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Taixu's Youth and Years of Romantic Idealism, 1890–1914

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Abstract

Venerable Taixu (1890–1947) is widely recognized as one of the most influential figures in the modernization of Chinese Buddhism. The present article is a historical analysis of his early years, looking at his childhood, renunciation, Buddhist education, first religious experience, interest in political thought, and early efforts to establish a national Buddhist association. These events, occurring during his first twenty-four years, represent a seminal period in his life. Although this represented a time of idealism during which Taixu's ideas were in their earliest stages, the commitments that he formed would endure throughout his life.

Keywords:

Taixu (1890–1947), Republican Period Buddhism, Biography

太虛法師早年時期的生平與理想

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摘要

太虛法師是中國佛教現代化的過程中最具影響力的人物之一，本文針對其早年時期作歷史分析，分別探索其童年的生活、出家、佛學教育、第一次的宗教經驗、政治思想的興趣和建構全國性佛教組織的努力。這些經歷都發生於太虛法師 26 歲（虛歲）之前的青年時期，雖然太虛法師有些理想在此時期未能實踐，但是這些理想的萌芽，對太虛法師往後人生之發展皆備具持續和關鍵性的影響。

關鍵詞：太虛（1890–1947）、民國初期之佛教、傳記

Introduction¹

Venerable Taixu 太虛大師 (1890–1947) was part of the generation in China that was born during the final years of the Qing dynasty and came of age during a time of instability, revolution, and new possibilities.² As a Buddhist monk, Taixu was faced with the question of whether or not political and social change had any bearing on Buddhist values. In his first encounter with this question, his answer was negative. It happened that several monks had arrived at the monastery in which Taixu was residing, and shared with him their ideas that education in the Sangha needed to change to reflect new trends in China and the world. Taixu had recently undergone a religious experience during a period of dedicated doctrinal study, and he was not interested in secular matters. The monks who initiated the encounter persevered, and in their back-and-forth, introduced Taixu to the ideas of Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, Zhang Taiyan, Tan Sitong, and Thomas Huxley. After a period of debate, Taixu changed his mind. He came to hold the conviction that Buddhism had an important role to play in a rapidly changing society and that reforms in the Sangha were necessary. From a biographical perspective, this event, occurring in his late teens, was the pivotal event that determined the direction of the rest of his life. During the five years that followed, however, Taixu's dedication to his newfound convictions brought him face-to-face with his lack of worldly experience. This is amply demonstrated in the events at Jinshan in 1912, which are further discussed below. In the final months of the period covered by the present article, Taixu came to realize the limits of his idealism, and made the decision to enter into long-term sequestered retreat. The current article covers the period of his life prior to that retreat, including his childhood and renunciation. It is hoped that the present study may shed some light on the formative years of this complex historical figure.

Sources

Yinshun's *Taixu dashi nianpu* 太虛大師年譜 (A chronological biography of master Taixu) is the most valuable secondary source on Taixu's life. Yinshun relied extensively on the information found in the *Taixu dashi quanshu* 太虛大師全書 (Collected works of master Taixu; hereafter, *Quanshu*), of which he was the editor, to reconstruct events in Taixu's life. Consistent with the

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- 1 I am grateful for the comments provided by the anonymous reviewers. Any errors that remain are my own responsibility.
 - 2 Taixu's birth falls in the 12th month of Guangxu 15, which is January 1890 of the Western calendar. As a result, in Chinese sources, Taixu's age in a given year is two years older than the age reckoned by Western methods. For example, in 1900, Taixu is considered to be 12. I have adopted the Chinese method of reckoning to maintain consistency with primary sources. In the present article, I indicate this with an asterisk preceding his age, for example *26. The reader may subtract two to determine his age by Western reckoning.

nianpu format, Yinshun's work presents events by date, including month and often day of their occurrence. It also effectively deals with the issue of conversion between lunar and western calendars. Yinshun's work on the *Quanshu* and *Nianpu* represents a valuable contribution that has enabled easy access to all of Taixu's works.³

The most valuable and the most interesting source is Taixu's own autobiography (*Taixu zizhuan* 太虛自傳; hereafter, *Autobiography*), which was written in 1939, and then revised in 1945 (Yinshun 1998, 29:163).⁴ Information in the *Autobiography* is largely reliable, but there are occasional inaccuracies due to Taixu's misremembering or conflation of events. Yinshun's *Nianpu* makes note of such errors, with appropriate corrections. The *Autobiography* contains twenty-two chapters, arranged in a largely but not strictly chronological manner. It is a valuable source for understanding how Taixu saw his own life and how he wanted to be seen. The narrative is interspersed with frank reflections that provide insight into Taixu's accomplishments, failures, intentions, hopes, goals, and religious experiences.

Shortly after his death in 1947, two short biographies of Taixu were written by his disciples (Wuyan n.d.; Xuming 1957). In 1965 Ven. Sheng Yen published a brief article giving a brief overview of Taixu's life including a discussion of the meaning of both his successes and his failures (Sheng Yen 1965). This is the earliest effort to give a balanced presentation of Taixu's life. Holmes Welch devotes a chapter of his *Buddhist Revival in China* to Taixu, portraying him as a disingenuous self-promoter with uncritical followers (Welch 1968, 51–71). The most important work in English is Don Pittman's *Toward a Modern Chinese Buddhism: Taixu's Reforms*, a monograph on Taixu (Pittman 2001). This is a study of Taixu's efforts to make Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism universally relevant to the modern world. It is a case study of the methods of proselytization used in China by a modern religious figure. As such, the book focuses on the question of how Taixu became successful, in contrast with Welch's chapter, which focuses on Taixu's failures. Gotelind Müller-Saini's philosophically-oriented study examines Taixu and Ouyang Jingwu (1870–1943) by comparing the manner in which they situated Buddhism in response to Western ideas. Whereas Ouyang attempted to situate

3 Yinshun's biography of Taixu was first published in 1950 and is over 500 pages long. It is listed in the table of contents of a 1954–56 version of *Quanshu* as a supplemental item, but has been reprinted more frequently than the latter. In 2005, the Yinshun wenjiao jijinhui foundation of Hsinchu, Taiwan was responsible for digitizing the *Quanshu* for inclusion on CD-ROM with the same title as the original collection. The *Quanshu* is also included in the CD-ROM containing Yinshun's collected works (*Yinshun fashi foxue zhuzuoji* 印順法師佛學著作集 v4.0, CD no. 2, Taipei, Yinshun wenjiao jijinhui, Feb. 15, 2006). This is the electronic version I rely upon. Pagination of Yinshun's *Nianpu*, contained in this CD, is based on a 2000 edition, vol. 6 of *Miaoyunji*. Pagination of the 1998 printed version and the CD-ROM versions of the *Quanshu* is consistent.

4 References to works by Taixu found in the *Quanshu* are cited with reference to the 1998 printed version edited by Yinshun, with volume number and first page in the author-date format, as cited above.

Buddhism in a position superior to Western philosophy, Taixu strove to locate Buddhism on the map of Western philosophical discourse (Müller 1993). There are also several short articles or passages on Taixu's life (Sheng Yen 1980; Ch'en 1964, 455–457; Nakamura 1984, 528–530; Jan 1987; Boorman 1970, 207; Hsieh 2004, 819; Lopez 2002, 85–90). In Chinese, there are two important works on Taixu's biography. The first is Jiang Canteng's 1993 work, *Taixu dashi qianzhuan* 太虛大師前傳 (Biography of Taixu's early years; hereafter *Qianzhuan*), which takes a balanced look at the first half of Taixu's life, identifying factors underlying his successes and failures. The second is Hong Jinlian's 1999 *Taixu dashi: fojiao xiandaihua zhi yanjiu* 太虛大師佛教現代化之研究 (Taixu: A study of the modernization of Buddhism). This work takes a thematic approach to Taixu's activities and contributions, providing a thoughtful presentation of Taixu's important projects.

Periodization

Taixu's efforts for reform provide a useful framework for periodizing his life. Because most of his life was dedicated to reforming Buddhism, important changes in his life are reflected in his activities of reform. Several works provide information about the different periods of his life. Taixu's 1937 work entitled “Wo de fojiao geming shibai shi” 我的佛教革命失敗史 (The history of my failed revolutions in Buddhism; Yinshun 1998, 29:61) explicitly mentions three periods of his reform efforts, in the context of their failures: (1) fever for Buddhist revolution (1908–1922); (2) Buddhist education (1922–1930); (3) working with the Chinese Buddhist Association (1930–[1937]). This appears to be the first work in which Taixu divides his life into periods. Taixu's *Autobiography*, the first draft of which was completed in 1939, is divided into 22 chapters, in a scheme that is largely but not strictly chronological. The first six chapters are relevant to the current paper. In 1940, Taixu wrote, *Wo de fojiao gaijin yundong lüeshi* 我的佛教改進運動略史 (A brief history of my activities to reform Buddhism; Yinshun 1998, 29:67), a retrospective work describing his career of reform, which he divides into four stages (with my explanatory remarks in brackets):⁵

- I. First period 1908–1914 (ages *19–26)
 - A. Sources of my thought [*Buddhist and Secular Studies*]
 - B. Preparation to act [*Working with the Sangha Education Association*]
 - C. Implementation of my movement [*Taixu's Association for the Advancement of Buddhism*]
- II. Second period 1914–1928 (*26–40)
 - A. Generating a theoretical basis [*Sequestration at Putuo*]
 - B. Revival of the movement [*Bodhi Society; abbot of Jingci; increased advocacy of Buddhism*]

5 Jiang also explicitly adopts Taixu's periodization (Jiang 1993, 78–81).

- C. Buddhist seminary creation [*The Wuchang Buddhist Institute*]
- III. Third period 1928–1938 (*40–50)
 - A. Creation of the Global Buddhist institute [*Taixu's trip to Europe and North America*]
 - B. Evolution of the Association [*Increased advocacy for a Buddhist association to protect the rights of monasteries*]
 - C. New issues in the administration of the Sangha [*Taixu proposes new measures to ensure well-educated Sangha members*]
- IV. Fourth period 1938–[1940] (*50–[52])
 - A. Restructuring the association [*New proposals for the Buddhist association*]
 - B. Starting a university [*New thoughts about a Buddhist university*]
 - C. Beginnings of a new institution [*Taixu's proposal for the Bodhisattva Place of Practice*]

Regarding the first period (1908–1914), Taixu quotes an earlier work from 1928 stating that this period represents “a period of being roused to action to reform Buddhism.”⁶ However, the original 1928 work, entitled “Gao tuzhong shu” 告徒眾書, states that this was “a romantic period of working for Buddhist reform.”⁷ Yinshun notes the discrepancy, adding that Taixu eliminated the term “romantic” to avoid possible misunderstandings (Yinshun 1950, 283). This is a reasonable concern. Although the Chinese term *langman* is employed as a transliteration for “romantic,” carrying the variant meanings of adventurousness and amorousness as in English, it originally means the intemperate pursuit of pleasure.⁸ As such its connotations in Chinese are more negative than those of the English term. In adopting this term for the title of the present article, I understand the term mainly in its literary sense, involving heroic tales and high idealism, specifically relating to the time associated with revolution in China.

The present paper deals with the period in Taixu's life that includes his childhood, renunciation in 1904, his Buddhist education from 1904 to 1908, and the “first period” of his reforms, referred to above. In this period, he had received a substantial Buddhist education, which was followed by exposure to the socio-political reform thought of figures such as Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao and Tan Sitong. This combination of Buddhism and socio-political reform was particularly stimulating for reasons explored below, but during the period in question Taixu had not fully come to terms with his knowledge.

6 Original passage: 一期作激昂之佛教革新運動 (Yinshun 1998, 29:69).

7 Original passage: 一期作浪漫之佛教革新行動 (Yinshun 1998, 17:584). Taixu begins the work with a brief review of the main events in his life. Aside from the period mentioned above, he does not segment his life into different periods.

8 According to the *Hanyu dacidian*, this usage dates to the Song dynasty (Wang 2002, s.v. “langman” 浪漫).

Taixu's Early Years

Taixu was born on January 8, 1890.⁹ The main source for this period is Taixu's *Autobiography*, which provides details of his childhood years.¹⁰ Taixu informs his readers that his mother's family was of industrial background, while his father's background was agricultural. His father had apprenticed under his father-in-law as a housebuilder. His maternal grandmother came from a cultured rich urban family in Wujiang 吳江, where women did not bind their feet.¹¹ His father died shortly after Taixu was born; Taixu's knowledge about him came later from his maternal grandmother. His earliest memories were from age *5, the time when Taixu went to live with his maternal grandparents because his mother had remarried.

