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Dharma in Common:

Yuanzhao and the Resurgence of Buddhist Monasticism in Medieval East Asia

A dissertation presented

By

Xingyi Wang

to
The Committee on the Study of Religion

in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the subject of
Buddhist Studies

Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts
May 2021

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Dharma in Common:

Yuanzhao and the Resurgence of Buddhist Monasticism in Medieval East Asia

ABSTRACT

This dissertation utilizes a transnational and interdisciplinary perspective to uncover how intellectual and material exchange between China and Japan led to monastic revival movements in both countries. Grounded in the shared commentarial tradition on monastic rules in the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya (*Chi. *Sifenlü,* Jpn. *Shibunritsu* 四分律), I interpret how Buddhists negotiated the tension between fidelity to the original Vinaya and their localized social reality, which led not only to renewed monastic daily practice but to new religious movements on a larger scale. The revitalized intellectual tradition of monastic rules on the continent was transmitted to Japan through cultural exchanges by Buddhist clerics. Nonetheless, communication did not take place only through texts. I also trace the movements and networks of people, ideas, and material culture through woodblock prints, picture scrolls, portraits, statues, relics, etc. Against the backdrop of a shared sense of the Final Dharma period, Vinaya merged with practices for rebirth in the Pure Land. I explore the understudied connection between the combined practices of the Vinaya and Pure Land from the continent to Japanese Pure Land schools.

In an effort to stay true to the origin of Buddhism, Buddhists created a new body of texts, doctrines, objects, and practices; re-defining monasticism and casting a long shadow on the post-medieval period. My study revolves around the pivotal figure of Yuanzhao (1048-1116), a Northern Song Vinaya master, demonstrating how his reinterpretation of Daoxuan's (596-667) commentaries on the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* has inspired and informed the monastic revival movements in medieval China and Japan. The project explores critical issues for Buddhist monasticism, including theoretical conceptualization for the formation of the

religious self by means of receiving and observing Buddhist precepts, and ways to organize communal daily life according to monastic rules. It provides a multifaceted perspective for understanding the significance of Buddhist monasticism as situated within the central connecting points of doctrine, everyday practice, soteriology, material culture, community identity, and social embeddedness.

The establishment of the Vinaya school in medieval China is one direct result of a resurgent interest in the commentarial tradition of the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya*. Through the efforts of Yuanzhao and his disciples, the teaching of the Vinaya eventually acquired an institutional presence in Song China, while its impact was also felt through the vibrant cultural exchanges between Buddhists in China and Japan during the 12-14th centuries—a topic that scholars have not given sufficient attention. Yuanzhao's vast volumes of commentaries in woodblock printing were carried back and studied in Japan through the endeavors of *nissōsō* (Japanese monks who studied in the Song). This new imported knowledge of the Vinaya became the motivation for religious movements of revival of Buddhist precepts in medieval Japan, led by eminent monks such as Shunjō, Kakujō, Eison, and Ninshō. Rooted in the commentarial tradition of the Vinaya, a cross-regional Buddhist community— rather than a sectarian school— was formed.

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Lastly, I thank my mother for her love and trust, forever supportive of all the decisions I have made. Because of her, I have the freedom and courage to pursue my dream. This dissertation is dedicated to her.

A TECHNICAL NOTE

Square brackets have been used to indicate additions to quotations or translations. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are mine.

Pinyin is used for Chinese terms, while Romaji is used for Japanese terms. When frequently used terms appear in both Chinese and Japanese, I tend to use the Chinese spellings for consistency, unless it causes confusion.

Sanskrit terms are spelled according to transliteration of Devanagari. However, terms that are become widely established in Western-language usage follow the common English spelling.

Months and days appear according to the lunar calendar. Years are given the traditional Chinese and Japanese era names and an equivalent year in the Western calendar. Ages of individuals are rendered according to the Western counting system.

ABBREVIATIONS

AKBh	*Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣyam*
BZ	*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*
Chi.	Chinese
IBK	*Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*
JAS	*Journal of Asian Studies*
Jpn.	*Japanese*
JZ	*Jōdoshū zensho*
MBD	*Mochizuki Bukkyō Daijiten*
ND	*Nihon daizōkyō*
n.d.	*do date*
NDKS	*Nihon daizōkyō kairitsushu shosho*
SEDS	*Saidaiji Eison denki shūsei*
Skt.	Sanskrit
T	*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*
Z	*Dainihon zokuzōkyō*
X	*Xuzangjing*
YŚ	*Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation aims to understand the dialectic between the Vinaya (monastic rules) and monastic life as a lived religious experience. The tension between the two derives from the fact that while the monastic life—the apparatus of religious formation—is subject to the flux of time, original monastic rules are usually perceived as resistant to change. Over the course of time and during the transmission of Buddhism in disparate areas, the authority of the Vinaya and the whole system of monasticism pertaining to it have been constantly questioned and challenged. As a result, Buddhism in East Asia has witnessed a spectrum of attitudes in treating the Vinaya. One end of the spectrum rejects the Vinaya as an effective guide for monastic life, while absorbing its useful elements to create new sets of monastic rules. In the most extreme cases, even the ritualistic use of the Vinaya is abandoned. On the other end of the spectrum, to save the Vinaya from dilapidation, the practice surrounding the Vinaya is theorized and incorporated into the soteriological project of Buddhism. It is the second position that this dissertation will investigate.

Admittedly, the Vinaya texts themselves are more than static or passive recordings of the historical Buddha's community, given their apparent layered structure reflecting the changes and schisms of early Indian Buddhist monasticism. Based on philological information and the reading/practice history of the Vinaya that we have collected so far, it is a basic presumption that perhaps at no point in history has a unified Buddhist community operated under a single standardized Vinaya, nor has any Buddhist group completely avoided the influence of the Vinaya without seriously risking its Buddhist identity. However, it is fair to say that once the Vinaya texts were compiled and written down, especially when translated into a foreign language and transmitted to a different cultural context, they became relative stable references for the use of local Buddhist monastics.

This leads us to ask: when reality and prescription appear to be at odds with each other, what makes Buddhist monasticism stay true to its tradition? What motivated people either to travel across the borders or maintain discussions of numerous detailed matters in monastic daily life? And what kind of religious vision is fostered by recognizing a shared set of monastic rules and liturgy? What I primarily explore is the answers to these questions found in a branch of Buddhism—namely the so-called Vinaya school—which strives to organize monastic life according to the prescription of the Vinaya. Paradoxically, in the effort to stay true to the origins of Buddhism, a new body of commentaries, doctrines, rituals, and objects are created that would re-define monasticism at large.

As the teaching of the Vinaya since its birth concerns the way of communal monastic living, the Vinaya serves as the reference for answering the question of *how to behave* as a Buddhist monastic in an operating community. After the translation of Vinaya texts into Chinese, generations of Buddhist thinkers formed a scholastic tradition which systematized this knowledge and provided theoretical interpretations of the original Vinaya texts. More importantly, this tradition illuminates how observing the Vinaya in everyday practice is tied to the soteriological goal of Buddhism. Through commentators such as the towering figure of Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667), the teaching of the Vinaya is theorized as a part of Buddhist soteriology with a strong emphasis on action. The conceived double nature of the Vinaya teaching—pragmatic and soteriological—lends itself to translation into a religious movement which simultaneously involves community management and devotional practices for achieving a desired form of afterlife.

This study revolves around the pivotal figure of Yuanzhao 元照 (1048-1116), a Northern Song (960-1127) Vinaya master, demonstrating how his reinterpretation of Daoxuan's commentaries on the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* (Chi. *Sifenlü* 四分律)

inspired and informed the monastic revival movements in medieval China and Japan. The creation of the Vinaya school in medieval China is one direct result of a resurgent interest in the commentarial tradition of the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* since the transitional period after the fall of the Tang (618-907). Through the effort of Yuanzhao and his disciples, the teaching of the Vinaya eventually acquired institutional existence and a clear self-consciousness, while its impact is also felt through the vibrant cultural communication between China and Japan during the 12-14th centuries.

Simultaneously a symbolization and building-process of identity, Yuanzhao's works were put into print when fund-raising was hosted recorded in the printing note (Chi. *kanji* 刊記) inserted in the woodblock printing. Further, his central sub-commentaries were pleaded to be canonized. In sequence, Yuanzhao's vast volumes of commentaries mostly in woodblock printing were carried back and carefully studied in Japan through the endeavor of *nissōsō* 入宋僧— Japanese monks who traveled and educated in Song China— and monks who self-identified with the Vinaya teaching in Japan. Rooted in the commentarial tradition of the Vinaya, a cross-region Buddhist community—rather than a sectarian school— was formed. Accordingly, this community shares a series of practices on how life in the monastery should be organized, from essential events in the monastic schedule such as methods of ordination, bi-monthly *poṣadha* (Chi. *busa* 佈薩, precepts meeting), and summer retreats, to small quotidian details of how the robe should be sewn, how to hold the bowl, and how to maintain personal hygiene.

The Vinaya as an Art of Living

Recent scholarship on Vinaya studies, such as that of Gregory Schopen, Shayne Clarke, and Sasaki Shizuka among many others, has greatly furthered our understanding of its textual tradition, activities of early Buddhist communities, and the social conditions which gave rise to the Vinaya texts. One of the difficulties in understanding this textual

tradition is that it deals mostly with daily, concrete, and practical issues. In other words, the texts often appear to be largely about the taming and obedience of the body for the sake of pragmatic concerns. The extant textual corpus of the Vinaya tells us a tremendous amount of detail about monastic life, or at least its ideal state of being, although there is no doubt a limit to what sociohistorical realities scholars can reconstruct based on these texts. Less attention has been given to the commentarial tradition and religious practices based on the Vinaya teaching outside its area of origin, by no means a unique phenomenon in East Asia or the premodern period.

By examining the commentarial tradition together with the Vinaya, one gains an opportunity to understand the tradition as more than just filtered historical records of how Buddhist communities were organized on the ground, or normative codes largely ignored outside the ritual space. As Schopen has argued, the Vinaya and other related texts are primarily descriptive of the monastic ideal, and not to be taken as descriptive of historical monasticism without examination.[1] In Schopen's sociohistorical analysis, he urged scholars to use the oft neglected information in the Vinaya (such as financial activities and ties with lay communities), and other kinds of sources (such as epigraphic remains and historical chronicles, etc.) to gain a balanced picture of how early Buddhists lived together against protestant presuppositions.[2] I propose to take Schopen's point in an inverse way; namely, to treat the interpretation/practice of the Vinaya texts as the embodiment of the essence of prescriptive ethical texts. It is indeed the case that monasteries are not and perhaps never have been completely ordered around the fixed rules in the Vinaya. Nonetheless, this should not prevent us from asking how Vinaya exerts influence on Buddhist monasticism. I argue that the Vinaya,

[1] Gregory Schopen, "Archaeology and Protestant Presuppositions in the Study of Indian Buddhism." In *Bones Stones and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 1-22.

[2] Ibid.

together with its commentarial tradition, deals with community living by deploying a unique art of living aimed towards the formation of a religious self with a salvific goal in view.

In consequence, the spiritual power derived from the observance of monastic rules, in turn, profoundly influenced religious movements. Not only have debates over the Vinaya repeated themselves in East Asian Buddhism, but Buddhist reformers also have constantly found inspiration and motivation in reading the Vinaya throughout history. Anne Hansen has forcefully argued for the Cambodia and Siam modern Dhamma movement that "the idea of the Vinaya as a potent text that privileged a notion of purification through moral conduct was a powerful authenticating force at the center."[3] The central notion of the Vinaya is equally true of the current monastic revival movement in medieval China and Japan.

Change and the ability to be responsive to change have always posed a challenge in the teaching of fixed monastic rules. Devadatta may have caused the first schism within Buddhism by proposing to shift to a set of austere rules; the historical Buddha told his disciples that after his nirvana, people might keep the essential rules and abandon the minor rules to suit their own needs.[4] However, the followers had great difficulty in deciding which were essential and which were non-essential rules in the first Buddhist council. Because Ananda failed to ask the Buddha what minor rules refer to, the sangha decided to keep all the rules to maintain the consistency of Buddhist community. [5] This is the first attempt of the sangha to maintain the integrity of rules, even bypassing the

[3] Anne Ruth Hansen, *How to Behave: Buddhism and Modernity in Colonial Cambodia 1860-1930* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 78. For a detailed discussion of the relationship between the Vinaya and modern Dhamma movement see Chapter 3.

[4] The record that Buddha instructed that people may abandon minor rules is found in *Youxingjing* 遊行經 inside the *Dīrgāgama* 長阿含經, T01, no. 1, 26a25-b1.

[5] It is important to remember that in the corresponding part of the *Sarvâstivāda Vinaya* during the first council of five bhikṣus. See T23, no. 1435, 449c17-450a26.

instructions of the Buddha. For the Buddhist community after the nirvana of the Buddha, it might be more dangerous to arbitrarily alter minor rules than accepting them in entirety.

Modern scholars argue that the main reason for schism may have been disputes over the interpretation of rules in the Vinaya.[6] The complete Vinaya texts in their current form, containing multiple layers with internal conflicts and external sectarian variations, are the result of a complex process of adaptation over time. As Schopen properly pointed out, the monasticism depicted with a permanent, well-organized, dwelling place in the *skandhaka* (Chi. *jiandu* 揵度) *or vastu* (Chi. *lüshi* 律事) section and Vibhaṅga of the Vinaya cannot belong to the same period of creation as the *prātimokṣa* precepts; and the Vinaya itself indicates different stages of Buddhist *vihāra*.[7] East Asian Buddhist monasticism is also in a similar state of constant evolution. We can extract invaluable information from the commentarial tradition of the Vinaya, which often unintentionally discloses monastic practices familiar to the author but which over time have become foreign to the modern reader.

In the context of East Asian Buddhism, it is critical to distinguish between the concept of the Vinaya (Chi. *lü* 律) and precepts (Skt. *śīla,* Chi. *jie* 戒), since they often appear as a compound *jielü* 戒律 and may cause serious confusion. Take the example of the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya*, which has the name "Four Parts Vinaya" because the 60-fascicle translated text is divided into four parts. The four-part division, however, is not solely based on content, but also on the length of the texts. By content, the Vinaya is

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[6] Heinz Bechert, "Notes on the Formation of Buddhist Sects and the Origins of Mahāyāna." In *Buddhism: Critical Concepts in Religious Studies*, vol. II, ed. Paul Williams (Routledge, 2006), 23–33. Sasaki, Shizuka. "Buddhist Sects in the Aśoka Period 1. The Meaning of the Schism Edict." In *Bukkyō Kenkyū*, 1989, 181–202. W. Pachow. *A Comparative Study of the Prātimokṣa: On the Basis of Its Chinese, Tibetan, Sanskrit, and Pāli Versions* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2000).

[7] Gregory Schopen, "Doing Business for the Lord: Lending on Interest and Written Loan Contracts in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya." In *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters: Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 73-81.

divided into three parts: (1) *prātimokṣa*, (2) *sūtravibhanga* (interpretations of each rule in the *prātimokṣa*), and (3) *skandhaka* (rules on monastic rituals and communal living). The *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* contains two separate *prātimokṣa* and *sūtravibhanga* for bhikṣu and bhikṣuṇī, and a shared *skandhaka* for both genders. The *prātimokṣa* precepts are also referred to as the precepts of the Hīnayāna, the *śrāvaka* precepts, or the precepts of the Vinaya. Before taking the *prātimokṣa* precepts, one must first take ten precepts as a novice monk or nun. The five precepts are for the layperson, while the eight-precepts are for a layperson's temporary stay in a monastery. In the context of Mahāyāna Buddhism in East Asia, the counterparts of the *prātimokṣa* are the so-called Mahāyāna precepts, or bodhisattva precepts, which were popularized around the 5th century. While the *prātimokṣa* relates to the Vinaya, the Mahāyāna precepts were developed from texts such the *Fanwangjing* 梵網經, rather than from a "Mahāyāna Vinaya." There has never been a textual tradition called "Mahāyāna Vinaya"; the confusion may come from the appearance and acceptance of the seminal apocrypha *Fanwangjing*.[8] Drawing from multiple textual sources, Funayama Tōru has observed that the creation of *Fanwangjing* may have reflected the need for a Mahāyāna Vinaya.[9] However, examining the content of *Fanwangjing*, one quickly realizes its apparent distance from the Vinaya in content, structure, and the sheer volume.

Another textual source of the bodhisattva precepts pertains to Mahāyāna works such as the *Pusadichijing* 菩薩地持經 translated by Dharmakṣema, *Pusa shanjie jing* 菩薩善戒經 translated by Guṇavarman, and the Bodhisattvabhūmi chapter in

[8] For the study of *Fanwangjing* as a Chinese apocrypha, see Funayama Tōru, *Butten wa dō kan'yaku sareta no ka : sūtora ga kyōten ni naru toki* 仏典はどう漢訳されたのか : スートラが経典になるとき (Tōkyō : Iwanami Shoten, 2013), 121-48.

[9] Funayama Tōru, *Higashi ajia bukkyō no seikatsu kisoku bonmōkyō : saiko no katachi to hatten no rekishi* 東アジア仏教の生活規則梵網経: 最古の形と発展の歴史 (Kyōto-shi: Rinsen Shoten, 2017), 475-76.

Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra 瑜伽師地論 (hereafter YŚ) translated by Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-664). Perhaps due to the popularity of *Fanwangjing*, the so-called Fanwang precepts were eventually conflated with the bodhisattva precepts and the two became inseparable in the practice of East Asian Buddhism. In YŚ, Mahāyāna Buddhist precepts are called "three categories of pure precepts" (Chi. *sanjujingjie* 三聚淨戒, Skt. *trividhāni śīlāni*), which contain three parts (*shelüyijie* 攝律儀戒 *saṃvara-śīla, sheshanfajie* 攝善法戒 *kuśala-dharma-saṃgrāhaka-śīla, and shezhongshengjie* 攝眾生戒 *sattvârtha-kriyā-śīla*); conforming to the altruistic bodhisattva ideal. In Daoxuan's speculation, "three categories of pure precepts" and *prātimokṣa* are compatible since the first category of the former is identical to the latter.[10] However, Daoxuan's inclusive reading is not shared by everyone, especially after the Fanwang precepts took the dominant position and developed a unique conferral ritual. Some Mahāyānists insist that the bodhisattva precepts are superior to the *prātimokṣa* precepts, just as Mahāyāna is superior to Hīnayāna. This tendency, advocated by Chinese Tiantai doctrines, evolved into a rejection of the entire Vinaya and *prātimokṣa* precepts in Japanese Tendai and led to a long-lasting debate within Japanese Buddhism. For most Mahāyāna monasteries, except for Japanese Tendai monasteries, *prātimokṣa* precepts and bodhisattva precepts form a two-layered parallel structure. In practice, this is reflected in the coexisting yet separate conferral and repentance rituals. For instance, the *Sifen poṣadha* (四分佈薩, the precepts meeting based on *Sifenlü*) or Hīnayāna poṣadha is conducted on the 14th and the 29th day of the month, while the

[10] "According to Mahāyāna, the precept is threefold. *Saṃvara-śīla*, the first category, is no different from the [precept of] the śrāvaka." 若據大乘。戒分三品。律儀一戒。不異聲聞。*Xingshichao*, T40, no. 1804, 149b7-8.

Fangwangbusa (梵網佈薩, precepts meeting based on *Fanwangjing*), or Mahāyāna *poṣadha* is performed on the 15th and last day of the month in the monastic calendar.[11]

When the five complete Vinaya texts were translated into Chinese, these texts were rapidly canonized and mostly closed to further adjustment. However, the need for adaptation to an ever-changing situation in a particular context never ceased to exist. Responding to specificities of time and place, Vinaya-like monastic guidelines were created as parallel texts to the Vinaya. In China, they were stabilized in the Southern Song (1127-1279) and were commonly known as *pure rules* (Chi. *qinggui* 清規). The most well-known representatives of pure rules are *Chanyuan qinggui* 禪院清規 of the Chan school, *Lüyuan shigui* 律苑事規 of the Nanshan Vinaya school, and *Zengxiu jiaoyuan qinggui* 增修教苑清規 of the Tiantai school. All are endowed with a sense of sectarian difference. The latter two follow the model of the Chan school. In Tibet, local monastic guidance is categorized as *chayik* (Tib. *bca' yig*), most popular in Geluk monasteries but also available in all other traditions. In her research on the *Chanyuan qinggui,* Ven. Yifa has remarked that these monastic guidelines should be conceived of as closely connected to the Vinaya literature, rather than as an independent invention.[12] It is not surprising to see that these *pure rules* and *chayik*, adapted to a specific reality, quickly became obsolete as times changed and monastic practices evolved.

In contrast to later monastic guidelines, the Vinaya remains indispensable as a reference to highly ritualized key events of monastic life. Ordination ritual on a permanent or temporary ordination platform, repentance rituals, summer retreats, and funeral arrangements are all organized based on the prescription of the Vinaya and

[11] For the variations of the second *poṣadha*, which is conducted on the last day of the month; or the last two days of the month in sequence (with the stricture that those with different precepts cannot perform the ritual together) see Eison's *Kantō ōkanki* 關東往還記. In SEDS, 74, 75, 78.

[12] Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China: An Annotated Translation and Study of the Chanyuan qinggui* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 53-74.

consolidated by ritual manuals created in China. Vinaya masters, ritual experts, and rule-makers of everyday life in the monastery continue to refer to the original Vinaya. For instance, Daoxuan wrote extensive standalone guidelines on issues from the direction of novice monks and nuns to the measurement of robes based on his reading of the Vinaya.

To strengthen the intrinsic connection between the Vinaya, precepts, and practice, the Chinese Vinaya commentarial tradition created an ontological foundation to conceptualize the ordination ritual, which is referred to as "the essence of precepts" (Chi. *jieti* 戒體). A completed monkhood or nunhood is defined by the action of taking on the *prātimokṣa* precepts; essentially taking on the essence of the precepts through the ordination ritual of *jñapticaturtha-karman* (Pali *ñaticatuttha-kamma*, Chi. *baisi jiemo* 白四羯摩, the four-ascertainment ritual). The ritual entails the conferee requesting once that the main preceptor confer the precepts, and the preceptor replies by asking the conferee three times for confirmation. The alternative term "one-request-three-ascertainment" (Chi. *yibai sanjiemo* 一白三羯摩) is a more accurate term to describe the ritual process. However, for convenience, "four-ascertainment ritual" is more often used in the Vinaya commentarial tradition. Four-ascertainment ritual is the highest level of monastic ritual in the Vinaya in terms of formality. Other less formal rituals are used on occasions such as repentance rituals which require less confirmation time. They are referred to as "three-ascertainment ritual" (Chi. *bai'er jiemo* 白二羯摩, one request and two confirmation) and "two-ascertainment ritual" (Chi. *baiyi jiemo* 白一羯摩, one request and one confirmation).

The essential part of the ritual reaches completion at the very moment the vow is confirmed for the third time. For Vinaya masters, this is the crucial moment of a profound transformation. A person gains a new life as a full member of the Buddhist

monastic community in the social sense, accompanied by an ontological transformation and soteriological reorientation of the self. The whole system of theory of the Vinaya teaching is anchored in this moment of saturation in the combination of mental, bodily and version actions.

The status of *jieti* is tied to one's monastic status. Obtaining the invisible essence of precepts is the quintessential result of the full-ordination ritual for people who "have gone forth" (Skt. *pravrajyā*) to be full members of the Buddhist monastic community. As the initial status of *jieti* is perfectly pure, the virtue of newly ordained monks and nuns is considered identical to the virtue of the Buddha.[13] When monastic rules have been transgressed, one must properly perform repentance to purify the essence of precepts. Otherwise, one is unable to effectively practice meditation, and consequently no *prajñā* can arise from the practice. Through this central concept, not only do major events in the monastic calendar become a meaningful whole, but also the three teachings of Buddhism and eventually the salvific goal of Buddhism are tied together to the Vinaya in the same dynamic procedure. For instance, from the perspective of the Vinaya teaching, one takes the risk of permanently damaging *jieti*, the salvific foundation for attaining enlightenment in this lifetime, by committing grave offences (Skt. *pārājika,* Chi. *boluoyi* 波羅夷). The appearance of *jieti* can be conceived of as an effort to account for the efficacy of making a vow as a speech act. *Jieti* is the stabilization of efficacy in a monastic body. It captures the unchanging part, the spirit of the *prātimokṣa* precepts, thus saving it from the flux of time, while at the same time it is in constant danger of being polluted or even broken by any nonethical behavior of the monastic body.

[13] The concept that newly ordained people remain purest gives rise to the practice of receiving precept as part of the deathbed ritual in East Asia, as one would then have little chance of breaking any precepts. See Jacqueline I. Stone, *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment: Buddhism and Deathbed Practices in Early Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), Chapter 3.

Regardless of the debate over the definition of *jieti*, the existence of *jieti* has been widely accepted by a variety of Buddhist branches. The sacred, from the perspective of the Vinaya school, hinges on the acquisition of *jieti*, or what has been essentially received during the full ordination ritual. *Jieti* can be perceived as a hierophany, which "reveals some modality of the sacred."[14] For the Vinaya school, it cannot be categorized by the normal designation of rūpa or citta, in terms of epistemology. To highlight its unique nature, it is given a special term as "the third category" (Chi. *disanju* 第三聚), which is sometimes also referred to as *wuzuo* 無作 (Skt. *akaraṇa*, unconditioned). *Wuzuo* can also be taken as the old translation of *avijñapti*, for which the Yogācāra tradition adopted Xuanzang's new translation of *wubiao* 無表. Regardless of the complexity in etymology and the nuanced differences in meaning, the concept shows its heterogeneity outside of our sensory domain. The definition of the third category is in apophatic form, as neither-rūpa-nor-citta (Chi. *feise feixin* 非色非心). The ambiguous nature of *jieti* simultaneously conceals and reveals the nature of the sacred. The moment of acquisition of *jieti* is so critical that in a physical analogy, the time of *jieti* entering one's body should "make the sound of the sky falling and earth cracking 當入汝身作天崩地裂之聲."[15]

Yet, *jieti* is in a dialectic relationship with everyday monastic living, even though it can only be invoked and imputed to a human body by an accurately executed ritual. It can also be polluted, purified, maintained, and even permanently damaged through human behavior. Given that *jieti* is the defining quality of a Buddhist monastic, damaging *jieti* (by committing one of the four grave offences) abolishes monastic qualifications for realizing Buddhahood during one's current lifetime. In this sense,

[14] Mircea Eliade, "The Structure and Morphology of the Sacred," *Mircea Eliade: A Critical Reader* (London: Equinox Publishing, 2006), 43.

[15] Daoxuan, *Sifenlü shanfanbuque xingshichao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔, T40, no. 1804, 29c2-3.

one's practices under the regulation of the Vinaya are directly connected with the realization of Buddhahood, or shall we say, the existence of *jieti* bridges the gap between human behavior and the realization of Buddhahood. That essence of the precepts, albeit transitional and contaminable, paves the way of religious discipline towards the salvific goal.

In the Song, the salvific goal took a significant turn toward seeking rebirth in the Pure Land. Against the backdrop of a shared sense of entering the Final Dharma period (*mofa*, *mappō,* 末法) in the Northern Song and early Kamakura Japan (1185-1333), Pure Land Buddhism became more pervasive in all branches of Buddhism. Yuanzhao advocated a combined practice of the Vinaya and Pure Land. He developed this approach and further tied the practice of the Vinaya with Amitābha's Pure Land, showing the strong influence of Tiantai doctrine in the Song. This marriage of the foundation for the formation of the Nanshan Vinaya School in China became the precedent for incorporating the teaching of the Vinaya into various sectarian schools in Japan. Hence, the existence of the so-called Vinaya school never gain its identity by being an exclusive sect. On the contrary, it was its astonishing adaptability to multiple ways of practice, while insisting on the observation of the Vinaya, that allowed the school to adapt while transforming reality and remaining faithful to the teaching of the Buddha.

Acceptance of monastic status, centered on the acquisition of *jieti*, marks the beginning of full membership for a Buddhist monastic. The training of novice monks and nuns is initiated from the reception of the ten precepts. Practice related to the precepts is fundamentally different from the scholastic study of Buddhist doctrine, the meditative practice in various forms, or the ritual expertise of esotericism. When talking about the Vinaya, people typically think of a set of monastic rules (differing slightly according to the version) most of which appear to be trivial if not too

completely outdated to be meaningful as real guides to communal life. It is important to know, however, that the practice of the Vinaya is realized not by merely memorizing or rigidly following fixed rules, although memorization (or at least awareness of the content) is prescribed in the Vinaya as part of the training for newly ordained monastics and is obviously the precondition to observation. What sets it apart from doctrinal debate and meditative practice is that the observation of the Vinaya always has something to do with a specific interpersonal reality and an invocation of ethical judgement irreducible to a single rule or rules written down in the *prātimokṣa*.

The proximity to practice and interpersonal reality is directly shown in the abbreviated title, *Xingshichao* (Chi. 行事鈔, Commentary on Practice and Matter), the foundational commentary of Daoxuan on the Vinaya. The Chinese term "*shi*" 事 is perhaps the most difficult term to translate in *Xingshichao*. Daoxuan gives a specific definition which only makes sense in the context of Buddhist monasticism. An obvious understanding is to treat *xingshi* 行事 as one term, meaning practicing or handling events; this is generally correct but not completely accurate. Based on my reading of *Xingshichao*, I tend to keep *xing* and *shi* as two separate entities, highlighting two distinctive yet related aspects of monasticism. I translate *shi* as "matter," which is restricted to issues one encounters as a monastic. For instance, in the preface of *Xingshichao*, Daoxuan argues that "matters and rules are in contrast. The rules are only fixed principles. [If one violates] the prescription, then the matter is not valid. Because matter is associated with [human] dispositions, the gaining and losing is determined according to circumstances. 事法相對。法唯楷式。乖旨則事不成。事通情性故。隨境制其得失。"[16]In Daoxuan's understanding, the matter is something prescribed by the monastic rules, but at the same time associated with human and

[16] Daoxuan, *Xingshichao*. T40, no. 1804, 2a19-20.

contextual factors. *Shi* refers to the field of action where the fixed prescription of rules and particular practice meet.

Still, in the preface, matter is closely defined by the textual tradition of the Vinaya. "If the judgement words in *Sifenlü* are limited, then the matter cannot be associated with the practice. [One should] apply the words in other Vinayas to validate the matter of other Vinayas. 若四分判文有限。則事不可通行。還用他部之文以成他部之事。"[17] This argument proposes that if the prescription in *Sifenlü* does not support a certain matter, one should not practice according to other versions of the Vinaya. Thus, we can see that when a matter is realized, the acting part is called *xing*, or practice. Therefore, the general formular for how the Vinaya should be observed is conceived of as moving from fixed, mechanical law to a context sensitive-situation, finally manifested in human action. This process of bringing monastic rules into the specificity of monastic living is at the core of creating arts of living in the monastery. The Vinaya school has developed its theory of practice around the aim of an attentive cultivation of new agentive ability to perform according to rule and context as a monastic—an aim often contradictory to intuitions formed in early upbringings.

The Vinaya's function as instructive guide is given its full capacity only when its way of life is internalized and habituated, until one can form ethical judgements in accordance with the principles of the Vinaya together with the complicated social-cultural reality. The training contained in the Vinaya aims for the cultivation of a certain *phronesis*, the practically oriented and introspective mode of wisdom that enables one to navigate in everyday, ordinary, normal social reality. In the process of developing moral acuity through repeated practice—not only by bodily and verbal actions but also by mental discretion—self-formation comes into being. Here the self,

[17] Daoxuan, *Xingshichao*. T40, no. 1804, 2c8-9.

while not in contradiction with the basic Buddhist tenet of non-self, should be conceived of as a process of becoming without an ontological substance.

My larger claim in this project is that at the heart of Vinaya practices is the formation of the self through the quotidian; centered around the ontological foundation of *jieti*, and very much comparable to the theme in the last phase of Michel Foucault's (1978-1984) research. During this period, Foucault shifted to the theme of "care for the self" (*epimeleia heautou*). He explored various formative practices he calls "the technique of the self" and "the arts of living." He defined that the arts of living as "essentially methods and procedures [by which] individuals, by actions on themselves, may modify and transform their experience of themselves by [referring] to a true teaching, truthful speech, the discovery or search for a certain truth."[18] The common goal of these techniques is to realize Foucault's conception of an ethical person with agency. Accordingly, Foucault's description of ethics as a transformative process of becoming always requires positive action: "one is called upon to take oneself as an object of knowledge and a field of action, so as to transform, correct, and purify oneself, and find salvation."[19] The inner motivation for this transformative process of the self is the dialogue between truth and the subject. Truth, in Foucault's writings, serves as an ethical imperative (not in the Kantian sense) which draws the self towards it. Though Foucault did not have time to fully finalize and consolidate the above ideas, his lectures at the Collège de France serve as an invaluable source of inspiration for this project. [20] Theoretically speaking, this project is also shaped by several thinkers such as Charles Taylor in his path-breaking work on the sources of the self, Pierre Hadot through his

[18] Michel Foucault, *Subjectivity and Truth* (Westminster: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2017), 35.

[19] Michel Foucault, *The Care of the Self: History of Sexuality* (Westminster: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2012), 42.

[20] The most relevant works of Foucault include: *The Care of the Self, On the Government of the Living, Subjectivity and Truth, The Hermeneutics of the Subject,* and *The Government of Self and Others II.*

elaboration on the art of living, and Giorgio Agamben in his study on Christian monasticism.[21]

The Vinaya School as an Idea and an Event

The unfolding of the Vinaya tradition in history can be conceived of in light of the concept "tradent," a term Robert Mayer has borrowed from the study of Judaic and Islamic literature to describe the double-sided process of innovation and conservation of tradition. As a replacement for the word "author" with a modern innovative and original implication, this term indicates that a writer of religious text must "take great pains never to seem innovate nor invent." [22] Regarding the formation of the Chinese commentarial tradition of Huayan, Robert Gimello has insightfully pointed out that the conceptual change/innovation in the development of religious traditions occurs when the "tradent" is a faithful disciple to precursors of a tradition, a critic of competing systems of doctrine, and a writer who consistently uses a few novel, radical, inventive themes to be effectively responsive to urgent needs of the time. [23]

Yuanzhao's position in the formation of the Vinaya school conforms to the rubric of Mayer and Gimello in general. As a faithful commentator on Daoxuan, a fervent defender of one authentic interpretation against many, Yuanzhao's emphasis on the malleability of *jieti* and the incorporation of Pure Land faith in the Vinaya system called for by his time have made him the most inventive follower of Daoxuan. The major difference is that Yuanzhao exceeded the typical role of a scholar-monk, leaning toward

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[21] Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989). Pierre Hadot, and Arnold Ira. Davidson. *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995). Giorgio Agamben, and Adam Kotsko. *The Highest Poverty: Monastic Rules and Form-of-life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).

[22] Robert Mayer, "*gTer ston* and Tradent: Innovation and Conservation in Tibetan Treasure Literature," In *Dudjom Rinpoche's Vajrakīlaya works* (Sheffield: Equinox Publishing, 2020), 30-46.

[23] Robert Michael Gimello, *Chih-yen* (智儼*, 602-668*) *and the Foundations of Hua-yen* (華嚴) *Buddhism*. Ph.D. dissertation. Columbia University, 1976, 415-417.

being a reformist for social change. Yuanzhao retrospectively established Daoxuan, the renowned Vinaya master and Buddhist historian, as the last patriarch in the Vinaya lineage, tracing the Indian origin, and the founder of the Nanshan Vinaya School. Even though the term "Vinaya school" (Chi. *lüzong* 律宗) appeared in Daoxuan's *Xugaosengzhuan* 續高僧傳, it only referred to the scholastic teaching of the Vinaya, rather than a sectarian division. Daoxuan, setting the commentarial foundation of the teaching of the Vinaya (Chi. *lüxue* 律學) for Chinese Buddhist monastics, would not have dreamed of founding a sectarian school focused on the Vinaya. Daoxuan wrote about the Vinaya masters before him mainly as part of a division of labor within the monastery, no different from translators, meditators, or ritual experts. He would find it strange were the Vinaya observed and studied only by a single branch of Buddhism. The Vinaya Piṭaka, one of the three piṭakas in the Buddhist canon, is supposedly applicable to all members of the Buddhist community.

Before the 11th century, there is little information on Vinaya school(s) other than the idea of a *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* commentarial tradition shared by different Vinaya masters. One of the earliest references to the Vinaya school is found in Daoxuan's biography in Zanning's 贊寧 (919-1001) *Song saoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳. Zanning, who is also a Vinaya master, explained that the Nanshan Vinaya school is named after Daoxuan's residence in Mount Zhongnan; and the other two branches are designated as founded by Fali 法礪 (569-635) and Huaisu 懷素 (634-707).[24] The boundary of these three Vinaya schools for Zanning is marked by the exegetical position regarding *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya*'s relationship with other versions of the Vinaya. Daoxuan took a syncretic approach which supplements the "missing" parts of the

[24] Zanning, *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳. T50, no. 2061, 791b12-13.

Dharmaguptaka Vinaya with other Vinayas, while actively seeking a connection between the great vehicle and lesser vehicle.

The idea of a Vinaya school is based on a continued tradition that specialized in interpreting the Vinaya and in providing guidance on how to perform according to the Vinaya. Daoxuan's commentaries are certainly not the only approach to the Vinaya; however, his work became its dominant and authoritative interpretation in China, due to his ability to create a unified understanding of the Vinaya, and to the support of the Tang imperial court. *Xingshichao* is Daoxuan's most important commentary. Since it is written in a concise style, the latter two major commentaries of Daoxuan are essentially his own supplementary commentaries for the *Xingshichao*. From the very beginning of this tradition, its founder intended the project to provide interpretation of the *Xingshichao*, the central text. Taking the *Xingshichao* as a watershed, most later commentaries on the Vinaya appear in the form of sub-commentaries on *Xingshichao*, rather than commenting directly on original Vinaya texts.

According to the record of *Xingshichao zhujiaji biaomu* 行事鈔諸家記標目 (*Catalog of Sub-commentaries on Xingshichao*, X44, no. 0741*),* a boom in sub-commentaries on Daoxuan took place around the time of Yuanzhao. Yuanzhao became one of the most influential scholar monks emerging from this trend of interest in Daoxuan and built his reputation by rejecting other contemporary interpretations. In this catalog, Yuanzhao is listed as the last commentator. He is indeed the last to write extensive sub-commentaries on Daoxuan's major works in Chinese Buddhist history. More specifically, he is the one who unified the interpretation of Daoxuan. For this reason, Yuanzhao is designated as the Resurgent Patriarch of the Vinaya school. The building of a Vinaya school essentially based on Yuanzhao's teaching, explains why most sub-

commentaries in this list, even as important as Yunkan's 允堪 (1005-1161) *Huizhengji* 會正記, did not survive the test of time.[25]

Like Chan Buddhism's construction of a lineage tracing back to the historical Buddha, the Vinaya school also attempted to forge a connection with Buddhism in India. Yuanzhao was the first to initiate this effort by composing the *Nanshan luzong zucheng tulu* 南山律宗祖承圖錄 (Lineage of Nanshan Vinaya School).[26] In this lineage, Yuanzhao was not particularly interested in tracing the teaching back to the historical Buddha, perhaps because he saw the connection between the Vinaya and the historical Buddha as self-evident, and the Buddha should not be downgraded in the same lineage of patriarchs. The lineage begins with Dharmaguptaka (*Tanwude* 曇無德) as the first patriarch and the first commentator of the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya*, which ends with Daoxuan as the ninth patriarch. *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, the encyclopedic Buddhist history, copied Yuanzhao's lineage and recognized the contribution of Yuanzhao as a faithful commentator on Daoxuan.

It is safe to say that the Vinaya school as an idea entails a commentarial tradition on the Vinaya, which would have appeared as a response to the need to interpret the Vinaya. The question remains, when and why the founding of the Vinaya school as an event took place? The self-understanding of the Vinaya school, as with most Buddhist sects, is a post-attribution after the demise of the founder of that school. In the case of the Vinaya school, the date is surprisingly late. Records dating to the Southern Song demonstrate that the Vinaya school was no longer only a commentarial tradition but

[25] Although *Huizhengji* is lost, three commentaries from Yunkan have survived: *Sifenlü hanzhu jiebenshu huifaji* 四分律含註戒本疏發揮記 (X39, no. 0712), *Sifenlü suiji jiemoshu zhengyuanji* 四分律隨機羯磨疏正源記 (X40, no. 0726), and *Sifenlü shipini yichao fuyaoji* 四分律拾毗尼義鈔輔要記 (X44, no. 0748).

[26] Collected in *Zhiyuan yibian* 芝園遺編 (X59, no. 1104), Yuanzhao's anthology.

was equipped with institutional infrastructure attracting wide patronage from lay people to the royal family.

In Kamakura Japan, the awareness of sectarian division is far less strong than in later periods. However, it is towards the end of the Kamakura period that the Vinaya school as an event started to occur. As a historian of the Vinaya school, Tokuda Myōhon 徳田明本 composed the seminal work *Risshū Kairon* 律宗概論 in the form of a commentary on Gyōnen's 凝然 (1240-1321) *Risshū kōyō* 律宗綱要, supplementing it with voluminous textual evidence and argumentation. In terms of historiography, the work follows Gyōnen's framework of transmission of Buddhism in three countries (India, China, and Japan) to periodize the history of the Vinaya school. At the same time, he self-identifies with the Nanshan Vinaya school initiated by Daoxuan. Tokuda's concept of history blurs the conflated notion of the Vinaya school as an idea and an event, erasing traces of the construction of the institutionalized school from a much later period. Thus, the writing of the history of the Vinaya school confirms a Tang initiated school within the longer tradition that dates to India.

In this project, I examine the formation of the Vinaya school as an event which is commonly understood as a revival movement of the Vinaya in medieval China and Japan. I have chosen to trace the story of people's reading of and practice according to the Vinaya neither as social historical fact, nor as scholastic discussion. Still less is this dissertation intended as a collection of people, works, events and material culture around the theme of the Vinaya and precepts (a project that would take much more space than one dissertation). It appears to me that the study of the Vinaya and precepts calls for theoretical understanding and associated social practice to take place simultaneously. In terms of theoretical construction, what I find most fascinating about the project is the transformation of the self which happens in tandem with the development of discourse and practices around the Vinaya. I attempt to explain, from

the perspective of the Vinaya masters, under what circumstances the self can be and has been shaped by interaction with the Vinaya. For instance, we have an eminent monk like Eison 叡尊 (1201-90) who legendarily persuaded the butchers in Uji to give up their careers for the cultivation of tea bushes, and there is Ninshō 忍性 (1217-1303) caring for and carrying leper patients on his back. One may argue that these are clear instances of non-killing and compassion toward others, the most basic and general message of Buddhism. Nonetheless, their emphasis on the Vinaya adds a crucial angle in understanding the religious power they saw in the practice of the Vinaya.

Our knowledge of the Vinaya school mostly comes from the surviving production of textual culture. However, this does not necessarily mean that the Vinaya school is a trend in Buddhism which depends particularly on textual transmission of the teaching. On the contrary, it is certain that these commentaries are written as guidance for monastic practice, or at least as supportive argumentation for the legitimacy of certain Buddhist practices in the monastery. Although some of the argumentation in the commentaries is as complex and abstract as a pure epistemological contemplation, and though its theoretical foundation is grounded in the larger Buddhist philosophical tradition, there is always a built-in dimension reaching directly to practice. In this sense, scholars have rarely observed upon how epistemology is conceptually related to quotidian practice in the monastery.

Liao-Song Buddhism and the Tang-Song Transition

As I mentioned previously, the Vinaya school as an event took place in the sociohistorical context of the Liao-Song (Khitan/Liao 遼 916-1125, Song 宋 960-1276) period. This period presents a unique case in the history of Chinese Buddhism during the drastic historical transformation from the late Tang through the mid-Song dynasties. In this transitional period, Chinese society underwent a range of social,

political, and cultural changes, which mark the end of the early imperial epoch and the beginning of the late imperial age. With the collapse of the Tang dynasty, the Liao first emerged as an independent regime in the north, embracing and installing Buddhism as its national ideology. As the Northern Song reunified China following decades of political fragmentation under the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms (907-960), it witnessed a profound makeover of power. Peter Bol argues that the defining characteristic of the Northern Song is its shifting from Tang's aristocracy based on a convergence of great clans with *shi* 士 or *shidafu* 士大夫 to the re-emergence of the *shi* as a sociopolitical elite group separated from pedigree.[27] The *shidafu* group consists of men who gained their titles by virtue of examination degrees and education, and the group does not perpetuate the hierarchical clan system as during the Tang.

Chinese history, most often written from the perspective of the Han, tends to treat co-existence with foreign regimes as a watershed period when "Chineseness" as an ethnocentric, xenophobic ideology was constructed and/ or awakened. Following Shao-yun Yang's observation, a simplistic interpretation of the Chinese-barbarian dichotomy reflects a modern nationalist sensitivity in China's relations with the Western world, rather than what was really at stake in a premodern Chinese context.[28] After the signing of the Chanyuan covenant in 1005, the mutually-recognized relationship between Song and Liao entered a relatively peaceful phase until the collapse of the Liao and the Northern Song. In the writings of Song literati, the Liao is referred to as the "northern sphere" (Chi. 北界 *beijie*) and the Song as the "central dynasty" (Chi. 中朝

[27] Peter K. Bol, *This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

[28] Shao-yun Yang, *The Way of the Barbarians: Redrawing Ethnic Boundaries in Tang and Song China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press), 7-23. Yang proposes a new interpretation as "ethnicized orthodoxy" against proto-nationalism, and "ethnocentric moralism," against "culturalism." This no doubt helps to overcome the tendency to over-romanticize the idea of culture. In the case of Liao, however, I consider it insufficient to generalize the perspective of the Liao by using materials of the Song.

zhongchao);[29] and in Liao's documents, the Song is referred to as a "neighboring country" (Chi. *linbang* 鄰邦).[30] Both sides regularly sent envoys and maintained economic and cultural exchanges on the borderland. Abundant evidence supports Nicolas Tackett's argument that the Northern Song developed a kind of premodern nationalism, in which the cultural and ethnic boundaries did not coincide with the dynasty's borders.[31] Beyond political and economic connections, cultural exchange must build itself on something solid, enduring, and desirable. Bol points out that the adoption of civil culture (*wen*) by Jurchen does not necessarily imply Sinification or ethnic identification; but could be conceived as a "common ground" that the Jurchen ruler sought to find with Han subjects.[32] Likewise, I argue that in the Liao-Song case, Buddhism played a significant role as the common ground for cultural and political exchanges.

In terms of synchronic research in modern scholarship, the coexistence of several independent dynasties on the continent is often reduced to the study of Song Buddhism, while the study of Liao, Jin, and Xixia is marginalized, if not neglected by most historians of the Song. This current situation is partially due to the fragmented and sparse nature of primary sources. However, more problematic is the assumption that political boundaries kept these areas ruled by minorities as isolated islands, thus neglecting communication and inter-connectedness in terms of Buddhist doctrine and practice among these dynasties. A fruitful approach is to conceive of cross-regional

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[29] Su Zhe 蘇轍, *Luanchengji* 欒城集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 937-942.

[30] *Fajun yixing bei* 法均遺行碑, the photocopy of rubbings is found in *Beijing tushuguancang zhongguo Lidai shike taben* 北京圖書館藏中國歷代石刻拓本滙編, Vol. 54, (Beijing: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1990), 84.

[31] See Nicolas Tackett, *Origins of the Chinese Nation: Song China and the Forging of an East Asian World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), Chapters 4 and 6.

[32] Peter K. Bol, "Seeking Common Ground" In *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 1987, Vol.47 (2), 461-538.

communication as an indispensable stimulus for the development of Buddhism. Appreciation of the depth and breadth of Song Buddhism calls for reevaluation of the context of communication with the Liao, Jin (金 1115-1234) and Xixia (西夏 1038-1227), as mutually recognized regimes, not to mention of the lively communication with Korea and Japan.

Diachronically, the study of Song Buddhist suffers from an approach which treats it as being in the shadow of the glorious high point of Tang Buddhism, or reduces it to the flourishing of Chan Buddhism, which rose to the dominant position. Even worse, it is considered unoriginal and withered due to poor translations from Indic languages. As western scholars become awakened to the importance of Liao-Song Buddhism, the view of Song Buddhism as lacking originality still pervades Japanese scholarship. Regarding Song Buddhism, Tsuchida Kentaro 土田健太郎 states that "It must be said that these Buddhists are more modest than the Great Confucians in the point that their existence in the negotiation with Confucianism is conspicuous and they lack creativity to create a new sect by adding to the scope of existing sects."[33] As a result, "this is how creativity of thought has shifted from Buddhism to Confucianism."[34] To make any progress in Liao-Song Buddhist studies, we need to avoid reproducing similar scholarly narratives of decline.

For Buddhists in this period, being original was of least concern, whereas they grappled daily with an ever-stronger sense that Buddhism had officially entered the irreversible Final Dharma period. The rhetoric of living in the time of despair was so prevalent that it eventually became itself the impetus for religious reformation and

[33] Tsuchida Kentaro 土田健太郎, "これらの仏教者は儒教との交渉においてその存在が際だつ点、既成宗派の範囲をそえて新たに宗と呼べるものお起こすほどの創造性に欠けるという点で、名儒たちよりも地味な存在と言わざるおえない。" In Okimoto Katsumi ed. *Chukoku bunka toshite no bukkyo: Sō Gan Min Shin* 中国文化としての仏教 宋元明清 (Tōkyō: Kōsei Shuppansha, 2010), 13.

[34] Ibid., 13.

revitalization. Therefore, scholars should be very careful in distinguishing the trope of a persistent decline in the Final Dharma period from what was happening on the ground. In many cases, the decline has less to do with the prosperity of Buddhism as a social factor than the diminished likelihood of achieving enlightenment. At face value, it may be true that Liao-Song Buddhism did not produce any "new school" of Buddhism not seen in the Tang; however, the narrative of revitalization of a school from Tang should not be taken for granted. In the so-called Buddhist revival, a continuity in lineage was created from a previous ideal period to the current time. In other words, the very form of creativity was found in the reconstruction of a continuous lineage and unified teaching. Unless we cease to project our modern sense of originality onto pre-modern Buddhist practice, we will continue to miss the exciting changes occurring in this period.

Beside the relatively well studied Chan Buddhism which finally gave due credit to Song Buddhism for creating new genres of Buddhist literature and institutions,[35] the Tiantai school produced a generation of its most sophisticated Buddhist philosophers;[36] Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva (*Guanyin* 觀音) took on the female incarnations and became the most popular Buddhist deity in China;[37] Pure Land pietism pervasively

[35] Chan Buddhism in the Song has been the main fruitful research topic in the field of Chinese Buddhist studies, in which major works of Chan masters have been translated into English. For general research in the topic, see John R. McRae, *Seeing through Zen: Encounter, Transformation, and Genealogy in Chinese Chan Buddhism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), T. Griffith Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism," in Patricia Buckley Ebrey, and Peter N. Gregory, eds., *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), Morten Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen: The Dispute over Enlightenment and the Formation of Chan Buddhism in Song-Dynasty China* (University of Hawaii Press, 2008).

[36] For Song Tiantai, see Daniel A. Getz Jr. "*Siming Zhili and Tiantai Pure Land in the Song Dynasty*." PhD diss., Yale University. 1994. Lin Mingyu 林鳴宇, *Sōdai Tendai kyōgaku no kenkyū : Konkōmyōkyō no kenkyūshi o chūshin to shite* 宋代天台教学の研究 : 金光明経の研究史を中心として(Tōkyō : Sankibō Busshorin, 2003), Brook Ziporyn A., *Evil and/or/as the Good : Omnicentrism, Intersubjectivity and Value Paradox in Tiantai Buddhist Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

[37] For the study of Guanyin, see Yü, Chün-fang. 2000. *Kuan-yin: the Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

grew in all extant practices and yielded astonishing power of faith;[38] and Huayan doctrine absorbed esoteric elements and helped to shape the outline of Korean Buddhism up to the present day.[39] In contrast to the royal sponsorship of Liao Buddhism, suffice to say that the flourishing of Buddhist teaching and practice of the Song is based on the re-emergence of the *shidafu* group and the prevailing emphasis on civil culture. Not only were many eminent monks well-versed before they took the path of Buddhism, but they also managed to maintain a wide social network with *shidafu* of the time. Yuanzhao's acquaintance with Sushi 蘇軾 (1037-1101) and Yangjie 楊傑 (n.d.) is a case in point. Liao-Song Buddhism also reached an unprecedented height in the Buddhist arts of painting, printing, sculpture, calligraphy, and architecture. All evidence points to a flourishing and vigorous Buddhist landscape, enabled by numerous devoted and talented Buddhist monastics and lay persons.

Current research has stalled. For instance, it fails to deal seriously with Daoism and Confucianism. There is no doubt that Daoism became further institutionalized, following its own precepts and monastic rules, while Neo-Confucianism became the orthodoxy in the Song government.[40] Due to the specificity of the topic, I seldom

[38] Charles Jones published his latest study on Chinese Pure Land Buddhism, of which developments in Song Pure Land are an important part. See Charles B. Jones, *Chinese Pure Land Buddhism*: Understanding a Tradition of Practice (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2019). For the syncretism of Pure Land Buddhism, see Shih Heng-ching, *The Syncretism of Chan and Pure Land Buddhism* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992), Robert H. Sharf, "On Pure Land Buddhism and Chan/Pure Land Syncretism in Medieval China." In *T'oung Pao* 88, 2002, fasc. 4/5:282-331, Daniel A. Getz, Jr. "T'ien-t'ai Pure Land Societies and the Creation of the Pure Land Patriarchate," in Peter N. Gregory and Daniel A. Getz, Jr. eds., *Buddhism in the Sung* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999).

[39] The connection between the Northern Song and Korea is relatively new, for examples, see Richard D. McBride, "Ŭich'ŏn, Jingyuan, and Ritual Repentance in the Revival of Huayan Buddhism in the Northern Song Period," in Studies in Chinese Religions, 2020, 6 (1): 49-80; George Keyworth, "Where Linji Chan and the Huayan Jing Meet: On the Huayan Jing in the Essential Points of the Linji [Chan] Lineage." In *Studies in Chinese Religions*, 2020, 6 (1): 1-30; and Wang Song 王頌. "The Prevalence of Huayan-Chan 華嚴禪 Buddhism in the Regions of Northern China during the 11th Century." In *Journal of Chan Buddhism,* 2020, 1(1-2): 146-77.

[40] For recent research on medieval Daoism, see James Robson, *Power of Place: The Religious Landscape of the Southern Sacred Peak (Nanyue) in Medieval China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Jingyu Liu, "The Unimpeded Passage: The Making of Universal Salvation Rites and Buddho-Daoist Interactions in Medieval China." (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2020); Shirley Sze Wan

discover references to other religious traditions outside of Buddhism— even as conversation partners regarding monasticism— in the primary sources I deal with. Nonetheless, we should certainly not forget that the Song Dynasty also produced several emperors who were fervent supporters of Daoism, not to mention that the newly established Neo-Confucianism won the support of the court and literati. The competition yet communication between Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism alludes to the concept of the coalescence of three religions. The sensible way of approaching a complex entity such as Liao-Song Buddhism, at least the only way that I have found to be helpful, is a slow and patient historical and contextual method. This involves looking at primary sources from the beginning of the period, and considering what the situation was then, what factors were added through time, what kind of change they caused, and what influence they might pass down to a later time or another place.

Buddhist Exchange in Medieval East Asia

Not only was Buddhism flourishing in the Liao-Song period, but it should also be placed in the broader context of cultural exchange in East Asia. Recent scholars are increasingly interested in tracing the movement of people, ideas, and objects crossing geographical and cultural boundaries, thus enabling more precise location of the occurrence of innovation and transformation in Buddhism.[41] In her book *Shinra*

Leung 梁斯韻,"The Development and Transformation of the Yellow Register Retreat in the Southern Song Dynasty: A Case Study of Jiang Shuyu's Standardized Rituals of the Supreme Yellow Register Retreat" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2015); Matsumoto Kōichi 松本浩一,"Chō tenshi to nan sō no dōkyō" 張天師と南宋の道教." In *Sakai Tadao sensei koki shukuga kinen no kai* 酒井忠夫先生古稀祝賀記念の会 (Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1982), 337–350. There is an abundance of scholarship on Neo-Confucianism in Song China. Most representatives are Peter K. Bol, *Neo-Confucianism in History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); Angle, Stephen C., and Justin Tiwald. *Neo-Confucianism : A Philosophical Introduction* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2017).

