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TAOIST RESOURCES

Volume Six
Number Two

August 1996

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Taoist Resources is a refereed journal published two times a year. The journal is supported by publication grants from the East Asian Studies Center of Indiana University and the China and Inner Asia Council of the Association for Asian Studies. Annual subscription rates are \$20 for individuals and \$30 for institutions. Requests for permission to reprint and all correspondence regarding subscriptions or advertising should be addressed to *Taoist Resources*, East Asian Studies Center, Indiana University, Memorial Hall West 207, Bloomington, IN 47405; (812) 855-3765; e-mail: easc@indiana.edu; Internet: <http://www.easc.indiana.edu>.

From the Editor

As many of you may have heard, there are momentous changes in the offing for TR. An announcement concerning these changes will be published in the next issue, scheduled to appear in the late fall of 1996.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Benita Brown and Colleen Berry of the East Asian Studies Center at Indiana University for their help in preparing this issue of *Taoist Resources*. In addition, the title of "Subscriptions Manager" does not adequately account for the many hours Gil Raz spent inserting—and at times even constructing—Chinese characters.

Finally, it is with regret that we announce the departure of Joanne Quimby Munson from the position of Editorial Assistant. Ms. Munson has courageously served in this position for a period of two years and has contributed greatly to the improvement of the journal. We wish her success in her studies in Japan and in her future career and scholarship.

Stephen R. BOKENKAMP

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**Buddhism and Daoism in
*The 180 Precepts Spoken by Lord Lao***

Benjamin PENNY
Australian National University

In the relatively short history of research in Daoist Studies, one of the most fruitful areas of investigation has been relations between Daoism and Buddhism. Largely as a result of the republication of the Canon in 1926, the tendency in the first stages of research into Daoism in general, and into Buddhist-Daoist interaction in particular, was to study texts. The importance of interactions between Buddhism and Daoism can be identified in many parts of these predominantly textual studies: the three-part organisation of the Canon appears to be inspired by the Buddhist model, the structure of some scriptures shows the influence of Buddhist sutras, while sets of vocabulary and concepts often show parallels with Buddhist counterparts.

However, the religious world of Daoism beyond texts has, to some extent, been neglected. This paper starts with a consideration of one text with the aim of exploring the early organisation of Daoist religious professionals and how this may have been influenced by Buddhist models. Thus, it attempts to trace the ways in which the institutions of one religion inspired the institutions of another, and in doing so changed the way that religion was practised.

The text under consideration is *The 180 Precepts Spoken by Lord Lao*, which derives from the first centuries of the Daoist movement.¹ It is a set of behavioural injunctions for libationers, the Daoist clerics who acted as leaders of their spiritual communities. This paper discusses the dating of the *180 Precepts* on the basis of early references to the text, its contents, and its relationship to some early related texts. It goes on to consider the meaning and importance of the precepts themselves for the history of the interactions between Daoism and Buddhism.²

¹The title is abbreviated to the *180 Precepts* in this paper. A complete English translation of the *180 Precepts*, by B. Hendrischke and B. Penny, “*The 180 Precepts Spoken by Lord Lao: A Translation and Textual Study*,” also appears in this issue of *Taoist Resources*, pp. 17-28. I would like to acknowledge the generous assistance of the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange in the preparation of this paper.

²There are two previous studies of this important text which have been consulted: Maeda Shigeki 前田繁樹, “‘Rōkun setsu ippyaku-hachi-ju kai jo’ no sieritsu ni tsuite [老君説一百八十戒序]の成立について,” *Tōyō no shisō to shūkyō* 東洋の思想と宗教 2:81-94, reproduced in *Chūgoku kankei ronsetsu shiryō* 中國關係論說資料 27 (1985), part 1-1:417-424; and Hans-Hermann Schmidt, “Die Hundertachtzig Vorschriften von Lao-chün,” in Gert Naundorf, Karl-Heinz Pohl, and Hans-Hermann Schmidt, eds., *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien: Festschrift für Hans Steininger zum 65 Taoist Resources* 6.2 (1996)

The idea of special precepts for religious professionals is found across many religious traditions; such injunctions have been widespread in China since the early centuries C.E. in the Buddhist clerisy as well as in the Daoist. The translation into Chinese of Buddhist disciplinary codes, the *vinaya* texts, began in the third century C.E. but was most intensive in the first quarter of the fifth century, when no fewer than four traditions of the Buddhist *vinaya* were translated or re-translated into Chinese.³ The appearance in China of Buddhist precepts inspired Daoists to write precepts of their own, and, in all probability at an early stage, the Daoist clerisy also developed structures and practices that were based on Buddhist models. There are a few direct borrowings from the Buddhist rules in the *180 Precepts*, but perhaps more importantly it was under Buddhist influence that the idea of special precepts for Daoists priests arose. Once embedded in the structures of the religion, the transmission of such precepts became a standard feature of ordination continuing into modern times. The first, and one of the only studies of Daoist precepts in the West, Heinrich Hackmann's *Die Dreihundert Mönchsgebote des Chinesischen Taoismus* describes a set in use in the nineteenth century. The high degree of continuity in the transmission of Daoist texts is indicated by the fact that these nineteenth-century precepts are very closely related to the pre-Tang set associated with the Upper Purity sect, the *Shangqing dongzhen zhihui guanshen Dajiewen* 上清洞真智慧觀身大戒文.⁴ Moreover, some precepts in this latter set are, in turn, closely related to precepts in the *180 Precepts*.⁵

The *180 Precepts Spoken by Lord Lao* falls into two parts. The first is a preface which explains the circumstances of Lord Lao's bestowal of the precepts to Lord Gan 干君,

Geburtstag (Würzburg: Königshausen + Neumann, 1985), 149-159. This paper is indebted to their work.

³The strength of the perceived need for disciplinary codes for Buddhist monks at the turn of the fifth century is indicated by the opening words of the record of the Buddhist monk Faxian's 法顯 travels to India: "Formerly, when Fa-Hsien was at Ch'ang-an, he was distressed by the imperfect state of the Buddhist 'Disciplines'; and accordingly, in the second year of the period of *Hung-shih*, the *chi-hai* year of the cycle (A.D. 399), he entered into an agreement with Hui-ching, Tao-cheng, Hui-ying, Hui-wei and others to go together to India and try to obtain these 'Rules' " (H.A. Giles, trans., *The Travels of Fa-hsien (399-414 A.D.), or Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms* [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1923], 1). Two of the four sets of the full *vinaya* that were translated at this time, those of the Mahāsāṅghika school (translated before 418) and the Mahīśāsaka school (translated by 424), were, in fact, brought back to China by Faxian. The *vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādin school was translated in its entirety by Kumārajīva, who brought it with him to China, between his arrival in Changan in 401 and his death in 413; that of the Dharmagupta school was completely translated by 412 by Buddhayaśas who arrived in Changan in 408. Small parts of the *vinaya* corpus were translated by the middle of the third century, see below. On the *vinaya* in China, see Tso Sze-bong, "The Transformation of Buddhist *Vinaya* in China" (Ph.D. diss., Australian National University, 1982).

⁴*Shangqing dongzhen zhihui guanshen dajiewen* 上清洞真智慧觀身大戒文 (HY 1353, DZ 1039).

⁵H. Hackmann, *Die Dreihundert Mönchsgebote des Chinesischen Taoismus* (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Academie von Wetenschappen, 1931). See also his "Die Mönchsregeln des Klostertaoismus," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 8 (1919/1920): 142-170.

claiming that their purpose is to correct the behaviour of the libationers who have fallen into immoral and depraved practices.⁶ The second part of the text consists of the 180 precepts themselves.

Early References to the 180 Precepts and the Dating of the Preface

The earliest reference to the *180 Precepts* that was noted by Yoshioka Yoshitoyo in the second volume of *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* is in *Xiaodao lun* 笑道論, written by Zhen Luan 甄鸞 in the Northern Zhou (557-581). On the basis of this reference Yoshioka concluded that the text was completed by the Liang (502-557) or Chen (557-589) dynasties.⁷

Maeda Shigeki 前田繁樹 notes an earlier reference in Lu Xiuqing's 陸修靜 (406-477) Daoist "code" (to use Stein's term⁸), *Lu xiansheng daomen kelüe* 陸先生道門科略. It reads:

Those who receive the Dao, internally grasping the precepts and regulations, externally taking hold of the ways of action, relying on the rules and avoiding the prohibitions, elevate and receive the commands of the teaching. Therefore, the scripture says: If *Daoshi* do not receive the *180 Precepts of Lord Lao* 老君百八十戒 their bodies will be without potency. Thus, they are not *Daoshi*, and they should not be honoured with this title by the common people.⁹

As Maeda notes, this paragraph appears in reduced size in the text—indicating that it is a commentary to the original text. On this basis it would be tempting to conclude that this paragraph is later than the original, possibly much later. However, it should not be assumed that such a commentary was written after the original text nor, indeed, that it derives from another hand. In fact, it is entirely possible that this paragraph is auto-commentary, deriving from the hand of Lu Xiuqing himself. If this were the case, it would push the reference to the *180 Precepts* back to the Liu Song (420-479), but unfortunately there is no clear evidence on which to base such a conclusion.

⁶Lord Gan is associated with the history of the early Daoist scripture *Taiping jing* (which is mentioned in the preface), so the *180 Precepts* may help to clarify the circumstances of transmission of *Taiping jing*. On the legends of Gan Ji, see Maeda Shigeki's important article, "Rikuchō jidai ni okeru Kan Kichi den no hensen 六朝時代における干吉傳の變遷," *Tōhō shūkyō* 65 (May, 1985): 44-62.

⁷Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊, *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* 道教佛教 (Tokyo: Toshima Shobo, 1970), 69-70.

⁸R. A. Stein, "Religious Taoism and Popular Religion from the Second to the Seventh Centuries," in H. Welch and A. Seidel, *Facets of Taoism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979): 53-81, 69.

⁹*Lu xiansheng daomen kelüe* 陸先生道門科略 (HY1119, DZ761), 7b.

Another (possibly related) early reference is found in the text of the Numinous Jewel sect *Taiji zhenren fu lingbao zhajie weiyi zhujing yaojue* 太極真人敷靈寶齋戒威儀諸經要訣.¹⁰ The relevant passage reads:

The Realized Man of the Ultimate Extreme 太極真人 said “It is proper that the Libationers honour and practice the *180 Great Precepts of Lord Lao* 老君百八十大戒—only then is it possible to address them as Libationer. Therefore it is said: ‘Those who have not received the great precepts should not be honoured with this title by the common people or disciples. Only when they receive the precepts and ponder their meaning in their hearts and honour and practice them can they be considered Libationers.’”¹¹

The obvious similarity between this passage and the one translated above led Maeda to conjecture that the commentary in Lu Xiuqing’s text was related to *Taiji zhenren fu lingbao zhajie weiyi zhujing yaojue*. These early references indicate that the *180 Precepts* was in circulation at the time both texts were written.

To what are these citations actually referring? It is difficult to be certain, as it may be that the precepts themselves were not attached to the preface at an early stage but circulated independently. Thus, with this text in its present form the task of the textual historian is threefold: the precepts, the preface, and the time at which the two came together must all be dated. First, the preface will be considered.

Accepting the possibility that the preface to the *180 Precepts* may not have been originally attached to the precepts, Maeda maintains that parts of the preface date to the Chen dynasty at latest, as there is evidence of alteration at that time. The section that he nominates as earliest is that portion said to have been uttered by Lord Lao himself (parts 7 - 12 in Maeda’s twelve part division of the preface). Lord Lao explains the importance of correct behaviour codified in the precepts and the procedures to be followed when they are bestowed. The first half of the preface, on the other hand, describes the historical background of their appearance in the terrestrial sphere: this background concerns Lord Gan, the conversion of the barbarians and, notably, *Taiping jing* 太平經. These connexions point, as Maeda notes, to the “rediscovery” of *Taiping jing* by Zhou Zhixiang 周智響 in the Chen, according to a narrative found in quotations from *Xuanmen dayi* 玄門大義 preserved in *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤. In this story, *Taiping jing*, generally regarded as lost, was popularly held to exist on Haiyu shan 海嶼山, in all probability an island. People who had gone to find and bring it back had met with storms and wild weather which had prevented them from completing the task. With the accession in 569 of Emperor Xuan 宣 of the Chen who was sympathetic to Daoism, “Taiping Master 太平法師 Zhou Zhixiang” was sent to retrieve the

¹⁰Ōfuchi Ninji, “On *Ku Ling-pao ching*,” *Acta Asiatica* 27 (1974): 34-56. Ōfuchi claims this as one of the original texts of the Lingbao corpus dating from the early fifth century, p. 54.

¹¹*Taiji zhenren fu lingbao zhajie weiyi zhujing yaojue* 太極真人敷靈寶齋戒威儀諸經要訣 (HY 532, DZ 295), 17a.

scripture. Zhou succeeded in obtaining the book after fasting and paying obeisance and lodged it in the Zhizhen guan 至真觀 in the capital.¹²

According to this text, Zhou's master was Zang Jing 臧靖, identified by Chen Guofu as Zang Jin 矜, who also taught Wang Yuanzhi 王遠知 of the Mao shan sect, and who was active in the Liang/Chen period.¹³ Now, Fa Lin's 法琳 *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論 cites "The *Laoyili* 老義例 of Zang Jing 臧競, Zhu Cao 諸操, and others," referring to the *180 Precepts* and *Taiping jing* in 170 chapters being bestowed in the time of King Nan 赧王 of the Zhou (314 - 255 B.C.E.). Maeda identifies Zang Jing 競 as Zang Jin 矜. These references to the *180 Precepts* and to *Taiping jing* are entirely consistent with the content of the extant preface. Thus, the connexion between *Taiping jing* and the *180 Precepts* must go back to the Liang or Chen at latest. Zhou Zhixiang is also likely to have had the material related to *Taiping jing* with which to add to the preface. From this evidence it is reasonable to conclude that the preface in something close to its present form was attached to the precepts by the middle of the sixth century. It is possible that a different version of the preface, containing the material in what Maeda regards as its older stratum which excludes the parts that refer to *Taiping jing*, had been attached to the precepts at an earlier stage, perhaps from the time of the composition of the precepts themselves.

This survey exhausts early references to the text. For answers to questions related the dates of composition of each component part, other types of evidence must be adduced.

Early Related Texts

The *180 Precepts* was not the only set of precepts produced for Daoists: two great Daoist traditions of the time, the Lingbao and the Shangqing, also each produced sets of precepts. These were the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan pinjie gongde qingzhong jing* 太上洞玄靈寶三元品功德輕重經 (hereafter, *Sanyuan pinjie*)¹⁴ and the *Shangqing dongzhen zhihui guanshen dajiewen* (hereafter, *Dajiewen*), mentioned above. Daoists of all stripes would appear to have been inspired to develop their own sets of injunctions during the period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties.

Sanyuan pinjie is one of those texts that belonged to the corpus codified by Lu Xiuqing in the fifth century.¹⁵ Ōfuchi Ninji further shows that it is cited in several Dunhuang

¹²*Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (HY 1026, DZ 677-702), 6:15 a-b. See B. Kandel, *Taiping jing: The Origin and Transmission of the "Scripture on General Welfare"—The History of an Unofficial Text* (Hamburg: Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1979), 78-80, and B. Mansvelt-Beck, "The Date of the Taiping jing," *T'oung Pao*, LXVI (1980): 149-182, 162-164.

¹³Chen Guofu 陳國符, *Daozang yuanliu kao* 道藏源流考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 47.

¹⁴*Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan pinjie gongde qingzhong jing* 太上洞玄靈寶三元品功德輕重經 (HY 456, DZ 202). The precepts can be found 21b-31a. They are translated by Livia Kohn in Kohn, ed., *The Taoist Experience: An Anthology* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993): 100-106.

¹⁵See, Ōfuchi, "On *Ku Ling-pao ching*," 52; and S. Bokenkamp, "Sources of the Ling-pao Scriptures," *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein* 2 (1983): 434-86, 483. For an alternative view on the question of the dating of the Lingbao corpus, see Kobayashi Masayoshi

manuscripts as well as in the sixth century *Wushang biyao* 無上秘要.¹⁶ These citations agree well with the version preserved in the *Daozang* which, he concludes, “is an old work of the Southern and Northern Dynasties period.” Apart from the full text of *Sanyuan pinjie* preserved in the *Daozang*, the injunctions are also found in *Yaoxiu keyi jielu chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔.¹⁷ Maeda Shigeki and Hans-Hermann Schmidt have both pointed out that this text is of interest in relation to the *180 Precepts* as it also contains a list of 180 injunctions. Schmidt considers that the two texts have some fifty-five rules in common.¹⁸

The 180 *Sanyuan pinjie* precepts are divided into three sets of sixty, the characteristics of which are described in notes at the beginning of the 180 and at the end of each set. The first set is subdivided into smaller sets of fourteen and forty-six by a title which announces “Catalogue of crimes of the precepts of the three primordials.” These injunctions are addressed to three distinct groups: the first fourteen are aimed at the “Upper Perfected” 上眞, while of the remaining subset of forty-six, the first twenty-two are directed to “Students of the Upper Dao” 學上道. The last twenty-four of this subset of forty-six, as well as the remaining two sets of sixty, are for “Students and the common people” 學者及百姓子.

