arranged feasts, and among the population butchery and fishing were forbidden.

p. 390, b4 When Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 was wandering on Mount Hua, he met Zhongli Quan 鍾離權 who taught him [the alchemy of] Golden Elixir as well as the methods of the sword. Later on, when he passed through Mount Huanglong 黃龍山 of Ezhou 鄂州, he was honored by being invited into the hall of med-

219 This is a common *kōan* 公案 question frequently cited in Chan texts. The “patriarch master” 祖師 referred to here is Bodhidharma, who came to China from the West (i.e. from India). Xiujing asks this question to find out how familiar Xiazi would be with the *kōan* tradition of Chan Buddhism.

220 This is to be understood as a symbolic reply in *kōan* style. By offering this reply Xiazi succeeds in demonstrating that he does possess the required familiarity with the *kōan* tradition. So as we are told in the next sentence, Xiujing apologized for having doubted Xiazi's abilities.

221 This is a modified quotation from *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 17 (T 2076, p. 338, a27–b6).

222 An annotation reads: “The capital was Guangzhou” 都廣州 (T 2035, p. 390, a29).

223 That Xuefeng was the master of Wenyan is known from the biography of Wenyan in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, juan 19 (T 2076, p. 356, c2).

224 The originations of the different lineages of Chan Buddhism had been pointed out previously in *Fozu tongji*, juan 41. For the Yunmen lineage going back to Wenyan, see: T 2035, p. 379, c26–27.



itation master [Hui]ji [誨]機. In resolute tone he asked: “Within one kernel of grain the whole world is hidden. Within a half full frying-pan all mountains and rivers could be roasted. What is the meaning of this?” 一粒粟中藏世界。半升鑊內煮山川。 The master said: “[You are] a spirit of a deceased person still clinging to his body.”<sup>225</sup> [Lü] Dongbin said: “However<sup>226</sup> in my bag I have the cinnabar of immortality.” The master said: “Even if you live through 80,000 kalpas, you will in the end die an empty death.”<sup>227</sup> [Lü Dong]bin was not reconciled, and in the night he hurled his sword to threaten him. The master knew this in advance, took his dharma robe to cover his head with it, and sat in his abbot's quarters. When the sword had circled around him several times, he pointed at it with his hand, and it immediately fell to the ground. [Lü Dong]bin in front [of the master] apologized for his mistake. The master asked him: “I no longer hear you talking about what fits into a half full frying-pan. And how about the whole world being hidden within one kernel of grain?” [Lü Dong]bin suddenly examined himself and composed a stanza to express his apology: “Only after having seen you on [Mount] Huanglong, I understood that I previously used my mind incorrectly.”<sup>228,229</sup>

### THE FIVE DYNASTIES—[LATER] LIANG

With Luoyang as capital 都洛陽.

#### *Taizu*

太祖

[Personal name:] Zhu Wen 朱溫;

granted name: [Zhu] Quanzhong 賜名全忠

**Kaiping era**, first year: It was ordered that monks and nuns had to come under the responsibility of the Ministry of Sacrifices 祠部.<sup>230</sup> p. 390, b17

225 Huiji did not bother to answer to Lü Dongbin's riddle, and chose to curse him instead.

226 The characters 爭奈 need to be read as 怎奈, which means “however.”

227 Huiji is saying that one day Lü Dongbin would still have to die, and that he would then die without of having achieved anything.

228 An annotation reads: “[Source:] *Xianyuan yizhuan*” 仙苑遺事 (T 2035, p. 390, b14).

229 On this matter, see: Joshua Capitanio, “Buddhist Tales of Lü Dongbin,” in: *T'oung Pao* 102 (2016): 448–502.

230 This is known from *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 2 (T 2126, p. 246, a5–6; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 419–420).

p. 390, b18 The śramaṇa Zhixuan 智宣 from Quanzhou 泉州 went to India to get hold of sūtras. When he returned, he visited the palace and presented a bone of a pratyekabuddha and Sanskrit sūtra [written on] palm leaves.<sup>231</sup>

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p. 390, b20 Second year, second month: The meditation master Yicun 義存 from Xuefeng 雪峯 passed away.<sup>232</sup>

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p. 390, b20 In the eleventh month the meditation master Shibei 師備 from Xuansha 玄沙 passed away. The master had received the dharma from [Yicun from] Xuefeng. When late in his life he lived in Xuansha, and his disciples amounted to thousand people, he took the opportunities as they presented themselves and maintained the contacts for twenty years. The King of Min treated him in terms of the rites due to a master. Upon his death he was awarded the posthumous name Zongyi 宗一.<sup>233</sup>

• • •

p. 390, b24 Third year: On the Festival of Great Brightness 大明節 (i.e. on the birthday of Emperor Zhu Wen) the hundred officials were ordered to visit a monastery, to burn incense and to pray for [the emperor's] long life.<sup>234</sup>

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p. 390, b25 Fourth year: Lingyin 令因 (901–924), the younger son of Qian Liu, the King of Wuyue 吳越王錢鏐, became a monk. It was ordered to bestow a purple robe and [the title] “Grand Master Wuxiang” 無相大師 on him. He was [introduced as] equal to [those with a seniority of] 30 years.<sup>235</sup>

231 This is known from the biography of Zhixuan in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 30 (T 2061, p. 897, c6–7).

232 Yicun has a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 12 (T 2061, p. 781, c27–p. 782, c17).

233 This is a modified statement of content also seen in *Longxing biannian tonglun* 隆興編年通論, juan 28 (X75, no. 1512, p. 250, a13–15 // Z 2B:3, p. 352, d11–13 // R130, p. 704, b11–13).

234 This is known from *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 2 (T 2126, p. 242, a7–8; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 305).

235 This is known from *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 3 (T 2126, p. 251, a17–19; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 546). According to the *Da Song seng shilüe*, the awarded title was however “Grand Master Faxiang” 法相大師, not Grand Master Wuxiang.

**Modi**

末帝

[Personal name:] Zhen 璿.

**Zhenming era**, first year: The śramaṇa Guixu 歸序 of the Dongda Monastery 東塔院 submitted [his work] *Jinglun huiyao* 經論會要. A decree [ordered] to include it with the tripiṭaka. He was awarded [the title] “Grand Master Yanjiao” 演教大師.

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Second year: [Qian] Liu, the King of Wuyue, sent the śramaṇa Qingwai 清外 together with his younger brother Qian Hua 錢鐔 to the Aśoka Mountain of the Siming [ridge] 四明阿育王山 to bring the stūpa with the relic of Śākyamuni [to the capital]. When their ship anchored at Xiling 西陵, the stūpa at night emitted splendor, [as a result of which] the Zhe River 浙江 became as bright as day. The king personally brought [the stūpa] to the Luohan Monastery 羅漢寺, where generous sacrifices were offered.<sup>236</sup>

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The monk Budai 布袋 of Fenghua 奉化 in Siming 四明 [passed away while] sitting on a huge rock in the Eastern corridor of the Yuelin Monastery 岳林寺.<sup>237</sup> [His body having been] cremated, he was buried on Mount Feng 封山. After the burial there was a man who still saw him on the Dongyang road 東陽道. [Budai] instructed him: “I have mistakenly taken along one single shoe. Could you bring it back for me?” Only after [the man] had returned, he found out that the master (i.e. Budai) had already died. When the community inspected his grave-pit, only one single shoe was in there. When the master first arrived at that place, people did not know where he came from. He called himself Qici 契此, had wrinkles on his forehead and a fat stomach. When he foretold the fate of people for all he said there was evidence. He always used a walking stick,

236 On this matter, see: Benjamin Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs: Regional Rulers and Chan Monks During the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 35 f.

