

Faxian and Liu Yu's Inner Circle: Interactions between Society and Buddhism during the Eastern Jin Dynasty*

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Abstract: This article discusses the interaction between Faxian (338?–423?) and Liu Yu (363–422) and his circles, especially the relations within the sangha in Qingxu and Jingzhou, from the point of geo-relationship and of dharma-associated practices, to remodel the social networks and Buddhist background of the Eastern Jin and the Sixteen Kingdoms, to discuss the protection of Buddhism by Liu Yu's circles, and to highlight the contribution of Faxian to it. There are some important hints as to that. First, Faxian came back to Qingzhou, which coincided with the time when Liu Yu had reclaimed the provinces of Qing, Yan and Si, and planned to establish the kingdom of Song. As soon as Faxian reached land, he was invited by Liu Yu's younger brother, Liu Yan (Dao Lian, 368–422) to build a monastery called Longhua in Pengcheng. Second, he translated sutras and *vinaya* texts together with Buddhahadra (359–429) at Daochang

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Monastery in Jiankang, during the twelfth and fourteenth year of the Yixi period, with the support of the benefactors from Liu Yu's clique Meng Yi and Chu Shudu (378–424). Lastly, he went to Xing Monastery in Jingzhou for his last days, this was also a consequence of Liu Yu's power. During his lifetime rich in travel, with the spread of Buddhism to the east, Faxian was connected to several important places of the Buddhist sangha, which is also closely related to the choice and acceptance of the Buddhist doctrine in China, and which constructed a complicated circle of Buddhist believers.

Introduction: The Meeting between Faxian and Liu Yu's Inner Circle

In 399 CE, Master Faxian (338?–423?) was inspired to leave Chang'an and head toward the Indian subcontinent in search of scriptures by the fact that only an incomplete version of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* was available 律藏殘闕 in China. During the time he was gone, the Later Qin progressively grew in strength, acquiring more and more territories that had previously been occupied by the Eastern Jin. However, when Faxian returned to Qingzhou after thirteen years of travel, the geopolitical trajectory of China had completely reversed. Helian Bobo 赫連勃勃 (381–425) of the state of Daxia 大夏 had repeatedly led his troops south to harass the Later Qin, resulting in the loss of nearly a 100,000 troops, the looting of no less than 20,000 homes, the destruction of countless livestock and assets, and ultimately the decline of the Later Qin. Meanwhile, Liu Yu 劉裕

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(363–422) had been busy turning the tide for the previously faltering Eastern Jin. Liu Yu annihilated the Southern Yan 南燕 in 410 and the Later Qin shortly after in 417, and then he recaptured the northern lands of Qingzhou, Yanzhou, and Sizhou. Following these achievements came a series of events initiated by Liu Yu that ended with the formation of the Liu Song 劉宋 (420–479) Dynasty—a dynasty of which he was declared emperor.

Faxian returned from Sinhala 師子國 (Ceylon, modern day Sri Lanka) by sea in 412 CE. He arrived at the shores of Qingzhou, a land that was under the influence of Liu's inner circle 劉氏. There, Liu Yan 劉沆 (a.k.a. Liu Daolian 道憐, 368–422), a brother of Liu Yu, invited Faxian to stay in Jingkou 京口 from the winter of 412 to the summer of 413,¹ during which Faxian established the Longhua Monastery 龍華寺.² Later, in either 413 or 414, Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416?/417?) invited Faxian to Lushan.³ This was likely

¹ The *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu* 法顯傳校注 [*Faxian zhuan*, Collated and Annotated] by Zhang Xun 章巽 and its corresponding annotations reads: '[he] invited Faxian to stay from the winter to the summer'. Adachi Kiroku 足立喜六 believes Faxian came to Yangzhou by ship with merchants, and was then invited by Liu Daoling to spend a winter through a summer in Jingkou. Tang Yongtong 湯用彤, however, does not agree with this notion and instead believes that after Faxian arrived on shore at Laoshan, he travelled to the south by land, passing through Pengcheng along the way. At that time, Liu Daolian was the governor of North Xuzhou and Yanzhou, and he was based in Pengcheng. Tang Yongtong suspects that Liyi 李嶷, a military officer under Liu Daolian's command, suggested to Liu Daolian that he should retain Faxian and support him. This article supports the latter opinion. See Zhang, annot., *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 175.

² Rao, 'Zaoqi Qingzhou Cheng yu Fojiao', 52.

³ There has always been disagreement over whether or not Faxian actually went to Lushan. The arguments suggesting he did go to Lushan are epitomized in Zhang Xun's *The Collated and Annotated Record of Faxian* and Kimura Eiichi's 'Research on Huiyuan: Lost Text'. See Zhang, annot., *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 180; Kimura, *Eon Kenkyū*, 46 (see footnote 37 on the 'Buddha Shadow Inscription' 佛影銘). Some have argued that Faxian did not go to Lushan, such as Chen Jinhua 陳金華. See Chen, 'Faxian Deng Lufeng'.

the place where Faxian completed the first draft of *Foguo ji* 佛國記 [Record of the Buddha Land], a work which describes the dignified and blossoming Buddhist nation he experienced to the west of China, along with the geography and local customs of that land.⁴ Next, around 416 to 418, Meng Yi 孟顛 (384–465) and Chu Shudu 褚叔度 (378–424) of Liu Yi's inner circle supported Faxian's collaborative translation work with Buddhahadra 佛跢跋陀羅 (359–429) at Daochang Monastery 道場寺, which resulted in Chinese editions of many Buddhist scriptures and *Vinaya* 律. Finally, at some point after 418, Faxian went to Jingzhou, which Liu Yu had already established control over, and later spent his final years at Xin Monastery 辛寺.

Faxian lived a life of abundant travel. He was involved with several monasteries vital to Buddhism's transmission to the East and central to the selection of Buddhist doctrines that became accepted throughout Han Chinese lands. Accordingly, a complicated web of Buddhist groups materialized under his watch. I previously performed a separate study of the interaction between Faxian and the inner circle of Huiyuan of Lushan,⁵ and I have also studied the relationship between Faxian and the project of translating Buddhist texts that was carried out at Daochang Monastery.⁶ However, I have done relatively little research on the society and culture that served as a backdrop to Faxian's translations of scriptures following his return to China. This paper compares a variety of different, important perspectives from geopolitical and Buddhist lenses. It intends to unearth just how Faxian interacted with Liu Yu's inner circle—especially with respect to how this related to the Buddhist groups in Qingzhou, Xuzhou, and Jingzhou—and reveal exactly what kind of influence Faxian had on Buddhism and politics during his life.

⁴ Liu, 'Gushi de zaisheng'.

⁵ Liu, 'Sheyan yu guifan'.

⁶ Liu, 'Gushi de zaisheng'.

1. Military Expeditions, Deferential Treatment, and Worshipping the Buddha

The formation of Liu Yu's inner circle can be traced back to when he formed a volunteer army. At that time, Liu Yu called together He Wuji 何無忌 (351–410), Wei Yongzhi 魏詠之 (approx. 375–405), and the brothers Wei Xinzhi 魏欣之 and Wei Shunzhi 魏順之. He also called on Tan Pingzhi 檀憑之 (?–404), who brought relatives with him such as Tan Shao 檀韶 (366–421), Tan Zhi 檀祗 (369–419), Tan Long 檀隆, Tan Daoji 檀道濟 (337–436), and Tan Fanzhi 檀範之. There were also Liu Yu's younger brother Liu Daolian 劉道憐 and his cousins Liu Yi 劉毅 (?–412) and Liu Fan 劉藩 (?–412). In addition, there were Meng Chang 孟昶 (?–410) and Meng Huaiyu 孟懷玉 (385–415), brothers of the same clan. There were also Xiang Mi 向彌 (363–421) of Henei 河內; Guan Yizhi 管義之; and Zhou Anmu 周安穆 of Chenliu 陳留; Liu Wei 劉蔚 of Linhuai 臨淮 and his little brother (從弟) Liu Guizhi 劉珪之; Zang Xi 臧熹 (375–413) of Dongguan 東莞, his cousin Baofu 寶符; and his nephew Musheng 穆生; Tong Maozong 童茂宗; Zhou Daomin 周道民 of Chunjun 陳郡; Tian Yan 田演 of Yuyang 漁陽; Fan Qing 范清 of Qiaoguo 譙國; and more. In total, there were twenty-seven central figures to the army,⁷ and they were collectively able to defeat Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369–404), who had managed to usurp the throne. Afterwards, they carried on under the banner of the Eastern Jin, garnering great renown and progressively expanding their inner circle's sphere of influence. Afterwards, they took advantage of internal strife within the Southern Yan kingdom to crush its troops. Soon after came the task of pacifying Lu Xun's 盧循 (?–411) rebellion, and then they annihilated all other dissidents within the court, such as Liu Yi 劉毅, Zhuge Zhangmin 諸葛長民 (?–413), and Sima Xiuzhi 司馬休之 (?–417). Finally, the Eastern Jin carried out expeditions in the north against the Later Qin, wherein they recaptured Luoyang 洛陽 and Guanzhong 關中, thereby obtaining the status of Nine Bestowments 九錫 and establishing the Liu Song Dynasty.

⁷ *Song shu* 5.5.

In virtually all of Liu Yu's campaigns, he was outnumbered but managed to emerge victorious in a seemingly invincible fashion. Relevant research by scholars have identified such factors as the Beifu System 北府制度, superior strategy, and personnel management to account for his success, but in recent years a good deal of scholars have begun paying attention to the beliefs of Liu Yu's family. For example, based on researched cultural images of Liu Yu, Wang Yongping 王永平 posited that Liu used Buddhism to assist his military and political affairs. There were two main ways in which Liu Yu and his inner circle did this: first was the deferential treatment given to leaders of the Sangha from the North and South, such as Huiyuan, Huiguan 慧觀 (366–436?/453?), and Sengdao 僧導 (362–457), which led to political stability throughout the region; second was the manufacturing of numerous talismans (*furui* 符瑞), which influenced public opinion about the Song dynasty which Liu Yu founded.⁸ Lin Feifei 林飛飛 expanded the scope of this research, pointing out in her doctoral dissertation, *Liusong Diwang yu Zongjiao Guanxi* 劉宋帝王與宗教關係 (The Relationship Between Liu Song and Religion), that subsequent emperors of the Liu Song Dynasty essentially continued to use the religious policies of Liu Yu, which at once supported and exploited Buddhism. Specifically, these policies included inviting to the court, and providing deferential treatment to, famous Buddhist monks and nuns; establishing monasteries and making statues; setting up Dharma assemblies; summoning monks to teach the Buddha scriptures; ordering children of the royal family to become friends or disciples of monks and nuns; and even forming friendly ties with other kingdoms that believed in Buddhism. At the same time, Liu Song emperors often called upon preminent monks to provide them with lectures over Buddhist scripture in which they had interest. They even personally attended Dharma banquets and ordered other high officials to accompany them. This reflects that the emperors valued the growth of Buddhist doctrine and understood the process of how Buddhist doctrine developed. On the other hand, Liu Song emperors also

⁸ Wang, 'Liu Yu yu Fojiao gaoseng'.

made sure to carefully control the number of pagodas, temples, and Buddhist statues; remove unqualified monks and nuns; and task officials with managing the Sangha. This was done to prevent Buddhism from infringing on the dynasty's political sovereignty.⁹

While this paper does draw on the research of other papers that discuss the religious and political strategies of the Liu Song Dynasty, it also aims to forge ahead on an entirely new path of study. Specifically, it studies the military expeditions, deferential treatment of certain Buddhists, and the interactions between various social circles in the hopes of opening a new path for research.

Liu Yu spent his whole life waging military campaigns. At some point after his major victories at Luoyang and the Guanzhong during his northern expeditions, he personally recounted his successes while at an official feast of ministers at Ximatai 戲馬臺:

The year Huan Xuan usurped the throne, taking charge of the Eastern Jin's great power, was the first time I advocated for this righteous cause to rejuvenate the royal household.

By campaigning in the South and fighting in the North, I pacified all beneath the sky. It could be called a great accomplishment or an outstanding achievement. And as a result, I was granted the honour of the Nine Bestowments.¹⁰

Despite such proud words, Liu Yu was ultimately a high-ranking military leader that had led troops into battle. Though he could previously show disdain for the civil and military officials at court, after he took the throne it no longer mattered how many victories he had amassed—he needed to sagaciously appease the commanders, soldiers, officials, and people that had risked their lives following him to the doorstep of death. Accordingly, after Liu Yu founded the Liu Song Dynasty, he issued this imperial order in the first year of his reign:

⁹ Lin, *Liusong diwang*.

¹⁰ *Song shu* 43.1336.

Recording meritorious deeds performed by outstanding men is an important decree of the state; diligently handling the funeral arrangements of those who passed away on behalf of the state is an extension of the sincere wish in my heart. Since this great cause began, seventeen years have passed. There have been challenges in the world and wars have commenced. From the East to the West, there hasn't been a day of peace. In truth, it was the exhausted minds and bodies of generals that brought peace to our land, and the military and civil officials that risked their lives to carry out orders that expanded our territory; the achievements we celebrate today can be traced back to them. Our prestige spreads far and wide; enemy invaders and traitors have all been vanquished. As a result, the emperor abdicated his throne, passing it on to me—and I can only feel humbled upon receiving such a tremendous blessing. Thinking over achievements and evaluating contributions, at neither day nor night can I forget the devoted and diligent efforts of those persons, which should be celebrated by the nation as a whole. Rewarding and exempting them from taxes has been promptly agreed upon. As for those who died in battle, their families shall be exempted from taxation and rewarded as well.

