

Two Images of Maitreya --
Fu Hsi and Pu-tai Ho-shang

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ABSTRACT

This study is undertaken in the hope that the Chinese depictions of its subjects, the layman Fu Hsi and the monk Pu-tai, may serve as a gateway to a wider perception and deeper understanding of Chinese religion. In particular, this study aims to shed light on the influence of Chinese culture and religion on Buddhist tendencies in the sixth century and on the development of Chinese Zen Buddhism in the tenth.

These two personages have long been regarded in Chinese Buddhist history as pre-incarnations of Bodhisattva Maitreya. Within this context the present study provides the necessary background to the Maitreya tradition in order to establish the relevant connections between these two figures, and summarizes the Buddhist background during their lifetimes. In addition, two conspectuses of the available biographical sources on Fu Hsi and Pu-tai are also presented. After unveiling Fu Hsi's biography, an in-depth analysis of Buddhist practice in early medieval China is provided to shed light on Fu Hsi's life. Every effort has been made to analyze what is represented as Fu Hsi's thought and evaluate his supposed doctrinal contributions to the Eight Schools of Chinese Buddhism. Furthermore, an endeavour has been made to delve into the enigmas of Pu-tai's life and incidents to trace Buddhist doctrinal development. Eventually, an evaluation of the influence of these two figures on various social substrata of Chinese culture is undertaken, and a comparison of the affinities and differences between these two is drawn.

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I. Table of Chinese Dynasties

Hsia 夏	ca. 2205 - 1766 B.C.
Shang 商	ca. 1766 - 1122 B.C.
Chou 周	ca. 1122 - 256 B.C.
Ch'in 秦	221 - 206 B.C.
Han 漢	206 B.C. - A.D. 220
Three Kingdoms 三國	220 - 265
Chin: Western Chin 西晉	265 - 316
Eastern Chin 東晉	317 - 419
Northern Dynasties 北朝	439 - 581
Southern Dynasties 南朝	420 - 589
Sui 隋	581 - 618
T'ang 唐	618 - 906
Five Dynasties 五代	907 - 960
Sung: North 北宋	960 - 1127
South 南宋	1127 - 1279
Yüan (Mongol) 元 (蒙古)	1280 - 1368
Ming 明	1368 - 1644
Ch'ing 清	1644 - 1911
Republic 民國	1912 -
People's Republic 人民共和國	1949 -

II. Southern Dynasties

Sung 宋	420 - 478 A.D.
Ch'i 齊	479 - 501
Liang 梁	502 - 556
Ch'en 陳	557 - 589

III. Five Dynasties

Hou Liang 後梁	907 - 922 A.D.
Hou T'ang 後唐	923 - 935
Hou Chin 後晉	936 - 946
Hou Han 後漢	947 - 953
Hou Chou 後周	954 - 960

FOREWORD

This study is undertaken in the hope that the Chinese depictions of its subjects, the layman Fu Hsi and the monk Pu-tai, may serve as a gateway to a wider perception and deeper understanding of Chinese religion. These two personages have long been regarded in Chinese Buddhist history as pre-incarnations of bodhisattva Maitreya. Thus the present study provides the necessary background to the Maitreya tradition in China only as a basis to examine the relevant connections between these two figures. The overall purpose of this study is primarily focused on the first of these two figures, Fu Hsi, whose image has hardly been discussed in any language, but in order to explain this neglect it is necessary to take into account also the figure of Pu-tai, known to many outside China as the "Laughing Buddha". The argument we shall seek to establish is that this popular Chinese conception of a pre-incarnation of Maitreya has directed attention away from Fu Hsi, who embodies an earlier conception of Maitreya. This may be because although Pu-tai is described in sources quite close to his lifetime, and so must have made an immediate impact on the Chinese imagination, the most detailed sources on Fu Hsi seem at first glance fairly late. Yet the materials relating to Fu Hsi's life, and especially those which give a picture of his deeds as seen by his followers, may safely be situated in a historical context far earlier, and in fact far closer to the time of the historical Fu Hsi, than has generally been realised. Thus we hope to provide scholars interested in Chinese religion with a new resource for future research.

Although they are both regarded as the saviour Maitreya, Fu Hsi and Pu-tai conducted themselves in very different ways: one was serious and the other jocular. Structurally, this thesis is appropriately divided into two parts. Part one deals with the serious and faithful layman Fu Hsi and his contribution to Buddhist teachings. Part two is concerned with the jovial and mysterious monk Pu-tai Ho-shang. These two parts span over nine chapters. Chapter One traces the Maitreya tradition and Buddhist background in Fu Hsi's time, and touches upon the Maitreya movements in China. Chapter Two presents a conspectus of the available biographical sources on Fu Hsi. Chapter Three is a translation of the Pei-wen, an epitaph composed by Hsü Ling (505-583), which presents the life of Fu Hsi and reveals the earliest image of Maitreya in Fu Hsi. Chapter Four, based on the Shan-hui ta-shih yü-lu, the fullest source we have on Fu Hsi, is a further study of Fu Hsi's feats, and clarifies the image of him held by his followers. Chapter Five provides an in-depth analysis of Buddhist practice during the Southern and Northern Dynasties. Chapter Six analyzes the type of Buddhist thought attributed to Fu Hsi and evaluates his alleged teachings as sources of doctrines to be found throughout the Eight Schools of Chinese Buddhism. Chapter Seven introduces the legends surrounding Pu-tai. Chapter Eight proceeds to delve into the enigmas of Pu-tai's life and poetic writings, which provide a unique source to ascertain Buddhist doctrinal developments. Finally, Chapter Nine briefly evaluates the influence of these two figures on various social substrata of Chinese culture, and compares the affinities and differences between these two

personalities.

Since this study focuses on the sources for the lives and thought of Fu Hsi and Pu-tai and their contributions to Chinese religion, it will exclude any exposition of the fundamental assumptions appertaining to the general teachings of Chinese Buddhism. Neither will it attempt to deal with the intricacies of Chinese history during the lifetime of Fu Hsi and Pu-tai. However, the general Buddhist background will be provided. There exist many excellent texts for readers who wish to study the subject further. Although the legends surrounding these two personages are numerous in later Taoist texts, Chinese literature and folklore, they merely cover their lives and miraculous feats without any specific implications; since their value is secondary to the points we wish to establish, they are not considered in this thesis. Similarly, a number of political movements which held sway in China under the banner of the bodhisattva Maitreya will also be excluded. However, due to their intricate political involvement and implications, this study will simply touch upon such topics in Chapter One in order to provide a meaningful background.

Although a great number of sources relating to Fu Hsi and Pu-tai appeared in China after the Sung Dynasty, none of them has been fully researched. Thus, this study represents an original endeavour to analyze and categorize the various tendencies of the Buddhist practice in early medieval China connection with the description of Fu Hsi's practice; to date such a study has not been available to modern scholars. In addition, many works dealing with doctrines ascribed to Fu Hsi

and his apparent contributions to sectarian developments within Chinese Buddhism have been made use of in this thesis. Furthermore, although as a renowned figure in Asian Buddhism, Pu-tai's enigmatic life has been never carefully assessed on the basis of all the earliest materials. Thus, a particular endeavour has been made in this study to find every possible factor which could help to elucidate his life and deeds. While Chinese Buddhists and Western scholars may differ in their evaluation of figures like Fu Hsi or Pu-tai, the points we wish to establish here are historical ones, which we hope will be accepted by all.

Thus the "two images" of the title are put to work in the following pages in order to uncover neglected resources for the study of the history of Chinese religion. This dissertation is not aimed at making a contribution to the wider field of Buddhist studies, though it should make such a task easier in future, and it may be that some of the topics mentioned in the following pages will be of interest to students of Buddhism. The primary task, however, of any research into earlier times is to question the value of the sources we use. This process has in this particular case shown surprisingly rewarding results.

INTRODUCTION

In the early part of the first century A.D., the first Buddhist missionaries have reached China. They were eventually followed by an ever growing stream of monks predominantly from Central Asia and India. Both Central Asian and Indian monks and merchants brought with them many Buddhist texts and culture. Eventually, they built temples, spread the Dharma and established communities. Subsequently, by the fifth century, Buddhism had penetrated into most aspects of Chinese life and culture. It had influenced the Chinese way of thinking and in turn it had been transformed by it. No doubt Buddhism made a profound impact on Chinese music, art, literature, language and philosophy. It attracted the people as a whole and influenced their lives and ways of thinking. A meaningful study of Chinese Buddhist history seeks for knowledge and evaluation to find out how Buddhism was regarded by the majority of people, as well as by monks and intellectuals.

Most studies on Chinese Buddhism tend to emphasize its monastic, historical and philosophical development, namely, the formation of schools, the lives and activities of monks, relations between the government and the saṅgha, and the translation of the sūtras. In principal, this study largely follows that tradition, in that it examines the sources relating to the lives, ideas and miracles of Fu Hsi and Pu-tai, who later came to be regarded as two pre-incarnations of the bodhisattva Maitreya. The pervasive influence of the Maitreya cult has been almost unanimously acknowledged by the Chinese people and

throughout Buddhist countries. Study of the pre-incarnations of Maitreya seems, therefore, a worthy long-term academic project and is a starting point for further studies on the influence of Maitreya.

Broadly speaking, Fu Hsi is seen as one of the extraordinary contributors to Buddhist developments in China. He played the role of a Chinese Vimalakīrti, preaching the profound teachings of the Buddha and attaining a spiritual state of meditation, even putting himself on trial to reach the bodhisattva stage by means of self-immolation. We must not consider him merely as a kind of Buddhist layman, but rather as a reflection of Chinese thought and contemplative practice during that period.

The historical Fu Hsi may well have had profound knowledge which ranged from the philosophies of Confucianism and Taoism to both general Buddhist teachings and the profound doctrines. However, he himself was chosen, on the basis of his writings, as the particular focus of a general interest in Mādhyamika teachings, which is a fundamental tenet of the Three Śāstras School. It is then discovered that there was a link between Fu Hsi and the founder of the Three Śāstras School, Chi-tsang. In order to sustain an investigation of the appropriate length, other schools were also included. However, not enough is known about Fu Hsi and not enough of his own writings survive to permit us a wider discussion.

It can be seen, therefore, that Fu Hsi became an important figure in this study for largely circumstantial reasons, since, after some research he proved to be a likely avenue of access

to early Buddhist practices in China. Fu Hsi was not only regarded as a vital contributor to the development of the Eight Schools in Chinese Buddhism, but he was also undoubtedly both a religious practitioner, active during a transitional period of Chinese Buddhist history, and a learned scholar in several traditions of Buddhist thought. The purpose of studying him, even if only as he was remembered later, would be to provide a relative model of Buddhism in the sixth and seventh centuries. Thus, it is hoped that accounts of Fu Hsi's religious life will facilitate an understanding of early trends in Buddhist practice. Furthermore, this study has also evolved from being an investigation of early trends in Buddhism into a touchstone for an exploration of the Maitreya cult. The study will, therefore, attempt to determine which traditional religious and intellectual situation he belonged to. Eventually, we discovered that he had a significance beyond his alleged influence on the Eight Schools and that he represents a mixed idea of the sinification of Buddhism.

The other character of our study, the Monk Pu-tai, must now be presented. He played a different role to Fu Hsi in Buddhism: he sometimes is said to have acted as a simpleton, and his speeches were abstruse and obscure. His deeds remind us of a hidden sage in Chinese culture, Chieh-yü, a contemporary of Confucius, who was erudite and virtuous but pretended to be a fool. Certainly, Pu-tai was an enigmatic figure in Zen history. Unlike Fu Hsi, Pu-tai bequeathed no legacy even in terms of texts by his disciples and very few of his speeches were recorded. We have based our investigation on many legends

surrounding him to understand why he became prominent at the end of the ninth century.

The period from 755 to 907, although traditionally regarded as the twilight years of the T'ang Dynasty, was a period of flourishing developments for Zen Buddhism. After the An Lu-shan rebellion in 755, the dynasty had fallen into what traditional history regards as the declining years of the T'ang. This decline culminated in the establishment of the Liang Dynasty in 907. It was precisely during this period that Zen Buddhism was in the midst of one of its most creative and formative eras, one that was to have a vital influence on all subsequent developments in Zen Buddhism. While acknowledging earlier patriarchs such as Bodhidharma and Hui-neng, almost all Zen lineages could trace their doctrinal and institutional origins back to the late T'ang period. Yet, a number of well-known and mysterious Zen masters who appeared in Zen history in the late T'ang had no institutional lineage, such as Han-shan, Shih-te, Feng-kan and Pu-tai....etc.. They wandered from one region to another, leaving numerous creative and abstruse poems, which form an exceptional tradition and paint a vivid picture of Zen history.

In almost all Chinese Buddhist temples, from the Ming period to the present day, a jovial statue with heavy jowls, a tremendous paunch and a jolly smile sits or stands at the entrance to welcome visitors. The jocund image is a symbol of the happiness and prosperity derived from the mysterious monk, Pu-tai Ho-shang. Although the bodhisattva Maitreya had been well-known through Tao-an's advocacy since the Eastern Chin

period, the image of Maitreya portrayed as a jovial portly personage began after the demise of the monk Pu-tai. Adopting Pu-tai's jolly guise, the "Laughing Buddha" form of Maitreya began to appear from the tenth century onwards. If in his lifetime Pu-tai was quite well-known, for the majority of people it was probably because of his talent for prediction.

With neither a legacy nor a glorious career, still the emergence of the figure of Pu-tai marks a turning point in the Maitreya cult. Unlike other Zen masters, Pu-tai did not adopt a solemn guise; he abstained from intellectual speeches and had no scholarly followers. Nonetheless, he had a deep influence on Buddhism, rivalling that of illustrious Zen masters, not only in China but also in other Buddhist countries. For example, he was respected as one of seven lucky gods in Japan. However, despite most people's ardent faith in Maitreya, Fu Hsi and Pu-tai had different standings in both theoretical and devotional domains. In the broader theoretical setting, Fu Hsi may serve as an instructive instance of the process of conceptual diversion within religious traditions. Pu-tai, on the contrary, may represent a hopeful Messiah who brought an auspicious light in a critical period. Their similarities and differences will be discussed in the following chapters, though the main aim of this dissertation is more narrow, as we should now explain.

The study of the bodhisattva Maitreya has made important progress in recent years which resulted in 1988 in the publication of a conference volume entitled Maitreya - The Future Buddha. This volume has made research much easier in

some way, for example by providing an overview of the topic and many helpful individual studies, but for student of Chinese Buddhism it leaves a number of problems. Two of the papers on Maitreya in early Chinese Buddhism were not published;¹ one of these seems to have been on the crucial topic of Maitreya and Taoism.² We know from existing studies that this topic is vital to understanding the popular conception of Maitreya in China, and in particular that Taoist messiahs existed some time before Maitreya's name began to be used by messianic rebels.³ But until the missing papers are published, any general history of the part played by Maitreya in Chinese Buddhism can hardly be attempted.

At the same time, there are other important topics which seem not to have been considered either at the conference or by other scholars. This study hopes to make a contribution to future research by bringing to the attention of scholars interested in Maitreya in China a body of materials which have not been scrutinized so far, which now go under the title Shan-hui ta-shih yü-lu. Though the current edition of these materials dates only to the twelfth century, it will be shown that they contain an "image of Maitreya" as manifested in the layman Fu Hsi which must be much earlier, and which in large part can only be dated to the sixth century or shortly afterwards, in other words, to close to the period when Fu Hsi himself is known to have lived. We will contrast this image with another one, that of Maitreya as manifested in Pu-tai, an image which has achieved worldwide popularity as the jolly "Laughing Buddha". This clearly shows a different conception of Maitreya belonging to

a different historical period, and by dating the beginning of this new image more precisely we would again like to suggest that even where the old image was embroidered on at a later date (by attributing fresh words and deeds to Fu Hsi), this process would have come to a halt as the new image of Pu-tai became more popular. In this way the materials relating to Fu Hsi, even where they have been modified, can provisionally be assumed to have reached their present form some time before the early Sung, unlike those concerning Pu-tai, which have continued to grow.

It will be noted that throughout this study a deliberate choice has been taken to deal with religious "images", an imprecise term, rather than to try to establish facts about these two personalities. At first glance it might seem that a different approach could have yielded more positive results. For example, a close linguistic study and translations of the sources in the Shan-hui ta-shih yü-lu, covering such topics as the rhyme-schemes of the poetry, might yield a conclusion that certain passages were earlier than the seventh century and certain passages later. Other scholars are welcome to try such an approach in future, but the disadvantage of research based on language is that often the sources surveyed (especially in Classical Chinese, which is an artificial and largely unchanging language) cannot be linked firmly to any particular date. By looking at "the image of Maitreya", on the other hand, it is at least possible to state whether the sources generally fit in with the concerns of the sixth century, or those of a later period, and whether the doctrines mentioned correspond to those of interest to the formative period of the new schools which

arose after Fu Hsi's death, or to those which became famous only after Hsüan-tsang's journey to India. It would be interesting to know if certain specific passages were early or late, for example whether the description of Fu Hsi as an illiterate was written before or after Hui-neng was described as illiterate. In the present circumstances, however, it is possible only to speak of general themes which seem to fit in with the Buddhism of the Liang period under which Fu Hsi lived, but not with later trends.

Of course even such an investigation is not easy, since not much has been published even on the Chinese Buddhism of the Liang Dynasty, though one doctoral dissertation is on the way.* So rather than supplying an exhaustive account of the probable background to such themes in the Shan-hui ta-shih yü-lu as would seem to reflect a Liang background, this study provides only the basic necessary information, in the expectation that its findings will be amplified by future research. Similarly, we are not concerned here with the spread of the cult of Pu-tai across Central Asia, East Asia, but only with its origins in China, since this is all we need to know to place the image of Maitreya in Fu Hsi in its proper context. Before turning to this main task, however, it is necessary to explain just why such a rich body of materials relating to the Chinese conception of Maitreya as is provided by the Shan-hui ta-shih yü-lu has been almost completely ignored by scholars for so long.

The answer is in fact a simple one: these materials were preserved and published in later times only as records of the Zen School, but since this school has interests which were and

remain different from those ascribed to Fu Hsi, the text containing them has persisted for centuries buried among materials with which it is more or less completely unconnected. It was not always like this. In the T'ang and Wu-tai times Zen monks used to quote Fu's compositions, just as everyone else did, but they did not include him in histories of their school.⁵ In the early Sung, however, the Zen School gained much in strength, and seems to have felt that it had the opportunity to include in its history many marvellous figures who had not been associated with it before, especially figures who were remembered through the cult of their relics. The words and deeds of these people, including both Fu Hsi and Pu-tai, are for this reason to be found in chapter 27 of the Ching te ch'uan teng lu of 1004 A.D., the most famous Zen compilation of that period.⁶

As a result, when material relating to Fu Hsi came to be printed, it always seems to have included the word lu, "record", in the title,⁷ and, as we have seen above, the main surviving edition, which will be used below, describes itself today as a "yü-lu" or "Recorded Sayings", a term specifically associated with the Zen School.⁸ This edition was just prepared in 1143 by a Sung official from Fu Hsi's home town named Lou Chao.⁹ Like many Zen works it was never included in the Buddhist canon in China (though one Manchu emperor who studied Zen thought highly of it),¹⁰ but it was printed in Japan in a supplement to the canon at the start of this century. Generally speaking, the term "yü-lu" being only a record of Zen history would not have had any relation with the "image of Maitreya", but the Shan-hui ta-shih yü-lu reveals an interesting insight, which clearly exposes

an image of Maitreya in Fu Hsi. It is to be hoped that the present study will cause it to be more frequently consulted by all sorts of scholars in future, not just those interested in Zen.

Notes:

1. Alan Sponberg and Helen Hardacre, *Maitreya, the Future Buddha* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.xii.
2. A.Sponberg and H.Hardacre, *Maitreya*, p.108, n.2.
3. Wang Ming, *Tao-chia ho Tao-chiao ssu-hsiang yen-chiu* (Peking: Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1985), pp.372-380.
4. By Andreas Janousch, at St.John's College, Cambridge.
5. One apparent exception is Tsung-mi (780-841): see note 11 on p.122 of Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), quoting Taishō Canon, vol.48, p.412c, though in fact Tsung-mi's definition of Zen is in the passage in question expanding to include almost everybody, so he cannot be seen as a forerunner of later developments.
6. On the significance of this chapter, see Ishii Shūdō, *Sōdai Zenshūshi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1987), p.94, and on the general significance of such figures in Zen, B.Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*, chapters Five to Eight.
7. Editions published in Sung times but now lost described the work simply as a lu: see Chou Shu-chia, *Chou Shu-chia Fo-hsüeh lun-chu chi* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1991), p.1091. The *Hsü Chin-hua ts'ung-shu* of 1924 contains an edition entitled *Shan-hui ta-shih chuan-lu*. Apart from this, records of the work seem very hard to find.
8. For the history of this term, see Yanagida Seizan, "Goroku no rekishi", *Tōhō Gakuhō* (Kyoto) 57 (1985), pp.211-663.
9. For Lou Chao, see *Sung Shih* (Peking: 1977), chapter.139, pp.11715-7.
10. See Chou Shu-chia's comments, cited in n.7 above.

CHAPTER ONE

THE BACKGROUND OF THE MAITREYA TRADITION

As already mentioned in the introduction the materials associated with Fu Hsi and Pu-tai are of interest to scholars, because they were regarded as manifestations of Maitreya. A preliminary elaboration of the figure bodhisattva Maitreya is cardinal to this chapter. First of all, the character of Maitreya will be traced back to both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna traditions. Thereafter, the development of the Maitreya cult in China will be considered. In addition, the folk religious movements that arose under the banner of the saviour Maitreya from the fourth to the sixth centuries in China will also be briefly mentioned. Owing to the influence of those movements, a great deal of Maitreya texts were produced in Taoism in early medieval China; as they are now available to modern scholars, they will be excluded here.¹ Finally, the Buddhist perspectives in the Northern and Southern Dynasties will be presented to enhance our understanding of the actual circumstances of Fu Hsi's life as a whole.

1. The character of Maitreya in the texts

In Buddhist cosmology, there exist numerous Buddhas in the universe, the Buddha Śākyamuni is respected as a current Buddha in this aeon; preceding him, in the Mahāyāna tradition, were thousands of Buddhas.² Likewise, in the Hīnayāna tradition, there were seven Buddhas and twenty-five Buddhas present in the Mahāpandāna of the Dīghanikāya.³ From canonical evidence, the bodhisattva Maitreya should inherit

Buddhahood after Śākyamuni, hence, he is called the Future Buddha. As a future Buddha, Maitreya presents a fascinating subject for study. He symbolizes the embodiment of the rich legacy of Buddhist religious experience derived from the enlightenment of Śākyamuni Buddha. Following in Śākyamuni's footsteps, he has gained the privilege of dwelling in the Tuṣita Heaven whilst awaiting the appropriate time for his messianic mission.

Maitreya (Mi-le) is defined in Chinese as "Tz'u-shih", which means universal love, active benevolence, loving kindness and compassion. He cultivated his mercy and love towards sentient beings after vowing to become an enlightened one. According to the scriptures, when the teachings of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni are exhausted, Maitreya will descend as a Buddha from the Tuṣita Heaven and establish his great "millennial kingdom". After a world leader has "made the Dharma prevail", he will reincarnate as the son of a brahman minister to a pious king who has prepared the way. For 60,000 years, it is said he will "preach the true Dharma, and save hundreds and hundreds of millions of sentient beings." After his final nirvāṇa, his true Dharma will persist for 10,000 years.⁴

A wealth of information relating to Maitreya emerges in Buddhist literature, in which, however, he is connected with various subjects and agents, that frequently appear contradictory. Hence, it is not feasible to ascertain the identity of Maitreya and make a systematic arrangement of the sources which allude to him. Regarding his identity, there is

a contradictory account in the sources, in which Maitreya is confused with Ajita. According to a very ancient canon, the Pārāyana, Ajita and Maitreya are distinct and were students of Bāvāri, who reached 120 years and possessed three of the marks of a great man and was converted by the Buddha.⁵ The data on Bāvāri is confirmed in the Upadeśa.⁶ Maitreya and Ajita were two of Bāvāri's sixteen pupils as verified in the Pārāyana, but their lineages are not indicated. The data concerning Ajita is uncomplicated; it is said that Ajita was born into a brahman family from Śrāvastī and was a nephew of his teacher Bāvāri.⁷ Nevertheless, in some canonical texts, Maitreya is identified with Ajita. In the Mahāvastu, the Buddha announces: "The bodhisattva Ajita will be a Buddha in the world after me, with Ajita as his personal name and Maitreya as his family name."⁸ A Pāli poem, Anāgatavamsa, is uttered by the Buddha at Śāriputra's request, which deals with the previous existences of Maitreya. In his final period, Maitreya was the prince Ajita; hence, Maitreya is known as Ajita.⁹ Likewise, in Chinese canons, the Ta pao chi ching and Lotus Sūtra Maitreya is also called Ajita.¹⁰

Moreover, in Chinese scriptures, the sources available to us for Maitreya are dubious as to his origin - It is thought Maitreya was the son of a brahmin from south India.¹¹ - In the lifetime of the Buddha, there was a man whose body was golden-coloured, who bore thirty-two marks and eighty minor marks of a great being, who was the son of the brahmin Kapāli, named Maitreya.¹² - Maitreya was born into the family of the great brahmin Bāvāri in the village of Kapāli in the

kingdom of Vārāṇasī (Banaras).¹³ - Maitreya declares to the young pupil Sudhana: "I was born in Dakṣiṇāpatha, in the village of Kūṭagrāmaka in the land of the Mālaṭas."¹⁴ In any case, for such a canonical figure we seldom have precise information to verify his origin and identity.

In both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna traditions, Maitreya is unanimously respected as the future Buddha, who will be the ensuing successor to the Buddha Śākyamuni. This section will trace the character of Maitreya in both traditions. In the Hīnayāna source, the only surviving texts dealing exclusively with Maitreya in South Asia are the Pāli Anāgatavamsa and the Sanskrit Maitreya-vyākaraṇa, which are noncanonical and undated. In the canonical text of the Theravādins, Maitreya is only mentioned once in the Cakkavattisīhanāda Sūtra of the Dīghanikāya. According to the latter, which provides the earliest mention of Maitreya, Buddha Śākyamuni spoke to one of his disciples:

"Monks, at that time the sublime Maitreya will appear in the world as the complete, perfect Enlightened One, possessing correct knowledge and knowing the correct way, Finisher of the path, Judge of the world, incomparable Educator, Teacher of gods and men, as sublime Buddha, even as I have appeared in the present as the complete, perfectly Enlightened One, possessed of true knowledge and knowing the correct way, as Finisher of the path, Judge of the world, incomparable Educator, Teacher of gods and men, as the sublime Buddha."¹⁵

When Śākyamuni prepared to embark upon his last existence, he appointed Maitreya as his successor to Buddhahood, and, at his command, Maitreya occupied his place in the Tuṣita Heaven. Maitreya has now, therefore, reached the penultimate stage, the rank of the highest bodhisattva.

In addition, the Mahāvastu, the canonical text of the Lokottaravādi-Mahāsāṅghikas, developed the idea of the bodhisattva as supernatural beings and initially compiled a list of future Buddhas with Maitreya ranking supreme. Therefore, this text could be considered as a preliminary source for studying the figure of Maitreya as a bodhisattva in the Hīnayāna tradition. In this text, four stages of a bodhisattva's career are propounded, namely Prakṛti-caryā (natural career), Praṇidhāna-caryā (the resolving stage), Anuloma-caryā (the conforming stage) and Anivartana-caryā (the preserving career). These stages in the career of a bodhisattva from a righteous person to attaining Buddhahood are deliberated. As P.S. Jaini mentioned: "The literary material available to us on Maitreya is varied, and there is no unanimity among Buddhists concerning the events of his bodhisattva career. Only the Mahāvastu provides a glimpse into the prebodhisattva stage of Maitreya."¹⁶

Taking these stages as an example, it is proposed to trace the bodhisattva career of Maitreya through the texts. In the first stage - the natural career, a bodhisattva cultivates the roots of merit and worships the Buddhas. In the Mahāvastu, there is only a reference to Maitreya, which is when Śākyamuni spoke about the great achievement of the Buddha Suprabhāsa, Maitreya was an universal king who experienced a supreme bliss by seeing the venerated Buddha. After forty-four kalpas listening to the Buddha, Maitreya conceived the thought of enlightenment. In the second stage - the resolving stage, a bodhisattva vows to attain enlightenment. According to the

Divyāvadāna, Maitreya began his bodhisattva career under the Buddha Ratnaśikhi; when the latter was born in Jambudvīpa, Maitreya was just a mortal king named Dhanasammata, who prostrated himself at the feet of the Buddha; by doing this the Buddha prophesied: "You will become a Buddha by the name of Maitreya."

In the third stage - the conforming stage, a bodhisattva achieves his goal through various Bhūmis by fulfilling the ten Pāramitās. Very few stories referring to Maitreya's fulfilment of the Pāramitās are found in the available sources. A story is narrated in the Divyāvadāna, no.22, that a bodhisattva called Candraprabha wished to sacrifice his head to a brahman named Raudrākṣa, but a guardian deity obstructed the brahman from approaching the bodhisattva. When the bodhisattva knew this, he commanded the deity not to hinder him and cited the example of Maitreya, who grieved over a great setback because of a similar hindrance. Another story with a similar theme is attested in the Pāli Dasabodhisattuppattikathā, according to which, Maitreya was an universal king named Saṅkha, who severed his head at the neck with his bare nails and presented it to the Buddha, saying: "May this gift of mine result in omniscience." With this valorous feat he fulfilled the Dāna-pāramitā and was reborn in the Tuṣita Heaven. In the final stage - the preserving career, a bodhisattva approaches enlightenment and becomes destined for Buddhahood. Once this stage has been achieved the bodhisattva will be prophesied by a Buddha and born in the Tuṣita Heaven. In the last birth in Tuṣita Heaven, the bodhisattva will attain Buddhahood and

accomplish Parinirvāṇa at the end of his life. This is verified in the Dīghanikāya and the Maitreya-vyākaraṇa, wherein the Buddha tells the monks that a Buddha named Maitreya will appear in the future.¹⁷

Turning to the Mahāyāna tradition, Maitreya is mentioned in almost all of the Mahāyāna texts. In some of them he is presented as an important character in the discourses with the Buddha Śākyamuni, and some even give him the same prestige as Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī. For instance, in the Lotus Sūtra, Maitreya plays the role of an interlocutor with Mañjuśrī. When Maitreya saw a great ray emitting from the forehead of the Buddha Śākyamuni, he wondered at the cause of the miraculous power. He then inquired of Mañjuśrī who must have witnessed the miracle from previous Buddhas to be able to explain it to him. In reply, Mañjuśrī addressed Maitreya concerning the training of a Buddha named Candrasūryapradīpa, and later revealed that Mañjuśrī had been a former teacher to Maitreya aeons ago.¹⁸

The Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra relates that Maitreya participates in a lengthy dialogue with Subhūti on the subject of accumulated merit, which is the merit created by jubilation on the achievement of enlightenment by all sentient beings. After a long discussion, Maitreya proposes a proper way in which a bodhisattva can easily transform the meritorious work founded on jubilation into omniscience.¹⁹ Moreover, in the Hua-yen ching, Mañjuśrī suggests to the young pupil Sudhana visiting Maitreya for instruction after visiting many good teachers in his quest for the bodhisattva path. On arrival,

Maitreya took the youth to his gabled palace, where by snapping his fingers the gate opened automatically. In a trance state, the youth saw many magnificent scenes of Maitreya's manifold existences, such as the place where he had first conceived the thought of bodhi and the numerous Buddhas under whom he had practised the Pāramitās.²⁰

Nevertheless, in the Tantric tradition, Maitreya plays a subordinate role compared with the dominant figures Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara. He is not even mentioned in such major texts as the Hevajra-tantra, but the ritual text Sādhnamālā only depicts a paragraph to him.²¹ Another account is given in the "Sarvasidhimaṇḍalavajrā-bhisambodhi" of the Guyhasamāja-tantra, in which Maitreya is depicted as an unskilful practitioner in the Vajrayāna. It narrates after listening to the Buddhas lectures on the nature of the Vajracitta, Maitreya wondered: "How should a Vajrācārya (Vajrā conduct) be perceived by all the Tathāgatas and all the bodhisattvas after being anointed by the Guyhasamāja consisting of all the Tathāgatas who have transformed their body, speech and mind into Vajra?" All the Buddhas reply that the Bodhicitta should be perceived as Vajra by all the Buddhas, and that "Bodhicitta and the Vajrācārya are not two, there is no duality between them, because the Bodhicitta is the essence of the cognition of all the Buddhas and the source of the omniscient knowledge of all the Buddha". After hearing these utterances, Maitreya persists silent. From this episode it would seem Maitreya suffered a great setback, since it has been prophesied he would be a future Buddha; however, from the

Vajrayāna viewpoint he is merely an unversed bodhisattva and he seems to lose his confidence in attaining enlightenment.

22

Interestingly, we find in the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra that Maitreya seems to restore his confidence through the encouragement of the bodhisattva Vimalakīrti. It relates that Maitreya was commanded to visit Vimalakīrti to inquire after his illness by the Buddha, but he was reluctant to do so. He begged to be spared from the task and addressed a narrative of his past meeting with Vimalakīrti to the Buddha. At that moment, Vimalakīrti appeared and respectfully spoke to him concerning his prophecy that he would become enlightened in the only one future birth.²³

Not only does Maitreya represents an extraordinary character in the scriptures of the various traditions, but persists as a living image in Chinese culture to this day. Before turning our attention to the cult of Maitreya in Chinese Buddhism, the relevant scriptural background shall be presented. In the traditional Chinese view, there are two cardinal themes to the cult of Maitreya: ascent and descent. The subject of ascent expresses the ideal of a pure land, in which devotees vow to be reborn and wait for the chance to participate in the three assemblies. Conversely, in the theme of descent, the future Buddha Maitreya acts as a saving hero who sweeps away all disasters and chaos and brings peace and prosperity to the world. Thus, the Maitreya cult encourages devotees to gradually acquire sufficient merit and to practise Dharma in the Tuṣita Heaven. In the fullness of time, they

will descend with the future Buddha as members of his assembly to achieve enlightenment in this world.

The theme of ascent derives from a text known as the Mi-le shang-sheng ching, which asserts that the bodhisattva Maitreya presently lives in the Tuṣita heaven and practices spiritual advancement.²⁴ However, the subject of descent is depicted in the Mi-le hsia-sheng ching, which is rendered into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa during the period 265-275 A.D..It says:

"At that time, the world of Jambudvīpa will be very peaceful and orderly, and as lucid and splendid as a mirror. Everywhere in Jambudvīpa, food will be abundant and inexpensive, and people will be numerous, prosperous and wealthy, and possess many kinds of jewels...Fragrant trees bearing sweet fruit will grow on the ground. The climate will be comfortable and amiable, and the four seasons will follow in sequence.... Rice and grain will grow readily and without husks; it will be extremely delicious and the eating of it will cause no distress or disease"²⁵

Besides, the Mi-le hsia-sheng ch'eng fo ching and Mi-le ta ch'eng fo ching also contain the idea of descent, and are officially regarded as orthodox texts;²⁶ in which Maitreya is predicted to descend from the Tuṣita Heaven and preach three sermons on the Dharma 56,740,000 years after the nirvāṇa of Śākyamuni.²⁷ Another different and much shorter treatment of the descent is found in an anonymous fourth century text, the Ku-lai shih-shih ching.²⁸ It appears to be a reduced version of the Mi-le hsia-sheng ching.

Fourteen texts concerning Maitreya were translated during the period of the Six Dynasties (222-589), but some of them have been lost.²⁹ Moreover, a number of writings related to Maitreya are listed in Buddhist bibliographies dating back as far as the sixth century. In most of them Maitreya is

connected with all the main eschatological subjects, thus, they are criticized and considered as heretical pamphlets or false and extravagant texts by the official Buddhist bibliographers, such as K'ai-yüan shih chiao lu ...etc. These apocryphal texts might be one of the causes of uprisings by folk religious movements, which will be mentioned later.³⁰

2. The development of Maitreya cult in China

The Maitreya cult was advocated by Tao-an (312-385), who was profoundly devout and scholarly. He was not only an expert on Dhyāna but also a scholar of Prajñāpāramitā. Generally speaking, his knowledge was extensive, ranging from Hīnayāna to Mahāyāna, from Buddhism with its mixture of Taoist practices to Buddhist gnosticism, from doctrinal research to devotional practice. One of his great accomplishments is that he compiled the first catalogue of sacred texts in Chinese Buddhist history. It provides precise details about the origin and history of some scriptures.³¹ Tao-an also contributed greatly to the success of Kumārajīva's translations in Chinese Buddhism by systematizing the practice of translation.

Apart from his contribution to the Prajñā doctrine, Tao-an followed a traditional line in pursuit of his religious devotion to Maitreya. In his time, many scriptures which were wholly or partially devoted to Maitreya and his future Buddhahood had already been translated. He seems to have been the first to ritualize this belief. According to his biographies, he assembled eight of his pupils before an image of Maitreya and uttered the earnest and collective wish to be reborn in the Tuṣita Heaven in order to obtain the permanent

supervision and inspiration of the future Buddha.³²

It was through Tao-an's great disciple, Hui-yüan (344-416), that devotional Buddhism took roots in China and began to have a real influence on the Gentry Buddhism of the south-east in early medieval China. As his master had done on Mount Lu in the province Kiangsi, Hui-yüan and more than a hundred laymen made the same kind of collective vow before a statue of Amitābha, wishing to be born in Amitābha's Pure Land. In 402, a lay group was organized under the name of the White Lotus Society by its founder Hui-yüan. It was the first organization of lay Buddhists with this name, and many later uprisings of folk religious movements used similar titles.³³

In addition to Tao-an's advocacy, several significant Mahāyāna sūtras were also a momentous cause of influence on the cult of Maitreya, such as the Lotus Sūtra and Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra. These two prominent Mahāyāna texts have been a source of religious faith and wisdom in Chinese Buddhism since early medieval China. In the Southern and Northern periods, both texts were widespread and played a key role in Buddhism. It is unknown when the Lotus Sūtra was compiled or by whom, but the early version translated by Dharmarakṣa completed in 286 is extant. The most popular and authoritative Chinese version, however, is that by Kumārajīva in 406, which presents fascinating narratives combined with wonderful literature to attract and hold the attention of people. The sūtra also contains the doctrines of the eternal Buddha and of universal salvation. It claims that by reciting the text, one can achieve rebirth in Tuṣita Heaven.³⁴ It is possible

that the Lotus Sūtra was one of the reasons for the prevalence of belief in Maitreya .

In addition, the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra was also an influential text at that time. It places great emphasis upon the life of laymen and accentuates the conduct and practice of bodhisattvas. Seven Chinese translations of this text were made, of which three still exist. The earliest Chinese translation was done in 188, but is now lost. The translation which popularized it was the work of Kumārajīva in 406. Some of the stories in these two texts were inscribed on the wall in the Northern Wei caves.³⁵ For example, the three Buddhas, Śākyamuni, Maitreya and Prabhūtaratna were drawn side by side, depictions of the seven previous Buddhas and the well-known thousand Buddhas appeared in those caves as well.³⁶ This instance of a lay bodhisattva might have inspired the layman, Fu Hsi, to claim he was Maitreya, since these two texts were very prevalent before his time.

Numerous inscriptions dedicated to Buddhas were discovered in the Yün-kang and Lung-men caves, which provide an important and well-known source for research into Chinese Buddhism in early medieval China. After the persecution of Buddhism under Emperor T'ai-wu of Northern Wei in 446, the chief monk, T'an-yao, was appointed to restore Buddhism in 460. After the horrors of persecution, images of Buddha were carved in rock instead of in wood and metal to prevent them from being destroyed, and to serve as tangible symbols of the permanence of the Dharma. In the first caves, Yün-kang, numerous immense figures of the Buddhas were preserved. This

ensured the survival of Buddhist literature, art, culture and history in first half of the rule of the Northern Wei.³⁷

Lung-men caves were regarded as a popular site of devotion in the fifth century. Evidence of Lung-men sculpture supports the theory that Buddhism was the dominant religion in China from the Northern Dynasties through the Sui and T'ang to that of the Sung. The earliest inscription in Lung-men is dated 495. According to research by Tsukamoto Zenryū, under the Northern Wei Dynasty, Śākyamuni and Maitreya dominated the cave sculptures, whereas Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara were less prevalent. Amitābha was one fifth as common as Śākyamuni, and four times less popular than Maitreya. However, under the T'ang, these positions were reversed because of the popularity of the Pure Land School. Amitābha outnumbered Śākyamuni by twelve to one and Maitreya by ten to one.³⁸ Therefore, the numerous inscriptions of Maitreya in the Yün-kang and Lung-men caves provide evidence that Maitreya was a cult figure before the T'ang Dynasty.

Owing to being a popular object of worship, Maitreya was not only respected in Buddhist communities, but also favoured by non-Buddhists. In some noncanonical Buddhist writings in China from around the sixth century, some similar figures appear in the name of Maitreya in very different settings, as saviours who establish a harmonious kingdom in a time of chaos and decay. From historical sources, it can be seen that a number of religious groups under the banner of Maitreya - led by monks or ordinary people who claimed political authority, and some even coming in the name of future saviours - became

involved in political uprisings, the causes of which are ambiguous. In this sense they might be called "folk religious movements".³⁹ Several destructive movements appeared in Chinese history based on similar eschatology. These included Taoist and Manichaeian groups, and two Buddhist traditions: the Maitreya and the Pure Land. As Daniel Overmyer mentioned in his text: "In China, Taoism, Buddhism and Manichaeism all developed popularised sects, each borrowing from the other and influenced by Confucianism and folk tradition".⁴⁰ The character of these folk religions was hostile, moralistic and political, although they were the inspiration for eschatology.

The first organized folk religious movements were Taoist groups which appeared in the late second century during the decline of the Han. These were the "Way of Great Peace" in Hopei and the "Five Pecks of Rice" (so named because members were supposed to contribute rice to meet expenses) or "Heavenly Master" sect in Szechwan. Both groups were based on the idea of the world becoming an utopia. In 184, a rebellion broke out in the name of this cause.

In the Southern and Northern periods, folk religious movements seem to be commonplace. In the north, as Tsukamoto Zenryū devotes a whole chapter to discuss these events in his book: Shina Bukkyōshi kenkyū: Hokugi-han; and in the south, Sunayama Minoru's article: "Kōsa yōsō kō" describes the religious movements in southern China.⁴¹ At that time, due to their eschatology violent rebellions arose in both the south and north of China.

In the early fifth century, led by what the sources

called "rebel monks", they had similar ideas of eschatology to those held by the "Five Pecks of Rice Sect". These groups of Buddhist outlaws were founded with the idea of Maitreya being the future redeemer. Between the passing of Śākyamuni and the advent of Maitreya, the pure Dharma would decline so that at the end of the era of Mo-fa human beings would suffer in misery, sin and folly. Maitreya would then descend to the world to save human beings from a state of wickedness and depravity. Generally speaking, rebellion usually arises in periods of unrest and turmoil or rampant corruption in a government. As we are aware, the period of Southern and Northern Dynasties were in a state of turmoil, the populace lived times of war, anxiety and hunger, and empires shifted rapidly. Northern China was controlled by the alien tribe, T'o-pa. Under these circumstances, there is no doubt that folk religious movements made great efforts to keep alive the hope of the utopian dream and bring about its fulfilment. The empires in southern China also changed hands quickly, so a number of movements arose under the same incentive as the north. A few movements connected with Buddhist ideas will be briefly mentioned to shed light on the Maitreya cult.⁴² One may perceive their religious and eschatological vivacity from those uprisings in the following discussion.

The first known Buddhist outlaw, Chang Ch'iao (d.402), named himself "Wu shang wang" (King without any superior), revolted in 402. Two months later in April, the uprising was repressed. An unruly monk named Hui-yin caused a rebellion in 473. By 440, during the reign of emperor T'ai-wu, the Northern

Wei empire controlled an area that encompassed the whole of northern China. At that time, Buddhism was widely accepted there. However, the emperor T'ai-wu was converted by the Taoist K'ou Ch'ien-chih (d.448) and the Confucian minister Ts'ui Hao (381-450). This eventually led to the first anti-Buddhist persecution of 446. It ended with complete destruction of all stūpas, paintings and foreign sūtras. Although the fourth emperor, Wen-ch'eng-ti (452-466) restored Buddhism, the Buddhist communities were now ruled with a rod of iron. The entire empire also gradually fell into a decline. According to the Wei Shu, a calamity occurred in Hsiang-chou (Hopei) in 473, and 2,845 people died of hunger. Moreover, the ordinary people could not afford the high taxes. Under these circumstances, a number of cunning people sneaked into Buddhist communities in order to survive. The outlaw, Hui-yin, who was not truly a monk, caused this uprising. No further details of this movement were recorded in the Wei Shu. Of course, the uprising was soon repressed, but discontent lingered which inspired a further rebellion eight years later.

Another rebellion was plotted with the support of one hundred close followers. An imperial censor named Chang Ch'iu assembled slaves to join the group. Fa-hsiu was accused of using seductive talk and charms to delude the masses, which was considered to be a major crime. Not only was Fa-hsiu sentenced to death, so were the families and relatives of each criminal. After this event, an imperial edict was issued in 485 which stated that all materials of wizardry, charms and spells would be destroyed. The following year, 486, all

members of the Buddhism were investigated, and 1,327 clergy were expelled from the priesthood. At that time, an abbot named Seng-ming rallied together several hundred monk followers. With Seng-ming as leader, they were proclaimed to be outlaws and were all beheaded. As a result of these rebellions, the authorities issued more strict regulations on religious communities to prevent further uprisings.

The causes of these uprisings in the reign of Hsiao-wen-ti of the Northern Wei period are complicated. According to Z.Tsukamoto's text, one of the reasons was the problem of "Seng ch'i hu". It was a system of unifying a certain number of families that were responsible for paying grain annually to the local Buddhist office. The office decided whether to hold this grain in stock, distribute it to the poor during periods of famine, or even sell it for religious purposes when necessary. The "Seng ch'i hu", Buddhist households, consisted of a group of criminals or slaves who worked in the monasteries. The aim was to channel the energy of criminals for productive purposes so that they would not be an economic burden on the state.⁴³

Although it was a good idea to improve the saṅgha and alleviate the state's problems, unfortunately, this strategy was first implemented at a critical time, 466-470, 473-474, a period of constant famine in northern China. Moreover, it coincided with the time of Hsiao-wen-ti, when the system of "Seng ch'i hu" was advocated extensively. Under these circumstances, many people took refuge in Buddhist monasteries to escape their duty. Within the saṅgha itself, the Buddhist

office, the chief monk and his assistants governed the system in a dictatorial manner. All these factors had latent negative long-term effects. As a whole, the system promoted the welfare of the saṅgha and state, but its defective management caused its abolition. It did not survive after the Northern Wei period. As a result of the "Seng ch'i hu", ambitious outlaws became increasingly active under the banner of relieving people's suffering."

Furthermore, an outlaw used Buddhist terminology to enhance his personal position. Liu Seng-shao, who called himself **"Ching chū kuo ming fa wang"** (the King of Dharma-light of the Pure Nation), assembled a multitude to rebel in Yu-chou (Hopei) in 514, and he was beheaded. A month before the last rebellion, an earthquake occurred in Ch'in-chou. Also, before this uprising, there was a strange black sky at noon. These two portents attracted the governor's attention and prepared him for it. Apparently, the governor used the climate as a reliable predictor of disasters, as there had been numerous desperate outbreaks of rebellion, which had attempted to drive the empire away from the path of progress.

In November 409, in the same district of Yu-chou, there was also a small riot. An outlaw, Wang Hui-ting, who called himself **"Ming fa huang ti"** (the Emperor of Ming-fa), rebelled, and he was also beheaded. These two outlaws in the same district used nearly same title, "Ming fa wang", and may also be connected.

"Ching chū t'ien", Suddhāvāsa, the fourth dhyāna heaven in the Rūpa-dhātu (World of Form), is believed to be a

wonderful dwelling place for the saints who have achieved the stage of Anāgāmin (non-returning).⁴⁵ This heaven is mentioned in a number of Chinese Buddhist texts, such as the Āgama Sūtras, Prajñā Sūtra and Ta pao chi ching (or Mahāratnakūṭa), in early China. A chapter in the Ta pao chi ching relates that the heavenly beings of "**Ching chū t'ien**" assembled in their heaven to listen to the Buddha's preaching.⁴⁶ Apparently, this heaven is similar to a Buddha's pure land, and whoever dwells there is able to learn Buddhism. The title, "**Ming fa wang**" (a righteous, compassionate king), suggested the hope that the Cakravartin would bring peace to the kingdom. It is a common sense that in a period of turmoil people would only expect for peace. The ideas of being born in heaven and the advent of Maitreya were definitely common expectations. Both "Ching chū t'ien" and Tuṣita Heaven were ideal realms for rebirth. Undoubtedly, the terms "Ching chū t'ien" and "Ming fa wang" reflected a situation where people were desperate for peace, and in which the Buddha's teachings were widespread and accepted.

Among these riots the most violent movement was occurred in 515 by the Mahāyāna bandit Fa-ch'ing. According to the Wei Shu, it relates:

"In June 515, an outlaw Fa-ch'ing assembled a multitude and rebelled in Chi-chou (Hopei), killed the chief of the district, and called himself "**Ta sheng fo**"
 ...In July, a colonel Yüan Yao came from the capital to conquer him...In September, Yüan Yao defeated and arrested more than one hundred major criminals, who were commanded to be beheaded in the capital."⁴⁷

This rebellion was called "Ta sheng tsei" (the Mahāyāna

bandits), and was the most violent of the uprisings in the north. Although it took four months to repress the movement with an army of one hundred thousand soldiers, it was not completely extinguished. There was another outbreak of trouble later.

Fa-ch'ing was supported by a wealthy family, that of Li Kuei-po, and more than fifty thousand followers. Fa-ch'ing proclaimed that he himself was the "Ta sheng fo" (The Buddha of Mahāyāna) and that Li was a **"Shih-chu pu-sa"** (Bodhisattva of the Tenth Abode). Li was also given the titles "Ping mo chün szu" (Commander of the army which pacifies devils) and "Ting Han wang" (King of settling the Han). Fa's violence focused on the killing of Buddhist clergy, the devastation of temples and pagodas, and the burning of the sūtras and Buddha images. He also proposed a vicious tactic of encouraging his members to kill. He said that the more they killed, the greater the achievement. By killing one person the killer can achieve the first degree of bodhisattva's achievement; after killing ten people he then achieves the tenth stage of bodhisattvahood. His slogan was "Hsin fo ch'u shih" (the birth of the new Buddha) and "Chiu mo ch'u ch'ü" (the removal of old devils). He claimed to be a new manifestation of the Buddha, whose task it was to wipe out the old devils, principally the clerical enemies of the sect.

The notion "Shih-chu pu-sa" represents an advanced stage of bodhisattva achievement; if one achieves this stage one is said to no longer suffer in transmigration.⁴⁸ At the time in which the movement existed, people suffered starvation,

killing, burning and destruction, and lived in a state of despair. As well as the heavens of Ching-chü and Tuṣita, the achievement of the Tenth Abode was an attractive slogan with which to fascinate these simple folk. The idea of "Hsin fo ch'u shih" was, undoubtedly, a replacement of the idea of the coming Maitreya. Perceiving their expectations, the leader manipulated the simple majority to fulfil his personal ambition of becoming king.

Two years later, in 517, the remainder of the Mahāyāna bandits revolted again. A brief record is found in the Wei Shu. Concerning January 517, the remaining outlaws under Mahāyāna guise rose up again, attacking Ying-chou as violently as before, killing the people and burning the houses and temples. In the battle, the magistrate Yü Wen-fu and his son bravely overwhelmed the outlaws. Eventually, the outlaws dispersed and escaped.⁴⁹

Connected with the idea of Mo-fa, the hero Moonlight Child was personified as a boy. According to the Treatise on Punishments of the Wei Shu, in the period 516-517, an outlaw, Fa-ch'üan, assembled a multitude and claimed that a nine-year-old boy, Liu Ching-hui, was an incarnation of the bodhisattva Moonlight in Chi-chou. He led an uprising, but it was soon quelled.⁵⁰

There is a proclamation based on the Yüeh-kuang t'ung-tzu ching, in which the Buddha predicts that the son of an elder of Magadha would be the king of China in a future incarnation, when all of China and the Central Asian peoples would be converted.⁵¹ The idea of "Mo-fa" and "Moonlight Child" are

frequently linked together in the sūtras. At the time of Mo-fa the Moonlight Child will come to be an universal king and will relieve the suffering of sentient beings. Apparently, as well as Maitreya the bodhisattva Moonlight also plays a significant role of Messiah in Buddhism.

In comparison with the Mahāyāna bandit Fa-ch'ing, Fa-ch'üan was astute enough to take the tangible symbol of the nine-year-old boy for his movement. Regardless of which title the outlaw used, "Wu shang wang", "Ming fa wang", "Ta sheng fo" or even "Yüeh kuang t'ung tzu", all of them helped to shed light on some fraction of Maitreya. Although they caused dreadful misery among the people and throughout the country, their intention was based on the eschatology of setting up a utopian land in this world.

3. The Buddhist perspective in the sixth century

Apart from these barbaric outbreaks, however, Buddhism flourished and was widespread in the north in the period of the Northern Wei Dynasty. During the official acceptance and promotion of the religion during the reigns of the first and second rulers, Buddhism was widely adopted by the T'o-pa people and their Chinese subjects. In addition to the enormous images of Buddhas inscribed in the Yün-kang and Lung-men caves, the number of clergy and temples increased. As Kenneth Ch'en describes: "When the census of temples and monks was taken in 477, the average number per temple was twelve monks, but at the end of the dynasty, when the count was said to be 30,000 temples and 2,000,000 monks and nuns, the average number had risen to sixty-eight."⁵² Compared with the

previous Chin era, Buddhism won great popularity in the Northern Wei. In the Chin period, Buddhism was called "Gentry Buddhism", because it was only practised in certain circles, notably among the gentry and the nobility, not among the masses. In the Northern Wei, however, Buddhism succeeded in attracting large numbers of ordinary people and holding their attention, even adapting itself to contemporary social conditions.

In approximately the same period of the Northern Wei, the southern part of China, called the Southern Dynasties, was divided into four short-lived dynasties: Liu Sung (420-479), Ch'i (479-502), Liang (502-557), and Ch'en (557-589). Although these were separate ruling houses, under the Southern periods, Buddhism developed along the general lines laid down previously. Owing to Buddhism being adapted by the emperors, many eminent foreign clergy crossed Central Asia to China, where they promoted Buddhism through translation and were said to have enriched the spiritual aspect of people's lives. This meant that people in the south paid more attention to the philosophy and literature of the religion rather than to the practice of meditation.⁵³

First of all, in the Liu Sung period, diligent followers of Buddhism continued in the tradition of the previous period, emphasising the philosophical teachings of Buddhism and abstruse reflections on Neo-Taoism (Lao Chuang). Some of the nobility and notable literati were connected with Buddhism. Distinguished translators included Buddhajīva, Kālayāśas, Guṇavarman, Saṅghavarman and Dharmamitra, who broadened the

scope of Buddhism in the areas of Vinaya, Dhyāna and Pure Land. A well-known layman, Hsieh Ling-yün (385-433), achieved fame as a literary genius and calligrapher at an early age, and played an important role in spreading the teachings of the Nirvāna Sūtra by supporting Tao-sheng's teaching of sudden enlightenment.⁵⁴

In the Ch'i period, the emperor, Ch'i Wu-ti, was interested in Buddhism and held a service on the Eight Precepts of Purity in the palace.⁵⁵ The prince, Hsiao Tzu-liang (460-499), was also associated with a group of distinguished literati and prominent clergy. He was also concerned with the practical aspects of Buddhism. In order to follow the Buddhist disciplinary rules, he convened fasting assemblies, prohibited the killing of animals, contributed alms and medicines, and even sacrificed himself to serve in the temple. There were also a few notable foreign clergy translators under this rule: Saṅghabhadra, Dharmāgatayaśas, Dharmamati and Guṇavṛddhi.

Buddhism under the Liang period was to reach its zenith in the Southern Dynasties. The founder, Emperor Wu of Liang, ruled from 502 to 549, and was enthusiastic about Buddhism. He was from a Taoist family and before his interest in Buddhism he associated himself with Buddhist clergy and literati at the court of Prince Hsiao Tzu-liang. His contributions to Buddhism were not only to promote it by building temples, preaching the Dharma himself, and respecting the clergy, but also by "adopting the practice of abstaining from wine and meat at the imperial table, and casting away the

trappings of wealth and worth and becoming a menial in temples".⁵⁶ He was a respected and remarkable character in Chinese Buddhism. One of the figures of this thesis, Fu Hsi, lived mostly during this period, and was connected with the emperor, which may help to shed light on the contributions to Buddhism of the Emperor Wu of Liang.

Buddhism continued to flourish until the Ch'en Dynasty, following the example set by the Liang emperors. The Ch'en emperors were also sympathetic towards Buddhism. Generally speaking, Buddhism in the Southern and Northern Dynasties was successful; most emperors vigorously nurtured and sustained Buddhism. In the south, Emperor Wu of Liang presented himself as King Aśoka to extend the Buddha's teachings. In the north, during the Northern Wei period, apart from that of Emperor Wu, imperial loyalty to Buddhism was outstanding. From the first emperor to Hsüan-wu-ti, Buddhism reached its summit, which provoked jealousy from Taoists, and was the cause of further persecution by the Emperor Wu of the Northern Chou in 574. With the conquest of the Northern Ch'i, Emperor Wu of the Northern Chou declared that Buddhist properties must be confiscated and given over to military purposes. He also destroyed Buddhist temples, images and scriptures, and forced the clergy to laicize. However, in 578, Buddhism was restored by his successor. Eventually, during the Sui and T'ang Dynasties, Buddhism was firmly established, became mature and strong, and achieved its Golden Age in Chinese history.⁵⁷

Notes:

1. For the details of Taoist texts on Maitreya, see Li Feng-mou, *Lu ch'ao Sui T'ang hsien tao lei hsiao shuo yen chiu* (Taipei: 1987), pp.300-301.
2. T.14/426, pp.65-72.
3. T.1/2, pp.150-3, T.1/3, pp.154-9, T.1/4, pp.159-160.
4. For reference on "Maitreya-vyākaraṇa" see Edward Conze, *Buddhist Scriptures* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1960), pp.238-242.
5. See É.Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, translated from the French by Sara Webb-Boin, (Institut orientaliste Louvain-la-neuve, 1988), pp.699-700.
6. T.25/1509, p.92a, p.273a.
7. See Apadāna, I, p.337, and É. Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, p.700.
8. Mahāvastu, I, p.51 and III, p.246. In his commentary upon the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, the author Seng-chao remarks: "Maitreya is his family name, Ajita is his personal name." T.38/1775, p.331b.
9. See É.Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, pp.705-706.
10. T.11/310, pp.100c, 101b; T.9/262,, p.46b.
11. T.38/1775, p.331b.
12. T.3/183, p.457c.
13. T.14/454, p.419c.
14. T.9/278, p.782c; T.10/279, p.438a; T.10/293, p.835c.
15. *Dīghanikāya*, translated by R. O. Franke (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913), p.270. This book belongs to the Pāli canon of the southern Hīnayāna Buddhism and most of it goes back to the 3rd century B.C.. For further references see, Max Wegner, *Iconography of the Chinese Maitreya* (Leiden: E.J.Brill Press, 1929), p.3.
16. Padmanabh S. Jaini, "Stages in the Bodhisattva Career of the Tathāgata Maitreya", in Alan Sponberg, *Maitreya, the Future Buddha*, p.56.
17. The idea of the four stages is taken from P.S.Jaini's article, *Ibid*, pp.54-63.
18. This discussion is summary from *Ibid*, pp.64-8. T.9/262, pp.2-5.