237 Actually named Qici 契此 but better known as Budai 布袋 (Cloth Bag), the person introduced here was an itinerant monk who was never formally ordained and little known during his lifetime. However posthumously he came to be worshipped as an incarnation of Maitreya. For a succinct account of the Budai legend, see: Meir Shahrar, *Crazy Ji: Chinese Religion and Popular Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), 39 f. For studies of Budai in Chinese art history, see: Richard Edwards, “Pu-tai-Maitreya and a Reintroduction to Hangchou's Fei-lai-Feng,” in: *Ars Orientalis* 14 (1984): 5–50; Qing Chang, “Indigenizing Deities: The Budai Maitreya and the Group of Eighteen Luohans in Niche No. 68 at Feilai Feng,” in: *Southeast Review of Asian Studies* 32 (2010): 22–47.

and carried a bag on his back<sup>238</sup> when he was wandering around in the city. When he saw something [which he wanted to have], he begged for it. What he obtained he placed in his bag. There was a group of sixteen children who made noise and followed him competing in dragging his bag. Sometimes when being among people he opened his bag, and took out his alms bowl, wooden shoes, fish dishes, meat and vegetables, bricks, and other things. Casting [all of these] away he said: "Look! Look!" Then picking them up one after the other he said: "What is this?"<sup>239</sup> He also used paper to wrap up feces saying: "This is from the inner yard of Maitreya."<sup>240</sup>

p. 390, c14 Once when he stood by the wayside, another monk asked him what he was doing. The master said: "I am waiting for somebody to come." [The other monk] said: "Here I am." The master took an orange out of his chest pocket and handed it over to him. The monk wanted to accept it, but [Budai] withdrew his hand saying "You are not that person."

p. 390, c17 There was a monk who asked: "How would this have been the intention of the patriarch master when he came from the West?"<sup>241</sup> The master (i.e. Budai) took down his bag, and stood [upright] folding his hands in front of his chest. The monk asked: "Does this have further implications?"<sup>242</sup> The master picked up his bag, put it on his shoulders, and walked away. As the monk was walking in front, [Budai] tipped his shoulder. When the monk turned around, the master said: "Give me one coin."

p. 390, c20 Once at [one the wall of] the latrine house, [Budai] wrote a note for the public saying: "I have been begging for alms and just arrived. You may not urinate or defecate here."<sup>243</sup>

p. 390, c21 Jiang Mohe, a native of the commandery 郡人蔣摩訶, frequently travelled together with him (i.e. with Budai). One day when they jointly took a bath in

238 The Chinese term for 'bag' being employed here is 'budai' 布袋. Budai became the name of the monk, as the bag was considered a constant feature of his outside appearance.

239 In medieval colloquial Chinese 者个 has the function of 这个 in modern colloquial Chinese. In medieval colloquial Chinese 甚麼 has the function of 什麼 in modern colloquial Chinese.

240 In medieval colloquial Chinese the character 底 has the function of 的 in modern colloquial Chinese.

241 This is a common *kōan* 公案 question frequently cited in Chan texts. It already appeared above: T 2035, p. 390, a25–26. In the present context, the monk just quotes the question as a thought-provoking aphorism, hoping to get enlightening comments from Budai.

242 When the monk asked "How would this have been the intention of the patriarch master when he came from the West?" Budai simply replied by taking down his bag and standing upright folding his hands in front of his chest. The monk apparently regards this reply as insufficient, and so he asks whether more could be said in reply to his question.

243 This matter is also seen in *Dingying dashi Budai heshang zhuan* 定應大師布袋和尚傳 (X86, no. 1597, p. 43, b5–6 // Z 2B:19, p. 477, d5–6 // R146, p. 954, b5–6).

Changting 長汀, Jiang saw that there was an eye on the back of the master. He touched it and said: "You are a Buddha!" The master stopped him saying: "Do not say that to anybody!" The master frequently taught Jiang to recite "mohe bore poluomi" 摩訶般若波羅蜜 (*mahāprajñāpāramitā*). Therefore among the people he was known as "upāsaka Mohe" 摩訶居士.

When the master previously travelled in the Min 閩 area, there was the upāsaka Chen 陳, who made offerings [to him] in extremely diligent style. When he asked the master for his age, he said: "I, this Budai, am as old as space." And when he asked for the reason, he said: "My surname is Li 李, I am born on the eighth day of the second month." p. 390, c25

Towards the beginning of the Tianfu era of the Jin dynasty [of the Wudai period], Wang Ren, the Prefect of Putian 莆田令王仁, saw him in the Min area. [Budai] offered one gāthā saying: p. 390, c27

Maitreya, the true Maitreya,  
Splits up his body into billions.  
At this time, he reveals himself to his contemporaries.  
His contemporaries, however, do not recognize him.<sup>244</sup>  
彌勒真彌勒。  
分身千百億。  
是時示時人。  
時人俱不識。

Next to his tomb pagoda people of later ages found a clean bottle made out of blue porcelain and a monk's staff with seven rings. [Those objects] were stored in a monastery.

• • •

Fourth year: The Indian trepiṭaka Bodaluō 鉢怛羅 arrived in Shu 蜀. He himself reported that he had travelled from the state of Magadha 摩伽陀國 to Yizhou 益州, covering a distance of 99,380 li. At that time it was the first year of the Guangtian era of Wang Jian, the ruler of Shu 蜀主王建. The trepiṭaka himself reported that he was 270 years old. p. 391, a3

**Commentary:** There are two different paths from this place (i.e. China) to India. p. 391, a7

244 This gāthā is also seen in the *Dingying dashi Budai heshang zhuan*, where it appears in three different places: (1) X86, no. 1597, p. 44, a17–18 // Z 2B:19, p. 478, c11–12 // R146, p. 956, a11–12; (2) X86, no. 1597, p. 46, c2–3 // Z 2B:19, p. 481, a6–7 // R146, p. 961, a6–7; (3) X86, no. 1597, p. 48, b24–c1 // Z 2B:19, p. 482, d15–16 // R146, p. 964, b15–16.

p. 391, a7

The first is the Northwestern passage, which starts from Dunhuang 敦煌 and Yangxian 陽關, passes through all the states of the Western territories, crosses the Pamir Mountains 葱嶺 and the Himalayas 雪山, and leads into the realm of Northern India. While in ancient times [Kāśyapa-Mā]tanga and [Zhu Fa]lan had come from the West,<sup>245</sup> and during the Tang dynasty Master [Xuan]zang and others had started out from the East, they all travelled on this route.

p. 391, a10

The second is the Southwestern passage, on which one would start out via ship in the Southern sea reaching Śrībhuja 佛逝國 (i.e. Mālaya) and Kaccha 羯荼國,<sup>246</sup> to the Northwest of which one reaches Tamluk 耽摩國 (i.e. Bengal), which is situated in the realm of Eastern India.<sup>247</sup> While in ancient times Bodhidharma had come from the West, and the trepīṭaka [Yi]jing as well as Huining started out from the East, they all travelled on this route.

p. 391, a14

Nowadays the passage, via which Bodaluó arrived in Shu, should be the middle Western passage. This is what Zhang Qian 張騫 was referring to in saying that the Southeast of Daxia 大夏 is not far from Shu.<sup>248</sup> Compared to the other two passages (i.e. the Northwestern and the Southwestern passage) [the middle Western passage] should be slightly shorter, since the distance [Bodaluó] nowadays crossed was roughly just 10,000 li. But [since] mountains and rivers are curved, and [since] the manners are unintelligible, the path one needs to travel would be winding. Therefore he only reached Shu after more than ten years. For this reason Bodaluó was the only one who came [via this passage]. And [among the travelers] from this place (i.e. from China) not one person chose this passage.

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245 According to a legendary tradition originating from the *Hanfaben neizhuan* 漢法本內傳 (a lost Chinese Buddhist apocryphal text), these were the first Buddhist missionaries who reached China. As the legend tells us, they visited China in the times of Han Mingdi. The matter is seen in the materials translated for the first volume of the present *Fozu tongji* translation project—see: *Fozu tongji*, juan 35 (T 2035, p. 329, b22–c6).

246 In the *Fozu tongji* the name of this state is written 'jiecha guo' 羯荼國. Both the Taishō edition and the Shi Daofa edition agree on this. Correct would however be 'jielu guo' 羯荼國, which refers to the state of Kaccha in Sumatra (*Foguang da cidian* 佛光大辭典, ed. Xingyun Dashi 星雲大師 [Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 1989], vol. 7, 6137).

247 An annotation reads: "This is the Southern coastline of Eastern India. Here [one would find] a seaport where one can get on a ship to return to the Tang state." 是東竺南界，即海口升舶歸唐之所。(T 2035, p. 391, a12).