夫銘功紀勞，有國之要典；慎終追舊，在心之所隆。自大業創基，十有七載。世路迍邐，戎車歲動，自東徂西，靡有寧日？實賴將帥竭心，文武盡効，寧內拓外，迄用有成。威靈遠著，寇逆消蕩，遂當揖讓之禮，猥饗天人之祚。念功簡勞，無忘鑿寐，凡厥誠勤，宜同國慶。其酬賞復除之科，以時論舉。戰亡之身，厚加復贈。¹¹

Liu Yu thus regarded inscribing the achievements of his generals to be a matter of paramount importance, and he provided broad financial support to relatives of those killed in battle to show that he had not forgotten about those who gave their lives. In the first year of his reign, Liu Yu also issued another imperial decree, which read, 'The families of those who perished in the battlefields and were not able to return home shall be financially supported'.¹² This empha-

¹¹ *Song shu* 3.53.

¹² *Song shu* 54.

sized the importance he attached to the families who survived those who died in battle.

As a result, throughout the entirety of Liu Yu's life, although he had no clear cut belief in religion—and even refused to hold events to pray for spirits to cure disease later in his life when he was terminally ill¹³—he still strongly backed Meng Yi and Meng Yi's diligent work in service of Buddhism. This is likely on account of Meng Yi's elder brother, Meng Chang 孟昶.

Liu Yu was born into extreme poverty, so it is only natural that those who provided him with financial aid when he was poor were later compensated for their kindness.¹⁴ When Liu Yu first proposed crusading against Huan Xuan, Meng Chang gave all his assets to provide for the army.¹⁵ He was also one of the few voices that encouraged him to attack the Southern Yan Kingdom, despite a chorus of voices in opposition.¹⁶ Ultimately, Meng Chang died as a result of Lu Xun's rebellion. In fact, when an invading army had grown close enough to the capital to pose a viable threat, and the public was nearing a state of hysteria, Meng Chang issued a dying appeal to the masses to risk their lives defending their homes.¹⁷

After Meng Chang died, Liu Yu wholeheartedly assumed the task of looking after Meng Chang's child so that the boy could inherit his father's post, and he also supported Meng Yi, who was looking after their parents at this time. After first being appointed governor *taishou* 太守 of Dongyang with no official experience to speak of,

¹³ *Song shu* 59.

¹⁴ For example, Liu Yu was once 30,000 units in debt to Diao Kui 刁逵 (?–404) with no ability to repay the money, so Diao Kui detained him. Fortunately, Wang Mi 王謐 (306–407) repaid the debt on Liu Yu's behalf, allowing him to be released. Later, Wang Mi was a chancellor whom Huan Xuan relied on heavily. During Huan Xuan's coronation ceremony, Wang Mi personally held the emperor's jade seal. When Huan Xuan was defeated, many thought Wang Mi should be killed, but Liu Yu went to great lengths to protect him. Cf. *Song shu* 1.10.

¹⁵ *Jin shu* 43.2518.

¹⁶ *Zizhi tongjian* 115.3616.

¹⁷ *Song shu* 1.19.

Meng Yi went on to be appointed governor of Wujun, Kuaiji, and Danyang, one after another. Later, he was appointed chancellor (*shizhong* 侍中), court official (*puye* 僕射), and administrator of the crown prince *taizi zhanshi* 太子詹事, and finally he was once again made provincial governor of Kuaiji. After he died, he was granted the honorific title of left imperial minister of state (*zuo guanglu daifu* 左光祿大夫).¹⁸ By looking over the posts which Meng Yi held throughout his life, one can quickly realize that his history as an official is vastly different than other members of Liu Yu's inner circle, who had all held multiple posts related to military campaigns—whether that meant on the front line or in the rear. In stark contrast, Meng Yi always occupied lucrative posts as a governor or court sinecure.

Later, Meng Yi's son, Meng Shao 孟劭, married Princess Nan Jun 南郡, the sixteenth daughter of Liu Yu; one of Meng Yi's daughters married the Prince of Pengcheng 彭城王, Liu Yikang 劉義康 (409–451), which was the title conferred to one of Liu Yu's sons; and the other married the Prince Ai of Baling 巴陵哀王, Liu Ruoxiu 劉若休 (447–471),¹⁹ another son of Liu Yu. In this way, Meng Yi forged familial relations with the royal family of Liu Song.

Careful analysis of available information reveals that Meng Yi's official reputation was actually not very positive, particularly because he often exhibited an arrogant attitude when he served as the governor of Kuaiji 會稽. It was recorded that 'he regards his family as powerful and influential, and he looks down on all other officials'.²⁰ He was eventually accused of committing a crime and thus relieved of his post²¹—yet the royal family still honoured and pampered him. This fact is likely the result of the tremendous influence his brother, Meng Chang, exerted on the royal family.

Meng Yi did, however, devote himself wholeheartedly to the service of Buddhism, and he put a great deal of effort into the promotion of the Three Treasures.²² Most researchers pay little attention

¹⁸ *Nanshi* 19.541–542.

¹⁹ *Song shu* 66.1737.

²⁰ *Nanshi* 72.1766.

²¹ *Song shu* 100.2449.

to the fact that Meng Yi not only worshiped the Buddha but was also infatuated with talismanic poetic prophecies. According to records from 'Wuxing Zhi' 五行志 (Record of the Five Elements), from *History of the Early Song Dynasty* (*Song shu* 宋書), during the time when Sima Yuanxian 司馬元顯 (382–402) consolidated power, Zhu Tanlin 竺曇林, known as Xiangyang Daoren 襄陽道人, wrote a poetic prophecy which read, 'When there is *Shiyikou* (十一口), and [Huan Xuan] injured by the blades of soldiers, *Mugen* (木亘), best to cross the Yangtze River, into the vast wilderness'. And there was another that read, 'A weapon of gold has already been made, in Jincheng its lustre shimmers'. Meng Yi provided interpretations for these two poems.²³ In addition, on the sixth month of the second year of Yongchu (421 CE), of the reign of Emperor Wu of Song, Meng Yi presented the emperor with an auspicious white bird, which had been discovered at Lou County 婁縣 of Wu Commandery 吳郡. On the eighth month of fifteenth year of Yuanjia (438 CE), Meng Yi presented to the emperor a yellow dragon, which had been discovered at the Kuaiji Commandery 會稽郡.²⁴ It is clear that, within Liu Yu's inner circle, Meng Yi's role was essentially that of a religious counsellor. As a result, he focused all his energy on graciously and deferentially receiving highly regarded monks and lay Buddhists from home and abroad, such as Sengyi 僧翼 (381–450/451), Chaojin 超進 (380?–473/477), Lanhui 覽慧, Dharmamitra 曇摩密多 (356–442), Kalamyasas 曷良耶舍 (383–442/443), and Juqu Anyang 沮渠安陽侯 (?–464). In total, these visitors amount to no less than nine people, and in Yuhang, Meng Yi also founded the Fangxian Monastery 方顯寺, Fahua Monastery 法華寺, and expanded the Maota Monastery 鄆塔寺. Moreover, the grandest event attributed to Meng Yi was held in 416 after Liu Yu victoriously returned from his campaign in the North with the Former Qin. Meng Yi also invited Buddhahadra to return to Daochang Monastery in Jiankang (Nanjing) and translate scriptures collectively with such personages as Faxian

²² *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2145, 55: 14.105a.

²³ Liu, 'Gushi de zaisheng', 239–42.

²⁴ *Song shu* 29.842; cf. *Song shu* 28.800.

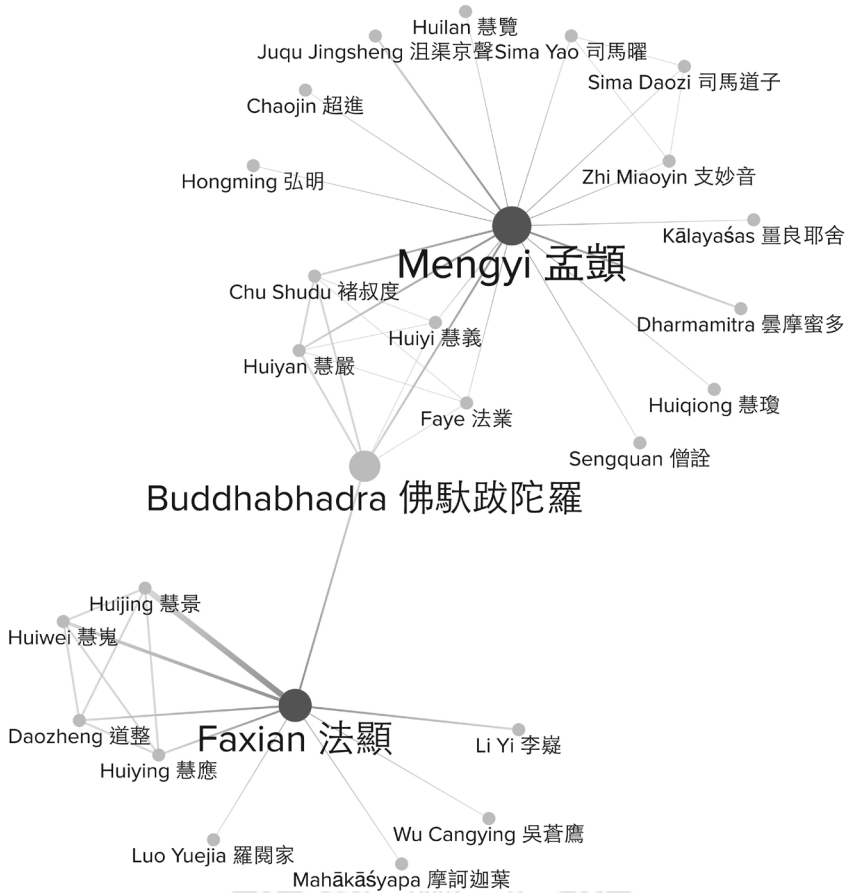


FIG. 1 Diagram of Social Relations Between Faxian 法顯 and Meng Yi 孟顓. Image capture by Wan-chun Chiu.

and Huiguan 慧觀²⁵ (Fig. 1)²⁶. Admittedly, these events were related to Meng Yi’s personal faith, but they likely exceeded the scope of what his personal power alone could accomplish. It seems a reasonable proposition that these events were tactics used by Liu Yu’s inner circle to assist with their war efforts and help establish a new country.

²⁵ *Song shu* 31.919.

²⁶ The diagram of social relations above is based on information produced by the Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Art’s 法鼓山佛教學院 ‘Visualizing and

The fact of the matter is that the military operations of Liu Yu's inner circle were often accompanied by religious activities. *Cejia Songgong Jiuxi Wen* 策加宋公九錫文 [Regarding Liu Yu Receiving the Nine Bestowments] praises the moral achievements of Liu Yu, specifically stating that 'recovering the lost lands of the Eastern Jin and protecting the divinity of the emperor were the meritorious deeds of Liu Yu'.²⁷ Related research that I personally performed in the past has focused on famous mountains, great rivers, deceased emperors, burial grounds of sages, and ancestral shrines.²⁸ However, my research has rarely touched on the topic of Buddhist worship. Additional research revealed that the relationship that initially existed between Liu Yu's inner circle and Buddhism was subtle at best, but after Faxian returned from abroad, various Buddhism projects began to occur, which were inextricably linked to Faxian. This is worth a thorough investigation.

2. Faxian, Buddhism, and the Political Forces of Qingzhou and Xuzhou

During the Eastern Jin and the Sixteen Kingdoms period, ethnic groups took control of various parts of the Central Plain, inciting a long lasting struggle over the Huang-Huai River Basin 黃淮流域. Emperor Mu of Jin (343–361) also repeatedly launched campaigns

Querying Chinese Buddhist Biographies' 佛教傳記文學 platform (<http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/biographies/socialnetworks/interface/>), accessed on February 20, 2017. This diagram is centred around Faxian and Meng Yi, and it is based upon *Liang Gaoseng Zhuan* 梁高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Monks], *Tang Gaoseng Zhuan* 唐高僧傳 [Continuation to Biographies of Eminent Monks], *Biqiuni Zhuan* 比丘尼傳 [Bhikshuni Biographies], *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 [Compilation of Notes on the Translation of the Tripitaka], and *Meisō den sbō* 名僧傳抄 [Biographies of Famous Monks]. See Appendix One for more details.

²⁷ *Nanshi* 1.17.

²⁸ Liu, 'San Ling Juanshu'.

in the North, but his forces were ultimately defeated, and when all was said and done, they returned without any success to speak of. In 410 CE, Liu Yu began the process of destroying the Southern Yan, bringing the likes of Qingzhou, Xuzhou, and Yanzhou completely under the rule of the Eastern Jin.²⁹ Throughout the process of campaigning against the Southern Yan, resistance of the city occupied by Murong Chao 慕容超, was especially relentless. The city held out for a considerable period of time, and even after the Southern Yan had fallen, Liu Yu was still so furious over the matter that he wanted to completely eviscerate it. However, he let go of this notion after being strongly advised against it.³⁰ As the historical records note: 'That year in Donglai (Guanggu City 廣固城), sheets of blood fell from the sky, and at night you could hear the ghosts weeping'.³¹

The site of this city was a key post for military transportation that needed to be effectively controlled. And so when it came time to rebuild, Liu Yu's inner circle specially picked Minister Yang Muzhi 長史羊穆之 to serve as the governor of Qingzhou and manage the construction of Dongyang City.³² Although there was no biography about Yang Muzhi left behind, he was still acclaimed by a historian as the governor of Qingzhou who was most beloved by his people during the Eastern Jin and Liu Song period.³³ Half a century later, the work *Sishui Zhu* 泗水注 [Annotations on the Zi River Records],

²⁹ Wang, *Wei Jin Nanbei chao*, 271–303.