His grandmother believed in Daoism (*xinfeng daojiao* 信奉道教), and had taken Daoist precepts, but she “did not really distinguish between Daoism and Buddhism” (Yinshun 1998, 29:170). His grandfather had quit work when Taixu's father died, becoming dependent on his own sister and her son who were running a noodle shop. Taixu's grandmother was living in a Daoist temple called Dayin an 大隱安 outside of Chang'an (Zhejiang Province) when she began taking care of Taixu. Taixu writes that one of his earliest memories was of his grandmother refilling an oil lamp in front of an image of Guanyin as he watched with great fascination. The Daoist temple was run by a priest and his apprentice; in that same temple his grandmother's second son (Taixu's uncle) was running a small school for children to begin their long preparation for the imperial examination.

Taixu attended school with his uncle until age *9, albeit with breaks because of his malaria. The final year his uncle taught in a nearby town, and Taixu lived with him. Taixu was adept at memorization, and in that final year he began to understand the texts he had memorized. The sequence of instruction at his uncle's school is as follows:

1. *Baijia xing* 百家姓. A short mnemonic text with four-character phrases beginning with surname characters, dating to the Northern Song (960–1127).
2. *San zi jing* 三字經. A text with three-character phrases, to be memorized by children, also dating to Northern Song. Many of the phrases are based on terms or ideas from Chinese philosophical texts.
3. *Qianjia shi* 千家詩. Poetry.¹²
4. *Shentong shi* 神童詩. Compiled by Wang Zhu 汪洙, Northern Song. A short collection

9 His given name was Zhang Gansen 張淦森; Yinshun provides his various secular and Buddhist names (Yinshun 1992, 1). For the sake of convenience I refer to him as “Taixu” throughout this article.

10 Yinshun's biography attempts to arrange this information chronologically. See also Pittman's summary (2001, 64–69).

11 Wujiang is about 15 miles south of Suzhou, in Jiangsu province.

12 Wilkinson (2000, 49–50) refers to *Baijia xing*, *Sanzi jing*, and *Qianjia shi* as “character primers,” also making further remarks on primary education for the imperial examination system.

of easily understood verse with the prevailing message that learning is important.

5. *Great Learning*
6. *Doctrine of the Mean*
7. *The Analects of Confucius*
8. *Works of Mencius*.¹³
9. *Book of Odes* 詩經. Classic poetry dating to pre-Qin times.¹⁴

Taixu completed the course at age *9. Because of his proficiency, his uncle also taught him Tang poems, *Strange Tales from the Past and Present*, and *Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio*.¹⁵

Not long after Taixu had moved back in with his grandmother that fall (1897), she began preparations for a previously scheduled boat pilgrimage, a group tour of Buddhist monasteries lasting two to three months. Taixu was not scheduled to go, but he writes that while seeing his grandmother off, he found himself insisting, successfully, that he go with her. The boat stopped at Xiao jiuhua 小九華 and Jinshan 金山 monasteries before stopping at Jiuhua shan 九華山, where participants stayed for over a week, visiting monasteries and temples on the mountain to offer incense.¹⁶ Taixu writes that this trip, his first, had made a deep impression. The tour leader (*xiang tou* 香頭) was an older woman, as were most of the 70–80 participants. There were also Buddhist monks, nuns, and older men. There was chanting every morning and evening on the boat, and three sessions of *nianfo* meditation daily, each lasting for the duration of one stick of incense. Taixu learned the chants and mantras, and heard about the ancient sites they passed, as well as stories about Bodhisattvas, arhats, and immortals. Taixu writes that he greatly enjoyed this trip. Several months later they both took part in another boat pilgrimage to the monasteries on the island of Putuo shan, where he would later secretly long to become a monk.¹⁷ These trips also made Taixu enjoy traveling and adventure, a trait that remained with him his whole life. Taixu's accounts of these pilgrimages to elite monasteries, such as Jinshan,

13 Nos. 5–8 comprise the “Four Books” edited by Zhu Xi (1130–1200) (Wilkinson 2000, 51–52).

14 English translations have been made by Legge, Waley, and Karlgren.

15 The former work, *Jingu qiguan* 今古奇觀, is by Ling Mengchu (1580–1644). The latter, Pu Songling's 蒲松齡 (1640–1715) *Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋誌異, has been translated into English several times, most recently Minford (2006). Pu Songling had failed the civil examination many times; his work is a collection of vernacular tales parodying the imperial examination culture (Elman 2000, 361).

16 Welch (1973, 370–374) provides a brief description of Buddhist pilgrimages in China during this period. Reginald Fleming Johnston's remarkably informative *Buddhist China* (1913, 230–250) includes a chapter on pilgrimages to Jiuhua shan; his chapter on pilgrimage guides (149–169) also provides insight into the practical details of pilgrimages, such as routes and etiquette.

17 See also Johnston's chapter on pilgrimages to Putuo shan (1913, 259–311), and especially Chün-fang Yü's article on Putuo shan (1992, 190–245) for additional information.

Jiuhua, and Putuo, provide important information about popular religion and its relations to elite monastic institutions.

Over the next few years, Taixu was forced to shift his attention from pilgrimages to the need to provide financially for himself and his grandmother. By 1901, when Taixu was *13, his mother and grandfather had died, and he began an apprenticeship at a general store in Chang'an. He took great delight in reading novels that the owner had in the building. Several months later, illness forced him to quit and move back in with his grandmother. Once he had recovered, his grandmother asked him to visit his father's relatives and request funding in the form of land revenues so that he could hire tutors in preparation for the imperial examination. His relatives did not have the means to sponsor his studies, but they offered him a free place to stay, which he declined (Yinshun 1998, 29:176–77).

Jiang Canteng suggests that Taixu “would not have been averse” to the career of scholar-official, as indicated by his later interest in politics. The family's financial situation was the only obstacle to this path (Jiang 1993, 58). In other words, Taixu *would have* taken that path if he had the financial means. This certainly would have been the family's expectation, based on Taixu's aptitude for learning combined with the cultural ideal of the scholar-official. However, there are indications that his own interests were very different from those expectations. Taixu himself does not comment directly on the issue of whether he was interested in a Confucian education and career before he became a monk. His *Autobiography* simply states that since his uncle (the teacher) had himself failed at the lowest level examination, his grandmother wanted Taixu to take it so that he could provide for her; similarly she had also made arrangements for his future bride, of whom Taixu makes no further mention (Yinshun 1998, 29:176). Although Taixu may not have been averse to this path, it is more meaningful to say that he does not demonstrate any interest in it. What inspired him most is the world of pilgrimages, vernacular novels, and adventure.

In Taixu's accounts of learning with his uncle, there is no sense of interest or excitement about the famed career of the scholar-official. Instead, we read mainly of the ease with which he learned and the praise he received for his aptitude: at one point he was known as a child prodigy by the locals for his abilities in rote learning (Yinshun 1998, 29:173). In other words, his uncle is portrayed more as an admirer than a role-model. Additionally, Taixu writes of the increasingly negative behavior of his uncle, his would-be Confucian role-model: problems with opium addiction, women, and solvency. There is no evidence of the “anxiety” identified by Elman in association with the examination system, that is, excitement at the prospects of passing or anxiety about failing (Elman 2000, 295–97).

By contrast, in his comments about his grandmother, Taixu emphasizes his respect for her, the depth of her knowledge, her influences on him, and the breadth of her skills and experience (Yinshun 1998, 29:169, 175).¹⁸ The world she showed him was engaging and challenging. As a result, Taixu was always ready for a new adventure. Although Taixu may have excelled at Confucian learning given the opportunity, his lack of interest in a Confucian career is

18 The role of his grandmother will be further discussed below.

striking in comparison to his enthusiasm toward the religious world introduced to him by his grandmother.

As Taixu's relatives were unable to fund his continued education, his grandmother arranged a second apprenticeship at a second general store in 1903 when Taixu was *15. This time, the intention was that he was to become independent, and support his grandmother.¹⁹ Taixu writes that he was not at all fond of retail business, but persevered because he knew that if he quit, it would be a burden on his grandmother. He enjoyed reading popular novels, which were available in the homes of this and the previous shopkeepers. This fueled his later ability at writing in the vernacular (Jiang 1993, 59). Taixu comments that the more he read, the less he could bear the frustration of working in the store. He often thought of the trips with his grandmother and the happy lives of the monks. Secretly, he resolved to save his money, travel to Putuo shan and become a monk. "One clear afternoon" in the fourth month of 1904, he left town and headed for Putuo (Yinshun 1998, 29:178).

Taixu's sketch of his childhood years contains a narrative of the causes and conditions that led to his renunciation. It can be summed up as follows: His grandmother brought him into contact with the religious side of Chinese culture by living in temples and making pilgrimages. He found his life as a shop assistant markedly dull in contrast with the the worlds of ancient temple networks and vernacular literature. Despite his intellectual promise, the route to becoming a scholar-official was not feasible financially. His memories of the happy lives of the monks he had met at Putuo shan stayed with him and served to inspire his own renunciation.

While this narrative is not problematic, two aspects bear further examination. First, it must be kept in mind that Taixu's understanding of Buddhism comes from popular Chinese religious culture, and is very different from that of the specialist, whether scholarly or monastic. Second, Taixu's renunciation is more deeply involved with the influences of his grandmother than is indicated by his description.

First, in Taixu's mind, there was no distinction between Daoism and Buddhism. In a talk given in India in 1940, he reflects on his early decision to become a monk:

Although there were many complex causes and conditions underlying my renunciation, one important aspect was that, not distinguishing between immortals, [which are Daoist,] and Buddhas, I wanted to obtain supernatural powers (*shentong* 神通). Therefore, my ordination, sutra study, and meditation practice were all oriented toward gaining those abilities. During my first year as a monk, I was blindly caught up in striving for them. . . . It was not until the summer of the second year, during the course of lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra*, that I began to understand the differences between Buddhas and immortals. I stayed in the Chan Hall to do meditation, and came to have a sense of urgency about attaining enlightenment. [To that end,] I read

19 Jiang makes this observation (1993, 60). Various factors point to this fact: Taixu lived with the family of the storeowner because the Daoist priest at Dayin an had died and his grandmother had moved to a smaller Daoist temple; Taixu's uncle increasingly spent his money on opium, a habit that had formed years earlier when opium was prescribed for his tuberculosis.

the *Lengyan jing*, Chan encounter dialogue records, and biographies of eminent monks. (Yinshun 1998, 21:346f)

In Taixu's second year after receiving full precepts, it was through Daojie's lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra* that Taixu began to self-identify as a Buddhist seeking enlightenment, rejecting Daoism. Taixu's renunciation is thus properly understood in a larger context of Chinese religiosity, in which popular religious syncretisms of Buddhism and Daoism, sacred pilgrimage geography, and elite monasticism all form components.

Taixu makes several comments about his grandmother that indicate the depth of her influence, both in terms of his early moral development and his decision to become a monk. She was well-versed in the classics, as well as folk literature in the form of precious scrolls (*baojuan* 寶卷), novels, poetry, tales of heroes (*chuanqi* 傳奇), and other stories.²⁰ He was also impressed with her ability to give advice to people. From their travels together, he lost his fear of new and unfamiliar places. In contrast with the Confucian texts he had memorized with his uncle, the things he learned from his grandmother made him well-rounded, adaptable, and interesting. Taixu writes that from her, he gained rough knowledge of silkworm and mulberry cultivation, animal husbandry, cooking, sewing, cleaning, and conversation. Knowledge of those skills would be useful when Taixu later served as abbot; indeed one of his suggestions for reform was a redesigned monastic robe. More immediately, however, his grandmother would have been an important role model, as someone who was able to get by in the world independently, with little if any support from her family or clan. In 1940, Taixu wrote a poem reflecting on his life, which includes a line stating, "My mother's mother possessed virtue of a kind rarely met." He then used this poem to open his *Autobiography* in 1945. This line is repeated once again in the *Autobiography* when he explains that her virtue is demonstrated by the skills she taught him. Her influence on his life was longlasting, and she contributed indirectly to his decision to become a monk by bringing him into contact with the Chinese religious world and by showing him how to live on his own. He writes, "My later decision to become a monk had its roots with her [influence]" (Yinshun 1998, 29:169, 175).