[41] For studies on Buddhist communications between China and Japan, see Wu Jiang, *Enlightenment in Dispute: The Reinvention of Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-century China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Nishitani Isao 西谷功, *Nansō, Kamakura Bukkyō bunka shiron* 南宋・鎌倉仏教文化史論 (Tōkyō: Bensei Shuppan, 2018); Douglas Sherwin Fuqua. "The Japanese Missions to Tang China and Maritime Exchange in East Asia, 7th—9th Centuries" (PhD dissertation, University of Hawai'i, 2004);

Myōjin and Buddhist Networks of the East Asian "Mediterranean," Sujung Kim challenges modern-day national borders and identities. Rather than treating Shinra Myōjin as a Korean deity, a Japanese deity, or something in between, her study locates Shinra Myōjin within a network that includes and transcends those borders and identities.[42] The network "East Asian Mediterranean"—coined by Angela Schottenhammer—provides a fruitful framework for understanding the diffusion, interaction, and density within the network that linked China, Korea, Japan, and other locations. The transmission and communication of Vinaya related texts, ideas, people, and objects should be placed within this network of East Asian Buddhism in the medieval period.

Exchange among different countries became possible together with the reopening of the maritime trade route which has been interrupted by the end of the Tang and the period of Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms. Cultural exchange between China, Korea, and Japan became frequent beginning in the twelfth century and continued until the fourteenth century. Recent studies show that this communication did not abruptly terminate due to the establishment of the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368). We continue to discover in Japan xylographical evidence of the Buddhist canon produced in the Yuan, not to mention that by the end of the Southern Song and the beginning of the Yuan dynasty, Chinese Buddhist masters like Lanxi Daolong 蘭渓道隆 (Jpn. Rankei Dōryū 1213-1278) fled to Japan and facilitated the rise of the Japanese Rinzai tradition.

François Gipouloux. *The Asian Mediterranean: Port Cities and Trading Networks in China, Japan and South Asia, 13th–21st Century* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2011); Fabio Rambelli, eds. *The Sea and the Sacred in Japan : Aspects of Maritime Religion* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018); Angela Schottenhammer, *The East Asian Mediterranean: Maritime Crossroads of Culture, Commerce and Human Migration* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008); and Robert P. Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-his, in Northern and Southern Sung* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[42] Sujung Kim. *Shinra Myōjin and Buddhist Networks of the East Asian "Mediterranean"* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2020), 1-5.

The exchange of Buddhist culture during this period is not unilateral. On the one hand, after the interregnum period of disunity, especially the Huichang abolition of Buddhism in 845, Chinese Buddhists found that a large quantity of Buddhist texts and manuscripts were lost compared to those available during the highpoint of the Tang. As a result, we saw active efforts in sending envoys to seek Buddhist texts in Korea and Japan. The retrieved Buddhist texts contributed tremendously to the revival of Buddhist traditions such as Tiantai and Huayan in the Song and paved the way for later frequent communication on both sides.[43] On the other hand, Song China, especially the city of Hangzhou, became the center of Buddhist teaching and attracted foreign monks to study. Around 250 Japanese monks studied in China and a dozen Chinese monks traveled to Japan. Distinguished from their predecessors in the Sui-Tang dynasties from 600 to 894, monks who studied in Song China are commonly referred to as *nissōsō*. Scholars have traced Chōnen's 奝然 (938–1016) trip to the Song in 983 as the landmark of the Sino-Japan re-connection.[44] Another well-studied event is Jōjin's 成尋 (1011-1081) pilgrimage to Mount Tiantai and Mount Wutai.[45]

Nishitani Isao 西谷功 reminds us that the general goal of Japanese monks studying in Song China is to acquire Buddha dharma in its totality as "the three teachings" (doctrine, precepts, and meditation) rather than one specific teaching based on sectarian belonging. [46] Based on this general goal, the common image of Yōsai 栄西

[43] For the retrieval of Tiantai texts from Japan and Huayan texts from Korea, see Chapter 3 of Chikusa Masaaki's *Sō Gen Bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū* 宋元佛教文化史研究 (Tokyo: Kyuko shoin, 2000).

[44] Since none of Chōnen's works survive, there remains the possibility that Chōnen never took a trip to the Song as he claimed. Nonetheless, the claim itself is still enough to suggest authority attached to the trip to Song and to Buddhist artifacts imported from the Song.

[45] See Charlotte von Verschuer, "Le voyage de Jōjin au Mont Tiantai, " in *T'oung Pao* 87. 1-3, 1991, 1-48. Hirabayashi Fumio 平林文雄, *San Tendai Godaisan ki : kōhon narabini* kenkyū 參天台五臺山記 : 校本並に研究 (Tōkyō : Kazama Shobō, 1978).

[46] Nishitani Isao 西谷功, *Nansō, Kamakura Bukkyō bunka shiron* 南宋・鎌倉仏教文化史論 (Tōkyō: Bensei Shuppan, 2018), 511-512.

(1141-1215), who traveled twice to the Song as a Tendai monk, calls for revision since the sectarian label is more often *ex post facto*. The existence of a common guideline of teaching for foreign monks does not imply that there was a standardized course schedule. Shunjō 俊芿 (1166-1227) had studied the doctrine and practice of Tiantai, Chan, the Vinaya, and the Pure Land Buddhism in various monasteries. However, it is no exaggeration to say that he was mostly interested in monasticism and imported customs to Japanese monasteries. This phenomenon also speaks to the fluidity of sectarian boundaries. Monks had the freedom to study in different kinds of monasteries. We also have ample accounts of changing sectarian identities in the Song. Underlying this unstable sectarian belonging, Song monasteries follow a set of relatively stable monastic rules. This commonality is anchored in the shared monastic rules and ritual practices supposedly traced back to the common *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* and its commentarial tradition. The fluidity of sectarian boundaries also grants us the opportunity to reexamine the connotation of *sifangsiyuan* 十方寺院 (monastery of the ten directions) and *shifangseng* 十方僧, which existed widely in East Asia. Traditionally this category of monastery is defined as a public monastery in contrast to a private monastery based on property ownership.[47]

The Buddhist exchanges during this period are marked by conversational features and a non-governmental nature. The traveling Buddhist monastics and businessmen carried with them letters of question and response on the subject of Buddhist tenets, leaving a unique genre of literature historically named *tōkestu* 唐決, also called *mondō* 問答 in the Kamakura period— which has begun to attract scholarly attention in recent

[47] Morten Schlütter, "Vinaya Monasteries, Public Abbacies, and State Control of Buddhism under the Song (960-1279)." In *Going Forth: Visions of Buddhist Vinaya: Essays presented in honor of Professor Stanley Weinstein* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), 136-60.

years.[48] Although it is still a challenge to avoid the nationalistic influence of modern scholars in the reading of this kind of text, the mere existence of these texts creates the opportunity for us to imagine and then reconstruct a transnational Buddhist community based on mutual respect.[49]

Equipped with the advanced technology of woodblock printing, the Northern Song imperial court supported the production of the first Buddhist canon in woodblock print, namely the Kaibao Canon.[50] Woodblock printing and the importation of printing technique made it more efficient to circulate Buddhist texts and created ties with the educated elite, patronage from followers, and Buddhist communities across the border. Cultural exchanges also left us with abundant Buddhist related material culture, and a rich intangible culture including ritual, custom and chant pronunciation which has survived to the present day. Based on this shared way of thinking and practice, we may start to piece together the Buddhist community across geographical boundaries.

On Methodology

I follow a three-part methodology pertaining to intellectual history, a comparative approach, and the study of material culture. Following Peter Gordon's outlined description, I regard intellectual history as engaging in the reconstruction of arguments not limited to philosophical texts to reach an understanding of the past, which is

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[48] Moro Shigeki 師茂樹, Murakami Akiya 村上明也, Enomoto Wataru 榎本渉, Daniel Wickstrom Ōtani Yuka 大谷由香, and Mizuguchi Motoki 水口幹記, "Ekkyō suru kyōgi mondō tōkestu ni yoru sōgo kōryū to sono shūhen 越境する教義問答—「唐決」による相互交流とその周辺—." In IBK, 2020, 68(2):843-842. This is an ongoing research project and is expected to yield multiple studies in the near future.

[49] I have no intention of romanticizing the Sino-Japanese exchange of Buddhist texts. There is no reason to assume that texts remained intact in Japan over hundreds of years. Occasional disputes did occur. For instance, Gushan Zhiyuan 孤山智圓 (976-1022) questioned the authenticity of Zhiyi's *Amituojing yiji* 阿彌陀經義記 retrieved from Japan, and met vehement rejection from Jōjin.

[50] See studies in Wu Jiang, and Lucille Chia. *Spreading Buddha's Word in East Asia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

sensitive, but not reducible to a historical-cultural context.[51] Given this trend of intellectual history, I view the history of religion as a process of searching for and making meaning. The ideas, doctrines, practices, and objects appearing in this research are only meaningful when practitioners share a set of foundational belief and visions of what Buddhism is and how one should live life as a Buddhist monastic, and then live their own lives in a polyphonic way. Although I discuss the transmission and acceptance of Yuanzhao's thinking in Japan, I have no interest in indicating any sort of cultural hierarchy or hegemony. This project could potentially be done in a way in which Yuanzhao is the absolute protagonist, as Robert Gimello's research on Chis-yen and Peter Gregory's study on Tsung-mi have brilliantly demonstrated. I intentionally deviate from that path, primarily because the primary sources enable me to trace the traveling of ideas and practices. I utilize hermeneutics as a tool to shuttle back and forth from the shared grand vision of how to stay true to Buddhism to numerous detailed human actions in a monastic everyday setting. This is not to say that other visions of Buddhism are incompatible with the vision of the Vinaya school. On the contrary, merging and appropriation begins almost as soon as the recognition is acknowledged.

The comparative approach manifests itself as I compare the existence of the Vinaya school with contrasting schools, primarily with Chan Buddhism. It was neither a historical coincidence nor the need to fight for patronage which made Chan the opponent of the Vinaya school. Chan and the Vinaya school represented two highly relevant but almost always opposing attitudes regarding the handling of Buddhist monastic rules. Both schools, including the transmitted school of Zen in Japan, were closely defined by their exceptional emphasis on Buddhist precepts. I go beyond the

[51] Peter Gordon, "What is Intellectual History?" Revised spring, 2012. https://projects.iq.harvard.edu/harvardcolloquium/pages/what-intellectual-history

simple comparison between rules accounted in the Vinaya and rules appropriated in the Chan monastic regulation of "pure rules," (which no doubt reveals many similarities of origin) by comparing the two mutually exclusive ways of understanding how religious achievement should be cultivated in monastic training. For the Vinaya masters, the monastic rules create boundaries with constrained flexibility for collective monastic life, thus protecting the Buddhist community from the flux of history. By staying within these boundaries sanctioned by the Buddha, "an island of meaning" is created. To overly simplify Chan Buddhist literature, the central idea is a spiritual breakthrough—a highly individual experience—which frees one from a dualistic perception of phenomenon. We often find typical antinomian rhetoric in Chan narratives which does not properly reflect the everyday in a Chan monastery. However, the idea the rules should not be followed mindlessly may contribute to the departure from original monastic rules and conventional study of doctrine, and certainly the creativity of rule-making.

The second layer of comparison is a built-in feature of the structure of the current study. The comparative approach is almost a synonym for the transnational perspective in this project. Research in Buddhist studies is moving away from this framework, which is primarily divided by geography, and largely defined by political regime. [52] It is generally agreed that Buddhism represents pluralistic practices according to time and space, and communication between regions and countries is an essential factor in the local creation of meaning. By spending due time in the Song, Liao, and Japan, I intend to transcend national, nationalistic, and sectarian boundaries by showing the continuities and developments on both sides. As I mentioned above, the construction of Buddhist communities is based on the recognition of shared understanding and

[52] For recent scholarship see footnote 34.

practice of the Vinaya; and the constructed lineage of the Buddhist community has always been based on an agreement of transnational identity.

My current research intentionally draws our attention beyond the written texts and extends to the study of material culture. To present a more comprehensive picture of the religious tradition, I examine picture scrolls, portrait painting, statues, burial objects, woodblock prints, manuscripts, and performative ritual manuals as an indispensable component of primary sources. I confine myself to the material culture that is directly produced or commissioned by the same group of people in the examination of intellectual history. As a result, the research could suffer from cultural elitism. The group of Buddhist clerics—as either scholar monks, religious advocates, or both—are no doubt only a very small portion of the religious community. It is naïve to assume that a few can properly represent the whole community. Even though more attention is inevitably given to the material culture surrounding these "great men," I strive to include laypersons, non-elite clerics, and animals wherever I find an obvious connection. For instance, I examine the histories of lay people who donated to the printing of Vinaya commentaries, lay patronage of commissioned of statues of the eminent monk, and ardent female Pure Land devotees related to the Vinaya school. The extensive material culture generated by the Vinaya school in China and Japan can also be conceived of as hierophanies, as Mircea Eliade argues, which simultaneously reveal and conceal the sacred while expressing some modality of the sacred.[53] They tell us a

[53] For places where Eliade discussed the concept of hierophanies, see Mircea Eliade*, Patterns in Comparative Religion* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), 11, 23-33, 446-8; and *Sacred and Profane: The Nature of Religion* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), 21, 26, 28, 36, 63-4, 117, 115-58. Admittedly, Eliade's view of hierophanies contains a hierarchy, which may include simple material objects to complex phenomenon. It appears to me that *jieti* in the hierophanies of Buddhism is conceived of as being on a higher level than material objects. *Jieti* is closely related to the soteriology of enlightenment, but is certainly still limited by multiple conditions, such as being exclusively for monastics, and it can be potentially destroyed by human behavior. In this sense, the material culture generated around the *jieti*, is indirectly related to enlightenment, but remain in the relationship with the sacred as a "dialectic of the sacred."

great deal about how the Vinaya school has been viewed as a continued tradition in an ephemeral world, and how community identity is built and rebuilt on the shared belief of this dharma in common.

Chapter Arrangement

This dissertation contains four parts, which further divides into eight chapters. Part One anchors the project in its own context of discourse construction and the circulation of material culture in East Asia. Chapter 1 begins with an interpretation of the scroll painting *Tōseiden* 東征伝, an illustrated retrospective history of the Vinaya master Jianzhen's 鑑真 (Jpn. Ganjin, 688-763) travel from China to Japan. By examining extant woodblock prints and catalogs, Chapter 2 traces the canonization of Yuanzhao's teaching and its transmission in Japan, which shows that the emergence of the Vinaya school is based on a shared commentarial tradition.

Part Two turns to the doctrinal side of Vinaya teaching in the Song and Liao Dynasties. Primarily featuring Yuanzhao as the Vinaya master, Chapter 3 provides a close reading of his major commentaries on Daoxuan's works, as well as related writings. I focus on *jieti*—essence of precepts—the central concept of the Vinaya school, showing how Vinaya thinkers have set pure goodness as the ethical goal and inner motivation of the self. Chapter 4 discusses monastic daily life as Yuanzhao envisioned and prescribed, taking the moral judgement of observation and transgression of monastic rules as a powerful formative apparatus. Chapter 5 shifts to the neglected Vinaya teachings in the Liao, as a counterpart to the Northern Song.

Part Three concerns the essential salvific aspect within the revival of the Vinaya school. Chapter 6 focuses on Yuanzhao's reconversion to Pure Land Buddhism, which caused him to eventually commit to a synthetic approach. As early as Daoxuan's foundational works, the religious practice of measuring good and evil behavior had

already stimulated suspicion surrounding its connection with one's final salvation. Yuanzhao gave his solution as combining the Vinaya and Pure Land Buddhism.

The last part is devoted to Kamakura Japan's appropriation of Yuanzhao's Vinaya teaching in its contemporary renovation of the Vinaya. Chapter 7 traces the transnational connections in the teaching of the Vinaya and precepts between the Southern Song and Japan, represented by Shunjō's experience in China and his missionary activities in returning to Japan. Chapter 8 features Eison's understanding of the precepts and the Vinaya within the vein of Kōfukuji monks' effort to revive the Vinaya lineage, and in contrast to that of his contemporaries, such as Kakujō. It also showcases how Eison incorporated the Vinaya into his career as an esoteric master, and how the branch Buddhist communities in the Kantō area expanded the teaching of the Vinaya.

PART ONE
THE CREATION OF THE VINYA SCHOOL

Chapter One
Tōseiden: A Retrospective History of the Vinaya Tradition

Tōseiden emaki 東征伝絵巻 (Picture Scroll of the Eastern Expedition, hereafter *Tōseiden*) depicts the Vinaya master Jianzhen's arduous journey from China to Japan for the purpose of conferring Buddhist precepts. This visualized journey symbolizes the transmission of a dharma lineage and Vinaya related texts across national boundaries. Previous studies of *Tōseiden* mostly focus on Jianzhen's activities during the journey and his missionary work as the "founder" of the Japanese Vinaya school.[54] What has been neglected, however, is that *Tōseiden* is a complex cultural product, which involves the interrelation of image, narrative, textual tradition, ritual, sacred geography, and historiography, embedded in the milieu of the thirteenth century rather than in Jianzhen's own time. Moreover, what motivated the commission of *Tōseiden* was not sectarian concern (typically represented by the proselytization of Pure Land schools in Japan) as this did not reach dominance until the fourteenth century. Rather, it was common resurgent interest in the Vinaya that motivated the creation of the reimagined journey of Jianzhen. The "reconstruction" of the transmission history of the Vinaya is largely an attempt to transform the Vinaya tradition from an idea to an event and to retell the story of Jianzhen in visualized form.

From the perspective of Sino-Japan cultural exchanges in terms of Vinaya and precepts, this chapter explores how a disrupted tradition can be reimagined and reconstructed through the making of artworks. I discuss how artists draw inspiration

[54] Research papers on *Tōseiden* are collected in the following publications: Kameda Tsutomu 亀田孜, eds. *Nihon emaki mono zenshū* 日本絵巻物全集, Vol 21, *Tōseiden emaki* 東征伝絵巻 (Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten, 1964); Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美, eds. Nihon no emaki 日本の絵巻, Vol 15, *Tōseiden emaki* 東征伝絵巻 (Tōkyō: Chūō kōronsha, 1988).

from all kinds of sources to recreate the world of Jianzhen. It is no surprise that in this re-envisioned excursion, intentional and unintentional details are projected onto the work, facilitating a communal imagining of the importation of Vinaya teaching from China to Japan. *Tōseiden* represents an effort to seek common ground through the Vinaya tradition and contains elements from beyond the forging of a sectarian genealogy. In this Japanese medieval imagination of China, a world in the past is revoked and conjured by members of Buddhist communities with an enduring impact.

The Tōseiden Picture Scroll

Commissioned by Ryōkanbō Ninshō 良観房忍性 (1217-1303) in 1298, *Tōseiden* was gifted to Tōshōdaiji, the monastery established by Jianzhen and the head monastery of the Vinaya school in present-day Japan. The picture scroll is made of ink and color on paper, in horizontal-scroll format. As recorded in the colophon, the painter of *Tōseiden* is Hyōe nyūdō Rengyō 兵衛入道蓮行, but little is known about the painter. Judging from a superficial reading of the title, it is likely that Rengyō was a soldier who converted to Buddhism. He collaborated with three calligraphers who might have been lay devotees within the social networks of Ninshō's Gokurakuji in the Kantō area.

The five scrolls of *Tōseiden* measure 37.3 centimeters in height and around 83 meters in total length. The first four scrolls contain 27-33 single narrative episodes, each measuring about 15-19 meters in length. The fifth scroll is special, as it only contains 27 pictures, which form a continued pictorial narrative without any inserted texts. A description of Jianzhen's life in Japan is not lacking in the original biography *Tōdaiwajō Tōseiden* 唐大和上東征伝, the biography of Jianzhen and the root text of *Tōseiden*. The painter may have made a deliberate choice to represent these scenes in a picture-only scroll, perhaps giving the interpreter of the work more freedom to

formulate Jianzhen's activities in Japan in Tōshōdaiji.[55] The size of *Tōseiden* allows it to be viewed and experienced in group settings, though is little information about how these scrolls were shown to the audience. [56] Colophons, including information on makers and dates, appear repeatedly on the beginning and ending part of each scroll.

The form of picture scroll is closely related to handscroll painting (Chi. *shoujuan* 手卷), also called long scroll (Chi. *changjuan* 長卷). Dating from fourth century China, handscroll painting is commonly considered the most valued form of painting in Chinese art history. The horizontal-scroll format engenders a unique viewing experience. The perspective from point to point enables one to experience the picture scroll as one moves from the right to the left side of the painting. This exclusive way of viewing art is a pre-modern way of creating a panorama comparable to the movement of a camera. In fact, it specifically resembles a wide camera angle even more when the protagonist appears repeatedly in the same narrative units, indicating the inner movement and flow of time within a single unit of the painting. This technique is seen in Tang scroll painting such as *Hanxizai yeyantu* 韓熙載夜宴圖 and was widely used in Japanese picture scrolls.

The Song dynasty witnessed a remarkable development of handscroll landscape painting. As represented by *Qianli jiangshan tu* 千里江山圖, the young genius artist Wang Mengxi 王孟希 (1096-1119) created the Green Landscape Painting (Chi. *qinglüshanshui* 青綠山水) whose influence is widely seen in Japanese picture scrolls

[55] Kameda Tsutomu 亀田孜 argues that since there is a calligrapher of scroll five, it is possible that the textual part of this scroll is simply missing. However, the current length of the last scroll (16 meters) made it less likely to include a full narrative part like other scrolls. Kameda Tsutomu, "*Tōseiden emaki ni tsuite* 東征伝絵巻について," in *Tōseiden emaki* 東征伝絵巻 (Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten, 1964), 3-18.

[56] The typical size of a picture scroll in this period is 30 to 35 by 50 centimeters per single episode or sheet. *Tōseiden* is slightly larger in size, containing more episodes per scroll, which makes it more suitable for a group view and individual appreciation.

including *Tōseiden*. Mi Youren 米友仁 (1074-1153 or 1086-1165) is another influential artist of handscroll, whose virtuosity in landscape painting is reflected in works such as *Yunshan deyi tujuan* 雲山得意圖卷 and *Xiaoxiang qituan tu* 瀟湘奇觀圖.[57] In the Southern Song, the handscroll developed several themes in narrative pictography. First, the theme of handscroll expanded from its previous focus on mountains and rivers, and the ratio of figures and narratives in composition increased. Works like *Bailianzhe tujuan* 白蓮社圖卷, *Ruiying tujuan* 瑞應圖卷, and *Yingluan tujuan* 迎鸞圖卷 [58] illustrated complex historical or imagined events filling the whole span of the horizontal space and deploying similar pictorial language to that found in the later Japanese picture scrolls. While these works contain mainly pictures with a minimum of words, the other direction of development was that texts began to be given much higher status and were found stitched in between pictures. Ma Hezhi 馬和之 (1131-1162) created many such handscrolls.[59] However, the inner mechanics of the literary and pictorial sections is simple and appears in a straightforward one-on-one illustrating relationship. These two developments of handscroll arts might be the closest counterparts to those found in Japanese picture scrolls. Unlike the authors of Japanese picture scrolls, Ma Hezhi did not attempt to enfold complex narratives into a linear episode of pictures. Rather, his handscrolls are extended collections of single units of picture and narrative, in which the sequence is of little significance and the picture is sometimes overpowered by words.

[57] *Yunshan deyi tujuan* and *Xiaoxiang qituan tu* are both preserved in National Palace Museum, Taipei.

[58] *Bailianzhe tujuan* is preserved in Liaoning Province Museum. *Ruiying tujuan* is found in the form of Chouying's replica in the Ming dynasty and preserved in National Palace Museum, Taipei. *Yingluan tujuan* is preserved in Shanghai Museum.

[59] Some examples are Ma Hezhi's *Maoshi chenfeng tujuan* 毛詩陳風圖卷, *Xiaojing tujuan* 孝經圖卷 (anonymous), and *Jiuge tujuan* 九歌圖卷 (anonymous).

During the 12-14th centuries, a large quantity of Chinese paintings produced in the Song and Yuan dynasties were introduced to Japan, often referred to as *kowatari* (古渡, old transmission). Among thousands of paintings imported to Japan, many were Buddhist motif paintings made by painters in the harbor city of the Ningbo. The buyers of Chinese paintings in this period for Japan were mostly meeting the needs of monasteries and aristocrats. Within the category of Buddhist paintings preserved in Japan, the final Nirvana of the Buddha (Chi. *niepan tu* 涅槃圖)and portraits of Arhats (Chi. *luohan tu* 羅漢圖) were the most popular motifs. At the same time, handscrolls depicting natural scenery were also a coveted genre. Art historians often argue for the connection of style between Japanese picture scrolls and Chinese handscrolls in the Song-Yuan period based on the resemblances in brushwork and color palettes of the mountains, trees, and rivers. Conceivably, beyond brushwork, a more intrinsic connection might be the spatial arrangement of handscrolls which constructs a continued ever-extending space. This much enlarged space is suitable for illustrating large scale works of eminent monks' hagiography with grandeur.

The most obvious difference between Japanese picture scrolls and Chinese handscrolls is the picture scroll's imbrication with narrative texts, by which a group of paintings are interspersed among brief passages, while in most cases only colophons or poems are added to the blank space of the handscroll either by the painter or by connoisseurs. What is more, Japan's narrative painting tradition originated in medieval Buddhist monasteries, often with a strong sense of purpose in legitimating genealogical claims. China has never produced works like horizontal picture scrolls as a vehicle for religious narratives.

An essential format of scroll painting is the generic combination of narrative text and picture. The narrative part of *Tōseiden* (Jpn. *kotobagaki* 詞書) is based on *Tōdaiwajō Tōseiden* 唐大和上東征伝, a biography of Jianzhen written by Ōmino Mifune 淡海三船

(also called Mahito Genkai 真人元開, 722-785).[60] The original biography is much longer in length and with numerous details that could not be incorporated fully into the narrative text. Around the time of the creation of *Tōseiden*, the picture scroll had developed its own sophisticated language of pictorial narrative. Contemporary hagiographical picture scrolls of eminent monks such as *Keigonshū soshi eden* 華厳宗祖師絵伝,[61] Takashina Takakane's 高階隆兼 (1309-1330) *Genjō Sanzōe* 玄奘三蔵絵 and *Ippan Shoe* 一遍聖絵 are among the most memorable artifacts in Kamakura Buddhist art history. Like *Genjō Sanzōe,* although the depicted figure lived in the Tang dynasty—as Taniguchi Kosei has pointed out—the style of *Tōseiden* resembles the style of painting seen in the Song and Yuan dynasties, while weaving in the local practice of the Kamakura area.[62] Indeed, the treatment of iterative wrinkles of rocks, the faded mountain in the background, and the refined water ripples and waves all remind one of Xiagui's 夏圭 (1180-1230) *Xishan qingyuan tujuan* 溪山清遠圖卷 and Zhaofu's 趙黻 *Changjing wanly tujuan* 長江萬里圖卷 from the Southern Song.[63] As I will analyze in later pages, not only does the painting style indicate the Song period, but the style of clothes, furniture, and especially monastic rituals are all based on references to the Song.

In sharp contrast to its Chinese predecessors, the *kotobagaki* is more often narrative in nature rather than poetic. The narrative text of *Tōseiden* is written in classic

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[60] The earliest extant manuscript is preserved in Kanchi-in 觀智院 of Tōji, and the first printed copy is preserved in the Kaidan-in of Tōdaiji dated to 1762.

[61] This picture scroll was commissioned by Myōe based on Uisang's 義湘 (625-702, Jpn. Gishō) hagiography in Zanning's *Song gaosengzhuan*, showing Myōe's connection with Northern Song Buddhist literature.

[62] Taniguchi Kosei 谷口耕生, "*Gokurakuji Ninshō niyoru Tōseiden emaki no senyō o megutte*" 極楽寺忍性による東征伝絵巻の施入をめぐって, in *Ninshō: kyūsai ni sasageta shōgai* 忍性—救済に捧げた生涯— (Nara: Nara National Museum, 2016), 218-221.

[63] Both are preserved in National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Japanese, while the original text is written in classical Chinese (*kanbun* 漢文). This means that the narrative text in *Tōseiden* is foremost a translation from formal classical Chinese. Since this research is focused on the picture scroll of *Tōseiden*, I keep my discussion of the original biography to a minimum.

The textual part of the picture scroll is not merely cut and copied from the much longer root-text, it shows a complex rapport between narrative text and pictures. In addition, strands of narrative omitted from the text are sometimes picked up in the painting. The rapport between narrative text and picture is anything but simple. Both these components join to create a whole from two very different approaches. Each complements the other in an irreplaceable representative style. Each has a long-standing tradition, modeling, and genre to draw from. The relationship between words and images raises the question of authorship of the picture scroll, which is most likely collaborative in nature. Melissa McCormick has argued that the interpretive engagement of paintings goes beyond a selective focus on elements of the narrative, and rather "actively shapes and promotes the latent multidimensionality of the text, imbuing meaning to each scene through composition, detail, coloration, and figuration."[64] Although McCormick is speaking of small scrolls which became popular later in time, her words are equally true for *Tōseiden*. The narrative texts in *Tōseiden* show a clear historical awareness, while the devices of pictorial language also enhance and create a unique narratology together with the texts.

The typical method of distribution of religious scroll paintings among the so called "Amidist shift" in the fourteenth century was to send a hagiographic scroll painting of a founder from headquarters out to a provincial monastery to facilitate missionary effort. However, *Tōseiden* deviates from this stereotype, for Ninshō's monastery did not

[64] Melissa McCormick, *Tosa Mitsunobu and the Small Scroll in Medieval Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 62.

belong to the same sectarian division of Tōshōdaiji, and *Tōseiden* rarely shows any influence of esoteric Buddhism, specialized by Ninshō and his group. Rather, it demonstrates an effort to build common ground through the Vinaya tradition, beyond merely a concern for forging a lineal genealogy. It is the resurgence of common interest in the Vinaya that motivated the creation of the reimaged journey of Jianzhen.

Reconstructing the Tang from the Song and Kamakura

According to Shen Congwen's 沈從文 study, it is a common mistake to confuse the timing of a theme with the period a painting is produced. By examining details of people's clothes and the shapes of everyday materials, many paintings done in the theme of Tang should be dated much later than the Five Dynasties, possibly to the Song and even as late as the Yuan.[65] The same conclusion may apply to the reading of *Tōseiden*. Kameda Tsutomu points out that multiple screens used as interior decoration in *Tōseiden* resemble the background in the portrait of Luohan produced in the Song-Yuan period.[66] Also, the hat worn by Jianzhen's father belongs to the style of the Song rather than the Tang. When Jianzhen follows his father to the monastery, the father wears a tall hat and has his hair combed in the style of the literati figures found in *Shiyongtu* 十詠圖, or the style found in Su Dongpo's portrait.[67] These clues confirm that Kamakura Buddhist painters had wide access to paintings and other arts produced in the Song-Yuan period.[68]

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[65] Shen Congwen 沈從文, *Zhongguo gudai fushi yanjiu* 中國古代服飾研究 (Beijing: Shang wu yin shu guan, 2011), 319.

[66] Kameda Tsutomu 亀田孜, "*Tōseiden emaki ni tsuite* 東征伝絵巻について." In *Tōseiden emaki* (Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten,1964), 3-18.

[67] This kind of black tall hat is rarely seen in the Tang period but was common in the Song-Yuan period. For instance, see "Songdai suchangong xiang" 宋代蘇長公像 in *Zhongguo huihua quanji* 中國繪畫全集, Wudai Song Liao Jin 五代宋遼金 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1997) vol. 2, 34.

[68] In a series of paintings on the theme of Luohan dating to the 12th century Song, a similar style of hat worn by Jianzhen's father is found among the lay attendants. See *the Fifteenth Ven. Ajita* 阿氐多尊者,

A noteworthy detail is that the Tang minister in the office is flanked by two female servants. This might not be historically accurate, as servants in the office were unlikely to be females in splendid attire. However, it may indicate that the source of reference for the painter was female benefactors or female aristocrats in the Tang or Northern Song painting. The clothes of the female servant resemble the aristocratic benefactor in the Mogao Grottoes.[69] The hairstyle, technically called *woduoji* 倭墮髻, resembles the figure on the screen of *Torigeritsujo no Byōbu* 鳥毛立女屏風 preserved in Shōsō-in, the treasure house of Tōdaiji. Were the painter educated in the Nara circle, it would not be surprising if he had access to the collection of Tōdaiji, which is rich in Tang-Song paintings. Another pertinent fact is that the minister wears a hat in the shape of *tongtianguan* 通天冠, a formal crown used by the emperor in national rituals.[70] The painter might simply have wanted to mark the authority of the governor but misappropriated the style. *Tōseiden* recreates the world of Tang based on visual sources inherited from the Nara period as well as from the production of the Song.

As often with Buddhist literature, *Tōseiden* is not lacking in humor and drama. Yōei 榮叡, one of the Japanese monks who invited Jianzhen to Japan, tries to hide in the pond but is betrayed by a stir in the water and eventually captured by officers. After four months of prison life, all the monks are shown with a thick layer of hair and facial hair; a case of the painter using his imagination to make the world of *Tōseiden* a convincing space. To be sure, for most viewers of *Tōseiden* other than researchers, the inaccuracy of dynastic details was perhaps of little importance, so long as the visual

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and *The Sixth Ven. Karika* 迦理迦尊者 in *The Sixteen Luohan painting* 十六羅漢圖軸, all by Lu Xinzhong 陸信忠, ink, color, and gold on silk, MFA, Boston.

[69] See female benefactors of Cave 9, 103, 192, dating to the Tang dynasty in Dunhuang mural. *Shuiyue guanyinxiang*, 水月觀音像, dated to 961 in the Northern Song, *Zhongguo huihua quanji: Wudai Song Liao Jin* 中國繪畫全集五代宋遼金 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1997), vol. 2, 1.

[70] Sun Ji 孫機, *Huaxia yiguan* 華夏衣冠 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2016), 49.

world was seen as located outside the everyday life in Japan. These dramatic plots with vivid details would make the audience smile and keep them curious about what might happen next. Carefully selected episodes from Jianzhen's journey in a remote place provide an attractive suspension which captures the viewer's interest across an expansive horizontal space.

Initiation of the Path

Jianzhen is remembered as someone who unswervingly kept his promise to go to Japan, even after losing his eyesight during many failed attempts over ten years.[71] Jianzhen's life story portrayed on the scroll begins with his initial experience of entering the Buddhist monastic space, moving from the right to left side of the picture. At this time, he was accompanied by his secular family as he entered through the main gate of the monastery. Correspondingly, the whole work ends by depicting Jianzhen sitting in the semi-open space under the roof, facing the right side of the picture (symbolically the western side). He faces towards the space outside the monastery, symbolizing his leaving the monastic life. In the last scene, Jianzhen's passing away, he is shown surrounded by the dharma family of his disciples. Thus, the whole work is marked by two endpoints: a clear initiation into Buddhist monastic life, and the end of his monkhood.

In the first narrative episode, Jianzhen appears in multiple scenes, in a continued flow of narrative on his reception of precepts (see Illustration 1.1). The teenager Jianzhen is led by his father through the gate of a monastery. They both appear in the next scene, when Jianzhen sees a golden statue of the Buddha, arousing his desire to join the monastic order. His father permits him to go forth and sequentially Jianzhen

[71] Jianzhen left behind a note about borrowing sūtras with his signature in perfectly normal handwriting (*Jianzhen qingjing tie* 鑒真請經帖, preserved in Tōshōdaiji). This may indicate that he had not completely lost his eyesight when he arrived in Japan.

receives the five-precepts in secular clothes, then has his head shaved, and he puts on the monastic robe to demonstrate that he has become a novice monk.



Illustration 1.1: Jianzhen's First Encounter in the Monastery with His Father and His Reception of Five Precepts and Ten Precepts. *Tōseiden*, scroll one, unit 1.

The next two scenes should grasp our full attention. The textual part is missing here, but according to his biography, as a novice monk Jianzhen moved to Chang'an, the western capital city of the Tang, after joining the Buddhist community. He then received the bodhisattva precepts from master Dao'an 道岸 when he was eighteen years old. After three years when Jianzhen had reached the due age for full ordination, he then finally received full ordination under master Hengjing 弘景.[72] Unmistakably, *Tōseiden* juxtaposes two scenes depicting Jianzhen's full ordination and reception of bodhisattva precepts in a sequential relationship. The apparent inconsistency with Jianzhen's biography should stand out to us. In the first picture unit of *Tōseiden*, Jianzhen's ordination follows the sequence of five-precepts, ten-precepts, *prātimokṣa*

[72] See *Tōdaiwajō Tōseiden*, I use the edited version prepared by Ishida Mizumaro 石田瑞麿 in his work titled *Ganjin: sono shisō to shōgai,* 鑑真 : その思想と生涯 (Tōkyō: Daizō Shuppan, 1958), 283-325.

precepts, and finally bodhisattva precepts. This sequence, which contradicts information in Jianzhen's biography, indicates a model of gradual reception of precepts prescribed in *Pusa shanjie jing* 菩薩善戒經 [73] and identified by Yuanzhao as followed by the Chinese Tiantai school in the Northern Song.[74] Most importantly, the mere existence of a separate full-ordination ritual before the bodhisattva precepts reflects that Eison's (the master of Ninshō) insistence in the autonomy of *prātimokṣa* precepts for monastics; a point on which I will elaborate in Chapter 8.

In the depiction of full ordination (Illustration 1.2), the spatial arrangement of witnesses and disciples in the scene shows five masters seated on chairs and eight standing. The master sitting in the center, wearing a yellow robe, is unquestionably the main preceptor. The main preceptor has two monks standing on each side of him. According to Daoxuan's *Xingshichao*, full ordination follows a format of "three-masters-seven-witnesses" (Chi. *sanshi qizheng* 三師七証). [75] The main preceptor is foundational in the ritual, and the two assisting masters are singled out by Daoxuan as the leading masters among a group of at least ten witnesses in total. In the "ordination *skandhaka*" (Chi. *shoujie jiandu* 受戒犍度) of the Vinaya, the qualifications for master are gradually refined within the Buddha's establishment of the first Buddhist community. Towards the end of the text, it is determined that the ten participants in the conferral ritual must have been ordained for over ten years and must hold good records as monastics.[76]

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[73] Guṇavarman, trans. *Pusa shanjie jing* 菩薩善戒經, T30, no. 1583,1013c25-1014a2.

[74] Yuanzhao, *Zhiyuan yibian* 芝園遺編, X59, no. 1104, 631a19-24 // Z 2:10, 268c4-9 // R105, 536a4-9.

[75] See *Shoujie yuanji pian* 受戒緣集篇 of *Xingshichao*. The three masters are the main preceptor (Chi. *jieheshang* 戒和尚, Skt. *upādhyāya*), master of instruction (Chi. *jiaoshoushi* 教授師, or *weiyishi* 威儀師, Skt. *ācārya*), and master of the ritual (Chi. *jiemoshi* 羯摩師, Skt. *karma-vāc-ācārya*).

[76] The section of the ordination skandhaka recounts Buddha's own enlightenment and his gradual establishment of the community. In this process the method of ordination is not a fixed ritual but rather evolves with multiple concerns, and then becomes more and more refined. The initial method of ordination is as simple as taking refuge in the three jewels. The qualifications for conferral master become

Is this picture a faithful representation or just an imagination of the ordination ritual? The spatial arrangement of figures in the ordination scene makes it hard to decide from the picture who are the assisting preceptors. If we put aside the six monks who appear to stand on the periphery and focus on the central space of the ritual, we have five monks sitting on chairs and two more monks standing on each side of the main preceptor. Jianzhen and another novice monk are sitting on the floor. Considering that the ordination ritual is highly controlled, if not the most rigid ritual in Buddhist monasticism, we shall turn to commentaries on the Vinaya for hints.



Illustration 1.2: Jianzhen's Full Ordination Ritual. *Tōseiden*, scroll one, unit 1.

In *Xingshichao*, Daoxuan points out that there are only two occasions when one would stand up during the ritual.

> Among the people who perform the ritual, except for two people: first, the master of instruction should stand to receive the request [from the conferee], as the representative of the sangha. So [the master of instruction] should not sit down.

complicated and strict as concerns for the master's monastic and moral status are raised. After that, it turns to a discussion of the disciple's qualifications, such as permission from one's parents.

> Second is the [master of ritual], who should stand to announce the precepts, to make himself heard. Except for these two, the rest should all sit down.
>
> 秉羯磨人中除二種人。一威儀師立秉單白。為僧所使不得輒坐。二開立說戒。為令眾聞。自餘一切皆須坐秉. [77]

It appears to me that the painter followed Daoxuan's instruction and showed the master of instruction (Skt. *ācārya*) and the master of ritual (Skt. *karma-vāc-ācārya*) standing during the ritual. Everyone except for these two assistant preceptors should be in the sitting position. In early Buddhism, the group would probably all have been sitting on the ground on mattress. The painter captured the elements of two masters standing through the ritual. However, even with this interpretation, the five sitting masters and six standing masters on the periphery are still puzzling, since they do not fit the presumed pattern of "three-masters-seven-witnesses." To explain this odd number, we turn to Jianzhen's own conferral ritual.

Jianzhen's conferral ritual is perhaps very close to a ritual manual written by his direct disciple Fajin 法進 (709-778), entitled *Tōdaiji jukai hōki* 東大寺授戒方軌 (Ordination ritual procedure of Tōdaiji).[78] This ritual manual became the standard and the prototype of late variations in terms of imparting precepts at Tōdaiji. Specifically, it sets the foundation for the revival movement of precepts initiated by Jippan 実範 (?-1114), who composed *Tōdaiji kaidan'in jukai shiki* 東大寺戒壇院受戒式 (Ordination ritual of Tōdaiji Kaidan'in, T74, no. 2350) based on Fajin's ritual manual. I will discuss Jippan's effort to revive the Vinaya tradition in Chapter 7. For now, it is sufficient to know that Fajin's ritual manual contains the following requirement for the preparation of the ordination ritual:

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[77] Daoxuan, *Xingshichao*, T40, no. 1804, 9b18-21.

[78] Beyond the topic of the current project, Fajin also wrote a voluminous Vinaya related text entitled *Shami jikkai narabini igikyosho* 沙弥十戒威儀経疏. This text is written for the training of novice monks. It is divided into two parts: the first is the explanation of the five and ten precepts, and the second is on mundane rules regulating the behavior of monastics. It is an invaluable text for understanding monastic life in the Tang and its transmission into Japan.

> To notify the main preceptor about the assistant masters and six rūpas (the five upper group masters being the three assistant masters, the six lower group masters being six rūpas) compose an invitation.
>
> 詣和上房定色事（上五座為三師定。下六座為六色也）作連請書一枚.[79]

From this notification, we may infer that two groups of masters of five and six person appeared in the ordination ritual. The five "upper group" masters play the role of "three masters" as in Daoxuan's formula. The "six rūpas" here certainly have nothing to do with color but refer to the six faculties which must be purified as a preparation for the ordination ritual.[80] This requirement could solve the puzzle of the odd number of five sitting masters and six standing masters in the picture, however, this arrangement would make the two flanking masters superfluous. The most likely speculation might be that the painter wanted to combine the traditional pattern of "three-masters-seven-witnesses" with Jianzhen's own approach as recorded by Fajin. The result is that it does not perfectly fit either system.

In the scene depicting the reception of the bodhisattva precepts (Illustration 1.3), the whole group is sitting on the floor. Eight monks are visible in the ritual, and the main preceptor is also wearing a yellow robe. To indicate the nature of the ritual, a golden statue of the Buddha is placed in the upper center of the ritual space. In a typical bodhisattva precepts conferral ritual, Buddha and bodhisattvas are invited to descend to the conferral ritual and perform the role of main preceptor, master of instruction, and master of ritual. Jianzhen directly faces the statue of the Buddha to receive the bodhisattva precepts.[81] A noticeable feature of this Buddhist statue in the ordination

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[79] Fajin. "*Tōdaiji jukai hōki* 東大寺授戒方軌," in *Tōdaiji yōroku*, fascial 9 (Ōsaka: Zenkoku Shobō, 1944), 324. Fajin also assigned each master a specific position later in the ritual manual.

[80] Chuan'ao's *Fanwangjingji* 梵網經記 mentions that "Manas and so on can establish the mark of receiving precepts. Manas is the seventh consciousness, which is also the first six rūpas, also the five faculties, and the location of the faculties. 一切意識等者釋成可受戒之相。意即第七識即前六色即五根及根依處。" X38, no. 682, p. 247a10-12 // Z 1:59, p. 436c1-3 // R59, p. 872a1-3.

[81] Matsubara Saburō 松原三郎 observes that the style of this and other statues resembles the gilt bronze Buddhist statues dated to the Five Dynasties and the Song Dynasty. Matsubara Saburō, "*Ganjin torai to*

ritual is that only the bottom part of the statue is visible to the viewer; a whisp of cloud helps to hide the sacred upper part. This technique of hiding and revealing is ubiquitous in *Tōseiden*, creating visual impact for audience. For objects blocked by architecture, the painter uses the technique of line drawing without coloration to accomplish a phantom view effect (See Illustration 1.7). This technique is applied to the deathbed of Jianzhen, at the very end of the fifth scroll. All the columns blocking our view of Jianzhen become transparent, so that the whole body of Jianzhen, surrounded by his disciples, is fully shown in the picture to achieve maximum impact.



Illustration 1.3: The Conferral of Bodhisattva Precepts. *Tōseiden*, scroll one, unit 2.

The corresponding narrative text for the first pictorial episode of Jianzhen's early life is missing, thus, in the first passage of the narrative text, Jianzhen is already an established Vinaya master, perhaps even the most outstanding master respected by

Tōshōdaiji no butsuzō 鑑真渡来と唐招提寺の仏像," in *Tōseiden emaki* (Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten, 1964), 45-46.

both monastics and laypersons as precepts conferrer in southern China. The corresponding passage appears much later in the original biography, where a concise biography of Jianzhen was inserted precisely after his fifth attempt to go to Japan. Picking up the retrospective theme, the narrative text places this passage in the opening section to emphasize the identity of Jianzhen as a Vinaya master. Out of the masters in Jianzhen's previously described ordination ritual, only two are highlighted. One is Dao'an, who also conferred the bodhisattva precepts upon the Tang emperor Lixian 李顯 (656-710), alluding to Jianzhen's special qualifications to confer precepts for the emperor of Japan.[82] The other is master Yiwei.[83] In the hagiography, master Yiwei inherits the dharma lineage of Dao'an. He could also be an essential link to Jianzhen's connection with Daoxuan's Nanshan Vinaya teaching.[84] Yiwei wrote a sub-commentary on *Xingshichao*, which would make a compelling case for Jianzhen's teaching of

[82] Zhipan, "Emperor Zhongzong summoned Vinaya master Wengang to the inner court to abide and practice. He also summoned Vinaya master Dao'an to the palace, to confer precepts of refuge to his consorts. 中宗勅文綱律師入大內。安居行道。詔道岸律師入宮。為妃主授歸戒。" In *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, T49, no. 2035, 467b9-11.

Zanning, "The emperor perceived [Dao'an] as noble, submitting to his dignity, and granting him robe and begging bowl as a manifestation of favor. [Dao'an] responded to the invitation to [transmit] the dharma favor of Tathāgata and became the preceptor of bodhisattva precepts. [Dao'an] led consorts of the six palaces to make offerings surrounding [the Buddha statue]. 皇帝覩其高尚。伏以尊嚴偏賜衣鉢。特彰榮寵。因請如來法味屈為菩薩戒師。親率六宮圍繞供養。" in *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳, T50, no. 2061, 793b21-23.

[83] The records of Vinaya master Yiwei show that he probably moved from Chang'an to Hangzhou in his lifetime. He followed the teaching of Daoxuan and wrote a sub-commentary of Daoxuan's *Xingshichao*. The fact that the root text does not mention master Yiwei indicates that the author of the *Tōseiden* text had other references.

"Xingshichao Lingshanji (unknown number of fascicles), written by Chanding monastery Vinaya master Yiwei in the Western Capital of the Tang 行事鈔靈山記(未考卷數) 右一部唐西京禪定寺義威律師述。" in *Xingshichao zhujia biaojimu* 行事鈔諸家記標目, X44, no. 741, 304a13-14 // Z 1:70, 100b1-2 // R70, 199b1-2), and "Tianzhu monastery Vinaya master Yiwei in Hangzhou, is the [person] where the quotations are attributed to Lingshan and Tianzhu. 抗州天竺寺義威律師。引云靈山及天竺者是。" in *Sifenlü souxuanlu* 四分律搜玄錄, X41, no. 732, 833c3-4 // Z 1:95, 136a6-7 // R95, 271a6-7.

[84] There is a deviation from Gyōnen's dharma lineage of Jianzhen to Daoxuan, in which Hengjing 恆景 is the linking figure. According to Gyōnen's writing, Hengjing would be a more obvious choice to stress the connection with the Nanshan Vinaya teaching. This might indicate an alternative preference in the construction of dharma lineage for Jianzhen.

Daoxuan's commentary. Jianzhen's appearance in the dharma lineage of Dao'an and Yiwei grants him presumed authority as a precept conferrer of the bodhisattva and of the *prātimokṣa* precepts. On top of the lineage, the narrative text highlights Vinaya-related activities and adds details about the Vinaya teaching. For instance, Jianzhen is described as excelling at the "five and seven categories" (*wupian qiju* 五篇七聚), which is an idiosyncratic technical term from Daoxuan's own classification of monastic rules. Through the concise combination of picture and text, the image of Jianzhen as an authoritative Vinaya master is established.

Illustrating a Buddhist Community

In Jianzhen's biography, Kōfukuji monks Yōei 榮叡 and Fushō 普照 studied in the Tang for ten years and met Jianzhen in 742. They pleaded with Jianzhen to travel to Japan for the transmission of precepts. They had been searching for the proper Vinaya master to bring to Japan for many years. As I have argued in the introduction, the establishment of the Vinaya school as an event took place sometime after the efforts of Yuanzhao in the Northern Song. Japan's case is in similar logic, where the "reconstruction" of the history of the Vinaya school is largely an attempt to transform the Vinaya school from a division of subject within the monastery into a religious group(s) with shared focus on the Vinaya. Jianzhen is the linking figure who brought the teaching of the Vinaya from the continent to the land of Japan. Thus, retelling the narrative of Jianzhen is an effective way to rebuild the shared history and dharma lineage.



Illustration 1.4: The *Pañcavarṣika* Gathering in Mt. Wutai. *Tōseiden*, scroll one, unit 2.

The second unit of scroll one depicts an everyday scene in a Chinese monastery. Even though the two Japanese masters only appear later in the text, the painter made free to show their debut earlier in the picture. Their black robes distinguish them from the rest of the monastics, and they walk into the monastic life as witnesses on the lower frame of the picture. To the right, two monks are accepting robes from a large group of laypersons, both men and women. In the center, monks are distributing received robes among themselves. Upon examining the robes held in the monks' hands, we see three kinds of robes, representing *saṃghāṭī, uttarā saṃghāṭī, and antarvāsaka*,[85] which are prescribed in the Vinaya and suggested by different colors and patterns.

The scene introducing Japanese inviters is not random. Previous scholars identify this scene as a "nondiscriminatory assembly" (Chi. *wuzhe dahui* 無遮大會, Skt.

[85] The Chinese transliterations of the three robes are *sengjiali* 僧伽梨, *yuduoluoseng* 郁多羅僧, *antuohui* 安陀會.

pañcavarṣika) in Mt. Wutai, a fundraising assembly in which monastics accept donations from laypersons.[86] Regardless of the identification with the special fundraising gathering, I propose that the content of the scene is inspired by the description of the reception of the *kaṭhina* robe (Chi. *jiaxinayi* 迦絺那衣) after the annual summer retreat. If the Buddhist community had perfectly observed the Vinaya over the course of the three-month rainy season retreat, their spiritual power would reach its peak of the year as monastics prepared for the upcoming ghost festival. The close of the summer retreat is a special repentance ritual, called *pravāraṇā* (Chi. *zizi* 自恣), which normally takes place on the fifteenth day of July according to the lunar calendar. I should also add that monastic age is measured by the successful completion of the summer retreat and *pravāraṇā*.

On the next day after the ritual of *pravāraṇā* is performed, the *kaṭhina* robe begins to be received from the laity by Buddhist monastics. The details of the wooden box which collects the robes, the grass-like sitting mattress, and the process of distributing robes among monastics are all derived from Daoxuan and Yuanzhao's description of receiving the *kaṭhina* robe.[87] In this scene, Jianzhen is sitting somewhat unnaturally on a highchair, while all the other monks are sitting on the floor. The iconography of Jianzhen here resembles the pattern of patriarch portraits of Daoxuan and Yuanzhao of the Vinaya school imported into Japan, as preserved in Sennyūji and Saidaiji. The painter was so faithful to the patriarch portraits to the extent that he did not forget to add a pair of shoes under the high chair, while the other monks perhaps did not wear shoes when sitting on the mattress. Therefore, the creation of *Tōseiden* not only show a blending of influences from Song-Yuan painting and indigenous style, but it more

[86] Kameda Tsutomu, "Tōseiden emaki ni tsuite 東征伝絵巻について," in *Tōseiden emaki* (Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten, 1964), 3-18.

[87] See section of *Xingshichao* and *Zichiji*, pravāraṇā skandhaka 自恣揵度.

precisely reflects the painter drew inspiration from the Vinaya commentarial tradition, and the iconography of the Vinaya school imported from the Southern Song.

As I will show in later chapters, monastic robe is never just a piece of cloth in the context of the Vinaya. First, it is important to understand that the robe takes *the central position* in the world of the Vinaya. No other single object has a similar importance in the Vinaya. Not only do a surprising number of rules bear directly on robes, but an even larger number of rules also use the robe in the example or exception of conviction. It is such a crucial and unique aspect of monastic life that discussions on monastic status, boundaries, summer retreat, circulation of possessions, and even interactions between monks and nuns and monastics and laypersons conveniently unfold around this single object. Daoxuan granted the robe protective power and went so far as to consider his discussion on banning the use of silk in robe making as the most laudable contribution in his voluminous writings on the Vinaya.[88] It is no coincidence that the Japanese monks read into this symbolizing scene a conclusion that Jianzhen's monastery was operating under the rule of the Vinaya. The Japanese monks wished to bring back to Japan the whole systematic way of handling the robe as a Vinaya-observing community.

Expedition to the East

To persuade Jianzhen to make the journal to Japan, the narrative text uses the following reasoning:

> Everyone takes the precepts and Vinaya as the correct gate to enter the (Buddhist) path. If someone cannot observe the precepts, then that person cannot be mixed in the sangha. Seeing this, [Yōei and Fushō] realized that Buddha dharma in our country is not complete and made a profound wish to invite a bright master to transmit the precepts back to our country.

[88] Daoxuan, *Lüxiang gantongzhuan* 律相感通傳, T45, no. 1898, 879c17-23.

> みな戒律をもて入道の正門とせり、もし戒行を守らざるをば、僧中にましふることなし。これをみて我国の仏法のそなはらさることをさとりて伝戒の明師を請して本国にかへらむとおもふこゝろさしふかくなりぬ。 (1-iv, *Tōseiden*)

A close reading of this rationale reveals the importance of the Vinaya for Japanese Buddhism. In responding to Yōei and Fushō's request, Jianzhen recalled Sino-Japanese connections including a poem sewn on the hem of the robes sent as offerings from Japan's Prince Nagaya 長屋皇子 (684-729).

