

CHI TSANG

BY

TAYLOR FRANCIS BINKLEY

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Department of ASIAN STUDIES

The University of British Columbia  
Vancouver 8, Canada

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ABSTRACT

The Hsü Kao Seng Chuan 續高僧傳  
biography of Chi Tsang 吉藏 (Taishō 2060, T.50.513c-  
515a) is translated. It is preceded by a discussion of  
Chi Tsang's place in the history of Chinese Buddhism - he  
was a prominent exegete of the San Lun school, the Chinese  
counterpart to the Indian Mādhyamika School. The place of  
the Mādhyamika school in Indian Buddhism is discussed, as  
well as the history of its introduction into China. This  
is followed by a discussion of the nature of the sources  
for Chi Tsang's life - principally the Hsü Kao Seng Chuan  
notice - and the general unreliability and lack of depth  
of such accounts is discussed. The outstanding features  
of Chi Tsang's life are then discussed. He studied with  
Fa Lang, great re-vivifier of San Lun. He wrote abundantly  
and was renowned as a great lecturer. His interest  
encompassed the numerous Buddhist activities of his time,  
and his writings on the San Lun are the best we possess;  
on the Lotus sūtra, among the very best. He wrote  
commentaries to at least fifteen sūtras. His disciples  
transmitted his teaching into the T'ang and to Japan, and  
he is reckoned the founder of the San Lun school. He was  
born in 549 and died in 623, and enjoyed the patronage of  
the Ch'en, Sui and T'ang ruling houses.

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## BACKGROUND

Although Chi Tsang commented on an astounding number of Mahāyāna sūtras<sup>1</sup> and is considered one of the first Chinese to attempt a systematic presentation of the Mahāyāna,<sup>2</sup> he is primarily renowned as a Three Treatise<sup>3</sup> exegete.<sup>4</sup> His commentaries and essays on the Three Treatises are considered the authoritative works<sup>5</sup> on the subject, and he is considered the founder<sup>6</sup> of the Three Treatise School. It is in that connection that he comes to our attention.

The Three Treatises, together with their sister text, the Ta Chih Tu Lun,<sup>7</sup> were the most studied literature of the (Indian) Mādhyamika school in China. As the Mādhyamika enjoys a particularly exalted position<sup>8</sup> among the religious philosophies of India, it is fitting that we briefly trace its evolution and outline its characteristics.

After the Buddha died his followers wrote down what they remembered of what he had taught. These were the sūtras. Furthermore they wrote śāstras or treatises (Chinese "lun" 論) which attempted to rationalize and systematize what was presented in the sūtras. In the course of time divergent opinions arose, separate schools were formed, and each wrote its own sūtras and/or śāstras. The Mahāsāṅghikas<sup>9</sup> split from the Sthaviras<sup>10</sup> in the midst of the fourth century B.C. Their rendition of the sūtras and their śāstras do not exist, but from what can be pieced together from other sources it has been hesitatingly concluded that the Mahāsāṅghikas represent a prototype of the Mahāyāna, which was to come forth from that tradition around the beginning of the Christian era.<sup>11</sup> By that time, however, the Sthaviras had undergone any number of splits, the main one of which, in the midst of the third century, gave rise to the Sarvāstivādin school.<sup>12</sup> It was in criticism of the Sarvāstivādin literature that the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras came into existence,<sup>13</sup> probably in their seminal form in the first century B.C., to be further elaborated over the next few centuries.<sup>14</sup> The earliest Mādhyamika literature, which was the śāstra literature to the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras,<sup>15</sup> was composed by Nāgārjuna and his disciple Āryadeva<sup>16</sup> toward the end of the second century A.D. The Three Treatises, although not entirely the work

of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva,<sup>17</sup> are among those śāstras. The Three Treatises are pithy, concise crystallizations of the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras and exfoliate their basic doctrine.

However, it is not sufficient simply to trace the Prajñāpāramitā and the Mādhyamika as criticisms of the early Buddhist doctrine, represented by the Sarvāstivādins. The early Buddhist doctrine itself had evolved as criticism<sup>18</sup> of the Brahmanical systems which preceded it, and the Mādhyamika-Prajñāpāramitā came into being in an effort to clarify and renovate the Buddhist position and rescue it from the narrow view into which it had fallen, seeking simply to distinguish itself from other schools or thought.<sup>19</sup> In negating the soul and matter theories of their predecessors, the early Buddhists evolved a complex theory of elements to replace the soul and matter.<sup>20</sup> The Prajñāpāramitā and the Mādhyamika after it argued that in "no-soul-no-matter" the emphasis lay in the "no" and not in the "soul" or "matter". The Buddha's point was not that in place of soul and matter there is something else; he intended to negate all notions of being and non-being. He would just as readily have said "no-something-else", and that is precisely what the Prajñāpāramitā and Mādhyamika did.<sup>21</sup> The various complexities of the doctrine evolve from this basic point.

Furthermore, the earlier form of Buddhism, as most of its Brahmanical predecessors, held personal<sup>22</sup> salvation to be the goal of the spiritual path. The Mahāyāna placed personal salvation as a stage along the<sup>23</sup> path, in pursuit of, as well as subsequent to which, one exercises oneself in seeking the salvation of others. In this context the Mahāyāna has pushed the 'no-soul' doctrine to its logical conclusion - the salvation of one's self must include the salvation of others, as ultimately, the two are equal in their inexistence. And finally, the Mahāyāna ceased to view the Buddha primarily as an historical figure,<sup>24</sup> as the earlier Buddhists had done, but raised 'Buddha' to the stature of spiritual principle.<sup>25</sup> Murti points out:

Religion is the consciousness of the Super-mundane Presence immanent in things, the consciousness of what Otto happily calls the 'mysterium tremendum'. Early Buddhism (Theravāda<sup>26</sup>) was not a religion in this sense. It was an order of monks held together by certain rules of discipline (vinaya) and reverence for the human Teacher. .... No cosmic function was assigned to Buddha; he was just an exalted person and no more. His existence after parinirvāṇa was a matter of doubt; this was one of the inexpressibles. The rise of the Mādhyamika system is at once the rise of Buddhism as a religion. For the Mahāyāna, Buddha is not an historical person. He is the essence of all Being (dharmakāya); he has a glorious divine form (saṃbhogakāya) and assumes at will various forms to deliver beings from delusion and to propagate the dharma (nirmāṇakāya). The essential unity of all beings became an integral part of spiritual life.

Therefore, in the Prajñāpāramitā and Mādhyamika writings we find recorded the fruit of centuries of Indian research into the nature of reality and the spiritual life.

The Prajñāpāramitā sūtras first entered China<sup>27</sup> toward the end of the Han Dynasty. However, for more than the next two hundred years they were to remain<sup>28</sup> misunderstood by the Chinese. Because of their similarity to the (Neo-) Taoist ideas circulating at the time, they were frequently understood and even translated<sup>29</sup> in those very terms. Despite the long years and great diligence even so great a man as Tao An dedicated to their study and translation,<sup>30</sup> the message was not to be understood on Chinese soil until the turn of the fifth<sup>31</sup> century when Kumārajīva came on the scene. He was himself an adherent of the Mādhyamika, a convert from the Sarvāstivāda, and brought with him not only a correct understanding of the Prajñāpāramitā message but also an ability to communicate it to the Chinese himself, without<sup>32</sup> the cumbersome medium of middlemen. It was he who translated and first expounded the Three Treatises, along<sup>33</sup> with a great number of other texts. And it was his<sup>34</sup> disciple Seng Chao who gave China its first native Sūnyavāda text, a group of essays collectively known as

the "Chao Lun", or "Essays of Chao".<sup>35</sup> Seng Jui,<sup>36</sup> also a disciple of Kumārajīva, wrote prefaces to two of the Three Treatises, and in them he displays his orthodox understanding.<sup>37</sup> However his surviving writings<sup>38</sup> are not very extensive.

Although Three Treatise scholarship continued in China unbroken to the time of Chi Tsang,<sup>39</sup> San Lun study did not prosper for 150 years.<sup>40</sup> Satyasiddhi<sup>40a</sup> studies, based on the text by that name translated by Kumārajīva, predominated until the time of Chi Tsang's teacher, Fa Lang.<sup>41</sup> However, it was not until Fa Lang was invited to a position of urban prominence that San Lun studies, previously sequestered within a mountain monastery, enjoyed a flowering on Chinese soil. He forcefully attacked and successfully pushed back the Satyasiddhi studies and at the same time prospered the San Lun. Chi Tsang's writings are the literature of that efflorescence. From Fa Lang disciples spread in the four directions and the San Lun prospered through the Sui and into the T'ang. It is reckoned one of the schools of Chinese Buddhism of that period, and one of the 'Nara sects' in Japan, transmitted there in 625, two years after Chi Tsang's death, by Ekan, Chi Tsang's Korean disciple.<sup>42</sup> Although neither the San Lun in China

nor the Sanron in Japan survived very long as independent sects,<sup>43</sup> the study of the Three Treatises in particular and the Mādhyamika-Prajñāpāramitā in general has survived until this day, incorporated fully into the Zen sects.<sup>44</sup>

As an introduction to the study of Chi Tsang's writings we have translated his biography as it appears in the Hsü Kao Seng Chuan, Taishō 2060, vol. 50.513c-515a.

Notes to the Background

- 1) See note 34 to the introduction.
- 2) de Bary, ed., The Buddhist Tradition, Modern Library, NY, 1969, p. 144.
- 3) San Lun 三論 . These are the Middle Treatise, Taishō 1564, the Twelve Topic Treatise, Taishō 1568, and the Hundred Treatise, Taishō 1569. See Robinson, Early Mādhyamika in India and China, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Milwaukee and London, 1967, pp. 28-34.
- 4) His commentaries to each of the three are in volume 42 of the Taishō, and his two outstanding essays, the San Lun Hsüan I 三論玄義 and the Erh Ti I 二諦義 are contained in volume 45, which also houses his compendious discussion of the Mahāyāna, the Ta Sheng Hsüan Lun 大乘玄論 . Hurvitz, Chih-i, *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, vol. 12, Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, Sainte-Catherine, Bruges, 1963, p. 163, considers the San Lun Hsüan I "one of the best Chinese expositions of Mādhyamika philosophy".
- 5) See Takakusu, Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, Honolulu, 1956, p. 99.
- 6) Hurvitz, *ibid.*, p. 79.

## 7) 大智度論

, Taishō 1564. It is a commentary on the Prajñāpāramitā in 25,000 lines, and there is some doubt as to whether it was translated or written by Kumārajīva, who translated the Three Treatises, etc. ( I 譯 , to translate, does not necessarily mean to translate in our understanding of the word. Kumārajīva may have been doing nothing more than transmitting his understanding of a tradition in textual form, and that would be called 'I 譯 '.) Together with the Ta Chih Tu Lun, the three become the "Four Treatises". See Robinson, *ibid.*, pp. 34-39. Lamotte, Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nagārjuna, Louvain, 1944, 1949 and 1969 (?), 3 vol., is a translation of approximately the first half of the Ta Chih Tu Lun. Tucci, Pre-Dīnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources, Gaekwad Or. Series, 49, Baroda, 1929, 1-89 is a translation of the Hundred Treatise. And Walleser, Die mittlere Lehre des Nagārjuna nach der Chinesischen Version übertragen, Heidelberg, 1912, is a translation of the Middle Treatise. I know of no translation (into a western language) of the Twelve Gate Treatise.

- 8) Not only did the Mādhyamika grow on Indian soil. It has also been plowed under again, according to some, and re-emerged as the Advaita Vedānta.

- 9) Conze, Buddhist Thought in India, University of Michigan Press, Paperback, 1967, p. 119.
- 10) *ibid.*, Part II.
- 11) *ibid.*, p. 195 and pp. 198-199.
- 12) *ibid.*, p. 119, *passim*.
- 13) Murti, The Central Philosophy of Buddhism, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1960, p. 8.
- 14) Ch'en, Buddhism in China, A Historical Study, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1964, pp. 58-59.
- 15) Conze, *ibid.*, p. 200.
- 16) Robinson, *ibid.*, pp. 21-28.
- 17) *ibid.*, 28-30.
- 18) Murti, *ibid.*, p. 8.
- 19) *ibid.*, p. 7.
- 20) Stcherbatsky, Buddhist Logic, Dover Publications, NY, 1962, in two volumes. Vol. I, pp. 3-5.
- 21) *ibid.*, pp. 8,9, and Murti, *ibid.*, p. 8 and throughout.
- 22) Stcherbatsky, *ibid.*, pp. 6,7.
- 23) *ibid.*, pp. 10, 11.
- 24) *ibid.*, p. 7.
- 25) Murti, *ibid.*, p. 6.
- 26) A Hinayāna sister school of the Sarvāstivādins. Their sūtras are very similar, often identical, but their śāstras differ and do not mention each other, so seem to have developed independently. The Theravādins survive in Ceylon to this day.