At the same time, it must be remembered that it was not his Grandmother's intention that Taixu become a monk. She had hopes that he could become an official through schooling, or at least have a stable job and a family. She would have been greatly disappointed when it became clear that despite his intellectual promise, he would not be able to continue his training for the imperial exam. He would have to make do with employment in the mercantile world. Similarly, Taixu would have been disappointed that she was forcing him onto a path that was so different from his romantic notions deriving from the pilgrimages and novels. Thus his grandmother contributed to his renunciation not only by showing Taixu a world of adventure, self-sufficiency, Buddhas and immortals, but also by forcing him to leave it. He then did what he could to return. Taixu hints at the great emotional difficulty of his decision in a remark

20 Precious scrolls were a popular genre of religious narrative literature in the Ming and Qing dynasties. For further information on their influence on Ming and Qing religious culture, see Kerr (1994). On their origins, see Overmyer (1999).

in his *Autobiography* that he still feels guilt whenever he recalls what later happened to his grandmother and uncle (Yinshun 1998, 29:178).

Renunciation

It was at the age of *16 that Taixu left behind his apprenticeship at the general store, his family connections, and his future bride. He left town by boat, intending to go to Putuo via Shanghai. His first stop was Jiaxing 嘉興, northeast of Chang'an. There, he went to the boating company to buy a ticket to Shanghai. The owner and his wife became curious about this well-dressed young man traveling alone, and began to question him. The wife was particularly intent on preventing him from becoming a monk, and enjoined him to stay with them for a few days, saying they could take him to Shanghai later. He accepted, living with them for over twenty days. At first his bashfulness intensified in the presence of their daughter, who was the same age as Taixu, and pretty, but he writes that after a few days they got on like old friends. Then one day Taixu learned that the mother and daughter had left for Shanghai without telling him. This spurred him to action, and the next morning, in his haste to depart, he boarded a boat headed to Suzhou rather than his intended destination, Shanghai.

Discovering that he was on the wrong boat, Taixu got off at Pingwang 平望, a town approximately 17 miles northwest of Jiaxing. He planned to stay overnight and catch a boat to Shanghai the next morning. Taixu walked to Xiao jiuhua monastery for lodging. Having forgotten his previous visit on a pilgrimage with his grandmother, Taixu was reminded upon his arrival:

I suddenly recalled the autumn of my ninth year, when I was on a pilgrimage with my grandmother on the way to Jiuhua shan: we had been here before, a stop along the way, to offer incense. Therefore, I thought, why not seek renunciation under a master right here? (Yinshun 1998, 29:179)

It was the comforting memory of his travels with his grandmother that contributed to his decision to forsake his goal of joining the highly renowned Putuo, and put his future in the trust of a lesser-known monastery.²¹

Shida, the abbot of Xiao jiuhua, gave Taixu permission to stay for tonsure, which would subsequently take place at another, smaller monastery. At the time, many soldiers had deserted and become wandering monks at monasteries in that region, including Xiao jiuhua (Yinshun 1998, 29:179). Taixu began to have misgivings, but he was soon comforted when he saw

21 The monastery is approximately 18 miles south of Wujiang, the hometown of Taixu's grandmother. It is still active today and is still a popular pilgrimage destination.

the books on Master Jidian,²² *Journey to the West, Investiture of the Gods*,²³ and *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Records of the Three Kingdoms).²⁴ He was especially pleased to see *Wanbao quanshu* 萬寶全書 (Complete collection of myriad treasures), which contained “a treasury of secrets for cultivating supernatural powers.”²⁵

Taixu stayed at Xiao jiuhua for over ten days, and then Shida took him about 25–30 miles north to a monastery near Suzhou for tonsure. This unnamed monastery was located in Hushu township 澹墅鄉 (modern Hushu guan 澹墅關) northwest of Suzhou, and run by Mingjing 明鏡, who also ran a monastery at Lingyan shan 靈岩山, which is just north of Mudu 木瀆 (7–8 miles wsw of Suzhou). Shida's relationship with Mingjing is unspecified. Shida tonsured Taixu in the Linji lineage, giving him the name Weixin 唯心 (“Mind Only”). Shida then entrusted him to Mingjing, and returned to Xiao jiuhua. During this time, Taixu traveled freely between Mingjing's two monasteries, which were about ten miles apart. He also practiced techniques from the *Wanbao quanshu*, especially invisibility techniques. He writes, “I practiced them, but to no effect. This was a source of frequent amusement to others” (Yinshun 1998, 29:180). Taixu seems to have been given little direction during this period. He does not mention any training or even advice until he received his full precept-ordination at Tiantong.

As fall approached, Shida came to Mingjing's monastery, taking Taixu on an approximately 175-mile trip to a monastery in Tuanqiao zhen 團橋鎮, about 6 miles northeast of Ningbo. Taixu refers to this monastery as Yuhuang dian 玉皇殿, and it was run by Zangnian 蕩年, Shida's own master. When Zangnian learned of Taixu's malaria, he arranged for medical treatment, and Taixu writes that he recovered completely after one or two months of treatment. Zangnian also gave him the style (*zi* 字) Taixu 太虛, or “Ultimate Void.”

22 He specifically names *Ji gong zhuan* 濟公傳 (The Biography of Master Jidian) and *Zui puti* 醉菩提 (Drunk with bodhi). These are from or based on *Qiantang Huyin Jidian chanshi yulu* 錢塘湖隱濟顛禪師語錄 (Recorded dialogues of Chan Master Jidian of the Qiantang region), in XZJ v. 69 (no. 1361). Jidian (1150–1209) was known for his controversial practices of eating meat and drinking alcohol. See Shahar (1998).

23 *Journey to the West* has been translated into English (Yu 1984). *Fengshen bang* 封神榜, more commonly known as *Fengshen yanyi* 封神演義, is a Ming vernacular novel: “Set in the time of a golden age to which the Confucian classics also refer, the title refers to the emperors of that golden age conferring titles upon the heroes and heroines of the stories. The gods' powerful responsiveness is told in stories that extol their virtues in the end—after rebellions and unusual or foreshortened lives—as accomplishments of Confucian, Daoist or Buddhist merit” (Feuchtwang n.d.). There is also a recent English translation (Chew 2002).

24 *Sanguo zhi* is a historical work covering the Three Kingdoms period (221–280 CE). This is a dry historical document upon which *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* was based. It is possible that Taixu meant to refer to the latter.

25 This been republished in Taiwan (*Wanbao quanshu*, 1970, 1971). Wu Huifang's 吳蕙芳 study (2001) of this work uses it as a source for information about people's daily lives during the Ming and Qing dynasties.

Full Ordination

Taixu's full bhikṣu ordination occurred at Tiantong si in Ningpo in the eleventh month of 1904. He received *śrāmaṇera*, *bhikṣu*, and Bodhisattva precepts (Yinshun 1998, 29:181–182). He mentions the following participants:

- Preceptor (*chuanjie heshang* 傳戒和尚): Eight Fingers²⁶
- Catechist (*jiaoshou* 教授): Liaoyu 了餘
- *karmācārya* (*jiemo* 羯磨): unnamed²⁷
- Ordination Instructor (*kaitang shi* 開堂師): Jingxin 淨心²⁸
- Proctor (*jiucha shi* 糾察師): Yuanying 圓瑛²⁹
- Witnesses (*zunzheng* 尊證): Daojie 道階 and others
- Officiants (*yinli* 引禮)

By Chinese reckoning, Taixu was sixteen years of age at the time of his ordination. Taixu discusses this issue, stating that during the ordination ceremony he was initially reluctant to affirm that he was of full age (i.e., twenty years old). He made the affirmation only after being instructed to do so by a superior. His ordination at this age would have been due to the initiative of either Shida, his tonsure master, or Zangnian, who had accompanied Taixu to Tiantong. Eight Fingers would also have to approve Taixu's participation. The fact that 3–4% of the ordinands were underage indicates that this was not a unique case and larger issues were involved.³⁰ Jiang Canteng suggests that Taixu's early ordination was undertaken due

26 He was styled Jichan 寄禪; he also went by the name of “Eight Fingers Dhūta” (Bazhi Toutuo 八指頭陀; Welch refers to him as “Eight Fingers”). His lay name was Huang Jing'an 黃敬安. He became abbot of Tiantong in 1901, and did much to restore it. See also Chen and Deng (2003, 545) and Welch (1968, 35–36).

27 This position was a “teacher who instructed the candidate about the precepts and questioned him about his eligibility to enter the order” (Groner 1998, 64).

28 The Ordination Instructor is a role unique in Chinese Buddhist ordinations. According to the *Foguang Buddhist Dictionary*, this figure instructs candidates in proper ritual behavior as well as deportment in daily life (s.v. “*kaitang*” 開堂). Taixu says that the Ordination Instructor “instructed us in behaviors that were proper or forbidden.” (Yinshun 1998, 29:181). A Qing dynasty interpretation of the “Pure Regulations,” entitled *Baizhang conglin qinggui zhengyiji* 百丈叢林清規證義記, provides guidelines for behavior during ordination, including detailed descriptions of rules during the ordination procedure regarding meals, rituals, speaking, sleeping, handling texts, greeting others, and general deportment (X 1244, 63:474a3–b1).

29 Translation from Welch (1973, 555).

30 Taixu says that 4–5 of the 120 participants were under 20 years of age (Yinshun 1998, 29:181).

to the prospects Eight Fingers saw in Taixu (Jiang 1993, 53).³¹ Whatever their justification, Taixu's elders clearly felt that their concerns were preeminent. In 1912, one of the items in Eight Fingers' charter for his General Buddhist Association specified that candidates must be 20 years old (Pittman 2001, 79).

Studies after Ordination

Taixu recalls that at the end of the ordination period his elders (he names Eight Fingers, Liaoyu, Jingxin, and Daojie) were impressed with his ability to memorize texts quickly. Eight Fingers gave him an introduction to Yongfeng monastery 永豐禪院, where Qichang 歧昌 was abbot.³² At Yongfeng, Taixu would pursue a program of study and meditation during a period of almost three years (from late 1904 to fall 1907), spending the summers of 1906 and 1907 at Tiantong. He remarks in this period he “studied the teachings” (*xuejiao* 學教), which is synonymous with “listening to sūtra [lecturing]” (*ting jing* 聽經) (Yinshun 1998, 29:184). Holmes Welch describes a traditional system of apprenticeship in which younger monks would learn sūtra lecturing from a senior monk (Welch 1968, 105–109). The goal of this training was to foster their ability to proselytize and lecture on sūtras (*jiang jing* 講經) to both lay and monastic audiences. With regard to sūtra-lecturing, Taixu remarks:

In sūtra-lecturing, the text lectured upon is usually the *Lotus*, *Lengyan*, or *Amituo jing shuchao* 阿彌陀經疏鈔.³³ The lectures follow either Tiantai *Si jiaoyi* or Huayan *Wu jiaoyi*.³⁴ When one is learning how to lecture on the sūtras, one must first learn the structures of these two texts. (Yinshun 1998, 29:184)

In addition to attending sūtra lectures, Taixu's training proceeded in other ways. He read Buddhist works on his own, which he discussed with senior monks, and did Chan *huatou* practice in an unsystematic manner.

Taixu writes that when he first arrived at Yongfeng, he had difficulty understanding the accents of one of his instructors. He read and memorized the relevant commentaries. Once he figured out which one the instructor was relying on, he was easily able to follow the lectures

31 Taixu recalls that Eight Fingers likened him to Xuanzang.

32 Qichang was also referred to as Shuiyue 水月. Yongfeng was located on the eastern side of Ningpo.

33 The latter text is Zhuhong's 株宏 (1532–1612) commentary on the Smaller *Sukhāvati-vyūha* (X 424).

34 *Sijiao yi* is a reference to Cheguan's 諦觀 text (T 1931). For an English translation, see Chappell (1983). The latter, *Xianshou wujiaoyi* 賢首五教儀 (X 1024), composed by the Qing dynasty monk Xufa 續法 (1641–1728), summarizes the teachings of the Huayan patriarchs. This text, in six fasc., contains a preface by emperor Kangxi. The same author also composed the *Xianshou wujiaoyi kaimeng* 賢首五教儀開蒙 (X 1025) in 1 fasc. and the *Xianshou wujiaoyi kezhu* 賢首五教儀科注 in 48 fasc.