> The mountains and rivers are different from place to place 山川異域
> The wind and moon are the same under the sky 風月同天
> Sending this [robe] to the dharma offspring 寄諸佛子
> Who will form karmic bonds in the future 共結來緣 (1-v *Tōseiden*)

This poem implies a deep karmic connection between the Buddhist communities in China and Japan which crosses geographical boundaries. The poetic notion of seeking a common sympathy roused the same sentiments on the Chinese side. Jianzhen posted the following question to his fellow monks (underline added):

> Reflecting on this, this is indeed a country with a karmic bond in terms of Buddha dharma. Now within our assembly of dharma in common, who would respond to this remote invitation and transmit the dharma?
> これおもてはかりおもうにまことに仏法有縁の国也いまわか同法の衆の中にたれかこの遠請におもむきて伝法すへきや (1-v, *Tōseiden*)

Jianzhen attributed a new importance to previous connections between China and Japan and perceived this as a call to travel to Japan for the transmission of dharma. The driving force behind his urge is based on the notion of shared "dharma in common" (Chi. *tongfa* Jpn. *dōhō* 同法). This shared tradition of Buddha dharma is the original force which motivated the group of people to start the laborious voyage. They put their personal enlightenment aside, knowing this was quite possibly a one-way journey to the other shore.

Based on the above reasoning, Jianzhen was moved to travel to Japan. The main body of *Tōseiden* is about his five failed attempts and the final success of this journey.

Compared with other hagiographical picture scrolls such as *Genjō Sanzōe* and *Ippan shoe*, *Tōseiden* is more restrained in showing miraculous events, for no Buddha or bodhisattva is revealed in anthropomorphic form. The moderate use of supernatural plots is partially due to the relatively realistic style of the root text of the hagiography. However, the author took every chance of visualizing the extraordinary spiritual power of Jianzhen. In the first unit of scroll two, during the second voyage, Jianzhen is depicted as sitting on a grass mattress floating on the ocean after being shipwrecked while everyone else is drowning. This detail corresponds to the narrative and shows how words and images verify each other to enrich the persona of the eminent monk.

Tōseiden also portrays various signs in Jianzhen's dream, such as in the seventh unit of scroll two, where three ministers— one wearing a red robe and the other two wearing green robes— bid farewell to the group. Jianzhen took this as a sign that the gods of the country had come to say goodbye to him, thus foretelling that his next endeavor would finally be a success. This scene took place on the beach in the open air; nonetheless, Jianzhen remains on his decorative chair. If we compare this portrait with the portrait of Daoxuan and Yuanzhao, imported from the Southern Song and replicated in Japan, it becomes clear that the painter appropriated it as a standard way to represent the Vinaya patriarch, and may occasionally overused it.

Contrary to the prediction in Jianzhen's dream, the fifth and most difficult trip remains. The longest trip is given the most detailed illustration. After drifting in the ocean for two weeks, the boat does not arrive in Japan but instead lands on the island of Hainan. When they finally land and rush to find for fresh water, they see a pond which is later recognized as an apparition, leading them to they believe the pond was made by deities to rescue them. From the island of Hainan, the group takes a long time to find their way back to Yangzhou. Along the way, they visit many famous monasteries and Buddhist pilgrimage sites, such as the sixth patriarch Huineng's monastery in

Shaoguan, and Huiyuan's monastery in Mt. Lushan, which makes this trip a customary pilgrimage to famous Buddhist monasteries of the Tang.



Illustration 1.5: Jianzhen's Dream of Three Officers. *Tōseiden*, scroll two, unit 7.

Three deathbed scenes are illustrated in *Tōseiden*. The first is Yōei's death during the fifth trip, then that of Jianzhen's disciple Xiangyan 祥彦, and lastly Jianzhen's own final moments which close the whole work. Yōei became severely ill on the way back to Yangzhou. In Jianzhen's hagiography, Yōei's death is only briefly mentioned; however, in the narrative texts Yōei's life is summarized, and the author gives Yōei a final speech on his resolution to have Jianzhen transmit precepts to Japan in the sixth unit of scroll three. The deathbed scene shows Yōei facing west in a seated meditation position, while Jianzhen sits facing him. They are surrounded by six fellow monks. One monk holds a hand-bell, or bowl-bell, directing the rhythm of group chanting as part of the deathbed ritual. This scene is followed by a depiction of a funeral. The coffin differs from the usual shape of a layperson's coffin, as it is a flat box carried by four monks.



Illustration 1.6: The Deathbed and Funeral of Yōei. *Tōseiden*, scroll three, unit 6.

A similar composition is used for the scene of Xiangyan's deathbed. Xiangyan passed away inside the boat during the middle of the night, and Jianzhen only had time to recite the name of the Buddha once for him. The composition of the encounters between characters reveals the relationship between master and disciple. As we have discussed, on Jianzhen's deathbed he faces west alone, as he is the master of the Buddhist community.



Illustration 1.7: Jianzhen's Deathbed. *Tōseiden*, scroll five, last scene.

Conferral of the Precepts

Jianzhen's central identity and highpoint of monkhood is that of a Vinaya master who confer precepts. It is recorded that Jianzhen conferred precepts to approximately 40,000 monastics and laypersons. Jianzhen brought to Japan all three branches of the commentarial tradition of the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* in China, including Nanshan, branch, Xiangbu branch and Dongta branch. However, Jianzhen prioritized Daoxuan's interpretation over other commentators.

In the second unit of scroll three, the travelers suffer from a shortage of fresh water for many days. However, Yōei is not worried since he has a dream in which two officers ask him to confer precepts and then provide milky water in return. In reality, a timely rain saves the group from thirst. The text in this unit differs from the hagiography in one minor but revealing detail. In *Tōseiden*, the officer in Yōei's dream asks him for "precepts and repentance," while in the hagiography only precepts are mentioned.

Since these are the precepts for a layperson, the term "precepts" can only refer to either five precepts or bodhisattva precepts. As only the bodhisattva precepts ritual contains elements of repentance, this indicates bodhisattva precepts. This supplementary detail demonstrates the author's striking familiarity with bodhisattva conferral ritual.

On the next day of the crisis, in the third unit, the group sees "four white fishes" appear around their boat, leading them to land safely in a place with fresh water.[89] As I mentioned in the introduction, the ritual of full ordination is called "the four-ascertainment ritual," and ascertainment is literarily translated in Chinese using the character *bai* 白. The character means both "to speak" as a verb and the color of white as a noun. This detail of the four white fishes symbolizing the four-ascertainment ritual is a delicate pun only accessible in Chinese characters and through knowledge of the Vinaya. Through the addition of the four miraculous white fishes, the protective power of full ordination is visualized in an implicit manner. The creators of *Tōseiden* keenly captured this important detail in the biography and visualized it accordingly.

In the scene of his departure on the sixth trip, Jianzhen conducts the final conferral ritual upon twenty-four novice monks on the boat to Japan. The location of the conferral ritual is not meaningless; to take precepts on a boat is recommended in the *Shoujie yuanji pian* 受戒緣集篇 (Chapter on Summary of Conditions for Taking the Precepts) of *Xingshichao*.

> Chinese masters, in conducting the conferral ritual of precepts, show great respect. Therefore, in hagiographies, there are many cases of the ritual being conducted in a boat on a river. People ask why. It is said that setting the boundaries rarely follows the rule. There is danger of violation of the rule by outsiders [by their entering the inner boundary] which results in failure of the conferral ritual. Other rituals can be re-conducted, and the failure is not severe. As for the full ordination ritual, it is intended for the prosperity of the Buddha seed and to become the field of merit for the world. It should not be taken as of little account.

[89] This detail is also mentioned in the biography of Situo, in *Enryaku sōroku* 延暦僧録 in Sōshō 宗性 Nihon kōsōden yōmonshō 日本高僧伝要文抄, BZ101, 67.

中國諸師。行事受戒。大有尊重。故傳中。凡有受者。多駕船江中作法。人問其故。答云。結界如法者少。恐別眾非法不成受戒。餘事容可再造。不成無多過失。夫欲紹隆佛種。為世福田者。謂受具戒。不宜輕脫。[90]

The major concern here is that to perform a full ordination one must set the boundary (Chi. *jiejie* 結界, Skt. *sīmā*) perfectly, in the sense that the outer and inner boundaries must maintain complete purity during the ritual. One small accident of pollution would nullify the result. To take the *prātimokṣa* precepts on a boat is an exercise of extra caution to gain better control over purity within the two boundaries. Specifically, the outer boundary is set as the natural boundary of the river, and the inner boundary is the boat. In such a way enough space between the two boundaries is created and an unwanted person cannot cross the boundary by accident. We will revisit this method of ordination in the third chapter as Yuanzhao tries to revive this method applauded by Daoxuan, but meets strong resistance from his opponents, eventually leading to a lawsuit.



[90] Daoxuan, *Xingshichao*, T40, no. 1804, 24c18-23.

Illustration 1.8: The Conferral of Bodhisattva Precepts in Tōdaiji. *Tōseiden*, scroll five, unit 4.

As mentioned previously, the fifth scroll contains pictures without accompanying narrative texts. Before establishing Tōshōdaiji, Jianzhen's activity was centered around Tōdaiji. In the center of the scroll is the Vairocara Buddha hall of Tōdaiji, in front of which Jianzhen built a temporary ordination platform. Jianzhen conferred bodhisattva precepts upon the imperial family and the *prātimokṣa* precepts upon Buddhist monastics. However, in the picture there is no visible ordination platform; instead, we find a statue of two Buddhas seated side by side inside the jeweled stūpa, also called the double-Buddha (unit 4, scroll 5, see illustration 1.8). A reconstruction of the jeweled stūpa is still preserved in Kaidan'in 戒壇院 in present-day Tōdaiji. The double-buddha statue refers to Śākyamuni Buddha and Prabhūtaratna (Abundant Jewels) Buddha's preaching in the eleventh chapter, "The Appearance of the Jeweled Stūpa" in the *Lotus Sūtra*. Donald Lopez and Jacqueline Stone consider this chapter the most visually dramatic moment and the source of inspiration for esoteric exegesis in the *Lotus Sūtra*.[91] Because of the central placement of the two Buddhas seated side by side in the *Lotus Sūtra*, scholars such as Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定 have argued for Jianzhen's link with the doctrine of Tiantai, while Tokuda Myōhon argued for Jianzhen's connection with Daoxuan's teaching.[92] Recently, Ōtani Yuka 大谷由香 revisited this issue, making the important connection with Daoxuan's plan for the ordination platform and providing comprehensive archaeological evidence in East Asian Buddhist history for

[91] Donald S. Lopez Jr. and Jacqueline I. Stone. *Two Buddhas Seated Side by Side: A Guide to the Lotus Sūtra* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 136-148.

[92] See Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定. "Nanto kaidanrun" 南都戒壇論. In *Nihon Bukkyo no kenkyū* 日本仏教の研究(Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1943), 370; Tokuda Myōhon. "Ganjin washo no risshū" 鑑真和上の律宗. In *Nanto Bukkyō* 南都仏教. 1970.

the installation of jeweled stūpa on the ordination platform.[93] While the iconography is certainly related to the Lotus, its link with Daoxuan's plan for the ordination platform may better explain why it appeared in the conferral scene. Daoxuan describes the jeweled stūpa appeared in the ordination platform in the following passage:

> This jeweled stūpa again ascends from the ground, arrives at the ordination platform and circles the pathway of the platform. The heavenly music from within the stūpa expresses equanimity and great compassion, praising the great merit of observing the precepts. Inside this jeweled stūpa there are statues of Śākyamuni Buddha and Prabhūtaratna Buddha, preaching the *Lotus sūtra*.
>
> 是珠塔者又從地出飛。至壇所遶壇行道。塔中天樂皆說諸平等大悲。歎譽持戒諸大功德。此珠塔中有釋迦多寶二像。說法華經。[94]

Daoxuan envisioned the presence of the special jeweled stūpa on the ordination platform. He recounted how Śākyamuni Buddha drafted the Vinaya in the jeweled stūpa while learning from Prabhūtaratna Buddha. For him, "the ordination platform is the Buddha stūpa, where relics are preserved," meaning that the form and function of the platform is not to be differentiated from a stūpa.[95] In the context of the Tōdaiji ordination, to illustrate the double Buddha statue inside the jeweled stūpa is an indirect and economical reference to the location of the ordination platform. It conveniently allows the painter to place the emperor inside the building rather than exposing him to the open air. Like many statues of the Buddha in *Tōseiden*, the presence of the emperor at the ordination is suggested by showing only the lower part of his body, while the upper body is covered conveniently by the roof. The treatment of the sacred object and figure as partially invisible to the audience is a staple technique in picture scrolls.

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[93] Ōtani Yuka 大谷由香, "Tōdaiji Kaidan no tō" 東大寺戒壇の塔. In *Tōdaiji no sisō bunka* 東大寺の思想と文化 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2018), 95-131.

[94] Daoxuan, *Zhongtianzhu sheweiguo zhihuansi tujing* 中天竺舍衛國祇洹寺圖經, T45, no. 1899, 888b13-16.

[95] Daoxuan, "今據文求相，不言戒壇，然此戒壇即佛塔也，以安舍利。" in *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing* 關中創立戒壇圖經, T45, no. 1892, 809b6-8.

Daoxuan certainly did not invent the jeweled stūpa in the ordination ritual. Ishida Mizumaro further argues that installation of the jeweled stūpa on the ordination platform has been practiced in the conferral ritual of bodhisattva precepts in China since the fourth century.[96] Daoxuan further clarifies the etymology of stūpa: "in the sūtra, it is called *toupo* or *sudubo* etc. According to the language of Tang, it is *fangfen* (square tomb), which means grave. 經中或名偷婆窣堵波等。依如唐言方墳。塚也。"[97] Daoxuan's equating of the ordination platform, stūpa, with the tomb of the Buddha (which is essentially for the preservation of Buddha's relics) has inspired the practice of precepts revivalists in Kamakura. I will show in the last chapter that Eison's tomb in Saidaiji is intentionally constructed in the form of an ordination platform, reinforcing this connection.

Upon Jianzhen's conferral of precepts in Japan is not smooth as one might like to believe. Monks in Japan would hardly have considered that they were devoid of precepts, otherwise we would face the absurd conclusion that there were no real Buddhist monastics before Jianzhen's arrival. In any case, to convert to Jianzhen's way of receiving precepts would mean that Japanese monastics had to abandon their old precepts. We do not have material from this period to explain what the attitudes towards this change were, although we may conclude that there were difficulties, since Jianzhen later left Tōdaiji and established Tōshōdaiji, a private monastery. Yet there is no record of direct conflict from the Heian period. The only related passage is found in Fushō's biography, which records the debate between Kenkei 賢璟 (714-79) and Jianzhen's group regarding permission for self-ordination. In the debate, Kenkei cites *Zhancha shan'e yebaojing* 占察察善惡業報經 (T17, no. 0839) to prove the legitimacy of

[96] Ishida Mizumaro, *Ganjin*, 203-210.

[97] Daoxuan, T45, no. 1899, 809b11-13.

self-ordination. [Situo 思托] rejects Kenkei by citing Chapter 53 of YŚ, that "all other precepts allow self-ordination, except for the precepts of the śrāvaka which do not allow self-ordination. 諸戒容自誓受。唯聲聞律儀不容自受."[98] In Situo's account of the debate, Kenkei is convinced and receives full ordination from Jianzhen.

However, an intriguing change takes place in the retelling of this narrative by Gyōnen. Kenkei's position is appropriated by Gyōnen to support his own position that self-ordination can replace the full ordination of the *prātimokṣa*. Gyōnen argues:

> Kenkei said that, before master Ganjin (Jianzhen), bhikṣus all followed the *Yogācārabhūmi-Śāstra* and practiced the self-ordination ritual of the three categories of pure precepts. As for receiving the precepts from another, this is also about receiving the three categories of pure precepts, by which the seven-fold assembly is established. The great master Kenkei, while debating with the Vinaya master Shitaku (Situo) in the Vimalakīrti hall, proved this meaning. Namely, the bhikṣu who received the *tsuju* would receive the full ordination precepts.
>
> 賢璟言。鑒真和尚已前。諸僧皆依瑜伽行三聚淨戒自誓作法。其從他受亦受三聚成七衆戒。賢璟大德於維摩堂與思託律師論難之時。即立此義。成立通受比丘得具足戒之義。[99]

This is a critical passage for understanding the differences between Jianzhen's new conferral ritual and the already existing method. What needs clarification is the concept of *tsuju* (通受, comprehensive conferral), and the corresponding *betsuju* (別受, separate conferral). *Tsuju* refers to the conferral of the *trividhāni śīlāni* (three categories of pure precepts), while *betsuju* refers exclusively to the *prātimokṣa* precepts, which are sevenfold, depending on the identity of the receiver. In the YŚ tradition, the first category of *saṃvara-śīla* (Chi. *shelüyijie* 攝律儀戒, precepts for the maintenance of restraint), identified as *prātimokṣa* precepts, requires a separate ritual with masters of ceremony and instruction. Daoxuan came to the decisive conclusion that "the first category (of three categories of pure precepts) in the precepts of the Vinaya is no

[98] *Enryaku sōroku* 延暦僧録 in Sōshō 宗性 *Nihon kōsōden yōmonshō* 日本高僧伝要文抄, BZ101, 69.

[99] Gyōnen, "*Sangoku buppō denzū engi* 三国仏法伝通縁起," BZ, vol.101, 122a.

different from the (precepts of) the śrāvakas. 律儀一戒。不異声聞。”[100] The compromising designation of the Vinaya as one category under the Mahāyāna precepts by Daoxuan can certainly be used to support a separate full ordination within the Mahāyāna group, since it is part of the Mahāyāna precepts. However, this position can potentially support Gyōnen's argument as well: given that full ordination is part of the Mahāyāna precepts, and given that the Mahāyāna precepts allow self-ordination, it is logically correct to assume that the one can receive full ordination by means of self-ordination. This ambiguity in Daoxuan's theory will haunt Vinaya masters for generations to come. I will discuss a transformation of this debate in Chapter 8.

Returning to Jianzhen; the realistic concern was that before Jianzhen's arrival, Buddhist monastics in Japan were ordained in front of the statue of the Buddha. The question was whether the ordained monastics should abandon their old precepts and retake them from the Jianzhen group. Daoxuan's compromising approach, combining a *prātimokṣa* ordination from a monastic and *trividhāni śīlāni* from the Buddha, posited obscurity in the very definition of monastic ordination. From Kenkei's perspective, Japanese monks were perfectly correct in conducting self-ordination of the *trividhāni śīlāni* before Jianzhen's arrival. However, based on the teaching of the Nanshan Vinaya School, Situo insisted on the importance of a separate *prātimokṣa* ordination. As I have shown previously, Jianzhen's own ordination procedure in a four-fold graduate sequence exemplifies the revivalist's attitude, centered around Eison.

Historically, the result of the debate between Kenkei and Situo ended in Kenkei's recognition of the new approach, and more than eighty previously ordained monks and nuns abandoned their old precepts and received renewed precepts from Jianzhen. By conferring precepts to both monastics and laypersons, Jianzhen received the official

[100] Daoxuan, *Xingshichao*, T40, no. 1804, 149b8.

title of “The Master of Transmitting the Lamp” (Jpn. *dentō daishi* 伝燈大師) from the emperor. Even though Jianzhen had to leave Tōdaiji, the center of power, after three years; and established Tōshōdaiji to stabilize his method of ordination for Japanese Buddhists, *Tōseiden* was created to reconfirm Jianzhen’s approach and the legacy of Tōshōdaiji.

Theoretically, the tension hinges on the treatment of the internal inconsistency between the two vehicles, and this tension is never completely resolved. In general, two models are at play throughout East Asian Buddhist history. One is a Mahayanist model based on the superiority of Mahāyāna Buddhism over any so-called Hīnayāna elements; the other is the compromising model represented by Daoxuan’s teaching, which tends to maintain a balance between the two vehicles. By recognizing the superiority of *trividhāni śīlāni*, one may end up placing the *prātimokṣa* precepts in a negligible or merely ritualistic position. The extreme version of this model is the complete disregard of *prātimokṣa* precepts by Japanese in the Tendai tradition after Saichō. This position is only made possible by replacing the *trividhāni śīlāni* with bodhisattva precepts as illustrated in *Fanwangjing* 梵網經, a Chinese Buddhist apocryphon based on texts such as *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and *Upāsakaśīlasūtra*. This runs the risk of creating a monastic community which is undifferentiated from laypersons.

The second approach is eclectic in nature; carving a specific space for *prātimokṣa* precepts within the overarching framework of *trividhāni śīlāni*. This conveniently preserves the identity of monastics and the authority of the Vinaya. In this approach, the Vinaya remains essential in ordination ritual and serves as the guide for monastic everyday life. The major challenge is to draw a fine line regarding the conflicts between the two vehicles, and the inconsistency among Vinaya texts. As a result, the greatest attention in the commentary is often given to issues such as the handling of *pārājika* (grave offence), the conditions of self-ordination, and the method of repentance ritual.

Within the second approach, one of the difficulties is then whether self-ordination of the *prātimokṣa* precepts is permitted. In the above citation, Kenkei used YŚ to defend the legitimacy of self-ordination. This is obviously insufficient, for the definition of the term "*zishi*" 自誓 in YŚ hardly ever means self-ordination without a preceptor, and YŚ emphasized repeatedly that the precepts must be received from someone else.[101] Kenkei also resorted to *Zhancha shan'e yebao jing* to support self-ordination of the *prātimokṣa* precepts, but was refuted by Fushō based on Chapter 53 of YŚ.[102] We will see that in the later revival movement in Japan, this issue was brought up again, and Japanese monks creatively appropriated the teaching of the Yogācāra school, particularly from Kuiji's 窺基 (632-682) writing, to fit their own need to revive the tradition.

Religion and Art

I end this chapter by a reflection on Buddhist art as a primary source of Buddhist studies. Thanks to generations of scholarly efforts, art and religion have become a fruitful and intentional field which attracts researchers from related disciplines.[103]

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[101] To cite just one example in YŚ, the term "*zishi*" means to make a vow by oneself, not self-ordination. What is the definition of the statues required for receiving teaching? It means one has previously received the *prātimokṣa* precepts by the ritual of four- ascertainment. When receiving full ordination from a preceptor one receives the partial essence. Again, from *ācārya* and *karma-vāc-ācārya* one receives the rest of the *prātimokṣa* precepts, in which the 250 rules are preached in general. All these are obtained by making a vow to learn everything that should be learned. 云何名為受學學處。謂於先受別解脫戒白四羯磨。受具戒時從戒師所得聞少分學處體性。復從親教軌範師處。得聞所餘別解脫經。總略宣說過於二百五十學處。皆自誓言一切當學。T30, no. 1579, 403a5-10.

[102] The biography of Fushō, originally found in Situo's 思托 *Enryaku sōroku* 延暦僧録 is copied in *Nihon kōsōden yōmonshō* 日本高僧伝要文抄, BZ101. 68-69.

[103] For previous representative studies of art and religion, see Gerardus van der Leeuw, *Sacred and Profane Beauty: The Holy in Art*, David E. Green, trans. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963); Margaret R. Miles, *Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985); Richard H. Davis, *Lives of Indian Images* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Albert C. Moore, *Arts in the Religions of the Pacific: Symbols of Life* (London: Pinter, 1995); Jules David Prown, *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 2001), and Crispin Paine, ed. *Godly Things: Museums, Objects and Religion* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000).

David Morgan deconstructs both the approach of 1) taking art as one aspect of religion, and 2) conceiving of religion as one dimension in the explanation of artifact; by pointing out that the very concept of putting together the two seemingly self-contained terms "art" and "religion" is a modern consciousness unheard of before the eighteenth century. Reacting to the "spiritualized response to art" in art history, he calls researchers to be more cautious and reflective on the "ideological freight" the field carries.[104] Furthermore, focusing on *Tōseiden* as the opening subject of this current research as well as intentionally incorporating artifacts as an essential cultural product of Buddhist communities reflects the latest trend emphasizing material culture and art, especially in scrutinizing the religious meaning of medieval artifacts, beyond the interpretation of textual tradition in religious studies.

The artifact *Tōseiden* has been favored as a national treasure by Japanese museum exhibitions, public speeches, and promotion of Tōshōdaiji in recent years. Many details and episodes in *Tōseiden* can be identified as representing the holy, the supernatural, or the transcendent, defining the theme of the work as religious in nature. At the same time, the production, acceptance, transmission, and primary function of the artifact by Buddhist devotees in Buddhist communities can be interpreted as a religious devotional act. However, I do not want to perceive *Tōseiden*, or any religious artifact for this matter, merely as the passive means to achieve a religious goal, or as a religious artifact which gained autonomy by being aesthetically valuable. As religious art, *Tōseiden*'s meaning transcends the domains of iconography, style, and ideological analysis. I see it more precisely as an active creation of visual apparatus, drawing on textual and visual sources exceeding the commonly recognized range. Even though or exactly because the sources are invisible to most of its audience, and the process of its

[104] David Morgan, "Toward a Modern Historiography of Art and Religion." In *Reluctant Partners: Art and Religion in Dialogue*, Ena Giurescu Heller, ed. (New York: Gallery at the American Bible Society, 2004), 16-47.

creation is hidden behind the theme, it becomes extremely effective and powerful in shaping the collective memory of a religious group.

In this reshaped discourse mediated in visual form, for the collective memory to be held as one's own, the picture scroll must also be part of the lived experience of religious life. The belief and identity evoked by the picture scroll are actively built on the historical discourse which goes hand in hand with practice. The long history of *Tōseiden*, from its commission by Ninshō and production by Buddhist devotees, to its preservation in Tōshōdaiji, and even its modern appreciation, speaks to how the artifact has been constructively and actively operating in the ongoing daily life of the religious community. I agree with Morgan that the medium—whether it be the picture scroll itself containing images and words, or the looking, studying, presenting, and preserving of the scroll by engaged people— is where belief happens.[105]

Tōseiden, like many other objects that appear in this research, is best understood as part of the everyday life and quotidian practices of a Buddhist monastery. In the next chapter I will examine the practices surrounding the printing culture of the Vinaya texts. These printed texts, produced in the Song due to advancing technology, carry the teachings and guidance of the Vinaya teaching. However, the printed texts are far more than empty carriers of ideas, and the transmission of knowledge is not only about the spread of ideas. The movement of objects entails a whole set of practice-centered discourses. The involved processes of campaign, production, transportation, replication, and even participation in the monastic ritual space are equally important religious practices. They provide an immense opportunity to configure the agents, practices, conceptualities, and institutions that put these printed texts to work.

[105] David Morgan, *The Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 8.

Chapter Two
Two Vinaya Masters Living in the Canon

As touched upon in the first chapter, the making of *Tōseiden* reflects the accessibility of Vinaya-related ritual manuals and commentaries to Kamakura revivalists. This chapter investigates the circulation and transmission of the Vinaya related texts -primarily in the form of xylography - from the Southern Song to Kamakura Japan. I pay particular attention to the medium, for it cannot be over-emphasized that the transmission of Buddhism has entered a new phase in the era of technological development, a major shift from manuscript-based textual culture to the dominance of woodblock printing culture. The transmission and perseverance of texts showcases relationships between the production of texts and the formation of institutional identity. While texts were read, taught, discussed, carried, copied, and even performed in ritual in Buddhist communities, they are simultaneously the basis for the revival of the Vinaya in China and Japan. The rediscovery of and reconnection with the commentarial tradition of the Vinaya has fueled a reform of the way people perceive and organize monastic life.

A typical revivalist discourse is that Vinaya-related texts were destroyed and lost, therefore efforts are made to collect scattered texts or to travel to the continent to acquire these texts. However, this kind of discourse cannot be taken at face value. For instance, even before Jianzhen's arrival in Japan, Japan had accumulated various texts about the Vinaya.[106] The transmission of Vinaya texts through time and space is never a project that starts from scratch, nor did it only concern content. Yuanzhao's compilation of a catalog of Daoxuan's works is a project which simultaneously claims legitimacy and constructs a continued lineage. Similarly, Kamakura Vinaya commentators made references to the commentarial tradition's crossing of the

[106] Ishida Mizumaro, *Ganjin*, 1973, 38-42.

boundaries of time and space. The repeated acquisition of authoritative Vinaya commentaries by multiple monasteries carries a symbolic meaning of establishing legitimacy through the mediacy of xylographical copies. When Japanese monks landed in the Song, almost three hundred years after Jianzhen, the textual tradition of the Vinaya teaching had greatly changed. What they brought back to Japan reflects the updated interpretation of the Vinaya teaching in woodblock printing. These cultural products testified to the Vinaya's institutional existence in the Southern Song in the hands of Yuanzhao's disciples, who made every effort to reestablish a continuous tradition from the Tang to the Southern Song.

The Idea of Canonization in Chinese Buddhism

In East Asian Buddhist history, the maturity of a doctrine is often marked by its canonization, affiliated with sanctification by certain Buddhist communities and the approval of the imperial court. The canonization of works written by Chinese masters shows the recognition of localized works and the flexibility of the canon itself. As Paul Harrison notes, there is no singular definitive Buddhist canon, but the canon is produced based on a general agreement on the centrality of the notion of *Buddhavacana* (word of the Buddha). He also pointed out that the statement "All that the Buddha has said is well said" is turned around in Buddhist history: Whatever is well said (i.e., true) is the word of the Buddha.[107] Therefore words leading to liberation can be accepted into the canon by this principle. Although the main contents of the Chinese Buddhist canon are translated Buddhist works from India and Central Asia, the canon was not closed to works written in Chinese even from the very beginning. The process of inclusion can be slow and rigidly controlled but is often passed down to later

[107] Paul Harrison, "Canon" in *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, ed. Robert E. Buswell Jr. (New York: Macmillan Reference, 2004), Vol. 1. 111-115.

versions of the canon. The catalog of canons in Liao-Jin-Song reflects a general continuity with the catalog from the Tang dynasty. However, it is also the critical period where works written in Chinese from various branches of Chinese Buddhism were included, such as Tiantai, Chan and the Vinaya school. In this sense, the very fact that the canon in Liao-Jin-Song is neither wide open nor statically closed makes it possible and meaningful to discuss changes.

Rejecting the equation of "Pali Canon= Early Buddhism," Steven Collins argued that the "Pali canon…should be seen as the product of that school (Theravada school)."[108] If scholars set their eyes too fixedly on historical records as indicating actual changes in the canon, there is a danger of falling into the trap warned of by Collins. As we shall see in this chapter, sometimes narratives about canonization can serve the purpose of promoting a specific school in Buddhism and thus should be read as events in the production of that school. Without suggesting that "entering the canon"(Chi. *ruzang* 入藏) of the Vinaya school is purely symbolic or fictional, one may keep a vigilant eye and carefully and patiently unravel the historical entanglements. In this dissertation, I save the term canonization exclusively to refer to the process described in the Kaibao Canon, the first woodblock printed Buddhist Canon in Chinese Buddhist history, and a variety of canons after Kaibao Canon. I intentionally distinguish the creation of Buddhist catalogs such as *Lidai sanbaoji* 歷代三寶記 from the printing of canon, as they are based on different materiality.

What merits our full attention is that the production of Buddhist textual collections experienced an internal transition in history from the long tradition of canon making in manuscript to xylography. The earliest Buddhist texts in China were kept as manuscript on paper or silk. From the Six Dynasties to the Tang, there has been a tradition of

[108] Steven Collins, "On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon." In *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1990, Vol.15, 89-126.

institutionalized production of collections of Buddhist texts in manuscript, as discovered in the Dunhuang collection. Along with the invention of xylography, the makers of the Buddhist canon adopted advanced woodblock print technology from the 10th century of Northern Song; however, the manuscript tradition did not immediately die out. According to Chikusa Masaaki's 竺沙雅章 research, the Khitan Canon inherited the manuscript tradition of the Tang in the north, which differs from the Song canon originating in the west.[109] For the concerns of this chapter, I only focus on the xylotherapy system of the Buddhist canon produced in the Song and save the discussion on Khitan Vinaya texts in the fifth chapter.

In his study of the Chinese Buddhist Canon, Wu Jiang argues that by sponsoring Buddhist canon printing, the state showed religious devotion, association with the dharma, efforts to seek religious identity, and extension of political power into the religious realm. As a result, the choice of works, including new texts, became subject to state approval.[110] Yet, it is equally true to say that if the state plays the role of approver, there must be an initiator who suggests changes in the canon. Changes in the religious realm are often reflected in both the changes and the continuities of canon. The creation of printed canons under imperial patronage in the Liao-Jin-Song period was promoted to the level of a national competition, but one should not forget some editions of the canon and printing of single works were made available by private donation. Thanks to the preserved works in Japan, one can gather the names of donors. The fervor of canon making and acquisition in this period should also be perceived as the product of the revival of Buddhism after a period of political and military chaos. The production and circulation of Buddhist canon(s) represented the joint effort of the

[109] Chikusa Masaaki 竺沙雅章, *Sō Gen Bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū* 宋元佛教文化史研究 (Tōkyō: Kyūko Shoin, 2000), 289-290.

[110] Wu Jiang, and Lucille Chia. *Spreading Buddha's Word in East Asia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 5-7.

sangha, royal family, and Buddhist community to claim legitimation and piety with the help of printing technology.

After the printing project of the Buddhist canon had been continually sponsored by emperors of the Song, a successful canonization became symbolic of official recognition of a Buddhist school. Buddhist history witnessed the approval of canonization of Tiantai doctrine in 1026 and its incorporation into the canon in 1080.[111] For more than fifty years, the canonized Tiantai doctrine did not circulate with the rest of the texts of the Kaibao Canon. There is a time delay from approval to material production as a part of the canon. Assumably, canonization of the classics of Daoxuan would also first require the approval of the imperial court, and then be reiterated in the production of the physical canon. When and how did *The Great Three Works of the Nanshan Vinaya School*[112] (hereafter *The Great Three Works*) gain approval and begin to be canonized? A short answer can be gleaned from historical records, and a long answer may involve the complex history of production of canon in the Song, as well as the history of communication between Chinese and Japanese Buddhists during the 13th century. For the short answer, a succinct entry is found in *Fozu tongji*:

> [Under the reign of] Emperor Li, Vinaya master (Wen) Si from Mingqing Monastery petitioned to commend the Vinaya texts of Nanshan (Daoxuan) and Master Dazhi (Yuanzhao) for entrance into the canon. The Emperor approved this allowance.
>
> 理宗。明慶思律師奏南山大智律文乞入藏制可。[113]

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[111] See Fang Guangchang 方廣錩, "Tiantai jiaodian ruzangkao 天台教典入藏考." In *Zangwang fojiao wenxian* 藏外佛教文献, no. 2: 1998, 397-413.

[112] "The Great Three Works of the Nanshan School" refers to Daoxuan's three major commentaries on the Vinaya. In the strictest sense, it refers to *Sifenlü shanfan buque xingshichao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔, *Sifenlü hanzhu jiebenshu* 四分律含注戒本疏, and *Sifenlü shanbu suiji jiemo* 四分律刪補隨機羯磨疏. The coin of the term of "The Great Three Works" might be inspired by Zhiyi's three major commentaries on the Lotus sūtra, retrieved from Japan in early Song. Yuanzhao's sub-commentaries is comparable to Zhanran's 湛然 composing of sub-commentaries on Zhiyi's work. Yuanzhao's sub-commentaries on the above three are *Zichiji* 資持記, *Xingzongji* 行宗記, and *Jiyuanji* 濟源記 are often appear bound with Daoxuan's original three commentaries. The term appeared in Yuanzhao's own anthology (X59, no. 1105, p. 658b12-13) and should be a fixed expression by the Northern Song.

[113] Zhipan*, Fozu tongji*, T49, no. 2035, Vol. 53, 467, b17-18.

Taking this record at face value, one may declare that *The Great Three Works* (including Daoxuan's original commentaries and Yuanzhao's sub-commentaries) were canonized during the reign of Emperor Lizong 理宗 (1205-1264, reign 1224-1264) and with the authorization of the emperor. One need only double check this with the existing catalogs of the Buddhist canon to locate which canon may represent the canonization of *The Great Three Works*. However, it turns out that such a confirmation is not readily available, and to explain it calls for thorough reflection on the process and nature of the production of canon in the Song.

The Puzzling Canonization of Daoxuan and Yuanzhao

Counterintuitively, a great portion of Daoxuan's works on the Vinaya and precepts were not included in the Buddhist catalog before the Song. The exception is a catalog compiled by Daoxuan himself—*Datang neiian lu* 大唐內典錄 (*Great Tang Record of Buddhist Scriptures*), in which Daoxuan included eighteen of his works including the majority of the works on the Vinaya and precepts, such as *The Great Three Works* and five shorter introductory pieces on precepts.[114] The exclusion of texts in even Daoxuan's own catalog may explain the loss of commentary such as *Sifenlü shi pini yichao* 四分律拾毗尼義鈔 in the Tang dynasty and its later retrieval from Silla.[115] Even though Daoxuan strove to include a more or less complete list of Vinaya commentaries in the catalog, his selection was tremendously cut down by Zhisheng 智昇, who showed much

[114] See *Datang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄, T55, no. 2149, 282, a14-b4.

[115] Yuanzhao, "Produced in the first year of Zhenguan, transmitted to Korea and became extinguished here. In the fourth year of Dazhong, [it was] retrieved from their country. Originally contained three fascicles. At present, [I] have acquired the first and second fascicles. The third fascicle is not seen. Recently, people divided the second fascicle to create a third fascicle. The number is met; however, the original structure is lost. Now I take the [first] two fascicles to make a print in four fascicles. 貞觀元年製。後流新羅。此方絕本。至大中四年。彼國附還。元有三卷。今始獲上中二卷。未見下卷。近人分中為下。且成上數。失其本矣。今以兩卷。開為四卷。" "*Nanshan lüshi zhuanjilu* 南山律師撰集錄," in *Zhiyuan yibian* 芝園遺編. X59, no. 1104, 648c14-17.

more strict control of the canonization of Chinese works in his *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (*Record of Buddhist Teachings Compiled During the Kaiyuan Era*). The only exception in Daoxuan's Vinaya works is *Sifenlü shanbu suiji jiemo* 四分律刪補隨機羯磨. This work is a collection of rituals in the *Sifenlü*, and thus not essentially a work written by the Chinese. When Zhisheng's catalog became the main reference for later editions of the canon, starting from the Song canons, it is no surprise that Daoxuan's Vinaya works were excluded almost completely from the canon.

It was Yuanzhao who made the effort to re-collect and compile Daoxuan's work, which he named *Nanshan lüshi zhuanji lu* 南山律師撰集錄.[116] According to Yuanzhao, about half of Daoxuan's works had already been lost by his time. In this catalog, most of Daoxuan's works on monasticism were in circulation in private monastery libraries and not found in the "canon." Yuanzhao's catalog was written during the summer retreat in 1078, the same year in which Emperor Huizong changed the reign title to Yuanfeng. Since the Chongning Canon 崇寧藏 was not in print until 1080, the canon that Yuanzhao referred to must still be the Kaibao Canon 開寶藏. First printed in 983, the Kaibao Canon underwent three major revisions, during which texts were constantly added.[117] The revision closest to Yuanzhao was the one completed in the reign of Xining in 1071. In comparing Yuanzhao's list with the catalog of the Kaibao Canon, only one minor inconsistency is found.[118] Thus, it is safe to infer that Yuanzhao was using the Kaibao Canon, a continuation of Zhisheng's catalog regarding Daoxuan's Vinaya works as his reference.

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[116] Yuanzhao, *Zhiyuanyibian* 芝園遺編, Vol3, X59, no. 1104.

[117] Tong Wei 童瑋, *Ershi'er zhong dazangjing tongjian* 二十二種大藏經通檢 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1997.), 9.

[118] The inconsistency is that in the Kaibao Canon *Zhujing yaoji* 諸經要集 was attributed to Xuanhui 玄惲 from Ximing Monastery 西明寺 in Changan. Yuanzhao attributed it to Daoxuan, but in the Taishō, the work appeared to be compiled by Daoshi 道世 from the same monastery.

The state and privately sponsored projects of canon printings in the Song relevant to our inquiry involve Pilu Canon 毗盧藏 and most importantly Sixi Canon 思溪藏. From changes and continuities seen in these canons, I aim to show how canon as a phenomenon both reflected and carried on communication of religious practice in Buddhist communities in China and Japan. As for Kaibao Canon, the first Buddhist canon made in China; forty kinds of works originally written in Chinese were added including the previously mentioned Tiantai doctrine. During these revisions, nine of Daoxuan's works (mostly on Buddhist history) were included. Following the precedent of Kaibao Canon, a small but increasing number of Chinese works were put in the canon.

As shown in the previous record of *Fozu tongji*, the canonization of Daoxuan and Yuanzhao was an imperially authorized project, and the logical inference is that it should be included in the Buddhist Canon endorsed by the emperor. However, Daoxuan's works in the Buddhist canon remain consistently unchanged in the all imperially sponsored projects: Chongning canon 崇寧藏 (1080-1104), early Sixi Canon 前思溪藏 (?-1132), later Sixi Canon 後思溪藏 (?-1175), and Zhaocheng Canon 趙城藏 (1149-1173) in the Jin dynasty; as well as the privately printed Qisha Canon 磧砂藏 (1125-1234) extending to the Yuan dynasty.[119] Does this mean that Daoxuan and Yuanzhao's works were not canonized during the Southern Song period?

Examining the catalogs of canon *Shōwa Hobō Zomokuroku* 昭和法寶総目録 in *Taishō Shinshu Daizokyo* yields a single exception which is found in *Kunaishō toshorō issai kyo mokuroku* 宮内省圖書寮一切經目録 (hereafter Kunaishō catalog). *The Great Three Works* are found in the list of eighteen texts at the end of Kunaishō catalog.[120]

[119] Tong Wei, 1997,10-12. Among the catalogs available of the Song Buddhist Canon in Japan, there is no inclusion of Daoxuan's works except for what existed in Kaibao Canon.

[120] See Index I. for a complete list of the added works.

The intriguing detail is that together with Daoxuan's commentaries, Yuanzhao's works are also included in the canon. Six of Yuanzhao's works can be divided into two kinds: the first is the sub-commentaries corresponding to *The Great Three Works* of Daoxuan; the second is *kewen* 科文 (text outline) text on the work of Daoxuan.

The Kunaishō catalog is based on the Pilu Canon (printed in Kaiyuan Monastery, Fuzhou), which is the earliest canon developed in the Southern Song.[121] Constituted from parts of Chongning Canon (printed in Dongchan Monastery), Pilu Canon is remembered as the first privately printed Buddhist canon. Since the Pilu Canon was made between 1112 and 1151, and the Chongning Canon was printed between 1080 and 1114, both would be too early to include any of Yuanzhao's works. In fact, on a list with Daoxuan and Yuanzhao's works at the very end, a footnote was added which refers to a later canon— Sixi Canon 思溪藏 (printed in Yuanjue courtyard, Fabao Monastery in Huzhou during 1132-1252).[122]

The making of Sixi Canon lasted over 100 years and crossed the transitional period between the Northern Song and Southern Song. The catalog of Sixi Canon can be divided into Early Sixi Canon and Later Sixi Canon.[123] After the revision of the Later Sixi Canon during Jiaxi 嘉熙 (1237-40) and Chunyou 淳祐 (1241-52), the original woodblocks were destroyed during a war with the Yuan army in 1276. The Kunaishō

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[121] The catalog of the Pilu Canon is found in *Shōwa hōbō sōmokuroku* 昭和法寶總目錄 (Tōkyō : Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1929-1934), Vol.1, 790.

[122] Ibid.

[123] There are two available catalogs of Sixi Canon. They are entitled *Huzhou sixi yunjue chanyuan xindiao dazangjing mulu* 湖州思溪圓覺禪院新雕大藏經目錄 (Yuanjue Canon) and *Anjizhou sixi Fabao zifu chansi dazangjing mulu* 安吉州思溪法寶資福禪寺大藏經目錄 (Zifu Canon) as included in *Shōwa Hobō Zomokuroku*. According to Uesugi Tomofusa, previous studies have focused on the differences and similarities between these two catalogs. Since the Yuanjue monastery and Zifu Monastery are in fact the same institution with changed names recorded in the local gazetteer, it has been commonly agreed that the two belong to the same printing project in sequential relationship. Thus, Yuanjue Canon is considered the so-called Early Sixi Canon, and Zifu Cannon is the Later Sixi Canon. Yet, Uesugi's recent research observed that the difference in the two canons indicates more than simply a basis for reproduction and style of printing.

catalog, including *The Great Three Works* and Yuanzhao's sub-commentaries, etc. is the only canonical evidence of Vinaya school texts entering the canon.[124] However, the conundrum is that the two available Sixi Canon catalogs preserved in *Shōwa Hobō Zomokuroku* do not include any of the texts added at the end of the Kunaishō catalog. According to Shoryōbu's report on available texts in the imperial library of Japan, Nakamura Kazunori 中村一紀 speculated that these eighteen added texts were in fact standalone prints acquired from the Southern Song, rather than a part of the canon.[125]

So far, we only have half of the story told from materials in the canon. That is, except for the Kunaishō catalog made in Japan, there is no solid evidence showing *The Great Three Works* were ever canonized as recorded in *Fozu tongji*. Another piece of evidence preserved in Japan outside the canon may help complete the other half of the story. A precious colophon (Chi. *kanji* 刊記) was found in the fragments conserved in Kōsanji. Instead of appearing at the beginning or the end of the main text, this colophon is inserted at the end of the first fascicle of a standalone print of Yuanzhao's *Sifenlü hanzhu jiebenshu xingzongji* 四分律含注戒本疏行宗記 (*Xingzongji*), the sub-commentary of Yuanzhao for Daoxuan's work. It records the petition for the canonization of *The Great Three Works* of Daoxuan and Yuanzhao's corresponding commentaries during the reign of Emperor Lizong. The full text is worth citing here:

> Vinaya monk Wensi, abbot of the Imperial Mingqing Monastery. By the grace of the emperor, who had commended *The Great Three Works* and the commentaries of the Vinaya school[126], 73 fascicles in total entered the canon. At the end of Kaiqing year (1259) the woodblocks were carved once again. In the dharma talks at morning and night, [I] humbly wish longevity to the emperor and empress, eternity of their reign,

[124] If we count Daoxuan's Buddhist catalog of *Kaiyuan shijiaolu*, it can also be seen as a "returning to" the canon.

[125] Nakamura Kazunori. "Isaikyō ritsubu reikan juichishu, shiburitsu sanke hoketsu gyōjishō , shaku kongō,sanyō kabun, kongo sanyō kandeiki, kongō hannyakyō ege"『一切経律部零巻十一種』『四分律刪繫補闕行事鈔科』『釈金剛経纂要科分』『金剛経纂要刊定記』『金剛般若経会解』. In *Shoryōbu kiyō* 書陵部紀要, vol. 62, 2011, 76-88

[126] The use of title *ji* 記 in this context refers to the three sub-commentaries written by Yuanzhao which all ends with *ji* in the title.

as well as timely rain and honesty of ethos. [I] then wish Wang Lun happiness as wide as the ocean, longevity as the mountain. April 1260, Vinaya monk Wensi, abbot of the Imperial Mingqing Monastery, who humbly wrote.

御前明慶寺住持傳律僧聞思，恭蒙聖恩，敕律宗三大部并記文。共七十三卷入藏。僅於開慶巳未。洊錢諸梓。晨夕講演。仰祝今上皇帝。今上皇后。聖壽無疆。皇圖有永。雨暘時若。風俗日淳。次祈都知提舉太尉王倫。福源似海。壽筭如山者。景定元年四月 日御前明慶寺傳律僧 聞思 謹言。[127]

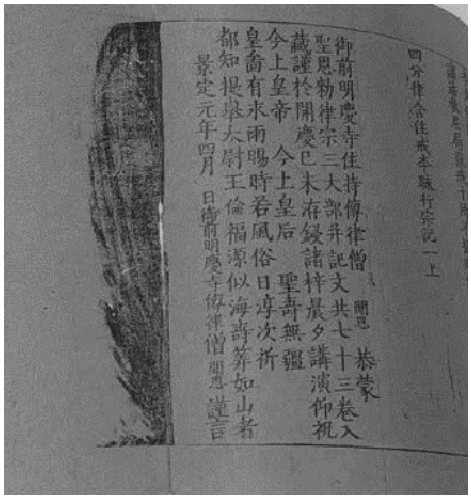
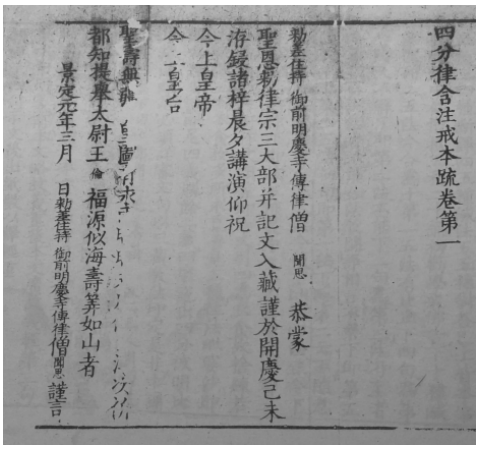


Illustration 2.1, colophon in *Sifenlü hanzhu jiebenshu xingzongji,* Kōsanji, Kyoto.



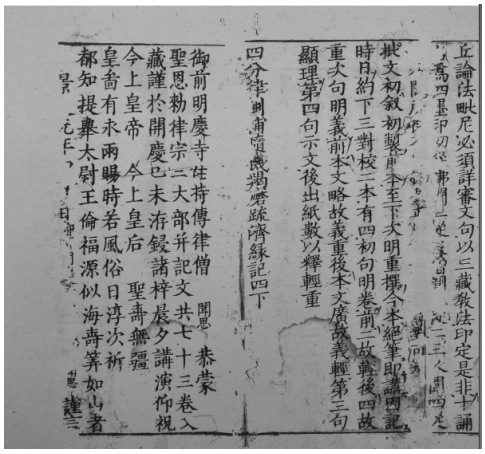


Illustration 2.2-2.3, colophon in *Sifenlü hanzhu jiebenshu,* colophon in *Sifenlü shanbu suiji Jiemoshu Jiyuanji*, Kanazawa bunko.

Similar colophons are found in copies of Daoxuan and Yuanzhao's commentaries.[128]

Still, the same event, only in less detail, is found in *Fozu tongji*:

> In November of the Sixth year of Chunyou (1246), Vinaya master Wensi from Mingqing monastery in Lin'an (Hangzhou) petitioned Vinaya master Nanshan

[127] See Illustration 2.1.

[128] See Illustrations 2.2 and 2.3.

> Chengzhao's (Daoxuan) *jieshu*, *yeshu* and *shichao* etc., with Vinaya master Dazhi (Yuanzhao)'s sub-commentaries and counted 73 fascicles that entered the great canon. The Emperor approved this allowance. Afterwards, the printing houses under the administration carved the printing block and made copies for publication.
>
> 淳祐六年十一月，臨安明慶寺聞思律師奏南山澄照律師戒疏業疏事鈔等。并大智律師述三部諸記共七十三卷。乞附入大藏。制可。續省部下諸郡經坊鏤板頒行。[129]

Fozu tongji itself went through extensive editing after Zhipan's first publication of the work.[130] According to Zhipan's preface, the composition of *Fozu tongji* was started in 1258 and completed in 1269. After Zhipan's death, the work was first published in 1271. The earliest edition available of *Fozu tongji* (39 chapters) preserved in the Beijing library might be dated to 1271[131]. The colophon suggests that this might be close to the first edition. It shows considerable differences from the edition in Taishō. The most obvious is that the preface written by Zhipan in the Beijing edition illustrates that *Fozu tongji* constitutes only 40 fascicles.[132] The missing Chapters 33-48 entitled *Fayun tongse zhi* 法運通塞志 (History of the Fate of Buddhism) in the Taishō edition were inserted in the original version (a separate work on the history of emperors' patronage of Buddhism by Zhipan) during revision. The fact that the previous quotation is found in the inserted *Fayun tongse zhi* may cast some doubt on its credibility and agenda.

The critical difference is that according to *Fozu tongji* the petition was issued in 1246, and in the colophon the actual printing took place in 1259, about 13 years after the petition itself. This could be explained away if the Vinaya master Wensi made the petition in the sixth year of Baoyou 寶祐 (1258) instead of Chunyou,[133] or if he made a

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[129] Zhipan, *Fozu tongji*, T49, no. 2035, Vol. 48, 432, c6-9.

[130] For study on the edition of *Fozu tongji*, see Chapter 13 in Satō Seijun's 佐藤成順 *Sōdai Bukkyo no Kenkyu: Ganjo no Jōdokyo* 宋代仏教の研究：元照の浄土教 (Tōkyō: Sankibō Busshorin, 2001).

[131] See *Fozu tongji* 54 vols, currently 39 vols available, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書, no. 254 in Zi section, (Tainan: Zhuanyan wenhua shiye Ltd).

[132] Ibid.

[133] Tokiwa Daijō is the first scholar who discovered this printing note in Kōsanji. He suggests that *Fozu tongji* might have mistakenly taken the year Baoyou as Chunyou. See his article *"Kōsanji hōkodai shozō sōhan shōso daikan," Shūkyō kenkyū*, Vol.12, no.2, 1936, 111-146.

petition at an earlier date and received approval later. In any case, it means the colophon by Wensi serves as a commemoration of the event demonstrating gratefulness to the emperor, empress and administrator when reprinting of the canon took place in 1259.

Emperor Lizong was the sponsor of Sixi Canon for its two major supplements during 1237-40 and 1241-52, consistent with the above records from *Fozu tongji* and Wensi's colophon. If Wensi's petition was approved in 1246, *The Great Three Works* might be shown in the second revision of the Later Sixi Canon. However, there is a confusing lack of evidence to support such a printed version ever existed. An even more perplexing fact is that later canons in the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties all follow the Song canon, and none of *The Great Three Works* appeared in any of these later versions. The reality is that Daoxuan and Yuanzhao's Vinaya commentaries only make their appearance in Taishō and Zokuzōkyō Canon, both produced in the modern period. The only possible conclusion is that while it might be true that Wensi's petition gained the recognition of Lizong in 1246, Daoxuan and Yuanzhao's works were not canonized in the revision of Later Sixi Canon as promised, or Lizong kept his promise, but people never had the time to finish the woodblocks before the completion of the revision of the canon. In any case, this fatal exclusion from the canon eventually caused the loss of almost all the foundational texts of the Vinaya teaching over time in the continent. When the modern Vinaya master Hongyi 弘一 (1880-1942) sought to reconstruct the commentarial tradition of the Vinaya teaching, he deplored the shortage of basic Vinaya classics in China since the end of the Southern Song.[134] It was not until *The Great Three Works* with Yuanzhao's commentaries in 80 some fascicles

[134] Hongyi indicated that Vinaya masters appearing by the end of Ming and early Qing such as Ouyi Zhixu 藕益智旭 and Jianyue 見月 were restricted by the lack of Vinaya classic works. "*Sifen Nanshan lüzong miaoyi* 四分南山律宗妙義", in *Hongyi dashi quanji* 弘一大師全集 (Fuzhou Shi: Fujian ren min chu ban she, 2010), Vol.1, 236.

were retrieved from Japan in 1920 that Hongyi was able to conduct his editing and commentary these foundational texts. [135]

Regardless of the fact of canonization, the event continued to be recounted in a celebratory mode, such as found in the preface of *Lüyuan shigui* 律苑事規:

> Baizhang [Huaihai], Dazhi Chan master chose and picked the rule in the Vinaya and made it into the Pure Precepts for Chan monasteries, which has been popular in society. Are the Vinaya masters of our school then as good as [he]? The two patriarchs, Nanshan and Lingzhi (Yuanzhao), composed commentary and sub-commentaries. Their works have been accumulated for years. During the years of Xianchun (1265-1274), the late Vinaya master Si of Mingqing monastery wrote a petition to the emperor to canonize [their works] and to circulate them in the society. This is indeed a great contribution to our school.
>
> 百丈大智禪師。採取律制。以為禪林清規。舉世盛行。而吾家律學者及不及焉。然南山靈芝二祖。撰鈔疏記。文積有年矣。至宋咸淳間。前明慶寂堂思律師奏準入藏。徧行天下。實有大功於吾宗也。[136]

This preface and *Lüyuan shigui* were produced around 1324-1325 in the Yuan Dynasty. The dating in the preface is so far off that it could no longer be during the reign of emperor Lizong. More than historical accuracy, what the author cared about was the existence of such an event of canonization of Daoxuan and Yuanzhao as authorities competitive with Chan Buddhism.