³⁰ *Song shu* 1.17.

³¹ *Jin shu* 128.3183.

³² *Jin shu* 15.451.

³³ *Song shu* 1.11. Yang Muzhi was originally the *zhangshi* 長史 [administrator] of Xinyu 辛禺, who was then the governor of Yanzhou. In 404, Xin Yu planned a mutiny, so Yang Muzhi beheaded him and sent his decapitated head to the capital. See *Nanshi* 70: 1700, it is recorded that 'from the Yixi Period to the end of the Liu Song Dynasty, Yang Muzhi was the most talented of all the governors. He was praised by all the officials and people'. *Song Yuan Fongzhi conghan* 4: 586a, reads:

After Liu Yu captured Guanggu City, Guo Dafu of the state of Qi noticed the quality of feng shui there and persuaded Yang Muzhi to build Dongyang City for Qingzhou. Later, a shrine was built for Guo in front of

which was compiled in *Shuijing Zhu* 水經注 [Annotations on the Waterways Classic] by Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (472–527), described Dongyang City as such:

The Yang River comes from the East and flows through Dongyang City's southeast corner. In the Yixi Era, Yang Muzhi, the Eastern Jin's governor of Qingzhou, built this city. Because this city is to the north of the Yang River, it is thus known as Dongyang city.

Li Daoyuan made a point to specially mention Yang Muzhi's meritorious deed of founding the city; at the same time, he also mentioned that the 'most famous monastery', Qiji Monastery 七級寺, was located near the city, writing:

The Yang River flows from the East, passing by the south of the [former] Qiji Monastery's temple; north of the river is the Buddha palace, which is surrounded by corridors and meandering pavilions that are connected together. Beside the forest are prayer mats scattered across the ground, along with a few staffs and alms bowls that are used by the monks. These are used by strict, prudent monks. They practice a life of Chan meditation in the distant mountains and forests.³⁴

It is evident that monks of this monastery engaged in cultivation methods centred around *chan* meditation. It is also worth examining that this temple was built by Murong De 慕容德 (336–405) during the Southern Yan, and in terms of size, it was likely no smaller than Yongning Monastery 永寧寺, which employed the same Seven Story Pagoda layout and existed later during the Wei Dynasty.³⁵ In fact, documents from the period of Emperor Xianwen of the Wei Dynasty (467–470) indicate the 'former' Qiji Monastery had already been

Yunmen Mountain. 劉裕既夷廣固城，齊人郭大夫相水土，勸羊穆之築東陽城為青州。後人為大夫立廟於雲門山前。

³⁴ Sang, *Shuijing zhu shu*, 2234.

³⁵ Wen, 'Qingzhou Fojiao Zaoxiang Kaocha Ji'.

destroyed on account of a naturally occurring fire.³⁶ Thus, although history recorded that after Liu Yu vanquished the Southern Yan he 'eliminated all their local temples',³⁷ the truth is that he only destroyed military installations. In contrast, he treated monasteries with respect and protected them. As a result, despite experiencing rule under the Southern Yan, Eastern Jin, Liu Yu, and Wei of the Northern Dynasties, this monastery never suffered any meaningful man-made damage.

Tracing back through history, it is clear that along with the southward migrations following the Yongjia Period, many people relocated to Jiangnan, causing the four states of Xuzhou, Yanzhou, Qingzhou, and Qizhou to become the largest in terms of population and influence. Additionally, the people who moved to the three states of Jinling—Qingzhou, Xuzhou, and Yanzhou—formed the main source of troops for the Beifu 北府 army.³⁸ After these events, Xuzhou and Yanzhou in particular formed a strong geopolitical and ancestral relationship with the Eastern Jin and Southern Dynasties that followed. Accordingly, an emotional bond existed between these two regimes and the states of Xuzhou and Yanzhou.

Setting aside the fact that Liu Yu's ancestral hometown is Pengcheng 彭城, the twenty-one generals that attacked the Southern Yan with him, namely, Liu Fan 劉藩, Liu Muzhi 劉穆之, Tan Shao 檀韶,

³⁶ *Wei shu* 67.1495 records, 'Cui Guang admonished Ling Taihou 靈太后 [the mother of the emperor] by not climbing to the top of the Nine Layers Pagoda in Yonging 永寧 Monastery', it reads:

In the past, during the Huangxing year, Qiji Monastery stood in Qingzhou. It was both imposing and majestic, but one night it burned down. Despite the predictions of divination and prophecies, we still cannot rid away this bad omen. Things often change over a long period of time; there is absolutely no use in making preparations in advance. The way of heaven is hard to predict, as has been admonished from the past. 去皇興中, 青州七級, 亦號崇壯, 夜為上火所焚。雖梓慎、裨竈之明, 尚不能逆剋端兆。變起倉卒, 預備不虞。天道幽遠, 自昔深誠。

³⁷ *Wei shu* 97.2131.

³⁸ Tian, 'Bei Fu Bing Shimo', 373.

Liu Huaishen 劉懷慎, Meng Longfu 孟龍符, Liu Zhong 劉鍾, Yu Qiuji 虞丘進, Kuai En 蒯恩, Liu Daolian 劉道憐, Wang Dan 王誕, Liu Jingxuan 劉敬宣, Zang Xi 臧熹 were all descendants from areas around Qingzhou, Xuzhou, and Yanzhou, with the exception of Liu Huaiyu 劉懷玉, Shen Zhongdao 慎仲道, Suo Miao 索邈, Tao Yanshou 陶延壽, Sun Chu 孫處, Hu Fan 胡藩, Liu Cui 劉粹, Wang Yi 王懿, and Yu Yuezhi 庾悅之.³⁹ Thus, after they defeated the Southern Yan, they were especially meticulous in the management of these three states.

In Qingzhou, Xuzhou, and Yanzhou, Liu Yu's inner circle not only established how to handle political and military affairs, but they also acknowledged and conformed to the area's religious customs. This is because the region of Xuzhou and Haizhou had been an important route for the acceptance and propagation of Buddhism from the Eastern Han Dynasty onward. It was here that the earliest monasteries were set up,⁴⁰ and more importantly, it was here that prominent monks from abroad stayed—such as Yan Fodiao 嚴佛調 of the Eastern Han period who wrote *Shami shihui zhangju* 沙彌十慧章句 [Ten Pieces of Wisdom by Lowly Monk], a work that proclaimed the fundamental teachings of Hinayana Buddhism and made reference to practicing *changan* 禪觀 meditation.⁴¹ Another example is the monastic group of Senglang 僧朗 at Mount Tai during the Eastern Jin and Sixteen Kingdom's period. Sovereigns of the Former Qin, Eastern Jin, Later Yan, Southern Yan, and Southern Wei

³⁹ Wang, *Wei Jin Nanbei chao*, 300–01.

⁴⁰ During the Eastern Han Dynasty period, Liu Ying 劉英 (29–71) was known by the title of Prince of Chu 楚王 and praised noble Buddhist monasteries, and Ze Rong 笮融 (?–196) established many monasteries throughout Xuzhou. See Zhang, *Han Tang Fosi*, 22–23.

⁴¹ *Gaoseng zhuàn*, T no. 2059, 50: 324; additionally, 'Shihui Zhangju Xu' 十慧章句序, *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2145, 55: 10.70a2: '(The principle of Shihui are) spread far and wide through the cosmos and can help practitioners with their cultivation' (十慧之文) 廣彌三界, 近觀諸身. It is clear that this work is related to *changan* meditation. Ren, *Zhongguo Fojiao shi*, 146; Zhang, 'Mile Xinyang Shu Pin', 534.

all preferentially treated and revered this group,⁴² and they founded large monasteries for the group as well—especially Langgong Monastery. Specifically,

On behalf of Senglang, Murong De, Emperor of the Southern Yan, carried out the construction [of Langgong Monastery]. ... Murong De provided Senglang with tribute from three counties in order to build this monastery. The monastery was composed of a few dozen Buddha structures, both big and small. Corridors extended for a thousand metres. The monastery experienced three campaigns to eradicate Buddhism, and yet it remains standing. ... Since ancient times, this monastery has been called 'Langgong Monastery' 朗公寺 on account of its efficaciousness. As a result, it is revered by all people.⁴³

It is evident from this that belief in Buddhism was nearly universal in this region.⁴⁴ After Liu Yu conquered Chang'an and destroyed the Later Qin, monks in the Guangzhong region went east to Xuzhou and Haizhou. Kumārajīva's 鳩摩羅什 (344–413) disciples, Daorong 道融 and Sengsong 僧嵩, went to the Pengcheng region to preach.⁴⁵ There, Sengyuan and other monks were taught about the *Satyasiddhiśāstra* 成實論 and *Abhidharma* 毘曇 by Sengsong.⁴⁶ In this way, Pengcheng and Shouchun became bases of operations for the Hinayana Free School during the Northern and Southern dynasties period.⁴⁷ As for the attitude of Liu Yu's inner circle toward Buddhism, by and large they maintained an air of reverence, and they safeguarded the religion, especially during the campaigns to extinguish Buddhism during the Northern Dynasties (446–452). Sengdao 僧導 (362–457) took in a good number of monks who were fleeing, and he also respectfully burned offerings for the deceased in an act of mourning.⁴⁸

⁴² Miyagawa, *Rikuchō-shi kenkyū*, 255–78.

⁴³ *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 10.506.

⁴⁴ For further details, see Lin, 'Hongming ji', 82–85.

⁴⁵ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 6.363.

⁴⁶ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 7.375.

⁴⁷ Tang, *Han Wei Liangjin*, 491–526.

Just after Faxian returned to his native country, he went to Pengcheng, and although he only resided there for a short period of time, he nonetheless left a tremendous impact. According to records from *Record of the Buddha Land*, after Faxian arrived at the shores of Laoshan 牢山, he was received by Li Yi 李嶷, governor of Changguang Jun 長廣郡. Afterwards, he received an invitation from the governor of both Qingzhou and Yanzhou to stay for the winter through the summer.⁴⁹ The biography regarding Liu Daolian, contained in *History of the Early Song Dynasty*, recounts that his post was changed to governor of North Xuzhou 北徐州 in 411, which moved his garrison to Pengcheng. In 412, when Liu Yu attacked Liu Yi, he appointed Liu Daolian as martial governor of Yanzhou and Qingzhou. Liu Daolian was later responsible for administering the military affairs of Jinling 晉陵, Jingkou 京口, and Huainan 淮南, and he also governed Yanzhou and Qingzhou.⁵⁰ Scholars use this evidence as proof that Liu Daolian invited Faxian to spend the winter through summer in Qingzhou; that is to say that the one called 'Liu Yun 劉沅 of Qingzhou' 青州 who invited Faxian to stay there from the winter to summer was indeed Liu Daolian.⁵¹ Furthermore, during the time which Faxian stayed in Pengcheng, he established Longhua Monastery 龍華寺 in accor-

⁴⁸ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 7.375:

Later when a monastery was founded at Shouchun, it was also called Dongshan Monastery. He often explained Buddha scriptures and theories to the masses there, and over 1,000 people followed him there to study. During the campaigns to eradicate Buddhism, several hundred monks went to where he was, seeking refuge. Sengdao provided all of them with clothes and food. Sengdao held Buddhist ceremonies in honour of the monks that had been killed and wept for them. 後立寺於壽春, 即東山寺也。常講說經論, 受業千有餘人。會虜俄滅佛法, 沙門避難, 投之者數百, 悉給衣食。其有死於虜者, 皆設會行香, 為之流涕哀慟。

⁴⁹ Zhang, *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 147–48.

⁵⁰ *Song shu* 51.1462.

⁵¹ Rao Zongyi did some textual research on the two footnotes that read 'Liu Yun of Qingzhou' and 'invited Faxian to stay from the winter to summer' from

dance with the *Longhua Tu* 龍華圖 [Longhua Image]. This matter is recorded in *Sishui Zhu* 泗水注 [Annotations on the Si River Records], in *Shuijing Zhu* 水經注 [Annotations on the Waterways Classic] by Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (?–527), which reads:

The Si River moves southeast, moving through the northeast of Pengcheng (Xuzhou). To the west of the river is Longhua Monastery. This monastery was the first designed according to the Longhua Image, which was brought back from India by Faxian, after he returned by boat. Faxian was the first person in China to produce such a monastery. The emergence of these types of monasteries in China began with Faxian. When Faxian returned, he brought two stones back with him. These are still within the southern foundation of Longhua Monastery. With a bright surface that is clean to the eye, these stones have garnered people's admiration.

(泗水)又東南過彭城(徐州)東北,泗水西有龍華寺,是沙門釋法顯遠出西域,浮海東還,持《龍華圖》,首創此制,法流中夏,自法顯始也。其所持天竺二石,仍在南陸東基堪(龕)中,其石尚光潔可愛。⁵²

Regarding the contents and essence of the Longhua image 龍華圖, scholars have different opinions. Some of them believe it depicted the Maitreya Buddha attaining enlightenment beneath the Hualin Tree in the Longhua garden.⁵³ Others believe the image depicted offerings to *Mile Fo jing* 彌勒佛經 (*Maitreya Buddha Sutra*), as described in the sutra. Apparently, it featured two large flower wrapped treasures in the sky, and the Kings of Nagas performed refined music and gestures in the image—beautiful flowers bloom out of their mouths and petals rain from their pores, depicting an ideal scene of offerings being presented to the Buddha.⁵⁴ A third explanation contends that

Zhang Xun's *Faxian Zhuan Jiaozhu*. See Zhang, *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 148; Rao, 'Zaoqi Qingzhou Cheng yu Fojiao', 52–53.