(Yinshun 1998, 29:185). During his stay, Taixu read the *Zhiyue lu* 指月錄 (X 1578), a collection of Chan texts,³⁵ the Eminent Monks biographical collections (*Gaoseng zhuan*), *Wang Fengzhou wangjian* 王鳳洲綱鑑, and the *Lengyan jing* (T 945). In addition to Buddhist texts, he also read the Confucian classics.³⁶ He spent the summers of 1906 and 1907 at Tiantong in Ningpo. In the first summer, he attended lectures by Daojie on the *Lotus Sūtra*, and discussed *Jiaoguan gangzong* 教觀綱宗³⁷ and *Xiangzong ba yao* 相宗八要³⁸ with Daojie in the evenings. He also read Sengyou's *Hongming ji* 弘明集 (T 2102), Daoxuan's *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 (T 2104), the *Falin zhuan* 法琳傳,³⁹ Qisong's *Mingjiao chongwen ji* 明教嵩文集, “and other books of the genre of apologetics (*hujiao* 護教) against Confucianism and Daoism,” which he says had a strong influence on his later attitudes about the necessity to defend Buddhism. In the second summer, he attended Daojie's lectures on the the *Lengyan jing*, particularly enjoying commentaries by Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664) and Zeng Fengyi 曾鳳儀 (Ming dynasty; d.u.).⁴⁰ He also learned the Huayan text, *Wu jiaoyi* 五教儀 (X 1024).

35 This was composed 1601–02 by Qu Ruji 瞿汝稷, containing Chan texts and a history of Chan Buddhism going back to Śākyamuni.

36 The *Sishu wujing* 四書五經: The *Analects* of Confucius, *Great Learning*, *Zhongyong*, and *Mencius*; and the *Book of Odes*, *Book of Documents*, *Book of Changes*, *Book of Rites*, and *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

37 This is Ouyi Zhixu's 藕益智旭 (1599–1655) well-known expansion of the Tiantai interpretive scheme (T 1939).

38 This is a collection of eight Faxiang texts, compiled by Xueliang Hongen 雪浪洪恩 (d.u., Ming dynasty): (1) Vasubandhu's *Mahāyāna śatadharmā-prakāśamukha śāstra* (*Baifa mingmen lun* 百法明門論, T 1614); (2) Vasubandhu's *Trisikā* (*Weishi sanshi lun* 唯識三十論, T 1586); (3) Dignāga's *Ālambana parikṣa* (*Guan suoyuan yuan lun* 觀所緣緣論, T 1624); (4) Chengguan's *Liu lihe shifa shi* 六離合釋法式 (found in Chengguan's *Da fangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyichao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T 1736, 288a13); (5) Dharmapāla's 護法 *Guan suoyuan yuan lun shi* 觀所緣緣論釋 (T 1625), a cty of no. 3 above; (6) Śaṅkarasvāmin's 商羯羅主 *Yinming ru zhengli lun* 因明入正理論 (T 1630); (7) Xuanzang's *Sanzhi biliang* 三支比量 (as described in a passage in Yanshou's *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄, [T 2016, 720a2–720b29; see also Mingyu's cty on this passage, *Sanzhi biliang yichao* 三支比量義鈔, X 861; this is 三支作法 [cf FK, Muller: “three part syllogism”], which includes the proposition 宗 [*pratijñā*], reason 因 [*hetu*] and, example 喻 [*udāharaṇa*]); (8) Xuanzang's *Ba shi gui ju* 八識規矩. Regarding this collection, Mingyu 明昱 (Ming dynasty, d.u.) wrote a brief description of these texts (X 900), and Ouyi Zhixu wrote commentaries in his *Xiang zong ba yao zhijie* 相宗八要直解. See *Foguang Buddhist Dictionary*, 3902, s.v. “相宗八要” and Mingyu, *Xiang zong bao yao fanli*.

39 This is a biography of the monk Falin, either from or based on his biography in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T 2060, 50:636b23).

40 Respectively, these are the *Da foding shoulengyan jing jie meng chao* 大佛頂首楞嚴經解蒙鈔 and *Shoulengyan jing zongtong* 首楞嚴經宗通. Qian Qianyi also edited Zhuhong's *Hufa lu* 護法錄, an apologetical work.

While at Tiantong, he lived in the Meditation Hall (*chantang* 禪堂) because he was “studying teachings.” This excused him from regular duties and allowed him to become familiar with the operation of the meditation hall. Eight Fingers, whom he greatly revered, would sometimes raise a *huatou* to him if they met by chance. This was for the purpose of activating doubt or questioning. Because Taixu had read many Chan dialogue texts, he would sometimes give answers that he later described as “absurd.” This period of Chan practice involved two episodes of unusual behavior. In the first instance, he burst into the abbot's chamber, and demanded, “What is the white ox on the dewey ground?” Eight Fingers came down from his seat, grabbed Taixu's nose, and while holding it, shouted, “Who is this?” Taixu got free, prostrated to the abbot, and left. In the second, Daojie had ascended his chair in the Dharma Hall, and asked, “I have neglected to bring the text of the *Lotus Sūtra*, which of you will bring the text to me?” One person brought the text to him, to which he replied, “This isn't the text, it is just a commentary,” sending him away. Then Taixu approached the seat empty handed and did a prostration, to which Daojie replied, “You have brought the text.” Taixu states that although he believed at the time that these events represented awakenings, they were simply side-effects of his intensive practices (Yinshun 1998, 29:184–85). It was not until after his first religious experience (discussed below) that Taixu claims to have a deepened understanding of Buddhist doctrines.

Holmes Welch gives a brief synopsis of some of the events in Taixu's early years:

He studied the Tripitaka and practiced meditation under the guidance of Eight Fingers, who had presided at his ordination. He worked on an enigmatic question and had his nose tweaked. He wrote on his first photograph: “You! I know you! You are you. You are inscribing this for yourself.” In the winter of 1907–08, as he read a *prajna* sutra, he underwent a spiritual awakening in which he had a sensation of radiance, timelessness, certainty, and so on. In other words, his early career was conventional. (Welch 1968, 15)

In fact, Taixu's early career was not typical at all. He was trained by the most qualified monastic teachers of the time (Jiang 1993, 77). Within the space of a few years, he went from being a country boy fantasizing about supernatural powers to being a young monk who had gotten the attention of the most educated Buddhist monks in China.

Canonical Reading at Xifang Si

At the conclusion of his second summer at Tiantong, in 1907, Taixu elected not to return to Yongfeng si. He formally took leave from Qichang and then went to Xifang si 西方寺 in Cixi 慈谿 (15 miles northwest of Ningpo, near modern Cicheng 慈城) to undertake a self-directed program of broad canonical reading (*yue zang* 閱藏). According to Taixu's description, canonical reading was an activity undertaken by monks who lived in a building dedicated for

that purpose and who were not assigned other monastic duties. Taixu was the youngest of the readers. After reading through works of some Chinese masters and other texts, he remembers being scolded by a fellow reader, a monk in his seventies, for his haphazard reading.⁴¹ Instead, Taixu was instructed to be systematic with his reading: start with *prajñāpāramitā*, read through the sūtras, Vinaya, and then the “miscellaneous” texts. Taixu thus started at the beginning of the canon, with the *prajñāpāramitā* section.⁴²

Taixu’s First Religious Experience

It was during the period of canonical reading that Taixu had his first religious experience, of which he gives rich accounts in two works. The first work is a talk given in India in 1940, at the age of *52. Taixu gave the talk at the request of the German monk Lama Govinda Anagarika.⁴³ The second work is Taixu’s *Autobiography*. Taixu also makes reference to his religious experiences with lesser degrees of detail in several other works prior to his trip to India.⁴⁴

Regarding Taixu’s first religious experience, both of the above-mentioned works describe a two-part process. The first part is a state that occurred while Taixu was reading and thinking about a passage in a *prajñāpāramitā* text. In the second, imagery from the *Huayan jing* (*Avatamsaka Sūtra*) spontaneously appeared in his mind as he read the text. My presentation of Taixu’s accounts is intended to show how these events were meaningful to Taixu, within the context of his own life.⁴⁵ Taixu describes the first part of his religious experience:

While I was reading the 600-fascicle *Greater Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra*, I came to the passage: “of all the dharmas, not one is obtainable . . . if there were a dharma beyond nirvāṇa, that too would be unobtainable.”⁴⁶ Mind, body, and world suddenly

41 Taixu mentions that he had started reading the works of Hanshan 憨山 (1546–1623), Zibo Zhenke 紫柏真可 (1543–1603), and Yunqi Zhuhong 雲栖株宏 (1532–1612).

42 Most versions of the canon to which Taixu would have had access begin with this section (Ono 1983, 834).

43 Taixu’s *Autobiography* refers to a “Govinda” (Gaowenda 高文大), while Taixu’s diary of the trip (*Fojiao fangwentuan riji* 佛教訪問團日記) refers to “Govinda, the German monk.” There is little doubt that this is Lama Govinda Anagarika (b. 1898 in Germany as Ernst Hoffman), who was in India at the time (Oldmeadow 2001, 68–69).

44 Reference may be found in *Wo zhi zongjiao guan* 我之宗教觀 (1925), *Xiangzong xinjiu liangyi butong lun shuhou* 相宗新舊兩譯不同論書後 (1931), and *Lü Chan Mi Jing si xing lun* 律禪密淨四行論 (1935).

45 I further explore the terminology used in Taixu’s descriptions of his religious experiences and the implications thereof in a paper that will be presented at the June 2008 IABS conference.

46 Taixu refers to this passage as “一切法不可得，乃至有一法過于涅槃者，亦不可得。” This appears to be a reference to a passage in the “Heavenly Emperor” chapter 天帝品 of the third

emptied, but I did not lose consciousness. In this moment of perceiving emptiness, there was no relativity between self and the world of things. The next moment I saw clearly that all things in the world are within the unbounded perception of emptiness, and they are without a real nature, like shadows. This meditative state (*jingjie*) lasted one or two hours. (Yinshun 1998, 21:347)

His description of the same event in his *Autobiography* does not mention the *prajñāpāramitā* passage, but does mention Buddha-fields and light:

One day, after finishing my reading, mind, body, and the world suddenly disappeared; then there was quiet emptiness with a profound spiritual light, and innumerable Buddha-fields (*chensha* 塵刹) appeared brightly as if high in the air, with brightness shining without bound.⁴⁷ Several hours of seated meditation went by like a snap of the fingers. (Yinshun 1998, 29:188)⁴⁸

The second part of his experience occurs several days later. Taixu had begun reading the *Huayan jing*:

After finishing the *Greater Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra*, I began reading the *Huayan jing*. I became aware of the flower store sea of worlds,⁴⁹ which I seemed to be personally experiencing. Everything was alive with numinous emptiness (*kongling* 空靈). (Yinshun 1998, 21:347)

Taixu's *Autobiography* also contains a brief description of this experience:

As I was reading the *Huayan jing*, everything [that I read] was manifested in my mind as directly perceived states (*jingjie*). (Yinshun 1998, 29:188)

section 會, fasc. 499, of the *Greater Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra* (T 220, 7:540a16–541b21).

In this passage, Śāriputra wonders, “How is it that Bodhisattvas remain deeply coursing in *prajñāpāramitā* if they do not reside in any dharma?” Subhūti replies that the Tathāgata-mind does not reside in anything, including the five aggregates, four noble truths, four limitless minds, *jhānas*, *dhāraṇīs*, *samādhis*, wisdom, etc., because “of all the dharmas, not one is obtainable.” When Bodhisattvas course in *prajñāpāramitā* with Tathāgata-mind, their mind does not reside anywhere, yet there is nowhere that it does not reside. Subhūti, now addressing the concerns of some *devas*, states that the truth of this is beyond explanation and interpreting; all of these dharmas are like illusions and dreams. The *devas* ask if *nirvāṇa* is also like an illusion. Subhūti replies that it is, and “if there were a dharma beyond *nirvāṇa*, that too would be unobtainable” (Translation my own).

47 I refer to the *Huayan jing*'s frequent use of the expression “Buddha-fields as numerous as atoms” 佛刹微塵數 to understand *chensha*.

48 I have not adopted Pittman's translation (2001, 213–14).

49 This is a reference to the “flower bank array ocean of worlds” (*huazang shahai* 華藏刹海) described in the fifth chapter of Śīkṣānanda's translation of the *Huayan Sutra* (T 279, 10:39; Cleary 1984, 202f).

Following this, Taixu describes an explosion of creativity: he wrote furiously, filling dozens of pages per day with prose.