Steven Collis argues that the Pali canon is unique in terms of being an exclusive, closed list.[137] The above example shows that the Chinese Canon is not as inclusive as one might think. Its openness is more reflected in the modern production of Taishō Canon and Zokuzōkyō Canon. It is thus safe to conclude that although various textual records testify to the canonization of Vinaya texts during the Southern Song, we do not yet have any direct textual evidence to prove it happened in such way. The question

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[135] "Yu honglü zhi yinyuan 余弘律之因緣", in *Hongyi dashi quanji* 弘一大師全集, Vol.1, p 234. It is notable that Hongyi used the phrase Nanshan Lingzhi sandabu 南山靈芝三大部, indicating that the Great Three Works of Daoxuan is combined with Yuanzhao's sub-commentaries.

[136] X60, no. 1113, 92, b20-24 // Z 2:11, 1, b13-17 // R106, 1, b13-17.

[137] Steven Collins, "On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon," in *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1990, Vol.15, 89-126.

remains, how should we make sense of the list of sixteen texts found in the Kunaishō catalog, which obviously do not belong there? To further explore this question, one must resort to the acquisition of Vinaya texts in Japan during the Southern Song.

The Importation of Vinaya Texts into Japan

In the early phase of the Sino-Japan exchange in the 12th century, Japan exported many Buddhist texts which were destroyed and lost during the political turmoil in China. The retrieval of Tiantai classics from Japan played an important role in the revival of the Tiantai school at the hands of Tiantai masters such as Siming Zhili 四明知禮 (960-1028) and Ciyun Zunshi 慈雲遵式 (963-1032). As for the teaching of the Vinaya, the period from the supplementation of the Later Sixi Canon to the invasion of the Mongol army in Hangzhou in 1237-1276 is crucial for the importation of Vinaya texts to Japan, and sequentially contributed to the revival of Japanese Vinaya and precepts. To properly evaluate the depth of the cultural exchange, we can glean much evidence from a wealth of materials beyond the mere movement of material copies of texts. Regardless of whether the printing note was used for self-promotional purposes as discussed before, Vinaya related texts together with the Song Buddhist canon were carried from Song to Japan, and they were copied, read, studied, and taught. How these Vinaya texts, such as the one containing the printing note, were imported into and played their role in Japanese Buddhism is the main interest of the investigation.

The previously quoted printing note discovered in Kōsanji was rare, but not a coincidence. Kōsanji has preserved a large quantity of Buddhist printings from the Southern Song. Due to Myōe's own emphasis on precepts in his tradition of teaching in

Keigon, a fine collection of Vinaya texts is found in his base monastery library.[138] Unfortunately, the first fascicle of Yuanzhao's *Xingzongji*, from which the fragment may have come, did not survive.[139]

According to Ōtsuka Norihiro's 大塚紀弘 research, 59 Song Buddhist canons (Chi. *Songban yiqiejing* 宋版一切経) in total were imported to Japan in an exchange enabled by the reconnecting of maritime trade between Japan and the Song and Yuan Dynasties. Among these, Song canons can be divided into six editions with variations, including Kaibao, Chongning, Pilu in Northern Song, Sixi Canon and the privately sponsored Qisha Canon in Southern Song, and Puning Canon in Yuan dynasty.[140] Myōe's group based in Kōsanji first dispatched Gyōben 行弁 to Southern Song around 1217 to obtain a Song canon, Chongning Canon.[141] However, the Later Sixi Canon found in Iwayaji is recorded to have originated in Kōsanji, which means that Kōsanji perhaps acquired more than one canon. The Later Sixi canon was carefully studied and punctuated by Erinbō Kyōben 恵林房経弁 (1246-1326) and dated to after 1250.[142]

Several monasteries obtained the same Later Sixi Canon after the supposed inclusion of *The Great Three Works* in 1259, including Kairyūōji (who later moved to Tōshōdaiji and Hokkeiji). The Vinaya monk Jōjun 定舜 from Kairyūōji was sent to Southern Song for the canon. In 1261, when he returned to Japan, he brought back to Saidaiji and

[138] Kōsanji contains a large collection of Vinaya related woodblock prints, the majority of which were imported from the Southern Song. See the full list of Vinaya texts in *Kōsanji kyōzo tenseki monjo mokuroku* 高山寺経蔵典籍文書目録, Vol. 2, box 49-52, 314-356.

[139] The remaining part of *Xingzongji* is preserved in Seikidō Bunko in Tōkyō.

[140] For detailed information on the six editions of Song Canons, see Ōtsuka Norihiro 大塚紀弘, Chapter Three, *Sōhan issai kyō no yunyū to juyō* 宋版一切経の輸入と受容, in *Nisō bōeki to bukkyō bunka*. 90-129.

[141] Ōtsuka Norihiro, *Nisō bōeki to bukkyō bunka*, 45, 101.

[142] Uesugi Tomofusa 上杉智英, "*Iwayaji zo Sixiban daizōkyō no raireki*" 岩屋寺蔵思渓版大蔵経の来歴, IBK. 67(2) =147:2019.3 691-697. Ōtsuka dated the Kōsanji canon to 1281.

Shyōmyoji the Pilu Canon rather than the Sixi Canon.[143] Although there is no evidence that *The Great Three Works* were canonized and physically included in this copy, it might be considered a future part of the canon, correlated with the rise of the Vinaya School in the Southern Song. In fact, Ōtsuka pointed out that as early as Gyōben's effort in the early 13th century, *The Great Three Works* might have been acquired together with the canon as an appendix to the working canon in Japan.[144] Moreover, research shows that the carvers of the added texts in the Kunaishō catalog overlap with carvers of the Later Sixi Canon.[145] Thus an alternative explanation is that the added works such as those in the Kunaishō catalog originally appeared as an appendix of the Later Sixi Canon when they were acquired by Japan, but that they did not appear in the "official" canon catalogs.

To return to the printing note found in Kōsanji: Wensi, being a Vinaya master, was the abbot of Mingqing monastery in Hangzhou under royal patronage. Nagai Masashi 永井政之 points out that Mingqing monastery was one of the temples of the Avalokiteśvara belief and also the location for hosting rain rituals in Hangzhou.[146] *Wulinfanzhi* 武林梵志, the compilation of temple records in Southern Song, described Mingqing Monastery as follows:

> In the sixth year of Chunyou (1245), the dharma hall was reestablished. [It obtained] the plaque inscribed "Nanshan School" from the emperor. In the third year of Jiatai (1203), the library was established with a plaque written by the emperor reading "Hall of Longevity." The stele of Avalokiteśvara is written by Su Wenzhong (Su Shi). The stele of Amitābha by Vinaya master Dazhi (Yuanzhao).

[143] Ōtsuka Norihiro. *Nisō bōeki to bukkyō bunka*, 102.

[144] Ibid., 121.

[145] Nakamura Kazunori, "Isaikyō ritsubu reikan juichishu, shiburitsu sanke hoketsu gyōjishō , shaku kongō,sanyō kabun, kongo sanyō kandeiki, kongō hannyakyō ege." 2011. 76-88.

[146] Nagai Masashi, "*Nanso niokeru bukkyo shinko no yichi sokumen*" 南宋における仏教信仰の一側面, in *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu ronshū*, 1988, 209-232.

淳佑六年。重建法堂。御書南山道場為額。嘉泰三年。建閣藏御書扁曰宸奎万寿之閣。有蘇文忠書觀音經碑。及題識大智祖師書彌陀字碑。[147]

In this record, the institutionalization of Nanshan Vinaya school with recognition from the emperor is a surprisingly late phenomenon in the 13th century. Note that Wensi was referred to as Vinaya master in *Fozu tongji* and he addressed himself as a *chuanlüseng* 傳律僧, "the monk who transmits the Vinaya." These pieces of evidence indicate that Wensi could be identified as a religious leader affiliated with the Nanshan Vinaya School in the Southern Song. We may also link this to Wensi's petition which was made right after the establishment of the dharma hall in 1245. As a result, the printing note may serve as a direct sign of the printing career as part of the formation of Nanshan Vinaya School in the Southern Song. The connection with the emperor, and cultural capital from the patriarchs and literati, all mark national recognition and stabilization of a Buddhist school. The printing note may fail to point to the canonization of Vinaya texts as a fact, but it nonetheless demonstrates itself as a production of the Vinaya school receiving wide support from the royal family, administrators, and laypeople. The narratives about entering the canon (with or without realization) can be perceived as a production related to the formation of a Vinaya school.

Kōsanji is not the only place which has preserved Wensi's printing note. Kanazawa Bunko has two more similar pieces in their collection, where more information on the woodblock print is found.[148] It turns out that the production of woodblock copies was

[147] Wu Zhijing, *Wulinfanzhi* 武林梵志, in *Qinding siku quanshu shibu* 欽定四庫全書史部, vol 11, 28.

[148] Except for the copy in Kōsanji and Kanazawa Bunko, there is a large quantity of print copies of Vinaya texts preserved in the imperial library of Japan, Tōdaiji, Tōji, Tōshōdaiji, Seikadō Bunko, Sennyūji etc. For previous research on the Song edition printing see Makino Kazuo 牧野和夫, "Tōdaiji toshokan zō 'shibunritsu ganchū kaihon gyoshuki' rui ni tsuite" 東大寺図書館蔵『四分律含註戒本疏行宗記』類について. In *Jissen joshi daigaku bungakubu kiyō* 実践女子大学文学部紀要. 1992, vol. 34, 1-11. *Seikadō bunko shozō sō gen han* 靜嘉堂文庫所藏宋元版 (Japan: J-DAC (Japanese Digital Archives Center), 2019). Otsuka Norihiko. "Mitera Sennyūji no *chūsei hanpan*: Sennyūji zō ritsu sandaibu hanpan chōsa kenkyū hōkoku shukō 御寺泉涌寺の中世版本: 泉涌寺蔵律三大部版本調査研究報告書稿." In *Nihon chūsei zenki ni okeru hanpan bunka no kizoku no kenkyū* 日本中世前期における版本文化の基礎的研究. 2016. 1-45. *Nara ken sozai chūgoku hankyō chōsa hōkoku shu* 奈良県中国

an effective strategy and powerful tool for building up the image of a Buddhist school. It is better understood as a campaign in which multiple parties were involved. It attracted lay patronage for the printing of Vinaya related texts under the name of the Vinaya school in the Southern Song. Glancing over *shicaiji* 施財記 (notes of patronage) in the middle and ends of printings, one grasps the social mobility represented by contributions to the printing career of Vinaya texts. To cite the notes of patronage in a copy of *Zichiji* found in Tōji, there is the list of donors' names grouped by the amount of the donation they made:

> Mingzhou area Changguo county, disciple Chen Dake donated ten strings of coins; Zhou Shu donated ten strings of coins; Wu Gou and his wife Mrs. Zhou, [dharma name] Miaosheng donated ten strings of coins; Wu Xian's mother, Mrs. Zhang [dharma name] Miaoshi donated ten strings of coins.
> 明州昌國縣弟子陳達可施一十貫者 周庶一十貫足。吳珣並妻周氏妙生一十貫足。吳诜母親章氏妙行施一十貫足。
>
> Zhao Chang, Liu Zhonghua and his wife Mrs. Sun shi'er niang, Wang Yanheng, Zhou Yan and his wife Mrs. Wang shijiu niang, and female disciple Pan sanshisan niang, each donated three strings of coins.
> 趙昌 劉仲華並妻孫氏二十娘 王彥衡 周彥從並妻王十九娘 女弟子潘三十三娘各施錢三貫文。
>
> Female disciple Mrs. Li, [dharma name] Miaoyuan, Mrs. Zheng [dharma name] Zhengyin, Xu sansan niang, Zhuang baiyi niang, and Shi xiaoshiliu niang, each donated one and half strings of coins.
> 女弟子厲氏妙圓 鄭氏正隱 徐三三娘 莊百一娘 史小十六娘各施錢一貫五百文。
>
> Disciple Ying Li, Fan Yongzhi, □ Zhong, Pan Chengzheng, Wang Guang, and San Zi, each donated one string of coins.
> 弟子應隸 范用之 □仲 潘成政 王光 三孜各施錢一貫文。
>
> Female disciple Mrs. Zhang, [dharma name] Jingxiu raised a fund of sixty strings of coins. The above donors jointly printed this current fascicle.
> 女弟子張氏淨修募施六十貫文。已上施財共刊此一卷。[149]

版経調査報告書 (Nara: Naraken ken kyōiku iinkai, 2001). Akao Eikei. "Tōji shozō sōhan risshū sandaibu narabine kimon 東寺所蔵宋版律宗三大部并記文." In *Gakusō* 学叢. 1996, vol.18. 29-39.

[149] See Illustration 7. The Chinese unit of copper coin is *guan*, which means 1000 coins collected in a string.

By looking at this one example, we can see that the fund base for the printing campaign is highly localized and lay-centered. Together with other colophons of *Zichiji* they display a full spectrum of patronage covering monastics, officials, and male and female lay followers. Notice that the female lay disciples often appear without a given name, but many are marked by their dharma name. This kind of record allows us to calculate the exact cost of printing a Buddhist volume in the Southern Song. The last female disciple in this list was engaged in a fundraising effort to collect a small sum of money from many people, which reminds us of Chōgen's 重源 (1121-1206) campaign to raise funds to reconstruct Tōdaiji. Another way of naming patronage is to insert one or two vertical rows at the conjunction of two pages. In this way, all the donors' names can be added to the same volume which they donated to print. Many examples are found in the Kanazawa bunko's collection of Yuanzhao's *Zichiji*. [150]

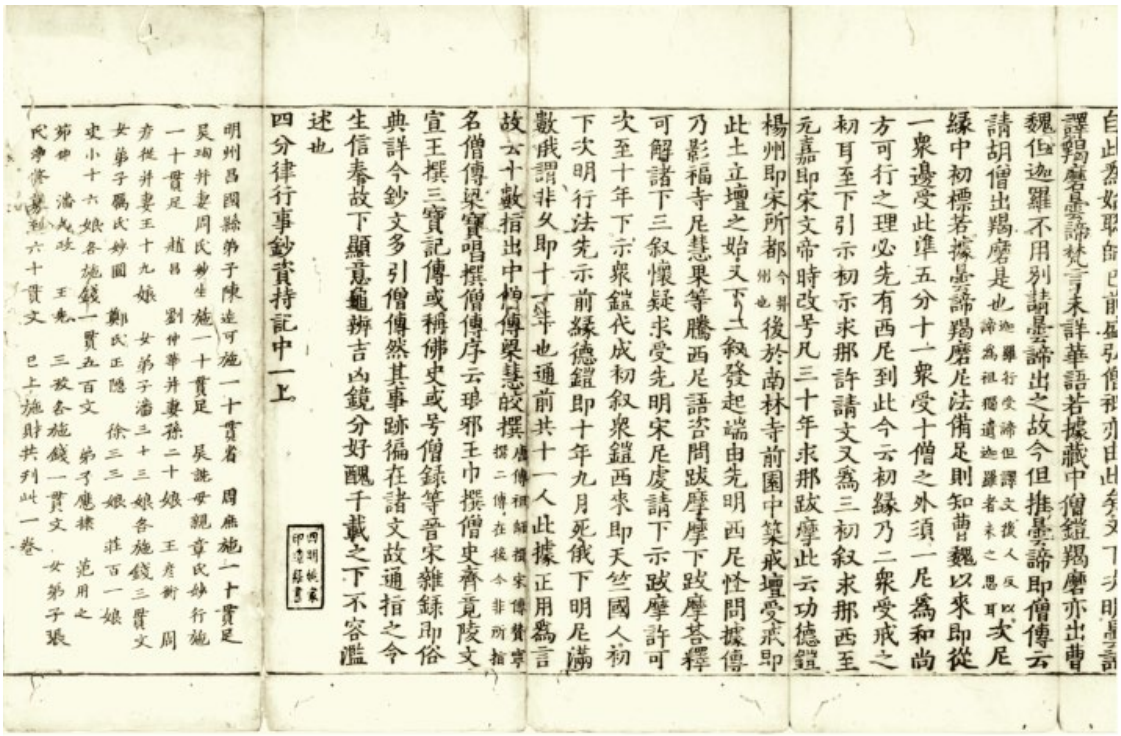


Illustration 2.4. *Sifenlü Xingshichao zichiji* with colophon, Imperial Archive and Mausolea Department of Japan.

[150] The collection numbers of these copies are 2462[160 0001 05], 2463[160 0001 06], and 2476[162 0001 02]

Without doubt, once the printing of *The Great Three Works* was completed with the gradual formation and maturation of the Vinaya School in the Southern Song, these texts were ready to be carried afar. In Japan around the same period, several monasteries were eager to acquire Vinaya commentaries from the continent. The revival of the Nanshan Vinaya school as a united and self-conscious movement took place in the Southern Song, in a way which Yuanzhao could not have anticipated. When Shunjō traveled to the Southern Song, he witnessed the re-formalized Nanshan Vinaya school and immersed himself in the teaching of Buddhism. Starting from Shunjō's return to Japan in 1211, Sennyūji became the first monastery in the Kamakura period to preserve *The Great Three Works* of the Nanshan Vinaya school.[151] The princess of Go-Shirakawa Tenno bequeathed *The Great Three Works* in Sixty-three *tie* to Tōji in 1241/2.[152] One year after that, Saidaiji and Tōshōdaiji sent three monks to the Southern Song for Vinaya canonical texts, returning in 1248.[153] These events all occurred around Daoxuan and Yuanzhao's works' supposed inclusion in the canon.[154]

Even though Shunjō had brought major Vinaya commentaries back to Japan, the newly emerged revival movement still wanted to acquire a set of copies directly from the Song. In 1244, three monks (Kakunyo 覚如, Ugon 有厳, and Jōjun 定舜) in Eison's community were dispatched to the Southern Song in search of Vinaya texts. After four years, they returned with *The Three Great Works* of Daoxuan, together with Yuanzhao's commentary, all stored in Saidaiji. A detail about this campaign is that

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[151] Makino Kazuo 牧野和夫, "*Chūsei jiin shiryō o meguru ni san mi no mondai*" 中世寺院資料をめぐる二、三の問題. In *Jissen kokubungaku* 實踐國文學, Vol.82, 2012, 17-25.

[152] Yamamoto Nobuyoshi 山本信吉, "Tōji sōban issaikyō no chōsa 東寺宋版一切経の調査, " in *Kotenseki ga kataru* 古典籍が語る (Tōkyō: Yagi Shoten, 2004), 180-193.

[153] See *Nara rokudaiji taikan* 奈良六大寺大観 (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 2001), Vol. 13, Tōshōdaiji 2, 101.

[154] For a full list of available Vinaya texts in the Northern Song see Yuanzhao's catalog "Nanshan lüshi zhuanjilu" 南山律師撰集錄, in *Zhiyuanji*.

Ninshō wanted to make the trip but was stopped by Eison. Instead, he welcomed the texts when they landed in Hakada and brought them to Saidaiji himself.

All the above activities, after all, show the vigorous pursuit of Vinaya canonical texts both for independent circulation and as part of the Song Canon by Vinaya related groups in Nara, Kyoto, and Kamakura. The constant and repetitive requests for Vinaya canonical texts designate the multifunction of printed texts: as carriers of Vinaya teaching, as shared foundational texts for Vinaya groups, as objects of worship, as generators of merit, and as symbols of royal authority. The canon might or might not be opened to receive Daoxuan and Yuanzhao's works; however, it coincided with an increased interest in collecting Vinaya texts in Japan for various reasons. As a result, Daoxuan and Yuanzhao's works were brought back to Japan in standalone circulation, or as an appendix to the Song canon, and became the most up-to-date knowledge on the Vinaya to be studied and taught in the Buddhist community. For instance, the version of *Xingzongji* in Kanazawa Bunko is marked by Japanese punctuation in red, showing the text has been carefully studied. In turn, the new knowledge stimulated and fostered Vinaya related groups in Japan in their phase of formation.

Reproduction of Vinaya Commentaries in Korea and Japan

Canonization shows the privilege and authority of the Vinaya teaching of the Nanshan tradition, yet one should not forget that there are a huge number of texts related to the Vinaya and precepts. The sheer amount of such texts outside the canon, but still circulated in the library of local monasteries is daunting. To further examine the Taishō Canon, the inclusion of *The Great Three Works* with Yuanzhao's commentaries in Sixi Canon was not the only occasion to connect Daoxuan with Yuanzhao. Two of Daoxuan's

other works on precepts are introduced with Yuanzhao's preface.[155] Two out of *The Great Three* were preserved inside Yuanzhao's commentaries as the base text. Daoxuan's existence in the Chinese canon as a Vinaya master was inseparable from Yuanzhao's promotion and the recreation of a Vinaya lineage. Moreover, Yuanzhao's anthologies and his other works were only preserved in the *Manji Shinsan Zokuzōkyō* 卍新纂續藏經, which was compiled based on various collections of Japanese monasteries from 1905 to 1912.

Daoxuan and Yuanzhao are both remembered as great Vinaya thinkers occupying their place in the canon. These facts bespeak Buddhist communication on the Vinaya between China, Korea, and Japan in the medieval period. The compilation of Daoxuan and Yuanzhao's works in the Taishō and Zokuzōkyō is the direct outcome of the religious movement based on the Vinaya and precepts which occurred both in China and Japan. It is no exaggeration to say that this current project would be impossible without the frequent exchange of information, knowledge, and material culture during the 13th-14th centuries. Shunjō brought back the Vinaya commentaries from the Southern Song, and later Sennyūji had its own printing house to reprint the Vinaya commentaries in Japan.

Massive importation of Song woodblock prints accelerated the local printing activity in Japan. In the Kamakura period, famous monasteries such as Kōfukuji, Tōdaiji, Saidaiji, Hōryuji, Koyasan and Sennyūji all started their own printing houses. In the early phase of Japanese printing, a main theme was to replicate the Song Buddhist woodblock prints. For instance, Shunjō's indirect disciple Dōgen 道玄 made a vow in 1246 to print Yuanzhao's *Fozhi biqiu liuwu tu* 佛製比丘六物圖, which is the oldest

[155] The current version of Daoxuan's *Jingxian jieguanfa* 淨心誡觀法 and *Sifenlü shipini yichao* 四分律拾毗尼義鈔 are prefaced by Yuanzhao, which shows that original texts were acquired from Buddhist communities related to Yuanzhao.

extant print made by Sennyūji. In 1252, Daoxuan's *Xingshichao* and Yuanzhao's *Zichiji* were both reprinted in Sennyūji. Afterwards, Daoxuan and Yuanzhao's other works were also reprinted, all based on texts carried back by Shunjō.[156] An important detail is that in the printing note of the Sennyūji version of Yuanzhao's *Jiyuanji*, we find the information that members of Tōshōdaiji donated for the printing of this text.[157] The material mass reproduction of central texts is powerful evidence of the frequent communication between Kyōto and Nara in terms of Vinaya teaching, but also suggests a potentially wide lay patronage base in Kamakura society. The printing itself is a great fundraising opportunity, bringing monastics and laypersons together, as was the practice in the Southern Song.

Kōfukuji was among the first monasteries to make woodblock prints of Buddhist classics. Aside from texts on the Yogācāra teaching, it also produced a large number of texts related to the Vinaya and precepts.[158] Many texts, such as *Fanwangjing guji wenji* 梵網經古迹文集, Dingbin's 定賓 *Sifen biqiu jiebenshu* 四分比丘戒本疏, and *Sifen sengjieben* 四分僧戒本 were produced by the printing house of Kōfukuji, and thus were probably accessible for Eison and his fellow monks while he was studying in Jōki'in of Kōfukuji. Following Kōfukuji, Saidaiji started its own printing career, featuring the Vinaya and precepts-related texts.[159]

I have demonstrated that the production and reproduction process of the Vinaya canon is intrinsically related to the formation of the Vinaya school with institutional

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[156] For more detailed information and a complete list of the reprinted texts, see Akamatsu Toshihide 赤松俊秀, ed. 1984. *Sennyūjishi* 泉涌寺史. Vol.1, (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1984), 101-105.

[157] Akamatsu Toshihide, ed. *Sennyūjishi*, 1984, 105.

[158] Yamamoto Nobuyoshi. "Kōfukuji kasuga han hanki no chōsa 興福寺春日版板木の調査." In *Kotenseki ga kataru: shomotsu no bunkashi* 古典籍が語る: 書物の文化史 (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 2004), 211-228.

[159] Ōtsuka Norihiro identified three categories of texts related to the Vinaya and precepts: (1) Daoxuan, (2) Yuanzhao, and (3) other. See his article "中世律家の出版事業と律法興行", 2016. 30-54.

existence and a wide base of lay patronage. Since it is a powerful device for forming a sense of belonging, it is also used by Buddhist nun groups to forge their group identity. I would like to end this chapter by showing two examples of nuns' effort to print Vinaya texts. First, I offer a colophon added to *Sifen shanding biqiuni jieben* 四分刪定比丘尼戒本 (*Sifenlü prātimokṣa* precepts manual of bhikṣuṇī), which reads:

> Buddhism has transmitted in the East for over a thousand years. The teaching of śīla is the key to a myriad of practices. I(Kyōkō) have received full ordination years ago and reflect on the method of practice. I heard that in the Vinaya canon, there exists the *prātimokṣa* precepts for bhikṣuṇīs. At present, the *prātimokṣa* sūtra for bhikṣus has been widely preached on. The recitation of the bhikṣuṇī's precepts is rare. I (Kyōkō) am fortunate to perceive the teaching of compassion, thus how can I be too indolent to preach it? I urge fellow nuns to produce woodblocks, for everyone's access to the text. To have it in circulation forever, the virtue of [observing] the precepts is more fragrant, the dharma body permanently dwells. This woodblock is donated to Tōlinji in Rakudō (eastern side of Kyoto) and is to be in print forever.
> Time: The fifth year of Einin (1297), November 1st
> Abbess of Tōrinniji, bhikṣuṇī Kyōkō, with respect
>
> 佛法東流千有餘載。尸羅一教萬行樞機(教光)。納具有年。緬思修相。竊聞毗尼大藏。僧尼戒本各存一焉。今則僧戒固已盛弘。尼戒頗希受誦(教光)。幸觀慈訓。敢怠揄揚。普勸同徒。重行鏤板。庶普資於聞見。俾永遠以流通。戒德彌芳。法身常在。此板捨入洛東東林常住。永遠印行。
> 旹 永仁五丁酉十一月一日
> 東林尼寺住持比丘尼(教光)稽首敬題 [160]

Tōrinji is a branch nunnery of Sennyūji, which explains their ready access to the collection of Vinaya texts in the monastery library. The colophon shows a clear awareness of the disadvantages of nuns' situation compared to that of monks, and the importance of having wide access to *prātimokṣa* precepts. In Saidaiji, the same text is reprinted in 1251. An annotated version of the manual of the *prātimokṣa* precepts is reprinted first in Saidaiji and later in Ninsho's monastery in 1302, indicating the close relationship and frequent communication between the two monasteries. The colophon written by Sōji 惣持 (1233-1312), a disciple of Eison in Saidaiji, contains a moving passage about why the novice monk made the resolution to have this text printed:

[160] X40, no. 722, 680a20-b6 // Z 1:64, 12a17-b9 // R64, 23a17-b9.

> It is my sin to have lost my mother when I was young. I constantly lament that I have no way to repay [my mother], and I carry a dread that my filial piety is weak. Since all women are only a manifestation of different times in the past or present, how could birth only be limited to this lifetime, and how could repayment only extend only to past lives? Now I record the correct text based on the precepts manual. Annotations are added following Buddha's interpretation. [I present this] for the sake of the salvation of my mother in this lifetime and mothers in other lives.
>
> 罪僇幼而喪母。恆歎也報謝失術。專恨也孝心尤薄。既說一切女人皆是只是過現異時而已。生育豈唯局今生乎。報謝寧永及往世哉。今試依律本。具錄正經。仍隨佛解。重加子註。以濟此世他世母氏。[161]

The colophon shows what Collins argues: that Buddhists are humans first. The campaign for the revival of a complete seven-fold monastic community must resonate with personal narratives. Beside printing the above text, Sōji was also active in printing Buddhist-nun-related texts with Hokkeiji. Sōji's motivation in making this devotional contribution to Buddhist nuns was as a remedy to pay back the loving-kindness of his mother. The idea that the gender of the body is not a fixed faculty but rather a manifestation according to time is, no doubt, standard Buddhist doctrine about gender and rebirth. However, it is only when this doctrine is woven into a personal narrative that it gains the momentum and significance to be transformed into an action. We will see in Chapter 6 how Yuanzhao used the same kind of narrative about his nuanced interpersonal connection with his parents and dharma brothers to articulate his sudden conversion to Pure Land Buddhism.

Scholars discover new materials from Japanese monastic libraries almost every year. According to new evidence, our understanding of the nature of production and circulation of Buddhist texts between China and Japan need to be updated. Ōtani Yuka's latest discovery of a piece of Yuanzhao's manuscript sheds new light on the issue of canonization. In the colophon of a manuscript titled *Shejie zhonglei tu* 攝戒種類圖 (Table on the classification of precepts), it reads:

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[161] *Sifenlü zhu biqiuni jieben* 四分律注比丘尼戒本, woodblock print, Kanazawa bunko, 2532[167 0001 03].

> In the first day of the seventh month of the seventh year of Yuanyou (1092), instructed by Yuanzhao from Hangzhou. Bhikṣu Faxuan from Kaiyuan monastery in Siming, humbly raised fund to reprint and donated to be canonized in Huxin Vinaya Canon, in the next year of *renchen* during the summer retreat.
>
> 元祐七年七月初吉余杭元照叙／四明開元経院比丘法宣募縁重開捨入湖心／律蔵歳次壬辰夏安居謹題 [162]

According to Ōtani's research, this newly discovered manuscript is not listed in any of the extant catalog. The information concerns the topic of this chapter is the practice of "entering the Huxin Vinaya canon." Here Huxin Vinaya canon should refer to the collection of Vinaya text in Huxin guangfu lusi 湖心廣福律寺 in Siming. Yuanzhao was invited to build an ordination platform in Kaiyuan Monastery (see Appendix II.) Kaiyuan monastery is the place where Shunjō had studied in the Vinaya and responsible for the printing of many Vinaya related works.[163] This detail discloses the fact that Buddhist community related to Yuanzhao was organized in joint effort to transmit his work and added it to the Vinaya canon without the sanction from the emperor. It urges us to reconsider of the idea of canonization which should not be restricted to the Tripiṭaka, Buddhist communities which share the common goal of promoting the Vinaya actively engaged in the building of a Vinaya canon outside of the Tripiṭaka.

In Chapters 1 and 2, I have outlined the emergence of the Nanshan Vinaya school as an event through visual manifestation, active construction of canon, and circulation of materials. All this is the outcome of a resurgent interest in the original Vinaya, and the commentarial tradition created by Daoxuan. In Part Two, I will turn to the theoretical aspect of the Vinaya school and examine the key theories and accompanying practices

[162] Ōtani Yuka, 2021. "*Shinshutsu bunken tenkōji shozō genjo sans ho kai shurui zu ni tsuite"* 新出文献伝香寺所蔵元照撰『摂戒種類図』について. Oral presentation in the 72nd annual conference of JAIBS. There is an alternative manuscript in Tōshōdaiji.

[163] See Nishitani Isao's research on Shunjō's study in the Southern Song in Chapter Four of *Nansō, kamakura bukkyō bunka shiron* 南宋・鎌倉仏教文化史論.(Tōkyō: Bensei shuppan, 2018).

of the school through the lens of Yuanzhao's writings. By composing sub-commentaries on Daoxuan's original commentary, Yuanzhao was able to unify the interpretation of Daoxuan and create a set of new monastic practices that fit the social-cultural realities of his time.

PART TWO
REESTABLISHING THE SCHOLASTIC FOUNDATION OF THE VINAYA

Chapter Three
Essence of the Two-fold Precepts

> I always induce the learner with two ends: first, entering of the path must have a beginning; second, the mind of aspiration must have an end. The beginning is to take precepts…the end is to resolve to have a rebirth in the Pure Land.
>
> --Yuanzhao
> Lecture for Ŭich'ŏn, the administrative officer of Goryeo in 1085[164]

In the previous two chapters I have shown, from the social and material cultural perspective, how a body of knowledge about the Vinaya was materialized, canonized, visualized, and transmitted from the continent to Japan. However, what made the Vinaya teaching distinctive is certainly not defined by the success of fund-raising campaign and active construction of lineage identification. At the core of the teaching is a sophisticated understanding of what Buddhism is about, and how that is related to liberation.

Two chapters in this part detail the thought of the towering figure of the Vinaya master Yuanzhao, who created and situated himself in the lineage of Vinaya patriarchs. By producing sub-commentaries on Daoxuan's commentaries on the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya*, Yuanzhao and his followers provided a unified guide for everyday practice in the resurgent Buddhist community. Bearing strong influence from the revived Tiantai doctrine in the Song, Yuanzhao redefined and clarified key monastic practices, from the ordination ritual, repentance, summer retreat, and management of personal and monastic possessions to the proper practice of bathroom and eating etiquette. His work

[164] The original Chinese reads, "每以兩端開誘來學。一者。入道頓有始。二者。期心必有終。言其始者。即須受戒…言其終者。謂歸心淨土。決誓往生也。" *Zhiyuan yibian*, X59, no. 1104, 645a11-15.

demonstrates an original contribution to the thinking on how monastic practice contributes to religious growth and salvation.

The Rise of Vinaya Teaching in the Northern Song

Before diving into Yuanzhao's commentary, it is important to take note of the context in which Yuanzhao's teaching became necessary. In the Northern Song, construction of ordination platforms is frequently seen in Buddhist historical sources such as *Song gaoseng zhuan*, and local gazetteers such as the *Baoqing siming zhi* 寶慶四明志 and *Xianchuan linan zhi* 咸淳臨安志. Technically speaking, the ordination platform is not a prerequisite for the ordination ritual. The ritual space is substantially marked by setting the boundaries of a closed ritual space (with or without its identification as a physical platform), and a sequential practice of purification of that space. Saṃghavarman preferred to conduct the ritual inside a boat in the middle of the river, for safer control of the ritual space. Nonetheless, to have a permanent infrastructure inside a monastery bespeaks the high frequency and regularity of ordination rituals in a local area. Since the ritual requires the presence of a certain number of qualified monastic members, it also shows the scale and vigorous operation of the Buddhist community. As for Yuanzhao, according to his anthology, Yuanzhao not only composed the conferral ritual manual, but also conducted conferral rituals as a central part of his Buddhist missionary work. *Fozu tongji* records that Yuanzhao conferred the bodhisattva precepts upon the visiting Goryeo prince Ŭich'ŏn, and throughout his life he conducted ordination rituals for monastics more than sixty times.[165]

The construction of the ordination platform is closely related to the renaissance of the Nanshan Vinaya School in the Northern Song, characterized by a surge of sub-

[165] Zhipan, *Fozu tongji*, T49, no. 2035, 297c2-3.

commentaries on Daoxuan's *Xingshichao*, together with the popularity of public lectures on the Vinaya. By Yuanzhao's time, various interpretations of Daoxuan were formed. According to *Fozu tongji*, sixty some sub-commentaries were composed on Daoxuan's work in the period leading up to Yuanzhao and Yunkan's time.[166]

In 1066, the eighteen-year-old Yuanzhao passed the qualification exam for monkhood on the topic of the *Lotus Sūtra*. He had followed master Shenwu Chuqian 神悟處謙 for his study of Tiantai doctrine and at the time focused on Nanshan Vinaya teaching.[167] Engaging with the boom in sub-commentaries on Daoxuan, Yuanzhao felt most interpretations veered from the original meaning of Daoxuan. He presented a harsh critique of other Vinaya commentators. The general problem in the understanding of Daoxuan's theory is its reliance on the theory of *Sarvâstivāda* (which in this context most often refers to the Yogācāra theory) to explain the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya*. For instance, Yuanzhao pointed out that Zhaixi 霅溪 (n.d.) took *jieti* as a rūpa, confusing existence and the teaching of emptiness, while Xijue 希覺 (864-948)-the renowned Vinaya master from Qianfo Monastery in Hangzhou, who wrote *Zenghui ji* 增輝記-interpreted *jieti* as a seed. Xijue's disciple, Zanning (author of *Song gaoseng zhuan*), also took *jieti* as a rūpa, believing in the one-to-one corresponding relationship between signifier and signified. Yuanzhao commented that these previous masters were

[166] Ibid., "transmission of the *Xingshichao* for over four hundred years, with sixty sub-commentaries. 流傳四百載。釋義六十家。" T49, no. 2035, 420b10-11. While most sub-commentaries of Daoxuan do not survive, lists of their titles are found in various Buddhist catalogs. Some of the works completed before Yuanzhao include: Xijue's 希覺 *Zenghuilu* 增輝錄, Jingxiao's 景霄 *Shichao Jianzhengji* 事鈔簡正記, Yuanjie 元解 *Shichao chifan siguo zhangji* 事鈔持犯四果章記, Juexi's 覺熙 *Shichao zhiyiji* 事鈔指意記, Qingyan's 清儼 *Shichao jiyiji* 事鈔集義記, Chongyi's 崇義 *Shichao shuchao yinxun* 事鈔述鈔音訓, Chuhong's 处洪 *Shichao butuiji* 事鈔不退記, and Puguang's 普光 *Shichao puguangji* 事鈔普光記. A large portion of these works was produced in monasteries in the Hangzhou region.

[167] See Yuanzhao's biography in *Fozu tongji*, T49, no. 2035, 297b25-c13.

“turning the core of the Vinaya school upside down, and the flavor of principle is incorrect. 宗骨顛倒，理味差僻。”[168]

Yuanzhao’s relationship with Yunkan 允堪 (1005-1061) is in a way more subtle than his straightforward critique of Vinaya masters like Xijue. Yuanzhao certainly shared much in common with Yunkan. Records have even mistakenly identified Yuanzhao as a direct disciple of Yunkan to form a continued lineage of teaching. According to Yuanzhao and Yunkan’s active period, Yunkan passed away when Yuanzhao was fourteen years old, which would have been before Yuanzhao’s initiation in Buddhism. Yuanzhao referred to Yunkan as “this master,” showing both respect and distance. However, this does not mean that Yuanzhao was not influenced by Yunkan’s work. Satō Tatsugen 佐藤達玄 argues that Yunkan's work served as the basis for the revived vigor of the Nanshan school in the Song period.[169] They also share similar training backgrounds. Yunkan first entered the sangha under Huisi 慧思 in the Tiantai tradition and received full ordination from the Vinaya master Zewu 擇梧. Yunkan’s biography is seen in Buddhist sources and local histories such as *Fozu tongji* and *Xianchun linan zhi* 咸淳臨安志. Even though he was addressed as a Tiantai monk, Yunkan gained his fame by composing sub-commentaries on Daoxuan’s three major works, in which the sub-commentary of *Xingshichao* is entitled *Huizhengji* 會正記, and his interpretation of Daoxuan is called Huizhengjia 會正家. Like many Vinaya masters, Yunkan built an ordination platform in Zhaoqing Monastery 大昭慶寺, where he took on the position of abbot.

[168] Yuanzhao, *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 157b10.

[169] Satō Tatsugen, *Chūgoku bukkyō ni okeru kairitsu no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Mokujisha, 1986), 286.

There has been progress in the study of Yuanzhao's evaluation of Yunkan in recent scholarship.[170] Tokuda Myōhon identifies the following critique as Yuanzhao's response to Yunkan.

> The students of today are in aspiration of these very four fruits, regarding this teaching as merely the vehicle of śrāvaka. Therefore, they consider this the ultimate pursuit. I have heard such lectures, and every time I see these words [of Daoxuan], I feel deeply pained, because it disparages the teaching of the Nanshan school, and blinds and deafens future students.
>
> 今所學者。正為求此四果。以斯宗正屬聲聞乘。故談至此以為極矣。昔嘗聽習。每臨此語。不勝痛咽。可謂屈抑祖乘。聾瞽來學。[171]

However, Okamoto Ippei 岡本一平 points out that in the context of *Zichiji*, it is unclear whether the target was Yunkan.[172] I agree with Okamoto that when Yuanzhao argued against a position, he normally gave the name of his opponent. This suggests that the emotion in Daoxuan's declaration of the Vinaya teaching as beyond the śrāvaka is rather directed against the general disparaging attitude towards the teaching of the Vinaya, and not an internal criticism. It is also hard to conceive that Yunkan, as one of the most accomplished scholars of the Nanshan Vinaya, would consider it as merely the teaching of śrāvakas. Yuanzhao indeed differs from Yunkan in his detailed understanding of the Vinaya. *Fozu tongji* lists two examples of their differences, as they disagree on the direction of circumambulation around the Buddha (counterclockwise or clockwise), as well as on the measurement of monastic robes.[173]

Yuanzhao presented a similar critique on the lack of knowledge and understanding of the Vinaya as a general phenomenon in his time. To be an expert in the Vinaya

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[170] Dobashi Hidetaka, "Ganjō kaikan no tenbō" 元照戒観の展望. In IBK, 1981, 30(1):82-86.

[171] Yuanzhao, *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 168, b11-14. Tokuda Myōhon, *Risshū gairon* (Kyōto, Hyakkaen, 1969).

[172] Okamoto Ippei, "*Kita sōdai no risshū ni okeru kaiseika to shichika ni tsuite*." In Annual report of the Zen Institute, 1999, 63-77.

[173] Zhipan. "因爭論遶佛左右衣制短長。遂別撰資持記。於是會正資持。遂分二家。" *Fozu tongji,* T49, no. 2035, 297b23-24.

implies an above average mastery of the Vinaya. In the conferral of full ordination, those with dull faculties are excluded from being among the three preceptors and seven witnesses. In Daoxuan's commentary, Yuanzhao posted a harsh critique of his fellow monastics as follows:

> In showing the deficiency of people with dull faculties; this refers to people who do not understand the Vinaya. Such people, who study doctrine and the Chan school, and other miscellaneous teachings, do not touch the texts of the Vinaya. Even though they claim they have studied the Vinaya, they lack thorough understanding of the textual context. They are confused, and fail, only chasing a trend, pretending to be masters. They call themselves elites but are in fact ignorant and dull.
>
> 癡鈍中初示不足意。即不解律人。如經論禪宗。及餘雜學。不霑律部。並在此收。縱稱學律。時過學肆。不了綱緣。都迷成敗。趨時附勢。濫預人師。自謂精英。實同癡鈍。[174]

Part of the reason that Yuanzhao felt such urgency to justify the teaching of the Vinaya is that he was deeply worried about monastics' obliviousness of the Vinaya teaching. As he stated, the education in the monasteries was focused on Buddhist scripture, treatises, and Chan Buddhism. The Vinaya was largely ignored or misunderstood. However, we should not naïvely believe that the revival of the Nanshan school literally meant returning to the teaching of Daoxuan. I will demonstrate that, as with most religious leaders, Yuanzhao's innovations more often took the form of a reinterpretation of Daoxuan's commentaries, and the subtle changes in ideas require an understanding of the dynamics between creativity and fidelity to one's tradition.

Yuanzhao's Apology

In 1082, Yuanzhao wrote a letter of self-defense to the local administrator of Hangzhou, in response to accusations against his recent conduct of conferring bodhisattva precepts in addition to the *prātimokṣa* precepts. This practice was considered an invention and in conflict with the status quo of the time. From our contemporary

[174] *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 190c11-14.

perspective to receive double precepts (*prātimokṣa* precepts and bodhisattva precepts) was a practice taken for granted by most monasteries in East Asia. However, this renewed practice obviously encountered objections from other Buddhist groups in the Northern Song, and Yuanzhao faced a lawsuit for conferring the bodhisattva precepts on top of the other precepts. In the defense, he cites Buddhist texts to argue that the bodhisattva precepts represent the practice of the true bodhisattva and have been applied by Buddhist masters in the past.

By this point, Yuanzhao had finished his major commentaries on Daoxuan's work and established himself as a Vinaya expert. More importantly, he led a group in living the religious life according to the Vinaya and precepts. He built ordination platforms and conferred precepts for both monastics and laity. Yuanzhao's revival of the teaching of the Nanshan school was not limited to an intellectual construction, he equally concerned with social consequences as a religious leader.

Yuanzhao's missionary work was considered unconventional and other Buddhist masters reported his abnormal behavior to the government. This incident is later collected in his anthology entitled *Lun zengjie shu* 論增戒書 (Essay on Adding Precepts) and it seemed Yuanzhao was not subject to criminal prosecution in this trial. We may conclude that his self-defense worked in his favor. However, the question remains, since monastics had already taken formal ordination, why did Yuanzhao regard an augmentation of the precepts as beneficial or even necessary? What doctrinal argumentation would support Yuanzhao's practice? And what does it imply for monastic practice in Yuanzhao's time?

To fully understand the importance of this issue in Yuanzhao's theory on the precepts, we must look first at the precepts that Yuanzhao added.[175] Given the nature of *Lun zengjie shu,* Yuanzhao avoided Buddhist terminologies to be more easily understood. Therefore, he did not address the name of the precepts directly, but only gave two precedents to demonstrate that he did not invent this practice out of blue. The first example he cited is from Saṃghavarman 僧伽跋摩 (n.d.) in the fifth century:

> *Gaoseng zhuan of the Liang Dynasty* says that in the eleventh year of Yuanjia of the Song Dynasty (434 AD), a Buddhist monk from India called Saṃghavarman conferred the repeated ritual of precepts while traveling to the bank of the Cai River on a boat in the middle of the river, for Huiyi of Zhihuan Monastery and some fifty other people.
>
> 梁高僧傳。宋元嘉十一年。有梵僧名僧伽跋摩。為祇桓寺慧義等五十許人。度蔡州岸。駕船江中。重增戒法。[176]

The hagiography of Saṃghavarman in *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 is quite concise, and it does not contain the above detail cited by Yuanzhao. The *de facto* origin of Yuanzhao's citation is Daoxuan's detailed account in *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing* 關中創立戒壇圖經, the central reference text which has stabilized the form of the ordination platform in East Asia. I will analyze this key narrative in a moment. Daoxuan quoted the whole episode and ended the quotation with the formal mark of *yunyun* 云云. Judging from this mark of direct citation, it appears to be a faithful citation from the "Hagiography of Monks in the Liang Dynasty," which refers to *Sapoduobuji* 薩婆多部記 (The Record of the Sarvâstivāda Lineage, also called *Sapoduo shizizhuan* 薩婆多師資傳, Biographies of Sarvāstivāda Masters); an alternative work by Sengyou's 僧祐 *Gaoseng zhuan*, which survives only in the catalogs of *Lidai sanbaoji* 歷代三寶記 and *Kaiyuan*

[175] For a review of the added bodhisattva precepts see 1972. "Shunjō risshi no teiki sesu bosatsukai jūju no mondai " 俊芿律師の提起せる菩薩戒重受の問題. In Ishida Mitsuyuki, ed. *Kamakura bukkyō seiritsu no kenkyū: Shunjō risshi* 鎌倉仏教成立の研究: 俊芿律師. Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 83-101.

[176] Yuanzhao, *Zhiyuanji*, X59, no. 1105, 662b18-20 // Z 2:10, 299b10-12 // R105, 597b10-12. Yuanzhao also cited a more detailed version of this event in his sub-commentary on *Xingshichao*, see *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 217a3-11.

shijiaolu 開元釋教錄. It is more likely that Yuanzhao did not have access to the original biography in the Song, thus his reference only came from Daoxuan.

Sapoduobuji was still available to Daoxuan, and he cited this event in full because he regarded it as the origin of the ordination platform in China. It was a time in Chinese Buddhist monastic history when full texts of the Vinaya were first transmitted and translated to Chinese, and when Buddhist communities were (re)established according to the proper practices prescribed in the Vinaya. In other words, in a sense, Chinese monasticism began following the Vinaya after the composition of the conferral ritual. This is extremely important in the Buddhist monastic history of East Asia and suggested many key elements in later practices. Therefore, it is worthwhile to translate the narrative of the origination of the ordination platform cited by Daoxuan.

> Now to explain the origin of the ordination platform in China in the east (to India). The "Hagiography of Monks in the Liang Dynasty" says the following: previously, in the seventh year of Yuanjia of the Song Dynasty (430 AD), Guṇavarman, a Śramaṇa from Jibin Kingdom, also called Gongdekai in the Liang Dynasty, crossed the southern sea, and arrived at Yangzhou. Emperor Wen treated him with exceptional respect, as surpassing common monks. He is called [the master of] the Tripiṭaka and he translated sūtras and precepts [related texts]. He traveled to Nanlin Monastery, saw flourishing bamboo and trees, and wanted to be buried there. He built an ordination platform in the garden in the front of the monastery, and made conferees step up on the platform to receive precepts. Someone doubted whether he had obtained the path, and secretly placed flowers under the monks' seats. At the seat of Guṇavarman only, the flower remained fresh. He anticipated the date of his death and passed away, sitting with palms together. In his own testament, he claimed that he had attained the second fruit (Skt. *Sakṛdāgāmin*, once returner). When people cremated his body on the ordination platform, the shape of a dragon or snake flew up to the sky with the smoke. This was seen by everyone.
>
> 今明東夏創立戒壇之源。梁僧傳云：「昔宋文帝元嘉七年，有罽賓國沙門求那跋摩者，梁曰功德鎧也。越自南海，來達楊都，文帝禮異恒倫，號稱三藏，譯出經戒。嘗遊南林寺，見竹樹扶疎，便有終焉之志。乃於寺前園中立戒壇，令受戒者登壇上而受也。人有疑其得道者，密以華布諸僧座下，唯跋摩所坐者，華更鮮榮。預知亡日，端拱而卒，手出遺文，云獲二果。仍於戒壇上焚之，咸見一物，狀若龍蛇，衝煙上天。[177]

[177] Daoxuan, *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing* 關中創立戒壇圖經, T45, no. 1892, p 812b21-813b1.

Funayama Tōru made a close study of this passage and pointed out that the ordination platform is conceived of as a sanctuary or sacred space through the method of forming boundaries prescribed in the Vinaya, while the figure of Guṇavarman (367-431) who had established the ordination platform and conducted the ordination ritual was regarded as holy in terms of religious achievement.[178] After the sudden demise of Guṇavarman, Daoxuan's recounting of the origin narrative continues with a different protagonist:

> In the eleventh year of Yuanjia in the Song Dynasty (434 AD), Saṃghavarman, titled Master of the Tripiṭaka, who arrived at Yang capital together with Guṇavarman, conferred a renewed full ordination on the ordination platform in Nanlin Monastery. At that time, the monk Huizhao from Zhihuan Monastery and fifty other monks, with the nun Huiguo from Yingfu Monastery and 323 other nuns, all followed him in repeatedly receiving precepts.
>
> 至元嘉十一年，有僧伽跋摩者，時號三藏法師，與前三藏同至楊都，為諸僧尼等，於南林寺壇重受具戒。于時祇桓寺僧慧照等五十人，影福寺尼慧果等三百二十三人，同從重受。[179]

As the title of the source text suggests, *Sapoduobuji* is the hagiography of masters from the Sarvāstivāda School who followed the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya. The transmission of *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* (*Shisong lü* 十誦律) predates *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* and was widespread in the fifth century in Southern China. As a result, the doctrinal debate between Huiyi and Saṃghavarman represents the challenge and response to issues raised by the Vinaya from the Sarvāstivādian perspective. Saṃghavarman is known for his translation of *Saṃyuktābhidharma-hṛdaya*, the essence of *Abhidharma-Mahāvibhāṣa-Śāstra*, which is considered the foundational work of the Sarvāstivāda School. Yuanzhao took Daoxuan's citation as his precedent. Daoxuan referred ambiguously to the source of this event, understandably downplaying the influence of

[178] Funayama Tōru, "Guṇavarman and Some of the Earliest Examples of Ordination Platforms (*jietan*) in China," In *Images, Relics, and Legends: The Formation and Transformation of Buddhist Sacred Sites*, edited by James Benn, Jinhua Chen, and James Robson (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 2012), 21

[179] Daoxuan, *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing* 關中創立戒壇圖經, T45, no. 1892, p 813b1-813b3.

the Sarvāstivāda School in the early transmission of the Vinaya, as he attempted to establish the dominance of the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya*. It should be noted that both Guṇavarman and Saṃghavarman performed "repeated ordination rituals" for monks and nuns who had previously taken full ordination. This indicates that the Buddhist monastic community had its own way of conferring full ordination. However, the new method was necessary as the full Vinaya was translated together with the method of ordination. Yuanzhao was accurate in citing the historical event to testify to his legitimacy in granting full ordination for the second time, thus creating a new monastic order. The creation of new monastic ordered triggered disputes within monastic communities.

Similarly, not everyone immediately conformed to the new monastic order in the case of Saṃghavarman. Daoxuan's citation contained a significant debate between Huiyi and Saṃghavarman, who continued the unfinished career of Guṇavarman.

> Master Huiyi, who was strong minded, and could not hold in his disrespect, asked Saṃghavarman, "The great dharma was not transmitted to the east by a single person. Previous sages and saints shared regulations. How could you alone change it? And how does it meet people's expectations?"
>
> (Saṃghavarman) responded, "Five branches [of the Vinaya], different from each other, are derived from the constant principle. They get along by leaving the secular world, fundamentally for promoting dharma. Since the dharma is transmitted, how is it against the expectation of the people?"
>
> Again, Huiyi asked, "The precepts are not a visible rūpa. I saw those who had repeatedly received the precepts; some still count their old age of monkhood; some restart their count from the time of the repeatedly received precepts. Won't these two kinds of calculations cause people to doubt?"
>
> (Saṃghavarman) responded, "There are two kinds of people; therefore, two methods are applied. If one did not reach the required age, or the probation period was not complete, then one should count from the repeated ordination; if one has already reached the required age, then one has entered the stage of being ordained. <u>However, if the person has some doubt about having received [precepts] by the medium or lower mind, on principle he should seek a repeated ordination, but monkhood should be once and forever determined by the original precepts.</u>"
>
> Again, Huiyi asked, "[The person had] vowed non-killing [etc.] and the bodily and verbal behavior are fulfilled. Why is it not enough and why should he receive the precepts again?"

(Saṃghavarman) responded, “There are nine levels of precepts. The lower-level precepts are the basis for gaining the higher-level precepts. Regarding the one seeking the precepts, the mind might be strong or weak, and depending conditions might also differ. What is the obstacle to receiving it again? The five-precepts and ten-precepts require different conferral rituals, while the precepts of the path, meditation and rules, are protective for the body and mouth, and a different karma of the mind. They are singular and not dual.”

Again, Huiyi asked, “When master Guṇavarman was still alive, rituals such as the posada were always conducted in the monastery. When it comes to ordination, why does it need to be outside? As all are correct practices, what is the difference?”

(Saṃghavarman) responded, “The monastic rules of different branches contain similarities and differences. The practice of conferral ritual is of vital importance and different from other monastic affairs, because if other rituals fail, the only result is a minor offence, of which one can repent. As for inheriting and promoting the seed of the Buddha, the precepts are the foundation. If it fails, one cannot be a monk. That would be the origin of obstruction and might extinguish the great dharma. Thus, it is different from all other rituals.”

As a result [of this conversation], Huiyi agreed without further question. He then ordered his disciples Huiji and others to travel together to the bank of Caizhou and received the precepts on a boat (end of quote).