⁵² Sang, *Shuijing zhu shu*, 2144.

⁵³ Su, *Zhongguo shiku si*, 187.

⁵⁴ Rao, 'Zaoqi Qingzhou Cheng yu Fojiao', 52.

besides being a manifestation of Rebirth Maitreyanism, the image was also a diagram of Indian Buddhist monasteries, and Longhua Monastery was the first Buddhist monastery on Chinese soil to be built according to such a diagram.⁵⁵ Besides indicating that the Longhua Image and the Maitreyanism Image are related, the third explanation also adds a new idea to the mix—that the Longhua Image provided a diagram of Indian monasteries. As for the implication that it was ‘first designed [according to the Longhua Image]’, there remain two possible ways in which one could interpret this phrase. It is clear, though, that given the materials currently available it remains difficult to reach a final conclusion.

Despite this, we can already confirm that Faxian personally saw images of the Maitreya Buddha when he was seeking scriptures in India and also personally heard an oral version of the *Mile jing* 彌勒經 [*Maitreya Sutra*]. *Record of the Buddha Land* also records a mystical legend about the Maitreya image:

There is a small state named Darada 陀歷. The monks in this state all study Hinayana Buddhism. There is an Arhat in this state with remarkable abilities that sent a craftsman to Tuṣita. There, the craftsman saw the appearance of the Maitreya Bodhisattva, and upon returning they used a block of wood to carve a statue of Maitreya. The craftsman was sent to Tuṣita about three times before he was able to make a consummate statue. This statue is eight *zhang* tall, and the feet of Maitreya are eight *chi* long. On days when they fast, the statue often glows. The rulers of many states were eager to come here and make offerings to the statue. Currently, this statue is still in the same state.

有一小國名陀歷，亦有眾僧皆小乘學，其國昔有羅漢，以神足力將一巧匠，上兜率天觀彌勒菩薩長短色貌，還下刻木作像，前後三上觀，然後乃成像，長八丈足趺八尺，齋日常有光明，諸國王競興供養，今故現在於此。⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Wang, ‘Faxian yu Mile xinyang’, 176.

⁵⁶ *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 857a.

In Darada, Faxian saw the image of the Maitreya Buddha with a glow that extended for eight *zhang*. An arhat used his supernatural powers to send an artisan to Tuṣita three times. This allowed the artisan to depict Maitreya visually. Typically speaking, a person would have to engage in self-cultivation for a long period of time before they could see the true form of Maitreya, but after this image was brought to the human realm it was thus worshipped by all the kings. Moreover, Faxian also spent over two years living in Tāmralipti, transcribing Buddhist texts and making copies of Buddhist images. He even tried writing down the *Mile jing*, which had been orally transmitted by masters in the Indian subcontinent.⁵⁷ It is thus clear that he was extremely interested in the content of the *Mile Jing*, especially the practices of the Maitreyanism faith. These practices are related to holding on to precepts (*shoujie* 守戒), reciting the Buddha's name (*nianfo* 念佛), and stabilizing meditation (*zhiguan* 止觀), and the content of the *Mile jing* is also identical in nature to the translations of texts he later engaged in. We can from this infer that the building Longhua Monastery in Pengcheng and the Longhua Image are both intimately related to Rebirth Maitreyanism, the faith of Maitreya being reborn down into the world.

Previous research has already produced abundant material on Maitreyanism during this period in China.⁵⁸ Simply put, Maitreyanism in Han regions originates from India. Early Buddhist sects in India had a theory that Maitreya is the Buddha of the future. Accordingly, the *Ahan jing* 阿含經 (*Āgama Sutra*) from the early period of sectarian Buddhism already spoke of Maitreya.⁵⁹

That said, by looking through Pure Land Buddhist classics, we

⁵⁷ *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 863a.

⁵⁸ Wang, *Mile Xinyang Yanjiu*, 6–18, provides a detailed explanation of this.

⁵⁹ Examples include Gautama Saṅghadeva's (Qutan Sengqietipo 瞿曇僧伽提婆) translation of 'Wang Xiangying Pin Yi' 王相應品一 from *juan* 13 of *Zhong Ahan jing* 中阿含經 (Skt. *Madhyamagama*). See T no. 26, 1: 508–511; and Gautama Saṅghadeva's translation of 'Deng Yue Sidi Pin Ershi Qi' 等趣四諦品二十七 from *juan* 19 of *Zengyi ahan jing* 增壹阿含經 (Skt. *Ekottara-āgama*), collected in T no. 125, 2: 645.

can see that the six scriptures on Maitreya of Mahayana Buddhism began to emerge during the Western Jin dynasty, and they contain a considerable amount of information concerning the Pure Land notion. There are three of note: the *Mile xiasheng jing* 彌勒下生經 [Maitreya Rebirth Sutra; Skt. *Maitreyavyākaraṇa*], *Mile chengfo jing* 彌勒成佛經 [Maitreya Attaining Buddhahood Sutra], and *Mile shangsheng jing* 彌勒上生經 [Maitreya Ascending Sutra]. These three scriptures had a rather large impact on China at that time, and they are referred to collectively as the ‘Mile sanbu jing’ 彌勒三部經 [Three Scriptures on Maitreya].⁶⁰ These introduce the innate causes and conditions of Maitreya, Maitreya’s previous and coming life, Maitreya’s attainment of Buddhahood, the three assemblies under the Longhua Tree, and more. Generally speaking, virtually everything within these texts can be considered important information regarding the Maitreyanism faith.

It was during the Jin Dynasty that Maitreyanism began appearing in China. This began largely on account of the translation of scriptures about Maitreya, such as the ‘Three Scriptures on Maitreya’, and the belief is a subset of belief in the Pure Land. By the Northern and Southern dynasties period (420–589), Maitreyanism was already widely popular. Considering documents related to Maitreya that were produced in China, Maitreyanism can be roughly divided into Ascending Maitreyanism (上生) and Rebirth Maitreyanism (下生). Believers of Ascending Maitreyanism believe that the Maitreya Bodhisattva expounds on Dharma in Tuṣita Heaven. As a result, these believers want to be reborn into the fourth of the six devas of Kamadhatu—Tuṣita, where they can receive instructions from Maitreya and attain enlightenment. Believers of this include such figures as Dao’an 道安 (314–386), Dai Yong 戴顓 (378–441), Faxiang 法祥 (lifespan unclear), Huiyan 慧嚴 (363–443), Fasheng 法盛 (347–461), and Tanfu 曇副 (?–497)⁶¹ (see

⁶⁰ Yang, ‘Hanyi Fojing Zhong’.

⁶¹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 352; on Dai Yong, see *Fayuan zhubin*, T no. 2122, 53: 16.406; on Faxiang, see *Meisō den shō* 28.359; on Fasheng and Tanfu see *Meisō den shō* 27.359.

Appendix Two). As for Rebirth Maitreyanism, its believers firmly believe that 5,670,000,000 years after the Buddha attains nirvana, Maitreya will descend from Tuṣita and be reborn into the human realm, where Maitreya will become a monk, study Buddhism, gain enlightenment under the Longhua Tree in the Hualin Garden of Chitou city, and then hold three assemblies wherein he teaches people how to attain liberation. At this time, people who were not able to obtain enlightenment from the Śākyamuni Buddha's teachings will be able to use Maitreya's teachings to attain enlightenment. Believers of Rebirth Maitreyanism also believe that they can be reborn into Tuṣita, receive instructions from Maitreya, and attain Buddhahood. Such believers of this include Emperor Ming of Liu Song 劉宋明帝 (439–472), Zhou Yong 周顒 (422–483), Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460–494), Huisi of Nanyue 南嶽慧思 (515–577), and others.⁶²

⁶² There is a great deal of existent research. See Bai, *Zhongguo shiku si yanjiu*; Zhang, 'Nianfo Jingtu', 83. Additionally, 'Fayuan Zayuan Yanshi Ji Mulu Xu' 法苑雜緣原始集目錄序 [Preface to the Catalog of Primary Karmic Beginnings] collected in the twelfth *juan* of *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 [Compilation of Documents on the Translation of the *Tripitaka*] contains three articles describing Rebirth Maitreyanism: 'Songming Huangdi chuzao Longhua shiyuan wen' 宋明皇帝初造龍華誓願文 [Text on Emperor Ming of Liu Song's Initial Writing of the Longhua Faith], 'Jingshi Zhuyi zao Mile xiang sanhui ji' 京師諸邑造彌勒像三會記 [Record of the Establishment of the Maitreya Image of the Three Assemblies across the Capital and Villages], and 'Qi Jingling Wenxuan wang Longhua hui ji' 齊竟陵文宣王龍華會記 [Record of Longhua Assembly convened by Prince Jingling of the Qi], by Emperor Ming of the Song (Liu Yu 劉彧 [439–472]), Zhou Yong 周顒 (?–493), and Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460–494), respectively.

Moreover, *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (*T* no. 2060, 55: 562) contains this record about Huisi:

Huisi dreamt that Maitreya and Amitabha provided him with lectures of Dharma, and as a result, he attained enlightenment. Consequently, he had two statues made of Maitreya and Amitabha, and he made offerings to both of them. In his dream, he also saw himself along with Maitreya and other deities assembling under the Longhua tree. In his heart, he thought

A good number of the core members of Liu Yu's inner circle were devout Buddhists, especially those from the south-eastern Binhai Region 濱海區 who believed in the Guanyin Bodhisattva. Such believers include Mao Dezu 毛德祖 (365–429) and Wang Shaozhi 王韶之 (380–435).⁶³ There was also Fu Liang 傅亮 (374–426),⁶⁴ a figure in Liu Yu's inner circle with literary prowess, and both he and his sons were believers in the Guanyin Bodhisattva. In particular, after experiencing the chaos of Sun En's rebellion (399–411), they pieced back together the then fragmented *Guanshiyin yingyan ji* 觀世音應驗記 [Record of Numinous Manifestations of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara] with the hope of inspiring

‘after the Śākyamuni Buddha reached nirvana, I had no way to accept the faith of the *Lotus Sutra*, but now with the help of the Maitreya Buddha's compassion I have been able to attain enlightenment’. As a result, Huisi cultivated himself diligently. He also had a bottle filled with water placed in front of the Buddha statues, so he could have all his arrangement for offerings done appropriately. 夢彌勒彌陀，說法開悟，故造二像，並同供養，又夢隨從彌勒與諸眷屬，同會龍華。心自惟曰，‘我於釋迦末法受持法華，今值慈尊，感傷悲泣，豁然覺悟。’轉復精進，靈瑞重沓，瓶水常滿、供事嚴備。

⁶³ Regarding Mao Dezu's ‘the whole family chanted the name “Guanshiyin” together matter’, see Zhang Yan 張演 (active 430s), ‘Mao Dezu’ 毛德祖, in *Guanshiyin yingyan ji* 觀世音應驗記 [Records on Numinous Manifestations of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara], section 8 (Dong, *Guanshiyin yingyan ji sanzong*, 52). Also consult Lu Gao's 陸杲 (459–532) ‘Wuxing Jun Shi’ 吳興郡吏 [an official of Wuxing Region], in *Ji Guanshiyin yingyan ji* 繫觀世音應驗記 [Additional Records on Numinous Manifestations of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara], section 3: 66, which reads, ‘This minor had no belief in Buddhism to speak of, but he everyday listened to Wang Shaozhi 王韶之 recite the names of Avalokiteśvara’ 此吏素不事佛，但恒聞王(韶之)道光世音。

⁶⁴ Fu Liang's 傅亮 (374–426) biography in *Song shu* 43.1337, Sheng Yue writes: ‘Just after Liu Yu took the imperial throne, all of his documents were drafted by Teng Yan 滕演, a military official. When Liu Yu went north to campaign at Guanggu City, all of his documents were drafted by the *zhangshi* Wang Dan 王誕 (375–413). Later, all of Liu Yu's documents were composed by Fu Liang’.

belief in more people.⁶⁵ On the other hand, belief in Maitreyanism during the Eastern Jin and Sixteen Kingdoms was mainly spread throughout Buddhist groups in Xiangyang and Chang'an. Liu Yu's inner circle, however, was principally based around Qingzhou and Yanzhou, thus raising the question as to whether or not Liu Yu's inner circle ever came in contact with Maitreyanism. Today we can see that certain people in their inner circle, such as Jiang Yi 江夷 (384–431) of Jiyang 濟陽, likely started off believing in the Guanyin Bodhisattva but later became a believer of Maitreya.⁶⁶ In *Mile pusa zan* 彌勒菩薩讚 (Praise of Maitreya Bodhisattva), Fu Liang 傅亮 wrote,

Time has no distinction between before and after; there is a sole truth that cannot be divided. Dragons fly through Tusita as Maitreya waits to descend to the world and be born into the human realm. Long nights are just as long; we long and thirst for Maitreya. From day to night we think of jubilation, imagining the day when Maitreya arrives.

⁶⁵ Fu, 'Guanshiyin'. Additionally, 'Shamen Zhu Fayi' 沙門竺法義 (307–380) [Monk Zhu Fayi], the seventeenth section *ze* 則 of this work mentions how his father once heard a monk named Fayi tell him about how Avalokiteśvara used a knife to dig in to a person's stomach and eradicate a disease within. See Dong, *Guanshiyin yingyan*, 25.