248 This statement of Zhang Qian was quoted in the materials translated for the first volume of the present *Fozu tongji* translation project—see: *Fozu tongji*, juan 35 (T 2035, p. 329, a4–5).

Sixth year: [The followers] of Manichaeism of Chenzhou 陳州 gathered a crowd p. 391, a20 and went into rebellion, and established Muyi 母乙 as son of heaven. The court dispatched soldiers to capture Muyi and to kill him. The followers [of Manichaeism] do not eat meat and do not drink wine, but in nightly gatherings they act obscenely. They paint<sup>249</sup> [pictures of] the King of the Māras sitting in lotus posture, while the Buddha washes his feet. And they say: “Buddhism is the mahāyāna, while our law is the highest of the high yānas.” There have been situations of their leaders acting in scornful and unlawful ways.<sup>250</sup>

**Longde era**, first year: It was ordered that in all under heaven it was not allowed p. 391, a24 to ordain or nuns privately. Those who vowed to renounce secular life [had to] come to the capital to take competitive exams with regard to their scriptural learning.<sup>251</sup>

# [LATER] TANG

With Luoyang as capital 都洛陽.

## Zhuangzong

莊宗

[Personal name:] Li Cunxu 李存勖.

**Tongguang era**, first year: On the [emperor's] birthday the monk registrar p. 391, a28 Huijiang 僧錄慧江 and the Daoist priest Cheng Zixiao 程紫霄 were ordered to come to the inner palace to hold a debate.<sup>252</sup> A feast for thousand monks was [also] arranged.

In a dream Daoxian 道賢, a śramaṇa from Fengxiang 鳳翔, travelled to the five p. 391, a29 regions of India. He met the Buddha, who showed him certain states and certain villages. In the next morning, he suddenly understood the languages of the

249 While in the Taishō edition of the *Fozu tongji* we read 畫魔王, in the Shi Daofa edition we find 畫魔王. The character 畫 can be translated as “to paint.”

250 This is an abridged statement of a passage seen in *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 3 (T 2126, p. 253, c9–20; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 607).

251 This is known from *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 2 (T 2126, p. 246, a6–8; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 420).

252 This is known from *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 3 (T 2126, p. 248, b10–11; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 476).

five regions of India, and transmitted the methods of the altar in the world (i.e. in China). The people called this the “methods of the ācārya of Fengxiang” 鳳翔阿闍梨法. Towards the beginning of the Qingtai era, [Daoxian] accompanied Modi to Luo[yang], and died there. A stūpa for him was erected in Longmen 龍門.<sup>253</sup>

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- p. 391, b5 Second year: The meditation master Sansheng Huiran 三聖慧然 was ordered to come to the inner palace to be questioned on meditation methods. The emperor said: “When I subdued Daliang 大梁, I received a priceless precious jewel, which nobody could offer a price for.” [Hui]ran said: “May I ask your Majesty to [let me] see the treasure?” With his hands the emperor opened the corners of his headdress [and presented the jewel]. [Hui]ran said: “[Indeed] it is a treasure for kings or emperors! Who would dare to offer a price for it?” The emperor was pleased. When [Hui]ran died, [the emperor] ordered to bestow the posthumous title “Grand Master Guangji” 廣濟大師 on him, [and he was granted] the “Stūpa Penetrating Tranquility” 通寂之塔.<sup>254</sup>

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- p. 391, b10 Third year: The cavalry general Shi Yinqiang 騎將史銀鎗 was a man of military merit. When he accompanied [the emperor's] carriage to Luo[yang], he suddenly became enlightened about the way of meditation. He requested permission to renounce secular life and to name himself Qicheng 契澄. [The emperor] conferred the honorific title “Grand Master Wuxue” 無學大師 on him. He also transformed his residence into [a monastery named] “Lide Court” 立德院.

### *Mingzong*

明宗

[Personal name:] Dan 亶. Blood brother of Zhuangzong.

- p. 391, b14 **Tiancheng era**, first year: On [the emperor's] birthday the monk registrar Yunbian 僧錄雲辯 and a Daoist priest were ordered to come to the inner palace to hold a debate.<sup>255</sup>

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253 Despite the different wording, most of this is also seen in the biography of Daoxian in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 25 (T 2061, p. 870, c9–p. 871, a7).

254 This is also seen in *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, juan 12 (T 2076, p. 295, b21–22).

255 This is known from *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 3 (T 2126, p. 248, b14–15; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 476 f.).



Second year, second month: Every evening the emperor burned incense in the palace, and invoking heaven he said: [Even though] I am of foreign origin, because of the chaos in all under heaven I was recommended [for emperorship] by the community. I hope that heaven will soon present a sage, who will become emperor for the people. p. 391, b16

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Third year: Wang Yanjun, the ruler of Min 閩主王延鈞,<sup>256</sup> had always respected the Buddha. This year, he ordained 20,000 monks.<sup>257</sup> p. 391, b19

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The meditation master Guichen 桂琛 of the Arhat Court 羅漢院 of Zhangzhou 漳州 passed away.<sup>258</sup> The master had received the dharma from Xuansha 玄沙. Under the rule of [the subsequent emperor] Modi, the posthumous name “Meditation Master Zhenying” 真應禪師 was bestowed on him. p. 391, b20

### Modi

末帝

[Personal name:] Ke 珂.<sup>259</sup> Foster son of Mingzong.

**Qingtai era**, first year, second month: The Commissioner of Merit and Virtue submitted [the following petition]: “I request that each time on the [emperor’s] birthday the prefectures and commanderies should be ordered to submit recommendations of [outstanding] monks and nuns. Depending on their abilities in the four disciplines of preaching sūtras, practicing meditation, keeping things in memory, and discussing articles, it should be decided whether they can [be recommended] or not.” The proposal was accepted. p. 391, b23

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The “old Buddha striking the ice” 扣冰古佛 from the Chong’an district 崇安縣 of Jianzhou 建州 was named Zao Xian 藻先. When he was young he met Xuefeng.<sup>260</sup> He brought along one pack of water chestnuts 覺茈 and one can of sauce [mixed with beans and grains] as presents. [Xue]feng asked: “What is inside the pack?” The answer was: “Water chestnuts.”<sup>261</sup> “Where did you get p. 391, b25

256 Min 閩 (909–945) was one of the Ten States that existed in Southern China during the Wudai era. Wang Yanjun 王延鈞 (r. 927–935) was the third Min sovereign.

257 On this matter, see: Benjamin Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs*, 180 note 105.

258 Guichen has a biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 13 (T 2061, p. 786, c4–p. 787, a3).

259 In the Taishō edition of the *Fozu tongji* we read 阿. In the Shi Daofo edition we read 珂. The latter is the correct name.

260 This is Yicun from Xuefeng 峯義存禪, who was often referred to above.

261 In the Taishō edition of the *Fozu tongji* we read 覺。此何處得來。 But in the Shi Daofo edition we find 覺茈。何處得來。 So the Shi Daofo replaces 此 with 茈, and changes

them from?" "From the mud." "From how deep in the mud?" "[From a depth of] less than one zhang." "Are there still more of them?" "The deeper you dig, the more you get." [Xuefeng] also asked: "What is inside the can?" The master said: "Sauce [mixed with beans and grains]." "Where did you get it from?" "I have blended it myself." "Is it cooked yet?" "Not very much." [Xue]feng said: "In the coming days you will certainly become a king's or a duke's teacher." Frequently in the summer months [Zao Xian] was wearing cotton dress when being seated; while in the winter months [Zao Xian] was knocking off ice when wishing to take a bath.

夏月衣楮而坐。

冬月扣冰而浴。

Therefore he was called "the one who knocks off the ice."<sup>262</sup>

- p. 391, c3 Wang Yanjun of Min invited him to live in the Ruiyan [Monastery] 瑞巖[寺]. When on his journey he arrived in Jianzhou, the Regional Inspector Chen Hui offered food to 1,000 monks. He asked the master (i.e. Zao Xian): "Are there today extraordinary people in the assembly?" The master said: "There are none. But tomorrow I can bring along one mahāsattva for you." The next day [Chen] Hui prepared a feast to await him, and there was an old lady coming from outside. [Chen Hui] invited her to sit at the front seat. When the meal was finished, she left. The master said: "This was Bodhisattva Jalagarbha 水藏菩薩." After a short while the old lady returned, and wagging her finger at the master she said: "Pratyekabuddha, why do you have such a loose tongue?" As soon as she had concluded her statement, she disappeared.