- 27) Ch'en, *ibid.*, p. 60, and Hurvitz, *ibid.*, p. 39.
- 28) The best discussion of this period to appear in a western language is in Liebenthal, Chao Lun, Hong Kong University Press, 1968, Appendix One. The Chinese Buddhist Studies Research Team at the University of British Columbia is now preparing translations of the basic sources regarding this period.
- 29) Hurvitz, *ibid.*, pp. 39-56.
- 30) *ibid.*, 56-64. Also Link, "Biography of Tao-an", *T'oung Pao* 46 (1958), 1-48, and Link, "Taoist Antecedents of Tao-an's Ontology", History of Religion, number 9, vol. 2 & 3, University of Chicago Press, pp. 181-215.
- 31) Hurvitz, *ibid.*, pp. 64-73, and Robinson, *ibid.*, pp. 71-95.
- 32) Hurvitz, *ibid.*, 71.
- 33) Robinson, pp. 73-77.
- 34) Hurvitz, *ibid.*, 72-73; Robinson, *ibid.*, 123-155; Liebenthal, *ibid.* He is reckoned the first Chinese to catch the Mādhyamika message aright.
- 35) Translation: Liebenthal, *ibid.*, and Robinson, *ibid.*, Docements 8-10.
- 36) Robinson, *ibid.*, pp. 115-122.
- 37) *ibid.*, p. 122.

- 38) *ibid.*, p. 117.
- 39) *ibid.*, p. 173.
- 40) *ibid.*, p. 162.
- 40a) 成實 Ch'eng Shih. Prof. Hurvitz, UBC, suggests that this name might be reconstructed Tattvasiddhi, 'establishment and proof of Reality'. He points out satya is generally rendered by 諦 *ti*, whereas tattva is usually 實 Shih. Ch'eng 成 means to complete or accomplish.
- 41) See the discussion in the introduction to the translation.
- 42) Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, Honolulu, 1956. p. 100.
- 43) *ibid.*, p. 100.
- 44) The author's personal experience.

### THE SOURCES

The single source for Chi Tsang's life is his<sup>1</sup> Hsü Kao Seng Chuan biography. The other biographical notices in the Buddhist collections and the only secular notice I could find all reiterate the same information,<sup>2</sup> usually in identical wording.

To my knowledge there is no study of the Hsü Kao Seng Chuan in a western language. There is, however, a study of the Kao Seng Chuan<sup>3</sup> by Arthur Wright.<sup>4</sup> He states that the Kao Seng Chuan, compiled about 530<sup>5</sup> by Hui Chiao,<sup>6</sup> "established the form and style for the major series of Chinese clerical biographies which has been continued down to recent times".<sup>7</sup> The Hsü Kao Seng Chuan,<sup>8</sup> completed 135 years later<sup>9</sup> by Tao Hsüan, is the collection in that series directly subsequent to the Kao Seng Chuan. Comparing Chi Tsang's biography with Wright's account of the Kao Seng Chuan we find that Tao Hsüan did, indeed, cast his biographies from the very mold carved by his predecessor, Hui-chiao.

Besides Hui-chiao's dissatisfaction with the biographies of monks which preceded his effort and his desire to commemorate for posterity the lives of those men who established and furthered the growth of Buddhism in China, Wright suggests that Hui-chiao's motives include the desire to "advance the naturalization of monks and

monasticism in Chinese history and society."<sup>10</sup> Wright views Hui-chiao's choice of the literary style and historiographic genre - as opposed to the anecdotal, for instance - in this context. "It seems to me that in his choice of a genre and a style Hui-chiao was seeking to reach - with a polished example of Chinese historical literature - an educated upper middle class audience... He was...concerned to...persuade the nobles and literati that Buddhism was intellectually respectable and that its clergy had led useful, creative, and well-disciplined lives."<sup>11</sup>

This is precisely a description of the style and form in which Tao Hsüan cast Chi Tsang's biography. In fact, if anything, the Hsü Kao Seng Chuan is even more literary and elegant in wording than the Kao Seng Chuan. Most likely, Tao Hsüan is simply following Hui-chiao's lead in this matter; he probably simply adopted Hui-chiao's successful pattern.

Characteristically, Chinese historiography is fond of the precocious youth. "...on every page of the Kao-seng chuan (there are) set phrases used in Chinese biography to describe literary precocity and brilliance."<sup>12</sup> Chi Tsang is not recorded to have excelled at the classics, or to have been able to reiterate verbatim a text having read it only once, as the Kao-seng chuan frequently claims

for its subjects. However, it claims he was recognized quite early by two of the great Buddhists active at the time of his youth - Paramārtha and Fa Lang.<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, he is credited with precocious native intelligence and elocutionary talents. "Such topoi<sup>14</sup> are common even in secular historiography". In this respect Chi Tsang's biography exactly fits the mold, and there is no way we may know the truth of the matter.

The great lengths to which the biographer goes in order to impress us makes us suspicious. It is likely that Chitsang was intelligent, which, coupled with his thoroughly Buddhist background, would early afford him the opportunity to develop Buddhist talents. Perhaps his life fit the mold, as does his biography.

"To the extent that (Hui-chiao) conceived and wrote the lives of the monks within the conventions of Chinese historiography, he was a biographer. To the degree that his biographies sought to demonstrate the rewards of piety and faith, the working of Buddhism's universal laws in the lives of eminent monks, he was a hagiographer."<sup>15</sup> Chi Tsang' biography is largely hagiography. After pointing out his auspicious beginnings it recounts one outstanding Buddhist achievement after another. To be sure, Chi Tsang would not be remembered as a great Buddhist had he accomplished little or nothing

as a Euddhist. However, Gautama Buddha himself is not supposed to have been born the perfected being Buddhists view him to have become. Chi Tsang's biography would have us to believe that Chi Tsang was virtually born a saint and proceeded to astound the world with his great spiritual power. We do not meet him as a human being for more than an instant. I do not mean to imply that the biography necessarily falsifies material. I do not know what sources Tao Hsüan had to work from, but I imagine they were largely the kind that perpetuate (partisan) legends<sup>16</sup> and tend not to represent the man very truthfully.<sup>17</sup>

And because of that, though there may be fact imbedded in the legend, the man becomes more superhuman than real. Human weakness demands there be heroes, but heroes are simply other men. It is, then, I believe, on account of this legend-building character of Tao Hsüan's sources and due, no doubt, to his propensity to view and record his subjects in supernormal and clichéd terms that the distorted view presented in the biography comes into being. "In using the Chinese historian's principal device for the expression of personal judgment - inclusion and exclusion - Hui-chiao behaved in a way consistent with the aims suggested..."<sup>17a</sup> Chi Tsang's religious eminence perhaps makes it easy to exclude his human side.

"Hui-chiao is at pains to establish not only his subjects' religious eminence but the prestige they enjoyed

in the Chinese society of their times. He describes in detail the gifts and homage which the monks received from princes, officials, and intellectual leaders. He stresses the friendships between his subjects and the leading political and literary figures of their times, and he often mentions the grief of some distinguished person on the occasion of the monk's death.<sup>18</sup> Not only does Chi Tsang's biography relate him to four eminent monks of his time - Paramārtha, Fa Lang, T'an Hsien and Seng Ts'an<sup>19</sup> - it also relates him to numerous secular leaders as well. In fact, barely an incident is mentioned in the biography which does not include at least one great figure, and in one incident there is no more substance to the report than simply stating that the prince in question venerated Chi Tsang for his "distinguished qualities". Three princes - one each from the Ch'en,<sup>20</sup> Sui<sup>21</sup> and T'ang<sup>22</sup> - are mentioned, three emperors - Sui Yang Ti<sup>23</sup> (while still prince of Chin), T'ang Kao Tsu<sup>24</sup> and T'ai Tsung<sup>25</sup> (neither of these last two by name), and one imperial pretender - Hsieh Chü,<sup>26</sup> who contended with the founders of the T'ang at the time the Sui was crumbling. They bestow gifts upon him, invite him to debate before them, take him as personal teacher, invite him into audience and to dwell in various monasteries, and appoint him to ecclesiastic office - all on account of his religious prominence. Finally, the court scholar Fu Te Ch'ung<sup>27</sup> was awed by Chi Tsang's display of.

eloquence. This is a very impressive list. Furthermore, the biography records the consolatory notice, bemoaning the kingdom's loss, sent by T'ang T'ai Tsung, then a prince, on the occasion of Chi Tsang's death. At the same time, "all, from the heir apparent down through all lords and nobles, sent consolatory notices and gifts of silk and money". Although the dynastic annals and the various secular biographies<sup>28</sup> breathe not a syllable of these events, as they are unlikely to do, it is well within the realm of reason that all these events are true. However, they appear to me more interesting from the standpoint of a history of the relationship between the Chinese political structure and the Buddhist establishment at this time than in the context of the life of a single monk. It is noteworthy, of course, that Chi Tsang was so heavily patronized by the state. It does to some extent bespeak his prominence and deserves mention and careful study if we are to understand the relation between the Buddhist establishment and Chinese society as a whole. However, concerned as we are with the life of a single man, and especially as a thinker and not as a political figure, these statistics pale, as do the somewhat superficial and clichéd estimations of his greatness. So prominent an exegete certainly deserved more careful, deeper and more thorough, treatment.

It is unfair, however, to criticize Tao Hsüan for being remiss in his place of biographer, because I do not

think he thought of himself in those terms. If Tao Hsüan read Chi Tsang's works, it is not apparent in the biography, and on the face of it one would guess he did not know or witness the man himself. From the way the first part of the document is worded (down to the end of the events following Chi Tsang's death, where Hui Yüan is credited with inscribing a memorial to Chi Tsang, and the biography is recapitulated - "Earlier, when Chi Tsang was in his childhood..."),<sup>29</sup> I get the feeling Tao Hsüan has read what documentary remains he could find - perhaps monastery records, inscriptions, and the like - and is casting those events more or less in his own language. This is because continuity in style is manifest, although the degree of its opacity fluctuates. This leads me to believe that he is rewording someone else's account.

The partisan nature of these is another element of the document which immediately comes to mind. The account of the debate between Chi Tsang and Seng Ts'an which receives such different treatment in the two biographies is a good example of this. Furthermore, this discrepancy brings to our attention the unlikelihood that Tao Hsüan made any effort to collate his material; rather he simply reworded and transmitted what material he had on hand.

Tao Hsüan himself may have exercised no bias, beyond attempting to paint his subjects in the finest Buddhist light possible. However, his sources, at least in this one incidence, are clearly biased.

The document includes one direct quote from Chi Tsang<sup>30</sup> in the debate incident and one when he addressed Hsieh Chü,<sup>31</sup> his letter to the emperor (Kao Tsu) on the occasion<sup>32</sup> of the worsening of his illness, and the consolatory notice from T'ai Tsung,<sup>33</sup> then a prince under his father's (Kao Tsu) rule. All these are 'cases' of Tao Hsüan's reproducing material verbatim, and is direct evidence of his possession of actual sources. He was not working entirely from oral tradition, then, but must have been in possession of original material.

Following the consolatory notice in the text, Hui Yüan, Chi Tsang's disciple, is credited with carving a tomb for his master's remains and immortalizing him on stone. What follows in the account<sup>34</sup> may well be quotation from the inscription. It is written in a much clearer and more straightforward style and there is no suspicion Tao Hsuan has reworked the material. Furthermore it is a much more candid and human view of the man, such as someone who had known him well (a disciple, for instance) might be able to write.<sup>35</sup>

This inscription, if that is what it is, recapitulates

Chi Tsang's life in brief, up to and directly subsequent to the time of his flight into solitude on the occasion of the disorders surrounding Sui's conquest of the South, 589, when Chi Tsang was forty years old. It is possible, however, that the generalizations concerning his ability in resolving doctrinal issues and his abilities to hold forth on the occasion of royal audience, mentioned earlier in the supposed inscription, are meant to refer to his later years as well, in which case the supposed inscription would relate to his whole life, which it is more likely for an inscription of this nature to do. It is possible, though, that the text of the supposed inscription continues through the narration of his sūtra exposition. The style of the wording could reflect either the earlier style of the document or the style of the supposed inscription. Thanks to the nature of the information it is relating - little more than a list - it is difficult to make any judgement of style. However, it appears that Chi Tsang's primary activity at the Chia Hsiang monastery, where he dwelt after the Sui conquest of the South, was doctrinal exegesis, on account of which Sui Yang Ti, at his post in Chin, invited him to dwell in the monasteries he was building at that time. At those monasteries it appears Chi Tsang engaged primarily in expounding the sūtras and in debate. It is, therefore, possible that the supposed inscription continues through this part of the text as well,

since the chronology fits. Very much the same argument (chronological) fits for including the essay, "Death is not to be Feared",<sup>37</sup> is the supposed inscription. If this is the case, then I suspect that the short statement, "Because of the size of the text it is not recorded in full",<sup>38</sup> is probably part of the supposed inscription, and 'the text' referred to is the text of the essay. Of course it is possible that the statement terminating the quotation of the text is Tao Hsüan's, (and not Hui Yüan's) in which case 'the text' could refer either to the text of the essay (if it is not part of the inscription) or the text of the supposed inscription (if the essay is part of the inscription). It will be interesting if ever the inscription is found. At any rate, the next sentence is without a doubt Tao Hsuan's, as without a doubt it is cast in the laconic style he was so fond of, and it is this style that completes the text.

In summary, then, it appears that Tao Hsüan compiled and transmitted rather uncritically the information he received and made little effort to penetrate the semi-legendary partisan layers which adhered to the man. He was more concerned with painting the idealized image of a Buddhist saint and giving him the appearance of political prominence than with understanding the subtler elements of his life and mind. On the other hand, Tao Hsüan's 'biography' does serve one function in view of the fact

that otherwise we have little or no information concerning Chi Tsang's life. This information, though, is of little more than passing interest in the context of Chi Tsang's life, as it reveals very little about the man. It is more interesting from the standpoint of the interplay between the Buddhists and the Chinese establishment, and then it is enormously interesting.