This division into various parts contrasts strongly with the *180 Precepts*, where all 180 are presented without subdivision into categories. Moreover, the phrasing of the *Sanyuan pinjie* precepts as “The crime of such-and-such for the person occupying the position such-and-such” displays a degree of complexity that is not found in the *180 Precepts*. Indeed, judging by their content, the arrangement of the *180 Precepts* appears to follow no obvious logic. Schmidt argues that the *180 Precepts* shows a concern for relations with the state that is found to a noticeably lesser extent in the *Sanyuan pinjie*, whereas the *Sanyuan pinjie* precepts show more of a concern for purely religious matters. For him this points to a conclusion that the *Sanyuan pinjie* precepts were put together at a time when the position of the Daoist clerical organisation was more settled and secure and relations with the state were not of the same importance as they had been at an earlier stage, when he presumes the *180 Precepts* were composed. In addition, he notes several cases of an injunction in the *180 Precepts* being parallel to one in the *Sanyuan pinjie*, where the latter is longer and more elaborate.¹⁹ These arguments are well made and suggest that the *180 Precepts* preceded the *Sanyuan pinjie* precepts.

As noted above, one version of the *Sanyuan pinjie* is found in the Tang digest of preceptural literature, *Yaoxiu keyi jielu chao*. Immediately after *Yaoxiu keyi jielu chao* lists

小林正美, *Rikuchō Dōkyōshi kenkyū* 六朝道教史研究 (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1990), section one, 13-185. For his views on the dating of the *180 Precepts*, see 341-7, where his arguments concentrate on its preface.

¹⁶See J. Lagerwey, *Wu-shang Pi-yao: Somme Taoïste du VI^e Siècle* (Paris: Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient CXXIV, 1981), 237.

¹⁷*Yaoxiu keyi jielu chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔 (HY 463, DZ 204-7), 7:1a-11a.

¹⁸Schmidt, “Die Hundertachtzig Vorschriften von Lao-chün,” 154.

¹⁹Schmidt, “Die Hundertachtzig Vorschriften von Lao-chün,” 154.

its version of the 180 injunctions of the *Sanyuan pinjie*, a set of twenty-four cases of particular crimes and the hells in which they will be punished is cited from a scripture it calls *Zhenzang jing* 真藏經.²⁰ These twenty-four and an additional three are found in chapter six of the complete version of this scripture, *Wushang neimi zhenzang jing* 無上內祕真藏經, to give the full title.²¹ They begin, “Those who steal other people’s property will, after death, enter the hell of the golden bludgeon; those who wrongly take goods to the value of more than one cash will, after death, enter the hell of boiling water,” and so on. These twenty-seven crimes and punishments are preceded by a list of the same twenty-seven cases expressed as injunctions in the form “You should not...” (不得 *bu de*).²² The importance of the *Wushang neimi zhenzang jing* injunctions is that they make clear that the form of a negative injunction (“You should not...”) found in the *180 Precepts* and the form which nominates the specific crime found in the *Sanyuan pinjie* are alternate forms of the same rule.

The *Dajiewen* contains a set of 302 injunctions, all of which are addressed to “Students of the Dao” 道學. They are divided into three sets: one of 182 precepts, one of thirty-six precepts, and one of eighty-four precepts.²³ The comments following the first set of 182 precepts refer to there being “more than 180,” rather than specifically 182. By doing this, the numerical roundness of 180 is preserved, as is the total of 300—there are, in fact, 302. The three sets of the *Dajiewen* are graded into lower, middle and higher. As with the *Sanyuan pinjie* precepts, the arrangement of these precepts reveals a concern with hierarchy not found in the *180 Precepts*. This possibly reflects their use in a more stratified, and probably later, clerical structure.

The *Dajiewen* is cited in its entirety in *Wushang biyao* and thus is a sixth-century text at the latest.²⁴ The first set of 182 injunctions is characterised for the most part by being arranged in pairs: the first part following the form “Do not...,” with the second “Do not cause others to....” Thus the precepts begin “Do not kill living things, even unto wriggling

²⁰ *Yaoxiu keyi jielu chao*, 7:11a-12a.

²¹ *Wushang neimi zhenzang jing* 無上內祕真藏經 (HY 4, DZ 14-15). The editors of the recent descriptive catalogue of the *Daozang*, *Daozang tiyao* 道藏提要 (Ren Jiyu 任繼愈, ed., [Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1991]) place this text in the early Tang period or before, p. 6.

²² *Wushang neimi zhenzang jing*, 6:6a-8b. Of these 27 injunctions, twelve are identifiable with items from the *180 Precepts* and five with items from the *Sanyuan pinjie* set of 180 injunctions (these five are all included among the twelve identifiable with the *180 Precepts*). The sequence of the 27 injunctions does not follow that of the *180 Precepts*, so direct text-to-text influence can be discounted.

<i>Zhenzang jing</i>	1	2	3	4	6	11	17	21	24	25	26	27
<i>180 Precepts</i>	3	5	23	42	57	29	56	60	14	54	22	32
<i>Sanyuan pinjie</i>	1,46	1,44					2,55	2,58	2,54			

²³ *Daozang tiyao* misreads the descriptive comments following each set of precepts which give running totals of 180, 216 and 300, and erroneously reports that there are a total of 696 precepts (180+216+300), p. 1079.

²⁴ *Wushang biyao* (HY 1130, DZ 768-779), 45:1a-24a. See Lagerwey, *Wu-shang Pi-yao*, 254, for other citations in *Wushang biyao*.

worms. Do not cause others to kill living things, even unto wriggling worms.” Schmidt claims to find seventy-seven precepts in common between the *Dajiewen* and the *180 Precepts*.²⁵ Also of interest, especially in relation to the *180 Precepts*, is that many of these precepts are in the form of positive injunctions: “You should...” (當 *dang*). At number 187 (the fifth of set b), the positive injunctions take over from the negative. This parallels the pattern in the *180 Precepts* of moving from a collection of negative injunctions to a set of positive ones.

The striking common feature of the *Sanyuan pinjie*, the *Dajiewen*, and the *180 Precepts* is the number 180 which is redolent of traditional Chinese arithmetical correspondences (for instance, three times sixty or half of 360). However, its precise significance in this context awaits further research.

Buddhist Influence in the *180 Precepts*

The inspiration for these three sets of Daoist precepts, it has been argued, was the appearance in Chinese Buddhist circles of translations and re-translations of *vinaya* texts. The topic of Buddhist influence in early Daoism has of course been discussed by Erik Zürcher in his magisterial article of that title.²⁶ Any discussion in this field must take Zürcher’s work as a starting point; this paper is no different and indeed can be read as a kind of long footnote to his article. One of Zürcher’s categories of influence is “borrowed complexes,” of which he discusses three types: the cosmological complex, the complex of morality, and the complex of karman and retribution. It is Zürcher’s second type that is of concern here. He begins his discussion in this way:

There can be no doubt that Buddhist morality as codified in several sets of commands and prohibitions deeply influenced the system of Taoist ethics, although here again the influence is much stronger in the *Ling-pao* tradition than elsewhere. In most cases it is impossible to trace the borrowed elements to specific sources, although when dealing with this complex we can at least identify the genres from which they have been derived. To judge from the terminology and from the general character of the Buddhist elements, they must ultimately be derived from three types of sources: the rules 戒 to be observed by Buddhist laics; the stereotyped list of ten ‘good works’ which form an expansion of those rules, and the strictly Mahāyānist canon of ethical rules and principles known as the ‘Bodhisattva Vow’ 菩薩戒. I say ‘ultimately’ because especially in this field of concrete moral behaviour, knowledge of the conventional Buddhist rules is not necessarily derived from written texts; in particular, the few and terse formulas of the ‘five rules of the lay devotee’ 五戒 (*pañcaśīla*) may well have been transmitted orally, just as in our culture the ‘honour thy father and thy mother’ is not necessarily based on first-hand knowledge of the Pentateuch. The range of borrowed moralistic elements is strictly confined to

²⁵Schmidt, “Die Hundertachtzig Vorschriften von Lao-chün,” 156.

²⁶E. Zürcher, “Buddhist Influence in Early Taoism: A Survey of Scriptural Evidence,” *T’oung Pao* XLVI (1980): 84-148.

Buddhist lay ethics—an important fact that confirms many of our conclusions drawn in previous sections: there is virtually no influence of the very extensive codes of Monastic Discipline (律, *vinaya*) with their extremely detailed rules, their wealth of illustrative cases, and their specialised vocabulary.²⁷

Zürcher notes that “the only exception is...K’ou Ch’ien-chih’s 老君音誦誡經 which contains a few commandments that are clearly derived from *vinaya* rules regulating the deportment of a monk when visiting lay devotees...but the rules are well-known, and the passage...is rather based upon a general knowledge of Buddhist discipline than on a specific Buddhist text.”²⁸ Finally, and most specifically, he says “the canon of 180 rules pronounced by T’ ai-shang Lao-chün do not show any relation with Buddhist ideas.”²⁹

The work to which Zürcher refers is, of course, the *180 Precepts*. This part of my paper seeks to comment on his remark, showing that Buddhist ideas—and indeed Buddhist texts—did influence the authors of the *180 Precepts*. Initially, however, the text that is proposed as their major influence, the *Prātimokṣa sūtra* of the Mahāsāṅghika school, should be described.

The *Prātimokṣa* is the basic list of rules for Buddhist monks of all schools which is traditionally recited fortnightly. These rules are divided into eight sets of different numbers of dharmas.³⁰ The divisions are made according to the seriousness of the offence of breaking each grade of precept; that is, breaking a *pārājika* is most serious while breaking a *pācattika*, for example, is less serious. Each of the Buddhist precepts is linked to a punishment which must be undergone if that precept is transgressed. In fact, the subsets of the rules are defined by the punishment required. Thus, breaking a *pārājika* leads to expulsion from the community while breaking a *pācattika* simply requires expiation. The standard number of rules is 227, although this does vary between schools; such differences generally reside in the number of precepts in that part of the *Prātimokṣa* termed the *śaikṣa* dharmas. In the case of the Sanskrit text of the *Prātimokṣa sūtra* of the Mahāsāṅghika school there are sixty-seven *śaikṣa* dharmas for a total of 219 rules,³¹ while Buddhadrā’s 佛陀跋陀羅 translation of

²⁷Zürcher, “Buddhist Influence,” 129-30.

²⁸Zürcher, “Buddhist Influence,” 130.

²⁹Zürcher, “Buddhist Influence,” 133.

³⁰The component sections of the dharmas of the *Prātimokṣa* are four *pārājika* 波羅夷法, thirteen *saṅghātiṣesa* 僧伽婆尸沙法, two *aniyata* 不定法, thirty *niḥsargika-pācattika* 尼薩耆波夜提法, ninety-two *pācattika* 波夜提法, four *pratidesānīya* 波羅提提舍尼法, a variable number of *śaikṣa* 學法, and seven *adhikaraṇa-samatha* 滅靜法. The Sanskrit terms used here follow C. Prebish, *Buddhist Monastic Discipline: The Sanskrit Prātimokṣa Sūtras of the Mahāsāṅghikas and Mūlasarvāstivādins* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975); the Chinese terms are those used by Buddhadrā. See also W. Pachow, *A Comparative Study of the Pratimokṣa* (Santiniketan: The Sino-Indian Cultural Society, 1955).

³¹See Prebish, *Buddhist Monastic Discipline*.

this text into Chinese under the title 摹訶僧祇律大比丘戒本 (c. 416) has sixty-six śaikṣa dharmas for a total of 218 rules.³²

The *Prātimokṣa* rules were translated into Chinese at a relatively early date. Long before Buddhabhadra's translation of the *Prātimokṣa* of the Mahāsāṅghika school, the Indian monk Dharmakāla 曇柯迦羅 translated it into Chinese in 251 under the title *Sengji jiexin* 僧祇戒心.³³ This translation is no longer extant but some speculative comments about it will be made shortly.

Before moving on to discuss the similarities between the Buddhist rules and those of the *180 Precepts*, there are important differences that should be noted. First, the standard number of Buddhist rules is over forty more than in the Daoist set, as noted above. Secondly, the Buddhist rules are subdivided on principles different from the Daoist ones. Thirdly, each of the Buddhist precepts is linked to a punishment which must be undergone if that precept is transgressed. The *Wushang neimi zhenzang jing* precepts is the only Daoist set discussed in this paper that lists any punishments. In the *180 Precepts* the only detail concerning breaking a precept is found in the final precept, the 180th, which begins, "In practising the precepts do not transgress. If you do transgress, you are able to repent. Reform your past conduct and mend your ways in future." These three distinctions are of some importance as they measure the degree to which the Buddhist precepts influenced the writing of these sets of Daoist precepts. While it is reasonable to speak in terms of "inspiration," these Daoist precepts cannot be seen as mere copies of the Buddhist precepts. With some exceptions, they appear to have been independently composed. There are,

³²T. 1426. In Fajing's *Zhongjing mulu* (5:140), this text is cited as 僧祇戒本.

³³On Dharmakāla's translation, see Hirakawa Akira 平川彰, *Ritsuzō no kenkyū* 律藏の研究 (Tokyo: Sankibo-Busshorin, 1960), 218-220. The bibliographical references are:

1. *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Tang Yongtong 湯用彤, ed. [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992]), 1:13
2. *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 (T.2034):
5:56, 僧祇戒本一卷, translated by 魏曇柯迦羅
3. *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄 (T.2146), compiled by Fajing 法經:
5:140, 僧祇戒本一卷, translated by 魏世沙門曇柯迦羅於洛陽
4. *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄 (T.2147), compiled by Yancong:
1:155, 僧祇戒本一卷, translated by 後魏世曇摩迦羅
5. *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄 (T.2148), compiled by Jingtai 靜泰:
1:188, 僧祇戒本二十紙, translated by 後魏世曇摩迦羅
6. *Da Tang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄 (T.2149):
2:226, 僧祇戒本一卷, translated by 魏朝沙門曇柯迦羅
7:300, 僧祇戒本二十紙, translated by 前魏曇摩迦羅於許昌
9:324, 僧祇大比丘戒本二十紙, translated by 前魏曇摩迦羅於許
7. *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (T.2154):
1:486, 僧祇戒本一卷, translated by 曹魏曇迦羅
8. *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 (T.2157):
2:783, 僧祇戒本, translated by 曹魏曇迦羅

however, several features in the *180 Precepts* that point to Buddhist influence, both from texts and also, in all likelihood, from observing Buddhist life.

First, there are some cases where the influence seems to be direct. Zürcher observes that the likely source of the Buddhist moral teachings which influenced Daoist discipline may have been the rules for the laity, and therefore may not show the influence of texts as such. Thus, injunctions against taking life and drinking alcohol cannot be regarded as evidence of influence of the written Buddhist rules. However, there are some precepts that reveal specific links with Buddhist monks' rules. For instance, the two precepts that concern urination in the *180 Precepts*, "Do not urinate while standing" (66) and "Do not urinate on living plants or in water that is to be drunk" (116), are closely paralleled by numbers 64, 65, and 66 (in Buddhahadhra's translation) of the *śaikṣa*: "Not urinating, defecating or expectorating on living plants, except when sick, should be followed" (64); "Not urinating, defecating or expectorating in water, except when sick, should be followed" (65); and "Not urinating or defecating while standing up, except when sick, should be followed" (66). Urination had not been a topic of discussion in religious circles in China until this time.

Secondly, setting aside the division of the *Prātimokṣa* into multiple sections, the Buddhist rules can be broadly divided into two parts. All the injunctions up to the *śaikṣa* dharmas (excluding the seven *adhikaraṇa-sāmātha* dharmas) are of the form, "If a *Bhikṣu* performs such-and-such a wrong action, his wrong-doing falls into such-and-such a category." The *śaikṣa* dharmas, on the other hand, present an injunction phrased in the negative—"We will not do such and such an action"—and conclude with "is a precept which should be observed." In the Chinese of Buddhahadhra, this last phrase is rendered *ying dang xue* 應當學. This division into two broad sections corresponds with the organisation of the *180 Precepts*. In addition, the proportions of sixty-six from 218 and forty from 180 are close enough to prompt consideration of a close relationship between the two.

Moreover, while it is impossible to make definitive conclusions about Dharmakāla's translation of 251, it was almost certainly of a more rudimentary kind than Buddhahadhra's of about 416. Translations of the third century were performed in several steps: the foreign monks explained the meaning as well as they could in their limited Chinese to indigenous members of the *sangha*. Their Chinese assistants, themselves not sufficiently skilled in the other languages to render the scriptures directly, rendered the words of the foreign monks into readable Chinese. Thus, it is likely that Dharmakāla's early version was rendered in a rather simplified form and into colloquially influenced Chinese, the content of the rules being regarded as more important than good style. It may have been that injunctions of the *śaikṣa* dharmas were rendered "You should..." 當 while the others may have appeared as "You should not..." 不得. This is of course precisely the form of the *180 Precepts*.

Thirdly, and less directly as noted above, the *180 Precepts* accept Buddhist teachings on killing and eating living things. Thus libationers are prohibited from killing or harming any living thing in general (4), and specifically from killing or harming any living thing while hunting or fishing (79). Aligned with these injunctions are the exclusion of meat from the diet (176) and the encouragement to eat vegetables (177). In addition to these precepts, there are two which appear to expand upon the injunctions against eating meat, prohibiting the

eating of birds, animals or fish that have been killed for the libationer (172), or that the libationer saw being killed (173). Other Buddhist dietary prohibitions appear in the injunction not to eat garlic or the five pungent roots (10) and not to drink alcohol or eat meat (24).

Aligned with Buddhist-influenced dietary prohibitions in the *180 Precepts* are rules concerning the obtaining and eating of food. Several of the *180 Precepts* make sense only when interpreted as rules for religious professionals living in communities, within and supported by the broader society. Four of the precepts appear to adhere very closely to Buddhist clerical practice concerning the means and accompanying ethics of Buddhist monks' food-gathering activities: these injunctions prohibit eating alone (26), annoying ordinary people through aggressive begging (74), being selective about which food is eaten from what is offered (90), and "lumping the leftovers from your meal together in your hands in order to eat all the delicacies" (131). Precept number 164 also prohibits men and women touching hands when giving or receiving things, an instruction which closely follows the Buddhist prohibition against contact between the sexes when begging for food. Related to these rules is a prohibition against keeping pigs and sheep (8) and the injunction not to live apart from others (63).