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- p. 391, c10 Second year: Zilin 子麟, a śramaṇa from Siming 四明, went to Koguryo 高麗, Paekche 百濟, and Japan to transmit the teachings of the Tiantai school. Koguryo sent the messenger Yi Inil 李仁日 to accompany [Zi]lin back home. Qian Liu, the King of Wuyue, gave orders to build a monastery in the prefectural city to accommodate the followers of [Zilin].<sup>263</sup>

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the interpunction. The Shi Daofa solution seems more convincing as 甕莖 is a lexicalized term meaning "water chestnut." This term was already introduced in the previous text of the present passage. So judging from the context it should be clear that we are reading this term, which reappears here.

262 To this point the story is also seen in *Jiatat pudeng lu* 嘉泰普燈錄, juan 24 (X79, no. 1559, p. 434, b11-19 // Z 2B10, p. 165, c8-16 // R137, p. 330, a8-16). The *Jiatat pudeng lu* (Jiatat [Era] Comprehensive Record of the [Transmission of the] Lamp) is a work of Chan Buddhist historiography, compiled by the Yunmen 雲門 Chan monk Leian Zhengshou 雷庵正受 (1146-1208) during the Jiatat era in 1204.

263 On this matter, see: Benjamin Brose, "Crossing Thousands of Li of Waves: The Return of China's Lost Tiantai Texts," in: *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 29, no. 1 (2006), 33.

[LATER] JIN

With Bian as capital 都汴.

*Gaozu*

高祖

[Personal name:] Shi Jingtang 石敬瑭.

**Tianfu era**, second year: Zhu Chong, the Xuanhui General of Luoyang 洛陽宣徽將朱崇, dug into the ground of his house, and found ten big stone Buddha [statues]. There was a stele saying: “Built in the sixth year of the Chuihong era of the Tang dynasty in the Jingfu Monastery 景福寺.” [Zhu] Chong was moved deeply and understood.<sup>264</sup> Immediately he made his habitation available to become a monastery.

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In the Guoqing [Monastery], the dharma master [Qing]song [清]疎 preached the teachings of calming and contemplation for the dharma master Xiji 義寂.

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Third year: Yang Guangyuan 楊光遠 was appointed Commissioner of Merit and Virtue of all under heaven.<sup>265</sup> All monasteries had to answer to him.

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Fourth year: It was ordered that on [the days of] state mourning the chancellor, the ministers, and the hundred officials were to visit monasteries, burn incense and offer food to the monks. [This was intended to be] a permanent model [for the days of state mourning].

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The śramaṇa Kehong 可洪 from Hanzhong 漢中 submitted [his work] *Dazangjing yinyi* 大藏經音義 in 480 juan [to the throne].<sup>266</sup> It was ordered to include it with the tripiṭaka.

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264 The character 寤 needs to be understood as 悟 here.

265 This is known from *Da Song seng shilüe*, juan 2 (T 2126, p. 246, a8–9; Albert Welter, *The Administration of Buddhism in China: A Study and Translation of Zanning and the Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*, 420). While in the *Fozu tongji* the surname is written 楊, it is written 揚 in the *Da Song seng shilüe*. The two characters are homophone. Yang Guangyuan has a biography in *Xin Wudai shi*, juan 51 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Wudai shi* [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974], 587–590; Richard L. Davis, *Historical Records of the Five Dynasties* [New York: Columbia University Press, 2004], 422–426).

266 The complete title of this work is *Xinji zangjing yinyi suihan lu* 新集藏經音義隨函錄 (K 1257). On this work, see: Lewis R. Lancaster, *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive*

- p. 391, c23 The śramaṇa Daoyi 道翬 from Mount Tianzhu 天竺山 of Hangzhou took a miraculous [piece of] wood and carved a statue of mahāsattva Guanyin. There was the śramaṇa Congxun 從勳, who brought ancient Buddha relics from Luoyang to place them inside the outstanding appearance (i.e. into the Guanyin statue). Afterwards the relics were frequently seen on [the statue's] crown. [Within the statue's] body and hair white splendor was glowing, which greatly offered a numinous sensation [to the audience].<sup>267</sup>

### Shaodi

少帝<sup>268</sup>

[Personal name:] Ligui 厘貴.<sup>269</sup> Nephew of Gaozu.

- p. 391, c28 **Kaiyun era**, first year: It was ordered that [to accumulate merit] for [the deceased emperor] [Jin] Gaozu a copy of the tripiṭaka was to be produced. It was respectfully placed in the Mingsheng Monastery 明聖寺 to supply bliss [in support of Jin Gaozu's postmortal fate].

- p. 391, c29 Sixth month: Qian Hongzuo, the King of Wuyue 吳越王錢弘佐, sent the monk Huigui 慧龜 to the Shuanglin [Monastery] 雙林[寺] to open the pagoda of the Mahāsattva of Brilliant Wisdom 善慧大士 (i.e. Mahāsattva Fu). [From within the pagoda Huigui] obtained sixteen numinous bones, and countless

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*Catalogue* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 420. The composition of “yinyi” 音義 literature began when previously under Tang Xianzong the śramaṇa Huilin 慧琳 (783–807) composed the *Yiqie jing yinyi* 一切經音義. I previously provided a succinct introduction to the genre in connection with the mention of Huilin's work in *Fozu tongji*, juan 41 (T 2035, p. 380, c8–10).

- 267 This story is also seen in *Shishi tongjian* 釋氏通鑑, juan 12 (X76, no. 1516, p. 131, a14–19 // Z 2B:4, p. 500, d17–p. 501, a4 // R131, p. 1000, b17–p. 1001, a4). Based on the Hangzhou Shang tianzhu jiangsi zhi 杭州上天竺講寺志 (Gazetteer of the Upper Tianzhu Monastery of Hangzhou), Yü Chün-fang presents an alternative version of the story: “The monastery underwent a major revival in 939 under the monk Tao-i who discovered a piece of marvelous wood lying in the stream from which a bright light shone. He took the wood to the local artisan K'ung to carve an image of Kuan-yin. But when K'ung cut the wood open, he found a ‘spontaneously formed’ Kuan-yin inside the wood. Attracted by its beauty, he decided to keep it for himself and carved another one for Tao-i. However, forewarned by a person in white in his dream, Tao-i succeeded in getting back his miraculous image” (Yü Chün-fang, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara* [New York: Columbia University Press, 2001], 182–184).

268 This emperor is known as Shaodi or as Chudi 出帝.

269 Both in the Taishō and in the Shi Daofa edition of the *Fozu tongji* we read “Ligui” 厘貴. The actual name is however “Chonggui” 重貴.

relics of purple golden color. Glossy ganoderma was growing underneath [the Mahāsattva's] brick bed. Two tigers were crouching at the foot of [the Mahāsattva's] tomb.

紫芝生於壁床。

雙虎伏於墳下。

[In the environment,] auspicious clouds covered the mountain, while sweet rain sprinkled the ground.

祥雲蔽山。

甘雨灑地。

[Huigui] carried out the emperor's order in respectfully receiving the relics. So the numinous bones together with the clean bottle, the incense burner, and the mallet for knocking on the door were all brought to Qiantang, where they were placed in the Guangce Palace 光冊殿 for receiving sacrifices. The Longhua Monastery 龍華寺 was erected, and the bones were used in sculpting a statue of the Mahāsattva [which was placed in the Longhua Monastery].