⁶⁶ In 'Xiuxin fu xu' 修心賦序, Jiang Zong 江總 (519–594) personally declared that Longquan Monastery was established by Jiang Yi in 437 CE; see *Chen shu* 27.344. *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 36.343c records the legend of Jiang Yi producing a statue. See entry on 'Dai Yong' in Appendix Two.

Such a legend should not be believed, but it contains information about a kind of faith during that period. Even if this is actually not related to Jiang Yi, during this period scholar officials initially believed in Guanyin, but later—after people began converting on account of the influence of Maitreya—they likely followed suit. This is perhaps the truth. That said, the time when this occurred should be assumed to be after the establishment of the Liu Song Dynasty.

時無並後，道不二司。龍潛兜率，按轡候時。翳翳長夜，懷而慕思。思樂朗旦，屬想靈期。⁶⁷

It is not clear exactly when this writing of praise was composed, but as Fu Liang died in 426, it was certainly composed no later than this. Among it, the sentence ‘Dragons fly through Tuṣita as Maitreya waits to descend to the world’ means that Maitreya is waiting to descend to Earth from Tuṣita, and the latter half of ‘long nights are just as long; we long and thirst for Maitreya’ expresses a longing for the imminent arrival of Maitreya. It is thus clear that this can be classified as Rebirth Maitreyanism thought. As for this figure that they long for, this Maitreya that will come into the world and become a Buddha—is it really just referring to a Buddha that will arrive in the future or is there a political implication here? I will not offer up an interpretation about this.

Such examples of writings that praise Maitreya are examples of the universality of Maitreyanism. In truth, even earlier during the Jin Dynasty, the famous monk Zhidun 支遁 (314–366) wrote *Mile zan* 彌勒讚 [Praising Maitreya], which read:

Maitreya possesses a divine position. His deeds were recorded in Buddhist texts. A dragon soars through the air in Tuṣita, and Maitreya is solemnly situated above all the deities. The sound of Dharma reverberates through the celestial palace, and it can be heard throughout the vast cosmos. ... Maitreya possesses thirty-two dignified characteristics that glisten and dazzle the Hualin Garden. As the eternal wheel of Dharma slowly moves forward, Maitreya holds three assemblies here, lecturing over the essence of Dharma.

彌勒承神第，聖錄載靈篇。乘乾因九五，龍飛兜率天。法鼓震玄宮，逸響亮三千。... 挺此四八姿，映蔚華林園。疊疊玄輪奏，三摠在昔緣。⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Fu Liang, ‘Mile pusa zan’, Quan Song Wen, *Quan Shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* 26. 2578a.

⁶⁸ Zhidun, ‘Mile zan’, Quan Jin wen, *Shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* 157.2370–71.

Here, the praises of Maitreya accept the prophecy of the Sakya-muni Buddha, becoming the Bodhisattva to inherit the position of the Buddha, rise up to the heavenly realm of Tuṣita 兜率天宮, and explain the Dharma to the masses. The last four sentences are describing the thirty-two characteristics of the Maitreya image, reflecting the flourishing Hualin Garden 華林園 as well as anticipation for future karmic results. From this we get a reflection of the circumstances surrounding the spread of early Maitreyanism belief in the south of China. This understanding of Maitreyanism is mainly based on written scriptures, and it can be classified as Rising Maitreyanism. This work can be contrasted with another work of the same name, the *Mile zan* 彌勒讚 [Praising Maitreya] by Shen Yue 沈約 (441–531) of the Liang Dynasty period, which was composed on the occasion of the crown prince having a stone statue of the Maitreya built, it reads:

The vast river flows from far away, covering a near endless path. Religions have fixed deities that should be worshipped, yet deities are without fixed functions. Maitreya will not long for a princely family, and instead will join the Sangha to engage in self-cultivation and assume divine tasks. The sun of wisdom rises early in the morning; fragrant rain falls to the ground in the evening. A reliance on faith in Maitreya presents a shared, predestined fate that brings us here. This is our divine Maitreya. He is just as important as heaven. Beneath the Longhua Tree, he will lecture over Buddhist scripture. His beautiful words will fill people's hearts with incomparable joy. ... The present writer records such wonderful words about Maitreya, hoping they can have a far-reaching impact.

眇眇長津，遙遙遐轡。道有常尊，神無恆器。脫屣王家，來承寶位。慧日晨開，香雨霽墜。藉感必從，憑緣斯至。日我聖儲，儀天作貳。尚相龍柯，瞻言思媚。... 敬勒玄蹤，式傳遐懿。⁶⁹

Crown Prince Zhaoming 昭明 had asked Shen Yue to write praise

⁶⁹ Shen Yue, 'Mile Zan', Quan Liang Wen, *Quan Shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* 30: 3127-1.

of the Maitreya stone statue he had constructed. Two parts in particular—‘Maitreya will not long for a princely family, and instead will join the Sangha to engage in self-cultivation and assume divine tasks’ and ‘beneath the Longhua Tree, he will lecture over Buddhist scripture. His beautiful words will fill people’s hearts with incomparable joy’—indicate that he was praising the Maitreya Bodhisattva’s eventual decision to be reborn into this realm where he will not care about being a prince and instead leave his home to study Buddhism, later receive teachings beneath the Longshu tree, attain enlightenment, and finally explain the true principles of Dharma to the people.

Another work worth considering is the later *Liang Huang chan* 梁皇懺 [Rituals of Repentance by the Emperor (Wu of the) Liang], which begins as such,

The four-character word of ‘Compassion Site’ was chosen because it was realized in a dream. When the Maitreya Buddha descends from Tuṣita into the human realm, his compassion will extend for all the *kalpas* that follow. Using the deeds of Maitreya to write this name, one should not dare to rashly make alterations.

This text makes it clear that such repentance is because the writer was inspired in a dream to visit the Maitreya Buddha and thus established the name ‘Compassion *Bodhimāṇḍa* 慈悲道場’. At the same time, the order in which one should worship all the Buddhas is also clear here; all worship starts with the ‘Maitreya Buddha’, only after comes the ‘Master Śākyamuni 本師’, and then all other Buddhas. Moreover, before worshipping you should first recite, ‘I devote myself to the compassionate and benevolent father, Maitreya’.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ There is a great deal of discussion as to when *Liang Huang chan* was produced. Recently a final consensus has more or less been reached that the text was produced sometime around the late Northern and Southern dynasties period, or the early period of the Sui Dynasty. In terms of content, the work is consistent with the defining characteristics of methods of repentance from the Southern Dynasties, and it is also consistent with the ways in which Emperor Wu of Liang

It is clear that in the fifth and sixth centuries, belief in Rebirth Maitreyanism flourished. What remains uncertain is just how the original Rising Maitreyanism turned into Rebirth Maitreyanism between the end of the fourth Century and the early fifth Century. Currently, the only clear document pertaining to this question is that which described the Maitreya Image 彌勒像 and Longhua Image as brought back to China by Faxian.

It appears from this that Liu Daolian, who was the highest-ranking official of that region, personally greeted the prominent monk Faxian after he returned from seeking scriptures abroad. Faxian also brought back with him images and a prophecy that peace and joy would be delivered by the eventual three assemblies at Fahua, and Liu Daolian was certainly very interested. These notions also fit with the near universal psychological demands of the people and soldiers following a long period of warfare. Additionally, support for the establishment of Fahua Monastery contributed to the regional propagation of Rebirth Maitreyanism—especially since Liu Daolian and Faxian spent a winter through a summer together there, which likely provided Liu Daolian with a deep understanding of Faxian's feelings of zeal and urgency for translating Buddhist texts. As a result, Liu Daolian also supported Faxian's decision to head south toward Jiankang and translate scriptures, which also caused Rebirth Maitreyanism to have a greater direct influence on the Jiangzuo 江左 region.

3. Faxian and the State of Buddhism and Political Power in Jingzhou

As the Western Jin dynasty's control over the Central Plain disintegrated, educated bureaucrats and civilians from the North moved to the South in hordes. Thus, during the Eastern Jin and Southern

worshipped the Buddha. However, the order in which it worships all the Buddhas is different from customs which followed the Tang Dynasty, thus it can be confirmed that the *Liang Huang chan* was likely produced during the Liang Dynasty. See Xin, 'Liang Huang baochan', 53–55.

Dynasties period, Han Chinese culture continually developed in the Jiangnan region, and it gradually formed into three regions of developed culture: first is the area centred around the Great Lake 太湖 Plain and the Ningshao 寧紹 Plain, which includes Jiankang 建康, Wu Jun 吳郡, and Kuaiji Jun 會稽郡, Great Lake Tai 太湖, and the Ningshao 寧紹 Plain; second is the Xunyang 潯陽 and Yuzhong 豫章 regions surrounding Poyang Lake 鄱陽湖; third is the Dongting Lake basin and the area surrounding the Jiangling 江陵, Jiangxia 江夏, and Changsha 長沙 regions. These developments led to the formation of cultural centres around Jiankang, Kuaiji, Wujun, Xunyang, Nanjun, Jiangxia, and Changsha.⁷¹ In fact, the formation of these three areas of developed culture is related to the special political and societal structures of that time: namely, the scale and routes of immigration, the layout of the Eastern Jin in the South and the southern dynasties that followed, and the unique political situation of Jingzhou and Yangzhou. Moreover, this is all also closely related to economic development within southern society. Specifically, the Jingzhou region was prominently located in the middle reaches of the Yangtze River, allowing it to hold a tight grip over the political situation of Jiangzuo, and it was also in the frontline of the confrontation between the North and South, facilitating frequent communications between the North and South. As a result, this area's culture was particularly prosperous, especially Jiangling, which was completely under the control of Jingzhou, and a mecca for traveling merchants and intellectual persons. This caused Buddhism in Jingzhou, which initially had very few monks,⁷² to undergo remarkable growth. During this time, many prominent monks from abroad came to reside in the Jiangling region, including the monk central to the paper's discussion—Faxian—who spent his final years here. Others such as Dharma-yaśas (Tanmoyeshe 曇

⁷¹ In *Ruxue Chuanbo*, Xia Zengmin 夏增民 examines the formation of a new Confucian cultural region during the Eastern Jin and Southern Dynasties. But this area is actually not limited to Confucianism, for it is really a cultural mecca in a broader sense.

⁷² Zhang, *Hubei lishi wenhua dili*, 26–31.

摩耶舍), Vimalākṣa (Pimoluocha 卑摩羅叉), Guṇabhadra (Qiu-nabatuoluo 求那跋陀羅), and Tanyi mingled with famous people, lectured over texts and Buddhism, and even amassed disciples and promoted Buddhism. During this period, more Buddhist monasteries were founded in the Jiangling region, continuing the tradition established by important Buddhist cities in the region, such as Chang'an and Jiankang, which subsequently became eminent cities. Monasteries of this region that are featured in the greatest amount of historical records include Xin Monastery, Changsha Monastery, Shangming Monastery, Pipa Monastery, and Zhulin Monastery.⁷³

The fact of the matter is that the development of Buddhism in Jingzhou was closely related to the inner circles of Dao'an and Huiyuan. Dao'an's Xiangyang Buddhist group split at that time, but this actually helped the later development of Buddhism in Jiangling, Chang'an, and Lushan (Fig. 2). We can surmise that 378 was when events that most directly led to this split occurred, for it was in this year that Fu Pi 符丕 travelled from the North to the South with his troops, bringing warfare to Xiangyang. Tanyi had formerly been a disciple of Dao'an, and as a result he was invited to leave Xiangyang and go to Jiangling by Teng Hanfang 滕含方, the governor of Changsha, who had him put in charge of Changsha Monastery. When Xiangyang found itself surrounded by enemy troops, Dao'an was also placed in an extremely difficult position. In the end, he disbanded his disciples and followers, telling them they could go where they liked.⁷⁴ As a result, a great number of Dao'an's disciples headed south to Jiangling. Among them, those who passed through and stayed at Changsha Monastery include Fayu 法遇 and Tanjie 曇戒 (328–397); those who stayed at Shangming Monastery include Zhu Sengfu 竺僧敷 (285–323), Tanhui 曇徽 (323–395), Huiyuan, and Huichi 慧持 (337–412). Shi Huiyong (332–414) had already gone

⁷³ Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, *Wei Jin Nanbei chao Fojiao*, 130–31, produced a preliminary outline of the situation of Buddhist temples and monks in Jiangling during the Wei, Jin, and North-South dynasties period.

⁷⁴ Xia, 'Buyi Guowang', 215–17, which contains a thorough analysis of the statement 'propagating Buddhism' 教化之體, which Dao'an disseminated.