While it is clear that the sexual abstinence of Buddhist monks is nowhere implied in the *180 Precepts*, there are injunctions that prohibit interference of a sexual kind in other people's family affairs. Moreover, these are either directed at men or are of a general, unspecified kind. Thus libationers should not debauch the wives and daughters of other men (2), they should not break up marriages through sexual dalliance (80), they should not bore holes in the walls of other people's houses to spy on the women and girls inside (99), and they should not become intimate with widows (117).

Non-Buddhist Features

It was noted above that sexual abstinence was not a requirement for the libationers who followed the *180 Precepts*. Two other features of the lives of these clerics that are at odds with Buddhist practice are the toleration of individual wealth and involvement with secular society. Many of the precepts express a concern about accumulation of wealth and being engaged in business. This concern does not take the form of a blanket prohibition, but as an instruction to the libationer not to be concerned with accumulating more than is necessary. The libationer is told not to covet wealth as such (22), not to covet salary, ease, or honour (148), and not to seek precious things (138). Other precepts enjoin frugality, as in "You should always think on the methods of purity and frugality. Longing for purity and worthiness, eat like deer and drink like cattle" (142).³⁴ The prohibition of excessive wealth and its corollary of conspicuous consumption are found in the first rule, which prohibits

³⁴This precept probably shows the influence of Buddhism: cattle and deer refer to certain ascetics who lived like these animals. Cattle precepts and deer precepts are mentioned in the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 ascribed to Nāgārjuna and translated by Kumārajīva in 402 (T.1509, 226a). On this text, see R. H. Robinson, *Early Mādhyamika in India and China* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), 34-39. The reference is not specific enough to be used as a means to date the *180 Precepts*.

keeping too many male servants or concubines (1), and in the prohibition of eating from gold or silverware (15). Hoarding wealth is condemned in precepts 25 and 105, while removing valuables from use in the form of burying utensils (107) and damaging coins (108) is also proscribed. Finally, there are specific prohibitions against trafficking in slaves (27), going guarantor in business deals (123), and giving counsel on private profit-making schemes (137). These precepts allow behaviour that would not be allowed for Buddhist clerics and speak against a conclusion that the *180 Precepts* simply imitated a Buddhist model.

A similar observation could be made about several of the precepts which specify that libationers should not misuse secular power when serving as bureaucrats themselves or by trying to influence bureaucrats wrongly. It is certainly not part of the Buddhist model to allow the holding of secular office as these precepts appear to do. For example, meeting with emperors or court officials too frequently is prohibited (20), which appears to allow meetings as necessary. Harming other people or bullying them because the libationer is in a position of power or has connexions with people in power is also proscribed (60, 92). None of these rules suggests that holding office was forbidden.

Finally, it should be noted that the number of precepts with content that might be called specifically Daoist is remarkably small, and that two of these refer back to the *180 Precepts* itself. In general, these precepts do not add to our knowledge of specifically Daoist practices of the period: precept 147 instructs the libationer to seek long life, while number 149 encourages the ingestion of *qi* 氣 and elimination of cereals from the diet. The attainment of *taiping* 太平 [great peace] in the empire is envisaged in precept 152, while transcendence and meeting the perfected immortals 眞仙 is held out as the goal in precept 178. The self-referential precepts are the final two: “If you are travelling where there are no houses it is possible to spend the night among trees or rocks. If you chant the text of the *180 Precepts*, three rings of spirits will defend you. Bandits, ghosts and tigers will not dare to approach you” (179), and “In practising the precepts do not transgress. If you do transgress, you are able to repent. Reform your past conduct and mend your ways in future. Urging others to accept the Precepts, thinking on the Precepts and not thinking on evil, you will widely save all people. If I appoint you a Spirit Perfected, the Spirit Perfected will make you complete” (180).

Apart from these few specifically Daoist precepts, there are also several which, again following standard Daoist practice, prohibit religious activities associated with other—sometimes labelled heterodox—cults. There are, for example, the injunctions against geomantic consultancy (77) and prognostication by the stars and seasons (78), while prognostication texts, particularly the Chart of the Eight Spirits,³⁵ are specifically prohibited (114). Ritual homage and sacrifice to gods and spirits of other religions (113), sacrifices to ghosts and spirits in order to obtain your wishes (118), and the so-called vulgar cults in general (144) are all proscribed.

³⁵On the Chart of the Eight Spirits, see M. Kalinowski, *Cosmologie et divination dans la Chine ancienne: le compendium des cinq agents* (Paris: Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient CLXVI, 1991), 387-8.

The Transmission of the Precepts

If the arguments concerning Buddhist influences on the *180 Precepts*, particularly the likely text-to-text influence of the early translation of the *Prātimoksa* of the Mahāsāṅghika school, are accepted, certain reasonable suppositions about the origins of this text can be made. The period between Dharmakāla's translation in 251 and the codification of the Lingbao corpus can be narrowed by observing when Buddhism and Buddhist communities became sufficiently widespread in the native Chinese community to have influenced the structures of Daoism.

On the basis of Buddhist influence, it is further proposed that the older stratum of the preface is likely to have been attached to the precepts at this early stage. While the influence of the Buddhist monks' rules is relatively easy to see in the 180 Precepts themselves, such an influence is also apparent, though more obscurely, in this part of the preface. In section VIII in Maeda's numbering, instructions on how the precepts are to be transmitted are found:

When it is time to take possession of the precepts, disciples bathe, do not eat the five flavourful foods or the five pungent roots, and they change their dress. The disciples should perform the rituals to their master and to the teachings, prostrate to the ground and receive the prohibitions and instructions. When they have received the prohibitions and instructions, they should write them out once, chant them and put them into practice.

Section IX, and here I am indebted to the observations of Stephen Bokenkamp, appears to be, in his words, "an incantation on the transmission of the text."³⁶ It is characterised by four-word phrases with repeated verbal forms and a clear parallelism in ideas. It reads:

[Lord Lao] then said, "All the worthies should listen carefully. Among the ten thousand things of this world, none lives endlessly. As people are born, they will die. Things that mature will decay. The sun rises so it will set. The moon waxes so it will wane. From ancient times until today, for anybody to have been able to attain length of life, it has been made possible only through long holding to morality. Now the month is the right month, the day the right day and the time the right time. All the worthies are good, the masters are good and the disciples are good. The ten thousands spirits have all assembled and the officials and soldiers have arrived. Now for the sake of all the worthies, for the lives of the ten thousand people as well as the good intentions of the disciples, I transmit the precepts of prohibition and the important regulations."

Finally, section X presents Lord Lao explaining the ultimate goal and fate of the adherent to the precepts:

³⁶Personal communication, 8 April 1995.

Lord Lao said, “Unless the precepts and regulations are held to, even if a human life lasts 10,000 years, how is it different from a tile or rock? It is better to hold to the precepts for a single day and to die ending one’s days as a virtuous man than it is to live without opposing evil. If you die holding to the precepts, you will transit through extinction³⁷ and your body will be transformed. You will serve as a heavenly official, ascending to immortality through corpse-liberation. If the people of this generation do not hold to the precepts and the regulations, they die having committed serious crimes, they cannot improve on becoming a spirit. Good men and good women should clearly put the precepts into practice.”

As noted above, there is no reference to Lord Gan or to *Taiping jing* in these passages. The purpose of this older stratum of text is clear: it explains how and why the precepts are to be transmitted. By the early fifth century there is an understanding made explicit in the texts related to Lu Xiuqing that assumption of the office of libationer was dependent on receipt of these precepts. This understanding is already present, though implicit, in the preface to the *180 Precepts*. Thus, these passages appear to be concerned with the assumption of religious office, which is equivalent to the transmission of a set of special clerical rules. In other words, this is an ordination text where ordination and transmission of the rules are one and the same thing³⁸ and, as Charles Benn has argued, the idea of “receiving precepts” as investiture is a Buddhist notion.³⁹

Thus, the *180 Precepts* shows distinct Buddhist influence both in general terms and possibly in a direct way from an early translation of the Buddhist rules. Furthermore, if it was composed after the period of intense translation of Buddhist precepts at the beginning of the fifth century, it does not show the influence of this activity. It is therefore tentatively proposed that the *180 Precepts* was composed in the South around the middle of the fourth century. This conclusion coincides with Schipper’s conclusions to the same effect which he based on the observation that there is no terminology specific to the Celestial Master movement in the text.⁴⁰

Conclusions

In the light of these observations, the *180 Precepts* appears as valuable evidence of the influence of Buddhist practice and organisation on Daoism in its formative period. It points to the codification of rules governing the behaviour of libationers and the acceptance of an ordination procedure inspired in important ways by Buddhism. However, it should be stressed that the *180 Precepts* does not only show simple imitation of Buddhist models; it

³⁷On this translation of the term *miedu* 滅度, see S. Bokenkamp, “Death and Ascent in Ling-pao Taoism,” *Taoist Resources* 1.2 (1989):1-20, 7-8.

³⁸Along with the *Prātimokṣa*, ordination texts were among those Buddhist scriptures translated during the brief flowering of translation activity in the middle of the third century.

³⁹C. Benn, *The Cavern-Mystery Transmission: A Taoist Ordination Rite of A.D. 711* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991), 98.

⁴⁰K. Schipper, “Purity and Strangers: Shifting Boundaries in Medieval Taoism,” *T’oung Pao* LXXX (1994): 61-81, 66.

also points to the creative use that Daoists made of them, adapting them for their own purposes.

Assuming, therefore, that the *180 Precepts* was a set of rules to be applied, rather than having purely a symbolic value—at least at the time it was written—some inferences can be made as to their implied audience. The libationers to whom the *180 Precepts* was directed would appear to have been non-celibate, vegetarian men who begged for food at least part of the time, ate at least some of their meals in communities, and sometimes ate with donor families. In addition, they were discouraged from living an eremitic existence (63), and from travelling unnecessarily (96). Thus, a social and largely sedentary life is mandated for the libationers. However, it cannot be concluded from these rules that the communities in which libationers resided consisted solely of other libationers; indeed, it would appear that each libationer lived in a community of lay followers.

If these observations are correct, they point to the *180 Precepts* standing at an important transitional point in the social and organisational history of Daoism. On the one hand, there is clear Buddhist influence in the adoption of certain dietary and eating practices and in the idea of what constituted priesthood. There is also evidence from the two precepts concerning urination that the authors of the *180 Precepts* had seen the written Buddhist rules. On the other hand, the *180 Precepts* does not show the establishment of a fully-fledged monastic institution, but rather indicates a survival of the early Daoist model of community-based clerics who have not left the household. Nonetheless, in the very adoption of special precepts for libationers we may be able to see the first moves towards the codified and hierarchical life characteristic of monastic life.

In short, such rules probably codified an already established Daoist clerical life, a life which had by the time these rules were written felt the influence of Buddhism. This conclusion is consistent with Schipper's recent assertion that relations between Buddhists and Daoists were by no means antagonistic in the early period.⁴¹ The *180 Precepts* suggests that far from being hermetically sealed from one another, Daoist and Buddhist organisations may have observed and absorbed those features they found attractive in the other religion.

⁴¹Schipper, "Purity and Strangers."

The 180 Precepts Spoken By Lord Lao

老君說一百八十戒

A Translation and Textual Study

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The *180 Precepts Spoken By Lord Lao* is one of several sets of pre-Tang Daoist precepts, aimed at both the clerical community and the general body of believers. The text of the *180 Precepts* is divided into two parts: a preface followed by the 180 precepts themselves. Originally, these were probably not part of the same text, or at least one part predated the other. According to Maeda Shigeki 前田繁樹,¹ the precepts themselves were extant in the early to middle fifth century and were probably composed under the inspiration of Buddhist sets of precepts. He points to possible references to them in the original Lingbao corpus, in particular in the *Taiji zhenren fu lingbao zhajie weiyi zhujing yaojue* 太極真人敷靈寶齋戒威儀諸經要訣, as well as in Lu Xiujing's 陸修靜 *Lu xiansheng daomen ke* 陸先生道門科略.² He also distinguishes them from Kou Qianzhi's 寇謙之 Daoist revival.

The preface in its present form probably derives from before the later sixth century as there is evidence that it was altered at that time, although in an earlier form it too may go back to the middle of the fifth century. The sixth century alteration was linked with the supposed rediscovery of the *Taiping jing* 太平經. Thus, this text is of some importance for the study of the complex transmission of that early text. Of equal significance is the fact that it reveals aspects of the history of the Daoist priestly community and of the interaction between Buddhists and Daoists in this period. Beyond Daoist studies, sets of precepts such as this are an untapped resource for the social history of the Northern and Southern Dynasties.

Textual History of the *180 Precepts Spoken By Lord Lao*

Following Maeda, there are four sources which provide either partial or full versions of the text. These are:

A: *Taishang Laojun jing lü* 太上老君經律, DZ 562, 2a-20b.

¹See Maeda Shigeki 前田繁樹, "Rökun setsu ippayaku-hachi-ju kai jo'no seiritsu ni tsuite 老君說一百八十戒序の成立について," *Tōyō no shisō to shūkyō* 東洋の思想と宗教 2:81-94; reproduced in *Chūgoku kankei ronretsu shiryō* 中國關係論說 資料 27 (1985), part 1-1: 417-424, 420 ff. Much of our discussion of the history of the text derives from Maeda's work. Benjamin Penny would like to acknowledge the generous assistance of the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange in the preparation of the paper.

²On the relationship between the *180 Precepts* and the Lingbao material, see Hans-Hermann Schmidt, "Die Hundertachtzig Vorschriften von Lao-chün," in Gert Naundorf, Karl-Heinz Pohl, and Hans-Hermann Schmidt, eds., *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien: Festschrift für Hans Steininger zum 65. Geburtstag* (Würzburg: Könighausen + Neumann, 1985): 149-159, 153-4.

B: *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤, DZ 685, 39:1a-14b.

C: Dunhuang Manuscripts P.4562 and P.4731. These two fragments form part of one manuscript and are reunited in Ōfuchi Ninji's 大淵忍爾 photo-reprinted collection of Daoist scriptures from Dunhuang, *Tonkō dōkei, zurokuhen* 敦煌道經, 圖緣編, Fukutake Shoten 福武書店 (Tokyo: 1979), 685.

D. *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔, DZ 204, 5:14a-19b.

The *Taishang Laojun jinglü* "A" and *Yunji qiqian* "B" versions, despite some minor variations, are closely related. The compiler of *Yunji qiqian* almost certainly used *Taishang Laojun jinglü* as its source.

The contents list of *Taishang Laojun jinglü* lists four sets of precepts:

1. *Daode zunjing jie* 道德尊經戒
2. *Laojun baibashi jie* 老君百八十戒
3. *Taiqing yin jie* 太清陰戒
4. *Nüqing lü jie* 女青律戒

The third and fourth sets are listed as "lost." The first text, *Daode zunjing jie jiuqing ershiqi jie*, is found as the last item in chapter thirty-eight in *Yunji qiqian*, immediately before the *180 Precepts* which forms the first item in chapter thirty-nine. Neither *Taiqing yin jie* nor *Nüqing lü jie* are found in *Yunji qiqian*. It would therefore appear that *Yunji qiqian* followed a text which had the same sequence and contents as the version of *Taishang Laojun jinglü* that occurs in the *Ming Daozang*. Thus, the *Yunji qiqian* text is likely to be one generation later than the *Taishang Laojun jinglü* text. The version of the text found in *Taishang Laojun jielü* (A) is, therefore, regarded as more authentic than that in *Yunji qiqian* (B).

The Dunhuang manuscript (C) preserves approximately the first half of the preface of the *180 Precepts*, but none of the precepts themselves. There are some differences between this text and the A version, but their similarities provide sufficient reason to consider them as belonging to the same line of transmission.

The D source, included in *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao*, does not include the whole of the original text, as we would expect in an abridgement 鈔. The excerpts begin about half-way through the preface and include a version of some 168 precepts. Fortunately, the first few lines included in this D source overlap with the last few lines of the C source. This indicates that the version of the *180 Precepts* which the editor of *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* used was closely related to the line of transmission of the Dunhuang fragment, at least as far as the preface is concerned.

Thus, to obtain the best possible text of the preface section of the *180 Precepts*, a composite of the C and D versions is used, supplemented by the other two versions. This is the basis of Maeda Shigeki's text of the preface and it is this that we have chosen to translate. The roman numerals at the head of each paragraph are from the composite text found in Maeda's article.

There is no Dunhuang version of the precepts themselves to consult in deciding which text to use in translating this part of the *180 Precepts*. Thus, the choice must be made between the A text—*Taishang Laojun jinglü*—and the D text—*Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* (the B text is regarded as later than the A text and the C text contains none of the precepts themselves). If we compare the A version of the precepts with the D abridged version it becomes clear, first, that their arrangements are quite different; secondly, not only are there simply fewer precepts in D, they are generally somewhat shorter. So, for the precepts themselves, should we prefer the D version to the A version as we did for the second half of the preface? In other words, does the D text, taking its abridged nature into account, preserve an earlier and possibly more authentic version

of the precepts than the complete A text? From an examination of the precepts and of their sequences in the two versions (see the comparative table at the end of the translation, p. 28) we can observe two relevant features.

First, at several points the A text includes a commentary to a precept which is possibly an autocommentary (in the translation, these appear after the precept and are marked "Commentary"). These appear in the usual way as half size characters in double columns underneath the relevant text. In these cases the D text, or more probably its unabbreviated ancestor, reproduces the commentary as ordinary text.³

Secondly, the precepts in the A text are roughly arranged into two groups: 140 injunctions expressed in simple negative terms (*bu de* 不得; You should not...) are followed by forty injunctions, many of which are positive (*dang* 當; You ought...), but all of which have a more complex structure than the first 140. This arrangement is disturbed in the D text where simple negative injunctions and more complex—sometimes positive—injunctions appear interspersed with each other (cf. the table of comparison, p. 28).