Taixu describes not only the experience itself, but also of how it affected him in the long term:

The *huatous* which I had worked on and all of the doctrines that I had memorized dissolved into one with nothing excluded. Previously my memory had been excellent, as I could memorize something after reading it once. But from then on, my powers of understanding were excellent, but I lost the ability to memorize. (Yinshun 1998, 21:347)

This is repeated in his *Autobiography*:

At that time, all of the questions I had about the Chan dialogue texts were resolved. Wisdom grew in my mind without obstacle, and I was able to freely apply concepts I had learned in Tiantai, Huayan, Faxiang, and secular literature in a manner that was out of the ordinary. At the same time, my ability to memorize declined greatly. (Yinshun 1998, 29:188)

An earlier work written in 1931 presents a similar description, but states that Taixu still found Weishi texts to be “intimidating,” and had not yet thoroughly read Vinaya texts or texts in Esoteric Buddhism, and (Yinshun 1998, 25:109).⁵⁰ It was not until Taixu’s sequestration at Putuo that he carefully read Weishi texts.

Taixu’s experiences are discussed with relation to the texts he was reading at the time. In a later reflection, Taixu remarks that on this occasion he gained special insights into *Prajñāpāramitā* and *Huayan* (Yinshun 1998, 29:190). Ideas or passages from the texts served either as an object of contemplation bringing him deeper into a meditative state, or as the agent of a spontaneous visualization. According to his descriptions, this resulted in a more integrated understanding of the texts and doctrines that he had previously memorized.

In sharp contrast to his developments in the monastic context, the next episode in Taixu’s life involves contact with the “new” political and social ideas of thinkers such as Kang Youwei. It is relevant to ask how his religious experience related to next period. Where was the continuity, and where was the disjuncture? The continuity may be seen in the fact that the authors of the political works he read were strongly influenced by Buddhist ideas.⁵¹ Thus the new political

50 The term Taixu uses to refer to Esoteric texts, *tuoluoni zang* 陀羅尼藏 (*dhāraṇīpiṭaka*), is properly a category found in the *Dasheng liqu liu boluomiduo jing* 大乘理趣六波羅蜜多經 (T 261), following Yinshun, *Huayu ji* 華雨集, vol. 3, in Yinshun’s collected works 印順法師佛學著作集 vol. 27, 221. My translation as “Esoteric Buddhist texts” reflects the array of meanings that would have informed Taixu’s understanding of the term, especially following the revival, in which Taixu was partially involved, of Esoteric Buddhism from both Japan and Tibet in the 1920s, as discussed by Bianchi (2004).

51 See Chan (1985), which discusses the explicit Buddhist influences on Tan Sitong (ch. 3), Kang

knowledge would have been particularly approachable due to the presence of Buddhist ideas. Also, those new ideas inspired Taixu to strengthen his religious commitments. Taixu writes of a new attitude arising as a result of his political readings:

After reading them, especially Tan Sitong's *Renxue*, there suddenly arose in me the genuine vow to enter into the world to save it using Buddhist learning. (Yinshun 1998, 29:191)⁵²

His newfound confidence is confirmed in another work reflecting on the same period:

At the time, I believed that my accomplishments in Buddhism, along with added knowledge of “new” [ideas], would be sufficient to enable me to save the world. The following year Ven. Eight Fingers and I worked on the Sangha Education Association. (Yinshun 1998, 21:348)

Thus Taixu describes a continuity between his rarified religious state and his worldly involvements that followed. His comment that he “turned away from the absolute and toward the conventional” (迴真向俗) suggests that this was an important religious moment, as Pittman describes it, “the arising of the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) and was the real beginning of his Bodhisattva career” (Pittman 2001, 67). This was a pivotal moment, which embraces both the strong commitment to his traditional Buddhist heritage and his conviction that Buddhist truths were not limited to the confines of the monastery (Hong 1999, 23–37, 69–70). This dynamic would inspire him for the rest of his life.

At the same time, there is a discontinuity between the Taixu's religious experience and his subsequent enthusiasm for working in the world. Taixu's subsequent decision to enter sequestration at Putuo, as well as his expression “I *believed* that my accomplishments . . .” point to a certain naiveté and romanticism underlying his actions at this time. Although Taixu was enthusiastic, he had not fully worked out the ramifications of his commitments.

Youwei (37–40), Liang Qichao (40–43), and Zhang Taiyan (43–49). See also Pittman (2001, 67–68).

52 Taixu uses the term *foxue* 佛學, which I have translated as “Buddhist learning.” For a discussion of the differences between Buddhist learning and Buddhist studies (*foxue yanjiu* 佛學研究), see Chu (2006, 72). This reflects Taixu's particular emphasis on the applicability of Buddhist ideas to the world. The expression “save the world” (*jiu shi* 救世) occurs frequently in Taixu's writings, occasionally in the form of *jiu shijie* 救世界. The various meanings of the *jiu* and *shi* allow a range of meanings for the compound, such as “save the people of our time,” and “bring relief to the world.”

Exposure to Modern Ideas

Taixu's contact with modern ideas occurred shortly after his religious experience at Xifang si. Huashan and several other monks had arrived at the monastery, for the purpose of doing their own reading. Huashan was highly articulate and well-versed in "new learning." Taixu writes, "They told me about new trends in China and the world, saying that Buddhism needed immediate reform, and that it would be wrong *not* to revitalize monastic education. At first, I strongly disagreed" (Yinshun 1998, 29:191). Their subsequent discussions touched upon astronomy, geography, politics, and education. After more than ten days of verbal and written debate, Taixu began to see that their knowledge was something different from the Chinese intellectual tradition, and his curiosity was piqued. At their suggestion, Taixu read works by prominent contemporary "new" thinkers who proposed varying degrees of political reform through use of Western and Japanese ideas for the sake of reforming Qing institutions to strengthen the nation. These include works by Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, Zhang Taiyan, Tan Sitong, Yan Fu's translation of Thomas Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics*, and maps showing continents and national boundaries. This also marks the beginning of Taixu's interest in and ability to grasp national intellectual trends.

After his encounter with Huashan, Taixu went to Qita monastery in Ningpo to attend sūtra lectures by Dixian on the Tiantai *Sijiao yi* 四教儀. While there, Taixu wrote a letter to Eight Fingers blaming him for not doing more to secure the release of Yuanying, who had been arrested for unspecified reasons. Eight Fingers came to Qita si and strongly reprimanded Taixu for the letter. The reprimand did not sit well with Taixu, who then retreated to Xiao jihuahua in Pingwang (the site of Taixu's initial renunciation). There, he encountered Qiyun for the first time. As Taixu writes, Qiyun had followed Eight Fingers in some capacity, and then had studied in Japan, where he worked with Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary Alliance. Qiyun brought revolutionary readings and ideas, Taixu's first exposure. Taixu assures his readers that he was not more interested in political revolution than Buddhism:

However, at the time, my position on using Buddhism to save the world had not shifted at all. I was merely aware that Buddhism would need to undergo a revolution following China's political revolution. (Yinshun 1998, 29:192)⁵³

The episode with Qiyun, occurring in 1908, marks the beginning of Taixu's awareness about revolution, although it was not until 1910 in Guangzhou that Taixu became involved with revolutionary groups. As described by Hong Jinlian, this period represents the initial coming together of new political ideas with Taixu's Buddhist heritage, which ultimately resulted in Taixu's innovative approaches to popularizing Buddhism (Hong 1999, 21–165).⁵⁴

53 See also Welch (1968, 15) and Pittman (2001, 68).

54 Hong points out that the critical time for Taixu's actual integration of new ideas with his Buddhist heritage occurred at his subsequent sequestration 1914–17.

Yuanying was released, and Taixu returned to Ningpo after gaining Eight Fingers' forgiveness.⁵⁵ Then the four of them (including Qiyun) began working on the Sangha Education Association in Ningpo, an activity with which Taixu was engaged until the early spring of 1910.

Sangha Education Association

The Sangha Education Association (Seng[jia] Jiaoyu Hui 僧[伽]教育會) was formed as the result of a complex series of events involving local officials confiscating monastic property, Japanese Buddhists offering extraterritorial protection, Buddhist monasteries, and ultimately the intervention of the Qing court. Neither Pittman nor Welch gives a detailed account of the Association's formation.⁵⁶ Below, I attempt to identify some of the historical factors leading up to its emergence.

Welch does provide important historical background leading up to the formation of the Association: beginning in the late nineteenth century, Japanese Buddhists had been setting up missions in China. This earned them favor with the Japanese government, then unsympathetic to Buddhism, because they could provide intelligence about China. These missions worked under the ostensible purpose of helping to restore Buddhism in China, which they argued was corrupt. Additionally, the Japanese government saw an interest in setting up regular schools in China providing a Japanese education, and had done so by 1898 (Welch 1968, 161–65).

At the same time, the Qing government had begun a new policy in 1898 that called for monastic property to be used for the purpose of creating new schools. This was in the context of a larger program of reform, which was aimed at strengthening China against the increasingly real possibility that China would be “carved up” by foreign powers.⁵⁷ The new schools would instill nationalism through public education, so that the next generation of Chinese would be more inspired to struggle for China as a nation (Makita 1984, 296–297).⁵⁸ This policy, “using

55 Taixu states that he “returned to Ningpo.” While Qita and Tiantong were both considered to be located in Ningpo, it is more likely that Taixu went to the latter, where Eight Fingers was the abbot and Yuanying was probably the Guestmaster.

56 See Pittman (2001, 69 and 71). Similarly, Holmes Welch does not mention it except in a single footnote, which will be treated below.

57 Hsü (2000, 332–355). Although the first attempt, the “Hundred day reforms,” were short-lived, subsequent policies aimed at using temple property for new schools were promulgated in the Qing and then later in the Republican period. Makita's article (1984) examines this phenomenon, suggesting that some reform was justified due to the disproportionate amount of resources possessed by the monasteries. Vincent Goossaert's recent article (2006) looks at the phenomenon in terms of the government's framing of discourse; Huang Yunxi (1991) makes use of contemporary magazines, providing information not contained in other sources.

58 See especially the quote from Zhang Zhidong's *Quanxue pian* 勸學篇. On the complex topic of

temple property to support schools” (*miaochan xingxue* 廟產興學), was implemented with increased severity during reforms of 1901–05, when the Empress Dowager instituted a new reform program.⁵⁹

This policy meant that local officials or reformers had the legal authority to use monastery funds and property (most often rental income) to build and run schools. Huang Yunxi provides four pre-emptive strategies used by monasteries in response to this threat: (1) making an offer of funding and space in hopes that it would be less than that of an outright confiscation; (2) setting up secular primary schools of their own initiative, so that officials would have no reason for confiscation; (3) setting up schools for monastic education, including those created with the help of Japanese missionaries; (4) offering funds and space for a secular school, while sending monks to Japan to learn Japanese monastic education in preparation for setting up their own monastic schools.⁶⁰

In 1904, Japanese Buddhists Mizuno Baigyō 水野梅曉 and Itō Kendō 伊藤賢道 worked with the Kaifu si 開福寺 in Changsha (Hunan Province) to set up the Sangha Normal School 僧師範學堂.⁶¹ They arrived in Hunan through the introduction of Eight Fingers. They appealed to the immediate interests of Chinese monasteries: by building schools, the monasteries could preemptively avoid confiscation by Qing officials. The new school in Changsha was headed by Mizuno, structured after Japanese Buddhist schools, and was funded jointly by the Kaifu si and a member of the Honganji (Huang 1991, 299). Another similar school, which appears to be based on the Japanese model, but is not explicitly affiliated with Japanese missionaries is the Putong seng xuetang 普通僧學堂 in Yangzhou, at Tianning si 天寧寺.⁶² These two schools provided a good quality monastic education and involved important Buddhist figures (Huang 1991, 300).

educational reform during this period, see Elman (2000, 585–625).

59 Welch notes that the date was 1904, and in a connected footnote states that other sources provide inconsistent dates, from 1902 to 1906, concluding that “more investigation is needed.” (Welch 1968, 11, 296). According to Elman (2000, 594–605), a series of broad-based reforms was undertaken in 1901–05, including multiple reforms in education ending with the abolition of the imperial examinations in 1905. See also Hsü (2000, 408–11). Neither author mentions specific policies for “temples for education,” but it is likely that they were included in this cluster of reforms occurring over this four-year period. This may also explain the dating discrepancies noticed by Welch.

60 These strategies were used by larger “public monasteries” (*conglin* 叢林). Hereditary monasteries had fewer resources and less negotiating power (Huang 1991, 300–301).

61 This shares the same name with the Sangha Normal School in Nanjing, est. 1910 (discussed below).

62 Taixu treats this school as being in the same category with the Changsha school; likewise Chenkong (1944) states that the Yangzhou school was imitating the Japanese model. This is the Sangha Middle School described in Welch (1968, 13).