有慧義法師，稟性剛烈，不耐諠黷，謂三藏曰：大法東流，傳道非一；先賢勝哲，共有常規；豈獨改異，何穆眾望？答曰：五部之異，自此常理，相與棄俗，本為弘法，法必可傳，何忤眾情？又問曰：夫戒非可見之色也。頃見重受戒者，或依舊臘次，或從後受為始，進退之間，足致深疑？答曰：人有二種，故不一類。若年歲不滿，胎月未充，則依今受為初。若先年已滿，便入得戒之位,但疑先受有中下心，理須更求增勝而重受戒，即依本臘而永定也。又問：自誓不殺，身口已滿，有何不盡，更重受耶？答曰：戒有九品，下為上因。至於求者，心有優劣；所託緣起，亦自不同。別受重發，有何障礙？五戒十戒，生亦各異，乃至道定律儀，並防身口，不同心業，有一無二也。如是云云。又問：三藏昔存之日，布薩僧事常在寺內；及論受戒，何為獨出邑外等，咸是善法，何以異耶？答：諸部律制，互有通塞，唯受戒法重，不同餘事。以餘法不成，唯得小罪，罪可懺悔；夫紹隆佛種，用消信施，以戒為本，若不成就，非出家人。障累之源，斷滅大法，故異餘者。於是慧義欣然無言，遂令弟子慧基等渡蔡州岸，於船上受戒(云云)。[180]

This dispute recorded in the form of conversation further clarifies the central question regarding the necessity of retaking precepts. The conversation ends in dispelling all doubt about Huiyi and his conversion to the new method of ordination. When reading this citation from Daoxuan, Yuanzhao must have felt *déjà vu*. The questions posted by Huiyi were like the accusations levelled at himself. He no doubt felt that the sangha needed a renewed way of receiving the precepts. The tension in adopting a new method

[180] Ibid., T45, no. 1892, 812b21-813b27.

always hinges on why and how one changes the status quo for the sake of a supposedly unchanging method of ordination derived directly from the Buddha's instruction.

In Saṃghavarman's response, certain compromising measures are used with the old system, as it is not necessary to sacrifice one's monastic age by accepting the new ordination. The followers of the new ordination would have doubted the quality of the old ordination to begin with. New ordination would be attractive for practically everyone. To restart the counting could be an intentional and radical break with the past. For some Buddhist monastics, taking on a new ordination would be like being born again, starting over from scratch. We will see that in the revival movement of precepts in Japan, Eison and his fellow monks recounted monastic age to show their resolution to observe the precepts in the sanctified way. Eison abandoned his previously received full ordination precepts and willed to recount from the time of his new ordination.

Another priceless piece of information disclosed in this dialogue is the nature of the precepts that Saṃghavarman conferred upon the Chinese monastic community. He regarded the precepts he conferred as being of the "highest level" and theorized that all precepts are singular in nature. This point is significant because it provides an approach of unification between the two vehicles. If the nature of the precepts is singular and non-dual, then there is a possibility of blending the newly received precepts into a higher level with one's old precepts. It indicates that the renewed precepts conferred by Saṃghavarman are no different in kind from *prātimokṣa* precepts in nature; the difference is only in degree. This unified perception of various precepts is essential in understanding Yuanzhao's fundamental attitude towards the relationship between the *prātimokṣa* precepts and the bodhisattva precepts.

Returning to the subject of Yuanzhao's self-defense; he divided precepts into three categories. The lower is only for the benefit of oneself; the medium is beneficial for

oneself and another; and the upper level is devoid of self and benefits sentient beings, in the spirit of the great bodhisattva.[181] The legitimacy of retaking ordination lies in the possibility that one might previously have taken the precepts in a lower or medium mind. Yuanzhao argues that "to reflect on the initial reception [of precepts], only lower and medium precepts were aroused. The Buddha allows repeated reception and transforms the precepts to the upper level. This is called adding precepts. 審知初受。但發中下。佛開重增。轉為上品。此所謂增戒也。"[182] By retaking ordination, one is given a second chance to correct the previous deficiency, just as with Saṃghavarman's original ordination ritual. Apparently, Yuanzhao's ordination ritual is an aspiration toward becoming a bodhisattva. Thus, it can safely be inferred that Yuanzhao was conferring the "three categories of pure precepts" upon people who had doubts about their previously received precepts.

All these heated disputes over old and new methods of ordination, without doubt, at once showcase the rapid growth of the Buddhist community and the increased need for identity confirmation on the ground. Indeed, Yuanzhao was living in the period when Buddhism had finally recovered from military and political instability and was once again flourishing. In the final part of his self-defense epistle, Yuanzhao described the "ideal sangha" under his instruction:

> For those who came to [study with me], I certainly expand them with meditation and wisdom, guided by the Vinaya of the dharma; holding the bowl and begging for alms to fill the mouth and stomach; making robes with coarse cloth, to cover the body. [They have been] instructed day by day and month by month, with an extra study section in the evening. Whether outside or inside [the monastery], speaking or in silence, everyone follows the prescription of the Buddha.
>
> 故夫來者。必博之以禪智。約之以法律。持盂丐食。以充其口腹。疎布裁衣。以蔽其形苦。日加朔引。夕增勵修。出處語默。率遵於佛制。[183]

[181] *Zhiyuanji*, X59, no. 1105, 662b13-18 // Z 2:10, 299b5-10 // R105, 597b5-10.

[182] *Zhiyuanji*, X59, no. 1105, 662b13-18 // Z 2:10, 299b5-10 // R105, 597b5-10.

[183] "*Lun zengjie shu*" 論增戒書, X59, no. 1105, 662c4-7 // Z 2:10, 299c2-5 // R105, 598a2-5.

This is a rare and clear illustration of the ideal monastic daily life put into practice by a religious leader. In this ideal way of monastic living, we can trace the classic framework of the three teachings: precepts, meditation, and *prajñā*. However, in Yuanzhao's rendering, meditation and *prajñā* are treated as supplementary to broaden and strengthen the practice. Meditation is intermingled with the daily observation of the Vinaya. As have many scholars, Robert Sharf, Janet Gyatso, and Jonathan Silk have emphasized that the modern apological image of monkhood devoted to meditative practice is an inaccurate depiction of Buddhist monastic life in history.[184] The main concern in Yuanzhao's community is living a highly disciplined life in the monastery according to the prescription of the Buddha—namely living the Vinaya— while meditative practice is relegated to a secondary position after begging for alms, wearing humble monastic robes, and remaining disciplined in every bodily gesture, every social interaction, and every moment. This indicates a fundamental view of what Buddhism is about: to be a Buddhist monastic, there is no time that one should live outside of the governance of the Vinaya. To live the Vinaya means to interact with the material world in a particular way: to eat the chosen food to feed the body, to wear the chosen robe to cover the body, and to interact with laity and fellow monastics in a chosen manner, all conform to the instruction found in the Vinaya. The enduring and persistent way of living, utterly distinctive from a mundane life, is the very path leads to enlightenment.

This letter allows us a glimpse into Yuanzhao's commentarial world and what it means to be a Buddhist monastic. We can always return to this realized ideal community, modeled after the ideal monkhood of perfect self-surveillance through the Nanshan Vinaya teaching. This community serves as the prototype from which we may

[184] See Robert Sharf, "Buddhist Modernism and the Rhetoric of Meditative Experience." *Numen* 42, 1995, 228-283; Janet Gyatso, "Healing Burns with Fire: The Facilitations of Experience in Tibetan Buddhism." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion,* 67/1, 1999, 113-147; Jonathan Silk, *Managing Monks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 11-12.

gauge the later institutionalized Nanshan Vinaya school and its transmission into Japan.

Among the different branches of the Vinaya teaching, Yuanzhao consistently identified himself with the so-called "school of emptiness," which grounds its theoretical base in *Tattvasiddhi* (*Chi. chengshilun* 成實論, T32, no. 1646), a commentary often classified (inaccurately) as belonging to the lesser vehicle. Apart from the two major branches that I will introduce in the next section, the identification is most importantly tied to the classification of the nature of *jieti*, the essence of precepts.

> In our school, since *jieti* is not a rūpa, it can be repeatedly received...In other branches [of Vinaya teaching] *jieti* is a rūpa, the quality of upper, middle, and lower. Once aroused, it is permanently determined, which does not allow any further argument. Therefore, it cannot be repeatedly received. Since there is no repeated reception, if one commits an offence [of *pārājika*], *jieti* is no longer there. Although it can be aroused from another (ritual), the foundation is destroyed.
>
> 本宗中由體非色故得重增。...他部中由體是色。上中下品。一發永定。不容更增。故不重受。受既不重。犯亦無再。雖從別發。根本已壞。[185]

The teaching in the *Tattvasiddhi* which identified *jieti* as the third category of neither-rūpa-nor-citta validates his practice of a "repeated precepts" ritual. In contrast, if *jieti* is conceived as a rūpa, it is deprived of the flexibility of being retaken. Yuanzhao finds a remedy to resolve the anxiety over permanently destroying *jieti* by grave offence. To further explore this central concept in the Vinaya teaching, we need to continue the theoretical discussion. Yuanzhao's controversial practice of conferring precepts repeatedly to those who had already received precepts before finds repercussion in Japanese precepts revival movements. For instance, it is recorded that for monks of Eison's base monastery of Saidaiji and monks from other monasteries,

[185] Yuanzhao, *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 427a12-16.

> [Eison]repeatedly conferred [bodhisattva] precepts to those thirty-five people, and they made the same vow that "[we] wish to be each other's virtuous friends in [future] lives, by the karmic bond of receiving precepts together tonight."
>
> 重受彼卅五人。同心願文云。願以今夜受戒緣。生々互為善知識。[186]

To comprehend the significance of *jieti* and its connection with precepts of the two vehicles, we need to turn to the theoretical construction of the Vinaya teaching.

The Eye of the Vinaya Teaching

The term *jieti* has been accepted and used by Chinese Buddhists as early as the Northern and Southern Dynasties (386-589). *Jieti* is understood as being received during the full ordination ritual of entrance into the monastic order. It arises immediately in the moment when the precepts receiver has properly confirmed to take the precepts for the third time. It is perceived through the power of the ordination ritual. Apart from visible and tangible verbal and bodily movements, *jieti*, as an invisible attribute, is generated and embodied inside the individual to ensure the long-term result of the ritual. This invisible part is imputed into the mind of the receiver and will stay with her or him until the physical termination of the body. In a sense, the whole purpose of taking on the ordination ritual is to obtain *jieti*, which bears a crucial function for Buddhist practices in everyday life and leads to final liberation.

In his review of the Vinaya school since its birth, Gyōnen commented: "The teaching of *jieti* is the eye of the Vinaya school, the marrow of precepts teaching." 戒體法門是律宗之眼目，戒學之骨髓。[187] Yet, even within the Vinaya school[s], there is no consensus on the nature of *jieti*. In *Shi chanboluomi cidi famen* 釋禪波羅蜜次第法門, Zhiyi introduced the initial model of dispute between Hīnayāna (*jieti* as rūpa) and Mahāyāna (*jieti* as mind) over the nature of *jieti*. Disregarding the internal nuanced difference

[186] Eison, *Kantō ōkanki* 關東往還記. In SEDS, 69.

[187] Gyōnen, *Risshūkōyō*, T74, no.2348, 10, c21-22.

within the so-called Hīnayāna schools, Zhiyi considered taking *jieti* as unconditioned (*wuzuo* 無作). The subtle difference regarding the nature of *jieti* between Sarvāstivāda and Dharmaguptaka was deemed non-essential.[188]

Based on Zhiyi's division, Daoxuan proposed a three-fold classification of the positions regarding *jieti* in his later commentary, *Sifenlü shanbu suiji jiemo shu* 四分律刪補隨機羯磨疏: Sarvāstivāda's *jieti* as *avijñapti* rūpa; *Tattvasiddhi's jieti* as the third category of existence, neither-rūpa-nor-mind; and perfect teaching's *jieti* as wholesome seed.[189] Daoxuan's classification was passed down to Gyōnen in his *Risshūkōyō*, but Gyōnen shifted the focus in favor of Yogācāra as the representative of the perfect teaching of Mahāyāna.[190]

For the concerns of this chapter, the focal point is that beyond the clear-cut division between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, Daoxuan made a distinction between the Sarvāstivāda and Dharmaguptaka schools, and he also settled the teaching on how *jieti* in Mahāyāna might work, applying Yogācāra terminologies. Daoxuan attempted to unify the theory of *jieti* by placing the quality of the aroused mind (Chi. *faxin* 發心) as the determining factor in the quality of *jieti* received. It is upon this very problematic move of Daoxuan that Yuanzhao constructed his own theory of *jieti*.

Following Daoxuan's model of interpretation, and inspired by Tiantai master Guanding's 灌頂 (561-632) commentary on bodhisattva precepts, Yuanzhao continued Daoxuan's threefold classification with substantial revision: *jieti* as rūpa by the school of real existence; *jieti* as neither-rūpa-nor-citta by the school of emptiness; *jieti* as mind

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[188] Zhiyi, *Shi chanboluomi cidi famen* 釋禪波羅蜜次第法門, T46, no. 1916, 484, b3-12.

[189] Daoxuan, *Sifenlü shanbu suiji jiemo shu,* "*Zhujie shoufa pian*" 諸戒受法篇, preserved in *Sifenlü shanbu suiji jiemo shu Jiyuanji* 四分律刪補隨機羯磨疏濟源記, X41, no. 0728.

[190] Gyōnen, "The *jieti* of perfect teaching is Mahāyāna teaching, the perfect view of Yogācāra is the uppermost meditation and wisdom. 圓教戒體是大乘戒學。唯識圓觀是上乘定慧。" *Risshūkōyō,* T74, no.2348, 0008c20-21.

by the perfect teaching of Mahāyāna.[191] Like Daoxuan, Yuanzhao defended the second position as the theoretical basis of the Nanshan Vinaya school, connecting the Hinayāna and Mahāyāna teaching. For Yuanzhao, Daoxuan's legacy belonged to the school of emptiness, not referring exclusively to Madhyamaka, but rather to the early Three Treatise school 三論宗 as distinguished from the Yogācāra school. He emphasized the differences with Yogācāra teaching, not only because the two indeed shared obvious similarities regarding the understanding of *jieti*, but also because the nuanced differences accounted for most of the controversies within the Vinaya teachings of his own time.

Taking *jieti* as a rūpa introduces the problem of how to explain its relationship with the mind. It is counter-intuitive that when *jieti* is a rūpa, it cannot then be generated by or substantially related to the mind, but by verbal and bodily action.[192] Following the same logic, if *jieti* is a citta, it is equally difficult to explain why it only lasts while the receiving body still exists and is not taken into the next life. The ambiguous relationship of *jieti* to body and mind makes it impossible to pin down its nature. It is noteworthy that although the discussion about the nature of *jieti* is not an intellectual game (at least not completely), we have seen in the previous section that the very ambiguous nature of *jieti* was used to support Yuanzhao's argument for the legitimacy

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[191] Guanding had a very similar classification in his *Daban niepanjing shu* 大般涅槃經疏, T38, no. 1767. The difference from Yuanzhao is that Guanding assigned the position of *jieti* as mind to Mahāsāṃghika.

[192] In *Tattvasiddhi* when the unconditioned state is not confined to rūpa, then the mind can also generate an unconditioned state:

> Interrogator: only body and mouth generate the unconditioned, the mind does not generate the unconditioned.
>
> Respond: That is not the case. Why? There is no reason that only body and mouth generate the unconditioned, but the mind does not generate the unconditioned.
>
> 問曰。但身口有無作。意無無作。
>
> 答曰。不然。所以者何。是中無有因緣。但身口業有無作。而意無無作。

Chengshilun 成實論, T32, no. 1646, 290, a11-14.

of retaking the precepts and is thus an essential theoretical basis for his religious movement.

The position of deeming *jieti* as a rūpa is attributed to the school of real existence (Chi. *shifazong* 實法宗), more commonly known as Sarvāstivādin. The Chinese Buddhist continuation of this position is the Yogācāra school. In Xuanzang's new translation, "unexpressed" (Chi. *wubiao* 無表) replaced "unconditioned," the old translation of *avijñapti*. In later Yogācāra commentaries, these two terms are treated equally as old and new translations of the same word. However, confusion may arise in applying this notion to Vinaya commentaries, since the Vinaya school rarely used the term *wubiao*, and instead used the term "the third category", or "unconditioned", "neither-rūpa-nor-citta" to refer to the similar concept.

In Yogācāra commentary such as Kuiji's *Biao wubiaose zhang* 表無表色章 (Chapter on *vijñapti* and *avijñapti rūpa*), *avijñapti* is taken as a special kind of invisible rūpa. He defined the *prātimokṣa* precepts and their *avijñapti* as follows:

> As for prātimokṣa precepts and *avijñapti*, a part of its perceptual field (Skt. *āyatana*), on the wholesome seed of intension (Skt. *cetanā*), takes the function of protecting one from unwholesome bodily and verbal precepts, and giving rise to wholesome bodily and verbal precepts as its essence.
>
> 其別解脫律儀及處中一分無表。以善思種子上。有防身語惡戒功能。及發身語善戒功能為體。[193]

Here *avijñapti* is conceived of as attached to the seed of intension and defined by its function of exerting protective power. Notice the seed of intention and *prajñapti* are all quasi-rūpa, which means that they are not directly made of four great elements. Kuiji's position is consistent with the northern Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma teaching and the Yogācāra theory.

[193] Kuiji, *Dacheng fayun yiin zhang* 大乘法苑義林章,T45, no. 1861, 301a12-14.

For later discussion, it is beneficial to provide a brief review of the theoretical development of *avijñapti*. In early abhidharma literature, the creation of *avijñapti* was intended mainly to conveniently explain the relationship between a human action and assumed karmic retribution. Visible human action is conceived of as producing an invisible part which bears the ethical weight of good and evil, and karmic retribution relies on the realization of this invisible part, which is constantly present, to "reveal the *vijñapti* of the body in the past, which gives rise to *avijñapti* karma operating at present." 顯有過去身表。所發身無表業現在隨轉。[194] In this phase it is considered that without *avijñapti*, the theory of karma cannot be established.

Vasubandhu 世親 posited an alternative view of *avijñapti* in his seminal pre-Yogācāra work, *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣyam* 阿毘達磨俱舍論 (hereafter AKBh). In the karman chapter of AKBh, his definition of *avijñapti* follows the epistemology of the abhidharma tradition, which puts *avijñapti* in the rūpa aggregation.

> Rūpa is only five sense faculties, five cognitive objects, and *avijñapti*.
> rūpaṃ pañcendriyāṇyarthāḥ pañcāvijñaptireva ca (P. Pradhan)
> 色者唯五根，五境及無表。(AKBh 1-9a-b)

He further defined *avijñapti* as a dharma which is not expressed in a way understandable to others 非表示令他了知.[195] Vasubandhu was unsatisfied with Vaibhāṣika's analogies of a tree and its shadow, or a jewel and its brilliance, for at this point he wanted *avijñapti* to be independent from its cause of arising and to continue to exist as a stable being.[196] Still in AKBh, Vasubandhu seemed to realize the limitation of grounding karma in *avijñapti,* which is potentially separate from human agency,

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[194] Kātyāyanīputra, *Apidamo dapibosha lun* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論. T27, no. 1545, 638b13-14.

[195] AKBh, T29, no. 1558, 3a24. La Vallée Poussin translates this phrase as "does nothing by way of informing another as *vijñapti* does.". *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣyam of Vasubandhu* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1988-1990), vol.1, 68.

[196] AKBh, T29, no. 1558, 3c15-16.

(such as in negligence), and put the focus primarily on intention (Skt. *cetanā*). Vasubandhu went so far as to equate karma with the power of intension and its material realization.

> The variety of the world is given rise by karma, which is intention and what is made by it;
> Intention is the karma of mental activity, and what is made is bodily and verbal [behavior]
> karmajaṃ lokavaicitryaṃ cetanā tatkṛtaṃ ca tat
> cetanā mānasaṃ karma tajjaṃ vākkāyakarmaṇī (P. Pradhan)
> 世別由業生，思及思所作。思即是意業，所作謂身語。(AKBh, 4-1)

In this new scheme, the ethical weight of karma falls on intention, and the importance of *avijñapti* is downplayed as facilitating the subdivision of bodily and verbal action. This by no means suggests that Vasubandhu is a radical intensionalist, since the realistic aspect of his ethical theory should not be neglected.[197] When Vasubandhu unfastened the tie between *avijñapti* and karma in his epistemology, his conceptualization of the connection between precepts and *avijñapti* remained in the Yogācāra theory about precepts, as shown above in Kuiji's theory. Further, Vasubandhu argues,

> The initial *vijñapti* and *avijñapti* is [called] the path of *prātimokṣa*.
> ādye vijñaptyavijñaptī prātimokṣakiyāpathaḥ (P. Pradhan)
> 唯初表無表，名別解業道。(AKBh, 4-16)

Here "the initial" means the first moment of receiving the *prātimokṣa* precepts, when the visible and invisible part together form a whole. In a logic similar to that of karma, without the constant presence of *avijñapti*, *prātimokṣa* precepts would lose their hold after the initiation. What we see in Kuiji's position above is a syncretic approach which

[197] See Karin L. Meyers, "The Dynamics of Intention, Freedom, and Habituation According to Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośabhāṣya." In *A Mirror Is for Reflection: Understanding Buddhist Ethics*, edited by Jake H. Davis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 240-256

recognizes the function of *avijñapti* of *prātimokṣa* precepts by grafting it to intention, the core of Vasubandhu's ethical theory.

After this short digression, we return to the critique made by Yuanzhao. He argued that for Sarvāstivāda Vinaya, "*jieti* is taken as a rūpa; the maker and what is made are both rūpa, without mention of mind. Without exhausting the origin of karma, it is not a complete (understanding). 十誦色為戒體。能造所造。二俱是色。俱不談心。未窮業本。故未圓也。"[198] Yuanzhao was pointing to the epistemological classification of *avijñapti* as a rūpa, and the intrinsic difficulty of grafting it to mind. Yuanzhao's main concern, as I will discuss later, is not merely the theoretical inconsistency created for the Yogācāra school. He found it troublesome that his contemporary Vinaya masters embodied the Yogācāra position, thus shaking the foundation of Daoxuan's theory.[199]

Daoxuan described how *jieti* is obtained by an individual, "It is made by Tathāgata, who causes good dharma infinite as dust to arise in the dharma realm, and then infuses it into one's body and mind. 此是如來所制。發得塵沙法界善法注汝身心。" [200] *Jieti* is obtained instantly the moment after the third confirmation of the vow:

> From the time of inviting the master to the second ascertainment, the intentional mind is not yet complete. It is good, but not yet the (completed) precepts. After the completion of the third ascertainment, in one moment, the intention is fulfilled. This good is the precepts.
>
> 以從請師至二羯磨。要心未暢。善而非戒。第三唱已。剎那思滿。即善是戒。[201]

Jieti is regarded as one part from the dharma realm which is placed into one's body and mind through the ordination ritual. If *jieti* is a constituent of the dharma realm, its

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[198] Yuanzhao, *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 166a10-12.

[199] There is no denying that Daoxuan had adopted terminologies from the Yogācāra school and showed their influences in his writing from time to time. While whether Daoxuan altered his position on *jieti* in favor of Yogācāra teaching remains a topic of discussion, Yuanzhao did not allow mismatching of different positions due to theoretical and practical concerns.

[200] Daoxuan, *Xingshichao*, T40, no. 1804, 29c5-6.

[201] Yuanzhao, *Jiyuanji*, X41, no. 728, 252a8-10 // Z 1:64, 423d14-16 // R64, 846b14-16.

nature must exist in association with it. Since the dharma realm shall not contain form and mind, Daoxuan made it clear that the nature of *jieti* for the Vinaya teaching is the neither-rūpa-nor-citta.[202]

Watanabe Takao 渡辺隆生 points out that Harivarman's *Tattvasiddhi* holds a position critical to the *avijñapti* concept of the Sarvāstivāda School.[203] In the Chinese translation and interpretation, unconditioned does not equal *avijñapti*. To be unconditioned refers to the state of existence not being made, and thus not subject to momentariness. In Chinese translation of Buddhist texts, the term "unconditioned" may be taken as equal to *avijñapti*, due to the apparent resemblance that it arises accompanying bodily and verbal behavior, and that its primary function is as the ontological base to explain the operation of karma. Yet for Daoxuan and Yuanzhao, "unconditioned" is the central term indicating the nature of *jieti* and marking the critical difference between the Vinaya and Yogācāra schools. They never adopted Xuanzang's new translation *wubiao*, aiming instead to maintain a certain distance from the Yogācāra interpretation. Daoxuan labeled *jieti* in terms of the unconditioned state:

> The unconditioned state explained means the essence of karma for the duration of the physical body, arising from the four-ascertainment ritual. Once produced, it continues to exist, flowing through the four states of mind, without a dependent cause, since it is a natural occurrence. In the three categories of beings, it belongs to the category of neither-form-nor-mind.
>
> 解無作者。謂白四所發。形期業體。一成續現。經流四心。不藉緣辨。任運起故。三聚之中。非色心攝。[204]

For Daoxuan, it is not possible to attribute *jieti* to either form or mind, given the common definition of the two. The characteristics of *jieti* make it unfit to be either a form made of the four great elements that are assumed to be morally neutral, or a

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[202] Daoxuan, *Jiemoshu*, T41, 244c.

[203] Watanabe Takao 渡辺隆生, "*Yuishiki setsu ni okeru muhyokan no haikei*" 唯識説における律儀無表観の背景, In *Bukkyo gaku ronshū: Namakura Zuiryū hakase koki kinen ronshū* 仏教学論集: 中村瑞隆博士古稀記念論集 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1985), 371-390.

[204] Yuanzhao, *Jiyuanji,* X41, no. 728, 248a2-3.

morally undecided mind which is not always wholesome.[205] Yuanzhao push the teachings of the Nanshan Vinaya school deeper into the spectrum of Mahāyāna, by highlighting Daoxuan's understanding of *jieti* as "not exclusively Hīnayāna, but at the same time connected with Mahāyāna. 不專小典。兼通方等。"[206] Yuanzhao elaborated the sense of double belonging as:

> *Sifenlü* takes neither-form-nor-mind as *jieti*, which is derived from the mind. Nonetheless it is confined to the lesser vehicle, conformed to an expedient meaning, and given a different name. Stepping back, it is not part of the lesser vehicle. Stepping forward, it is not part of the great vehicle. It secretly commands the practitioner, who bears a mind that fits the real path.
>
> 四分二非為體，體從心發，然限在小宗，曲從權意，別立異名，退非為小，進不成大，密使行人，心希實道。[207]

Thus, *jieti* for both Daoxuan and Yuanzhao bears the nature of neither-form-nor mind, belonging to the third category.[208] The definition resembles *wubiao* but is still distinguishable from a typical Yogācāra interpretation.

In Yuanzhao's mind, the so-called perfect teaching referred to the teaching of Tiantai and Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra*. When citing Tiantai's position, Yuanzhao used Zhiyi's well-known commentary on the bodhisattva precepts.

> Tiantai's bodhisattva precepts commentary says, "As for *jieti*, once it arises, its nature is designated as unconditioned rūpa."[209] Its arising is (based on) the

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[205] Daoxuan's detailed explanation of why *jieti* cannot be neither form nor mind is found in *Xingshichao*, T1804, p52, and *Jiemoshu*, X41, no. 728, 248a23-24.

[206] Yuanzhao, *Zhiyuan yibian* 芝園遺編, X59, no. 1104, 627b2-3.

[207] Yuanzhao, *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 166a12-14

[208] Yuanzhao inherited a list from Jingxiao's *Jianzhengji*, in which the following seventeen dharmas are grouped in the third unassociated category, "gaining, not-gaining, sameness, life-faculty, non-conceptual concentration, non-conceptual fruit, concentration of total secession, arising, abiding, changing, ceasing, name, phrases, phoneme, aging, death and the unconditioned state of the commoner 得。非得。同分。命根。無想定。無想果。滅盡定。生。住。異。滅。名身。文身。句身。老。死。凡夫法無作。」 *Sifenlu xingshichao jianzhengji*, X43, no. 737, 243b16-19. The source of this list unknown.

[209] The term "unconditioned rūpa" (Chi. *wuzuo jiase* 無作假色) appeared in many early Buddhist categories of existence such as *Abhidharma-vibhāṣā-śāstra* (*Apitan piposha lun* 阿毘曇毘婆沙論) and *Abhidharma-sāra-prakīrṇaka-śāstra* (*Za apitanxin lun* 雜阿毗曇心論). For instance, one categorization of dharma is that "there are seven kinds of dharma: unconditioned rūpa, sensation, perception, impulse, space, analytical wisdom, and non-analytical wisdom 法入有七種。無作假色、受、想、行、虛空、數緣滅、非數緣滅。" *Apitan piposha lun*, T28, no. 1546, vol. 8, 53a7-8.

complete nature and returns to abide in (its own) nature. It does not extinguish passing lives.

天台菩薩戒疏云。戒體者不起而已。起即性無作假色。全性而起。還依性住。經生不滅。[210]

The citation was taken from *Pusajie yishu*, attributed to Zhiyi and Guanding. According to Murakami Akiya 村上明也, the commentary is less likely to have been written by either Zhiyi or Guanding because of its internal inconsistency with their thought. By textual analysis, the compilation of this work can be dated to between 664 and 686 [211]This renewed dating makes it the first commentary on bodhisattva precepts, but allow us to confirm influences of Daoxuan's interpretation of the three categories of pure precepts.

Going back to the commentary, it indicates that when *jieti* is designated as unconditioned rūpa, this means it is a rūpa, but only a nominal one: a *prajñapti*. This shows a somewhat indecisive or compromised attitude toward the recognition of unconditioned rūpa. This apparent paradox could pose problems for Tiantai followers.

The most likely reason that Yuanzhao incorporated Taintai position is that he needed a third position to balance the controversy between the Sarvāstivāda and Nanshan teaching. When Sarvāstivāda took the position of *avijñapti* and Tiantai the position of mind, both were lacking a strong argument. As I suggested previously, the Nanshan school designated the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya as a suitable bridge between the two vehicles. The same applied to *jieti*, an apophatic term for non-form and non-mind bearing Madhyamika characteristics which avoided the logical flaws of a positive position.

[210] Yuanzhao, *Jiyuanji*, X41, no. 728, 258c12-13.

[211] Murakami Akiya, "*Chigi setsu kanjo ki "Bosatsu kaigi sho" no seritsu ni kansuru kenkyū* 智顗説灌頂記『菩薩戒義疏』の成立に関する研究." in *Hokke Bukkyo Kenkyū kai*, Issue 21.

Yuanzhao's Reinterpretation of jieti

In the previous section, we discussed Yuanzhao's considerable revisions to Daoxuan's classification, incorporating Tiantai doctrine as the dominant Mahāyāna complete teaching. It is apparent that Yuanzhao did not apply the Yogācāra terminology used by Daoxuan, instead held the in-between position of *jieti*. Avoiding the theoretical difficulties that I have just explained, the apophatic position of *jieti* goes hand in hand with the position of the Vinaya teaching in Buddhism. Yuanzhao did not stop at Daoxuan's understanding. In *Jiyuanji*, he developed the idea of *jieti* in detail and wove it into his ethical project of the Vinaya and precepts.

Daoxuan discussed the proper arousal of mind to be achieved while taking on full ordination. The quality of *jieti* obtained is determined by the quality of mind aroused during the ordination ritual.[212] In this vein of thought, the quality of the *jieti* cannot be changed after the ordination ritual. A lower quality of mind does not mean having a goal of only one's own liberation, just as Daoxuan did not allude to the pejorative attitude towards the so-called lesser vehicle. All three kinds of arousal of mind aim to save sentient beings.

In Daoxuan's classification, the lower-level mind is defined as "seeking the path to save all sentient beings," the middle quality of mind is "to benefit oneself and others," and the higher quality is to accomplish the three categories of [pure] precepts and lead sentient beings to nirvana. As the Vinaya text (*Pibalü* 毗跋律), cited by Daoxuan, was no longer available in the Song, Yuanzhao added his own interpretation that the saving of sentient beings can be further divided into three kinds.[213]

> Although it is the same behavior of saving sentient beings, the practice differs in depth. The first aim is not to harm another's life; the second is to instruct others

[212] Daoxuan, "當發上品心得上品戒。若下品心者乃至羅漢戒是下品。" *Xingshichao*, T40, no. 1804, 26, a22-23.

[213] *Pibalü* is recorded in all early Buddhist catalogs such as *Lidai saibaoji*, *Chusanzang jiji*, as well as Daoxuan's *Datang neidian lu.*

> with dharma; and the third is to help others obtain ultimate liberation. The former does not contain the latter, but the latter must include the former. In general, the first only saves life but without liberation. This is the mind of śrāvaka. The path one pursues is toward the fruit of the lesser vehicle. For the middle guides with dharma, the liberation of oneself and others is not the ultimate goal; thus, this is the small bodhisattva. Although the fruit of the Buddha is expected, the practice is of middle quality. The upper mind leads (sentient beings) to reach nirvana, to convert to the Buddha path together. This is the practice of a great bodhisattva.
>
> 然雖救生。行有深淺。一不害彼命。二以法開導。三令得究竟度。前不得後後必兼前。約義推之初。但護命不令得脫。即二乘心。前云求道。正據小果。中品所修。以法開解。自他兩利度非究竟。即小菩薩。雖期佛果。行處中間。上品引導。令至涅槃。同歸佛道。即大菩薩行。[214]

However, in Yuanzhao's own anthology, he changed the definition of three categories of mind, making it clearly fit the stereotype of the two vehicles.

> Therefore, the Vinaya illustrates that the aroused mind is divided into three categories. The first only aspires to leave suffering and seeks benefit for oneself. This is called the low category. The second is for dispelling doubts, taking responsibility for oneself and another. This is called the middle category, and this is the mind of a lesser bodhisattva. The third forgets oneself and benefits sentient beings, operating on both fortune and wisdom, realizing one's original nature. This is called the upper category, which is the mind of the great bodhisattva.
>
> 故律明發心。則有三品。一者唯期脫苦。專求自利。名為下品。此二乘心也。二者為物解疑。自他兼濟。名為中品。此小菩薩心也。三者忘己利生。福智雙運。了達本性。求佛菩提。名為上品。此大菩薩心也。[215]

The *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* has been classified by Daoxuan as "partially in accordance with Mahāyāna" (Chi. *fentong dacheng* 分通大乘)[216], with the quality of arousal of mind showing more flexibility in allowing the Vinaya master to further push the Vinaya along the spectrum towards Mahāyāna. However, Daoxuan's classification may cause confusion with its potential mismatch between the arousal of mind and the obtained *jieti*. If, as Daoxuan suggested, one has already aroused the mind to "obtain

[214] *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 219, c17-23.

[215] *Zhiyuanji*, X59, no. 1105, 662, b13-17.

[216] Daoxuan, "四分一宗。分通大乘。" *Jiemoshu*, X40, no. 726, 867a24 // Z 1:64, 186b7 // R64, p. 371b7.

the three categories of [pure] precepts," while taking full ordination under *Sifenlü*, does one still need to take the bodhisattva precepts again?

To answer this thorny question, Yuanzhao suggested that essentially there should be no difference in *jieti* between the two vehicles. For him, the real difference is in the identity of the receiver, which means monastics must take the *jieti* in the *Sifenlü* ordination ritual and laypersons have the option to receive the bodhisattva precepts. Although the rituals are different from each other, the quintessential result of the acceptance of *jieti* should be the same. Therefore, one should not be caught up in the false dichotomy of two ordination rituals and instead aim to arouse the upper quality of mind.

> One may ask, are what have been received indeed the three categories (of pure precepts), or are they not the three categories? If the answer is yes, should one still take the bodhisattva precepts or not? Again, if the great vehicle and the lesser vehicle is mingled, how would they be distinguished? If the answer is no—precepts are [received] by arousing the mind—since the mind was aroused, how could the precepts not be in accordance [with the mind]? These are greatly mistaken views. [I post] them here. One should seek by oneself.
>
> 問今此所受為即三聚。為非三聚。若云即者。後須更受菩薩戒不。又復大小混亂如何分別。若云非者戒從心發。既發此心那非此戒。大見錯解。故特提示使自求之。[217]

Yuanzhao did suggest that both positions are caught in a dualistic view of the two vehicles. However, doubt about the mismatched ritual and the precepts continued to exist. We will see in Chapter 7 that this very question was raised again by the Japanese master Shunjō to Chinese Vinaya masters who were identified with the Vinaya School in the Southern Song; and that even after many years of practice and debate, they did not have a unified answer to this question.

Yuanzhao maintained that "although nominally in accordance with the small vehicle, as for the three categories of precepts, they should be included in the great vehicle. 三解

[217] Yuanzhao. *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 220a14-18.

脫者雖是觀慧非定不發。即定慧二學。絕縛證真由此得入。故號三解脫門。然名通小教今對三聚。須局大乘。”[218] Here we see that Yuanzhao called for reflection on the quintessential meaning of the great vehicle, surpassing the nominal difference between the two vehicles. In this mode of thinking, although the ordination ritual belongs to the small vehicle, one can and should arouse the upper quality of mind for “three categories of precepts.” The determining factor is the resolution rather than the ritual. However, Yuanzhao also reminds us that this way of thinking should not negate the difference. He was equally wary of the trap of identifying the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* as a Mahāyāna text, which would be a position impossible to defend. In responding to Daoxuan’s defining argument— “this teaching of *Sifenlü,* its meaning is in accordance with the Mahāyāna. 問此教宗是何乘而發大乘志耶。答此四分宗義當大乘。”[219]— Yuanzhao said straightforwardly, “if the *Sifenlü* is Mahāyāna, then what should Hīnayāna be? 四分是大。將何為小。”[220] No matter how close the meaning of *Sifenlü* is to the Mahāyāna, it will never be a Mahāyāna Vinaya.

Since Daoxuan did not leave any evidence that he had ever granted Bodhisattva precepts to Buddhist communities, there is no standard answer in the commentarial tradition which can solve the confusion Daoxuan initiated. We can only infer from Yuanzhao’s missionary work that in practice he conferred the bodhisattva precepts on top of the *prātimokṣa* precepts.[221] Perhaps influenced by Tiantai teaching, he considered it more proper to receive the basic precepts under *Sifenlü* in sequence, leaving the bodhisattva precepts as the last taken.

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[218] Yuanzhao. *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 220a9-11.

[219] Daoxuan, *Xingshichao*, T40, no. 1804, 26b6-7.

[220] Yuanzhao, *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 220b18-19.

[221] See “*Lun zengjie shu*,” in *Zhiyuanji*, Vol. 2, X59, no. 1105. According to Yuanzhao’s writing, the practice of granting of bodhisattva precepts to those who had already obtained *jieti* was a deviation from the common practice of his time.

Taking Daoxuan's previous elaboration on *jieti* in the third category as basis, Yuanzhao described the *jieti* of the perfect meaning of Mahāyāna using terms that appear to belong to Yogācāra teaching.

> The perfect meaning of Mahāyāna is indicative of the body (of precepts), which is *ālayavijñāna*, operating according to causal conditions, the seed of producing karma, and the producer of six consciousnesses. The karma achieved by the full precepts is held by *ālayavijñāna*, which is called the unconditioned. The contained karmic reason is called the wholesome seed.
>
> 大乘圓成實義。點示彼體。乃是梨耶藏識。隨緣流變。造成業種。能造六識即是。具戒作成之業。梨耶所持。即號無作。所蘊業因。名善種子。[222]

At first glance, Yuanzhao seems to draw inspiration from Yogācāra teaching. He has adopted apparent Yogācāra terminologies, such as wholesome seed and *ālayavijñāna to explain* how *jieti* works together with the *ālayavijñāna*. However, it would be too hasty to conclude that Yuanzhao adopted the teaching of Yogācāra without reserve. First we should note that Yuanzhao deliberately used the "old translation," *ālayavijñāna,* instead of the widely used *alaiyeshi* 阿賴耶識, perhaps merely for the sake of making a distinction from the Yogācāra school.

Stepping further away from Yogācāra influence, Yuanzhao did not think that wholesome seed had to come from Mahāyāna, i.e., Yogācāra teaching. He pointed out that in Abhidharma texts, there was already discussion of wholesome seeds.[223] The idea of taking *jieti* as the unconditioned wholesome seed, and how this might work together with mind, is of vital importance for Yuanzhao's whole ethical project. A decisive move, which distinguishes him from the Yogācāra teaching, is that Yuanzhao took the position of equating *ālayavijñāna* with *tathāgatagarbha,* the potential to realize Buddhahood. For Yuanzhao, the potential to realize Buddhahood was like the gold hidden inside gold ore. Even though everyone may possess gold ore, without the help of the wholesome

[222] *Zhiyuan yibian*, X59, no. 1104, 627c5-7.

[223] *Jiyuanji*, X41, no. 728, 430.

seed of *jieti,* the gold cannot reveal itself. This vision deemed the potential of Buddhahood as coarse and impure, requiring the input of a pure goodness that is part of the dharma realm in order to refine, purify, and protect itself. Daoxuan's own argument would support this vision as "the good purifies the vessel of mind, (thus one) certainly does not commit crime 善淨心器。必不為惡。"[224]

Yamamoto Genryū 山本元隆 has argued that in Yuanzhao's *Jiyuanji*, Yunkan and the other major Vinaya thinker of the Song were assigned the position of taking the seed as substantial rūpa.[225] Yuanzhao insisted on the consistency of the apophatic descriptions of *jieti*: "Good is the dharma body of the precepts, seed is a metaphor 善則是法體。種是譬喻," and "Good is without evil, seed is a metaphor 善即簡惡。種子是喻。"[226] rejecting the idea that *jieti* is endowed with the ethical neutral nature of *rūpa*. We can see that the nuanced difference here is not the use of "wholesome seed" to describe *jieti*, but rather how the nature of the seed, as a rūpa or as a metaphor, is understood.

Yuanzhao gave Daoxuan's loose classification a clearer sectarian boundary and a lucid identification as a self-identified member of the Nanshan Vinaya school. To keep some distance from Yogācāra teaching, he intentionally used an older translation than Xuanzang and traced the key term "wholesome seed" to earlier Abhidharma texts. At the same time, he imported Tiantai teaching into his reading of Daoxuan, and bound the Vinaya together with Tiantai as the perfect teaching. Yuanzhao had demonstrated how the Vinaya teaching can be used as a quintessential bridge to connect Hīnayāna to Mahāyāna, and eventually lead Buddhists to ultimate liberation through Tiantai's map

[224] *Xingshichao*, T40, no. 1804, 4c4.

[225] Yamamoto Genryū 山本元隆, "*Genjō no Kaiti no Shisō*" 元照の戒体思想, in *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyo Gakubu Lunshū*, 75.

[226] Yuanzhao, *Jiyuanji*, X41, no. 728, 258b17-18.

of soteriology. In this way, Yuanzhao clarified the core concept of *jieti* and the parameters of the Vinaya school's unfolding in history.

The Acquisition of Jieti

Once the nature of the *jieti* is clarified and the soteriological necessity to acquire it through the ordination ritual is created, the next step is to discuss the ordination ritual itself. As Yuanzhao's trial has demonstrated, the ordination ritual is the focal point of a power struggle. Here again, the Nanshan Vinaya teaching faces the problem of how to incorporate the Vinaya into a Mahāyāna framework while retaining its independence. The conundrum is that if there are essentially two kinds of ordination rituals corresponding to the two vehicles, are there two *jieti* acquired respectively? If so, do they have the same significance? If not, why not reduce it to one ritual? To answer these questions, it is necessary to review the existing Mahāyāna precepts, namely the bodhisattva precepts, to better evaluate Nanshan Vinaya teaching's position.

Prescribed conduct can be found in many Mahāyāna sūtras and is sometimes referred to as bodhisattva precepts. In East Asian Buddhism, two formulations have been particularly influential. One is designated as the 'Brahmā Net precepts' 梵網戒, following the *Fangwangjing*; the other is directly derived from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, part of the YŚ, and from other Yogācāra texts which were also separately translated and circulated. Whoever takes on the bodhisattva precepts is recognized as a bodhisattva, regardless of their status as a monastic or layperson. Although when and how bodhisattva precepts became popular among Chinese Buddhist communities remains a subject for further research, few prescribed practices have exerted as profound and prolonged an impact on the religious life of East Asia as the bodhisattva precepts. Bodhisattva precepts became known to Chinese Buddhists together with the translation of the full Vinaya canons in the fifth century. They gained popularity due to the efforts

of Liang Emperor Wu (464-549, r. 502-549), and then became popular in the royal families. Buddhist masters in this early period also started to perform the conferral ritual of the bodhisattva precepts upon laypeople. After Saichō returned to Japan in 805, reliance on the *Fanwangjing* gave rise to the Perfect-Sudden Precepts in Japan, which became one of the defining marks for the Japanese Tendai school. In this sense, one may read and understand East Asian Buddhist history from the perspective of the dynamic relationship between bodhisattva precepts and the so-called precepts of the śrāvaka, which stem from Vinaya texts.

Although both sets of precepts were called bodhisattva precepts, they sometimes contradicted each other. Furthermore, two ways of conferring the bodhisattva precepts were used: one was to take the precepts directly from Buddhas and bodhisattvas in the form of self-ordination and the other was to receive them through the assistance of qualified precepts masters. This distinctive feature of bodhisattva precepts led to considerable freedom in the revival of the Vinaya movements. One of the most conspicuous features of the bodhisattva precepts is the unique conferral ritual of self-ordination. Records in materials such as *Gaosengzhuan* 高僧傳 (Lives of Eminent Monks) show elements of conferral rituals such as repentance of sins, visualization of the Buddha and bodhisattvas in meditation or dreams and receiving the precepts in front of an image of the Buddha. These characteristics demonstrate the differences between the self-ordination ritual and ordination by teachers regarding control and regulation of the Buddhist community. However, an intriguing fact is that the standard conferral ritual and the appearance of the so-called Mahāyāna ordination platform in Japan predate their counterparts in China (also called the *ganlu* ordination platform 甘露戒壇), which came into being much later during the Song Dynasty. This time difference indicates that on the one hand, bodhisattva precepts have long been accepted theoretically as the guide for religious and ethical life among Buddhist communities,

but that on the practical level, there was still freedom in forging standard ritual practices that fit the historical context.

There has been no standard ritual manual regarding the conferral of bodhisattva precepts. As mentioned before, Yuanzhao referred to six different texts on the topic to compose his own version of the ritual. I shall briefly introduce the twofold literature of ritual manuals first. The first category is Xuanzang's translation of *Pusajie jiemowen* 菩薩戒羯磨文, in standalone circulation derived from YŚ. Other translations of the same text such as *Pusa dichijing* 菩薩地持經 translated by Dharmakṣema 曇無讖, and *Pusa shanjie jing* 菩薩善戒經, translated by Guṇavarman 求那跋摩 also belong to this category.

The bodhisattva precepts in the Yogācāra tradition are composed of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna precepts, in which the two parts co-exist and can only be taken separately and not all at once. For instance, the bodhisattva precepts for laity consist of the four grave offences plus the five precepts. The same formula applies to novices and fully ordained monks and nuns. As for the *Fanwangjing* tradition, it is designated as independent, yet superior to the precepts of śrāvaka, in which the two are not necessarily related to one another.

The second category is manuals derived from *Fanwangjing*. This category contains multiple texts. The paradox of the acceptance of *Fangwangjing* is that it was once considered apocryphal in Chinese Buddhist history, but this dubious status did not hinder its popularity in both China and Japan.[227] Zhiyi's *Shichan boluomi cidi famen* 釋

[227] For the history of the acceptance of *Fanwangjing* in East Asian Buddhism, see Funayama Tōru, *Higashi ajia bukkyō no seikatsu kisoku bonmōkyō : saiko no katachi to hatten no rekishi,* 東アジア仏教の生活規則梵網経: 最古の形と発展の歴史 (Kyōto-shi: Rinsen Shoten, 2017). Funayama Tōru, "The Acceptance of Buddhist Precepts by Chinese in the Fifth Century." In *Journal of Asian History,* 2004, 38-2, 97-120. and Paul Groner, "The *Fan-wang ching* and Monastic Discipline in Japanese Tendai: A Study of Annen's Futsū jubosatsukai kōshaku." In *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, Jr. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 251-290.

禪波羅蜜次第法門 is based on *Fanwangjing* and *Yingluojing* in terms of observing the ten major and forty-eight minor precepts which lead to the fruit of Buddhahood. The so-called *"pārājika* for bodhisattva" inside the *Fanwangjing* is vastly different from the one in the Vinaya, both in content and in interpretation.

An earlier example found in the Pelliot collection of the Dunhuang manuscript, entitled *Chujiaren shou pusajie fa* 出家人受菩薩戒法 (P. 2196), deserves our full attention.[228] This is the very text made available by Liang Emperor Wu which eventually became the bodhisattva precepts and gained popularity first in the royal families. Buddhist masters in this period also started to perform ordination ceremonies conferring bodhisattva precepts upon laypeople. Around the same time, another apocryphal text, *Zhancha shan'e yebaojing* 占察善惡業報經 (hereafter *Zhanchajing*) also gained popularity in the laity and eventually among monastics. *Zhanchajing* included information about one can take monastic status through self-ordination, and this meaning was projected to the same term found in YŚ and then used to defend the legitimacy of self-ordination as we have seen the debate in chapter 1 between Japanese masters and Jianzhen.

The free appropriation of textual tradition suggests that these two systems are by no means separate in monastic practice and teaching. The authenticity of texts such as *Fanwangjing* and *Yingluojing* were not subject to suspicion for the greatest part of Buddhist history. The distinction is more meaningful to modern scholars of Buddhism examining the history of two textual traditions. First and foremost, the latter incorporates elements from the former. Second, the two systems co-existed through the northern and southern dynasties. And eventually, *Fanwang precepts* also took the name of bodhisattva precepts. Since they share the same name, Satō Tatsugen points

[228] Tuchihashi Syūkō. "Perio bon shukkenin jubosatsukaihō ni tsuite" ペリオ本 「出家人受菩薩戒法」について. In *Bukkyō bunken no kenkyū: Satō Kyōju teinen kinen* (Kyōto: Hyakkaen, 1968), 93-148.

out that it is difficult to tell which tradition one is following.[229] As a result, most Vinaya masters do not feel the obligation to pick a side and they often cross-cite from the two traditions.

As discussed in the opening part of this chapter, the conferral ritual of bodhisattva precepts plays a central role in Yuanzhao's religious missionary activities. Particularly in his time, Pure Land Buddhism became pervasive in almost all branches of Buddhism and attracted an increasing number of lay followers. The popularity of Buddhism among lay people stimulated the need for a universal conferral ritual of the bodhisattva precepts as a pathway to the Pure Land. However, the lack of a standard ritual manual within the textual tradition of the apocryphal *Fanwangjing* and *Yingluojing* posed a difficult problem. The only reference text is found in YŚ, which belongs to the tradition of Yogācāra teaching. This historical and textual context results in relative freedom in the creation of liturgy and explains the variations between existing ritual manuals. Given the importance of precepts in the teaching of the Nanshan Vinaya School and Yuanzhao's conversion to Pure Land practice in his middle age, it is no surprise that he advocated the conferral of bodhisattva precepts for both monastics and laypeople. Following the Tiantai way of combining the two textual traditions of bodhisattva precepts in history, Yuanzhao relied heavily on ritual manuals crafted by Siming Zhili 四明知禮 (960-1028) and Ciyun Zunshi 慈雲遵式 (994-1032), the two most innovative Tiantai masters who combined Tiantai teaching and Pure Land practices. Drawing on his unique position as a Vinaya master, Yuanzhao compiled his version of the conferral ritual, entitled *Shoudacheng pusajieyi* 授大乘菩薩戒儀 (X59, no. 1104).

Given his background, Yuanzhao possessed a vantage point which went beyond sectarian boundaries. He was aware of the two textual traditions of the bodhisattva

[229] See Satō Tatsugen. *Chūgoku bukkyō ni okeru kairitsu no kenkyū,* 342.

precepts, represented by *Fanwangjing* and *Pusa shanjiejing*,[230] which exhibited roughly the same distinctions Buddhist scholars refer to as the *Fanwangjing* and YŚ traditions. Yuanzhao made a distinction between the two traditions by assigning them to the Mahāyāna sūtra groups of Huayan and *Lotus Sūtra* respectively.

> Bodhisattva precepts have two [conferral] traditions: one is from the Huayan branch, and the second is from the Tiantai branch. *Fanwangjing* says, these are for the conferees of bodhisattva precepts from kings, administrators, bhikṣus, and bhikṣuṇīs, down to commoners, eunuchs, non-humans, and animals. So long as they understand the words of the master, anyone can receive the precepts. This is the Huayan branch, in which the gradual and sudden conferral are identical. *Pusa shanjiejing* says that the conferee of bodhisattva precepts should receive the five-precepts of *upāsaka*, then the ten-precepts of *śrāmaṇera*, then the full ordination of bhikṣu, then the bodhisattva precepts. It is like a four-story building: it is impossible to step onto the second floor if not from the first floor, impossible to step onto the third floor if not from the second floor, and impossible to step onto the fourth floor if not from the third floor. This is the Lotus branch, which only follows the gradual reception.
>
> 然菩薩戒凡有兩宗。一者華嚴部。二者法華部。梵網經云。若受菩薩戒者。國王百官。比丘比丘尼。乃至庶民黃門。非人畜生。但解法師語。盡得受戒。此即華嚴部。通漸頓受也。善戒經云。欲受菩薩戒。先受優婆塞五戒。次受沙彌十戒。次受比丘具戒。後受菩薩戒。譬如重樓四級。不由初級而至二級無有是處。不由二級而至三級無有是處。不由三級。而至四級。無有是處。此即法華部。唯從漸受也。[231]

Notice that Yuanzhao used the neutral term "branch" (Chi. *bu* 部) rather than "school" (Chi. *zong* 宗 [232]), a division with stronger sectarian connotations. This gives him enough flexibility to move between these two traditions. Yuanzhao made a distinction between the sequence of conferring the bodhisattva precepts in the Huayan branch as opposed to the Lotus branch. The former follows a universal model based on the *Fanwangjing* while the latter contains a fixed gradual sequence of receiving precepts, in which the bodhisattva precepts must be the last acquired. How, then, could these two

[230] Guṇavarman' s translation of *Pusa shanjiejing* is an early alternative translation of the "Bodhisattvabhūmi" chapter in the YŚ, except that its opening part is derived from *Mahāratnakūṭa-sūtra* 大寶積經.

[231] *Shoudacheng pusajieyi*, X59, no. 1104, 631a16-24 // Z 2:10, 268c1-9 // R105, 536a1-9.

[232] In Tiantai doctrine, *shu* could also mean tenet, which is not related to sectarian division.

systems coexist? Yuanzhao argued that the tradition shows lay believers should follow *Fanwangjing*, but that monastics may choose either one. However, he chose to follow *Fanwangjing* for a universal conferral for both monastic and lay.[233] The reader, who is familiar with Japanese Tendai's sole reliance on *Fanwangjing* for ordination, might have some doubts as to the designation of *Fanwangjing* to a Huayan interpretation. This is indeed a problem; we will see in later chapters that the question of whether to follow a universal conferral ritual became the point of dispute between Eison and Kakujō.

For now, it can be explained by the special position of *Fanwangjing* in the Tiantai *panjiao* system. Compared with *Pusa shanjiejing*, only *Fanwangjing* contains the wide range of conferees, which serves as the textual basis for a universal conferral ritual. As for the association of *Fanwangjing* with a Huayan interpretation, we should not forget Yuanzhao's training in Tiantai doctrine. Yuanzhao participated in Zeying 擇瑛 (1045-1099) and Shenwu Chuqian's 神悟處謙 (1011-1075) lectures between 1068 and 1077.[234] Chuqian was an expert in Tiantai doctrine, who inherited the teaching from Tiantai masters such as Siming Zhili and Shenzhao Benru 神照本如 (981-1050).

His understanding of Huayan is perhaps filtered through his Tiantai training. However, Yuanzhao demonstrated his own understanding of Huayan as being more than a lower-level teaching of Tiantai. Within the *panjiao* system of Tiantai, *Fanwangjing* is considered a sūtra preached in Huayan's time, immediately after Śākyamuni Buddha's enlightenment, and is often used as the closing sūtra of Huayan.

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[233] "As for laymen and women, one exclusively follows Fanwangjing, and as for Buddhist monks and nuns, they follow both sūtras. For now, I shall follow *Fanwang*, inclusive of monastic and lay, which is the popular practice. 今在家士女受者。則專依梵網。出家僧尼受者。則通稟二經。今且依梵網。通攝道俗。世所盛行。" *Shoudacheng pusajieyi*, X59, no. 1104, 631a24-b1 // Z 2:10, 268c9-10 // R105, 536a9-10.