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Third year: A person from the Shangyuan district 上元縣 in Jinling 金陵 suddenly died. By mistake he was expelled into hell, where he saw the first emperor of the [Southern] Tang (i.e. Li Bian 李昇, r. 937–943) receiving the [punishment] of the five sticks in extremely strict style. The citizen [who had just arrived in hell] was greatly shocked, and asked the Emperor [of the Southern Tang] how he had got himself into that situation. The Emperor [of the Southern Tang] said: “By Song Qiqiu 宋齊丘 (886–959)<sup>270</sup> I have been misled to kill 1,000 capitulants of Hezhou 和州, and because of this misdeed I was accused.” The citizen said: “I was expelled into hell by mistake and will return [into the human sphere].” The Emperor [of the Southern Tang] said under tears: “I am imprisoned here, but when I hear the voice of the bells [of Buddhist monasteries] my suffering is paused temporarily. [I ask you to] return and inform my dynastic successors. In all monasteries they shall make the bells resound, in order to put off [my suffering]. Furthermore they may cast one bell especially to rescue [me out of these] calamities.” The citizen said: “How can I prove the matter to your offspring?” The Emperor [of the Southern Tang] said: “I once received a Khotanese [statue] of a heavenly king [made of] auspicious jade, which I hid in fragrant clay within the left knee of the Buddha [statue] in the Waguan Monastery 瓦官寺, without anybody knowing about it.” After the citizen had returned, he informed the succeeding emperor, who person-

p. 392, a7

270 On Song Qiqiu, a high official of the Southern Tang, see: Johannes L. Kurz, *China's Southern Tang Dynasty, 937–976* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011).

ally ordered the Waguan [Monastery] to cut open the knee [of the Buddha statue]. [The succeeding emperor] was moved to tears and in grief he made prostrations [to the Khotanese statue of the heavenly king]. Immediately he had a bell cast in the Qingliang Monastery 清涼寺, on which the following text was engraved: “Offered to Liezu Xiaogao huangdi 烈祖孝高皇帝 (i.e. Li Bian) so that he can evade hell and escape suffering.” [The succeeding emperor] used the jade statue to establish a pagoda (i.e. a tomb for Li Bian) on Mount Jiang 蔣山.<sup>271</sup>

### [LATER] HAN

With Jinyang as capital 都晉陽.

### Gaozu

高祖

[Personal name:] Liu Gao 劉高.

Original name: Zhiyuan 本名知遠.

- p. 392, a21 **Tianfu era**, twelfth year: The Shangzhuguo Guo Lingwei 上柱國郭令威 erected a stele [with the text of] the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* 金剛般若經 on [Mount] Shouchun 壽春[山].

### Yindi

隱帝

[Personal name:] Chengyou 承祐. Nephew of Gaozu.

- p. 392, a24 **Qianyou era**, first year: Qian Chu, the King of Wuyue 吳越王錢俶, installed the Tiantai śramaṇa Deshao as imperial preceptor. He presented [himself in terms of] the rites due to a disciple [to him].<sup>272</sup>

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<sup>271</sup> This story is also seen in *Shishi tongjian* 釋氏通鑑, juan 12 (X76, no. 1516, p. 131, b24–c9 // Z 2B:4, p. 501, b15–c6 // R131, p. 1001, b15–p. 1002, a6) and in *Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統, juan 4 (X75, no. 1513, p. 307, b4–13 // Z 2B:3, p. 404, d18–p. 405, a9 // R130, p. 808, b18–p. 809, a9).

<sup>272</sup> The Taishō version of the *Fozu tongji* miswrites the name Deshao 德韶 as ‘Deyun’ 德韻. In the Shi Daofo edition of the *Fozu tongji* the name is however written correctly. The relationship between Deshao and Qian Chu is documented in the biography of Deshao in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 13 (T 2061, p. 789, a26–27). For a treatment in research, see: Benjamin Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs*, 89.

Second year: The meditation master Wenyan 文偃 from Yunmen 雲門 passed away in sitting [posture]. His whole body was enshrined in a square-shaped room.<sup>273</sup> p. 392, a26

# [LATER] ZHOU

With Bian as capital 都汴.

## Taizu

太祖

[Personal name:] Guo Wei 郭威.<sup>274</sup>

**Guangshun era**, first year: Li Shouzhen rebelled in Hezhong 河中. [Zhou] Taizu personally went on a campaign [against him].<sup>275</sup> Mayi daoizhe 麻衣道者<sup>276</sup> said to Zhao Pu 趙普:<sup>277</sup> “How could the Palace Attendant Li [Shouzhen] 李侍中 still live for long? On the foot of the city walls there are omens [pointing to the pending attack] of three sons of heaven.” And before long the city walls fell. At that time [Zhou] Shizong (i.e. the successor of Zhou Taizu) and Taizu of this dynasty 本朝太祖 (i.e. of the Song dynasty) both accompanied [Zhou Taizu]. p. 392, a29

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273 The term ‘zhangshi’ 丈室, which is used here, means that the room had a side length of one zhang (which due to the square-shaped form applies to all four sides).

274 Both in the Taishō and in the Shi Daofa edition of the *Fozu tongji* we read “Guo Lingwei” 郭令威. The actual name is however “Guo Wei” 郭威.

275 While in the *Fozu tongji*, both according to the Taishō and according to the Shi Daofa edition, we see the name written ‘Li Shouzheng’ 李守正, the person actually referred to here is Li Shouzhen 李守貞. The rebellion was defeated by Guo Wei 郭威, who later on became the founding emperor of the Later Zhou, and is here in the *Fozu tongji* referred to by his temple name Taizu. In *Xin Wudai shi* 新五代史, juan 10, the event is noted under the 8th month of the 1st year of Qianyou (i.e. 948). So the defeat of the rebellion took place before Guo Wei established himself as emperor under the reign title of Guangshun in 951 (Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Wudai shi* [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974], 104; Richard L. Davis, *Historical Records of the Five Dynasties* [New York: Columbia University Press, 2004], 97). For an investigation of rise and fall of the rebellion, see: Johannes L. Kurz, *China's Southern Tang Dynasty, 937–976* (London: Routledge, 2011), 60 f.

276 Mayi daoizhe (i.e. the Hemp-clad Daoist) was the master of Chen Tuan 陳搏. Livia Kohn has the following to say about him: “The Hamp-clad Taoist [...] occurs in a role quite similar to that of Chen Tuan: he predicts (usually correctly) various private or public occurrences and he writes on prognostication and cosmology through the medium of Yijing philosophy” (Livia Kohn, “Chen Tuan in History and Legend,” in: *Taoist Resources* 2, no. 1 [1990], 11).

277 Zhao Pu was an important politician under the first two emperors of the succeeding Song dynasty. He has an elaborate biography in *Songshi*, juan 256 (Tuotuo, *Songshi*, vol 25, 8931–8945).

- p. 392, b4 Second year: It was ordered that on the [emperor's] birthday the chancellor, the ministers, and the hundred officials were to visit Buddhist monasteries and Daoist abbeys, where bodhi-maṇḍalas for prayers for [the emperor's] longevity were erected.

### *Shizong*

世宗

[Personal name:] Chai Rong 柴榮. Foster son of Taizu.

- p. 392, b7 **Xiande era**, first year: The dharma master Yichu 義楚 from the Kaiyuan Monastery 開元寺 of Qizhou 齊州 submitted his work *Shishi liutie* 釋氏六帖 [to the emperor]. It was ordered to send it to the Department of Historiography 史館 to be promulgated. A purple monk's robe was bestowed [on Yichu].<sup>278</sup>

• • •

- p. 392, b9 Second year, fourth month: A decree said: "The true purpose of Buddhism is to assist in changing the world for the better. So if we wish to see the teachings flourish, we need to differentiate between right and wrong. From now on monks and nuns may not be privately ordained, as when it comes to those who do not have anybody to look after their parents, they may not renounce secular life. And unauthorized monastic establishments all need to be closed and destroyed."<sup>279</sup>

- p. 392, b12 In the ninth month, since for a long time no coins had been cast, the [following] order was issued: "Apart from the legal instruments of the district officials, the items for military use, as well as the different kinds of bells [seen in] Buddhist monasteries and Daoist abbeys—the copper items and Buddha statues spread among the remaining population should within 50 days all be delivered to the officials, who shall in turn offer compensation. After that period of time, those who retained [quantities of copper] above five jin, shall be punished with death."