It is possible to arrange both sequences of the precepts in such a way that we can see how either text could have acted as the source text (it should be noted here that there is no simple arrangement that arises automatically from the sequences of the two sets of precepts). The following diagram indicates a possible arrangement of the first few precepts on the page if the editor had used the A text as his source to derive the D text. The numbers here refer to the position of the precepts in the sequence of the A text:

11	10	8	5	3	1
12			6	4	2
			7		

The editor would, in this hypothesis, have copied the precepts that began at the top of the page (1, 3, 5, 8, 10, 11, etc.) and at a later stage—position 86 in the present version of the text—would have gone back to the beginning and copied those in the bottom register or registers (2, 4, 6, 7, 12, etc.). In other words, he would have copied horizontally across the registers when the source text was written in columns. This produces the sequence of the D text.

If we reverse this procedure to produce a corresponding arrangement of these precepts (that is to hypothesise a selection from the D text or its ancestor to derive the A text), the following results are obtained. In this arrangement, the numbers refer to the position of the precept in the sequence of the D text:

6	5	4	3	2	1
92	91		88	87	86
			89		

In this case, the editor would have copied vertically down the columns (1, 86, 2, 87, 3, 88, 89, 4, 5, 6, 91, 92) when the source was written horizontally across the registers. This produces the sequence of the A text. If something like this were the original arrangement, a reader would have progressed through the entire length of the text on the upper register before starting again from the beginning on the lower register.

³See precepts 62, 81, 83, 135, 136, 143, 169.

These arrangements are not equally possible.⁴ Among the extensive collection of Daoist manuscripts from Dunhuang reproduced by Ōfuchi Ninji, none divide the page horizontally into more than one register of text where each whole register is completed before the next is begun, a situation that should obtain if an ancestor of the D text served as source for the A text. There are pages divided into multiple registers—generally only for small sections—and among these are two texts which contain sets of precepts and a list of months in registers. In both texts the numbering of the precepts, or months, proceeds down each column before starting the next. In other words, the evidence from these manuscripts points to the A text of the *180 Precepts* being the source for the D text rather than the other way around.

To summarise, if we consider that one version derives from the other, a process of selection must have taken place: either D was selected from A, or A was selected from D. We conclude that the precepts in the D source—*Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao*—were selected from a text which had the same sequence as the A source—*Faishang Laojun jinglü*. Our translation of the precepts themselves, therefore, comes from the A source, which we have concluded to be the most authentic text available.

The 180 Precepts Spoken by Lord Lao

I. Formerly, towards the end of the Zhou in the time of King Nan 赧王 (314-255 B.C.E.) there first appeared the Dao of Great Peace 太平 and the teachings of Great Purity 太清. Laozi arrived in Langye 瑯琊 and passed on the Dao to Lord Gan 干君. Lord Gan received the methods of the Dao, proceeded to attain the Dao and was honoured with the title of Realized Man. He also transmitted the *Taiping jing* 太平經 in 170 chapters, divided into ten sections using the ten stems.

II. Later, when Lord Bo 帛君 became seriously ill, he received the Dao from Lord Gan, and was healed. When his illness had been eradicated, he also attained the Dao and was honoured with the title of Realized Man. Today in Langye there is a large magnolia tree marking where the Two Lords, Gan and Bo, propagated the doctrine.

III. In the time of King You 幽王 (781-770 B.C.E.) Laozi went west and started teaching in the barbarian countries 胡國 where he passed on the Buddha Dao 佛道. “Buddha” in barbarian language is “Dao” in the language of the Han. The two are both transformative *qi*. If one cultivates the Buddha Dao, long life will be obtained. Its path follows stillness.

IV. When he returned to Hanzhong after teaching the barbarians he passed through Langye. Lord Gan of Langye was granted an audience. Laozi upbraided and scolded Lord Gan: “Previously I gave you the commission of helping the state and saving lives. Grieving over the ten thousand people, I gave you permission to appoint men and women to the office of libationer so that they would widely convert the ignorant and spread disciples everywhere. Above, this would cause a response from the Heart of Heaven and below, set in action the Spirits of Earth, causing rulers to be joyful. From that instant on, I have been watching from a million *li* away. All the male and female libationers base themselves on the prestige of Laozi and covet wealth and love sensual pleasure. Daring to put themselves in this position they dispute over what is right and wrong, each one declaring, ‘My opinion is correct’ and saying, ‘His is untrue.’ They

⁴See Schmidt, “Die Hundertachtzig Vorschriften von Lao-chün,” 151, n. 7.

make profits from offerings and desire that others serve them. They despise their fellow Daoists, are envious of the worthy and jealous of the talented. They boastfully consider themselves great and put prohibitions on the hundred families: 'You ought to come and follow me! My Dao is most correct and his is untrue.' None of this is in order. This is why I have come to speak with you."

V. Gan Ji knocked his head on the ground, bowed repeatedly, prostrated himself on the ground and kowtowed one hundred times in agreement. He said, "Most High 太上, I do not know how the heavy crimes of all the male and female libationers can be eradicated from now on, and allow them to maintain their livelihood and enjoy the protection of the Dao. In this way they would attain immortality after their span is exhausted and would not have to descend below the nine lands for punishment in the nine hells. It is not simply the libationers. The libationers have also infected the common people with error so that the common people are without knowledge of the laws. Thus the crimes of the libationers are the result of my transgression and truly the blame for all of this rests with me. My only wish is that the Most High pardon my past punishable errors and examine how I might cultivate future morality. I, Gan Ji, deserve death, I deserve death."

VI. Laozi said, "Be seated quietly and settle your mind. I fear that once the Great Dao is destroyed, the common people will all lose their loves. That one or two libationers would, upon their deaths, descend below the nine lands is insufficient to cause me pain. But I am mindful of the common people's pain. You should listen well. Listen well and record it in your heart so that you can be a model for later generations. Issue orders to all the male and female libationers. Command them to reform their past conduct and from now on follow the right path."

VII. Lord Lao said, "Unless the precepts and regulations are held to, even if a human life lasts 10,000 years, how is it different from an old tree or an ancient rock? It is better to hold to the precepts for a single day and to die as a virtuous man, living without committing evil. If you hold to the precepts, you will serve as a heavenly official, ascending to immortality through corpse-liberation. Although the people of this generation may attain the status of emperors and lords, as they die having committed serious crimes, it is of no advantage to their hun-souls 魂神. As hun-souls they will be punished. The libationers should clearly put the precepts into practice."

VIII. When it is time to take possession of the precepts, disciples bathe, do not eat the five flavourful foods or the five pungent roots, and they change their dress. The disciples should conduct rituals to their master and the teachings, prostrate to the ground and receive the prohibitions and admonitions. When they have received the prohibitions and admonitions, they should write them out once, chant them and put them into practice."

IX. He then said, "All the worthies should listen carefully. Among the ten thousand things of this world none live endlessly. As people are born, they will die. Things that mature will decay. The sun rises so it will set. The moon waxes so it will wane. From ancient times until today, for anybody to have been able to attain length of life, it has been made possible only through long holding to morality. Now the month is the right month, the day the right day and the time the right time. All the worthies are good, the masters are good and the disciples are good. The ten

thousands spirits have all assembled and the officials and soldiers have arrived. Now for the sake of all the worthies, for the lives of the ten thousand people as well as the good intentions of the disciples, I transmit the precepts of prohibition and the important regulations.”

X. Lord Lao said, “Unless the precepts and regulations are held to, even if a human life lasts 10,000 years, how is it different from a tile or rock? It is better to hold to the precepts for a single day and to die ending one’s days as a virtuous man than it is to live without opposing evil. If you die holding to the precepts, you will transit through extinction⁵ and your body will be transformed 滅度練形. You will serve as a heavenly official, ascending to immortality through corpse-liberation. If the people of this generation do not hold to the precepts and the regulations, they die having committed serious crimes, they cannot improve on becoming a spirit. Good men and good women should clearly put the precepts into practise.

XI. “Yes, yes. We praise them three times!” Later, he explained the precepts.

The Precepts say:

1. You should not keep too many male servants or concubines.
2. You should not debauch the wives and daughters of other men.
3. You should not steal other people’s property.
4. You should not kill or harm anything.
5. You should not improperly take one cash or more of anyone else’s things.
6. You should not improperly burn or destroy anything worth one cash or more.
7. You should not throw food into the fire.
8. You should not keep pigs and sheep.
9. You should not seek anyone else’s things for an evil purpose.
10. You should not eat garlic or the five pungent roots.
11. You should not write to other people in cursive script.
12. You should not trouble others too often with written enquiries.
13. You should not use herbal medicine to perform abortions.
14. You should not set fire to uncultivated fields and mountain forests.
15. You should not eat off gold or silverware.
16. You should not seek to know of state or military events or to prognosticate whether they will come to a lucky or unlucky conclusion.
17. You should not improperly have contact with armed rebels.
18. You should not improperly fell trees.
19. You should not improperly pick flowers.
20. You should not meet frequently with Emperors or court officials or improperly enter into marriage relations with them.
21. You should not treat disciples with contempt or maliciously show them favour and upset their purity.
22. You should not covet or begrudge wealth.
23. You should not lie, use ornate speech, create divisions, or show envy.
24. You should not drink alcohol or eat meat.

⁵On this translation of the term *miedu* 滅度, see S. Bokenkamp, “Death and Ascent in *Ling-pao* Taoism,” *Taoist Resources* 1.2 (1989): 1-20, 7-8.

25. You should not hoard wealth or despise the orphaned, widowed and poor.
26. You should not eat alone.
27. You should not traffic in male or female slaves.
28. You should not seek knowledge about the marriages of other people.
29. You should not cause jealousy and ill will through exploiting the strengths and weaknesses of other people.
30. You should not perform as a musician.
31. You should not speak of the evil acts of others and suspect all manner of things.
32. You should not speak about the dark secrets of others.
33. You should not speak about good and evil in the lives of other people's parents.
34. You should not praise others to their face and speak evil of them behind their backs.
35. You should not play tricks on people with foul things.
36. You should not throw poison into deeps and pools or into rivers and seas.
37. You should not show partiality to members of your clan.
38. You should not make light of those honoured by others.
39. You should not participate in killing.⁶
40. You should not urge others to kill.
41. You should not separate other families.
42. You should not kill anybody from hatred.
43. You should not present petitions that slander others.
44. You should not consider yourself to be superior.
45. You should not place yourself in an honoured position.
46. You should not be arrogant.
47. You should not improperly dig the earth or spoil mountains and rivers.
48. You should not use bad language or curse.
49. You should not kick the six kinds of domestic animals.
50. You should not deceive others.
51. You should not refuse to heal disease.
52. You should not covet other people's things.
53. You should not drain rivers and marshes.
54. You should not criticize teachers.
55. You should not go naked or bathe in the open.
56. You should not take lightly or show contempt for the teachings of the scriptures and sacred teachings.
57. You should not treat the old without proper respect.
58. You should not watch domestic animals having sexual intercourse.
59. You should not play tricks on people.
60. You should not bully others using your position of power.
61. You should not show favour to those with whom you are close.
62. You should not carry a sword or staff. Commentary: If you are in the army you need not follow this rule.
63. You should not live separately.
64. You should not show anger or displeasure.

⁶A possible reading of this precept, 不得自殺, is "Do not commit suicide." We have opted for the reading in the translation following the pattern of precepts 119 and 120: "119. You should not create too many taboos for other people. 120. You should not observe too many taboos yourself."

65. You should not abuse others as slaves.
66. You should not urinate while standing.
67. You should not tattoo the faces of slaves.
68. You should not cause others death or misfortune by casting spells.
69. You should not rejoice at someone's death or misfortune.
70. You should not travel impulsively and recklessly.
71. You should not stare at other people.
72. You should not poke your tongue out at other people.
73. You should not forcibly seek other people's things.
74. You should not annoy the common folk through aggressive begging.
75. You should not collect taxes on behalf of lay people.
76. You should not organise a group to send presents to someone with yourself as leader.
77. You should not design graves, erect tombs or raise buildings for other people.
78. You should not read the stars or prognosticate the seasons.
79. You should not harm or kill any living thing through fishing or hunting.
80. You should not separate husband and wife through debauchery.
81. You should not show favouritism to your disciples. Commentary: Regard them as the equal of your sons.
82. You should not snatch other people's night-fires.
83. You should not hasten to offer condolences to recently bereaved lay people. Commentary: It is right to be privately sympathetic.
84. You should not join lay people in gangs or factions that abuse each other.
85. You should not demean the achievements of others and claim it was due to your own effort.
86. You should not select the best lodgings or the best bed for your rest.
87. You should not slander other people's things as bad.
88. You should not commend your own things as good.
89. You should not cause alarm and make people tremble with fear.
90. You should not select your food and drink from what others offer on the basis of your opinion as to its worth.
91. You should not go around speaking evil on behalf of other people.
92. You should not harm others through your position in or connections with the local administration.
93. You should not participate in mundane discussions concerning right and wrong actions.⁷
94. You should not seize other people's things and give them away to show your kindness.
95. You should not dig up the hibernating and the hidden in winter.
96. You should not travel frivolously or charge about for days and months on end.
97. You should not improperly climb trees to search for nests and destroy eggs.
98. You should not cage birds or animals.
99. You should not bore holes in the walls of other people's houses to spy on the women and girls inside.
100. You should not throw foul things into wells.
101. You should not block up ponds and wells.
102. You should not deceive the old and the young.
103. You should not improperly open and read other people's letters.
104. You should not entice free men or women into slavery.

⁷That is, right and wrong is, properly, celestial knowledge.

105. You should not pile up riches as it will attract bad luck and misfortune.
106. You should not become overly attached to your dwelling place.
107. You should not bury utensils underground.
108. You should not damage coins.
109. You should not light fires on open ground.
110. You should not spread thorns and spikes on the road.
111. You should not speak excessively or chatter.
112. You should not throw anything away that has writing on it or bury it near the toilet.
113. You should not pay ritual homage to the ghosts and spirits of other religions.
114. You should not possess the prognosticatory writings of the lay people or the Chart of the Eight Spirits.⁸ Also, you should not practice any of them.
115. You should not associate with soldiers.
116. You should not urinate on living plants or in water that people will drink.
117. You should not become intimate with widows.
118. You should not make sacrifices to ghosts and spirits in order to seek good fortune.
119. You should not create too many taboos for other people.
120. You should not observe too many taboos yourself.
121. You should not improperly make light of entering a river or the sea to bathe.
122. You should not improperly suggest someone for promotion to gain presents or bribes.
123. You should not go guarantor for bonds or in buying and selling land and houses or slaves for other people.
124. You should not have regular contact with families of loose morals.
125. You should not distil⁹ poisons and medicines and put them in vessels.
126. You should not make loud and harsh sounds but always show a smile.
127. You should not write legal complaints or settle lawsuits for other people.
128. You should not show interest in or seek books of secret plots or read them.
129. You should not improperly flog any of the six kinds of domestic animals.
130. You should not ride a horse or drive a cart without cause.
131. You should not lump the leftovers from your meal together with your hands in order to eat all the delicacies.
132. You should not frighten birds and animals.
133. You should not judge whether the food and drink of other families is good or bad.
134. You should not breach levee walls.
135. You should not recommend yourself to heal a sick person. Commentary: You should only go when invited by the family of the sick person themselves.
136. You should not travel alone. Commentary: Travel in company.
137. You should not give people counsel on profit making schemes.
138. You should not seek widely for precious things.
139. You should not accompany women into the mountains. They should all be in separate lodgings on a different trail.
140. You should not violate the root and pursue the branches.¹⁰

⁸ On the Chart of the Eight Spirits, see Kalinowski, *Cosmologie et divination dans la Chine ancienne: le compendium des cinq agents* (Paris: Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient CLXVI, 1991): 387-8.

⁹The *Taishang laojun jinglü* text has 錄 which makes little sense in this context. The *Yunji qiqian* reading of 鍊 is accepted.

141. You should provide offerings within your abilities. Do not put yourself in difficulty.
142. You should always think on the methods of purity and frugality. Longing for purity and worthiness, eat like deer and drink like cattle.¹¹
143. You should always take care of where you lodge for the night. Commentary: Inspect it first. Do not charge in.
144. You should take refuge in the Orthodox Unity 正一. You should not practise vulgar cults.
145. You should possess the grand plan and grasp the purport.¹² You should not mix-up, transgress, turn your back on or avoid the teachings of the Three Venerables.
146. You should exert yourself to avoid suspicion. Do not seek serve the Ruler through relying on your parents' influence.
147. You should exert yourself to seek long life. Day and night do not slacken.
148. You should exert yourself to avoid difficulties. Do not covet salary or illicit honour.
149. You should exert yourself to ingest *qi* and eliminate cereals from your diet practising the Dao of No Death.
150. You should exert yourself to avoid violent people. Do not discard friends.
151. Whenever you eat or drink, start from one side. Do not hurry to pronounce judgement on what is good and what is bad.
152. Each time you burn incense you should pray on behalf of the ten thousand families and that the empire should attain Great Peace. Do not do it simply for yourself.
153. Whenever someone addresses you as Libationer, be careful to move them to awe. Do not act frivolously and hastily or make yourself laughable.
154. Whenever someone offers you a meal, you should always pray for the donor to be blessed and that all people will eat their fill.
155. Do not excessively and without cause have people gather together, leaving the remains of the meal in a mess.
156. Do not without cause improperly or too often receive the reverence of other people.
157. When you enter another state you must first enquire after the worthies and noble scholars. You should have contact with them and rely on them.
158. When you enter another state you must first enquire after that country's prohibitions.
159. When you enter someone's house you must first enquire after the taboo names of their elders and ancestors.
160. When you arrive at someone's house do not hope to be fed by your host if he is a common man.
161. Women should not walk together with men.

¹⁰That is, one should not pursue insignificant details at the expense of fundamentals.