[234] Tanxiu, *Rentian baojian* 人天寶鑑, X87, no. 1612.

Yuanzhao's choice, regardless of his reliance on Tiantai sources, was to follow Huayan's interpretation of *Fanwangjing* beyond a sectarian interpretation. The bodhisattva precepts are applicable to universal reception by both monastics and lay, while precepts derived from the Vinaya texts are juxtaposed to constitute a comprehensive system.

Referring to six previous bodhisattva precepts conferral ritual manuals from the Tiantai school, together with his background in the teaching of the Vinaya, Yuanzhao created a unique version of the ritual in 1111.[235] This ritual is divided into ten sections, with adjustments in content and sequence gained from Tiantai. I will discuss how Yuanzhao attempted to retain the balance between the two vehicles by drawing elements from Tiantai and Nanshan, while responding to the call of Pure Land Buddhism. First, to justify the position of Mahāyāna precepts in general, Yuanzhao reconstructed the history of precepts as Bodhisattva precepts preached by the Buddha prior to the Vinaya. However, for the sake of sentient beings with dull faculties, the Buddha selected five, eight, ten, and full precepts out of the bodhisattva precepts. In this re-ordered historical view, bodhisattva precepts gained historical legitimacy. This view is also found in Japan's Tiantai perfect and sudden precepts (Jpn. *endonkai* 円頓戒) teaching. [236]

In contrast to Yunkan, who made a distinction between the Vinaya school and Tiantai doctrine; Yuanzhao was more comfortable incorporating Tiantai thought in his understanding of precepts and cherry-picked from the elements of early Tiantai sources. Both textual traditions of bodhisattva precepts share a common feature in their liturgical structure—they all replace the three-master-seven-witnesses of the

[235] Yuanzhao did not give the exact list of which six Tiantai liturgical texts he was using, but at least we can confirm the list should include Huisi's attributed *Shou pusajie yi* 受菩薩戒儀, *Pusa jieyishu* 菩薩戒義疏 attributed to Zhiyi, the liturgical part in Mingkuang's *Tiantai pusajieshu* 天台菩薩戒疏, and Zhanran's *Shou pusajie yi* 授菩薩戒儀, as well as Zunshi's *Shou pusajie yishi shike* 授菩薩戒儀式十科, and Zhili's *Shou pusajie yi* 授菩薩戒儀 (collected in their personal anthologies).

[236] Tokiwa Daijō, 1928, 307-358.

prātimokṣa precepts with Buddhas and bodhisattvas. To be specific, Śākyamuni Buddha is the main preceptor, Mañjuśrī bodhisattva is the master of ritual, and Maitreya bodhisattva is the master of instruction. The limit of seven witnesses is expanded to buddhas and bodhisattvas in ten directions. This arrangement poses the problem of whether it is still necessary to have a human preceptor; and, if so, what the qualifications and functions of this preceptor should be. It also opens a convenient door for taking on bodhisattva precepts in the form of self-ordination, stripped of human mediation because the textual tradition practically does not require the presence of a full-fledged sangha.

We may take an example from the liturgical section of Mingkuang's *Tiantai pusajieshu*, in which he created a human preceptor position simply addressed in ambiguous terms as the Great Virtuous Ones (Chi. *dade* 大德) and preceptors (Chi. *jieshi* 戒師). Mingkuang posited that the human preceptor should possess five qualifying virtues, while *Pusa jieyishu* (attributed to Zhiyi) tried to connect the five virtues to *Fanwangjing*. These two versions of the five virtues are slightly different. *Pusa jieyishu* has the same list appearing in Yiji's 義寂 *Pusa jiebenshu* 菩薩戒本疏 and citing Kumarajiva. Of course, both citations cannot be verified. Mingkuang changed the fourth virtue from "excel at meditation" to "transmission from another master"[237], and the fifth from "having profound wisdom" to "having profound concentration and wisdom". The first three virtues are "observing the precepts," "being fully ordained for over ten years," and "having a good understanding of the Vinaya piṭaka." These three qualifications resemble the requirements found in the Vinaya texts and may be conceived of as a residue of the influence from the Vinaya in early Tiantai doctrine. As

[237] Mingkuang may have this change based on *Fanwangjing*'s unintentional definition of the human preceptor, who has received the precept from another preceptor. See "法師前受戒時，不須要見好相。何以故？以是法師。師師相授故，不須好相。是以法師前受戒即得戒，以生重心故便得戒。" *Fanwangjing*, T24, no. 1484, 1006c11-13.

the Tiantai ritual evolved, these requirements completely disappeared in the Song Tiantai ritual. However, Yuanzhao approved this appropriation from the Vinaya tradition and cited the list of five-fold qualifications from *Pusa jieyishu*. He went on to stress that the human preceptor must be a monastic, which is not even necessary given the content of the second virtue. The function of the human preceptor in the ritual is as mediator on behalf of the conferee with the Buddha and bodhisattvas. Comparing this with the ordination ritual in the Vinaya, one quickly discovers a fundamental shift of focus from a conversation with the sangha to a plea to buddha and bodhisattvas. The human preceptor lost the position of directly conferring the precepts and only retained symbolic value. In Yuanzhao's ritual, the "invitation for preceptors" only refers to a human preceptor; and the buddhas and bodhisattvas, together with numerous heavenly beings and local deities, are invited as witnesses of the ritual. Rather than inviting three-preceptors as prescribed in *Fanwangjing,* Yuanzhao invites deities as witnesses following the ritual described in Daoxuan's *Ordination platform Layout Sūtra* and thus tries to maintain the central position of monastic preceptor in the ritual.

Another distinctive feature in Yuanzhao's ritual is that, as an alternative option, he allows the invitation of the witness of Amitābha Buddha as one's main preceptor, Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva as master of ceremony, and Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattva as the master of instruction. This triad, of course, is the triad in the Pure Land sūtras. This permitted alteration is unprecedented in conferral liturgies. The flexible rendering of the ritual adds a crucial connection with the salvation of the Amitābha Buddha at the very beginning of the path, beyond the well-established deathbed testimonial. Yuanzhao re-orients the soteriological goal from perfect enlightenment to the attainment of rebirth in the Pure Land as a step along the path (not as the final goal). Yuanzhao considered that in the Age of the Decadent Dharma the karmic bond with Amitābha Buddha is mature; thus, there would be nothing wrong

in calling Amitābha Buddha to the conferral ritual. In the closing verse of the ritual, Yuanzhao reiterates the soteriological goal of taking the bodhisattva precepts, citing *Avataṃsaka sūtra*.

I Wish that when my life ends	願我臨欲命終時
All obstructions are cleared	盡除一切諸障礙
Seeing Amitābha Buddha in person	面見彼佛阿彌陀
To gain immediate rebirth in the land of bliss	即得往生安樂國 [238]

This very verse is later included in *Lüyuan shigui* 律苑事規 (The Regulation of the Vinaya School) in the Southern Song, a text which marks the institutional establishment of the Vinaya school. Adding the Amitābha Buddha as the main preceptor and weaving the soteriological goal into the conferral ritual, Yuanzhao bound both the beginning and end of the Buddhist path to Pure Land belief. Regarding the previously mentioned vision—that the cause and effect needed to achieve Buddhahood are not sequential, but should simultaneously form an organic whole, namely "the simultaneity of cause-and-effect" (Chi. *yinguo tongshi* 因果同時)—it is significant that Yuanzhao inserted this verse into the conferral ritual. The conferral ritual also serves as a good example of the collaboration between the self-power of the practitioner and the other-power which comes from Amitābha Buddha, which will meet resistance when this vision of combined practice was introduced to Japan during the formation of the Pure Land School in the Kamakura period.

If the role of human preceptor is absent, we have the self-ordination version of the conferral ritual. Both YŚ and *Fanwangjing* etc. mention the conditions and method of self-ordination. However, Yuanzhao seemed to disapprove of that self-ordination as an alternative option. Since the textual tradition clearly permits self-ordination in front of images of the Buddha and bodhisattva if there is no qualified master available within a

[238] *Zhiyuan yibian*, X59, no. 1104, 636b11-13 // Z 2:10, 273d2-3 // R105, 546b2-3.

thousand miles, and if one receives a good sign, why would Yuanzhao disagree? We see here an easily neglected point that within the structure established by Daoxuan, the bodhisattva precepts are a compound, containing the seven-fold *prātimokṣa* precepts. While part of the bodhisattva precepts—namely those commonly received by both laity and monastics—can be received by self-ordination, the so-called precepts of the śrāvaka, require a conferral ritual by qualified Vinaya masters. In other words, self-ordination cannot completely fulfill the requirements of the *prātimokṣa* precepts, and thus one cannot acquire a complete *jieti* only through self-ordination. This crucial difference is the central argument of Kakujō's *Bosatsukai tsubetsu nijusho* 菩薩戒通別二受鈔, in which he provides counter argument to Eison's understanding. I will discuss the difference between these two kinds of acceptance of the *jieti* in later chapters. For now, let us focus on Yuanzhao's argument.

Although Yuanzhao freely appropriated elements from the Tiantai ritual, what he created is a universal ritual for both monastics and lay. Many elements from the commentarial tradition of Nanshan teaching are included in the ritual. The most obvious change is in the explanatory part before the formal ritual, in which he applied the same four-fold definition of precepts as Daoxuan in the opening of *Xingshichao*. In Tiantai ritual, this is the occasion for the master to explain different kinds of precepts and to separate bodhisattva precepts from *prātimokṣa* precepts. Giving it the same definition as for the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya, Yuanzhao took the opportunity to make the *prātimokṣa* precepts a part of the bodhisattva precepts.

By the end of the ritual, Yuanzhao revealed that the root text of rules is Xuanzang's translation of *Pusajie jiemowen* 菩薩戒羯摩文 (excerpt from YŚ). This is an intriguing deviation from the six Tiantai liturgical texts that he referred to. Yuanzhao faithfully copied the ritual process from Xuanzang's translation, in contrast to other Tiantai masters who created the ritual procedure based on the fragmentary information in

Fanwangjing. This is a serious attempt to combine the two textual traditions of bodhisattva precepts. YŚ is the only text that contains a relatively complete ritual procedure, but *Fanwangjing* has clearer instructions on issues such as the qualifications of conferees and rules of vegetarianism. Yuanzhao then syncretically selected ritual procedures from Xuanzang's text and the detailed rules from *Fanwangjing*.

Yuanzhao's version of the bodhisattva precepts conferral ritual is adopted from Tiantai rituals incorporating doctrines of the Nanshan Vinaya School and translation of Xuanzang's YŚ. At the same time, his version concentrates on the karmic bond with Amitābha Buddha. Yuanzhao focuses on conferring the bodhisattva precepts as a pure Mahāyāna practice to arouse *bodhicitta* for the sake of all sentient beings. The bodhisattva precepts always remain unknown until one receives them in this lifetime, even though they may follow one through different lives; thus, the conferral ritual becomes a necessity for both monastic and lay, and a central mission in Yuanzhao's activity. Together with the popularity of Pure Land belief, Yuanzhao's conferral ritual, like its Tiantai precedents, is intended to address a wider audience.

Next, I would like to touch upon Yuanzhao's active missionary work of building a ordination platform. In an oath building ordination platform, Yuanzhao carefully located the ordination platform in "the sahā world, on the Southern Jambudvipa, the Great Country of the Song, Mingzhou area, Kaiyuan Monastery." [239] Addressing deities with protective power, the oath is his direct communication to the sacred beings. This accurate description of the location is rather for the convenience of the deity to identify the physical existence of the platform and to grant protection. This communicative mode of rhetoric is seldom seen in the ritual manuals.

[239] See Appendix II.

Yuanzhao's anthology contains a full volitional text for the construction of an ordination platform in Mingzhou area (present-day Ningbo). [240] Judging from the mixed content of the oath, it appears to me that the platform can be used for conferral rituals of both monastic and lay. There has been a misconception that the precepts in the two vehicles require two separate platforms, in which the Mahāyāna ordination platform is called *ganlu jietan* 甘露戒壇. However, in Daoxuan's original plan of the platform, no difference is made between the two vehicles. Daoxuan planned three platforms within one monastery, which are called "platform for bhikṣu made by the Buddha," "platform for bhikṣuṇī made by the Buddha" (built in the Buddha's courtyard), and "bhikṣu conferral platform made by the sangha." The functional differences between these three platforms are not clear, but at least in Daoxuan's writing, only one platform is used for the conferral ritual by monastics.

Songhuiyao jigao 宋會要輯稿 recorded the naming of the Buddhist ordination platform in the Northern Song, which may explain the practice:

> For those apprentices to be ordained as śrāmaṇera, it is required that during the anniversary of the Buddha's birth, they receive the precepts on the ordination platform. Ten seats are set on the platform. Vinaya monks should take the position of ten instructors. After conferring the two-hundred-sixty rules, the department of ritual should grant the ordination licensing. In the East Capital (Kaifeng), the emperor ordered a place for the ordination precepts to be built in Xingguo Monastery. In the third year of Dazhong Xiangfu (1010), Emperor (Zhenzong 真宗) named it *laixian ganlu jietan*, and later Cixiao monastery built a Mahāyāna ordination platform. All the counties constructed platforms for their own convenience.
>
> 凡童行得度為沙彌。責每歲遇誕聖節。閔壇受戒。壇上設十座。釋律僧旨十闍梨。說拍百六戒授訖。祠部給牒。賜之東京。於太千興國寺置壇。大中祥符三年。賜名萊先甘露戒壇。後慈孝建大乘戒壇。諸州各置壇。聽從地便。[241]

[240] *Zhiyuan yibian*, X59, no. 1104, 641a14-b1 // Z 2:10, 278b17-c10 // R105, 555b17-556a10. See the full translation of the text in the Appendix II.

[241] Xusong, *Songhuiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿. Vol. 200 on Daoism and Buddhism (Beijing: Beiping guoli tushuguan, 1936), 82.

The preliminary stages before the full ordination ritual are called apprentice and śrāmaṇera. This historical record shows that the naming of *ganlu jietan* is a governmentally recognized behavior, and the platform is clearly used for the full ordination of monastics. Practically all ordination platforms built in East Asia can be seen as Mahāyāna, even if they are used to confer both the *prātimokṣa* precepts and bodhisattva precepts.

The mention of platforms appeared many times in Yuanzhao's anthology and seemed to be a crucial part of his missionary work and social networking. For instance, Yuanzhao mentioned that he went to Siming (nowadays Ningbo) to build an ordination platform in 1095. [242] A significant event regarding the ordination platform is found in the biography of the Vinaya master Chizheng 持正 (1032-1107) written by Yuanzhao. When Chizheng was assigned to manage the platform in his hometown, he found that there was no image of the Buddha on the platform and wanted to add one. When others were undecided if a portrait of the Buddha was necessary, Chizheng showed them Daoxuan's *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing* 關中創立戒壇圖經 as the authoritative reference.[243] This episode shows that there was no standard practice in terms of the Buddhist conferral ritual, and Daoxuan's teaching was an authoritative source to rely on. Chizheng did not have an inherited dharma lineage related to the Vinaya. His affiliation was established through his teaching and practice following the commentarial tradition of Daoxuan. Although he was a monk living in a Chan monastery, Chizheng named his lecture hall Vinaya Lecture Hall (Chi. *pini jiangtang* 毗尼講堂), and in it, the portraits of previous Vinaya masters were worshiped. He was

[242] Yuanzhao. "紹聖二年春得疾聞余赴四明築壇," *Zhiyuanji*, X59, no. 1105, 657b3-4 // Z 2:10, 294b8-9 // R105, 587b8-9.

[243] Yuanzhao. "*Wenzhoudu sengzheng Chizheng dashi xingyeji*" 溫州都僧正持正大師行業記, *Zhiyuanji*, X59, no. 1105, 658a15-18 // Z 2:10, 295a14-17 // R105, 589a14-17.

also called the Master of the Vinaya (Chi. *pinishi* 毗尼師), using the archaic term to indicate a strong connection with the Vinaya. This may be the germ which formed the Vinaya School within the preexistent monastic structure in the Northern Song.

Finally, I would invite us to further reflect on how the "repeated bodhisattva precepts," namely, receiving bodhisattva precepts on top of *prātimokṣa* precepts, might be practiced in real life. Is this in conflict, in parallel, or does it rather enhance the other precepts? Yuanzhao did not give a direct answer to the relationship between the two. However, we may infer an answer from the bodhisattva precepts which can be conferred as part of the deathbed ritual for lay people. During his trip to Taizhou to build the ordination platform, Yuanzhao wrote an epitaph in response to the request of a monk Jingyuan, on behalf of his father. In this epitaph for Mr. Zuo from Taizhou, Yuanzhao recounted that Mr. Zuo acquired the "repeated bodhisattva precepts" together with the recitation of the title of the *Lotus Sūtra* through the assistance of a monk Jingyuan, who was his own son.[244] The deathbed ritual was so immediately efficacious that Mr. Zou soon received confirmation of rebirth in the Pure Land. In the same epitaph, Mr. Zuo was described as already having received "bodhisattva precepts" from Master Shenzhao Benru in the past, and as having been an ardent observant of the precepts. We would assume that the deathbed ritual performed by the son for the father would use the most efficient measures, so that to have one's precepts "renewed" by retaking would yield miraculous and direct results.

The reasonable explanation for adding the bodhisattva precepts as part of the ritual is that the supplementary precepts can enhance the pre-existing precepts and bring out the speedy maturation of one's spiritual achievement. In this sense, what Yuanzhao was accused of doing was no different from what Saṃghavarman did at the very beginning

[244] Yuanzhao. "命淨圓發法華首題增菩薩大戒," *Zhiyuanji*, X59, no. 1105, 660a21 // Z 2:10, 297a7 // R105, 593a7.

of the conferral tradition. We can also see from many examples in this chapter that the continuation of the tradition heavily relied on the reading, debating, and interpreting of Vinaya related texts, especially Daoxuan's commentaries. By writing new commentaries and ritual manuals, Yuanzhao attempted to unify understanding of Daoxuan, while flexibly incorporating teachings from multiple branches of Buddhism, crossing the boundaries of sectarian difference. On this note, we may also conclude that at least in Yuanzhao's time, the sectarian boundaries were flexible and readily crossed without losing one's identity as a Buddhist monastic.

Chapter Four
Self-formation in Everyday Monastic Life

If we do not live the Rule we do not understand the Rule or know it.

--Thomas Merton[245]

"Notes on the Rule of St. Benedict"

As for observing the precepts, one is requested, at all times, when facing the cognitive realm, to constantly remember the received *jieti*. When wearing the robe, eating, walking, standing, sitting, lying down, speaking, in silence, in movement, in stillness, one must not forget it even for one moment.

--Yuanzhao

Lecture for Ŭich'ŏn, the administrative officer of Goryeo in 1085[246]

This chapter discusses how the ethical obligation and soteriological orientation created by *jieti* is put into monastic practice. Another central concept in the theory of the Nanshan Vinaya school— the essence of observation and violation (Chi. *chifanti* 持犯體) is brought to our attention. Daoxuan once praised monks and nuns, who had just received full ordination, as having the same perfect virtue as the Buddha. The darker side of this is that only Buddha can perfectly observe the Vinaya without the slightest violation, while all others will inevitably break the rule to some degree. If offences are inevitable before reaching Buddhahood, the conviction of offence, the resulting coping strategy, and protective measures all play a prominent role in everyday monastic life. The conferral ritual, without the resulting observation, would be only a symbol. The transformation of the self only occurs through everyday practice in the monastic life.

Living the monastic life in accordance with the Vinaya is the practical aspect of the Vinaya and the vital site of formation of the religious self. The discussion of *chifanti* is

[245] Thomas Merton, *The Rule of Saint Benedict: Initiation into the Monastic Tradition 4* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2009), 9.

[246] "專志奉持。令於一切時中。對諸塵境。常憶受體。著衣喫飯。行住坐臥。語默動靜。不可暫忘也。" *Zhiyuan yibian*, X59, no. 1104, 645a12-14.

the signature teaching of Nanshan Vinaya teaching, to theorize the relationship between mind (or intention) and action, and to form a moral judgement based on what is prescribed in the Vinaya. It is also a substantial link joining the Vinaya as part of Buddhist practice, which is constantly changing, making it more than merely fixed rules on paper to be used in the ritual. This ethical judgement is essential to the Nanshan teaching as it is the foundation for one's religious practice as a Buddhist. Based on the idea of *chifanti*, we can see that Yuanzhao extends ethical judgement to all aspects of monastic life in his time, and he calls for a total self-retrospection of one's behavior which eventually evolves into later generations' vision of taking on the Vinaya as a meditative practice.

Vinaya as the Fish Trap: Observation and Violation[247]

One substantial qualification for a Vinaya master, apart from the minimum requirement of having maintained pure precepts for at least ten years, was that he or she must have the ability to make proper judgement and measurement of violations of the rule. In other words, what defines the Vinaya master is the capacity to form a moral decision regarding the category of offences and corresponding coping strategy, even for the most ambiguous cases. And this ability calls for the thorough mastery of the content of the Vinaya and abundant experience in application to the monastic life. In this sense, the process of making moral judgement is no different from the conviction of a crime in civil law. Knowing the nature and application of *chifanti* is the fundamental merit of a Vinaya master. However, there is hardly a unified understanding of this within the Nanshan Vinaya teaching. Just as in the discussion of *jieti*, Yuanzhao defended

[247] Zanning. "尋夫戒律之筌。筌於持犯。" *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T50, no. 2060, 622b26-27. Notice that Daoxuan used the *quan*, a bamboo fish trap, as a metaphor. For him, the function of the Vinaya is to distinguish observation from violation, as the trap only catches fishes of a certain size and let go of the smaller ones. It indicates that the application of rules is not a monolithic block but contains flexibility and principle.

Daoxuan's authentic theory on *chifanti* against understandings of contemporary Vinaya masters. The essence of observation and violation refers to the essential principle of moral judgement. And the moral judgement is internally consistent with the position on the nature of *jieti*. However, Yunkan and Master Xijue who wrote the commentary called *Zenghuilu*, are still opponents of this idea.

First, Yuanzhao cited Xijue's *Zenghuilu* and summarized his theory as taking a dual approach to explain *chifanti*:

> Zenghui said, the subjective part [of *chifanti*] takes mind as its essence, bodily and verbal [behavior] as its manifestation. The objective part [of *chifanti*] takes the prescriptive and permissive teachings as its essence, the [pragmatic] matter and rules as its manifestation. Therefore, the essence and manifestations are separated, the signifier and signified are mismatched.
>
> 增輝云。能持犯以心為體。身口是狀。所持犯以制聽二教為體。事法是狀。是則體狀各別。名義乖矣。”[248]

Xijue was seen by Yuanzhao as beginning by differentiating between the subjective and objective aspects of *chifanti*. Within the subjective aspect, the mind observing or violating monastic codes is the essence, and the bodily and verbal behavior is the manifestation of the mind. In the objective part, the twofold division of monastic codes is the essence, and the concrete cases are its manifestation. Yuanzhao not only considered the approach of differentiating the essence (the mind) from manifestation (bodily and verbal behavior) as against the original meaning of Daoxuan, but also that the dualist approach runs into ambiguity in judging an offence under two conditions. One is the so-called "violation by remote means" (Chi. *yuanfangbianzui* 遠方便罪), in which the mind arises to violate the rule, but no corresponding action takes place. The second is the problem of negligence, which requires repentance. Therefore, Yuanzhao

[248] Yuanzhao, *Zhiyuan yibian*, X59, no. 1104, 621c21-23 // Z 2:10, 259b3-5 // R105, 517b3-5. The twofold-division follows one of Daoxuan's original classifications of codes called the two codes of prescription and conditionality in the Vinaya. The prescriptive codes are fixed rules written into the *prātimokṣa* precepts, and the variable rules are those regulations in the Skandhaka section of the Vinaya, which are considered more flexible and may vary according to specific conditions.

considered the mind and body as mutually compensating and believed that dualism cannot serve the principle of conviction. [249] Regarding the twofold division of monastic codes as the essence of *chifanti*, Yuanzhao traced the reason of this misunderstanding by going back to Daoxuan's *Jiebenshu*: "regarding active observation, one also refers to the prescriptive and permissive monastic codes to clarify."[250] If one uses monastic codes as reference for observation, the codes cannot simultaneously be the essence of observation. Therefore, Yuanzhao dismissed Xijue's position.

The second approach is attributed to Xijue, perhaps by his followers, and considered the nature of *chifanti* as neither-mind-nor-rūpa generated by the four actions (Chi. *sixing* 四行).[251] In other words, it resembles *jieti,* which belongs to the third category. In this understanding, all four kinds of actions following or against the Vinaya will generate corresponding third category phenomena. Yuanzhao harshly criticized this position as it identifies *chifanti* with *jieti.* As we discussed in the previous chapter, *jieti* for Yuanzhao is pure goodness and cannot be identical in nature with *chifanti,* which contains unwholesome violations of rules.

Yunkan represented the third position, with myriad sensual realms seen as the nature of *chifanti*. Since *Huizhengji*, Yunkan's central commentary, did not survive, we

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[249] *Zhiyuan yibian*, X59, no. 1104, 622a12-16 // Z 2:10, 259b18-c4 // R105, 517b18-518a4.

[250] Daoxuan, "對作持亦就制聽以明持相。" *Jiebenshu*, X39, no. 714, 783a24 // Z 1:62, 232b5 // R62, 463b5.

[251] The four actions refer to passive observation, active violation, plus active observation and passive violation. (Chi. *zhichi* 止持, *zuofan* 作犯, *zuochi* 作持, *zhifan* 止犯). One way to distinguish between these four actions is determined by the motivation of observation. For example, one may either choose to refrain from the desire to steal, or to cultivate oneself to be desireless by methods such as meditation and recitation. The difference is that the latter is an active observation that one would not even feel the desire to own a present object. Another way of understanding is that the first two actions refer to the rules in the *prātimokṣa* precepts, which are prohibitive in nature, for example the prohibition from killing and stealing; the latter two of the four are in the *skandhaka* rules, which are positive guidance on what should be done; for examples, what kind of medicine one is allowed to take, and what material and color is proper for the making of monastic robes. It is important to note that the violation and observation of *skandhaka* rules do not produce the same karmic consequences as for the *prātimokṣa* precepts. The classification of these four actions evolves into a much more complicated system when, with the variations of self-action and commending others, the gradual inclination or impulse is introduced.

can only infer his theory from fragments of his writings. Luckily, the fragment of *Sifenlu jiebenshu huifaji* 四分律含注戒本疏發揮記 contains a relevant passage.

> As following the twofold [monastic] rules is the two observations, going against the twofold rules is the two violations. Thus, one knows that observation and violation are not self-determined. They must be restricted by the prescriptive and permissive [teachings] in order to make the judgement. Since the twofold rules include myriad cognitive realms, both prescriptive and permissive teachings are used as the basis for clarifying real status. The objective *chifanti* is determined by cognitive realms. This is elaborated upon in *Huizhengji*.
>
> 但順二教即成二持。違二教即成兩犯。是知持犯。不能自分。約其制聽。方知分齊。二教既收萬境。故就制聽二教以明其實。所持體者在乎境也。廣如會正。[252]

This concise explanation allows us to glimpse the major points made by Yunkan. For him, the objective part of *chifanti* is what is recognized by our sensual faculties. Speaking from a Yogācāra standpoint, he defended the view that "one should know the myriad sensual realms are only one mind, which is the six consciousness, 當了萬境。唯一心耳。意言下即第六識。言即名言。" and "the objective form is inseparable from the mind, which is only distinguished in language by the cognizing mind. 名色境不離內心。但是識心。語言分別也。"[253] This is a perfectly valid Buddhist position, and Yuanzhao cannot criticize the theory directly. However, he was not satisfied with the nominative existence of myriad sensual realms, as he still wanted the actions of observation and violation to be independent and accountable for their own sake. Yuanzhao's major critique is that if "myriad cognitive realms" is eventually mind-only and indistinguishable from the internal part, then it should not qualify as the external realm.

[252] Yunkan, *Sifenlu jiebenshu huifaji*, X39, no. 712, 579c4-7 // Z 1:62, 86d16-87a1 // R62, 172b16-173a1.

[253] Yunkan, *Sifenlü suijijiemoshu zhengyuanji* 四分律隨機羯磨疏正源記, X40, no. 726, 846c4-6 // Z 1:64, 165d1-3 // R64, 330b1-3.

Yuanzhao's proposed position takes the concrete cases, restricted by prescriptive and conditional rules, as the objective part of *chifanti*, and the corresponding mind as the subjective part.

> It is said that in terms of good and evil affairs, the mind produces [the tendency] to follow or to reject. Therefore, there are two kinds of observance and two kinds of violations are generated. The mind to follow or to reject, is the subjective part of *chifanti*, and the good and evil affairs are the objective part of *chifanti*. Since all activities of observation and violation are derived from [pragmatic] affairs, then affairs are taken as the objective part of *chifanti*. How can this be incorrect?
>
> 今謂於上善惡事法。心起順違。故有二持．兩犯生焉。違順之心。即能持犯體。善惡事法。即所持犯體。持犯既因事法而生。故今以一切事法為所持犯體。豈不然乎。[254]

However, there is no further division within each part. The subjective part is purely mental, and the objective part is a practical affair in action, restricted by monastic rules. To assign the essence of *chifanti* as an affair in action, on the one hand conditioned by monastic rules, and the other hand forming a whole with the movement of the mind, Yuanzhao avoided the pitfalls of his fellow Vinaya masters and created a space to form case by case moral judgements. This allows the consideration of both m ind and action as an integrated and inseparable whole.

To further clarify his differences with Yunkan, Yuanzhao gave examples to explain the disadvantages of taking the sensual realm as *chifanti*. He pointed out that the cognitive realm is not a precondition of violation. For instance, one can suddenly have sexual desire without having been exposed to any desired object, which is a minor offence. But in Yunkan's theory, if there is no cognizing realm, there would be no violation. 自有無境而成犯者。如忽起婬心。犯重吉羅。若據此罪。但是心犯。不待境現。[255] The other possibility is that it could be hard to determine a single cognitive realm out of a whole process of behaviors. In other words, the connection between the cognitive

[254] Yuanzhao, *Zhiyuan yibian*, X59, no. 1104, 622c23-623a2 // Z 2:10, 260b5-8 // R105, 519b5-8.

[255] Ibid., X59, no. 1104, 623b5-6 // Z 2:10, 260c17-18 // R105, 520a17-18.

realm and an offence is not strong enough to make a definitive condemnation. We will see later that Yuanzhao placed the sensual realm as one of the conditions of violation.

Up until now, *chifanti* has been defined as concrete action (mental, bodily, and verbal) in response to fixed monastic rules. Depending on the nature of the action, it could be either good or evil. The next problem is where to draw the line in conviction of an offence? Is the intention of killing alone a violation of the rule? And is negligence forgiven? The technical term for this judgement is called "tying the knot of offence" (Chi. *jiefan* 結犯). In a similar exegetical approach, Yuanzhao listed three ways to locate the offence.

> First is the *jiefan* of the Sarvâstivāda school, which does not govern how the mind, bodily and verbal movements constitute offence. Their way of calculation is called the lesser faculties, not because the momentum is divided. If they include the mind, then there is no exemption; [therefore] they only prohibit the body and mouth, which are merely the course manifestation of karma. The second is the *Tattvasiddhi* tenet, where the offence originates from the mind, based on which it is realized in the body and mouth. In terms of its prohibitive limit, according to the commentary of precepts, it emphasizes [cognitive] conditions of mind. When [cognitive conditions cause] intention to arise, then one has committed offence. [However] it is not a prohibition of mental activity, because only intention counts. The third is of the Mahāyāna, "the isolated mind" is considered an offence.
>
> 初多宗結犯。不約心論。鼓動身口。始成持犯。由彼所計。謂是小機。非力分故。若制心犯。無由得脫。但防身口。麤現業非耳。二者。成宗犯由心起。藉身口成。論其制限。據戒疏中。重緣向念。可得思覺。即入犯科。不制心業。據單意耳。三者。大乘獨頭心念。即判持犯。[256]

The first, practiced by the Sarvâstivāda school, teaches that since the mind is utterly separated from behavior, only bodily and verbal behaviors are counted as offences. The second understanding is derived from the *Tattvasiddhi*, which considers that the offence originates in the mind. The condemnation, however, is quite intriguing. The initial minds (including *vedanā saṃjñā*, and *vijñāna*) are marked as neutral in karma, but when the mind develops into a *saṃskāra* (Chi. *xingxin* 行心, the impulse to move),

[256] Yuanzhao, *Zhiyua yibian*, X59, no. 1104, 627c19-24 // Z 2:10, 265b1-6 // R105, 529b1-6.

it then commits offence.[257] This indicates that mental activity without any intention to of realization through bodily or verbal behavior is not a violation. The Mahāyāna approach counts as the third in which the single thought (Chi. *danyi* 單意), the so-called "the isolated mind" (Chi. *dutouxin* 獨頭心) surfeits violation.[258] As his default position, Yuanzhao embraces the second approach of *Tattvasiddhi*, which serves as a middle path away from total exemption or condemnation of mental activity, and more importantly, is more conveniently combined with the theory of karma.

As we move forward to condemnation, the process of judgement becomes more and more involved with conditions on the ground. To establish an accurate condemnation, the Nanshan school breaks down the psychological and bodily movements into stages and tries to take as many details as possible into consideration. This process is not a total invention of the Nanshan teaching: in the Vinaya texts we also see relevant passages demonstrating how the Buddha made his judgements case by case, each with small variations in conditions. The difference is that the Nanshan teaching tried to organize all the factors into a systematized process. Take the convenient example of the grave offence of sex, one of the four *pārājikas*.

> First is remote pre-condition; as with sex, the desiring mind first arises, and the body and mouth have yet to move. [If one] ceases at this time and gives up, the offence is extinguished by censuring the mind. Second is the sequential pre-condition, when one moves the body towards the other, speaking willingness. It must be repeated in front of the other, and the offence is *duṣkṛta* (Chi. *tujiluo* 突吉羅). Third is vicinal pre-condition; one goes to the side of the other, or wills to touch the body of another. Before intercourse, the condemnation is *sthūlātyaya* (Chi. *toulanzhe* 偷蘭遮). For if it is touch for the sake of intercourse, not just for the sake of taking joy, it is not a *saṃghâvaśeṣa* (Chi. *sengcan* 僧殘). Fourth, bodily intercourse is fundamental.
>
> 一者遠方便。如行婬時。先起欲心。未動身口。便止不作。責心即滅。……二者次方便。動身就彼。口陳欲作。此對人滅。通名吉羅。……三者近方便。至彼人邊。或欲

[257] Yuanzhao does not very consistently use *saṃskāra* to refer to willingness of action. He also uses *cetanā* (Chi. *si* 思) and *saṃskāra as* synonyms, in the sense of inclination towards action.

[258] Yuanzhao, *Zhiyuan yibian*, X59, no. 1104, 627c19-24 // Z 2:10, 265b1-6 // R105, 529b1-6.

摩觸身。未交前是偷蘭遮。為行婬故觸。不為戲樂故觸。所以不成僧殘。……第四身交是根本也。[259]

This is a suitable demonstration of the Nanshan teaching's approach to determining violations. If seen from the perspective of the Sarvāstivāda school, the first pre-condition is exempt from condemnation. If viewed from the perspective of Mahāyāna, even the initial movement of mind is a violation. Again, the Nanshan school's judgement is categorical and sensitive to cognitive conditions. It provides the coping strategies for eliminating offence with detailed examination according to specific cases.

In this process of judgement, three conditions are at play: the mind of intention as the internal condition, the cognitive realm as the external condition, and the decisive bodily or verbal movements.[260] Within these three conditions, the combination would result in different offences. The mind may or may not be consistent with the sensual realm. Taking the rule regarding stealing as an example, one may consider an object as ownerless and thus take it as one's own; or intentionally take another's object; or mistakenly think an ownerless object has an owner and then steal it; or intend to steal A's object but mistakenly take B's object. In the first case, one transgresses the sensual realm but not the mind; in the second one transgresses both sensual realm and mind, in the third case, one transgresses the mind but not the sensual realm; and in the fourth

[259] Daoxuan. *Jiebenshu*, X39, no. 714, 773a23-c3 // Z 1:62, p 222d15-223b8 // R62, p 444b15-445b8. Vinaya texts classify the transgression of rules into eight categories: (1) *pārājika* (*boluoyi* 波羅夷) grave offenses, (2) *saṃghāvaśeṣa* (*sengcan* 僧殘) including sexual offences and splitting or breaking the harmony of the order, (3) *aniyatau* (*budingfa* 不定法), undetermined offences, (4) *naiḥsargika-pāyattikāḥ* (*sheduofa* 捨墮法), minor offenses entailing confession and confiscation, (5) *pātayantika (danti* 單提) minor offences entailing atonement, (6) *pratideśanīya* (*boluotitisheni* 波羅提提舍尼) four lesser offenses concerning surplus possessions. In the *prātimokṣa* there are also (7) *śikṣākaraṇī (shichajialuoni* 式叉迦羅尼 or *yingxue* 應學, *zhongxue* 眾學), and (8) *adhikaraṇaśamatha* (*miezhengfa* 滅諍法). The five-fold categories of transgression according to Daoxuan removes (3), (7) and (8), merging (4) and (5) into one, and finally adding *duṣkṛta* (*tujiluo* 突吉羅). The seven-fold category added *sthūlâtyaya* (*toulanzhe* 偷蘭遮) and *durbhāṣita* (*eshuo* 惡說). See *Xingshichao*, T40, no. 1804, 48c2-6.

[260] The internal and external, of course, do not mean the binary division between mind and the material world. They rather mark the difference between cognition and what is cognized.

case the transgression is not established as the mind mismatches the sensual realm. All four result in different levels of transgression.

Further, the mind is closely monitored at three times (before, during, and after the behavior of violation), as either taking pleasure in the violation, or feeling ashamed. Combining the two variations, the quality of intention (grave or light) and the three times, results in eight kinds of variations. The heavy mind here alludes to the mental stage where one has either a pure intention or an extreme intention to transgress the rule. If the intention is not pure but somehow mixed, then it is a light mind. Yuanzhao states that "if it is not the extreme, it is a light intention. 但非極甚即是輕心."[261]

Afraid that his readers would be confused by this highly technical process, Yuanzhao even drew a chart as illustration [see Chart I]. While the manifestations of bodily or verbal behavior may make no difference from the outsider's point of view, Nanshan teaching scrutinizes the mental activity and puts much weight on the ethical quality of the mind. This is one of the most compelling pieces of evidence that Nanshan teaching ultimately aims to form an ethical judgement to which only the individual self has access. Yuanzhao even warned of the serious consequences of the self-monitoring process.

> All these movements of the mind correspond to determine karma, which will lead to future retribution. Even if one repents, [the karmic retribution] will not disappear. To measure oneself by this scheme, how could one act in indiscretion? Anyone who understands the mind, how could you not fear?
>
> 凡此用心。皆名定業。能牽來報。縱懺不亡。以此自量。何容輕動。識心之士。豈不畏乎。[262]

Yuanzhao called for self-examination of the mind, not sparing the power of repentance, the major remedy for violations in the context of Buddhist monasticism. In the spirit of this pervasive supervision of the mind, bodily behavior becomes secondary in the value

[261] Yuanzhao, *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 337b20-21.

[262] Yuanzhoa, *Zichiji*. T40, no. 1805, 337b24-26.

system of karmic retribution. The idea of a stronger connection of karma with the mind than with behavior is not found in the Vinaya but is derived from the ethical reasoning of *Tattvasiddhi*. Both Daoxuan and Yuanzhao grounded their ethical reasoning on *Tattvasiddhi* and repeatedly emphasized that the mind is the true origin of good and evil karma, while behavior has no more than instrumental value. In this regard, Yuanzhao cited *Tattvasiddhi*.

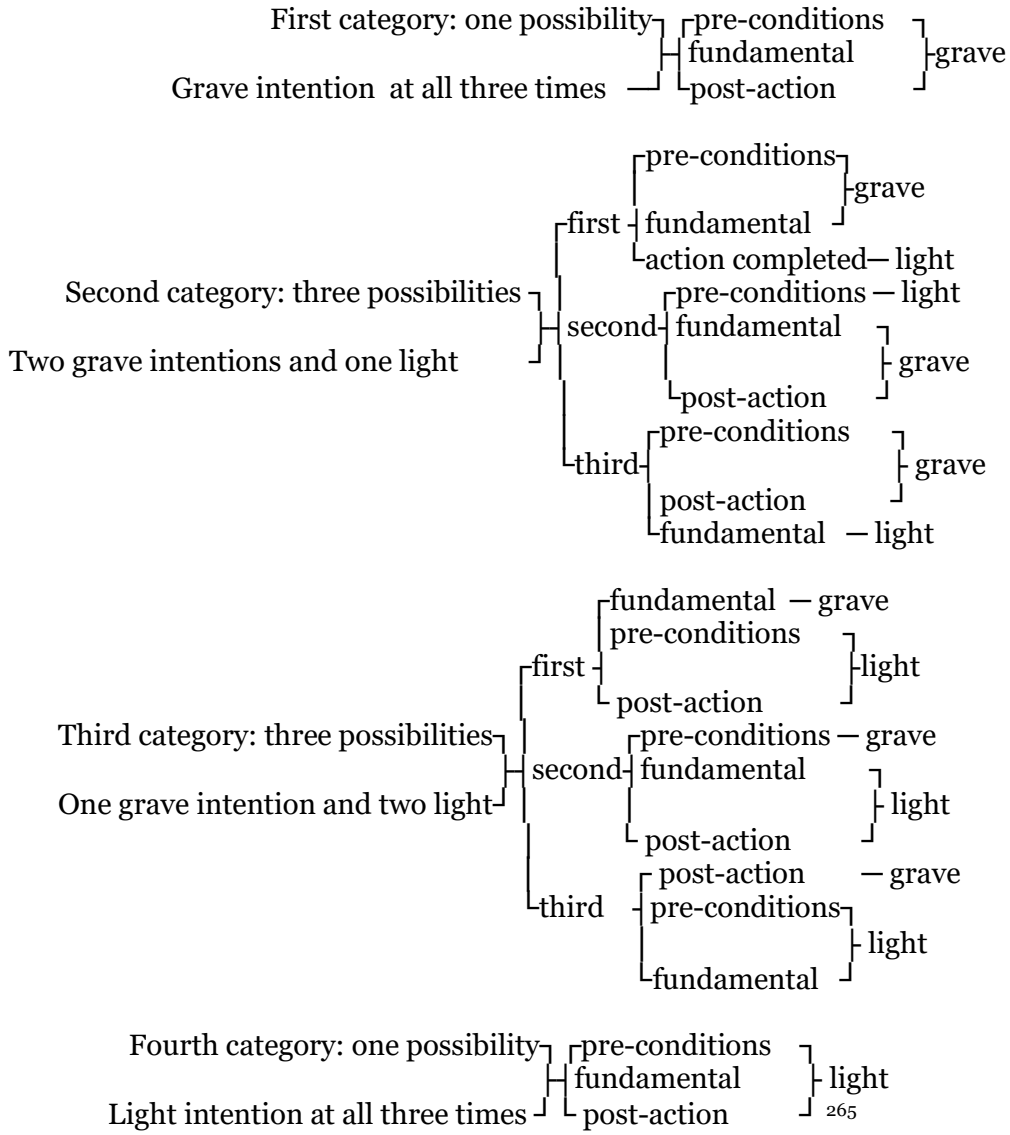
> Tattvasiddhi says these three karmas are all about the mind. Apart from the mind there is no intention (Skt. *cetanā*), and no bodily or verbal actions. It also says that bodily and verbal actions are the tools to make good and bad [karma], not the essence of good and bad karma.
>
> 成論云。是三種業皆是心。離心無思。無身口業。又云身口者。乃是造善惡具。非善惡業體。[263]

Both Daoxuan and Yuanzhao grounded their ethical philosophy in *Tattvasiddhi*, which ties the generation of karma to the intentional mind. As a result, the condemnation of violations has the Mahāyāna notion of the mind as the determining factor. The over-emphasis on the moral nature of mind is ultimately supported by controversial examples found in the *Tattvasiddhi*; that the crime of killing an evil person is lighter than that of killing an ant, and killing an ant with an evil mind is [karmically] worse than killing a person with compassion.[264] This emphasis conflicts with the spirit of the original Vinaya, which clearly focuses on restricting behavior. Therefore, we end up with a dual system of judgment which on the one hand deals with the violation of monastic rules, and on the other hand concerns the soteriological end of the self, based on the intention of the mind. These two systems may or may not differ in actual adjustment, but one must be careful to remember that they run on distinct logics.

[263] *Xingzongji*. X39, no. 714, 780c9-10 // Z 1:62, 230a2-3 // R62, 459a2-3.

[264] Harivarman, *Tattvasiddhi*. T32, no. 1646, 318c11-13, 291a11-12.

Chart I. Classification of Transgression Based on Quality of Intension



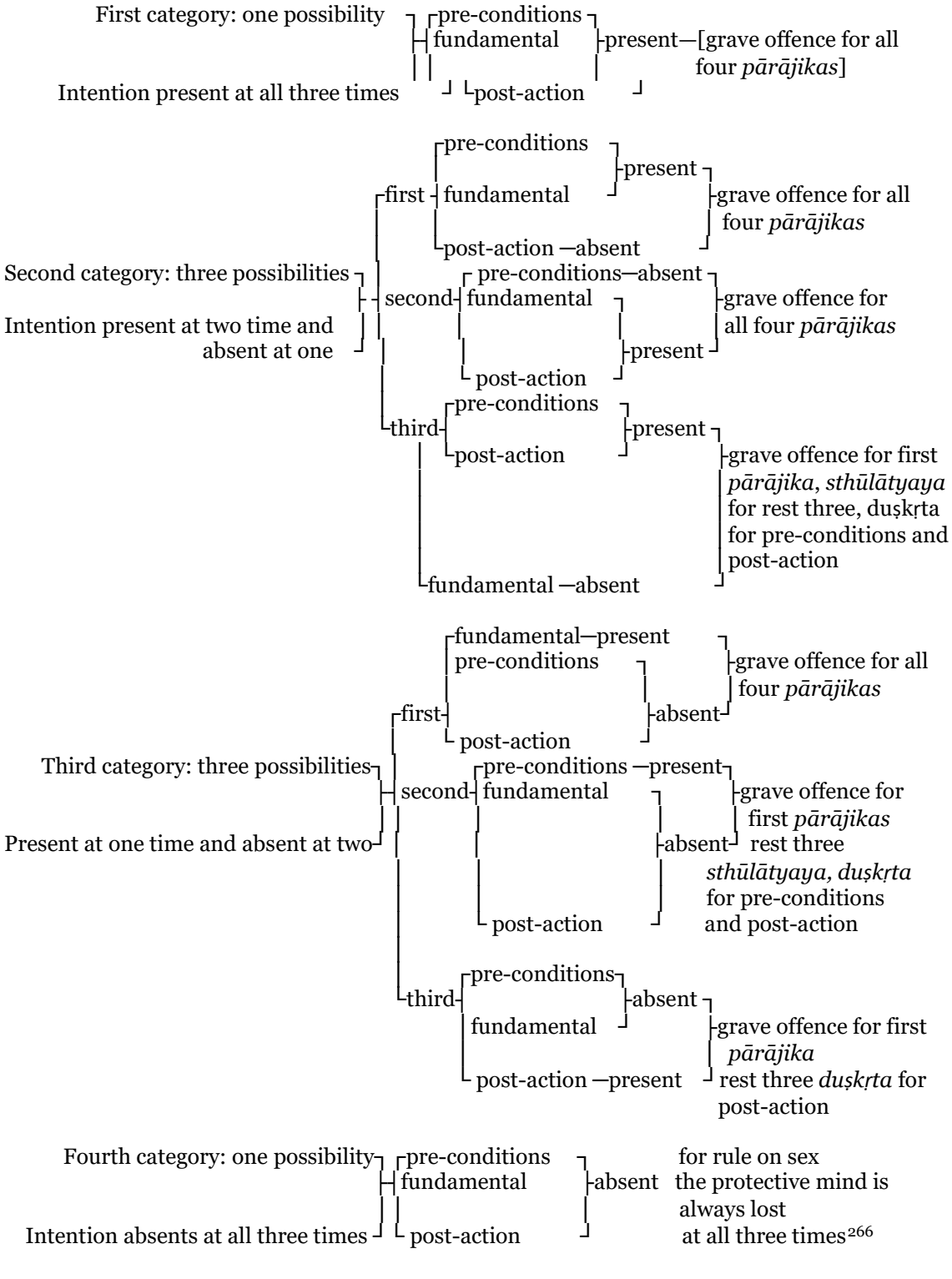
In this scheme of eight variations, the karmic consequences of transgression are listed in a reduced sequence based on the frequency and timing of either grave or light intentions. We shall see that the karmic weight of intention at a fundamental moment of action is the heaviest, followed by hesitation prior to action and post-action regression. Since this may apply to all monastic rules, the resulting conviction is not given specifically, but the severity of karmic retribution is only suggested. The scheme

[265] *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 337c1-30.

may also apply to solving the ethical problem of negligence by replacing the quality of intention with presence/absence of intention during the three moments of transgression. In Chart I, it appears that all rules are subject to the same logic about the quality of intention, assuming that the intention is a given variation. However, the ethical dilemma of negligence (implying that the absence of intention is excluded from Chart I.) needs to be addressed separately. We can discern that for variation in the presence or absence of intention, there are eight similar situations as shown in Chart II, each bearing a different condemnation. These eight situations generally apply to all rules in the Vinaya, of which, however, rules on sexuality are an intriguing anomaly. One is exempt from responsibility for sexual intercourse only when intention is completely absent at all three times in non-everyday scenarios, such as in dreams, in madness, or in unconsciousness devoid of consent and deliberation. The teaching deems sexual behavior as deontologically wrong beyond the intention of the subject, as the teaching does not recognize the possibility that one could be innocent at the three times of sexual intercourse with a sober mind.

Examining Yuanzhao's chart, the special treatment of the first *pārājika*—the rule on sex— deserves further examination. If we view the third subdivision in the second category, the second and third subdivision in the third category, and the entire fourth category together, it becomes apparent that the first *pārājika* has consistently been treated as an abnormal rule compared to the other three *pārājikas*, if not compared to the whole system of Vinaya rules. The general idea is that the first *pārājika* is defined based on the logic of pure bodily action, while all other transgressions take the presence of intention into account. As a result, the first *pārājika* is given the least tolerance and is most closely regulated. Once the fundamental action of transgression is performed, the accompanying intention (or passion and attachment) to conduct such an act is deemed almost totally irrelevant.

Chart II. Classification of Pārājikas Based on the Presence of Intension



[266] *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 338a4-33.

The most intricate part is found in the last category, where even if one is completely devoid of any intention before, during, or after sexual intercourse, one is not exempt from the strict punishment of ending ones career as a Buddhist monk or nun. This case corresponds closely to the renowned story of Sudina, who appeared in the *sūtravibhaṅga* of the first *pārājika*. Janet Gyatso has remined us that in the narrative of Sudina, he is shown as "not interested in passion in the slightest" and "the sex was performed purely for instrumental reasons."[267] Had this been any other transgression, Sudina would have been given minor if any, punishment. This is indeed perplexing because only the first *pārājika* is not excused, in such a way that the absence of intention bears no weight in reducing the conviction.

In the same paper, Janet Gyatso has considered the behavioristic nature of the rule; one of the key ways to distinguish legalistic law from karmic natural law. I agree completely that these two laws can and should be separated for most cases. As discussed above, at least later Chinese commentators (though not the original Vinaya texts) managed to build a common ground where legalistic rules and mental attitude are both accounted for, as seen in Chart I. In this newly constructed framework of eight variations, it appears that only the sex rule is exceptionally different from all other rules in terms of its pure behavioristic logic. It appears to me that the whole purpose of creating Chart II is to ease the tension created by the fact that the first *pārājika* does not fit Chart I. If that is indeed the case, what makes sex so different and stubborn in its resistance to conforming to the syncretic interpretation of monastic rules?

Yuanzhao's interpretation may shed some light on this problem. He pointed out some liminal cases which highlight the characteristics of sexual intercourse. The first is that " regarding the self-created condition, as soon as the cognitive realm fits, a

[267] Janet Gyatso, "Buddhist Sex." In *Critical Terms for the Study of Buddhism*, edited by Donald S. Lopez Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 271-90.

transgression is committed, regardless of the three times. 若約自造。境合即犯。不約三時。”[268] This feature shows that sexual intercourse is related to autonomy and is not necessarily tied to the presence of another partner. One is capable of a transgression through one's own body and mind (such as masturbation). While the transgression (not in terms of *pārājika*)can be totally self-contained, the framework based on the division of three times is annulled and behavioristic judgement is preferred. A further feature is that "no cognitive conception is immune [in the Vinaya]. Even without an intention, *pārājika* is committed. 境想不開。無心亦重。”[269] This may refer to the original story of Sunita in the Vinaya—in sharp contrast to other rules with exceptions—where Sunita was eventually found culpable regardless of all the seemingly favorable conditions on his side. Suffice to say that the special aspects of rules restricting sexual intercourse as a self-sustained act, and the exceptionally strict regulations in the original Vinaya account, both contribute to its unique treatment in the system.

I will end this section with a discussion of personal knowledge about the Vinaya for common Buddhist clergy. As is known from the original Vinaya texts, the Buddha stipulated five years for an ordained monastic's study of the Vinaya. After five years, essentially after spending five summer retreats as the assigned study period, "one is not exempt from ignorance, and an offence of ignorance is added on top of the offence. 不以無知故得脫。若犯罪如法治。更增無知法”[270] Daoxuan here is referring to the case recorded in the *Sifenlü* where a "group of six bhikṣus" (Chi. *liuqun biqiu* 六群比丘) attempted to use ignorance as an excuse. The Buddha responds that if the bhikṣu has

[268] Yuanzhao, *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 38b8-9.

[269] Yuanzhao, *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 38b8-9.

[270] Daoxuan, *Xingshichao*, T40, no. 1804, 93c19-20; "In terms of Buddhist Tripiṭaka, before the fifth summer retreat, [one should] study the Vinaya piṭaka from someone else. After the fifth summer retreat, [one should] completely know [the Vinaya piṭaka] and should study the teaching of non-self. " 佛藏五夏已前依人受學律藏。五夏已後具知。應學無我人法。T40, no. 1804, 147b19-20.

participated in the repentance ritual, then this excuse is not only invalid, but to it should be added the offence of ignorance.[271]

To exhaust the possible variations in cognition of "what has been done" and "the prescription of offence," Daoxuan presented another framework of twelve variations. Regarding the recognition of "what has been done" and "the prescription of offence" the three possible cognitive stages are recognition, uncertainty with doubt, and non-recognition. These two sets of variables result in nine combinations at first, on top of which the unrecognition is divided into two categories: unrecognition caused by not studying at all, and unrecognition caused by confusion in the matching of rules to reality; thus, another three situations are added to the original nine.[272] The twelve situations of understanding the observance and violations of rules constitute Nanshan teaching's most sophisticated interpretative scheme on acquiring the knowledge of the Vinaya to form moral judgement. Yuanzhao carved out some space for human mistakes, but no excuse for indolence in study, and even less approval for willful violation.

Daoxuan and Yuanzhao put great effort into the elaboration of numerous variations, exceptions, and applications under the scheme of the twelve offences. Yuanzhao devoted a whole essay to this subject in his anthology[273]. Due to space limitation, I will not elaborate further on this part. In general, a Vinaya master must manage the whole process of forming moral judgements based on the reasoning of observation and violation, while all monastics are expected to learn as much as they can for the sake of religious practice. Even though much has been discussed on the topic, both Daoxuan

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[271] *Sifenlü*. "That bhikṣu is without knowledge and understanding. If the bhikṣu violate the rule, he should be governed by the rule, and furthermore should add the offence of ignorance." 彼比丘無知無解，若犯罪應如法治，更重增無知罪。T22, no. 1428, p. 686b16-17.