Furthermore, it is difficult to separate the reality from the clichés and suspected partisan nature of the accounts. The numbers who thronged to hear Chi Tsang preach, the account of his father's extreme devotion, the events attending Chi Tsang's birth, early life and death, and the enormous concern expressed by the court, the debate incident, etc., all merit their grains of salt. We must, however, remain mindful of Tao Hsüan's limitations. His material appears to be at best secondhand, and there is no indication he was concerned to do anything more with the material than cast it in a stylish and complimentary form. To compile so many biographical sketches would allow him little time or effort to verify and critically assess his material, or to produce much of an in-depth study of his subjects' life and thought. But then 傳 does not really mean "biography".

Notes to 'The Sources'

- 1) 續高僧傳 Taishō 2060. Chi Tsang's biography is in chuan 11, Taishō 50.513c-515a.
- 2) The account in Fa Hua Chuan Chi 法華傳記, Taishō 2068, volume 51.57ab, attests being excerpted from the Hsü Kao Seng Chuan. The account in the Hung Tsan Fa Hua Chuan 弘贊法華傳, Taishō 2067, volume 51.18a appears to have been similarly excerpted, as all of it is identical to portions of the Hsü Kao Seng Chuan account and contains no new material. Furthermore, it was compiled no earlier than 706, according to Mochizuki, 41 years after the Hsü Kao Seng Chuan was completed. The account in the Fo Tsu T'ung Chi 佛祖統記, Taishō 2035, volume 49.201c-202a, although differently worded, adds no new information beyond mention of Chi Tsang's invitation of Chih-i to lecture on the Lotus sūtra. All three of these notices, it should be pointed out, are Lotus-oriented texts. See note 33 to the Introduction to the Translation. Chi Tsang is also listed in the Hua Yen Ching Chuan Chi 華嚴傳記, Taishō 2073, volume 51.164bc, although no information is recorded. His Hua Yen preaching is there attested, as is his teacher's, Fa Lang, and his teacher's teacher, Seng Chuan. See notes 12, 24 and 26 to the Introduction

to the Translation, and the Introduction itself.

The notice in the Ch'üan T'ang Wen 全唐文, 916, is almost certainly excerpted from the Hsü Kao Seng Chuan. (This suspicion is substantiated by the Tōdai no Sambun Saku Hin.18218, Tōdai Kenkyū no Shiori. 10, Zinbun Kagaku Kenkyūsho, Kyōto University, 1960, Hiraoka Takeo, editor, which is an index to the Ch'üan T'ang Wen, and also substantiates the absence of other references to Chi Tsang as author, subject, or in passing throughout the collection.) It is very brief and reiterates the opening lines of the Hsü Kao Seng Chuan biography and Chi Tsang's parting memorial to the emperor, as recorded in the Hsü Kao Seng Chuan. Chi Tsang is also mentioned in his students' biographies, but these passages add nothing we do not already know from Chi Tsang's biography itself. These biographies are both in the Buddhist collections. Hui Yuan's 慧遠 (See note 139 to the Translation) biography is in the Hung Tsan Fa Hua Chuan, Taishō volume 51.19bc. Chih K'ai's 智凱 (see also note 64 to the Introduction to the Translation) is in the Hsü Kao Seng Chuan, Taishō volume 50.538ab. Chi Tsang is also mentioned in Seng Ts'an's biography in the Hsü Kao Seng Chuan, Taishō 50.500a-501a, and a summary of that account appears in notes 69 and 79 to the Translation. It is the account of the debate between the two, and is

somewhat at variance with the account in Chi Tsang's biography. According to the Soden hain 僧傳排韻, Dai Nihon Bukkyō Zensho Vol. 100.5606-561a, Chi Tsang also has notices in the Shih Shih Liu T'ieh 釋氏六帖, the Liu Hsueh Seng Chuan 六學子僧傳, and the Fa Hua Ch'ih Yen (Chi) 法華持驗(記). The first I could not even find a location for, and the second two appear only in the Zokuzōkyō, second series, (6.3-5 and 7.5, respectively) to which I do not have access. The remaining references at the end of Mochizuki's article (see the Bibliography) are either bibliographical, (as the Sho Shū Shō Roku 東域傳燈目錄, Dai Nihon Bukkyō Zensho, vol. 1. 91-194, and the To Iki Den To Moku Roku, 諸宗章疏目錄, Taishō 2183, vol. 55.1145 and following pages.) from which, no doubt, he compiled the list of works I have reproduced in note 34 to the Introduction to the Translation, or produce little information, such as the Ching Ming Hsüan Lun, 淨名玄論, Taishō 1780, 38.853a, the Churon Shoki, 中論疏記, Taishō 2255, volume 65, and the San Ta Pu Pu Chu 三大補注, Zokuzōkyō Series 1, 43.450ab. The first attests Chi Tsang's interest in the Vimalakīrti, the second his interest in the Chung Lun, and the third points out that he and Fa Tsang 法藏,

great systematizer of the Hua Yen School, were known as the "two Tsangs". The reference to the Shih Shih Chi Ku Lüeh 釋氏稽古略, Taishō 2037, 49.811a, compiled in 1354, only contains information on the monasteries constructed by Yang Ti, 楊帝, discussed in notes 34 and 36 to the translation. All the dictionary accounts are clearly based on the Hsü Kao Seng Chuan biography.

- 3) 高僧傳 Taishō 2059.
- 4) Arthur F. Wright, "Biography and Hagiography, Hui-chiao's Lives of Eminent Monks", pp. 383-432, Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun Kagaku Kenkyūsyō Kyōto University, Kyōto 1954.
- 5) Wright, *ibid.*, 399-400.
- 6) 慧皎, biography Hsü Kao Seng Chuan 6, T.50.471b.
- 7) *ibid.*, 383.
- 8) Ch'en, Kenneth; Buddhism in China, A Historical Survey, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1964, p. 515.
- 9) 道宣, died 667.
- 10) Wright, *ibid.*, 384-385.
- 11) *ibid.*, 386.
- 12) *ibid.*, 387.
- 13) See notes 3 and 10 to the Introduction to the Translation for Paramārtha, and the discussion in the Introduction concerning Fa Lang.

- 14) Prof. Pulleyblank, UBC, private communication.
- 15) Wright, *ibid.*, 385.
- 16) See especially the discussion of the divergent accounts of the debate between Chi Tsang and Seng Ts'an, as recorded in the two monks' biographies and discussed in the Introduction and in notes 169 and 179 to the Translation.
- 17) cf. the fact that, for instance, Seng Ch'üan's biography (see note 24 to the Introduction) contains no reference to his scholarly pursuits, whereas Fa Lang's biography (see note 12 to the Introduction) states Fa Lang studied San Lun, Ta Chih Tu Lun, Avataṃsaka and the Mahāprajñā-pāramitā under Seng Ch'üan's tutelage. These kinds of problems plague the accounts, as well as the historian.
- 17a) Wright, *ibid.*, p. 388.
- 18) Wright, *ibid.*, p. 386.
- 19) On Paramārtha and Fa Lang, see note 13 above. Concerning T'an Hsien see note 50 to the Translation. His biography contains no mention of Chi Tsang. On Seng Ts'an see note 51 to the introduction and notes 169 and 179 to the Translation.
- 20) See note 23 to the translation.
- 21) See note 52 to the introduction.
- 22) See note 99 to the translation.
- 23) See note 8 to the introduction.
- 24) See note 93 to the translation.

- 25) See note 111 to the translation.
- 26) See notes 58, 59 and 60 to the introduction.
- 27) See note 72 to the translation.
- 28) I have sought reference to Chi Tsang in the biographies of each of the secular figures mentioned in the text, and have found none. Also see note 94 to the translation.
- 29) Taishō 50.514.c17.6. Directly following note 127 in the translation.
- 30) Taishō 50.514.b1.16. A few lines after note 71 in the translation.
- 31) Taishō 50.514.b19.2. At note 91 in the translation.
- 32) Taishō 50.514.b28.6. Directly following note 103 in the translation.
- 33) Taishō 50.514.c9.14. At note 112 in the translation.
- 34) see note 29.
- 35) Wright (ibid., p. 427-428) points out the extent of Hui-chiao's use of inscriptional material. There may well be more of it used in this account than we can discern. I do not have access to a comprehensive collection of Chinese Buddhist inscriptional material. Perhaps that would shed light on this matter.
- 36) Taishō.50.514.c27.10 through c29.10, the third to the last paragraph of the translation.
- 37) Taishō 50.514.c29.11 to 515.a5.8, next to last paragraph of translation.

38) As, also, the statement introducing the essay would be.

Both sentences are short and difficult to assess stylistically, as Tao Hsüan is capable of simple sentences. However, both statements seem to reflect the style of the supposed inscription.

INTRODUCTION TO THE TRANSLATION

Chi Tsang was born at a time when imperial patronage of Buddhism was as commonplace as it is rare today. Liang Wu Ti, deposed the same year Chi Tsang was born (549), was himself a Buddhist, and engaged in a great variety of pro-Buddhist activities, several of which impinged upon Chi Tsang's life.<sup>1</sup> Hou Ching<sup>2</sup> was the usurper of Liang Wu Ti's post. Even he saw fit to invite Paramārtha<sup>3</sup> (n), whose translation project, sponsored by Liang Wu Ti, Hou Ching's rebellion had upset, to return to the capital to translate.<sup>4</sup> (n) The Ch'en replaced the Liang in 557. Ch'en Wu Ti, unlike Liang Wu Ti, favored San Lun,<sup>5</sup> (n) and his patronage of Chi Tsang's teacher brought the latter to prominence, which favored Chi Tsang's education and renown. The Sui, which came to power in the north in 581 and conquered the Ch'en in 589, not only patronized Buddhism, but also adopted it as an element of state ideology. It did so partly on account of Sui Wen Ti's own Buddhist devotion, but also, after defeating the Ch'en, in an effort to unify in spirit the two halves of China she had rejoined politically.<sup>6</sup> In this effort Wen (n)<sup>7</sup> Ti and his second son and successor, Yang Ti<sup>8</sup> (n) patronized clerics prominent under the Ch'en, among them Chi Tsang. And the powerful T'ang, under which Chinese Buddhism was to attain her greatest flowering, still in her infancy, proclaimed Chi Tsang one of the ten Great

8a

Worthies in the empire.

8b

Not only was the Chinese empire ripe for Buddhist efflorescence, Chi Tsang's family was also. Parthian and prominent enough to have enemies, they fled Parthia and took their Buddhist faith to China where Buddhism already flourished. We have every reason to expect that they were accorded a most cordial welcome, due in part to their prominence, but even more on account of their ancestry and faith, which would place them in quite a respected place in the Chinese Buddhist heart of Liang Wu Ti's time, accustomed to welcoming foreign Buddhists.

9

Chi Tsang's father (n) is recorded not only to have been a paragon of Buddhist practice and devotion but also to have taken significant interest in his son's religious education. The biography attests twice to his taking his son to see Buddhist greats of the time. The first -

10

Paramārtha (n) - they quite likely visited for only a single audience during which the boy received his name.

11

12

The second - Fa Lang (n) - they evidently saw repeatedly, culminating in entrusting Chi Tsang to the master's care and guidance. In both instances Chi Tsang's precocity is attested, noting which his father must also have schooled the boy in things Buddhist himself, as well as taking him to see other Buddhists, perhaps prominent in their own time but forgotten by the time the biography was compiled.

It is to his father then that Chi Tsang owes his

initial impetus toward becoming a Buddhist himself, and perhaps it is his father's exemplary diligence which motivated the boy toward his own prodigious achievement.

In his own time Chi Tsang was renowned for his eloquence - both in expounding the doctrine and in debating opponents. Men of later times (n),<sup>13</sup> as well as his own, have praised him for the broad erudition evidenced in his great outpouring of authoritative commentaries and essays, the most renowned of which relate to the San Lun tradition, but which also encompass a variety of prominent sūtras as well. (n)<sup>14</sup> In both these outstanding characteristics - literary and elocutionary - he received his first attested guidance from his master - Fa Lang.

Fa Lang is credited with having transmitted the San Lun tradition, at Ch'en Wu Ti's request in 558, from its mountain headquarters at She Shan (n)<sup>15</sup> to the Hsing Huang Monastery (n)<sup>16</sup> at the Ch'en capital at Yang Chou. By his forceful and eloquent attacks upon the Satyasiddhi, whose strength had overshadowed the San Lun until this time,<sup>17</sup> he brought the San Lun to prominence and attracted many students (n),<sup>18</sup> quite a few of whom later attained personal renown and transmitted the teaching throughout China, into the Sui and T'ang dynasties, (n),<sup>19</sup> and into Japan (n)<sup>20</sup> as well. Ironically it was Liang Wu Ti whose patronage prospered the Satyasiddhi (n),<sup>21</sup> and who, in 513, after unsuccessfully attempting to bring Seng Lang (n),<sup>22</sup> famous

San Lun master, into the capital city, also dispatched urban monks to Lang's mountain monastery on She Shan to study with him.<sup>23</sup> One of those monks was Seng Ch'üan<sup>24</sup> (n) who later transmitted the San Lun Teaching to Fa Lang.

