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A Biography of Chu Tao-sheng 竺道生

By Walter Liebenthal, Santiniketan

1. Tao-sheng's Youth - His Sojourn on Lu-shan

Tao-sheng's clan name was Wei 魏. When he was born¹⁾ the family lived in P'eng-ch'eng 彭城, the modern Hsü-chou 徐州 in northern Kiangsu, where it had moved from Chü-lu 鉅鹿 in southwestern Hopei. His father was a magistrate of Kuang-ch'i 廣戚, a district of P'eng-ch'eng-kuo. He had the reputation of being an honest official. His biography says:²⁾ 'Sheng was an unusually gifted child who understood easily what he was taught. He was the idol of his father who soon recognized his extraordinary abilities.' With the agreement of his father, he entered the community of Chu Fa-t'ai 竹法汰 at the Wa-kuan-ssu 瓦官寺 in Chien-k'ang.³⁾ Fa-t'ai's biography says:⁴⁾ 'From Tung-kuan 東莞 (in Shantung). Studied together with Tao-an under Buddha Mātaṅga 佛圖澄.⁵⁾ A bright boy and very good-looking.

* Part I of this study on Chu Tao-sheng was published in MN XI, 1 p. 44 ff. under the title *Chinese Buddhism During the 4th and 5th Centuries*. It served to acquaint the reader with some unusual terms which cannot easily be understood without a historical introduction.

1) The date of his birth is unknown. Tang gives it as 360 because he thinks Sheng entered the community about 371 at the usual age of eleven. In this case he would have reached the age of seventy-four. In a note on p. 611 Tang has 'sixty' which perhaps is a slip.

2) My quotations from Tao-sheng's biography refer to the *Yu-lu* ch. 15. 4.

3) The Chin had changed the name of the capital from 建業 to 建鄴 which became taboo and was replaced by 建康. In this case I should more correctly write Chien-yeh. But in order to simplify matters I write Chien-k'ang throughout.

4) *KSCH* 5 p. 354b. Cf. *Tang, History* p. 204, also 252, 267. Fa-t'ai believed in ghosts. The *Chien-k'ang shih-lu* 建康實錄 ch. 9 p. 6a contains a story, also found in the *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* 36, *Taishō* 2035 XLIX p. 340c, in which Wang T'an-chih 王坦之 appeared before him after death. They had agreed that whoever died first would appear before the other in order to prove the existence of ghosts (神明).

5) Cf. W. Liebenthal, *On the Sanskrit Equivalent of Fu-t'u-teng*, in *Sino-Indian Studies* III, 3. 4, Santiniketan 1949, pp. 127-130. The 'teng' in

Followed Tao-an to Hsin-yeh 新野, where Tao-an dispersed his disciples. T'ai was sent to the capital. ... There he lived in the Wa-kuan-ssu.' When he arrived he was ordered to lecture on the *Fang-kuang* 放光般若波羅蜜經⁶⁾ before the Emperor.⁷⁾ During the reign of Chien-wen Ti (371-372) he was at the zenith of his fame and drew many followers. Tao-sheng may have been one of them. He died in Chien-k'ang in 387⁸⁾ at sixty-eight years of age.

Fa-t'ai was not a great scholar but a famous orator and influential through his relations with the gentry. Among his patrons we meet Wang Ch'ia 王洽 and his son Hsün 珣 whose son, Wang Hung 王弘 (below note 55), took part in the discussions on Instantaneous Illumination. Another patron, Hsieh An 謝安, belonged to the clan of Hsieh Ling-yün 謝靈運, the Buddhist poet and friend of Tao-sheng (below note 67). With the *Dharma* Tao-sheng inherited the social position of his teacher.⁹⁾ Whether he was taught any sutra but the *Fang-kuang* we do not know.¹⁰⁾ Fa-t'ai's biography says that 'his pupils sat in rows.' This looks like an organized Buddhist school, perhaps the first in history.

Tao-sheng adopted the clerical surname of his teacher, Chu. In the community he attracted attention because he learned easily. At fifteen he was able to lecture and was respected as a debater. When he had taken the vows at about twenty he himself became a famous teacher.

Mātaṅga is normally transliterated 滕, not 澄 as in Fu-t'u-teng, but the *Mātāṅgī Sūtra* has 登 and 鄧. The *KSCH* 9 p. 389a (cf. version 7) lists the variants 澄, 澄, 澄, 澄. This makes the reading *Mātaṅga* probable. Other evidence is furnished by a legend in the *T'ien-shih chi* 漢釋紀 (fol. 1 ff.), which contains two biographies, that of Kaśyapa, Ch'an patriarch, and that of *Mātaṅga*, his *nirmānakāya*. Kaśyapa *Mātaṅga* has become two persons in the legend. There *Mātaṅga* is written 澄 as in 佛圖澄. He is then called 小澄尊者. The problem remains open.

6) The *Pañcaviṃśatikā*, *Taishō* 221, brought by Chu Shih-hsing from Khotan and translated by Mokṣala.

7) Between 365, the date of the dispersal of the apostles, and 371. Most probably not long before the latter date.

8) Cf. *The Book of Chao* p. 150 note 655.

9) It is interesting to notice to what extent Buddhism was hereditary not only on the mountains but, at least in the early centuries, also in the clans. The feuds between the religions were certainly not independent of those between the rival families.

10) Many monks knew no more than one sutra, but the Wa-kuan-ssu was a center of Buddhist studies. Fa-t'ai had written some commentaries called *i-shu* 義疏 like those of Tao-sheng.

Tao-sheng' travels began when he was in his thirties. He probably arrived on Lu-shan (a mountain south of the modern Kiukiang on the Yangtse river), a center of Buddhist life, early in the year 397.¹¹⁾ There he met Hui-yüan and Sanghadeva, a Sarvāstivādin from Kashmira who had come to the mountain four or five years after 385¹²⁾ and there translated the *Abhidharma-sāra Śāstra*¹³⁾ composed by Dharmaśrestī¹⁴⁾ in 391 and the

11) The *Yu-lu* p. 110c says that Tao-sheng arrived at Lu-shan in the *lung-an* period (397-401) and stayed there seven years. Tang on p. 613 challenges these dates. He thinks that he came earlier because else he could not have studied with Sanghadeva who left the Lu-shan in 397. But looking at things from another angle, I doubt if he did not arrive even later than 397. The four 'comrades' (below note 15) are not listed among the twelve monks who participated in the translation of the *ta-p'in* 大品 (*Pañcaviṃśatikā*) in 403-4, the greatest social event of the time. If they arrived in Ch'ang-an in 405 and travelled one year, counting seven years back, 397 would be the earliest possibility. After a pause of 5 years the first embassy from the Chin to the Ch'in came through in 405. Tang himself in another place (p. 356) says that Hui-yüan heard first in 405 that Kumārajīva had come, and that then the 'comrades' left. This would give 398-9 for Sheng's arrival at Lu-shan. Besides, Wa-kuan-ssu burned down in 397 (*KSCH* p. 410a) which event may have forced him to leave this place.

12) Gautama Sanghadeva, Ābhidharmika, came to Ch'ang-an in 383 but after the breakdown of Fu Chien in 385 he went to Lo-yang together with Tao-an's disciple Fa-ho 法和. In Ch'ang-an he had participated in the translation of the *Vasumitra* (the *Prakaraṇa-pāda*) by Sanghabhūti in 384 and had, together with Fo-nien 佛念, tried to translate the first version of the *Jñānapraṣṭhāna* in which one chapter was lacking. Because these translations of *Abhidharma* texts were not successful, Sanghadeva tried again in Lo-yang after he had learned more Chinese, and reedited the *Jñānapraṣṭhāna* and the *Vibhāṣā* 鞞婆沙論, which had been first translated by Sanghabhūti in Ch'ang-an in 383. His version of the *Vibhāṣā* in fourteen chapters, also called *Vibhāṣā Abhidharma* or *Kuang-shuo* 廣說, is now lost. When it became clear that Yao Hsing was an even more pious Buddhist than Fu Chien, Fa-ho and his group went back to Ch'ang-an while Sanghadeva 'crossed the river' in 391 on invitation of Hui-yüan. On the Lu-shan he retranslated the *Abhidharma-sāra*. This was done in the Pan-ju-t'ai 般若臺 of the Nan-shan ching-she 南山精舍 in 391. The same year he retranslated the *Tridharmaka*, *Taishō* 1506, already twice translated in Ch'ang-an. In 398 he went to the capital where a *dānapati*, the marquis of Tung-t'ing 東亭侯 General Wang Hsün 衛軍王珣, had built him a monastery (精舍). There he retranslated *Ekottara* and *Madhayama Āgamas* with people from Lu-shan and lectured on the *Abhidharma*. *KSCH* p. 328c; *Yu-lu* pp. 63c, 64a; *Tang, History* pp. 223, 227, 354, 840; Bagchi, *Le canon bouddique en Chine*, tome 1er, Paris 1927, p. 161, 335.

13) 阿毘曇心論 *Taishō* 1550 (cf. 1551). Most authors say *Abhidharma-hṛdaya*, I follow La Vallée-Poussin, cf. *Kośa*, Introduction p. XLVIII.

14) B. Nanjiō gives Dharmajina, Takakusu Dharmottara, La Vallée-Poussin, following Pelliot, gives Dharmaśrī, U. Wogihara as above. Cf. Akanuma

Tridharmaka Sūtra, an *Āgama* text, soon afterwards. The same year Deva moved from Lu-shan to the capital.

Tao-sheng stayed on Lu-shan seven years until 405. Then he went north together with Hui-yen 慧嚴, Hui-jui 慧叡 and Hui-kuan 慧觀.¹⁵⁾ The obituary and the biography both say that on the mountain he met Deva and studied *Sarvāstivāda*. He lived first in the Ching-she¹⁶⁾ together with the Indian, but must have moved to the Hsi-lin-ssu 西林寺 later,¹⁷⁾ perhaps after Deva

Chizen, *Indo-Bukkyō koyū-meishi-jiten* p. 167a.

15) Hui-chiao, *KSCH* p. 367a 14, says that 'they studied together and were equally famous.' Because they all started from Lu-shan perhaps on the initiative of Hui-yüan they just have belonged to his circle. Hui-yüan must somehow have financed or at least prepared this journey. At that time monks were not yet popular and needed recommendations and funds if they did not peddle. Fa-t'ai used to travel by cart which implies that monks did not lose their social rank in case they had any.

Among Tao-sheng's companions Hui-jui (355-439) was the oldest. He is known as traveller. Caught by tribesmen in west Szechuan, he was kept as a slave some years. He is said to have visited India. When in the capital he taught the elements of Sanskrit to Hsieh Ling-yün who devised the Chinese system of spelling, called *fan-ch'ieh*. In Chien-k'ang he lived in the Wu-i-ssu 烏衣寺, very near the residential quarters of the Hsieh family in Wu-i-hsiang (Swallow Street). We read that the circle who met there were called the *wu-i yu* 遊 (comrades of the Swallow or of the Buddhist clergy). Hui-jui is the author of the *Yü-i lun* which probably describes the situation as seen in this circle of friends. Cf. *Tang, History* pp. 298, 325, and *Sung-shu* 58 p. 2b. The Prince (P'eng-ch'eng Wang) I-k'ang (Nan-shih 13) is mentioned in the biography as his patron. *KSCH* 7 p. 367a; *Tang, History* pp. 298, 325.

Hui-yen (363-443) took part in the translations in Ch'ang-an. Later in Chien-k'ang he helped with the translation of the *Avataṃśaka Sūtra* (Buddhabhadra 418-421) and the compilation of the revised edition of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* (about 430). (See below.) In the capital he lived in the Tung-an-ssu 東安寺. *KSCH* p. 367b, *Tang, History* pp. 297, 325.