¹¹That is, live in an ascetic way. *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 ascribed to Nāgārjuna and translated by Kumārajīva in 402 (T.1509, 226a) mentions cattle precepts and deer precepts. On this text, see R.H. Robinson, *Early Mādhyamika in India and China* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), 34-39.

¹²The "grand plan" is clearly to be understood as the teaching of the Three Venerables 三尊. There are several identifications of who or what these "Three" are: a late identification is the three "Heavenly Venerables 天尊," Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊, Lingbao tianzun 靈寶天尊, and Daode tianzun 道德天尊. More likely in this context is the formulation inspired by the Buddhist Three Treasures 三寶: the Dao, the Scriptures, and the Teachers. See I. Robinet, *La Revelation du Shangqing dans l'Histoire du Taoisme* (Paris: Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient CXXXVII, 1984). In Volume One on pages 201 and 232, Robinet sees this term as an indication of Lingbao influence. We would like to thank S. Bokenkamp for pointing out these references to us.

162. Men should not converse with women in a dark room.
163. Men's and women's clothing should not exceed three sets.
164. Men and women should not sit together to eat or touch hands to give or receive things.
165. Whenever there are calamities in Heaven or when there is flood, drought, or disharmony in the weather, do not grieve or become desperate.
166. In this generation, evil people are numerous and good ones are few. Do not be depressed. The Dao itself protects its law.
167. If others abuse you, you should simply hear it through. Do not respond.
168. If others slander you, you should simply cultivate yourself and gain enlightenment from the Great Dao. Do not do injury to your essence or spirit through distress.
169. If others wrong you, repay it repeatedly with kindness. Commentary: Being kind destroys evil as water extinguishes fire.
170. If someone gives something special to A, B should not resent that it was not given to him.
171. If someone flatters you do not show happiness. If someone abuses you do not show displeasure.
172. If someone kills birds, animals, fish, etc. for you, do not eat them.
173. If something has been killed do not eat it.
174. If food smells of mutton, do not eat it.
175. If you do not know where your food has come from, it is permissible to eat it. It is not permissible to think it delicious.
176. To be able to exclude all meat of living beings and the six domestic animals from the diet is considered best. If you cannot then you will transgress the precepts.
177. To be able to eat vegetables is excellent. If you cannot, follow the ruling phase.¹³
178. If you are able to honour the worthy, pay high regard to the sages and practise worthiness, I will cause you to transcend and you will meet with the perfected immortals.
179. If you are travelling where there are no houses it is permissible to set up lodgings among the trees or rocks. If you chant the text of the *180 Precepts*, three rings of spirits will defend you. Armed rebels, ghosts and tigers will not dare to approach you.
180. In practising the precepts do not transgress. If you do transgress, you are able to repent. Reform your past conduct and mend your ways in future. Urging others to accept the *Precepts*, thinking on the *Precepts* and not thinking on evil, you will widely save all people. If I appoint you a Spirit Perfected, the Spirit Perfected will make you complete.¹⁴

On the right are the *180 Precepts* of the essential regulations for prolonging existence.

Lord Lao made this announcement to his disciples: "In the past all worthies, immortals and sages followed the *180 Precepts* and attained the Dao. The Dao is formless. By following a teacher you can attain completion. The Dao cannot be transcended, the teacher cannot be taken lightly."

¹³不可向王者。Wang here means the ruling phase in the sequence of the five phases, and refers to the *wangxiang* 王相[or 旺相] scheme. Certain meat was seen as appropriate to certain seasons; thus, *Liji* (*Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980) instructs that sheep meat was to be eaten in spring (14:1355, 1361, 1363), chicken in summer (14:1365, 1369, 1370), dogmeat in autumn (14:1373, 1379) and pork in winter (14:1381, 2, 3).

¹⁴Here the *Yunji qiqian* version of the text differs. The final part of the precept, following "you will widely save all people," reads: 五拜神真成汝清志不得轉退。

The disciples knocked their heads on the ground, bowed repeatedly, received their commands and withdrew.

***A Comparison of the Sequence of Precepts in the Taishang Laojun jinglü "A"
and Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao "D" Texts***

A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D
1	1	37	119	73	-	109	142	145	-
2	86	38	35	74	36	110	143	146	140
3	2	39	17	75	120	111	59	147	54
4	87	40	17	76	37	112	58	148	56
5	3	41	101	77	121	113	144	149	57
6	88	42	18	78	38	114	145	150	-
7	89	43	102	79	122	115	61	151	-
8	4	44	19	80	39	116	146	152	154
9	-	45	103	81	39, 123	117	147	153	71
10	5	46	20	82	41	118	63	154	70
11	6	47	104	83	126	119	62	155	160
12	91	48	21	84	125	120	-	156	75
13	7	49	90	85	42	121	64	157	-
14	92	50	105	86	127	122	148	158	165
15	10	51	22	87	43, 128	123	149	159	82
16	93	52	106	88	128	124	65	160	158
17	9	53	24	89	129	125	66	161	-
18	94	54	107	90	44	126	151	162	159
19	8	55	23	91	45	127	150	163	77
20	95	56	108	92	130	128	152	164	-
21	11	57	25	93	46	129	68	165	157
22	96	58	109	94	121	130	67	166	72
23	12	59	26	95	47	131	69	167	155
24	84	60	110	96	48, 132	132	153	168	156
25	-	61	27	97	49, 60	133	74	169	73
26	13	62	111	98	133	134	76	170	124
27	98	63	28	99	134	135	78	171	-
28	14	64	112	100	50	136	166	172	-
29	15	65	29	101	135	137	-	173	161
30	99	66	113	102	-	138	82	174	-
31	100	67	30	103	136	139	-	175	-
32	16, 118	68	115	104	52	140	84	176	-
33	117	69	31	105	137	141	164	177	79
34	33	70	114	106	51	142	163	178	162
35	116	71	32	107	138	143	81	179	80, 167
36	34	72	40	108	55	144	-	180	-

No equivalent could be found for numbers 53, 97, 139, 141, 168 in the
Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao listing.

The Concept of Māra and The Idea of Expelling Demons*

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Introduction

During the latter half of the Six Dynasties period, the formative years for Taoist doctrine and ideas, numerous scriptures were composed and the consolidation of religious schools was carried out. Taoist doctrine and ideas actively accepted and absorbed those of Buddhism that contained foreign culture, and through union with and adjustment to traditional ideas indigenous to China, the content [of Taoist doctrine and ideas] continuously developed. We can discover traces of the interaction between Taoist and Buddhist doctrines and ideas in various key aspects of religious thought such as cosmology, ideas concerning salvation, and methodology for obtaining the Tao (i.e., obtaining transcendentship).

Even the question of *mo* 魔, which this work examines, is as expected one example that shows traces of interaction between Six Dynasties Taoism and Buddhism. Under what conditions was the term *mo*, which began to appear in Taoist scriptures of the second half of the Six Dynasties period, absorbed into Taoism, and what kind of transformation did the Buddhist concept of Māra undergo in Taoist thought? Through an investigation of these [questions], one aspect of the acceptance of Buddhist ideas in Six Dynasties Taoism may perhaps be made clear. I would like to address this question in the first section [of this article].

Next, in the second section,[†] I will analyze and examine the ideas of one Shang-ch'ing 上清 [Upper Clarity] scripture, the *Tung-chen t'ai-shang shuo chih-hui hsiao-mo chen ching* 洞真太上說智慧消魔真經 [Perfected Scripture on Wisdom and Expelling Demons from the Cavern of Perfection Explicated by the Most High], and further examine the idea of "expelling demons" (消魔 *hsiao-mo*) in the Shang-ch'ing school of Taoism of the Six Dynasties period. This scripture explains the theories and methods for obtaining the Tao (i.e., obtaining transcendentship), and as the title of the scripture suggests, it is based on an acceptance of the Buddhist concept of *mo*. Through an examination of this scripture, in addition to making clear the distinctive features of the methodology for obtaining the Tao (i.e., obtaining transcendentship) of the Shang-ch'ing school of Taoism, I would like to consider the essential significance that the acceptance of the concept of *mo* has in terms of the development of Taoist intellectual history.

*["Ma no kannen to shōma no shisō 魔の觀念と消魔の思想 *Chūgoku kodōkyōshi kenkyū*. 中國古道教史研究, ed. Yoshikawa Tadao 吉川忠夫, (Tokyo: Dōhō co., 1993) (平成4), 80-144]. The translators would like to thank Professor Yasuko Ito Watt of Indiana University for all of her help in preparing this translation.

[†]Please note that the following is a translation of the first part of a two-part article. The "second section" referred to by the author is not included here.

Kuei, Māra, and King Māra

The character *mo* as an abbreviated form of the transliteration of the Sanskrit word Māra was well-known as a newly created character at the time of Chinese translations of Buddhist texts. For example, in *chüan* twelve of the T'ang work *I-chieh ching yin-i* 一切經音義, Hui Lin 慧琳 clearly states that the character *mo* is “phonetically defined by the gloss: *mo-ho* 莫何. Originally this character was not in dictionaries. Translators created this [character] by altering [the character] *mo* 摩”; it is a character created by Chinese translators of Buddhist texts. Also, section one of *chüan* five of the T'ang work *Chih-kuan fu-hsing chuan hung-chüeh* 止觀輔行傳弘決 by Shen Jan 湛然 states, “[According to] textual discussions of ancient translations, the character *mo* 魔 follows [the character] *shih* 石. Since [the time of Emperor] Wu of the Liang Dynasty, it is said that because *mo* greatly torment people, the character should properly follow [the character] *kuei*” (T. 1912 46:284a).¹ Based on this, it is clear that the character *mo* 魔 came to be commonly used around [the time of] Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty.

We can ascertain this fact in Taoist literature as well. The *Chen-kao* 真誥 [Declarations of the Perfected], arranged and edited by T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景, is a record of spiritual descents that occurred at Mount Mao during the *hsing-ning* and *t'ai-ho* reign periods (363-370 C.E.) of the Eastern Chin Dynasty. In *chüan* nineteen, it is noted that the style of the written characters of the three gentlemen (Yang Hsi 楊羲, Hsu Mi 許謐, and Hsu Hui 許翽) who recorded the words of divine transcendents that descended [to them] and the style of the written characters of T'ao Hung-ching's time period differed. Among these [records it] says, “Everyone writes the character for demons [*kuei-mo* 鬼魔] as *mo* 摩,” and it is clear that without using the character *mo* 魔, the three gentlemen expressed [this meaning] with the character *mo* 摩. However, in the present-day text of the *Chen-kao*, the characters that refer to demons [*kuei-mo*], except for an example in *chüan* eight (which I will discuss later), all come to be *mo* 魔 and not [characters] like *mo* 摩 or *mo* 磨. Yet if we follow T'ao Hung-ching's explanation, in the period after which the use of the character *mo* 魔, which is not in the original “handwriting of the three gentlemen,” was standardized, [the character] probably was changed.²

In this way, according to the opinions of Hui Lin, Shen Tan, and T'ao Hung-ching, we know that the character *mo* 魔 replaced [characters] such as *mo* 摩 and *mo* 磨, and began to be used starting from around [the time of] the Liang Dynasty in the latter half of the Six Dynasties [period]. The character *mo* 魔 is, needless to say, a synthesis of the [characters] *ma* 麻 and *kuei* 鬼, and the fact that in general this character came to be used indicates that Māra in Buddhism and *kuei* in China were recognized as similar types of beings. In what sorts of ways do Māra in Buddhism and *kuei* in China possess similar characteristics? A comparative examination of these two will likely be necessary. Also, in the Taoist literature of the Six Dynasties period, aside from *mo* 魔, King Māra appears and plays an important

¹This sentence in the *Chih-kuan fu-hsing chuan hung-chüeh* 止觀輔行傳弘決 is also cited in the section on “*mo-lo* 魔羅” in *chüan* two of the *Fan-i ming-i chi* 翻譯名義集 (T. 2131 54:1080a).

²It can be said that this same situation pertains to Buddhist sutras that were translated into Chinese in the period before the Liang Dynasty (circa 502-556 C.E.) and to Taoist literature like the *Shen-chou ching* [Scripture of Divine Incantations] and the *Tu-jen ching* [Salvation Scripture] which I will discuss later.

role in Taoist doctrine. We should probably also include an analysis of the concept of King Māra. In this article, I would like to investigate the question of *kuei*, Māra (*mo*), and King Māra using important Taoist literature from the Six Dynasties period.

Kuei and Māra

There are detailed studies from the viewpoints of specialists concerning the origin and intellectual historical development of the Buddhist concept of Māra.³ Now, for the time being, if we raise only the important points that follow the explanation of Māra in Mochizuki's *Dictionary of Buddhism*, we end up with the following.

The word Māra is a noun derived from the root [of the Sanskrit word] *mr* which means "to die" and contains the meaning "one who kills." It originally was derived from the concept of Yama (*yeh-mo* 夜摩, God of Death). In other words, the concept of a "Māra of death" (*ssu-mo* 死魔) corresponds to this [concept of Yama]. When the theory of the six heavens of the Realm of Desire (*yü-chieh liu-t'ien* 欲界六天) arose, it was determined that Yama lived in the third heaven, and in Buddhism, the evil Māra that destroys the true Dharma was placed in the sixth heaven (*T'o-hua tzu-tsai t'ien* 他化自在天, "Heaven of the Lord who transforms others," Skt.: *paranirmita-vaśavartin*) and is called "Prince Māra" (*t'ien-tzu mo* 天子魔). After this, the meaning of Māra came to be explained as an internal [phenomenon] and an explanation arose whereby [the meaning of Māra] shifted from Prince Māra to "Māra of the passions" (*fan-nao mo* 煩惱魔) and "Māra of the five skandhas" (*wu-yin mo* 五陰魔). "Māra of death" and Prince Māra, as well as "Māra of the passions" and "Māra of the five skandhas," together are called the four Māras. This classification that divides Māra into four types can be seen, for example, in *chüan* five and *chüan* sixty-eight of the *Ta chih-tu lun* 大智度論. Prince Māra, the celestial Māra Po-hsün 波旬 who tried to obstruct Śākyamuni's attainment of enlightenment, is also called King Māra; the story of Śākyamuni conquering Māra that can be seen in such [works as] *Kuo-ch'ü hsien-tsai yin-kuo ching* 過去現在因果經 [T. 189], *T'ai-tzu rui-ying pen-ch'i ching* 太子瑞應本起經 [T. 185], and *P'u-yao ching* 普曜經 is widely known.

The above is a summarized explanation of Māra. I would like to draw attention to two points in particular. One, Māra is considered to be something that as its basic nature uses various means to obstruct people who are carrying out their training in search of *satori* [i.e., enlightenment] and to snatch people's lives, leading them to death. For example, *chüan* five of the *Ta chih-hui lun* reads, "[He] snatches people's *hui-ming* 慧命[†] and destroys their methods, merit, and good roots. For this reason, he is named Māra" (T. 1509 25:99c). Māra is defined as the being that snatches people's lives and hinders good deeds carried out for the attainment of enlightenment. Also, *chüan* twelve of Hui Lin's *I-ch'ieh ching yin-i* reads,

³See E. Windisch, *Mara und Buddhism* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1895) and T. O. Ling, *Buddhism and the Mythology of Evil* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1962).

[†]Note from the translators: According to several dictionaries, *hui-ming* refers to the dharma body, which is a spiritual type of life created from wisdom, in contrast to the physical body, which is a type of life created from food. See Mochizuki Shinkō, ed., *Bukkyō daijiten* [Encyclopedia of Buddhism], 10 vols. (Kyoto: Sekai Seiten Kankōkyōdai, 1954-63), 290c, 671b; Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyōgo daijiten* [Dictionary of Buddhist Terms], 3 vols. (Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 1975), 106a; and Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten*, 13 vols. (1955; rpt. Tokyo: Taishukan Shoten, 1984), 4:1163c.

“King Māra... , according to ancient translations, can obstruct those who train often in the enterprise of leaving the world. They also say that he can cut short *hui-ming* through murder” (T. 2128 54:380b), and indeed, the acts of obstructing the cultivation of enlightenment and the snatching of life are especially mentioned as characteristics of Māra. Or again, even *chüan* four of the *Chu wei-mo-chieh ching* 注維摩詰經, a commentary on the Māra Po-hsün, reads

Shen (i.e., Lo Shen 羅什) said, ‘Po-hsün during the Ch’in was called the Murderer. He always desires to break the *hui-ming* of people. Consequently he is named the Murderer.’... Chao (i.e., Seng Chao 僧肇) said, ‘Po-hsün during the Ch’in was sometimes named the Murderer and sometimes named the Extreme [Evil One].’ He severs people’s roots of goodness. Therefore, he is named the Murderer. Disobeying the Buddha, he brings chaos to the sangha. There is no sin greater than this. Therefore, he is named the Extreme Evil [One]’ (T. 1775 38:365b).

[This] indicates that at the time when Buddhist sutras were being translated into Chinese, the special characteristics of Māra—obstructing the cultivation of enlightenment and snatching life—were recognized.

The second point that I would like to raise concerning Māra is that, in Buddhist cases where Māra is brought up as an issue, attention is paid to the two aspects [of him]: Māra who exists in the external realm and Māra who exists inside people’s minds and bodies. Among the four kinds of Māra (i.e., four Māras), the “Māra of passion” and the “Māra of the five skandhas” are those that exist inside the minds of people or are essential elements themselves that comprise the human body. On the other hand, the Prince Māra is one who exists externally as the ruler of the sixth heaven of the Realm of Desire. The Māra who hinders people’s cultivation and leads people to death is not only one who, like Prince Māra, wields power over people in the external human realm, but is also the Māra who exists in the internal realm of people’s minds and bodies. This recognition [of an internal and external Māra] is indeed an important aspect of the concept of Māra in Buddhist ideology. In this way, in addition to the Māra who exists externally, the Buddhist way of thinking that draws attention to the existence of Māra internally in the minds and bodies of people, as is described in the following sections, comes to greatly influence the development of Taoist ideology in the Six Dynasties period.