Although each of these men - Seng Lang, Seng Ch'üan, Fa Lang, and Chi Tsang - is renowned for his transmission of San Lun,<sup>25</sup> in fact their biographies attest to a much wider erudition. Seng Lang's states he was most renowned for his studies of the Avatamsaka (n)<sup>26</sup> and San Lun. And although Seng Ch'üan's biography does not mention sūtra studies, Fa Lang is stated, in his biography, to have studied the San Lun, Ta Chih Tu Lun, Avatamsaka and Mahāprajñāpāramitā under Ch'üan's tutelage,<sup>(n)27</sup> after having studied meditation, Vinaya, Abhidharma and Satya-siddhi earlier with other teachers.<sup>(n)28</sup> So we see that although these men are reckoned patriarchs and continuers of the San Lun tradition, in fact San Lun studies occupied only a portion of their total scholarship.

Chi Tsang was no exception to this trend. In fact he quite epitomizes it. He is credited not only with having great powers of intuition at an early age, but also with having exercised excellent judgement in the doctrines he chose and studied under Fa Lang's tutelage. (But see the discussion of these kinds of topoi in the "Sources".) These very likely included at least the San Lun, Ta Chih Tu Lun, Mahāprajñāpāramitā and Avatamsaka. We do not know

when he left Fa Lang, who died in 581, but he definitely stayed and studied for several years at least - the biography attests to at least eleven<sup>(n29)</sup> and there is no reason to doubt his staying longer. It is possible and likely that upon leaving Fa Lang, or upon the latter's death, that a portion of the patronage afforded the master was also given the disciple. The next mention we have of Chi Tsang's textual studies concerns his activities during and directly after the Sui conquest of Ch'en, which took place in 589<sup>30</sup> (n). Chi Tsang fled the disorders, leading his followers, and at the same time placed texts in safe-keeping. When peace came he settled at Chia Hsiang monastery, in the mountains of Chehkiang (n),<sup>31</sup> and sifted through those texts he had saved. His extensive erudition is credited to these textual studies.

At this time he wrote his commentaries to the San Lun<sup>32</sup> (n), for which he is primarily noted. However, not only do his San Lun writings comprise only 28 of the 162 chüan he wrote, but his essays and commentaries to the Lotus account for 46 of those chüan (n),<sup>33</sup> to the Vimalakīrti, 20 chüan, to the Mahāparinirvāṇa, 21 chüan, and of the remaining 47 chüan 40 are distributed among twelve other sūtras (n).<sup>34</sup> He is credited with having made one of the earliest attempts to systematize the vast Mahāyāna literature<sup>35</sup> (n).

Chi Tsang's commentaries attracted great attention in his own time, as well as later, eventually bringing imperial patronage (n).<sup>36</sup> However the biography's frequent testimony to his skill at exposition and disputation leads one to believe that his elocutionary talents brought him the greater fame during his lifetime. (if, in fact, this praise heaped on Chi Tsang can all be taken at face value) And, again, it was in Fa Lang's community that these talents are first attested to have developed.

After Fa Lang moved to the capital the crowd which gathered to hear him expound and debate "constantly numbered a thousand" (n).<sup>37</sup> In so large a community it no doubt quickly became impossible for the master to answer all the questions and settle the doctrinal disputes. Fa Lang's eloquence must have shown as an example to the young Chi Tsang and, coming to force through his own native talents, given rise to the young man's oratorical skills. At age eighteen, having been part of Fa Lang's community at least six and perhaps eleven years (n),<sup>38</sup> Chi Tsang was appointed 'Reiterator of Explanations',<sup>39</sup> glowed at his post, dispatched opponents, gained fame amongst the learned monks, and attracted the attention of Ch'en royalty (n).<sup>40</sup> This elocutionary skill was to bring him great fame in his later years as well, as we shall see.

At the request of Yang Ti (n),<sup>41</sup> Chi Tsang left his mountain retreat, like his master before him, and entered city monasteries - first at Yang Chou, then at Ch'ang An (n)<sup>42</sup> - lectured to the multitudes, visited and made presentations at the famous monasteries, and attained great prominence.

Gernet (n)<sup>43</sup> states that it was the end of the sixth century in Chinese Buddhism that a doctrinal current was formed which emphasized gift and charity, and goes on to note the opposition, which he states was general at the time, between the terms 'dharma-conversion' and 'gifts and donations'.<sup>44</sup> "To the gift of the Law corresponds the gift of material wealth."<sup>45</sup> He quotes part of Chi Tsang's biography (n)<sup>46</sup> which states his great popularity as a lecturer and in the same breath relates the great wealth poured out to him by the prominent families of the Ch'ang An area. This wealth was partly applied toward 'fields of merit' (n)<sup>47</sup> and the rest deposited in 'inexhaustible treasuries' (n)<sup>48</sup> to be redistributed to help the poor and sick, and to forward the activities of the saṅgha.

The very next incident in the biography relates Chi Tsang's request for donations to finish a partially completed statue.<sup>49</sup> (n) Again the donations poured in and he was able to complete the project.

In both these incidents we find Chi Tsang engaged

in very large non-scholastic Buddhist projects, both very much a part of the Buddhism of his time.

Chi Tsang became involved in such activities, it appears, as a result of his prominence in expounding the doctrine. He was equally if not more renowned for his skill in debate. Ch'en (n),<sup>50</sup> in discussing Chinese Buddhist efforts to educate the masses in things Buddhist, twice cites Chi Tsang's activities - once as a prominent lecturer, (as related above) and once as a debater, facing Seng Ts'an,<sup>51</sup>(n) in his eighties at the time, at Yang Chien's (n)<sup>52</sup> request in 609. Ch'en states the debate was probably the most famous one patronized by the royalty of the time. (n)<sup>53</sup> It is recounted both in Seng Ts'an's biography (upon which Ch'en apparently bases his account) and Chi Ts'ang's, and the two versions are compared in the notes (69 through 79) to my translation. The discrepancies between the two versions are very interesting. According to the account in Chi Tsang's biography not only did Tsang make an impressive show in his introductory remarks, but none could match him in the subsequent debate, and he badly worsted Seng Ts'an, his principle opponent. However, in Seng Ts'an's biography, the debate is recorded as a draw, both masters glowing in the eyes of those present.

In the final years of the Sui, when banditry and rebellion had broken out throughout the realm (n),<sup>54</sup> Chi Tsang again withdrew from the turmoil of the times, as he

had done when the Sui replaced the Ch'en and, building a number of statues, sat in meditation facing one of them for a number of years (n).<sup>55</sup> He attained "a direct intuitive vision of the abstract truth of the marks of reality". (n)<sup>56</sup> It is possible that his practice of meditation dates to his years with Fa Lang, who was also a practitioner of the art.

When the Sui was breathing its last and Li Yüan had taken Ch'ang An (n),<sup>57</sup> Hsieh Chü (n),<sup>58</sup> another rebel in opposition to the Sui, had already taken upon himself imperial title to the west of Ch'ang An,<sup>59</sup> and invited important Buddhist clergy to audience, likely in an effort to muster support for his reign. Chi Tsang was among them and was chosen to represent the group. The biography records his remarks which laud Hsieh Chü for taking the situation in hand when the actions of the Sui wrought ruin throughout the land.

However, Hsieh Chü's imperial pretensions were short-lived (n),<sup>60</sup> and Li Yüan soon held the situation in western China. After his dynasty - the great T'ang - came to power, (in mid-618) Chi Tsang was appointed one of the ten Great Worthies<sup>60a</sup> in the empire, in charge of regulating the affairs of the saṅgha. At that time he divided his efforts between two urban (Ch'ang An) monasteries (n).<sup>61</sup> Shortly Yüan Chi, prince of Ch'i (n)<sup>62</sup>

invited Chi Tsang to inhabit the Yen Hsing monastery (n),  
where he finished his days.

Chi Tsang died in the summer of 623 at the age of  
seventy-four, leaving behind a most impressive collection  
of literature and a number of able disciples (n).<sup>64</sup> His  
death was attended by imperial mourning, the details of  
which are recorded in the biography. He attracted the  
attention of Ch'en, Sui and T'ang royalty, and engaged  
in the diverse activities of the Buddhism of his period -  
sūtra study, preaching, composing, debate, meditation,  
building and redistributing wealth for religious purposes.  
One can only marvel at the great diversity of his activities  
and his tremendous energy, a vigor which continued into  
his final years.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

- 1) See T'ang II.43 *passim*. (See the Bibliography for identification of works) These activities included temple and statue building, lecturing and commenting upon the sūtras, aiding translation projects, exhorting young men to abandon secular life and join the monastic, etc., etc.
- 2) See T'ang II.318, also Hurvitz 103-105. Biography in Liang-shu 56, Nan shih 80.1a-25b
- 3) Paramārtha (真諦 Chen Ti) (499-569) (Biog.HKSC.1. T.50.429c-431a) was an Indian student of Asaṅga's and Vasubandhu's idealistic Mahāyāna Yogācāra who entered China (at Canton) in 546 with the intention of translating and propagating Yogacara texts. In 548, at Liang Wu Ti's request, he entered the southern capital, Chien Yeh, to head a translation project, but Hou Ching's rebellion made this impossible. He remained in the capital area for a few years, translating and expounding a few texts, then departed for the south, where he wandered from place to place, translating and preaching. He was the most prominent translator in China between the times of Kumārajīva and Hsüan Tsang. His greatest contributions were his translations of the Abhidharma Kośa by Vasubandhu, the study of which replaced earlier Chinese Abhidharma studies, and the Mahāyānasamgraha, written by Asaṅga

and annotated by Vasubandhu, the study of which formed the basis of the 攝論宗 She Lun Tsung (Samgraha School). Hsüan-Tsang, studying this text, evinced a desire to go to India to find the orthodox teaching, and his later work, with the assistance of Kuei chi (窺基), formed the basis of the Fa Hsiang School (法相宗) which superceded the She Lun Tsung. (see T'ang II.317 passim, also Takakusu 63 and 81-83.)

- 4) See T'ang II.319.
- 5) See T'ang II.326.
- 6) See A.F. Wright, "The Formation of the Sui Ideology", in J.K. Fairbank (ed.), Chinese Thought and Institutions, Chicago, 1957, 71-104.
- 7) See P. Boodberg, "The Rise and Fall of the House of Yang," HJAS, 4(1939), 253-270, also Hurvitz, 125-139, and Ch'en, 194-201. Hurvitz (p. 127, nl) credits Wen Ti, with initiating the revival of Buddhism in the north, following the Northern Chou repression of 574-577, which proscription's formal lifting Hurvitz surmises was Wen Ti's doing. His reign began in 581 and he devoted much of the energy of his reign to the restoration of Buddhism in the north. Then, in 589, with the annexation of the south, the patronization of Buddhism became a vehicle for the unification of the two halves of China, as noted above.

- 8) Bingham, especially in his Introduction, pp.1-10, discusses Yang Ti's rise to power and, in a general way, his reign. Hurvitz, 139-173, but especially 142, discusses the early part of his rise, in relation to his patronage of Chih-i, founder of the T'ien T'ai School. There, summarizing Tsukamoto, he points out three reasons for (the then) Prince Kuang's patronizing Chih-i. "1) the value to the Sui government of having on its side one of the most important clerics of South China...2) the approbation of his devoutly Buddhist parents; 3) his own personal faith". All three factors must also have contributed as well to his patronage of Chi Tsang (see note 34 to the translation), who, eleven years Chih-i's junior, had yet to attract so great a fame as he and thus avoided a relationship with the Sui so close as that which Chih-i and the entire T'ien T'ai establishment incurred. By its proximity to the Sui, T'ien T'ai was to lose T'ang imperial favor which the San Lun would enjoy.
- 8a) See note 90 to the Translation.
- 8b) See note 2 to the Translation.
- 9) Tao Liang 道諒 ; no biography extant, but see the first part of the translation, below.
- 10) See note 3 above. This meeting, according to T'ang, II.319, took place in late 552 or early 553 at Nanking, where Paramārtha was engaged in translating and expounding the Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra. ( 金光明經 ).

This would make Chi Tsang three or four years old at the time. (All ages will be given in western equivalents, ie, one unit less than the Chinese 'sui' designation, although this is, admittedly, only an approximation.) It is worthy of note that both Paramārtha and Tao Liang were of western non-Chinese origin, and also of interest to point out that both the former and the latter's family entered China in the same southern region around Canton, and from there proceeded to the capital area on the eastern coast.

- 11) See note 7 to the translation.
- 12) Fa Lang ( 法朗 ) (508-581) (also ( 慧 ), Hui Lang and ( 道 ), Tao Lang). Biography in HKSC.7.T. 50.477b-478a. Also see T'ang II.249-252, and below.
- 13) Takakusu p. 99; de Bary, p. 144; etc.
- 14) See below, note 34 to the introduction.
- 15) 攝山 She Shan.
- 16) 興皇寺 Hsing Huang Ssu. Ironically this monastery was established by Sung Ming Ti (reigned 465-473) for Tao Meng ( 道猛 ) (401-475), a Satyasiddhi (Ch'eng Shih 成實 ) master who had been the disciple of Kumārajīva's disciple, Seng Tao ( 僧導 ). Tao Meng's disciples continued the tradition at that monastery, and it appears that Fa Lang's entry is the first break in that tradition. T'ang II.221.