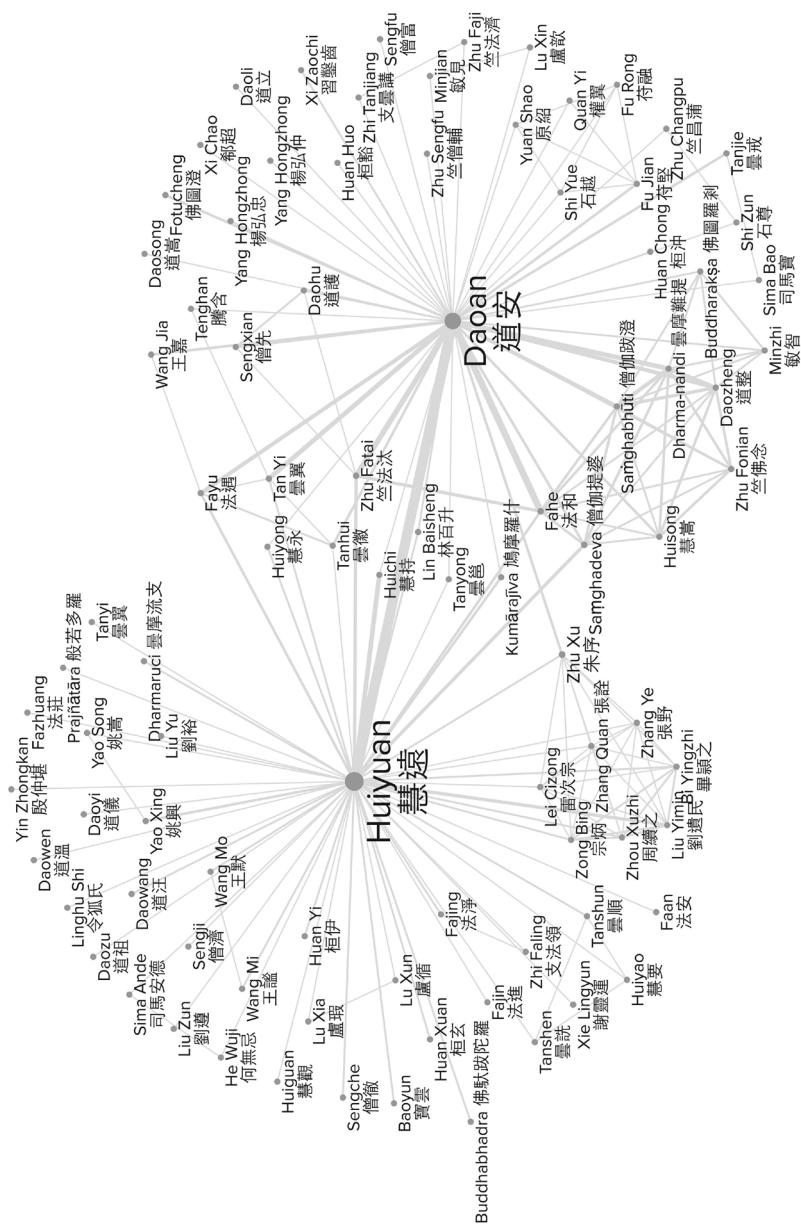


FIG. 2 Diagram of Social Relations between the monastic groups of Dao'an and Huiyuan. Image capture by Wan-chun Chiu.

east and stopped at Kuanglu 匡廬 (i.e. Lushan). Afterwards, Huiyuan and his younger brother Huichi once again continued east and stopped at Lushan, where they finally formed the Lushan Buddhist group. Dao'an took his group of disciples to stay at Xiangyang, and they later went to Chang'an. It is especially worth noting that Tanjia and Zhuseng took the Maitreyanism faith with them to Changsha Monastery and Shangming Monastery in Jiangling.

During the Eastern Jin dynasty and Southern Dynasties, the development of Buddhism in the Jingzhou region was related to the ardent patronage it received from local bureaucrats. Research by Xu Zhanfei 許展飛 and Chen Changqi 陳長琦 indicates that there are written accounts of worshipping the Buddha that mention aristocratic families, including ones who had members that served as the governor of Jingzhou—such as the Wang clan of Langya 琅琊王氏, Tao Kan 陶侃 of Xunyang, Yu clan of Ying Chuan 潁川庾氏, Huan clan of Qiaoguo 譙國桓氏, Wang Chen of Taiyuan 太原王忱 (?–392), and Yin Zhongkan 殷仲堪 (?–399) of Chenjun 陳郡. In fact, there is existing evidence that officials from all over the Jingzhou worshipped Buddhism.⁷⁵ Another clear example is that kings typically had prominent monks accompany them when they set out for garrisons. Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 pointed out, 'during the Southern Dynasties, when officials left to take up an official post in a *jun* (province), they often invited famous monks to come to their encampment. During the Liu Song Dynasty, this practice was even more popular'.⁷⁶ It wasn't just this way during the Liu Song dynasty; later, the Northern Qi 後齊 and Liang Dynasty 梁 also carried on this practice. For example, in the Northern Qi state, when the *taifu* 太傅 [Grand Tutor] Xiao Ying 蕭穎 was appointed governor of Jingzhou, he asked a monk named Mingche 明徹 to come to his residence and lecture over Buddhist scriptures, and during the Liang Dynasty, a monk named Huichao 惠超 once accompanied the Wuping hou 吳平侯 [Marquis of Wuping] Xiao Rui 蕭曷 on a tour around Xiakou 夏口.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Xu and Chen, 'Dongjin Jingzhou Fojiao', 158.

⁷⁶ Tang, *Han Wei Liang Jin Nanbeichao*, 452.

⁷⁷ See Zhang, *Hubei Lishi wenhua dili*, 60; Sheng, 'San Bu sengni zhuan', 22.

The earliest date when the influence of Liu Yu's inner circle entered Jingzhou that we can trace back to is 410, when Liu Yu fought Lu Xun. This event began when Liu Yu's troops were away on a campaign, which prompted Lu Xun and Xu Daofu 徐道覆 to try and take advantage of his absence by launching a direct attack on Changsha. They first defeated the troops of the governor of Jingzhou, Liu Daogui 劉道規. Xu Daofu then attacked Nankang, Luling, and Yuzhang. The governors of many prefectures abandoned their posts and fled, but He Wuji 何無忌, the governor of Jiangzhou, did not give up and fought to the death. There was also Liu Yi, the governor of Yuzhou, who was defeated at Sangluozhou. These failures shook the capital city. Liu Yu hurriedly returned with his troops, and though they were greatly outnumbered, they managed to push Lu Xun's troops back to Xunyang.

At the same time, Qiao Zong 譙縱, the prince of Xishu 西蜀, dispatched troops during internal strife in the Eastern Jin. They also asked the Later Qin to send their general, Gou Lin 苟林, along to assist with the war effort. They stationed their troops in Jiangjin, and from there launched an attack on Jiangling. Huan Qian 桓謙 was able to successfully assemble 20,000 soldiers that still supported him, which he stationed at Zhijiang (present-day Zhijiang county, Hubei Province), gravely threatening Jiangling. Within Jiangling city, disloyal sentiments brewed in many soldiers and civilians. Many communicated with Huan Qian, telling him the state of affairs within the city and serving as informants.⁷⁸ Liu Yu was in dire straits, but he did receive the support of Lu Zongzhi 魯宗之, the governor of Yongzhou, who personally led troops to behead Huan Qian and also dispatched the military councillor Liu Zun 劉遵 to chase after Gou Lin. They eventually beheaded Gou Lin at Baling 巴陵 (present-day Yueyang City, Hunan Province). What is interesting is that even if Liu Daogui knew that the officials and people were partial to Huan Qian, after they emerged victorious, Liu Daoguan tracked down and destroyed

The matter is also touched on in two biographies of *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* (for Mingche 明徹 and Huichao 慧超), *T* no. 2060, 50: 6.467.

⁷⁸ *Song shu* 51.1473.

all the messages sent by informers in order to pacify the public.⁷⁹ This instance shows that when Liu Yu's inner circle engaged in military operations, eradicating the strength of a place and appeasing the general populace were two matters deemed of equal importance. Neither one could be overlooked.

Consequently, some in Liu Yu's inner circle condemned Huiyuan on account of the fact that he had previously been on good terms with Lu Xun. Despite this, Liu Yu was still able to differentiate between a correct action and an incorrect one, and he thus proclaimed, 'Master Huiyuan's character is of the utmost quality; he would certainly treat any person with benevolence'. Indeed, instead of admonishing Huiyuan, Liu Yu dispatched an envoy to pay respects to him by presenting money and grains as gifts.⁸⁰

In 412, Liu Yu defeated Liu Yi, broke into Jiangling, and defeated the governor of Jingzhou, Sima Xiuzhi 司馬休之 (?-417). Sima Xiuzhi had zealously supported Buddhism and been strongly supported by his subjects as well.⁸¹ Consequently, in order to demonstrate he was tolerant and to settle down the people, Liu Yu venerated monastics even more. It was also at this time that Yuan Bao 袁豹 (?-413), a Grand Commandant (*taiwei* 太尉) and Administrator (*zhangshi* 長史), introduced Liu Yu to Buddhahadra, whom Sima Xiuzhi had previously backed and treated deferentially. Liu Yu 'worshipped [Buddhabhadra] immensely and provided him with all manner of material goods and tribute'. He even invited Buddhahadra to come to Daochang Monastery,

⁷⁹ For a rather comprehensive narrating of the matter, see *Zizhi tongjian* 115.3637-38.

⁸⁰ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 357.

⁸¹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 368:

After Kumārajīva died, Huiguan went to Jingzhou. At that time, Xiuzhi, the Sima in charge of military affairs in Jingzhou, revered him. He established Gaoli Monastery 高惺寺 for him. Huiguan also made half of the people in Jingzhou and Chuzhou give up their previous faith and convert to believe in Buddhism. 什亡後, (慧觀)迺南適荊州。州將司馬休之甚相敬重, 於彼立高惺寺, 使夫荊楚之民迴邪歸正者, 十有其半。

where he had living accommodations arranged for him.⁸² In addition, Liu Yu treated Huiguan, a disciple of Buddhahadra, ‘deferentially with all his heart, just as those before had done [toward Buddhahadra]’.⁸³ From this, it is clear how Liu Yu ran Jingzhou, a place where Buddhist sentiments were especially strong—he regarded deferentially treating prominent monks as a first step to settling down the people.

Next is Liu Zun 劉遵 (488–535), who established Zhulin Monastery 竹林寺 in Jiangling and invited Huiyuan’s disciple, Tanshun 曇順 (347–425), to come and manage the monastery’s affairs.⁸⁴ According to Yang Weizhong’s 楊維中 research, Liu Zun and Liu Zunkao 劉遵考 are actually two different people. Yang Weizhong proved this by combing through various documents related to the founding of Zhulin Monastery. Construction on Zhulin Monastery was overseen by the Nanman xiaowei 南蠻校尉 [Military Officer of Nanman]. Yang Wei believes that this project was carried out by the person who served under this title in 410, during the time of Lu Xun’s rebellion—that is, Liu Zun⁸⁵ (of the art name Huiming 慧明

⁸² *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 335.

⁸³ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 368.

⁸⁴ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 363.

⁸⁵ *Song shu* 51.1474 reads:

Liu Zun is the art name Huiming, who is a native of Huaxi 海西, Linhuai 臨淮. He was the uncle of Liu Daogui’s maternal aunt. Liu Zun served as the right general, the *neishi* 內史 (minister) of Xuancheng, and governor of Huainan. In 415, Liu Zun passed away. The emperor conferred a posthumous military title upon him and also posthumously had him declared the ‘Marquis of Jianli Xian, Lord of 700 families’. 遵字慧明，臨淮海西人，道規從母兄蕭氏舅也。官至右將軍、宣城內史、淮南太守。義熙十年，卒，追贈撫軍將軍。追封監利縣侯，食邑七百戶。

The same source also reports that when Liu Daogui was battling against the rebellion of Lu Xun, Gou Lin and Huan Qian both dispatched troops, threatening the safety of Jiangling from two fronts. Liu Daogui ‘awarded Liu Xun by conferring the title of ‘Military Officer of Nanman’ 南蠻校尉 upon him. The military councillor Liu Zun quickly launched an attack. He attacked Huan Qian by both

who was from Haixi of Linhuai and an uncle of Liu Daogui's 劉道規 aunt); he believes it was certainly not Liu Zunkao, a relative of Liu Yu, who was transferred from the position of Military Officer of Nanman to governor of Yongzhou in 426.⁸⁶ After the monastery's completion, everyone paid close attention to Zhulin Monastery on account of the fact that it was managed by Tanshun, especially because he was an outstanding disciple of Huiyuan of Lushan. In addition, another distinguished monk of Huiyuan's, Tanyong 曇邕, also stayed at Zhulin Monastery for some time. Thus, it is not likely that the monastery was established after Huiyuan passed away; rather, it was likely built sometime around 410 and 412 when Liu Zun was the Military Officer of Nanman. That is to say that the most reasonable time that the monastery was built was around the time when Liu Yu's inner circle suffered the hardships of war most intensely,⁸⁷ and a great many of their soldiers had been injured and fallen ill.⁸⁸ Although there are no records detailing why Zhulin

a water front and land front, delivering a crushing defeat' 解南蠻校尉印以授諮議參軍劉遵。馳往攻謙，水陸齊進，謙大敗。See *Song shu* 51.1474.

Yang Weizhong believes that beginning from this time, Liu Xun was likely appointed the Military Officer of Nanman. According to *Song shu* 2.28:

In the fourth month of 412, Liu Yi replaced Liu Daogui to become the governor of Jingzhou. He and Xi Sengshi of Danyang formed a strong relationship. And when Liu Yi headed west to protect Jiangling, the ministers under his command requested to go with him. At this time, Liu Yi invited Xi Sengshi to assume the position of 'Military Officer of Nanman'. 及西鎮江陵，豫州舊府，多割以自隨，請僧施為南蠻校尉。

It is clear that Liu Zun was the Military Officer of Nanman from 410 CE to 412 CE, and afterwards the post was filled by Xi Sengshi 郗僧施 (?–412).

⁸⁶ In the eleventh month of 426, 'Liu Zunkao, Military Officer of Nanman 南蠻校尉, shifted to governor of Yongzhou' 以南蠻校尉劉遵考為雍州刺史。See *Song shu* 5.75.

⁸⁷ Yang, 'Dongjin shiqi Jingzhou Fosi kao'.