Hui-kuan, who died between 443 and 447 (cf. *The Book of Chao* p. 183 note 786), began his studies with the *Lotus Sūtra*. He became a disciple of Hui-yüan; in Ch'ang-an he studied meditation under Buddhahadra whom he followed to Lu-shan. In 412 he arrived in Chiang-ling 江陵 (Ching-chou). There he met Liu Yü, later Kao-tsu of the Sung, and became the tutor of his son, later Wen Ti. As such he was a favorite of the Emperor and took part in the festivities at the court. In the capital he stayed at the Tao-ch'ang-ssu 道場寺. *KSCH* 7 p. 368b; *Tang, History* pp. 307, 326.

16) *KSCH biography*. This must be the Nan-shan ching-she (or Tung-lin ching-she) which Hui-yüan had built when he moved to the Tung-lin-ssu. Cf. note 12.

17) The *MSCH, Shuo-ch'u* 10, has an entry 廬山西寺竺道生事 followed by 廬山惠遠習有宗事. Thus some time during his first stay he must have lived at the Hsi-lin-ssu. His biography says that in 430 he moved from Hu-ch'iu-shan to the

had departed. This monastery is situated in the plain north of the mountain while the Tung-lin-ssu 東林寺, the residence of Hui-yüan, the Ching-she, the Prajñā Hall where the sutras were translated, and the living quarters of the community and the guests were on the top of a steep mountain. Today on a good road the climb takes three to four hours but at that time it must have taken much longer. This means that Tao-sheng could not have taken part in the daily routine of the community. It means further that he did not belong to the inner circle which in legend has become the White Lotus Society, composed of Buddhist laymen exclusively. There is not one monk among those who participated in taking the vow to enter Paradise together.¹⁸⁾ Though Hui-yüan was keenly interested in news from Buddhist India (he repeatedly sent disciples there in search of sutras, corresponded with Kumārajīva and received every Indian with great honours), he was given to conversation rather than to serious study.

Tao-sheng learned *Sarvāstivāda* on Lu-shan. This means that he read the translation of the *Abhidharma-sāra* and during the first year listened to the explanations of Sanghadeva who 'could talk and laugh with his Chinese friends.'¹⁹⁾ But very little influence of this study is noticeable in his writings. Occasional reminiscences from the *Sāra* occur,²⁰⁾ but his world-view remained virtually untouched. Hui-lin's statement that Tao-sheng 'amalgamated Sanghadeva's *Sarvāstivāda* with Kumārajīva's *Mahāyāna*'²¹⁾ cannot mean that at any time he was a *Sarvāstivādin*.

Tao-sheng remained on Lu-shan when Sanghadeva had gone. This proves that he was personally attached to the older teacher. But he was the keener thinker and in conversation perhaps gave more than he took.²²⁾

Hui-yüan had been brought up on the *Classics*, *History*, the *Lao Tzu*, *Chuang Tzu*, and the *I Ching*. His range of learning was exactly that of the gentry. He virtually never quotes a

Ching-she on Lu-shan, which can only refer to the Tung-lin ching-she. There he composed the *CSPS* and died in 434. Thus during the second sojourn he lived in the Tung-lin-ssu, the abbot's residence. *Tang, History* p. 621 differs.

18) *KSCH* 7 p. 359a 12.

19) Biography, *KSCH* 2 p. 329a.

20) Cf. translations (14b) note 2, (15k) note 3 to be published later.

21) In the obituary. From there it has gone into the *KSCH*.

22) 潘友蘭、中國哲學史, Shanghai 1933, vol. 2 p. 687.

Buddhist sutra. His Buddhism was, as Tang says, his personal impression of Buddhism, got through contact with Tao-an, rather than the doctrine of a school,²³⁾ while Tao-sheng searched the sutras; he understood all his speculation as interpretation of the Scriptures which, as the word of the Buddha, were infallible. But, as his biographer says, 'in spite of his great erudition, he kept a definite line in his studies,' which means that he kept fast to his own problems, the same as that of Hui-yüan and his circle, those which were discussed all over southern China among the gentlemen of philosophical inclinations. On Lu-shan, in that atmosphere of eager expectation, Tao-sheng formulated the questions which the sutras and their interpreter, Kumārajīva, should answer. This he did irrespective of Indian problematics.

2. Discussion on Lu-shan

The problem, most discussed on Lu-shan, was the person of the Sage, his realm, our own position in the cosmic pageant topped by the One. In Indian Buddhism the Buddhas are many; they are, basically, always teachers not rulers or originators. In the *Prajñāpāramitās* they are superhuman, in the *Lotus Sūtra* they fill the chiliocosms with their *nirmānakāyas*, but that teaming multitude could not satisfy the Chinese mind. The Cosmic Sage can only be one, ever the same, incomparable; the real Buddha was not the figure which appeared once in an eon in order to reveal the *Dharma*, but the magic power in the Origin which made things grow, and never exhausts itself. When once the conversation turned to the problem of the longevity²⁴⁾ of the Buddha, Hui-yüan said: 'The Buddha is the immutable center of the universe; immutable cosmic order, how can it cease to exist?'²⁵⁾ That characterizes also the Buddha, as conceived by Tao-sheng.

As we shall see, Tao-sheng taught the indivisibility of Cosmic Order (*li*), and consequently the oneness of the Sage. In the above statement Hui-yüan anticipated this step. When once he had identified the Buddha with *t'i*, the one immutable source of creation, it was impossible for him to conceive the same as several. If so, there would be two sources, two Cosmic

23) Tang, *History* p. 360: 其經學當已成一家言。

24) 壽命長遠, the topic of the *upāya-kausalya parivarta* (2).

25) This conversation is quoted only in the *KSCH* p. 360a and according to Tang, p. 632, legendary because, as he thinks, it anticipates the *NS*. I do not think it does. The Buddha, propagated by Hui-yüan, is the Chinese Cosmic Buddha, the Sage, not the immortal person of the *NS*.

Orders, and how could that be? In Indian Buddhism the World has no Summit (or Center) but only a reverse side which is *Nirvāṇa*. A Buddha in *Nirvāṇa* has left the World. What Order should he represent? This point is essential for the distinction of the two Buddhisms.

Tao-sheng, preaching the Cosmic Buddha, followed Chinese tradition which was handed down to him by Hui-yüan. He read it into the sutras; it was what he called their true meaning covered by language, written for the benefit of unintelligent believers, which intentionally did not reveal the full truth.

It seems that on Lu-shan Tao-sheng wrote some of his pamphlets, perhaps that *On the Two Truths*. The Two Truths²⁶⁾ are the two Worlds, this and the other one, about which the Chinese were never quite clear: was it a Paradise or *Nirvāṇa*? This topic had been dealt with in a number of papers during the Chin period. It was picked up again when the Middle Path began to be debated. The pamphlet *Explaining That With the First Thought in the Eighth Bhūmi (the Saint) Realizes His Desire and Attains Nirvāṇa*, if I am right in assuming that it dealt with the Three Vehicles, must belong to this time. Chih Tao-lin had written about the Vehicles²⁷⁾ and Fa-t'ai corresponded with Tao-an about the same. No doubt Tao-sheng knew already the *Lotus Sūtra*²⁸⁾ and had written something in that line. For, when he arrived in Ch'ang-an, he must have been well-known, otherwise he would not have been admitted to the inner circle around Kumārajīva.

3. Tao-sheng in Ch'ang-an

Kumārajīva had come to Ch'ang-an at the end of the year 401²⁹⁾ and after a short *dhyāna* text of only seventeen pages, began at once the translation of the monumental *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Śāstra*³⁰⁾ which, however, was found too voluminous

26) Usually distinguished as *samvṛti-* and *paramārtha-satya*. *Laukika*, worldly, is more often used together with *dharma* or *sat*, but the meaning is the same and on the Chinese side *satya*, truth, and *sat*, existence, are not distinguished. Cf. Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, Leningrad 1927, p. 164 note 1.

27) In the *Pien san-ch'eng lun* 辯三乘論. Cf. *Ch'eng-lu* p. 83c.

28) The *Lotus Sūtra* had come to China in 255 A. D. In 335 there existed already three translations. The similes found there were very popular.

29) Actually in the beginning of 402, but if we are too exact the concordance between the Chinese and Western calendars is lost.

30) *Taishō* 1509. Transl. by E. Lamotte; *Le traité de la grande vertue de sagesse*, tomes 1 and 2, Louvain 1944 and 1949. (*Bibliothèque du Muséon*

for the Chinese public. So in 403 the *Ta-p'in* itself, i.e., the sutra on which the *Śāstra* comments, was taken up and Kumārajīva simply added explanations in Chinese which thus came into the original text. The *Ta-p'in* was translated in an assembly of over five hundred monks and laymen. It seems that Tao-sheng and his fellow travellers arrived too late to take part in this event. But he must have attended the translations of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* and of the *Lotus Sūtra* in 405, that of the *Ch'an-fa-yao* (a sutra on *aśubha-bhāvanā*)³¹⁾ in 407, and in 408 that of the *Hsiao-p'in Daśasāhasrikā*.³²⁾ To all these sutras, with the exception of the *Fa-yao*, Sheng later wrote commentaries. He must have left Ch'ang-an immediately after the translation of the *Hsiao-p'in* and arrived on Lu-shan in the summer of the same year.³³⁾

We do not know why Tao-sheng left so early, why he did not even wait for the translation of the *Mādhyamika Kārikās*³⁴⁾ in the next year, another great event. Seng-chao says that he left 'mid-way',³⁵⁾ so something must have happened which spoiled his enthusiasm; a break must have occurred but we can only guess what this was.

It was the fashion of the time to invite famous debaters to contests that brought fame to the winner but humiliation to the defeated and must have led to enmities. We know of such a debating contest where Tao-sheng won against Tao-jung 道融, a favorite of the ruler Yao Hsing and also of Kumārajīva. Tao-jung lectured on the *Kārikās* even before they were completely translated. As he must have been a self-conscious man and Tao-sheng was very frank in his speech, a quarrel between the two can easily

XVIII). The *MPPS* comprises 700 pages of the *Taishō* edition which were translated in four years, nearly three times as quick as K.'s average. Seng-jui, in his introduction, tells us that the Sanskrit text was cut down to about one eleventh of the original size. If we compare his data with the extant text, it is about one third of the original size. Maybe K.'s explanations were added. Jui says that the Sanskrit was not discussed in common, as it was normal, but that K. explained in Chinese. He sometimes refers to 'Indians' who are said to differ in such and such respect from Chinese, cf. pp. 65b 5 and 684a 25. Perhaps only the first two chapters contain much of the original Sanskrit (?) text which Kumārajīva must have believed to have been composed by Nāgārjuna.

31) *Taishō* 613, cf. *Tang, History* pp. 302, 308 line 3.

32) *Taishō* 227.

33) *Tang, History* p. 615.

34) *Taishō* 1564.

35) 中途還南, Cf. *The Book of Chao* p. 100.

be imagined.³⁶⁾

In Ch'ang-an Tao-sheng made both enemies and friends, Seng-chao being one of the latter. But he must have felt an outsider. Kumārajīva was treated like a prince in captivity (he called himself 'a bird with cut wings'), access was barred by etiquette; he probably could be seen only during lectures. Precious though these were, Tao-sheng must have missed the free and easy talk, the comradeship of the Lu-shan.