Now, when we consider that the fundamental characteristics possessed by Māra in Buddhism involve obstructing those who are carrying out training in search of *satori* [i.e., enlightenment] and snatching people’s lives, we can discover a resemblance to the characteristics possessed by the so-called *kuei* of China.

In China *kuei* is a word that generally indicates the numinous *hun* 魂 souls of the deceased. Moreover, even types like the so-called *li-mei* 魅 and *wang-liang* 魍魎 that were thought to arise from the seminal pneuma of such things as mountains, bodies of water, trees, and stones are included in the broad meaning of *kuei*. Needless to say, being humbly in awe of the numinous *hun* souls of the deceased and respectfully honoring the ghosts and spirits (*kuei-shen*) out of fear of curses from evil *kuei* and wandering *hun* souls came to form the basis of Chinese religion and religious ceremonies beginning in the Yin and Chou [Dynasties]. On the other hand, even stories in which types of deceased numinous spirits (*ling* 靈), in particular the numinous *hun* souls of the deceased that are not honored by their

descendants, and the so-called *li-mei* and *wang-liang*, bring a myriad of catastrophes on the living, submerge people in fear and misfortune, and end up killing them, can be seen in a variety of literature regardless of the time period. When Buddhist sutras were translated into Chinese, [words] that overlapped with the concept of *kuei* in China, for example *preta* (hungry ghosts; *o-kuei* 餓鬼), which refer to the numinous spirits (*ling*) of the dead, and *yaksa* (*veh-mo* 夜叉), which refer to tree spirits, were translated literally using the word *kuei*.

Let us [now] look at the *Pao-p'u tzu* 抱朴子 [Master who Embraces Simplicity] for the characteristics of Māra in Buddhism and *kuei* in China.

The *Pao-p'u tzu* explains that the highest value is placed on obtaining physical immortality and that the ultimate method for that purpose is the ingestion of “golden liquid of cycled cinnabar” (*huan-tan chin-i* 還丹金液). It says that people who cannot combine and ingest the “golden liquid of cycled cinnabar” will always be the target of deviant ghosts (*hsieh-kuei* 邪鬼) in the external realm.⁴ For example, there is the following passage in the chapter on “Earth-bound Perfected” (*Ti-chen p'ien* 地真篇):

The Master says, ‘If one can consume the great elixir of gold and cinnabar, even if one has not yet left this world, the myriad of deviant [spirits] will not approach [oneself]. If one only consumes plants and eats a little of the eight minerals, then only illnesses will be cured and life improved, [but] this will not be enough to ward off external catastrophes. Some [of these external catastrophes] are occasions when *kuei* attack, or *shen* of great mountains easily intrude, or *ching-mei* 精魅 invade.’

Also, the reasons why one must enter famous mountains such as Mount Hua, Mount T'ai, and Mount Huo in order to make this “golden liquid of cycled cinnabar” are explained as follows in the chapter on “Gold and Cinnabar” (*Chin-tan p'ien* 金丹篇) of the *Pao-p'u tzu*:

In general small mountains have non-orthodox spirits as their rulers. For the most part, these [spirits] are essences of trees and rocks, 1,000 year-old creatures, and blood-eating *kuei*. This group, as deviant pneumas, do not intend to create good fortune for people [but] only create catastrophes and excel at testing the practicing Taoist (*tao-shih* 道師). The Taoist should, through any technique, repel them from himself as well as any disciples who would follow him. However, some [deviant pneumas] destroy people's elixirs.

In this way, small mountains are the dwelling places of various “deviant pneumas.” Because they “test” Taoists and create catastrophes, transcendent elixirs are not completed. On the other hand, it is said that “orthodox spirits” dwell in famous mountains; they help Taoists and guide them in the completion of transcendent elixirs. “Orthodox spirits” that help Taoists in their amalgamation of transcendent elixirs and “deviant pneumas” that obstruct [these Taoists] are the same in that they both are numinous beings that dwell in mountains. Therefore, with respect to the function they play in relation to Taoists seeking

⁴For the ghosts and spirits (*kuei-shen*) that appear in the *Pao-p'u tzu*, [the author] refers [the reader to] Murukami Yoshimi's 村上嘉實 *Kishin to sennin* 鬼神仙人 [Ghosts, Spirits and Transcendents], Tōhō shūkyō 東方宗教 7 (1955).

immortality, they are divided into the opposites of “orthodox” and “deviant.” If [a Taoist] cannot create transcendent elixirs due to the catastrophes caused by “deviant pneumas,” then that Taoist cannot ingest transcendent elixirs and as a result walks the path towards death. However, these “deviant pneumas” obstruct the training of Taoists—according to the *Pao-p’u tzu*, creating transcendent elixirs in the mountains is itself regarded as training towards immortality—even leading them to death. This kind of characteristic as mentioned above is shared in common with Māra (*mo* 魔) in Buddhism.

In the passage cited earlier from the chapter “Gold and Cinnabar” in the *Pao-p’u tzu*, “essences of trees and rocks, 1,000 year-old creatures, blood-eating *kuei*,” and the like are not “deviant ghosts” but “deviant pneumas.” This suggests that there is a deep-rooted recognition that *kuei* are pneumas. Thinking of *kuei* as pneumas can be seen frequently in Chinese theories of *kuei* and *shen*. For example, the chapter “Revising [Views on] *Kuei*” in the *Lun-heng* 論衡 includes [the following]: “*Kuei* are pneumas that people see; [afterwards they] obtain illness”; “Pneumas of Heaven and Earth that create mischief are pneumas of the great yin 陰 [essence]”; and “*Kuei* are yin pneumas.”[†] In the same way, in the chapter “Discussing Death” (*Lun-ssu p’ien* 論死篇), there is [the passage],

Kuei 鬼 and *shen* 神 are the names of yin and yang. The yin pneumas return (*kuei* 歸) by going against beings. Therefore they are called *kuei*. Yang pneumas are born by guiding beings. Therefore they are called *shen*. *Shen* are repetitions (*shen* 申). They repeat without end and when finished they start anew. People are born with *shen* pneumas and when they die, they again return to *shen* pneumas. Yin and yang are called *kuei* and *shen*. Even the deceased are also called *kuei* and *shen*.

The latter passage clearly explains *kuei* as yin pneumas and *shen* as yang pneumas. In terms of the forms of these beings, *kuei* and *shen*, the recognition that both are pneumas forms the basis of Chinese theories about *kuei* and *shen*.

Both *kuei* and *shen* are numinous beings (that is, numinous pneumas) that take the existing form of pneuma, but in terms of their functions towards the living, they are divided into the two extremes of “orthodox”—those that bestow good fortune—and “deviant”—those that bestow catastrophes. As can be seen in the chapter “Gold and Cinnabar” in the *Pao-p’u tzu*, a division between “orthodox spirits” and “deviant pneumas” emerges. However, strictly speaking, there are further cases where *shen* are also considered to create catastrophes for the living in the same way as *kuei*. In a passage mentioned earlier from the chapter “Earth-bound Perfected” (*Ti-chen p’ien*) in the *Pao-p’u tzu*, the spirits of the great mountains (*ta-shan shen* 大山神) are considered to be one kind of deviant [spirit] that harms people in the same way as do *kuei* and *ching-mei*; this is one such example [of evil *shen*]. In this sort of case, it must be said that the word *shen* contains elements of *kuei*. That is, in contrast to the fact that *shen* contains both aspects, “orthodox” and “deviant,” *kuei* purely represents the aspect of “deviancy.” In other words, while *kuei* is one part of *shen*, it possesses the characteristic which represents the darker part of *shen*. This type of

[†]Note from the translators: In three versions of the Chinese *Lun-heng*, the essence of yin-yang assigned to *kuei* in these two sentences is yang rather than yin. See *Lun-heng* (T’ai-pei: Chung-kuo tzu-hsüeh ming-che chi-ch’eng pien-yin chi ch’in-hui, 1977), 967-968; *Lun-heng chu-shih* (Pei-ching: Chung-huo shu-chü, 1979), 1288; and *Lun-heng* (T’ai-pei: I-wen, 1967), *chüan* twenty-two.

characteristic of *kuei* can be said to overlap with that of Māra in Buddhism. Even Māra as Prince Māra, the ruler of the *T'o hua tzu-tsai* heaven, which is the highest heaven of the Realm of Desire, while belonging to the worlds of the devas (i.e., divinities), is a being that retains the function of obstructing people's attainment of enlightenment and driving them into evil situations.⁵

One more noteworthy point in the passage from the chapter "Gold and Cinnabar" in the *Pao-p'u tzu* cited earlier is that the "deviant pneumas" in the mountains "test the Taoists." There are other examples of deviant *kuei* testing people training in mountains. We can see [this] in the chapter on "Climbing [Mountains] and Fording [Streams]" (*Teng-she p'ien* 登涉篇),

Moreover, the essences of the myriad creatures who become old are able to assume human form and by confusing people, constantly test them.

And in the section "Extreme Words" (*Chi-yen p'ien* 極言篇), we find

If some do not obtain the method for entering mountains, and because of this mountain spirits create catastrophes, then mischievous ghosts will test them.

As seen in the examples above, *kuei* are regarded as carrying out tests as a means of obstructing those who are training. Even this, in Chinese translations of Buddhist sutras, resembles the obstruction of Māra expressed by the words *mo-shih* 魔試, "trials of Māra" (for an example of a "trial of Māra" [where] Māra provokes to evil those who are training in the way of transcendentship by carrying out various threats and temptations, see *chüan* six of the *Chu wei-mo-chieh ching*, T. 1775, 38:381b). In [works] such as the *Biographies of Divine Transcendents* (Shen-hsien chuan 神仙傳) and *chüan* five of the *Chen-kao*, we can see many stories where divine transcendents impose tests on those training in the way of transcendentship in the mountains; if they do not pass, then they do not become transcendent beings.⁶ Also, in the *Inner Biography of the Perfected Being of Purple Solarity* (Tzu-yang chen-jen nei-chuan 紫陽真人內傳), those who are aiming for the way of transcendentship are given numerous small tests. Once they pass all of these, their names are removed from the book of the dead and transferred to the bureau of transcendents. In the bureau of transcendents there are twelve more great tests.

⁵These two aspects are characteristics commonly found not only in Māra but also in those that are regarded as evil spirits. See Miyasaka Yūshō 官 宥勝, *Yaksa kō—shoki bukkyō o chūshin to shite* 考—初期佛教を中心として [Investigation of Yaksa: Focusing on Early Buddhism], *Hashimoto hakush taikan kinen bukkyō kenkyū ronshū* 橋本博士退官記念佛教研究論集 [Collection of Essays on Buddhist Research Commemorating the Retirement of Professor Hashimoto], 1975, and *Indo koten ron* インド古典論 [Discussion of Ancient Indian Texts], Chikuma shobō 筑摩書房, 1983.

⁶For stories on testing that appear in the *Shen-hsien chuan*, see Kominami Ichirō's 小南一郎 *Gi Shin Jidai no shinsen shisō: Shinsenden o chūshin ni shite* 魏晉時代の神仙思想—神仙傳を中心にして [Ideology of Divine Transcendents in the Wei and Chin Dynasties: Focusing on the Biographies of Divine Transcendents] (*Chūgoku no kagaku to kagakusha* 中國の科學と科學者, 1978), and *Chūgoku no shinwa to monogatari* 中國の神話と物語 [Chinese Mythology and Narratives] (Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 1984).

If one passes [these tests] with superior [marks], then one will become an upper transcendent. If one passes with mediocre [marks], then one will become an earth-bound transcendent. If one passes with inferior [marks], then one will undergo liberation from the corpse during the day.

In this way, the resolve of those who are seeking the Tao is tested by the imposition of tests from numinous beings such as *kuei* and *shen* (i.e., divine transcendents). This is probably based on the religious consciousness that a boundary which is difficult to cross exists between the world of ghosts and spirits (*kuei-shen*) and the world of mortals. Against the backdrop of this kind of religious consciousness, considering that those who cultivate the Tao endure obstruction in the form of testing from superior beings, Māra in Buddhism and *kuei* in China share common characteristics.

In this way, *kuei* that are seen in the *Pao-p'u tzu* in many respects possess characteristics that greatly resemble Māra in Buddhism. In China, many conceptions of *kuei* unique to China had already developed prior to the advent of Buddhism. Moreover, within the broad meaning of the word *kuei* was also a portion that overlapped [in meaning] with the concept of Māra. During the time Buddhist sutras were translated into Chinese, first *mo-lo* 摩羅 and *mo-lo* 磨羅 as well as the abbreviated forms *mo* 摩 and *mo* 磨 were used as transliterations of Māra. Being unsatisfactory [characters], the character *mo* 魔 which contains the character *kuei* was created. We may say that this was because the concept of *kuei*, which overlapped with the concept of Māra, was already in existence in China. We know this from the examples in the *Pao-p'u-tzu*.

The character *mo* 魔 is not used even once in the *Pao-p'u tzu*. We can cite the *Chen-kao* as an early example where the character *mo* 魔 appears in Taoist literature (however, according to T'ao Hung-ching's explanation as stated above, originally the character *mo* 摩 was used and later it was changed to the character *mo* 魔). In *ch'ian* six of the *Chen-kao*, in the words of the Lady of Purple Solarity (*Tzu-wei fu-jen* 紫微夫人),

Starting around dawn, the heavens are covered with murderous pneumas, and evil smoke represses the phosphors. Deviant *mo* perversely arise, and the myriad of illnesses mix and gather (6:3b6-7).

This tells us that “deviant *mo*” 邪魔 are the source of illness in people. It is probably reasonable to think of these “deviant *mo*” as the same as the “deviant *kuei*” (i.e., “deviant pneumas”) that appeared in the *Pao-p'u tzu*. In the *Chen-kao* there are examples where *kuei* and *mo* are used interchangeably, such as “destroy *kuei* and expel *mo*” (9:10b2) and “eat *mo* and consume *kuei*” (10:10b8); *kuei* and *mo* are grasped [as having] the same meaning.

Also, in the *Chen-kao* (17:12b2) the term “*mo* pneumas” is used in [the passage] “the Six Heavens armed with authority, dispel the *mo* pneumas.” We can probably say that this is where the understanding of *kuei* as pneuma, as stated above, extended to the existing [concept of] *mo*. Incidentally, the “*kuei* pneumas” (*kuei-ch'i*) that invade people [’s bodies] appear in T'ao Hung-ching's commentary to the *Chen-kao* (15:9b2-3):

Kuei are yin creatures that for the most part rely on [others] to spread their pneuma. Some [do this by] attaching themselves to people and animals, others by depending

on objects and others by depending on drink and food. After doing this, they are able to let loose their evil poison.

T'ao Hung-ching's explanation that *kuei* extend their pneuma by attaching themselves to people and objects and [thus] create evil poison as they wish concisely expresses the way the function of *kuei* was understood in China at the time of and prior to the *Pao-p'u tzu*.

The word "old pneumas" (*ku-ch'i* 古氣) also appears in the *Chen-kao* as an object that possesses the same nature as such things as "mo pneumas" and "kuei pneumas." In 15:9b6-8, there is the [following] example:

The corners of the room where people sleep should be washed clean.⁷ If they are washed clean, then one will receive numinous pneumas. If they are not washed clean, then one will receive old pneumas. The old pneumas cause chaos for people in the corners of the room. All that [these people] do will not be successful and all that they create will not last. It will be this way all of their lives.

T'ao Hung-ching explains these "old pneumas":

Old pneumas are all dirty, polluted, and unorthodox pneumas of *kuei* and *shen*. They all enter people and create evil.

The "dirty, polluted, and unorthodox pneumas of *kuei* and *shen*" that create evil for people are exactly the so-called "deviant pneumas" and may be another way of expressing the terms "kuei pneumas" and "mo pneumas."

In this way, the character *mo* is used in the *Chen-kao* as a word of similar meaning to *kuei*. This, in other words, shows that with the descent of spirits at Mount Mao carried out during the reign years *hsing-ning* [circa 363-365] and *t'ai-ho* [circa 366-370] of the Eastern Chin [Dynasty], there was interest in and an attempt to actively accept *mo* 魔 (first expressed as *mo* 摩 and *mo* 磨), which had been used in Chinese translations of Buddhist sutras as a translated term for Māra.

Beginning with this example in the *Chen-kao*, from the latter period of the Eastern Chin [Dynasty] onward, the character *mo* 魔 started to appear in some Taoist texts. However, even though the character *mo* began to appear, it seems that in the beginning it simply replaced the character *kuei* or was used relatively loosely to mean "[something] deviant and evil" (*hsieh-o* 邪惡). If we compare [it to] *kuei*, which is a unique Chinese concept deeply rooted in the actual life and consciousness of Chinese people, we could say that the loan word *mo*, at least in the beginning, was a word that came into being merely as [a form of]

⁷This same passage also appears in the *Chen-kao* (10:8a4-5). In T'ao Hung-ch'ing's commentary to this section it says:

The character *sheng* 盛 means 'to purify' (*ch'ing* 淨). Originally the character *ch'ing* did not exist in China. For this reason, *sheng* was used. In various texts, it is substituted like this.

Also, *Chen-kao* (19:6b9, 7a2-3) reads, "[In] the handwriting of the three gentlemen... [the term] *ch'ing-chieh* 淨潔 is written in every case as *sheng-chieh* 盛潔."

new knowledge. We can cite the use of *kuei* and *mo* in the *Nü-ch'ing kuei-lü* 女青鬼律 [Demon Statute of Feminine Verdure] as one example that shows this well.