Taixu remarks on their reliance on Japanese assistance: “Buddhism was being harmed by the nation and society . . . and we hoped to rely on Japanese monks for the protection of monastic property” (Yinshun 1998, 29:70). This statement refers not only to Japanese assistance with schools, but also to another type of aid. Mizuno subsequently provided another solution for Chinese monasteries facing the problem of expropriation: they could become sub-affiliates of the Japanese Higashi Honganji temple in China (see Welch 1968, 12).⁶³ This would allow them to enjoy the extraterritorial rights granted to Japan, exempting them from confiscation by the Qing. Thirty-six monasteries took advantage of this offer. This led to controversy in Hangzhou, and the matter eventually was heard in Beijing. After negotiations, it was agreed that the Buddhist monasteries would end their affiliation with the Japanese organization.⁶⁴ The Qing court would promulgate an edict explicitly calling for local officials to protect, and not confiscate monastic property, thus removing the need for Japanese protection. Xuyun's *Autobiography* contains the full text of that edict:

The Thirty-second year of the Kuang Hsu Reign [1906]: Imperial Edict:

“In the matter of collection of contributions, it has been repeatedly decreed that no well-meaning pretext will be permitted to oppress the poor. It has come to our knowledge that the establishment of schools and factories has been harsh and disturbing in the provinces where even the Buddhist order has not been spared.

“Such states of things cannot be tolerated and it is hereby decreed that all viceroys order immediately provincial officials of the administration to give official protection to all monasteries, whether large or small, and to all monastic property within their jurisdiction. No gentry and public servants are henceforth permitted to disturb them under any pretext and no regional authorities are allowed to extort contributions from monastic property to be in conformity with our form of government.” (Luk 1974, 46)

This official protection did not come without obligation. There was also an order that monasteries were to take an active role in providing secular education, for which the Sangha Education Association was created at the local and provincial levels.⁶⁵

The Sangha Education Association appears to have been formed primarily on the initiative of Eight Fingers in the fall of 1908. He thus had stopped working with the Japanese and begun working with the Qing. Yinshun states that the Association was formed in the following sequence: Eight Fingers and Huashan worked in Zhejiang (Ningpo is in Zhejiang), Yuexia worked in Jiangsu, and then Juexian in Beijing (1992, 36). According to Taixu's description, the Association would involve a local official and a local abbot, setting up, in ideal cases,

63 These sub-affiliates were called *zaihua xiayuan* 在華下院, Huang (1991, 299)

64 See Yinshun (1992, 37), which cites multiple sources. Huang (1991, 299) cites Dongchu, 東初 *Zhongguo fojiao jindai shi* 中國佛教近代史 (1974, 77). See also Welch (1968, 164–65). Huang (1991, 299) gives the figure as 36 rather than Welch's 35. Welch (332) states “thirteen monasteries in Hangzhou,” citing Yinshun's *Nianpu*. This is a misreading for thirty.

65 See Yinshun (1998, 29:192–93; 29:47) and the passage from Welch below.

both a regular primary school and a primary school for young śrāmaṇeras. However, in many cases, local officials and/or abbots unscrupulously took advantage of the local monastery's resources (Yinshun 1998, 29:71–72). In the winter of 1908, the Jiangsu provincial government invited Eight Fingers to participate in the inaugural meeting of the Jiangsu Provincial Sangha Association, held at Jinshan monastery in Zhenjiang (Yinshun 1998, 29:37). Taixu and Qiyun went with him, both giving talks.

In contrast to Taixu's descriptions of the Association, Welch implies that they were not successful:

One of the many questions that deserves further study is the relationship of these schools to the monastic “educational associations” that were set up in accordance with a government order of 1906. At least two such associations came into existence in 1908: the [J]iangsu Sangha Educational Association (Chiang-su Seng Chiao-yü Hui) and the Ningpo Sangha Educational Association. The latter was founded by Eight Fingers. Presumably the work of these associations was parallel to that of their lay counterparts set up the same year: that is, they were supposed to establish schools. However, despite conferences and cooperation, they are said to have had little success. The necessary money was available to them (from rich monasteries), but it was difficult to find good teachers and administrators. (See Yin-shun, *T'ai-hsü*, 35–36.) At any rate none of the early schools is connected to any of the associations' efforts in the sources I have seen. (Welch 1968, 297–98).⁶⁶

Welch's comment that they had “little success” appears to be based on information provided by Taixu, mentioned above, regarding problems with local officials and mismanagement by abbots. One could just as easily infer from Taixu's information that the instances of misuse show that the Sangha Education Association worked in many locales. Welch's orientation was to elite and not popular phenomena. Eight Fingers and Taixu were involved in primary-level Buddhist and secular education at individual monasteries. Their Association was not involved with advanced monastic education, such as the two elite Buddhist schools mentioned above (in Changsha and Yangzhou), or the Jetavana Hermitage discussed below. Welch's orientation to elite Buddhism may have blinded him to the importance and scope of this organization.

While the activities and scope of the Sangha Education Association may never be exactly quantified, it does take on an importance seen from the perspective of later events. In the fall of 1910, the Sangha Education Association set up the Sangha Normal School (*Seng shifan xuetaang* 僧師範學堂) in Nanjing (Jiangsu Province), for the purpose of training monks working with the new schools.⁶⁷ Also, although the 1911 revolution brought the dissolution

66 This is Welch's only mention of the Association. The “lay counterparts” referred to here may be education promotion offices (*quan xue suo* 勸學所) mentioned in Qing historical annals whose purpose was to promote schooling for children and create schools. See *Qing shi gao* (1977, 3144).

67 According to Taixu, the Normal School was set up by the Sangha Education Association, and was run by Dixian and Yuexia (Yinshun 1998, 29:49). As noted above, Yuexia worked with the

of the Sangha Education Association, Eight Fingers later revived that same network to form the Chinese General Buddhist Association (Zhonghua fojiao zonghui 中華佛教總會) in 1912, which would work with the new government of Sun Yat-sen (Yinshun 1998, 29:203; 26:260).⁶⁸ Thus the Sangha Education Association has a greater significance than is recognized by Welch, Pittman, or any other sources cited. It represents the formation of a network of Buddhist monasteries, which would cooperate to protect the interests of Buddhism against outside forces threatening it.

Seeking a “New” Buddhist Education

At the provincial meeting of the Sangha Education Association, Taixu met two monks with whom he had been ordained. They had begun studies at the Jetavana Hermitage, which had opened several months prior, in the fall. He states that they revived his interest in “new learning”—which had begun under the influence of Huashan—and he hoped to enroll in the new school (Pittman 2001, 69–70). However, Yuanying and Zangnian wanted Taixu to go to Jinshan for more meditation. Despite this, Taixu, along with Qiyun and two others, left surreptitiously for the Jetavana Hermitage in Nanjing (Yinshun 1998, 29:196). He stayed there for one term, and then spent the latter half of 1909 working with an elementary school for śrāmaṇeras at Putuo (Yinshun 1998, 29:72).

Jetavana Hermitage was unique as a school set up by lay Buddhists providing a quality Buddhist education. It had some association with Japanese Buddhists, at the very least in terms of Buddhist texts.⁶⁹ Taixu's hopes for the Hermitage and what it represented can be seen by two comments he makes about it. The first is a general reflection on the nature of the school:

However, [unlike most Sangha schools oriented to the preservation of monastic property,] Yang Renshan's Jetavana Hermitage aimed to revive Indian Buddhism and bring Buddhism to the West, as per an agreement with the Mahābodhi Society. Its curriculum included Buddhist learning (*foxue* 佛學), Chinese, and English. That

Jiangsu Sangha Education Association. Welch states that this was a continuation of Wenxi's Sangha Middle School in Yangzhou (Welch, 1968, 13). Yangzhou is close to Nanjing, both in Jiangsu. It is quite possible that the new school involved both personnel and funding from Wenxi's school as well as an affiliation with the Sangha Education Association.

68 The General Association is discussed at length in Welch (1968, 35–38) and Pittman (2001, 51–52, 77–80, 85).

69 Jiang states that the only assistance it received from Japan was in the form of Buddhist texts, which Yang Renshan acquired with the help of Nanjō Bun'yū (Jiang 1993, 94). Hodous (1924) writes: “Under Japanese influence there was established in 1907 at Nanking, under the leadership of Yang, a lay Buddhist devotee, a school for the training of Buddhist missionaries. The students were to go to Japan for further training, and the more promising ones were to study in India.”

half-year was the only time in my life when I was a student in a semi-“new” style Buddhist educational institution. (Yinshun 1998, 29:196)

In the second comment, Taixu’s remarks on its legacy:

Although not many people were involved with the Hermitage, it has continued to be relevant to the past 30 years of Buddhism. (Yinshun 1998, 29:197)⁷⁰

The significance of the Hermitage may be better understood in its secular context. In 1905, the imperial examination system was cancelled, and reformers pushing for modern education gained momentum. By 1908, when the Hermitage was established, there had existed in intellectual and political circles for at least a decade the belief that traditional education, the imperial examination system, was flawed, and the system was ultimately made the scapegoat for the Russo-Japanese war, which was fought in China (Elman 2000, 604–07). New schools adopting varying degrees of westernization were seen as representing China’s future. Thus a Buddhist school such as the Jetavana Hermitage was modern and progressive not only from a Buddhist perspective, it was also modern from a cultural perspective, to the extent that it resonated with modern educational reforms.

A Year in Guangzhou

Taixu stayed in Guangzhou from early 1910 to the spring of 1911. During this time, he gained new ecclesiastical authority and became increasingly involved in revolutionary politics. His religious activities now included sūtra lecturing, which resulted in the publication of two texts. His exact political activities are unknown, but he left Guangzhou as a persona non grata after the uprising in the spring of 1911 (on this period, see Welch 1968, 15–16; Jiang 1993, 95–96; Hong 1999, 55–62; Pittman 2001, 68, 71–73).

Taixu provides information about this period of his life in two separate chapters of his *Autobiography*, “4. New Learning and Revolutionary Thought” and “5. Student, Teacher, Monk, Abbot.” The account below is based on the synthesis of information from those two chapters, Yinshun’s *Nianpu*, and other sources in an attempt to provide a cohesive narrative of those events.

Taixu’s ostensible purpose for going to Guangzhou was to help Qiyun with the establishment of a branch of the Sangha Education Association. However, after arriving, they were unable to establish the Association (Yinshun 1998, 29:197). Taixu stayed in Shuangxi 雙溪 monastery, of which Yuebin was abbot, and which was located outside of the city proper. Taixu would subsequently become the abbot of this monastery.⁷¹ In the summer of 1910, Taixu lectured at Lion’s Grove, a teaching space set up in a more centrally located monastery, where Qiyun and

70 This was written in 1939.

71 Shuangxi monastery is also referred to as Baiyun shan 白雲山, a reference to its location.

Yuebin also lectured (Yinshun 1992, 40; Pittman 2001, 71). Taixu writes that they generated a new interest in sutra lectures in Guangzhou. He relied on “translators” to render his talks into Cantonese.⁷²

Transcriptions of two of Taixu's lectures were later published, becoming Taixu's earliest extant works. Although Taixu remarks that he lectured on Tiantai and Chan, the extant works from that period are his “An Introduction to Buddhist Teachings and Meditation,” and “An Outline of Buddhist History” (Yinshun 1998, 29:197).⁷³ The former follows Tiantai classificatory schemes. Its introductory section includes the four methods of conversion (sudden, gradual, secret, and non-determined), and four types of content (Hīnayāna, Shared, Distinct, and Perfect). The body of the text is divided into four sections, dedicated to the four types of content.

The second text, “An Outline of Buddhist History,” is a brief history of Buddhism. It begins with a biography of Śākyamuni, including his renunciation, enlightenment, teachings, and nirvāṇa. This is followed by a history of Buddhism in India, which is divided into Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna periods. The next section presents the history of Buddhism in “Asia”—Central Asia and China—which is divided into four periods: introduction, flourishing (Tang), adaptation (Sinification), and decline. The final section discusses the “global period” (*shijie shidai* 世界時代) of Buddhism. In this, Taixu states that there are various problems with Buddhism in the West, Japan, and India, and it is up to Chinese Buddhists to assist in making Chinese Buddhism strong enough to provide what is needed for the Buddhism of those other nations. Thus Taixu puts Chinese Buddhism in an international Buddhist context, not to show that Chinese Buddhism needed to catch up, but to inspire Chinese Buddhists to bring Chinese Buddhism to its full potential so that it may provide the necessary guidance to the regional variations of Buddhism found in other nations. This perspective seems to be original to Taixu.