About the atmosphere in the Academy(學肆) at Ch'ang-an we are informed through the *Yü-i lun* of Hui-jui. There were, according to Tang two antagonist parties: those who followed Kumārajīva into *Mahāyāna* unhesitatingly, and those who had earlier gone through a study of the *Hīnayāna Āgamas* and the *Abhidharma* literature³⁷⁾ which had reached Ch'ang-an some twenty years before Kumārajīva. They had difficulty to adapt themselves to the new situation.

The Indian teachers who recited the *Āgamas* were *Sarvāstivādins*, that is *Hīnayānists*.³⁸⁾ Tao-an, unchallenged authority in Ch'ang-an, propagated *Mahāyāna*, but in his last years, - he died in 385 -, when the *Ābhidharmikas* arrived, they carried the field and the general interest in Ch'ang-an concentrated upon the *Vibhāṣā* and the *Pādas*. With Kumārajīva's arrival the situation changed again. Kumārajīva was born in Kucha and had been brought up with *Sarvāstivāda* but later was converted to the Great Vehicle. He still kept the *vinaya* of the *Sarvāstivā-*

36) (Tang) *KSCH* 5, p. 462a 16. Biography of Seng-min 僧晏. Tao-jung was the author of a commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra*.

37) There were seven treatises (*Pāda*), (which were, according to the *Taishō* numbers) the *Jñānapraṣṭhāna* (1543), a large, badly composed work, and six small treatises: the *Prakarāṇa* (1541), called the *Vasumitra* in Ch'ang-an; the *Vijñānakāya* (1553), the *Dharmaskandha* (1537), the *Prajñaptiśāstra* (1538), the *Dhātukāya* (1540), the *Samgītiparyāya* (1536), all unknown in Ch'ang-an; the large commentary on the *Jñānapraṣṭhāna*, the *Vibhāṣā* (1547); some other treatises not in this group, the ancient *Sāriputra-abhidharma* (1548); the *Abhidharma-amṛta-śāstra* (1553); the *Abhidharma-sāra* and its commentaries (cf. note 13). Usually not counted among the *Abhidharmas* but belonging to the same class was the *Tattvasiddhi* (1646), translated by Kumārajīva.

38) Stcherbatsky (*The Central Conception of Buddhism*, Ldn. 1923, p. 4) warns that the term *sarvāsti* does not mean that 'all exists'. 'The battle, he says, between the *Sarvāstivādins* and their opponents was fought on an altogether different plane, about a question which had little to do with our conceptions of realism and idealism.' So also La Vallée-Poussin, *La controverse du temps*, in *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, tome 5, 1936-7, pp. 128-134. Cf. *The Book of Chao* pp. 35-6.

dins but was opposed to their theory.

The *Yü-i lun* gives names of teachers hostile to Kumārajīva. Little more is known of the situation. It must have been an enormous, unwieldy crowd that assembled there which had to be kept in order by strict discipline. The noise cannot have been attractive to a cultured gentleman like Tao-sheng.

4. Life in Chien-k'ang

From Ch'ang-an Tao-sheng first went back to Lu-shan where he arrived late in the summer of 408. He brought to Hui-yüan Seng-chao's paper *On Prajñā not Cognizant (of Objects)* (般若無知論) which was read by the members of the community and answered in the same year by the *Upāsaka* Liu I-min 劉遺民.³⁹⁾ Soon afterwards, in 409 according to *KSCH*, Tao-sheng went down to Chien-k'ang. Where he first lived we do not know.⁴⁰⁾ After 419 he stayed in the Lung-kuang-ssu 龍光寺, also called Ch'ing-yüan-ssu 青園寺 because it had been a vegetable garden before.⁴¹⁾

At that time there may have been some thirty monasteries⁴²⁾ in the capital of which the Wa-kuan-ssu 瓦官寺, built in 364, was one of the largest. It had been enlarged by Sheng's teacher, Fa-t'ai, and it is just possible that Sheng lived there first.⁴³⁾ One of the oldest and perhaps the most famous place was the Tao-ch'ang-ssu 道場寺, built in 323. There Fa-hsien

39) A leading figure among the gentlemen on the mountain. He died in 410. Cf. *The Book of Chao* p. 86 note 329.

40) Ch'ing-yüan-ssu was built ten years later in 419 by the consort of Kung Ti (恭思皇后褚氏), murdered in the next year. Cf. her biography in the *Chin-shu* 32.

41) Below the Fu-chou-shan 覆舟山, western spur of the Chung-shan 鍾山 inside the northeastern wall of the old city. I think we can discount the story told in the *KSCH* that after Sheng's expulsion in 428 a dragon appeared because of which event the monastery got its name. In the biography of Buddhajīva in connection with a translation which took place in 423, five years before the expulsion, Sheng is already called 龍光道生.

42) Perhaps there were more, but many of them were parts of residential buildings adapted for the purpose of sheltering a Buddha image or relics. The chronicles of that time still mention the erection of an image as a social event. It is not easy to get exact statistics because smaller monasteries disappeared quickly or changed their name. Other centers of Buddhist life, apart from the capital, were Chiang-ling (Ching-chou) in the west, Kuei-chi in the east, P'eng-ch'eng in the northeast, and the two northern capitals, but smaller cities had already begun to have their own Buddhist shrines.

43) Wa-kuan-ssu was situated southwest of the city, near the residential quarters of the Wang and Hsieh families (above note 15). Cf. P. L. Gail-

translated the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, Buddhahadra the *Avataṃśaka* and the *Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya*, Pao-yün the *Fo-pen-hsing ching* (*Taishō* 193). Hui-kuan stayed there when he came to the capital after 412. More monasteries were built in the *i-hsi* period (405-418), but the high tide of monastery building was under Wen Ti in the *yüan-chia* period (424-453) when Tao-sheng was no longer there.⁴⁴⁾

Life in Chien-k'ang must have been very different from that in Ch'ang-an. There was no organized community under the direct supervision of the ruler, but the monasteries were more or less private institutions dependent upon the family of the founder. The minor clergy did the routine work, reading services and making offerings for the spiritual benefit of the founder and other clients, while the learned monks, when not occupied with translations, had time for study and conversation.

The interest in Buddhism was greatest among the princes. Liu Yü, called Wu Ti as emperor, (420-422), though not averse to the new creed, was uneducated and too much of a warrior to find time to meditate upon abstruse metaphysical problems. Wen Ti (424-454), his son, one of whose tutors had been Hui-kuan, was friendly to the clergy and even founded two monasteries,⁴⁵⁾ but he was not actually a Buddhist and, at least in the first half of his regime, the influence of the monks and nuns was not dangerously large.⁴⁶⁾ Tao-sheng, Hui-kuan, Hui-yen and Hui-jui were, on account of their travels and contact with authorities like Kumārajīva and Hui-yüan, recognized as authorities, and naturally envied by other monks who had not travelled so far. That dissensions were rife seems very probable but with the scanty material available to try to trace the factions which must have formed seems to be impossible.⁴⁷⁾ Famous monks and

lard, Nankin d' alors et d' aujourd'hui. Variétés sinologiques 23, Shanghai 1903, p. 50.

44) *Tang, History* p. 417. Cf. (Ch'ing) Ch'en Tso-lin 陳作霖, *History of the Buddhist Monasteries during the Southern Dynasty* (南朝佛寺志).

45) Tien-chu-ssu 天竺寺 and Pao-en-ssu 報恩寺, both in the capital.

46) Complaints and violent reactions of the court began after Taosheng's death. Cf. *Sung-shu* 97, *T'ien-chu chuan* 天竺傳. *The Pai-hei lun* of Hui-lin, a criticism of Buddhist life written by a monk, had been composed around 433, the year before Tao-sheng's death. The memorials complain of the nuns rather than of the monks. Monks who were admitted to the court were usually well educated, while the inmates of the harems came from low social strata and the educational level of their nun acquaintances was similarly low.

47) Sō-hōshi 宗法師, a Japanese scholar-monk whose dates are unknown, construes a controversy between Fa-hsien and Tao-sheng from a passage in the

translators were visited by the ruler,⁴⁸⁾ but only Hui-kuan and Hui-lin went to court as far as we know.⁴⁹⁾

More intimate must have been the relations between the monks and the nobility. We are told of friendships, like that between Hsieh Ling-yün and T'an-lung 曇隆,⁵⁰⁾ or between Fan T'ai 范泰⁵¹⁾ and Hui-i 慧義.⁵²⁾ Hui-lin 慧琳,⁵³⁾ disciple of Tao-yüan

KSCH '顯衆擯之' which he understands as 'the group of Fa-hsien expelled him,' while I, (with Tang p. 619 line 6) read 'in full assembly he was expelled.' Fa-hsien died before 423, that is at least five years before the *icchantika* conflict! Cf. The *Ichi-jō-bus-shō-e-nichi-shō*, *Taishō* 2297, LXX pp. 173c, 174a, 27 ff. also *Taishō* 2299 LXX pp. 290c ff. *Ibid.* 291b Hui-kuan is introduced as opponent but without proof.

48) The following story from the biography of Tao-sheng in the *KSCH*, though perhaps legendary, is characteristic for the relations between the Emperor and the clergy. 'Sung T'ai-tsu Wen Ti (424-453) thought highly of Tao-sheng. Once he arranged for a gathering which he personally attended. The Emperor sat among the monks on the floor where the meal was served. It became late and the monks were afraid to go beyond the time limit set for meals in monasteries because the sun was already low. 'Well,' said the Emperor, 'let us presume it is midday.' Sheng chorused, 'The sun belongs to Heaven. (A quotation from the *I ching Li-kua* (30) *T'uan-tz'u*). Heaven is the Emperor. It must be midday if Heaven says so.' With these words he took up his bowl and began to eat. The whole community followed. Everybody admired his presence of mind.'

49) One such event is described in the *KSCH* 7 p. 368b 21. 'On the third day of the third month of the *yüan-chia* period (426) he (Hui-kuan) was invited (by Emperor Wen Ti) to take part in the *ch'u-sui* ceremony. (Running water was led around the ground, on which wine-cups were set floating. Each guest had to take the cup and say some verses when it reached him. Kuan) was ordered to join in this contest with the other courtiers. Without first leaving his seat (Kuan composed a poem and) presented it (to the Emperor). He had found beautiful words fitting (the occasion). Wang Seng-ta from Lang-ya and Ho Shang-chih from Lu-chiang (below note 57) praised the high style (in which the poem was written). They found each other in their enthusiasm for all that is beyond the dust of daily life.'

50) A monk from Lu-shan with whom he wandered in the mountains of Shang-yü. His obituary written by Hsieh is extant in the *Hsieh K'ang-lo chi* 謝康樂集, also *KHMCHI* 23, p. 266b.

51) Fan T'ai (335-428) was from Shan-yin in the Shun-yang district 順陽山陰 of south Honan. He made a regular career under the Chin and reached the office of Imperial Censor (御史中丞). When the Chin collapsed, he was taken over into the service of the Sung, but got into trouble with the regent for Shao Ti and in 424 had to resign. Reinstalled by Wen Ti he was assigned to the entourage of the Emperor. In his old age he collected moral writings in 24 *p'ien* and developed an inclination for the Buddhist religion. He founded the Jetavana Monastery on a site near his residence, which he richly endowed (cf. below note 52). Cf. *Sung-shu* 60.