⁸⁸ Right after Liu Yu defeated the Southern Yan, he received an imperial edict to return to Jiankang. Many soldiers had been injured or grown sick, and the total military strength in Jiankang was no more than 1,000 men strong. Con-

Monastery was established, it was almost certainly intended to commemorate those who had died, to be a place for prayer, and to appeal to popular sentiments in the region. This can also be regarded as an important political strategy of Liu Yu's inner circle.

During the long operation of Liu Yu's inner circle in Jingzhou, the officers placed in charge of various regions always maintained this kind of religious policy. For example, Liu Yu decreed, '[Shi Huiguan] should associate with the *Xizhonglang* 西中郎'.⁸⁹ Here, *Xizhonglang* is a title that refers to Liu Yilong 劉義隆 (407–453), the son of Liu Yu. In 419, Liu Yilong was made the commanding officer of Luoyang; he was also the commanding military officer of six states (Jingzhou, Yizhou, Ningzhou, Yongzhou, Liangzhou, and Qinzhou), the head of military affairs in four provinces (Henan Jun and Guangping Jun of Yuzhou as well as Yicheng Jun and Songzi Jun of Yangzhou), Commander of the Imperial Corps (*xizhong langjiang* 西中郎將), and the governor of Jingzhou.⁹⁰

In 423, Liu Yixuan 劉義宣 (415–454), the Prince of Qiao 譙王, went to Jingzhou to assume his post there. On the way, he requested that Guṇabhadra and Huiqu come to Jingzhou with him. According to *Song shu*:

[Guṇabhadra] founded a new monastery (Xin Monastery 辛寺) and established a new palace hall. This new monastery produced translations of numerous texts, such as *Wuyou wang [jing]* 無憂王 [經] [Aśoka sutra], *Guoqu xianzai yinguo* 過去現在因果, *Wuliangshou [jing]* 無量壽 [經] [Amitāyus sutra], the sole *juan* of *Nihuan [jing]* 泥洹 [經] [Nirvana Sutra], *Yanjuemo [jing]* 央掘魔 [經] [Skt. *Avgulimālika-sūtra*], *Xiangxu jietuo [di boluomi liaoyi jing]* 相續解脫地波羅蜜了義經 [Skt. *Samdhanirmocana-sūtra*], *Diyi yi wuxiang lue* 第一義五相略, *Ba jixiang [jing]* 八吉祥 [經] [Skt. *Ashtamangala*], and over a hundred more.⁹¹

fronted with Lu Xun's force of over 100,000 soldiers, the disparity in strength between the two forces was great. See *Song shu* 1.19.

⁸⁹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 368.

⁹⁰ *Song shu* 5.71.

As for Huiqu, after Liu Yixuan rose up in rebellion, he disobeyed his orders and did not follow Yixuan's mission.⁹²

There is also the instance of Sengche 僧徹, who was another disciple of Huiyuan. After Huiyuan passed away, Sengche travelled to the south and headed to Jingzhou. He first went to Wuceng Monastery, within the city of Jiangling, and later in his life he moved to Pipa Monastery in Jiangling. He also oversaw the ordination ceremony wherein Liu Yikang 劉義康 (409–451) and Xiao Sihua 蕭思話 (402–455) took refuge in Buddhism. After Sengche died, Liu Yixuan had a tomb built for him.⁹³ In 439, Liu Yiji 劉義季 (415–447), the Prince of Hengyang 衡陽 who was in charge of Jingzhou, personally went to the room of Tanguang 曇光 (407–473), a monk of Changsha Monastery, to discuss Buddhist theology with him. Liu Yiji also provided him with a carriage, attendants, and a monthly stipend of 10,000 *qian* 錢.⁹⁴ Sengyin 僧隱 also stayed at Pipa Monastery, where he mastered *chan* cultivation, and as a result, the practice became popular throughout the Jingzhou region. During the Xiaojian 孝建 Period (approx. 454–456), Liu Xiuyou 劉休祐 (445–471), the Prince of Shanyang 山陽王, and his *zhangshi* (minister) Zhang Dai 張岱 (414–484) jointly consulted with Sengyin over precepts. During this same period, Liu Xiuruo 劉休若 (448–471), the Prince of Baling 巴陵王, and Liu Jingsu 劉景素 (452–476), the Prince of Jianping 建平王, also went to Sengyin's place of residence to pay him a visit. They treated Sengyin deferentially, kneeling in his presence.⁹⁵ There are a great deal of related events—indeed, far too many to warrant mentioning them all—but for the time being, we have sufficiently looked over the political and religious situation of Jingzhou during that time.

Later in his life, Faxian left the capital city of Jiankang, choosing to spend his later years in Jingzhou. This just happened to coincide

⁹¹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 334.

⁹² *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 416.

⁹³ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 370.

⁹⁴ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 416.

⁹⁵ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 401.

with the time when Liu Yilong 劉義隆 (407–453) was appointed the highest commanding officer of Jingzhou. However, at this time Liu Yilong was only ten years old. Liu Yu was well aware that Zhang Shao 張邵 (355–429) wholeheartedly devoted himself to his work and possessed tremendous energy, so he appointed Zhang Shao as a *simā* 司馬 (Minister of War) and made him a minister of Nan Jun 南郡. This put Zhang Shao in a position where he was personally responsible for all strategic decisions in the region.⁹⁶ Zhang Shao had been born into a family from Wu Jun that worshipped Buddhism, and he accordingly associated with many prominent, well known monks. Zhang Shao ordered his son, Zhang Fu 張敷, to accompany Shi Daowen 釋道溫 (398–466),⁹⁷ a disciple of Huiyuan, and listen to his teachings. In particular, Zhang Shao revered Daoye 道業, who was proficient at *Shisong lü* 十誦律 (Ten Recitation over Vinaya) and *chan* meditation. In Gusu 姑蘇, Zhang Shao established Xianju Monastery 閑居寺 for Shi Daoye.⁹⁸ The deferential treatment of prominent Buddhist monks by Liu Yilong was also likely supported by Zhang Shao. Finally, when it came to Faxian, who strictly adhered to Buddhist precepts and whose efforts to translate Buddhist texts at Daochang monastery were supported by Meng Yi and Chu Shudu of Liu Yu's inner circle, Zhang Shao also treated this eminent monk with the utmost deference.

By again performing an investigation of Faxian from the perspective of his monk associates, it seems Faxian first met Baoyun 寶雲 (376–449) and Zhiyan 智嚴 (350–427) when he was travelling to the Indian subcontinent to collect scriptures (Fig. 3). After returning to China, Faxian had a brief, first encounter with Buddhahadra at Lushan, who had been invited to China by Zhiyan. In Chang'an, Buddhahadra had been largely ostracized by Kumārajīva's monastic group, and he was later expelled on account of his 'five boats' prediction. As a result, his disciples, which included over forty people, such as Baoyun and Huiguan, were dispersed. Later, Buddhahadra and

⁹⁶ *Song shu* 46.1394–1395.

⁹⁷ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 472.

⁹⁸ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 401.

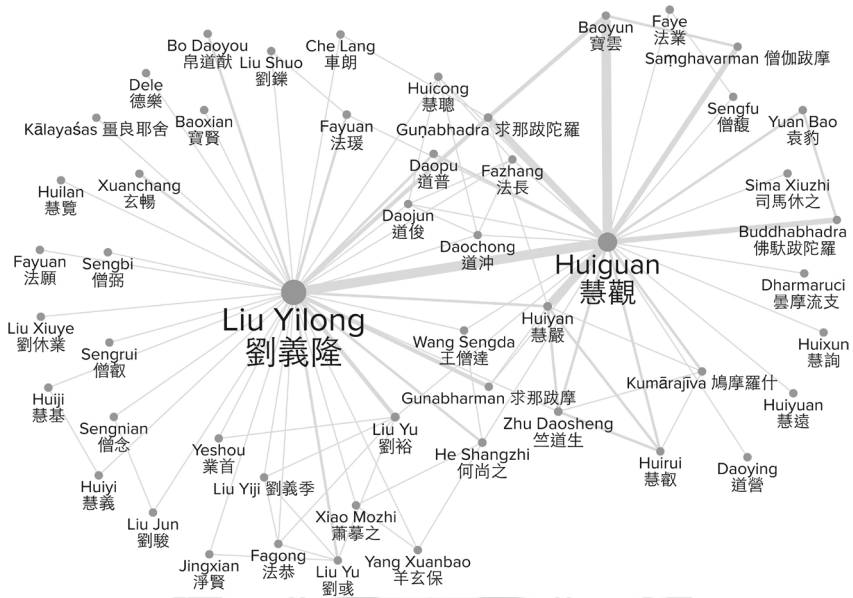


FIG. 3 Social Relations Diagram Regarding Liu Yilong and Huiguan. Image capture by Wan-chun Chiu.

Huiguan moved west to Jingzhou, and they were politely received by Sima Xiuzhi and Liu Yu. On account of the later invitation of Liu Yu, Buddhabhadrā headed back to the capital city where he was reunited with Baoyun, Faxian, and even Zhiyan. There, in Jiankang, they collectively set about translating texts at Daochang Monastery.⁹⁹

Afterwards, Faxian forged ties with Buddhabhadrā and his disciples. This is likely related to the fact that both of them believed in Maitreya. A number of perspectives can be considered to understand why the majority of Buddhabhadrā’s disciples worshipped Maitreya. From the perspective of Buddhist ideology, we can surmise that Maitreya was worshipped by both Mahayana and Hinayana Buddhism. From a scriptural perspective, Maitreya teachings can be found in the ‘Learning of *Prajñā(pāramitā)*’ 般若學 and texts from the Sarvastivada and Yogacara schools. From the perspective of practice, Buddhabhadrā ‘became famous when

⁹⁹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 335.

he was young from practicing *chan* and keeping precepts'. Indeed, Buddhahadra meditated everyday according to *chan* practices and strictly kept to Buddhist precepts. He even once 'briefly reached Tuṣita, where he paid respects to the Maitreya Buddha'.¹⁰⁰ Buddhahadra was truly different from the Kumārajīva in Chang'an, because he did more than just translate scriptures—he also practiced Dharma.

In the case of Baoyun, besides 'following Buddhahadra and cultivating the *chan* path', he also believed in Maitreyanism. *Meisō den shō* 名僧傳抄 [Biographies of Famous Monks] records:

beneath a statue of the Maitreya Buddha, Baoyun repented for fifty days. One night he saw the Maitreya Buddha statue emit miraculous rays of light that were as bright as the sky at midday. People gathered on the streets to watch the curious sight. Many prominent monks who had cultivated themselves well are also said to have seen the statue emit such a light.

Such lines as 'people gathered on the streets to watch' and 'many prominent monks who had cultivated themselves well are also said to have seen the statue emit such a light'¹⁰¹ clarify importance, and from this passage it becomes clear just how devout Baoyun's faith in Maitreyanism was.

It is even more worth noting that, from this, we can see that worship and repenting are important gates to enlightenment in Maitreyanism. As for Zhiyan:

After he accepted the five precepts, he violated them to some extent. Later, he formally joined the Sangha and accepted the complete precepts. But on account of his previous behaviour, he often doubted that he truly received the essence of precepts. As a result, he was deeply frightened. So, he spent many years cultivating *chan*. Zhiyan was still unable to get an answer via his own efforts alone,

¹⁰⁰ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 334.

¹⁰¹ *Mingseng zhuan*, X no. 1523, 77: 358.

and he even crossed the ocean to go to India, seeking an answer to this question from preeminent monks. When he encountered a prominent monk that had already become an Arhat, he also asked this question. The Arhat did not dare to lightly answer Zhiyan, so he entered Tuṣita and asked Maitreya this question. Maitreya told him that Zhiyan had grasped the essence of precepts.

嘗受五戒有所虧犯，後入道受具足，常疑不得戒，每以為懼。積年禪觀而不能自了，遂更汎海，重到天竺，諮諸明達。值羅漢比丘，具以事問羅漢。羅漢不敢判決，乃為嚴入定，往兜率宮諮彌勒，彌勒答稱得戒。¹⁰²

In other words, one's understanding of Buddhist scriptures and whether or not they have received precepts is not important, for monks are able to cultivate themselves in a way that produces a meditative state wherein they can enter Tuṣita. However, the ultimate objective of this is still being reborn in the Pure Land. That is to say that one would want to be reborn in the 'Tuṣita Pure Land', encounter Maitreya, and be taught Dharma. Otherwise, they would want to be reborn into the human realm when Maitreya is also reborn into this realm, and then they can help Maitreya establish a Pure Land in the human realm after he holds the three assemblies under the Longhua Tree. Ultimately, the most important belief held by believers in Maitreya was belief in Maitreyanism itself. Among monastic believers in Maitreyanism, holding fast to all the precepts was deemed necessary; among lay believers, taking up the five precepts or the eight precepts pledge was considered mandatory.

It is thus evident that Buddhahadra, Zhiyan, Baoyun, and Faxian were not connected to each other simply because they passed through Chang'an and the monastic group of Huiyuan, for they also attached importance to *chan* meditation 禪觀 and mutually promoted Maitreyanism. Indeed, they were all on very close terms and collaborated to advance a shared ideology. That said, in 418 Daochang Monastery changed the focus of its translation efforts to focus on the

¹⁰² *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 339.

Huayan jing 華嚴經 (Flower Garland Sutra; Skt. *Avatamsaka-sūtra*), and it never translated *Vinaya* scriptures again. As a result, Faxian returned to Xin Monastery in Jingzhou, hoping to find new opportunities to translate *Vinaya* scriptures. These events are likely related to Buddhahadra's history in Jiangling and his relationship with Liu Yu's inner circle, which sponsored Buddhist activities in Jingzhou. In the end, an elderly Faxian left the Buddhist circles of Jiankang that advocated for the Free School, took the recommendation of Huiguan,¹⁰³ and went to Jingzhou, where *chan* meditation and *Vinaya* was valued.