[272] Daoxuan, *Xingshichao*, T40, no. 1804, 93b20-27.

[273] See "*Chifan jufa zhang* 持犯句法章," in *Zhiyuan yibian*.

and Yuanzhao were aware that the eventual judgment is made by a human being in a specific situation that cannot be exhaustively predicated in the commentary. What one can do, is to list as many variables as possible, and trust their fellow Vinaya masters to "mold their own vessel 任自陶鑄" by choosing the most fitting determining variable according to their own judgement.[274]

A noteworthy point is that Yuanzhao redefined the domain of learning not only as scholastic study of the three piṭakas in terms of recitation and memorization, but also as the field of action for the realization of scholastic study in daily practice. [275]

> Question: What is learning?
>
> Response: All learning is twofold. One is [scholastic] study, the other is practice. Scholastic study illuminates practice, and practice is for the realization of study. It is not the case that only scriptural study is called learning.
>
> 問。何名為學。
>
> 答。凡學有二。一教二行。教以照行。行以踐教。非但尋文。即名為學。"

This passage demonstrating that learning as an interrelated twofold process should be taken into consideration. To know how to behave is one essential part of learning and is not separate from scholastic study. We will see next how Yuanzhao incorporates the practice into the learning process of monastics.

On How to Behave

In the ideal world of the Vinaya teaching, people would share a set of fixed monastic rules, receive the *jieti* by proper ordination ritual, make moral judgements on whether they have violated the rule, and perform repentance accordingly. However, the boundary of a fixed set of monastic rules is extremely detailed. Over the course of time monastic rules in the original Vinaya are questioned and challenged as to whether they

[274] Daoxuan, *Xingshichao*, T40, no. 1804, 96a11-12.

[275] Yuanzhao, *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 338c2-4.

still fit a different time and space after thousands of years, while new practices and changes in the monastic practice are inevitable. In Daoxuan's defensive writing on the Vinaya, he occasionally pointed out common misunderstandings of monastic rules. These are examples picked from contemporary practice which are not conceived of as violating the rule. Discussions by Vinaya masters on detailed monastic practices are particularly inspiring in understanding where to draw the line on the violation of the rules. Daoxuan listed four common mistakes as,

> Drinking apricot soup as a fasting food; [considering] accumulating money to be a minor offence; [considering] that the cloth of sitting mattresses does not need to be cut into pieces; [considering] that the size of the begging bowl does not need to fit the [prescribed] measure of the outer perimeter.
>
> 飲杏湯者為清齋。畜錢寶者為小犯。坐具無勞截淨。鉢量未必姬周。[276]

The above examples show Daoxuan's diligent and detail-driven attitude towards the practice of the Vinaya. Notice that all four exemplary behaviors are derived from discretion, not ignorance. It is not the case that people did not know the existence or the content of rules, but rather that they freely interpreted the rule to allow certain ambiguous behaviors. The goal is to show the danger of violating the rule even unintentionally, and to call for a thorough understanding of the Vinaya. Implicit in this logic is that if one continues to make these mistakes the soteriological goal based on the three teachings will not be realized. To avoid the above mistakes, Daoxuan examined all conceivable aspects of the monastic life in the Third Fascicle of *Xingshichao*, from clerical funerals to interactions with the lay community, from the handling of robes to the treatment of visiting guests in the monastery. The third fascicle holds a special position as an encyclopedic record of monastic life. Here one can find almost all the scenarios of monastic life. According to Yifa's study, this text also serves as one of the

[276] Daoxuan, *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T50, no. 2060, 622b21-22.

root texts for the composition and compilation of local monastic rules such the "Pure Rule of the Chan Monastery" (Chi. *Chanyuan qinggui* 禪院清規).[277]

How should we understand these detailed regulations of daily life from the perspective of monastic training? What are the possible devices by which this whole systematic teaching about the Vinaya may be learned and practiced in the everyday? Is there any room for the specificity of each monastery? Examining monastic rules in the Vinaya, we find that many regulations are comparable to what Foucault would call the "technique of the self." Foucault studied Christian monasticism and concluded that many practices in the monastery can be understood in the light of a method of formulating the self.

The Vinaya aims to construct the self within a social network with others, and to train the self to live always in proper relationship with others. The domain of the other is not limited to other human beings one encounters in daily life; the denotation extends to invisible beings such as the Buddha, bodhisattvas, heavenly beings, and ghosts. In the third fascicle of *Xingshichao,* Daoxuan developed a robust sense of co-living with the other in terms of ethical philosophy. Yuanzhao followed Daoxuan and highlighted this aspect of Buddhist ethics, later joining it with his communally based Pure Land practice. The issue of "the other" is essential in Buddhist ethics. To discuss the other, one needs to have a clear sense of the boundaries of the "self" or of one's group from other groups. The "other" could refer to the sacred other of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas represented in the forms of portraits, statues, and stūpas; or to other monastics (both are discussed in Chapter 22 as a strong indication that the sacred other is part of the social other). Chapters 25 and 26 explore the caring relationship with monastic others required on occasions of visiting guests, sickness, and deathbed.

[277] Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 53-74.

Several chapters (20, 23, and 24) are devoted to issues of maintaining a proper relationship with the lay community. Lastly, Buddhist nuns as a separate group from monks are examined in Chapter 29.

This technique of the self, focusing on interaction with others, is the main concentration of the *skandhaka* rules, which make up the last part of the original Vinaya texts. Accordingly, the Third Fascicle of *Xingshichao* is devoted to the shared practice of *skandhaka* rules, or "the teaching to be permitted" (Chi. *tingjiao* 聽教), a concept paired to "the prescribed teachings" (Chi. *zhijiao* 制教) in Daoxuan's terminology. For instance, the regulation for monastics to always possess a begging bowl is a prescribed teaching, while the appropriate material and size of the begging bowl is "the teaching to be permitted." The violation indicates a deviation from a spectrum of choices permitted, such as going beyond the minimum to the maximum measurement of a begging bowl, leaving the bowl in places with danger of damage, and opening the door holding two bowls (perhaps causing a bowl to fall and break). What these regulations aim to achieve is formation of the habitus[278] of a person who is attentive to details and potential negative consequences in scenarios of monastic life. Even though transgression of the latter category of regulations does not constitute an offence of *prātimokṣa* rules, since Daoxuan defined that "whether observing or not observing, there is no transgression 作與不作一切無罪,"[279] it still leads to minor offences from *sthūlātyaya* to *duṣkṛta*. Thus, corresponding repentance is required to rectify the misbehavior.

Exactly because "the teaching to be permitted" is defined by a certain range of options, there is no one standardized requirement completely agreed upon in all Vinaya

[278] The term "habitus" is borrowed from Pierre Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, translated by Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 80-83.

[279] Daoxuan, *Xingshichao*, T40, no. 1804, 91b8-9.

texts. More often, the Vinaya texts dispute each other. This arguably results in flexibility and adaptability in the attitude towards these rules. It also provides the space for Daoxuan's argument for the socio-cultural particularity of China apart from India. The teaching to be permitted provides special insights into the panoramic social aspect of the Buddhist community, which reveals not only what had been practiced in India, but also how and to what extent these regulations may be transformed on foreign soil.

Yuanzhao's interpretation of the *skandhaka* rules was derived from an important idea called "Vinaya of this time and this place" (Chi. *shichu pini* 時處毘尼), meaning Vinaya codes may change according to time and place. This idea was appropriated *from Vinaya-dvāvijśati-prasannārtha-śāstra (Lü ershier mingliaolun* 律二十二明了論*)* by Yuanzhao as the theoretical justification for changes made to the Vinaya during its transmission in China.[280] He used the example of the requirement of bathing every day. In tropical climates, people may bathe several times a day, but in China and in wintertime, this rule is not followed. The same rule applies to the use of chopsticks rather than eating with bare hands.

However, there is a fine line between change according to time and place, and not every change can be justified as following a local custom. Yuanzhao criticized the contemporary deviation from the Vinaya.

> In the lecture of Chan in the Southeast [China], [people] add a meal of congee at midnight, eat lunch after noon time, use a begging bowl made of wood, and dress in a robe made of silk; there is no difference between the non-Buddhist and the laity. Seeking fame and losing the truth, they justify it as following custom. [One] should not learn from these ignorant ones to this extent. Be cautious!
>
> 東南禪講。半夜噉粥。過午方齋。木鉢紗衣。不殊外俗。循名昧實。竝謂隨方。不學愚癡。一至於此。慎之。[281]

[280] *Zichiji*, "明了論有時處毘尼。彼云。邊地受五得數浴洗。中國不聽(此名處也)。昔用三歸。今時不得。熱時數洗。寒時不得(此即時也)。故知時方不唯一事。" T40, no. 1805, 167a18-21.

[281] *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 167a26-29.

The major reasoning is not that change according to cultural context is intolerable; Yuanzhao's criticism is of the breaking of the boundary between monastic and lay, of using improper material to make begging bowls and robes, and of eating an extra meal at night. Those practices might be considered an adapted way of living in China; however, for the Vinaya masters, these rule-violating behaviors would invalidate any efficacy that the lecture on Chan might have.

Due to limited space, it is impossible to discuss all the issues one could wish in detail, as each aspect of the monastic life is a piece of a puzzle completing the whole picture of Buddhist monastic life both as an ideal and as a response to the lived reality of the author. To explore the underlying logic of the *skandhaka* rules in terms of training of the self, I choose five representative aspects of monastic life: the salutation, the visiting guest, the separated practice of Buddhist nuns, taking care of the sick, and interaction with laypersons. I do not intend to exhaust these topics, as each topic could easily develop into a separate research paper. I intentionally avoid regulations on material culture here, as previous scholars such as Ann Heirman have already done separate research on these topics, and because I will return to the topic of material culture in later chapters on Japanese Buddhism.

Salutation

Salutations of fellow monks and nuns and paying homage to the Buddha (image, statue, and stūpa) show pragmatic concerns about how interpersonal relationships should be formulated. As images of the Buddha are frequently found in monasteries, Daoxuan suggested that one should cultivate a sense of respect and care in front of the sacred images as if one were walking on thin ice. The etiquette of paying respect to the Buddha is not elaborated upon in Vinaya texts; hardly any quotations from the Vinaya canon are found in that regard. Instead, Daoxuan widely cited sources from relevant sūtras

and commentaries. Yuanzhao added that according to the custom of China, unlike in India, respect is shown by keeping shoes and socks on while paying homage to the stūpa and the Buddha. 母論西國以跣足為敬。故不得入塔。此方以穿著為禮。或著襪履。亦須潔淨。[282] This is one example that shows how Yuanzhao positively interpreted the different monastic practices as caused by pragmatic concerns sensitive to the cultural context.

Highest priority goes to the stūpa, in front of which monks and nuns should not salute each other. Ways of showing respect are divided into three categories: first, asking about welfare; second, bending the knee; and third, whole body prostration. The highest mark of respect—throwing all five parts of the body to the ground—is reserved for the Buddha and follows a fixed procedure. Daoxuan cited the Agama sūtra here and Yuanzhao pointed out that people in his time who did not know the correct way made the mistake of not pressing the whole palms together or of making mudras instead of holding the feet of the Buddha with open hands.

> People today only press their whole palms together. When bowing down, one should [place hands] from downward to up; when standing up, one should [place hands] from upward to down. Therefore, the commentaries state that the sequence should not be mixed. [Using] one's hands to hold the feet [of the Buddha] and then releasing the hands upward shows extreme respect. People today know the mudra but do not know the method to practice. The world is dilapidated, and the dharma is lost when one does not know the protocols. Someone may read this text and should follow the rule.
>
> 今人但合指耳。屈則先下後上。起則先上後下。故注云不相亂也。手承足者舒手仰承表敬之極。今人有結印者不知法也。世衰法喪不識禮儀。或覽此文宜須依準。[283]

Yuanzhao made an interesting point connecting lack of adherence to protocol in worshiping the Buddha image as a sign of the deterioration of the dharma. For those who are familiar with the method of bowing in a Chinese monastery, it is easy to recognize the similarities between Yuanzhao's description and the bodily movements

[282] Yuanzhao, *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 395c6-7.

[283] Yuanzhao,"" *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 395b26-29.

followed today. The "correct" way of worshipping the Buddha image is one of the most sustainable parts in the daily practice of Buddhism.

Fozu tongji describes one of the major differences between Yunkan and Yuanzhao as the way of circumambulating the stūpa.[284] Yuanzhao's commentary recorded the controversy over whether one should move in an anticlockwise direction belonging exclusively to the ordination platform. Yuanzhao clarified that Daoxuan's writings in *Lüxiang gantongzhuan* and *Jietan tujing* confirm that the circumambulation of the ordination platform should follow an anticlockwise direction, however, he argued against unidentified "earlier commentaries" (of the Vinaya) to apply this to the stūpa. Yuanzhao further summarized the principle that all pragmatic practices should be anticlockwise, and all salutations should be clockwise, as one should always expose one's respectful right side to the Buddha.[285]

A noteworthy detail is that the earlier commentaries cited the worshipping of relics anticlockwise as evidence. Yuanzhao stated that he participated in worship rituals and did not see these methods of anticlockwise circumambulation.[286] This small fact illustrates that controversies over Vinaya related issues can be a conflict between textual and practice traditions. Yuanzhao defended his position using eyewitness evidence of the local monastic practice. It is unclear if the previous commentary referred to Yunkan as a similar passage is not found in his existing commentaries.

The cultivation of respect also occurred among fellow monks and nuns. The direction of reverence is based on length of monkhood but prioritizes monkhood over

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[284] Zhipan, *Fozu tongji*, T49, no. 2035, 297b23-24.

[285] Yuanzhao. "致敬則必須右遶表執侍之恭勤。行事則必須左遶使上下而倫序 (如入食堂及說恣時入堂之式)。必依此判寧復疑乎。" *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 396a11-14.

[286] Yuanzhao. "古記引秀州靈光舍利左遶為證。子親瞻禮。但覩金鐸動搖。豈見舍利左右。此亦欺罔之甚。" *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 396a16-17. The relic worshipping ritual is discussed by Qisong in "*Xiuzhou jingyansi xingdaosheli shu* 秀州精嚴寺行道舍利述", in his anthology "*Tanjing wenji* 鐔津文集." T52, no. 2115, 718c4.

nunhood. People with zero to nine years of monastic age are considered lower rank; between ten and nineteen are of middle rank, and between twenty and forty-nine are high rank. In social gatherings, people are grouped by their monastic age. However, it seems that in Chan monasteries, everyone was addressed as high rank regardless of monastic age.[287] When the salutation is performed by a lower ranking monk to one of higher rank, the high-ranking monk must respond to the greeting in verbal form by asking about the wellbeing of the other party. Yuanzhao pointed out that "silent practice" is a non-Buddhist practice, which means the salutation cannot be left without a reply.[288]

Salutation also has a gendered aspect, as still practiced in today's Buddhist monasteries. Even though a fully ordained bhikṣuṇī is the senior of a śramaṇa, the youngest bhikṣu automatically ranks higher socially than the most senior bhikṣuṇī in the same Buddhist community. In many Buddhist rituals, nuns are placed behind monks regardless of their monastic age. This attentiveness to details is the foundation and the most frequent means of forming the self in a hierarchical relationship with the religious other.

Visiting Guests

Chapter 25 on host and guest begins by introducing the way of entering a host monastery, and proceeds with detailed orientation in the space of the monastery, as well as instruction on the salutations required for being an acceptable host or guest. Daoxuan cited *Sifenlü* for a sequence of options for the guests entering a host monastery:

[287] Yuanzhao. "今時禪眾無論老小。例稱上座不知孰為下座乎。" *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 397b13-14.

[288] Yuanzhao. "如啞羊者彼有啞羊外道受不語法。世有持不語者謂為上行。此外道法宜速捨之。" *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 397b25-27。

> *Sifenlü* says, "If the guest monk wishes to enter a monastery, he should know [the location] of the stūpa. If the host is expecting him, the door should be open. If it is not, knock on the door slowly to inform people inside. If they cannot hear, knock harder. If still nobody comes to open the door, pass the begging bowl and robe to a second monk. Go to the short wall and step over it to open the door. After circumambulating the stūpa clockwise, first wash the left foot and then the right, and wear shoes."
>
> 四分云。客比丘欲入寺。應知佛塔。若上座等。至門中應開。若不能者。徐打。令内人聞。不聞。大打。猶不聞者。持衣鉢與第二比丘。至下牆處。踰入開門。右繞塔過。先洗左脚。後洗右脚。著革屣。[289]

This sequential instruction serves as a guide for accepted behavior that is both commonsensical and exceptional. The permission to enter the monastery without being personally admitted corresponds to the idea that Buddhist monasteries are common property for all Buddhist monastics. It is not considered a violation of property if a monk breaks into a locked monastery. Daoxuan copied the prescription in the *Sifenlü* without any adjustment, while Yuanzhao added a consideration for the possible situation in reality:

> "To know the location of stūpa" means one may ask another person, or one may look for it by oneself. "The door should be open" means the door is unlocked. "If it is not" means the door is locked inside. In this place the door is usually not closed during daytime, and this is a rare case. "The short wall" means where the wall is low. "Step over" is not allowed in this place; this [suggestion] should not be followed.
>
> 知佛塔等者。或問於人。或自瞻視。至門應開。謂無關鎖。容自開者。若不能者。即反上也。此間晝日。不尚閉門。事亦稀也。下牆謂低處。踰入此方所忌。未可依用。[290]

Yuanzhao's almost word-for-word interpretation introduces the reader to an imagined situation in the reality of China. Furthermore, it is likely that a Chinese monastery might not follow the custom of washing feet, since there has not been a habit of walking with bare feet outside the monastery. Yuanzhao commented elsewhere that wearing shoes shows more respect than the other way around in China, so he did not repeat

[289] *Xingshichao*, T40, no. 1804, 141c24-28.

[290] *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 409c3-6.

himself there. After a guest enters the monastery, the host is responsible for showing the guest around and distributing living necessities. *Sifenlü* presents all kinds of questions that guest monks might ask, some of them indicating how to become familiarized with the social surroundings of the monastery, such as the location of vicious dogs, good persons, and bad persons. Interestingly enough, Daoxuan put the instructions for sleeping posture (lying on one's right side, just like Buddha in the final nirvana), the proper way of sitting, and the method of placing the heel before the toe in this chapter. This could be because visiting another monastery is an occasion when one could easily be caught in an incorrect or different bodily gesture. And these insignificant details in daily life are the occasions where the Vinaya operates as a total guide for living experience in the monastery,

Buddhist Nuns

The segregation between monks and nuns is emphasized in Vinaya rules. Among the approximately 250 rules for bhikṣu *prātimokṣa* and the approximately 350 rules for bhikṣuṇī, many are explicitly on the prohibition of mingling between bhikṣu and bhikṣuṇī, and the majority of the approximately 100 additional rules for bhikṣuṇī are on the topic of keeping a distance from bhikṣu. I need go no further than claim that the separation of genders is mainly derived from the enormous fear of breaking celibacy by violating the *pārājika* of sexual behavior and preserving the appearance of morality.

Chapter 29 of *Xingshichao* is a short chapter on the distinct practices of bhikṣuṇī. The ambiguous sense here is that bhikṣuṇī are conceived of as simultaneously weak and dangerous. Because they are spiritually and physically weak, they need to rely on the guidance of bhikṣu; they are restricted from traveling alone, or even crossing a river alone; yet because they are potentially capable of seducing bhikṣu, they should be

carefully watched over. This tension and misogynous tone is neither hidden nor unique in Daoxuan's writing in general.

A remarkable comment from Yuanzhao addresses the fact that Buddhist nuns continue to engage in the labor of spinning and embroidery as their main work. He questioned his fellow bhikṣuṇī,

> What is your original aim in discarding your parents and entering the path? If you spend the monastic life in this way, what is the difference from being a householder? This is exactly the case of a person who avoids drowning by throwing oneself into the fire.
>
> 今時尼女機織刺繡以為事業。棄親入道本圖何事。若此出家何如在俗。避溺投火即斯人矣。[291]

We do not know exactly the situation of the addressed bhikṣuṇī, as in the Song many monastics incorporated physical labor into their daily schedule. It seems that Yuanzhao was talking about the more extreme situation where nuns are so busy making fabric and embroidery that they did not spend their time in religious practice. There is no way to know if spinning and embroidery work is a devotional practice in nature, which reminds us of the refined silk work found inside the Seiryōji's Shaka Nyorai Statue. But it is likely enough that researchers naturally consider these silk works to be made by females. In a more positive reading, Yuanzhao is at least seeking an equal chance of religious life for female monastics.

Taking Care of Patients and the Dying

Chapter 26 of *Xingshichao* features how to take care of the sick, terminal care and the arrangement of a Buddhist funeral. The origin of this is the tradition that the Buddha took care of a sick monk left alone in his own excrement. The Buddha cleaned the body and room of the sick monk and helped him change his clothes and lie down. He then

[291] Yuanzhao, *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 425a27-b1.

claimed that anyone who worshiped the Buddha should take care of the sick.[292] Five similar yet different scenarios are found in the *skandhaka* rules on robes in the *Sifenlü*, and there is no separate chapter on taking care of the sick in Vinaya texts. Those five stories are grouped in the robe section, perhaps only because the Buddha originally took his own robe to cover the body of the sick monk. In contrast, Daoxuan reorganized those narratives based on the theme of taking care of the patient. This is a salient example of how Chinese commentators actively rearranged the structure of the Vinaya in accordance with their thematic reading of the text.

According to *Sifenlü*, the burden of responsibility goes outwards from the circle of social closeness with the sick person voluntarily; even nuns and laypersons can help when no monk is willing to do the work. [293] When the patient is carried to the monastery, he or she is exempt from the obligatory salutation to the stūpa and similar duties.[294] All these small details indicate that the patient is treated as an exceptional category in social relationships.

In the same chapter, Daoxuan introduced the "Hall of Impermanence" (Chi. *wuchangyuan* 無常院) the facility for hosting dying monks and nuns. He also elaborated on the deathbed practices which would greatly influence the Japanese deathbed ritual, especially those related to Pure Land belief. The Hall of Impermanence is a highly controlled ritual space devoid of all everyday materials and concentrated on helping the dying person make a connection with the Buddha in the final moments of life. The origin of this facility is an unidentified, text perhaps produced in China which was popular in Daoxuan's time. In Yuanzhao's time, the Hall of Impermanence was a conventional construction of the monastery, however, it was not always built in the

[292] *Sifenlü*.T22, no. 1428, p 861b21-862c20.

[293] *Sifenlü*. T22, no. 1428, 861c10-19.

[294] "到聚落中不得繞塔。問訊和上阿闍梨。" *Mishasaibu hexi wufenlü* 彌沙塞部和醯五分律. T22, no. 1425, 456b8.

north-west corner as described by Daoxuan. Also, in some places the name of the hall was changed to "Hall of Longevity," a title which Yuanzhao found sarcastic. [295] When one was about to die, someone would ring the bell to create mindfulness and to smooth the process of transformation into a body of the intermediate state (Chi. *zongyin* 中陰, Skt. *antarābhava*) or direct rebirth. Yuanzhao here criticized the contemporary practice of ringing the bell only after the death of a person as futile.

In line with the extraordinary status of a patient, and reversing all the mundane rules in the monastery, the monastic funeral is arranged as a mirror version of the secular funeral. Cremation is preferred rather than the common burial underground; and excessive venting of mourning sentiments and changing into mourning clothes are prohibited. All these regulations remind the practitioner that the funeral is nothing like a secular one, and the bond between monastics also transcends the secular relationship. However, the prescription against showing too much sorrow does not necessarily suggest an indifferent attitude towards the other. Specifically, for the funerals of one's parents and master, Daoxuan demonstrated two ends of the spectrum: at one end is indulging oneself in the emotion, and on the other is ignoring the obligation of attending the funeral of one's parents and masters through the religious justification of being in summer retreat 隨俗浮沈者至父母二師終亡而護夏不來, or though present, showing no apparent sign of grief or pain. Both are considered shameful by practitioners and laypersons 雖來不展哀苦者。亦道俗同恥.[296] This valuing of relationship, even over religious practice, shows the moral acuity of the ideal Buddhist funeral.

[295] Yuanzhao. "壇經云西方為無常之院。由終歿於天傾之位也。今寺亦有。但方隅不定。不知法故。以下出別堂所以。今號延壽。豈非相反。" *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 411a28-b2。

[296] Daoxuan. *Xingshichao*, T40, no. 1804, 145b6-8.

Relationship with the Laity

The formation of the religious self is heightened in the interaction with laypersons. The teaching of the Vinaya in general aims to keep Buddhist monastics at a reasonable distance from financial sponsors. On the one hand, it recognizes the absolute necessity of keeping a positive relationship for pragmatic concerns; on the other hand, it makes clear that the relationship is not defined by economic purposes. The rules on interaction with laypersons range from small issues such as greeting the lay person even when they sneeze,[297] to restricting criticism of rich merchants and non-Buddhists. It is intriguing to observe the suggested speech in these slightly awkward situations. The response is characterized by avoiding criticism based on one's own position as a Buddhist, and instead actively seeking common ground. For instance, a Buddhist should praise the protection received from military force, confirm the generosity of the merchant as a patron of the sangha (even though their way of making profit maybe non-ethical), laud the non-Buddhist religious person's encouragement to leave secular life, and always respond to an invitation by saying "I will come if there is no obstruction."[298] The above suggestions could certainly be read as the art of speaking or formal etiquette. I prefer to read them as setting principles for negotiating and operating within inevitable differences and disagreement.

Yuanzhao suggested that when visiting the house of a patron, one should express solicitude for family members' wellbeing. However, he warned:

> The path values conciseness of words. [One] should not overly converse. [One should] only follow the timing and conditions in order to assist. If one uses clever talk and an ingratiating manner to earn favor or bows down and is submissive with the intention of being invited again, [those behaviors] not only distort the path, but also cause the demise of the dharma. [Those who] respect the path and protect the dharma must not act in this way.

[297] "時有居士嗤，諸比丘畏慎不敢言長壽，居士皆譏嫌言。我等嗤。諸比丘不呪願長壽。諸比丘白佛，佛言。聽呪願長壽。" *Sifenlü*, T22, no. 1428, 960b13-16.

[298] *Xingshichao*, T40, no. 1804, 139b9-24.

道貴省語。不宜多涉。隨以時緣。引接而已。其或巧言令色。妄取顏情。折腰低首。意圖後請。豈唯屈道。抑亦滅法。重道護法。必不行之。[299]

Yuanzhao pointed out that the nature of the relationship between monastics and laypersons cannot be defined as money-driven. When the monastic seeks quick success and instant benefit, it is without doubt harmful and harms the dignity of the sangha. Monastics are obligated to teach the dharma to lay people, in language that they can understand, but the teaching is not to be done in exchange for alms. Yuanzhao also complained that contemporary monks and nuns only knew how "to fill their stomach and to receive donations and their etiquette according to the Vinaya has nothing to be observed 今僧受齋但知飽食接嚫而已。律儀法度無一可觀."[300] If that is the case, neither dharma nor sangha is sustainable, because the sangha would lose its attraction in the eyes of the laity and eventually fail to cultivate their faith. The sense of polite distance is quite subtle, and we can only imagine that such social ability is only able to be cultivated within a community. This might be the reason that the Vinaya allows novice monks or even apprentices before taking the ten precepts to join in some social activities together with fully ordained monastics. When faced with laypersons as a social group, the internal hierarchy of monkhood is less important. The proper attitude can only be learned by participating and observing the model provided by elders. Such detailed instructions suggest the accumulation of considerable hands-on experience in dealing with various kinds of patrons and monastics from other groups.

Interaction with lay people includes many rules on the redefined relationship with one's biological family. It is a common practice that once ordained as a Buddhist monastic, the secular family name is no longer in use and the monastic cannot address his or her parents as mother and father. Those measures do not indicate a total

[299] *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 401b15-17.

[300] Yuanzhao. *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 403c22-24.

separation from one's own family. Based on his study of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* Vinaya and other *Vinayas*, Shayne Clarke properly argues that we should move beyond the narrow notion of abandoning secular life as a total separation from one's familial ties, and furthermore that family life is far from incompatible with monastic life.[301] The existence of rules related to one's biological family indicates the continuation of family issues. The general attitude of the Vinaya texts is to treat family members with a minimum of exceptions, such as treating one's father as a fellow monk in the monastery if he were to live in the monastery. Even in the case of one's mourning period, Daoxuan suggests that one should not change the normal robe, which is against the Confucian custom. In this matter, Yuanzhao's comments depict a different contemporary picture. He cited that people wore a coarse cotton robe (instead of a colorful silk robe, which is against the rule to begin with), white hat, single-colored belt, straw sandals, and mourning walking stick as an imitation of the secular tradition.[302] Yuanzhao criticized the practice of mixing secular funeral customs with monastic practices, although he was not against burying one's parents if there was a need, since Buddha did bury his father.

The above discussion of communal monastic living with lay persons apparently begs the question of the austerity practices which continued to exist, representing the ideal of isolated practice stripped of social contact. In Chapter 21, Daoxuan and Yuanzhao discussed the practice of mendicants. To put the solution in a simplistic way, mendicant monks and nuns are considered as a monastic "other" in contrast to the majority. Although their ascetic practice is highly praised, they are socially segregated from the majority. This social separation includes the expectation that mendicant monks do not

[301] Shayne Clarke, *Family Matters in Indian Buddhist Monasticisms*, (Honolulu : University of Hawaii Press, 2014), 16-17.

[302] Yuanzhao. "今時多著綵帛袈裟。乃以布衣為孝服。又云。僧無服制但布少麁是不聞。智論云。如來著麁布伽梨。傳謬至今。愚迷不改。又有白帽素絛蒲鞋哭杖。倣同鄙俗。一任愚情。覩此明文早須悛革。" *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 408c9-13.

eat together in the dining hall, do not take management positions in the monastery, and do not accept invitations from lay persons; and they must wear a patched robe to mark themselves as separated from "the majority" of the monastics.

Yuanzhao commented that Chan monks invented a robe called "mountain-water patched robe" (Chi. *shanshuina* 山水衲), which in fact takes much more effort and costs much more than a normal robe. He criticized this craze of pretending to be a mendicant monk as a hypocrisy violating the original teaching of frugality.[303] We have seen many times already that Yuanzhao often criticized Chan practitioners. This corresponds to our general impression that Chan took the dominant position in Song Buddhism and took a different approach in the understanding of the Vinaya. Thus, it is understandable that they became an easy target for Yuanzhao. It also reflects that Yuanzhao and his Buddhist community were a vulnerable minority when they first started to live in the way prescribed by the Vinaya, rather than to follow the trend of their time.

As shown above, the *skandhaka* rules serve as a historical appendix to the *prātimokṣa* rules, which constitute the first layer of the Vinaya text. They reflect the social reality of permanently dwelling monastics in the later development of Buddhist monasticism. However, they are most akin to everyday life and sensitive to the changes of time and space in monastery life. For the Vinaya masters, they constitute an effective apparatus for the formation of the self. Even though one does not commit a grave offence or bring shame to the sangha by holding two begging bowls in one hand, yet this kind of regulation is the very site for the practice of mental self-surveillance in perfecting one's behavior in monastic daily life. The final product of this practice goes

[303] Yuanzhao. "今時禪眾。多作納衫。而非法服。裁剪繒綵。刺綴花紋。號山水納。價直數千。更乃各鬪新奇。全乖節儉。經年製造。虛廢時功。法逐時訛。道隨事喪。是則妄稱上行。濫預頭陀。有識之流。幸宜極誡。" *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 391b27-c2.

far beyond the one obedient person under Vinaya rules. After years of repetitive training in daily life, the final product is a certain kind of subjectivity with a set of cultivated habitus, mindfulness to details and situations, and consideration of others. Those characteristics would no doubt separate one from the laity, both in outer appearance and an inner way of reviewing one's social rule. In a word, they represent the mastery of the art of Buddhist living.

Chapter Five
Rediscovering the Vinaya and Precepts in the Liao Dynasty

Constrained by limited primary sources, the study of Liao Buddhism remains in infant status compared to its contemporary, Song Buddhism. Fortunately, new materials outside the Buddhist canon have been discovered, enabling us to reconstruct the Vinaya teaching and practice of this period. This chapter is organized around two central commentaries: the *Xingshichao xiangjiji,* a sub-commentary on Daoxuan's *Xingshichao*, and the *Fanwangjing shouji* (Hand Note of *Fanwangjing*, hereafter *Shouji*), a sub-commentary based on two commentaries on the *Fanwangjing*. Both texts demonstrate the Liao Vinaya master's sophisticated understanding of the Vinaya system as constituted by the original Vinaya and bodhisattva precepts. Surrounding these two texts, I use a variety of historical evidence to reconstruct the accomplishments of Buddhist monasticism in the monastic community and laity. While the relationship between Buddhism and the Khitan court has been the focus of previous studies, I argue that the imperial preceptor-emperor relationship which prevailed in the Liao is a continuation of the Sui-Tang model and may also have had a profound influence on the Yuan Dynasty.

Liao—A Dynasty Abolished by Buddhism?

It is recorded in *Yuanshi* (The Official History of the Yuan) that Kublai Khan once affirmed the following to Zhang Dehui 張德輝 (1195-1275) regarding the fate of the two previous dynasties of the Yuan:

> [Kublai Khan] asked again, "Someone has said, the Liao was abolished by Buddhism, and Jin perished because of Confucianism. Is that true?" [Zhang Dehui] responded, "I do not know the affair of Liao in detail, but I witnessed the end of Jin. Although there were one or two Confucians among the prime ministers, the rest gained the position by military accomplishment or inheritance. Again, regarding the curtailed military and state affairs, they are not included. In general, one of thirty

> Confucians were admitted [to the government]. For the survival or perishing of a country, someone must take the responsibility. What is the fault of Confucians?" Kublai Khan agreed with him.
>
> 又问：「或云，辽以释废，金以儒亡，有诸？」对曰：「辽事臣未周知，金季乃所亲睹。宰执中虽用一二儒臣，馀皆武弁世爵，及论军国大事，又不使预闻，大抵以儒进者三十之一，国之存亡，自有任其责者，儒何咎焉！」世祖然之。[304]

Zhang's response, while rejecting the false causality between Confucianism and the downfall of Jin, is silent about Buddhism. Nonetheless, we could apply Zhang's reasoning to the case of Buddhism in the Liao. The designation, though not completely unreasonable, is obviously an intentional exaggeration. But the popular opinion that Kublai Khan quoted unmistakably shows the popularity of Buddhism in the Liao, and certainly the tension between the Liao court's generous patronage of Buddhism and their ability to maintain a formidable military force. Even in the Northern Song, this tension was sensed by visitors to the Liao. Su Zhe 蘇轍 (1039-1112), the politician, essayist, and poet, was dispatched as an envoy to the Liao in the summer of 1089, the fourth year of Yuanyou. In his memorials to the throne after the trip, he recounted what he saw in the "Northern Dynasty." Even though Su Zhe was writing from the point of view of a Song politician, he resented being sent to the Liao, an occasion for which his beloved elder brother Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101) sent him a poem to calm his emotions. The second half of Su Shi's poem reads:

In the desert [you should] look back at the pure moon of the capital 沙漠回看清禁月
Should dream of the lake and mountain in the spring of Hangzhou. 湖山應夢武林春
If *Chanyu*[305]asks about your familial background, 單于若問君家世
Do not respond that yours is the finest in the middle dynasty. 莫道中朝第一人 [306]

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[304] "Biography of Zhang Dehui," 張德輝傳, *Yuanshi* 元史, Vol. 163.

[305] Chanyu, which literarily means "the king of the north", is a term referring to the rulers of Inner Asian nomads, mostly to Xiongnu in the Qin-han period. Su Shi used this historical term to draw the similarities between Xiongnu and Khitan rulers.

[306] The poem Su Shi wrote is titled "*Song Ziyou shi qidan*" 送子由使契丹 (To send Ziyou serving as an envoy to Khitan). *Su Shi quanji* 蘇軾全集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000), vol.5, 3441.

Su Shi sent this poem when he held the position of mayor of Hangzhou in 1089, ten years after the notorious Wutai poem incident (Chi. *wutai shi'an* 烏台詩案) which forever changed his career track. At this point the poet had experienced the vicissitudes of official life and returned to Hangzhou after fifteen years of arduous journeying. In this poem, Su Shi conjured the sharp contrast between the barren desert in the northern Khitan territory and the picturesque West Lake spring with a sense of pride that is hard to ignore. This poem and his following poems on the same topic reflect a stereotypical pejorative view of the distinction between the two countries, even though Su Shi was touched by the fact that his reputation as an eminent writer was recognized in Khitan.[307] Nonetheless, Su Zhe's memorials written during and after the trip, and from a first-person perspective, provide information about connections between the Song and Liao that are mostly missing in official history. Su Zhe recounts the surprising free circulation of Song copper coins, and the latest Song literary works; especially the well-known anthology of Su Shi which crossed the border of Song and Liao regardless of a book ban imposed by both sides. He was obviously impressed by how Buddhism flourished in the Liao, writing:

> The emperor of the Northern Dynasty is fond of the Buddha dharma, and can lecture on the sūtra himself. Every summer, [the emperor] meets monastics and ministers in the capital, holding the sūtra and lecturing himself. In his location, many monasteries are established, and many monks are ordained. For this reason, monks are indulgent, engaging in usury which takes advantage of the common people. Although they suffer [from Buddhism], people in Khitan also recite the sūtra and chant the name of the Buddha, slightly repenting of the mind of killing. This shows exactly the stupidity of the northern sphere which benefits the Central Dynasty.
>
> 北朝皇帝好佛法, 能自講其書。每夏季輒會諸京僧徒及其群臣，執經親講。所在修蓋寺院，度僧甚眾。因此僧徒縱恣，放債盈利，侵奪小民，民甚苦之。然契丹之人, 緣此誦經念佛，殺心稍悛，此蓋北界之巨蠹而中朝之利也。[308]

[307] Su Shi, "Ciyun ziyou shi qidan zhi zhuozhou jianji sishou" 次韻子由使契丹至涿州見寄四首. In *Su Sjhi quanji*, vol.5, 3491-3495.

[308] Su Zhe, "*Beishi huanlun beibian shi zhazi wudao*" 北使還論北邊事劄子五道, collected in his anthology *Luanchengji* 欒城集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji Press, 1987), 937-942.

Su Zhe presented an ambiguous depiction of Buddhism in the Liao. On the one hand, the emperor fervently supported Buddhism, but on the other hand, the prosperity of Buddhism led to socio-political problems. The conclusion Su Zhe drew as a politician—that Buddhism has weakened the military tradition of the Khitan—corresponds with Kublai Khan's concern. This critical standpoint has been inherited by the official history of Liao, which criticized him as an example of a failed ruler, whose generous support of the Buddhist community was no more than "wasteful accumulation of small benefits with no consideration for the foundational base [of the country]."[309]

The emperor Su Zhe met was Emperor Daozong· Yelü Hongji· Chala 道宗· 耶律洪基· 查剌 (1032-1101, reign 1055-1101), the most important sponsor of Buddhism in the second half of the eleventh century. During his reign, the Liao produced numerous Buddhist masters specializing in diverse teachings of Buddhism, such as the scholar monks Xianyan 鮮演 (1047-1118) and Feizhuo 非濁 (?-1063). Liao Daozong was fond of Buddhism, as well as Chinese classical culture. His empire's claim to centrality is no different from Song's claim to be the "central dynasty." In the inscription of Daozong's epitaph, Liao was addressed as "the Great Central Liao Khitan State."

As well as during the reign of Emperor Daozong, Buddhism experienced opportunities for development under the reign of three successive Khitan emperors: Emperor Shengzong· Yelü Longxu· Wenshunu 聖宗·耶律隆緒·文殊奴 (972-1031, reign 982-1031) and Emperor Xingzong· Yelü Zongzhen· Zhigu 興宗·耶律宗真· 只骨 (1016-55, reign 1031-55). Under the reign of these three emperors, Liao enjoyed a period of political stability and economic prosperity based on the dynamic equilibrium with the Northern Song in the south and Tangut in the west. All three are known for their

[309] "一歲飯僧三十六萬, 一日而祝發三千, 徒勤小惠，蔑計大本，尚足與論治哉。" The biography of Emperor Daozong, in *Liao shi*, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013), 314.

generous sponsorship of Buddhism. The present widespread remains of Buddhist monasteries and stūpas in the territory of Liao show the popularity and penetration of Buddhism into the Liao territory.

After the signing of the Chanyuan covenant in 1004, the relationship between the Song and the Liao entered a relatively peaceful phase. On the surface was the decree forbidding the circulation of books between Song and Liao. Textual evidence shows punishment was severe. However, archaeological findings showing communications on both sides, extending to Korea and Japan, suggest that circulation of books was not as rare as previously imagined. For instance, *quechang* 榷場—the free market between Northern Song and Liao—played an important role in the exchange of knowledge, including Buddhism.

Previous scholars have examined the formation of the imperially patronaged Buddhist canon in the Liao, namely that the so-called Khitan Canon (Chi. *qidanzang* 契丹藏) is the result of both the development of Buddhism in the Liao based on the heritage of Tang Buddhism and the competitive relationship with the Song.[310] While scholars are still debating the date of the Khitan Canon, the divergence point is the printing project started under the reign of Emperor Xingzong or Emperor Daozong. According to the latest study of Chikusa Masaaki, the starting date for the printing of the Khitan Canon should have been around 1044, and the project took around 20 years to finish.[311] No known copy or fragment of the Khitan Canon survives; however, a significant part of *Fangshan yunjusi shijing* 房山雲居寺石經 (hereafter Fangshan

[310] Tsumaki, Chokuryō, *Kittan ni okeru daizōkyō horizukuri no jijitsu o ronzu* 契丹に於ける大蔵経彫造の事実を論ず. In *Tōyō gakuhō*, 2(3), 1912, 317-340, Zhang Changgeng, "Bi Sujuan. Lun liaochao dazangjing de diaoyin" 論遼朝大藏經的雕印, *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan guankan*, 1983; Luo Zhao. "Qidanzang de diaoyin niandai" 《契丹藏》的雕印年代. In *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan guankan*,1983, 5-7; Luo Zhao. "Zaitang qidanzang de diaoyin ninadai" 再談《契丹藏》的雕印年代. In *Wenwu*, 1988(8), 73-81.

[311] Chikusa Masaaki's *Sōgen Bukkyō no Kenkyu*, chapter 4, 88-97.

Canon) was based on the Khitan Canon and thus gives us an idea of how it was formed. The Fangshan Canon was a project consisting of Buddhist texts carved on slate initiated by the monk Jingwan 靜琬 in the Sui Dynasty, and continuing for over a thousand years. Much of the Fangshan canon produced in the Liao came with colophons and became invaluable sources of information for Liao Buddhism. Modern scholars find that the Fangshan Canon is closer to the texts of Dunhuang and use it as an important source of base texts.

In attempting to sketch a general picture of Liao Buddhism, scholars often confront the conundrum that "lack of evidence does not indicate absence of evidence," as well as the difficulty of measuring the importance of the few surviving texts. Based on fragmented materials, we can only draw limited conclusions about the characteristics of Liao Buddhism. Compared to the Song, there is less sense of a broken tradition from the Tang Dynasty, since Liao more directly inherited the Buddhist legacy of the Tang after 916, and even more after its acquisition of the Sixteen Prefectures of the Yanyun area in northern China. We know that lectures on the topic of Yogācāra were popular and attracted many students in the Liao monasteries, since relevant accounts appear frequently in the biographical material of Liao monastics in *Quanliaowen* 全遼文. Chikusa Masaaki argues that the teaching of the Yogācāra, represented by eminent monks such as Quanming 詮明), should be conceived of as equal in importance to the previously recognized teaching of Huayan.[312] Just as Kamio Kazuharu 神尾弋春 pointed out that the study of the Vinaya and precepts is another feature of Liao

[312] Chikusa Masaaki, *Sōgen Bukkyō no Kenkyu*, 11. I follow Chikusa's argument that the incident of Quanming burning Chan texts of the *Platform Sūtra* and *Baolinzhuan* etc. from Song has a single piece of evidence in *Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統, which has its own agenda of promoting Chan Buddhism. We have no other evidence to show that Liao Buddhism was against Chan.

Buddhism,[313] what I hope to argue in this chapter is that the achievements of the Vinaya and precepts should also be added to the understanding of Liao Buddhism. The achievements of Liao's teaching in the Vinaya may even have had further impact in Korea and Japan than we previously realized. In his groundbreaking study of Liao Buddhism, Kamio identified the biographical information of several representative Vinaya masters in the Liao, including Zhizhi 志智, Fajun 法均 (1021-1075), and Chengyuan 澄淵 (n.d.).[314] Other first-generation researchers of Liao Buddhism are Nogami Shunjō, who wrote *Ryō Kin no Bukkyō* 遼金の仏教, and Tsukamoto Zenryū, who conducted fieldwork in northern China. In recent years, Chikusa Masaaki, Furumatsu Takashi, and Fujiwara Takato have carried on the research of Liao Buddhism and pushed current research to a new height.

Chikusa Masaaki calls for a reevaluation of Liao Buddhism's position in the context of East Asian Buddhism. Based on and moving beyond the apparent continuity of the Tang, Liao, Jin and Yuan, he argues that Liao Buddhism fostered interchange directly with the Song, reaching the Dunhuang region, Turfan bason, Xixia, and Korea. [315] Liao Buddhism's relation with Japan is conceived of as mediated either through Korea or through traveling monks such as Jōjin, for we still do not have evidence of direct exchange of Buddhist texts. Tsukamoto Zenryū speculated that Feizhuo's collection of Pure Land narrative, *Suiyuan wangshengji* 隨願往生集, was imported into Japan

[313] Kamio Kazuharu, *Kittan Bukkyō bunkashi kō* 契丹佛教文化史考 (Tōkyō: Daiichi Shobō, 1982), 106-110.

[314] Zhizhi's inscription is called "*Dahaotiansi jianzi gongdezhuchuan pusajie miaoxing dashi xingzhuangbei*" 大昊天寺建寺功德主傳菩薩戒妙行大師行狀碑. Fajun's biography is found in the Vinaya chapter of *Xubu gaosengzhuan*. Fajun is based in the Zijin monastery in Beijing. His information is also found in *Fajun yixingbei* 法均遺行碑, preserved in Jietai Monastery. The original stele was broken but reconstructed in the Ming dynasty. According to Furumatsu Takashi's study of the Liao stele, the temple record about Jietai Monastery by Zhihuan Daofu 知幻道孚 written in the Ming renovation of the monastery was composed based on the content of the stele rather than on the remains of the monastery at the time.

[315] Chikusa Masaaki, *Sōgen Bukkyō no Kenkyu* 72-75.

during the 11th century.[316] Also, Xianyan's *Jueseji* 抉擇記 was transmitted into Japan and cited in the writing of Japanese monks such as Ten'ei 湛睿 (1271-1347).

Since most Buddhist-related manuscripts and texts produced in the Liao did not survive, in terms of methodology the study of Liao Buddhism must take a different approach from the canonical-text-based research of the Song. For the study of Liao Buddhism, archeological findings, non-canonical texts from a wide spectrum of sources, and material culture take the dominant position. Among the archaeological findings which revised our impression of Liao Buddhism, first and foremost is the discovery of Fogong Monastery's (1056) underground storage in Shanxi Province, known for its wooden stūpa. Both were established at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Daozong, in which the archaeological discovery of Fogong monastery in 1974 marks a breakthrough in the finding of material and updated the landscape for the study of Liao Buddhism. Among the discoveries were 30 manuscripts and 47 xylographs unearthed inside the statue of Sakyamuni stūpa. The most significant of these is the fragmented reprint of the Khitan Canon. These texts and manuscripts date to between the end of the 10th century and the beginning of the 12th century during the highpoint of Liao Buddhism.[317] For the purposes of this study, I will discuss later in the chapter several Vinaya and precepts-related manuscripts included in the Fogong Monastery collection.

Chengyuan, A Forgotten Vinaya Master

In Ǔich'ŏn's Catalog, we can identify several Buddhist commentaries produced in the Liao on a variety of topics.[318] Among all these works, there are two commentaries on

[316] Tsukamoto Zenryū, Tōhō gakuhō, 1937.

[317] For a complete list and details of manuscripts, xylographs, and other objects, see *Shanxi Yingxian Fogongsi muta nei faxian liaodai zhengui wenwu*, 1982, 1-8, plus illustrations.

[318] The representative works of Liao Buddhism are on Huayan, Faxiang and esoteric Buddhism, such as Shouzhen's 守臻 *Shi moheyanlun tongzanshu* 釋摩訶衍論通贊疏. Xianyan 鮮演 (1047-1118), the master

the *Fanwangjing* and one commentary on the Vinaya.[319] Fortunately, a non-canonical commentary on the Vinaya was discovered in the format of a xylograph reproduced in Korea, while the original Liao print has been lost.[320] The only surviving sub-commentary on Daoxuan's *Xingshichao*, entitled *Sifenlü shanfan buque xingshichao xiangjiji* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔詳記集 (The Detailed Notes of *Xingshichao*, hereafter *Xiangjiji*), is written by the scholar monk and Vinaya master Chengyuan.

Divided into fourteen fascicles, *Xiangjiji* is a lengthy secondary commentary based on Daoxuan's original *Xingshichao*. As each fascicle is about 100 pages long, *Xiangjiji* is comparable to Yuanzhao's *Zichiji* in sheer size, although they apparently differ style. *Xiangjiji* is a nearly word-for-word interpretation of *Xingshichao* and is reminiscent of the *Miaofalianhua jing wenju* 妙法蓮華經文句 (T34, no. 1718). The interpretative unit of *Zichiji* is more often based on the paragraph of the original *Xingshichao*, and occasionally digresses from the root text. It is comparable to other Song produced commentaries on Daoxuan, such as Yunkan's. Another important similarity of these two works is that both draw references from a wide range of works beyond *Xingshichao* itself, including Daoxuan's other commentaries. Furthermore, *Xiangjiji* frequently cited *Chengweishilu*n, Avataṃsaka literature, and *Fanwangjing*.

In *Xiangjiji*, Chengyuan is given a full and complex title which shows his status in his monastery and his recognition by the Liao court. As the Vinaya master who

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who specialized in Huayan teaching, was another important master conferring the bodhisattva precept. Fajun 法均.

[319] Commentaries on *Fanwangjing* are Zhishi's 志實 *Fanwangjing ke* and *Tong huida tongil chao*, in Ŭich'ŏn's Catalog (*Xinbian zhuzongjiaozang zonglu* 新編諸宗教藏總錄), T55, no. 2184.

[320] The xylograph was printed in the fifth year of Cheonsun 天順 in Korea's chronology by the governmental bureau in charge of printing. A similar case is the transmission of Chengguan's *Dafangguangfo huayanjing suishu yanyichao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔. This text was first reprinted in the Liao and then brought to Korea to be reproduced and then transmitted to Japan, and is currently preserved in the library of Tōdaiji. Tōdaiji also preserved the copy of Liao master Xianyan's *Huayanjing tanxuam jueze* 華嚴經談玄抉擇, discussed in Chikusa Masaaki, 98.

conferred the bodhisattva precepts upon the Emperor Xingzong in 1038, Chengyuan received the title of Emperor's Preceptor Master Yuanrong 國師圓融大師.[321] From this title, we can infer that his position inside the Buddhist community was based in Fengfu Monastery in Yenching (present day Beijing). Chengyuan's title also testifies to the honor of his having received the purple robe from the emperor (Chi. *cizi* 賜紫), an acknowledgment given to Buddhist masters since Empress Wu Zetian.

Xiangjiji demonstrates the author's profound understanding of Daoxuan's original work and the historiography of Vinaya teaching in China. In contrast to Yuanzhao's ardent embrace of a continuous lineage for the Nanshan School, Chengyuan appears to be affiliated with the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya, while Daoxuan is no doubt its most important commentator. Chengyuan seldom refers to Daoxuan as his patriarch or to the Nanshan School as representing his own sectarian identity. Instead, *Xiangjiji* relies on several late Tang commentaries. He cites from the original *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* and other primary sources in the Vinaya piṭaka to explain Daoxuan's highly condensed commentary. Chengyuan was particularly interested in Zhihong's 志鴻 *Souxuanlu sifenlü shanfanbuque xingshichao lu* 搜玄錄解四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔錄 (X41, no. 732) and copied long passages from it. It also frequently referred to Vinaya master Tansheng's 曇勝 *Xingshichao Dangyangji* 行事鈔當陽記 (not extant) and Yiwei's 義威 *Xingshichao Lingshanji* 行事鈔靈山記 (not extant) as reliable sources for difficult points. These Vinaya masters and works from the Tang are not seen in Yuanzhao's writings and are rarely cited in contemporary commentaries. We may infer that the scholastic tradition of *Xingshichao* in the Liao had its own preference for inheriting the

[321] Modern scholars tend to use "national preceptor" or "state preceptor" to translate the term *guoshi*, mainly distinction it from the later term "imperial preceptor" (Chi. *dishi* 帝師). I intentionally avoid using "nation" and "state" for pre-modern societies and instead choose "emperor" to refer to the relationship between the emperor and his preceptor.

legacy of the Tang outside of Yuanzhao's circle. Another distinction is that unlike what we see in Yuanzhao's polemical style of writing, we rarely find Chengyuan invoking controversies within the commentarial tradition of Daoxuan, possibly because Chengyuan's position, as sponsored by the imperial court did not encounter the internal and external challenges faced by Yuanzhao.

Comparable to the concept of *jieti* I have discussed in previous chapters, *Xiangjiji* also took *jieti* as the foundational concept for constructing the theory of the Vinaya. In epistemology, this shows a clear preference for the "neither-rūpa-nor-citta" of *Tattvasiddhi* as the third category over the Sarvâstivāda's five-fold division of dharmas.[322] Chengyuan treated the old translation of *avijñapti-wuzuo* as a synonym for Xuanzang's new translation *wubiao,* and uses these two terms interchangeably.

In explaining the *Xingshichao*'s preface, *Xiangjiji* illuminates several unique characteristics useful in understanding the Vinaya, which distinguish it from Yuanzhao's interpretation. First is that the Vinaya takes matter (Chi. *shi* 事) as its principle and emphasizes judgements based on bodily and verbal behavior.[323] Accordingly, repentance for violating the Vinaya's rules follows the categorical division of rules. This is in stark contrast to Buddhist teachings based on meditative cultivation and general repentance rituals suitable for all violations. Grounded in the perspective of the Vinaya piṭaka, Chengyuan referred to Avataṃsaka Sūtra as "their school" (Chi. *tazong* 他宗) or "others sūtra" (Chi. *tajing* 他經) ,[324] and identified *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* as his own school (Chi. *benzong* 本宗).[325] This self-identification helps us to

[322] *Xiangjiji*. Vol.1, 21b3-9.

[323] *Xiangjiji.* Vol. 2, 2b2-4.

[324] *Xiangjiji*. Vol. 2, 1b10-16. Chengyuan cited a text called *Shanshengjing* 善生經, and the part he quoted is almost identical to Tang Vinaya master Zhihong's *Souxuanlu sifenlü shanfanbuque xingshichao lu* 搜玄錄解四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔錄, X41, no. 732, 860b24-c7.

[325] *Xiangjiji*. Vol.2, 32a2.

gain a more accurate understanding than the stereotypical designation of all monks in the Liao as affiliated with Huayan teaching. This is not to deny that Chengyuan also relied heavily on the Avataṃsaka sūtra and Yogācāra works to elaborate on Daoxuan's writing. Even though scholar monks might or might not belong to Huayan as an institution, the teachings of Huayan no doubt constituted the foundation of scholasticism in the Liao.