19. For the reference see *Ibid*, pp.66-7. and for the content see T.5/220, pp.906-28.
20. T.9/278, pp.767-73.
21. An explanation is given in the note.37, p.82, and p.65 of P.S.Jaini's article.
22. *Guyhasāmaja-tantra*, 137, for further discussion see P.S.Jaini's article, p.65.
23. See P.Jaini's article, pp.65-6. T.14/475, pp.542a-3b.
24. T.14/452, pp.418-420, translated by Chū-chu Ching-sheng in the middle of 5th century.
25. T.14/453, pp.421-423. This text is a literal replica of the Chinese Ekottarāgama version, found in T.2/125, pp.787-789, translated by Gautama Saṅghadeva in the late 4th century.
26. (1) T.14/454, undated, probably 5th century, wrongly attributed to Kumārajīva. (2) T.14/456, expanded version translated by Kumārajīva in the early 5th century.
27. According to the *K'ai-yüan shih chiao lu*, Chih-sheng exclaims: "According to the orthodox sūtras the Tathāgata Maitreya will only appear after fifty-seven Koti and six million years after Śākyamuni's nirvāṇa." See T.55/2154, p.672. Yet, a different time-span of 576 million years is mentioned in the *Mahāvibhāsā*, see T.27/1545, p.698.
28. T.1/44, pp.829-830.
29. See Chiang Wei-ch'iao, *Chung kuo fo chiao shih* (Taipei: 1974), Vol.2, p.7.
30. See E. Zürcher, "Prince Moonlight- Messianism and Eschatology in Early Medieval Chinese Buddhism", *T'oung-pao* 68 (1982), pp.13-15; and T.55/2153, p.474; T.55/2146, pp.126-127; T.55/2154, p.672; T.55/2149. p.333. For further information on the Maitreya cult in early China, see Lee, Yu-min, *The Maitreya Cult and its Art in Early China* (The Ohio State University, Ph.D. dissertation, 1983), pp.12-42.
31. For Tao-an's contributions see E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (Leiden: E.J. Brill Press, 1959), pp.187-8.
32. See Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp.180-195, and K.Ch'en, *Buddhism in China* (Princeton University, 1964), pp.94-103.
33. E.Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp.204-211. K.Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 103-105.

34. Lotus Sūtra see T.9/262, p.1, for more information regarding this text see K.Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp.378-382.

35. For this sūtra see T14/474, p.519, and for more information see K.Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp.382-5.

36. Tsukamoto Zenryū, *Shina Bukkyōshi kenkyū: Hokugi-hen* (Tokyo: 1942), p.520.

37. See Z.Tsukamoto, *Shina Bukkyōshi kenkyū: Hokugi-hen*, pp. 360-370.

38. See K.Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp.171-172; and Z.Tsukamoto, *Hokugi-hen*, pp.513-520.

39. See Daniel L. Overmyer, "Messenger, Saviour and Revolutionary", in Alan Sponberg, *Maitreya: the Future Buddha*, pp.110-115.

40. Daniel L. Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard university Press, 1976), P.1.

41. See Sunayama Minoru, "Kōsa yōsō kō", *Tōhō-shūkyō* 46(1975), pp.29-62.

42. The religious movements in southern China were less connection with Buddhism than in northern China, so this study only discusses a few movements related to Buddhist ideas. For reference see Z.Tsukamoto, *Hokugi-hen*, pp.243-291.

43. See K.Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp.154-8.

44. K.Ch'en, "T'an-yao and his activities", *Buddhism in China* pp.153-158.

45. The term "Anāgāmin" is the third of the four types of degrees to be attained by a follower of Hīnayāna. This degree can be attained by avoiding all defilement in the world of craving, including false views and false practices. A saint of this degree never will be reborn in the world of desire, so his attainment is called "non-returning". For the details of "Ching chu T'ien" and Tuṣita Heaven, *Fo-kuang ta tz'u tien* (Kaohsiung, Taiwan: 1988) pp.1150-51, 4386-88, and *Ting Fu-pao, Fo hsueh ta tz'u tien* (Peking: 1984) p.385c.

46. The Ta pao chi ching, 120 fascicles, was rendered into Chinese by different translators from the Chin to the T'ang periods, and completed in the T'ang, during 693-713, by Dharmaruci, who arrived in China in 693 and changed his name to Bodhiruci. In this text, a chapter entitled "Ching chū t'ien tzu hui" was translated during 266-313 by Dharmarakṣa. See T.11/310, pp.80-91.

47. Wei Shu (Peking: 1974), chapter.9, pp.222-3.

48. For details of bodhisattva of the Tenth Abode, see T.10/284, pp.454-8.

49. Wei Shu, chapter.44, pp.1000-2.

50. For more details of this movement see an article by Minoru Sunayama, "Gekkō dōji Ryū kei-ki no hanran to Shu-ra Biku kyō", *Tōhōgaku* 51 (1976), pp.55-71.

51. T.14/534, p.815.

52. K.Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, p.158.

53. For the history of the Southern Dynasties, see K.Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp.121-3.

54. For the history of the Liang Dynasty, see Kamata Shigeo, *Chung-kuo fo-chiao t'ung-shih*, translated by Kuan Shih-chien (Taipei: 1986), Chinese edition, pp.124-130, 159-166.

55. The Eight Precepts of Purity: this term refers to eight precepts to which lay men and women agree to adhere on specific days of the month, one whole day and night to abide by the following rules: not to take life, not to steal, to refrain from all sexual activity, not to deceive, not to drink anything intoxicating, to keep away from perfume, dancing and the theatre, not to sit or sleep in an adorned chair, not to eat after the noon hour. *Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary* (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1965), p.101. Ting Fu-pao, *Fo hsueh ta tz'u tien*, p.553d.

56. The contributions of the emperor Wu of Liang to Buddhism, see K.Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp.124-8, and Kamata Shigeo, *Chung-kuo fo-chiao t'ung-shih*, pp.199-215.

57. For Buddhism in the T'ang see Kamata Shigeo, *Chung kuo fo chiao shih*, translated by Kuan Shih-chien (Taipei: 1982), pp.67-87.



CHAPTER TWO

BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES ON FU HSI

The amount of information available to modern scholars on Fu Hsi's life is small for even though he was later seen as a significant character for the Zen School, the sources give only passing references. Discounting all of the derivative and incidental materials, there are indeed only two primary biographical sources on Fu Hsi which need to be considered in depth. The earliest is an epitaph, made four years after Fu's death by his contemporary Hsü Ling. The second, more informative and categorized, is the Shan-hui ta-shih yü-lu, which was just compiled during the middle of the eighth century, but in its present form was edited in 1143. Some other sources are of a later date, such as the Ching te ch'uan teng lu and Fo tsu t'ung chi.... etc., and derive from the above two main sources, but add very little, and even contain errors. These will be elaborated in the following discussion.

1. Pei-wen (HTC/120, PW or epitaph)

This is a long epitaph written in 573 by Hsü Ling (507-583), who was a native of Kiangsu, a distinguished literatus and Vice Director of the Imperial Secretariat. In the Ch'en Shu, Hsü Ling is described as a prodigy. At the age of eight, he could write articles and poems; at twelve, he was already well versed in the philosophy of Lao Chuang as well as in history, and skilful in debate. When he was very young, two illustrious clerics, Pao-chih and Fa-yün (the abbot of Kuang-chê Temple), prophesied a brilliant future and praised him for

his gifts. In his lifetime, he had a close connection with some eminent clerics, such as Chih-i (538-597), Ch'eng-kuan (538-611) and Hui-yin (539-627). According to the Kuo-ch'ing pai-lu, there were three letters from Hsü Ling to Chih-i, which expressed his five vows to be reborn in the Pure Land of Amitābha Buddha. On his death bed, he uttered the name of the Buddha (Nien-fo). After he passed away, an extraordinary fragrance pervaded his house.¹ It is evident that Hsü Ling was a faithful Buddhist.

It is convenient here to study Hsü's composition from three perspectives, namely devotional, historical and literary. As a devout Buddhist, Hsü could have composed an inscription for Fu Hsi from a loyal devotional point of view; as an historian, he could have compiled a more authentic account for his text; as a literatus, he would have been concerned with his literary style. In his inscription, Hsü Ling deferentially designated him "Fu Ta-shih" (bodhisattva Fu) rather than Fu Hsi, and provided valuable data on him. Although he held Fu in high esteem from a devotional point of view, even hailing him as the bodhisattva Vimalakīrti, his text can be considered as the most reliable source for examining the life of Fu Hsi. This is because the author completed this text a mere four years after Fu's death, and the latter was ten years older than the former. They were contemporaries during the same reign, but there is nothing suggesting a link between them. If they did not meet during their lifetime, they must surely have heard of each other.

In view of its importance, a full translation of Hsü Ling's composition is given in Chapter Three. Parts of this epitaph are already quoted in the I wen lei chü, which was composed by Ou-yang Hsün in 624.² Moreover, a commentary on the epitaph, made by Wu Chiang in the Ching period, is found in the Hsü Hsiao-mu chi, which this study adopts as a reference source for the translation in the next chapter.³

2. Pien cheng lun (T.52/2110, PCL)

This was written by Fa-lin (572-640). The PCL not only records important matters and outstanding figures of Buddhism, but also presents some statistics pertaining to the steady growth of temples and convents within the Southern and Northern Dynasties. The author Fa-lin, a renowned pre-T'ang cleric, who was an influential figure in achieving Buddhist supremacy over Taoism, compiled the P'o hsieh lun.⁴

In the Pien cheng lun, the data on Hsü Ling is contained in a one line reference, simply mentioning that "[his] articles were excellent, [he] had great faith and respect for Buddhism, made many images of the Buddhas and had copied one volume of sūtras".⁵ However, the references to Fu Hsi occur ten times in the former; in which significant feats of Fu are recorded, its content is similar to the Pei-wen, relating his power of radiating golden rays emitted from his chest, meeting the Emperor Wu of Liang and his first petition to the emperoretc..⁶ Fa-lin was born three years after Fu's death, so if Fu was not a significant figure, how did Fa-lin know so much about him? Hence, we can deduce that Fu Hsi was definitely quite notable after his death.

3. Hsü kao seng chuan (T.50/2060, HKSC)

This was written by Tao-hsüan about 645.⁷ As the book contains the biographies of eminent monks, it should only encompass eminent clergy, yet Fu Hsi was included in it. It is also curious that the account of Fu was combined with that of the cleric Hui-yün and placed at the end of Hui-yün's biography, and unlike others set in a separate section. Although the reference to Fu Hsi is similar to that of the Pei-wen and Pien cheng lun, the unusual layman, Fu Ta-shih, was regarded as a prominent figure by the distinguished author Tao-hsüan. At the end of the biography, Tao-hsüan gives Hsü Ling's epitaph as the source of his information.⁸ Thus showing how significant Fu Hsi is in Chinese Buddhist history.

4. Shan-hui ta-shih yü-lu (HTC/120, SHYL)

This text was originally recorded by Lou Ying in the T'ang period.⁹ The Ch'üan T'ang shih quotes: "Lou Ying was a 'Chin-shih' of the T'ien-pao period (742-755) and composed five poems for the preface to the Kuo hsiu chi."¹⁰ Hence, we only know Lou Ying was a "Chin-shih" (Presented scholar) and a poet, no further data and dates are known.¹¹ He was a worshipper of Maitreya, and also received the precepts of a bodhisattva. The original text remaining in the SHYL is only a preface, in which the author reveals his enthusiasm for Maitreya by claiming "If he, Fu Ta-shih, was not an incarnation of Maitreya, how could he possess the supreme wisdom and profound knowledge of Buddhism without having had any prior instruction, as well as possessing a gift for skilful preaching?"¹² Lou Ying also lamented that he could

not achieve bodhisattvahood in his lifetime, and wished to ascend to Tuṣita Heaven and then to descend in a future life to the world to attend the Lung-hua Assembly with Maitreya.¹³ In order to keep the account of Maitreya for posterity, he claimed he had visited **"many elders"** to collect data on Fu Ta-shih, and had compiled them into **"eight fascicles"**.

The Huan-chu liu-shu chi, which will be discussed next, mentions that the SHYL of Lou Ying was of "seven fascicles". Another short source, however, the "T'i Shan-hui ta-shih lu", also mentions that Lou Ying's version was "eight fascicles" long.¹⁴ Yet in the postface to the SHYL itself, the editor, Lou Chao, stated that he had revised Lou Ying's version into four fascicles, completed the records of Fu and included the biographies of Sung T'ou-t'o, Hui-yüeh, Hui-chi and Hui-ho; he did not mention the number of fascicles.¹⁵ Investigating all these sources, this study deduces that the original text must have been eight fascicles in total. This is, firstly, because Lou Ying himself stated it was eight in his preface. Secondly, in the "T'i Shan-hui ta-shih lu", the author Sung Lien (1310-1381) mentions:¹⁶

"Formerly, the master Ting-kuang of Pao-ling Temple had showed the eight fascicles of Shah-hui ta-shih lu by Lou Ying to Lou Chao, who objected that it had been too long and lacking elegance, so and had amended it to four fascicles in 1143. Now the abbot of the Pao-ling Temple, master Fo-jih, showed me the original, I still thought it was too complicated and disorganized. I intended to edit it, though owing to illness I could not fulfil the task. However, because it was too complicated to understand, the layman Lo Lung-ching disliked Lou Ying's text likewise; so he edited it. Lung-ching was a contemporary of the elder Lou (Lou Chao), who was unfortunately unable to read this version. While I was visiting the master Fo-jih to record

his (Lou Chao) feats, I was so delighted to peruse the version of Lung-ching."¹⁷

From these two statements, it is evident that the original text by Lou Ying was definitely eight fascicles. A clue from the above quotation is that the third version seems to have been edited by Lo Lung-ching; this version is no longer extant. In addition, there seems to have been another version, Shan-hui ta-shih hsiao lu, written by the monk Tsung-i in 985, this no longer exists either.¹⁸

Apparently, the original SHYL was written by Lou Ying in the T'ang period, and edited by Lou Chao in the Sung period (1143). Whereas it contains complete data on Fu Hsi, it has lost touch with the original. In the postface to the SHYL, Lou Chao himself mentions that he found the original too long and too inelegant, and so revised it totally correcting its chronology. It follows that this source may well preserve early material, but not in the original wording.¹⁹ The eighth patriarch of the T'ien-t'ai School, Tso-ch'i Hsüan-lang (673-754), was the sixth descendant of Fu Hsi.²⁰ It is quite possible that Lou Ying visited Hsüan-lang to obtain resources for the text. Because they were contemporaries, and in his preface he stated that the sources of his text were collected from many elders he had visited, Hsüan-lang would have been one of the latter. As one of Fu's offspring, Hsüan-lang would have accumulated and preserved Fu's writings or records. In spite of not being faithful to the original, the SHYL can be accepted as a complete text for the purpose of studying the life of Fu Hsi. Although that may be so, it still contains

errors, such as in the first fascicle, where it is narrated that "on his death bed, Fu spoke to his **two sons who were monks**", which suggests that his two sons had become monks before he died. Moreover, in the second fascicle, it states that his elder son immolated himself in 587. A doubt arises here, that is if his two sons had renounced secular life, how could he have had descendants such as the prominent cleric Hsüan-lang ? Accordingly, this study presumes either that they became monks after having been married and producing at least one child, or that his younger son was merely a lay Buddhist.

5. Huan-chu liu-shu chi (HTC/120, HCC)

This text, now contained at the end of the third fascicle of the Shan-hui ta-shih yü-lu, is by Yüan Chen (779-831), the famous poet and friend of Pai Chü-i. Pien Hsiao-hsüan, in his research into Yüan's biography, shows that this text existed as an inscription in Sung times according to two separate sources of the early thirteenth century - and so would have been available to Lou Chao - but he assumes that it was subsequently lost.²¹ In fact, it may well have been lost in China for a while, if we are right in thinking that the Shan-hui ta-shih yü-lu was only preserved in Japan.

In the text Yüan gives his rank as provincial governor of Chekiang East, a post he held from 823-829, as Pien shows. He recounts how Fu was a simple fisherman till the age of 24, when the mysterious monk Sung revealed to him that he was a pre-incarnation of Maitreya. He was summoned to court by an edict of the Emperor Wu of Liang, who had heard of his strange powers and so ordered his officials to lock all the gates and

doors to the capital. Fu set off with a large mallet, and when he arrived delivered a blow to one gate, whereupon it and all the other gates flew open. He would not stand up in the Emperor's presence, but thought incapable of writing, in speech and debate he was quite remarkable. The Emperor accordingly bestowed on him a pearl which "could produce water or fire in the sun and moon". Lou Ying had written his "Veritable Records" (shih-lu, a term usually but not invariably associated with official historical records) in seven fascicles; Hsü Ling had written an epitaph.

After his death, Yüan continues, his disciples had written to prominent persons asking for their patronage, and had received letters in reply from the last ruler of the Ch'en (when he was still a prince), from Hou An-tou (520-563), and later under the T'ang from others up to and including a certain Lu Hsi, one hundred and seventy-five people in all. In 825-826 Yüan had sent an order, since Fu's home was under his jurisdiction, asking for verification of this. The monks of Shuang-lin had sent him thirteen rolls of writings relating to Fu, including the edict and the epitaph, plus the pearl, the mallet, a woven Buddha image and a "water chimney" (shui-t'u, a term not listed in dictionaries, but perhaps meaning a water clock). Yüan sent back the four objects but kept the documents, intending to conserve them, so that he could use them to publicise the cult of Fu Hsi later.

Unfortunately, however, he was now forced to leave them unattended, presumably because he was going to be transferred, though the date at the end appears to be tenth month, 828 -

probably due to a simple textual error for 829, since news of his transfer came in ninth months of the latter year. The inscription was to call attention to this misfortune, a "Record of Having Returned the Pearl and Kept the Writings". A further note inscribed at the end records that the documents were safely returned home by monks in 838. Despite one or two puzzles, there is no reason not to consider this a genuine reflection of a lost T'ang inscription bearing witness to the cult of Fu Hsi in the early ninth century, and indeed providing a hitherto overlooked source for Yüan Chen's life and thought.

6. Ching te chuan teng lu (T.51/2076, CTCTL)

This is a much later version than the above sources, and was written in 1004. There are a few errors in the account of Fu Hsi. The reference to Fu Hsi mentions the miraculous cleric Pao-chih three times at length. It relates not only the miraculous life of Fu, but also his poems, a meeting with the Emperor Wu of Liang and Prince Chao-ming.

Compared with the previous above-mentioned sources, there are three major errors in this text. First of all, according to the PW, it was in the sixth year of Chung ta-t'ung (534) that Fu Ta-shih first wrote to the Emperor Wu of Liang. Yet this text could have copied the incident from the SHYL without examination, in which case both sources, the CTCTL and SHYL, made a mistake regarding the sixth year of Ta-t'ung instead of Chung Ta-t'ung. The period of Ta-t'ung lasted a mere two years (527-528), and according to the SHYL, he only met Sung T'ou-t'o (the monk who told him he was Maitreya) in 520. It

was therefore impossible for Fu Hsi to have written to the emperor during the first stage of his Buddhist practice, and he was even not well-known yet at this early stage. For the CTCTL, no doubt, it is an unintentional mistake. For the SHYL, however, the error might be merely an omission of the word "Chung" in printing, since this error came right after the third year of Chung ta-t'ung, as the version was in chronological order. This would help to verify that the SHYL did indeed exist before the CTCTL was written, though it might suggest as well that Lou Chao did in fact alter its chronology, as he states he did.

A second error concerns a discussion with the Prince Chao-ming. The renowned Prince Chao-ming (501-531), who was a great literatus and devout Buddhist, had a close association with the clergy. He died in 531, and Fu Hsi met the Emperor Wu of Liang in 534. How could Fu Hsi have met and discussed the doctrine with the prince before 531? Moreover, in none of the earlier sources, the PW or the SHYL, was any connection found between Fu Hsi and the prince. Thirdly, a ridiculous episode is related in the text, which is that the miraculous monk Pao-chih recommended to the emperor Wu of Liang that Fu Ta-shih should preach the Diamond Sūtra. When Pao-chih died in 514, Fu was just an eighteen-year old fisherman. How could he have preached the Dharma to the emperor at such a tender age? Due to this episode, a text entitled Fu Ta-shih sung chin kang ching was found in the Tun-huang caves, which is said to be apocryphal.²²

Owing to these errors, this text is less reliable for verifying the life of Fu Hsi. The CTCTL, however, exposes the fact that Fu Ta-shih had now become well-known as a Zen master before the Sung period and was highly respected in the Zen School, since the CTCTL has been widely regarded as an important record of the Zen School. Fu's notable poem Hsin wang ming alongside the Hsin_hsin ming of Seng-ts'an is contained in the thirtieth fascicle of the CTCTL.²³ A prominent Zen master, Yung-ming Yen-shou (904-975), repeatedly quotes the teachings of Fu Ta-shih in his Tsung ching lu. Therefore, the CTCTL made no exception to include the biography of Fu Hsi, and even gave him exceptional treatment compared with others, thus showing the significance of Fu Hsi in the Zen tradition. This later development, however, has tended to obscure his original image.

7. The remaining sources

Most of the later dated sources contain data on Fu Hsi, such as the Fo tsu t'ung chi, Fo tsu kang mu, Shih shih chi ku lueh and most of the records of the Zen School. In the compilations of the Zen School, Fu Hsi is set alongside the Monk Pu-tai in the miracles section. He is respected either as a skilful Zen master or as a miraculous figure in these sources. Some of these materials merely serve to supplement the developments of the Maitreya cult and Zen practice.

The author of the KSC, Hui-chiao (497-554), was born in the same year as Fu Hsi. He was respected as an eminent and righteous cleric. Owing to his dissatisfaction with the Ming_seng chuan of Pao-ch'ang, he collected information on the

clergy from ca. 67 to 519 to compose his KSC and completed it around 530.²⁴ According to the SHYL, in the year 520, Fu Hsi had just met Sung T'ou-t'o. It was too late for Hui-chiao to include Fu in his KSC, if indeed he knew Fu in his lifetime. Unfortunately, the author died in 554, at only fifty-eight years of age, when Fu might just have become well-known. If Hui-chiao had lived longer than Fu, and the KSC had been completed after Fu's death, Fu Hsi would have been probably included in it; then, we would have had a more precise source to study Fu Hsi.

In consulting the above diverse sources we are initially struck more by what they do not tell us about Fu Hsi than by what they do. Most disappointingly, they prove especially lacking in original genuine detail that would permit us to reconstruct a vivid and personal image of our subject. For example, no personal writings remain from Fu's own hand, nor does any of his personal correspondence. Since he was prominent in the Zen School, very few materials can be investigated to prove the authenticity of poems attributed to him. While this paucity of sources does not mean that we do not get a definite impression of Fu's personality, the material fits together surprisingly well to project a picture of a humane and merciful individual. We at least obtain a good impression of his public persona, which reflects upon Maitreya.

Notes:

1. T.46/1934, pp.799, 801a.
2. I wen lei chū, chapter 76, see Szu k'u chūan shu (Shanghai: 1987), Vol.888, p.582.
3. This compilation is collected in the Szu k'u ch'ūan shu, Vol.1064, pp.891-900; and the epitaph is also included in HTC.120, p.35.
4. T.52/2109, p.474.
5. T.52/2110, p.506.
6. T.52/2110, p.506.
7. Wu Chi-yu, "A Study of Han-shan", T'oung-pao 45.4-5 (1957), pp.392-450, shows the additions of Hsū kao seng chuan were made by Tao-hsūan until his death in 667.
8. T.50/2060, chapter 25, p.650b.
9. PW, SHYL, HCC and CCPC are compiled together in HTC.120, pp.1-54. The title "Shan-hui ta-shih yū-lu" is only used in the Hsū tsang ching (HTC); all other sources show that the title even in 1694 did not include the word "yū". The version HTC is based on a Japanese reprint of 1694. Presumably since the Hsū chin hua ts'ung shu was published in 1924, it comes from the HTC.
10. Ch'ūan T'ang shih, finished in 1671, see Szu k'u chūan shu, Vol.1424, pp.789-790. Kuo hsiu chi, compiled by Jui T'ing-chang in 744, this compilation includes poets born before 700, see Szu k'u chūan shu, Vol.1332, pp.79-80.
11. "Chin-shih" or Presented scholar, a 3rd degree graduate under the old system of imperial examinations held by the government annually. See Charles O.Hucker, A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China (Stanford University, 1985), p.27.
12. SHYL, in HTC.120, p.1.
13. See notes.9 and 25 in Chapter Four for the Lung-hua Assemblies.
14. This text is taken from the Ch'ien-ch'i pieh chi, fascicle 7; this is compiled in the HTC.120, p.52.
15. T.52/2064, p.971b. The account on Sung T'ou-t'o is found in the "Shen seng chuan", which has a similar record to the SHYL, from which it may have been taken; see Yū Chia-hsi, Szu-k'u t'i-yao pien-chêng (Peking: 1980), Vol.3, pp.1176-7.

16. Sung Lien, also known as Ch'ien-ch'i or Wen-hsien, the compilation Sung Wen-hsien kung chūan chi is compiled in the Szu-pu pei-yao (Shanghai: 1936), Vol.256-257; in its preface, the Ch'ien-ch'i chi is mentioned, but the Ch'ien-ch'i pieh chi is not included.

17. HTC/120, p.52.

18. See Matsuzaki Kiyohiro, "Nanchō Bukkyō ichi kōsatsu: Fu-dai-shi". Bukkyōgaku nenpō 16 (1983), pp.62-64.

19. HTC.120, p.51.

20. An epitaph for Hsūan-lang by Li Hua (d. 774) is included in the T'ang wen ts'ui, chapter 61, which is a Sung version, see Szu k'u chūan shu, Vol.1344, p.3; and T.49/2035, p.188.

21. Pien Hsiao-hsūan, Yūan Chen nien-p'u (Chi-nan: Ch'i-lu shu-chū, 1980), pp.490-491.

22. T.85/1846, p.1. For the reference See Matsuzaki Kiyohiro, "Fu-dai-shi kyō kongōkyō", Shūgaku Kenkyū 24 (1982), pp.231-234.

23. T.51/2076, pp.456-7.

24. For the life of Hui-chiao, see Yamanouchi Shinkyō, Shina Bukkyō shi no kenkyū (Tokyo: 1921), pp.1-38; and A.F.Wright, Studies in Chinese Buddhism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), pp.73-111.

CHAPTER THREE
THE EPITAPH ON FU HSI

This chapter is a translation of the Pei-wen containing important data, from which one can perceive that Fu Hsi was regarded as an eminent figure, even as a manifestation of Maitreya, by his contemporaries as early as four years after his demise. The author and particulars of the epitaph have been discussed in Chapter Two, it would be helpful if the reader reviews it to obtain a clear idea of the PW before proceeding with this chapter. The epitaph could be regarded as an early source of information into the life of Fu Hsi; moreover, the contents of the SHYL will be studied in the next chapter to shed light on Fu Hsi's life in its entirety. This chapter will merely deal with the translation without further comment, however, a comparison of Fu's life based on these two sources will be provided at the end of the next chapter. A full translation of the biographical eulogy given in the epitaph is presented below, but some additional poetry which simply reiterates the information is excluded. The translation reads as follows:

A perfect man who is not limited [by time and space] subdues his physical form to advance his teachings. A sage does not have a fixed designation; he may manifest outwardly as less powerful or capable in order to conceal his traces, for example Vimalakīrti who lowered his dignity as an elder and Mañjuśrī who manifested as a young pupil.¹ Likewise, the trip of Trapuṣa [and Bhallika] who offered [abundant precious] goods [to the Buddha] and the establishment of the Buddhist

saṅgha in Rājagṛha ² [were the beginning of lay group]. [Thus, people who offered food and goods] are called lay people or sometimes Upavāsa.³ The great sūtra says [lay people] should turn the wheel of Dharma;⁴ the sūtra with a great [number of] chapters also relates that all [lay people] are able to succeed to the honourable position.⁵ In which case, the powers of manifestation are inconceivable.

Fu Ta-shih of Sung-lin Temple in the Wu-shang district of Tung-yang Prefecture was a native of that district. In ancient time, [it was believed that] cliffs and streams concealed the virtues of people; the banks of the River Wei produced omens of prosperity. Heaven bestowed a dynasty upon the Yin Shang and gave birth to a chief minister.⁶ Marquis Ching supported the Han Dynasty, Fan and T'eng were border officials.⁷ [Fu] Chieh-tzu became famous, Kan [Yen-shou] and [Chen] T'ang were his companions.⁸ In the Eastern Han, the family line thrived; in the Western Chin it became even more glorious. Only by means of such excellent families do heavenly beings choose to incarnate, for example the incarnations of Śākyamuni Buddha, which demonstrates this kind of karmic cause; just as Tzu-ch'ang and Tzu-yün were able to describe their families in detail.⁹ Therefore, we can presume the succeeding bodhisattva is the true son of the Dharma king Śākyamuni and will take his place [on the throne of Dharma]; thus, he is referred to as Maitreya. Though the three assemblies of Maitreya will be well attended, the way of Hua-lin is not yet ready.¹⁰ It is still as far off as a thousand foot cliff to attain the government of the king Śaṅkha,¹¹

but [he simply] manifests in this world to spare sentient beings. Since opportunities have different sources, so [Maitreya's incarnations] do not have constant substance. In describing Maitreya's karmic background, the general meaning is as outlined above. According to the T'ing shui ching,¹² the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara has five hundred forms in the Jambudvīpa; he manifests in human form to edify sentient beings. The bodhisattva Maitreya who also has five hundred forms in the Jambudvīpa manifests diverse forms to benefit sentient beings. Therefore, it is difficult to describe in detail his underlying form and manifestations.

[By all accounts Fu] was generous and filial, serious and respectful; his conduct was based on reverence, his speech was based on loyalty and trust; of pleasing demeanour his manner was pure and noble. He had an influence upon his family and friends and was gifted at settling disputes. He was not only likened to Kêng Ying who was able to destroy a wall [by his vigour], but also to I Liao who was skilful in juggling with balls [to solve problems wisely].¹³ He resembled Wang Jung and Têng Yu at about the same young age,¹⁴ but he longed to live in seclusion, and did so in the Shuang-lin Temple on Sung Mount. He abandoned conjugal affection unlike Liang Hung who was accompanied [by his wife].¹⁵ He bade farewell to his parents as Su Tan did in the case of the eternal separation.¹⁶ He went to a distant valley to practice meditation, quit eating rice and became a vegetarian, which does not mean he could have scattered clouds and morning mist as his meal.¹⁷ The prefect Wang Chieh doubted Fu's magical

powers, so he instructed his guards to imprison him; there Fu had no chance to partake of food for several weeks. Thereafter, [the people in] the prefecture and town all felt ashamed and were prostrate; from near and far [they] came to take refuge from him. He later hid himself away in the mountain, and set up his oratory. Besides, he professed that the seven Buddhas together had appeared to him once from the ten directions; Śākyamuni Buddha had patted his head and [Tashih] had vowed to receive the profound teachings.

[Thereafter], each time the bell was rung, and the Dharma drum was drummed, the heavenly beings from the sky came to join in his practice. Ordinary people perceived a strange fragrance which emanated from his clenched fists, and a golden ray glowed within his chest. At that time, monk Seng-shuo of Hsin-an district together with his friends came to visit and receive [his teaching]; before reaching his oratory, suddenly they saw Fu's body projected more than ten feet high. They were astounded and ashamed, and vied to be the first to worship devotionally; after paying reverence they saw [he regained] his normal shape. Moreover, Monk Chih-hsieh and the lay woman Ch'ien Man-yüan and others humbly served him for several years and often saw his unusual forms, such as his feet enlarged to two feet long, with five inch plus toes and the glow of his eyes and radiance [of his pupils], which were a gold colour just like golden coins. [His unusual appearance] was similar to Li Lao,¹⁸ and took the same form as Chou Wen;¹⁹ the foot track which Chiang-yüan trod in was similar to that of a heavenly being's.²⁰ The big shoe in the river could

be compared with that of a supernatural foot.²¹ Chih Ch'ien was wise and knowledgeable but was ashamed of his yellow eyes, and the teacher Gautama was ashamed of his blue eyes.²²

Furthermore, [Fu] had already achieved the four stages of meditation and was fully enlightened. He also attained the Eight Forms of liberation and emancipated his mind [from illusion].²³ When he had gained mastery of the practice of liberation, he returned to his hometown to convert his countrymen and relatives to enlighten them to their original divine nature (Buddha nature), as well as exhorting them to transfer their merits [to others]. Some of them immediately shaved off their beard and hair, and were ordained just like the monk Shan-lai;²⁴ some divested themselves of their wealth to create pure merits together. Ta-shih rested in [meritorious practice of] meditation, and lived alone on a high cliff upon stiffly auspicious trees, the so-called sublime trees, as their branches jutted out and faced each other forming an archway just like a pair of locust trees. They formed a shadow just like that of the double *Aleurites cordata* trees over an empty well, being strong and lofty, ever luxuriant, keeping out snow and frost, and were evergreen. They were truly hardy just like a *Śāla* tree,²⁵ which appeared to be guarded by a holy dragon; one might regard them as transformed cranes.²⁶ Hence, [Fu] built a temple in the foothills; owing to these two lofty trees, it was called Double-tree Temple,

Ta-shih returned to his valley, where he traded his wife and sons and built a pagoda [with the proceeds]. He copied out the revered sūtras, and often piled up sand to draw in it to

accumulate merits. [Whether] a mustard seed or an Āmalaka (myrobalan) ²⁷ he did not hesitate to make an offering. He proceeded to build a nine-storey brick pagoda, whose form was lofty, where he devoutly worshipped and circumambulated six times daily. [Additionally,] he taught the people in the valley that the Mahāyāna sūtras, [which contain] efficacious medicine [as precious as] pearls, should be spread and written. The Dragon Valley longed for the morning light (dawn), the elephant carriage lacked circulation.²⁸ He also copied more than one thousand fascicles of the sūtras of the Five Periods,²⁹ his devotion was likened to [the woman who] sold her son to cover her father's funeral expenses ³⁰ and to [Hsü Mai] who married his wife to another to achieve seclusion,³¹ whose faithfulness was not different from Fu's. [His faith] was similar to [the narratives of] the mud pie,³² and selling the flowers,³³ which brought [these boys] in the end to attain the Bodhi and the [flower-girl] to become a wife of the saint.

As concerns the teachings, [he was so aware of] form and non-form and the virtue of humility and non-thought, that even if his arm had turned into a chicken, he would have calmly attributed it to spontaneousness;³⁴ even if a poisonous snake had tried to bite his wife, it would not have interfered with his profound meditation.³⁵ His decorous disciples and numerous students were renowned for being compassionate, nor did his teaching favour one sect. The first year of Ta-tung (527 A.D.) the elder Fu P'u-tung of the district accompanied by one hundred people visited county magistrate Fan Hsü, and

they all commended and described him. Again, in the fourth year of Chung Ta-tung (532), Fu Tê-hsüan, an influential man, and three hundred of the laity and clergy visited magistrate Hsiao Hsü and extolled his upright conduct. [His case was like the jewel] which was more worthy than a city and could light up the shed: country people were astounded and abandoned it, even experts could not recognize it.³⁶ In this circumstance, Magistrate Hsü was very ordinary and unable to recognize Fu's talent, but [his supporters] felt an urgent desire to his greatness have acknowledge. Finally, on this matter he was completely idle.

The emperor Wu of Liang promoted the saṅgha and brought help to the four kinds of sentient beings,³⁷ his footsteps were superior to those of the king Udayana,³⁸ his spirit was higher than Hsien-yü.³⁹ Moreover, [Fu was just like] Ch'en Fan who lived in his hut while demonstrating concern for the entire world,⁴⁰ and I Yin who while ploughing was still thinking of spreading the path of a sage king:⁴¹ "O ! How much more do I have the sun of wisdom, the bright torch and the precious chariot as swift as the wind to rescue the sinking boat and enable its passengers to reach the further shore ? Certainly, it is proper to spread the true Dharma and make it glorious, which could influence a king of the human realm." Therefore, on the twenty-eight of January of the six year of Chung Ta-t'ung (534), Fu sent his disciple Fu Wang to the capital in order to submit an appeal to the emperor, which read:

"The Bodhisattva Shan-hui who is going to attain release in future under the tree of Shuang-lin appeals to the Emperor Saviour Bodhisattva. I intend to uplift the various capacities of human beings from high, middle and low levels, I wish that they can all receive this teaching. The highest good is to adopt detachment as a principle, take modesty as a basis, non-thought as a cause and nirvāṇa as the end. The middle good is to govern oneself as a principle, accept governing the kingdom as a basis, in order to achieve rebirth in the human or heavenly realm. The lowest good is to protect sentient beings, to refrain from killing, and to cause common people to broadly follow the rule of the Six Vegetarian Days."⁴²

We know, the Lord of the Four seas, the Ruler of the Ten Thousand Countries, when he prepares to dwell in his kingdom, there is nowhere which is not his Jeta-vana (oratory). At that time, the national preceptor Reverend Chih-che, and monks of great virtue wrote respectfully, and they all followed Śākyamuni's writings. Their dispatches were humble and respectful in imitation of Shan-kung's petitions,⁴³ which were formally addressed: "Ta-shih is neither an elder nor a monk, he sent a petition through a messenger and rode on a carriage totally devoid of humility, he was far too disrespectful." Laity and clergy of the capital were amazed. Fu Wang went to the capital to hand it to the Grand Director of Music, Ho Ch'ang, and made a vow to burn his left hand on the royal road; thereby he was hoping that this message would be heard and delivered. Ch'ang took this petition to the Reverend Seng-hao of T'ung-t'ai Temple, where all the monks

were acquainted with this matter; [therefore, Fu's] fame was spread far and wide, whoever read the petition was pleased and urged him to send it to the emperor. [Thereafter], the emperor was so delighted, he immediately invited Fu to an audience chamber to urgently discuss the Dharma.

Although the front of T'ung-t'ai Temple faced the North palace and was very close to the South palace, [Fu Hsi] was invited to stay there to wait all supplies for him. Later he moved to the Ting-lin Temple of Chung-shan, where he would wander along the cliff, lean on a tree, sit and walk in meditation. Many famous monks and students from the capital gathered there like a cloud, they all brought cases or bags of books to visit him and enquire about the Dharma or meditation. He remained in the shade of a pine tree and sheltered in a huge rock. Hence the dew consistently sparkled in four directions, where it rained heavenly wine for sixty days. Was it not a portent of the influence of an immortal who produced a lucky omen ?

[Once] the emperor himself preached the San-hui pan jo ching (San-hui Prajñā Sūtra)⁴⁴ in the Ch'ung-yün Hall of the Hua-lin Garden [in the palace]. [Its profundity] was [to clarify the truth] just like the questions raised by the heavenly being Hsü-chen.⁴⁵ [Its glory] was likened to Dharmasresthin who triumphed in the high hall.⁴⁶ A hundred thousand dragons and elephants (great people) encircled to join in and listen. Sables (the wealthy), red sashes (the gentry), princes and earls all attended the lecture. The foremost of the country, the most brilliant people and

ministers sat down together. However, Ta-shih was told to take a single couch facing the emperor's screen; and [the emperor] proclaimed an edict and declared four attendants at Fu's right and left sides to receive his messages. At that time, all the officials were making ready to gather on the terrace. It was even as if the Director of Convict Labour was in the palace,⁴⁷ Tu Yü returned to the palace,⁴⁸ and Ma Fang was close to the nobility.⁴⁹ Courtly manners (the marquis and earl) and district officials all were his companions, because Ta-shih was a paragon of the world, so [the emperor] granted him this special honour. Even when the imperial carriage entered the palace and the imperial halting-place was by the stairs (i,e, even when the emperor himself arrived he did not bow down), he remained peaceful not making even the slightest movement. A Judicial Commissioner inquired of him [why he would not bow to the emperor], he just kept even more still and responded: "If the Dharma moves, all Dharmas will be uneasy"; his replies were sharp and cryptic.

Formerly, the Han emperor had favoured the Tao, but Luan Ta was unreliable;⁵⁰ the Wei emperor treated the virtuous man Yang with unusual courtesy like a guest;⁵¹ the elder on the river went up to the air overlooked the emperor Hsiao-wen of Han;⁵² the lofty Yen-tzu lay at ease with the Kuang-wu [emperor],⁵³ following above examples were heroes in the old day, they could be believed to be friends by [those emperors]. The emperor himself again invited Ta-shih to the Shou-kuang Hall to discuss abstruse Dharma, which was not spoken in verse (Geya), but their words had Gāthā, the rhyme harmonizing with

the music and harmony notes, and the meaning was conveyed with elegance. Was it not like Ratna-rāśi offering up a canopy and writing with seven characters to a verse, and the students of Śākyamuni playing the lute and singing a thousand hymns ?⁵⁴ In fact, neither writing commentary on the Confucian classics in the White-tiger Hall,⁵⁵ nor being summoned at the Golden-horse Gate,⁵⁶ nor discussing right conduct on the Cloud-terrace,⁵⁷ nor receiving good fortune in the palace could be compared with this.⁵⁸

The cycle of fire was about to come to an end, but people were not aware of this in advance. Neither had "the Five Barbarians" the omen of white and black geese been developed yet,⁵⁹ and everything was going to go to ruin in the Four Seas, still the government of a virtuous man had not appeared yet.⁶⁰ Ta-shih could perceive the future through his supernatural eyes, by his rubbing palms he could foresee the disasters of his time.⁶¹ He grieved for the lawlessness of all sentient beings and wept over the decline in common morality; he regarded saving people as his principle and considered great compassion to be his illness. He vowed to become empty within and seal up his energies, which meant to take Vijñāna as food instead of famous incense,⁶² and he just relied on the solace of meditation. He even proposed to mortify his body, making of it a Dharma-light to brighten the Buddha lands in the ten directions, and implored [the Buddhas] to become trainers (Sārathi) and permanently stay in this world to spare people from war disasters at that time and to eliminate imminent suffering.

Thus, his disciples and students cried, wailed and leapt at the monastery gate; his disciples, laymen Hsü P'u-pa, P'an P'u-ch'eng and nine others, implored him to substitute their own lives to replace their master; some of them cut their heads and hewed their noses or burned their hands and arms, which was just like multiple Sudhanas gazing at their teachers,⁶³ and Kṣānti-pāla (insultable immortal) [being the ancestors of Fu].⁶⁴ Consequently, Ta-shih extended his teaching period remaining longer in this world and giving abundant teachings to his students and carrying out his good deeds. [In gratitude], his disciple layman Fan Nan-t'o, disciple monk Fa-k'uang, disciple laywomen and monk Yen burnt and immolated themselves in the forest. Furthermore, there were monk Pao-yüeh and three others, who were entwined in large ropes and hung themselves on metal lamps to form a lantern. Then, monk Hui-hai, Pu-ti and eight others burnt their fingers as offerings. Next, nuns T'an-chan, Hui-kuang, Fa-hsien and forty-nine people fasted. Subsequently, monk Seng-pa, Hui-pin and sixty-two others cut their ears to collect the blood which was mixed with famous incense, with which they recorded their teacher's teachings, as is described on the other side of the inscription which includes their names and works.

The power of the great virtues of the two primordial forces of nature (yin and yang) is called "Sheng" (essence, giving life), life is regarded as most precious by sentient beings of the Six Realms. Although that (life) is comparable to a dream, or shadow and echo, which will vanish; desire

causes confused feelings and craves permanence. If one is not skilled in means of expedients or Upāya-kauśalya and brightened by benevolent light and seeped in the marvellous Dharma medicine, how could one forsake an invaluable body to carry out this practice so seldom seen ? If one can sacrifice one's body to offer it to a demon in exchange for a half verse on Nirvāṇa,⁶⁵ and sell one's marrow to be able to worship a god for Prajñā teaching,⁶⁶ one should rip out one's heart without compunction⁶⁷ and pull out bones without hesitation.⁶⁸

In his childhood Ta-shih never studied at school; his virtue of great achievement was being able to understand the most ancient Chinese records by himself, being calm in meditation and worship of the Buddha, reciting verses and discussing the sūtras. What he wrote was just like a drop in the ocean; his intellect was like an immeasurable river. At different times he preached the Vimalakīrti, Szu-i Sūtras and many others. Monk Chih-tsan received and transmitted his teachings. When all the people who had to be converted had been converted, his karma in this world was almost finished.

Finally, in the first year of Ta-chien period (569), when summer was near, he remained sleeping on his right hand side,⁶⁹ and was ready to return to the great emptiness.⁷⁰ He achieved the extinction of the Three Minds in a full twenty days.⁷¹ At that time during the great heat of summer, on a glorious dawn he was able to extend and contract his limbs as usual, his temperature was regular; he finished his bath, sat and dressed. [After death] his complexion looked bright,

resplendent, clean and healthy, so that the following days he looked alive. The Magistrate of Wu-shang, Ch'en Chung-ch'i, went to pay his respect, Ta-shih could hold out his hand to receive the incense just as usual. Such an incomparable incident had never been heard of. [Compared with him] the Blue-cow Taoist ⁷² and Mr. White-horse ⁷³ should have hidden themselves away and been ashamed of themselves and desired [to have an achievement like Fu]. As for his [mental state of] Nirrodha-samāpatti and Asamjñi-samāpatti, if it were not for these two instances -- the story of snapping his fingers and the stone-wall opening automatically,⁷⁴ -- and the Dharma-king being buried and stretching out his feet when the gold coffin opened,⁷⁵ there would be nothing to equal his feat.

He left a will on the peak of the Double-trees Mt. [to his disciples] giving instructions to cremate [his body after his death] in accordance with Buddhist convention. One part of the Śarira was preserved in the pagoda which was built atop of his grave; another part was preserved in the other pagoda which was built on the mountain, and his disciples had two Maitreya statues made and placed therein. He requested his sleeping bed not to be moved and that a Maitreya image always hang on, which should be woven in cotton cloth by Fa-meng. By means of these respectful ceremonies they marked out his external form.⁷⁶ However, his disciples were in great pains, they failed to uphold his will faithfully, instead, they adopted the Chinese regular custom and perverted the old mode [of cremation].

The four groups [of Buddhists] gathered and grieved as if [they had lost thier family and rode in] a White-carriage;⁷⁷ the seven groups [of Buddhists] cried and wailed,⁷⁸ as if [they were too stricken to cheer for the new life of] a Green-tree.⁷⁹ His disciples, monks Fa-hsüan, Pu-ti and Chih-chan thought that owing to the virtue of Lao-tzu a tombstone was made in Lai Town and on account of the greatness of Confucius a high stone tablet was inscribed in Lu County. Moreover, the disciples of Yang Hsiung and students of Cheng Hsüan also described clearly [about their teachers] in the darkstone.⁸⁰ Therefore, I expected to hear from two groups [of people: laymen and monks], and took a risk to ford the Three Rivers.⁸¹ Since the imperial edict was issued to me, I would do my best to complete the prosperous task. Although Ling (I) am not clever, I have paid tribute to Fu's great reputation, and have humbly recorded messages from ordinary people in composing this epitaph.

Notes:

1. See T.14/474. p.521a, Vimalakīrti manifests as an elder to preach. Mañjuśrī displays as a young pupil, see *Fo-kuang ta tz'u tien*, p.1426.

2. When the Buddha just achieved enlightened, two wealthy merchants, Trapuṣa and Bhallika, met him on the way return their country from a business trip; they offered 500 carriages of precious goods to the Buddha and listened to his sermon and bacame his first lay disciples. See T.3/187, pp.601c-602c. Kalandaka offered land, thus the first Buddhist temple, Veṇuvana-vihāra, was set up in Rājagṛha. See *Fo-Kuang ta tz'u tien*, pp.1510, 2502, 5194.

3. According to the Ch'êng shih lun, a man who has received the eight precepts is called Upavāsa. T.32/1646, p.303c.

4. Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra is respected as the great sūtra in the T'ien-t'ai School, see T.26/1528, p.281a, but the Pure Land School regards the Aparimitāyus Sūtra as the great sūtra, see Ting Fu-pao, *Fo hsüeh ta tz'u tien*, p.423.

5. Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra is called the great number of chapter, see Ting Fu-pao, *Fo hsüeh ta tz'u tien*, p.398. This phrase means that lay people are able to become enlightened.

6. Fu Shuo who was a prime minister of the Emperor Yin Kao-tsung had secluded himself in a cliff before being found by the emperor, who had dreamed of a great man living in a cliff. Owing to Fu Shuo having lived there, the cliff was called "Fu-yen". *Shih Chi*, chapter 3, p.102.

7. Fu K'uan who was a prime minister of the first Han emperor had assisted the emperor to establish the Han Dynasty, and was awarded the title "Marquis Ching", see *Han Shu*, chapter 41, p.2085. Fan Kuai was a loyal minister at the frontier, so was Hsia-hou Ying; Ying who had been a magistrate of T'eng district was also designated "T'eng Kung", see *Han Shu* (Peking: 1962), chapter 41, pp.2067, 2076.

8. Fu Chieh-tzu became famous for exterminating Hsiung-nu (a tribe, these people occupied Mongolia under the Han Dynasty). Kan Yen-shou and Chen T'ang were his great assistants in annihilating the enemy. See *Han Shu*, chapter 70, pp.3001-3, 3007, 3008-3028.

9. Szu-ma Ch'ien is also called Tzu-ch'ang, Yang Hsiung is called Tzu-yün, they described themselves and their families in autobiographies, see *Han Shu*, chapter 62, p.2707, chapter 87a, pp. 3513-3587.

10. According to the Mi-le hsia-sheng ch'eng fo ching, Maitreya will be born in the Hua-lin garden, and will be enlightened under the Lung-hua tree, and three assemblies will also be held in this garden. T.14/454 p.425a.

11. The king Śaṅkha will be an universal king (Cakravartī) when Maitreya is born in this world. T.14/453, p.421 and T.14/454, p.424.

12. This text doesn't exist in the Chinese canon.

13. Kêng Ying who was born in the Wei Dynasty of the Three Kingdoms was muscular and a famous archer, he could destroy a wall with his bare hands. I Liao was famous for juggling balls whilst resolving people's problems, see Chuang-tzu, chapter 8, in *Szu k'u chüan shu* (Shanghai: 1987), Vol.1056, p.125.

14. Owing to his intelligence, Wang Jung was able to associate with officials at the age of fifteen, see *Chin Shu*, chapter 43, p.1231. Têng Yu who was able to compose poetry at the age of thirteen was favoured by the emperor Kuang-wu of Han, see *Hou Han Shu*, chapter 16, p.599.

15. Liang Huang and his wife, Mêng Kuang, who was virtuous, were a married couple in the Han Dynasty; they lived in harmony, holding each other in respect. This phrase is used in praise of any harmonious married couple. *Chung wen ta tz'u tien*, Vol.17, p.209.

16. According to the *Shên hsien chuan*, Su Tan honoured his mother since his father died when he was young. When his time came to practice Taoism, he bade farewell to his mother and arranged a living for her; saying to her: "There will be an epidemic in our country next year, you can survive by eating the leaves of the orange tree and drinking the water from the well in our yard, and tell people to do so, they will recover from the epidemic." *Tao ts'ang ching hua* (Taipei: 1965), Vol.5--10, pp.37-8.

17. According to the *Lieh hsien chuan*, a Taoist hermit Ling-yang tzu, Ming, secluded himself in the high mountains; he had scattered clouds and morning mist as his food. See *Szu-k'u chūan shu*, Vol.1058, pp.505-506.

18. Lao-tzu, Li Erh: his eyes were like sun rays which were green in colour. *Shih Chi*, chapter 63, p.2139.

19. The king Wen of Chou Dynasty was ten feet tall, see *Mêng-tzu*, chapter 12B, *Szu-k'u chūan shu*, Vol.195, p.263.

20. Chiang-yān was a princess and a consort of the Emperor Kao of Chou. After treading in a giant foot track, she became pregnant. She thought the baby would be unlucky and abandoned him when the boy was born, but wherever she threw him the animals and people moved away. Reluctantly, she brought him up. He was good at growing crops and became a great farmer, and was awarded the title "farmer teacher". See *Shih Chi*, chapter 4, pp.111-2.

21. An officer K'ou T'eng of the Chin Dynasty, saw a big shoe, which was seven feet and three inches, in the river. See *Chin Shu* (Peking: 1974), chapter 112, p.2871.

22. Their blue eyes are mentioned in T.49/2036, p.515c and T.50/2059, p.325a. Yet, in the *Pao-nū ching*, the deep blue eyes are one of the thirty-two physical marks of the Buddha. T.13/399, p.469b; he should not be ashamed of them. In ancient Chinese culture, people might be ashamed of features different to others.

23. See W.E.Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner &Lo.Ltd., 1937), p.39, for The Eight Forms of Liberation.

24. Monk Shan-lai became ordained immediately after listening to the sermon of the Buddha. T.20/99, p.250a.

25. Śāla, the teak tree: the Buddha entered nirvāṇa under the twin Śāla trees in the Śāla grove. W.E.Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p.242.

26. According to the Shen-ching chi, quoted in the commentary on the PW by Wu Chiang, there was a pine tree hundred feet tall located at the back of a cave, two cranes often rested in the tree. It was said that a married couple had secluded in this cave for many hundred years, they became these two cranes after their death. See *Szu-k'u ch'üan shu*, Vol.1064, pp.1064-894.

27. The myrobalan was famous in India for its medicinal properties; it also bestows blessings from unseen realms like the healing energy radiating upon devotees in their worship. For further details see John S.Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka - A Study and Translation of the Aśokāvadāna* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp.96-100.

28. Dragon Valley was a city in the Hou Han Dynasty, which was famous for its cocks that crowed at dawn; this phrase indicates the people are eager for the Dharma, see *Chung wen ta tz'u tien*, Vol.38, p.661. Owing to their strength and size, the dragon and the elephant are often represented as carrying the Dharma in Mahāyāna Buddhism; this phrase signifies that Mahāyāna must be widely spread, see T.1/26, p.608, T.14/475, p.547a, T.38/1775, p.383b, for the parables of dragon and elephant.

29. Five Periods was originally organized by Hui-kuan (about 450 A.D.), who took the idea from the Nirvāṇa Sūtra. He classified the teachings of the Buddha into two categories: sudden and gradual teachings. The gradual teaching was again divided into five periods of the Buddha's teaching; later, the T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen Schools developed the idea of the Five Periods into an extensive and profound meaning. For further information see T.45/1852, p.5b.

30. Once Confucian heard the bitter cry of a woman, he told his pupils that crying was not simply for someone's death, but also on separation. His student went to enquire and found that the woman had sold her son to cover her father's funeral expenses. See k'unq tzu chia yü, chapter 5, *Szu k'u ch'üan shu*, Vol.695, p.46.

31. Hsü Mai sent his wife back to her mother's home, and travelled many mountains seeking a place for his seclusion, and later no one knew his whereabouts. *Chin Shu*, chapter 80, p.2106.

32. When the Buddha was walking into the town, two boys were playing at making mud pies and offered them to the Buddha, because of this devotion one of them became a king a hundred years after the Buddha's nirvāṇa. T.50/2043, p.131c.

33. In the time of Pu-kuang Buddha, Śākyamuni was a saint who was seeking flowers to offer to the Buddha, he saw a girl who was delivering seven lotuses to the palace, he intended to buy five lotuses from her. On learning the flowers were to be offered to the Buddha, she gave them to him without change. Owing to this karmic cause, they became a married couple in later rebirths, and the girl was his wife, Yaśodharā. T.3/189, pp.621-2.

34. The phrase "to transform an arm into a chicken" is derived from Chuang-tzu, which discusses the teachings of cause and effect: "if the Dual Powers, Yin and Yang, transform my arm into a chicken, then the chicken will crow...." See Chuang-tzu, chapter 3, in *Szu k'u chūan shu*, Vol.1056, p.40.

35. A married couple practised Bodhi and never slept together. Once while his wife was sleeping, a snake came toward her arm, he moved her arm away with a cloth to avoid touching. T.3/190, pp.864-6,870b. This story refers to pure practice, even in an emergency the husband maintained his precept of non-sexual interference.

36. In the state of Wei, a farmer found a jade, he asked his neighbour about it, the latter who intended to obtain it by cheating him said: "It is a peculiar piece of stone, don't keep it, it may hurt you." The farmer was dubious, and threw it in a corner of the house. That night, the jade radiated a strong bright light, which illuminated the whole house. The family was frightened, and abandoned it in a forest. His neighbour stole it and offered it to the emperor, who summoned an expert to value it, and found it was a valuable gem and granted the sender a great deal of money. See Yin Wen-tzu, *Szu-k'u chūan-shu*, Vol.848, p.188.

37. Four kinds of sentient beings: (1) oviparous: as with birds (2) viviparous: as with mammalia (3) moisture: as with worms and fishes (4) metamorphic: as with moths from the echrysalis. *Fo-kuang ta tz'u tien*, p.1680, and W.E.Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p.178.

38. In the time of the Buddha, king Udayana who was a king of Kauśāmbī kingdom was a devout Buddhist; when the Buddha ascended to heaven to preach for his mother, the king yearned for him and made a statue of the Buddha. T.12/332, pp.70-2.

39. King Hsien-yü who was a devout Buddhist highly respected in the Mahāyāna sūtras, see T.12/374, p.434c.

40. Ch'en Fan at the age of fifteen lived alone in a hut, whose garden was overgrown; his father asked: "why don't you clear the garden?" He replied: "A great man must clear up the world not a house." later, he became a loyal minister. See *Hou Han Shu*, chapter 66, p.2159.

41. Before becoming prime minister, I Yin helped the king Shang T'ang to gain the kingdom; but after the death of the king, his son was a despot and banished the former to an exile for three years. Whilst in exile, he was still concerned with the kingdom. *Chung wen ta tz'u tien*, Vol.2, p.320.

42. The Six Vegetarian Days are on the six days of each lunar month, 8, 14, 15, 23, 29 and 30. People keep the rule of non-killing and have vegetarian meals on these six days. See T.54/2125, p.209a, T.24/1484, p.1007b.

43. Shan T'ao was a poor orphan and favoured the philosophy of Lao Chuang when he was child. Later, he became an Imperial Secretariat Vice Director and an official of the Personnel Section. He was loyal and righteous; every time when he examined officials, he was extremely careful to send the petition to the emperor, which he always gave a formal title: "The Petition of Shan-kung". Hence, this phrase is widely used to describe a formal petition to an emperor. See *Chin Shu*, chapter 16, pp.1223-6.

44. A text called San-hui ching is found in T.17/768, pp.701-702, translated about 397-439 A.D., but it simply expounds the teachings of cause and effect. However, a similar chapter entitled "San-hui pin" is found in the Mo ho pan jo ching, chapter 70 in fascicle 21, translated by Kumārajīva during 403-404, T.8/223, pp.373-376. Owing to the same idea of Prajñā teaching, Kasuga Akitomo proposes the "San-hui pin" might be the one that the emperor Wu of Liang preached. See Kasuga Akitomo, "Ryō no bu-tei to sam-e-kyō", in *Indo gaku Bukkyō gaku kenkyū* 21-1 (1972), pp.330-334.

45. The heavenly being Hsü-chen asked the Buddha 33 questions, then turned to Mañjuśrī to ask another 32; for the details see T.15/588, p.96.

46. The *Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra* was essential to the Sarvāsti-vādin School, but it is complex and voluminous. Dharma-śreṣṭhin was a great commentator of this school, he became famous for summarizing the volume into 250 verses, which calls *Abhidharmahr̥daya-śāstra*. For the text see T.28/1550, p.809.

47. In the early Han period, the Director of Convict Labour would supervise convict labour on roads and canals, hardly ever going to the palace. This phrase refers to an unusual matter. For this term see Charles O.Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford University Press, 1985), p.451.

48. Tu Yū was not a warrior, but knowledgeable and well versed in military logistics; after overwhelming enemies in many wars, he was summoned to return to the palace to receive an award. See *Chin Shu*, chapter 34, p.1025.

49. Before becoming a General, Ma Fang, a native of Hou Han Dynasty, was just a Gentleman Attendant at the Palace Gate; because he was constantly victorious over the enemies, he became a marquis with immense wealth, later he broke off the relation with his nine chamberlains and formed a close tie with the nobility. *Hou Han Shu*, chapter 24, pp.855-7.

50. Luan Ta, in the time of the emperor Wu of Han, was a necromancer and well versed in stratagem, who became a marquis, his predictions failed, and he was beheaded. *Chung wen ta tz'u tien*, Vol.18, p.86.

51. Yang Piao, who was knowledgeable, loyally protected his emperor, Hsien of Han, in a rebellion. Later, he was highly respected by the Emperor Wen-ti of the Wei Dynasty, who promoted him to Defender-in-chief and treated him as an honoured guest. *Hou Han Shu*, chapter 54, pp.1786-9.

52. In the time of the Emperor Hsiao-wen of Han, an old man, whose name was unknown, lived on the river, known as "The elder on the river". It was said he was well versed in the Lao-tzu tao-te ching; the emperor requested his guard to ask him about the text when he had doubts, later, the old man disappeared, nobody knew his whereabouts. See Shên-hsien chuan, Szu-k'u chüan-shu, Vol.1059, pp.299-300.

53. Yen Kuang, also known as Tzu-ling, had been an intimate friend of the emperor Kuang-wu of Hou Han Dynasty, but after the emperor succeeded to the throne, he secluded himself; the emperor highly respected his virtues and requested guards to seek him out, and paid three visits in person, but he still declined the invitation to become a minister. Once a necromancer predicted that the imperial bed would offend a taboo, after listening, the emperor joked: "I will ask Yen-tzu to sleep with me". See *Hou Han Shu*, chapter 83, pp.2763-4.