- p. 392, b15 The emperor said to his attendants and ministers: "You should not doubt that destroying Buddha [statues] is correct. The Buddha employs the way of

<sup>278</sup> The *Shishi liutie* (Six Books of Śākyamuni) is a Buddhist encyclopedia also covering topics beyond Buddhism. As we read in the biography of Yichu in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 7, the title has been inspired by the *Baishi liutie* 白氏六帖 (Six Books of Mr. Bai) by Bai Juyi (T 2061, p. 751, c3–4).

<sup>279</sup> This is a strongly abridged version of the "Edict on destroying privately constructed monasteries and prohibiting the private ordination of monks and nuns" 毀私建寺院禁私度僧尼詔, the full text of which is seen in *Quan Tangwen*, juan 125 (Dong Gao, *Quan Tangwen*, vol. 2, 1255–1256).



goodness to transform the people. If [people] attain goodness, then in doing so they worship the Buddha. How could those copper statues be called Buddhas? Moreover I have heard that the Buddha's intention was to benefit the people. So although [one has the use of] head and eyes [of Buddha statues], one still offers donations.<sup>280</sup> If my body could be used to save the people, I would not feel pity [to give it up]."<sup>281</sup>

This year 3,336 monasteries were closed.<sup>282</sup> [The copper of] the destroyed Buddha statues were used to cast Zhou dynasty style string coins. p. 392, b19

The emperor thereupon went to examine the monasteries, and issued [the following] order: "Among the males above the age of fifteen [only those who can] recite 100 sheets or read 500 sheets of sūtra [text], and among the females above the age of thirteen [only those who can] recite 70 sheets or read 300 sheets of sūtra [text] fulfill the requirements for renouncing secular life. In each commandery exams shall be held, and only when [on this basis] the Ministry of Sacrifices<sup>283</sup> has issued the certificate [the applicant] may shave his head and be ordained."<sup>284</sup> p. 392, b21

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Third year: The emperor summoned Chen Tuan 陳搏 (ca. 920–989), a hermit from Mount Hua 華山,<sup>285</sup> and asked him about the arts of flying into heaven and alchemy. The reply was: "The emperor takes governing and ordering all under heaven as his occupation. How could those matters be employed for it?"<sup>286</sup> Thereupon he sent him back to the mountain, and decreed [the offi- p. 392, b25]

280 This means that, as in Buddhism the emphasis is rather on offering donations to other people out of compassion, while Buddha statues are not of any real use.

281 In the last sentence the emperor is saying that, if adoring devotional objects could generate benefits, he would not even mind giving up his own body for this purpose. Both the decree issued in the ninth month and the present statement the emperor directs to his attendants and ministers are seen in *Zizhi tongjian*, juan 292 (Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 9529–9530), and in *Shishi tongjian* 釋氏通鑑, juan 12 (X76, no. 1516, p. 133, a4–10 // Z 2B:4, p. 502, d7–13 // R131, p. 1004, b7–13).

282 As we read in *Zizhi tongjian*, juan 292, the number of monasteries that were closed was 30,336 and not 3,336 as stated here in the *Fozu tongji* (Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 9527).

283 In the Taishō edition of the *Fozu tongji* we read 詞部, while in the Shi Daofa edition we find 祠部. The latter means "Ministry of Sacrifices."

284 An annotation reads: "This text is seen in the *Old History* [of the Five Dynasties], while in the *New History* [of the Five Dynasties] by Ouyang [Xiu] it has all been deleted and is not preserved" 此文見舊史。歐陽新史。並刪去弗存。 (T 2035, p. 392, b24).

285 Chen Tuan was an important Daoist master, who around the 940s he settled on Mount Hua.

286 On this matter, see: Livia Knaul, *Leben und Legende des Ch'en T'uan* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1981), 26.

cials of the nearby] commanderies and districts to constantly enquire about his well-being.

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- p. 392, b28 Fourth year, seventh month: The meditation master Wenyi 文益 from Qingliang 清涼 in Jinling 金陵 passed away. The last emperor of the [Southern] Tang being based in Jiangnan 江南唐後主 (i.e. Li Yu 李煜, r. 961–975)<sup>287</sup> had treated [Wenyi] in terms of the rites due to a master. Upon his death [Wenyi was awarded] the posthumous name “scholar of the great dharma eye” 大法眼學者,<sup>288</sup> and he became known as the “founder of the dharma eye [school] 法眼宗.”<sup>289</sup>

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- p. 392, c1 The hermit Tan Jingsheng 譚景升 lived in the Zhongnan Mountains 終南山, was befriended with Chen Tuan, and authored the *Book of Transformations* 化書 in 110 chapters,<sup>290</sup> which thoroughly includes the transformations’ origin. After a long time, he departed as an immortal. Once when travelling through the Mountains of the Three Mao [Brothers] 三茅山, upon arriving in Jianye 建業 (i.e. Nanjing) he met Song Qiqiu 宋齊丘, and said that he would have the manners of immortality<sup>291</sup> and the bones of the Dao. He took out the book, presented it to him, and entrusted him with [the task of] writing a preface for spreading the book in the world. [Song] Qiqiu thereupon stole the work publishing it under his own name. But he had not understood what the *Book of Transformations* contains about the Dao.<sup>292</sup>

287 Jiangnan covered most of the territory of the Southern Tang.

288 This is known from the biography of Wenyi in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, juan 13 (T 2061, p. 788, b10–11).

289 On Wenyi and the Fayen school, see: Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism: A History, vol. 1: India and China* (New York: Macmillan, 1988), 233–236. On Wenyi’s general involvement in the political situation of his times, see: Benjamin Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs*, 16f.

290 The author of the work was Tan Qiao 譚峭 (ca. 860–ca. 940), whose *zi* was Jingsheng 景升.

291 In the Taishō edition of the *Fozu tongji* we read 仙脫. In the Shi Daofa edition we read 仙風. The latter means “manners of immortality” (referring to the Daoist strife for immortality through practices of inner or outer alchemy).

292 An annotation reads: “[Song] Qiqiu was the chancellor of the second emperor of the Later Tang” 齊丘相後唐二世 (T 2035, p. 392, c6). When it comes to the *Book of Transformations*, modern scholarship confirms that the work, originally authored by Tan Qiao, “was immediately appropriated by the high official of the Southern Tang, Song Qiqiu 宋齊丘 (886–959), who wrote a preface and published the work under his own name

**Commentary:** Zeng Zao 曾慥 wrote the *Jixian zhuan* 集仙傳, which says: “Chen Xiyi 陳希夷 (i.e. Chen Tuan) said that his friend Tan Jingsheng composed the *Book of Transformations*.” It also says: “[Song] Qiqiu stole [the *Book of Transformations*] publishing it under his own name. The people of the world could not know its falsehood.” This should be roughly comparable to the matter of Xiang Xiu’s 向秀 commentary on the *Zhuangzi*, which was stolen by Guo Xiang 郭象, who published it under his own name.<sup>293</sup> These two matters are of the same kind. Does that not reach the level of theft?

...

Sixth year: When previously the emperor destroyed the [Buddha] statues, [an image] from Zhenzhou 鎮州 [representing the] great compassion offered numinous responses. Even though the edict [to destroy the statues] had been issued, nobody dared to approach [this image]. When the emperor heard about it, he personally went to the relevant monastery, and destroyed its face and chest with an axe. The spectators shivered at that. When the emperor [later on] was on a campaign in the north, an abscess grew from his chest. Hastily he returned to the capital, whereupon he died.<sup>294</sup> p. 392, c12

Zhou Baisheng, a military officer from Biandu 汴都將士周百勝,<sup>295</sup> in his old age stayed at home, followed a vegetarian diet and recited [the name of] p. 392, c15

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in 930” (Poul Andersen, “Huashu,” in: *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio [London: Routledge, 2008], vol. 1, 518). For a study of the work and its history, see: John Didier, “Messrs. T’an, Chancellor Sung, and the Book of Transformation (Hua shu): Texts and Transformations of Traditions,” in: *Asia Major*, third series 11, no. 1 (1998): 99–150.