The *Nü-ch'ing kuei-lü* is a Taoist text composed in the latter period of the Eastern Chin [Dynasty]. [In it] numerous kinds of *kuei* and their names are enumerated. It states that in order for people to avoid disaster from the domination of *kuei*, one must know the names of those various *kuei*. The types of *kuei* enumerated range greatly in scope, starting with *kuei* of the natural world such as mountain *kuei*, *kuei* of trees, *kuei* of various animals such as tigers and snakes, and *kuei* of the Yangtze and Yellow Rivers, up to *kuei* that reside in houses, wells, hearths, beds, and canopies, *kuei* associated with the various dates of the sixty days as well as the twelve months, and *kuei* that haunt the roadsides. We can see that the people of that time saw the existence of *kuei* [as central] in the affairs and matters of their daily lives. As [an example of] one of these numerous *kuei*, there is “a demon (*mo-hsieh* 魔邪) of the house, a *kuei* which causes people to tremble with fear” (*chüan* six of the *Nü-ch'ing kuei-lü*). In the *Nü-ch'ing kuei-lü*, the numerous [usages of] the character *kuei* [together] possess a weight whereby one can feel [the concern for *kuei*] in the lives of the people of that time. Conversely, the character *mo* only appears in one place as mentioned above.

In Taoist texts [in the beginning] the character *mo* 魔 simply replaced the character *kuei* or was used to mean the same as “deviant” (*hsieh* 邪). [Then,] leaving this stage, [the term] *mo* incorporated the concept of *mo* residing internally with the word Māra in Buddhism. This is represented with such phrases as “Māra of the passions” (*fan-nao mo* 煩惱魔) and “Māra of the five skandhas” (*wu-yin mo* 五陰魔). These represented the element of evil inside people's hearts that was not contained in the Chinese concept of *kuei* (or at least a clear form of evil was not recognized from the concept of *kuei*). We can say that it was slightly later when people started to take great interest in this. Before we discuss this in the next chapter, I would like to look at [the term] “King Māra” that appears in Taoist texts.

The Mo Kings (Part One): *Shen-Chou Ching* 神咒經 [The Scripture Of Divine Incantations]

In Buddhist texts translated into Chinese, the word King Māra generally refers to the heavenly Māra P'o-hsün who is the ruler of the sixth heaven in the Realm of Desire (*T'o-hua tzu tsai t'ien*). In other words [he is] the Prince Māra of the four Māras discussed earlier. However, in Taoist texts this word has a slightly different meaning. Moreover, it is given an important position in the structure of religious thought as expounded in both the *Shen-chou ching* and the *Tu-jen ching* 度人經 [Salvation Scripture]. First of all, let us start by looking at the *Shen-chou ching*.

The *Shen-chou ching* is a scripture with a total of twenty *chüan*, but here the first ten *chüan*, which are thought to have been formed [during the period] from the end of the Eastern Chin [Dynasty] to the Liu Sung [Dynasty], will be the object of inquiry. The first ten *chüan* of the *Shen-chou ching* are formed from 253 literary fragments. Combining their contents, we can make the following synopsis. Namely, due to the rampancy of evil *kuei* in the present world, [the world] has sunk into an eschatological chaos in which wars and disease frequently occur. But it has been decided that soon Masters of the Law (*fa-shih* 法師) of the Three Caverns will be sent to earth from heaven to undertake the work of circulating scriptures (e.g., *San-tung ching* 三洞經 [The Scripture of the Three Caverns] and

the *Shen-chou ching*) and curing illnesses. Those that receive and revere the *San-tung ching* and *Shen-chou ching* will be saved and will be able to survive the end of the world.⁸

The *Shen-chou ching* uses the idea that *kuei* equal pneuma to elaborate on the notion that *kuei* cause people to be sick.⁹ For example, as it says in the following (1:4),

In this world pestilent pneumas are numerous. There are 90 kinds of illnesses in the world that kill evil people. Among these are killer *kuei* with red heads whose king is 10,000 yards (*chang* 丈) long and who leads 3,600,000,000 killer *kuei*. Each of the *kuei* holds a red club and roams the world exclusively snatching living people, spending day and night looking for them. The azure pneuma kills people. The red pneuma causes people to swell. The yellow pneuma causes diarrhea. The white pneuma causes sunstroke. The black pneuma causes lawsuits. These *kuei*, which possess these pneumas, spread throughout the world killing stupid people.

Here, it is evil people and stupid people who are said to have been attacked by *kuei* and thereby became ill. [Thus] in the background is the historical consciousness that with the passage of time the pure simplicity of the world of high antiquity has been lost, the minds of people have been weakened, and they have become stupid. This text explains that in the presently weakened world millions of *kuei* led by *kuei* kings are rampant and spread pestilent pneumas throughout the world which numerous people come in contact with. Here, as we also understand from the concrete images that appear such as the killer *kuei* with red heads carrying red clubs in their hands, we can see that the *Shen-chou ching* is not a theoretical text for intellectuals but [one] that takes as its foundation the concept of *kuei* which was deeply rooted in the consciousness of the people of that time. On this point the *Shen-chou ching* shares common characteristics with the *Nü-ch'ing kuei-lu* mentioned above.

As for the manner in which *kuei* spread pneuma (which becomes the cause of illness) throughout the world, there are other various accounts in the *Shen-chou ching*.

In the year *chia-wu*, there are red-wall *kuei* 80 *chang* in length. 4,900,000,000 form one group. They transform into great fish that are seven *chang* two *ch'ih* 尺 and

⁸For the eschatological thought that can be seen in the *Shen-chou ching*, see my work "Kaigō dojin setsu no keisei (jō) 開劫度人説の形成 (上)" [The Formation of Theories on the Commencement of Kalpas and the Salvation of People] *Tōyō gakujutsu kenkyū* 東洋學術研究 vol. 27 (1988).

⁹For the theory of demons and gods in the *Shen-chou ching*, see Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾, *Dōkyō shi no kenkyū* 道教史の研究 [Research into Taoist History] (Okayama Daigaku kyōsai kai shoseki bu 岡山大學共濟會書籍部, 1964), 525-530; Miyagawa Hisayuki 宮川尚志, "Shindai dōkyō no ichi kōsatsu: Taijō dōen shinju kyō o megurite 晉代道教の一考察-太上洞淵神咒經をめぐりて" [An Investigation of Chin Dynasty Taoism: On the T'ai-shang tung-yüan shen-chou ching], *Chūgokugaku shi* 中國學志 5(1969), and *Chūgoku shūkyū shi kenkyū* 中國宗教史研究 [Research into the Religious History of China], no. 1, Dōhō sha shuppan 同朋舎出版, 1983; and Shinohara Hisao 篠員壽雄, *Dōkyō teki kishin: ki ni kansuru oboegaki* 道教的鬼神-鬼に関する覺書 [Taoist Kuei and Shen: Memorial on Kuei] (Yoshioka hakushi kanreki kinen dōkyō kenkyū ronshū 吉岡傳士還曆記念道教研究論集, 1977).

three *tsun* 寸 in length. They also transform into a million flying birds that fly about spreading pneumas of death in the world (6:5).

In the year *jen-wu*, there are already 36 kinds of great *kuei*. The *kuei* are called 'black headed' (*hei-t'ou jan* 黑頭然) as well as 'red-canopied three' (*ch'ih-kai san* 赤蓋三) and *a-chü* 阿駒. Each of them leads 39,000 people, carrying knives of killer demons with white clubs. The knives are seven *ch'ih* in length. Entering people's homes, they exclusively snatch people's lives. Spreading 120 kinds of illnesses, they kill evil people. There are 60 kinds of evil pneumas that enter people's bodies and cause their deaths (7:2).

It was thought that the *kuei* transformed [themselves] at will and entered people's bodies as evil pneuma, causing death from illness.

In the text cited above, it is written that the *kuei* kings lead hordes of *kuei*. The fact that the *kuei* congregate in great numbers and form one group in this way and that these kinds of groups are many and in each case led by *kuei* kings (also called great *kuei*), forms the basis of the *Shen-chou ching*. Furthermore, famous historical and legendary people such as Meng T'ien 蒙恬, Wang Chien 王翦 (6:5), Pai Ch'i 白起, Ch'u K'uang 楚狂, Nü-wa 女媧, Chu Jung 祝融 (7:5), Teng Ai 鄧艾, Chung Shih-chi 鐘士季, and Wang Mang 王莽 (7:6) are primarily used to represent the *kuei* kings and the great *kuei*. A situation like this, in which the names of famous historical and legendary people are used as those of people in the world of *kuei*, can also be seen in the *Chen-kaio*.¹⁰ However, unlike the *Chen-kaio*, [in] the *Shen-chou ching*, interest in the bureaucratic organization of the world of the *kuei* is slight.

In the *Shen-chou ching* the *kuei* kings as leaders of the hordes of *kuei* direct the actions of the *kuei*. *Mo* 魔 kings appear in the same position as the *kuei* kings or in control of a higher position than the *kuei* kings. In the *Shen-chou ching*, the character *mo* appears alone (for example, in 1:2 as *mo-tzu li-shih* 魔子力士 [muscle men sons of *mo*], 1:3 as *chiu-t'ien ta-mo* 九天大魔 [great *mo* of the nine heavens], 1:5 as *san-t'ien ta-mo* 三天大魔 [great *mo* of the three heavens], 1:7 as *i-ch'ieh hsieh-mo* 一切邪魔 [all of the deviant *mo*], 3:8 as *t'ien-mo ping* 天魔兵 [armies of heavenly *mo*], and 7:6 as *i-ch'ieh hsieh-mo* 一切邪魔 [all of the *mo* deviants]). However, in most cases it appears as the words "mo kings" (*mo wang* 魔王) or "great mo kings" (*ta mo wang* 大魔王). This being called *mo* king occupies a noteworthy place in the structure of salvation discussed in the *Shen-chou ching*.

As discussed above, in the *Shen-chou ching* the eschatological chaos on earth due to the rampancy of evil *kuei* is thought to be pacified by the Masters of the Law of the Three Caverns sent from heaven who circulate scriptures and cure illnesses. There are two explanations of why the *kuei* cease their rampancy due to the activities of circulating scriptures and curing illnesses on the part of the Masters of the Law of the Three Caverns. First, in the *San-tung ching* and *Shen-chou ching*, because the names of the *kuei* are recorded, if one reads them aloud, then the *kuei* will disperse. In 2:5 [of the *Shen-chou ching*] there is the [following] example:

¹⁰For the world of *kuei* that appears in the *Chen-kaio*, see my work *Shinkō ni tsuite (jō)* 眞詰について(上) [On the *Chen-kaio*] (Nagoya Daigaku kyōyō bu kiyō 名古屋大學教養部紀要, Part A, no. 30, 1986).

In this *Shen-chou ching* are the names of all of the *kuei*. Therefore, the Most High considers it [i.e., this text] important. If there is a place on earth where there are transmitted scriptures, [at that spot,] all evil *kuei* will not be able to approach people.

This way of thinking consists of the above [mentioned] concept of incantation techniques; [one can] control objects by chanting their names.

There is another explanation for the rampancy of *kuei* ceasing due to the activities of circulating scriptures and curing illnesses on the part of the Master of the Law of the Three Caverns. Knowing the intent of the celestial divinities that try to save people on earth, the *mo* kings reflect on the evil deeds [they have committed] up to that point and reform themselves. *Mo* kings, from that time on, discipline subordinate *kuei*, causing them to cease [their] violence and vow to the celestial spirits to protect the circulated scriptures of the Masters of the Law. In the *Shen-chou ching*, the highest celestial spirit is called Tao, the Most High, or the Heavenly Worthy. Before that highest celestial spirit, the *mo* kings reform and make vows. This [situation] appears everywhere in the *Shen-chou ching*. Let us cite passage 1:7-8 as an example:

The *mo* 魔 kings, *hsieh* 邪 kings, and *kuei* 鬼 kings between them heard the Most High discuss the *Shen-chou ching*. Being sad in their hearts, they sighed saying, 'We in the past until now have only committed evil deeds and ascribed it to the Tao. Today we heard the Heavenly Worthy discuss these words. We will carry them out immediately. If there are those in the world who receive this scripture, we will try to personally follow and protect them. If there are demon bandits that come to attack and bully these Taoists, we will immediately execute them. From this day forward, if there are people with illnesses or lawsuits who circulate scriptures, we will all immediately help them and grant them good fortune. If there are those [*kuei*] that do not maintain their vow and come as before to transgress, even breaking their [own] heads into millions of pieces would not be enough of an apology.'

In this passage, the *mo* kings, *hsieh* kings and *kuei* kings end up reforming themselves when they hear the Most High (Heavenly Worthy), the highest spirit, reciting the *Shen-chou ching* for the salvation of humanity. Here the difference between the *mo* kings, *hsieh* kings and *kuei* kings is not clear; it seems that they are used with almost the same meaning. If we look throughout the entire *Shen-chou ching*, those that follow the will of the highest spirit, reform, and take vows, are often the *mo* kings (especially in *chüan* two and three). Moreover, the *mo* kings reforming themselves, disciplining evil *kuei*, taking vows, and protecting the Masters of the Law has become an important point in the structure of salvation in the *Shen-chou ching*.

In this way the *mo* kings under the highest spirit in the heavens come to regret their evil deeds, redirect themselves towards the good, and therefore cooperate with the deities. In other words, they are considered to contain the dual aspects of good and evil. However, to begin with, what kind of beings are they, and what kind of relationship are they really thought to have with the highest spirit in the heavens? Let us refer to the following passage that appears in 2:6 [of the *Shen-chou ching*]:

The Tao said, 'All *shen* kings and all *mo* kings, even you are the same as my orthodox pneuma of *wu-wei* 無爲. As for what you do, each differs. In the hundred

divisions, there is nothing like my unity. Although you have the transformation [ability] of a great spirit, you will again [in future lives] be my disciples. What is the reason? It is because by not training in the natural pneumas of the Tao, you have for a long time amassed cruelty in your hearts and dwelt in the realm of transmigration undergoing birth and death. Because you had great fortune in previous lives, you have obtained the positions of *shen* kings and *mo* kings. I am positioned above the three heavens and control the multitude of numinous spirits. The reason for this is that already since former kalpas I have pitied all things as if they were all born of me.

Here, besides *mo* kings, *shen* kings appear. These *shen* kings probably refer to kings of *kuei* and *shen* and are similar to the *kuei* kings that have appeared up until now. Here it is thought that the *shen* kings are almost the same as the *mo* kings. In this passage, it is recorded that the *mo* kings (as well as the *shen* kings), with respect to their having orthodox pneumas of *wu-wei*, are the same as the Tao, the highest spirit. However, this passage states that the *mo* kings (and the *shen* kings) have ended up remaining in the realm of transmigration undergoing birth and death because they do not follow the self-actualizing pneuma of the Tao but harbor evil hearts. On the other hand, it also states that the Tao has a heart full of pity for all creatures and is now placed above the three heavens and rules over the multitudes of numinous spirits. In Taoist texts, the highest spirit of the cosmos is often described by terms such as “orthodox pneuma of *wu-wei*” and “the self-actualizing pneuma of the Tao” which refer to the pneuma of the origin of the cosmos. In one example in *chüan* forty-two of the *T'ai-p'ing ching* 太平經 [Scripture of Great Peace], the highest spirit is described as a divine person of formless pneuma resembling the primordial pneuma (Wang Ming 王明, *T'ai-p'ing ching ho-chiao* 太平經合校, 88). In contrast to the Tao, the highest spirit that continually preserves the orthodox pneuma of *wu-wei* and the self-actualizing pneuma of the Tao, the *mo* kings (and the *shen* kings) distance themselves from [the Tao] by their actions, as was explained in the previous passage.

In the above passage the *mo* kings (as well as the *shen* kings) are considered to be in the realm of transmigration undergoing birth and death. This, needless to say, has introduced Buddhist doctrine and probably recognizes Buddhist theories which state that the *mo* kings live in the sixth heaven of the Realm of Desire among the three realms that are in the domain of the cycle [of rebirth]. However, in the *Shen-chou ching*, the heavens where *mo* kings dwell are not specified as Buddhist. If one notices that [the *mo* kings] are presented in various ways as the “*mo* kings of the three heavens” (*san t'ien mo-wang* 三天魔王, 2:4), “great *mo* kings of the nine heavens” (*chiu t'ien ta mo-wang* 九天大魔王, 3:1), “*mo* king of the seven heavens” (*ch'i t'ien mo-wang* 七天魔王, 3:2), and the great *mo* kings of the thirty-six heavens” (*san-shih-liu t'ien ta mo-wang* 三十六天大魔王, 3:3), it looks as if the [concept of] *mo* kings dwelling in respective heavenly worlds is but vaguely grasped.

The *mo* kings in the *Shen-chou ching* are leaders of *kuei* (8:4 reads, “Now the *kuei* of the ten directions are those which the *mo* kings control”). They do not really possess the characteristics of leaders of the so-called dead or controllers of the realm of darkness. It is thought that this is related to the lack of systematic accounts of the so-called earth prisons in the *Shen-chou ching* (terms such as *ti-yü* 地獄 [the earth prisons]; *san-t'ien ti-yü* 三天地獄 [the earth prisons of the three heavens]; *t'ien-i pei-yü* 天一北獄 [the northern prison of the celestial one]; *t'ien yü* 天獄 [the celestial prison]; and the *shui-yü* 水獄 [water prison] appear in fragments but their contents are unclear). The relation between the realm of darkness and

the *mo* kings is unclear. This is different than in the *Tu-jen ching* which we will describe next.