The *KHMCHI* contains correspondence and memorials concerning the monks' habit of sitting on cushions with hanging legs 'like birds at roost' (踞坐,

道淵, belonged to the circle around Prince (Lu-ling Wang) I-chen 廩陵王義真,⁵⁴⁾ together with Hsieh Ling-yün and Yen Yen-chin.

utkuḍakāsana) that Fan found shocking. It is strange that among the opponents, against whom he appealed to the Emperor was Hui-i, his own protégé, abbot of the Jetavana monastery. On his side he had Tao-sheng and Wang Hung while Hui-i was supported by the influential Hui-kuan. *KHMCHI* pp. 77c-79. The question of posture had already been raised by Buddhahadra who carried a cushion to the court to sit on in the presence of the Emperor, but was refused entrance (*ibid.* p. 78c 29, read 據 for 廟). Buddhist disregard of ceremonials irritated the court. Monks did not *k'o-t'ou*; they introduced themselves as 'poor monk' with out calling their names; and sat crosslegged only in meditation. These questions were decided under the Liang.

52) Biography in the *KSCH* 7 p. 368c. Hui-i made his career by a rather doubtful miracle, presenting Liu Yü with a treasure he had been shown in a dream. When admitted to the court, he won the heart of Fan-t'ai, *shang-shu* under Liu Yü, who asked him to organize the Jetavana Monastery which Fan had founded. After the death of Wu Ti, Fan grumbled with the regent Hsü Hsien-chih and was in danger of falling in disgrace. He asked Hui-i what he should do. Hui-i answered: 'Be loyal and obey those who are in power. Then friendship will be between those on top and those below.' He proposed to Fan that he endow the monastery with the rather large area of 60 *mou* so that 'the spirits might help him.' This present was disputed by one of the heirs. 'You have turned to your advantage the despair of my father to obtain that grant.' So he took the land away. Hui-i went with the document to argue but in vain. This case is perhaps typical for the kind of quarrels that arose with the growing power of the Church.

53) Hui-lin made an unusual career from a monk to a minister, which shows that at that time a monk who had education and social appeal could rise to the highest social levels. He got his start through a revolt upwards so-to-say, siding not with the low against the high but with the high against the low, complaining to the Emperor of the community in which he was brought up. On that account he was considered as a traitor in Buddhist circles, but history will judge differently. The *Sangha* was superstitious and greedy; it thrived on the credulity of the believers; and the Emperor was supreme judge above the parties. Hui-lin was not the only one to complain. He probably had Tao-sheng and Hsieh Ling-yün on his side who knew that Buddhism could not survive if it did not keep its distance from vulgar religious practice. The *Pei-hai lun*, written about 431, is found in the *Annals of the Sung* 97 p. 11b f. Biography in *Immortality* 9 first note. Cf. *KSCH* 7 p. 369a.

54) I-chen was the second son of Liu Yü and would normally have succeeded Liu I-fu (Shao Ti). He followed Liu Yü to Ch'ang-an and was left there as commander after the conquest. He was then twelve years old and unable to keep order among the officers. A general was sent to replace him, but before he arrived the army had begun to move out with the loot, was pursued and completely routed. I-chen had a narrow escape. He was a kindhearted and intelligent boy, the great hope of the Budḥo-Taoists of his time. 'If I am to be Emperor, my Prime Minister (*tsai-hsiang*) will be Hsieh Ling-yün or Yen Yen-chih; I shall make Hui-lin the *tu-tu* of west Yü-chou (the northern part of Honan).' He was killed by the regent for Shao Ti, Hsü Hsien-chih 徐羨之, in 424. *Sung-shu* 61 p. 3b; *Nan-shih* 13 p. 11b.

Under Wen T' he was allowed to 'sit on the place reserved for the three highest dignitaries (三太),' a distinction that aroused the jealousy of Yen. Fan T'ai, Wang Hung 王弘,⁵⁵⁾ Yen Yen-chih 顏延之,⁵⁶⁾ mentioned as patrons of Tao-sheng, Ho Shang-chih 何尚之,⁵⁷⁾ Meng I 孟顛,⁵⁸⁾ whose names occur in the biographies of

55) Wang Hung (379-432). Born in a family from Lin-i 臨沂 in the Lang-ya district of Shantung which had sent famous officials to the court for generations. His career, which took him to the position of a *t'ai-pao* 太保, was unusually free of incidents. He is described as a prudent and resolute man but also as censorious or overcorrect. Though interested in neo-Taoism and Buddhism like many in his time, he considered himself a Confucian scholar and kept the Rules rigidly.

56) Yen Yen-chih (384-456) was from Lin-i like Wang. A typical 'poor cousin'. Though belonging to the high nobility, he was reared in greatest poverty. He took easily to reading and writing but could not find a position. After his thirtieth year his genius was discovered by his brother-in-law, a Liu, who introduced him to his father Liu Mu-chih 劉穆之. Thus he got under the protection of this clan and into an official career. Like Hsieh Ling-yün he made his fortune as a laureate by a poem congratulating Liu Yü, and like Hsieh he did not know how to hold this difficult position. A peevish character who made himself enemies by unwanted criticism, he became submissive when he felt the heavy hand of the powerful. Drunkard, he wept and accused himself like a beaten child but in his poems hid allusions blaming the ruler on whom he depended. When he was about to be sent to Yung-chia, which was considered equivalent to exile, he wrote a satirical poem blaming the government but at the same time begged for cancellation of the transfer. This *naveté* brought him the removal from all offices. So he lived in complete retirement for seven years. During this time he wrote the *Message to my Family*, a treatise full of moralising language. *Sung-chu* ch. 73; *Nan-shih* 34. When the government changed, he rose again to high honours.

Yen was a true Confucian, conscious of distinctions of rank, who was jealous of the clergy intruding into the circle of the privileged. His *Message to my Family* contains few Buddhist ideas but the *Ch'eng-lu* lists a number of pamphlets with comment on relics, and miracles, also correspondence apparently in defense of Buddhist tenets. (*Tang, History* p. 440.) When Ho Ch'eng-t'ien attacked Buddhism in the *Ta-hsing lun* (*HMCHI* 4 p. 21) Yen retorted in a correspondence which is extant (*ibid.* pp. 22-7).

57) Ho Shang-tzu (382-460) was from Ch'ien 潛 in the Lu-chiang district 廬江縣. A sociable Confucian scholar with an even temperament. He made a regular career which led him up to a position equal in rank to Prime Minister. He had strong Buddhist inclinations as appears from a memorial (see Appendix II) in which he defends Buddhism against Hui-lin and Ho Ch'eng-ch'ien. In the school of Lei Tzu-tung (below note 65), which in 438 was enlarged to a school with four faculties, he taught *Hsüan-hsüeh* 玄學. *Sung-shu* 66.

58) No biography is extant but the *Sung-shu* 66 p. 9a contains a note. He loved his brother Ch'ang 昶 and did not accept an office before his death, which must be understood as an act of piety. Then he became *t'ai-shou* in Tung-yang 東陽, later in K'uei-chi where he founded a monastery. Finally he

monks and in correspondences of the *HMCHI*, were all high officials. There seems to have been little opposition on this side.⁵⁹⁾ And Taoist magicians, who in the north soon became powerful enough to fight Buddhism, had still little influence in the south.

5. *The Shadow of Lu-shan*

This friendship between the wealthy and powerful and the poor but educated was an extraordinary social feature, unparalleled in other contemporary societies. Power bowing before the thinker, poet, or religious genius was impossible in the north where Buddhist and Taoist magicians were used by the government for purposes of power politics, but the wise were not listened to. Kumārajīva was kept well by Yao Hsing but treated as his possession. He suffered the ignominy of being forced to live with females in order to produce little sages for the ruler. Yao did not probably mean any harm by that procedure, but force and friendship do not coincide. When a ruler intrudes into private life he destroys its growth and creates cultural deserts. The modesty of the emperors in the south was the reason why, during a period of political unrest, the civilisation in the Yangtse valley not only survived but flour-

was called to the capital and became Superintendent of Instruction (*t'ai-tzu ta-shih*), charged with the studies of the heir apparent. He seems to have been a typical donor investing his money in *Karma*. He is famous for his altercation with Hsieh Ling-yün for whose death he shares responsibility with other enemies of the poet.

59) An exception was Ho Ch'eng-t'ien (370-447 or later). A bureaucrat with civilian rather than political ambition, he was rancorous but resourceful. A famous astronomer, he held in his last years the office of Supervisor of the Clepsydras in the palace of the Crown Prince. His career ended below the *shang-shu*. His writings, partly preserved in his biography, *Sung-shu* 64 and the *Lü-li-chih*, *ibid.* 12 (cf. *Ch'uan Sung-wen* 24), dealt with the calendar and legal matters. Those concerned with Buddhism are found in the *HMCHI* 3 p. 17c (correspondence with Tsung Ping concerning the *Pai-hei lun* of Hui-lin); p. 21c (*Ta-hsing lun* 達性論 and the following correspondence with Yen Yen-chnih). Information is easiest found in the *Pao-ying wen* 報應問, a letter with questions answered by Liu Shao-fu (cf. *KHMCHI* 18 p. 224a, translated *Immortality* 10). Ho feels that people when told to abstain from eating meat will, quite unnecessarily, feel guilty. For him man as part of nature should not be hindered from behaving as every other being behaves. Ho was of the conservative type who felt the new standard set by Buddhism to be unnatural. Concerning his achievements in astronomy cf. H. Maspero, *Les instruments astronomiques des Chinois au temps des Han. Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* Vol. VI, 1939 p. 230.

ished and developed. Their interest in neo-Taoist or Buddhist philosophies made the south the cultural center of China during the Period of Division.

When Tao-sheng discussed *Karma* and Final Illumination in the circle of noblemen, philosophers and clerics meeting in Swallow Street⁶⁰⁾ not far from his lodging, the shadow of Lu-shan was still lying over the capital. Many of the noblemen had climbed this mountain and enjoyed the conversation of the great teacher. When they came back to their Yamens they spread the news of the Sage who had been incarnated in India and revealed the secret that the soul must wander through Hells and Heavens till in the end it will reach the Home where the World-soul dwells. Some stayed there, built lodges or lived in the guesthouse. The circle which formed early became legendary. Certain is only that in 402 eight noblemen, led by Hui-yüan, took the vow that before entering the Western Paradise they would wait at the gate till all comrades had caught up, a type of behaviour which is rare in Chinese history, especially among members of the gentry.⁶¹⁾ The White Lotus Society is said later to have counted eighteen worthies (十八高賢), all literati. Liu I-min,⁶²⁾ Chou Hsü-chih 周續之,⁶³⁾ Tsung Ping 宗炳,⁶⁴⁾ Lei Tzu-tsung 雷次宗,⁶⁵⁾ members of the original circle, are known as

60) Cf. above note 15.

61) About this society cf. *KSCH* p. 357 c ff.; *Yu-lu* pp. 109b ff., 110a 2; *Tang, History* pp. 365-371.

62) Liu I-min was famous as the author of the above mentioned vow. He, like Hui-yüan, believed in transmigrating souls and explained *sūnyatā* as state in which the soul reunites with the World-soul. Cf. *The Book of Chao* p. 86 note 329 and p. 151.

63) Chou Hsü-chih from Yü-chang 豫章 (Kiangsi). He attended a public school opened by the governor of that district. Devoted to study, he remained a bachelor. 'I cannot help being bothered by my body, but I can help being bothered by a wife.' On Lu-shan he formed a trio with Liu I-min and the poet T'ao Yüan-ming. They were called 'the three hermits' (三隱). This shows that T'ao Yüan-ming was there not merely for a visit. Called to tutor the son of Liu Yü, he got a valuable connection with one who later became Emperor Wu Ti, and who helped him to open a school in an eastern suburb of the capital. He died in 432 when only forty-seven years old. *Sung-shu* 93; *Nan-shih* 75; *Lu-shan chi* LI p. 1039.