It was also through those lectures that Taixu came into friendships with notable figures enumerated in his *Autobiography*: military officers, poets, and scholar-officials. These relationships were an important part of Taixu's stay in Guangzhou. When Yuebin left the abbotship at Shuangxi in the fall of 1910 to return to Hunan, Taixu was elected to replace him by the resident monks on the strength of his relationship with local literati (Yinshun 1998, 29:198). The question of how Taixu had relationships with Qing officials and the revolutionary party requires further research.

In the early spring of 1911, as abbot of Shuangxi monastery, Taixu set about to convert it into the “Mahā Lecture Center” 摩訶講園. He compares it to historical *saṃghārāmas*, which were places for people “to gather and have intellectual discussions” about Buddhism.⁷⁴ He also did

72 Qu Lu 鄒魯, who later served as president of Sun Yat-sen University, had translated (*fanyi* 翻譯) for Taixu in Guangzhou (Yinshun 1998, 29:73).

73 These works are his “Jiaoguan quanyao” 教觀詮要 and “Fojiao shilüe” 佛教史略. Yinshun's description of these texts, glossed in Pittman (2001, 71), has a different emphasis.

74 This is described in his charter for the Center (Yinshun 1998, 30:833).

a lecture series on the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*. His effort to create the lecture center and his lectures on the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* reflect a concern for lay Buddhists. This concern is explicit in his “Outline of Buddhist History,” composed while he was in Guangzhou:

Buddhists see all sentient beings as if they were our own children. . . . why would we, as if for the sake of pedantry, prefer the dear to the unfamiliar, or the monastic to the lay? *Vimalakīrti* and Li Tongxuan are both lay Bodhisattvas.⁷⁵ Modern intellectuals have come to hold great ideas, serious ideals, having far-reaching compassion and strong charisma. Taking on this great mission to save the world, they are worthy of great expectations. (Yinshun 1998, 2:915)

This interest in laity is consistent with Taixu’s earlier conviction that he would go out into the world, working to save it. However, Taixu’s efforts to work for the betterment of Buddhism and society were interrupted by the failed revolution in Guangzhou in the spring of 1911.

Taixu and Politics

In one brief passage, Taixu retrospectively sums up his interests in social and political thought during the period 1908–1914. He writes,

My political and social ideas went from constitutional monarchy, to civil revolution, to socialism, then to anarchism. (Yinshun 1998, 29:194)

Dates can be assigned to this sequence with a fair degree of certainty. Taixu’s interest in constitutional monarchy begins with his contact with Huashan in 1908, who introduced him to thinkers such as Liang Qichao and Kang Youwei. Constitutional monarchy, because it was the system used by Japan at the time of Japan’s defeat of Russia in 1906, came to be seen as a desirable form of government in China by reformers, and the Qing court made efforts to show that it was creating reforms in that direction (Hsü 2000, 412–17). Taixu’s first knowledge of revolution began with his brief contact with Qiyun in 1908. His interest in socialism appears to date to the months following the fall of the Qing in 1912; and anarchism to the beginning of 1913. Although Taixu had begun learning about socialism and anarchism in Guangzhou, it was not until after the revolution that he became more actively involved with these groups.

Taixu does not provide details about his revolutionary activities in Guangzhou. Nonetheless, a partial narrative may be constructed. Guangzhou was a hotbed of revolutionary activity, and this would have been Taixu’s first large-scale exposure to the exciting world of revolutionaries. He writes:

75 Lay Buddhist Li Tongxuan 李通玄 (635–730) was a celebrated Huayan exegete. His commentary on the *Huayan Sūtra* is included in the Taishō canon (T 1739). Chapter 39 of this commentary, which explicates the *Ru fajie pin* 入法界品 (*Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*), has been translated into English by Thomas Cleary (1984, appendix 3).

Through Qiyun I met people of the [revolutionary] party. They were of all sorts: rough, boisterous, bad-tempered, and ill-mannered. I was in frequent contact with them, sometimes teaching them Buddhism. I also went to all types of secret meetings. This trained me to have the courage to enter into the company of demons and face danger. As a result I became unruly, losing my previous innocence and fear of authority. (Yinshun 1998, 29:193–94)

This period would be the climax of his romanticism. Aside from a description of political thinkers he read, Taixu describes little else about his political activities in Guangzhou until his departure.

In the spring of 1911, a large uprising took place in Guangzhou, but was put down by the Qing: an unsuccessful revolution.⁷⁶ Now greatly disappointed, and fearing the worst, Taixu quit his position as abbot. The Qing's subsequent search for revolutionaries turned up Taixu's name, apparently through Qiyun's arrest for providing material support to the revolution. The evidence used against Taixu was a poem Taixu had written in praise of the martyrs who died in the uprising. Soldiers surrounded Taixu's monastery, calling for his arrest. Taixu, however, had already left, and was staying at the news office owned by his friend Pan Dawei in Guangzhou. Pressure increased, and, according to his own account, newspapers in Guangzhou, Hong Kong, and Shanghai carried stories mocking him as a promoter of "Amitabha's Revolution." Local officials who had befriended Taixu interceded on his behalf. It was resolved that inquiries would be dropped under the condition that Taixu leave Guangzhou immediately (Yinshun 1998, 29:194–95). Taixu's complex emotional involvement with revolution and nation are seen in part of a poem he wrote about the failed uprising:

書劍聚成千古淚， Books and swords have become tears of the past;
 英雄都化兩間塵。 The heroes have become but dust in the world.
 從今刪卻閒愁恨， From today I purge fruitless grief and hate;
 臥看荒荒大陸淪。 Bereft of hope, I lie, watching the land go under.⁷⁷

Although Taixu's political orientation was to revolution, he also speaks of learning about socialism and particularly anarchism in Guangzhou. He read works by Peter Kropotkin, Mikhail Bakunin, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, and Kōtoku Shūsui, who were prominent anarchists.⁷⁸ Their writings were translated into Chinese, many of which were published in the anarchist journal, *Xin shiji* 新世紀 (New era), which Taixu also mentions.⁷⁹ There were two centers of Chinese

76 This uprising in Guangzhou is briefly described in Hsü (2000, 465). The large uprising was a "shock to the Ch'ing court," and was put down bloodily.

77 This poem is entitled "Miscellaneous Sentiment" (Yinshun 1998, 32:22). It is not clear whether this is the poem Taixu speaks of above.

78 Kōtoku Shūsui 幸徳秋水 (1871–1911) was also known as Kōtoku Denjirō 傳次郎 (Elison, 1967, 437). He was personally influential upon Liu Shiwei, the leader of the Chinese anarchists in Tokyo (Scalapino and Yü, 1961).

79 This journal, with the Esperanto subtitle *La Tempoĵ Novaj*, was published in Chinese 1907–1910

anarchist intellectuals, one in Paris and one in Tokyo.⁸⁰ By 1905, the Paris group had allied itself with Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary Alliance (*Tongmeng hui* 同盟會). Within China, by 1912, groups had coalesced around two figures: socialist Jiang Kanghu, and anarchist Liu Shifu.⁸¹ At this time, there was still not a clear distinction between anarchism and socialism in China.⁸² Both of these groups relied on printed materials and information from the Paris and Tokyo groups. The influence of anarchism reached its peak in the years leading up to the 1919 May Fourth Movement.⁸³

After leaving Guangzhou in the spring of 1911, Taixu was increasingly sympathetic to socialism. He went to Shanghai, where Jiang Kanghu had recently "made public the socialist party network" and was publishing essays on socialism in newspapers (Yinshun 1998, 29:195). Taixu's involvement with socialism will be discussed in more detail in the following section below.

Taixu's fourth stage of interest was with anarchism. Beginning in 1913, Taixu found anarchism to have affinities with Buddhism. He had allied himself with Liu Shifu, who advocated anarchism over socialism (Yinshun 1998, 29:195).⁸⁴ At that time, anarchism in China promoted the theme of freedom from authority. Scalapino and Yü describe a representative essay in the *New Era* journal:

A lengthy essay, "On Anarchism," ran through many issues of the journal. In this, the authors asserted that anarchism essentially meant "no authority." Governments used the military to underwrite authority, and hence the anarchist was opposed to militarism, advocating humanitarianism in its place. Secondly, anarchism was a theory that no limits should be placed upon man, whereas government limited man by laws and other forms of coercion. Above all, the anarchist respected freedom. In addition, the anarchist believed in a classless, equal society. He believed in the common sharing of property, being opposed both to capitalism and to state socialism, another form of concentrated political and economic power. (Scalapino and Yü 1961)

with over 100 issues, see Dirlik (1986, 126). Taixu mentions this journal and the above thinkers (Yinshun 1998, 29:194); see also Pittman (2001, 72–73).

- 80 For an analysis of Chinese anarchism in terms of the Paris and Tokyo groups, see Dirlik (1986, 123–165).
- 81 For analysis of Jiang Kanghu's socialist party and Liu Shifu's anarchist group in China, see Dirlik and Krebs (1981).
- 82 Socialism and anarchism were not clearly differentiated in Chinese political discourse until 1913–14 (Dirlik 1986, 128).
- 83 Dirlik (1986, 159–60). For a critique of Dirlik's position, see Pickowicz (1990). The most recent study on anarchism in China during this period is Müller-Saini (2001).
- 84 This is confirmed in Dirlik and Krebs (1981, 136), who also suggest that the anarchist group was influenced by Buddhism, for example in their rules calling for vegetarianism. Taixu's last contact with the anarchists of Liu's party was in 1929 (Yinshun 1998, 29:195).

In a 1920 essay, Taixu provides a brief gloss of the relationship between authority and property:

Anarchism means that there is no authority. Authority is derived from the property of the nation or the family. It [authority] exists for protecting the private property of the nation and family—the meaning of private property is wide, including nationalization, family inheritance, etc. Therefore, fundamentally, [anarchism] does not allow the existence of property belonging to nation or family. (Yinshun 1998, 20:227)

After some brief remarks about the different varieties of anarchism, Taixu then states that when the ideals of Chan practice are carried out in the monastery, practitioners are free of the relationship between private property and government authority, as well as of all other forms of authority. It may be surmised that anarchist ideas of authority and property recall the Buddhist notion of attachment. Anarchist ideas provided a yardstick by which Taixu could evaluate Buddhist institutions.

Creating a Buddhist Association

Buddhist associations served varying purposes in China. Generally, they would serve as an intermediary between the Sangha (as well as other Buddhist groups) and the government. The first, although short-lived, was the Chinese Buddhist Association (*Zhongguo fojiao Hui* 中國佛教會), established by lay Buddhist Ouyang Jingwu and his associates in 1912 (Welch 1968, 33–34). At this time, there was a movement to promote Confucianism as the national religion of China. This arose as the result of proposals that there should be freedom of religion (which would weaken the classically educated elite by eliminating Confucianism from schools) and the possibility that Christianity might be proposed by Sun Yat-sen as the national religion (Chen 1999, 112–117). Wing-tsit Chan states that Ouyang's Buddhist association was purely an attempt to prevent Confucianism from becoming the national religion.⁸⁵ By contrast, the goal of Buddhist associations created by monks was primarily the protection of monastic property, which was still in danger of confiscation under the new government (Chan 1969, 57). From the low success rate of such associations, it appears that Buddhist monasteries were generally disinclined to take part in national administrative structures.⁸⁶

With the formation of the provisional government in Nanjing on January 1, 1912, Taixu moved to Nanjing and began work on the charter for his Association for the Advancement

85 The following year (1913), Taixu wrote a brief statement calling for freedom of religion entitled “Xinjiao ziyou yu guojiao” 信教自由與國教 (Freedom of religion and national religion), which was published in *Fojiao yuebao* (this work is included in Yinshun 1998, 17:654).