293 Present-day research does however suggest that the Guo Xiang commentary is in fact independent from Xiang Xiu: “Claims that he (i.e. Guo Xiang) plagiarized Xiang Xiu’s 向秀 (227–272) commentary to the *Zhuangzi* have been proved untrue on the basis of quotations of Xiang Xiu’s commentary in Lu Deming’s 陸德明 (556–627) *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文 (Exegesis of Classical Texts)” (Isabelle Robinet, “Guo Xiang,” in: *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio. [London: Routledge, 2008], vol. 1, 462).

294 An annotation reads: “[Source:] *Yang Wengong tanyuan*” 楊文公談苑 (T 2035, p. 392, c15). The *Yang Wengong tanyuan* is a work that is represented with a bibliographic entry in *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考, juan 216 (Ma Duanlin 馬端臨, *Wenxian tongkao* [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011], vol. 10, 6036). Here is the version of the present story, as it appears in the *Yang Wengong tanyuan*: 周世宗毀銅佛像鑄錢，曰：「佛教以為頭目髓腦有利於眾生，尚無所惜，寧復以銅像為愛乎？」鎮州大悲銅像甚有靈應，擊毀之際，以斧鑕自胸鏡破之，彼世宗北征，病疽發胸間，咸謂報應。(source: <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=126836>—accessed: 17th of January 2020).

295 The term ‘jiangshi’ 將士, which we find here in *Fozu tongji*, juan 42, would be hard to translate as a title, as it would rather mean ‘officers and men.’ However Zhou Baisheng is

the Buddha. One evening, in a dream, he saw an official in yellow clothing, who brought him into a big city, and took him to the official residence. The administrator gave orders to let [Zhou Baisheng] view hell. [In hell] he saw one man with black skin who lay on a big iron bed. A demon jailer used a chisel to crack open the man's chest, and poured molten copper inside. The screams [of pain] were unbearable. [Zhou] Baisheng was scared, and recited the name of the Buddha requesting to return. [The official in yellow clothing] who had brought him [into hell] said: "As you are already a disciple of the Buddha, you do not need to be scared." [Zhou] Baisheng asked: "Who is the prisoner?" The reply was: "This is Emperor Chai[rong] 柴[榮] (i.e. the present Emperor Shizong). He receives this punishment for having destroyed the [Buddha] statues." [Zhou] Baisheng said: "This is my former ruler. At what time will he attain liberation?" [The official in yellow clothing] who had brought him [into hell] said: "First having shackled this man, when we delivered him [Yama]rāja accused him saying: 'Only when in all the world the Zhou [dynasty style] string coins are used up, he will be free of his guilt.'" [The official in yellow clothing] who had brought [Zhou Baisheng into hell] guided him out of the city gate following the same path. When hearing the bells of the monastery [Zhou Baisheng] awakened [from his dream]. [Zhou] Baisheng frequently shared the matter with other people, and those who heard it sighed sorrowfully.<sup>296</sup>

p. 392, c26

**Commentary:** Since ancient times the Buddha dharma encountered four periods of destruction.

p. 392, c26

Taiwu of the [Northern] Wei because of Cui Hao, the Minister of Education 司徒崔浩, burned and destroyed the sūtras and statues, pit-buried and killed the śramaṇas. Subsequently Cui Hao was cut into two parts at the waist. Taiwu in his body experienced a disease, and finally he was killed by the Attendant-in-ordinary Zong Ai 常侍宗愛. When Wencheng succeeded him on the throne, he again greatly revived the Buddha dharma. (This was the first period.)

p. 392, c29

[Emperor] Wu of the [Northern] Zhou because of Wei Yuansong 衛元嵩 destroyed the sūtras and statues, pagodas and monasteries. He [also] expelled the śramaṇas returning them to laity. After that Du Qi 杜祁 upon entering hell saw the matter of [Emperor] Wu of the [North-

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also mentioned in *Fozu tongji*, juan 54, where he has the title 'wujiang' 武將, which can be translated as 'military officer' (T 2035, p. 471, b17–18).

296 An annotation reads: "[Source:] *Shenyang lu*" 神應錄 (T 2035, p. 392, c25).

ern] Zhou suffering calamities in hell and begging for rescue.<sup>297</sup> When Emperor Xuan inherited the throne and developed the country vigorously, the Buddha dharma flourished again. (This was the second period.)

Tang Wuzong because of Zhao Guizhen 趙歸真 destroyed the statues and abolished the monasteries. He also returned the monks and nuns to laity. The emperor afterwards had an abscess growing out of his back, and he died. At that time the officer at the Muling [Pass] 穆陵尉 said: "Because Li Yan 李炎 (i.e. Tang Wuzong) destroyed Buddhism, the heavenly favor gave him the retribution of being deprived of his longevity and of losing his throne, while [Zhao] Guizhen and the others were all executed." When [Tang] Xuanzong ascended the throne, the Buddha dharma greatly flourished [again]. (This was the third period.) p. 393, a3

Zhou Shizong destroyed the statues to cast coins, also abolishing and removing the monasteries, and abscess grew out of his chest and he died. A person saw him suffering calamities in hell, and there was the statement that only when the Zhou [dynasty style] string coins are used up he would be liberated of his guilt. (This was the fourth period.) p. 393, a7

Five years [after the end of the reign of Zhou Shizong] our Emperor Taizu [of the Song dynasty] rode on the dragon within heaven.<sup>298</sup> The first thing [he did] was to give orders to reestablish the monasteries and to erect [Buddha] statues in all under heaven. He sent śramaṇas to request the dharma in India. He [established] an institute for Indian monks to translate and transmit the palm leaf scriptures. p. 393, a9

遣沙門求法西天。

館梵僧翻傳貝葉。

He erected monasteries to rescue the souls of the warriors. He created printing plates to augment the transmission of the Buddhist cannon.

建精藍濟戰士之魄。

造經版壽大藏之傳。

Even when there are many affairs in the state (i.e. even in busy times), in expanding and eulogizing the way of the Buddha there is nothing he would not do. When [Song] Taizong inherited the throne he ordained 170,000 boys [as Buddhist monks]. He established an institute for the translation of sūtras. He formulated a *Preface for the Holy Teachings*.

297 The story of Du Qi witnessing the sufferings of Zhou Wudi in hell has been told above—see: *Fozu tongji*, juan 39 (T 2035, p. 360, a1–10).

298 This is a metaphor suggesting that Song Taizu became emperor.

建譯經院。

製聖教序。

He donated name plates to the nameless saṃgha-arāmas in all under heaven. He erected the treasury of relics in the Kaibao Grand Pagoda.

賜天下無名伽藍之額。

建開寶大塔舍利之藏。

When [Song] Zhenzong ascended the throne, his holy virtue covered everything reaching into the remote distance, so that the five parts of India all presented the Sanskrit scriptures, which were luminously lined up in the Tianxi era. 240,000 monks were ordained.<sup>299</sup>

- p. 393, a20 When [Song] Renzong ascended the throne, he supported the superior yāna in many respects. He revered the merit of translating, and spread the scrolls and words from the Palace of the [Buddhist] Canon among the vassal states.

**Supplements for *Fayun tongsai zhi*, juan 9  
(i.e. for *Fozu tongji*, juan 42)**

- p. 393, a23 [Tang Xuanzong 唐宣宗, Dazhong era, tenth year:] It was decreed that Xuanyuan Ji 軒轅集 from Mount Luofu 羅浮山 was to come [to the court] for an audience. The emperor asked him: “You, the master, have reached a high age. Which path guided you there?” The reply was: “I stay away from sound and form; I discard taste; I see grief and joy as the same; I spread kindness. Thus I am able to unite my body with heaven and earth, and to equate my brightness with sun and moon. 天地合體。日月齊明。 This leads to [the attainment of a] high age. I do not strife for other things.”<sup>300</sup>

- p. 393, a26 After a long while, [Xuanyuan Ji] requested [permission] to return to Mount [Luofu]. The emperor asked: “Could you let me know for how long I will still govern all under heaven?” [Xuanyuan] Ji in vertical style wrote the characters “40.” And it turned out that indeed he attained 40 years [of rulership].<sup>301</sup>

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299 This is a praiseful account of the support for Buddhism granted by the first three emperors of the Northern Song dynasty. For a general introduction to the policy of the early Song emperors towards Buddhism, see: Huang Chi-chiang, “Imperial Rulership and Buddhism in the Early Northern Sung,” in: *Imperial Rulership and Cultural Change in Traditional China*, ed. Frederick P. Brandauer (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994): 144–187.