- 17) See T'ang II.247, 278.
- 18) See T'ang II.248.
- 19) See T'ang II.250, 251.
- 20) Ekan (慧灌) was a Korean disciple of Chi Tsang, and carried the teaching into Japan. See Takakusu, p.100.
- 21) See T'ang II.248, 326.
- 22) 僧朗 Biography appended to Fa Tu's 法度 biography, KSC.8.T.50.380b,c. Seng Lang is also credited with having 'made difficulty' for Satyasiddhi masters, like Fa Lang after him. (T'ang II.246, 248.)
- 23) See T'ang II.246.
- 24) 僧詮 Biography KSC.7.T.50.369c.
- 25) Concerning the San Lun transmission before Seng Lang, see Robinson, Chapter 8, and T'ang, Chapter 18. In the near future, I intend to publish an addition to this subject.
- 26) It is of note that Seng Lang, Seng Ch'üan, Fa Lang and Chi Tsang all studied the Avatamsaka (Hua Yen 華嚴) Sūtra. (See T'ang, II.245-246)
- 27) That Seng Ch'üan's biography completely omits mention of any sūtra studies, which studies are attested elsewhere, exemplifies the kind of difficulties one encounters in attempting to reconstruct lines of transmission, schools, etc.
- 28) Of Fa Lang's thirteen disciples whose renown has passed to the present, only two did not study completely the

San Lun, and only two studied exclusively the San Lun. Six studied the Ta Chih Tu Lun, four the Mahāprajñā-pāramitā, four the Lotus, four the Mahāparinirvāṇa, three the Satyasiddhi, three the Avataṃsaka, and one the Chung Lun, but not the other two San Lun treatises. (T'ang II.250, 251.)

- 29) The HKSC biography we have translated states Chi Tsang was six years old (seven sui) when his father entrusted him to Fa Lang. Mochizuki (I.529), quoting a source I have not located, gives eleven years (twelve sui) as his age when his father first took him to see Fa Lang, and states that it was the next year that he took up life with the teacher, i.e. age twelve. Chi Tsang was six in 555, three years before Fa Lang entered the city, and for them to meet would have necessitated Tao Liang's taking his son to the mountain monastery to see the master. Chi Tsang was eleven in 560, two years after Fa Lang entered the capital, and would have traveled to Chien Yeh to see the master. Chi Tsang was appointed 'reiterator of explanations' (see below) at age eighteen and, although he assuredly stayed with Fa Lang longer, six years or eleven are all that are attested, depending upon which source we believe.
- 30) This part of Chi Tsang's life is related in two places in the biography, once toward the beginning and again

very near the end.

- 31) 嘉祥 Chia Hsiang. Built in the fourth century.  
See Wright-H, p. 397. Located in Shao Hsing Prefecture (紹興縣) in Chehkiang, in the K'uai Chi (會稽) Mountains, See Wright -H, pp.395-397 and Ch'en pp. 62-66 for a discussion of K'uai Chi Buddhism.  
about 200 miles SE from Nanking.
- 32) Mochizuki, I. 530. The Three Treatises are the Mādhyamika (Chung Lun 中論) Śāntaka (Po Lun 百論) and Dvādaśanikāya (Shiherhmen lun 十二門論).
- 33) Chi Tsang is also credited with having expounded the Lotus 'over three hundred times' but the San Lun only 'over one hundred.' In late 597 he wrote Chih-i (T.46.822ab), China's most renowned commentator of the Lotus, inviting him to visit Chia Hsiang Monastery and expound the sūtra, which he refers to as the 'pivot of all the sūtras'. In 605 he copied 2000 copies of the Lotus, no small undertaking. Three biographical notices on Chi Tsang, all decidedly pro-Lotus, completely omit any mention of his San Lun activity. One (in FTTC) includes all other sūtras he studied, as related in the HKSC, but the other two (HTFHC and FHCC) mention nothing but Lotus involvement, and are, in fact, condensations of the HKSC biography.
- 34) To the Lotus, 32 chüan are extant; to the San Lun,

20; to Vimalakīrti, 20; to the Mahāparinirvāṇa, only one. To the Mahāprajñāpāramitā he wrote 15 chüan, eleven extant; to the Prajñāpāramitā for Benevolent Kings seven, six extant; to the Śrīmālā six, all extant; to the Suvarṇaprabhāsa, Avataṃsaka, Sukhāvatīvyūha, Amitāyurdhyāna (likely a Chinese fake) and Maitreya sūtras, one each, all extant; and to the Laṅkāvatāra, King Śuddhodana, and Ullambana, one each, all lost. In addition he wrote an essay, 'The Profound Meaning of the Great Vehicle' in five chüan, extant, and two essays, both lost, both a single chüan, one on the 'Eight Arrangements' (?) - (a Hua Yen work?) - and one on the biographies of Nagārjuna and his disciple, Āryadeva. I have counted the single chüan, lost commentary to the Kuan Yin Ching amongst the Lotus works, as it is, in fact, a chapter of the Lotus, and the essays on the Two Truths and the San Lun amongst the San Lun titles. (Mochizuki I.530)

35) See de Bary, p. 144.

36) See below.

37) T'ang II.250. At any rate we can be sure there were quite a few.

38) See note 29 above.

39) 覆述 Fu Shu.

40) Ch'en Prince of Kuei Yang. See note 23 to the translation.

- 41) See note 8 above, and note 34 to the translation, below.
- 42) Hui Jih (慧日) at Yang Chou (see notes 34 and 36 to the translation) and Jih Yen (嚴) at Ch'ang An, (see note 36 to the translation). A number (three) of Fa Lang's other prominent disciples also dwelt at the Jih Yen Monastery, and all of them studied San Lun. (see T'ang II.250-251)
- 43) Gernet, p. 211.
- 44) Fa hua (法化) and ts'ai shih (財施).
- 45) Gernet, p. 212, n1.
- 46) Gernet, p. 211-212.
- 47) Fu t'ien (福田), punyakṣetra. Gernet (p. 212.n2) says that these fields of merit undoubtedly consist of vegetarian banquets requesting favor, by which means more funds were accumulated from the wealthy, to be redistributed. (See Ch'en, p. 283-285.) However, 'field of merit' normally has a much wider meaning, and simply implies domains of involvement where one invests energy, etc., cultivating benefit for others and merit for oneself.
- 48) Wu chin tsang (無盡藏) These were treasuries within the monastery where, originally, donations which could not be immediately utilized were stored. Eventually the practice gave rise to great amounts of

treasure administered by the saṅgha. See Gernet,  
p. 205 *passim*.

49) It is possible that this statue was being resurrected,  
having been knocked down and damaged during the Buddhist  
proscription of 574-577. See note 64 to the translation.

50) *ibid.*, pp. 285-287.

51) 僧粲 Biography HKSC.9.T50.500a-501a. Besides this  
debate, his biography also relates his involvement in  
the last two of Sui Wen Ti's three enshrinements of  
relics (601, 602, 604.) See also note 69 to the  
translation.

52) 楊暕 Biography Sui Shu chuan 59, courtesy name  
Shih Fei (世月出). Yang Ti's second son. Sui,  
Prince of Ch'i (隋齊王) at this time.

53) *ibid.*, p. 286.

54) According to Bingham (p. 43) it was 613 that the  
disorders which would finally bring the collapse of  
the Sui began.

55) Chi Tsang's meeting with Hsieh Chü (see below and  
note 58 below) took place no later than 518, and  
probably late 517-early 518. Therefore this period  
of meditation probably lasted no more than five years  
(if we date it beginning with the general outbreaks  
of disorder in 613) and definitely no more than nine  
years, as the debate with Seng Ts'an occurred in 609,  
according to Ts'an's biography.

- 56) 觀實相理 Kuan shih hsiang li.
- 57) Sui Prince of T'ang, Li Yüan, founder-to-be (in 618) of the T'ang dynasty, raised the 'Righteous Army' in summer of 617 and marched against the strategically located Sui capital at Ch'ang An, which he took 12-12-617 (Bingham pp. 83-104).
- 58) 薛舉 Biography Chiu T'ang Shu 55, Hsin T'ang Shu 86.
- 59) He seized power in May 617 and declared himself emperor (Wu Huang 武皇) in September. (Bingham pp. 71, 105.)
- 60) Li Yüan's forces drove him back from his advance on Ch'ang An in the first month of 618, and he died (of illness) later in that year. (Bingham p. 110)
- 60a) See note 94 to the translation.
- 61) Shih Chi (實際) and Ting Shui (定水).
- 62) See note 99 to the translation.
- 63) 延興 Yen Hsing.
- 64) Ekan (慧灌) was noted above (note 20). The biography mentions Hui Yüan (慧遠), biography HTFHC.3.T.51.19bc (See note 139 to the translation). His biography only mentions his Lotus involvement, but Chi Tsang's notice in this collection only records his Lotus activities, and omits both his San Lun involvement and his activities with any other sūtras, so we cannot tell the breadth of Hui Yüan's studies, but would expect him to have studied more than just the Lotus.

HKSC.14.T.50.538ab gives the biography of Chih Kai (智凱), a disciple of Chi Tsang's, prominent during the T'ang who expounded the San Lun. Chi Tsang's biography also mentions a Hui Lang (慧朗), given at one point (see note 125 to the translation) as a variant for Hui Yüan, above. I have not been able to locate a biography for this man. Incidentally, Hui Yüan is not to be confused with the Hui Yüan who wrote the Ta Sheng I Chang, 大乘義章, an encyclopedia of Buddhist terminology, or the Hui Yüan who was a disciple of Tao An.

TRANSLATION OF THE BIOGRAPHY

Shih Chi Tsang: his secular surname was 'An',<sup>1(n)</sup>  
 and he was of Parthian<sup>2(n)</sup> extraction. In his grandfather's  
 generation, fleeing their enemies, (his family) moved to  
 Nan Hai<sup>3(n)</sup> and, accordingly, made their home within the  
 Chiao-Kuang<sup>4(n)</sup> border region thereafter. Later they  
 moved to Chin Ling<sup>5(n)</sup> where (Chi) Tsang was born.

In his childhood years his father took him to see  
 Paramārtha,<sup>6(n)</sup> whom he asked to name (his child).  
 (Paramārtha), enquiring what the pregnancy<sup>7</sup> had been like  
 (concluded that the boy) could be considered "Chi Tsang" -  
 an auspicious embryo. Accordingly this was taken to be  
 his name.

For generations (Chi Tsang's family) had venerated<sup>8(n)</sup>  
 the Buddha and had had no other central concern. Later  
 his father left family life to become a monk<sup>9(n)</sup> and was  
 given the name 'Tao Liang',<sup>10(n)</sup> By diligent exertion he  
 distinguished himself, and in rigor of self-imposed  
 restraint he had few equals. He made begging food and  
 listening to (the preaching of) the Dharma his habitual<sup>11(n)</sup>  
 occupation. Every day, (having) taken up his alms bowl  
 and about to return (from his begging), he would enter a  
 stūpa (reliquary) barefoot and offer on all sides to the  
 Buddha image (what he had acquired from his begging.)  
 Having offered it thus he would divide it and only then  
 would present it (to the images). Even tears, mucus, urine

and excrement he would first take up in his hands and offer to those sentient beings (for whom such matter would be) appropriate food,<sup>12(n)</sup> and only then would he discard it. His practice of sincerity and diligence never<sup>13(n)</sup> missed the mark.

(Tao) Liang regularly took (Chi) Tsang to listen to Dharma Master Tao Lang<sup>14(n)</sup> of the Hsing Huang<sup>15</sup> Monastery read and comment upon (the teachings).<sup>16</sup> Upon hearing (Chi Tsang) would understand-intuit as if by natural endowment.<sup>17</sup> At age seven he left home and entrusted himself to Lang. He selected and acquainted himself with the arcane counsels and daily renovated himself with their abstruse purport.<sup>18</sup> In all in which he inquired and was instructed he subtly penetrated the heart of the matter. (The import which) his presentations and arguments exhibited was singularly superior to the ordinary run. The words he uttered were full of meaning, extraordinary, broad in scope, rich in content and much about them was marvelous.

At the age of eighteen (Chi Tsang) took his place in the community (around his master) as one who reiterates<sup>19n</sup> explanations. His skilled disputation was like a blade moving in a duel. In successfully responding to and coming to grips with the heroes of his time he was at ease and possessed of an excess of skill, which caused his renown to advance in Yang-I.<sup>20</sup> He glowed among the

learned saṅgha. After he received the precepts in full<sup>21</sup>  
his renown became ever greater.

The Ch'en prince<sup>23(n)</sup> of Kuei Yang<sup>24(n)</sup> revered his  
distinguished qualities. He respectfully savored and  
honored (Chi Tsang's) pronouncements and presentations of  
meaning.

When the Sui<sup>25(n)</sup> had pacified southern China<sup>26(n)</sup>  
(Chi Tsang) moved east to Ch'in Wang (mountain)<sup>27(n)</sup> and  
<sup>28</sup> dwelt at the Chia Hsiang Monastery<sup>29</sup> where he went about  
his business as usual. At Yü Hsüeh<sup>30(n)</sup> there was a great  
<sup>31(n)</sup> throng, and seekers after the Way numbered over a  
thousand. (Chi Tsang's) aspiration lay<sup>32(n)</sup> in transmitting  
the lamp in order that the Dharma-wheel might continue to  
<sup>33(n)</sup> turn.

In the last year(s) of K'ai Huang,<sup>34(n)</sup> Yang Ti<sup>35(n)</sup>  
at his post in Chin established four monasteries,<sup>36(n)</sup> which  
were state subsidized, and exhaustively sought out members  
of the Buddhist and Taoist communities<sup>37(n)</sup> for elevation.  
On account of (Chi) Tsang's distinguished exegesis and  
prominent merit he was commanded to enter Hui Jih (Monastery).<sup>38(n)</sup>  
The ceremonious courtesies rendered him were sumptuous, the  
excellent bestowals extraordinary.<sup>39(n)</sup>

The prince (Yang Ti) also established the Jih Yen  
Monastery<sup>40(n)</sup> in the capital city<sup>41(n)</sup> and gave special  
instructions to invite (Chi) Tsang to go and dwell there.  
His desire was to cause (Chi Tsang's) Way to arouse (the

people in) the Central Plain<sup>42(n)</sup> and his Practice to tower above the imperial territory.