54. In Vaiśāli city, the son of an elder called Ratna-rāśi, who with five hundred men was holding seven canopies to offer up to the Buddha, the Buddha used his powers to make the seven treasure-canopies become one canopy; at that time, heavenly goddesses sang songs, which were composed of a thousand hymns. T.14/475, p.537b.

55. Ting Hung, a native of Hou Han, had joined the White-tiger Hall to comment on the Five Classics; owing to his outstanding commentaries, he became famous and later was promoted to Minister of Education. See *Hou Han Shu*, chapter 37, p.1262.

56. Tung-fang Shuo was a Palace Attendant and well versed in metaphor to remonstrate with the emperor Wu of Han, who was deeply affected and summoned him to the Golden-horse Gate to be promoted. See *Han Shu*, chapter 65, pp.2841-76.

57. Chou Tang was an orphan, brought up by his relatives; he went to study in Ch'ang-an, where he was insulted by his countrymen; he fought with them, but was defeated and was

badly hurt; his neighbour took him home, nursed him, and admonished him; a few days later, he realized his errors and vowed to seclude himself to practice Taoism. The emperor Kuang-wu of Han granted him an audience, but he declined it. An erudite, Fan Sheng was presented to the emperor: "I would like to sit under the Cloud-terrace to plan to invite Chou Tang as an official." See *Hou Han Shu*, chapter 83, pp.2761-2.

58. Chia I was famous for his genius at the age of eighteen; at twenty, he was the youngest erudites in the court. Every time the emperor consulted erudites, he was always the first to respond, other senior erudites could only agree with his ideas. Once, the emperor Wen of Han missed him and summoned him to a discussion about sacrifice to the gods and ghosts in the palace. See *Han Shu*, chapter 48, pp.2221-30.

59. Five Barbarians was the name given to foreigners, especially the Northern tribes including Turks and others. In 308, during the Chin Dynasty, two unusually huge geese, white and black, appeared in the east of Lo-yang city; the white goose stayed and the black flew into the air, which symbolized good and bad luck. Afterwards, Shih Lê's rebellion followed. See *Chin Shu*, chapter 28, p.864. This phrase refers to the rebellion of Hou Ching in the Liang period.

60. Four Seas: East, West South and North Seas, which in ancient times were supposed to surround China. I-yang is a holy sheep, which symbolizes a virtuous man, and refers to the Ch'en Dynasty. See *Chung wen ta tz'u tien*, Vol.8, p.387.

61. In about 307, the rebel Shih Lê settled his soldiers in the north and killed numerous people, later he was converted by the monk Fu-t'u Ch'êng, who gave him a strategy when he fought against another rebel, Liu Yao. The monk said: "Rub hemp-seed oil in your palms and you will capture him." Consequently, Shih Lê defeated and captured his enemy. For details see T.53/2122, p.517b. According to the KSC, this was how the monk saw the future by looking into the oil on his hands.

62. Taking Vijñāna-āhāra as one of the foods for heavenly beings or ghosts, who can sustain their lives without human food; see T.2/125, p.656c. Monk Hui-i of the Liu Sung Dynasty was an ascetic, who vowed to immolate himself as an offering to the Buddha; in 462, he quitted his food and just ate incense and oil, and in the following year immolated himself. See T.53/2122, p.992b.

63. In the Hua-yen ching, Sudhana visited 53 good teachers, who displays supernatural powers to teach him; and Maitreya displays a miracle whereby Sudhana saw many versions of himself bowing to Maitreya. T.9/278, pp.688-700.

64. The term Fêng-hsiang in the text might have been mistaken, since it was inscribed on the stone in 573, because Fêng-hsiang means astronomier, who mounts to a topographic height

to observe the sky. See *Chung wen ta tz'u tien*, Vol.37, p.322. Hence, this term would not have any connection with insultable immortal. This study surmises it might mean "Fu-hsiang" instead of Fêng-hsiang, because Fu-hsiang signifies the one who admonished the emperor for wrongdoings. In ancient times, to admonish the emperor was a hazardous task, if the emperor had not taken the advice, then Fu-hsiang might be beheaded. Therefore, the insultable immortal might denote Fu-hsiang, which refers to Fu's ancestor.

65. One of the previous lives of Śākyamuni was Brāhmaṇa, who was practicing bodhisattva deeds in the Snowy Mts., the Śakra Devānāindra manifested a Rākṣasa to test his will and just uttered a half verse to him; the bodhisattva was eager for the other half, and said: "I would like to exchange my body for the other half verse." See T.12/426, pp.67c-68c, T.3/159, p.295c.

66. A cannibal king who had caught 499 people captured a king, and spoke: "Now including you, I will be ready to sacrifice 500 people to the god." The latter was not frightened at all and replied: "I just met an ascetic on my way here who taught me Prajñā teaching, I have not quite comprehended yet, could you please give me a few days to understand the teaching? I will be happy to sacrifice myself to you." T.4/205, p.503c.

67. There was a Brāhmaṇa practicing in the Snowy Mts., who told a ghost: "I would rip out my heart and blood for you." This refers to a bodhisattva who would sacrifice himself for others. See T.14/426, pp.67c-68a.

68. A prince saw a man suffering from leprosy, the latter told him: "Your marrow can cure my leprosy." The prince immediately carved his bone and offered his marrow to the man without regret. T.12/349, p.188c.

69. The Buddha spoke to Mahāmaudgalyāyana regarding the benefits of sleeping on the right hand side, which is called lion-sleep. See T.1/26, p.560a.

70. Great emptiness refers to Prajñā teaching. A prince became a monk and went to a mountain seeking a great master, who taught him the great emptiness discourse. T.15/643, p.677a.

71. Three Minds: the mind entering a state, staying there, departing to a further stage. There are other groups of Three Minds. See *Fo-kuang ta tz'u tien*, p.533. W.E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p.65.

72. A Taoist, in the Hou Han Dynasty, took Huang-lien (a bitter plant used for medicine) for fifty years and mercury for one hundred years as foods. He looked like a twenty-year-old man; he healed numerous people whoever was ill and came to him. He used to ride on a blue-cow, so people called him "Blue-cow Taoist". It is said he went into the mountains when he was more than two hundred years old. See *Hou Han Shu*,

chapter 82 B, p.2750.

73. Chang Chan was a righteous, serious and disciplined man, and a Chamberlain for Attendants in the period of the Emperor of Kuang-wu of the Hou Han. Once, at the morning assembly at the palace, the emperor looked tired and sluggish, Chang Chan admonished him immediately, and did that often. He used to ride on a white horse, once the emperor saw him riding the horse and said: "O ! My Mr.White-horse will admonish me again." See *Hou Han Shu*, chapter 27, p.929.

74. When Sudhana visited bodhisattva Maitreya, who just snapped his fingers and the stone-wall opened automatically. T.10/279, p.435a.

75. Mahākāśyapa was one of the principal disciples of Śākyamuni. He was absent when the Buddha entered nirvāṇa, but he entered Samādhi to perceive the funeral of the Buddha; at that moment, the Buddha stretched out his feet from the gold coffin. See T.51/2076, p.206a.

76. A monk's robe is a mark of sages in the three lives: past, present and future, see T.4/202, p.438b.

77. Four groups: monk, nun, layman and laywoman. White-carriage refers to a funeral; according to Chinese custom, in a funeral procession, the family of the dead person wear white hemp cloth and ride in a white carriage. See *Chung wen ta tz'u tien*, Vol.22, p.398.

78. Seven groups: monk, nun, monk novice, nun novice, Śikṣamāṇa, layman and laywoman. *Fo-kuang ta tz'u tien*, p.105.

79. The emperor Yūan of Liang spoke: "When the white forest is withering, then the Green-tree is blooming." which refers to a new life starting. *Chung wen ta tz'u tien*, Vol.36, p.302.

80. Chêng Hsūan was a Vice Director of the Imperial Secretariat in the Ai emperor of Han Dynasty. He was knowledgeable and had several hundred students. He died at the age of 74, many of his pupils wrote an eulogy and recorded his teachings. *Hou Han Shu*, chapter 35, pp.1207-13. The reference for Yang Hsiung see note.9 above.

81. There are eight groups of the Three Rivers, which are all dangerous rivers, see *Chung wen ta tz'u tien*, Vol.1, p.206. This phrase refers to the author who bore a humble attitude when he composed this text.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE LIFE OF FU HSI

According to the source, we shall examine next, a crucial event took place during the closing years of the Ch'i Dynasty: Fu Hsi (497-569) was born to shed light on Chinese Buddhism. His life spanned the end of the Ch'i, through the Liang to the Ch'en Dynasty, almost up to the latter part of the Southern Dynasties (420-589). Fu Hsi, a native of the town I-wu in Chekiang province, was born on the eighth day of the fifth month in 497, during the Ch'i Dynasty.

In addition to the previous chapter, the translation of the PW, this chapter is a further discussion to sustain an understanding of the image of Fu Hsi's life as a whole. From the PW we perceive an early picture of Fu Hsi in the sixth century; however, in the SHYL we obtain a complete image of Fu Hsi in the ninth century. These two biographic sources produced in different periods enable us to compare the depictions of Fu Hsi. The authenticity of the SHYL was already discussed in Chapter Two. Basic philosophical concepts of Buddhism mentioned in this chapter are beyond the scope of this thesis. However, several incidents in Fu Hsi's life will be traced back to the original text to scrutinize Fu's apparent theoretical background.

1. The early years of Fu Hsi --- 497-520 A.D.

Fu Hsi is known by many different names: Fu Ta-shih, Fu Hung, Shuang-lin Ta-shih, Tung-yang Ta-shih, Shan-hui Ta-shih, and Yü-hsing chü-shih. The literal interpretation of "Ta-shih" (Mahāsattva) is great being, leader of men, bodhisattva, or

Buddha, especially "one who sacrifices himself to benefit others".¹ In Chinese Buddhism, Ta-shih usually denotes a person, either a cleric or a layman, who has attained an elevated mental state. Fu Hsi has been revered as a manifestation of Maitreya since the sixth century, and is respected as a Ta-shih, as the PW has already shown us. The other prominent Liang Dynasty figure who shares that glory with him is the monk Pao-chih (425-514),² who lived in the Ch'i and Liang periods and possessed the ability to communicate with all beings. He was said to have appeared in various places at the same time, and to have gone without food for several weeks. The people of the entire country, including the literati, held him in high esteem. Both layman Fu Hsi and cleric Pao-chih have been generally acknowledged "The two Great Beings (Ta-shih) of the Liang Dynasty".³ Not only through their miracles, but also by virtue of their contributions to the development of Zen Buddhism, they played crucial roles in the spread of Mahāyāna Dhyāna (Ch'an) in Chinese Buddhism; Sakaino Kōyō even praises them as "Two representatives of Mahāyāna Dhyāna in China".⁴

Fu Hsi is described in our source as a modest, simple and uneducated (or illiterate) layman. In his early life, he was a simple fisherman. In his work he usually took his catch down to the river and said: "Fish, if you are willing to stay, stay, if not, leave". He then recaptured the fish, which did not swim away. Because of his conduct, he was ridiculed by his peers. In 512, at the age of sixteen, he married a woman named Miao-kuang, who bore him two sons, P'u-chien and P'u-ch'eng.

In 520, at the age of twenty-four, while he was fishing in a brook, it is said that an Indian monk named Sung T'ou-t'o (ascetic of Mount Sung) came and proclaimed to him: "You and I vowed together in front of Buddha Vipasyin to become bodhisattvas in order to save all sentient beings. Your belongings are still preserved in Tuṣita Heaven. When will you return there ?" To Fu's astonishment, as a proof of this announcement Sung said: "Go and contemplate your reflection in the clear water of the brook". He obeyed, and beheld the halo and canopy of the Buddha. Thereupon, he recalled his previous lives and was convinced of the truth spoken by the Indian ascetic. he asked: "Where must I go to practice the Dharma ?" In reply, the ascetic pointed in the direction of the forest of the Double Pine-tree in the Sung-shan.

According to this story as presented in the SHYL of Lou Chao's edition, the year 520 is a turning point in Chinese Buddhism, for not only did an influential Indian cleric, Bodhidharma, appear on the scene, but so did a prominent layman, Fu Hsi.⁵ It was a crucial time for Fu Hsi, his life was transformed from that of an ordinary fisherman to becoming a significant character in Buddhist history. Without Fu's contributions, and if Bodhidharma had not come to China, the Mahāyāna Dhyāna might not have achieved its pre-eminence in Chinese Buddhism. That same year, 520, was a landmark in the history of the Zen School.

2. The initial stage of Fu Hsi's practice -- 520-533

During the following seven years after meeting the Indian monk, Fu Hsi kept a discipline to fulfil his ideal of

enlightenment. During the day-time, both Fu and his wife were hired as labourers to earn a living, and planted vegetables instead of fishing. However, by night they assiduously practised meditation together. A mysterious event occurred in 527: one night while he was sitting in meditation, he beheld the three radiant Buddhas, Śākyamuni, Dīpaṃkara and the Golden Grain Tathāgata, all of whom appeared to him from the east.⁶ A golden ray immediately shone down on him from the sky, and he heard a voice saying "You will succeed to the prestige of the Buddha Śākyamuni in the world on the day that you achieve enlightenment". Afterwards, it was said his body frequently emitted a fragrance, and his fame gradually spread. Many people from various regions came to visit him and pay their respects. A magistrate, Wang Chieh, accused him of sorcery and imprisoned him for over a month. Astonishingly, during his imprisonment he took no food at all, but remained energetic and healthy.

Subsequently, he made a more rigorous effort to practice Buddhahood. As his reputation grew, more devotees came to request his teachings and tutelage. Early each morning, when the communal bell rang for practice to be performed, it was said that some immortals descended from heaven to join them. One day, he declared to his disciples: "I have achieved the Śūraṅgama-samādhi" and accomplished the wisdom of Buddha (Anāsrava-jñāna)".⁷ After studying the sūtras, his disciples discovered the Śūraṅgama-samādhi to be a mental state of the Tenth Abode of bodhisattva. As a result, his disciples, adherents and even ordinary people became convinced that he

was a high ranking bodhisattva, who manifested himself as an ordinary man in order to spare sentient beings.

In 528, a famine devastated his hometown. Fu Hsi sold his properties, land and house in order to provide for the poor. His wife was also one of his devout adherents and was willing to be sold as a servant to uphold her husband's principle of bodhisattva. Consequently, she was sold to a kinsman in the same village. When Fu received the payment, without hesitation he instantly performed a "Chai-hui", or meal service, which consisted largely of devotional assemblies of clergy and laymen who gathered on regular or special occasions to participate in communal vegetarian meals, to distribute food to the poor, to chant passages from the scriptures, and to be edified by sermons. This will be discussed in the next chapter. In the service he vowed: " I, Shan-hui, vow to all Buddhas that having abandoned and sold my wife in order to relieve all sentient beings from the calamities, I wish all of us to do away with sin and achieve Buddhahood." By virtue of this touching sermon Miao-kuang was freed a month later and returned to him.

Fu was never concerned for himself, but was charitable and compassionate to others. He donated his food and possessions to those who desperately needed them without any thought for himself. On one occasion, after hearing about an outlaw who had once been his employee, he immediately sent food and prayed for him to repent for his sins. He also frequently shared food and goods which people had donated to him and the wages that Miao-kuang earned from spinning and

weaving with other ascetics. Due to this remarkable behaviour, his fame spread far and wide. However, despite his good reputation, he was praised and slandered in equal measure. Nonetheless, he never showed resentment, but always returned good will and mercy to his detractors.

In order to spare his uncle from the evils of the world, Fu went to him and said: "You can make obeisance to me, I am an incarnation of Maitreya." His uncle did as he said. He was also determined to convert his great-uncle, Fu Kung, who was an obstinate old man. His wife advised him, "You had better not go, there is no reason for a great-uncle to bow to his nephew." In response, Fu merely showed her the golden ray emanating from his chest. Fu failed at the first meeting with his great-uncle, but remarked to his wife: "He did not obey today, but he will certainly bow tomorrow." That night, the old man dreamt that Fu Ta-shih was received by eight heavenly beings, he asked Ta-shih "Who are you ?", Ta-shih rebuked him: "You are too proud, you did not listen to my advice today, you have lost your opportunity to request my teaching". Suddenly, he saw that Ta-shih displayed the radiant ray and had ascended into the air. He regretted his conduct and chased after him, but a big rock wall obstructed the way. Upon waking, he was filled with remorse for his wrongdoing. Next morning the old man decided to pay his respects to Ta-shih. As he was nearing the mountain, an unusual fragrance pervaded the air. When he saw Ta-shih in the distance, he bowed to him immediately uttering tearfully: "I regret what I did yesterday, I beg your forgiveness and wish to become your disciple." It was not

surprising that Ta-shih replied: "I originally came to receive you from Tuṣita Heaven." As a result of this event, the old man accepted the teachings of Ta-shih, and became a very devout Buddhist.

From the point of view of an educated Buddhist reader, this narrative illustrates the fact that ordinary people would rather believe in supernatural powers than in teachings. In the Buddhist tradition, it is prohibited to display Abhiññā, or supernatural powers, except on restricted occasions: saving life or pacifying stubborn people. Intending to spare the wilful old man in a period of turmoil, it seems that Fu Ta-shih had no alternative but to display his powers. Most people yearn for magical powers to remove difficulty, and ignore the fact that surpassing wisdom together with great compassion are the only route to transcend the evil world. For this reason, the Buddha discouraged the display of super-natural powers. As a bodhisattva, it is stressed in our source that Fu never failed to aid others with compassion, wisdom and good will.

It goes on to say that there was a cleric named Hui-chi, who later became a capable disciple of Fu; he bowed down to Fu requesting to become a disciple. One night before Hui-chi arrived, Fu dreamt that a round halo of five colours shone from the left side of his neck, then his body ascended into the air and landed on the summit of the south-eastern side of the mountain. When he woke up, Hui-chi came to join his group. Hui-chi regularly extolled to the people Fu's Maitreya status.

In the SHYL, a number of incidents are described which suggest how others may have been inspired to identify Fu Hsi

with Maitreya. For instance, his eyes radiated golden rays while he preached or performed a ceremony. Moreover, he sometimes told his disciples: "If you do not meet a teacher who has been freed from transmigration, you will not achieve enlightenment. I am the one who has achieved that at the present time. I will now no longer conceal my identity and will prove it to you." When his disciples bowed down to him, he said: "Don't bow to me, you are only required to give devotion to the statue of the Buddha in the hall, which is my image." He also claimed that he had dreamt that the Buddha, Shan-ming, had been his teacher in previous existences. He wept and uttered: "When Shan-ming Buddha was just enlightened, I was a king, and I offered him goods and served him. His span of Buddhahood is eighty thousand years; when I become a Buddha, my span of Buddhahood will be the same as his. This dream inspires my longing for him." He also said: "The Buddha Śākyamuni folded my hands with his hands in my dream." The disciples asked: "What does that mean?" He replied: "This simply means my mind is a reflection of the Buddha's."⁸

With regard to the narrative of Buddha Shan-ming, there is a corresponding account found in the Fo-tsang ching, which was translated by Kumārajīva in 405 A.D.. The Buddha preached:

"....In the remote past, there was a Buddha called Shan-ming, at that time Maitreya was a Cakravartin named Chao-ming. The span of man's life was '84,000' years. The Buddha Shan-ming gave three assemblies of sermons; '96 hundred thousand people' attended the first assembly, '94 hundred thousand' the second assembly, '92 hundred thousand' the last assembly, all achieved enlightenment. The king Chao-ming was delighted to witness numerous people attain enlightenment, and also make vows to achieve Buddhahood... I [Śakyamuni]

just vowed to attain Buddhahood after 'forty Kalpas' (a long span) of Maitreya vowing."

The above quotation was in keeping with Fu's statements and Maitreya's texts. The Buddha Shan-ming's achievements, the multitude at the three assemblies and the span of human life precisely corresponded with the Maitreya text, Mi-le hsia-sheng ching, translated by Dharmarakṣa in 303 A.D.. The Fo-tsang ching had been translated (in 405) before Fu was born. Theoretically, it might be possible that Fu had read or heard of the text before his declarations. As the PW and SHYL describe that he never studied at school from his childhood, yet how could he have read it if he was an illiterate? There is a possibility that he might have heard the sūtra from the sermons of famous clerics. However, there is no record that he had any background of learning Buddhism from anyone else, but of course another alternative to his contemporaries would be that, in spiritual terms, he was an incarnation of Maitreya, because one's mysteriously spiritual state is beyond the knowledge of human beings; hence his remarks accorded with the sūtras.

In 531, Fu Hsi and his disciples built a "Ching-shê" (oratory) in the Yün-huang Mountain (also known as Sung-shan) of his hometown, where they cultivated crops and vegetables. It is said that once when harvest time was near, a man came to strip the fields; without animosity Fu gave generously to him. And there were many fierce animals in the area, but he was not afraid of them, and fed them with the leftovers; later those ferocious animals disappeared.

3. The second stage of Fu Hsi's practice -- 534-547

After attaining a certain mental state and becoming well-known, he thought the time was appropriate to visit the emperor in order to propagate the Dharma. He composed a petition to the Emperor Wu of Liang. On the eighteenth day of the first month, 534, he sent his disciple Fu Wang, to the capital with the text, which reads similarly to the one recorded in the PW, but only one term differs:

".....the high good is..,to take non-form
as a cause..."¹⁰ (A1)

Fu Wang brought the petition to the Grand Director of Music, Ho Ch'ang, who was reluctant to deliver it. The former knew it would not be submitted to the emperor. In order to attract attention, he burnt his hand on the street. Ho Ch'ang was fearful and consulted with the Reverend Hao of T'ung-t'ai Temple before submitting it. Eventually, a decree was issued for Fu Hsi to be granted an audience by the emperor on the eighth day of the twelfth month, 534.

The Emperor Wu of Liang, having heard about the supernatural powers of Fu Ta-shih, wished to verify them. He commanded that all the gates of the palace should be shut on the day that Fu came. However, Fu Ta-shih brought a pair of big mallets with him. When he approached the external gate of the palace, he hit the first gate just once with the mallets, and, magically, all the other gates automatically opened. He went directly to the inner palace, and without bowing he sat on a precious couch next to the emperor, which was reserved exclusively for Prince Chao-ming and the royal priest, Hui-yüeh (also known as Chih-che). Without censure, the emperor

asked him: "Who is your teacher ?" He gave a surprising response: "I follow nobody, and have no master, and do nothing either".(A2)¹¹ After enjoying a feast, he was invited to live in the Ting-lin Temple of Chung-shan, where an imperial temple was built for the emperor's favourite clergy.

In the first month of 535, the emperor himself preached the Shan-hui pan-jo ching in the Ch'ung-yün Hall of the Hualin Garden in the palace. There was a huge audience in the hall, and a special couch was granted for Fu with four servants at the lecture. Liu, an officer, came to enquired of Ta-shih: "Why don't you bow to the emperor and consort with the nobility." He replied: "There is no respect when you pay respects, nor is there disrespect when you don't pay respects."(A3) At the beginning of the lecture, the whole audience stood up when the emperor entered except Fu. The officer Liu enquired again and Fu replied: "If the nature of dharma is changed, all dharma will be irregular."(A4) While the audience recited the sūtra, Fu kept silent. Someone asked why and he replied: "There is no difference between reciting and silence; both are the Buddha's teachings."(A5) It is said that after the lecture the emperor bestowed a water-fire pearl on Fu,¹² which was very useful for him to obtain water and fire from the sun and moon in the mountain

In the fourth month of 535, Fu Ta-shih returned to the Yün-huang Mountain from the imperial Ting-lin Temple. In the ninth month of that year, he again sent his disciple Fu Wang to the emperor with his second petition, which reads:

"The bodhisattva Shan-hui... appeals to the Emperor Saviour Bodhisattva. I have

a pure and precious pearl, which is bright, pleasant and marvellous.... I intend to give it to somebody who is worthy to own it. The one who owns it will achieve enlightenment soon."¹³

The emperor was delighted and responded: "It would be marvellous if I could see it." The pure and precious pearl symbolises Buddha-nature, Tathāgata-garbha, which is intangible and inherent in all sentient beings. This petition may have been a test for the emperor. The emperor, however, understood the teaching and set him an equal test by joking that it would be wonderful to see it.

In 539, Fu went to the Ting-lin Temple again, and drew up a petition to the emperor about the teaching of Buddha-nature. He wrote:

"Does Your Majesty really intend to debate it ?
Do I have anything to discuss ?"

The emperor replied:

"Whether Mind (Yu-hsin, or intention) or Non-mind (Wu-hsin, or no intention) are all "Shih-hsiang" (a transcendental state of the eternal truth), the "Shih-hsiang" is beyond speech, discourse and disputation."¹⁴

On the sixteenth day of the third month of that year, Ta-shih was again invited to discourse on absolute truth (Paramārtha or Chen-ti) in the Shou-kuang Hall of the palace. Fu spoke first: "To cease is not extinction"(A6); and the emperor countered: "If to cease is not extinction, this cessation does not signify decay." Fu Ta-shih retorted: "The phenomenal plane is neither existence nor emptiness (Pu-yu and Pu-k'ung)"(A7). The emperor accepted the concept and remained silent. In conclusion, two days later, he submitted a long verse elucidating the theme of Buddha-nature to the emperor.¹⁵

In 540, Fu returned to the Yün-huang Mountain. A few months later, he was in the capital and wrote to the emperor about the propagation of Buddhism. However, that petition was not delivered to the emperor, as the officer Ho Ch'ang was absent from the capital on a mission. According to the SHYL, he converted a great number of people on those three visits to the capital.

After obtaining a permission from the emperor, he built a temple in the Yün-huang Mountain, with the main Buddha hall sited between two pine trees. The temple was called Shuang-lin Temple (Double Trees Temple). There were a number of miracles associated with the temple. For instance, the roots of the trees were apart, but the branches intertwined and grew together, arching over the roof of the temple, forming a triumphal arch. Two cranes often sang in the trees. A few aspen trees stood gracefully in front of the main Buddha hall. Under these, heavenly music could be heard and sweet dew was frequently shed. The trunk of the aspen tree was cut to sculpt a statue of Buddha. Yet, magically, the cut away part was instantly regenerated. The statue of the Buddha was enshrined in a nine-tiered pagoda, in which were also preserved a number of copies of the sūtras and vinaya made by Fu himself, this is also mentioned in the PW. This suggests he was not actually illiterate.

In 541, Fu told his disciples: "I shall be one of the Buddhas among the thousand Buddhas in the period of Bhadrakalpa; you will be able to see me if you vow to be reborn in the period of the thousand Buddhas." Sometimes his disciples

asked him: "Could you foresee if someone intended to obstruct or create trouble for you?" In reply, Fu remarked: "A future Buddha is aware of everything. I do not get distressed when someone troubles me, but all of you are enraged at the slightest thing. I treat people equally; there is no difference between hatred and love to me." Disciples asked again: "If it is true you are a future Buddha, why do you not possess the Six Supernatural Powers?" He answered: "My mental state is beyond Śrāvaka and Pratyeka-buddha, who possess the Six Supernatural Powers. I don't display them because I chose to manifest as an ordinary person." He reiterated: "When I conclude this life, I will return to Tuṣita Heaven. You can join me there if you vow to be there."

In 542, Fu vowed to become a vegetarian for three years in order to mitigate the suffering of people. He vowed:

"I, a disciple of the Buddha, ... in order to relieve the suffering of people vow today to be a vegetarian for three years, and to fast on the Six Vegetarian Days of each month. Through my abstinence, I wish that the evil karma of the people may be mitigated. I will contribute the food on the days I fast to the poor. I would like to transfer the merits of my donation to the people, whom I wish to alleviate from suffering famine and detach from delusion and defilement, ... as well as achieve Buddhahood soon."¹⁶

In 544, Fu Ta-shih again sold his properties and possessions to offer a big temple service in order to alleviate the misery of the people. After this service, although he became impoverished again, he had no regrets. He still worked ceaselessly and practised Buddhahood. On one occasion, a group of malefactors came and put a knife to his throat and said: "Bring out whatever you own." Fu was not

afraid and spoke calmly to them with a smile, "Don't stoop to crime, take whatever you want." After the criminals stripped him of his possessions, nothing was left but two hundreds sacks of rice. He contributed one hundred sacks to aid the poor, for the evil karma of the malefactors. On another occasion, a pond in front of his residence dried up, the fish were dying, he took the live fish to the river, and buried the dead. He also buried dead animals, such as dogs and cows, wherever he saw them. Then considering the agony of transmigration, he contributed the rest of the rice to aid the poor to alleviate the misery of animals.

4. The third stage of Fu Hsi's practice --- 548-569

Due to the Hou Ching uprising, the Liang Dynasty fell into turmoil and famine. In 548, when Hou Ching surrounded the capital, the people and soldiers were sick, weak, hungry and dying. They began to sack the town for food and to practise cannibalism. The whole country deteriorated and sank into a dreadful state. People were yearning for peace; by praying and immolation, they did whatever they could to alleviate the misery. During this period, many clerics immolated themselves for peace.¹⁷ The details of self-immolation will be discussed in the next chapter.

During that turbulent period, as a devout layman, Fu made a great effort to spare his country and people, even trying to sacrifice himself. It could be said that his ardent enthusiasm reached its zenith in the latter part of his life. In 548, after selling his land and possessions once again, Fu performed a prayer service for the remission of sin. Moreover,

a month after the service, he intended to fast and sacrifice himself for the same purpose. On the fifteenth day of the third month, at the age of 52, he assembled his disciples:

"....I vowed to immolate myself and abandon my properties for the remission of all sins of the people and country. So as to save people, from now on I will not consume any delicious meal (Pu shih shang chai) until the eighth day of the fourth month, on which date I am resolved to burn myself as a living candle to show my gratitude to the Three Jewels (Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha)... You must not be sorrowful. Life is impermanent, sooner or later we must all pass away, none can avoid the route of birth and death... I wish we all may attain Buddhahood soon...."¹⁸

On the eighth day of the fourth month, a number of Fu's disciples were willing to sacrifice themselves in his stead. Disciple Liu Chien-i and nineteen other people fasted and immolated themselves. Chu Chien-ku burnt one of his fingers, and three others sold themselves to offer the proceeds to their master. Next day, two disciples burnt a finger of each hand; one cut off his ears, two cut off their left ears, twenty-two cut off their right ears; fifteen fasted for three days; forty-two bowed down to Fu Ta-shih imploring him to stay.

All of these events testify that the disciples held their master in deep esteem and love. They were willing to sacrifice themselves for their venerable master. They vowed:

"..We are all willing to sacrifice ourselves for our master. In this state of turmoil, the period of Hsiang-fa has passed (Hsiang-fa chi t'ui), disaster and misfortune have struck,... we wish our eminent master to remain with us to spare sentient beings. We would like to transfer the merits derived from sacrifice to alleviate the misery of all beings...."¹⁹

Consequently, Fu could not fulfil his wish for immolation, and

had no option but to submit to the appeal of his followers, even though he was weary of the world.

In 549, according to the SHYL, the last few years of the Liang period were a time of havoc. People were living without hope and in fear. Human beings subsisted on grass and plants, and eliminated meat from their diet to aid each other. The following two years, 550 and 551, Fu and his disciples were hard at work cultivating crops and vegetables to share among the poor. In these circumstances, there is no doubt that food was the priority. In the spring, he lent his ox to assist others with their ploughing, however, he used his own hands to plough his field. In 552, he again contributed two thousand sacks of rice to perform a meal service.²⁰

In 555, the situation became worse. Battles, killings, robbery, disease and famine spread throughout the entire country and life became increasingly arduous. In the face of such misery, Fu was indefatigable. On the twentieth day of the fourth month, he tried to alleviate the miserable conditions of the country by doing religious penance. Assembling his disciples, he announced:

"As I heard it, a bodhisattva should sacrifice himself for saving beings and contribute his worldly wealth to benefit others. Also I heard it when the Dharma is declining (Fo fa yü mieh), many catastrophes strike, people suffer famine, war, illness and death, then followed by floods. We now see clearly the omens. In order to atone for the sins of all sentient beings and pray for the coming of the saviour, who can sacrifice himself by fasting or immolating as an offering to the Three Jewels ?"²¹

This announcement provoked about three self-immolations. On the twenty-fifth day of the sixth month, a lay disciple, Fan

Nan-t'o, lit a fire and burnt himself. On the fifth day of the ninth month, a monk, Fa-k'uang burnt himself on the T'ien-t'ai Mountain. The following year, 556, on the first day of the third month, a layman, Tzu-yen, also burnt himself on the summit of Shuang-lin Mountain.

Life became more fraught with tension towards the end of the Liang. Before the Ch'en Dynasty overthrew the Liang in the tenth month of 557, on the eighteenth day of the second month of that year, Fu announced again:

"As we are all aware many disasters strike incessantly, people stoop to robbery and killing. Who would like to simply sacrifice a finger to invoke the Buddhas to save this world ?"²²

As the master wished, eight disciples burnt a finger; and another two hooked themselves up, which symbolizes suffering for people. Sixty-two people cut off their ears to collect the blood, which was mixed with incense, and then sprinkled on the ground. This signifies an offering on behalf of all beings. And forty-nine people were willing to fast.

According to the PW and SHYL, the dreadful incident is recounted in the following chart:

Method	PW	SHYL
Burning whole body	3	3 in 555-556
Hanging body as a living candle	3	2 in 557
Burning fingers	8	2 in 548
"		8 in 557
Fasting	49	49 in 557
Fasting for three days		15 in 548
Cutting ears to collect blood	62	62 in 557
Cutting off two ears		1 in 548
Cutting off one ear		24 in 548
Total numbers	125	166

Apparently, in comparison with the PW, the SHYL provided more

details and increased the number of sacrifice. From the testimony in the PW and biographies of the KSC, the incidence of immolation was truly commonplace during the period of the Six Dynasties. Faithfully, Fu Hsi followed this unusual convention to display his ardent zeal for his belief.

On another occasion, Fu spoke to his assembly:

"There are many saints among my disciples; they would bravely sacrifice themselves for beings. Fu P'u-min is an incarnation of Mañjuśrī. The cleric Hui-ho is my excellent disciple and a saint, but he has not yet achieved the highest rank of bodhisattvahood. The venerable cleric Hui-chi is an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara and is willing to be my disciple. The layman Ch'ang was an incarnation of Ānanda. Although the latter was degraded in this life, he already sacrificed himself with serenity. Do not be contemptuous of Ch'ang."²³

Once a visiting ascetic queried:

"I heard you, Ta-shih, practise the Six Perfections of Virtue (Pāramitās) of a bodhisattva. One of them, the alms givings, includes giving away one's head, marrow, eyes, kingdom, wife, or possessions as offerings. I today beg for the censer in your hands. You are a true bodhisattva if you comply with my wish, if not, you are an imitator."²⁴

Ta-shih responded: "Neither giving nor non-giving are bodhisattva virtues." The ascetic snatched the censer away. Ten days later, he came back, and asked: "What did you feel when I snatched your censer away?" Fu replied: "When you gain what is yours, when you lose it, it's as though you never owned it. I merely wish, Venerable ascetic, that you use the censer to offer incense to all Buddhas, and I intend to be your good friend." The ascetic felt remorse and returned the censer.

Once, four monks travelled to the Shuang-lin Mountain,

they were haughty and ignored Fu. Suddenly, they all saw Ta-shih manifested as a radiantly golden giant. Naturally, they all venerated him and were willing to become his disciples.

In 560, one of Fu's disciples, Hui-jung, wished to perform a service called Lung-hua Assembly. Fu said:

"Don't bother to perform the Lung-hua Service, which is my obligation, you had better do something else. If you fulfil my teachings, you will attend the Lung-hua Assembly. After 'forty kalpas' during which I have been practising Buddhahood, Śākyamuni just vowed to achieve Buddhahood. He was willing to sacrifice his future lives to fulfil the principle of a bodhisattva, and be reborn many times to complete his goal as an ascetic bodhisattva. These are the reasons he achieved Buddhahood earlier than I did".²⁵

In 561, Fu held a retreat in the mountain. During this period, he frequently beheld the Seven Buddhas walking in front of him, and Vimalakīrti guarding the rear. He spoke to his disciples: "Among the Seven Buddhas, only Śākyamuni spoke to me several times." The disciples asked: "Why did the other Buddhas not talk to you?" In reply, he said:

"Because Śākyamuni is a present Buddha, and I will follow him to Buddhahood."²⁶

On account of Fu's claims to being a future Buddha, a cleric, Hui, who intended to test Fu's power, brought eighty people to visit him without prior warning and requested meals. While his wife Miao-kuang was worrying, Fu served them the meal from a small rice-pan one by one. Miraculously, after feeding the eighty people, the rice-pan was still full.

On the twelfth day of the first month of 563, Fu provided five hundreds sacks of rice and thirty bolts of cloth to perform a service, and then gave them away to the poor. On the

seventeenth day of the first month of 564, he held a meal service again. In the same year, on the eighth day of the second month, he preached the Lotus Sūtra twenty-one times, and cast ten molten images of Pao-wang Buddha, and held a ceremony named "Wu-che ta-hui" (or Chai-hui), which means giving alms to all the people, including monks and laymen. Chai-hui will be discussed in the next chapter. After that, he called for another prayer service to alleviate suffering: he preached the Nirvāṇa Sūtra once, and offered a lamp to bestow longevity. In the following five years, 565-569, he held the same services on six occasions.

In 569, the last year of his life, he heard that the Indian cleric, Sung T'ou-t'o, had entered Nirvāṇa, and he assembled his disciples and announced:

"My intimate friend Sung, has departed to Tuṣita Heaven to await me. I have decided not to remain in this world any longer."²⁷

He then composed the Huan yüan shih. After his announcement, the cranes no longer sang, and the aspen trees withered. These seemed to be miraculous portents that the great man was departing this world.

According to the SHYL, in the fourth month of 569, he told "his two sons who had become monks":²⁸

"I came to save people from the Fourth Heaven (or Tuṣita Heaven). You all must be very careful in your diligent practice to fulfil the Six Pāramitās and repent of your wrong doings...
..... Seven days after my death, a cleric named Fa-meng will bring an image of Maitreya, which was woven in cotton cloth; please hang it on my bed."²⁹

After the final words he passed away in tranquillity at the age of seventy-three. Fa-meng came and brought an image which

was exactly as Fu had described it and a small bell. When Fa-meng came, he was silent and wept as he hung the image and bell on Ta-shih's bed; after a moment he disappeared. Fu also told his disciples to divide his relics into two parts after cremation: one part to be preserved in the temple pagoda, the other to be put in the small pagoda above his grave. He asked them to bring back the relics of Hui-chi and to preserve them in the temple pagoda next to him. However, his disciples did not follow his instructions. He was buried instead of being cremated together with Hui-chi in the Yün-huang Mountain.

The custom of "Ho tsang" means to be buried together or next to one's family or favourite friends. This rite was established by Chou-kung in the Chou Dynasty, 1122-256 B.C.. In early Chinese history, it was customary for the empress, the emperor's consorts and concubines to join the emperor's vault to be interred. According to the Shih Chi, in the Han Dynasty, 135 B.C., the mother of the emperor, Tou T'ai-hou, died and was buried with the former emperor. And in 125 B.C., the Wang T'ai-hou was buried with the emperor. Not only was it the custom to be buried in the same vault but in the same coffin, thus being inseparable even in death. This rite had one requisite: that only an underling or one of lower status could be interred in the same tomb, thus an empress could join her emperor. A high-ranking person might not join a subordinate in the same grave; this was regarded as a breach of protocol. According to the Wei Chi, the first emperor of Wei wished to be buried with his favourite daughter who had died; but his ministers Yüan Tz'u said it was inappropriate

and violated custom.³⁰

In the Chinese tradition, interment is customary after death. Nonetheless, in the Buddhist ritual, cremation is preferred. Chinese people regarded burial as the best ritual to commemorate their ancestors at that time. The Emperor Wu of Liang buried the cleric Hui-yüeh next to Pao-chih.³¹ Fu Hsi was buried next to the cleric Hui-chi in accordance with his wish.³² Although he wanted to be cremated, his disciples did not comply with his wish. This demonstrates that cremation was not widely accepted at that time. Out of respect for their master, the disciples followed custom and interred their master, which might be regarded as the most propitious manner to dispose of one's body.

In 572, his disciples pleaded with the emperor, Ch'en Hsüan-ti to make an inscription on the gravestone for Fu Hsi, Hui-ho and Hui-chi. At their wish, Fu's inscription was composed by a cultivated officer, Hsü Ling, and completed on the fifth day of the seventh month of 573, which is now the oldest source of Fu Hsi's biography.

To overcome the difficulty of studying the sūtras, Fu moulded a huge "Lun-tsang" (Dharma-wheel, the revolving book-case) in the mountain, on which he inscribed the teachings of the Buddha. He vowed: "if one turns the wheel, even just once, he will be liberated from the Three Evil Realms (Hell, Hungry ghost and Animal) by my will power". His explanation of the Dharma-wheel is that by simply turning a book-case full of sūtras around and around an illiterate person could gain merit equal to that of reciting the sūtra; with the merits of

turning, one can be saved in the human realm forever and be freed from the Three Evil Realms. Legend notwithstanding, it is said that the Lun-tsang was invented as a convenience for readers, to decrease the amount of walking necessary to find the sūtras they wished to study.³³

In 587, Fu's elder son, P'u-chien, was self-immolated. According to the SHYL, the legacies of Fu were preserved in a small temple in his home town. These consist of a nine-storey pagoda, a woven image of Maitreya and a small bell, a bed, a wooded pillow, a mat, a pair of mallets, a water-fire pearl, a censer, a fan, a few paintings of the Buddhas...etc.

To recapitulate, according to the SHYL, this study divides Fu's life into four stages. First, 497-520, narrates his ordinary life as a fisherman. Second, 520-533, recounts his meeting with an Indian monk and the dramatic start to his ascetic life modeled on the lay bodhisattva Vimalakīrti. Thirdly, 534-547, he began to propagate Buddhism, and consorted with the Emperor Wu of Liang, through whom he sought to enlist his help to spread Buddhism nation-wide. According to the SHYL, he did succeed in propagating Buddhism following several visits to the capital; he converted numerous people and won himself a good reputation as a lay bodhisattva. Finally, from 548 to 569, in the latter part of his life, he fell on hard times, devoting himself entirely to assisting people, contributing goods and self-immolation; all these religious activities were solely to try to redeem the country.

As we have already presented these two texts, the PW and SHYL, in the preceding discussion, we may regard them as being

similar, but they do differ. First of all, the PW is in the vein of an eulogy, which not only records the feats of Fu Hsi, but also praises his virtue by comparing him with many heroes and loyal officers of ancient times. His life is described indirectly by giving examples from the past. On the other hand, the SHYL is compiled in chronological order, and gives direct information without comparison. From these two texts we can distinguish the development of Buddhism at two different periods. The PW displays a traditional Chinese mode: humbly revealing one's greatness -- by saying those heroes from history were unpretentious in their accomplishments, it signifies Fu's extraordinary quality; -- by relating the five hundred manifestations of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, it implies Fu's status as a manifestation of Maitreya; -- by portraying his states of meditation and miracles, it denotes Fu's grandeur. Apparently, the PW complies with ancient modes of writing. Additionally, it also reveals traditional Buddhist practices: meditation, miracles, copying and reciting sūtras, vegetarianism and immolation, which reflect Buddhist tendencies at that time - in the sixth century A.D.; this will be discussed in the next chapter.

Although we no longer have original form, the SHYL is still a valuable source, from which we witness an early model of a Zen master in Fu Hsi. As we know the Chinese Zen School thrived from the end of the eighth century, and the term "Yü-lu" (recorded sayings) did not appear before then. As a general name for the literature of Zen Buddhism the term "Yü-lu" is not known before the Sung period. The term initially

appeared at the end of the biography of Huang-po Hsi-yün (d.ca.850) in the Sung kao seng chuan (or SKSC), "which says that Huang-po's Yü-lu were current throughout the world."³⁴ The Tsu-t'ang chi (or TTC), which is generally regarded as the oldest Zen biography and is older than the SKSC (952 versus 967), contains the words "Hsing-lu" (record of actions), "Hsing-chuang" (outline of actions) and "Pieh-lu" (separate record), but does not employ the term Yü-lu.³⁵ The SHYL, Shan-hui ta-shih yü-lu, is entitled "Yü-lu", which indicates that this version was modified after the Sung period, at a time when the Zen School was predominant, or when the Hsü tsang ching was compiled.³⁶

No mention is made of Sung T'ou-t'o in the PW, but in the SHYL Fu Hsi had a dramatic encounter with the ascetic Sung, which, obviously, emulates the story of Bodhidharma; this will be discussed in the following chapters. Owing to Bodhidharma being a key figure in Zen history, the editor of the SHYL might have taken the ascetic Sung as an embodiment of Bodhidharma to enhance Fu's status as a great Zen master. For that reason the famous Zen version, the CTCTL, includes Fu Hsi, which we have pointed out in the Introduction. Moreover, in the SHYL, Fu repeatedly reveals himself as a high ranking bodhisattva by proclaiming his achievements, such as Śūraṅgama-samādhi, Lung-hua Assemblies... etc., which never appear in the PW. Furthermore, the idea of the decline of Buddhism is not clearly stated in the PW,³⁷ but in the SHYL by committing self-immolation, it reveals that Fu was aware of the advent of the decline of the Dharma. The idea was

clearly claimed by Hui-szu about the time of Fu Hsi, but was prevalent in the T'ang period; this will be also tackled in the next chapter. Accordingly, when the SHYL was modified the idea of the decline of Buddhism must have been widespread. From these varied features of the texts, it is suggested that if one studies the SHYL from a Zen aspect one can easily acquire a clearer insight; however, when the PW is studied from the traditional Chinese perspective, one may quickly understand the implication of the text.

Nonetheless, whether the texts depict Fu Hsi as an ordinary man or as a pre-incarnation of Maitreya, we should regard him as an extraordinary figure, since both texts are in agreement as to his eminence. At least due to his fervent compassion for all sentient beings, he should be revered as a saint. Corresponding to Fu Hsi's life we shall proceed to elucidate his Buddhist practice.

Notes:

1. "Ta-shih", Mahā-sattva, see W.Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p.87, and *Fo-Kuang ta tz'u tien*, p.751.
2. For his biography, see T.50/2059, KSC, pp.394a-395b.
3. See *Fo-kuang ta tz'u tien*, pp.4854, 6759.
4. For reference see Sakaino Kōyō, *Shina Bukkyō shi kōwa* (Tokyo: 1929), vol 1, pp.594-8.
5. T.51/2076, p.199. This will be deliberated in Chapter Six.
6. The Golden Grain Tathāgata was a previous Buddha and a previous incarnation of the layman Vimalakīrti; and Dīpaṅkara Buddha is a famous Buddha in the Āgama Sūtras. T.38/1780 p.866b, T.38/1781, p.915a, and *Fo-kuang ta tz'u tien*, pp.3585a, 3176, 4391c.

7. SHYL, p.2. the wisdom of Buddha is a wisdom free from any taint of illusion; see Ting Fu-pao, *Fo hsüeh ta tz'u tien*, pp.1100b, 1078d.

8. See HTC/120, SHYL, p.3b, for these incidents.

9. T.15/653, p.798. This content is similar to the Three Assemblies of Maitreya, known as Lung-hua Assemblies. Kalpa-- A small kalpa is a period during which the duration of man's life decreases one year every one hundred years from eight hundred and forty thousand to ten and increases in the same way from ten to eight hundred and forty thousand. Twenty small kalpas make a medium kalpa, and four medium kalpas make a large kalpa. JBD p.175; and Ting Fu-pao, *Fo hsüeh ta tz'u tien* pp. 481b,159c.

10. This petition has translated in page 71, Chapter Three, but in the PW, this term is non-thought instead of non-form, see SHYL, p.4.

11. SHYL, p.4.

12. SHYL, p.4b. Whether the water-fire pearl is one pearl or two pearls is unclear in the SHYL. A fire-pearl is a crystal burning-lens, an example of which was presented to the emperor T'ai-tsung of T'ang by a Persian; it is described as the size of a hen's egg, and if it is placed on a piece of punk and exposed to the sun's rays, it would ignite. See *Chiu T'ang Shu*, chapter 198, p.5312, and for further details see Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1963), pp.237-9. A water-pearl is for producing water, if buried in two feet of soil, water will bubble up, which is enough to satisfy the need of a thousand people, and there will never be a drough. See *Chung-kuo shen-hua ch'uan-shuo tz'u tien* (Shanghai: 1985), p.468.

13. SHYL, pp.4-5. This petition is not contained in the PW.

14. SHYL, p.5. This one is not found in the PW either.

15. SHYL, p.5.

16. SHYL, p.6.

17. For the history of this period See Kamata Shigeo, *Chung kuo fo chiao tung shih*, Chinese edition, p.237.

18. SHYL, p.7.

19. SHYL, p.8.

20. SHYL, pp.8-9.

21. SHYL, p.9.

22. SHYL, p.9.

23. SHYL, p.9.
24. SHYL, pp.9-10.
25. SHYL, p.10. Lung-hua Assembly is a gathering for Maitreya to convince numerous people: refer to the note.9 above for the contents of the three assemblies. A Lung-hua Service is a ritual, in which people gather to recite the Maitreya Sūtras and vow to be reborn with Maitreya Buddha in this world in the future; see *Fo-kuang ta tz'u tien*, p.6389.
26. SHYL, p.10.
27. SHYL, p.11.
28. This error has pointed out in page 56.
29. SHYL, p.11.
30. See *Chung wen ta tz'u tien*, Vol.16, p.151. A relevant source is, Gregory Schopen, "Burial 'Ad Sanctos' and the Physical Presence of the Buddha in Early Indian Buddhism", in *Religion* 17 (1987), pp.193-225.
31. See Kamata Shigeo, *Chung kuo fo chiao tung shih*, pp.232-3.
32. SHYL, p.12.
33. See Carrington Goodrich, "The revolving book-case in China", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (1942-3), pp.130-161, and Kōgen Mizuno, *Buddhist Sūtras* (Tokyo: Kosei Publishing Co., 1982), p.167.
34. T.50/2061, 842c.
35. For further references in English on Yū-lu, see Yanagida Seizan, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism", translated by John R.McRae, compiled in the *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet* (Berkeley: Berkeley Buddhist Studies series, 1983), edited by Whalen Lai and Lewis R. Lancaster, pp.185-205.
36. The Hsū tsang ching was compiled circa 1910 in Japan; we presume the term "yū-lu" was added at that time. In Lou Ying's preface it is entitled Shan-hui ta-shih lu.
37. It is only mentioned that the cycle of fire was about to come to an end.... Fu grieved for the lawlessness... for the collapse of common morality; see page.74 above, Chapter Three.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PRACTICE OF FU HSI -- THE TENDENCY OF BUDDHISM IN THE SIXTH CENTURY

According to our main sources, the PW and SHYL, six headings have been ascertained to reveal the popular Buddhism circa the sixth century. In this chapter the intention is to highlight the tendency of Buddhist practice during Fu Hsi's lifetime rather than to discuss the details of his practice. The six topics: the idea of Mo-fa, repentance, vegetarianism, self-immolation, incarnation and meeting Indian monks, covered in this chapter correspond to the previous chapters. This brief survey of Fu's practice is given with the aim of providing a yardstick by which we may later evaluate his alleged contribution to particular themes in Chinese Buddhism. The specific degree of accuracy in any part of Fu's account, owing to the paucity of materials, will not be considered.

We are aware from the preceding discussion that there was a particular spiritual urgency during Fu's lifetime and that it was a critical and generative phase in the development of Chinese Buddhism. As might be expected, Buddhism tends to steer a middle course between extremes, which motivates consideration of both internal and external conditions. In the internal condition, one must realize that Buddhism is a reflective and self-critical tradition, and has usually been more than sensitive to meet the demands of its diverse cultural environments. In the external condition, however, political and cultural elements are taken into account to acquire a view of Buddhism at the time of Fu Hsi. The subjects

of this chapter will gradually shift from the public arena of a medieval Chinese religious perspective to the interior Buddhist monasteries, texts and attitudes of people. Before taking up the details of popular Buddhism circa the sixth century, this study will initially tackle a typically internal Buddhist anxiety: the concept of Mo-fa.

1. The concept of Mo-fa

The concept of world cycles, the supremacy and decline of the power of Dharma, is one of the abiding subjects in Buddhism. It is striking to find a precise record regarding the decline of the Buddha's teaching in both the Pāli and Chinese Buddhist texts. A number of helpful texts related to the origins and development of the Buddhist prophecy of decline are available to modern scholars.¹ The specific topic "Mo-fa" - the age of the final Dharma - has also been fully scrutinized,² the intention of this section is simply to provide a guideline for an understanding of Fu Hsi's concept of Buddhism in its entirety. According to J.Nattier's research, we may suggest the term Mo-fa was developed after Fu's time, as she mentions:

"The term Mo-fa was first employed in an atmosphere in which Chêng-fa, Hsiang-fa and Mo-shih were already well established as Buddhist technical terms....Mo-fa is a Chinese apocryphal word: a term created in China, with no identifiable Indian antecedent."³

It seems to be inappropriate to use while depicting Fu's idea, yet for a general recognition we may borrow this term in the following discussion.

In Pāli texts two schemes of decline are presented: the three stages and five stages. The Questions of King Milinda

IV, states:

"There are three modes of the disappearance.... The decline of attainment to an intellectual grasp of it, the decline of conduct in accordance with it, and the decline of its outward form. When the attainment of it ceases, then even the man who conducts himself aright in it has no clear understanding of it. By the decline in conduct the promulgation of the rules of discipline ceases, only the outward form of the religion remains. When the outward form has ceased, the succession of the tradition is cut off. These are the three forms of the disappearance of a system of doctrine."⁴

This text does not provide the precise period of the three stages. However, another modification in the Pāli tradition took place in the fifth century A.D., when Buddhaghōsa proposed a five-stage scheme to account for the decline of Dharma. He submits:

1. 900 years after the death of the Buddha, by the time 1000 years had elapsed disciples would have become incapable of achieving the highest degree of attainment, only a few would achieve Arhatship.

2. The second disappearance will take place after the next 1000 years, and spiritual achievement will have become impossible to attain because of improper conduct.

3. After the second 1000 years, drought, famine and other calamities will occur, prompted by lack of reverence for royalty. Thus, the saṅgha will not be supported and scriptures will gradually be lost from the world.

4. After 4000 years the external signs of Buddhism, such as bowls and robes, will disappear.

5. In the last stage, the stūpas and relics of the Buddha himself will finally disappear, as all reverence ultimately

vanishes. Thus, after 5000 years, Buddhism will have completely disappeared from the world. This five-stage scheme is reiterated in later Pāli texts, such as the Mahāvamsa III.38, the Samantapāsādikā 1.30.⁵

Another attractive account of contemporary beliefs in rural Ceylon regarding this subject is given by R.Gombrich. Based on his research, he found that 5000 years was the usual figure given for the duration of the Dharma.⁶ In the Chinese tradition, however, the theory of cyclic decay is manifold and diverse, and frequently correlates with the Maitreya cult.

In addition to political persecution, Buddhists of the sixth century in China were dogged by an internal predicament, the concept of the decline of the Dharma, which was one of the essential tenets of Buddhist philosophy in that epoch. The theory of the three periods of the Dharma was already prevalent at the time of the Southern and Northern Dynasties.⁷

As a general rule, the first model period began with Śākyamuni Buddha and ended five hundred years after his death, which is designated "Chêng-fa" (Saddharma or true Dharma). When the true Dharma was obscured something resembling it was then substituted, which was designated "Hsiang-fa" (Saddharma-pratirūpaka or counterfeit Dharma). This existed for one thousand years after the end of Chêng-fa. The final period, "Mo-fa", comes at the end of the second period and lasts for a further ten thousand years. In the period of Mo-fa, sin and need will steadily increase and the teaching of Buddha itself will gradually decline. At this point, Maitreya will appear

with his millennial kingdom. A new cycle of life will commence bringing hope for all living creatures. Thus one cycle follows another until all living beings are redeemed.*

There are various notions regarding the duration of the first two periods. Generally speaking, four schemes are current, all of which are supported by excellent scriptural sources, as Kenneth Ch'en clarifies:

1. True Dharma 500 years; Counterfeit - 500 years.
2. True " 500 years; " - 1,000 years.
3. True " 1,000 years; " - 500 years.
4. True " 1,000 years; " - 1,000 years.

Of these four, the most acceptable notion is the second. At the end of the counterfeit period, the period of decline would begin, and would last for ten thousand years. Among these four schemes, the theory of Mo-fa runs into a problem of uncertainty as to when the Mo-fa period began: the date from the Buddha's nirvāṇa is normally cited.⁹ Most Chinese Buddhists during the sixth century generally agreed on 949 B.C. as the date, so fifteen hundred years later would be 550.A.D..¹⁰

In the year 550, in the south, the Liang Dynasty coincided with the turmoil of Hou Ching's revolt; in the north, it was also an era of change, as the empire shifted from the Eastern Wei to the Western Wei.¹¹ Whether south or north, the whole territory of China was in chaos and its people were in misery; they undoubtedly inclined towards the idea of Mo-fa.

In early medieval Chinese Buddhist history, there were two main active advocates of the idea of Mo-fa: Hui-szu (515-

577) and Hsin-hsing (540-594) of the Three Stages Sect. Both of them were younger contemporaries of Fu Hsi. Hui-szu, who was born in Honan province of north China, was a predecessor of Chih-i in the T'ien-t'ai School. According to the HKSC, he was skilful in meditation exercises; but he was poisoned by a hostile group who opposed his teachings. Thereafter, he decided to leave the north for the south when he heard a heavenly voice urging him to do so. After a sojourn in Hupeh as a well-liked teacher, he aroused the jealousy of a hostile group again. On being invited to preach the Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra, he was poisoned three other times in the south. All the details of his suffering were recorded in his Li shih yüan wen (LSYW), finished in 558, which testifies to his remarkable pledge of faith.¹²

Hui-szu is credited to have been the first Chinese Buddhist thinker to testify to the theory of Mo-fa and set forth in writing a three-period system.¹³ The calamity of Mo-fa, he claimed, was retribution for the widespread decline in spiritual and moral values surrounding Buddhism in the China of his day, even within the saṅgha itself.¹⁴

As well as the spiritual aspect, the place where he suffered should be taken into account. The main region where he lived and suffered in the south was Ta-su Mt. of Kuang-chou, which was an old name for the region in the Liang period.¹⁵ Kuang-chou was bounded by the three provinces of Honan, Hupeh and Anhwei, where chaos was rife during the war. The province of Honan was a strategic point of access for the southern and northern battles. For instance, Hou Ching crossed

this region to attack the south from the north. Hui-szu was born in this catastrophic area, which might account for influences in his life.

It is likely that Hui-szu's concept of Mo-fa derived from his sufferings and the wars. First, he was poisoned at the age of thirty-four in his home town, Honan, in 547. Then he left for the south, and stayed in Kuang-chou, where he was poisoned in 553, 556 and 557, in what was the late period of the Liang, the region of Hupeh was riven by warfare. Hui-szu not only suffered from poisonings, but also grieved on account of the wars. Without any doubt, his sufferings contributed to a strong belief in the theory of Mo-fa and to the composition of the details in his LSYW, in which the term Mo-fa repeatedly appears.¹⁶ Although many problems of the text have been pointed out by modern scholars, the degree of accuracy is not the main concern here.¹⁷

Hui-szu's distress became apparent in the latter part of Fu's life, and the LSYW was completed in 558. It is evident that the concept of Mo-fa was a mainspring in Buddhism at that time. As we have seen in the preceding chapters, according to our sources from 548 to 569 Fu Hsi concentrated entirely on making food contributions and on self-immolation. This reached its zenith in 557, when about one hundred disciples immolated parts of their bodies or fasted for peace. Fu's idea of the decline of the Dharma is clear from his conduct and vows. He vowed to suffer himself on behalf of other beings and wished to atone for their sins when he contributed food and performed prayer services. An immense immolation took place in 548, at

which more than one hundred disciples sacrificed themselves, vowing:

"..... Hsiang-fa has passed (Hsiang-fa chi t'ui), disaster and misfortune have struck...."¹⁸

This paragraph definitely signifies that the period of Hsiang-fa is ended, and implies that the decline of the Dharma is imminent. According to the SHYL, Fu himself revealed the idea of the decline of the Dharma by doing prayer services and preaching. A testimony can be found in one of his announcements to his disciples in 555:

".... . When the Dharma is declining (Fo fa yü mieh), numerous catastrophes constantly strike"¹⁹

Although Fu himself never clearly mentioned the term Mo-fa, according to the SHYL, he did unequivocally claim that the Dharma had fallen into decline. Accordingly, the concept of the decline of the Dharma positively existed among Fu's group. Both Hui-szu and Fu Hsi lived in a critical era, and experienced warfare, famine, floods, which might have provoked their anxiety for Mo-fa.