86 See Welch (1968, 34–50) for a description of Buddhist associations until the 1940s. Welch suggests that Buddhist associations were only successful when there was imminent threat of property confiscation. Jiang states that Buddhist monasteries preferred to be self-governing

of Buddhism (*Fojiao xiejin hui* 佛教協進會).⁸⁷ In Nanjing he stayed in Pilu 毗廬 monastery, whose abbot had taken on a secular job. The monastery also served as the headquarters for the local branch of the Chinese socialist party. Through the introduction of a party member, Taixu met with an official from the office of president Sun Yat-sen. Taixu told the official his plans for the Association, and received an affirmative response (Yinshun 1998, 29:200). At that time, socialism, in the form of *minsheng* 民生, “livelihood of the people,” represented Sun Yat-sen’s ideological focus.⁸⁸

Presumably with great confidence in his plans for the new Association, Taixu sent invitations to the major abbots in Zhejiang and Jiangsu, and was able to organize a meeting at Jinshan monastery for the purpose of presenting his charter for their approval. There was of course the possibility that those abbots would not support his plan. This uncertainty is likely to have served as Taixu’s motivation to organize a substantial number of socialists to attend the meeting—the majority of the audience was composed of party members, according to Taixu’s own account (Yinshun 1998, 29:201–202).

The presence of the socialists backfired. They supported Renshan’s hastily made call to turn Jinshan into a school, effective immediately. The conflict that followed, the “Jinshan Incident,” destroyed all chances of success for Taixu’s Association for the Advancement of Buddhism.⁸⁹ Taixu and his apologists portray Renshan as the instigator of the conflict, due to his long-term feud with the monks of Jinshan. Monks of Jinshan also refer to a preexisting feud between Renshan and themselves, but take the position that Taixu colluded with Renshan to take over Jinshan (Welch 1968, 33–34). Taixu and Renshan indeed held progressive attitudes with regard to education and monastic property. However, to state that Taixu’s goal was to help Renshan “strike the winning blow” in his feud with the monks of Jinshan presupposes that Taixu wished to accomplish this even at the cost of losing support for his Association.⁹⁰ His work on the charter, consultation with the president’s office, and packing the audience with socialist party members all point to a larger plan to establish his Association. If this is the case, then it is also clear that Taixu was not completely in control of the events that took place at Jinshan.

However, Taixu was not blameless. Jiang Canteng analyzes the incident, with a three-part conclusion: (1) Taixu relied not on the help of fellow Buddhist monks, but on the power of non-Buddhist outsiders, the socialist party members, to pressure the abbots to support his Buddhist association (this was his biggest mistake); (2) if Taixu’s association had succeeded, monasteries would be liable to interference by political parties; (3) as the incident unfolded, newspapers and public discourse were generally critical of Taixu and Renshan (Jiang 1993,

(1993, 114).

87 For a general discussion of the role of Buddhist associations, see Welch (1968, 26–27). With regard to similarities with the Ministry of Rites in the Qing, see Welch (1968, 35–36).

88 On the close relationship of *minsheng* to socialism, see Scalapino & Schiffrin (1959, 324–25). On Sun’s use of socialism, see Schiffrin (1957, 554).

89 For a more complete description of this incident, see Pittman (2001, 74–77).

90 The quoted phrase is from Welch (1968, 33).

101–02). This marked the beginning of Taixu's alienation from the main Buddhist institutions, the large monasteries.

To what extent did Taixu rely on socialist ideas in formulating his program for Buddhist reform? Although the charter for Taixu's proposed association has not been preserved, available evidence indicates that it was strongly influenced by socialist ideas. Its contents can be roughly surmised from three sources. First, Taixu's *Autobiography* states that it contained socialist leanings. Second, there are two first-hand accounts of Taixu's speech at Jinshan. Third, Taixu gave a speech in 1913 reiterating the ideas from the charter.

Taixu's *Autobiography* remarks, "The charter contained socialist revolutionary leanings in terms of using Buddhist property for the formation of Buddhist activities for public [welfare]" (Yinshun 1998, 29:201; Pittman 2001, 76). One first-hand account is provided by Boorman:

He [Taixu] believed that Buddhist land holdings were the common property of all followers of the religion and should be dedicated to the promotion of social welfare, particularly education. In a statement that aroused strong controversy, he advocated the adoption in religious communities of the principle that each person should be judged by his abilities and rewarded according to his work. Moreover, he argued for the redefinition of Buddhist doctrine because he believed Buddhism to be a religion for this world. (Boorman 1970, 3:208, cited in Pittman 2001, 75)

As will be seen further below, the emphases on education, individual livelihood, and property resonated with socialist themes. The second account is found in an article on Chinese Buddhism of that period. Shu Xin writes:

At Jinshan monastery in Zhenjiang, the meeting for the establishment [of the Association for the Advancement of Buddhism] was held. [Taixu] announced the onset of a revolution in Buddhism, which required discarding the mysterious and supernatural trappings imposed upon Buddhism by emperors,⁹¹ emphasizing humanistic Buddhism, creating Pure Land in this world; on the institutional side, discarding the system of administrative subservience [to the government], overthrowing the hereditary monasteries, and establishing a unified Buddhist association. With regard to Buddhist property, [this required] destroying private ownership and possession, collectivizing [property] for the purpose of creating schools and social welfare activities. (Shu Xin 1978)

This is largely consistent with the first description, with prominent themes of education, individual livelihood, and property distribution.

At the funeral of Eight Fingers in February 1913, Taixu gave a speech calling for a threefold revolution in Buddhism. He states that this was a reiteration of his charter for the

91 This idea merits further investigation. Duara describes 'superscription,' a process by which the imperial government gave official sanction to pre-existing popular religious deities or symbols (Duara's study takes the example of Guandi, god of war). As part of the sanctioning, the god or symbol is domesticated by adding elements such as descriptions of the deity's filial piety and righteousness. See Duara (1988, 782–85, 791–92).

already defunct Association for the Advancement of Buddhism. In this speech, Taixu called for the following:

1. **Revolution in theory:** “In the past, Buddhism was used as a tool by emperors to benight the people by using such concepts as ghosts and deities, disasters and merit. From now on it should be used to study the universal truths of life to direct the progress of the people of the world.”
2. **Revolution in organization:** “The institutional structure of monasteries should be improved.”
3. **Revolution in property:** All monasteries should be public, “and the evil custom of hereditary monasteries should be eliminated, so that virtuous senior monks may be supported, promising young monks may be trained, and Buddhist educational programs may be undertaken” (Yinshun 1998, 29:77–78).⁹²

As will be shown below, these ideas were strikingly similar to socialist ideas circulating in China at the time.

Jiang Kanghu 江亢虎 (1883–1954), founder of the Chinese socialist party, called for three areas of reform necessary to bring about his socialist program:

1. **Public education:** “inequality arises from inequality in ability; inequality in ability arises from inequality in education”; with free public education, inequalities due to family background would disappear over the course of several generations.
2. **Freedom of occupation:** “If each individual sought an occupation in accordance with his or her talents, the virtuous would seek to advance and the degenerate would not dare to remain idle.”
3. **Independence of wealth:** This was a call for the abolition of inheritance. Wealth should be returned to the public rather than passed on to one’s offspring, because inheritance perpetuated inequality and thus demoralized the individual.⁹³

While there is not an exact correspondence between Taixu’s ideas and those of Jiang Kanghu, some similarities are striking. First, both argue that knowledge (Taixu) or education (Jiang) should be used for the benefit of the majority, not as a tool for inequality. Second, Jiang’s call for freedom of individual occupation corresponds with Taixu’s statement that “each person should be judged by his abilities and rewarded according to his work.” In later essays on reform, Taixu described in great detail how the Sangha might be divided into many different occupational categories, such as scholars, liturgists, etc. (Welch 1968, 52; Pittman 2001, 95,

92 On the differences between hereditary and public monasteries, see Welch (1973, 137) and Pittman (2001, 80). Taixu subsequently continued to advocate these three themes of reform, but used less socialist names: revolutions in theory 學理, organization 組織, and property 財產 were changed to doctrine 教理, Sangha institution 僧制, and monastic property 寺產 (Yinshun 1998, 29:61). His call to reform Buddhist doctrine proved to be controversial.

93 Summarized in Dirlik and Krebs (1981, 128–129).

232). Third, in calling for the elimination of the system of hereditary monasteries, Taixu shows the influence of the socialist ideal of equalization of wealth.⁹⁴

In his 1937 work “The History of My Failed Revolutions in Buddhism,” Taixu assesses the failure of this Association (61):

I, along with the support of many other young monks who had received a “new” education, established the Association for the Advancement of Buddhism. Although I set the guiding principles, which were carried out at Jinshan and other places, there was another group [who did not agree]. Because our actions were rash and uncoordinated, they resulted in a massive counterattack, and [the Association] came to a premature end. My reputation as a revolutionary of Buddhism began at this time; I was respected, feared, scorned, or pitied.

Taixu retrospectively faults his methods but not his ideals, still affirming the errors of those who opposed him. To this extent, the resistance Taixu met with at Jinshan would have strengthened his resolve to bring reform to the Sangha, impelling him to improve his methods of implementation.

Epilogue

In the period between the Jinshan incident and Taixu's sequestration at Putuo shan in 1914, Taixu was involved with two activities: Buddhist associations and writing essays. As noted by Welch and Pittman, the Chinese General Buddhist Association was the most successful of the early associations (Welch 1968, 36–38; Pittman 2001, 78–79). It was organized by Eight Fingers in the wake of Taixu's debacle at Jinshan, and involved the revival of the old Sangha Education Association networks.⁹⁵ The new Association also published its own magazine, *Fojiao yuebao* 佛教月報 (Buddhist monthly), of which Taixu was the main editor, working in the Association's headquarters in Shanghai (Yinshun 1998, 29:205). Taixu worked with at least two other associations, neither of which endured (Pittman 2001, 79–81).

In addition to his articles for *Buddhist Monthly*, Taixu also wrote secular articles. In 1913 Taixu became an editor of the anarchist journal, *Liangxin* 良心, for which he also contributed articles. In early 1914, Taixu took a trip to Shaoxing, 95 miles southwest of Shanghai, near Hangzhou to visit friends (Yinshun 1998, 29:208). One of his friends, Yang Yifang 楊一放,

94 Taixu was one of the earliest voices for this type of reform. Welch's article entitled “Dharma Scrolls and the Succession of Abbots in Chinese Monasteries” (1963) contains description of the close relationship between dharma transmission and abbot succession, especially in the Jiangsu area. Both Taixu and Xuyun were interested in this area of reform (123). See also Chen and Deng (2003, 450), which describes Tanxu's 倓虛 (1875–1963) later reform calling for Tiantai monasteries to “transmit the dharma, but not the abbacy” 傳法不傳座.

95 See note 68 above.

was a high official, member of the socialist party, and the owner of a newspaper.⁹⁶ Taixu states that he stayed at the “Xu Office” 徐社, which appears to be a reference to the Xu Company 徐公祠, in which Yang’s newspaper office was located. Wang Ziyu 王子余, of unspecified political affiliation, ran the newspaper *Yuyu xinwen* 禹域新聞 (*Shaoxing shi zhi* 38: ch. 1). Taixu’s *Autobiography* states that he wrote articles for their newspapers for about four months. To describe this time, he uses a colloquial verb, “*hun*” 混, to “drift along,” or “kill time” (Lin 1999, s.v. “*hun*”). Taixu ultimately sought a renewal of meaning within the Buddhist monastery:

My bodhi-seeds and good roots reminded me that I could not settle into an ordinary worldly life. After about the fifth or sixth month of 1914, I could no longer bear to drift along with those who only worked with the secular; that autumn I entered into sequestered retreat at Putuo. (Yinshun 1998, 29:208)

Taixu’s previous introduction to social and political thought by Huashan generated in Taixu a new enthusiasm for working in the world outside the monastery. In many ways Taixu’s sequestration represented the need to reconsider his approach and reintegrate his thinking. Although Taixu had high ideals throughout his life, after his retreat he had a marked awareness of the need to be realistic.

Conclusion

Three years after Taixu’s death, Yinshun wrote that many people saw Taixu as a “revolutionary monk” (Yinshun 1950, 283). Taixu’s interest in both religion and political ideas is a major source of the difficulty in creating a balanced account of his life. Despite this, it is possible to identify four activities that emerged in his early years and were dominant throughout his life: writing and lecturing, working to reform the Sangha, working to create Buddhist associations, and promoting Buddhist education. Taixu’s interest in political thought was indeed a source of alienation from the Sangha. Yet, Taixu himself was a dedicated Sangha member, and his ability to simultaneously be an insider and have a broader cultural perspective was a factor in his ability to identify problems and propose creative solutions.

96 See volumes 23 and 38 of *Shaoxing shizhi* 紹興市志 (Shaoxing city government gazetteer; n.d.), which contain information on political parties and mass media respectively.

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Abbreviations

- T Taishō 大正藏; CBETA v3.7 (Feb. 2008)
 X Zoku zōkyō 續藏經; CBETA v3.7

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