When (Chi Tsang) first entered the imperial city the monks and the laity<sup>43(n)</sup> gathered<sup>44(n)</sup> about him like clouds. When they saw<sup>45(n)</sup> his appearance (they could see he was) distinguished above the multitude. When they listened to his words it was like (hearing) the thunderous rumbling of assembled drums.<sup>46(n)</sup> (Chi) Tsang then visited all the famous monasteries. Scarcely had he revealed his eloquence and his deportment when all shut their mouths and stopped their speech.<sup>47(n)</sup> Few could answer him. Now such were the preferences and tastes of the capital that they regarded the Lotus of the True Law as marvelous and important. Therefore, making use of his acuteness he straightway expatiated on it.

At this time<sup>48</sup> there was a monk,<sup>49(n)</sup> T'an Hsien,<sup>50(n)</sup> who 'beat the drum' in Dhyāna's gateway.<sup>52(n)</sup> His establishment of meritorious acts was effulgent and he lay down precedents for the monks and the laity. Before anyone else he humbly invited (Chi Tsang) to set forth and expatiate upon a collection of cardinal doctrinal points. When the seven-fold congregation got wind of the proposed arrival of this renowned teacher<sup>53</sup> they arrived by the tens of thousands. Cramped for space they overflowed the building and its immediate environs and flowed outwardly in the four directions. Mats were spread extensively in

the open air, but even then, by itself, (the crowd) overflowed its constraints. The mighty clans and the leisured gentlefolk<sup>54(n)</sup> all poured out their wealth (to him).<sup>55(n)</sup> (Layfolk) of pure faith and the religious fellowship all revered his virtuous example. (Chi) Tsang's acts of conversion to the Dharma<sup>56</sup> were inexhaustible. Alms<sup>57</sup> piled up. In due course he distributed them and established the various fields of merit.<sup>58(n)</sup> Since, having used (the alms in this fashion) they still had a surplus, they filled ten inexhaustible treasuries.<sup>59(n)</sup> (Chi Tsang) delegated T'an Hsien to use (the treasuries) for acts of compassion and veneration.<sup>60(n)</sup>

During Jen Shou<sup>61(n)</sup> at Ch'ü Ch'ih<sup>62(n)</sup> a great image<sup>63(n)</sup> was raised to a height of a hundred feet. The accoutrement<sup>64(n)</sup> had been going on for a long time, but the body was not yet completed. When it was still incomplete Chi Tsang took up residence there and vowed to complete it.<sup>65(n)</sup> He solicited donations of the six things<sup>66(n)</sup> and at the same time relied upon the four conditions. For a period of ten days the donations continued unabated and were immediately used to adorn (the statue). Soaring loftily it glistened from a height. From this example (we can see that Chi) Tsang's force of merit<sup>67(n)</sup> could move the hearts of (all) beings. In every case where there was something to build he completed it, without exception.

68

The Sui prince of Ch'i, (Yang) Chien, was early filled with respect by reports (of Chi Tsang). Upon meeting him his pleasure was extreme, and yet he was not aware of his storehouse of spiritual treasure. Thereupon he lowered himself to go to Chi Tsang's dwelling and invited disputants. The great men of the capital accompanied one another several deep - they numbered in excess of sixty men. All those who had already made their august names known by blunting the forward points (of an opponent's argument) came to the general gathering.

(Chi) Tsang was made chief of discussion. He put (his argument) into composition and presented it, saying: "With a heart possessed of timidity mount the seat of fearlessness. Using a mouth struck dumb as wood set free loosejawed talk". He made several hundred phrases like these.

The prince, turning to the palace scholar Fu Te Ch'ung, said, "He has not yet even engaged his opponents or met attacks. If he just keeps on with what he has been doing, then the likelihood is that few will be able to follow in his footsteps." Ch'ung said: "To engage in rhetoric and establish arguments - today I see what it means." The prince and his retinue in unanimous admiration praised the excellence (of his verses).

At that time there was a monk Seng Ts'an who styled himself "Master of Discourse throughout Three Lands".

His bold eloquence poured forth like a river; the words he spat out broke the horns (of opposing argument). He was the first to question (Chi Tsang). There were more than <sup>78</sup> forty exchanges between them.

(Chi) Tsang's responses and his sounding out his adversary were speedy, impassioned, <sup>78a</sup> and poured forth like a torrent. Furthermore his appearance was relaxed, his language and his general demeanor frank and open. (Seng Ts'an) rolled up his mat. Stunned, red with shame, he departed. <sup>79</sup> On account of this (Chi Tsang's) fame rose even higher. Suddenly the purport (of the argument) became <sup>80</sup> clear.

The prince announced the discussion had not yet been completed and extended (the meeting) two days. He chose doctrinal items and repeatedly had (opponents) stand up and face (Chi Tsang). Of all (the men present) none were able to oppose him.

The prince, bowing his head in a courteous gesture submitted eternally to him as preceptor. <sup>81(n)</sup> Moreover, he gave him an auspicious flywhisk, as well as the various <sup>82</sup> kinds of clothing and other things.

Late in life, <sup>83(n)</sup> in the first year of Ta Yeh (605) (Chi Tsang) wrote out two thousand copies of the Lotus of the True Law.

About the time the Sui was coming to an end <sup>84(n)</sup> he

built twenty-five images and donated his own dwelling to lodge them for safekeeping, taking up residence himself in an inferior room. Morning and evening following one upon the other, he did penance with utmost sincerity. He also separately (i.e., in addition to the above twenty-five) set up an image of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva and equipped it with a curtain as before.<sup>85(n)</sup> He himself sat in meditation facing (the image) and had a direct intuitive vision of the abstract truth of the marks of reality.<sup>86(n)</sup> He spent many years like this (in meditation) and did not depart from this.<sup>87(n)</sup>

Early when the righteous (army) of the T'ang came to force and reached the capital,<sup>88(n)</sup> Wu Huang (imperial pretender)<sup>89</sup> personally summoned the Buddhist leaders to appear by the foot of Ch'ien Hua gate<sup>90(n)</sup> in audience. The assembly, because Chi Tsang's ingenious perceptivity was famed, pushed him forward to express their thoughts. Addressing (Wu Huang) he said: "I submit that (formerly when) your subjects<sup>91(n)</sup> were in miserable circumstances you seized the time and rescued them from drowning (in their plight). The monks and the laity joyfully relying upon you look up to your beneficence and vast compassion."<sup>92</sup> Wu Huang, delighted, solicitously and diligently concerned himself with Chi Tsang's well being. Unaware of the moving shadows, they talked a long time. He commanded

special deference (toward Chi Tsang) which far surpassed ordinary proprieties.

In the first year of Wu Te<sup>93</sup> (618), since the saṅgha was passing through a time of difficulty the posts of the ten 'Great Worthies'<sup>94</sup> were created. In managing religious affairs<sup>95</sup> they accorded with the religious communities' criticisms. (Chi Tsang) was appointed one of these ten. 'Pinnacle of Reality'<sup>96</sup> and 'Water of Dhyāna'<sup>97(n)</sup> (monasteries) held him in veneration as a religious leader.<sup>98(n)</sup> Both monasteries in consecutive petition invited him to dwell (with them). Accordingly, then, he acceded to both requests and dwelt with each of them.

The (T'ang) Prince of Ch'i, (Li) Yüan Chi,<sup>99(n)</sup> had long venerated his qualities and in person took him as preceptor.<sup>100(n)</sup> He also invited him to dwell at Yen Hsing (monastery). The extraordinary gifts (he sent came so frequently that messengers bearing them) crossed (each other's paths)<sup>101(n)</sup> bearing offerings.

(Chi) Tsang directed himself in accordance with (the needs and wishes of) beings. He never became bogged in set routine.<sup>102(n)</sup>

At this age his constitution gradually weakened and more and more frequently he became ill. By Imperial command efficacious medicines were bestowed upon him. Court messengers came one after another to enquire after him. He himself estimated his condition extreme and difficult (i.e. impossible)

to cure. "The hanging dewdrop does not long endure."<sup>103(n)</sup>

So he sent his parting memorial to the emperor saying; "I, (Chi) Tsang am of advanced age, my illnesses amassed, virtuous power thin, personal qualities slight. I have plentifully received (what medicine) divinity (i.e. the emperor) has dispersed and sought to achieve remedy. However, the stroke has suddenly increased and fate could come morning or night. In the extremity of sadness and longing I send this memorial and offer these words. I humbly pray (that Your Majesty will) long dwell in this world, continually bring peace to the dynasty and state, mercifully rescue the four kinds of beings<sup>104</sup> and elevate the Triple Jewel."<sup>105</sup>

To the heir apparent and the various princes he also presented parting memorials charging them with (the promotion of) the Great Law.<sup>105a</sup> When the clear morning arrived he sought hot water to bathe and dressed in new clean clothing. Attendants burned incense and he charged them to intone the name of Buddha. (Chi) Tsang sat crosslegged<sup>106(n)</sup> in solemn contemplation as if with a pleased countenance. When the time of the daily meal was about to arrive he died quietly. His springs and autumns were seventy-five.<sup>107(n)</sup> This was the fifth month of the sixth year of Wu Te (summer 623). He left behind an order to expose his corpse (as a gift to sentient beings).<sup>107a</sup> His countenance became more and more fresh and white.

There were imperial consolatory gifts<sup>108(n)</sup> and a  
 command to seek out in Nan Shan<sup>109(n)</sup> a rock vault to place<sup>110</sup>  
 (his remains) in safety. From the heir apparent on down,  
 the princes and nobles all sent letters of consolation and<sup>110a</sup>  
 also bestowed gifts of money and silk. His present<sup>111</sup>  
 Reigning Majesty earlier, when he was prince of Ch'in,  
 was most partial in his veneration (of Chi Tsang). At that  
 time he conveyed condolences saying: "All conditioned<sup>112</sup>  
 existence is impermanent. (Chi) Tsang the Dharma Master -<sup>113(n)</sup>  
 his Way transcended the Three Vehicles - his fame was<sup>114(n)</sup>  
 loftier than the Ten Stages - his thought was broader<sup>115(n)</sup>  
 than Prajñā;<sup>116(n)</sup> his disputations encompassed salvation.  
 He was the very one to establish his excellence in the Pure<sup>117(n)</sup>  
 Land and to reveal the doctrine in the Groves of Dhyāna.  
 How was I to know that the heavy dew would vanish in the<sup>118</sup>  
 morning sun, that the winds of karma would stir up the<sup>119</sup>  
 world? Forever he has bidden farewell to Crabapple<sup>120</sup>  
 Orchards and slammed shut the Pine Gate.<sup>121</sup> Moreover  
 his feelings are keenly seen in his introductory words (to  
 the sūtras) and now they are preserved in his parting memorial.  
 The traces remain but the man is gone - all the more am I<sup>121a</sup>  
 grieved."

Then they sent (his remains) to Chih Hsiang Monastery<sup>122</sup>  
 on Nan Shan. At that time there was intense heat (summertime).

Seated in a rope chair the corpse did not decompose<sup>123</sup> or  
 stink, and its crosslegged posture<sup>124</sup> did not loosen. Chi  
 Tsang's disciple Hui Yüan,<sup>125</sup> to establish unbroken (for  
 posterity his master's) fame,<sup>126</sup> collected his remaining bones,  
 carved a stone tomb on a northern crag, and immortalized his  
 virtue on stone.<sup>127</sup>

Earlier,<sup>127a</sup> when (Chi) Tsang was in his childhood,  
 his eminent renown caused him to be praised far and wide.  
 After attaining young manhood his glory fanned even farther.  
 In appearance<sup>128(n)</sup> he was Western and Indian<sup>129(n)</sup> but in  
 speech he was truly Eastern and Chinese. What he held in his  
 mouth was like pearls and jade and his appearance was naturally  
 distinguished. (His ability to) decide (doctrinal issues)  
 expeditiously was scarcely a matter of his accumulated  
 learning. In audience with emperors and princes his (grasp  
 of) abstract truth became even more evident than in his usual  
 practice. He would resolve doubtful doctrinal issues and his  
 listeners would forget their longstanding fatigue. On the  
 other hand he was friendly and on easy terms with the Feng  
 Liu,<sup>130(n)</sup> not the prisoner of strict regulation. By his  
 upright and austere acquaintances he was criticized for this.  
 In addition he was also free and easy in penetrating essential  
 points in doctrinal treatises but was rather inclined to  
 simplification. Ability to superintend the Saṅgha was not  
 his strong point.

Formerly, when Ch'en was replaced by Sui<sup>131</sup> and

132  
 Chiang Yin was in chaos, the monks and laity scattered like waves. Each abandoned the cities, and (Chi Tsang) led his followers into the various monasteries. However (they also) gathered texts and commentaries and put them away in a three-partitioned hall. After peace arrived he then sifted through and arranged them. Consequently none surpassed (Chi) Tsang in excellence in bibliography.<sup>133</sup>  
 The breadth of his exegetical citations is all due to this.