64) Tsung Ping (375-443) was a nobleman from Nan-yang 南陽 (Honan). He was a true 'friend of lofty conversation' who refused to accept an office, but spent his time in wandering, conversation, painting and music. His best comrade was his wife as he tells us. His *Ming-fo lun*, *KMCHI* p. 9b f., answers the *Ta-hsing lun* of Ho Ch'eng-t'ien. Cf. *Immortality* 12; *Sung-shu* 93; *Nan-shih* 75.

65) Lei Tzu-tsung (386-448) from Yu-chang (like Chou Hsü-chih). After

authors of pamphlets and correspondences. Some became tutors in Wen Ti's unorthodox academy in which for the first time neo-Taoist or Buddhist ontology (*hsüan-hsüeh*) was taught.⁶⁶ They are mentioned with great respect in letters of the Emperor and his entourage. Hui-yüan himself had the reputation of a saint; we read that after his death people made pilgrimages to his grave, something otherwise unheard of in China.

It seems that it was left to the lower clergy to organize the cult which the higher clergy (高僧) were free to attend or not; what actually was done, what rituals were performed, how meditation was practised, we do not know. Only the names of those whom Hui-yüan had sent to India and who came back carrying scriptures - Fa-hsien, Fa-ling and others - have become famous. Hui-yüan's influence was due to the integrity of his character and the charm of his personality. He was religious in the sense that he measured life with the standard of what transcends life. He made the Buddha acceptable to the rulers of China. But his speculation would not have been recognized as Buddhist by any Indian. The similarity between Hui-yüan's and Gnostic speculation is evident. But it is difficult to judge if there were influences. So much might be said: Hui-yüan's *shen*, as a concept, is similar to *psyche*, ψυχή, which, like *shen*, is of divine origin (cf. Democr. 171, Diels: ψυχή οικητήριον δαίμονος). Buddhist transmigration leads nowhere, anyway not to union with a cosmic One. Taoists aimed at union with nature, but was nature, in the fourth century, already conceived as a person? Taoist texts which speak of union with *t'ai-i* 太一 (*tao*)

a short official career he retired to Lu-shan where he spent most of his years. In a 'letter to my son and my niece' he says: 'How I love that landscape; how I enjoy discovering (religion) and telling of it, getting in union with nature and nearer to my predestined end. Step by step I progress, happy while overcoming my despondency, restless, not counting the days... Now I am not yet too old and not yet too feeble; I can still strive after the desired goal and follow my heart's longing. I can take refuge (in Buddhism) sure that this will secure me a future life (in Heaven); I can use my last years to nourish (my vital force, *yang-sheng*). I can pass my days enjoying the bright mornings, I can squeeze joy out of sorrow conscious that it must end. That is all I am still desiring.' In 438 he was called to the capital by Wen Ti as head of the academy, and followed the call. *Sung-shu* 93 pp. 17b 3 9.

66) The academy had four departments: Classics under Lei Tzu-tsung, Neo-Taoism and Buddhism under Ho Shang-chih, History under Ho Ch'eng-t'ien, and Literature under Hsieh Yüan 謝元. At that time *hsüan-hsüeh* must have included Buddhism. Pure neo-Taoists in the old sense of the word did no more exist.

are much too late to be useful (cf. Maspero, *Taoism* p. 39 and 74).

6. Hsieh Ling-yün

Among the gentlemen who made friends with the monks, Hsieh Ling-yün⁶⁷⁾ is famous as the poet and idealist who met with a

67) Hsieh Ling-yün (385-433, *tsu K'ang-lo* 康樂). The family was from Ch'en 陳 in southeast Honan, but possessed an estate in Shih-ning 始寧 in the *chün* of K'uei-chi 會稽 in south Kiangsu and Hsieh used to speak of this region as his home. He inherited the title and income of a Duke of K'ang-lo. He began his career as an officer under Liu I 劉毅, and later transferred into the army of I's victorious rival, Liu Yü, who founded the Sung dynasty in A. D. 420. Liu Yü and his successors admired his literary genius and much to his disappointment used him as poet laureate, for he had higher ambitions. He met Hui-yüan for the first time in 412 (perhaps earlier). In the capital he frequented the circle of neo-Taoists around the Prince of Lu-ling (note 54) where he met Yen Yen-chih (note 56) and Hui-lin, the Buddhist reformer (note 53). Among the correspondents in the *Pien-tsung lun* written in defense of Instantaneous Illumination are Wang Hung and the monk Fa-kang 法綱 from Hu-ch'iu-shan. The circle of those who discussed Tao-sheng's theories must have been wide-spread (Tang p. 628). About Hsieh's personal relation to Tao-sheng we know nothing. In 422 he was sent to Yung-chia 永嘉 in Chekiang and there wrote the letters which are collected in the *Pien-tsung lun*. Next year, when China came under the regentship of Hsü Hsien-chih, who ruled for the infant known as Shao Ti, he resigned from his office of *t'ai-shou*, for he had become suspect through his relation to the Prince of Lu-ling who was killed by the regent in 424. He lived in the mountains where he had spent the years of his childhood, studying and wandering. His companion during these years was a monk from Lu-shan, T'an-lung 曇隆, under whose influence he became for some time a serious Buddhist living in self-chosen poverty. But when in 426 the regent was killed by Wen Ti, a new career opened for him the glamor of which he could not resist. Wen Ti was interested in neo-Taoist and Buddhist philosophy; he called him repeatedly to the court and treated him well even though Ling-yün did his best to show him that he did not intend to sacrifice his personal freedom for imperial favor. The Emperor became annoyed and, yielding to the pressure of his advisers, sent him back to K'uei-chi in 428. About 430 he was charged with subversive activities by a fellow Buddhist, Meng I, magistrate of K'uei-chi. Warned, he went at once to the capital and succeeded in convincing the Emperor of his innocence. He remained in the capital, took part in the revision of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* (southern edition) in 430, and in collaboration with Hui-jui composed an *Outline of the Fourteen Sounds* (十四音訓叙), the first attempt in history to use Chinese characters as phonetic symbols. But unable to behave as he should when under observation, he was again accused and this time sent to Lin-ch'uan 臨川 in Kiangsi where he was defenseless against further defamation. The Emperor had lost all interest in him and was ready to sign his death sentence. A courageous courtier interfered and the sentence was commuted into exile in Kwangchow, but already in the following year, 443, his enemies got what they wanted; he was hunted down, killed and his body thrown on the

tragic end. Hsieh was the type of neo-Taoist who valued personal independence above all. He is known for his poems,⁶⁸⁾ but from his biography we learn that he was also a pioneer of civilization. He certainly had initiative but was unable to realize his ideas through lack of diplomacy. He maddened the court by his unceremoniousness and neglect of duties which he considered unessential. Against the camarilla which formed he was helpless.

What was his Buddhism worth? Tang says⁶⁹⁾ that he lacked steadfastness of purpose. 'His body was in the mountains but his mind played with a career at the court ... He penetrated Buddhism only superficially appreciating it as an excuse to talk about cosmology. Though he said (to Meng I)⁷⁰⁾ that 'to be saved one had to acquire Wisdom,' he never strove seriously himself. So his body perished before he was mature as a Buddhist. This the Chinese literati may take as a warning not to follow such habits.'

I doubt that the doctrine of Instantaneous Illumination as defended in the *Pien-tsung lun* 辯宗論⁷¹⁾ was identical with that of Tao-sheng. Tao-sheng was a Buddhist monk who believed in Buddhist Revelation. Could he call himself a Taoist and play out Taoism against Buddhism?⁷²⁾ Yet the front-line they drew road', as the record says. *Sung-shu* 67; *Tang, History* pp. 436-440, 627 ff., 663-666.

68) Extant in the *Hsieh K'ang-lo chi*. Some poems are incorporated in the *Wen-hsüan* 19, 20, 22-30.

69) *Tang, History* p. 440 line 7.

70) *Sung-shu* 67 p. 31b: 得道應須慧業，丈人生天當在靈運前，成佛必在靈運後。 'To be saved one has to acquire Wisdom. You will get a seat in Heaven before Ling-yün, but be sure that you will become Buddha after me.' This affront Meng I could not forgive.

71) *KHMCHI* 18 p. 224c ff. Cf. *The Book of Chao* p. 186 ff. When I made this translation I did not yet know the version of the *Hsieh K'ang-lo chi chu* by Huang Hui-wen 黃晦聞 謝康樂集注 which is more preferable to that of the *Taishō* edition. The reader will find a translation based on this version in *Fung-Bodde, History* pp. 274-84.

72) *KHMCHI* 18 p. 225a 6: 理之所去，雖合各取，然其離孔釋矣，余謂二談救物之言，道家之唱得意之說。 'The (absolute) standard based on which (we) reject (the gradual goals of both) Confucianism and Buddhism separate us from these religions though we share with them a common goal. I believe that both religions are for the masses and that only Taoism (i.e., neo-Taoism) gets the gist of the problem.' This passage, also translated by Fung-Bodde l.c. p. 275-6, looks strange and Prof. Bodde corrects 道家 to 佛家. But, as I have tried to explain in *MN XI*, 1, the front-line run between mysticism and cults, and I think it quite possible that Ling-yün designated himself 'Taoist' as did Hui-lin.

between Buddhism for the 'great' and that for the 'small' man was perhaps the same: on the one side the donor, represented by Meng I in the case of Hsieh Ling-yün, a bigot, who collected *Karma* for advantages in the other world; on the other side the free personality of the truly pious demanding nothing from the Buddha but all from himself. That this demand had to be answered in toto, and could not be bargained down, they both knew, and that, I think, is the reason why Tao-sheng in his letter to Wang Wei says that he in general agrees with Hsieh's interpretation of his doctrine.⁷³⁾

7. *The Arrival of the Nirvāṇa Sūtra and the Icchantika Conflict*

The outstanding event during the twenty years Tao-sheng stayed in the capital was the translation of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* which Fa-hsien, disciple of Hui-yüan, had brought from India. Tao-sheng was then in his fifties and must have written some more of his pamphlets among which the two most famous ones are (*True*) *Piety Requires No (Mundane) Reward*⁷⁴⁾ and *Through Instantaneous Illumination One Becomes a Buddha*.⁷⁵⁾

With these writings he drew a sharp line between himself and the vulgar Buddhism of the donors. To sum up what they probably contained, he must have said that all karmic promises of reward and threats of punishment, though perhaps as true as what happens in the world of the senses, are irrelevant for spiritual progress. Further, all stages to be reached on the way to the goal, all definable programs or ideals, though they may be useful as expedients, are yet lies in comparison with the true truth and are therefore apt to veil the Final Goal. The meaning of life, or *li*, or the Buddha, cannot be cut up into numbered subjects, it can only be understood in full or not at all.

Tao-sheng must have developed some kind of Buddhology from his concepts of an indivisible *li* and of the Buddha as the Center of the Universe, though he rejected Hui-yüan's picture of the wandering soul returning to the World-soul. I agree with Tang that he did not believe in material souls (*shen-ming*) though I could not find any evidence that would definitely prove this point.⁷⁶⁾ He replaced the Chinese soul concept by that of

73) *KHMCHI* p. 228a 9.

74) *Below Writings B 1.*

75) *Below Writings B 2.*

76) *Tang, History* p. 641 ff.

the immortal Self (我), an extremely important notion.

We know that Tao-sheng before the arrival of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* knew already of the True Self (真我).⁷⁷⁾ The *Vimalakīrti Commentary* even uses the phrase 'myself which is Buddha nature' (佛性我)⁷⁸⁾ which otherwise does not occur before the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.⁷⁸⁾ How is this fact to be explained?