300 To this point the dialogue between Xuanyuan Ji and Tang Xuanzong 唐宣宗 (r. 846–859) is known from *Jiu Tangshu*, juan 18, part 2 (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 2, 642).

301 On this matter, see: *Taiping guangji*, juan 48 (Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, vol. 1, 300–301).

[Tang Yizong 唐懿宗, Xiantong era, 14th year:] Zhongli Quan 鐘離權, whose *zi* was Yunfang 雲房, said himself that in the Han dynasty he had met Wang Xuanfu 王玄甫, and attained the path of longevity.<sup>302</sup> He went into the Zhongnan Mountains to hide himself from the turmoil, and among the cliffs he discovered the *Lingbao jing* 靈寶經 (i.e. the Scripture of the Numinous Treasure). He understood that the fact that “within Yin there is Yang, while within Yang there is Yin,” constitutes the law of ascending and descending between heaven and earth; that the fact that “water is born out of life force, while life force is born out of water,” constitutes the principle of the connection between heart and kidneys.

陰中有陽，陽中有陰，為天地升降之宜。

氣中生水，水中生氣，即心腎交合之理。

Therefore through quiet sitting and inner observation one can have a body outside the body.<sup>303</sup>

Lü Yan of the Tang dynasty 唐呂巖, whose chosen name was Dongbin 洞賓, three times participated in the Jinshi examinations, but was not accepted. In an alehouse in Chang'an he met Yunfang, who led [Lü] Dongbin into the Zhongnan Mountains, and passed on the *Complete Methods of the Numinous Treasure* 靈寶畢法 in twelve sections to him. [Yunfang] said: “With the Golden Declarations, the Jade Records, the True Origin, the Comparisons [between the microcosm and the macrocosm], the Perfect Instructions, and the Essentials of the Way their meanings are six,<sup>304</sup> and they include the purposes of the five kinds of immortals to instruct me.”

302 While there is a transcendent named Wang Xuanfu also in the *Zhen'gao* 真誥, the one we are concerned with here is venerated as the first patriarch of Quanzhen Daoism. Zhongli Quan, who is venerated as the second patriarch of the Quanzhen school, received the teachings from the first patriarch.

303 The expression of “having a body outside the body” 身外有身 is used in the context of “neidan” 內丹 (inner alchemy) practices. It refers to the concept that through spiritual practice the mind is able to leave the body (Monica Esposito, “chushen—neidan,” in: *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio [London: Routledge, 2008], vol. 1, 282f.).

304 The full title of the work quoted here is *Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa* 祕傳正陽真人靈寶畢法 (Secret Transmission of the Perfected Zhengyang's Complete Methods of the Numinous Treasure), and it is preserved in the Daozang as DZ 1191. The Perfected Zhengyang is Zhongli Quan. Zhongli Quan claimed that he found a copy of the *Lingbao jing* in a cave in the Zhongnan Mountains, which was divided into the sections of “Jingao shu” 金誥書 (Book of Golden Declarations), “Yulu” 玉錄 (Jade Records), and “Zhenyuan yi” 真元義 (Meaning of the True Origin). Zhongli Quan selected passages from each of these three sections enhancing them with commentaries. This way he created the “Biyu” 比喻 (Comparisons [between the microcosm and the macrocosm]), the “Zhenjue” 真訣 (Perfect Instructions), and the “Daoyao” 道要 (Essentials of the Way). On this basis,

p. 393, b9 He said to him (i.e. Yunfang said to Lü Dongbin): “Our dynasty will last for a predestined period of time. You should live in a cave here [in the Zhongnan Mountains].”<sup>305</sup> Immediately there was an immortal who descended and proclaimed a celestial decree. With golden banners and jaden insignia [Lü Dongbin] was welcomed to ascend into heaven. [Later on] [Lü] Dongbin paid a visit [down on earth] travelling along the Yangtse [長]江 and the Huai[he] 淮[河]. He ordained He Xiang 何仙姑, Guo Shangzao 郭上竈, and Shi Jianwu 施肩吾.<sup>306</sup>

the *Fozu tongji* here speaks of the “six meanings” of the *Complete Methods of the Numinous Treasure*. Zhongli Quan asked his disciple Lü Dongbin to spread the work among the people. (The information presented here is extracted from: Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein, “Lingbao bifa,” in: *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio [London: Routledge, 2008], vol. 1, 669f.)

305 Yunfang suggests that to remain unaffected by the turmoil likely to accompany the pending fall of the Tang, Lü Dongbin should start a life as a hermit in a cave.

306 An annotation reads: “The immortal Lü [Dongbin] travelled within the human society from Tang to Song times. The traces of matters [related to him] are not one (i.e. there are many sources).” 呂仙遊行人間。自唐及宋。事迹非一。 (T 2035, p. 393, b12).



# Glossary of Sanskrit Terms

- abhiṣeka** initiation, empowerment  
**ācārya** a Buddhist master  
**ahiṃsā** abstaining from killing  
**araṇya** forest  
**bodhi** enlightenment  
**bodhicitta** aspiration to enlightenment  
**bodhisattva** a Buddhist saint striving for Buddhahood  
**bodhi-maṇḍala** circle of enlightenment (usually referring to a chapel or another place of spiritual practice)  
**buddha-anusmṛti** the practice of invoking Buddha Amitābha  
**dakṣiṇā** donation  
**dānapati** a lay donor supporting the saṃgha  
**dhāraṇī** a mnemonic code  
**hīnayāna** the lesser vehicle leading to enlightenment (a pejorative term coined within the mahāyāna tradition)  
**jhāpita** cremation of a deceased person  
**kalaviṅka** bird with a melodious voice native appearing in various sūtras  
**kāṣāya** a monk's robe  
**mahāsattva** a great bodhisattva  
**mahāyāna** the great vehicle leading to enlightenment  
**mānavaka** a young man  
**nāga** a dragon, class of creatures associated with water in Indian mythology  
**niraya** hell  
**nirmāṇa-kāya** emanation body, transformation body (manifestation of a Buddha or bodhisattva in the world of humans)  
**pattra** a kind of palm tree (in ancient India scriptures were written on pattra leaves)  
**pratyekabuddha** individually enlightened Buddha (a hīnayānistic term referring to a person who reached the level of Buddhahood without depending on the teachings of the Buddha, but cannot become a Buddha himself, since—in the hīnayānistic understanding—a new Buddha can only emerge when the dharma as spread by the previous Buddha is not available any more)  
**punya** merit  
**saṃgha** the community of Buddhist monks and nuns  
**saṃgha-arāma** a Buddhist convent  
**saṃghāṭī** a monk's patchwork robe  
**śāstra** a Buddhist doctrinal treatise  
**śramaṇa** a Buddhist monk or nun

**stotra** a hymn of praise

**stūpa** a building containing relics

**sūtra** a Buddhist scripture claiming to contain the words of the Buddha

**trepiṭaka** a master of the tripiṭaka

**tripiṭaka** the three baskets (i.e. the Buddhist canon consisting of the three collections of sūtra-piṭaka, vinaya-piṭaka, and abhidharma-piṭaka)

**upāsaka** a Buddhist layman

**vinaya** the corpus of monastic regulations

# Bibliography

## Abbreviations

### *Buddhist Canons*

T	Taishō shinshū daizōkyō 《正新修大藏經》
X	Xuzangjing 《卍新纂大日本續藏經》
Z	Zokuzokyo 《卍大日本續藏經》
R	Reprint 《卍續藏經》(新文豐影印本)
K	Gaoli dazang 高麗大藏

### *Daoist Canon*

DZ	Daozang 道藏 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1988)
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### *Internet Resources*

DDb	A.C. Muller, <i>Digital Dictionary of Buddhism</i>
SKQS	Wenyuange siku quanshu dianzi ban 文淵閣四庫全書電子版
CTEXT	Chinese Text Project, <a href="http://www.ctext.org">www.ctext.org</a>

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