He expounded the Three Treatises more than one hundred times, the Lotus of the True Law more than three hundred,<sup>134(n)</sup> and the Prajñāpāramitā in twenty five thousand lines with commentary (Ta Chih Tu Lun), the Garland Sūtra, the Vimalakīrti, etc., several tens of times each, and, for all of them wrote profound commentaries which circulate vigorously in the world.<sup>135(n)</sup>

On his final day (Chi Tsang) fashioned an essay "Death is not to be Feared", lay down his pen and died.<sup>136</sup>  
 The text says: "I have dealt somewhat with the Ten Gates and made them my own consolation. Now, of all who hold teeth in their mouths and wear hair on their heads, that there are none but love birth and dread death is the result of their not having embodied (Truth). Now death comes forth from birth - one should dread birth. If I were not born, whence would there be death? If you see it begin with birth,<sup>137(n)</sup> thereupon you know its end will be death..."<sup>138</sup>  
 Because of the size of the text it is not recorded in full.

Hui Yüan, <sup>139(n)</sup> relying upon and succeeding to him, serving him received the succession and brilliantly enlightened his contemporaries. He transmitted Dharma conversion and brilliantly succeeded to (Chi Tsang's) lingering glow. In the latter part of his life he took up residence at the Wu Chen Monastery <sup>140</sup> at Lan T'ien. <sup>141(n)</sup> At the time, expounding in the city, he quickly moved the hearts of the multitudes, but men of our time <sup>142(n)</sup> have seen this with their own eyes and therefore I will not spell it out extensively.

- 1) Derived, possibly, from 'An Hsi'. See note 2.
- 2) An Hsi 安息 ; Arsak, Parthia, (Iran). Prof. Pulleyblank remarks, "An Hsi 安息 originally meant Parthia, but Parthia was overthrown by the new Sassanian empire in the 3rd century. By T'ang times 'an' 安 was a surname associated with Bukhara, known as 安國 An Kuo. I don't know for sure what it would have meant for a family arriving in China at Kuangchou by the sea route around the beginning of the 6th century but it is unlikely (it seems to me) to have meant 'Parthia' in the old sense. There were certainly Central Asian merchants in Canton then. Presumably they came in trading ships from the Persian Gulf as they did later."
- 3) Nan Hai 南海 ; Lit. 'Southern Sea', but it refers instead to the territory bordering the Southern Sea - the southwestern Chinese coastal region, (modern) Kwangtung-Kwangsi (Kuang chou) and Vietnam. It could also refer specifically to what is now modern Canton, in the midst of this region.
- 4) Chiao Kuang 交廣 ; Chiao means Vietnam, Kuang refers to Kuang chou (modern Kwangtung-Kwangsi), in extreme southeastern coastal China.
- 5) Chin Ling 金陵 ; Nanking.
- 6) Chen Ti 真諦 ; Paramārtha. see notes 3 and 10 to the introduction.

- 7) Wen Ch'i So Huai 問其所懷 ; Huai can both mean 'to be pregnant' and 'to cherish'; either meaning makes sense, but the former seems more likely, especially since 'tsang (藏)' can and likely does mean 'embryo' and, according to Link, these biographies frequently begin with accounts of auspicious omens attending the monk's birth. Hurvitz suggests that the Sanskrit name 'Srīgarbha' is what Paramārtha had in mind, and it is interesting that in this form the name is ambiguous in both Sanskrit and Chinese, 'garbha' susceptible to being read both 'womb' and 'foetus', just like 'tsang'. So the name 'Chi Tsang' means 'good fortune in embryo', with the meaning 'treasurehouse of good fortune' lurking in the background.
- 8) Li shih feng fo men wu leang shih 歷世奉佛門無兩事 Literally 'successive generations venerated Buddha, gate lacked twofold business', i.e. the family had only this single concern.
- 9) Ch'u Chia 出家 ; pravrajita; it would appear that Tsang's father had not yet left family life when he took his son to see Paramārtha and Fa Lang (below), or that 'leaving home' did not mean a complete severance of the family ties at this time in Chinese Buddhism. Even if it did, the devoted father might return to make sure of his son's Buddhist upbringing.
- 10) Tao Liang 道諒 ; no extant biography.

- 11) Po 益 = Po 鉢 3 editions  
(Sung 宋, Yüan 元, Ming 明) and Palace 宮 editions.
- 12) i.e., pretas, hungry ghosts. Prof. Link, UBC made this suggestion.
- 13) Ch'u wu chung shih 初無中失; lit. 'from the first lacked hit-miss.' i.e., from the beginning (of his practice) there was never a question of whether his practice hit or missed the mark.
- 14) Tao Lang 道朗; Lang = Ming 明 (Yüan edition).  
See note 12 to the introduction and the introduction itself. He is usually known as Fa Lang, as he has been called in the introduction.
- 15) See note 16 to the introduction.
- 16) Chiang 講; means to present a text and comment upon it; expound.
- 17) Ch'i Suik 歲; see note 29 to the introduction.
- 18) Ts'ai she hsüan yu jih hsin yu chih  
採涉玄猷日新幽致
- 19) Fu shu 覆述.
- 20) Yang I 楊邑; no doubt this is Yang Chou, some 60 mi. NE of Nanking in Kiangsu. It was the Ch'en capital, also known as Chien Yeh or Chien K'ang, 律業 or 建康.
- 21) Chü chieh 具戒; usually written -- tsu-- 具足戒; final ordination, at which time the monk takes upon himself the 250 rules of monastic conduct. Ch'en, p. 132, states Chi Tsang was twenty-one at the time, but I do not know his source.

- 22) Read wen 聞 with 3 editions and Palace edition.
- 23) Ch'en Kuei Yang Wang 陳桂陽王; Po Mou 伯謀, courtesy name Shen Chih 深之; Biography Ch'en Shu 28. Thirteenth son of Ch'en Wen Ti, second ruler of the Ch'en. He died 583, when Chi Tsang was 34 years old and Fa Lang dead two years.
- 24) Kuei Yang 桂陽; likely the present capital of 郴縣 Ch'en hsien in Hunan, possibly the present capital of Lien Hsien 連縣 in Kwangtung.
- 25) The year is 589. Chi Tsang is 39 years old, Fa Lang is dead eight years.
- 26) Pai Yueh 百越; technically this designates Fu Kien, Chehkiang, Kiangsi, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Vietnam, but here it simply refers to the (southern) territory held by Ch'en, annexed by the Sui in 589, thus re-unifying China after a period of disunity lasting some three centuries.
- 27) Ch'in Wang 秦望; A mountain in the K'uai Chi 會稽 mountains in Chehkiang, 12 li (4 miles) south of Hung Hsien 杭縣, about 200 miles SE of Nanking.
- 28) Read chih 止 with Taishō and Ming editions.
- 29) Chia Hsiang 嘉祥; see note 31 to the introduction.
- 30) Yu Hsueh 禹穴; a 'bottomless' cave at Wan Wei mountain 宛委山 in the K'uai Chi 會稽 range in Shao Hsing Prefecture 紹興縣 in Chehkiang; i.e., in the

vicinity of the mountain monastery where Chi Tsang dwelt.

- 31) Ch'eng shih 成市 ; lit. a marketplace; i.e. a throng the size of a crowd at a marketplace.
- 32) Read ts'un 存 with Taishō or tsai 在 with 3 editions and Palace.
- 33) Hsiang chi 相系 監 Taishō; Hsiang chi chuan 相系 監 轉 Sung; Chi chuan 系 監 轉 Yüan, Ming, Palace. All amount to the same thing, but the first and third preserve the meter whereas the Sung edition does not.
- 34) K'ai Huang mo sui 開皇末歲 ; K'ai Huang is Sui Wen-Tu's first reign title (581-600). Mo sui is ambiguous. It could mean 'last year' or 'last years'. Furthermore, the difficulty is compounded by variant readings. Mochizuki (I.529) supplies Jen Shou 仁壽 two (602) and Ta Yeh 大業 (Yang Ti's first reign title) two (606). (SSKKL.2.T.49.811a seems to be his source for Ta Yeh two. I do not know his source for Jen Shou two.) This much we do know: work on the Jih Yen Tao Ch'ang began late 592 at Prince Kuang's request, which substantiates our text's reading. (see Hurvitz 153,154). Furthermore Chi Tsang was still at Chia Hsiang in late 597, when he wrote Chih-i (see note 33 to the introduction). It is possible the work on the monasteries was not completed for some ten or fifteen years, but it seems most likely that Prince Yang Kuang would invite Chi Tsang to Yang Chou while he was there

himself, i.e., before he took reign of the kingdom in 605. At any rate it would be no earlier than 597 and no later than 606 that Chi Tsang took up residence in Yang Chou.

35) See note 8 to the introduction.

36) Chih ssu Tao Ch'ang 置四道場; SSKL.2.T.49.811a lists Hui Jih 慧日, in Yang Chou, and Ch'ing Ch'an 清禪, Jih Yen 日嚴, and Hsiang T'ai 香臺, in Ch'ang An. Our biography corroborates the first and third (see note 34 above as well). However, Prince Kuang added a reliquary to Ch'ing Ch'an monastery in 590; (which might be why it is included); he did not establish it. (Hurvitz, 142, 143). (Mochizuki's variant list (I.529) includes Chia Hsiang monastery (see note 31 to the introduction), but this is impossible as it was established in the fourth century.

37) 釋李兩部 Shih Li liang pu.

38) 慧日 Hui Jih in Yang Chou. See notes 34 and 36 to the translation.

39) 優賞倫異 yu shang lun i. HTFHC.3.T.51.18a12 has ... i lun, 異倫, and that is the way we take it.

40) 日嚴寺 Jih Yen Ssu in Ch'ang An. See note 36 to the translation.

41) 京師 Ching Shih Ch'ang An.

42) 欲使道振中原 Yu shih tao chen chung yuan;

could also mean, "his desire was to cause (Chi Tsang's) way to flourish in the Middle Plain," or "...to bring the Middle Plain to flourishing."

- 43) 道俗 Tao Su.
- 44) Read 屯 T'un with Palace edition.
- 45) 見 chien, Taisho, and 觀 kuan, 3 editions and Palace, amount to the same thing.
- 46) Read 鍾 chung with Taishō. 金童 chung (3 editions and Palace) makes sense, also. 'The thunderous rumbling of bells and drums.'
- 47) Read 其 ch'i with the Taishō.
- 48) Gernet cites this passage, pp. 211-212. See also the introduction.
- 49) 禪師 Ch'an Shih; at this time means no more than 'monk'.
- 50) 曇鸞 T'an Hsien; biography HKSC.20.T.50.598b-599c. Died 641. His biography mentions Vinaya study, but not meditation, or any relation to Chi Tsang.
- 51) Read 禪 ch'an with Taisho.
- 52) 禪門 Ch'an men. At this time this means 'the way of meditation'.
- 53) 七衆聞風 Ch'i Chung wen feng. "Ch'i chung"; literally the Bhikṣus, Bhikṣuṇīs, Śikṣamāṇas, Śrāmaṇeras, Śrāmaṇerikās (all who have 'left home'), Upāsakas and Upāsikās (lay disciples). However, the meaning is

simply inclusive of the Buddhist community. 'Feng' could mean either the rumor that Chi Tsang was lecturing, or his great renown. We accept both ideas in our translation.

- 54) 豪族貴遊 Hao tsu kuei yu. 'Les grandes familles et les personnes de la noblesse.' Gernet, p. 211.
- 55) 清信道侶 Ch'ing Hsin Tao Liu; 'Fidèles et religieux,' Gernet, p. 212.
- 56) 法化 Fa hua; literally something like 'Dharma-izing'.
- 57) 財施 Ts'ai Shih.
- 58) 福田 Fu T'ien. See note 47 of the translation.
- 59) Mispunctuated. It should be punctuated after tsang 藏, the next sentence needs no subject. Then this sentence ends with 無盡藏 wu chin tsang. See note 48 to the introduction.
- 60) 悲敬 Pei Ching; we take this to mean acts of compassion and veneration, and Gernet agrees (p. 212). It could mean acts of compassionate veneration, as acts of compassion would be considered veneration of the Buddha.
- 61) 仁壽 Jen Shou; 601-604, final reign title of Sui Wen Ti which ended with his assassination, apparently at the hands of his second son and heir, the future Yang Ti, Prince Yang Kuang. (note 8 to the introduction)
- 62) 曲池 Ch'ü Ch'ih; in NE of Ning Yang Prefecture

寧陽縣 in Shantung.

- 63) 百尺 Pai Ch'ih; something like twenty to thirty five meters.
- 64) 系 (Shan) Hsiu; normally this would mean repair, but the context seems to imply that it was a new statue being raised. It is possible, as noted above, (note 49 to the introduction) that this was a statue being resurrected, having been tumbled during the Buddhist proscription of 574-577.
- 65) 六物 Liu Wu; literally this means the three garments, upper, middle and lower, an alms bowl, a seat, and a water skimmer, for removing living beings from drinking water. However, in the context it lacks any such technical significance.
- 66) 四緣 Ssu Yüan; 1) 因緣 yin yüan, hetupratyaya, 2) 等無間緣 teng wu chien yüan, samanantara-pratyaya, 3) 所緣緣 so yüan yüan, ālambanapratyaya, and 4) 增上緣 tseng shang yüan, adhipatipratyaya. Again, no such technical significance is intended. The implication is that he simply made the request and did not press anyone, but relied upon karmic connexions to do the work of attracting funds.
- 67) 福力 Fu Li; Fu is punya, meritorious action, and li is power. The phrase seems, then, to have the force of 德 Te, inner power which is gained through the force of past action.