The (*Mahāyāna*) *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* had twice been translated; first by Fa-hsien⁷⁹⁾ in 417-418, then by Dharmakṣema of the Northern Liang Dynasty in 414-421.⁸⁰⁾ The latter edition came to Yang-tu, the capital district, in 430 and soon after was amalgamated with the translation of Fa-hsien, and a revised edition was compiled by Hui-kuan, Hui-yen and Hsieh Ling-yün.⁸¹⁾

As the story goes,⁸²⁾ Tao-sheng, 'when the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* in six chapters reached the capital, inquired into the Buddha nature and deeply understood its meaning. After that he became convinced that the *icchantika*⁸³⁾ could become Buddhas. At that time the *Large Nirvāṇa Sūtra* had not yet been brought to China; he stood, therefore, completely alone against the *Saṅgha* which objected. The conservative party accused him of heretical views contradicting the Law. When the quarrel became more and more bitter it was brought before the full assembly and the expulsion (of Tao-sheng) was proposed. Sheng, before the four divisions of the community, solemnly swore as follows: In case

77) In the discussions in Ch'ang-an the phrases 'true Karma' 眞業 (*Karma* which leads to union with the One, the Buddha, in opposition to that which leads to positions still inside *Samsāra*) and 'true nature' 眞性 were used (*Yü-i lun* p. 42a 24).

78) *CVS* p. 354b 27. cf. Chi-tsang, *Fa-hua hsüan-lun*, *Taishō* 2 XXXIV p. 380b 20. 'Before the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* was completely known Tao-sheng knew intuitively of the Buddha nature' (涅槃不盡生公照知佛性). Cf. *Writings* C 1.

79) Quoted as *Ni-yüan* in 6 *chüan* 六卷泥洹 (Nanjiō 120, *Taishō* 376; Bagchi, *Le canon bouddhique en Chine*, tome Ier, Paris 1927, has Nanjiō 118, but that is a *Hīnayāna* sutra). Translated by Fa-hsien and Buddhahadra from the first of the tenth month of 417 to the second of the first month of 418 in Tao-ch'ang-ssu (*Yu-lu* p. 60b).

80) According to the Introduction of Tao-lang, the first commentator of this sutra (*Yu-lu* p. 59c), the translation was finished the 23rd of the tenth month 421 (not 419 as said by Bagchi p. 217). It was begun during 414 (*Fang-lu*; Bagchi l.c. p. 217). This is called the northern edition (北本). It is in 40 *chüan*. Nanjiō 113; *Taishō* 374.

81) This is the southern edition (南本) in 36 *chüan*. Nanjiō 114, *Taishō* 375. The exact date is not known. Cf. *KSCH* 7 p. 267, biography of Hui-yen; *Tang, History* p. 606.

82) Cf. *Yu-lu* 15. 4 p. 111a 18-23.

83) Incurable heretics.

my opinion does not correctly interpret the sutra, I pray that in this incarnation my body may be covered with leprosy, but, if I am right, I beg that I may sit on the teacher's chair when I must pass from life. With these words he left the assembly in anger. When the northern edition arrived it said that the *icchantika* possess the Buddha nature; it corroborated completely his opinion. Sheng, as soon as he got hold of it, studied it and it became a subject of his lectures. In the tenth month of the eleventh year of the *yüan-chia* period, in winter, he was sitting in the teacher's chair; he looked bright as if inspired and his voice went forth with unusual power. He had discussed his subject several times and (had led his hearers into) supra-mundane depths. All those present felt enlightened and comforted. Suddenly, when the lecture drew to its conclusion, the duster (in his hand) trembled and fell. He died leaning against the lectern in the orthodox posture with his face composed. His color being unchanged one could well believe that he was meditating. All Buddhists felt their loss deeply and mourning was general. The monks who had expelled him felt bitter remorse; they too believed (in the correctness of his opinion). That his spiritual mirror had been clear was now proved.'

Tao-sheng's sagacity has often been praised, and the courage with which he stood to his conviction is to be admired, but it is difficult to believe in his gift of prophecy.⁸⁴⁾ He must have been acquainted with the Buddhahood of the *icchantika* through Fa-hsien who arrived in Shantung in 412 and met Hsieh Ling-yün in Chien-k'ang in the autumn of 413. Ling-yün in the *Introduction to the Dedication of the Shrine of the Buddha-Shade*,⁸³⁾ composed soon after this event, extols the fact that they too will awaken from their dream. One may even suggest

84) Because Tang thinks differently, and the matter concerns not only the prophetic gift of Tao-sheng but also the relation between the two versions of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, I shall deal again with this topic in a later paper.

85) *KHMCHI* 15 p. 199b 19. Fa-hsien had journeyed to Nagarahāra where the Buddha had left the imprint of his shadow (*ying*) in a cave. *In memoriam* of this event a shrine was erected on Lu-shan. The date of this erection, the first day of the fifth month of 412, is useful in determining the controversial date of Fa-hsien's return. Hsieh's *Dedication* was written in 413 or 414 (Tang p. 438). It says: 飛鷄有革音之期, 闍提獲自拔之路. 'The flying owl will mellow her croaking voice; the *icchantika* will find the road leading home.' And in the *Dedication* (c 10) we read: 弱喪之推闍提之役, 反路今覩發蒙茲觀. 'Those who have strayed from home (allusion to *Chuang Tzu* 2), the *icchantika* gang, now see the road home and awakening from their dream now meet (Truth).'

that the first translators were looking forward to find it in the sutra text and were much disappointed when it was not there. For they knew from Fa-hsien that this was an important point. Fa-hsien himself might have expected to find it in his copy.⁸⁶⁾ The question was whether the written text was correct or the opposite news which had arrived with Fa-hsien. Tao-sheng only 'prophesied' what already was known, though not corroborated by a text brought from India and therefore not believed by the majority of the students.

The translation of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* was a social event of the first magnitude in which over a hundred persons participated. The interest in this work was so great because if I understand the situation correctly, all those who had been told that nothing remains in *Nirvāṇa*, that no soul lives there in eternal bliss, seemed in this sutra to find their earlier hopes gratified. 'The Buddha possesses an immortal Self; therefore his Divine Mirror has special authority and makes him king among all sages. *Nirvāṇa* is eternal life; this makes possible (the Buddha's) responsive reflection. *Mahāyāna* is not to be discarded; it carries (the message of) the immortal (soul) and eternal life (after death).' So Hui-jui calls out jubilantly.⁸⁷⁾

The atmosphere in Chien-k'ang at that time is well described in a letter written by Fan-t'ai to Tao-sheng and Hui-kuan⁸⁸⁾ which reads:

'Indian tradition seems to be inconsistent with itself. When Sanghadeva arrived (his teaching) was studied and praised by people like (Hui-)i and Ch'in(?).⁸⁹⁾ Now, that was *Hīnayāna*. It was called highest truth. The *Vaipulya Sūtras*, preaching lifelessness (*anutpatti*), they said, were composed by the devil. When afterwards Sanghadeva discussed sutras, he did not sit on the teacher's chair. Then Fa-hsien came and brought the first news of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. So it was said that the doctrine of eternal life (after death) was the best of all and the goal of the *Prajñāpāramitās* was considered as inferior.

86) The postscript to the translation says that an Upāsaka Kāla in Pāṭaliputra copied the sutra for Fa-hsien. Thus he did not do it himself. *Yulu* p. 60b. Cf. *T'oung Pao* vol. XL 4, 5 p. 246 note. P. Demiéville, *A propos du concile de Vaiśālī*.

87) *Yü-i lun* p. 41c 20.

88) *HMCHI* 12 p. 78b.

89) Tang reads Kuan, but if Hui-kuan was the addressee, could he be mentioned in the letter in the manner Ch'in is?

From this I conclude that (the Buddhists) have no standard (with which to measure the different doctrines); as soon as they hear a new one they change their minds. One feels as though he were in a shooting competition where the second marksman cuts out the first.'

This criticizes a religion which seemed to be based on absolute authority. In fact the meaning of Buddhism was not revealed to the Chinese all at once but had to be sought by them in ever renewed efforts. Tao-sheng was one of those who dug through layers of wording to what to him, though not to other seekers, was final truth. Fan T'ai's letter characterizes this situation quite correctly. But his cry for the establishment of an orthodoxy in Chinese Buddhism remained unanswered.

In the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* the final state is described as the blissful and pure life of an everlasting person (*ātman*). To Tao-sheng that meant life in union with the Sage (the Father). A fine-material, surviving soul, such as the majority of Buddhist laymen believed to have got in the Buddha nature⁹⁰⁾ was not essential as a connecting link between reincarnations. He understood *Samsāra* (transmigration) as a pilgrimage leading to the final moment of recognition. What happened during that period was taking part in Illusion and not worthwhile being considered. He was concerned about his salvation guaranteed by the fact that we are Buddhas by nature. This was his answer to the problem of the True Cause (正因) of Buddhahood. He felt that life not transcending itself is unworthy to be lived. This had worried him, till the message of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* restored his belief in the dignity of all living beings who now, as children of the Buddha, from the very beginning of their pilgrimage participated in his eternal existence. The seemingly unsurpassable gap separating this world from that beyond had been bridged.

We may surmise that during the years after 418 Tao-sheng wrote the pamphlets which treated of these problems: 'Buddha nature will be realized in the future'⁹¹⁾ and 'The response of the Buddha is conditioned.'⁹²⁾ It is possible that the propositions quoted in the *MSCH* (Writings B, 8-10) belong to this period.

In 423 Tao-sheng had participated in the translation of the

90) Cf. *Tang, History* p. 641.

91) Below *Writings* B 4.

92) Below *Writings* B 7.

Mahīśāsaka Vinaya (*Taishō* 1422), brought to Chinā by Fa-hsien.⁹³⁾
In 428 or the following year he was ousted from the community.⁹⁴⁾

I have quoted above the description of this event in the biography. From other sources⁹⁵⁾ we know the name of his rival, a *Dharma* teacher Chih-sheng 智勝 who had taken part in the *Vinaya* translation, a Khotanese.⁹⁶⁾ Chih-sheng composed a memorial which he presented to the ruler, Wen Ti, demanding Tao-sheng's exile. The Emperor agreed.

Whether this is true or not, something of this kind must have happened. It was a case that certainly had in the last instance to be decided by the Emperor. For Tao-sheng was known at the court.

8. Tao-sheng's Last Years

Tao-sheng went first to Hu-ch'iu-shan near Suchow. Fa-kang 法綱, one of the correspondents in the *Pien-tsung lun*, lived there. Sheng may have stayed in his monastery.⁹⁷⁾ Here, the legend says, he called the stones in the wilderness to witness that he preached the truth about the *icchantika*.⁹⁸⁾

In 430, the following year, he moved to Lu-shan. He lived in the Ching-she which belonged to the Tung-lin-ssu, the center of the community.⁹⁹⁾ The same year the northern edition of

93) Translated by Buddhajīva who had come to the capital the same year.

94) Cf. *Tang, History* p. 619 ff.

95) There exists a number of versions of this episode that are dealt with in detail by D. Tokiwa in *Busscho no kenkyū*. Prof. Tang thinks that this material is not worthwhile considering (Tang p. 649) but an exception should be made with the *Nieh-p'an-ching hsüan-i wen-chü* 涅槃經玄義文句 by Tao-hsien 道愷, a subcommentary on Kuan-ting's *Nieh-p'an ching hsüan-i*, *Taishō* 1765 XXXVIII, quoted by Tokiwa on p. 178. Cf. *Hsü* 1. 56/2 p. 179d, 180a. (Chih-sheng is also mentioned as adversary of Tao-sheng in the *Ichi-jō-bus-shō-e-nichi-shō*, *Taishō* 2297 LXX p. 173c, 174a 27 f.; cf. *Taishō* 2299 LXX p. 290c f. which quotes the *MSCH.*) Tao-hsien was a T'ang monk who 'entered the capital in the *ta-li* period (766-775)'. Cf. *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi*, *Taishō* 2035 XLIX p. 246a. He wrote a number of subcommentaries four of which are extant in the *Hsü* edition. Another similar version of this episode is found in the *Ichi-jō-yō-ketsu*, *Taishō* 2370 LXXIV p. 361a, by Genshin 源信 (died 1017). Chih-sheng was not famous. So why should Tao-hsien slander him? Besides certain statements in his story like that about the forty odd paragraphs in which the *icchantika* are said to possess the Buddha nature are correct.