Gradually, the theory of the decline of the Dharma took root after Fu's death, and was propagated by a group called the Three Stages Sect. Its founder, Hsin-hsing, who was born in Honan in 540, claimed that his own time was the period of the end of the Dharma. He believed that the Buddha-nature pervaded everything, that all living beings possessed this Buddha-nature, and that they should be respected as future Buddhas. His followers bowed to strangers on the streets as a sign of respect, even to animals.²⁰

The Three Stages Sect made a very deep impression in early medieval Chinese Buddhist circles. Its genesis came about after Fu's death in 569; its teaching was propounded in 581, its founder died in 594. During the fourteen years of his mission, Hsin-hsing gained more than three hundred adherents. The sect remained nearly four hundred years after its founder passed away. During its existence, it was regarded as a heretical sect of Buddhism and was proscribed four times; finally, in 978, it was completely annihilated. As a result of the prevalence of the concept of Mo-fa, the Pure Land tradition actively took root to propagate the teaching of Amitābha Buddha and won wide popularity in late Chinese Buddhist history.

The roots of this concept can be traced in a number of sūtras, such as the Jih-tsang ching, Yüeh tsang ching, Fa mieh chin ching and Mo ho mo yeh ching...etc. Principally, the latter two texts can be considered to bear out Fu Hsi's ideas. The Mo ho mo yeh ching, translated during 479-502 by T'an-ching, expounds the belief of the decline of the Dharma.²¹ The Fa mieh chin ching, translated during 420-479, its translator being anonymous, explicitly links the notion of the decline of Buddhism and Maitreya. It describes:

"When the Dharma is in decline, women are strenuous to do good deeds, men are indolent and ignore the Dharma... Men die young, women enjoy longevity...then, floods comes constantly At that time, the bodhisattva Moonlight will be born, and the Sūraṅgama Sūtra and Pratyutpanna-samādhi will disappear first, then the twelve types of scripture will also vanish.. ...After several millennia of destruction of Dharma, the bodhisattva Maitreya will become a Buddha in this world. A reign of prosperity and happiness will dawn.."22

Coincidentally, the Fa mieh chin ching confirms Fu Hsi's conviction. Although no evidence was found to prove the connection between Fu and this sūtra, the idea about the decline of Buddhism was certainly well known at that time.

Prior to the above sūtras, the Lotus Sūtra was also an influential text verifying the existence of the idea of Mo-fa in early medieval China. Three versions exist:²³

Fascicles	chapters	Translator	Dates	T.No.
10	27	Dharmarakṣa	286	T.9/263
7	28	Kumārajīva	408	T.9/262
7	27	Jñānagupta	601	T.9/264

The idea of Mo-fa and the merit derived from reciting the sūtra are distinctly narrated. According to the Kumārajīva's version, it reads in the chapter of the "Serene Life":

"The great bodhisattva Mañjuśrī asked how to propagate the sūtra in the Mo-fa....after the Buddha's extinction"²⁴

The term Mo-fa appears once in the Kumārajīva's version, but it does not occur in the earlier translation by Dharmarakṣa. However, in the Jñānagupta's version, the term Mo-fa also appears. In the chapter "The Precious Shrine", the Buddha says:

In the evil age (O-shih) after my extinction, those who desire to worship my whole body should erect a great stūpa.. After my extinction, one should copy and keep, or cause another to copy the sutra.²⁵

In the above quotations, the evil age, O-shih, repeatedly appears in the sūtra. Both terms, O-shih and Mo-fa, have a similar meaning in Chinese Buddhism. Hence, we can suggest that the Lotus Sūtra contains the idea of the decline of

Buddhism and was quite significant in the period of Mo-fa after the extinction of the Buddha.

In fact, the idea of the decline of the Dharma already existed in the early China, as J. Nattier relates:

"By the latter half of the 3rd century CE Buddhist scriptures containing all of these terms were being translated into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa, who appears to have introduced the two vital terms Hsiang-fa and Mo-shih into Chinese Buddhist discourse."²⁶

Fu Hsi and Hui-szu were merely following the tradition consonant with their belief. A link is established between the act of immolation and the concept of decline in the HKSC. There were a number of monks immolated due to the passive concept, such as monk Seng-yai, who is described thus:

"In the period of 'Mo-chieh' (the age of decline), people disrespected the Dharma. Seng-yai, in 413, burnt himself in order to restore Buddhism."²⁷

Of monk P'u-chi it is narrated:

"Owing to the decline of Buddhism, P'u-chi immolated himself in the T'ai-pai Mt...In 581, in order to restore the 'Hsiang-chiao', he immolated himself as an offering to the Buddha."²⁸

From the above quotations, we can perceive that the idea of decline did exist in the early China. Generally speaking, Hui-szu is regarded as the first to expound the theory of Mo-fa, but from the above analysis, we propose that the general notion of Mo-fa was known before Fu Hsi and he took the form of putting himself on trial to avert the coming of Mo-fa.

What is certainly of interest here is how Fu's passive idea of the decline of the Dharma and his expectation of a millennial kingdom developed. Presumably, quite apart from the

authenticity of his status as a manifestation of Maitreya, it is clear that Fu Hsi's idea of decline was stimulated not only by political consideration of the day, but also by those s tras mentioned above, especially the Lotus Sūtra, and perhaps the Fa mieh chin ching. The former has traditionally been held in high esteem in the saṅgha and has given a benign hope in the human realm since early medieval China. Owing to his recitation and preaching of the sūtra for twenty-one times at each prayer service, the Lotus Sūtra could rightly be considered as one of Fu's revered texts. Therefore, this study postulates that the primary text of Fu's practice was the Lotus Sūtra, which was not only the source for his idea concerning Mo-fa, but also for his notions of the following subjects.

2. The dogma of repentance

Repentance plays a significant role in the Buddhist tradition, which means confession of past sins before the Buddha. The Sanskrit term, Kṣamā, literally denotes tolerance, it also refers to remorse. The other term Āpatti-pratideśanā means to show repentance by confessing one's misdeeds.²⁹ In the Indian tradition, at the termination of the Varṣā, the order gathers together every fifteen days to expound the doctrines and precepts. The Prātimokṣa Sūtra is recited, and monks confess their sins to the community, if any.³⁰

The idea of repentance has been prevalent in Chinese Buddhism since the Liang Dynasty. Nowadays Chinese Buddhist communities still retain this ritual in the performance of prayer services, especially, on specific days such as New Year

and the bodhisatva's birthday. On those days Buddhists assemble in the main hall of the temples to chant the penitential hymn and worship in order to atone for their sins.

Here is part of a typical chant:

"I am without any glory, I can fully express my desire for worship...All the evil I have committed in the past, all the countless sin of wicked desires (greed), evil thoughts (hatred), and vain thoughts (ignorance) --- all that I have done, spoken, or thought wrongly I will abstain from today...I surrender myself to you, my conquerors; as a son, I adore you; make me your slave."³¹

Chanting the latter and worshipping the Buddhas, people sometimes weep bitterly; sins are thus eradicated because of the mind's sincere repentance. After this act of contrition, people feel light-hearted, uplifted and cheerful. Hence, this sort of repentance is still very popular to the present day.

An interesting incident is said to have befallen the Emperor Wu of Liang. His empress, Ch'ih-shih, was jealous of the imperial consorts and concubines, and committed some evil deeds to them. After her death she was reborn as a python, and suffered in her snake body being bitten by numerous insects and worms. Once she appeared in a dream to the emperor and requested him to do something to alleviate her agony. Thereafter, the emperor consulted eminent clergy to resolve this problem. Eventually, a penitential text of ten-fascicles, the Tz'u pei tao ch'ang ch'an fa (or Liang-huang ch'an.), was composed by a group of eminent clerics circa 502-549, which is the earliest repentance text in the Chinese canon. On the conclusion of this text, the emperor invited a number of clerics to perform a service of penitence, consisting of

chanting, worship and prayers in memory of the empress. Incredibly, on the night of the service, the deceased empress reappeared in a dream to the emperor with smiles of appreciation for his kindness and said: "I am now relieved from suffering and shall be reborn in a heaven."³²

"Ch'an fa" (the rite of repentance) is part of a ritual to be performed in a prayer service. The Emperor Wu of Liang set a precedent, then a number of "Ch'an-fa" followed in the Sui, T'ang and Ming periods. The intelligent cleric, Chih-i, also composed a text called Fa hua san mei ch'an i in the Sui period.³³ Another well-known "Ch'an fa" is entitled Shui-ch'an, which was completed in the T'ang.³⁴ Both the Liang-huang ch'an and Shui-ch'an are frequently performed in temple services to the present day.

Another type of repentance text is "Ch'an hui wen" (verse of penitence), which is a shorter version of the "Ch'an fa". It is usually recited at the beginning of a prayer service to explain its purpose. The short text, "Ch'an hui wen", was highly regarded by members of the nobility of the Liang and Ch'en Dynasties, such as the Emperor Wu of Liang, the Emperor Chien-wen (503-550) of Liang, the Emperor Wen of Ch'en (r: 559-566) and the literatus Ch'ên Yüeh (441-513). Its derivation is a verse from the chapter, "The Vow of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva", in the HYC, it reads:

"The various Karmic hindrances which I made in the past originated from evil passion, hatred and foolishness. They are nothing but the products of my own physical, verbal, and mental misdeeds. Therefore I sincerely repent of all my sins."³⁵

Following in the footsteps of Samantabhadra, a few devout

emperors composed a number of "Ch'an hui wen", found in the KHMC. According to the latter, this study classified two categories of repentance: scholarly and sincere repentances.

A. Scholarly Repentance

This category of text was composed by emperors, and does not reveal the emotion of sorrow, rather, it addressed doctrine. In two texts by the Emperor Wu of Liang, the Mo ho pan jo ch'an wen and Chin kang pan jo ch'an wen, he seemed to be explaining the doctrines of emptiness rather than expressing his remorse. In the first text, it reads:

"The emperor, a disciple of Buddha, [I myself] who received bodhisattva precepts, bow to all Buddhas, Dharma and Saṅgha in the world. [The four properties of nirvāṇa] are: eternity (non-changing), bliss (non-suffering), self (liberation from bondage) and purity (non-illusions). Impermanence, suffering (pain) and nothingness (emptiness) are the unavoidable truth of the world..... As a disciple, I myself practise the teaching of emptiness and rule my empire by it... Today I am holding a prayer service to pray for all sentient beings to detach themselves from bondage and achieve non-attachment..."³⁶

In the second text, the emperor expressed almost the same idea, addressing the teaching of emptiness instead of feeling remorse. Also at the beginning of the text he called himself "the emperor, a disciple of Buddha", which is a proof of his conceit. How could one confess to the Supreme Being using a noble title instead of one's own name? On reading these two texts, you may have the impression of reading a philosophical discourse rather than a text of repentance.

B. Sincere Repentance

This category of repentance is more frequent and widely adopted. It expresses one's heartfelt remorse. Here is a model

example by the Emperor Chien-wen of Liang, son of the Emperor Wu of Liang, entitled Nieh p'an ch'an, who prayed for relief from his sickness with sincerity. It reads:

"'Ch'ên' [servant, I], Hsiao Kang, am holding a prayer service to recite the Nirvāṇa Sūtra... I have so much hindrance and distress, suffering from various illnesses. I am in pain and must take medicines daily... I hope this service will alleviate my pain.. I would appreciate Lord, your kindness."³⁷

This is a very short text which merely expresses the author's grief, no doctrine is mentioned. He was humble, and prostrated himself as "Ch'ên", which is a modest address directed to the Lord. Compared with his father's text, the junior seems more remorseful and earnest. It may have been owing to his ailment that he paid greater homage to the Buddha.

There are a total of sixteen texts of repentance in the KHMC. Three of them were the work of the Emperor Chien-wen of Liang, two were by the Emperor Wu of Liang, one was by the literatus Ch'ên Yüeh, eight were by the Emperor Wen of Ch'en, and another two were written in the Ch'en period. Apparently, the ritual of repentance was more prevalent in the Ch'en period than in the Liang. The chief feature of these texts in the Ch'en period was, however, the contrast between the two types: namely scholarly and sincere repentances. The Emperor Wen of Ch'en (r.559-566) was a devout Buddhist, a righteous, compassionate and wise monarch, but he died at an early age, due to ailment and weakness. He may have experienced and faced the truth (sickness and death), which led him to believe strongly in the teachings of the Buddha.³⁸ As the Buddha tells that one will realize the truth of the universe after

experiencing misery, pain, impermanence, death,...etc., all of these are inevitable, no one can avoid them, nor be happy, healthy and wealthy forever.

In order to understand its development, the root of the idea of repentance will be traced in a number of texts. The renowned phrase "Ch'an hui yeh chang" (repenting of one's sins) derives from the Hua-yen ching (HYC), which means to repent the evil karma. The evil karma conducts in words, thoughts and deeds lead to evil retribution and hinders good fortune. There are three versions of the HYC, designated the Sixty Hua-yen, Eighty Hua-yen and Forty Hua-yen:³⁹

Title	Fascicles	Translator	Dates	T.No.
Sixty HYC	60	Buddhabhadra	418-420	T. 9/278
Eighty HYC	80	Śikṣānanda	695-699	T.10/279
Forty HYC	40	Prajñā	795-798	T.10/293

In the earliest version, Sixty HYC, the phrase "Ch'an-hui" is not mentioned. In the second version, Eighty HYC, the phrase appears just once in the Seventy-ninth fascicle. It reads:

"[We have] to repent in the Three Periods (San shih ch'an hui), and to vow to transfer merits (Hui hsiang fa yüan) in order to attain Buddhahood."⁴⁰

In the last version, however, it develops a graceful literary idiom: "Ch'an hui yeh chang", which appears in this version repeatedly.

In brief, when the Sixty HYC was translated in the fifth century, the concept of repentance was not yet widespread, so that no trace of it is found. However, owing to the ritual of repentance after the Emperor Wu of Liang, the idea was gradually disseminated and was developed in the early T'ang.

Then, until the middle of T'ang, it was transformed and came to be a perfect embodiment of "Ch'an hui yeh chang" in the Ten Great Vows of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra of the HYC. Accordingly, it is evident that the development of the idea of repentance reached its zenith in the T'ang period.

Apart from the HYC, in one of the most prevalent sūtras, the Lotus Sūtra, the term "Ch'an hui" is not found in any of its three Chinese versions. Notwithstanding, the idea definitely existed in the Eastern Chin period: not only does it appear in the Āgama Sūtras, but it also plays a key role in Hīnayāna dhyāna teachings and the Mahāyāna sūtras; its translations are as follows:

Title	Fascicles	Dates	Translator	T.No.
Dīrghāgama	22	412-413	Chu Fo-nien	T.1/1
Madhyamāgama	60	397-398	Saṅghadeva	T.1/26
Ekottarāgama	51	397	"	T.2/125
Samyuktāgama	50	435-443	Guṇabhadra	T.2/99

In the Āgama Sūtras, there is a narrative in the "Bhikṣuṇī" of the Samyuktāgama Sūtra. A few nuns saw from afar that Ānanda was walking towards them, and they tried to seduce him. The saint Ānanda was not tempted; instead he admonished them severely. Finally, the nuns regretted their deed, it reads:

"All nuns repented (Ch'an-hui) to the saint Ānanda"⁴¹

In the same version as above, another episode is found in the section of Asurindika. On one occasion, an Asurindika addressed the Buddha in a rude manner, but the Buddha was compassionate and advised him. Later, the Asurindika repented and prostrated himself to the Buddha.⁴² In the Hsin sui

ching, translated during 381-395, a number of monks repented before the Buddha for their wicked thoughts.⁴³ Accordingly, it is quite clear that in the early Hīnayāna sūtras, the idea of repentance simply refers to a lament for wrongdoing to the saints and the Buddha.

From the Hīnayāna dhyāna point of view, "Ch'an-hui" is a primary dogma of meditation. Most Chinese Hīnayāna dhyāna sūtras contain the notion that before achieving samādhi one must repent initially to attain tranquillity in the physical, verbal (speech) and mental states (thought). The Kuan fo san mei ching, translated by Buddhahadra during 398-420, reads:

"Before adopting a posture of meditation, one must worship the Buddha initially in order to repent for one's sins."⁴⁴

And in the Wu men ch'an ching, translated by Dharmamitra during 424-447, there is a quotation:

"Before meditation, one must first confess one's sins to purify the body, speech and thought, then vow to become a Buddha."⁴⁵

In the Kumārajīva's version, during 402-412, the Ch'an pi yao fa ching also expounds the same notion.⁴⁶ Hence, there can be no doubt as to how paramount the concept of repentance is in the Hīnayāna tradition.

The idea of repentance is almost commonplace in the Mahāyāna sūtras. In the P'u-hsien kuan ching, translated by Dharmamitra during 424-453, after Samantabhadra expounds the method of repenting the Six Sense-organs; the Buddha claims:

"If one intends to receive the precepts of a bodhisattva, first, one should join his hands in a peaceful place to worship to the Buddhas of the Ten Directions for repenting of all previous sins."⁴⁷

In addition, an important source is found in a whole chapter, entitled "Ch'an hui pin" (The chapter of repentance), of the Suvarṇabhāṣottama Sūtra (or Golden Splendour Sūtra or Chin kuang min ching), which was one of the most prevalent sūtras in medieval China, rendered into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa during 414-426. As Johannes Nobel (1887-1960) demonstrates in detail in the introduction to his edition of the Sanskrit text, he emphasises: "The Suvarṇabhāṣa was built up around the Confession in Chapter Three, Confession of Sins, especially on the occasion of the Uposatha celebrations, it belongs as is well known, to the earliest period of Buddhist practice."⁴⁸ Apparently, it seems this sūtra was one of paramount motives for the spread of this practice. In this chapter the phrase "Ch'an hui mien ch'u yeh chang" (expiating sin by repentance) is cardinal. The Buddha claims to his disciples:

"The Chin kuang ming ching is the king of all sūtras, in particular, this chapter 'Ch'an hui pin', you must always retain in mind to preach and practice."⁴⁹

The dogma of "Ch'an-hui" is a key method of achieving Buddhahood in the Mahāyāna tradition. Without confession of one's sins it is impossible to acquire a tranquil mind to achieve enlightenment. Concerning this sūtra a further discussion will be given in the section of self-immolation.

In the last twenty years of Fu Hsi's life as described in our sources, despite calamity, he constantly performed prayer services and meal offerings to atone for the sins of all sentient beings. For instance, in 544, he donated the last food (rice) he had to the poor in order to repent on behalf

of the robbers who had robbed him. Self-immolation by his disciples was also intended for repentance not only for themselves, but also for all sentient beings. It is evident that the idea of repentance played a pivotal role in the depiction of Fu's belief, and indeed the idea was wide-spread in his lifetime. In any case, it seems to have been the sole means of fuelling hope in the people in periods of turmoil.

In sum, from the fourth century, the idea of repentance existed, but was not widely diffused; in the sixth century, however, advocated by the Emperor Wu of Liang, it became not only widespread, but was preferred by the nobility. Moreover, in the eighth century, without any doubt, it acquired its pre-eminence throughout Buddhist communities in China.

3. The advocacy of vegetarianism

One of the representative practices of Fu Hsi was to follow a vegetarian regime. In the SHYL, the term "Pu shih shang chai" (no delicate food consumption) is repeatedly mentioned. To examine this definition we must trace its roots from the basis of Chinese culture and the Buddhist sūtras. According to the Shih Chi, meat was regarded as a superior meal and was greatly desired by ordinary people. A renowned historian Tu Yü (222-284) of the Western Chin relates: "Meat-eating is for one who is in a position of power". Suwa Gijun also mentions that from ancient China to the Six Dynasties, meat-eating was reserved for monarchs and the nobility.⁵⁰

A Sanskrit term "Upavasatha" (Upoṣaṇ) refers to "Chai" in Chinese, which contains three explanations in Indian Buddhism. Firstly, it signifies purification of three types

of action: namely deed, speech and thought. Secondly, it decrees abstention from eating in the afternoon and taking food at unseasonable times. Thirdly, it applies to a meal service in a Buddhist ceremony. In the Chinese convention, however, the notion of "Chai" not only refers to a vegetarian meal, but also to a pure mind in the spiritual world. In the Lun Yü, one of the Four Books, it says: "Chai means changing food". The Yi Ching narrates: "Purifying the mind means Chai, preventing from wrongdoing means Chieh (precept)." The Li Chi also mentions: "To take a precept of non-killing (Chai-chieh) in order to pray to the gods and spirits."⁵¹ (A8)

In fact, meat-eating is not prohibited in the Indian Buddhist tradition. It is permitted to consume meat under three conditions, which are designated the "Three Types of Pure Meat: meat from an animal which one has not seen being slaughtered, from which one has not heard the cries, or which one does not suspect was killed especially for oneself".⁵² When a monk accepts "available meat" procured in this way by a donor, he is not considered to have knowingly taken the meat of an animal killed on his behalf. The term Ahimsā, in Buddhist literature, refers to non-harming, non-killing, which is proclaimed and respected in Buddhist thought and practice. Indeed, in the Vinaya, fish and meat are specified among the five superior and delicate foods which an ill monk is allowed to eat.⁵³

To offer a meal in a Buddhist ceremony is a commonplace in the Chinese Buddhist tradition. Nevertheless, whether such meals were vegetarian or not before the Liang Dynasty is

debatable. The Chinese saṅgha before the Liang followed the Indian tradition, which was non-vegetarian. According to the KSC and PCNC, a number of clergy in the Chin period were willing to abstain from fish and meat, and lived as ascetics. The practices of the clergy in the KSC and PCNC were similar: asceticism, vegetarianism, self-immolation, repentance, meditation and reciting sūtras. At that time, being a vegetarian and an ascetic might well have been primary justifications to ensure respect as an eminent cleric.

According to the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, the Buddha evidently disliked the idea of meat-eating among his followers. He said:

"There may be some unenlightened followers of mine who after my death, not knowing the spirit of my teaching and training, may wrongly conclude that I permit them to eat meat and that I myself ate it...But in this Laṅkāvatāra, as well as in the Hastikakshya, Nirvāna Sūtras..etc., meat-eating is absolutely forbidden...."⁵⁴

This sūtra is closely connected with the Tathāgatagarbha doctrine, which states that all incarnate sentient beings without exception have the capacity of attaining Buddhahood sooner or later. The Buddha explains not only that in the cycle of transmigration all sentient beings may possibly be related, but also that the elements of the body are indeed the Buddha-nature. Not only from a philosophical but also from a metaphysical viewpoint, meat-eating is considered thoroughly deleterious.

Meat-eating is strictly prohibited in the Mahāparinirvāna Sūtra, Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, Āṅgulimāla Sūtra and Sarvāstivāda-vinaya, which were translated from the Eastern Chin period onwards. Details of the translations are shown in the

following tables:

Table.1

Title	Fascicles	Dates	Translator	T.No.
Mahāparinirvāṇa	40	416-423	Dharmarakṣa (N)	T.12/374
"	36	420-479	Hui-yen (S)	T.12/375
"	6	416-418	Fa-hsien	T.12/376
"	2	664-665	Jñānabhadra	T.12/377
Laṅkāvatāra	4	---	Dharmarakṣa	(lost)
"	4	443	Guṇabhadra	T.16/670
"	10	513	Bodhiruci	T.16/671
"	7	700-704	Śikṣānanda	T.16/672
Aṅgulimāla	4	435-443	Guṇabhadra	T.2/120
Sarvāstivāda -vinaya (SV)	61	404	Kumārajīva	T.23/1435

This study also drew up a simple table to compare the percentage of vegetarianism between the Kao seng chuan (KSC) and the Pi ch'iu ni chuan (PCNC).

Table.2

	(Before 409)	(After 409)	KSC	PCNC
Vege-number	22	45	67	30
Monks and nuns	+	=	497	95
Rate			13.4%	31.5%

Another important precept text, the Szu fen lü (Four Division Vinaya) is a vinaya of the Dharmagupta School rendered into Chinese by Buddhayaśas in 408.⁵⁵ According to Suwa Gijun's research, after 409 A.D. some other vinayas had also been rendered into Chinese. As shown in Table.2 above, in the KSC, before 409 the number of vegetarians was twenty-two, but after the spread of vegetarianism in the vinayas, the number increased to forty-five. The KSC contains the biographies of 497 eminent monks, of these vegetarianism represents 13.4 %. The PCNC contains 95 nuns, four nuns recited the Nirvāṇa Sūtra, and another four abided by the rule of the SV as

regular practice among thirty vegetarians. Compared with the KSC, the percentage of vegetarians increased to 31.5 % in the PCNC. Apparently, the diffusion of these sūtras and the vinayas shed light on the adoption of vegetarianism.⁵⁶

Although vegetarianism was adopted by a number of the clergy in the KSC and PCNC, in Buddhist communities it had not been a compulsory regulation until a rigid edict was issued by the Emperor Wu of Liang. A text, Tuan chiu jou wen (TCJW), was penned by the Emperor Wu of Liang, based on the teaching of the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra to define meat-eating in the saṅgha. It stipulates a rigorous regulation that all clerics must abstain from taking meat and wine, otherwise, they would be sentenced. The date of the decree is unknown, though, in the light of Suwa Gijun's research, he presumes it might have been in force between 517 and 523.⁵⁷

The emperor insisted on no meat-eating and gave strict regulations to govern the saṅgha, such as the following:

"If anyone breaks the rule he or she will be strictly sentenced. Any cleric who wears the robe of the Buddha without abiding by the rules should be regarded as a hypocrite and a thief....to be sentenced by the law, and should abandon the priesthood publicly..."⁵⁸

From the above quotation, one may perceive how determined the emperor was to impose his proposal. He was not only inviting the renowned cleric Fa-yün to preach the chapter on abstaining from meat of the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, but also summoning 141 illustrious monks and 57 prominent nuns to participate in a serious debate on this subject.⁵⁹ Finally, in compliance with the emperor's wish, the Chinese saṅgha has been vegetarian from the Liang Dynasty.

In the light of Fu Hsi's life with regard to the TCJW, a doubt may arise that if the text had been in force between 517 and 523 as Suwa Gijun postulates, all Buddhist communities should certainly have become vegetarians after 523. Yet, how can one explain that Fu Hsi repeatedly claimed to undertake "Pu shih shang chai" not only for himself but for his followers in 542, 548, 555, 557 and in his later years? Although he was just a layman, not a monk, he had his own disciples, many of whom were monks and lived in his community. Presumably, his community would have followed the decree regulating the vegetarian regime, like other groups after 523. Moreover, in his first petition to the emperor in 534, he suggested encouraging people to be vegetarian on the Six Vegetarian Days. If he had known the proscription on meat-eating laid down by the emperor about 523, he would not have proposed this idea in his petition in 534; some of his disciples were monks, who were supposed to be vegetarians without Fu's exhortation.

In order to resolve the above doubt, the true meaning of "Pu shih shang chai" has to be dealt with first. This study proposes that "Shang-chai", delicate meal, refers to meat-eating. As we have discussed at the beginning of this section, meat was considered a delicacy for the nobility only; ordinary people would hardly ever have eaten meat. In the Chinese tradition, meat, fish, chicken and lobster were regarded as delicacies to be prepared for a feast. Apart from the cultural aspect, the dissemination of the s tras should be considered to examine Fu's teachings. He preached the Nirvāṇa Sūtra

repeatedly in his later years, between 564 and 569. He would have fully understood and highly respected the teaching of non-killing, otherwise he would not have repeatedly claimed to be a vegetarian. Hence, "Pu shih shang chai" must refer to vegetarian food.

Fu Hsi recommended vegetarianism highly; according to the SHYL, he frequently advised people to abstain from meat-eating. In the Note of Vegetarian Meal, he advises:

"I do not give something away which I dislike,...
If someone injures me, I would not seek revenge
... If someone breaks the rule of non-killing,
he will certainly go to the Three Evil Realms
to suffer the endless cycle of transmigration.."60

Some asked him: "People who study Buddhism are not obliged to be vegetarians, so why do you, Ta-shih, insist on being vegetarian ?" In reply, he said:

"Why sentient beings constantly suffer in disasters..and the cycle of transmigration, is because some never understand the teaching of karma, and owing to gluttony they kill one another, which causes the endless cycle of lives. Hence being vegetarian is the way to avert the suffering of killing."61

Some even asked: "What's the reason for one falling ill after becoming a vegetarian ?" He replied:

"One is seriously ill, because of one's own evil karma from previous lives, not because of vegetarian meals. As long as one can repent after wrong acts, vow to quit evil-doing and improve oneself, then one will be freed from the suffering of illness."62

Then the question went further: "Is it allowed to eat the meat of dead animals ?" He wisely responded:

"Unless one ceases eating, the killing will not cease; if there is no eater, there will be no killer either."63

In his poems, the Ten Recommendations, three of the ten

mention the idea of non-meat-eating, such as the sixth: "Do not have the meat of sentient beings"; the eighth: "The one who is a meat-eater is really a Rākṣasa (a devil or cannibal); the ninth: "Do not recommend meat and wine to the saṅgha".⁶⁴

In conclusion, Fu Hsi was highly regarded for being a vegetarian. In fact, in his lifetime, whether the Emperor Wu of Liang ordered the decree of non-meat-eating to the saṅgha or not, owing to the spread of the sūtras and vinayas, the idea of vegetarianism would have been enforced in the saṅgha sooner or later. And if the TCJW was not issued before Fu's advocacy, it would have had a connection with Fu Hsi. Another alternative may be suggested that the emperor Wu of Liang's prohibition ceased to be observed when his reign collapsed in chaos, therefore, Fu needed to stress it again.

4. Self-immolation

Religious suicide can be defined as a resolve to sacrifice one's life for a spiritual incentive on religious grounds, which refers to self-immolation. As Jan Yün-hua specifies:

"Self-immolation signifies something deeper than merely the legal concept of suicide or the physical action of self-destruction."⁶⁵

According to the KSC and PCNC, this act was favoured by ascetics in the Six Dynasties of China, which does not mean that it was more prevalent in China than in India. On the contrary, a large number of people committed suicide in India, because "it was popularly believed that one who committed suicide in the temple attained heaven and enjoyed eternal bliss".⁶⁶

The reasons and objectives for self-immolation in Chinese history have varied. Believers terminated their lives as an expression of devotion and gratitude to the Lord Buddha, or to a specific scripture or as an act of faith. Others sacrificed their lives in protest against religious persecution, and even ended their lives because they abhorred their bodies and worldly life. The precedents of immolation in early China could be traced in the KSC and PCNC; according to which, this study drew up two tables in order to ascertain the motive of immolation. Twelve cases of self-immolation are given in the KSC, as follows:

Table.1

Name	Period	Method	Sūtra-practice	Reason
Seng-ch'ün	E.Chin	died of thirst	--	not to kill a duck
T'an-ch'êng	Chin	fed to a tiger	--	saving people of village
Fa-chin	--	cut his flesh	Lotus and SV	to feed hungry people
Seng-fu	Chin	stabbed himself	--	to save a child's life
Fa-yü	Chin	burnt himself	Lotus	self-immolation
Hui-shao	424-451	"	Lotus	"
Seng-yü	412-455	"	Lotus	"
Hui-i	- 462	"	Lotus	"
Seng-ch'ing	437-459	"	--	"
Fa-kuang	448-487	"	--	"
Fa-ts'un	- 493	"	--	"
T'an-hung	- 455	"	Amitābha	"

In the PCNC there are seven cases, as follows,

Table.2

Shan-miao	Liu Sung -440	burnt herself	--	self-immolation
Tao-chung	-462	"	--	"
Hui-yao	-477	"	--	"
T'an-chien	Ch'i -497	"	--	"
Ching-kuei	-497	"	--	"
T'an-yung	-501	"	--	"
Fêng-ni	409-504	burnt six fingers	Nirvāṇa	as an offering to the Buddha

From the above tables, it is clear that the act of self-immolation commenced in the fourth century. It was undertaken in the Chin Dynasty to advocate non-killing, or to save life, or even to expiate a sin. In the fifth century, however, it developed a devotional aspect like burning oneself as an offering to the Buddha or as an act of worship.

The main influence of self-immolation in the Chinese saṅgha can be attributed to the scriptures and to emulation of a bodhisattva. To understand how the connection between the idea of saving life and self-immolation developed in the Six Dynasties, influential sūtras must be considered as a paramount motive. The following four sūtras are taken to trace the root of immolation.

A. The Lotus Sūtra

As we are aware, the Lotus Sūtra has been widely known in Chinese culture since the third century. It seems to be responsible for some acts of self-immolation in the KSC. A

narrative of Bhaiṣajyarāja's sacrifice is contained in the "Chapter of the King of Healing" in this sūtra. It is related that the bodhisattva Bhaiṣajyarāja, during a previous existence, had once served the Candrasūrya-vimalaprabhāsaśrī Buddha. Under the Buddha's teaching, he obtained the supreme power and manifested in various forms. In order to express his appreciation to the Buddha, he decided to perform self-immolation as an offering. He then took various sorts of incense, applied oil to his body, and burnt his body as a living candle. The fire which destroyed his body lasted for 1,200 years. As a result of this extraordinary act, he attained bodhisattvahood in his next rebirth, and was designated bodhisattva Bhaiṣajyarāja.⁶⁷

Following in the footsteps of Bhaiṣajyarāja, there were a number of clergy who emulated the model of immolation either to express their gratitude to the Buddha or to acquire an enhanced incarnation. As recounted in the KSC, of eight immolated figures four were motivated by the Lotus Sūtra - half the total.

In addition, the HYC also contains the idea of sacrifice to inspire devotees to relinquish their bodies. It was a growing tendency to substitute immolation of the entire body by the simple sacrifice of a limb, a few fingers, or even a single finger.

B. The Avatamsaka Sūtra

The earliest edition, the Sixty HYC, was translated during 418-420 in the Eastern Chin period.⁶⁸ In the chapter, "Ten Dedications", a number of dialogues allude to the idea

of relinquishing the body. It narrates that great enlightened beings may give something to those who come and ask for it, such as jewels, goods, an eye, a head, or a limb, even a life, as following example:

"When great enlightened beings give up their own life to save sentient beings, they dedicate the roots of goodness in this way: 'May all sentient beings attain eternal, ultimate life and be forever free from disaster.....etc.. They give their eyes to those who come and ask for them, just as the enlightened beings... Moonlight King and countless others sacrifice ears and noses to those who are in need, as did the King of Superlative Action...etc. who were asked for tongues.... draw blood to give to sentient beings.....head to beggars... give their organs limbs...skin....fingers and toes..fingernails.... they cultivate the mind of the selfless."⁶⁹

As the above quotation states, this is an entirely dissimilar notion from that of the Lotus Sūtra. Instead of burning the whole body, the HYC developed the idea of self-immolation from torsos to organs, from a life to a single finger, which signifies the great compassion of a bodhisattva. A number of monks in the KSC and Fu's disciples would have taken inspiration from this sūtra to sacrifice a single finger, an ear... and a nose as a sacrifice to atone for sin.

C. The Golden Splendour Sūtra

This sūtra held a lofty position in Mahāyāna Buddhism on account of its doctrinal development and historical significance in China. The original text was for a long time unknown to the world despite its importance. Its importance to Mahāyāna Buddhism is revealed by the large number of translations and manuscripts which survive either wholly or partly. This sūtra was translated not only into Chinese and Tibetan, but also into such languages as Uighur, Mongol,

Sogdian, Khotanese and Tangut.⁷⁰ It was rendered into Chinese five times, three versions being extant:

Fascicles	Chapters	Dates	Translator	T.No.
4	19	414-426	Dharmarakṣa	T.16/663
7	22	(- 548)	Paramārtha	(lost)
5	22	561-577	Yaśogupta	(lost)
8	24	597	Pao-kuei	T.16/664
	(synthetic edition)			
10	31	703	I Ching	T.16/665

There is a chapter in this text entitled Vyāghrī (the chapter on the tigress), which describes the narrative of a bodhisattva who had sacrificed his life to save animals. According to this chapter, the Buddha spoke to Ānanda:

"In former times, there was a king named Mahāratha who had three sons...Once, when the three princes were wandering in an open forest, they saw a tigress who had given birth seven days earlier, surrounded by her five cubs, tortured by hunger and thirst, her body extremely weak...After seeing her,the third prince, Mahāsattva,.. fell down before the tigress. The tigress did nothing to him. He thought: 'She is too weak to rise up'...The merciful-minded one could not find a knife anywhere. He took and held up a very strong bamboo-stick, and with it he cut open his throat. He fell down before the tigress."⁷¹

This narrative is touching in that a noble prince sacrificed his life for animals. Unlike the HYC, this sūtra demonstrates clearly the equality of nature between human beings and animals, which corresponds to the principles of a bodhisattva. This sūtra was as influential scripture in the fifth century just as the Lotus Sūtra. Its bodhisattva paragon is a touchstone for Mahāyānists to fulfil their practice of bodhisattvahood.

D. Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra

The Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra was rendered from Sanskrit into classical Chinese by Dharmarakṣa in the years 416-423. The complete text now exists only in Chinese and Tibetan versions, apart from a few fragmentary pages in Sanskrit. This scripture has two Chinese versions: the northern and southern editions. The former was the original by Dharmarakṣa, whereas the latter was a work collated and revised by Hui-yen.⁷²

In the chapter entitled "Holy Actions" of this sūtra, the Buddha imparted the teachings of meditating exclusively on the five kinds of actions.⁷³ The bodhisattva Mahāsattva practised these five actions. In the Holy Action, one would rather uphold the precept and gain the Avīci Hell than break the precept and be reborn in heaven. It reads:

"The bodhisattva Mahāsattva vows:
I would rather bind myself with a piece of
heated iron than receive clothing from
the faithful, thus breaking the precept....
I would as well have my body cut into
pieces with a sharp hatchet rather than
defile my mind by greedily coveting
whatever is tangible..This is the bodhisattva
Mahāsattva's guarding against prohibitions."⁷⁴

Such a fearsome picture of relinquishing one's body to uphold the precepts exposes loyalty to the rules. One could seriously vow to endure dreadful pangs in order to abide by the precept, which could be an indirect allusion to self-immolation.

Another holy action is that of a great person, who, for the sake of all beings, relinquishes his treasures and life:

"There is a great person, who, for the sake of
all beings, does not conceive things for his
own good. To benefit beings, he practises
penance in innumerable ways...such a great one
abandons treasures, wife, children...elephants
and horses... He does not desire to be reborn

in heaven. What he desires is to gain all eternal happiness (enlightenment)."⁷⁵

As cited above, a perfect being could relinquish his own body, goods and life to benefit others. Such a clear presentation of self-immolation, either to uphold the precepts or to benefit others serves to remind its devotees that the material world is impermanent and to be free from attachment.

The four sūtras mentioned above were known in the Chin period. Influenced by the scriptures, a number of clergy dedicated their lives to fulfil holy deeds, either through sacrificing an ear, a finger or burning their whole body. In the light of the precedents, set forth in the last chapter, Fu dedicated his later life to promoting devotional immolation. Not only did Fu Hsi contribute his properties, he also intended to immolate himself to fulfil the bodhisattva principles. Since these sūtras were commonplace and many instances had been recorded, not surprisingly, Fu's act of immolation was completely in keeping with the trends of his time. Hence, it could be said that the act was prevalent in the sixth century.

After tackling the texts, according to the KSC and PCNC, three categories are set forth to examine the motives of those who committed self-immolation: imperial service, saving life in preparation for the bodhisattva principle, and devotional self-immolation.

(1) Imperial service

In his search for the Buddhist texts, a Chinese Buddhist cleric named Fa-hsien travelled from China through India to Sri Lanka, on to Sumatra and thence back to China. He recorded

many Indian cultural narratives which are compiled in his biography. According to the "Biography of Fa-hsien":

"When Fa-hsien arrived at the kingdom of Chieh-ch'a, the king of this country performed the Pañca-vārṣikā-pariṣad, which is in Chinese a Five Years Great Assembly. At the time of the assembly the king invited a great number of clergy.... The king with all his ministers made their offerings according to ritual...The king, when the assembly was over, further bade all his ministers to arrange offerings for presentation...When all offerings had been made, the king took his own horse, saddle and bridle, with those ridden by his prime minister and high officials..When they had been thus given as alms, they were redeemed from the priests with money."⁷⁶

The Quinquennial Great Assembly, also known as "Chai-hui", was a communal meal composed largely of devotional assemblies of both monks and laymen who gathered on regular or special occasions to participate in communal vegetarian meals, to distribute food to the poor, to chant sūtras and to be edified by homilies. Initially, in the Indian tradition, these were purely monastic ceremonies in which laymen played a role as donors only, providing elaborate meals for the clergy on appointed days. However, the "Chai-hui" of Chinese usage differed from the classical Vinaya in that the laity had a central rather than an ancillary role to play. In the Chinese tradition, it was often the case that roles were reversed; the monasteries took on the host's initiative and arranged vegetarian feasts on behalf of the laity. It is worth noting that the eccentric development of this practice in China seems to have been more a matter of a gradually accrued custom than of faithful dedication to scriptural rules. Therefore, Buddhism according to the Chinese custom was growing rapidly in sixth century China.⁷⁷

In this traditional assembly, a devout king normally offered the saṅgha not only material alms but also his personal service. The Chinese term "Shê shen" comprises two meanings: self-immolation and service (labour offering). The service especially applies to imperial offerings, because the noble king indentures himself to serve the clergy and work for the saṅgha.

Following the example of the Indian kings, the pious generosity of Emperor Wu of Liang is legendary. According to the Liang Shu, not only did he build a number of monasteries and make frequent and substantial donations in kind and in cash to the saṅgha, he even went so far as to "indenture himself" four times to the Buddhist temples, requiring the court to redeem him for huge sums, as in the following table:

Year	Temple	Days	Redemption
527	T'ung-t'ai	4	amnesty
529	"	15	one hundred thousand dollars
546	"	37	--
547	"	51	--

According to a text found in the KHMC, Shê shen yüan shu, in 509 the Emperor Wu of Liang held a vegetarian feast for approximately one hundred clergy, and also offered one hundred and seventeen different gifts to the saṅgha. In addition, according to the KHMC, the prince Hsiao Ch'ang-mou, also known as Nan Chün-wang,⁷⁸ of the Southern Ch'i and the Emperor Wu of Ch'en were also enthusiastic over this ritual.⁷⁹

The practice of labour offerings was begun by the monk T'an-ch'êng at the end of Eastern Chin period. According to

the KSC, in Table.1 above, T'an-ch'êng once met an old couple who were poor and sick. In order to tend them, T'an abandoned his monkhood and returned to secular life. He worked as a labourer to help them survive, while privately he cultivated virtue daily. After their deaths he spent all of his savings on their funeral and charity; then he intended to renounce the world again. Unfortunately, when he passed through a village on his way to seclusion, he heard that the villagers were in fear of a tiger. Without a second thought he sacrificed himself to the tiger. When the villagers reached him, it was too late, he was completely devoured except for his head. Afterwards, the tiger mysteriously disappeared.

This account exemplifies two virtues: selflessness and compassion. T'an abandoned the monkhood for the old couple, then, when he was just about to complete his wish of hermitage, he again sacrificed his life to save others. If he had not been a saint or a bodhisattva, this selfless accomplishment would not have been fulfilled.

To enlarge upon this skeletal outline, we find a progressive pattern of bounteous offerings which could not be afforded by ordinary people but only by a monarch. Abundantly material alms could only be offered between loyal kin, and were only performed during times of prosperity. In the Southern Dynasties, as the emperors were staunch Buddhists, the rite of "Shê shen" set an exceptional precedent in Chinese Buddhist history.

(2) The bodhisattva principle

Based on great compassion, a bodhisattva always considers

other's needs before his own, even sacrificing his life to save other beings. In the Golden Splendour Sūtra, the third prince Mahāsattva sacrificed himself without reluctance to save a tigress and her cubs. In addition to this touching story, a number of benevolent incidents truly happened in human life. As shown in Table.1 above, Fa-chin cut flesh off his body to feed others, thus alleviating people from famine.

Another poignant and dramatic narrative is that of the cleric Seng-fu. At that time, a band of robbers captured a boy in a village in order to offer human heart and liver to propitiate a god. When the cleric witnessed the event, he inquired about the abduction, and without hesitation, he offered to redeem the child. He thought: "When the time comes, this illusory body of mine must die. If I offer my life to rescue this child, my spirit shall live forever." He therefore snatched a knife from a bandit and cut open his chest down to his navel. On seeing this, the bandits were frightened and fled, and the child was saved.⁸⁰ This touching narrative reinforces how faithful a bodhisattva is and no one could achieve this degree of sacrifice without the bodhisattva compassion.

(3) Devotional self-immolation

Most clerics of the KSC who immolated themselves by fire were inspired by the Lotus Sūtra. As shown in tables 1 and 2, Fa-yü often desired to follow the path of Bhaiṣajyarāja to burn his body as an act of worship. Soon after obtaining permission from the governor, he ate incense-powder, wrapped

his body with clothes, chanted the "Chapter of the King of Healing", lit a fire and burned himself to death.

Seng-ch'ün, in the Table 1, was the first monk in Chinese history to abdicate his life during the Eastern Chin period. He lived in seclusion at the summit of a mountain. One day, he saw a duck with a broken wing lying on an extremely narrow bridge, which was his access to fetch water. It completely blocked his way to the water pool on the other side. There was no alternative route to reach the water. For the sake of the injured duck, he abstained from water. As he was about to expire, he told others that he had broken the wing of a duck, and that the injured duck on the bridge was a symbol of retribution for the sins which he had committed in his youth.

Apart from the authenticity of retribution, Seng-ch'ün's devotion and faith to Buddhism is praiseworthy. From the modern viewpoint, however, he may be criticized as an idiot to die for an unworthy duck. Yet, this is the essence of the bodhiśattva principle to treat all sentient beings without discrimination. Whether in the form of a duck, an ant, a worm ... etc., they are also lives no different from human beings, and should be respected and valued. On the other hand, although Buddhists regard life as a painful experience, they do not go to extremes concerning body and life, so that such a violent act as self-immolation is, in general, discouraged and prohibited. According to the Four Noble Truths, suffering is regarded as a condition to transcend the craving for existence and an end to attain nirvāṇa.

As a result of the idea of relinquishing life, in the KSC, the author Hui-chiao comments on this practice. After criticizing the selfishness of ordinary human beings, Hui-chiao draws attention to the attitude of holy persons toward life and body; he says:

"People who possess profound knowledge and wide views can abandon their own benefit for the good of others...They consider the spirit as feathers, the body as a jar of food. Hence, they pay no heed to their bodies, from head to feet. They give away their kingdoms, cities or wives as if these are only worthless straws. The clergy whom I refer to are such persons."⁸¹

Hui-chiao comments that these self-immolations are motivated by selfless instincts of compassion and mercy toward others. With regard to the act of Fu Hsi, under his guidance, his disciples fulfilled the principle of selflessness, immolating themselves for the sake of peace. This could have been commended and respected as an act of selfless mercy.

5. The idea of incarnation

The Chinese term "Hua shen", Nirmāṇakāya or incarnation, means to transform oneself into another form; it also signifies a Buddha's transformed or miraculous body, in which he appears at will and in any form outside his land. It is one of the threefold body or nature of a Buddha, Trikāya: Dharmakāya, Sambhogakāya and Nirmāṇakāya.⁸² Fu Hsi was regarded as a pre-incarnation of Maitreya in Chinese Buddhist history. In order to scrutinize how Fu Hsi came to be an image of Maitreya, it is necessary to trace how the idea of incarnation developed in Chinese Buddhism.

The idea of "Hua shen" has its conventional and scriptural backgrounds. According to the Chinese convention,

before the advent of Buddhism in China, there was a legend regarding a star-spirit manifesting in different figures in the Feng-su t'ung-i, which relates that Tung-fang Shuo was a white-star-spirit, who incarnated in many great figures and could assist the kingdom, and transfigured with alacrity.⁸³ In the Hīnayāna tradition, the term "Hua shen" appears in the Āgama Sūtras, but it simply represents the miracle of transfiguration. In the A nan t'ung hsüeh ching, translated during 148-170 by An Shih-kaio, the Buddha spoke to a monk who could not live up to the conduct of purity and intended to forsake the monkhood. Having listened to the Buddha's advice, the monk immediately achieved the mental state of Dharmacakṣus, and appeared in various forms in bliss in the heavens.⁸⁴ In the Pu sa pên hsing ching, translated between 317 and 420, the Buddha himself spoke of his previous existence. Once he manifested in two bodies: one went to the Vaiśālī Kingdom and the other to the Magadha Kingdom to rescue human beings from disaster.⁸⁵

However, two early prominent treatises, the Ta chih tu lun (Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa) and Ch'êng shih lun (Satyasiddhi-śāstra) widened the "Hua-shen" in a profound interpretation. They were translated in the early fifth century by Kumārajīva. The former was done in 411-412, the latter was finished in 402-405. According to the Ta chih tu lun, it reads:

"The Buddha possesses two forms, 'Chên shen' (real-body) and 'Hua shen' (transformed-body). The 'Chên shen' widely exists everywhere in the universe and its brilliance spreads in Ten Directions...it can enlighten peoplethus, when the 'Fa hsing shen fo'

(Dharma nature Buddha) preaches, the Three Vehicles and saints cannot understand but the 'Tenth Abode Bodhisattva' can... People who achieve the 'Fa hsing shen fo' will be freed from defilement."⁸⁶

In the quotation, the connotation of "Chên shen" seems to be akin to the "Fa shen" (Dharma-body or Dharmakāya). In its earliest conception Dharmakāya was the body of the dharma, or truth, as preached by Śākyamuni; later it came to signify the Buddha's mind or spirit in contrast to his material body. In the illustrious Hīnayāna commentary, the Ch'êng shih lun also illustrates this:

"People expect to see either the 'Chên shen' or 'Hua she' of the Buddha, by means of which they can easily achieve wisdom from illusion; because the Buddha can perceive the capacity of people and preaches accordingly."⁸⁷

From the above two texts, we can clearly discern that the concept of "Hua shen" from one meaning of miracle became two connotations: the real-body and transformed-body. The "Chên shen" almost corresponds to Dharmakāya. Apparently, the concept of the twofold body of a Buddha already existed in China in the early fifth century.

The term "Hua shen" was already incorporated into the Āgama Sūtras of the Chinese canons in the second and third centuries. After developing the theory of "Chên shen", the connotation of "Hua shen" was widened again in the four translations of Bodhiruci in the sixth century, as follows:

Sūtra	Dates	Fascicles	T.No.
Leng chia ching (Lañkāvatāra)	513	10	T.16/671
Chieh shen mi ching	514	5	T.16/675
Chin kang ching lun	509	3	T.25/1511
Chin kang hsien lun	508-535	10	T.25/1512

As the Chieh shen mi ching denotes:

"The action of 'Hua shen' of all Buddhas is like all other kinds of forms in the world".⁸⁸ (A9)

In the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, furthermore, it signifies:

"All bodhisattvas who are great compassion manifest their 'Hua shen'.⁸⁹ (A10)

In these two sūtras the definition of "Hua shen" has shifted to "all other kinds of forms", which corresponds to Dharmakāya. Moreover, a similar term "Three Buddhas" is presented in the Chin kang hsien lun:

"The Three Buddhas are Sê shen fo (material body or form), Fa shen fo (Dharmakāya) and Pao ying shen fo (Sambhogakāya)."⁹⁰

Obviously, the term "Three Buddhas" refers to Trikāya.

The earliest version of the Golden Splendour Sūtra, translated in 414-426, did not mention the idea of Trikāya; but its synthetic version, finished in 597, contains a chapter expounding this theory. Afterwards, in the Sui and T'ang periods, a number of commentaries emerged on the idea of Trikāya, written by famous clerics, such as the Ta sheng hsüan lun of Chi-tsang, the Fa yüan i lin chang of K'uei-chi (632-682) and the Hua yen wu shih yao lu of Chih-yen (602-668).⁹¹

Apparently, the idea of Trikāya was developed gradually from the Āgama Sūtras to the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, and culminated in the Golden Splendour Sūtra. Interestingly, later, in the Sung period, it seems to have become widely accepted, so that any prominent figure was awarded the honorary title of incarnation as a bodhisattva. The evidence to support this theory in the Fo tsu t'ung chi can be summarized as follows:⁹²

Name	Incarnation of Bodhisattva
1. Pao-chih	Avalokiteśvara
2. Bodhidharma	"
3. Fu Hsi	Maitreya
4. Fêng-kan	Amitābha
5. Han-shan	Mañjuśrī
6. Shih-tê	Samantabhadra
7. Tu Shun	Mañjuśrī
8. Wan-hui	Avalokiteśvara
9. Seng-chia	Avalokiteśvara
10. Ma Lang fu	Samantabhadra
11. Ch'üan-chên	Amitābha
12. Pu-tai	Maitreya
13. Lou-tao	Sun-light Bodhisattva
14. Mou-chên	Dīpaṃkara (Ting-kuang Buddha)
15. Chieh-hsiang Ya-nü	Vipaśyin Buddha
16. P'an Ang	Sun-light Buddha

In fact, in the early records on Pao-chih, Bodhidharma and Fu Hsi contained in the KSC and HKSC, no mention is made of incarnation. Nevertheless, in the Sung period, nearly all the miraculous figures were awarded the title of bodhisattva. The sixteen accounts of the FTTC were all unusual figures, who had feigned as fools in one way or another, but they did possess supernatural powers and performed miracles. In addition to the FTTC, in the Wang sheng chi of the Ming period, the eminent cleric of the Pure Land School, Shan-tao (613-681), is respected as an incarnation of Amitābha Buddha.⁹³ In the SKSC, the miraculous cleric, Seng-chia, is also regarded as an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara.⁹⁴ Presumably, it may be that miracles are beyond the understanding of human beings, and hence the devotees gave a prestigious title to those who performed miracles in order to satisfy their emotional expectation of meeting the Buddha or bodhisattvas.

Fu Hsi was designated a pre-incarnation of Maitreya. In the most reliable source, the PW, firstly, the author Hsü Ling claimed that Fu Hsi represented the lay bodhisattva Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī, who appeared in lay form to impart the Buddha's teaching. Secondly, Hsü Ling quoted: "The bodhisattva Maitreya humbly manifests in this world to rescue sentient beings". He then narrates: "The bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara has five hundred forms in the world, he manifests as a human being to edify sentient beings, Maitreya who also has five hundred forms in the world manifests various forms to benefit beings." Hsü Ling then gave his personal opinion by adding that: "it is difficult to describe in detail his underlying form and his manifestations."⁹⁵

Although in the PW the author recorded a number of miracles performed by Fu Hsi, he did not clearly state that Fu was a manifestation of Maitreya. Yet, he implies it very clearly from his quotations, it is evident that he did consider Fu Hsi to be Maitreya. On the one hand, because he was an official, he could not without any evidence profess his personal, emotional view in his work to substantiate the status of Fu Hsi. On the other hand, mysterious metaphysics is beyond the understanding of human beings; ordinary people can not perceive the conduct or outlook of a saint or a bodhisattva. That is the reasons that Hsü Ling definitely did not proclaim Fu Hsi's status. Yet, from the above conjecture, we can confirm that he did regard Fu Hsi as an incarnation of Maitreya.

A doubt arises at this juncture concerning the title of incarnation which Fu claimed for himself in his lifetime or that people rumoured before or after his death. The PW was made four years after his death; the idea was already incorporated into the PW, which refers to the fact that his title of Maitreya was known four years after he died, in 573, or perhaps a little earlier, in his lifetime.

Apart from the PW, the early texts PCL and the HKSC do not give any guideline on this matter. The only source left to trace is the SHYL. In the preface to the SHYL, the original author, Lou Ying, relates that Fu professed to be an incarnation of the Maitreya. Indeed, in the text, Fu Hsi frequently proclaimed his achievements as a bodhisattva, such as Anāsrava-jñāna and Śūraṅgama-samādhi. In addition, he told his uncle that he was an incarnation of Maitreya, and that the Buddha Shan-ming had been his teacher in his previous existence. He even told his disciples that he was an incarnation of bodhisattva. These accounts can be found in the last chapter.

From the PW to the SHYL we could conclude that after Fu's death his fame as an incarnation of Maitreya increased. Up to the T'ang period, his claim to being the Maitreya was viewed as an attractive story. However, the consideration is: did Fu himself claim to be an incarnation of Maitreya in his lifetime? This study believes that it is impossible he pronounced himself to be the Maitreya in his lifetime, for the following three reasons. Firstly, in his lifetime, the concept of Trikāya would not have been widespread. Although a similar

idea to Trikāya had existed in the Chin kang hsien lun and Ta chih tu lun before his time, it did not expound the complete dogma of Trikāya. If this theory had been well-known, some commentaries on this topic should have appeared. However, after the synthetic edition of Golden Splendour Sūtra circulated in the Sui period, a great number of commentaries on this topic were written. The only thing that can be confirmed is that the concept of "Hua shen" was known but was not widespread in Fu's time. Therefore, in the PW, Hsü Ling implied that Fu Hsi was an incarnation of Maitreya .

Secondly, according to Chinese culture, a great figure is always humble and would never proclaim his greatness and virtue. And people would only have commended and recorded his goodness and greatness after his death. Thirdly, according to the Chin kang ching lun, there is a verse:

"When a Buddha manifests a figure to preach,
he never reveals his status of the Buddha."⁹⁶ (A11)

This text is based on the doctrine of "emptiness", which is a teaching on detachment of the mind. Thus, without showing the status of the Buddha, people pay attention to the teachings instead of attempting to cling to the Buddha's image. Therefore, if Fu Hsi had been a real Maitreya, he would not have claimed his status as Maitreya; if not, he could not have lied since he was respected as a skilful meditator, a bodhisattva of great compassion and a prominent figure with profound Buddhist knowledge in his time.

This study proposes that people suspected Fu's Maitreya status, because of his devotion to Maitreya and his miracles; and at that time, Maitreya was a figure of worship. According

to the PW, before he died, he told his disciples in his will about the image of Maitreya, which was going to be delivered by a cleric. And he asked his disciples to make two statues of Maitreya on the crown of the two pagodas, where he expected his relics to be preserved. Accordingly, there can be no doubt that Fu Hsi was a pious devotee of Maitreya, because the cult was widespread after the Eastern Chin period. In addition to his devotion to Maitreya, his reported miracles and great compassion to all sentient beings naturally brought him the honorary title of incarnation of Maitreya.

6. The prestige of meeting Indian monks

In connection with the honorary title of Maitreya, one factor in particular should be considered as significant in enhancing Fu's prominence in Chinese Buddhism: the mysterious Indian cleric Sung T'ou-t'o. The earliest sources, the PW, PCL and HKSC, never mentioned the figure, but in the SHYL, there is a colourful narrative of a meeting with the Indian monk. According to the PW, Fu felt tired of the mundane world and sought seclusion in a forest to cultivate his spirituality. However, later, in a legendary episode of the SHYL, it seems that Fu met an eminent Indian cleric in 520. Thereafter, later sources, such as the CTCTL and Zen records, recounted this incident. No evidence is found in the preface to the SHYL concerning the episode. As we have known the present version of the SHYL was edited, so whether the account existed in the original SHYL is uncertain.

Apart from the SHYL, the HCC is the earliest source to contain this narrative. In the HCC, it states that Fu met "an

unusual monk" who told him he was an incarnation of Maitreya; it also mentions that Lou Ying made seven fascicles of the SHYL. The HCC was finished about 837, in the late T'ang period. Hence, in the ninth century, around 837, the legend of Fu Hsi had already added the mysterious figure, Sung t'ou-t'o. It might be possible that "the unusual monk" was edited in the original SHYL in the middle of the eighth century, 742-755. Before writing the HCC, its author would have been familiar with the SHYL. Hence, it is entirely possible that the HCC copied the narrative from the SHYL; later, the new edition of SHYL again added the date of 520.

According to the chronicle of the CTCTL,⁹⁷ in 520 the mysterious figure, Bodhidharma, came to China, and that same year Fu Hsi met the Indian monk Sung t'ou-t'o. The Zen School was prevalent in the late T'ang and the Sung periods. The Zen Sect might have added a colourful episode to the account of Fu Hsi in order to increase its reputation, since Zen followers believed Fu was a significant character in their sect. For the sake of enhancing its mystery, the Zen School, furthermore, might set the date as the 520 to make a connection between the unusual monk and Bodhidharma, which perhaps intended to imply that the unusual figure was Bodhidharma. A biography of Sung T'ou-t'o is compiled in the SHYL, which clearly says "the cleric is named 'Ta-mo' (Dharma). It is easy for people to mistake the unusual monk for Bodhidharma, as Bodhidharma's fame has been very widespread in Chinese culture and he is simply called Ta-mo. Many folk-dramas have adopted the story of Ta-mo; moreover, some even

said after meeting Bodhidharma, Fu recited the Diamond Sūtra.