- 68) See note 52 to the introduction. Taishō misprints

陳 日東。

- 69) 乃屈臣臨第      Nai ch'ü lin ti. This translation is the suggestion of Prof. Li Chi, Emerita, UEC.

- 70) This debate is also recounted in Seng Ts'an's biography, HKSC.9.T.50.500a-501a. See also the introduction and note 51 to the introduction. According to Ts'an's biography there was at that time an eminent Taoist master from whom Ts'an received instruction in the Three Mysteries - Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu and the I Ching. Imperial edict invited the master to discuss Lao Tzu before the court, and all were invited to attend except Buddhist monks. Ts'an, hearing of the proposed presentation and the exclusion of the monks, gathered more than ten followers about him and, collapsing chairs in hand, took a shortcut to the palace, walked right past the guards and entered the hall where the Taoist was concluding his introductory remarks. The Prince (evidently not Prince Chien) said nothing, so Ts'an proceeded to upbraid him vigorously. He did so in a comic fashion, yet all attested to the profundity of his remarks. The meeting dispersed and the emperor, hearing what had happened, remarked, 'How fortunate we are to be contemporaneous with this!' Prince Chien was moved by this display. He was fond of debate and, having heard of Chi Tsang's reputation,

sought an opportunity to have him worsted (1). Therefore he invited Ts'an to the 'dharma convocation' our text is about to relate. Ts'an's biography gives the date as Ta Yeh five, 609.

71) Ts'an's biography says 'more than thirty',

72) 傅德充 Fu Te Ch'ung.

73) Read 延 yen with Taishō, Sung and Palace.

74) Read 禦 yü with Yüan, Ming, although 御 yü, with Taishō, Sung and Palace can also have this meaning.

75) 動言成論 Tung yen ch'eng lun.

76) See note 68 to the translation and note 51 to the introduction.

77) Here 三國 San Kuo refers to Ch'i 齊, Ch'en 陳, and Chou 周. (Ts'an's biography.)

78) Ts'an's biography states "more than 30".

78a) Prof. Pulleyblank, UBC, pointed out this meaning.

79) Ts'an's biography paints a somewhat different picture.

According to it none thought Chi Tsang could unravel Ts'an's objections, but he did, and no one thought Ts'an could come back after Chi Tsang's explanations, and yet he exchanged over forty objections and responses. Finally the Prince interceded and suggested they continue at a later session, but Ts'an, his vigor all the greater, resumed his earlier objections, and another twenty or thirty exchanges transpired. Both men received the admiration of the crowd, none but were satisfied. In

the end neither man could best the other, and, as it was evening, the Prince (again) interceded, grasped Ts'an by the hand and, in admiration, said, "Your fame is not vain praise. Today I have witnessed it," and presented him with an auspicious flywhisk (as used by Chinese lecturers) and the 'ten things', (i.e., gifts), thereby bearing witness to his skill at disputation.

- 80) 屯爽由來      Tun shuang yu lai. Prof. Li Chi, Emerita, suggested this translation.
- 81) Read 傳 fu with Taishō and 3 editions.
- 82) 及諸衣物      chi chu i wu could mean 'the various kinds of clothes' but doubtless means 'the various kinds of clothes and (other) things'. (see note 65 to the translation).
- 83) 晚以大業初歲      wan i ta yeh ch'u sui could mean 'later, in the first year of Ta Yeh' (605)' but the preceding incident occurred in Ta Yeh five (609), so it must mean 'late (in Chi Tsang's life), in 605.'
- 84) See note 54 to the introduction.
- 85) 帳設如前      changeshe ju ch'ien; what this phrase means, given the context, we are not sure, but it is possible that in compiling the biography Tao Hsüan omitted the context in which it makes sense, or that the reference is to some biography in this same collection preceding Chi'Tsang's.

- 86) 觀實相理 kuan shih hsiang li
- 87) Read 茲 tzu with Taishō.
- 88) See note 57 to the introduction.
- 89) See notes 55, 58 and 59 to the introduction.
- 90) 虔化門 ch'ien hua men
- 91) 四民 ssu min; literally the gentry, farmers, artisans and merchants, but simply means "his subjects" here.
- 92) This statement seems to express the gratitude many must have felt at this man's attempts to renew order within the troubled land.
- 93) 武德 Wu Te is the first reign title of Kao Tsu 高祖, first emperor of the T'ang, enthroned mid-618. Early life and reign Hsin T'ang Shu 1, Chiu T'ang Shu 1.
- 94) 十大德 Shih Ta Te. We have searched high and low and have found no information on this subject beyond the information afforded by our text. The dynastic annals are mute, as are the dictionaries, secular and Buddhist. The Buddhist historical collections, as the Fo Tsu T'ung Chi and the Shih Shih Chi Ku Lüeh, are equally silent. Hurvitz remarks that at times, when the clergy encountered difficulties they could not ~~esolves~~ clarify themselves, they might ask the state to settle the problem. Perhaps this is one of those events.

- 95) Read 物 wu with 3 editions and Palace edition.  
 初義 (Taishō) would mean 'what they had formerly agreed upon.'
- 96) See note 61 to the introduction.
- 97) See note 61 to the introduction.
- 98) This could also mean "the two monasteries held religious principles (or principals) in veneration." Prof. Pulleyblank, UBC, suggested the translation in the text.
- 99) 齊王元吉 Ch'i Wang Yüan Chi (603-626)  
Chiu T'ang Shu 64, Hsin T'ang Shu 79. Kao Tsu's fourth son, appointed Prince of Ch'i at the end of 617.
- 100) 延興 Yen Hsing, in Ch'ang An.
- 101) 異供交廣犬 i kung chiao hsien; could also mean "the extraordinary gifts were so numerous that they became jumbled in the giving."
- 102) Mispunctuated. Should read 不滯行藏年氣...  
 pu chih hsing tsang. nien ch'i...
- 103) 懸露非久 hsien lou fei chiu
- 104) 四生 ssu sheng; the four kinds of birth: from egg, womb, moisture and transformation; i.e., all beings.
- 105) 三寶 san pao; triratna, the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, the Triple Jewel.
- 105a) Prof. Li Chi, Emerita, UBC showed me how to translate these two sentences.
- 106) Read 加 chia with 3 editions and Palace edition.
- 107) So he was seventy-four years old in 623. Born 549.

107a) Prof. Link, UBC, made this suggestion.

108) Read 贈 tseng with 3 editions and Palace.

109) 南山 Nan Shan in Shensi.

110) Read 以 i with Taishō.

110a) Prof. Link, UBC, suggests "money and silk" simply implies riches.

111) 今上初為秦王 chin shang ch'u wei ch'in wang;

T'ai Tsung ruled when Tao Hsüan compiled this biography.

He was Li Shih Min 李世民 (600-649) second son of

Kao Tsu. Chiu T'ang Shu 2 and 3 and Hsin T'ang Shu 2 for

early life and reign. He murdered the heir apparent and

forced his father's abdication in 626, and ruled until 649.

(Ch'en 216-219. Bingham 498.)

112) 諸行無常 chu hsing wu ch'ang; sarve saṃskāra  
anityāḥ; hsing = saṃskāra, conditioned existence.

113) 道濟三乘 tao chi san sheng; the Three Vehicles  
(san sheng) are the śrāvaka, pratyekabuddha and  
bodhisattva.

114) 名高十地 ming kao shih ti; could also mean  
'higher than the tenth stage'. The ten stages are the  
ten stages of Bodhisattvahood.

115) 惟懷弘於般若 wei huai hung yu po jo

116) 辯圓包於解脫 pien yu pao yü chieh t'o;

Not only does the Prince flatter the man, but he also  
makes a good Buddhist point - that which is truly

Buddhist must pass beyond the realm of designation, even  
designation by superlatives.

117) 禪林 ch'an lin; Buddhist monasteries.

- 118) 湛露晞晨 chan lu hsi ch'en  
 119) 業風飄世 yeh feng piao shih  
 120) 奈苑 Nai Yüan 'Crabapple orchard' refers to Buddhist

monasteries. The story behind the metaphor is recorded at some length in Taishō 553, 棕女祇域因系緣經

, T.14.896c-902a, and Taishō 554, 奈女菩

婆系經, T.14.902b-906b (both translated by An Shih Kao, 安世高) and Taishō 1, 長阿含系經

, T.1.13b-14b, (translated by Chu Fo Nien, 竺佛

念) and briefly summarized in Taishō 1781, 維摩系經

義疏, T.38.917b.20-21, by Chi Tsang. (The

tradition is also recorded, according to Morohashi and

T'zu Hai, in a quote which both dictionaries reproduce

(Morohashi is likely following Tzu Hai) from the 雞

足石集, in the 說郛. However, the quote is not

to be found in the versions of the 雞足石集 I have

found.) An attractive young woman is said to have been

born from a self-born crabapple tree. Later in her life

she donated to the Buddha the orchard where the tree

was located. It was one of the places where he taught in

the course of the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa. However, in

Kumārajīva's translation of the Vimalakīrti, as well as

in the Āgama translated by Chu Fo Nien, referred to above,

the tree is a mango tree (菴羅, skrit. āmra) and

'crabapple' is a mistranslation. Seng Chao, in his

commentary to the Vimalakīrti, Taishō 1775, 注維摩系經,

T.38.328b1 *passim*, records his conversation with Kumārajīva concerning this point. Kumārajīva describes a mango to Chao - "like a pear, but not like a pear." - and Chao remarks that Chih Ch'ien's ( 支謙 ) translation of the Vimalakīrti said 奈氏樹園 - crabapple grove. There is another tradition, recorded in the 荊林伐山, 叢書集成, Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1936, 0335, pp. 25-26, where the tradition is recorded to have its origins from the fact that at the Po Ma monastery, 白馬寺 in Lo Yang, a crabapple orchard was planted and produced exquisite fruit. The 洛陽伽藍記, Taishō 2092, volume 51.1014bc, attests the existence of the crabapple orchard, but I concur with the Tzu Hai (whose judgement Morohashi does not reproduce) that this tradition seems false.

- 121) 松門 Sung Men. Jerry Schmidt, fellow graduate student at UBC, suggests that 'pine gate' refers to a natural gate formed by a stand of pine trees, which frequently are associated physically and, then, metaphorically with the huts of recluses. The pine is chosen as the symbol of constancy, as it is evergreen. Closing the pine gate could then refer to disappearing into seclusion. Prof. Li Ch'ü, Emerita, UBC, also cites a passage in T'ang Po Chü I's 陵園妾樂府, where 'closing the pine gate' refers to disappearing into obscurity. In any event the context makes it clear that death is implied.

- 121a) Prof. Li Chi, Emerita, UBC, translated this sentence  
for me.
- 122) 至相寺 chih hsiang ssu, "Ultimate Mark Monastery."
- 123) Read 摧 ts'ui with 3 editions and Palace.
- 124) Read 跏 chia with 3 editions and Palace.
- 125) Read 遠 yüan with all editions but Ming, which gives  
朗 lang. There is a Hui Yüan attested as Chi Tsang's  
disciple, see note 139 below. Furthermore, in that  
instance there is no variant reading, and I have been  
unable to locate a 'Hui Lang' who studied with Chi Tsang.
- 126) Read 續 hsü with the Taisho.
- 127) Read 石卑 pei with Yüan and Ming.
- 127a) See "The Sources" for a discussion of this following section.  
It appears to be the inscription just mentioned in the text.  
Prof. Link, UBC, made this suggestion.
- 128) Either 象 hsiang Taishō, Sung and Palace or 像 hsiang,  
Yüan and Ming, is acceptable. ~~at this time.~~
- 129) 梵 fan; evidently no one distinguished Iranians from  
Indians at this time.
- 130) 風流 feng liu; 'romantic' Taoists, unfettered by  
convention, attempting to embody spontaneity. See Fung  
Yu Lan, A Short History of Chinese Philosophy, edited by  
D. Bodde, NY 1948, chapter 20.
- 131) 589
- 132) 江陰 chiang yin, in Chiangsu. Miss Li Chi, Professor  
Emerita, UBC, states that there is only one chance in many  
that this means 'south of the river', and since a place

of this name exists in the appropriate area, we have all the more reason to agree with her.

133) Read 目 mu with Taishō, Sung, Yüan and Palace.

134) Read 三百 san pai with Taisho, Sung, Palace. Yüan and Ming give 三十 san shih, thirty, but this is not consonant with his great interest in the Lotus. (see note 33 to the introduction.)

135) See note 34 to the introduction.

136) 十門 shih men; perhaps these are the 十玄門 shih hsuan men or the 理事無礙 li shih wu ai, both of the Hua Yen School.

137) 生 sheng, translated 'birth' throughout this passage, could also be translated 'life' in all but this instance, and therefore we translate it 'birth' throughout.

138) This seems to be the end of the eulogy. See 'The Sources' for a discussion of this point.

139) 慧遠 Hui Yüan (597-647) took up monastic life with Chi Tsang in 606. His biography (HTFHC.3E51.19bc) records his Lotus teaching, but no other textual involvements. However, as we have seen above (Note 33 to the introduction) this biographical collection also records only Chi Tsang's Lotus involvement, so it is no indication concerning Hui Yüan's total interests. See note 64 to the introduction concerning some of Chi Tsang's other students.

- 140) 悟真寺 wu chen ssu; in Hsi An Prefecture 西安縣  
in Shensi.
- 141) 藍田 Lan T'ien, a prefecture in Shen Hsi; now in Hsi  
An Pref., 西安縣 in Shensi.
- 142) 人世 jen shih; we would be happier if this read "shih  
jen", and this is the way we understand it.

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