96) No biography is extant.

97) Fa-kang died one month after Tao-sheng. Hui-lin wrote both their obituaries. Hui-lin, when exiled three years later, also went to Hu-ch'iu-shan.

98) Cf. Dictionaries under 堅石聽講.

99) Cf. note 17.

the *Nirvāna Sūtra* arrived in Yangchou and was amalgamated with that of Fa-hsien by Hui-yen, Hui-kuan and Hsieh Ling-yün. It was discovered that its second part, not contained in Fa-hsien's text, corroborated Tao-sheng's opinion concerning the Buddha nature of the *icchantika*. The Emperor was accordingly informed. A messenger was sent to Lu-shan.¹⁰⁰⁾ Tao-sheng came to the capital, studied the sutra and was reinstated in the favour of the ruler. In 432 he composed a commentary to the *Lotus Sūtra* from earlier notes.

The eleventh day of the tenth month of the same year (November 27, 432) Tao-sheng died during a lecture and was buried on Lu-shan.¹⁰¹⁾ His obituary was written by Hui-lin.¹⁰²⁾

9. Tao-sheng's Influence

The picture we get of Tao-sheng's life from these data is that of a religious seeker leading a relatively quiet life among his aristocratic friends. He held his lectures in a small circle of educated Buddhists, saying freely what he thought to be true. His frankness made him enemies. With the general public he had no contact, - a character very different indeed from the popular orators and founders of schools who rose to the surface under the T'ang. To list him among the patriarchs of any school, whether San-lun or T'ien-t'ai, is preposterous.¹⁰³⁾ Schools have programs, Tao-sheng had none. We only know of disciples in the first generation. Yet, the legend of the man who stood for his conviction that all living beings are destined for Buddhahood, those rich in merit and those poor in merit alike, lived on.

In a catalogue of 472 A.D. Tao-sheng's writings are still listed;¹⁰⁴⁾ in one of 519 they are already absent. The Scholia composed under the Sui contain few quotations; they are more numerous under the T'ang. Maybe that under the influence of Ch'an Buddhism the interest in Tao-sheng revived. Only his commentaries are still extant. They, however, survived not because Tao-sheng's teaching was well understood, but because the sutras he had commented upon, the *Nirvāṇa* and *Vimala-*

100) This and the following according to Tao-hsien.

101) Tao-hsien reports that he was called 'the monk who waited to die (till he was vindicated)' (代死僧).

102) *KHMCHI* 23 p. 265c.

103) Cf. *Tang, History* pp. 730 ff.

104) *Ch'eng-lu* pp. 83, 84.

kīrti,¹⁰⁵⁾ grew more and more popular. Or else, his pamphlets would also have been copied.

Dr. Hu Shih, whose thorough investigation into the history of Ch'an Buddhism has thrown so much light on this difficult matter, has called Tao-sheng the actual founder of Ch'an (Zen).¹⁰⁶⁾ Here I cannot follow this eminent scholar. Hu has, to my meaning, misunderstood two points: (1) The revolutionary sounding titles of Tao-sheng's pamphlets were not 'the first cannonballs directed against Indian thought',¹⁰⁷⁾ but Indian Buddhist tenets which Tao-sheng had found in the *Mahāyāna Sūtras*; (2) Instantaneous Illumination, propagated by Tao-sheng, and Instantaneous Teaching, propagated by his opponent Hui-kuan, must be distinguished, even though under the T'ang these terms were confused. I shall deal with this matter in a later paper.

Whether Shen-hui (whom I, following Hu, consider as the virtual founder of the Southern School¹⁰⁸⁾) knew much of Tao-sheng, is rather doubtful. This grand impostor, as Hu describes him, had to all probability no scholarly interest. He took terms where he found them and used them as he thought fit. Sudden Enlightenment or, as I am used to translate the term, Instantaneous Illumination (*tun-wu* 頓悟), when dealing with Tao-sheng, was a slogan which neither Shen-hui nor his adversaries could afford to neglect in their propaganda. No school called itself 'gradual'. But then the meaning of *tun-wu* had little relation to what it had in Tao-sheng's pamphlet.¹⁰⁹⁾

The only facts on Tao-sheng's succession are the following: We know of two disciples, Tao-yu 道猷¹¹⁰⁾ and Fa-yüan 法瑗,¹¹¹⁾

105) *Tang, History* pp. 677 ff.; 832 ff. Kuan-ting in the *Ta-p'an-nieh-p'an ching hsüan-i*, *Taishō XXXVIII* p. 2a 4, says that he was called *nieh-p'an sheng* 涅槃聖.

106) Hu Shih, *Development of Zen Buddhism in China in The Social and Political Science Review* Vol. XV No. 4 (1932) pp. 483-485. Dr. Hu has predecessors. Cf. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, *Fo-hsüeh yen-chiu* 18. 1 p. 8. 梁啟超, 佛學研究 (梁氏近著第一輯). Also Yang Wen-hui, *Fo-chiao ch'u-hsüeh k'o-open* p. 38a. 楊文會, 佛教初學課本. Both scholars were educated in Japan.

107) Hu Shih, *Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi* 神慧和尚遺集, Shanghai 1930, p. 39. Reprinted in the *Hu-shih lun-hsüeh chin-chu* 胡適論學近著, Shanghai 1935, vol. I, p. 265. Cf. Jacques Gernet, *Biographie du maître Chen-houei du Ho-tso* (668-760), *Journal Asiatique* 239 (1951), and W. Liebenthal, *The Sermon of Shen-hui*, *Asia Major*, N. S. vol. III. 2 (1952).

108) Other scholars disagree but I believe that in the brilliant paper cited in note 106 he has proved his point.

109) Hu l.c. says that 'Sudden Enlightenment means that Buddhahood can be achieved through immediate awakening without having to undergo the long and arduous process of merit-accumulation and *dhyāna*-practice.'

110) He followed Sheng to Lu-shan. After his death he moved to Lin-

who handed down his doctrine of Instantaneous Illumination. Both died less than fifty years after their master and had no followers of any importance. Liu Ch'iu 劉虬 was an important Buddhist layman¹¹²⁾ who lived under (Liang) Wu Ti. He and his friend, a monk Fa-ching 法京,¹¹³⁾ propagated Tao-sheng's Instantaneous Illumination. Tang believes to have found what he calls 'a faint thread' leading from Fa-ching to Ch'an Buddhism.¹¹⁴⁾ He says that Ching's disciple, Chih-yüan 智遠,¹¹⁵⁾ and Hui-hao 慧暉, disciple of Ming Fa-shih 明法師,¹¹⁶⁾ whose disciple Fa-ch'ung 法冲 belonged to the *Lañkāvatāra* School,¹¹⁷⁾ lived together in Chien-k'ang and Ching-chou. The passage to which Tang probably refers is found in the biography of Chih-yüan.¹¹⁸⁾ The man who there says that in his youth he had been a schoolmate of Yüan is a Hui-hao from Hsin-an-ssu. Now we do not know that Hui-hao, the patriarch of the *Lañkāvatāra* School, was ever in Hsin-an-ssu; besides he was fifty-two years younger than Chih-yüan, and cannot therefore be the same man as the schoolmate thus named.¹¹⁹⁾ So it seems that even this faint

ch'uan where Hsieh Ling-yün had been *nei-shih* in 432. Probably a Buddhist community existed there. Wen Ti had discussed Instantaneous Illumination with Seng-pi 僧弼, a conversation which he ended with the sigh: 'If the dead teacher were present, you could not defeat him;' he asked for disciples acquainted with this doctrine, and called Tao-yu and Fa-yüan to the capital where a debate was held. We also know of another debate, promoted by Hsiao-wu Ti, with Fa-yao 法瑤, defender of Gradual Illumination. Fa-yao is also called follower of Small Instantaneous Illumination (*The Book of Chao* p. 176), and I believe that this debate may have occasioned this term. Fa-yao was the author of a commentary to the *Śrīmālikā*. He died between 473 and 476. *Yu-lu* 9. 18; *Pei-shan lu*, *Taishō* LII p. 598a 2; *KSCH* 7. 31; *Tang, History*.

111) He was from the north, wandered to Lu-shan and took part in the debate just mentioned. He composed a commentary on the *Śrīmālikā*. He died in 489. *KSCH* 8. 8; *Tang, History* p. 673.

112) Biography in the *Nan-ch'i-shu* 54; *Tang, History* p. 675.

113) (Tang) *KSCH* 16. 12. His dates are unknown. But we know from the biography that the second ruler of the later Liang (555-587) held him in high respect.

114) *Tang, History* p. 676.

115) 495-571. (Tang) *KSCH* 16. 10.

116) 547-633. (Tang) *KSCH* 13. 2. p. 522, cf. p. 642c 8.

117) Hu Shih, *Lun-hsüeh chi-chu* I. p. 217.

118) (Tang) *KSCH* p. 556a 26: 新安寺沙門慧暉曰,吾與伊人早同法門,久稟戒道,歎法橋之忽壞,痛寶舟之已沈。

119) Hsin-an-ssu Hui-hao and An-chou Hui-hao were two different persons. The biography of the T'ien-t'ai patriarch Hui-ssu says that, when his monastery on Heng-shan was destroyed and he moved to the capital, he was met by a Seng-cheng Hui-hao, cf. (T'ang) *KSCH* p. 563c 4. Hui-ssu died in 577 when An-chou Hui-hao was only thirty years old.

thread does not hold: there exists no historical connection between Tao-sheng and Ch'an Buddhism.

*The Writings of Tao-sheng*¹²⁰⁾

A. Commentaries.

1. *Wei-mo-chieh i-shu* 維摩詰義疏. Mentioned in the *Yu-lu* biography p. 111b. Extant in

a) the *Chu Wei-mo-chieh ching* 注維摩詰經 in 10 ch., 14 p'in, *Taishō* 1775. In this edition the commentaries of Kumārajīva, Seng-chao, Tao-sheng are combined. A blockprint of 1887, cut by the Ching-ling k'o-ching ch'u in 8 ch., is still on the market,

b) the *Ching-ming ching kuan-chung shu*, compiled by Tao-i, *Taishō* 2777. Cf. *The Book of Chao* p. 10 note 36.

The *Yu-lu* says that Tao-sheng composed this commentary after that of Seng-chao in order to make known the deeper understanding of the text which he possessed. Seng-chao's commentary was sent to Lu-shan in 410 where it probably was read by Tao-sheng. Thus his commentary was composed not much after that date.

2. *Miao-fa-lien-hua ching i-shu* 妙法蓮花經義疏. Mentioned in the biography. Extant in the *Hsü* 2B 23/4 under the title *Fa-hua shu*.¹²¹⁾ An excellent blockprint edition that separates the sutra and the commentary has recently been published in Peking by the *Fo-hsüeh shu-chü*. The introductory paragraph p. 396d says: 'During the lectures (of Fa-t'ai?) I jotted down what I heard, and in a commentary preserved the words of the Master to assist students. I revised (these notes) in the third month of (432 A.D.) in the Ching-she of the Tung-lin-ssu on Lu-shan. I added excerpts from other commentaries and made it one *chüan*.'¹²²⁾

3. *Hsiao-p'in ching i-shu* 小品經義疏. Cf. the biography. Not extant.