Summarizing the characteristics of the *mo* kings in the *Shen-chou ching* seen above, we derive the following. The *mo* kings live in heaven, and as leaders of *kuei*, bear full responsibility for the activities carried out by the *kuei*. The *mo* kings at first tolerate the evil deeds [committed by] *kuei* (e.g., causing people to become sick and producing chaos in the world). However, they come to know the intent of the Tao (the Most High, the Heavenly Worthy), the highest spirit, who, as explained in the *San-tung ching* and *Shen-chou ching*, tries to save the people of the world. [They] come to cooperate by reforming themselves, making vows, causing *kuei* to cease their evil deeds, and regulating chaos in the world. The fact that the *mo* kings reform and make vows in this way is not only because the power of the Tao, which is in the position of controlling the multitudes of numinous spirits, is superior to the power of the *mo* kings. It is also because the bodies of the *mo* kings, because they possess the orthodox pneuma of *wu-wei*—i.e., the fundamental nature of beings—were originally the same as the Tao. In the *Shen-chou ching* (8:9) we can see the passage, “All of the *mo* kings also, together with the Most High, rule and convert all people.” It is thought that the *mo* kings, as so-called managers of evil, are beings that aid the governance of the world by the highest spirit in the heavens and contribute to the orderly formation of the cosmos.

When we look at it in this way, there are aspects in which the *mo* kings in the *Shen-chou ching* resemble Buddhist *mo* kings. [For example,] in terms of vocabulary [this text] naturally uses terms from Chinese translations of Buddhist texts. It also explains that [the *mo* kings] live in a heavenly realm and exist in the realm of transmigration undergoing birth and death. However, the aspects in which they differ are many. The Buddhist *mo* kings *T'o-hua-tzu-tsai t'ien-tzu mo* [Prince *Mo* of the Heaven for the Lords who transform others] are obstructors of the enlightenment of Sakyamuni and Buddhist disciples and are temptors of evil. In contrast, the *mo* kings in the *Shen-chou ching* are emphasized as changing into beings that do good by reforming [themselves] and vowing [to the Most High] to protect the Masters of the Law circulating texts and curing illnesses. Moreover, the *mo* kings in the *Shen-chou ching* are distanced from Buddhist doctrine. Instead, they are strongly incorporated into various religious concepts indigenous to China [such as] the concept of *kuei*, the concept of a unified control of the world by the highest spirit in the heavens, and the way of thinking which takes spirits to be the fundamental pneuma of the cosmos. Also, proceeding in this way for the first time, the idea of salvation in the *Shen-chou ching*, which regards the existence of *mo* kings as essential elements, was established.

Mo Kings (Part 2)

Tu-Jen Ching [The Salvation Scripture]

Next, I would like to investigate the question of *mo* kings in the *Tu-jen ching*. As for the *Tu-jen ching*, and regarding its four commentaries as texts, I will take as the object of investigation the main text and the commentary of Yen Tung 嚴東 of the Ch'i Dynasty.

As is known from the fact that the formal name of the *Tu-jen ching* is *Yüan-shih wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching* 元始無量度人上品妙經 [The Upper Chapter of the Wonderous Scripture on the Limitless Salvation of People by the (Heavenly Worthy of the) Primal Beginning], this is a scripture that regards as its central theme the unlimited salvation of all people (*wu-liang tu-jen* 無量度人). However, the nuance of salvation in the *Tu-jen ching* is slightly different from that in the *Shen-chou ching*. In the *Shen-chou ching*,

salvation meant that living people were protected from attack by *kuei* and survived the eschatological chaos of the world. In the *Tu-jen ching*, *kuei* themselves are further regarded as objects of salvation. There was great interest in how the salvation of deceased numinous spirits who have entered into the bureau of darkness was accomplished. Therefore, the way of understanding the *kuei*, *mo*, and *mo* kings is also seen to be different from that in the *Shen-chou ching*.

In the *Tu-jen ching*, *kuei* are thought to gather in the bureau of darkness at “Ch’üan-ch’ü 泉曲 prefecture in the northern capital of Lo-feng 羅鄴.” Yen Tung provides the following note on this bureau of darkness:

The northern capital is the jade capital. Lo-feng is the name of a mountain. The mountain of Lo-feng is north of Heaven and Earth and beyond the northern sea. The height of the mountain is 2,600 *li*. Inside and out there are palaces and buildings of seven jewels where the *kuei* and *shen* of Heaven and Earth dwell. The Northern Thearch Great *Mo* King of the six heavens of the three realms rules among them. There are in all six palaces. All are ruled by the *kuei* and *shen* of the six heavens. In the caverns there are also six palaces that resemble [the former] as if they were one (*Tu-jen ching* [commentary] 2:29).

Moreover, after this, an explanation of the various palaces and bureaus continues, but here it will be condensed. The section mentioned above is based on an account of Mount Lo-feng which appears in the *Chen-kao* (15:1-2).¹¹ The point of difference between the account in the *Chen-kao* and the account in Yen Tung’s commentary of the *Tu-jen ching* is that the name of the king that controls the *kuei* is the “Great Thearch Lord of the North” (15:5) in the *Chen-kao*. In contrast, it is the “Northern Thearch Great *Mo* King of the six

¹¹*Chüan* fifteen of the *Chen-kao*:

Mount Lo-feng is located in the northern *kuei* section of earth. The mountain is 2,600 *li* tall and 30,000 *li* in circumference. Below the mountain there are cavern heavens with a circumference of 15,000 *li* inside the mountain. On top of the mountain and below it there are palaces and chambers of *kuei* and *shen*. On the mountain there are six palaces, and inside the caverns there are six more. All are 1,000 *li* in circumference. These are palaces for the *kuei* and *shen* of the six heavens.... All of the six celestial palaces are ruled by the *kuei* and *shen* of the six heavens. The six celestial palaces inside the caverns also have the same names. They resemble one another as if they were one.

T’ao Hung-ching’s commentary:

This probably corresponds to the dwelling place of the *kuei* kings of Pei-feng who judge criminals. This spirit probably corresponds to the place where he who is called King Yen-lo in this scripture dwells. That king is the present Great Thearch of the North.

For various explanations of the earth prisons seen in Taoist texts of the Six Dynasties period, see Kominami Ichirō’s 小南一郎 *Dōkyō shikō to shisha no kyūsai* 道教信仰と死者の救済 [Taoist Beliefs and Salvation of the Dead] (Tōyō gakujitsu kenkyū 東洋學術研究 vol. 27, 1988).

heavens of the three realms” in the *Tu-jen ching*. The six heavens mentioned here are not [synonymous with] the sixth heaven of the Realm of Desire in Buddhism. Instead it indicates the world of *kuei* in Taoism.¹² Calling the world of *kuei* at Mount Lo-feng the six heavens already appears in the *Chen-kao*, but in the *Tu-jen ching*, [the term] is prefixed with [the phrases] “the three worlds” (*san-chieh* 三界) and “great *mo* king” (*ta mo-wang*), imbuing [it] with a Buddhist tinge. Moreover, what is noteworthy is that these great *mo* kings in the *Tu-jen ching* are closer to King Yen-mo 閻魔 (Yen-lo 閻羅, Yen-mo 焰魔, Yen-mo 琰魔, etc.), who is the head spirit of the earth prisons that judges people’s crimes, than to King Mo, Māra, who is the ruler of the *T’o-hua tzu-tsai t’ien*. T’ao Hung-ching, in a note on the palaces of the six heavens at Mount Lo-feng in the *Chen-kao*, regarded the Great Thearch of the North and King Yen-mo as the same [being], stating,

This probably corresponds to the dwelling place of the *kuei* kings of Pei-feng 北酆 who judge criminals. This spirit probably corresponds to the place where he who is called King Yen-lo in this scripture dwells. That king is the present Great Thearch of the North.¹³

In Yen Tung’s commentary on the *Tu-jen ching*, *kuei* that gather in this bureau of darkness are also called *mo-kuei* and are considered to be hateful things that try to take people’s lives. *Tu-jen ching* 3:27 reads,

At Ch’üan-ch’ü prefecture in the northern capital there is a group of tens of thousands of *kuei*. They desire only to suppress people’s allotted lifespans and close off people’s gates to life.

¹²The fact that the world of *kuei* in Taoism is called the “six heavens” is explained by six being the number of greater yin. For example, Tung Ssu-ching’s 董思靖 *Chieh-i* 解義 [Untying the Meaning], on the passage “Chanting it six times, the *mo* kings bind the body” in the *Chiu-t’ien sheng-shen chang-ching* 九天生神章經 [Strophes and Scriptures of the Living Shen of the Nine Heavens], says:

Six is the number of greater yin. Now the *mo* kings of the six heavens are the old pneumas of the six heavens. Their power equals heaven. [When] the Primal Beginning started to convert [beings] these *mo* also arose and obstructed and tested those who were training. The first were small *mo* and the later great *mo*. Having tested and passed them, they then protected them and [made them] ascend to the ranks of transcendents. Now [when one chants] six times during the time when the six yin numbers are at their extreme, then the authority of the *mo* flourishes. However I use the six [yin numbers] to surpass them; my merit is sufficient in order to subdue them.

For the concepts of the “six heavens” and “three heavens” in Six Dynasties Taoism, see Kobayashi Masayoshi’s 小林正義 *Ryūchōki no tenshidō no “santen” no shisō to sono keisei* 劉宋期の天師道の三天の思想とその形成 [The Ideology and Formation of the “Three Heavens” in Liu Sung Celestial Masters Taoism] (*Tōhō shūkyō* 東方宗教 70, 1987), and his *Rikuchō dōkyōshi kenkyū* 六朝道教史研究 [Research on the History of Six Dynasties Taoism] (Sōbun sha 創文社, 1990).

¹³See n. 11.

Yen Tung's commentary reads,

The mountain of the northern capital is a place where these *shen-mo* of the six heavens rule. Among them is Ch'üan-ch'ü prefecture [where] there are hordes of tens of thousands of *kuei*. The *kuei* of the six heavens are at the same time the cruel and ugly *kuei* of the one hundred *mo*. They always desire to try to kill people.... The *mo-kuei* of the six heavens always desire to shorten allotted lifespans and close off people's gates to life, causing people to die.

[Viewing] evil *kuei*, which are numinous *hun* souls of the deceased as opposed to the living, as violent and murdering people is a traditional way of understanding *kuei* in China that clearly appears in such [scriptures as] the *Pao-p'u-tzu*, the *Nü-ch'ing kuei-lü*, and the *Shen-chou ching*. However, in Yen Tung's commentary to the *Tu-jen ching*, they are also called *mo-kuei*; the bureau of darkness at Mount Lo-feng where they gather is [then] established, and the great *mo* kings are considered to rule there.

What is noteworthy in the *Tu-jen ching* is that even *kuei* themselves are considered to be objects of salvation. In the structure of that salvation, the *mo* kings play an important role.

The *Tu-jen ching* repeatedly explains that even those that went to the bureau of darkness as *kuei* are at times moved to a place called the Southern Palace. [There] their dead *hun* souls are refined, their bodies receive new pneuma, and they are reborn as transcendants. The understanding that it is possible for *kuei* to undergo refinement and transformation at the Southern Palace and be reborn appears even in the *Chen-kaio*.¹⁴ However, the *mo* kings, which did not show up in the *Chen-kaio*, appear in the *Tu-jen ching*. The *mo* kings are the ones who determine the requirements for those among the *kuei* that are transferred from the bureau of darkness to the Southern Palace. This distinctive feature is greatly highlighted. For example, *Tu-jen ching* 2:38-41 states the following:

The [Heavenly Worthy of the] Primal Beginning commands via talismans. At designated times [he] causes [people] to ascend as transcendants. In the cold ponds of the northern metropolis, [he] protects in groups the formed *hun* souls. [By the Heavenly Worth] controlling *mo*, they [i.e., the *hun* souls] are protected and cross over in the Southern Palace to the rank [of transcendent]. The dead *hun* souls undergo refinement and become people who are transformed into transcendants. [Their] living bodies undergo salvation [lit.: a crossing over]. They exist for a long period of many kalpas. In accord with the kalpa, the wheel [of existence] turns and [they] become equal in years to heaven. Forever they transcend the three lower paths [of existence], the five sufferings, and the eight difficulties. Going beyond the three realms, they roam in [the heaven of] Upper Clarity.

Here the Heavenly Worthy of the Primal Beginning, when he expounds on [this] scripture, says that the somber (*yu* 幽) *hun* souls in the bureau of darkness can end up being made to leave the bureau of Enduring Night and undergo salvation. Those that receive the protection of *mo* kings are transferred to the Southern Palace. By being refined and transformed, they become transcendants, go beyond the three realms and roam in the heaven

¹⁴See n. 10.

of Upper Clarity (based on Yen Tung's commentary). As for the "protection" of the *mo* kings, this means that they guarantee that those who have the qualifications will ascend as transcendents and rise to the realm of transcendent beings.

The fact that the protection of the *mo* kings is a necessity in order to ascend as transcendents appears everywhere in the main text of the *Tu-jen ching* as well as in Yen Tung's commentary. For example, 4:2 of the main text reads,

The various heavens record the merits and transgressions of people, not missing even the slightest [offense]. The *mo* kings in the heavens also protect these bodies.

In 2:59 the commentary reads,

People obtain the protection of the *mo* kings. They immediately ascend to [the heavens of] the three clarities and are able to pass through the gate of heaven. Without obstruction, they roam in Upper Clarity.

[Finally] in 3:31 the commentary reads,

Those who obtain the Tao through training all are able to become perfected people due to the protection of *mo* kings.

Two meanings are contained in the fact that the *mo* kings protect those who possess the qualifications to ascend as transcendents. For one, [the *mo* kings] judge the good and evil deeds done by all people (including the *hun* souls of those who are already dead— i.e., the *kuei*). [Furthermore, *mo* kings] guarantee and allow those who are good to ascend as beings who possess the [necessary] qualifications. Another [meaning] is that through various means [the *mo* kings] test through temptation the hearts of those who are training in the Tao (including *kuei*). They guarantee and allow those who pass that testing to ascend as beings who possess the [necessary] qualifications. The former corresponds to the role of King Yama. The latter corresponds to the role of Māra.

As for the *mo* kings that possess the characteristics of King Yama in the *Tu-jen ching*, [this] was also briefly discussed earlier. Moreover, 2:66 of Yen Tung's commentary to the *Tu-jen ching* states,

The *mo* kings...always investigate the dead *hun* souls [who are undergoing] punishment for past lives in the bureaus of *kuei* at Pei-feng. Thereby [the *mo* kings] report to the sublime metropolis and protect those that should be able to cross over [i.e., be saved].

The *mo* kings investigate the crimes and transgressions of the dead *hun* souls in the bureau of *kuei* and report them to the sublime metropolis in heaven. In these ways, the *mo* kings are clearly considered as beings who are the same as King Yen-mo who determines the crimes of the dead in the earth prisons. On the other hand, the *mo* kings in the *Tu-jen ching* [also] possess the characteristics of Māra; 2:38 of Yen Tung's commentary can be cited as an example.

The *mo* kings of the three realms always compose ballads and poems in order to disturb the minds of the those who are training.

As for the poems chanted by the *mo* kings in order to disturb people's minds, it is thought that these are entitled "Sounds of Flying in the Emptiness from the First [Realm, the] Realm of Desire," "Strophes of the *Mo* Kings from the Second [Realm, the] Realm of Form," and "Poems of the *Mo* Kings from the Third [Realm, the] Realm of the Formless," as *chüan* three of the *Tu-jen ching* records. From this section of Yen Tung's commentary, which reads "The *mo* kings are Māras (*mo-lo* 魔羅)" (3:24), Māra clearly is recognized. However, in the *Tu-jen ching*, free interpretations that are representative of Chinese Taoism are made. These go beyond the meaning of Māra in Buddhism. For example, in the *Tu-jen ching*, it is regarded that *mo* kings reside in each of the Realms of Desire, Form and the Formless and that the *mo* king of the Realm of the Formless controls the numerous *mo* (3:37). Another example is the explanation of *mo* kings in the five heavens, the azure heaven, vermilion heaven, white heaven, black heaven and yellow heaven (2:63-64).

In this way, the *mo* kings of the *Tu-jen ching* combine two aspects: the aspect of King Yen-mo who judges the crimes of people (*kuei*) as the controller of the bureau of *kuei*, and the aspect of Mo-lo 魔羅 who tests the hearts of those training in the Tao. The fact that [these] two characters are mixed together in the one term, "*mo* kings," is a distinctive feature of the *Tu-jen ching*. We should probably note that there are many cases where the differences between these two concepts are not clearly recognized. If we recall the explanation of Māra that was first discussed in this work, we find it extremely interesting that the *mo* kings in the *Tu-jen ching* possess the two characters of King Yen-mo and Mo-lo. If we consider to be correct the explanation that [the concept of] Māra originally was entwined with the idea of Yama (Yeh-mo 夜魔, the deity of death), who was a previous form of King Yen-mo 閻魔, then the *mo* kings in the *Tu-jen ching* are beings that exactly incorporate these two characteristics.

The *mo* kings in the *Tu-jen ching*, as is the case in the *Shen-chou ching*, possess the dual characteristics of good and evil. The *mo* kings of the white heaven who "control the *kuei* and *shen* of the six heavens and cut off the people's road of life" or the *mo* kings of the black heaven who "as their nature act cruelly and delight in killing" (2:64 in Yen Tung's commentary) are such representative examples of evil. On the other hand, as discussed above, the *mo* kings who judge the crimes of people (*kuei*) and protect those who possess the qualifications to ascend as transcendents are good beings who contribute to saving good people and maintaining the order of the cosmos. 3:28 of Yen Tung's commentary reads,

(The *mo* kings) chant strophes of the caverns in order to summon the *mo-kuei* of Pei-feng and cause them not to be able to kill recklessly. If there are those who transgress, they immediately behead [them] in order to assist the governance of heaven.

It was thought that the *mo* kings were beings that banned the violent acts of the *mo-kuei* and assisted in the rule of Heaven, the highest spirit of the cosmos. This way of thinking, as discussed above, is shared in common with the *Shen-chou ching*.

In this way, the *mo* kings are given the good characteristic of assisting the rule of Heaven and maintaining the order of the cosmos. This seems to be connected to the recognition that