To acquire instruction from an Indian monk seems to have been a common practice to increase one's fame in Buddhist history. There are a number of instances of encounters with Indian monks in the biographies of monks. For instance, in the Fa hua ch'uan chi, the life of Hui-szu is narrated:

"When he was a boy, he dreamt that an Indian monk advised him to renounce the world and practise enlightenment."⁹⁸

According to the Hsü ch'uan têng lu, a record of the Zen masters, Ch'ing-hsien is said:

"His mother dreamt an Indian monk gave her a pearl, which she swallowed. Afterwards, she found herself pregnant...While she was giving birth, a white brilliance radiated throughout the room...."⁹⁹

In another earlier record, the PCL, the life of an Imperial Secretary Wang Yüan is recorded:

"His father Wang Min had no son, his wife had prayed often to the Avalokiteśvara to be granted a son. Once, Wang Min met an Indian monk on his way home, who told him: 'I shall become your son after I die.' Three months later, the monk died and his wife was pregnant. When the baby was just born, he could speak and later he was wise and could understand sixteen languages."¹⁰⁰

In sum, such encounters with Indian monks to enhance one's fame seem to have been quite widespread in early China. In the second and third centuries, Indian clergy were treated well in China. For those who possessed an aptitude for the various languages could render the sūtras into Chinese, and those who possessed supernatural powers could perform miracles and be consulted on political affairs, like An Shih-kao and Fo-t'u Ch'êng. It seems a trend in early Chinese Buddhism

that one who could perform miracles was respected as an eminent cleric. Hence, one would be proud of encountering such Indian ascetics, for he might teach him the skill of performing miracles. Perhaps this incident inspired devotees alleging Fu's meeting with the Indian monk. Then, owing to his miracles, earnest faith in Maitreya and even having instruction from an eminent Indian ascetic - all these factors together contributed to the honorary title of Maitreya for Fu Hsi. From the above comments, one can perceive the significance of Fu Hsi in the cultural tradition.

To recapitulate, we have so far examined Fu Hsi's practices under six headings to shed light on the trend of Buddhism in the Southern and Northern periods. This study first dealt with the development of the concept of Mo-fa, then deliberated the current practices of Buddhism in the sixth century, such as repentance, vegetarianism, self-immolation, incarnation and meeting Indian monks. In those developments we found a model of faith which led to the establishment of religious concepts, thereby meeting the needs of believers, and which may help to understand early Buddhism in China.

Notes:

1. A list of the available sources is given in Jan Nattier, *Once Upon A Future Time - Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of decline* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991), p.27.
2. Ibid, pp.90-118.
3. Ibid, pp.102-3.
4. The Questions of King Milinda, Part 1, translated by T.W.Rhys Davids, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol.XXXV (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1890), p.190.
5. For further information see Chappell David Wellington, "Pali Timetables of Decline" in *Tao-ch'o: A Pioneer of Chinese Pure Land Buddhism* (Ph.D dissertation, Yale University, 1976), pp.163-166.
6. See Richard F.Gombrich, *Precept and Practice: Traditional Buddhism in the Rural Highlands of Ceylon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p.282, note.28.
7. D.L.Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion*, p.152, and J.Nattier, *Once Upon A Future Time*, pp.72-103.
8. D.W.Chappell, "Timetables of Decline in Chinese Translations", in *Tao-ch'o*, pp.168-173.
9. J. Nattier gives a detailed description of the timetables of decline in her book, *Once Upon A Future Time*, pp.27-64.
10. See K.Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp.297-8; and E.Zucher, "Prince Moonlight", *T'oung-pao* 68 (1982), pp.16-21.
11. For the history of the Northern Dynasties, see K.Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp.145-151.
12. LSYW, see T.46/1933, p.786. For the life of Hui-szu, see T.50/2060, pp.562-4, T.51/2067, pp.21-2, and summary from K. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp.303-4.
13. J. Nattier, *Once Upon A Future Time*, pp.110-1.
14. See K.Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, p.303.
15. For his sufferings in Ta-su Mt. see T.51/2071, pp.114b-115a.
16. An interesting argument concerning the background of Hui-szu's three-period system is given in J.Nattier's book, pp.114-5.
17. For the problems of the text see, Sato Seijun, *Chūgoku Bukkyō shisō-shi no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1985), pp.229-253.

18. This refers to note.19, p.103, Chapter Four.
19. This refers to note.21, p.104, Chapter Four.
20. See K.Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp.298-299. Yabuki Keiki, *Sankaikyo no Kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1927), pp.15-45, 199-231. Mark E. Lewis, "The Suppression of the Three Stages Sect: Apocrypha as a Political Issue", in R.Buswell, *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, pp.207-238.
21. T.12/383, pp.1013b-1014a.
22. T.12/396, p.1119.
23. For its historical background, see W.E. Soothill, *The Lotus of the Wonderful Law* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1930), pp.6-10.
24. T.9/262, p.37c.
25. T.9/262, p.34a.
26. J.Nattier, *Once Upon A Future Time*, pp.117.
27. T.50/2060, p.679a.
28. T.50/2060, pp.680c, 683b, 683c.
29. For the term see *Chūgoku Zenshu daijiten* (Tokyo: Komazawa University, 1978) p.391.
30. Varṣā means a retreat during the three months of the Indian rainy season, or in the depth of winter. During the rains it was difficult to move without injuring insect life. See Ting Fu-pao, *Fo hsueh ta tz'u tien*, p.490d.
31. Karl Ludvig Reichelt, *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism* (Shanghai: The Commercial Press Ltd., 1927), p.224.
32. For this story, see T.45/1909, p.922.
33. For the text see T.46/1941, p.949.
34. For the text see, T.45/1910, p.967.
35. JBD, p.252.
36. T.52/2103, p.332.
37. T.52/2103, p.330.
38. For repentance texts of the Emperor Wen of Ch'en, see Kamata Shigeo, *Chung kuo fo chiao tung shih*, Chinese edition, pp.254-7.

39. For the details of translations see Liu Ming-wood, *The Teaching of Fa-tsang -- An Examination of Buddhist Metaphysics* (Xerox University, 1979), pp.36-47.

40. T.10/279, p.436. The Three periods is the six divisions of a day. There are separated into two parts: sunrise, the daytime, and sunset belong to the day; while the beginning, middle, and late hours of the night are grouped as the three divisions of the night. JBD, p.253.

41. T.2/99, p.148.

42. T.2/99, pp.306-307.

43. T.1/62, p.859c.

44. T.15/643, p.691.

45. T.15/619. p.330.

46. For the text see, T.15/613, p.242.

47. T.9/277, pp.390, 393.

48. See R.E.Emmerick, *The Sūtra of Golden Light* (London: Luzac & Company Ltd., 1970), p.ix.

49. T.16/663, p.336.

50. For the details of meat-eating see, Suwa Gijun, *Chūgoku chusei Bukkyō shi kenkyū* (Tokyo: 1988), pp.41-5, and *Chung wen ta tz'u tien*, vol.38, p.607.

51. See *Chung wen ta tz'u tien*, Vol.38, p.608a.

52. JBD, p.259.

53. See D.Seyfort Ruegg, "Ahimsa and Vegetarianism in the History of Buddhism", in *Buddhist Studies in Honour of Walpola Rahula* (London: Garden Fraser, 1980), pp.234-241.

54. D.T.Suzuki, *Studies in the Lañkāvatāra Sūtra* (London: Butler & Tanner Ltd., 1930), pp.368-9.

55. T.22/1428, pp.567-1014.

56. For further information see Suwa Gijun, *Chūgoku chusei Bukkyō shi kenkyū*, pp.50-54.

57. See Suwa Gijun, *Chūgoku chusei Bukkyō shi kenkyū*, p.80.

58. T.52/2103, p.297c.

59. T.52/2103, p.299a.

60. SHYL, p.15.

61. SHYL, p.20.
62. SHYL, p.20.
63. SHYL, p.20.
64. SHYL, pp.24-25.
65. Jan Yün-hua, "Buddhist Self-immolation in Medieval China", *History of Religions* 4-2 (1965), pp.254-256.
66. Upendra Thakur, *The History of Suicide in Indian* (Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, 1963), P.85.
67. Jan Yün-hua, "Buddhist Self-immolation in Medieval China", p.255; and W.E.Soothill, *The Lotus of the Wonderful Law*, pp.236-7.
68. See above p.133, for its translations.
69. Thomas Cleary, *The Flower Ornament Scripture* (Boston: Shambhala, 1985), pp.589-605.
70. See R.E. Emmerick, *The Sutra of Golden Light*, p.x.
71. R.E.Emmerick, *The Sutra of Golden Light*, pp.87-89.
72. See Table.1, p.140 of this chapter.
73. The Five Actions: holy, pure, heavenly, child actions and action of illness. See Yamamoto Kosho, *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* (Yamaguchi-ken, Japan: The Karinbunko, 1973), pp.254-370.
74. T.12/374, p.433; Yamamoto Kosho, *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, pp.284-6.
75. T.12/374, p.449; Yamamoto Kosho, *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, p.351.
76. T.51/2085, p.857; and *Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms* (London: Trubner & Co., 1877), translated by H.A.Giles, p.13.
77. Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1962), pp.71-74.
78. For his biography see Nan Ch'i Shu (Peking: 1972), chapter 21, pp.397-404.
79. T.52/2103, pp.323-4.
80. T.50/2059, p.404.
81. T.50/2059, p.406; Jan Yün-hua, "Buddhist Self-immolation", p.261.

82. Trikāya, see W.E.Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, pp.77-8.
83. For the legend see this text, chapter 2, in *Szu-k'u ch'üan shu*, Vol.862, p.364.
84. T.2/149, pp.874b-5.
85. T.3/155, p.119c.
86. T.25/1509, pp.278a, 716.
87. T.32/1646, p.240.
88. T.16/676, p.708.
89. T.16/671, p.567.
90. T.25/1512, pp.855-6.
91. For these texts see T.45/1853, p.15, T.45/1861, p.245, T.45/1869, p.519.
92. T.49/2035, p.462.
93. T.51/2072, p.130.
94. T.50/2061, p.822.
95. See the translation of the PW, p.66, Chapter Three.
96. T.25/1511, p.796c.
97. There were three versions of the CTCTL, Sung, Yüan and Ming editions. The original version was made by Tao-yüan in 1004. According to Suzuki Tetsuo, the chronicle is not included in the earliest version, it might have added after 1084. For further information see Suzuki Tetsuo, "Kei toku den tō roku no katsu chū ni tsuite", in *Shūgaku kenkyū* 13 (1972), pp.77-82.
98. T.51/2068, p.59.
99. T.51/2077, p.568c.
100. T.52/2110, p.537.

CHAPTER SIX

FU HSI'S STANDING IN THE SIX SCHOOLS OF CHINESE BUDDHISM

As a lay Buddhist, Fu Hsi is alleged to have played an unusually significant role in Chinese Buddhism, for according to our sources not only did he shed light on the Mahāyāna epistemology, he also developed the concept of Mahāyāna dhyāna in China. Subsequently, Chinese Buddhism reached its zenith with the establishment of the "Eight Schools" emphasizing particular teachings of the Buddha, among which Fu Hsi had a remarkable standing. The motive of this chapter is to highlight his poems relating to particular schools from the Eight Schools, from which we evaluate Fu's standing in Chinese sectarian Buddhism. With this aim in mind, no attempt is made to translate the abundant poetry attributed to him. However, for an understanding of his thought in its entirety, other writings related to Buddhism will be briefly mentioned.

Fu Hsi's writings have long been an enigma among modern scholars and some of his poems have even been regarded as apocryphal.¹ Owing to the lack of sources, it is impossible to ascertain the authenticity of his compositions, yet this study has attempted to deal with this problem by reference to the poetic style current in the sixth century. After carefully investigating the sources related to Fu Hsi's writings, we discover that the poetry attributed to him had great influence upon six of the "Eight Schools", each of which will be deliberated individually later. Before tackling our main subject, a preliminary concern, whether or not Fu bequeathed a literary legacy at all shall be initially dealt with.

In the FW, there are a few clues indicating that Fu did bequeath a corpus of writings, but no detail is given. The author Hsū Ling sums up Fu's feats in these words:

"[He] copied out the reverend sūtras,
(Shan hsieh tsun fa)...He taught the people..
Mahāyāna sūtras.. should be spread and written
(Ta sheng fang têng...hsi tê ch'uan hsieh)....
He also copied more than one thousand fascicles
of the sūtras of the Five Periods, (Fu tsao wu
shih ching tien, ch'ien yu yū ch'üan).....² (A12)

Besides, in discussion of the Dharma with the emperor Wu of Liang, the PW also implies he composed poems by saying:

"The emperor himself again invited Ta-shih....to discuss abstruse Dharma, which was not spoken in verse (Geya), but their words had Gāthā (poem)"³

Moreover, the author adds that Fu was proficient in meditation and had numerous faithful disciples and that his teachings were based on a profound compassion encompassing diverse aspects of Buddhism.* From the above quotations, it would appear that Fu was a skilful meditator, a liberal and knowledgeable teacher, as well as a compassionate human being and a poet. In the Buddhist tradition, devotees copy sūtras in order to accumulate merits for a better rebirth. Fu also followed this ritual of copying sūtras, thus, he could be regarded as a traditional Buddhist devotee.

In the HCC, the author Yüan Chên also narrates that he himself collected thirteen fascicles writings concerning Fu. Hence, we may affirm that Fu Hsi did bequeath a corpus of writings, and that those were known as evinced by the PW. Whether he wrote them by his own hand or his students recorded them from his speeches is not a concern; we may only confirm that those writings in a broad sense encompass his thought.

We can assume that being Chinese Fu Hsi would have been well versed in his native religion and philosophy prior to studying Buddhism. In his day, the impact of the Three Religions was quite strong, so it would not be surprising if he had used his native beliefs and knowledge as tools to comprehend Buddhism. As Confucianism and Taoism represented merely a minor portion of his teachings, Buddhism was the moving force in his life. Three Religions will be discussed later.

According to our sources, a number of poems and essays ascribed to him bear out the fundamental teaching of Buddhism. For instance, the poem Szu hsiang shih contains the pivotal teaching of the Buddha as its title indicates "Four Appearances (four elements)": birth, old age, sickness and death. Likewise, a short poem entitled Greed Hatred Ignorance, known as the three poisons and the roots of Saṃsāra, narrates one of the rudimentary teachings of Buddhism. Another poem, Ten Recommendations (Shih ch'üan), is divided into ten short verses exhorting people to practise the Six Pāramitās and elude Saṃsāra. A verse called Fu ou ko, the Song of the Bubble, depicts human life as an evanescent bubble without permanence. The above four poems contain similar teachings about Buddhism.² There are some other short untitled verses in the first fascicle of the SHYL, which reveal affinities to the above poems.

These writings might have been composed for the ordinary people. According to our sources, after attaining a degree of awareness by beholding the three Buddhas in 527, Fu began to

preach.⁶ During the period from 527 to 540, he visited the capital on three occasions and converted numerous people.⁷ At that time, profound Buddhism and penetrating meditation were not common among ordinary people, unlike the more popular rudimentary teachings. From these writings, we can surmise Fu's renown among his contemporaries, not only devout practitioners but also the ordinary people.

Fu's poetic metre and terms had an affinity with those employed in the Southern and Northern Dynasties. Two poems composed by the Emperor Wu of Liang, Wu yeh szu shih ko (Four Seasons at Midnight) and Shih yū (Ten Parables), depict the idea of the transience of life and a deceptive world. Another six poems written by the emperor Chien-wen entitled Shih K'ung (Ten Emptinesses) are also based on the same concept of impermanence and illusion, and borrow Buddhist metaphors such as illusion, dream, shadow, echo... etc.. The title and metre of Hsing lu nan appeared frequently in the fifth century; Wu Chün composed five poems, Fei Ch'ang two poems and Pao Chao (d.466) eighteen with the same title and metre.⁸ The ideas expressed in these poems can be likened to those in Fu's poems. Thus, from the study of Fu's poems one can perceive in them the poetic trends of that time.

Besides his poetry, according to our sources, we discover Fu had some exceptional achievements, such as Śūraṅgama-samādhi and a high esteem in the six schools of Chinese Buddhism. Fu apparently claimed he had achieved a heightened sense of clarity in meditation, Śūraṅgama-samādhi.⁹ In order to shed light on his prestige in Chinese

Buddhist history, his achievement of this samādhi shall be initially discussed.

Dhyāna, signifying contemplation or meditation, Ch'an in Chinese or Zen in Japanese, refers to a religious practice aimed at achieving a state of one's own inner consciousness. This is a practice to transcend the senses and discover the spiritual nature that links the finite and the infinite. Regular practice of dhyāna exercises enables one to attain a sublime or blissful state of equanimity and wisdom, leading to elevated thought and enlightenment.¹⁰

From the first century onwards, in the Han Dynasty, Buddhism was slowly introduced to China by merchants and Buddhist practitioners from Central Asia. At that time, Buddhist Sanskrit texts were rendered into Chinese by a number of prominent Indian monks, among whom An Shih-kao and Lokarakṣa (Lokakṣema) were distinguished. Their works represent two distinct streams: the former focused on Hīnayāna doctrine, the latter worked on Mahāyāna scriptures.

An Shih-kao is suggested to have arrived in China in the early reign of Emperor Huan (r.147-167). He was particularly well versed in Abhidharma and the Dhyāna scriptures, and adept in the practice of that discipline. According to the Tao-an's scriptural catalogue, An Shih-kao was steeped in the specifics of Dhyāna, and translated more than thirty scriptural works.

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Among the dhyāna sūtras attributed to An Shih-kao, a number are regarded as pivotal to the development of Zen philosophy in early China. Firstly, An pan shou yi ching was

the essence of meditation. Generally, An means inhalation, Pan is exhalation. Yet, in the sūtra, the title itself is interpreted in a wider context:

"An means avoidance of sin, Pan means non-entry into sin, Shou-yi means mindfulness referred to the way. Also An means concentration, Pan means not allowing oneself to get agitated, and Shou-yi means not disturbing one's mind. Thus 'An pan shou yi' refers to leading the mind to where it attains no-ado."¹³

Secondly, Yin ch'ih ju ching, two fascicles, was a vital work in early Chinese Zen. It is a scripture of the Hīnayāna tradition that tells the Buddhist teaching about the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and mind, i.e. It also gives guidelines on how to overcome suffering and attain absolute liberation.¹⁴

Based on a similar idea, a number of Dhyāna sūtras were translated by eminent Indian clergy, such as the Ch'an fa yao chieh by Kumārajīva.¹⁵ Obviously, Dhyāna was known by the Chinese since very early times, as were the six organs or senses, inhalation and exhalation and the view of the Three Poisons, all of which were primary subjects for meditative practice in early China. Twenty-one Zen masters in the KSC and 95 Dhyāna experts in the HKSC are recorded. Most of them were devoted followers of the traditional Indian school of Dhyana (Hīnayāna Dhyāna). All this would seem to indicate that meditative practices in Indian Buddhism were faithfully followed by Chinese Buddhists.

While An Shih-kao was translating the Hīnayāna canons, Lokarakṣa was working on Mahāyāna canonical writings; he is respected as a pioneer of Mahāyāna Dhyāna in China. According

to his account in the Ch'u san tsang chi chi (CSTCC), his translations totalled fourteen volumes during 169-190.¹⁵ Among those translations, two sūtras are regarded as the essentials of the Mahāyāna Dhyāna, the Shou leng yen ching (Śūraṅgama) and Pan chou san mei ching (Pratyutpannasamādhi).

¹⁶ These two sūtras rank amongst the foremost; in the course of the fourth centuries fresh translations were made, and at that period their influence was especially paramount.

According to É Lamotte, "Śūraṅgama-samādhi-sūtra is an epithet of concentration as understood by the Mahāyānists either because one who keeps it goes everywhere like a hero (śūra) without meeting with resistance or because it is traversed (gata) by such great heroes as bodhisattvas and Buddhas."¹⁷ In the Shou leng yen san mei ching, this samādhi (or Su-samādhi) is highly recommended; it reads:

"The Buddha-nature is Su-samādhi,
which is the king of all samādhis."¹⁸

The earliest version of this text by Lokarakṣa in two fascicles is now lost. However, there is a work entitled Shou leng yen san mei ching translated by Kumārajīva, which is the only one extant. According to chapter two of the CSTCC, a list of seven translations of this work under the title of Shou leng yen ching are ascribed to seven different translators, ranging in time from Lokarakṣa, in the latter half of the second century, to the beginning of the fifth century, as shown in the following table:¹⁹

Title	Fascicles	Period	Translator
1. Shou leng yen ching	2	185	Lokarakṣa
2. "	2	Wu 222	Chih Ch'ien
3. "	2	Wu	Pai Yen
4. Yung fu ting ching	2	291	Dharmarakṣa
5. Shou leng yen ching	2	291	Chu Shu-lan
6. Hsin shou leng yen ching	2	405	Kumārajīva
7. Shu shou leng yen ching	2		unknown
8. Ho shou leng yen ching	8	Eastern Chin	Chih Min-tu
(A synthesis of above versions of 1,2,4 and 5)			

The abundance of translations, clearly demonstrates how significant this sūtra was at that time. As Zenryū Tsukamoto relates:

"If only on the basis of this number of translations, one may deduce several facts: first, that the Śūraṅgama-samādhi was widely current at this time, that of the early Mahāyāna, in both India and Central Asia as a Mahāyāna scripture; second, that it was circulated principally by Buddhists of the Yüeh-chih school; third, that the early Chinese Buddhist temple was not a little influenced by it; fourth, that it was particularly influential in directing China toward the Mahāyāna."²⁰

This quotation indicates that the sūtra was not only widely current and read among Buddhist monks and laymen, but also respected as a powerful sūtra in the fourth and fifth centuries.²¹ In addition, a number of other sources reveal its importance for Su-samādhi, namely the KHMC relates:

"A meat-eater has less possibility to achieve Śūraṅgama-samādhi."²²

Moreover, the KSC mentions that the cleric Fa-hsien visited the Indian Grdhrakuta (Vulture Peak) to pay his homage to the Buddha, and he recited the Shou leng yen ching there.²³ All these instances indicate that the text was highly venerated by people in medieval China.

The Shou leng yen ching is a work that tells of the heightened spiritual state attained by one who achieves Su-samādhi, which is the state reached by a bodhisattva of the Tenth Stage. By virtue of this practice one can vanquish all illusions, just as a brave general conquers his enemies. In the Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra (or MHS), the samādhi is praised as the highest concentration among 108 samādhis.²⁴ According to the Ta chih tu lun, Su-samādhi is one of powerful samādhis in the Mahāyāna tradition; it epitomizes valiant and resolute concentration which can vanquish all defilement.²⁵ The Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra also mentions that Su-samādhi is paramount among Mahāyāna samādhis and is a major source of all supernatural powers of Buddha.²⁶ The eminent cleric, Chih-i, praises the Su-samādhi repeatedly in the Mo ho chih kuan.²⁷ It is evident that Su-samādhi is highly esteemed in the Mahāyāna tradition.

In Fu's lifetime, the sūtras related to Su-samādhi mentioned above were already current in China. Although Su-samādhi was known in Fu's time, Mahāyāna Dhyāna was not widely practised at that time. According to the Shou leng yen ching, a link between Maitreya and the samādhi is elucidated:

"A bodhisattva who attains Su-samādhi shall be able to make a display of Parinirvāṇa and yet never perish, display a variety of physical forms and yet be incorruptible, disport himself in the lands of all Buddhas.... It is attainable only by a bodhisattva whose impeccable conduct is wholly virtuous and who has attained the Tenth Stage... Su-samādhi enables its practitioner... to display himself at sport in a variety of physical forms,...to transform himself at will in any and all worlds....to display all of the supernatural powers of the Buddhas,.."²⁸

And it goes on to say:

.....To a bodhisattva who attains Su-samādhi, it is no matter whether he lives in community or in solitude, no difference whether he manifests as a monk or a layman,... in order to save sentient beings there is no difference between monk and layman..... When a bodhisattva intends to manifest as an ordinary person, he must practice Su-samādhi... How to practice Su-samādhi ? ...A bodhisattva who desires to achieve Su-samādhi must fulfil the standards of ordinary people. When he fulfils the rules of the ordinary people, he realizes that Buddhism is not distinct from daily life, which is to practice the Su-samādhi Maitreya has achieved Su-samādhi. He manifests in various guises as a monk, layman.....in heaven or the human realm by his incredible power..."²⁰

In the light of Fu's life and the above quotations, a few salient points can be considered to examine Fu's alleged status as Maitreya. According to our sources, Fu manifested as an ordinary layman, not as a monk, who had a profound knowledge of Buddhism and was adept in meditation; he achieved the Tenth Stage of bodhisattvahood and Su-samādhi; he was able to emit a brilliant radiance from his body and manifested as a giant of sixteen feet; he beheld the seven Buddhas. These details all concur with the teachings in the above-mentioned sūtra. Moreover, Maitreya attains Su-samādhi and performs miracles, which are also related in the sūtra. Nonetheless, another account is found in the Wen-su shih-li pan nieh-p'an ching, which states that Mañjuśrī who has achieved the samādhi manifests as a giant of sixteen feet and radiates a golden ray from his body in ten directions.²⁰ This account tallies with Fu's life; his deeds and claims certainly coincide with the above citations. Although the three earliest sources, the PW, PCL and HKSC, never mention his achievement of Su-samādhi,

that he was able to manifest in a huge body and emitted a brilliant radiance is certainly recorded. Thus, we may conclude that for the authors of these sources he attained a certain stage of samādhi and performed miracles that were veritable and trustworthy.

Curiously, in Chinese Buddhist history, no one is known to have achieved Su-samādhi except Fu Hsi. Whether he achieved Su-samādhi or not, the practice was indeed predominant in the Southern and Northern Dynasties. Fu was a pragmatic pioneer in the development of Mahāyāna Dhyāna in China. Bodhidharma, the widely accepted pioneer of Chinese Zen, was a mysterious figure, and was respected as the first patriarch in Chinese Zen history. However, if Bodhidharma had not come to China, Chinese Zen would have flourished and reached its glorious pinnacle through contributions from the two Mahāyāna Zen masters, Pao-chih and Fu Hsi.³¹ One might conjecture that if Bodhidharma had not existed in China, then the Zen School would have needed a prime patriarch, who should have been a monk. Of course, Pao-chih was a monk and could be considered as a patriarch, but his life was an enigma and, more importantly, he was a mere indigenous cleric, not an Indian ascetic emigré. Although Fu Hsi's achievements are remarkable and praise-worthy, he was only a layman, and therefore, it would have been impossible for him to be accepted as a prime patriarch in the Zen School. In these circumstances, a mysterious figure, Bodhidharma, made his appearance. In the CTCTL, it is chronicled that in the same year, 520,³² Bodhidharma came to China and Fu Hsi encountered an Indian

monk called "Ta-mo" and so began his quest as a devout practitioner. In any case, this still remains a doubt in Chinese Buddhist history.

At the beginning of its history, Chinese Zen Buddhism was closely associated with the Lañkāvatāra Sūtra, which was regarded as a key to Buddhahood. However, the sixth patriarch, Hui-neng, frequently mentions and discourses on the teachings of the Prajñāpāramitā philosophy in the Platform Sūtra. Subsequently, the Zen School gradually became detached from this text, turning instead to the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra for its fundamental dogma, which is generally considered as a systematic presentation of the doctrine of Mādhyamika, and contains a distinctive feature of Prajñā teaching.³³

In the late third and early fourth centuries, Buddhism began to permeate the life and thought of the cultured upper classes. The doctrine of "Emptiness" as expounded by the Mādhyamika School became especially favoured in aristocratic circles. The philosophy of Prajñā had been transmitted into China during the last decades of the third century. Initially, the core teaching of Prajñā, śūnyatā or emptiness, had been replaced by Taoist concepts of stillness, saintliness, non-being, void and non-activity, until the three treatises, Chung lun, Fai lun and Shih erh men lun, were translated by Kumārajīva during 409.³⁴

In describing the Chinese development of the concept of Prajñāpāramitā, this study does not aim to elucidate Mādhyamika philosophy, nor is it our purpose to analyze the transmission of the Mādhyamika doctrine in China. Here, the

discussion of Prajñā is just touched upon as a background in order to scrutinize Fu Hsi's works. Prajñā refers to a sublime concept, which observes the intrinsic nature of phenomena in their aspect of Śūnyatā. Śūnyatā transcends reason and is the ultimate reality of all phenomena. The primary teaching of Prajñā is Śūnyatā or emptiness, which derives from the Hīnayāna doctrine of Pratītya-samutpāda (co-origination): that all phenomena are dependent on causes and conditions at their origin. Due to the truth of co-origination, all existences lack an independent essence. When these causes and conditions cease, so does the existence. This concept provides the central core of the Mādhyamika teaching that, "what is produced by causes is not generated by itself, and therefore can not exist as an independent entity."²⁵

The term Mādhyamika signifies the doctrine of the Middle Path, that is, between the two extremes of existence and non-existence, affirmation and negation. The distinguished Indian cleric, Nāgārjuna, relates this Middle Path to the doctrine of dependent origination, which he represents by means of the Eight Negations:

Non-extinction, non-origination;
non-destruction, non-eternal;
non-identity, non-differentiation;
non-coming into being, non-going
out of being.²⁶

By means of the Eight Negations Nāgārjuna sought to explain the truth of Śūnyatā, which is also interpreted as relative. A thing is Śūnya in that it can be identified only in its relation to something else; it becomes meaningless without these cross relations. In the Chung lun, Nāgārjuna applies

logic to illustrate that all such relationships are illusory and erroneous. He then insists that any contradiction is a perfect proof of error, and proceeds to find contradictions in every concept. Through realization of the empty, unreal or relative nature, all phenomena lead to Prajñā.²⁷

Prajñā teaching not only influenced the Zen sect, it is also the core of each of the Eight Schools. A number of Fu's poems apply to the doctrine, namely Hsin wang ming, Hsing lu nan, Tu tzu shih and Hsing lu i. In particular, the renowned poem Hsin wang ming (the Aphorism of the Mind-king) is highly respected as the touchstone of Zen poetry. The following section will discuss each poem mentioned above and its affinity with a particular school. Since this section aims to focus on the connection between a poem and a particular school, a full translation of the poem is unnecessary; however, a few passages related to the specific teaching of the school will be provided.

(1) Hsin wang ming and the Zen School --

As the title of this poem "Hsin-wang" (mind-king) indicates the mind is paramount. In the first few lines it says:

[While we are] visualizing our mind,
[we found it is as] a ruler whose nature
is empty [in essence]. [Although it is]
abstruse and unpredictable, having neither
form nor appearance, it has great power to
overcome a thousand disasters and to create
ten-thousand virtues. Although its nature
is empty, it can control the rules of the
universe.²⁸

Apparently, its core is the "mind", and it advocates

visualizing the ceaseless activity of the mind. "Kuan-hsin" is an important teaching in Buddhism, namely "Kuan hsin wu ch'ang", one of Three Dharma Marks, is at the heart of Buddhism. The teaching of "Kuan-hsin" developed from different perspectives in the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna traditions.

In the Hīnayāna tradition, the term "Kuan-hsin" is crucial and appears frequently in the Dhyāna texts. The Ch'an fa yao chieh explains:

"Our minds are just like monkeys. A practitioner visualizing (Kuan-hsin) the mind is just like grasping the monkey, tightly holding it, gradually it becomes settled."²⁹

Another text, Tso ch'an san mei ching, also states:

"The Buddha says that one should contemplate (kuan-hsin) the mind at every moment, past and present..."³⁰

Likewise, the term "Kuan", Vicāra, plays a vital role in Mahāyāna Buddhism, namely, "Kuan-k'ung", visualizing the empty nature of existence, is commonplace and is repeatedly dwelt upon in Mahāyāna sūtras and śāstras. Whereas, in addition to "Kuan-k'ung", "Kuan shih hsiang" and "Kuan-hsin" also frequently appear in the Ta chih tu lun, which mentions:

"When a bodhisattva attempts to visualize the truth of all dharmas (or Kuan chu fa shih hsiang), his concentrated mind (Kuan-hsin) should not cling to the state which he is focused on (do not cling to a tranquil state)."³¹

In the above citations, we can glimpse how significant the theory "Kuan" is in Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna teachings.

The Hsin wang ming also reveals another message: "empty-nature", which expounds from the idea of "Kuan-hsin" to "An-hsin" (mind-settled); in discussion the terms "Hsin chi shih

fo" (the mind is identical with Buddha) and "Fo hsin nien fo" (Buddha's mind recites the name of the Buddha) are highlighted. Fu mentions that the essence of mind is empty, yet it still has the power to rule one's life and dominate one's thought. Owing to the rule of Pratītya-samutpāda, the mind can be trained away from evil thoughts to a compassionate heart. Due to the inconstant mind, one has the capabilities to be a Buddha or a devil. For such reasons Fu accentuates the notions: "Shih hsin shih fo" (this mind is the Buddha) and "Hsin chi shih fo". From these conceptions, the T'ien-t'ai School developed a further theory, which is that "ignorance is identical with dharma nature, and the defilements are identical with Bodhi".⁴² (A13)

The term "Nien fo" (reciting the name of the Buddha) is a pivotal point in the Pure Land tradition. Although Pure Land scriptures have been rendered into Chinese since the third century, they only began to attract wider attention at the beginning of the fifth century through Lu-shan Hui-yūan's advocacy.⁴³ Subsequently, in the T'ang, the Pure Land School triumphed magnificently among the Eight Schools. Based on the following three sūtras, the school formulates its dogma:

Title	Fascicles	Dates	Translator	T.No.
Aparimitāyus Sūtra (Wu liang shou ching)	2	252	Saṅgavarman	T.12/360
Sukhāvātī-vyūha Sūtra	1	402	Kumārajīva	T.12/366
Amitāyur-dhyāna Sūtra (Kuan wu liang shou fo ching)	1	424-442	kālayaśas	T.12/365

From these three texts, the term Nien-fo seems to have been known since the late third century, but its currency might not

have been as wide as it was in the T'ang.

Fu also seems to have employed the term Nien-fo in his writings. In the Hsin wang ming, he says "Fo hsin nien fo", which has a different definition from the Pure Land tradition. This poem is based on the theory of Perfection of Wisdom to accentuate the phrase: "The mind is identical with Buddha". Generally speaking, in the Pure Land tradition, Nien-fo denotes recollection of the Buddha and leads to eventual rebirth in the Pure Land. However, in the Prajñā philosophy, it refers to empty-nature. According to the MHS,

"The Buddha asks what is the bodhisattva's Nien-fo ?.. nothing to be recited means Nien-fo, nothing to be thought (Wu so nien) means Nien-fo... A bodhisattva who practices Prajñāpāramitā should exercise Nien-fo."⁴⁴

Apparently, Fu's idea of Nien-fo derived from the theory on the Perfection of Wisdom. In his opinion, Nien-fo is to observe one's mind and develop it into a profound concept: "The mind is identical with Buddha", which is, certainly, a dissimilar idea from that of the Pure Land tradition.

Furthermore, the fourth patriarch of the Zen School, Tao-hsin (580-651), adopted Fu's idea of Nien-fo to develop a profound theory, which is found in the Leng chia shih tzu chi (LCSTC). He explains:

"The mind of concentrating on the Buddha (Nien fo hsin) means 'Wu so nien' (nothing to be thought); without the mind there is no Buddha, to recall Buddha means to observe the mind, to seek the mind means to seek Buddha. Because our consciousness or mind is intangible, Buddha [nature] is likewise intangible. If one can comprehend this principle, it means one has achieved a state of 'An hsin' (mind-settled)."⁴⁵

Tao-hsin borrowed Fu Hsi's idea to clarify his position concerning the Pure Land doctrine, he admits Nien-fo as an ancillary practice. However, the meaning attributed is extremely different from the "invocation of the name" recommended by the Pure Land School. In addition to Nien-fo, Tao-hsin ascribes the Buddhist usage of "Shou-i" (or keeping the one) to Fu Hsi. In the LCSTC, Tao-hsin discusses the five methods for realization, he then concludes that "Buddha in fact is identical with the mind" (Fo chi shih hsin). He gives as the fifth:

Guard the one thought without wavering
(Shou i pu i): to remain unflagging amid
activity and stillness can enable the
practitioner to see clearly the Buddha-nature
and quickly enhance the approach of dhyāna.
The sūtras contain a wealth of contemplative
techniques. Great Master Fu advocated guarding
the one thought alone without wavering."⁴⁶

A similar idea of "keeping the one" is found in Fu's poem, in section ten of the Hsing lu nan, where he discusses the concept of non-mind (Wu-hsin). He says:

"There is no difference in stillness,
the idea of emptiness firmly maintains
in the mind without wavering
(or Yü ch'i hsin chung shih pu i)."⁴⁷

Although no exact characters as "Shou i pu i" are found in any of Fu Hsi's extant works, a comparable idea and term, "Yü ch'i hsin chung shih pu i", is clearly defined in his poem. Obviously, Tao-hsin borrowed the ideas attributed to Fu, "Kuan-hsin", "An-hsin", "Hsin chi shih fo" and "Pu-i", to develop his East Mountain teachings. In other words, we suggest that Fu Hsi could be regarded as one of patriarchs of the East Mountain School.

The poem Hsin wang ming was placed before Tao-hsin's Hsin hsin ming in the CTCTL,⁴⁰ which indicates it was regarded as a Zen poem, and Fu had greater prestige than Tao-hsin in that school. In fact, the poem emphasizes the mind, which is pivotal in Buddhism, and could be related to any school of Buddhism, not just the Zen School.

(2) Hsing lu nan and the Three Śāstras School --

Mind is still vital in the Hsing lu nan, which consists of twenty sections, the essential of each section is given in the title and an explanation of the title follows. In order to inspect its framework, a chart is given hereunder, in which translations of the titles and first sentences of each section are provided under Title and Outline headings, terms and teachings related to the Śāstras School are also translated under the Outline heading.

No.	Title	Outline
1	Non-destructible, non-eternal.	Don't you see your mind is neither destructible nor eternal ? (This is one of Eight Negations from the <u>Chung lun</u>)
2	Real illumination, non-illumination.	Don't you see real illumination is unobstructed, but its nature is non-illumination (stillness) ? Mind only, non-mind, non-one-minded.
3	Existence of mind is ultimate existence	Don't you see the existence of your mind is subtle and most marvellous ? It is neither created nor conditioned, nor having a form. "Mind nature is non-coming into being, non-going out of being."
4	Non-character, sublime and still.	Don't you see no dharma is certain ? Delusion and confusion are Bodhi. "Discrimination and Bodhi are neither identical nor different."

- 5 Worldly and saintly (ways) are neither one nor dual. Don't you see defilement is vague and has no unity ? Although it is not one, it is not numerous. "Worldly and saintly ways are not two paths, birth and death and nirvāṇa are unified."
- 6 Mind-nature is not tinged. Don't you see the wise seek the mind instead of Buddha ? The stillness of all dharma is identical with greed and obscenity..., "which are neither existence nor extinction. Confusion is neither deep nor shallow."
- 7 Non-dispute of Prajñā Don't you see the origin of Prajñā is always pure ? The root of birth and death is illusory. To abandon birth and death is the method of non-mind, .. which is the king of medicines; "non-mind is [the goal] of Mahāyāna".
- 8 Non-attainment of origination Don't you see there is no origin in the origination ? No one knows the origin of non-origination. "Greed and hatred are the essence of nirvāṇa".
- 9 Not overcoming defilement Don't you see the virtues of Mañjuśrī are not far ? The three obstructions and "three poisons are identical with three emptinesses". All defilement is empty; the dharma treasure of the Buddha is in your mind.
- 10 The stillness of non-mind and practice vigour Don't you see the nature of stillness is non-extinction ? No awareness is in the real awareness...The empty nature.. often abides in mind without wavering, which is non-coming, non-going. You did not realize vigour is against the nature (non-created).
- 11 Unrestrictedness and function of Dharmakāya Don't you see a bodhisattva visualizes his own nature, [and realizes] his Dharmakāya is Tathāgata ?.. Names [of things] are different, but their truths are the same, if you can discern there is no birth and death, then you can disperse the cloud of birth and death.
- 12 Emancipation of Vajra Don't you see the teachings of the Diamond [Sūtra] are not substantive ? All different items have the same nature of nothingness. Emptiness is the mother of Buddhas and a superior pearl of the Tathāgata.

- 13 Non-reflection and non-attainment of tranquillity Don't you see all dharmas are only names given to forms ? No way of stillness is the only way of practice, mind is the core of all dharmas.
- 14 No nature of Three Emptiness Don't you see the minds of all Buddhas and sages are non-obstructive ? For the purpose of preaching they explain Three-nothingnesses. It is unnecessary to select a place to settle your mind (An-hsin), you just have to realize that "the nature of the relative truth and absolute truth" is inseparable.
- 15 Non-objection between existence and emptiness Don't you see incorrect thought is neither extreme nor apart from the extreme ? Neither confusion nor discrimination are connected. The way of birth and death is profound, and is superior to non-arising (Wu-sheng). To observe this, and not be affected by the Eight Winds, then you are happy and free to dote on non-mind (Wu-hsin).^{4*}
- 16 The malice of the devil Don't you see the great Tao is tranquil and profound ? It can communicate with all things which are profound, yet still without arising nor extinction. If you can realize the six senses are empty and non-existent, all the devils of defilement will be defeated naturally.
- 17 Equality of dharma-nature and function Don't you see Dharma-nature cannot be understood and explained ? Āsrava (outflow) and Anāsrava (flow) are all empty. Although they are different in practice, seeking their origin we find they have the same origination.
- 18 Incredible Buddha-mother Don't you see desire, greed and obscenity are Buddha's mother ? All Buddhas were the sons of desires. If you clarify the meaning of non-arising defilement, then Tathāgata is sitting in your monastery (mind).
- 19 Vigour of non-enlightenment Don't you see the upright-mind is the son of all Buddhas ? Because it can behold non-mind, so it is not perturbed; and it understands that the mind is not [real] mind, thought is not [real] thought.

20 The best subtle Don't you see the superior Bodhi is the nearest (easiest) ? The Four Elements and Five Skandhas are profound; in fact, they are pure and marvelous and difficult to understand. ...[Bodhi] is neither tainted nor pure, [even both] the positive and the negative vanish, it still exists.

From the above chart, we can perceive that most ideas of the Hsing lun nan are similar to the Chung lun, which is an independent work based on the theory of empty-nature and offers a sustained discussion of the topic related to Pratītya-samutpāda, self-nature...etc., from which a few similar verses are taken as a reference:

"In these relative conditions the self-nature of the entities cannot exist. From the non-existence of self-nature, other natures too cannot exist."

"Relative condition does not validly belong to either being or non-being. If it belongs to being, for what use is it ? And if to non-being, for whose use is it ?"

"The teaching of the Dharma by the various Buddhas is based on the two truths; namely, the relative (worldly) truth and the absolute (supreme) truth. Those who can not know the distinction between the two truths can not understand the profound nature of the Buddha's teaching"

"The teacher (Buddha) has taught the abandonment of the concepts of being and non-being. Therefore, nirvāṇa is properly neither (in the realm of) existence nor non-existence."⁵⁰

Seemingly, the central ideas for this poem are adopted from the Chung lun. The three Śāstras, Chung lun, Pai lun and Shih erh men lun, were translated by Kumārajīva during 404-409, on which the school of the same name established its doctrines. In India, the Mādhyamika (Middle School) was founded by

Nāgārjuna; in China, however, it was set up by Chi-tsang and called Three Śāstras School. It denies the reality of all phenomenal existence and specifies the world in negative terms. In the foregoing chart under No.14, two truths are mentioned, namely relative and absolute truths. One of the core teachings of the school is the two truths (Erh-ti); its patriarch, Chi-tsang, highly recommended this teaching. In his commentary Chung kuan lun shu, written during 549-623, Chi-tsang quotes Fu's poem:

"In the Erh-ti sung (the poem of two truths) by Fu Ta-shih of Tung-yang, he said:
'The two truths are neither dual nor separate...'"

Chi-tsang continued to admire Fu Ta-shih. He says:

"He was merely uneducated, but he could discern that the two truths are neither identical nor different; why do those who study this teaching cling to their difference ?"=1

When Fu Hsi died in 569, Chi-tsang (549-623) was already twenty-one years old, he would therefore certainly have heard of Fu Hsi. Although the Erh-ti sung is not found in the SHYL, the theory of the two truths is alluded to in No.14 in the Hsing lu nan. As Chi-tsang mentioned "he [Fu] was uneducated"; if Fu had no reputation in Buddhism, why did Chi-tsang quote his poem in his commentary? Moreover, there was no reason for Chi-tsang to have fabricated a poem under the name of Fu to include in his writing, since he himself was a distinguished cleric. Hence, the Erh-ti sung was attributed to Fu, and even though it does not have exactly the same characters, at least the idea is consonant. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Fu did leave a corpus of writings, which might not have been completely incorporated in the SHYL. This poem might

be one of those that were lost. The prominent cleric, Chi-tsang, was held in high esteem in Buddhist circles; he calls Fu, "Fu Ta-shih of Tung-yang" which indicates that Chi-tsang did respect Fu Hsi, and the latter was prominent during his lifetime.

The Japanese scholar, Sekiguchi Shindai, suggests that Fu's Poem Hsing lu nan is apocryphal, and that it has the same central idea of "Wu-hsin" as the other poem of the same title found in the Tun-huang caves. The latter consists of sixteen sections, each of which is based on the idea of "Wu-hsin", which is also used for the title of each section. Sekiguchi Shindai proposes:

"The twenty sections of Hsing lu nan and fifteen sections of Hsing lu i of Fu are all connected with the subject of "Wu-hsin"..... These two Hsing lu nan emphasise the same theme of Wu-hsin." ==

Whereas, as we have presented in the above chart, the entire poem is centred on Prajñā theory, the term "Wu-hsin" only appears in sections five, seven, ten and fifteen. The theory of the Hsing lu nan is completely at variance with the one found in Tun-huang; thus, the poem in the SHYL should not be regarded as apocryphal. This study assumes its accuracy for the following three reasons:

a. The poetic metre of Fu's Hsing lu nan is akin to the metre of the Southern Dynasties, as has been discussed on page 177 above.

b. The primary idea of the Hsing lu nan is similar to Fu's other alleged poems centering on emptiness, not the notion of "Wu-hsin", as shown in the above chart.

c. The literary style is akin to his other alleged poems. Fu seems to have been fond of using terms with literary embellishment in his writings, such as the River of Four Elements, the Mountain of Five Aggregates, the Ocean of Three Evil Realms, the Bridge of Six Pāramitās. In the Hsing lu nan, the term "Cloud of Birth and Death" appears in the eleventh section; in the second, the Mountain of Five Aggregates is presented; in the third, the City of Nirvāṇa is used; in the twelfth, the Slave of the Six Realms also appears...etc.²³ The poem from Tun-huang does not exhibit this sort of literary device at all. These two poems with the same title show quite distinct features; hence, it is utterly impossible that they were written by the same poet. Accordingly, the Hsing lu nan in the SHYL should not be considered apocryphal, but as part of the corpus associated with Fu Hsi.

(3) Tu tzu shih and the T'ien-t'ai School --

The poem Tu tzu shih consists of twenty short verses and another five shorter verses; and is based on Prajñā theory; each of the verse employs the same term "Tu-tzu" (oneself) at the beginning. Its ideas hinge on a few renowned phrases, such as Three Views One Mind (San-kuan i-hsin), Four Phrases (Szu-chū), One Hundred Negations (Pai-fei), Four Motions (Szu-yün) and Wu-sheng (non-arising), which constitute practically the core teachings of the T'ien-t'ai Sect,²⁴ which highly respected Fu's teachings and adopted them to formulate its systematic dogma. Of course, these renowned phrases were not coined by Fu Hsi, as traces are found in the sūtras. This

section merely highlights a link between Fu and the school, hence, a few teachings related to the T'ien-t'ai School will be discussed.

The T'ien-t'ai sect formulated its tenets on the Lotus Sūtra with the Ta chih tu lun, Nirvāna Sūtra and Mahāprajñā-pāramitā Sūtra. It attempts to expose the truth of all phenomena by means of meditation. Firstly, the phrase "Three Views One Mind" appears in Fu's Tu tzu shih, which reads:

"To feel oneself -- In fact, beyond provisional designations, when the "Three Views One Mind" transcends all dharmas, thorns and jungles will become plain."⁵⁵

The "Three Views One Mind" refers to the three viewpoints in a single thought, and is a significant theory in the T'ien-t'ai School; in particular, its patriarch, Chih-i, developed this concept in meditative theory. Consequently, the idea was not originated by either Fu Hsi or Chih-i. Its scriptural basis is found in the Pu sa ying lo pen yeh ching listed as translated by Chu Fo-nien, but seemingly dated to 436,⁵⁶ which consists of three views: "K'ung" (empty), "Chia" (provisional) and "Chung" (intermediate). According to this sūtra, the three views represent a method for those who have achieved the first stages of Buddha-wisdom to practice a heightened spiritual state.⁵⁷ It reads:

"When one has achieved the first stage of the Buddha-wisdom, then he is able to attain to the state of the Three Views, which leads one to ultimate truth. These Three Views are that, from the concept of provisional designation one penetrates into the empty nature of phenomenon, which is called "Erh-ti kuan" (the view of two truths), however, from the concept of emptiness one contemplates in the provisional designation, which is named "Ping-teng kuan" (even/equal view). These two views provide expedient access to

the Middle Way, which is the entrance to ultimate truth."⁵⁸

The three viewpoints in a single thought are a type of T'ien-t'ai meditation, in which one observes a phenomenon from three viewpoints concurrently. For the T'ien-t'ai followers, these three aspects cannot be independent of each other, and they are performed simultaneously in the same instant of thought. This doctrine holds a central position in the T'ien-t'ai, and is regarded as the supreme teaching of the Buddha.⁵⁹

Another significant teaching is the "Four Phrases and One Hundred Negations", which appears in the Āgama Sūtras, Ta chih tu lun and Chung lun. It has been widely accepted in both the T'ien-t'ai and Three Śāstras Schools. This teaching is intended to dispel the illusory prejudice of existence or non-existence of reality. In the Chung lun, the term Four Phrases is explained as interior causes, exterior causes, combined causes and non-causes, which signifies the fact that all matter in the universe is neither born nor created. The One Hundred Negations likewise have the same aim, and constitute innumerable negations of twin concepts such as non-existence and non-emptiness, birth and death, coming and going, one and many, finite and infinite..etc..In the end of the Tu tzu shih, a short verse reads:

"To view the origin of dharma, it has causes, but not real causes (provisional); the Truth is beyond the Four Phrases (Szu-chū) and the One Hundred Negations (Pal-fei), which are also repeated to counteract attachment."⁶⁰ (A14)

These phrases are not only preferred by the T'ien-t'ai and Three Śāstras Schools, but are also favoured by the Zen sect.

The renowned phrase "Li szu chū, chūeh pai fei" (or To separate the Four Phrases and isolate the One Hundred Negations) has become common practice in the Zen tradition, such as the Tsung ching lu and the Pi yen lu.

In addition, a pre-eminent theory apparently developed by Fu Hsi is known as the Four Motions (Szu-yün):

"To do oneself -- Reflecting myself what I attach in my mind, while I was inspecting it by the method of Four Motions (Szu-yün) and Non-arising (Wu-sheng), [I found] even numerous ramifications can not enslave my mind."⁶¹ (A15)

The term "Szu-yün" is a key teaching in the T'ien-t'ai meditative theory, it seems that this idea was initially formulated by Chih-i. However, apart from the Tu tzu shih, before Fu's time the concept "Szu-yün" did not have a clear basis in scripture. The term itself, to the best of our knowledge, initially appeared in Chih-i's writing, Mo ho chih kuan. When Fu died, in 569, Chih-i was already thirty-two years old. We can surmise, therefore, that the latter could have heard of the teachings of the former in his lifetime, and have adopted and developed the theory of "Szu-yün" into a meditative practice. Accordingly, Fu Hsi might have acquired the concept of "Szu-yün" from his own experience of samādhi; although he did not elucidate this concept, it does appear in his poem Tu tzu shih.

"Szu-yün" is a method for discerning mind, and according to the Mo ho chih kuan, it is classified into four categories:

- (1) not-yet-thinking (Wei-nien)
- (2) being-about-to-think (Yü-nien)
- (3) actually thinking (Chêng-nien)
- (4) having thought (Nien-i) ⁶²

Although the aspects of mental activities are quite numerous,

in Chih-i's opinion these Four Motions of mental activity embrace all mental states. If one becomes involved with whatever objects are perceived by the six senses, or with any of the vexations, such as the three poisons, sitting, lying down... or with any supermundane object, these four mental motions are always present. For this reason, Chih-i takes them as the basis for discernment. Moreover, Chih-i points out that there is an infinite dissimilarity of activities with which an individual may become involved, and a myriad of ways to discriminate the various psychological and physical states that arise at each moment of activity. However, at the heart of each moment of activity lies this pattern of four motions repeating itself over and over in endless succession. In the constantly changing state, this pattern provides the consistency necessary for meditation.⁵³

A primary concern here is what position Fu holds in the T'ien-t'ai School. Its seventh patriarch, Chan-jan (711-782), praised Fu Hsi as a bodhisattva from Tuṣita Heaven. In his commentary, Chih kuan fu hsiung chuan hung chüeh, Chan-jan cites two verses of Fu's Tu tzu shih, which are the same as those verses mentioned in the above discussion of Four Motions and Three Views One Mind.⁵⁴ In the Chih kuan i li, Chan-jan holds Fu in high esteem, saying:

"If the first saint (Bodhidharma) came from India, then the second sage (Fu Hsi) was born in China, provenance Tuṣita Heaven. The bodhisattva Tung-yang (Fu Hsi) who had achieved perfect enlightenment still investigated the mental activities by means of the Three Views and Four Motions.... Moreover, the concept of Three Views originated from the Ying lo ching, but it was advocated by bodhisattva Maitreya (Fu Hsi) himself...."⁵⁵ (A16)

Accordingly, Fu is indeed held in extremely high regard by the school, and is even admired as the bodhisattva Maitreya from Tuṣita Heaven. Furthermore, another eminent Japanese cleric, Saichō (767-822), the founder of the Japanese T'ien-t'ai School, actually officially placed Fu as the first patriarch in the Chinese genealogy of the T'ien-t'ai School in his writings. In the Naishō buppō ketsumyaku zu (or Nei cheng fo fa hsüeh meh t'u), Saichō places Fu Hsi before Hui-wen, Huiszu and Chih-i.⁶⁶ Saichō went to China to study T'ien-t'ai doctrine in 804, returning to Japan in 805. During his sojourn in China, he collected and brought many scriptures back to Japan, which he catalogued. In this catalogue, twelve verses of Huan yüan shih and "one fascicle, twenty papers" of Shuang lin ta shih chi are attributed to Fu Ta-shih.⁶⁷ This study suggests that the twenty papers of Fu's collection may be one part of what became the SHYL, the poems circulated separately as a small compilation. A clue from Chan-jan's quotation, mentioned above, may help to solve this doubt; since he highly esteemed Fu Hsi as shown in his writing, it indicates that he might have read Fu's writings. Chan-jan died in 782, his writing should have been finished before his death, so those poems attributed to Fu (or the original SHYL) would already have been known even prior to 782.

A doubt arises here, namely why the Poem Tu tzu shih is not incorporated in Saichō's catalogue. While Saichō was in China, he studied T'ien-t'ai doctrine under Tao-sui and Hsing-man in the T'ien-t'ai Mt.; the latter were the two foremost disciples of Chan-jan. As Chan-jan valued highly the teachings

of Three Views and Four Motions in his writings, his disciples would have acquired these teachings from him personally. Why, then, was the poem Tu tzu shih not included in Saichō's catalogue? Presumably, if it had been incorporated in the "twenty papers" of Fu's writings in the Saichō's collections, there would have been no reason to specify the other poem, Huan yūan shih. From this conjecture, it is evident that "the twenty papers of Fu's collection" might simply have been a small record about Fu's life, not containing any of Fu's own writings.⁶⁸ Hence, this important message of the T'ien-t'ai, Tu tzu shih, might not have been overlooked by Saichō, otherwise, undoubtedly it would have been included in his catalogue. Furthermore, if he had not acquired a copy of this writing, he would have copied it with his own brush, had he heard about it.

In spite of Saichō's omission, partial verses of Tu tzu shih appear in Chan-jan's writings. It might also be possible that part of Fu's writings were not compiled in the original SHYL, which might have merely been circulated to a few groups. Later, when the second version of SHYL was edited, those excluded poems were found and incorporated. In addition, an unfamiliar verse of Fu's is cited in the writing of another prestigious cleric of T'ien-t'ai, Szu-ming Chih-li (960-1028). It discusses the idea of "ju ju chih" (the wisdom of Tathāgata-garbha),⁶⁹ which has an absolutely distinct literary style and concept from those employed in Fu's known poems. However, whether those poems attributed to Fu Hsi are apocryphal or authentic is not at issue here. This study merely aims to

point out these ambiguities and, due to scanty sources, no attempt has been made to resolve them. On the contrary, Fu's position in sectarian Buddhism is the primary concern here. As Fu's name and poems frequently appear in the writings of illuminated patriarchs, we can imagine how highly esteemed Fu was in the T'ien-t'ai School. This might account for why Saichō conclusively included Fu Hsi in his writings on T'ien-t'ai lineage.

(4) The poem Hsing lu i and the Hua-yen School --

The Hua-yen School is one of the prominent schools in Chinese Buddhism. Its teaching is based on the profound scripture, Hua-yen ching (Avatamsaka), which, it is said, was preached by the Buddha immediately after his enlightenment. "Hua-yen claims that all dharmas are intrinsically empty; this emptiness manifests two aspects -- one being static, as a principle or noumenon, and the other being dynamic, as a phenomenon".⁷⁰ In order to comprehend the emptiness of dharmas, a few terms are employed to explain this universal truth, such as Wu-sheng (non-arising), Wu-hsin (non-existence of mind), Wu-tso (not being produced by conditions) .etc., which can easily be found in the Hua-yen commentaries.

In this poem, Hsing lu i (Travelling the Path is Easy), Fu apparently adopted these terms to illuminate the mental state of enlightenment. This poem consists of fifteen short verses, and the central concept of each is "Wu" (non-) intended to deny the existence of reality. With the aim of finding an affinity with the Hua-yen School in this poem, the

last sentence of each verse and the idea of "Wu", which is a core of each verse, will be given under the Outline heading.

No	Subject	Outline
1	Wu-sheng	Travelling the path easily, no practice, [but] to extinguish the concept of existence and non-existence, which refers to Wu-sheng.
2	Wu-tso	Travelling the path easily, not actually created, to recite sūtras without uttering, to sit in meditation means to lie in bed all day long.
3	Wu-hsin	Travelling the path easily, contented and composed, non-thought is real liberation, and [from which] the nature is allowed to go everywhere.
4	Wu-fen-pieh	Travelling the path easily, not real void, no discrimination between virtue and evil, which is the original nature.
5	Wu-sheng	Travelling the path easily, you don't doubt; as long as you understand my teachings, no teacher is necessary for practice.
6	(Mental state)	"The Mt. East floats on the river, the Mt. West travels around; the Dipper Star descends to this world, which is the recipe of enlightenment. (A17) Travelling the path easily, don't you know, the sun is bright at midnight, and not to enlighten the real weariness.
7	(Mental state)	"The cyclone can't shake trees, no voice is heard while the drum is drumming, no shadow is found when the sun is shining on the tree, however, the cow walks on the top of water. (A18) Travelling the path easily, it is pity. While understanding this principle, you can sleep with your legs stretched.
8	Wu-wei	Travelling the path easily, it is difficult to imagine, to send a verbal message to those practitioners, who must practise diligently.
9	Non-speculation	Travelling the path easily, don't speculate, [if] the mind is not dual at

every moment, [then you are] in heaven
all the time.

- 10 One is all,
all is one Mt.Sumeru is the father of the mustard
seed, the mustard seed is the grand-
father of Mt.Sumeru.(A19) Travelling the
path easily, it is really obscure, the
Bodhi exists in our mind, but people are
just unaware.
- 11 Wu-yen Travelling the path easily, you must be
early, it is unnecessary to learn
[texts], silence is the real Bodhi.
- 12 Wu-te Travelling the path easily, nothing is
obtained, even a thousand speeches and
discussions are not better than the
silence of a few moments.
- 13 Wu-ch'ing Non-sentient things have the Tao, stone
and wood are suchness. Travelling the
path easily, it is pleasant, becoming
enlightened in just a moment, it is
unnecessary to throw on (learn) the
Three Religions.
- 14 Wu-wei Travelling the path easily, do not be
astonished, nothingness is uncreated
matter, emptiness and existence are just
appellations of Wu-wei (non-created).
- 15 Wu-chüeh Travelling the path easily, you listen
carefully, there is no Bodhi without
enlightenment, which is neither tainted
nor pure.