4. *Ni-hsüan ching i-shu* 涅槃經義疏. Cf. the biography. Ex-

120) Cf. *Tang, History* pp. 622-624. My titles are reconstructions.

121) Chi-tsang also used to call his comms. *I-shu*. Probably in order to avoid confusion this commentary is usually quoted as *shu*.

122) At the time of Tao-sheng there existed among others comms. by Tao-jung and T'an-ying (*Fa-hua hsüan-lun, Taishō* XXXIV p. 363c), also notes by Hui-kuan. The *I-shu* is quoted by Chi-tsang in the *Hsüan-lun* p. 432a 13 (CSFS p. 408a 17); p. 441c 16 ff., (CSFS p. 410b 14); pp. 363b 21; 364b 18; 397c; 430b, c; 433a; 433b; 434c 13, 18; 442a 9; by Hui-chün in the *Ssu-lun hsüan-i* p. 99c 16 (CSFS p. 402c 15).

tant in the *Nieh-p'an ching chi-chieh* 涅槃經集解 in 71 ch.. *Taishō* 1763; *Hsū* 1. 94/2-4. The *Chi-chieh* in originally 72 ch., including a table of contents, was compiled on order of (Liang) Wu Ti by Seng-lang 僧朗 (Fa-lang 法朗) together with Pao-ch'ang 寶唱 between 509 and 519.¹²³⁾ It collects the commentaries of nearly twenty monks. Tao-sheng's commentary is the oldest among those listed. This shows that it was considered as more authoritative than those of his contemporaries like Tao-lang 道朗, the disciple of Dharmakṣema. After the Emperor's preface to the *Ta-nieh-p'an i-shu* of Pao-liang 寶亮 follows Sheng's introduction to his commentary as the first among ten.

Tang (p. 622) thinks that Tao-sheng wrote first a commentary on Fa-hsien's edition and later another on the revised edition. Tao-hsien (above note 95) says: 'Tao-sheng (after he had studied the revised edition) composed a commentary in over fifty sheets, called the *I-shu* or the *Kuan-chung shu* 關中疏.'¹²⁴⁾

Tao-sheng's *I-shu* were not philological commentaries accompanying the full text but notes to passages of interest in which a problem is put in the wide perspective of his world-view. In them he defends the indivisibility of *li* and the eternal existence of the Buddha. In the *Lotus Sūtra* commentary and more so in that on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* whole chapters are omitted. In the *Hsū* ed. Tao-sheng's comments are found in the following places: pp. 123-131, 135-145, 153-157, 165, 176-178, 180, 188-196, 203, 205-206, 207, 210, 227, 228, 231-234, 264-265, 267-268, 281-282, 293-301.

B. Pamphlets.

Whether these were written as letters, memorials, or question-answer form theses¹²⁵⁾ we do not know. The *Yu-lu* says merely that he 'initiated debates' (立義), the *KSCH* uses the term 著 which points at something written, the *MSCH* says 曰 'he proposed.' But because we possess quotations we know that some of these propositions were in written form. I shall deal with them in a paper on *Tao-sheng's World-view*, thus I only list the titles here.

The biography in the *Yu-lu* p. 111a mentions:

123) Cf. the *Imperial Preface* p. 109a. Pao-liang's comm. was written in 509. It is inserted in the *Chi-chieh*. Cf. also his biography in the (*T'ang*) *KSCH* p. 426c and that of Seng-shao *ibid.* p. 460b 5, where Fa-lang is mentioned as the compiler. Cf. *Tang, History* p. 704.

124) The title *Kuan-chung shu* was used for comm. written by the disciples of Kumārajīva called the 'four scholars of Ch'anz-an' (關中四聖).

125) As in the *Chien-wu lun* of Hui-kuan.

1. *True Piety Requires no (Mundane) Rewards* (善不受報義). Cf. Point 16.

2. *Through Instantaneous Illumination One Becomes a Buddha* (頓悟成佛義). Cf. Point 14.

The biography in the *KSCH* p. 366c adds the following treatises (論) to the above:

3. *On the Two Truths* (二諦論). Cf. Points 3,4.

4. *The Buddha Nature Will Be Realized in the Future* (佛性當有論). Cf. Point 8.

5. *The Dharmakaya is Bodyless* (法身無色論). Cf. Point 12.

6. *The Buddha is Not Found in a Paradise* (佛無淨土論). Cf. Point 13. According to the *Fa-hua hsüan-lun* p. 442a 9 the original title of this pamphlet was *On the Seven Precious Things* (七珍論), i.e., those which appear in the Western Paradise.

7. *The Response of the Buddha is Conditioned* (應有緣論). Cf. Point 6.

The *MSCH Shuo-ch'u* 10 p. 15a, b adds the following propositions: 8. 'All living beings subject to the changes of *yin* and *yang* are the true cause of *Nirvāṇa* (the soil in which *Nirvāṇa* develops). The *icchantika* are living, how can they be deprived of the Buddha nature?' (稟氣二儀者皆是涅槃正因, 闡提是含生, 何無佛性事.) The place where this proposition occurs suggests that it was formulated by Tao-sheng. Cf. Point 10.

9. 'The faith of the *icchantika* is not sufficiently developed; though they have cut their root of good they still possess the Buddha nature.' (一闡提者不具信根, 雖斷善根猶有佛性事.) Cf. Point 10.

10. 'The wisdom of the two *yāna* is able to realize *śūnyatā* in general (*sarvajñatā*); the wisdom of the *Bodhisattva* is able to realize *śūnyatā* with reference to the single *dharma* (*sarvākāra-jñatā*).' (二乘智慧總相觀空, 菩薩智慧別相觀空事.) Also defended by Hui-kuan, cf. *The Book of Chao* p. 184. This distinction cannot refer to that of the *dharmasmṛtyupasthāna* as outlined in the *Abhidharmasāra*, and also in the *Kośa* VI p. 158 note 3. Tang p. 672 proposes another explanation which I cannot follow. Cf. *NS* p. 757a 23 (768c) and Chi-tsang in the *Hsüan-lun* (*Taishō* XLV p. 61a 15, b 13).

11. By doing the good and suppressing the evil one attains what is called the *Karma* of men and gods; in the aspect of truth getting rewards for doing the good is not (the issue). (因善伏惡得名人天業, 其實非善, 受報也事.) Cf. Point 16.

12. 'Animals may be happy; among men there are poor people.'

(Is that a suitable) reward (for good deeds)?' (畜生等有富樂，人中果報有貧苦事。)Cf. Tang p. 646 and Point 17.

The *Ch'eng-lu 2 Chüeh-hsing chi* p. 83a quotes the following two titles:

13. *Nieh-p'an san-shih-liu wen* 涅槃三十六問. T'ang p. 623 doubts whether we should read 門 instead of 問, but 問 is correct. This refers to the thirty-six questions which Kāśyapa Nālagrāmaka¹²⁶ asks the Buddha in the *Ch'ang-shou p'in* 5 of the NS (Fa-hsien's edition p. 863c; northern edition p. 379c, 380a; southern edition p. 619b, c). The number of these questions was a much discussed problem, cf. CNS p. 147a-148a, (Sui) Hui-yüan's commentary, the *Ta-p'an-nieh-p'an ching i-chi* (*Taishō* 1764 XXXVII p. 653b 4 f.) and Kuan-ting's *Ta-p'an-nieh-p'an ching shu* (*Taishō* 1767 XXXVIII p. 77c 3.) The *upadeśa*, *Nieh-p'an lun* (*Taishō* 1527 XXVI p. 277-281) (uncomplete), attributed to Vasubandhu and translated by Dharmabodhi of the eastern Wei dynasty, deals with this *gāthā*. Rather strangely the *Ni-hsüan ching i-shu* (above A3) contains no comment of Tao-sheng on these questions.

14. 'Explaining why with the first thought in the eighth stage (the Saint) realizes his desire and attains Nirvāṇa' (釋八住初心欲取泥洹義). Cf. below Point 14.

C. Correspondence.

1. 'Concerning the meaning of Buddha nature' (辯佛性義). *Ch'eng-lu 2*, p. 83a. Correspondent was Wang Mi 王謐 (*tzu* Chih-yüan 稚遠). Mi, grandson of Wang Tao 王導, famous *dānapati* under the Chin, was a high officer under Huan Hsüan and friend of Hui-yüan. His correspondence with Kumārajīva (listed in the *Ch'eng-lu 3*) is, at least in part, extant in Hui-yüan's correspondence with the same, *Taishō* 1856, cf. Tang p. 312. Mi died 407. This proves that long before the arrival of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* the Buddha nature was a subject of discussion. *Chin-shu* 65; *Ch'üan Chin-wen* 20.

2. Letter to Wang Wei (below Doc. 14e) concerning Instantaneous Illumination. Printed at the end of the *Pien-tsung lun*, *KHMCHI* 18 p. 228a.

The following items of correspondence are listed in the *Ch'eng-lu 9* p. 84b:

3.a. Fan Po-lun (Fan T'ai) asks Tao-sheng and the Buddhists with him about the Buddha.

126) Only Pāli *Nālagāma* is handed down. Cf. *Saṃyutta Nikāya* 47. 13.

- b. Answer of the Buddhists.
- c. Fan asks Tao-sheng again. Three letters and answers.
- d. Fu Chi answers Fan Po-lun. (Fu died in 426. So this correspondence was written before that date.)

Listed in the *Ch'eng-lu* 11 p. 84c:

- 4. Letter of Fan Po-lun addressed to Tao-sheng and Hui-kuan. Extant in the *HMCHI* 12 p. 78. Cf. above note 13.

Listed in the *Ch'eng-lu* 6 p. 83c 11:

- 5. Liu I-min writes Tao-sheng. Perhaps written during Tao-sheng's sojourn in Ch'ang-an before 408.

D. 'The Fourteen Topics' (十四科義一本)

This compilation, whether by Tao-sheng himself or by somebody else we do not know, is listed in a Japanese catalogue of 858 (*Taishō* 2173 LV p. 1106b) under the above headline, also in the (*Sung*) *I-wen chih* under the headline 十四科元 (instead of taboo 立) 贊義記. The *Nieh-p'an hsüan-i fa-yüan-chi yao ch.1* (*Taishō* 1766 XXXVIII p. 19a 17) contains a quotation:

說闡提皆得成佛，遂撰十四科，其第十衆生有佛性義云，經言闡提無者，欲擊勵惡行之人，非實無也，以其見惡，明無，無惡，必有抑揚當時，誘物之妙，豈可守文哉。

(Tao-sheng) said that the *icchantika* become Buddhas. Then he composed *The Fourteen Topics*. In the tenth entitled 'Why all living beings possess the Buddha nature' it is said: 'The (*Nirvāṇa*) *Sūtra* says that the *icchantika* do not (possess the Buddha nature). This has been said in order to rouse people of bad morals though it is not actually so. For if (these people) learn that bad morals result in the loss (of Buddhahood), they cease to be bad. The underlying idea is to stir up those who were then living and convert them. One must not let oneself be deceived by the words (of the sutra).

If my translation is correct the quotation would say that Tao-sheng himself composed *The Fourteen Topics*. But it is very late. The author, Chih-yüan 智圓, lived under the Sung (976-1022), and Kuan-ting's *Hsüan-i* (*Taishō* 1765) of which 1766 is a subcommentary does not contain this quotation. It is interesting to notice that these topics are designated 義 like those listed in the *Yu-lu* (above B 1, 2, 3).