4. Conclusions

During the war-riddled period of the Eastern Jin and Sixteen Kingdoms, chaos forced people to relocate and scatter, but this chaos also served another function—it consolidated certain communities, and over this period of time Buddhism developed in a way that was only natural. Firstly, monastic groups formed around Dao'an, Kumārajīva, and Huiyuan during this time. Monks that had been dispersed across China were able to take refuge in these groups, which allowed them a means to live, spread Dharma, and practice Buddhism. Secondly, there were also some monks of virtuous conduct and high reputation that were able to convert these qualities into winning the support of major benefactors. However, given that the power dynamics were constantly changing during this period, it became essential for prom-

¹⁰³ At that time, the Buddhist ideology that became popular among the royal family, nobility, and scholarly officials in the capital was *Kongzong* 空宗 [Void Sect], which combined *xuanxue* 玄學 [Dark Learning] ideas with such Buddhist works as the *Prajñā Sutra* 般若經 and the *Vimalakīrti Sutra* 維摩經. The next most popular Buddhist ideology was *Youzong* 有宗 [Existence Sect], which combined the Confucian notion of harmony with Buddhist notions of karma, Buddha nature, and the Dharma body. Tang Yongtong (*Han Wei Liangjin*, 297) called it the 'Southern rule of Buddhism' (佛教之南統). For Du Jiwen's 杜繼文 explanation of 'Mingshi Fojiao' 名士佛教, see Du, *Fojiao shi*, 154–55.

inent monks of this period to maintain equidistant relations with new and old powers alike. This paper analysed the intertwined web of social relationships between monastic circles and benefactors that Faxian forged after returning from abroad to disseminate the Buddhist texts he acquired from foreign lands, a process which happened around the time of the emergence of Liu Yu's political force. Such analysis clearly portrays the development of Buddhist history at the time while also providing additional perspectives that magnify the contributions of Faxian.

Liu Yu's inner circle emerged suddenly on the battlefields during the final years of the Eastern Jin. Liu Yu was situated at the head of his inner circle, and he placed great emphasis on recording meritorious deeds performed by outstanding men, grieving over those that perished, and providing for their surviving families. When it came to handling those who died prematurely, Buddhism presented a far better approach than that which was offered by the rationalistic Confucianism. Although there are very few instances of Buddhists making offerings to the dead that are recorded before the Tang dynasty, such examples as Sengdao holding ceremonies and burning incenses to commemorate the deceased in Northern Wei prove that the activities during the Liu Song were not isolated activities. In addition, over the course of progressively recapturing such areas as Xuzhou, Haizhou, and Jingzhou, Liu Yu respected and accorded with local Buddhist beliefs. Not only did he protect existing monasteries, such as Qiji Monastery, but he also founded new ones, like Zhulin Monastery and Longhua Monastery. More importantly, he provided refuge to those displaced by the turmoil in the North and asylum to those fleeing campaigns to exterminate Buddhism. His contribution to safeguarding Buddhism cannot be overlooked.

When Liu Yu and his inner circle seized control of Jiangzuo, it was plunged into the upper echelons of society. Questions regarding how to receive eminent monks, how to appropriately perform Buddhist rituals, how to hold Dharma assemblies, and even how to found temples, build pagodas, and translate Buddhist texts all became matters that Liu Yu's inner circle immediately needed answers to. Receiving eminent monks from distant lands indeed seems an optimal shortcut

for entering into Buddhist circles. At the onset of Liu Yu's political aspirations, Yuan Bao was completely oblivious of Buddhahadra's status. Later, Liu Daolian received Faxian in a manner both deferential and regal, and he also supported Faxian when he established Longhua Monastery and propagated Maitreya Buddha. We can look even further ahead to when Meng Yi and Chu Shudu helped with the project of translating Buddhist texts at Daochang Monastery. Looking over such progress, it is clear that Liu Yu's understanding of Buddhist affairs and self-cultivation improved immensely with time, and this engendered the tremendous opportunities and fortunate tidings that presented themselves to Buddhism during this time.

After Faxian returned to China, he developed a multi-layered web of tightly knit relationships. His journey to the West acquainted him with Bao Yun and Zhi Yan,¹⁰⁴ who connected him with Huiguan (who had headed north to Chang'an after being in the monastic groups of Dao'an and Huiyuan) and Buddhahadra, providing Faxian with the opportunity to translate Buddhist scripture and *vinaya*. The analysis in this present text shows that Longhua Monastery was built according to the Longhua Image provided by Faxian and that this led to the propagation of Rebirth Maitreyanism. This influenced Maitreyanism in southern China and afterwards led to a series of related texts, such as Fu Liang's *Mile zan* [Praising Maitreya], emerging in the Jiangzuo region. These events also led to the name 'Longhua' becoming widely popular. For example, there is Song Mingdi's *Longhua Fayuan Wen* 龍華法願文 [Text on Longhua Dharma Wishes] and Xiao Ziliang's *Longhua hui ji* 龍華會記 [Records of the Longhua Assembly]; the inspiration behind such works can be traced back to Faxian's Longhua Image. In addition, Faxian also urgently sought to translate monastic precepts (*Vinaya*), and he attached great importance to *chan* cultivation and precepts, which is actually intimately related to Maitreyanism. Such an opinion was not limited to Faxian, though, for it was also the collective, great ambition of Chinese and foreign Buddhist monks in China during the Eastern Jin and Sixteen Kingdoms period.

¹⁰⁴ Wang, 'Faxian yu Mile Xinyang', 176.

Appendix One

Social Relations Between Faxian 法顯 and Meng Yi 孟顛

From Fig. 2, we can realize a few things: First, Faxian and Meng Yi were brought together by Buddhahadra to translate Buddhist works in a group. Among them, Chu Shudu 褚叔度 and Meng Yi were both benefactors of the translations carried out at Daochang Monastery. Other related monks include Huiyan 慧嚴, Huiyi 慧義, and Faye 法業. Second, Meng Yi was at the centre of this. In addition to establishing pagodas and monasteries, he had also graciously received prominent Buddhist figures such as the Marquis of Anyang (Anyang hou 安陽侯) Juqu Jingsheng 沮渠京聲 (369–464), Dharmamitra 曇摩密多 (356–422), Kalamyasas 曷良耶舍 (383–442), Chaojin 超進 (380–475?), Huilan 慧覽 (d.u.), Hongming 弘明 (403–486), Sengyi 僧翼, Miaoyin 妙音 (d.u.), and Huiqiong 慧瓊 (d.u.).

As for the web centred around Faxian, he—along with Huiwei 慧嵬 (d.u.), Huijing 慧景 (?–403), Daozheng 道整 (d.u.), and Huiying 慧應 (?–402)—make up the group of figures that travelled west to obtain scriptures. Throughout this process, the spirit of Mahākāśyapa miraculously appeared before Faxian while he was praying at Vulture Peak during his journeys. The next matter touches on when Faxian became sick in a foreign land and greatly missed the food of his home. As a result, the person supporting him there had a sage use a miraculous ability to go to Pengcheng—the home of Faxian. There, the sage went to the home of Wu Cangying to receive an offering of food, but the family's dog bit the sage. After Wu Cangying learned about this, he was struck with an immense sense of guilt, and thus had his home converted into a monastery. He also had a statue of the Buddha made to be placed in this monastery. As for Luo Yuejia 羅閱家, this refers to Zhimeng 智猛 (d.u.) who was encourage by Faxian to head to Pataliputra, a place in the Indian subcontinent, where he came across Brahmins. There, Zhimeng received a text of the Sanskrit edition of the *Da bannipan jing* 大般泥洹經 (Skt. *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*). Additionally, Li Yi was the first official to receive and support Faxian after he returned from abroad.

Appendix Two

Records of Maitreyanism Believers

Record	Translation	Sūtra passage
<i>Gaoseng zhuan</i> , T no. 2059, 50: 352	Fu Jian 苻堅 (338–385) dispatched envoys to present Dao'an with gifts, which included a foreign produced seated-Buddha image covered in gold leaves along with a seated-Buddha image made of gold, a Maitreya image adorned with pearls, a Buddha image made of embroidered gold, a Buddha image made of silk, and a weaving turned into an image, and every time a Dharma assembly was held and everyone came together, these images were brought together to be worshipped.	符堅遣使，送外國金薄倚像高七尺，又金坐像、結珠彌勒像、金縷繡像、織成像各一張，每講會法聚，輒羅列尊像。
<i>Gaoseng zhuan</i> , T no. 2059, 50: 352	Dao'an and his disciples such as Fayu always worshipped Dharma, in front of Maitreya he made pledges that they were willing to be reincarnated in Tuṣita in his next life.	安每與弟子法遇等，於彌勒前立誓願生兜率。
On Dai Yong, <i>Fayuan zhulin</i> , T no. 2122, 53: 16.406	Dai Kui's 戴逵 (331?–396) second son was Dai Yong 戴顓 (377–441) of the art name Zhong Ruo 仲若.... When Jiang Yi 江夷 (384–431) of Jiyang was young, he was friends with Dai Yong. Jiang Yi once commissioned Dai Yong to make a Guanyin Bodhisattva statue for him. Dai Yong racked his brain trying to produce a consummate statue, but after several years of work he still had not produced a work that he deemed to be of a consummate 'physical appearance'. Later, while Dai Yong was dreaming, he encountered a person that told him that no connection existed between Jiang Yi and Guanyin, but that he could transform the statue into one of Maitreya. Dai Yong then immediately stopped his work and sent a letter to Jiang Yi, telling him about this dream. Before he had sent off the letter, Dai Yong received a letter from Jiang Yi, detailing an identical dream. Dai Yong was extremely happy with this turn of events, figuring it was a response from deities. He then changed the statue into one of Maitreya. The sculpting process then went extremely smoothly. Hardly having to think about his work at all, he was able to produce a consummate statue of Maitreya.	逵弟二子顓字仲若，.....濟陽江夷少與顓友，夷嘗託顓造觀世音像，致力罄思欲令盡美，而相好不圓積年無成。後夢有人告之曰：‘江夷於觀世音無緣，可改為彌勒菩薩。’戴即停手馳書報江，信未及發而江書已至，俱於此夕感夢，語事符同。戴喜於神應即改為彌勒，於是觸手成妙，初不稽思，光顏圓滿俄爾而成。有識讚仰咸悟因緣之匪差，此像舊在會稽龍華寺。

Record	Translation	Sūtra passage
On Faxiang, <i>Meisō den shō</i> , 28.359	Faxiang was extremely diligent in his cultivation and had strong ideals as well. In the ninth year of Yuanjia (432), he established the Maitreya Vihara.	精進有志節，以元嘉九年，立彌勒精舍。
On Fasheng, <i>Meisō den shō</i> , 27.359	Fasheng and his masters and friends, numbering twenty-nine in total, travelled to the far away Indian subcontinent together... They saw candana wood that had been turned into a Maitreya statue. It was eight <i>xun</i> tall. One <i>xun</i> is equivalent to one Chinese <i>zhang</i> . 480 years after the Buddha attained nirvana, there was an Arhat named Kalinanda 可利難陀 who aspired to enlighten people. In Tuṣita, he saw Maitreya, and afterwards he painted the appearance of Maitreya according to what he had seen. Kalinanda also carved a Buddha statue according to this.	(法盛)率師友，與二十九人遠詣天竺。……見牛頭栴檀彌勒像，身高八尋，一尋是此國一丈也，佛滅度後四百八十年中，有羅漢名可利難陀，為濟人故，舛兜率天，寫佛真形，印此像也。
On Tanfu, <i>Meisō den shō</i> , 27.359	Tanfu used his wealth to make copies of the <i>Lotus Sutra</i> , <i>Longer Sukhāvativyūha Sūtra</i> , <i>Maitreya Sutra</i> , <i>Sittianwang jing</i> 四天王經 [Sutra of Four Heavenly Kings], <i>Yijiao Sutra</i> 遺教經 [Sutra of Bequeathed Teachings], <i>Xianjie Qianfo ming jing</i> 賢劫千佛名經 [Sutra of the Names of the Thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa], and <i>Sengni jieben</i> 僧尼戒本 [Disciplines of Monks and Nuns]. He had one thousand copies of each made, and he also had ten thousand wooden prayer sticks made for Upavasatha. Tanfu exhausted all his assets on this project, but the fruits of this work spread far. It even spread to foreign countries, disseminating the Buddhist doctrine far and wide. Tanfu diligently cultivated himself, devoid of any laziness. Someone said to him, if everything is done well, then he can make it to Tuṣita without a problem. Later, Tanfu dreamed that Maitreya touched the crown of his head. There were fantastic aromas in his dream and spirit dragons also appeared. Over the next two years, such miraculous responses appeared repeatedly.	乃捨貲財，造《法華》、《無量壽》、《彌勒》、《四天王》、《遺教》，乃《賢劫千佛名》，《僧尼戒本》，各一千部。作布薩籌十萬枚，傳布遐方，流化殊域，開暢微遠，竭財弘教。盡思幽深，應門到廣，戒行精峻，唯至唯勤，乃通夢想。有人語之曰，若兜率之業已辨，無所復慮也。又夢彌勒佛手摩其頂，天香幡氣神龍現體，一二年中靈應想襲。

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Abbreviations

- T* *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.
- X* *Wanzi Xuzang jing* 卍字續藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, *Wanzi Xuzang jing*.

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