These negative terms, Wu-sheng, Wu-hsin, Wu-wei,....
frequently appear in the T'ien-t'ai, Hua-yen, Three Śāstras
and Zen teachings. It is said that through negative concepts
one can achieve the absolute state of Buddhahood, according to
the Hua-yen, which is a state of totality of non-obstruction.
The doctrine of co-origination and the teaching of emptiness
are taken to be directed against any intellectual activity
tending to generate a conceptualised and determined view of
the world. Such views, it is thought, tended to bind the mind
to false notions of substance and permanence. Phenomena as

they really are may be directly perceived in those elevated experiences: meditation and religious discipline.⁷¹ Hence, for the sake of achieving ultimate truth, most Zen poems and doctrines of Hua-yen often display a contradictory interpretation in order to overcome the comparative barrier between relative truth and the absolute truth.

In the Hsing lu i, a contradictory meaning is given in each single verse by such terms as non-mind, non-arising, non-discrimination and non-production..etc., and it even gives a similar phrase to Hua-yen's teaching regarding a mustard seed, as presented in No.10 of the above chart. A similar phrase is simplified in the HYC:

"Mt.Sumeru contains a mustard seed, the mustard seed can also embrace Mt.Sumeru."⁷²

A simple explanation of non-obstruction in size or space of the Hua-yen teaching is given:

"If one reaches this realm, then there is liberation from the bonds of time and space, of purity and defilement, of nirvāṇa and saṃsāra...Is there any difficulty in visualizing a buffalo, a monastery, or a huge mountain in your mind? Not at all, your head is smaller than the image of a buffalo,...but you can visualize them without any hindrance. Does not this suggest the possibility that a smaller thing can contain a larger thing, without expanding itself or compressing the other? This is a simple illustration of the Non-obstruction of size or space."⁷³

From this quotation, we know that totality and non-obstruction are the core of Hua-yen's teaching. By annihilation of all mental and spiritual impediments and blockages, Bodhi is easily reached; this could explain the title of the poem "Travelling the Path Easily".

The fourth patriarch, Ch'eng-kuan (738-838), holds an influential position in the Hua-yen School. "Hua-yen tradition depicts him as a giant, over nine feet tall, with arms extending below his knees, with forty teeth, and with eyes that glowed at night; and his commentaries on the HYC amount to four hundred fascicles; among his disciples thirty-eight achieved fame".⁷⁴ His writings and teachings greatly influenced the school. One of his writings, Yen i ch'ao, discourses on "Wu-sheng", and cites Fu's teaching:

"Fu Ta-shih also said that the core of Buddhism is "Wu-sheng", the basis [of dharma] is detachment, the cause [of suffering] is illusion, the result [of practice] is nirvāṇa."⁷⁵ (A20)

This verse is not in the available sources, but there is a similar one, which refers to the first petition Fu wrote to the Emperor Wu of Liang.

"....to adopt detachment as a principle,
.. modesty as a basis, ... non-thought
as a cause and nirvāṇa as a result...."⁷⁶

A comparison of these two verses shows them to be slightly different, though Ch'eng-kuan adopted the same metre as that adopted in Fu's petition. As a prominent cleric, why did Ch'eng-kuan include Fu's teaching in his writing? This study presumes that when the former composed his writings, he would have come across the writings and teachings of the latter; under the name of Fu Ta-shih, Ch'eng-kuan intended to highlight his own teaching, since Fu was held in high esteem in sectarian Buddhism. In addition, it seems the patriarch Tu Shun (557-640) also respected and recited Fu's poems. A clue is found in a discourse by Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi:

"I read Fu Ta-shih's verse of Dharmakāya, which was collected by Tu Shun." (A21)

Accordingly, it is clear that Fu Ta-shih was also highly respected in the Hua-yen School.

(5) Fu Hsi's position in the Tsung ching lu
 --- the Pure Land and Precept Schools

The Tsung ching lu (TCL) is a significant Zen record written by the great scholar-cleric, Yung-ming Yen-shou (904-975). It records twenty citations of Fu's sayings and writings, six of which are unknown in the available sources. A synopsis is listed in the chart:

No	Fascicle	T/48 p.	Subject	Source
1	3	429	Emptiness	Hsing lu nan/13
2	9	461	Mind (Miao-shen)	-
3	14	492	Dharma-nature	Huan yūan shih
4	"	"	Assiduity	-
5	"	493	Buddha-nature	A letter to the Emperor Wu of Liang
6	19	522	Mind	-
7	21	530	Precept	-
8	24	548	Dharmakāya	A conversation from the SHYL/2
9	25	560	Totality	Hsing lu i
10	27	568	Mind-nature	Huan yūan shih
11	29	585	Mind appearance	Hsing lu nan
12	"	"	Mind	"
13	30	589	Pure Land	-
14	30	593	Mind-nature	-
15	36	623	Three Views and One Mind	Tu tzu shih
16	40	651	Emptiness	Hsing lu nan
17	41	656	"	A narrative with the Emperor Wu of Liang
18	41	657	Mind	Hsing lu i
19	49	707	Mind-nature	Hsing lu nan
20	84	879	Four Motions	Tu tzu shih

In the foregoing chart, most citations are drawn precisely from the SHYL, a point which has been explained in the preceding discussion. Another six verses which are not

available in any of Fu's sources will be traced individually.

a. Firstly, in No.2 of the chart, the term "Miao-shen" is mentioned. While the author Yen-shou discusses the prodigious mind, he cites that "Fu Ta-shih designated mind as 'Miao-shen' (splendid spirit)". A couple of similar terms, "Hsin-shen" and "Shih-shen", are found in the SHYL.⁷ Although the characters are distinct, they elucidate the same idea - the mind. It could be possible that Yen-shou had heard of Fu's idea concerning "Shen", and without reflection he roughly took the term "Miao-shen" instead, whilst he was explaining mind as "Miao". In fact, the term "Shen" derives from Taoism not from Buddhism, and it will be discussed in the next section.

b. With reference to No.4 on the chart, on the subject of assiduity, a verse by Fu is quoted, which reads:

"An unenlightened [man] assiduously
cultivates Bodhi, an enlightened [one]
practises ordinary deeds diligently,
however, there is nothing to be practised
[in the mind]; [one] frequently saves
people, but there are no people to be saved"
-- (detachment) (A22)

The ideas for this verse, assiduity and detachment (empty nature), frequently appear in Fu's writings. Although this verse is never shown in the extant sources, the subject, assiduity, is common knowledge in Buddhism; it may also be one of the lost poems by Fu.

c. In No.6 on the chart, another verse is given:

"Buddha is not detached from the mind, mind
is not separated from Buddha either.
If the mind is still, there nirvāṇa is
present. If the mind is too occupied,
then it will cling to phenomena
(attachment). The attachment will become
a devil (obstruction). Nothing clings in
the mind, in which Buddha permeates. If one

could only apply this, where the Eighteen Worlds could exist ?"(A23)

The concept of this verse is akin to the Hsin wang ming, in which Fu says :

"Mind is Buddha. Without the mind there is no Buddha, without Buddha there is no mind either." (A24)

Although the characters differ, they both refer to the same notion.

d. No.7 on the chart gives an idea on precepts. Fu Hsi seems to regard the precepts with respect, for he says:

"Abiding by the precepts is just to prevent from having evil thoughts arising in the mind, if one attains the spiritual state of non-thought, then, the precepts are no longer useful."(A25)

Unfortunately, this poem is not available in Fu's sources either, but a couple of poems regarding the precepts are found in the SHYL. First, in the Hsin wang ming, three phrases relate to this idea:

"With the precepts in the mind one achieves self discipline, the pure precepts can purify one's mind....With the precepts in the mind one can transmit dharmas." (A26)

In another poem Fu says:

"Abiding by the precepts as the sun illuminates in the sky, which lightens the darkness." (A27)

From these citations, it is evident that Fu connected the precepts with the mind. As the quotation above indicates that observing the precepts is just a safeguard against evil thoughts and deeds. Generally speaking, in the Mahāyāna tradition, intention is paramount when breaking the precepts. As long as one maintains pure thoughts, for the sake of saving beings, although one does a deed, which is prohibited, it is

not considered as breaking the precepts. Whereas, in the Hīnayāna tradition, the deed is the foremost point. Should one break any rule laid down by the community, then, regardless of motivation, one is guilty of transgression. In the Mo ho chih kuan, Chih-i reveals his concept of the precepts:

"The sūtras stated: 'Although a [monk] never touches woman, if they giggle and tease each other, it will be regarded as though that precept had been broken...'"

Fu Hsi's idea of precepts is likewise based on the mind, which is the core of the Mahāyāna precepts. A precept is in the mind, not in those theoretical regulations laid down. Although there is no connection between Fu and any cleric of the Precept School, his idea of the precepts is shown in his writings. Undoubtedly, he was a Mahāyāna practitioner who upheld the precepts in his mind.

e. In No.13 on the chart, an aspect of Pure Land teaching is given. In the Pure Land tradition, "Nien-fo" is a principal practice, involving concentration invoking Amitābha Buddha. If one were to do this with a concentrated mind, all evil would be subdued, all sins eliminated, and one would certainly aspire to reborn in the Western Pure Land, the abode of Amitābha Buddha.

This quotation includes two long related poems, which definitely reveal a strong belief in Amitābha Buddha, such as:

"The Western Amitābha [Buddha] is omnipresent...the sky is the house of Amitābha, timber forests are rooms for Amitābha,..... Meadows and woodlands are the hometown of Amitābha, those noises in the towns are the speeches of Amitābha..."(A28)

Although the Pure Land idea was originated by T'an-luan (476-

542), a contemporary of Fu Hsi, it became widely prevalent in the period of T'ang through the advocacy of two illustrious clerics, Tao-ch'o (562-645) and Shan-tao (613-681). The Pure Land School was not established during Fu's lifetime, so that the term, "Nien-fo", was not widely current then. However, there is a verse that mentions the idea of "Nien-fo" in Fu's writing, namely the Ten Recommendations, it reads:

"Six times by day and night, [one] assiduously invokes the Buddha (Nien-fo), and studiously serves [to gain merits] in the temple."²³ (A29)

A few phrases relating to "Nien-fo" also appear in the Hsin wang ming, which were discussed in the preceding section. Examining these extracts, it is obvious that Fu's idea of "Nien-fo" is quite distinct from that contained in the long poems of the TCL. Nowhere does Fu's writings show devout faith to Amitābha Buddha. Hence, this study believes the long poem to be apocryphal. Since the Pure Land tradition became widespread in the T'ang, and the long poem professes devotion to Amitābha Buddha, then the long poem might well have been produced in the T'ang. We know that Yen-shou recognized and included it in his writing, thus it would have been widely diffused. It came to be recognized by Yen-shou in the tenth century, thus might have been composed in the middle period of the T'ang, in the ninth century, a period when the Pure Land School was quite popular in China.

Another Pure Land writing, Lo pang wen lei, written in the Sung period by Tsung-hsiao, while the author was discoursing on the endless span of suffering of human beings caused by Samsāra, for which the Pure Land teaching was the

sole remedy, cites:

"Fu Ta-shih said that after a long span of eighty thousand Kalpas, we are still empty (in the mundane world, nothing is permanent)."¹⁰⁴(A30)

This verse is not found in any available sources either. Although Fu never revealed his devotion or a belief in Amitābha Buddha, owing to his high reputation in sectarian Buddhism, the Pure Land School might also have intended to take shelter under Fu Hsi's wing by counterfeiting poems in the name of Fu Ta-shih.

In short, Fu has been praised as a "Chinese Vimalakīrti" in some sources, and his contributions to Chinese Buddhism are laudable.¹⁰⁵ Among the sectarian, the Eight Schools in Chinese Buddhism, apart from the Fa-hsiang and Esoteric Schools, the other six schools, the Zen, Three Śāstras, T'ien-t'ai, Hua-yen, Precept and Pure Land, all highly respect Fu Ta-shih. As we know from the above discussions, Fu's alleged teachings encompass a range from the rudimentary to the profound. Owing to his knowledge and achievement of meditation, he could almost be admired as "A communal patriarch of the Six Schools", as Nāgārjuna acquired the noble title "The communal patriarch of the Eight Schools".¹⁰⁶ Moreover, as the Chinese Vimalakīrti, Fu Hsi played a remarkable role in Chinese Buddhism, so we may accord the more appropriate title "The founder of Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism" to him. Some further thoughts on this will be found in the Conclusion below.

Fu's thought on the Three Religions:

There is a fascinating picture of Fu Ta-shih that hangs in Chinese temples: he wears a Taoist hat, a Buddhist robe and Confucian shoes, which symbolize the unification of the Three Religions: Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism. It is interesting that he was portrayed in this fashion, which inspires us to trace its background.

Confucianism has existed for over 2,500 years in Chinese culture, its founder was the great philosopher, Confucius, more properly known as K'ung Ch'iu, who was born in 551 B.C. in the Chou Dynasty (circa 1100-221 B.C.), in what is today Shan-tung province. Living in a complex political state, Confucius believed that the implementation of his theories by the government would establish the utopia of a "commonwealth state", and pave the way for peace in all regions. Hence, he decided to travel from one region to another over the course of thirteen years, constantly searching everywhere for the perfect ground upon which to put his ideals into practice, but this was not to be. Growing old and weary, he returned to his native land in 484 B.C. in his sixty-eight year, where he continued to teach, until his death in 479 B.C..²⁷

Apart from the renowned Four Books, Confucius undertook the compilation and editing of the literary works which have come down to us as the Six Classics. The Four Books, as documented by his followers, have been immortalized by tradition. His immortal legacy took root in Chinese minds, and developed as the so-called Confucianism, which has dominated Chinese culture for more than two thousand five hundred years.

Confucianism today is no longer exclusively the patrimony of the Chinese as in Confucius' day, nor is it exclusively practised by followers of Confucius, but is pertinent globally. The essence of Confucianism is the Lun Yü, which can be summed up by the concepts of morality, filial piety, brotherly love, loyalty, modesty.....etc..

In Fu's writing, a few strands could be considered as a theory of Confucianism. Firstly, in Fu's first petition to the Emperor Wu of Liang, he says:

"The high good is to take Hsü-huai (modesty) as a basis...The middle good is to govern oneself.... Ch'ih-shen as a principle and Ch'ih-kuo (governing the kingdom) as a basis."²²

And when Fu discusses the hindrances of Bodhi in the SHYL, he explains:

"Without a sense of filial piety and charity... without a sense of respect... ignoring the kindness of others and perverting righteousness... lack of humilityare all hindrances to enlightenment."²³(A31)

In a discussion inquiring as to the nature of the Noble Path, he explains:

"A student who intends to practise Buddhism must learn to be 'Shih-cheng' (worldly upright). 'Cheng' refers to not insulting those of lowly status if one is powerful, not to despise the poor when one is wealthy, not to disrespect the fool when one is wise, not to attack the weak when one is strong. Therefore, one only speaks righteous words, and conducts oneself morally, never doing something which profits oneself and harms others..²⁴

These terms, Hsü-huai, Ch'ih-shen, Ch'ih-kuo, and those such as righteousness and sense of gratitude, are common knowledge in Confucianism. There can be no doubt that Fu grew up in a predominantly Confucian country, and that it imbued his thought before converting to Buddhism. Insofar as concerns

diversity and adaptability, it is therefore hardly surprising that he employed the tenets of Confucianism to teach Buddhism.

Apart from its impact on Confucianism, Buddhism also challenged its Chinese rival, Taoism, the indigenous religion. After the transmission of Buddhism to China, the cultural impact of Buddhism was deeply felt by its mighty rival, Taoism. Under these circumstances, Buddhism had no option but to adopt "similarities" from Taoism to spread its doctrine. It is common knowledge that Buddhist clergy explained the Buddha's teaching by means of Taoist terms from the second to fifth centuries.²¹ Likewise, Fu Hsi borrowed Taoist terms to illuminate profound Buddhist philosophy. A number of phrases Fu took from Taoism are found in the Hsin wang ming:

"... it is obscure and unpredictable (Hsüan miao nan ts'ê), and ..neither having form nor appearance (Wu hsing wu hsiang)..it has its great power to overcome.. disasters..."²² (A32)

In addition, he uses the terms, "Hsin-shen" (mind-spirit) and "Ta-tao" (Great way) in the Hsin lu nan. Of course, "Tao" (way, truth and Bodhi) is used in Buddhism frequently, but the "Ta-tao" originated from Taoism. And the term "Wu-wei ta-tao" (the great truth of non-action) appears in Fu's teaching often. In the Hsin lu nan, Fu says:

"Don't you see, the 'Ta-tao' is still, abstract and difficult to achieve ?..."²³ (A33)

Besides, Fu himself mentions the term Three Religions in No.13 of the Hsin lu i, which we have pointed out.

Since Taoism is the indigenous religion of China, Fu was supposed to know its teaching; and in the period of Eastern Chin (317-420), it was quite common for Buddhist teachings to

be interpreted by means of Taoist concepts and terms. A number of renowned figures, such as Lu-shan Hui-yān, Seng-chao (384 or 374-414) and Ta-hui Tsung-kao (1089-1163), united the theory of the three religions.⁷⁴ Following the tradition, to explain the concept of emptiness Fu Hsi adopted Taoist terminology. Accordingly, Fu would have had a Taoist background, but at that time, people did not understand Buddhism well, they needed "technique" to develop abstract metaphysics -- Pratītya-samutpāda. Under these circumstances, of course, the indigenous philosophy and religion were undoubtedly primary tools to be taken.

To commemorate Fu Hsi's contributions to Buddhism, his portrait has been enshrined on the "Lun-tsang" as a token memorial in Chinese temples, in which he wears a Taoist hat, Confucian shoes and a Buddhist robe. His idea of three religions has been recognized within Buddhism. A writing entitled San chiao ping hsin lu deliberates the affinities between the three religions. It says:

"Buddhism and Taoism are not different, since Fu Ta-shih united them; wearing a Taoist hat, Confucian shoes and a Buddhist robe, then the three religions became one..."⁷⁵

In sum, Fu's contributions to Chinese Buddhism, not only made their mark on Mahāyāna doctrine, but also brought the three religions closer together. From indigenous religion and philosophy, Fu Hsi proceeded to a further stage for his career, then made contributions to Buddhism. In examining Fu Hsi's alleged writings, we should expect to descry a tenor of concern with the practice of Buddhism, rather than with its theory.

We have now fully discussed Fu Hsi's life and contributions in the preceding chapters. Our attention must now turn to a comparable personage, the Monk Pu-tai. As mentioned in the Introduction, a full study of his puzzling life has not been endeavoured yet, this study is a tentative attempt to solve the enigma in the following chapters.

Notes:

1. See Sekiguchi Shindai, *Daruma daishi no Kenkyū* (Tokyo: 1957), pp.365-390.
2. See p.69, Chapter Three, for the full translation.
3. See pp.73-74 above, Chapter Three.
4. For the details see pp.69-70 above, Chapter Three.
5. See SHYL, pp.23-26, for these poems.
6. SHYL, p.2.
7. SHYL, p.6.
8. See Ting Fu-pao, *Ch'üan Han San-kuo Chin Nan-pei ch'ao shih* (Peking: 1959), pp.25, 854, 865, 906, 1109-20, 1270.
9. SHYL, p.2.
10. See Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism: A History, India and China* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1988), summary from pp.13-22.
11. For An Shih-kao's works see Zenryū Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese Buddhism- from its Introduction to the Death of Hui-yuan*, translated by Leon Hurvitz (Tokyo: 1986), pp.78-81.
12. Ibid, pp.307-8 and T.15/602, p.163.
13. A discussion of this text is given in Ibid, pp.84-5. for the text see, T.15/603, pp.173-9.
14. T.15/618, p.300, T.15/616, p.286.
15. T.55/2145, p.6b.
16. T.13/418, p.902, due to its lack of connection with this thesis, the Pan chou san mei ching will be excluded here. For the discussion of these two texts see, Z.Tsukamoto, *A History*

of *Early Chinese Buddhism*, p.98.

17. R.E. Emmerick, *The Khotanese Śūrangamasamādhisūtra* (Oxford University Press, 1970), p.xv.

18. T.15/642, p.630, T.47/1962, p.82a and T.47/1985, p.14a.

19. For the details see Zenryū Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese Buddhism*, p.101, and T.55/2145, pp.48-9.

20. See *Ibid*, p.101.

21. For further information see E. Lamotte, *La Concentration de la Marche Héroïque* (Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1965), pp.65-106.

22. T.52/2103, p.296.

23. T.52/2086, p.863.

24. T.8/223, pp.233a, 251a.

25. T.25/1509, pp.97a, 234b.

26. T.12/374, p.546a and T.12/375, pp.791c, 846b,

27. T.46/1911, pp.26a, 37b, 50a, 81a, T.46/1912, pp.221a, 472 and T.46/1921, pp.590, 608.

28. See Zenryū Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese Buddhism*, pp.101-2, and T.15/642, pp.630-1.

29. T.15/642, pp.633, 636, 643.

30. T.14/463, pp.480-481, translated during 280-312 A.D..

31. These two figures are regarded as two representatives of Mahāyāna dhyāna in China, see Sakaino Kōyō, *Shina Bukkyō-shi kōwa*, Vol.1, (Tokyo: 1985), pp.594-598.

32. This refers to note.97, p.173 above, Chapter Five.

33. For Zen history see Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism*, Vol.1, pp.85-90, 107-112, 129-137.

34. See E.Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp.73, 100-102, 180-187; and R.Robinson, *Early Madhyamika in India and China* (Delhi: University of Wisconsin, 1978), pp.73-80.

35. See G.Nagao, *Madhyamika and Yogacara* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991), pp.209-214.

36. See K.Inada, *Nāgārjuna* (Tokyo: 1970), p.25.

37. See G.Nagao, *Madhyamika and Yogacara*, summary from pp.40-49.

38. SHYL, p.23.
39. T.15/615, p.292b.
40. T.15/616, p.292 and T.15/614, p.279.
41. T.25/1509, p.275.
42. See D.W. Chappell, *T'ien-t'ai Buddhism* (Tokyo, 1983), pp.151-156.
43. See D.Chappell, *Tao-ch'o: A Pioneer of Chinese Pure Land Buddhism*, pp.272-304.
44. T.8/223, p.385.
45. T.85/2837, p.1286.
46. T.85/2837, p.1288, and the quotation is cited in Robert E.Buswell, *The Formation of Ch'an Ideology in China and Korea* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1989), p.142.
47. SHYL, p.30.
48. T.51/2076, pp.456-7.
49. Eight Winds are gain, loss, defamation, eulogy, praise, ridicule, sorrow and joy. W. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p.41.
50. See K.K.Inada, *Nāgārjuna*, pp.40, 146, 156.
51. T.42/1824, p.26b.
52. Sekiguchi Shindai, *Daruma Daishi no Kenkyū*, pp.368-369. The Hsing lu nan found in Tun-huang is contained in this book, pp.461-9.
53. SHYL, pp.28, 30, 31.
54. These terms appear in T'ien-t'ai teachings often, see T.46/1911, p.25, T.46/1912, pp.206-8.
55. SHYL, p.26.
56. T.24/1485, p.1010. The background of this sūtra is given in Ōno Hōdō, *Daijōkaikyō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: 1963), pp.275-287. Chu Fo-nien was not alive in 436; according to Ōno, when the sūtras as we know it must have been written, it might have been translated by him, and altered in 436.
57. Daśa-bhūmayā, the ten stages of developing the Buddha-wisdom: Pramudita (joy at benefitting oneself and others), Vimala (freedom from all possible defilement), Prabhākarin (emission of the light of wisdom), Arcismati (glowing wisdom), Sudurjaya (overcoming utmost difficulties), Abhimukhin

(realization of wisdom), Dūrangama (proceeding far), Acala (attainment of immobility), Sādhumati (attainment of expedient wisdom), and Dharmamegha (ability to spread the teachings over the dharma-dhātu as clouds overspread the sky). JBD, pp.148-9.

58. T.24/1485, p.1014b.

59. T.46/1911, pp.83-87, 95, 101, 131b; see K.Chen, *Buddhism in China*, pp.311-313, and G.Nagao, *Madhyamika and Yogacara*, pp.216-218.

60. SHYL, p.27.

61. SHYL, p.26.

62. T.46/1911, p.15. For these four mental motions, see Daniel.B. Stevenson, "The Four Kinds of Samādhi in Early T'ien-t'ai Buddhism", in Peter Gregory, *Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1986), p.77.

63. This explanation is summary from Ibid, pp.77-78.

64. T.46/1912, pp.197bc, 208b.

65. T.46/1913, p.452c.

66. *Nihon daizōkyō*, edited by Nakano Takkei (Tokyo, 1914-18), Vol.41, p.12.

67. T.55/2160, Dengyō daishi shōrai Osshū roku (Ch'uan chiao ta shih Chiang-lai Yüeh chou lu), p.1059b. An anonymous poem, Fu ou ko, is listed on the same page of the catalogue; a poem called Fu ou ko is attributed to Fu, but no further evidence to prove this is the one compiled in the SHYL.

68. Although the collection does not incorporate the word 'biography' in its title, it was customary that scribes employed 'Chi' (collection) or 'Lu' (record) in the title of collection (sometimes these combined biographies); the Shan-hui ta-shih lu, for instance, contains a biography of Fu.

69. T.39/1786, p.128b.

70. See K.Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp.316-320.

71. For this teaching see C.C.Chang, *The Buddhist Teaching of Totality* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1972), pp.60-70.

72. T.10/278, pp.217c, 612c, 906c, 910b.

73. See C.C.Chang, *The Buddhist Teaching of Totality*, pp.14-15.

74. For the life of Ch'eng-kuan, see T.49/2093, p.293b, T.50/2061, p.737; summary from K.Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, p.315.
75. T.36/1736, p.184a.
76. See page 71 above, Chapter Three.
77. T.47/1987, pp.539c, 529c.
78. SHYL, pp.19, 30.
79. SHYL, p.23.
80. SHYL, p.23.
81. SHYL, p.34.
82. T.46/1991, p.36. For the idea of Mahāyāna precepts, see Tatsugen Satō, *Chūgoku Bukkyō ni okeru kairitsu no kenkyū* (Tokyo: 1987), pp.318-325, 360-364, 399-410.
83. SHYL, p.24.
84. T.47/1969, p.200c.
85. See Matsuzaki Kiyokiro, *Fu-dai-shi no shisō*, in *Bukkyōgaku nenpō* (1981, No.56), pp.87-95.
86. See *Chūgoku Zenshū Daijiten* (Tokyo: Komazawa University, 1978), p.1274a.
87. See Paul Gregor Simon, *Aspects of Confucianism* (Germany: Peter Lang, 1990), pp.12-19. Cheng, Chung-ying, *New Dimensions of Confucian and Neo-Confucian Philosophy* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991), pp.65-88.
88. See page 71 above.
89. SHYL, p.19.
90. SHYL, p.20.
91. See E.Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp.189-195.
92. For a full translation see p.187 above.
93. SHYL, p.32.
94. See Satō Seijun, *Chūgoku Bukkyō shisō-shi no kenkyū*, (Tokyo: 1985), pp.3-60.
95. T.52/2117, p.784a.

CHAPTER SEVEN

INTRODUCTION OF THE MONK PU-TAI

As regards our research on Pu-tai's hagiography, in this chapter, the biographical sources will be initially provided, then a translation of the biography on Pu-tai from the earliest text, the Sung kao seng chuan (SKSC), will be undertaken; finally, the Buddhist background of that time will be mentioned in order to understand the original image of Pu-tai as a whole.

1. Biographical sources

The sources available to modern scholars concerning Pu-tai's life are deficient. The materials give merely a nebulous account, all are agreed that he was a mysterious cleric who performed miracles. His story is recounted in most late Buddhist sources, Chinese literature, folklore and even in Taoist texts. Discounting all of the derivative sources, there remains a mere handful of materials which can be used to examine the ambiguities of Pu-tai.

(1) The earliest and shortest version is the Sung kao seng chuan (T.50/2061), written by Tsan-ning in 988; it simply mentions his miraculous life and final verse.

(2) The second source is the Ching te ch'uan teng lu (T.51/2076), written by Tao-yüan in 1004; this contains two additional poems which are not included in the SKSC. A translation on Pu-tai from this source has been done by H.B.Chapin in 1933.¹

(3) The Ting ying ta shih pu-tai ho shang chuan (or TYC, HTC.146) is a more informative and organized biographical

source of Pu-tai, written by T'an-o (1286-1366), who was abbot of the Kuo-ch'ing ch'an Temple of the T'ien-t'ai School. A postscript to the TYC, called the Pu-tai ho shang hou hsu (PTHH), written by Kuang-ju, is a sort of homily with some bibliographical details. Two short essays, the Ch'ung-ko mi le chuan and Pu-tai ho shang chuan are included.

(4) In some late Zen records, such as the Chih yüeh lu (HTC.143) and Wu teng ch'üan shu (HTC.140-2)...etc., Pu-tai is classified in the section on "Tung tu ying hua sheng hsien". These texts resemble each other in content, and might have been copied from the Sung period.

Apart from the religious sources, most local histories from the region where he lived contain data on Pu-tai and the Yüeh-lin Temple. The Chekiang t'ung-chih gives a partial account of the Yüeh-lin Temple, with which the cleric Pu-tai was associated.² The Sung Yüan szu ming lu chih, Feng-hua hsien chih and Yüeh-lin shih chih (YLSC) also provide detailed information.³

A helpful chart is taken from an article entitled "Pu-tai ho-shang: Iconographical Description" by F.D. Lessing, as shown in the Table.1 below.⁴

No	Title	Author	Time	Chapter	In T T P			Remarks
					No.	Vol.	Pages	
1	Sung Kao-sêng-chuan 宋高僧備	Tsan-ning, 贊甯	ca. 988	21	2061	50	848 b	Shortest and obviously oldest version. 215 characters
2	Ching-tê Ch'uan-têng-lu 景德傳燈錄	Tao-yüan, 道原	worked in 1004	27	2076	51	434 a	Probably enlarged from No. 1. 562 characters
3	Fo-tsu T'ung-chi 佛祖統記	Chih-p'an, 志磐	between 1258 and 1269	42	2035	49	390 c	442 characters
4	Fo-tsu Li-tai-t'ung-tsai 佛祖歷代通載	Nien-ch'ang, 念常, from Hua-t'ing 華亭	died in 1341	17	2036	49	651 c	571 characters
5	Shih shih Chi-ku-lüeh 釋氏稽古略	Chüeh-an, 覺岸	worked until 1354	3	2037	49	848 a	125 characters
6	Shên-sêng-chuan 神僧傳	—	1417	—	2069	50	1010 a	178 characters The date is that of the Imperial preface.
7	Ting-ying- ta-shih Pu-tai Ho-shang chuan 定應大師布 袋和尚傳	T'an-o, 曇噩 abbot of the Kuo-ch'ing- ch'an-ssu 國 清禪寺	between 1286—1366				477 a— 479 a	12395 characters.
8	Pu-tai Ho-shang Hou-hsü 布袋和尚後序	Cramana Kuang-ju, 廣 和	—				479 a— 481 b	13724 characters. This essay, a postscript to No. 7, is some sort of a homily with a few bibliographical data.
9	(Ch'ung-k'o) Mi-lo chuan lüeh-chi 刻彌勒傳略覆 Reprint of the Abridged Biography of Maitreya	Huei-chih, 惠 智 Priest of the Snow Moun- tain Temple	—				482 a	304 characters.
10	Pu-tai Ho-shang chuan 布袋和尚傳	—	—				482 b	344 characters.

2. The translation of the biography on Pu-tai

This section is a translation on the life of Pu-tai, which is taken from the earliest source Sung kao seng chuan. Although it is a short record, it reveals an early understanding of Pu-tai. From reading the text we may acquire an idea that Pu-tai was a peculiar figure, he simply served people by his predictions, and his life was full of mystery. It is impossible to regard him as an ordinary person, but as a mysterious hermit, probably a high ranking bodhisattva. The translation is as follows:

[The monk], Shih Ch'i-tz'u, is unknown as to his name and family; some said he was a native of Szu-ming. [He was described as] being of short build and rotund, having a narrow forehead and with a paunch. His speech was unpredictable; and he slept wherever he was. He often carried a hemp-bag on a stick over his shoulder. Whenever he went to a market or a village, he would beg for whatever he saw, be it salted meat, pickles or fish, and as soon as it was handed to him, he would promptly taste it and put the remainder in his bag. Hence, he was called "Ch'ang t'ing-tzu Pu-tai shih".

He used to lie in the snow, but the snow did not wet his body. People regarded this as a miracle. A verse reads: "Maitreya, the true Maitreya, his contemporaries did not acknowledge him." and so on. Some said: "He was a manifestation of Maitreya. Sometimes when he stood on the bridge, some one asked: "What are you standing here for?". He replied: "I am looking for someone." Whoever he met he would beg for goods, which he then sold to the shop. His bag

contained one hundred different kinds of supplies. He could prophesy people's fortunes and misfortunes, and indicate his reading by signs, namely when a sunny day was expected, he would wear high clogs and slept on the market bridge with his knees raised; when he wore wet sandals and walked [on the street], rain would follow. From this display the people noticed what weather to expect. In the period of T'ien-fu, he deceased in the district of Feng-hua; he was buried by his countrymen. Later, some saw he carried his bag in other districts. Hence, in the region of "Kiang-che" people vied with one another to depict his appearance.⁵

3. The background in the time of Pu-tai

After the fall of the T'ang Dynasty, the empire broke up into ten kingdoms corresponding to the natural economic areas, which had formed the basis of the states in earlier periods of disunity. The best known and most enduring of these independent states appeared in central and southern China, and were known as the Ten Kingdoms. In the southern kingdoms, in particular, conditions remained peaceful and prosperous, with trade and commerce developing rapidly in the absence of any central government controls.⁶

The Hui-ch'ang persecution of Buddhism (841-845) brought a massive, empire-wide destruction of Buddhist establishments, the wholesale secularization of the clergy, and the loss of land, wealth, power and prestige.⁷ Although Buddhism was later revived, it was never again restored to its former position of glory and achievement. Hence, Kamata Shigeo asserted that the Five Dynasties was the period of "The

Transformation of Buddhism".⁸ The central power of the state was shifted to revive Confucianism and reassert its direct control over all institutions, mores and ideas within the various domains. As the educated elite turned towards the new Confucianism, Buddhist ideas ceased to be the common basis of intellectual life. Moreover, the power of native Taoism made slow but steady inroads into the following which Buddhism had won among the people.⁹ The shift was gradual, but during 907-960, in this new and final mode of interaction between Buddhism and Chinese culture, Pu-tai appeared on the scene.

Following the downfall of the T'ang, Chinese Buddhism in this period underwent a tremendous change and fell into a decline. Of all the schools that arose during the T'ang, only the Zen and Pure Land remained active. Although by the end of the T'ang, the composition of the Chinese Buddhist canon had been practically completed, those precious scriptures were lost or destroyed during the three periods of persecution and political upheaval. No prominent Buddhist clergy emerged such as Fa-tsang and Chih-i, nor did any new school of Buddhist thought develop, nor was any distinguished Buddhist sūtra translated. Even the remarkable schools of T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen were replaced by the Zen and Pure Land. Owing to the constant turmoil, profound doctrine appeared arduous and abstract for the practical-minded people, who preferred the direct and simple teachings of the Zen and Pure Land Schools.

Though Buddhism in general began to decline during and after the T'ang Dynasty, the Zen School continued to flourish. It survived the persecution of 845 and emerged during the

following Five Dynasties as an energetic movement in southern China, particularly, in the state of Wu-yüeh, one of the most prosperous and important regions of the Ten Kingdoms. In 908, the leader Ch'ien Liu established the state of Wu-yüeh, and within seventy-two years the local self-defence organization had been expanded and transformed into a large regional state which remained peaceful and independent until 978, when it was finally conquered by the Sung.

Buddhism was prosperous and protected in the state of Wu-yüeh. The cities where Buddhism best succeeded were Hang-chou (Chekiang), Yang-chou (Huai-nan, Chiang-tu), Kuang-chou (Canton) and Foo-chou (Fukien), not Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang, which formerly had been regarded as the core of Buddhism.¹⁰ Pu-tai's native town was Szu-ming, which is located in the same province as Hang-chou of Chekiang. Hang-chou was regarded as the Buddhist headquarters. During that time, the Chekiang and Fukien provinces were the domains of Wu-yüeh, where Buddhism recovered quickly from the Hui-ch'ang persecution. The ruler, Ch'ien Liu, was sympathetic towards Buddhism and energetically restored the saṅgha. He invited eminent clergy to preach sūtras and Vinaya, constructed temples and built a statue of Maitreya. He also built a renowned temple, Aśoka Temple, in Szu-ming in 916. Buddhism was thriving at that time in Wu-yüeh.¹¹ Pu-tai was wise to select this prosperous and peaceful region to live in, if indeed he did select it. It makes sense that a cleric would prosper in a flourishing and free country and would be able to propagate his beliefs.

As a cleric, Pu-tai was obliged to propagate his religion, which necessitated living in a region where his beliefs were tolerated, regardless of whether he was seen as an image of Maitreya, an eminent Indian monk, or even as an indigenous Chinese cleric. At that time of upheaval, Pu-tai was successful in his mission in the province of Chekiang. Although he acted in an unorthodox way not only on account of his speech, but by virtue of his conduct, he won the honorary title of a pre-incarnation of the bodhisattva Maitreya and had a prodigious influence on the Maitreya cult.

Notes:

1. See Helen B. Chapin, "The Ch'an Master Pu-tai", in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 53 (1933), pp.47-52.
2. Chi Ts'êng-yün, *Chekiang t'ung-chih* (Peking: 1934), pp.3421, 3929.
3. Li Ch'ien-p'an, *Fang-hua hsien-chih* (Taipei: 1957), pp.678-781, 1677-79.
4. F.D. Lessing, "Pu-tai ho-shang: Iconographical Description", *Yung-ho-kung - A Iconography of the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking VIII, Ethnography 1, The Sino-Swedish Expeditions* (Stockholm: 1942), p.22.
5. Parts of the translation can be found in F.D. Lessing's article, *Ibid*, pp.23-4.
6. For the history of the Five Dynasties and the Ten Kingdoms see, W. Rodzinski, *A History of China* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1979), Vol.1, pp.143-148.
7. See K. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp.226-233.
8. See Kamata Shigeo, *Chung kuo fo chiao shih*, rendered into Chinese by Kuan Shih-chien (Taipei: 1986), p.212.
9. For the Buddhist history after the T'ang Dynasty, see Abe Jōichi, *Chūgoku Zenshū-shi no Kenkyū* (Tokyo: 1963), pp.89-110.
10. Kamata Shigeo, *Chung kuo fo chiao shih*, Chinese edition, p.215.
11. See Abe Jōichi, *Chūgoku Zenshū-shi no kenkyū*, pp.87-101.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE ENIGMAS OF THE MONK PU-TAI

As we have introduced the background of the monk Pu-tai in the previous chapter, we are aware that his life is full of puzzles. This chapter is a tentative attempt to solve several ambiguities concerning the legends of Pu-tai, which will be scrutinized separately in the sections hereunder.

1. Date of Nirvāṇa

According to the oldest source available, the SKSC, Pu-tai entered nirvāṇa in the years of the T'ien-fu period, 901-903, (no specific date is given). The CTCTL, however, narrates that he died in the third month of the third year of Chên-ming (917), the cyclical year Ping-tzu: taking up a cross-legged posture on a flat stone below the eastern veranda at the Yüeh-lin Temple, he spoke his Final Verse as thus:

"Maitreya, the true Maitreya,
dividing his body into ten thousand
million particles, he appeared from time
to time to people during that era, but his
contemporaries did not acknowledge him."¹ (A34)

Having uttered this verse, he passed away serenely. Subsequently, according to the SKSC, there were sightings of him carrying his hemp-bag in other districts. Thereupon Buddhists vied with each other in sketching his likeness. It was said that to that day his picture could be seen in the shrine east of the main hall of Yüeh-lin Temple.

A variation on the Final Verse mentioned above exists in the TYC and FTTC. In the FTTC, in the T'ien-li period (a clerical error for T'ien-fu, 936-943), it is recorded that the magistrate Wang Jen of the town of P'u-t'ien met him in Min

(Fukien). Pu-tai gave Wang this verse -- the verse mentioned above. In the TYC, however, the same narrative is recounted with a slight difference, giving the name of the magistrate as Wang Jen-hsü, who is said to have sighted Pu-tai in the T'ien-hsin monastery south of the Yangtze River; Pu-tai gave him a sealed letter with instructions to open and read it seven days later if the master did not reappear. This sealed letter was written in verse and included nine Chinese words, which reads: "Do not portray my appearance, which is the Truth". Thereafter, people came to realize that Pu-tai was indeed the Maitreya.

Be that as it may, the scribe imbued this narrative with mystique and mysticism; and whether or not it won Pu-tai the nimbus of immortality, it was a legend which transcended the commonplace recounting of a momentous event: death. It was in the CTCTL that the verse was first connected with his demise, but the FTTC was written some 250 years later.

Some later versions, such as the FTTC, FTLTTT, SSCKL, record a different date from the CTCTL, which refers to the second year of Chên-ming. In the FTLTTT, in particular, we find that the date coincides with that of the CTCTL, but the year of nirvāṇa is revised to the second year of Chên-ming.² Obviously, the author of the FTLTTT rectified the error, for according to the Chinese historical reference work, Erh-shih-wu shih pu pien, the third year of Chên-ming, 917, bears the cyclical characters Ting-ch'ou. It is, however, the second year, 916, which bears the cyclical characters Ping-tzu. Thus, we can deduce that the authentic date must be the second year

of Chên-ming, 916, based on this historical survey.

The TYC and PTHH provide more elaborate data dealing with the material presented in the other legends, which are also useful. These two sources, however, retain the date as the third year of Chên-ming. The reason for this could be either the authors did not discover their mistake and still borrowed from the older source, or as F. Lessing mentioned that they wished to keep the auspicious number three, thereby impressing the people with the momentous event.³

Pu-tai's life span in this world merits close scrutiny and is essential for an understanding of his life. History has shown that a saint or seer always leaves in his wake some mystery concerning his life; Pu-tai is a case in point. However, the only source that mentions this aspect is the PTHH, the author, Kuang-ju, writes :

"The elder Pu-tai lived about twenty years, ...
he appeared during the period of the Emperor
Hsi-tsung (reign: 874-888) in the later T'ang."

According to this citation, calculating from his last year 916, he should have appeared in the later T'ang, around 888, at the end of the period of Emperor Hsi-tsung. Hence, Pu-tai would seem to have lived for twenty nine years, from 888 to 916. Nevertheless, according to the oldest version, the SKSC, he died during the years of T'ien-fu (901-903), which would indicate that he lived for fourteen years, from 888 to 901. Moreover, another source of the Ming period, the FTKM, which is an account of Buddhist history, records the life of Pu-tai as having appeared in the year Chia-tzu, 904, the last year of the reign of the Emperor Chao-tsung, which would imply that

he only lived for thirteen years, from 904 to 916.

There are several rare and unique sources which might shed light on this dilemma. A Zen master, Yün-chü Tao-ying (848-902), was the first to mention the cleric Pu-tai in the discourse to his disciples, as recorded in the Tsu-t'ang chi (TTC), he related: "This is the truth of the monk Pu-tai".⁴ Another well-known Zen master, Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi (840-901), one of the founders of the Ts'ao-tung House, also alluded to the monk Pu-tai in remarks found in the Hsu yü-lu of Zen master Ju-ching (1163-1228).⁵ Ju-ching recounts that once a cleric asked Ts'ao-shan "What was the 'Chia-feng' of the Pu-tai or what was Pu-tai's Zen style" ? Subsequently, in the TCL, Yung-ming Yen-shou also quotes verses from Pu-tai.⁶

This evidence indicates that the monk Pu-tai was well-known before 901, because Ts'ao-shan died in 901. Nonetheless, another possibility may be considered that these sayings might have been attributed to Tao-ying and Ts'ao-shan by their disciples. Whether the sayings were edited by their disciples or not, the two Zen masters must have uttered them, otherwise their students would not have quoted them. In spite of this assumption, we may suggest that Pu-tai died during the lifetime of Ts'ao-shan and Tao-ying. Although due to the scant evidence this hypothesis cannot be proved, we can conjecture that it is based on Chinese custom. For, according to the Chinese proverb: "Kai kuan lun ting" (charging one's virtue after one's death), one would judge a person's contribution and disposition only after his death. People would continue to pay homage to a person after his demise, although one had

been widely respected as a perfect person during his lifetime. For everything is impermanent in this world, especially the mind of human beings which is subject to ceaseless change. From moment to moment, nobody knows if a well-known perfect gentleman will neglect his good manners and virtue. Hence, the only way to judge a perfect man is after his demise. In any case, the TTC (952) and TCL (961) show that by about 950 it was believed that Pu-tai lived before 900.

Accordingly, this study surmises that Pu-tai died in the year of T'ien-fu (901-903) as recorded in the SKSC. Two reasons are proposed to support this conjecture: namely, the CTCTL was the first source to clearly record the date of Pu-tai's death, albeit, erroneously being based on the cyclical calendar as mentioned earlier. Had that recorded date been authentic and widely accepted, the earliest source, the SKSC, would have recorded it. It seems to have been added to arouse enthusiasm in the saint Pu-tai after he had already become renowned. Furthermore, according to Tao-ying's dialogue, he must have believed Pu-tai was a great Zen master prior to his pronouncement. This is tantamount to affirming that Pu-tai was a significant figure in the Zen School. In the Zen tradition, masters frequently quote the sayings of remarkable Zen sages to expound doctrine. In the TTC, the fourth patriarch of Zen, Tao-hsin, is also mentioned right after Pu-tai in the Tao-ying's deliberation, which indicates that both were on a par in Tao-ying's mind.⁷ Hence for these reasons, this study surmises that Pu-tai might have died at least one year before Tao-ying, in 901, as Ts'ao-shan died in 901 and Tao-ying in

902, and the period of T'ien-fu only spanned three years, from 901 to 903. Presumably, had Pu-tai been alive when Tao-ying mentioned him, the latter would not have accorded him such great respect and included him in his teaching without recognizing Pu-tai's status. It can therefore be safely assumed that Tao-ying already believed that Pu-tai was a saint before his discourse.

We now come to a vexed question of when it was that Pu-tai was recognized as an image of Maitreya. Assuming that he died in 901 A.D., his Final Verse would have been recited prior to his death; for it was at that time that the populace began to give credence to his true status as an image of Maitreya. In his lifetime, people only recognized him as an exceptional figure with the gift of clairvoyance, until he uttered the Final Verse. After his nirvāṇa in 901, Pu-tai's fame increased; by the time of the Zen master Yung-ming Yen-shou, his fame was widespread, which induced Yung-ming to cite his verse in the TCL. Therefore, in 988, he was undoubtedly widely regarded as a manifestation of Maitreya, which can be deduced from the fact that the SKSC points this out in his biography. He was definitely well-known as an incarnation of Maitreya about 988.

Notwithstanding, whether his life spanned from 888-916, 888-901, or from 904-916, it still remains an enigma. Whether we rely on the oldest source, the SKSC, or on the widely recognized version, the CTCTL, we have never been able to form an authentic picture of any miraculous figure, saint, or even an incarnation of a bodhisattva.

2. Birthday

In addition to his life span, another intriguing question arises regarding Pu-tai's birthday, which is not mentioned in either the SKSC or CTCTL, but is indeed raised in the FTTC and TYC. Once, when Pu-tai was wandering in Min, a layman named Ch'en, paying great respect to him, asked him about his age. Pu-tai replied: "This bag is as old as universe, my surname is Li and I was born on the eighth of February". In studying his life, a question arises as to why he gave Li as his surname, and whether any specific interpretation can be attributed to the date given: the eighth of February, for a bodhisattva.

According to the Pu sa ch'u t'ai ching (Garbha-sūtra), translated during 350-417 by Chu Fo-nien, it reads:

"Śākyamuni became a Buddha on the eighth of February, turned the wheel of the law (preaching) on the eighth of February, overwhelmed the devil on the eighth of February, entered the nirvāṇa on the eighth of February."⁸

As regards the date of birth of Śākyamuni Buddha, according to the Kuo ch'ü hsien tsai yin kuo ching, this was the eighth of February; and he underwent the ceremony of Abhiṣeka (baptism) on the same date.⁹ In India, the Abhiṣeka was originally performed during the enthronement ceremony when water from the four seas was sprinkled on the head of the new monarch. Generally speaking, however, Śākyamuni took holy orders to become a monk on the eighth of April, he also became enlightened on the eighth of April, and entered nirvāṇa on the fifteenth of February.¹⁰ These two sayings of Śākyamuni's life were recounted in the Chinese texts, yet, up to the

present time, Buddhists celebrate the date of attainment of Buddhahood by Śākyamuni on the eighth of April, which has entered traditional Chinese Buddhist lore.

A story concerning the life of Maitreya is recounted in the Kuan Mi-le pu sa shang-sheng ching; according to which the Buddha told his disciple Upāli that Ajita would be a future Buddha and would be born into a great Brahmana's family in the kingdom of Vārāṇasī on the fifteenth of February.¹¹ Thus, the future Buddha Maitreya will be born on the fifteenth of February, which has no link with Pu-tai's alleged birthday.

Another pertinent story recounts that once while Pu-tai was bathing with his intimate friend, Chiang Mo-ho, in the Ch'ang-t'ing brook, the latter discovered an eye on his back and surprisingly yelled: "You are a Buddha". The master said: "Do not disclose this to anyone". The episode on Chiang Mo-ho will be discussed later.

Among the three sources referred to above, Pu-tai himself alludes to his birthday coinciding with that of Śākyamuni, the eighth of February, and he was regarded as a Buddha by Chiang. We may conjecture Pu-tai's intention: he hoped to indicate his bodhisattva stature by disclosing his date of birth during his lifetime.

3. The surname Li

To examine Pu-tai's adoption of the surname Li, the following discussion presents a tentative enquiry into the relationship between Taoism and Buddhism. It should shed light on the enigma of Pu-tai's life. The introduction of Buddhism into China in the first century A.D. had a profound cultural

impact on local religious sects, and on Taoism in particular. The convergence between Buddhism and Taoism was a momentous one fraught with discord and controversy for centuries, and on many occasions, these debates were officially presided over by Chinese emperors. The outcome of these disputes was generally defeat and humiliation for the Taoists.

After being humiliated, in order to establish the primacy of Taoism, some Taoists claimed that after his disappearance Lao-tzu went to India, converted the people there, and became the Buddha; in another version, that Śākyamuni was merely one of the eighty-one incarnations of Lao-tzu.¹² At the beginning of the fourth century this claim was put forth in the spurious sūtra: Lao-tzu hua hu ching, which has aroused much curiosity. The Taoists used this legend as a weapon against Buddhism. They argued that the foreign doctrine was merely a diluted and debased form of Taoism, adapted to the needs of uncivilized people.

Lao-tzu is traditionally regarded as the founder of Taoism, his life has been shrouded in mystery in Chinese history.¹³ He is described as a great immortal who lived for several centuries. In the Lao-tzu hua hu ching, a colourful picture is presented of the birth of Lao-tzu which is almost identical to that of the Buddha. It reads:

"On the full-moon day of the second month when Lao-tzu was born in Po, nine dragons poured water over him in order to wash his body. Later these dragons transformed themselves into nine wells. Soon after his birth he walked on the ground, and a lotus sprang up at each step, until it amounted to nine. With his left hand pointing at the sky, and his right hand at the earth, he declared: 'Both above and below the heaven,

I am supreme. I shall preach the highest Tao and give salvation to all living and inanimate beings..'"¹⁴

In addition to this, the author also explains the titles of Lao-tzu. Illustrious titles were conferred on Lao-tzu, such as Teacher of Emperors and Kings, Great Immortal, Father of Gods and Men and so forth, just as the Buddha has ten titles.

Such accounts of wondrous birth and being addressed as a master were not customarily found in Chinese literature and history before the advent of Buddhism in the first century A.D.. This clearly indicates that the Taoists imitated Buddhist institutions concerning the fantastic birth of the Buddha and the custom of addressing the master with marks of respect, and that there is no substance to Lao-tzu's mission to India to convert the Buddha or the barbarians.¹⁵

The first record of a Li family descending from Lao-tzu was mentioned in the biography of the sage Lao-tzu by the great historian Szu-ma Ch'ien. At the end of the Han period, Lao-tzu was the most prominent sage, and was regarded as a supreme deity in the Taoist pantheon. For instance, the two uprisings, Yellow Turban and the Celestial Masters, were in the name of the same deity, Lao-tzu, and both claimed that their god had come to lead his people.¹⁶

Apart from being used by a religious uprising, the Li clan was strongly supported by the royal family. The founder of the T'ang Dynasty, Li Yüan, (566-635), was sympathetic to Taoism and availed himself of the traditional link between the Li clan and the sage Lao-tzu. The T'ang royal house established its claim to descent from a notable Han clan and

of belonging to a prominent north-western lineage, and finally claimed to be descended from the Taoist sage Lao-tzu, who was their putative ancestor.¹⁷

In any case, these incidents already foreshadowed the character of Lao-tzu as a god, and even a saviour. Given the deeply rooted cultural traditions of both Confucianism and Taoism in China, Buddhism had no option but to adopt this culture and customs. In fact, toward the end of the T'ang, the veneration of Lao-tzu as a supreme deity of the popular religion was important enough to make anyone claim ancestry from the Li clan; and the Li clan was also supported by the royal family. Apparently, the Li was popular and powerful clan at that time. In the circumstances, Pu-tai may have borrowed the surname Li to designate his clan. This study assumes that if he was indeed a saint manifesting as Maitreya, he had no human lineage and thus had to invent one to consolidate his human condition; if not, he may have simply taken the surname Li as his lineage since the surname was popular then.

We may perceive a clear interplay between Lao-tzu and Maitreya in the Lao-tzu hua hu ching, in which the appellation Maitreya appears in one of the sixteen transfigurations of Lao-chün. The thirteenth describes Lao-chün as transfigured into a diamond body of Maitreya to convert the barbarians.¹⁸ Obviously, Buddhist technical terms were employed by Taoism, such as the Dharma-wheel (Fa-lun), Nirvāṇa and Śramaṇa (Shamen). These terms appeared frequently in Taoist texts and the figure Maitreya borrowed from Buddhism was also well-known in Taoism.¹⁹

In the foregoing discussion on Lao-tzu, the Li clan and Maitreya, we perceive that if Pu-tai was a mere mortal, so to speak, he must have had very profound ideas on Taoism and an ardent aspiration for Maitreya, which spurred him on to take his place as an image of Maitreya by professing the surname Li. Furthermore, the link between the Li clan and Maitreya, from the Taoist point of view, may imply that Maitreya was one of the gods of Taoism or even a manifestation of Lao-tzu.

4. The legend of carrying a sandal to India: Comparison of Bodhidharma and Pu-tai

It is interesting to study the legend concerning Bodhidharma's carrying of a sandal on his way back to India. The same anecdote is found in the account of Pu-tai, but is not included in the SKSC and CTCTL. The earliest source on Pu-tai to refer to this tale was the FTTC. It will be easier to understand the development of the legend of Pu-tai, if we begin by examining the similar case involving Bodhidharma.

The oldest source on Bodhidharma is undoubtedly the Lo yang chia lan chi (LYCLC) by Yang Hsüan-chih, completed in 547. In these annals, Yang reports that a Persian monk (Hu) named Bodhidharma was quite impressed with the magnificence of the marvellous Yung-ning Temple in Lo-yang. He claimed it was superior to anything he had seen at his age of one hundred and fifty years.²⁰ The Yung-ning Temple was built in 516. In 526, a sacred vessel was blown down in a storm. Later, troops were quartered in the temple precincts between 528 and 529. In 534, the whole structure was destroyed by fire. As K.Ch'en relates: "For Bodhidharma to have heaped such praise on the magnificence of the temple, he must have seen it during the

height of its glory, between 516 and 526. If this were the case, it would give the lie to the Zen version, that he arrived in Canton in 526."²¹

Next to the LYCLC, the second most useful source is the HKSC. Both biographies of Bodhidharma and Seng-fu seem to verify that Bodhidharma was already in northern China in 479-497.²² Neither the LYCLC nor the HKSC mention Bodhidharma's meeting with the Emperor Wu of Liang, or that he carried a sandal back to India.

A study of variant biographies of Bodhidharma, written one hundred years after the HKSC, reveals that accounts about him were increasing rapidly. There are many fascinating miracles recorded in Buddhist, Taoist and other literary sources, such as the tale of Hui-k'e's cutting off his arm to prove his sincerity, the episode of Bodhidharma carrying a sandal to India, and even the miracle of crossing the broad Yangtze River on a reed, in which he was respected as an eminent ascetic, sage and prophet. Of all the myths, the only tale we are concerned with is that of carrying a sandal to India, which may assess its relevance to Pu-tai.

In the Leng chia shih tzu chi (LCSTC), completed in about 716, there is no mention made either of the incident of Bodhidharma being poisoned or of his carrying a sandal.²³ In the Li tai fa pao chi (LTFPC), written between 714-774, it emerges that on six occasions he miraculously foiled attempts by his enemies to poison him, and three times declined an invitation from the Emperor Hsiao-ming to visit the court of the northern kingdom; he also met Sung Yün and carried a

sandal on his way to Central Asia. When his disciples opened his grave, only one sandal remained.²⁴ Afterwards, the Pao lin chuan (PLC, completed circa 801), the TTC, (circa 952) and the Chiu T'ang Shu (in 945) recount a virtually identical story to the LTFPC. However, the biography of Sung Yün, which was clearly recorded in the early LYCLC, makes no mention of any link with Bodhidharma. In the diverse accounts given above, and from the wealth of legends, we can infer just how significant Bodhidharma was in the Zen School at that time.

In order to enhance its position among sectarian Buddhism, the Zen School may have fabricated stories in its records. A few inaccurate records appear in the PLC, such as:

"Bodhidharma died in the nineteenth year of T'ai-ho in the Hou-Wei Dynasty, which was the same as the second year of Ta-t'ung in the Liang Dynasty... The Prince Chao-ming wrote an eulogy in his honour."²⁵

Historically, the nineteenth year of T'ai-ho, 495, was not the second year of Ta-t'ung, 536; and Prince Chao-ming died in the third year of Ta-tung, 531. If the former died in 536, Prince Chao-ming had already died prior to him. Undoubtedly, the eulogy is apocryphal. The PLC also states that three years after Bodhidharma's demise, in 498, Sung Yün met him on the way to Central Asia. However, according to the Chiu T'ang Shu, Sung Yün returned to China in the first year of Chên-kuang, 520. All these erroneous chronicles were, obviously, edited by the sect without corroborating the historical background. Accordingly, some Zen versions are not reliable for examining Zen history.

Bodhidharma is generally acknowledged as the first patriarch of the Zen School in China. He was said to have been endowed with supernatural powers, and his detractors believed he was a magician. Many other colourful and fabulous tales are linked to his life. Pu-tai, on the contrary, acted as a simpleton monk during his lifetime. Although these two opposite temperaments displayed the diverse posture of Zen, the serious and the jovial, both Zen clerics were said to have performed many miracles after their decease, some of which could be credible.

Seventy years after attaining nirvāṇa, Pu-tai was initially referred in the SKSC, which states that people attached credence to his status as Maitreya; and following his burial, many people had visions of him carrying a bag in other districts. Yet, the episode about him carrying a sandal is not related in the SKSC. Another Zen biographic source, TTC (circa 952), contains the biographies of great Zen masters from Indian to Chinese lineages, such as the Buddha Śākyamuni, Mahākāśyapa... Bodhidharma, Hui-neng..etc.. Pu-tai did not belong to any Zen house, so his biography was not included in the TTC, but his name appears in the Zen remarks. This has been discussed in the section 1. above. It is evident that Pu-tai was already well-known by that time, 952.

In 988, the SKSC was circulated and claimed Pu-tai was a manifestation of Maitreya. Apparently, in 988, it was a widely believed that he was an image of Maitreya. Once his fame spread, more detailed episodes became manifold. The record of Pu-tai in the CTCTL was expanded from the SKSC, and

the FTTC was elaborated from the CTCTL. The complete biography was then incorporated into the FTTC in the early stages. Hence, the tale of carrying a sandal and the remaining left sandal being found in the grave was recounted and placed at the beginning of Pu-tai's biography in the FTTC in 1269. Between 988 and 1269, his renown was on the increase, due to the widespread belief in his incarnation. Up to 1269, the episode of sightings in other districts was modified to fit into the story of the Bodhidharma recounted in both SKSC and FTTC.

It may be possible that, owing to his popularity, the credulous multitude was willing to believe the rumours denying his death. The fact that those regions at that time were rich in religious characters of a similar type, with whom Pu-tai may have been confounded, seems to offer a likely explanation for the origin of such stories. Pu-tai was reported to have been sighted by people in other neighbouring districts. The episode of the sandal may be merely a legend aimed at enhancing the Maitreya cult. Notwithstanding, according to the YLSC, a single sandal of Pu-tai's was buried in the Fo-t'a-ting (arbour) in the Feng-shan.²⁶ At any rate, there has never been a precise explanation for such miraculous myths.

5. A devout follower: Chiang Mo-ho

According to the local histories, the FHHC and Yen-yu szu-ming chih, Chiang Mo-ho, named Chiang Tsung-pa, was known to be a votary of Pu-tai.²⁷ Pu-tai had taught him to recite the phrase Mahāprajñā-pāramitā, which is the title of the most famous Mahāyāna text, as a daily practice, and he therefore

was usually known as Chiang Mo-ho. According to the YLSC, Chiang was a retired magistrate, and described as a gentle, sympathetic countryman. He was associated with Pu-tai for three years when the latter lived at the Yüeh-lin Temple.²⁸

According to the FTTC, once while they were bathing together, Chiang discovered an eye on Pu-tai's back. The latter said to him: "You are now aware of my secret, do not disclose it."²⁹ Additionally, a more colourful narrative describes in the TYC that there were four eyes on his back which Chiang discovered, and the master replied to him: "We have been together for three or four years, I must leave", and inquired whether the disciple would like to be rich and honoured. Chiang replied, "There is no permanence in being wealthy and honoured. I would rather wish for a long uninterrupted line of my descendants". The master then handed him a hemp-bag, in which were innumerable small bags, together with a box and a string, saying, "This is my farewell present to you, it concerns your posterity." Chiang failed to comprehend the motive of the present. A few days later Pu-tai came and asked him: "Have you comprehended the incentive of my gift yet?" When Chiang expressed his inability to make sense of it, the master explained, "I simply wish to see your descendants multiply as symbolised by the bags."³⁰

In Chinese culture, the essence of filial piety is to keep the family line unbroken; this represents the highest virtue. When a man finds himself surrounded with material possessions, worldly honours and especially by a large family consisting of his own children, grandchildren, and even great-

grandchildren; he is blessed with the supreme pleasure he can enjoy in this world. Although Chiang was practising the prajñā teaching, which exhorts one to divest oneself from bondage and attachments, he was still a secular man. It would have been unreasonable to expect him to completely disregard his attachment to his family, after only a few years of practising Buddhism. It was only natural for him to wish for a large family, in keeping with the filial piety so highly valued by his culture.

Concerning Pu-tai, however, the legend tells that he was an unusual monk, even a saint, he wished to satisfy his friend's desire without reminding him of his attachment to his family. On the one hand, it could be thought that Buddhism has bowed down to one of the deepest, most primitive aspirations of the Chinese soul. On the other hand, Pu-tai could be praised for fulfilling the bodhisattva principles, as expressed in a renowned Chinese Buddhist aphorism: "Hsien i yü kou ch'ien, hou ling ju fo chih" (or before converting one to practise Buddhism, one should first satisfy the person's needs).

In addition, another episode in the TYC concerns a fabulous anecdote linked with Chiang's life. After Pu-tai's nirvāṇa, there was an account of a man meeting Pu-tai on the way to Szechwan. The master left a message for Chiang with that man, which was to tell Chiang to look after himself and that they would be reunited soon. At that time, Chiang was living on a high mountain with only a dog for company. Every once in a while, the dog would take a certain amount of money

hung around its neck and go to purchase food in a village twenty miles away. After receiving Pu-tai's message, he knew his time was at hand. He bade farewell to his friends and family, bathed, then died in a sitting posture in meditation. This incident implies that Chiang was a highly skilled meditator. He could predict the time of his own death, and tranquilly pass away in meditation.

There seems to have been a model formulated whereby a Zen practitioner could display his attainment prior to nirvāṇa by three stages: prediction, bathing and serene demise in meditation, some even reciting a final verse. Historically, many eminent clergy are said to have followed this model in departing from this world, such as the fourth, fifth and sixth patriarchs of the Zen School.³¹ An eminent cleric can perceive the time of his death, then he bathes and sits in meditation, entering nirvāṇa in complete tranquillity. Chiang's demise was described in this manner, implying that he was a hermit skilful in profound meditation. Whether or not this is really true is of no great importance here. However, a doubt remains: if he had no connection with the popular figure, Pu-tai, could his tale have been told and linked with such a fabulous narrative ?

6. The implication of the hemp-bag in the Zen tradition

There was one feature in Pu-tai's appearance, which attracted general attention more than any other. Although he was not the only person distinguished by it, he won the title "Pu-tai ho-shang" (Hemp-bag monk) because of it. Wherever he went he carried a hemp bag, which came to symbolize him. This

habit of carrying a bag is found not only in eastern culture but also in western countries, for example, the truth-seeker, Diogenes of ancient Greece, was also famed for carrying a bag 1300 years earlier.

A special interpretation of the term Pu-tai, which also signifies substitute or replacement, was proposed by the monk Lang-chi in the YLSC. Its pronunciation is similar, but the characters are different.³² Lang-chi's explanation of "substitute" is that the bodhisattva manifested as a cleric in this world; thus, Maitreya will be a future Buddha replacing the Buddha Śākyamuni, so it could be inferred that the monk Pu-tai was a substitute for the Buddha. Obscuring the significance of "substitute" with the "hemp-bag", Pu-tai concealed his real identity. With his theory of a substitute for Pu-tai, the cleric Lang-chi revealed that the monk Pu-tai was the manifestation of Maitreya.

The term Pu-tai means literally a hemp bag, which could contain many things. Before leather goods were invented, the cloth bag was useful in ancient Chinese culture. Ordinary people carried a hemp bag and kept their purchases in it. Traditionally, up to the present day, Buddhist clergy still use hemp bags instead of leather goods, due to the precept of non-killing, leather is derived from animals' hides. Thus, carrying a hemp bag was a common practice in Buddhist convention. Furthermore, Zen clergy frequently employ the term Pu-tai to express the truth, which is presented as a "Kung-an" or "Hua-t'ou" in the Zen records. Kung-an or Hua-t'ou alludes to a statement, which is used by Zen masters as a subject for

meditation, or as a test of whether the disciple has really attained enlightenment. In the Zen records, there are many phrases related to the term, such as "Pu-tai li kung ch'ien" (or the arrow and bow of the hemp-bag), and "Shih tzu lu tou chieh k'ai pu-tai" (or to untie the hemp-bag at the corner of the cross-roads).³³ Although at first glance these phrases appear to be nonsense, they are typical Zen phrases. They indicate a principle that Buddhism is not to be isolated from daily life, and that Zen philosophy can be practised in every single action. It is said that there are one thousand seven hundred "Kung-an" on record in Zen Buddhism.³⁴

Owing to his reputation, many phrases in the term of Pu-tai have been established to explain Zen teachings. Three phrases, "Pu-tai ch'i-ch'ien", "Pu-tai lo-p'o" and "Pu-tai nien-kuo", are taken from the Ch'an yüan meng ch'iu, written in the Sung period by Chih-ming, to evaluate the significance of the monk Pu-tai in the Zen School.³⁵

The phrase "Pu-tai ch'i-ch'ien" means the monk Pu-tai asked for cash. The narrative tells that once a monk was walking in front of the master Pu-tai; the master tapped him on the shoulder, whereupon the monk turned his head, and Pu-tai said "Give me a cent". The monk responded "If you had found the Truth I would give you a cent". Pu-tai then put his bag on the ground, and stood with his hands joined in silence. This gesture demonstrates what the Tao (Truth) is. In the Zen tradition, Tao means Bodhi, Truth, enlightenment, a method of religious practice which culminates in transcendent bliss. Tao, dharma, cannot be explained in words, is to be found

everywhere, without discrimination, it exists in the universe: whatever you see is Tao.

The phrase "Pu-tai lo-p'o" means the bizarre and shabby appearance of the cleric Pu-tai. All the sources describe him as having a weird feature. Generally, a bodhisattva or Buddha is portrayed as magnificent, solemn, refined, radiant and compassionate. Whether one is depicted as serious or jolly has no connection with Buddha nature. People believed that Pu-tai was a manifestation of Maitreya. However, he chose to appear in a completely iconoclastic guise, that of a bodhisattva, who was poor, unkempt and abrupt. This signifies that a bodhisattva could manifest in various guises, splendid or shabby, gorgeous or ugly.

The last phrase, "Pu-tai nien-kuo", means the master Pu-tai picked a fruit. Once, as the master stood on a road, a monk asked him: "What are you doing here ?" He replied: "I am waiting for someone." The monk said: "Here I am." Pu-tai then took an orange from his robe and offered it to him. As soon as the monk reached for it he withdrew his hand, saying: "You are not the man I am waiting for." The monk asked again: "What kind of man are you waiting for ?" Pu-tai simply walked away without answering. This study surmises that this story might refer to the teaching of "karma". Negative karma would not result in proper action. Pu-tai was waiting for someone with the right karma, who would have achieved a mental state as profound as his own. However, an ill prepared man came, who failed to satisfy the master's requirement.

The question is how the ordinary monk Pu-tai came to take

his place as an image of the bodhisattva Maitreya. As we have mentioned Buddhas are usually described as serene, virtuous and magnificent, but this monk acted in just the opposite manner to express the Buddha's supreme teachings. It can be explained that he realized people are always attached to the virtuous, for the purpose of awakening people, he disguised himself as a peculiar figure to conceal his real stature of a high ranking hermit or a bodhisattva. He was a Zen monk, who with every manner or speech, action or gesture, indicated something related to the truth, displaying the concept of empty-nature. He would not act as a simpleton, but would merely adopt an awkward manner to express the truth, in order to divest himself of the attachments of secular beings.

7. The extent of Pu-tai's travel

The extent of a person's travels is a necessary factor to understanding his life, as it bears an influence on his thoughts and temperament. Pu-tai was a cryptic figure, so a study of where he appeared can facilitate an analysis of his life. There is a clue to these travels in the SKSC, which records that in the region of "Kiang-che" people vied with one another to describe his appearance. "Kiang-che" corresponds to Kiangsu and Chekiang. As a native of Szu-ming in northern Chekiang, he would have wandered in nearby provinces. At that time, the region of "Kiang-che" was civilized and prosperous, and Buddhism was thriving.

It was common for Zen practitioners to travel throughout several provinces to visit senior masters for guidance, this was known as "Ts'an-hsüeh" (visiting study). Cases of Ts'an-

hsüeh can easily be found in Zen texts and biographies. From the eighth to the tenth century, Zen monks frequently travelled in the region of "Kiang-nan", the southern most regions of the Yangtze River, i.e., Hunan, Kiangsi, Fukien, Kwangtung, Chekiang, Kiangsu, Anhwei.. etc., which were prosperous and peaceful. For instance, the monk Shan-Ku had been practising Zen in Chekiang for a while, he went to Fukien and became a student of Pao-fu ho-shang.³⁶ Likewise, Kuei-shan Ling-yu (771-853), who is generally recognised as the first patriarch of the Kuei-yang House, was a native of Foo-chou and a student of Pai-chang Huai-hai (749-814) in Kiangsi. He went as a pilgrim to the T'ien-t'ai mountain in Chekiang, then he dwelt in Kuei-shan in Hunan; during his lifetime, he journeyed to most regions of Kiang-nan.³⁷

The case of Pu-tai is no exception. Although the sources are scanty, this study will only make a tentative stab at resolving this issue using the materials at hand, namely the narrative compiled in the FTTC. Once, while he was travelling in Min with the layman, Ch'en, the latter asked him his age, as mentioned in the foregoing section 2. Province Fukien (Min) is adjacent to Chekiang, which was one of the major regions of the Zen sect activities in the tenth century.³⁸

Two monks, Pao-fu and Pai-lu, are mentioned in the CTCTL, TYC and some later Zen versions, but not in the SKSC. Pao-fu was the name of a Zen monastery known as Pao-fu Ch'an-yüan, located in Chang-chou in Fukien Province. There are a number of monks with the title Pao-fu mentioned in the CTCTL and some other Zen records. After investigating and discounting those

other clerics with the title Pao-fu, monk Pao-fu can be positively identified as Pao-fu Ts'ung-chan (- 928), whose biography, moreover, was the only one with the title Pao-fu ho-shang included in the TTC.³⁹

Pao-fu Ts'ung-chan was a disciple of Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un (822-908) and a native of Foo-chou in Fukien. In 918, he was elected as the first abbot of Pao-fu Ch'an Monastery. At that time, the disciples of Hsüeh-feng were successfully preaching in Foo-chou, Chüan-chou and Chang-chou regions in Fukien, where there were many renowned Zen masters, such as Lo-han Kuei-ch'en (867-928) and Pao-en Huai-yüeh (-910).⁴⁰ Pao-fu was one of the distinguished disciples of Hsüeh-feng and a well-known Zen master at that time. His name appears frequently in Zen records, such as the record of Hsüeh-tou Ch'ung-hsien (980-1052), in which Hsüeh-tou related that Pao-fu was one of the foremost of the one thousand five hundred disciples of Hsüeh-feng.⁴¹ It is evident that Pao-fu Ts'ung-chan was a prominent figure at that time, and it would seem that he was the one related to the monk Pu-tai.

Once Pu-tai was questioned by Pao-fu regarding the essential teaching of Buddhism. The former put down his bag and joined his hands. Pao-fu asked further, "Is that all ? nothing more ?" He then took up his bag and went away. Pao-fu was well-known in Fukien, where Pu-tai used to travel with the layman Ch'en. Undoubtedly, Pu-ta'i not only sojourned in Chekiang but also travelled to Fukien.

On another occasion, Pai-lu ho-shang, monk White Deer, asked: "What is your hemp-bag for ?" Pu-tai put his bag down

at once. The former questioned him further, asking: "What is the importance of the hemp-bag?" Once again he took his bag and left. This method of answering a question by absolute silence is a Zen practice. Pu-tai adopted the method of absolute silence to express his mental state of Zen practice.

There were two places related to the title of Pai-lu. One was a district in Wen-chou of southern Chekiang. The other was a mountain known as Pai-lu located in the district of Ling-hsiang in Hunan Province. The Pai-lu Mountain was situated in the same district as the famous mountain, Kuei Mountain, which was well-known owing to the Zen master Kuei-shan Ling-yu.

A few sources should be considered when dealing with the figure Pai-lu ho-shang. After discounting a few clerics with the title of White Deer, only two will be examined here. One is Pai-lu Ts'ung-yüeh, who was a disciple of Kuei-shan Ling-yu. The latter (771-853) lived between the eighth and ninth centuries, before Pu-tai. The former might have lived between the ninth and tenth centuries, and could be a contemporary of Pu-tai. No further data regarding Ts'ung-yüeh could be found in the CTCTL or any of the Zen records.⁴² To reach Hunan from Chekiang, one must cross Kiangsi. There are no further data on Pu-tai reaching Hunan. Generally speaking, the person related to Pu-tai must have been renowned at that time. Moreover, the term "Ho-shang" means monk or cleric; one who was designated Ho-shang would have been highly respected. Apart from the record of the Ling-yu lineage, the life of Pai-lu Ts'ung-yüeh has not been recorded elsewhere; he resided in a remote region, Hunan. Hence, Pai-lu Ts'ung-yüeh should not

be mistaken for Pai-lu ho-shang.

The other figure of interest is Pai-lu Shih-kuei from Foo-chou, Fukien. He was a disciple of An-kuo Hung-tao (-920), who was one of the foremost disciples of Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un, and was as popular as Pao-fu Ts'ung-chan. The temple, An-kuo Ch'an-yüan, was located in Foo-chou. An-kuo Hung-tao, lived between the ninth and tenth centuries, and his students must have lived around the tenth century. Although no specific data on Pai-lu Shih-kuei are found in the CTCTL, there is a significant reference, which recounts that on one occasion a cleric asked Shih-kuei: "What is Pai-lu's Chia-feng?"⁴³ In the Zen tradition, it is not common to develop a "Chia-feng" (a particular teaching); as it takes a long time for a teaching to become accepted and respected by the populace. Using the key phrase, "Pai-lu Chia-feng", we can presume that the monk, Pai-lu Shih-kuei, must have been at least a rather famous in the region at that time.

Pai-lu Shih-kuei existed in about tenth century; hence he was almost a contemporary of Pu-tai. He resided in Fukien, adjacent to Chekiang. The other cleric, Pao-fu Ts'ung-chan, also abided in Fukien. From the preceding discussion we know Pu-tai travelled to Fukien. Geographically speaking, it could be possible that both monks also travelled to Chekiang, although they lived in Fukien. It was common for people who dwelled in either Chekiang or Fukien to travel to neighbouring regions. Therefore, this study proposes that Pai-lu ho-shang could be Pai-lu Shih-kuei. Yet, if so, there is a vexed question, namely, that the district Pai-lu was located in

Chekiang and the title White Deer is nowhere to be found in Fukien. This clue of "Pai-lu Shih-kuei of Foo-chou" in the CTCTL did not, however, state clearly that Pai-lu of Foo-chou is the title of a Zen monastery or a region.

We may assume that the two clerics, Pao-fu and Pai-lu, were Pao-fu Ts'ung-chan and Pai-lu Shih-kuei, since both of them lived in the same province, Fukien, and Pu-tai definitely travelled around the two regions, Fukien and Chekiang. There is another province, Kiangsu, which is adjacent to the north of Chekiang, where Pu-tai may also have travelled, as the SKSC records, but there is no evidence to corroborate this. This indicates that he may have been well-known in the region of Kiang-che circa the tenth century. Therefore, we can conclude that these three regions, Fukien, Chekiang and Kiangsu were Pu-tai's main areas of travel in his lifetime.

8. Miracles

All the sources agree that Pu-tai had the gift of prediction and behaved in a bizarre fashion. Miracles seem to have been associated with mysterious figure, and have helped to enhance one's reputation. Not surprisingly, a number of miracles attributed to Pu-tai are recorded in the TYC and YLSC. An amazing story is narrated in the TYC. Once the old temple of Yüeh-lin needed to be rebuilt and Pu-tai went to Fukien to collect offerings. He asked the owner of a large mountain covered with trees for a bag full of trees. Thinking that the monk was joking, because a small bag would not contain many trees, the owner instantly gave him permission. Magically, those large and small trees vanished into his bag

without a trace, and were conjured away to a small well in the temple. When the building materials were ready, he returned to the temple to supervise the workmen. Miraculously, the timber was never exhausted while the temple was under construction. Consequently, the temple was restored and became bigger and loftier than before. This story was even embellished with some interesting details added by literati to compose a Chinese folktale.⁴⁴

Another miraculous feature accompanying his funeral rites was also described in the TYC. An official of that district, who had formerly taken offence at the conduct of the monk, had on three occasions rebuked him and deprived him of his bag, which he had burnt. Yet, surprisingly, Pu-tai had presented with the same old bag. After Pu-tai's demise, regretting his vicious deeds, the official bought a coffin for his funeral. At the funeral ceremony, the entire crowd present was unable to budge the coffin, except for a layman named T'ung, who had always paid homage to the master. It is said that T'ung lifted the coffin up as if it were as light as a feather. This story indicates that it is always misleading to judge by appearances or from first impressions. An ordinary person can never comprehend the mentality and outlook of a saint, nor understand the unusual conduct or sayings of such an unique figure.⁴⁵

A prodigy concerns the cult of his relics is referred to in the YLSC. There was a prophet who foretold that two hundred years after Pu-tai's death, the Yüeh-lin Temple would be prosperous again. After this prophesy, a new abbot of the

temple, Yüan-ming, restored the temple and Pu-tai's cemetery, constructing more buildings. When the labourers renovated the pagodas and pavilions of the Feng-shan, suddenly an unusual ray irradiated from the ground. When they excavated the site, they found a yellow flask and a mendicant's rattlestaff with six rings at the side of pagoda. They are now preserved as sacred relics in Yüeh-lin Temple.⁴⁶

A fascinating tale concerning "Ch'ung-ning Ko" was detailed in the TYC. In the third year of Ch'ung-ning, 1104, the abbot T'an-chen convinced his countryman Tung to build a two-storey building - Ko (pavilion), behind the temple. The other countryman Jen erected a statue of Pu-tai in the upper storey of the Ko. Thereupon Tung thought: "I have built the Ko in which they have enshrined a statue made by Jen." So he made another statue and placed it on the upper floor; and he placed the one made by Jen below. A magician predicted: "The statue made by Tung will only endure for sixty years, and that of Jen will outlast it". Subsequently, a fire occurred in the temple in the Shao-hsing period (1131-1162), destroyed both the Ko and the statue built by Tung. Shortly after, a hermit rebuilt the Ko; whereupon the statue made by Jen was replaced on the upper storey. Later, in 1282, the Ko fell into ruins, leaving only the statue of Pu-tai made by Jen intact. Incidentally, this corresponds to the prophecy mentioned earlier.⁴⁷

A Śāla tree, the one under which the Buddha died, was planted by Pu-tai in the temple. It is said that it had thrived throughout the Sung, Yüan, Ming, and up to the Ch'ing

periods, although the temple had been ruined and restored several times during those eight hundred years. In 1685, a small Śāla grew up untended. Visitors to the temple were surprised, and wrote a number of memorial poems in its praise, this was regarded as a prodigy of the temple and was incorporated in the YLSC.⁴⁸

A depiction portraying Pu-tai with children survives in art. The FTTC relates that a crowd of "sixteen children" once shouted and chased him, and vied with each other to seize his bag. The number sixteen is meaningful, for it corresponds to one of the various groups of Arhats and guardian gods in Buddhist pantheon.

There are two possible derivations for this tale of sixteen children, connecting them with protection. The first concerns the sixteen guardian gods, well-known from the sūtras, who are called the Sixteen Yakṣas (guardian gods), who vow to protect the keepers of the MHS. The second group is the Sixteen Arhats, who vowed to stay in this world and protect the Buddha's teachings.⁴⁹ In almost all Buddhist temples, the Sixteen Arhats are portrayed on the walls of the main assembly hall. They perform the role of guardian deities protecting the Buddha's teachings. In the Buddhist tradition, the idea of deities protecting Buddhism is common; and a virtuous practitioner whoever is a bodhisattva, monk or layman is always protected by deities.

To this tale it is added that "the eighteen children were of unknown origin" in the TYC, while the FTTC, the earliest source to mention this tale, relates that the sixteen children

chased the monk frequently. However, in the TYC the number was increased from sixteen to eighteen and its mystique was heightened by saying their origin was unknown. Whatever their number be it sixteen or eighteen, the tale of Pu-tai and those children may denote guardian gods, which would seem to imply his stature as a praiseworthy bodhisattva.

9. Title granting

There are a number of sayings in the sources concerning the title Pu-tai was granted. The primary issue here is when was Pu-tai awarded the title "Ting-ying ta-shih" (TYTS) ? This study proposes that he was awarded the title in the Sung period, but no definite date is confirmed. It is said that he acquired the title in the period of either the Emperor Jen-tsung, Chên-tsung, Chê-tsung, or even Hui-tsung, according to the various sources. Although a great number of religious groups and figures who were granted the title by the Sung emperors are recorded in the Sung hui yao (SHY), there is no record on Pu-tai. In the SHY, curiously, a great number of local deities and Taoist temples were granted the title, but, according to the sources at hand, only a few titles were conferred on Buddhist temples and figures. In spite of the absence of titles in the SHY, we found many titles conferred on Buddhist temples and figures in the local histories. According to Masaaki Chikusa's research, in the period of Ta-chung hsiang-fu, there were 116 titles granted to the temples in the district of Hang-chou and 54 titles in Ming-chou.⁵⁰

As regards Pu-tai's title, its historical background should be tackled first. The granting of titles was actively

encouraged during the Sung period; and the government did so in earnest, believing that honorific titles would extend the powers of deities. The powerful deities could then perform miracles to evade disasters in the country and uphold peace in the empire.⁵¹

The granting of titles by central government started in the late eleventh century, and became more and more prevalent. Title granting derived from imperial ceremonies called "Feng-ch'an", namely worshipping heaven and earth, which was conducted on mountain summits by emperors in the Qin (221-207 B.C.) and the Han (206 B.C - A.D.219) Dynasties. Throughout the Han, Six Dynasties, T'ang, and Five Dynasties titles were awarded to the mountain gods and eminent clergy. The early Sung emperors continued the practice of previous dynasties granting titles to deities, prominent clergy, lay people and even to temples.

In the early years of the Sung, the government distributed money for temple repairs, granted titles..etc.. In 1074, the emperor Shên-tsung issued an edict calling for local officials to report the names of their gods. In response to his call, an unprecedented thirty-seven titles were issued in 1075. Up to the eleventh century, the number of titles granted was constantly on the increase, and by the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the activity had become so popular that a group would request a title for its gods to enhance its status.

Pu-tai's fame was on the increase in the period when title granting was common practice; it is therefore possible

that he acquired his title during that period. In comparing the following records, some doubts arise. Firstly, according to the Pao-ching szu-ming chih (PCSMC), in 1015, the period of Chên-tsung, the Yüeh-lin Temple was awarded the honorary title "Ta-chung Yüeh-lin Ssu" because Pu-tai had lived there. It was also granted 1382 mows of mountain and 91 mows of temple site.⁵² Later, in the period of Emperor Chê-tsung, 1098, after performing a miracle bringing about rain-fall, which people had implored, Pu-tai was awarded a title. Moreover, in 1104, an edifice which preserved Pu-tai's vessel and rattle-staff was awarded the title of "Ch'ung-ning Ko".⁵³ In 1098, title granting was a very common and widespread practice, and miracles were frequently expected. Now, a doubt arises, namely if the temple acquired the title owing to Pu-tai's reputation, why was the temple granted the title earlier than Pu-tai ?

Apart from the local histories, a few important clues are found in the YLSC. In the latter, eleven monks were elected as abbots to Yüeh-lin Temple in the Sung period. The first was Yüan-ming who was a grandson of a layman Ch'en, who had been a friend of Pu-tai in Min. The precise dates of Yüan-ming are unknown, but according to the FHHC and YLSC, he died at the age of eighty-four.⁵⁴ Since he was Ch'en's grandson, however, he may have been born about one hundred years after Pu-tai's demise, in approximately 1000 A.D..

The second abbot was Hai-yin-hsüan, whose dates are unknown. He was awarded the Purple Robe by the Emperor Chên-tsung in the period between 998-1022. He inscribed a tombstone

for Pu-tai bearing the title of TYTS. The inscription included some verses composed by the first abbot, mentioning: "Yüan-ming said 'Ting-ying' had died about two hundred years ago and that his memorial pagoda was in the Feng-shan".⁵⁵ This important clue indicates that Yüan-ming had already heard the title TYTS whilst in his lifetime, but it does not mean that the title was awarded during his tenure.

The fourth abbot Tsung-shang took up his duty as abbot in the fourth year of Yüan-feng, 1081, the reign of Emperor Shên-tsung. Calculating from these dates, the lifetimes of the first and second abbots would seem to have been about eighty years earlier, which indicates that the title TYTS had already been recognized in the reign of Chên-tsung, 998-1022, or perhaps a little earlier.

In the YLSC, Pu-tai's second inscription, reinscribed in 1391 in the Ming period by the abbot Shou-ch'u, states that the title TYTS was awarded by the Emperor Jen-tsung (1023-1062) in the Sung.⁵⁶

In brief, based on the following two hypotheses, this study assumes that Pu-tai was granted his title in the reign of Chên-tsung, 998-1022. Firstly, in the period of Chên-tsung, when the second abbot Hai-yin-hsüan acquired the Purple Robe during his tenure as abbot, the first abbot was in retirement, and it was at that time that Pu-tai was granted the title. Thus, the second abbot was the first to carve the inscription on Pu-tai's tombstone, and the retired abbot Yüan-ming knew the title in his old age. Secondly, according to the PCSMC, the temple and its property were bestowed by the Emperor Chên-

tsung, in 1015. Had it not been for Pu-tai's reputation, the temple would not have been granted the title nor the property. Accordingly, we may infer that Pu-tai acquired his title about the same time as the temple was granted its property, i.e. in approximately 1015. Thus, Pu-tai acquired his prestigious title in the reign of the Emperor Chên-tsung, 998-1022, close enough to the date 1023-1062, that was inscribed on the second inscription.

The preface to the YLSC clearly states that the temple was granted its title in 1015, coinciding with the PCSMC, but no further data is recorded regarding Pu-tai's date of title granting. No precise date for this event has been chronicled since the Sung period, though a few memorial inscriptions have survived.

10. Zen practice

As a notable cleric, Pu-tai, in his brief life span, is a puzzling figure. He belonged to no lineage, had no dharma teacher to instruct him, nor disciples to serve him; he did not even have a permanent residence and no record of his life remains except for a few poems; nor did he make speeches, but sometimes left poems to inspire people. In particular, his Final Verse has frequently been depicted in inscriptions on Chinese temples and quoted in Buddhist commentaries. It may be possible to glean something of Pu-tai's thought from the scant poetry and from accounts of his life. The following discussion will focus on two principles so as to approximate to Pu-tai's philosophy. Firstly, it is necessary to consider the theoretical question, namely which tradition did his

teachings of recitation of the phrase of Mahāprajñāpāramitā and practice of the Six Pāramitās derive from ? Secondly, his customary stance of joined hands and profound silence express the truth rather than speaking; this leads to the question as to which Zen style is he depicted as having adopted ?

In dealing with Pu-tai's Zen style and philosophy, it is necessary to touch upon the development of the early Zen Buddhism. Traditionally, after Bodhidharma promoted Zen teachings in China, Zen Buddhism underwent a transformation in the religious life of the Chinese people, and led to its unique method of attaining illumination. Not only that, this school achieved supremacy over all other schools in China from the Tenth Century.

As we are aware, no Zen school was actually founded prior to the sixth patriarch, Hui-neng. It was at the hands of Hui-neng that the Zen School took a definite form. A succession of men of spiritual genius such as Huai-jang, Ma-tsu, Shih-t'ou, Pai-chang, Huang-po brought about its full maturity, and paving the way for the splendid and revitalized ramifications of the Five Houses of Zen. The Five Houses were gradually established, and thrived in the T'ang and Five Dynasties.

The Zen theory was uncomplicated in its preliminary stages. The initial teaching of Bodhidharma is "Wall-gazing" (wall-contemplation), which is highly concentrated and rigidly exclusive of all other ideas and sensuous images. Later, it was summarized in a "Four-point Program":

"A special tradition outside the scriptures, not dependent upon books or letters, to point directly to the human mind, to perceive one's own nature and become a Buddha."⁵⁷ (A35)

This principle simply indicates that the mind is the primary cause of saṃsāra. Bodhidharma earnestly recommended the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, which was respected as the only scripture in the Zen School prior to the fourth patriarch Tao-hsin. After Bodhidharma's nirvāṇa, his disciples proceeded with his teaching, based on this text developing the early Zen tradition called "Bodhidharma Ch'an", which signifies "to enlighten the original nature by means of scripture".⁵⁸

In fact, as Shih Yin-shun deliberates: "Bodhidharma Ch'an was just one of the methods of Zen practice, and was only propagated in northern China before the unification of the T'ang Dynasty, and not on a nationwide scale".⁵⁹ At that time, Zen masters, such as Hui-k'e, Hui-man, Fa-ch'ung.. etc., wandered from one region to another and meditated wherever they could, lacking a permanent base or a faithful following, even living isolated in remote mountains. The tradition was conservative and exclusive, tutoring only chosen disciples, and never open to the general public. However, at the beginning of the T'ang, the fourth and fifth patriarchs, Tao-hsin and Hung-jen (601-674), brought a bright expectation for the development of the Zen School.⁶⁰ According to the HKSC, there were more than five hundred adherents under Tao-hsin's instruction in the Shuang-fêng Mt. in Hunan. Hung-jen had some seven hundred students in the Ping-mu Mt. to the east of Shuang-feng Mt.;⁶¹ thus, it is known as Tung-shan fa-men (or East Mountain Teaching). Thereafter, Zen tradition was transformed into a model organization, with the founding of a system of organized Zen monasteries and an extensive

preaching program.

Tao-hsin was a remarkable character in bringing a fresh appeal to Zen philosophy. He was responsible for linking the prajñā teaching to the Zen convention, and was also a pioneer in invoking the phrase of Mahāprajñāpāramitā (or Maha-phrase) in the Zen sect. An incident is mentioned in the HKSC. During 605-617, when he stayed in Chi-chou in Kiansi, a band of robbers attacked and surrounded the city for some seventy days. He led the people to recite the Maha-phrase to alleviate their misfortune. Miraculously, shortly after reciting the phrase, the robbers withdrew.⁶²

From this incident Yin-shun proposes that Tao-hsin's Prajñā concept might have been influenced by the Mahāprajñā-pāramitā Sūtra (or MHS) while he stayed in Kian-nan, since the sūtra was widely current in the region of Kian-nan before his arrival.⁶³ Owing to the propagation of the sūtra by the Emperor Wu of Liang, the Three Śāstra School was dominant in the sixth century. Then, the T'ien-t'ai School also established its formula based on Prajñā theory. Later, in 558, following the Buddhist trend, Hui-szu, the patriarch of the T'ien-t'ai, at the age of forty, vowed to copy a whole volume of the sūtra with his own hand, and wrote the title of the s tra, "Chin tzu mo ho pan jo po lo mi ching" in gold leaf.⁶⁴

Not only does it uphold the tenet "Truth of Empty-nature", the MHS also encourages practitioners to recite, write, preach, pray and practise it daily; it reads:

"The guardian deities always protect
those who practise and recite the s tra
wherever they go,..and promise they will
acquire numerous merits,..and never be

frightened of anything, anywhere."⁶⁵

There is a typical instance recorded in the prajñā texts that while a bodhisattva was being tormented by Māras, demons, a voice was heard from the sky saying "Hurry ! recite the Maha-phrase"; he then defeated the demons with it.⁶⁶

According to Yin-shun's research, Tao-hsin allied the old tradition of "Leng-chia Ch'an" with the concept of Prajñā, and this resulted in a new theory: "Leng-chia pan-jo Ch'an", which is that "an awakened, purified and true mind is identical with Buddha". Eventually, later Zen followers developed the concept into a more liberal form: "the mind is identical with Buddha".⁶⁷ Following in Tao-hsin's footsteps, Hung-jen and Hui-neng disseminated it and established their school. In addition to Tao-hsin's reciting the Maha-phrase, Hung-jen went a step further teaching his students to recite the Diamond Sūtra rather than the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra. Finally, it was due to Hui-neng that the Prajñā theory was strengthened and widely diffused, becoming the teaching of "Prajñā-dhyāna".

During the conflict between the Northern and Southern Schools, a new Zen movement was making its mark at the beginning of the ninth century. Thus, family tradition took shape within the Zen movement that would come to be known in Zen history as the Five Houses.⁶⁸

The term Five Houses first appeared in a writing by the Zen master, Fa-yen Wen-i (885-958), who mentioned four of the houses in his treatise, Tsung-men shih-kuei lun, in which he gave certain features of the other four houses besides his own house of Fa-yen.⁶⁹ It is a formidable problem to determine

a time frame for the Five Houses, because it was only in the later chronicles that they came to be classified as the Five Houses. However, generally speaking, the Kuei-yang House was set up initially, followed by the Ling-chi, Ts'ao-tung, Yün-men and Fa-yen. Unfortunately, by the beginning of the Sung period, perhaps earlier, three houses had been dissolved; only the rival traditions of Ling-chi and Ts'ao-tung survived throughout the Southern Sung, Yüan and Ming periods.⁷⁰

By the time Pu-tai arrived on the scene, the teaching of Prajñā-dhyāna, had been disseminated for about two hundred years from the beginning of the eighth century, and was preached publicly by the sixth patriarch. Pu-tai himself, of course, was well versed in the teaching, as he not only practised himself but also taught it to others. As regards teaching his friend Chiang Mo-ho to recite the Maha-phrase, we can discern from this that Pu-tai was a practitioner of the Prajñā-dhyāna; moreover, this was, perhaps, common practice among the Five Houses at that time. Some evidences of this are found in the Zen records. In the Yün-men House, the founder Wen-yen (864-949), known as Kuang-chên Ta-shih, responded to Zen questions by repeating the Maha-phrase.⁷¹ Furthermore, after the eleventh century a number of Zen monks of the Ling-chi House reciting the phrase are also recorded in the Zen sources, such as Shan-chao (947-1024), Fa-yen (-1104), Yüan-wu (1063-1135).⁷² It is evident that the phrase was common practice among the Five Houses, but the Yün-men House may be the earliest to have practised the Prajñā-dhyāna by reciting the phrase in Pu-tai's lifetime. In any case, it is certain

that the Maha-phrase was practised not only by Pu-tai but also by people from other Zen houses.

There are a few poems compiled in the sources on Pu-tai, which indicate that he was definitely remembered as a practitioner of Prajñā-dhyāna. Although twelve poems are collected in the TYC, PTHH and YLSC, there are merely three poems recorded in the CTCTL, and one in the SKSC. The corresponding theme and versification suggest that the three poems were made by Pu-tai. Yet the nine additional poems have different metres and ideas, and are permeated with the doctrine of Tathāgata-garbha and Taoism, containing such terms as Chien-k'un, Shên-kuang. In order to concentrate on Pu-tai's Zen concept, the three poems are considered, but no attempt is made to discuss the complex additional poems.

In addition to the Final Verse, two renowned poems remain. The first refers to the emotion of the truth seeker, which has been widely disseminated in Chinese culture for a long period, it reads:

One bowl contains the rice of a thousand families, a truth seeker travels about ten thousand miles alone, with benevolent view those who accord with my ideal are few, asking the white clouds to search for the Truth.⁷³ (A36)

This poem reflects Pu-tai's feeling of solitude. In his brief existence, he was searching for kindred spirits and enlightenment. Unfortunately, his life was fraught with frustration and disappointment as shown in the poems. To a truth seeker, the world is delusive and painful, in which people indulge in physical sensations and material desires. Pu-tai could be respected as a truth seeker, his peculiar

demeanour was a means of highlighting people's delusion; and his predictions were also a way to reveal that something exists which transcends the material world. In a state of despair, he left the poem as a treatise on his ideal of seeking the truth.

The second poem is the longest and more profound; it expounds Pu-tai's thought, and was also quoted in the TCL. It is divided into five stanzas in the following discussion.⁷⁴

(1) Firstly, the mind is paramount in the world:

"The mind, mind and mind are identical with Buddha, it is the most brilliant and spiritual faculty in the ten directions of the world; it functions in a wonderful way for pitiful sentient beings, there is nothing more precious than the mind." (A37)

A renowned phrase, "three minds", is taken from the Diamond Sūtra, which says:

"Neither the previous mind can be held, nor the present mind can be kept, nor the future mind can be clung to".⁷⁵ (A38)

The mind plays a significant role in Buddhism; it dominates the emotions and senses of sentient beings, but it changes every single moment, causing suffering and dissatisfaction. After attaining enlightenment one can be emancipated from suffering and defilement.

In addition, part of this stanza coincides with a poem found in the Shao shih lu men attributed to Bodhidharma, thus:

"I only intended to search for the mind rather than the Buddha, then I realized that nothing exists in the Three Worlds; you should observe your mind, if you intend to seek Buddha, because the [past] mind, [present] mind and [future] mind are identical with Buddha."⁷⁶ (A39)

The underlined phrases above are the same Chinese characters as used by Pu-tai. Thus, the teaching of "three minds" might have been widely employed in the Zen sect at that time.

(2) The second stanza describes the state of emancipation and the unfettered life of a monk. When one has achieved enlightenment, nothing is different in the world, except for a tranquil mental state. It reads:

"Ascending, surpassing, free and independent, there is nothing which cannot be achieved, by those who have left the mundane life behind and have attained the ultimate goal; when one achieves Truth, one notices that there is nothing to be curious about, not even an iota of a thing."(A40)

(3) The third stanza states that the mind is like a king which reigns supreme over one's life, and the heightened mental state can not be attained by studying; it reads:

"What's the difference between the ten thousand dharmas and the mind ? Why do you bother yourself with studying sūtras ? It is in the nature of the king-mind without manifold knowledge, the wise can achieve the truth naturally without studying." (A41)

The term **Hsin-wang** (king-mind) and **Wan-fa** (Ten-thousand-dharmas) are common knowledge in Buddhism. In the Yogācāra tradition, in particular, there are eight consciousnesses (Vijñāna), known as "king-mind", corresponding to the ninety-two mind-functions called "Hsin-so" (Caitta). The Caitta always arises in conjunction with the mind and represents various functions or attributes of the mind.⁷⁷ However, both terms were frequently employed in early Zen teaching, namely, in the Shao shih lu men, Bodhidharma expounds the reality of the universe by saying: "The mind is the root of 'Wan-fa' (or the mind is the ultimate reality of the universe) and all

dharmas arise in the mind, if one attains Buddha-nature, then 'Wan-fa' will also be achieved".⁷⁸

In the TCL, Yung-ming asserts that the mind is the sovereign of human beings, so it is called "Hsin-wang".⁷⁹ As a contemporary of Pu-tai, Yün-men Wen-yen also interpreted the Zen teachings using the term "Wan-fa"; he questions "Where did the Wan-fa come from ?"⁸⁰ We know that these terms were widely current in the Zen School in the tenth century. The idea for Pu-tai's poem may have been inspired by Zen's writings or sayings of his contemporaries.

(4) The fourth stanza elaborates the concept which corresponds to the above stanzas:

"Since there is neither profane nor sacred,
which is not affected by it [Truth];
it is unnecessary to ask for discrimination,
lonely is the spirit of one who knows; the
priceless pearl of the mind (Hsin-chu) in its
original state is perfect and immaculate by nature;
all different forms (I-hsiang) are misunderstood
to be the emptiness of phenomena."(A42)

In the Mādhyamika tradition, there are one hundred negations to extinguish the illusory prejudices of being or non-being of reality, such as non-existence and non-emptiness. Here the stanza has the same metre, and employs the terms non-profane and non-sacred as the negations.⁸¹ Likewise, Pu-tai borrowed the popular method to explain original nature - Hsin-chu (mind-pearl), in order to negate illusory discrimination. The biography of the sixth patriarch in the TTC narrates that "Hui-neng acquired the Hsin-chu from Hung-jen"; and the term "I-hsiang" (different form) also frequently crops up in the TTC when dealing with the mind.⁸² Hence, the terms Pu-tai used were certainly also favoured in the Zen sect.

5. The fifth stanza concludes the poem, saying:

"It is people who propound the truth,
and the truth [in itself] is perfectly clear;
beyond measure is its purity and nobility,
[they] praise truth; carrying the staff is
like approaching the path leading to one's origin;
do not anxious that nowhere you can hear a voice."(A43)

This stanza reveals that the truth already exists, at home naturally, as it were. A similar poem was written by the Zen master, Lung-ya Chü-tun (835-923) in the TTC:

"If one is with non-mind to praise truth;
truth is already there even if the consciousness
[mind] is ignorant; it is people who propound
the truth, which [Truth] can be presented;
if Truth is realized by the people, they will
be in tranquillity."⁸³ (A44)

The underlined phrases above are the same characters as in Chinese; they almost correspond to effulgent truth.

From this poem, one can perceive that the content of poetry in the Zen School from the sixth to the tenth centuries did not shift greatly. Most terms and versification in Pu-tai's poems correspond to trends current at that time, denoted in the records of Bodhidharma, Hui-neng and the TTC. The Zen teachings merged the theory of the Diamond Sūtra and the Lañkāvatāra Sūtra, so that the concept "the true mind is identical with Buddha" appeared in Pu-tai's poems.

Another important element in analysing Pu-tai's global view of Zen is Zen style or gesture. Life in a Zen monastery centres around experience - the sudden, direct encounter with reality. The substance of such experience can be found in a thousand various patterns and can be expressed in forms that are convincing, often shocking, and at times profoundly penetrating. Prior to the Five Houses, Zen teachings simply

highlighted the duality between mind and wisdom, no particular signs or gestures were current. However, in the period of the Five Houses, a number of Zen gestures were in vogue."

According to our sources, Pu-tai's Zen gesture was simply to join his hands and keep silent. This stance is a conventional pattern adopted by Zen clergy to signify truth. In fact, the gesture was an early Chinese custom. In Chinese culture, this is designated "Ch'a-shou" or "Kung-shou", and is found in the Hou Han shu, but in the Buddhist tradition, the gesture of joining one's palms and placing them on the chest as a token of reverence is known as "Ho-chang" (Añjali).⁵⁵ The gesture, "Ch'a-shou", was one of the most valuable traditions of the Zen sect, such as Yüan-hsiang (circle), which is widely adopted throughout Buddhism. In the Buddhist tradition, disciples would join their hands respectfully and stand still listening intently while the Buddha preached. For instance, in the Heng shui ching, Ānanda knelt before the Buddha with hands joined, and asked him to preach the sūtra.⁵⁶ Even to the present day, this gesture is still a polite salutation in Buddhist communities, people greet each other with joined hands. The question here is: when did the Zen sect begin the gesture to depict Truth ?

Chronologically, the earliest of the Five Houses was the Kuei-yang, but unfortunately, it died out quite rapidly, enduring only four generations. In leading students to enlightenment, its two founders, Kuei-shan Ling-yu and Yang-shan Hui-chi (807-883), preferred to employ signs that denoted enlightenment, as follows:

1

"When the master Kuei-shan saw Yang-shan coming, he drew something on the ground with his five fingers. Yang-shan, however, drew a figure at the nape of his neck with his hand; then he seized his ear and shook it several times. Whereupon the master did not bother him further and went away."⁸⁷

A great number of such incidents are compiled in the Zen records. Another characteristic of the Kuei-yang House is the gesture of joining the hands in silence. Apart from expressing greeting, this gesture is not found in Zen records prior to Hui-neng. The earliest source to be found on this subject is in the "Sayings of Kuei-shan Ling-yu". Once, a young monk asked Ling-yu: "What is the truth of the Zen master Pai-chang?" The senior monk left the Zen posture, joined his hands and stood still. The youth asked further: "What is your truth?", then the senior sat down and remained quiet."⁸⁸

Likewise, a few instances are found in the records of Yün-men, as in one example, when a disciple inquired of the master Wen-yen:

"What is your Dharma-king?"
The master said: "Joining hands". He asked again: "When does the blind tortoise encounter floating wood?" He answered: "I, an old monk, am leaving with joined hands."⁸⁹

This gesture of joining one's hands was current throughout the Five Houses. A number of such instances are described in the TTC. For instance, a student of Fu-hsien Chao-ch'ing displayed this gesture in response to a query, and the latter nodded to signal his agreement.⁹⁰ Fu-hsien was a disciple of Pao-fu, who had the same genealogy as Yün-men Wen-yen from Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un. Hsüeh-feng's line branches into two houses, Yün-men and Fa-yen. Together, they typified the

Zen gesture during the Five Dynasties and continued to the Sung Dynasty.

In Pu-tai's lifetime, a number of distinguished Zen masters, such as Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un, Yün-men Wen-yen, Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi, and even a little earlier, Kuei-shan Ling-yu and Yang-shan Hui-chi, used the gesture of the joined hands. As we know that the Kuei-yang, Ts'ao-tung, Yün-men Houses, adopted this gesture, we can definitely infer that it was widely employed, and did not define any particular Zen house in the late T'ang and Five Dynasties. Naturally, according to our sources, corresponding to his custom, Pu-tai simply took it as a symbol to expose his teaching, since he had no lineage.

As a contemporary of Pu-tai, Yün-men Wen-yen was one of the most prominent Zen monks, so his influence upon people can be easily imagined. The Yün-men House not only recited the Maha-phrase, but also employed the joined hands, and even "Ch'i-ch'ien" (asking for cash), which all corresponded to Pu-tai's behaviour.

This study comes to two possible conclusions concerning Pu-tai's reported poetry and Zen characteristics, namely that Pu-tai might have had links with the Yün-men House. Firstly, Pu-tai's Zen gestures were common practices during his lifetime. Secondly, owing to a similar gesture adopted by the Yün-men House, Pu-tai might have been influenced by Yün-men Wen-yen; if he had not received any instruction from the latter, at least he would have heard of his teaching if he was merely an ordinary monk. Although no link is found between

them, it is still possible that they had heard of each other, since they were contemporaries and lived in neighbouring regions, in Kiang-nan.⁹¹ The foregoing is, of course, pure conjecture.

From the preceding deliberation, we may acquire an insight that Pu-tai had a strong affinity with the Zen School. Although he did not belong to any particular house of the Zen School, his speeches and feats were in harmony with Zen teaching. With the exception of the Zen School, no link between Pu-tai and any other school of Chinese Buddhism exists. On the contrary, Fu Hsi had a connection with the six schools as presented in the previous chapters. Compared with Pu-tai, it seems Fu Hsi was less eminent in the Zen School. Therefore, it may be appropriate to propose that Pu-tai was a prominent Zen master who was regarded as an extraordinary figure in the Zen School.

Notes:

1. T.51/2076, p.434. A similar translation is available in H. Chapin, "The Ch'an Master Pu-tai", p.51.

2. For this narrative see HTC.146, TYC. p.956. T.49/2036, pp.651c-652a.

3. F.D. Lessing, "Pu-tai ho-shang", p.28.

4. Tsu-t'ang chi was written by two Zen monks in 952, and was found in Korea describing the Five Houses. It is generally regarded as the oldest Zen biography. Tsu-t'ang chi (Kyoto: Komazawa University, 1984), p.1684, 2-126.

5. T.48/2002b, p.135.

6. T.48/2016, pp.523, 528.

7. TTC, p.1684.

8. T.12/384, p.1058b.

9. T.3/189, pp.625a, 629a.
10. T.38/1771, p.268.
11. T.14/452, p.419.
12. For a further reference see Kogen Mizuno, *Buddhist Sutras* p.48.
13. For the life of Lao-tzu, see Alan K.L. Chan, *Two Visions of the Way - A study of the Wang Pi and the Ho-shang Kung commentaries on the Lao-tzu* (The State University of New York, 1991), and Robert G.Henricks, *Lao-tzu Te Tao Ching* (London: The Bodley Head, 1984).
14. See W. Pachow, *Chinese Buddhism: Aspects of Interaction and Reinterpretation* (Lanham: University Press of America, Inc), 1980, p.63. For reference see T.54/2139, p.1266b.
15. For further discussion see W. Pachow, *Chinese Buddhism*, pp.55-66.
16. For the Taoist revolts see D.Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion*, pp.73-74, and Anna K. Seidel, "The Image of the Perfect Ruler in Early Taoist Messianism: Lao-tzu and Li Hung, *History of Religions* 9 (1969-1970), pp.216-229.
17. For the details of the complex clan of Li genealogy see W.Rodzinski, *A History of China*, Vol.1, pp.116-8.
18. T.54/2139, p.1270a.
19. T.54/2139, p.1270a.
20. T.51/2092, p.1000b,c.
21. K.Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, p.352. Regarding the date of arrival of Bodhidharma in China, 527 is found in the Ch'uan fa chêng tsung chi, T.51/2078, p.744b.
22. K.Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, p.352.
23. A paper presented by T.H.Barrett, "The Date of the Leng-chia shih-tzu chi", *Royal Asiatic Society* (July 1991), pp.255-259.
24. T.51/2075, pp.180c-181a.
25. The greater part of the PLC is compiled in the *Sung tsang i chen* (Taipei: 1978), Vol.2, p.1325.
26. YLSC, pp,39, 130.
27. Yen-yu szu-ming chih (Taipei: 1978), p.5606, and FHHC, pp.1678-9.

28. YLSC, pp.53-54.
29. T.49/2035, p.390c.
30. TYC, p.954.
31. T.51/2076, p.223b, T.51/2078, p.748b, T.51/2078, p.746c.
32. YLSC, p.84.
33. T.51/2077, pp.501, 634b.
34. See Heinrich Dumoulin, *The Development of Chinese Zen After the Sixth Patriarch* (New York: The First Zen Institute of America, Inc., 1953), pp.1-15, 19, 25, 32.
35. HTC.148, pp.196, 256 and 271.
36. TTC, p.1650.
37. TTC, p.1634.
38. See Suzuki Tetsuo, *Tō Godai Zenshū shi* (Tokyo: 1985), pp.90-100, 114-200.
39. TTC, p.1666 and T.51/2076, pp.354-5.
40. See Suzuki Tetsuo, *Tō Godai Zenshū shi*, pp.106-110.
41. HTC.115, Tsung men nien ku hui chi, p.909.
42. T.51/2076, pp.286c, 753b.
43. T.51/2076, p.381a.
44. TYC, p.961, YLSC, pp.48,99, FHHC, p.679. Wolfram Eberhard, "The Monk with the Bag", in *Folktales of China* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1965), pp.80-81.
45. TYC, p.955. Some miracles can be also found in F.Lessing, "Pu-tai ho-shang", pp.28-29.
46. TYC, p.956. YLSC, pp.31, 39. This account is also recorded in Lessing's article, p.32.
47. TYC, pp.956-7. This story is also translated by F.Lessing in "Pu-tai ho-shang", pp.32-3.
48. YLSC, pp.123, 134-140.
49. *Chūgoku zenshu daijiten*, pp.358, 497.
50. See Chikusa Masaaki, *Chūgoku Bukkyō shakai-shi kenkyū* (Kyoto: Dōhōsha Press, 1982), pp.83-109.

51. For further information see, Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp.79-95.
52. The word "mow" has no English equivalent.
53. PCSMC, pp.5275--6.
54. For the data on Yüan-ming see FHHC, p.1682, and YLSC, pp.54-55. Another doubtful death date for Yüan-ming is 990, see Shih Ming-fu, *Chung-kuo fo hsüeh jen-ming tz'u-tien* (Taipei: 1974), p.423.
55. YLSC, p.168.
56. YLSC, p.170.
57. See Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism: A History, India and China* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1988), p.85. T.47/1970, p.275a, T.47/1973, pp.350a, 351b.
58. Shih Yin-shun, *Chung kuo Ch'an tsung shih* (Taipei: 1971), pp.24-37; and H.Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism, Vol.1*, pp.94-97.
59. Shih Yin-shun, *Chung kuo Ch'an tsung shih*, pp.39, 42.
60. Shih Yin-shun, *Chung kou Ch'an tsung shih*, pp.50-54.
61. T.50/2060, p.606, T.50/2061, p.754.
62. T.51/2060, p.606b.
63. Shih Yin-shun, *Chung kuo Ch'an tsung shih*, p.55.
64. T.46/1933, p.787.
65. T.8/223, pp.280, 287a.
66. T.8/223, p.280 and T.25/1509, p.740.
67. Shih Yin-shun, *Chung kuo Ch'an tsung shih*, p.59.
68. For the Zen movement see Peter N. Gregory, *Sudden and Gradual -- Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, Kuroda Institute, 1987), pp.227-278, 201-226.
69. H.Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism*, p.236 on its note.8.
70. See Kamata Shigeo, *Chung kuo fo chiao shih*, p.234.
71. T.47/1988, pp.551-8.
72. T.47/1992, p.661; T.47/1995, p.658.
73. HTC.146, TYC, p.955.

74. T.51/2076, p.434. Two translations of this poem are available in Lessing's article, pp.30-31, and H.Chapin's, pp.50-51.
75. T.8/235, p.751b.
76. T.48/2009, p.369c.
77. JBD, pp.101, 238.
78. T.48/2009, pp.365c, 366c.
79. T.48/2016, pp.432, 448, 549.
80. T.47/1988, pp.566-7.
81. In the Erh-ti I, Chi-tsang interprets empty-nature by such terms, non-truth and non-profane, non-wide and non-narrow.... etc.. T.45/1854, p.100.
82. TTC, pp.1610, 1612, 1629, 1720.
83. TTC, p.1679b.
84. See H.Dumoulin, *The Development of Chinese Zen After the Sixth Patriarch*, pp.19-25, 32.
85. See *Chūgoku Zenshu daijiten*, p.473.
86. T.3/33, p.817a, T.1/5, p.171b.
87. T.47/1989, p.580. A similar translation is given in H.Dumoulin, *The Development of Chinese Zen after the Six Patriarch*, p.67.
88. T.47/1989, p.581c.
89. *Szu chia yū lu, Wu chia yū lu*, (Kyoto: 1974), P.167.
90. TTC, p.1650.
91. According to Suzuki Tetsuo, *To Godai Zenshu shi*, pp.49-65, the Yün-men House was active in Kwang-tung province.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

The focus of this study has been twofold, namely the lives of Fu Hsi and Pu-tai. In tracing these two figures, this study has alluded to some general practices of Buddhism in the sixth and tenth centuries. This chapter will recapitulate the main subject: the influence of the Maitreya cult as well as political and Buddhist reflections. To this end, the study proposes three categories: an evaluation of Monk Pu-tai's influence, an expectation of Tuṣita Heaven, and a comparison of Fu Hsi with Pu-tai. Although some of these matters have been mentioned in the foregoing chapters, it will be helpful here to recast them in considerable depth. However, no attempt is made here to elaborate on the complex details of these three categories.

1. An evaluation of the Monk Pu-tai's influence

Owing to Pu-tai's wide popularity, three aspects have been considered to determine the extent of Pu-tai's influence in the context of Chinese culture and Buddhism. Firstly, from the political point of view, a number of movements arose in revolt as a result of his fame. Secondly, in the Buddhist community, a monk duplicated his persona and was named "Yüan Pu-tai". Thirdly, from the cultural view point, the portrayal of Maitreya altered after Pu-tai.

A number of religious rebels which revolted in the fifth and sixth centuries have been discussed in the first chapter. United by the same motives, under the banner of Maitreya, a

number of movements also sprang up from the mid-Sung, Yüan to the Ming periods, such as the White Lotus Vegetarians (Pai-lien ts'ai), White Lotus Religion (Pai-lien chiao) and the White Cloud Association (Pai-yün hui). All these revolts will be mentioned only insofar as they are related to the monk Pu-tai. One of the devotional movements, following the model of the White Lotus Society, called for a rebellious Maitreyist movement known as the "White Lotus Religion". Its leader, Han Shan-t'ung (d.1355), from Hopei in north China, brought the Maitreya cult with him to the south and east where the White Lotus Religion had begun. His grandfather had been banished for taking part in a White Lotus Gathering. Of him, we read in the Yüan-shih:

"Han Shan-t'ung's grandfather was a leader of the White Lotus Society, who deluded the people through conducting worship services. For this he was banished... As for Shan-t'ung, he said that the empire was in great disorder, and that the Buddha Maitreya was about to descend to be reborn...One of his devotees, Liu Fu-tung proclaimed that Shan-t'ung was really the eighth generation descendant of the Sung Emperor Hui-tsung (reigned 1101-1126)..... Liu Fu-tung rebelled, Han Shan-t'ung was captured, but his wife and son Han Lin-er escaped..."¹

These events are described in some detail in a biography of Han Lin-er in the Ming history. Liu Fu-tung successfully occupied Ying-chou and a number of places nearby. As a result, his army increased in size to over 100,000 soldiers. In 1355, Liu located Han Lin-er and appointed him both emperor and Lesser King of Light. This section will simply point out the link between the rebellion and the monk Pu-tai. A connection is found in the Yüan-shih lei-pien, which repeats similar data to the records in the Ming history, but with some important

additional information:

".....At the time of Han Shan-t'ung, in the region of Tsao-yang, a baby boy suddenly grew four feet in height at his first birthday; his features were unusual, being pot-bellied and with a jovial smile, he resembled the picture of the monk Pu-tai."²

The same anecdote is also recounted in another historical record, Ming-shih ch'ieh chüan, which records that in honour of the Pu-tai-like boy Han Shan-t'ung proclaimed that Maitreya Buddha had descended and that the Lesser King of Light had appeared in the world. Of course, the Lesser King of Light was his own son Han Lin-er, .

In these citations we can discern the White Lotus Religion blending the legends of Maitreya and exploiting the popularity of Pu-tai. From the preceding chapters, we are aware that following his nirvāṇa the legends of Pu-tai soon abounded amongst the people, who made drawings and images of him for use in worship. Using his popularity to further their own aims, those revolts intended to exploit the multitude to gain support. It is apparent that Pu-tai came to be equated with Maitreya at that time.

Apart from the political impetus of Pu-tai, the Buddhist community itself also held him in high esteem. In the Yüan period, a Zen master Ching-yüan, who became a monk at the age of eighteen, attained enlightenment at twenty-one. According to Ta Ming kao seng chuan, Ching-yüan was an attendant of an eminent Zen Master, Yüan-wu. On one occasion the youth inquired the master for the Dharma; while he was opening the door after the discussion, suddenly he became enlightened. Afterwards, the elder was pleased and spoke of him with

admiration: "Some of my bullets were taken by Yüan Pu-tai". Due to this incident, thereafter people called him "Yüan Pu-tai".³ Owing to his intellect being as sharp as that of the monk Pu-tai, Ching-yüan became well-known. Of course, this matter is not directly linked to the monk Pu-tai, but it indicates the fact that people regarded Pu-tai as a remarkable figure, or a genius; so whoever was extraordinary might be related to him.

According to Tsukamoto Zenryū's research, during the Northern Wei Dynasty, the most popular deities in the Lung-men sculptures were Śākyamuni and Maitreya; portraits of Maitreya bear a likeness to other Buddhas, being depicted as graceful, solemn and calm. A few pictures have been compared in this study in order to consider the evolution of the Maitreya image. A simple chart follows with explanation:

Maitreya	Date	Features	Location
"	589	slim, solemn	Ling-chüan Temple in Honan
"	940	"	Tun-huang caves
"	Yüan (1279-1367)	jovial smile and pot-bellied	Fei-lai fêng of Hang-chou in Chekiang

Regarding the first of the above chart, two sculptures of Maitreya were made in the Sui Dynasty, 589, which resemble other Buddhas, depicting him as magnificent and serene.⁴ Another Maitreya portrait was sketched in 940 during the Five Dynasties, which portrayed him in the traditional fashion: slim and solemn.⁵ In Tokiwa Daijo's collection, the third in the above chart, a Maitreya sculpture portrayed with a jovial smile and pot-bellied was sculpted in the Fei-lai Fêng (a

cave) in the Yüan period.⁶ In addition, a number of paintings of Pu-tai with the title "The Laughing Buddha" appeared in the Southern Sung, Yüan and Ming Dynasties.⁷

As we know, Pu-tai deceased in 916, while in the second example of the above chart, Maitreya was still portrayed in a solemn semblance in 940. This implies, presumably, that the jolly rotund images attributed to Maitreya may have been produced in the second half of the tenth century, about fifty years after Pu-tai's demise, since it would have taken a few decades for his reputation to become widely established. Of course, this is merely a hypothesis, and this study just offers the possibility of further investigation to those who are interested in Maitreya studies.

In comparing these three portraits, the image of Maitreya had altered from a solemn to a jolly countenance, from slim to rotund. It is evident that the cleric Pu-tai has taken root in Chinese culture. The image of Maitreya has been that of a jolly, portly monk since the eleven century. Not only his legend, but also his portraits made people truly believe Pu-tai to be an incarnation of Maitreya; notwithstanding, his historical origins seems to have been forgotten by the masses.

2. An expectation of Tuṣita Heaven

In the wake of Tao-an's backing during the Eastern Chin Dynasty, the Maitreya cult became well accepted by Buddhist communities until the early T'ang period. In the T'ang, a prominent cleric, Hsüan-tsang (602-664), who was to be a key figure in the restoration of the popularity of the Maitreya

cult, appeared on the Buddhist scene. He travelled to India to study the Yogācāra doctrine, and seventeen years later he returned to China with a profusion of sūtras and śāstras. His foremost disciple, K'uei-chi, then established one of the most brilliant sects among the Eight Schools, the Fa-hsiang School, which idolized the cult of Maitreya. According to the Tz'u en chuan, the patriarch Hsüan-tsang is said in his biography to have been a devotee of Maitreya.⁸ There is a legend that the teachings of Yogācāra were given by Maitreya. There were two distinguished Indian brothers, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu (around the third century) who were responsible for this event. The former ascended to Tuṣita Heaven and studied under Maitreya's tutelage at night; and in the daytime he returned to the human realm to teach what he had learnt. This legend might have contributed to the veneration of the Maitreya by the Fa-hsiang School; as a result of it, a number of Yogācāra śāstras, attributed to Asaṅga such as the She ta ch'eng lun and Ch'êng wei shih lun, appear in Chinese Buddhist canon.⁹

In the writings of the Fa-hsiang patriarchs, dubiously, there is no clue to be found about Fu Hsi and Pu-tai. As an intellectual sect, the Fa-hsiang School held a crucial role in sectarian Buddhism alongside the T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen. It was well established and influential during the middle T'ang period. A number of rudimentary teachings of early Chinese Yogācāra, Abhidharmakośa and commentaries, were translated and composed by Hsüan-tsang.¹⁰ However, the earliest commentary of the Abhidharmakośa by Vasubandhu was rendered into Chinese by the Indian cleric Paramārtha (Chên-

ti) (499-569) during 563-567.¹¹ Although this was the only Fa-hsiang commentary existed in Fu Hsi's later years, it was impossible for him to have read it as he died in 569, two years after the text was completed. Thus, this could explain why no Yogācāra philosophy is found in Fu's writings. Moreover, we can conjecture that the Yogācāra doctrine did not spread as far as Mādhyamika in the sixth century.

Apart from the veneration for Maitreya by the Fa-hsiang School, the T'ien-t'ai, Hua-yen, Zen, and Precept schools were also devoted to the Maitreya cult.¹² However, after the Pure Land School arose in the T'ang, Amitābha became a favourite deity of the masses in place of Maitreya. Yet, the Fa-hsiang actively advocated Maitreya's Tuṣita Heaven as opposed to Amitābha's Pure Land. A number of writings enable us to make a comparison between these two lands; thus, from the number of writings we can imagine how fierce the controversy was which surrounded them in the T'ang.¹³ Following Tao-an's advocacy, the Maitreya cult became dominant in Buddhism for a period of time, then Fu Ta-shih emerged on the scene; likewise, in the wake of the controversy, the mysterious monk Pu-tai also appeared and restored the Maitreya cult to its former glory. Yet, shortly afterwards, strong pressure from the Pure Land School drove anew the Maitreya cult into shadows.

At any rate, all these events indicate that these two incarnations of Maitreya came onto the scene owing to Buddhist tendencies at that time. Without the stimulus of rebirth in the Tuṣita Heaven, Pu-tai might never have come into existence.

However, had it not been for the critical and confusing era and the longing for a saviour during the fifth and sixth centuries, the Maitreya cult would never have become prominent, nor would Fu Hsi have come either.

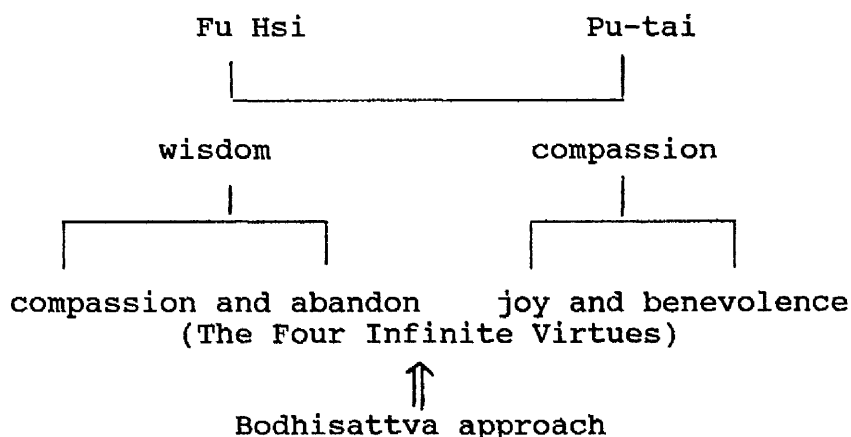
3. A comparison of Fu Hsi and Pu-tai

Both Fu Hsi and Pu-tai are quite well-known in Chinese Buddhism, but they are respected in distinct fashions. From the available sources we are aware that these two are regarded as images of Maitreya and that they performed miracles. This study draws parallels between their similarities and differences in the context of their characteristics, demeanour, miracles and region of activity.

(a) Characteristics

Fu played a role as a cultivated scholar and a skilful meditator; his poems are cited frequently in Buddhist commentaries. In Chapter Six, we acknowledge him as "The communal patriarch of the Six Schools". Yet, as regards popularity, he was respected and recognised only by the sectarians rather than by the majority of ordinary people. The monk Pu-tai, on the other hand, attracted the widespread attention of Buddhists. Although the latter did not leave any scholarly writings, his final oral verse was popular and widely known. The masses, up to the present day, esteem Pu-tai much more highly than Fu Hsi. We may suggest that Pu-tai succeeded with the masses, whereas Fu Hsi gained his renown in terms of scholarly achievements.

Both figures have their own peculiarities, each presenting two aspects: wisdom and compassion. The essential teaching, Catvāri Apramāṇāni or the Four Infinite Virtues: benevolence, compassion, joy and abandon, is found in Fu's writings in the SHYL.¹⁴ Of course, they both possessed the four virtues, but if we compare the two figures specifically on the basis of the four virtues, two categories emerge:



Fu was both wise and sympathetic; allied to his erudition, he had a humane approach, and repeatedly offered his wealth to the poor. However, Pu-tai had an optimistic disposition; lacking a profound philosophy, he simply served people with his ability of prediction and was tolerant and forbearing, accepting whatever came to him, good or evil. Thus, a renowned Chinese aphorism: "Ta tu neng yung" (or a big belly can contain [everything]) derives from Pu-tai's virtue. Hence, these two figures each enjoy enduring fame, but they present two different aspects of the bodhisattva.

(b) Demeanour

These two figures had very distinct temperaments, as the textual information proves: one being liberal, while the other was enigmatic. In the SHYL, Fu clearly professed his status as Maitreya several times; furthermore, he even declared himself to be "Shan-hui Ta-shih" to the Emperor Wu of Liang. According to the Kuo ch'ü hsien tsai yin kuo ching, the appellation "Shan-hui" is the name of a saint, who attained the Tenth Abode achievement and dwells in the Tuṣita Heaven awaiting to achieve Buddhahood.¹⁵ These accounts reveal him as an extrovert man without any secrets.

Pu-tai, on the contrary, was a cryptic character: he acted as a vagabond, coming from nowhere, going nowhere, hardly ever speaking seriously, behaving at times like a simpleton. He did not allow his close friend Chiang Mo-ho to reveal his status as a bodhisattva, thus indicating his humility. According to Chinese culture, owing to the sense of modesty, a sage does not disclose his virtue. Perhaps, by acting as a jester, he could conceal his stature as a saint. We know from the sources that Pu-tai was an enigmatic, special person, and Fu Hsi was also an equally unusual one; for they both shared the same goal of saving all sentient beings, but presented a facade to the world.

(c) Miracles

Miracles seem to exercise a potent appeal in all religions, for without these religion seems to lose its mystique. From history, we know that every sage seems to have had the power of performing miracles. Fu Hsi and Pu-tai were

no exception to the rule and performed many miracles, which have been discussed in the foregoing chapters. Apart from the later sources, the earliest sources, the PW, PCL, HKSC, also recount this matter. In the PW, a few Fu Hsi's miracles are recorded, for instance, a golden ray radiated from his chest and he could transform himself into a giant body more than ten feet in height. He was also imprisoned and survived without food for several ten-day periods. After his demise, a magistrate came to bow and offer incense to him; incredibly, his hand appeared to receive the incense.

Pu-tai's life was full of mystique, we can even suggest that his whole life was a miracle. The way he acted, the words he spoke, the manner of his death -- in a sitting posture uttering a verse serenely, the way he played with children, predicted the weather, and foretold people's fortunes and the legend of his mysterious bag are all unbelievable. His entire life indicates that he was more than just an ordinary human being, for if he was not the incarnate Maitreya, he must have been a high ranking bodhisattva or Arhat. In any case, it is certain that even in the eyes of their contemporaries these two unusual figures performed miracles and that they were extraordinary individuals.

(d) Region

If one could choose one's birthplace, then our two characters, Fu Hsi and Pu-tai, were wise to select a place where life was peaceful and Buddhism flourished, i.e. in Chekiang. During the period of the Six Dynasties, while the north was at war, the south was peaceful, and Buddhism was

protected and thrived. This was especially the case in the province of Chekiang which was in close proximity to the East China sea; the region was prosperous and civilized, and its people were cultured.

Both Fu Hsi and Pu-tai appeared in two districts of Chekiang, Feng-hua and I-wu. These two districts are within close proximity. We might say it was just coincidence that they should have appeared in neighbouring areas, the same circuit "Kiang-nan tao". In the Buddhist tradition, life in this world is brief, troublesome and painful. For the sake of saving sentient beings, one would prefer to dwell in a place where one's teaching would be welcome, and one's beliefs accepted. If they were not ordinary mortals, they could have chosen prosperous as well as peaceful areas, where Buddhism thrived. Buddhism indeed experienced a new impetus over the two periods of sixth and tenth centuries and acquired a new vital energy. Pu-tai's appearance was timely for Buddhism to penetrate deeply into the fabric of society.

Beyond identifying Fu Hsi as a pioneer of intellectual Buddhism, we should be aware in tracing the formative influences that were brought to bear upon him of the foundations of the Buddhist doctrine in Chinese Buddhism. He showed that he was fully aware of the complexity of the Buddhist situation at that time. He strove for a balanced development of meditation and doctrinal study. Abiding by the bodhisattva code of conduct, Pu-tai was also aware of the difficult political and social problems; he showed an easy going geniality, which is a special gift to be able to exploit

dharmamedicine to alleviate people's pain. By using the soothing dharmamedicine, Pu-tai was widely accepted by the general masses. It may well be that Buddhism is a flexible, indigenous tradition. In any case, it should be borne in mind that although the sources present credible data, these may have been altered to meet the beliefs and expectations of the people in order to make them accessible. As a result, monastic Buddhism has still maintained its aspiration to prepare to hail the future Buddha Maitreya throughout the Sung, Ming, Ch'ing, down to the twentieth century. At the gates of monasteries far and wide a jolly and blessed Maitreya statue always welcomes every sentient being who enters the dharmadoor and thereby enjoys the dharmabliss.

In sum, the most unexpected conclusions concerning both these figures is that, however mysterious they may seem, a close study of the documents reveals in both cases the precise intellectual environment which formed their images.

In the case of Fu Hsi, it has been assumed that he was a mysterious thaumaturge, who like Bodhidharma had some connection with Zen Buddhism, but about whom any information is largely late and unreliable. He has therefore been neglected. Yet Hsü Ling provides detailed information on him within a few years of his death which, even if already tinged with legend, establishes him as a figure of undoubted historicity and suggests that the poetry attributed to him, whatever its origins, may well for the most part go back to the late sixth century. Similarly Yüan Chen's note, the authenticity of which is confirmed by Sung records, in its

turn confirms that documents of Ch'en Dynasty date relating to Fu's career still existed in the ninth century, and its mention of Lou Ying confirms that a prototype of the existing record of Fu's deeds had been put together in the middle of the eighth century. Even if Lou Ying's original compilation was drastically edited in the Sung, we have another means of examining how Fu was remembered in T'ang times besides the evident popularity of the poetry under his name. An examination of these materials of T'ang derivation further confirms that, despite the editing carried out in Sung times, many of their concerns can be related to the Buddhism of the early T'ang, or even the sixth century. It is possible therefore to use these materials with some confidence to build up a picture of how a Chinese Maitreya was understood before the rise of Zen Buddhism. Surely this is a matter of some importance for our knowledge of the unfolding of Chinese Buddhism belief.

By contrast, the early work of H. Chapin and F. Lessing has shown Pu-tai largely against the background of his well-known popularity in folk belief, and has located the earliest reference to him in the work of Tsan-ning, a monk-historian of the Vinaya School who had no particular interest in Zen. Yet by digging a little deeper we can find sources which show that even before Tsan-ning he was already a figure well known to Zen Buddhists, and that his depiction in early sources draws on the themes of specific importance to the Zen tradition, whatever his later popularity in Chinese folk religion in general. We are therefore provided with the means

for assessing the reinterpretation of Chinese Maitreya belief by the Zen tradition over against an earlier image created independently.

The result of this comparison is paradoxical. In some ways Pu-tai seems to represent the spread of concern in Chinese Buddhism to the lowest elements in Chinese society: whereas Fu Hsi is a man with enough social standing to provide leadership and even material relief to the common people, Pu-tai appears to be destitute himself, the lowest of the low. But against this it must be remarked that Fu maintains his bodhisattva career in the person of a layman, like Vimalakīrti, and even if he is not conventionally educated mixes with emperors and princes and matches their learning with his own poems: he encourages the self-confidence of the lay believer. Pu-tai, on the other hand, while not represented as the disciple of any Zen master, is first and foremost a monk, and one who participates not in lay Buddhism, but in the Zen tradition, even when he attracts a lay disciple. It is indeed noteworthy that although the Zen tradition may have been extended to include problematic figures like Pu-tai or Han-shan, it still tends to assert its own particular importance as a separate tradition of monastic masters and disciples, and does not surrender to purely lay Buddhist values.

Fu Hsi, by contrast, was enrolled in Zen in an even more problematic way, as a figure who could not be ignored because of his importance to other Chinese schools, but one whose inclusion was historically awkward, leading to the creation

of a special "Nien-piao" at the start of the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu, so as not to leave Zen supporters vulnerable to claims that T'ien-tai had greater historical authority, because it could also claim that its doctrines derived from Fu's poetry. In other words, even though a belief in preincarnations of Maitreya in orthodox Buddhism undercut the adoption of Maitreya as a messiah figure in heterodox cults, these beliefs still raised difficulties for those who made use of them. As future research moves beyond the study of Buddhist doctrines to a study of the functioning of Buddhism in Chinese society, no doubt we will have to return to these figures and assess them even more carefully.

Notes:

1. Yüan Shih, vol.1, p.349. For details see D.Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion*, pp.89-108.
2. *Ming-shih Ch'ieh-chüan* (Taiwan, 1978), fascicle 30, P.717. Yüan-shih lei-pien compiled in the *Seventeen Histories* (The Ching edition), fascicle 41.
3. T.50/2062, p.916.
4. See D.Tokiwa and T.Sekino, *Shina Bukkyō shiseki* (Tokyo: 1937), Vol.3, picture.139.
5. E.Matsumoto, *Tonko-ga no Kenkyu* (Tokyo: 1937), No.219.
6. Tokiwa Daijo, *Shina Bukkyō shiseki*, Vol.5, V-95.
7. *Sogen no kaiga* - Paintings of the Sung and Yüan Dynasties--from special exhibition at Tokyo National Museum, 1962, paintings: No.23,28
8. T.50/2053, p.223a,b.
9. T.31/1592, p.97, T.31/1585, p.1. An introduction of these two texts is given in K.Chen, *Buddhism in China*, pp.135, 320-322, 385.
10. *Abhidharmakośa* is said to be the early teaching of Fa-hsiang School; see *Fo-kuang Dictionary*, pp.3644-5.

11. Kamata Shigeo, *Chung kuo fo chiao shih*, Chinese edition, p.75.

12. See Wang Jiuan, "T'ang tai Mi-le hsin yang yū fo chiao chu tsung p'ai ti kuan hsi", in *Chung hua fo hsueh hsueh pao* (5 July, 1992, Taipei), pp.194-230, for the cult of Maitreya in the T'ang period.

13. A helpful chart is available in Wang Jiuan's article, *Ibid*, pp.206-7.

14. Four infinite virtues: (1) Maitry apramāna, infinite virtue of benevolence, giving living beings happiness; (2) karuṇāpramāna, that of compassion, removing pain; (3) Muditāpramāna, that of joy, enjoying the sight of those who have been freed from pain and have obtained happiness; (4) Upekṣāpramāna, that of impartiality, abandoning attachment to the three virtues above mentioned and being impartial to all, even to enemies. JBD, p.281.

15. T.3/189, p.623a. The title Shan-hui repeatedly appears in the sūtras, such as Shan-hui saint, Shan-hui child...etc.. T.3/189, p.620c.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CCPC Ch'ien-ch'i pieh chi 潛溪別集
 CSTCC Ch'u san tsang chi chi 出三藏記集
 CTCTL Ching te chuan teng lu 景德傳燈錄
- FHHC Feng-hua hsien chih 奉化縣志
 FTKM Fo tsu kang mu 佛祖綱目
 FTLTTT Fo tsu li tai t'ung tsai 佛祖歷代通載
 FTTC Fo tsu t'ung chi 佛祖統記
- HCC Huan-chu liu-shu chi 還珠留書記
 HKSC Hsü kao seng chuan 續高僧傳
 HTC Supplement to the Tripitaka, Hsü tsang ching 續藏經
 HYC Hua-yen ching 華嚴經
- JBD Japanese English Buddhist Dictionary 日本佛教字典
- KHMC Kuang hung ming chi 廣弘明集
 KSC Kao seng chuan 高僧傳(梁)
- LCSTC Leng chia shih tzu chi 楞伽師資記
 LSYW Li shih yüan wen 立誓願文
 LTFPC Li tai fa pao chi 歷代法寶記
 LYCLC Lo yang chia lan chi 洛陽伽藍記
- MHS Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra 大般若經
- PCL Pien cheng lun 辯正論
 PCNC Pi ch'iu ni chuan 比丘尼傳
 PCSMC Pao-ching szu-ming chih 寶慶四明志
 PLC Pao lin chuan 寶林傳
 PTHH Pu-tai ho shang hou hsu 布袋和尚後序
 PW Pei-wen 碑文
- SHY Sung hui yao 宋會要
 SHYL Shan-hui ta-shih yü-lu 善慧大士語錄
 SKSC Sung kao seng chuan 宋高僧傳
 SSCKL Shih shih chi ku lueh 釋氏稽古略
 SV Sarvāstivāda-vinaya 十誦律
- T Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō 大正新脩大藏經
 TCJW Tuan chiu jou wen 斷酒肉文
 TCL Tsung ching lu 宗鏡錄
 TTC Tsu-t'ang chi 祖堂集
 TYC Ting ying ta shih pu-tai ho shang chuan 定應大師布袋和尚傳
 TYTS Ting -ying ta shih 定應大師
- YLSC Yüeh-lin shih chih 岳林寺誌

Throughout this work the abbreviations "T" and "HTC" are used to indicate the "Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō" and "Supplement to the Tripitaka (Hsū tsang ching)". The list below is taken from "T" and "HTC" as quotations throughout this thesis, which gives the volume number, sūtra number and page number.

A nan t'ung hsueh ching... 阿難問同學經	T.2/149,	p.874.
An pan shou yi ching ... 安般守意經	T.15/602,	p.163.
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Chin kang ching (Diamond Sūtra). 金剛經	T.8/235,	p.748.
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Chin kang hsien lun ... 金剛仙論	T.25/1512,	p.798.
Chin kang pan jo ch'an wen ... 金剛般若懺文	T.52/2103,	p.332.
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Mi-le hsia-sheng ching ... 彌勒下生經	T.14/453, p.421.
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Mo ho chih kuan ... 摩訶止觀	T.46/1911, p.1.
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Pai lun ... 百論	T.30/1569, p.168.
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GLOSSARY OF CHINESE WORDS

A

Anhwei	安徽
An-hsin	安心
An-kuo Hung-tao	安國弘滔
An Lu-shan	安祿山
An pan shou yi ching	安般守意經
An Shih-kao	安世高

B

Bodhidharma Ch'an	達摩禪
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C

Ch'a-shou	叉手
Chai-chieh	齋戒
Chai-hui	齋會
Chai Jung	峯融
Chan-jan	湛然
Ch'an-fa	懺法
Ch'an hui mien ch'u-yeh chang	懺悔滅除業障
Ch'an hui pin	懺悔品
Ch'an hui wen	懺悔文
Ch'an hui yeh chang	懺悔業障
Ch'an fa yao chieh	禪法要解
Ch'an pi yao fa ching	禪秘要法經
Ch'an yüan meng ch'iu	禪苑蒙求
Ch'ang-an	長安
Ch'ang layman	昌居士
Ch'ang T'ing-tzŭ	長汀子
Chang Ch'iao	張翹
Chang Ch'iu	張求
Chao-ming	昭明
Chao lun	肇論
Chao-tsung	昭宗
Chê-tsung	哲宗
Chên-kuang	正光
Chên-kuan	真觀
Chên-ming	貞明
Chên shen	真身
Chên-ti	真諦

Chên-tsung	真宗
Ch'ên (servant)	臣
Ch'en Chan	陳瞻
Ch'en Hsüan-ti	陳宣帝
Ch'en Wen-ti	陳文帝
Ch'ên Yüeh	沈約
Ch'eng-kuan	澄觀
Ch'êng shih lun	成實論
Ch'êng wei shih lun	成唯識論
Chêng-fa	正法
Chêng-nien	正念
Ch'i-tz'u	契此
Ch'i Wu-ti	齊武帝
Chi-chou	冀州
Chi-tsang	吉藏
Chia	假
Chia-feng	家風
Chia-tzŭ	甲子
Chiang Mo-ho	蔣摩訶-
(Chiang Tsung-pa)	(蔣宗霸)
Chieh	戒
Chieh-hsiang Ya-nü	戒香啞女
Chieh-yü	接輿
Ch'ien Liu	錢鏐
Chien-k'un	乾坤
Chien-wen-ti	簡文帝
Chih Ch'ien	支謙
Chih-che	智者
Chi-chou	吉州
Chih-i	智顛
Chih kuan fu hsing chuan hung chüeh	止觀輔行傳弘決
Chih kuan i li	止觀義例
Chih Min-tu	支敏度
Chih-ming	志明
Chih-sheng	智昇
Chih-yen	智嚴
Chih-yüan	至元
Ch'ih-kuo, Ch'ih-sheng	治國, 治身
Ch'ih-shih	郝氏
Chih-yüeh lu	指月錄
Chin-chou	涇州
Chin kang hsien lun	金剛仙論

Chin kang pan jo - ch'an wen	金剛般若- 懺文	Fa hsing shen fo	法性身佛
Chin-shih	進士	Fa-hsiang	法相
Chin tzu mo ho pan jo - po lo mi ching	金字摩訶般若- 波羅蜜經	Fa-hsiu	法秀
Ch'in-chou	秦州	Fa hua ch'uan chi	法華傳記
Ch'ing-hsien	慶閑	Fa hua san mei ch'an i	法華三昧懺儀
Ching chü kuo ming - fa wang	淨居國明- 法王	Fa-k'uang	法曠
Ching chü t'ien	淨居天	Fa-kuang	法光
Ching-kuei	淨珪	Fa-lin	法琳
Ching-shê	精舍	Fa-lun	法輪
Ching-yüan	景元	Fa-meng	法猛
Chiu mo ch'u ch'ü	舊魔除去	Fa mieh chin ching	法滅盡經
Chou-kung	周公	Fa shen	法身
Chu Chien-ku	朱堅固	Fa-tsang	法藏
Chü-chu Ching-sheng	沮渠京聲	Fa-ts'un	法存
Chu Fo-nien	竺佛念	Fa-yen Wen-i	法眼文益
Chu Shu-lan	竺叔蘭	Fa-yü	法羽
Ch'üan-chen	全真	Fa-yün	法雲
Ch'ung-ko mi le chuan	重刻彌勒傳	Fa yüan i lin chang	法苑義林章
Ch'ung-ning Ko	崇寧閣	Fan Nan-t'o	范難陀
Ch'uan chiao ta shih	傳教大師-	Fei Ch'ang	費昶
yüeh chou lu	越州錄	Fei-lai fêng	飛來峰
Chüan fa chêng tsung chi	傳法正宗記	Feng-ch'an	封禪
Chung lun	中論	Fêng-kan	豐干
Chung-shan	鐘山	Fêng-ni	馮尼
Chung ta-t'ung	中大通	Feng-shan	封山
Chung-yün Hall	重雲殿	Fo chi shih hsin	佛即是心
		Fo-fa yü-mieh	佛法欲滅
		Fo-jih	佛日
		Fo hsin nien fo	佛心念佛
		Foo-chou	福州
		Fo-t'a-ting	佛塔亭
		Fo-tsang ching	佛藏經
		Fo-t'u Ch'êng	佛圖澄
		Four Seasons at mid- night	午夜四時歌
		Fu Hsi	傅歙
		Fu-hsien Chao-ch'ing	福先招慶
		Fu Hung	傅弘
		Fu kung	孚公
		Fu ou ko	浮漚歌
		Fu Pú-min	傅普敏
		Fu Ta-shih sung	傅大士誦-
		chin kang ching	金剛經
D			
Dharmaraksa	曇無讖		
E			
Erh-ti i	二諦義		
Erh-ti sung (kuan)	二諦頌(觀)		
F			
Fa-chin	法進		
Fa-ch'ing	法慶		
Fa-ch'üan	法權		
Fa-ch'ung	法沖		
Fa-hsien	法顯		

Fu Wang	傅暉
H	
Hai-yin-hsüan	海印宣
Han Lin-er	韓林兒
Han-shan	寒山
Han Shan-t'ung	韓山童
Hang-chou	杭州
Heng shui ching	恒水經
Ho-chang	合掌
Ho Ch'ang	何昌
Honan, Hopei	河南, 河北
Ho shou leng yen ching	合首楞嚴經
Ho tsang	合葬
Hou Ching	侯景
Hou Han Shu	後漢書
Hsi-tsung	僖宗
Hsiang-chiao	像教
Hsiang-chou	相州
Hsiang-fa chi t'ui	像法即類
Hsiao Kang	蕭綱
Hsiao-ming-ti	孝明帝
Hsiao Tzu-ch'ang	蕭子長
Hsiao Tzu-liang	蕭子良
Hsiao Tzu-yün	蕭子雲
Hsiao-wen-ti	孝文帝
Hsieh Ling-yün	謝靈運
Hsien i yü kou ch'ien hou ling ju fo chih	先以欲鉤牽- 後令入佛智
Hsin chi shih fo	心即是佛
Hsin-chu	心珠
Hsin fo ch'u shih	新佛出世
Hsin-hsing	信行
Hsin hsin ming	信心銘
Hsin-shen	心神
Hsin shou leng yen ching	新首楞嚴經
Hsin-so	心所
Hsin tsang ching	新藏經
Hsin wang ming	心王銘
Hsing lu i	行路易
Hsing lu nan	行路難
Hsing-man	行滿
Hsü ch'uan têng lu	續傳燈錄

Hsü-huai	虛懷
Hsü Ling	徐陵
Hsü yü-lu	續語錄
Hsüan-tsang	玄奘
Hsüan-wu-ti	宣武帝
Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un	雪峰義存
Hsüeh-tou Ch'ung-hsien	雪竇重顯
Hua-lin Garden	華林園
Hua shen	化身
Hua-t'ou	話頭
Hua yen ching	華嚴經
Hua yen wu shih yao lun	華嚴五十要論
Huai-jiang	懷讓
Huan Yüan shih (Poem)	還源詩
Huang-lao	黃老
Huang-po	黃檗
Hui-ch'ang	會昌
Hui-chi	慧集
Hui-chiao	慧皎
Hui-ho	慧和
Hui-i	慧益
Hui-jung	慧榮
Hui-k'e	慧可
Hui-man	慧滿
Hui-neng	慧能
Hui-shao	慧紹
Hui-szu	慧思
Hui-tsung	徽宗
Hui-wen	慧文
Hui-yao	慧耀
Hui-yen	慧嚴
Hui-yin	慧隱
Hui-yin	慧因
Hui-yüan	慧遠
Hui-yüeh	慧約
Hui-yün	慧雲
Hung-jen	弘忍
Hupei	湖北
I	
I Ching	義淨
I-hsiang	異相
I-wu	義烏

J
 Jen 任
 Jen-tsung 仁宗
 Jih tsang ching 日藏經
 Ju-ching 如淨
 Ju ju chih 如如智

K
 Kai kuan lun ting 蓋棺論定
 K'ai-yüan shih chiao lu 開元釋教錄
 K'ang-hsi 康熙
 Kiang-che 江浙
 Kiang-nan tao 江南道
 Kiangsi 江西
 Kiangsu 江蘇
 K'ou Ch'ien-chih 寇謙之
 Ku lai shih shih ching 古來世時經
 Kuan chu fa shih hsiang 觀諸法實相
 Kuan-hsin 觀心
 Kuan hsin wu ch'ang 觀心無常
 Kuan-k'ung 觀空
 Kuan shih hsiang 觀實相
 Kuan wu liang shou ching 觀無量壽經
 Kuan wu liang shou - fo ching 觀無量壽-佛經
 Kuang-chê Temple 光宅寺
 Kuang-chên Ta-shih 匡真大師
 Kuang-chou 光州, 廣州
 Kuan fo san mei ching 觀佛三昧經
 Kuang-ju 廣如
 K'uei-chi 窺基
 Kuei-shan Ling-yu 瀉山靈祐
 Kuei-yang House 瀉仰宗
 K'ung Ch'iu 孔丘
 Kung-an 公案
 Kung-shou 拱手
 Kuo-ch'ing ch'an ssu 國清禪寺
 Kuo-ch'ing pai-lu 國清百錄
 Kuo ch'ü hsien tsai 過去現在-
 yin kuo ching 因果經

L
 Lang-chi 朗寂

Lao Chuang 老莊
 Lao-tzu (Lao-chün) 老子 (老君)
 Lao-tzu hua hu ching 老子化胡經
 Leng-chia Ch'an 楞伽禪
 Leng-chia pan-jo ch'an 楞伽般若禪
 Li Chi 禮記
 Li Kuei-po 李歸伯
 Li szu-chü chüeh pai-fei 離四句絕百非
 Li Yüan 李淵
 Liang-huang Ch'an 梁皇懺
 Ling-chi 靈濟
 Ling-ch'üan Temple 靈泉寺
 Liu Chien-i 留堅意
 Liu Fu-tung 劉福通
 Liu Hui-wang 劉惠汪
 Liu Ching-hui 劉景暉
 Liu Kuang-hsiu 劉光秀
 Liu Seng-shao 劉僧紹
 Liu Sung 劉宋
 Lo-han Kuei-ch'en 羅漢桂琛
 Lo pang wen lei 樂邦文類
 Lo Lung-ching 羅龍津
 Lo-yang 洛陽
 Lou Chao 樓炤
 Lou-tao 婁道
 Lou Ying 樓穎
 Lun-tsang 輪藏
 Lun Yü (Analects of Confucian) 論語
 Lung-hua Assembly 龍華會
 Lung-men 龍門
 Lung-ya Chü-tun 龍牙居遁

M
 Ma Lang fu 馬郎婦
 Ma-tsu 馬祖
 Mi-le ching yu i 彌勒經遊意
 Mi-le hsia-sheng ching 彌勒下生經
 Mi-le hsia-sheng ch'engfo ching 彌勒下生-成佛經
 (Kuan) Mi-le pu sa shang-sheng ching (觀)彌勒菩薩-上生經
 Mi-le ta ch'eng fo ching 彌勒大成佛經

Miao-kuang	妙光
Miao-shen	妙神
Min	閩
Ming fa huang ti	明法皇帝
Ming seng chuan	名僧傳
Ming-shih ch'ieh-chüan	明史竊卷
Mo-chieh	末劫
Mo-fa	末法
Mo ho chih kuan	摩訶止觀
Mo ho mo yeh ching	摩訶摩耶經
Mo ho pan jo ch'an wen	摩訶般若懺文
Mou-chên	茂真
N	
Nan chün wang	南郡王
Nei cheng fo fa- hsüeh meh tú	內証佛法- 血脈圖
Nien-i	念已
Nieh p'an ch'an	涅槃懺
Nien-fo	念佛
O	
O-shih	惡世
P	
Pai-chang Huai-hai	百丈懷海
Pai Chü-i	白居易
Pai-fei	百非
Pai-lien chiao	白蓮教
Pai-lien t sai	白蓮菜
Pai-lu ts'ung-yüeh	白鹿從約
Pai-lu Shih-kuei	白鹿師貴
Pai lun	百論
Pai Yen	白延
Pai Yün hui	白雲會
Pan chou san mei ching	般舟三昧經
P'an Ang	潘盎
Pao-ch'ang	寶唱
Pao Chao	鮑照
Pao-chih	保誌
Pao-en Huai-yüeh	報恩懷嶽
Pao-fu Ts'ung-chan	保福從展
Pao-fu ho-shang (Ch'an-yüan)	保福和尚- (禪院)

Pao-kuei	寶貴
Pao-li	寶歷
Pao-lin temple	寶林寺
Pao ying shen	報應身
Pao-wang	寶王
Pi yen Lu	碧巖錄
Pien cheng lun	辯正論
Ping mo chün szu	平魔軍司
Ping-mu Mt.	憑基山
Ping-teng kuan	平等觀
Ping-tzu	丙子
P'o hsieh lun	破邪論
P'u-ch'eng	普成
P'u-chi	普濟
P'u-chien	普建
P'u-hsien kuan ching	普賢觀經
P'u-t'ien	普田
Pu sa ch'u t'ai ching	菩薩處胎經
Pu sa pên hsing ching	菩薩本行經
Pu sa ying lo- pen yeh ching	菩薩瓔珞- 本業經
Pu shih shang chai	不食上齋
Pu-tai ch'i-ch'ien	布袋乞錢
Pu-tai lo-p'o	布袋落魄
Pu-tai li kung ch'ien	布袋裡弓箭
Pu-tai nien-kuo	布袋拈果
Pu-tai shih	布袋師
Pu-tai ho-shang chuan	布袋和尚傳
Pu-yu Pu-k'ung	不有不空
S	
Saicho	最澄
San chiao ping hsin lu	三教平心論
San hui Prajñā Sutra	三慧般若經
San-kuan i-hsin	三觀一心
San-kuo Chih	三國志
San shih ch'an hui, hui hsiang fa yüan	三時懺悔,- 迴向發願
Sê shen	色身
Secular truth	世俗諦
Seng-chao	僧肇
Seng ch'i hu	僧祇戶
Seng-chia	僧伽
Seng-ch'ing	僧慶

Seng-ch'ün	僧群
Seng-fu	僧富, 僧副
Seng-ming	僧明
Seng-ts'an	僧璫
Seng-yai	僧崖
Seng-yü	僧瑜
Sha-men	沙門
Sha men t'ung	沙門統
Shan-chao	善昭
Shan-hui ta-shih- hsiao lu	善慧大士- 小錄
Shan-ku ho-shang	山谷和尚
Shan-miao	善妙
Shan-ming	善明
Shan- tao	善導
Shang-chai	上齋
Shantung	山東
Shao-hsing	紹興
Shao shih lu men	少室六門
Shê shen	捨身
Shê shen yüan shu	捨身願書
She ta ch'eng lun	攝大乘論
Sheng-wang	聖王
Shên -kuang	神光
Shên -tsung	神宗
Shih-cheng	世正
Shih Chi	史記
Shih chu pu-sa	十住菩薩
Shih ch'üan	十勸
Shih erh men lun	十二門論
Shih-hsiang	實相
Shih hsin shih fo	是心是佛
Shih-shên	識神
Shih-te	捨得
Shih-tóu	石頭
Shih tzu lu tou- chieh k'ai pu-t ai	十字路頭- 解開布袋
Shou-chi	授記
Shou-ch'u	守初
Shou-i pu-i	守一不移
Shou-kuang Hall	壽光殿
Shou leng yen san mei- ching	首楞嚴三昧 經

Shu shou leng yen ching	蜀首楞嚴經
Shuang-lin ta-shih chi	雙林大士集
Shuang-fêng Mt.	雙峰山
Shui-ch'an	水懺
Shuo pen ching	說本經
Sun En	孫恩
Sung T'ou-t'o	宋頭陀
Sung-shan	嵩山 (松山)
Sung Yün	宋雲
Szu-chü	四句
Szu hsiang shih	四相詩
Szu-ma Ch'ien	司馬遷
Szu-ma Hui-yü	司馬惠御
Szu-ming	四明
Szu-ming Chih-li	四明知禮
Szu-yün	四運

T

Ta chih tu lun	大智度論
Ta-chung hsiang-fu	大中祥符
Ta-chung Yüeh-lin Ssu	大中岳林寺
Ta-hui Tsung-kao	大慧宗舉
Ta Ming KSC	大明高僧傳
Ta-mo	達摩
Ta pao chi ching	大寶積經
Ta sheng fo	大乘佛
Ta sheng hsüan lun	大乘玄論
Ta sheng tsei	大乘賊
Ta-su Mt.	大蘇山
Ta-tao	大道
Ta tu neng yung	大肚能容
Ta-tung	大通
Ta-t'ung	大同
T'ai-ho	太和
T'ai-tsu	太祖
T'ai-wu	太武
T'ai-pai Mt.	太白山
T'ai-ping tao	太平道
T'an-chen	曇振
T'an-ch'êng	曇稱
T'an-chien	曇簡
T'an-ching	曇景
T'an-hung	曇弘

T'an-luan	曇鸞
T'an-o	曇曇
T'an-yao	曇曜
T'an-yung	曇勇
Tao-an	道安
Tao-chó	道綽
Tao-chung	道綜
Tao-hsin	道信
Tao-hsüan	道宣
Tao-sheng	道生
Tao-sui	道邃
Tao-yüan	道原
Ten Emptinesses	十空
Ten Parables	十喻
T'ien-fu	天復
T'ien-hsin	天興
T'ien-li	天禮
T'ien-pao	天寶
T'ien shih tao chiao	天師道教
T'ien-t'ai School	天台宗
Ting-ch'ou	丁丑
Ting Han wang	定漢王
Ting-lin Temple	定林寺
T'ing shui ching	停水經
Tou T'ai-hou	竇太后
Tsan-ning	贊寧
Ts'an-hsüeh	參學
Tsao-yang	棗陽
Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi	曹山本寂
Ts'ao-tung	曹洞
Tso ch'an san mei ching	坐禪三昧經
Tso-ch'i Hsüan-lang	左溪玄朗
Tsung-hsiao	宗曉
Tsung-i	宗一
Tsung li chung ching - mu lu	綜理眾經 - 目錄
Tsung men nien ku - hui chi	宗門拈古 - 彙集
Tsung-men shih-kuei lun	宗門十規論
Tsung-shang	宗尚
Ts'ui Hao	崔浩
Tu Shun	杜順
Tu tzu shih	獨自詩

Tu Yü	杜預
Tun-huang	敦煌
Tung	董
T'ung-t'ai Temple	同泰寺
Tung tu ying hua - sheng hsien	東土應化 - 聖賢
Tung-shan fa-men	東山法門
Tung-yang Ta-shih	東陽大士
Tzu-yen	子嚴
Tz'u-shih	慈氏
Tz'u pei tao ch'ang ch'an fa	慈悲道場 - 儂法

W	
Wan-fa	萬法
Wan-hui	萬回
Wang Chieh	王杰
Wang Fa-chih	王法智
Wang Hui-ting	王惠定
Wang Jen	王仁
Wang Jen-hsü	王仁煦
Wang Min	王民
Wang sheng chi	往生集
Wang T'ai-hou	王太后
Wang Yüan	王淵
Wei-nien	未念
Wei Shu, Wei Chi	魏書 魏記
Wen-ch'eng-ti	文成帝
Wu-che ta-hui	無遮大會
Wu-ch'ing	無情
Wu-chüeh	無覺
Wu Chün	吳均
Wu fen-pieh	無分別
Wu-hsin	無心
Wu-men ch'an ching	五門禪經
Wu shang wang	無上王
Wu-sheng	無生
Wu so nien	無所念
Wu-te	無得
Wu teng ch'üan shu	五燈全書
Wu-tso	無作
Wu-wei	無為

Wu-yen	無言
Wu-yüeh	吳越
Y	
Yang-chou	揚州
Yang Hsüan-chih	楊銜之
Yang-shan Hui-chi	仰山慧疾
Yen i ch'ao	演義鈔
Yen-yu szu-ming chih	延佑四明志
Yi Ching	易經
Yin ch'ih ju ching	陰持入經
Yin-shun	印順
Ying-chou	瀛州
Yu-chou	幽州
Yu ch'i hsin chung-shih pu i	於其心中- 實不移
Yu-hsin	有心
Yü-nien	欲念
Yü-lu	語錄
Yü Wen-fu	宇文福
Yüan Chên	元禎
Yüan-feng	元豐
Yüan-hsiang	圓相
Yüan-ming	圓明
Yüan-shih lei-pien	元史類編
Yüan Tz'u	原辭
Yüan-wu	圓悟
Yüan Yao	元遙
Yüeh-chih	月支
Yüeh-kuang t'ung-tzu-ching	月光童子- 經
Yüeh tsang ching	月藏經
Yün-chü Tao-ying	雲居道膺
Yün-huang Mountain	雲黃山
Yün-kang	雲岡
Yün-men Wen-yen	雲門文偃
Yung fu ting ching	勇伏定經
Yung-ho kung	雍和宮
Yung-ming Yen-shou	永明延壽
Yung-ning Temple	永寧寺
Yü-hsing chü-shih	魚行居士

Supplement :

Chang Chan	張湯
Chen T'ang	陳誼
Chia I	賈誼
Chih Ch'ien	支謙
Chou Tang	周全
Ch'uan Tang shih	莊唐詩
Chuang-tzu	莊子
Fan Kuai	樊噲
Fan Sheng	范升
Feng-hsiang (Fu-hsiang)	馮相 (傳相)
Feng-su t'ung-i	馮俗 (通義)
Fu Chieh-tzu	傅介子 (景侯)
Fu K'uan (Marguis Ching)	傅寬 (景侯)
Fu Shuo	傅說
Fu-yen	傅巖
Hsia-hou Ying (T'eng Kung)	夏侯嬰 (滕公)
Hsiao Ch'ang-mou	蕭長
Hsing-chuang	行狀
Hsing-lu	行錄
Hsiung-nu	匈奴
Hsu chin hua ts'ung shu	續金華叢書
Hsu Hsiao-mu chi	徐孝穆
Hsu Mai	邁
Huang-lien	黃蓮
Hui-i	慧觀
Hui-kuan	慧觀
I Yin	伊儼
I Liao	宜僚
I wen lei chu	文類聚
Kan Yen-shou	甘延壽
K'ou T'eng	寇登
K'ung-tzu chia yu	孔叢子
Kuo hsiu chi	國秀集
Li Erh	李耳
Li Hua	李華
Lieh hsien chuan	列仙傳
Liu Yao	劉曜
Meng Kuang	孟光
Meng-tzu	孟則
Pieh-lu	別錄
Pu-kuang	普光
shang T'ang	商湯
Shen-chin chi	神境記
Shen-hsien chuan	神仙傳
Shih Le	石勒
Sung Wen-hsien kuang	宋文憲公全集
chuan chi (Sung Lien)	(宋濂)
Szu-ma Ch'ien (Tzu-ch'ang)	司馬遷 (子長)
T'ang Wen ts'ui	唐文粹
Ting Hung	丁鴻
Tung-fang Shuo	東方朔
Wang Jung	王戎
Wu Chiang	吳江
Yang Hsiung (Tzu-yun)	楊雄 (子雲)
Yang Piao	楊彪
Yen Kuang (Tzu-ling)	嚴光 (子陵)
Yin Wen-tzu	尹文子

- A1. 雙林樹下當來解脫善慧大士白國主救世菩薩，大士今欲條上中下善，希能受持，其上善以虛懷為本，不著為宗，無相為因，涅槃為果。其中善以治身為本，治國為宗，天上人間，果報安樂，其下善以護養眾生，勝殘去殺，普令百姓俱稟六齋。
- A2. 從無所從，師無所師，事無所事。
- A3. 敬中無敬性，不敬無不敬心。
- A4. 法地若動，一切法不安。
- A5. 語默皆佛事。
- A6. 息而不滅。
- A7. 一切諸法，不有不空。
- A8. 論語：“齋必變食”。易經：“洗心曰齋，防患曰戒”。禮記：“齋戒以告鬼神”。
- A9. 一切如來化身作業，如世界起一切種類。
- A10. 諸菩薩大慈，示現是化身。
- A11. 若化身諸佛說法時，不言我是化身。
- A12. 繕寫尊法...大乘方等..希得傳寫 ..復造五時經典，千有餘卷。
- A13. 無明即法性，煩惱即菩提。
- A14. 觀法緣無緣，真如四句絕，百非寧復煎。
- A15. 獨自作，問我心中何所著，推檢四運併無生，千端萬緒何能縛。
- A16. 設使印度一聖來儀，未若兜率二生垂降，故東陽大士位居等覺，尚以三觀四運而為心要，.....況復三觀本宗纓絡，補處大士金口親承...
- A17. 東山水上浮，西山行不住，北斗下闔浮，是真解脫處。
- A18. 猛風不動樹，打鼓不聞聲，日出樹無影，牛從水上行。
- A19. 須彌芥子父，芥子須彌爺。
- A20. 佛法以無生為體，無著為宗，妄想為因，涅槃為果。
- A21. 讀杜順傳大士，所作法身偈。
- A22. 凡地修聖道，果地習凡因，恒行無所踐，常度無度人。

- A23. 佛亦不離心，心亦不離佛，心寂即涅槃，心能則有物，物則變成魔，無物即見佛，若能如是用，十八從何出。
- A24. 是心是佛，離心非佛，離佛非心。
- A25. 持律本為制生心，我今無心過戒律。
- A26. 戒心自律，淨律淨心。
- A27. 持戒如天日，能明炬夜驅。
- A28. 西方彌陀觸處是，天蓋正是彌陀屋，木孔木穿彌陀房，草木正是彌陀鄉，日夜前後嘈嘈鬧，正是彌陀口放光。
- A29. 晝夜六時常念佛，勤修三寶向伽藍。
- A30. 饑經八萬劫，終是落空亡。
- A31. 不慈不孝心，違恩背義心，不謙讓心，皆是魔業。
- A32. 觀心空王，玄妙難測，無形無相，有大神力，能滅千災。
- A33. 君不見，大道寂寞巨思尋。
- A34. 彌勒真彌勒，分身千百億，時時示時人，時人自不識。
- A35. 教外別傳，不立文字，直指人心，見性成佛。
- A36. 一鉢千家飯，孤身萬里遊，青目睹人少，問路白雲頭。
- A37. 只個心心心是佛，十方世界最靈物，縱橫妙用可憐生，一切不空心真實。
- A38. 現在心不可得，過去心不可得，未來心不可得。
- A39. 我本求心不求佛，了知三界空無物，若欲求佛但求心，只這心心心是佛。
- A40. 騰騰自在無所為，閑閑究竟出家兒，若睹目前真大道，不見纖毫也大奇。
- A41. 萬法何殊心何異，何勞更用尋經義，心王本自絕多知，智者只明無學地。
- A42. 非凡非聖復若乎，不疆分別聖情孤，無價心珠本圓淨，凡是異相妄空呼。
- A43. 人能弘道道分明，無量清高稱道情，攜錫若登故國路，莫愁諸處不聞聲。
- A44. 人若無心稱道情，識得無明道已明，人能弘道道能現，道在人中人自寧。

碑文

菩薩戒弟子侍中尚書左僕射領大著作建昌縣開國侯東海徐陵奉勅撰

夫至人無已屈體中教聖人無名顯用藏跡故維摩詰降同長者之儀文殊師利或現儒生之像提河獻供之旅王城迦衆之端抑號居士時為善宿大經所設當轉法輪大品之言皆紹尊位斯則神通應化不可思議者乎東陽郡烏傷縣雙林寺傳大士者仰其縣人也昔嚴谿德潤浦程祥天賜殷宗誕與元相景侯佐命獎勝是塔介子揚名甘陳為伍東京世載西晉重光惟是良家降神所託若如本生本行或示緣起子長子雲自敘元系則云補處菩薩仰嗣釋迦法王真子是號彌勒雖三會濟濟華林之道未孚千尺嚴嚴讓住之化猶遠但分身世界濟度群生機有殊源應無恒質自敘因緣大宗如此按停水經云觀世音菩薩有五百身在此閻浮提地示同凡品教化衆生彌勒菩薩亦有五百身在此閻浮提種示現利

益衆生故其本迹難得而詳言者也爾其蒸蒸大孝肅肅惟恭厥行以禮教為宗其言以忠信為本加以風神爽朗氣調清高流化親朋善和紛靜豈惟更盈毀壁宜倏下丸而已哉至於王戎吏部鄧禹司徒同此時年有懷輻通仍隱居松山雙林寺棄情恩愛非梁鴻之竝遊拜辭親老如蘇耽之永別自修禪遠齋絕粒長齋非服流霞若冷朝沅太守王休言其說詐乃使邦佐幽諸後曹迄至象旬曾無段食於是州鄉愧伏遠邇歸依逃迹山林肆行蘭若又自敘云七佛如來十方竝現釋尊摩頂願受深法每至健體應節法鼓裁鳴空界神仙共來行道其外人所見者拳握之內或吐異香胸臆之間乍表金色時有信安縣比丘僧朗與其同類遠來觀化未及祇肅忽見大士身長丈餘朗等驚慙相移禮拜虔恭既畢更觀常形又有比丘智德懷憂衰錢滿願等伏膺累載觀具儀成見脚長二尺指長五寸餘兩眼光明雙瞳照燿皆為金色或若金錢譬李老而相侔同周又而等狀姜嫄所履天步可以為備河流大冥神足宜其相比支耶之彥既耽黃精覆釜之師有愜青目既而四空妙定薰修已成八解明心莊嚴斯滿時還鄉黨化度鄉親俱識遠源竝知迴向成立捨髮髮如聞善來大傾

財寶同修淨福大士靈神所應獨在高殿爰挺嘉木是名播樹權本相對似雙槐於俠門合餘成陰頰雙榻於空井厥的貞動無爽大年置霜停雪寒暑惠翠信可以方諸堅固譬彼婆羅既見守於神都將為疑於變鶴乃於山根嶺下創造伽藍因此高柯故名雙林寺矣大士亦還其里舍貨買妻兒營締支提繕寫尊法嘗以聚沙畫地皆成圓果芥子菴羅無礙編陋乃起九層塔塔形相輝然六時虔拜巡繞斯託又以大乘方等靈藥寶珠眷言山谷希得傳寫龍鄉思其曉照象駕乏其流通復造五時經典千有餘卷與夫驚子而聖同其至誠嫁妻而隱無殊高節若寄搏麩如因賣花共指善提方成親眷毛如一相無相之懷虎已虛心之德化鶴在臂方推理於自然靈蛇傷體終無擾於深定門徒肅肅學侶誦誦被慈悲義無偏黨大通元年縣中長宿傳普通等一百人詣縣令范香連名薦述又以中大通四年縣中豪傑傳德宣等道俗三百人詣縣令蕭詡具陳德業夫以連城之寶照照之珍野老惟而相捐工人迷而不識骨等體有流俗才無鑒真亟欲騰聞終成虧息梁高祖武皇帝紹隆三寶弘濟四生迹冠優填神高仙豫夫以陳蔣靜室猶懷天下之心伊尹躬耕思弘聖王之道況

我有慧日明炬如風餐車濟是沈舟能升彼岸固宜
光宜正法影響人王者乎於是以中大通六年正月
二十八日遣弟子傳唯出都致書高祖其辭曰雙林
樹下當來解脫善慧大士白國主救世菩薩今緣上
中下善希能受持其上善以虛懷為本不著為宗妄
想為因退髮為果其中善以治身為本治國為宗天
上人間果報安樂其下善以護養衆生勝殘去殺普
令百姓俱稟六齋夫以四海之君萬邦之主預盾王
士莫不祇肅爾時國師智者法師與名德諸衆僧等
言辭謹敬多乖釋遠之書文驟卑恭翻豫山公之啓
大士年非長老位匪沙門通疏乘輿過無度恪京都
道俗莫不嗟疑唯至都投太樂令何昌并有弘誓誓
在御路燒其左手以此因緣希當聞達昌以此書呈
同泰寺僧皓法師衆所知誠名稱普聞見書隨喜
勸以呈奏
皇心懽悅速遣招迎來講宸園函論經典同泰寺前
臨北闕密邇南宮仍請安厝僧諸資給後徙馬鐘山
之下定林寺遊巖倚樹宴坐經行京洛名僧學徒雲
聚莫不提函負杖問慧慈禪居隆高松臥依盤石於
是四徹之中恒泣甘露六旬之內常雨天酒豈非神
仙影響示現禪祥者乎

帝於華林園重雲殿自開講三慧般若經窮須真之
所問御法勝之高堂百千龍象圍繞聽黑貂朱紋
王侯滿筵國華民秀公卿連席乃令大士獨榻對揚
天恩并遣傳詔及宣傳左右四人接受言論爾時納
揆之於堂內司隸之在殿中杜預還朝馬防親賈舊
儀懸席皆等庶僚以大士超世通人故加其殊禮矣
及王釐升殿雲暉在塔宴然箕坐曾不山立憲司議
問愈見凝峙但答云法地若動則一切法不安應對
言語皆為爽異昔漢皇受道樂大不臣魏祖優賢揚
尊如客河上之老輕舉臨於孝文嚴子之高閑臥加
於光武方其古烈信可為傳帝又於壽光殿獨延大
士講論玄蹟言無重頌句備伽陀音會官商義兼華
藻豈惟寶積獻杰文成七言釋子彈琴歌為千偈而
已固非論經於白虎之殿應詔於金馬之門說義雲
臺受釐宣室可同年而語哉自火運將終民無先覺
雖復五湖內最蒼鷺之兆未萌四海橫流夷羊之祲
匪現大士天眼所照預觀未來摩掌之明夙鑒時福
哀羣生之版蕩泣世道之崩淪救苦為懷大悲為病
誓欲虛中閉氣識食為齋非服名香但資禪悅方乃
燒其苦器製造華燈願以此一光明遍照十方佛土
勸請調御常住世間救現在之兵災除當來之苦集

於是學衆悲號山門踊叫弟子居士徐普拔潘晉成
等九人求輸已命願代宗師其中或誠耳而刊鼻或
焚臂而燒手善財童子重親知識忍辱仙人是馮相
擊大士乃延其教化更住園浮弘訓門人備行衆善
於是弟子居十范難陀弟子比丘法曠弟子優婆夷
嚴比丘各在山林燒身現滅次有比丘寶月等二人
窮身繫索挂鏡為燈次有比丘慧海善提等八人燒
指供養次有比丘尼曇展慧光法鐵等四十九人行
不食齋法次有比丘僧拔慧品等六十二人割耳出
血用和名香奉依師教並載在碑陰書其名品夫二
儀大德所貴曰生六超含靈所重唯命雖復夢幻影
響同歸磨滅愛使迷情唯貪長久自非善巧方便瀝
和舍羅照以慈燈沾其妙藥豈或捨不贊之體而能
行希有之事若令割身奉鬼聞半偈於涅槃寶體詞
天能供養於般若理當龜心靡吝擗骨無疑者乎大
士小學之年不遊費舍大成之德自通境與安禪合
掌說偈論經滄海未盡其書懸河不窮其義前後訓
維摩思益經等比丘智瓊傳習受持所應度者化緣
既畢以太建元年朱明始獻奄然右臥將歸大空二
旬初滿三心是滅爾時隆暑使已赫曠屈伸如常溫
暖無異洗浴究竟扶坐著衣色貌敷渝光彩鮮潔爰

經信次宛若平生鳥傷縣令陳鍾者即往臨赴猶復
反手傳香皆如疇昔若此神變無聞前古雖復青牛
道士白馬先生便遁形骸本慙希企若其滅定無想
彈指而石壁已開法王在殯申足面金棺猶啓非斯
類矣莫與爲儔遺誠於雙林山頂如法燒身一分舍
利起塔於冢一分舍利起塔在山又造彌勒像二軀
置此雙塔莫移我眠牀當取法猛上人織成彌勒像
永安牀上寄此尊儀以標形相也於是門徒巨涌遂
爽遺言用震旦之常儀乖閻維之舊法四部皆集悲
同白車七衆攀號哀踰背樹弟子比丘法璿菩提智
瓊等以爲伯陽之德貞桓紀於顛卿仲尼之道高碑
書於魯縣亦有楊雄弟子鄭立門人俱述清猷載刊
玄石於是祈聞兩觀冒涉三江爰降絲綸克成豐燠
陵雖不敏夙仰高風輕課庸音

二〇六一 宋高僧傳卷第二十一

唐明州奉化縣契此傳

釋契此者不詳氏族或云四明人也形裁
腰肢瘦頰隨腹言語無恒寢臥隨處常以
杖荷布囊入鄞肆見物則乞至于醃醬魚
蕪糲接入口分少許入囊號爲長汀子
布袋師也嘗於雪中臥而身上無雪人以
此奇之有偈云彌勒真彌勒時人皆不識
等句人言慈氏垂迹也又於大橋上立或
問和尚在此何爲曰我在此覓人常就人
乞贖其店則物售袋囊中皆百一供身具也
示人吉凶必現相表兆尤陽即與高齒木
屐市橋上豎膝而眠水潦則係濕草履人
以此驗知以天復中終于奉川鄉邑共埋
之後有他州見此公亦荷布袋行江浙之
間多圖畫其像焉