The second feature of *Xiangjiji* is that it assumes, when debating the benefit of taking precepts, that by taking them, one has already planted the seed of soteriological fruition in the future, even if one might risk undesired karmic retribution by violating prescribed rules. Had one not received the *prātimokṣa* precepts, behaviors such as drinking and touching silver and gold would not be considered transgressions. Even so, Chengyuan held that the soteriological benefit of leaving samsara should surpass the fear of violating the rule and receiving bad karma. To elaborate upon the soteriological benefit of taking precepts, *Xiangjiji* included a nearly identical passage from Jingxiao's 景霄 *Sifenlü chao Jianzhengji* 四分律鈔簡正記 written in the 10th century without any mark of direct citation. This passage compares the ocean of precepts to the Huayan image of the ocean, which will eventually lead to karmic fruition:

> Chapter Ten of *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* says the water from the four oceans waters the myriad objects on the mountain and in the river on the four continents. It enables everything to sprout in the spring, to grow in the summer, to blossom and to bear fruit according to its time. The ocean of the Vinaya is the same; pervasive in the dharma realm, which is called boundless etc. The space is profound and is called deep. It contains the flavor of liberation, spreading over all ten directions. It makes the five-fold dharma body of sentient beings into four types of birth and nine categories, first to be born, then to grow, to bloom with the five-vehicle[326] flowers, and to bear five-vehicle fruits, all according to their time. This is called delivering myriad beings.
>
> 華嚴經十定品云。四大海水。悉能潛潤。四天下中。山林萬象。而令春生夏長。吐花結實。而不失時。律海亦尔。横遍法界曰沖竪等。虛空曰深。有解脫味。遍十方界。

[326] The five vehicles refer to humans, heavenly beings, śrāvakas, pratyekabuddhas, and bodhisattvas.

能令四生九類有情。五分法身。初生次長吐五乘花。結五乘果。皆不失時。名津通萬象。[327]

In the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya, the Vinaya is also compared to the ocean, however the image is almost the opposite. The violation of the *pārājika* is described in the opening *gatha*:

For example, there is a corpse	譬如有死屍,
Unaccepted by the ocean	大海不容受,
Floated by strong wind	為疾風所飄,
Abandoned on the beach	棄之於岸上。

The image of the gatha illustrates that the grave offence of *pārājika* is not excused, and forever negates the hope of crossing to the other shore. In Jingxiao's original commentary, the meaning that the Vinaya does not tolerate grave offence is emphasized. However, Chengyuan only referenced the positive aspect, and did not follow the inflexible image of the original Vinaya which contains the danger of being excluded from liberation. For him, the analogy of the Vinaya to the ocean is inclusive, empowering, and promising. Even for those who have violated the *pārājika*, the soteriological value of taking the precepts is not nullified. Regarding this exact point, I will show in the next chapter that Yuanzhao's conversion to Pure Land Buddhism suggested that taking precepts alone as a remote cause of liberation was not sufficient for Yuanzhao.

The above example shows Chengyuan's appropriation of previous sub-commentaries of *Xingshichao*. The more frequent practice is to take a previous passage and further elaborate on that passage. Regarding the foundational importance of Vinaya study following its original text, *Xiangjiji* reads:

As for Buddhists who take the precepts as a foundation, but do not study precepts, these persons have no foundation. For those who do not observe (precepts) by three behaviors (mental, verbal, and bodily), these persons do not have restriction. Even

[327] *Xiangjiji,* Vol. 2, 16b11-16. The corresponding passage is in *Sifenlü chao Jianzhengji*, X43, no. 737, 75b9-13 // Z 1:68, 128c16-d2 // R68, 256a16-b2.

> though they follow the outline of ritual procedure, the original text is not unified. The teaching has no foundation. By changing and adding the text, following the text means the teaching is without restriction. To acquire means to accomplish, to lose means to violate (precepts). This is based on the teaching of the great person, but without its foundation and restriction. The acquisition and loss are mixed; all of these are equally incomplete.
>
> 謂諸釋子。以戒為宗。不學戒律。是人無宗。不依三行。揀束身口。是人無轄。雖秉羯摩網骨。緣本是非一。蓋是法無宗。顛倒增減。依文而秉。是法無轄。得謂獲成就。失即此相違。由上人法。無其宗轄。得之與失。混然一例。同歸不了焉。[328]

This passage also resembles a similar passage in Jingxiao's commentary:

> People who do not study the Vinaya and precepts are persons without foundation. (People) who do not observe (precepts) by three behaviors, restricted by the seven branches of bodily and verbal behaviors are persons without restriction. For (people) who do not follow the outline of the ritual procedure, the teaching is without foundation. Changing and adding to the text means following the text results in teaching without restriction. Those who cannot distinguish between the acquisition or the loss of teaching, and are confused as to whether the teaching is accomplished or not become converged, and are of the same category.
>
> 人不學戒律。是人無宗。不依三行。於束身口七支。是人無轄。不依羯磨綱。是法無宗。顛倒增減。文句秉之。是法[無] 轄。人之與法。得失不分。事之成不。混同一致。故同歸焉。[329]

Apparently without prioritizing a clear adaptation from Jingxiao, Chengyuan changed the wordings, slightly altering the meaning to focus on the importance of an original and unified text. The added phrase, "based on the teaching of the great person" refers to the fixed written text of ritual procedure (Chi. *jiemo* 羯摩) as the authoritative and holy text. The text went so far as to declare that "a single word missing is deemed as a violation of the teaching."[330] It also added the injunction that violation of the teaching would render one's practice incomplete. These focuses on a unified text under one Vinaya master are not seen in Jingxiao's text. This is a suitable example of how a

[328] *Xiangjiji,* Vol. 3, 10b6-10.

[329] *Sifenlü xingshichao Jianzhengji* 四分律行事鈔簡正記. X43, no. 737, 110b19-22 // Z 1:68, 163d5-8 // R68, 326b5-8.

[330] *Xiangjiji.* Vol. 3, 11a1.

secondary commentary in the Vinaya tradition appropriates and intentionally changes what has been written earlier to fit its own agenda.

Lastly, Chengyuan formed a three-fold hierarchy of practice after receiving the same *jieti*. He intentionally allocated the bodhisattva precepts, as one of the six paramitas, to be the practice suitable for people of superior faculties.[331] What is at stake here is that whereas everyone potentially receives the same *jieti* by nature, the specific quality of the *jieti* depends on practice corresponding to the quality of one's faculties. In fact, this intentionally designates whoever receives the bodhisattva precepts as one with superior faculties. It is hard to imagine in this hierarchy who would voluntarily choose lower precepts over higher ones. The reader may recall that in Chapter Three, Yuanzhao concluded that Huayan teaching follows a universal conferral ritual crossing the boundary between monastics and laity. In the Huayan model, the bodhisattva ritual is conferred without perquisition of any other precepts (differing from the Lotus model). This preference for universal bodhisattva precepts can be further understood in the social context of the imperial support of Buddhism in the Liao.

The Bodhisattva Precepts in the Liao

The previously mentioned three Liao emperors were fervent supporters of Buddhism, and they all received the bodhisattva precepts from eminent monks. Two well-known cases of the bodhisattva precepts being conferred to the emperor are the conferral to Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty (502-557) and to Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty. This practice is never as simple as conversion based on personal belief, nor can it be easily reduced to the political maneuverings of religion which only matter symbolically. What should be examined instead is the specificity of the practice in its own social-historical context. The power of ordination was officially controlled by state sponsored

[331] *Xiangjiji.* Vol. 2, 20a1-4.

monasteries and Vinaya masters. As previously mentioned, Emperor Xingzong received the bodhisattva precepts from the Vinaya master Chengyuan. In the lineage of Chengyuan, there were several masters active in conferring precepts. For instance, Shoudao 守道, was granted the honorary title of "Master of Precepts Conferral" 傳戒大師 and built an ordination platform in the inner court. Fajun 法均 (1021-1075) established the largest ordination platform in Zijin Monastery in present day Beijing, and Fajun's disciple Yukui 裕窺 continued the work of his master in Beijing.

After Xingzong, Emperor Daozong further developed this tradition by adding the clerical position "Confessor of the Inner Court" (Chi. *neidian chanhuizhu* 內殿懺悔主). Fujiwara Takato identified four monks who had taken this position. His convincing argument for selection of these monks—all were not from the lineage of Chengyuan—together with his composition of *Fa putixin jieben* 發菩提心戒本 (a precepts manual to arouse the mind that aspires to enlightenment), demonstrated Emperor Daozong's intentional preference for the alternative tradition of the bodhisattva precepts, diverging from his father.[332] Given the title of the text, it is highly possible that Emperor Daozong's *Fa putixin jieben* might be related to *Putixinjie* 菩提心戒 of Xianyan,[333] to whom the emperor granted a purple rope and the title of Cihuide 慈慧德 (one who is compassionate, wise and virtuous). It is recorded in the epitaph that Xianyan conducted the ordination ritual seventy-two times.[334] It would not be surprising that the emperor had received direction and suggestions from Xianyan in composing the manual.

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[332] The four confessors are Hengce 恆策 (1049-1098), Master Zhenghui 正慧大師 (1042-1116), Faze 法賾 (1050-11104), and Hengjian 恆簡 (?-1111), Fujiwara Takato, 2012. 136-141.

[333] The title is found in *Xianyan mubei* 鮮演墓碑 discovered in Chifeng City in inner Mongolia in 1986.

[334] Xianyan mubei 鮮演墓碑. In *Liao shangjing diqu chuqu de liaodai beike huiji* 遼上京地區出土的遼代碑刻彙輯 (Beijing Shi : She hui ke xue wen xian chu ban she, 2009), 136.

In Emperor Daozong's time, the circulation of his *Fa putixin jieben* suggests a multifaceted function of the text beyond a manual for ritual. In Dingyan's 定演 biography, he "was granted the Golden bodhisattva precepts manual written in the blood-ink of Emperor Daozong," [335] as a recognition of his practice related to the transmission of Vinaya and precepts teaching. The passing down of the position of conferring the bodhisattva precepts is symbolized by passing down the precepts manual made by the emperor, and the candidate also receives approval by the emperor.

Beyond its recognition of Buddhist monastics, *Fa putixin jieben* also took on the role of authorizing and mobilizing social practices. Fujiwara Takato quoted a precious record in a local gazetteer disclosing the social context of the conferral ritual of the bodhisattva precepts:

> This great river of Sangan melts in the spring, freezes in the autumn, and overflows in the summer. Harming people and livestock, it is a great danger and disaster. In the past, the practitioners of the bodhisattva path helped people in distress and built a bridge, relieving sentient beings. In the third year of Taikang under the reign of Emperor Tianyou of the Great Liao (1077), Chongya was appointed to the Senglu position for the western capital. Making offerings, he passed over this bridge. The wood of the bridge was rotten, which made it difficult for people and livestock to pass. Four of these, Chongya, together with the Vinaya master, Fahua master, and registrar, discussed rebuilding the bridge. The other three, as petitioners, requested that Chongya confer the [bodhisattva] precepts in Nanqihou Village. In a short time, the emperor granted the two-fascicle *Yuzhi putixin jieben* to Chongya and had him widely circulate it to reach the unknown, assisting their effort by means of this precepts text. In two counties of Hong and Yu on the west and east side, monks and nuns raised almost 500 guan of copper coins. In the ninth year of Taikang (1084), wooden bridge structures were purchased. The stone slates were found on both sides of the river. In the first month of the tenth year (1085), the wooden logs were transported to the bridge. On the 27th day of the third month, the ordination platform was functioning, assembling *Yuzhi putixin jieben* of Emperor Tianyou (Liao Daozong). Monastic and Vinaya masters from near and far persuaded people to arouse the bodhi mind and receive the precepts of bodhi mind. People donated money and labor worth 500 guan of copper coins. It was decided that on the 30th of the fourth month, they would build a stone warehouse on the northern bank of the bridge, to honor the three jewels.
>
> 緣此桑乾大河。春開秋凍。夏月泛漲。損傷人畜。是大厄難。當日菩薩行人。救苦興橋。普濟生靈。大遼國天佑皇帝太康三年，除授崇雅。西京僧錄。因上供去。從此橋

[335] "時昊天宿德雄辯大師。授師遼道宗刺血金書戒本。" X77, no. 1524, 389a7-8 // Z 2B:7, 43c1-2 // R134, 86a1-2。

過。木植朽爛。人畜過往。至甚艱難。崇雅與律主大師。法華座主。主簿正字。四人共議。再蓋大橋。三人為首。請崇雅於南七侯村開壇放戒。不尒。皇帝宣賜御製菩薩提心戒本兩卷。付授崇雅。命廣流通。遍及未聞。由此戒文。助成大事。於西東宏蔚二州。僧尼二眾。化到錢近五百貫。太康九年。買橋樑枋木柈柱。於河兩邊出得板石。十年正月內。木植載到橋頭。三月二十七日。南七侯院開戒壇。消放天佑皇帝御製菩薩提心戒本。遠近村坊律主等。誘勸盡發勝心。受菩薩提心戒。人各思施錢物工價。可及五百貫。擇定四月三十日。橋北岸壘迭石倉。三寶冥加。[336]

As discussed previously in the third chapter, there are two textual systems regarding the circulation of bodhisattva precepts. One is the *Fanwangjing* system with matching ritual texts mainly composed by Tiantai masters; the second is the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* system, for which Xuanzang translated the ritual text and which has been in circulation independently. As shown in Su Zhe's memorial, Emperor Daozong was a fervent Buddhist well versed in Buddhist doctrine. The two-fascicle *Fa putixin jieben* recorded in Ǔich'ŏn's Catalog is no longer extant; however, a one-fascicle text written by the monk Zhixian 志仙, which might be an abbreviated version of the original text, is found in the Fangshan Canon. [337] Zhixian's text is divided into eight parts, in which Samantabhadra bodhisattva takes the role of confessor and the whole structure of the ritual resembles Xuanzang's ritual of conferral of the bodhisattva precepts.[338]

In the collection of the Fogong monastery discovered in 1974, there is a manuscript outside of the Buddhist canon which contains three instances of the bodhisattva precepts: *Fa putixin jieben* 發菩提心戒本, *Dacheng baguanzhaijieyi* 大乘八關齋戒儀, and *Pusa shiwujinjieyi* 菩薩十無盡戒儀 [339]. However, these three titles are given by

[336] *Tianzhen Xianzhi* 天鎮縣志, in *Xijian zhongguo defangzhi congkan* 稀見中國地方志叢刊, (Zhongguo shudian, 1992), Vol. 1, 742a-b.

[337] Nogami Shunjō, *Bukkyō no rekishi to bunka* 仏教の歴史と文化 (Kyōto : Dōhōsha Shuppan, 1980), 295-305.

[338] "Recognizing Samantabhadra bodhisattva as the confessor 念普賢菩薩懺悔師" in *Fa putixin jie* 發菩提心戒, F28, no. 1076, 604a27. Xuanzang's ritual is titled *Datang Sanzang fashi chuan xiyuzhengfa shou pusajie fa* 大唐三藏法師傳西域正法藏受菩薩戒法, collected in Huizhao's (the disciple of Xuanzang) *Quanfa putixin ji* 勸發菩提心集 (T45, no. 1862).

[339] *Yingxian muta liaodai mizang* 應縣木塔遼代秘藏 (Beijing: Wen Wu Chu Ban She, 1991), 490-495.

researchers rather than written in the manuscript itself. Judging from the content, this manuscript is clearly not a ritual manual. It contains large repetitive passages from Huizhao's *Quanfa putixin ji* 勸發菩提心集 (Encouragement of the Mind that Aspires for Enlightenment, T45, no. 1862) and numerous quotations from the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* and *Fanwangjing*. Therefore, I prefer to consider it as one single work of commentary or rather lecture notes on the topic of the bodhisattva precepts suitable for both lay and monastics. From this manuscript, we can see that Liao monastics lectured skillfully on the topic, drawing from multiple sources, mainly from the doctrine of Yogācāra and Huayan.

Fanwangjing shouji

In correspondence with Emperor Daozong's selection of bodhisattva precepts in line with Yogācāra tradition, the content of contemporary *Fanwangjing shouji* 梵網經手記 (hereafter *Shouji*) also suggests the strong impact of Yogācāra teaching.[340] *Fanwangjing shouji* is preserved in the form of a manuscript. The rhetorical form of *Shouji* is a reference note based on two previous commentaries on *Fanwangjing*, one abbreviated as *chao* 抄, and the other referred to as *shu* 疏. Since only the second fascicle has survived, we do not have the complete title of these two root texts. Comparing the quoted texts in *Shouji* with the existing commentaries on the *Fanwangjing* shows that these two commentaries are not included in a canon. However, based on closeness of word selection, it is highly possible that these groups of Fanwangjing commentaries are related to the commentarial tradition of Yogācāra and

[340] *Fanwangjing shouji* 梵网经手记, manuscript of the Liao Yingzhou, preserved in Shanxi Sheng Yingxian muta wenwu guanlisuo 山西省应县木塔文物管理所, Vol. 2, no. 03059. The photocopy of the full text is published in *Yingxian muta liaodai mizang*, 463-475. The calligraphy is generally easy to identify, except for occasional challenging variant Chinese characters. I have transcribed the whole manuscript for this project and hope to publish it as a source for other scholars.

Huayan. I have identified various overlaps of terminology with *Fanwangjing shu* 梵網經疏 of Zhizhou 智周 (668-723) and *Fanwangjing ji* 梵網經記 (X38, no. 0682) of Chuan'ao 傳奧 (n.d.). Therefore, *Shouji* appears to belong to the commentarial tradition of *Fanwangjing* in the Tang dynasty.

The second fascicle of *Shouji* can be analyzed from four interrelated perspectives. The first is its understanding of the central idea of *jieti*, which differs from the Vinaya school as represented by Daoxuan's definition; the second is its comparative approach to the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna theories of precepts; the third is the unique commentarial influence of Yogācāra teaching; and the fourth is the incorporation of the soteriology of Huayan teaching. Given these four characteristics, *Shouji* is a miniature version of Liao Buddhism.

I have discussed in Chapter Three that *jieti* is the central concept in the teaching of the Vinaya and precepts. The nature of *jieti* has always been a point of debate, since it is the way to conceptualize how precepts continue to exert influence after the visible conferral ritual. According to Daoxuan's interpretation, the nature of *jieti* belongs to the so-called "third category;" neither-form-nor-mind. *Shouji* apparently does not follow this definition of Daoxuan's, but rather uses Kuiji's definition conceptualizing *jieti* as a special kind of rūpa, namely the *avijñapti rūpa*. It explains:

> By saying "the *jieti* arises from the form," the master means that whenever the bodily verbal *vijñapti* rūpa arises, there is the *jieti* of *avijñapti*, because *avijñapti* is derived from *vijñapti* which differs from things made of *mahābhūtas*.
>
> 言表色為體者。此師意云。若有所發身語表色時。即有无表戒體。以无表從表生別異大種造。[341]

It uses a metaphor to further elaborate on the relationship between *avijñapti* and *vijñapti rūpa*:

> Although the craftsman, the maker, may die; the hall he made is not extinguished. The craftsman is a metaphor for *vijñapti rūpa*, and the hall is a metaphor for

[341] *Fanwangjing shouji,* in *Yingxian muta liaodai mizang*, 463.

avijñapti. Although the *vijñapti* precepts may be extinguished, the *avijñapti* [precepts] is not abandoned, and permanently operates without being extinguished.

能成之匠雖死。所成之堂不滅。匠喻表色。堂喻无表。表戒雖能滅。無表不捨。前恆轉不滅。[342]

Even though Kuiji himself refers to *avijñapti* as a rūpa, it is clearly different from the common rūpa derived from the four great elements. *Shouji* also strove to make *avijñapti* a distinctive dharma. One strategy is to make the designation itself a *prajñapti* and simultaneously focus on the functional aspect of *jieti*.

Chao says "[*avijñapti*] is a rūpa as a prajñapti." This refers to the *avijñapti* precepts, whose essence is not a rūpa. For it can protect one from bodily and verbal [actions] and the seven branches of unwholesome rūpas,[343] but it does not acquire the category of rūpa from being a protective cognitive realm. Therefore, it is said to be a rūpa only as a prajñapti.

抄假說名色者。此无表戒。當躰非是色。即能防彼身語七支惡色。不從彼防境以得色名。所以云假說名色也。[344]

To further emphasize the protective function of *jieti*, which remains related to mental factors, it defines *jieti* as the function attached to the seed of intention (Skt. *cetanā*):

Chao says, "the operation does not follow the mind." This means that the *avijñapti* of the first precepts of *śīla* takes on the function of protecting from unwholesomeness and arousing wholesomeness on the seed of intension as its essence.

抄名轉不隨心等者。即初一律義无表。思種子上防惡發善功能為躰。[345]

Here the first category of precepts refers to the "three categories of pure precepts." Like Yuanzhao's commentary which I discussed in the third chapter, *Shouji* also equates the dharma body with the first category. In the theory of precepts, another important and nuanced topic is the conceptualization of *jieti*'s difference and inner connection with Buddha nature, the potential to attain Buddhahood. The basic difference is that all

[342] Ibid., 463.

[343] The term is a concise compound which refers to the three unwholesome bodily actions (killing, stealing, and debauchery), and four unwholesome verbal actions (lying, exaggeration, abuse, and ambiguous talk), and the seven kinds of *avijñapti* generated by these actions.

[344] Ibid., 470.

[345] Ibid., 468.

sentient beings are born with a potentiality for achieving Buddhahood, but the acquisition of jieti is conditioned by the success of the conferral ritual. *Shouji* takes a unique perspective by defining *Jieti* as the "nature of practice" 行性, which essentially ties it with the practice of ritual, not the potentiality. Once the "nature of practice" is established, it is incorporated with the idea of Buddha nature, sharing the same metaphor of a seed.

> Shu says that from "one equal nature to the Buddha nature arises," meaning the Shu interprets based on the doctrine of one single nature. Again, judging from its meaning, it seems to imply that previously the Buddha nature of practice did not exist, but because the Buddha nature of principle exists, one needs to wait for the [bodhisattva] precepts, from which the Buddha nature of practice is presumed to arise. Therefore, the text says, the seed of the nature of practice then arises." Chao says, "there is only one nature." This means that there is only one nature of *tathatā*...When it says, "this Buddha nature of practice," it refers to the fact that the basis of these precepts, the uncontaminated seed of intension, arises and operates; it gathers with the four kinds of cognition.[346] In discussion, it is called the Buddha nature of practice.
>
> 疏平等一性乃至便有行佛性生者。疏意依一性宗義釋之。又此文勢有似先无行性。由有理性。故若待此戒。故因此新熏得行性也。所以文云便有行性種生也。抄唯有一性者。唯有一真如性也。...言是行佛性者。即此戒所依无漏思種生現行時。與四智同聚。論之亦得名行佛性也。[347]

Here we see that *Shouji* equates the bodhisattva precepts with the buddha nature of practice. This concept is paired with the Buddha nature of principle 理佛性. This pair of concepts is first found in the commentary of Guanding 灌頂 on the summary of Tiantai doctrine, and for the context of the Liao, it is elaborated upon in Xianyan's *Huayanjing tanxuan jueze* 華嚴經談玄決擇 (X08, no. 235). To distinguish it from the Buddha nature in general, *Shouji* says,

> Saying, "it is not the buddha nature of practice," means that precepts should not be taken as buddha nature. As for the buddha nature of practice, its *jieti* is the seed of the uncontaminated four cognitions. Applying *jieti* to support the nature of practice means it can cause the rise of the buddha nature of practice. As the remote initial

[346] In Yogācāra, the four kinds of pure cognition are attained upon the full enlightenment of the Buddha, first introduced in Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*. They are "mirror cognition," "cognition of equality in nature," "wondrous observing cognition," and "cognition with unrestricted activity."

[347] *Fanwangjing shouji,* in *Yingxian muta liaodai mizang*, 465.

> cause, it supports the remote fruit of practice. It means that it is the "buddha nature seed", not a real seed in the sense of "the seed of buddha nature." This means that it is not a *karma-dhāraya* compound. The name is completely derived from "buddha nature seed," which should be interpreted as a *bahu-vrīhi* compound.
>
> 言是行佛性者非也。即不得便將戒為佛性。行佛性者。躰是无漏四智種子也。若以此資助行性。即得意說此是能招行佛性生起。為遠初因也。望遠資生行果。即亦義為佛性種子。非是親種子。即佛性之種子。亦非持業釋。或全從佛性種得名。作有財釋可通。[348]

Here *Shouji* utilizes a typical Yogācāra exegesis in analyzing the compound "buddha nature seed," in which the word "buddha nature" is not a modifier of the seed. To understand the compound as a *bahu-vrīhi* means that *jieti* is not to be confused with buddha nature, but rather facilitates the realization of the buddha nature as a cause of its maturation.

An intriguing result of introducing the two kinds of buddha natures is that it excludes those things that do not contain a nature of practice, and then argues against the position "grass and trees can become buddhas."

> Again, it says "exclude tree and stone," although it is said that whatever is endowed with the nature of principle may acquire precepts. Tree and stone are excluded, [because] even though they contain the nature of principle, they lack the nature of practice, so they do not acquire the precepts. This proves the opposite argument that because they are endowed with the original seed of practice nature, all sentient beings abide in the original seed of practice nature. When acquiring the precepts, as it supports practice, it acquires the name of seed of buddha, which is named after the fruit.
>
> 又云簡木石者。意云雖言若有理性皆得受戒。即簡木石。雖有理性。而无行性。不得此戒。故反顯云由有行本性種。即表一切有情有行住本種者。若受此戒。為因資行。故此得佛号種子也。或從果得名也。[349]

It is commonly understood that the Yogācāra teaching of Xuanzang's tradition declined after Zhi Zhou 智周 (668–723), the third patriarch of the school. From the content of *Shouji* and many other discovered texts and manuscripts in the Liao, we can clearly see the continuation of Yogācāra teaching in the Liao period. Rather than tracing the lineage of a school, the form of existence of the teaching suggests an alternative way of

[348] Ibid., 465.

[349] Ibid., 465.

reviewing the legacy of Xuanzang and his direct disciples of the Tang. As *Shouji* concerns central issues of Buddhist monasticism and seems to be used as a reference work for understanding previous commentaries, it is safe to conclude that Yogācāra teaching still took on an important role in Liao Buddhism. It not only won the favor of the emperor, but the ritual based on *Yogācārabhūmi* exerted a wide influence on the followers and social affairs.

Shouji is written from the vantage point of Mahāyāna precepts. However, it should not be assumed that it is set against or abandons the Vinaya. The Fogong Monastery collection also contains two manuscripts on the theme of the Vinaya and precepts. One is a small anthology of the Vinaya and precepts related texts. The manuscript includes several Vinaya related texts entitled *Quanchanhuiwen* 勸懺悔文, *Lueshi jiexiangyi* 略示戒相儀 (compiled by Shouzhen 守臻), *Pinaiyezang jinshi youposai wujieben* 毗奈耶藏近事優婆塞五戒本 (compiled by Xiaosi 孝思 [350]) etc. The other texts related to the Vinaya are *Shijie jieben* 十戒戒本, the ten precepts for novice monks and nuns, and *Shoujie fayuanwen* 受戒發願文. Numerous quotations on the Vinaya indicate the familiarity of the writer with the teaching of the Vinaya, which constitutes the basis for the commentary on the bodhisattva precepts. Instead of excluding the Vinaya teaching, it takes a comparative and inclusive approach to the Bodhisattva precepts compared with the Vinaya teaching. The categories of monastic rules are quoted and explained directly in *Shouji*.

In explaining the differences between the *prātimokṣa* precepts and bodhisattva precepts, *Shouji* is in line with the common commentaries on *Fanwangjing*. It discusses the defining time of receiving precepts as follows,

[350] Biographical information of Sixiao in Kamio Kazuharu, 98-99.

> "It is established by bodily and verbal behavior," meaning that the [precepts] are established when the [ritual] flows to bodily and verbal behavior. As for Mahāyāna, it is already established when the decisive mind is made.
>
> 言動身發語即成者。以小乘流至身語時成。若大乘決定心時已成也。[351]

The other obvious difference between the two is duration and function:

> These [bodhisattva] precepts are different from the precepts of the Hīnayāna, which are abandoned under five conditions. While the precepts are extraordinary, once received, they will never be abandoned. Again, because they contain the cause and effect of merit, they are called the storehouse. For as *jieti* has an inexhaustible function, governing inexhaustible objects, the precepts are called the inexhaustible precepts.
>
> 此戒不同小乘戒。若過五緣即捨。此戒殊勝。一得不捨。有无盡用。又此能含因果功德。便得名之為藏。以戒躰有无盡之用。攝用歸躰无盡。即戒名无盡戒。[352]

However, the more crucial difference is that they follow separate, if not opposite, ethical principles. The bodhisattva precepts take compassion as their solid central principle, and prioritize compassion over any specific rules even for the four *pārājikas*; whereas transgression of the Vinaya tends to utilize standard juridical process to form moral judgement. However, it also contains flexibility for exceptional occasions.

> *Shu* says, "based on compassion and benefit, the transgression is observation [of precepts]," meaning that Mahāyāna is for the purpose of great benefit and saving sentient beings out of a compassionate mind. One could fall into the three lower paths for the sake of saving sentient beings. Therefore, transgression is in fact observation, not transgression.
>
> 疏況依慈惠即犯為持者。即大乘為大利益悲心救拔眾生。寧自入於三塗。為救眾生。故犯戒卻以為持。非犯也。[353]

This confirms that the formation of moral judgement in Mahāyāna is based on altruistic considerations. Any transgression would be pardoned for the sake of benefiting others; accordingly, if one only appears to passively observe certain rules, motivated by self-interest, one still violates the rule and will cause karmic results.[354]

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[351] *Fanwangjing shouji,* 473.

[352] Ibid., 466.

[353] Ibid., 471.

[354] "若為利益設順貪等。亦名持戒也。若非為利益順貪而持。即舉心便犯。為招冥之失也。" Ibid., 472.

The popularity of the bodhisattva precepts is not found only among the royal family and the noble class. Along with the development of Buddhism in the Liao under the patronage of the imperial court, the number of monastics grew. People living on the borderland recorded cross border communication regarding receiving the bodhisattva precepts. It was a common practice for big monasteries to host regular conferral rituals for laypersons in the Liao. In the Fogong temple collection, there are two blank certificates for the conferral of the ritual of bodhisattva precepts: *Yuquansi pusajie tansuo die* 玉泉寺菩薩戒壇所牒 and *Pusajie tansuo die* 菩薩戒壇所牒.[355]

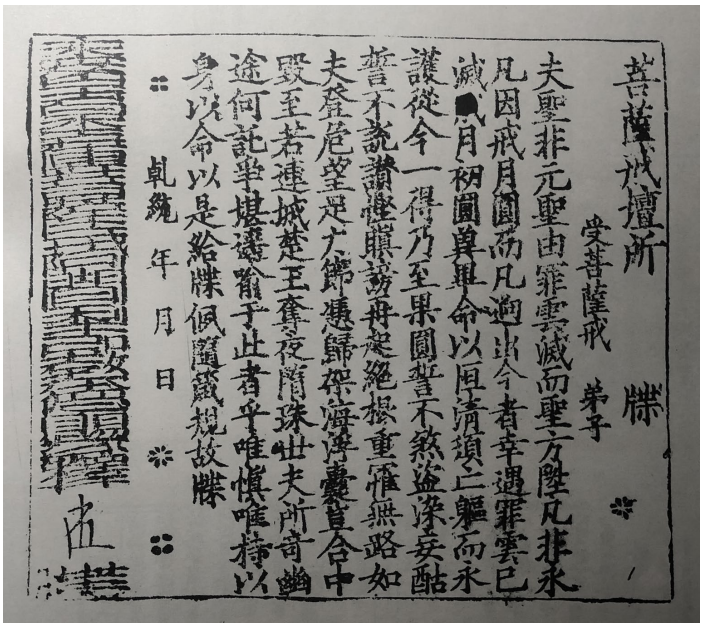

菩薩戒壇所　牒
受菩薩戒　弟子
夫聖非元聖由罪雲滅而聖方陞凡非永
凡因戒月圓而凡過出今者幸遇罪雲已
滅[redacted]月初圓冀[redacted]命以恒清淨之軀而永
護從今一得乃至果圓誓不煞盜淫妄酤
誓不說讃性瞋毀再起絕根重罪無路如
夫登危望足大節應歸祇海淨處資合中
毀至若違城楚王奪夜簡珠壯夫所奇幽
途何託準提遠誦于此者乎唯愼唯持以
身以命以是給牒佩體戒規故牒
[illegible]魏　年　月　日

Illustration 5.1: *Pusajie tansuo die* (Certification of the bodhisattva precepts ordination platform) Fogong Temple, Shanxi, China, 1101-1110

[355] See the text and translation for ordination in Index II.

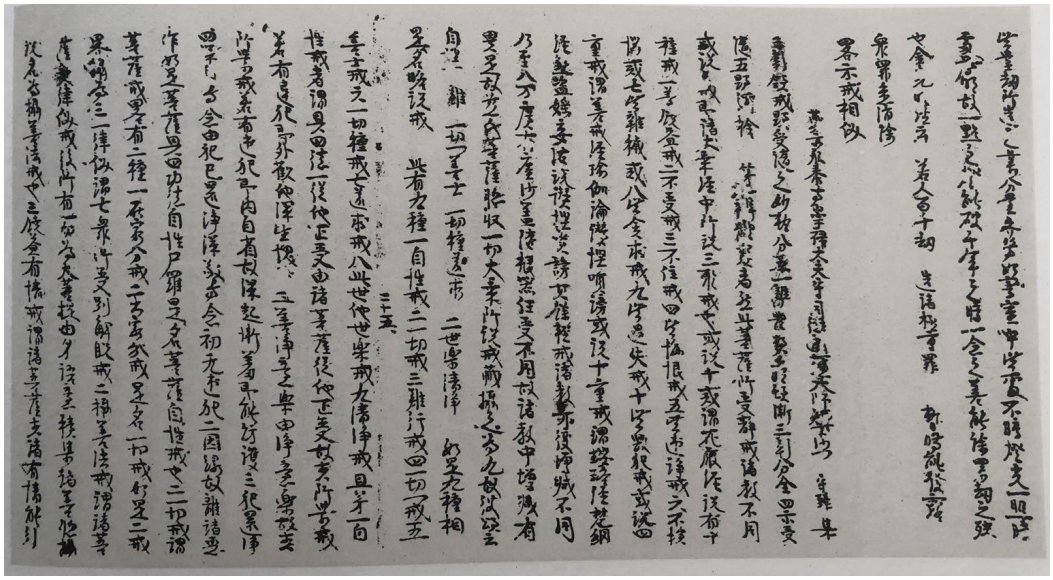


Illustration 5.2: A compilation of Vinaya related texts by Shouzhen, Fogong Temple, Shanxi, China. 10th-12th century.

Chapter Six
Beyond Good and Evil: A Soteriology for the Vinaya School

> Contemplating this issue, the karma of good and evil; both should be avoided.[356]
> —Daoxuan

> Buddhism…puts the self-deception that lies in moral concepts behind it; it is, in my phrase, *beyond* good and evil. [357]
> — Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Anti-Christ*

What differentiates Yuanzhao from Daoxuan is his argument that the observation of Vinaya rules was no longer seen as adequate for salvation. Working out of his own personal transcendent experience and influenced by the interest in Pure Land of Tiantai monks in his circle, Yuanzhao created his own meditative practice on Amitābha Buddha's Pure Land. He also incorporated the performance of following monastic behavior codes into Pure Land practice and formed his unique vision of ethical life. This chapter is structured around Yuanzhao writings on his sudden conversion and on his idiosyncratic understanding of Pure Land belief.

The belief and practice of Amitābha's Pure Land, often traced to Lushan Huiyuan 廬山慧遠 (334-416) and cultivated through the efforts of Shandao 善導 (613-681), have long attracted scholarly attention. Yet the way in which Amitābha's Pure Land idea and practice spread widely across all major Buddhist schools, showing considerable social mobilization in the Song, remains insufficiently studied. The significance of Yuanzhao's originality is not only in his method of Pure Land practice, which had an enduring impact on Song literati and Japan, but more importantly, in his demonstration that two parallel paths—belief in rebirth through the power of Amitābha Buddha and living an

[356] Daoxuan. "一思至此。業之善惡。俱不可作。" In *Jiemoshu* preserved in Yuanzhao's *Jiyuanji*, X41, no. 728, 334, c14 // Z 1:64, 501, b17 // R64, 1001, b17.

[357] Nietzsche, *The Anti-Christ*, 20 (citations of Nietzsche's works are all by passages, except otherwise noted).

ethically disciplined life by virtue of one's own power in this life—are mutually reinforcing, rather than exclusive of one another. He even went so far as to establish the efficacy of observing the Vinaya as the top within the ranks of practitioners of the Pure Land belief.

However, Yuanzhao's combination of ethically disciplined self-formation with faith beyond good and evil was not without cost. When Yuanzhao's works were brought back and studied by the Pure Land school in Kamakura Japan—which started to maintain a clear distinction between self-power (Jap. *jiriki* 自力) and other-power (Jap. *tariki* 他力)—he was seen as indecisive in his reliance on both. The internal tension created by Yuanzhao's unification of monastic codes and Pure Land belief has not been discussed or observed in previous scholarship, which tends to treat the two practices as separate subjects. I provide a new interpretation to bring these two together and then examine Yuanzhao as a prototype of Pure Land practice and a profound influence on later periods.

Yuanzhao's Conversion to the Pure Land Belief

A dramatic turning point in Yuanzhao's life came to him at middle age, stimulated by his sufferings with a severe disease. According to Satō Seijun's 佐藤成順 research, Yuanzhao fell seriously ill at the age of 33, in the year 1081; and he confirmed his belief in the Amitābha Buddha's Pure Land around the age of 35.[358] In the twenty years that followed, Yuanzhao focused on the study of Pure Land teaching and practice, completing two commentaries on Pure Land sūtras and many shorter writings on the topic. By the time of Yuanzhao's conversion to the Pure Land belief, he had finished his sub-commentaries on the *Great Three Works* of the Nanshan Vinaya school and had

[358] Satō Seijun, *Sōdai Bukkyo no kenkyū –Ganjō no jōdokyō* 宋代仏教の研究—元照の浄土教 (Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 2001), 202-204.

gradually established himself as a scholar monk specializing in the teachings of the Vinaya. Although Pure Land Buddhism was pervasive in the cultural milieu of Hangzhou, where Yuanzhao was born and raised, Yuanzhao was not personally attracted to the practice. At first, he even despised and defamed Pure Land practitioners. In *Jingye lichan yi xu* 淨業禮懺儀序 (the Preface of Pure Land Repentance Ritual), collected in *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類 (T. 47, no. 1969a), Yuanzhao describes his personal conversion experience in relative detail. Yuanzhao retracted his early aversion to Pure Land practice, and developed a view of the Pure Land similar to that of Buddhist master Huibu:[359]

> Master Huibu said: Although the Pure Land is pure, that is not what I aspire to. Even if [I am] made to enjoy happiness in the lotus for twelve kalpas, how could that compare with saving sentient beings of the three evil paths in suffering?
>
> 慧布法師云。方土雖淨。非吾所願。若使十二劫蓮華中受樂。何如三塗極苦處救眾生也。[360]

Huibu's opinion of the practice of Pure Land represents a typical criticism of the path as prioritizing one's own happiness without compassion for the suffering of other sentient beings. For instance, Kuiji invoked a similar sentiment demonstrating greater compassion for sentient beings by wishing to be born in Maitreya's Tuṣita Heaven rather than Amitābha's Pure Land.[361] The occasion for Yuanzhao's change of mind was a near-death experience. He wrote:

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[359] The original description in Huibu's hagiography is preserved in *Lebang yigao* 樂邦遺稿,

> "Although the Pure Land is pure, that is not what I aspire to. Even if [I am] made to enjoy happiness in the lotus by myself for twelve kalpas without seeing the Buddha. how could that compare with saving sentient beings of the three evil paths in suffering? 方土雖淨。非吾願也。若使十二大劫蓮華中不得見佛但自受樂。不若三塗救苦眾生也。" T47, no. 1969B, 238, b3-9.

Yuanzhao cited the original words in general but deleted the phrase "not seeing the Buddha". Yuanzhao's highlighting of the pursuit of one's own happiness and his omitting the fact of not seeing the Buddha for a long period of time, may not simply be a negligence, since seeing the Buddha in the Pure Land is central in Yuanzhao's thought.

[360] *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類, T47, no. 1969A, 170a25-27.

[361] See Kuiji's *Guan mile shangsheng doushuaitian jing zan* 觀彌勒上生兜率天經贊, T38, no. 1772, vol. 1, 277, b25-26.

> Afterwards, struck by a serious illness, (my) body was feeble and my consciousness was lost without a destination. After I had recovered, I suddenly realized my previous mistake. Crying in sorrow, I blame myself. Although my aspiration was great, my power failed the mission.
>
> 後遭重病。色力痿羸。神識迷茫。莫知趣向。既而病差。頓覺前非。悲泣感傷。深自克責。志雖洪大。力未堪任。[362]

Before the disease, Yuanzhao had vowed to save sentient beings mainly through the careful observation of the Vinaya and precepts. Struck by the unexpected weakness of both body and mind, Yuanzhao finally recognized the profound if not unbridgeable gap between a fully enlightened being and himself. He reflected on master Huibu's argument and came to his senses, realizing that he was still far from being a fully enlightened Bodhisattva. Even though he had an aspiration to save sentient beings, his ability did not match the great vow he had made. This realization triggered his reading of pseudo-Zhiyi 智顗's (538-597) *Jingtu shiyilun* 淨土十疑論 and *Mahāprajñāpāramitā śāstra* (*Dazhidulun* 大智度論, T. 25, no. 1509) to search for answers to his doubts. To illustrate his relationship with the Buddha, Yuanzhao compared himself to an infant or a nestling, who cannot leave their mother for even one moment. The theme of living in the presence of the Buddha constantly reappears in Yuanzhao's works on the Pure Land teaching. Yuanzhao then devoted all his passion to the study of Pure Land teaching for the next twenty years.

This is not the only time that Yuanzhao recorded a dramatic turning point in religious life related to a moment of weakness and near-death experience. Yuanzhao wrote an inscription for his close dharma brother Master Zeying 擇瑛. In this affectionate piece, Zeying is described as someone who dispelled doubt by changing his way of practice at the very last moments of his life:

> In the spring of the year of Yuanfu (1098), [Mater Zeying] fell ill and could not be cured. Before leaving, he reflected, "I have been exclusively practicing the superior vehicle to enlighten ordinary beings. How could it be that I am bothered by this

[362] *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類, T47, no. 1969A, 170a28-b2.

> illness which is not controlled by my power? Is it possible that what I have been expounding does not conform to the meaning of the Buddha?" Thus, he threw all his works into the fire in public. Struggling to sit up and facing the west, he required the assembly to recite the Amitābha Sūtra. He passed away as soon as their chanting reached the dissemination section.
>
> 元符二年春。得疾藥不可療。臨行自省曰。吾二十年專弘上乘。啟悟群庶。豈謂嬰茲疾苦。力不能制。將非所傳。未契聖意乎。遂以平生著撰。對眾火之。奮身而起。面西凭机。命眾誦彌陀經。纔及流通。奄然息絕。[363]

It is hard to fathom how Yuanzhao gained access to Zeying's final internal monologue. He might have projected his personal experience onto Zeying based on Zeying's burning of all his works and the assistant chanting of the sūtra by others as a deathbed ritual. Nonetheless, Yuanzhao depicted a quite dramatic and personal last scene for this eminent monk. Amitābha Sūtra is a rather short sūtra and is often chanted in the morning and evening devotions in Chinese monasteries. To chant the whole sūtra takes less than 15 minutes. In the dissemination section, everyone who had the chance to listen to the teaching left with satisfaction. The fact that Zeying passed away at this very point is auspicious and testifies to his final accomplishment in reaching the western Pure Land. Miraculous signs accompanying the perfect passing of an eminent monk are often used as tropes to confirm the accomplishment of one's religious practice. In these two examples, on the contrary, the experience of dying threw the monks into enormous doubt, self-denial, and reflection. Luckily, both eventually gained reconciliation with their beliefs. Yuanzhao ruminated on this experience of reorientation and warned others in a verse promoting the Pure Land practice:

> When the light of the eye is dying down and the future is dim one starts to believe one has put effort in the wrong practice in this lifetime.[364]
>
> 眼光將落前程暗
> 始信平生錯用心

Zeying and Yuanzhao both reached a new level of realization when death was approaching. In these two accounts, the ability to have certain control over one's own illness and death was associated with one's ability to save others, which is the ultimate definition of an accomplished bodhisattva. Yuanzhao rejected this identification with an accomplished religious practitioner, despite his position as a religious leader and his

[363] See "*Hangzhou xiangfusi yingfashi gutaming"* 杭州祥符寺瑛法師骨塔銘, in *Zhiyuanji*.

[364] "*Quanxiu jingye song*" 勸修淨業頌, in *Lebang wenlei*. T47, no. 1969A, 220b17.

years of diligent training in Buddhist teaching. Instead, he identified himself as an ordinary being, a novice and incapable bodhisattva who needed the salvation of the Amitābha Buddha. The idea that the Pure Land is exclusive for ordinary beings eventually led Yuanzhao to deny the possibility that sages (*āryan*) could seek rebirth in the Pure Land.[365] Making the Pure Land exclusive for ordinary beings in fact reorients one's relationship with the Buddha. The vow of the Amitābha Buddha is for the sake of none other than the ordinary beings in this world. This idea of being saved because of truly realizing one's inability, rather than one's power, can be traced to the theory of Sliming Zhili 四明知禮 (960-1028), a Tiantai master who lived before Yuanzhao. This also finds resonance in the Pure Land thought of later Kamakura Japan.

The achievement of a breakthrough can be marked in the fifth stage in James W. Fowler's stages of faith theory, in which the previously established identified boundary of the self is broken and shifted to an ultimate religious reality. From this point on Yuanzhao more thoroughly embraced the identity of non-self by joining the ultimate reality of Amitābha Buddha's Pure Land. As a result, he retracted his previous behavior of defaming the Pure Land practice. Yuanzhao was born in a family with a strong belief in Buddhism. In the epitaph Yuanzhao wrote for his parents, he stated that his mother was exclusively devoted to the practice of Pure Land.[366] During the period of his life when he was despising and defaming Pure Land practice as a learned scholar monk, his parents as lay practitioners were also included in his disapproval. He later lamented his past misbehavior, saying, "I did not believe in the Pure Land and slandered the teaching and practitioners; the cause has been done, the negative fruit will certainly

[365] *Guanwuliangshoufojing yishu* 觀無量壽佛經義疏, "the sixteen meditations is only for the suffering sentient beings, not for the sages of the lesser and great vehicles." 十六觀止為常沒眾生不于大小賢聖人也, T37, no. 1754, 283b28-29.

[366] See "Kaopi muzhiming" 考妣墓志銘, in *Zhiyuanji*.

mature."[367] The sense of shame and anxiety does not necessarily lead to despair. Even the lowest born of the lowest grade (Chi. *xiapin xiasheng* 下品下生), who commit the Five Heinous Deeds or slander the dharma, will be saved if they hold to faith in the Amitābha Buddha. On top of the guarantee of rebirth in the Pure Land, Yuanzhao's resolution was to practice more diligently and perform a repentance ritual which he helped to edit and compile in front of the Buddha.[368] Perhaps as a compensation, Yuanzhao left behind a wealth of biographical accounts of lay Pure Land practitioners, especially female practitioners.[369]

Thus, I have adumbrated Yuanzhao's sudden yet explicable conversion to the practice of Pure Land Buddhism. Within the multifaceted practices of Pure Land tradition, Yuanzhao was influenced by many previous masters such as Lushan Huiyuan, Huiri and Shandao. Eventually Yuanzhao became convinced that Shandao's exclusive method was the most suitable path to follow. To properly understand Yuanzhao's works on the Pure Land sūtras, I must first situate him within the long tradition of Pure Land in China in general and in his intellectual training in the Northern Song in particular.

Being Oriented in Buddhist Time

Apart from personal experience, there is another vital reason for Yuanzhao's conversion: Buddhism was understood to have entered a different period, namely the final dharma period around the beginning of the Northern Song. It is a well-accepted idea that Buddha dharma would witness decline after the nirvana of the historical

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[367] "不信淨土謗法毀人。業因既成。苦果必克。" *Jingye lichanyi xu* 淨業禮懺儀序, in *Lebangwenlei* 樂邦文類, T47, no. 1969A, 170b14.

[368] Ibid., no. 1969A.

[369] Satō Seijun uses these biographical materials produced by Yuanzhao as the primary source for the discussion of lay Pure Land practice in the Northern Song period. See his *Sōdai Bukkyo no kenkyū – Ganjo no jōdokyō*, 2001.

Buddha.[370] The three-time-periods theory—the correct dharma, the semblance dharma, and degenerate dharma—regardless of variation in the length of each period, has been one of the foundational frameworks shaping the sense of Buddhist history in East Asia. The orientation of period is often used in parallel with dynastic history and as an important justification for one's respective choice of practice.

As one of the most important Buddhist historians in China, Daoxuan deeply reflected on the issue of chronology in Buddhism and attempted to arrange Buddhist evidence such as the building of monasteries, the construction of stūpa, and the Buddhist mythology in chronological order. This fascination with dating not only stems from his sensitivity as a historian, but is also closely tied with his own orientation in Buddhist time. In his Vinaya related commentaries, Daoxuan conceived of the Vinaya observing monastics as those who "glorify the days of the Buddha and preside over the destiny of semblance dharma period ."[371] This at least indicates that observance of the Vinaya testifies to Daoxuan's awareness of his current sojourn in the semblance dharma period.

Since there is no standard theory on the length of each period, the orientation of Buddhist periods varies. As early a figure as Huisi 慧思, the Six Century eminent monk, considered himself as born in the early degenerate dharma period.[372] Frequently evoking the sentiment of the dharma period, Daoxuan did not hold to the same framework as Huisi. For him, the urgency came rather from the intense uncertainty around whether to reestablish the once hidden correct dharma or to fall into the

[370] Discussion on the three-period theory, see Jan Nattier's *Once upon a future time* (Berkeley, Calif. : Asian Humanities Press, 1991).

[371] Daoxuan. "光顯佛日。住持像運。" *Xingshichao*. T40, no. 1804, 138a11.

[372] *Nanyue sidachanshi lishi yuanwen* 南嶽思大禪師立誓願文, " the resemble dharma [period] has terminated, the degenerate dharma [period] lasts for over ten thousand years. I, Huisi, was born in the 82nd year of the degenerate dharma [period]." 像法滅已。末法住世逕一萬年。我慧思即是末法八十二年。T46, no. 1933, 787a4-5.

degenerate dharma period. Daoxuan lamented that "reaching the fate of the end of semblance dharma, the dharma teaching is degenerating." 洎乎像末之運。法教衰替。[373] Miyabayashi Shōgen 宮林昭彦 argues that Daoxuan's theory of the three periods is beyond the historical calculation of objective time and should instead be conceived of as based on belief.[374] The enormous sense of the uncertainty of time created an emergent call for active participation in Buddhist practice, in which the burden, and also the agency, fell on the shoulder of monastics. In this sense, Daoxuan was optimistic and relied primarily on the power of the sangha to observe the Vinaya.

The situation deteriorated further after Daoxuan, Yuanzhao mourned:

> What a shame that the way of repentance is not practiced. Even in the time of the Sui and Tang dynasties, when many eminent monks lived and Buddha dharma was in prosperity, only a few (practiced). Not to mention in the *current degenerate dharma period*.
>
> 初嗟悔法不行。當隋唐之世。僧英極眾。佛法大興。尚云亦少。況今末法。焉可言哉。[375]

This mourning disclosed an awareness of the reality of living in the degenerate dharma period. This position, of course, begs the question: does keeping the precepts still matter? Since the status quo is accepted as a fact, why does one need to study the Vinaya? For this question, Daoxuan gave an unexpected argument. In the discussion of the rule prohibiting one from begging for more than three robes or, from begging for robes from a non-acquainted layperson or from bhikṣuni,[376] Daoxuan observed that

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[373] Daoxuan, *Zhongtianzhu sheweiguo zhihengsi tujing* 中天竺舍衛國祇洹寺圖經, T45, no. 1899, 882b14-15.

[374] Miyabayashi Shōgen 宮林昭彦, "*Dōsen no mappōgan to kaigaku*" 道宣の末法観と戒学, 19.

[375] *Zichiji*, T40, no. 1805, 354a21-23.

[376] The original rule is the first rule in the thirty rules regarding possessions (Chi. *sanshi sheduo fa* 三十捨墮法, Skt. *triṃśat-nāiḥsargikāḥpāyattikāḥ*) in the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya*. The three robes refer to *saṃghāṭī*, *uttarā saṃghāṭī* and *antarvāsaka*. Possession of extra robes over permitted time would lead to transgression and repentance. This became a problem in the monastery because monks and nuns may possess more than three robes.

Vinaya masters often deliberately ignore this rule because they cannot properly observe it, thus they are ashamed to teach this to others. Daoxuan responded:

> One should not hide the rule because it is not currently practiced, one should not prevent others from practicing. This rule might be the very rule that a single person practices in the degenerate dharma period. Be cautious! Be cautious!
> 何以不行而隱不道。何妨有人行之。則此戒或末法一人持也。慎之哉。慎之哉。”[377]

The idea is that regardless of the status quo, it is always possible that there is at least a single person who can observe the Vinaya perfectly. Even for the sake of that single person in the remote future, the teaching of the Vinaya should continue to exist. In this way, the meaning of keeping the Vinaya teaching is deferred to a future time and simultaneously the passing down of the teaching like preserving the seed of Buddhism, gains its legitimacy. Yuanzhao captured the unusual emotion at the end of the commentary and regarded it as an encouragement for people living in the degenerate dharma age. [378] This faint hope reminds us of the self-defense epistle Yuanzhao wrote to the government officer: “I am only afraid that the teaching of the Vinaya might be extinguished and not heard by later generations. 但恐遏絕律風。使無聞於後世耳。”[379]

While the teaching of the Vinaya might be for the sake of a practitioner in the future, Yuanzhao did not lose sight of the majority who are incapable of realization through their own power without the presence of Śākyamuni Buddha’s teaching. “The practice of the Pure Land is the only pathway of practice. Therefore, among all the sūtras and śāstra, I prefer the Pure Land sūtras. When Buddha dharma has been extinguished, only the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* will exist for hundreds of years. 唯淨土法門是修行徑

[377] *Jiebenshu*, X40, no. 714, 37b12-14 // Z 1:62, 378c3-5 // R62, 756a3-5.

[378] *Xingzongji*, “此言激勵之切。末學聽尋。當如何耶。下誡講者。不可隱教。再言慎之誡之極也。”X40, no. 714, 37b18-20 // Z 1:62, 378c9-11 // R62, 756a9-11.

[379] *Zhiyuanji*, X59, no. 1105, 662c17-18 // Z 2:10, 299c15-16 // R105, 598a15-16.

路。故諸經論。偏贊淨土。佛法滅盡。唯無量壽佛經百年在世。”[380] Yuanzhao may carry on Daoxuan's faint hope of a perfect practitioner in the future, and one should still strive to pass down the teaching and to observe the Vinaya to the best of one's ability. However, the shared karma of the deteriorated time has come. In Yuanzhao's writings, we no longer see the idealistic vision of Daoxuan taking charge of the fate of semblance dharma and reestablishing the correct dharma age. What he perceived as the more plausible and urgent path was conversion to the practice of Pure Land.

Pure Land Buddhism as a Soteriology

In his groundbreaking research, Charles Jones points out certain difficulties in identifying "Pure Land Buddhism" as an independent Buddhist tradition, since the boundary of Pure Land Buddhism seems to be too diffuse and porous to be called a "school", "sect" or "clan." [381] To avoid diluting Pure Land too thinly, I follow Jones' rendering of Pure Land Buddhism as a dharma-gate (*famen* 法門), in the sense of its being associated with a distinctive idea and practice. Jones also rightly argues that the projection of Pure Land as a sectarian existence in western scholarship is the result of exposure to Japanese research on the Chinese Pure Land tradition in the early stages of the western investigation of Chinese Pure Land Buddhism. Japanese study on Chinese Pure Land tradition also evolves over time and many scholars are aware of the danger of retrojecting Japan's experience onto their Chinese precursors. Indeed, the scholarly interest in Yuanzhao, despite his close connection with the two revivals of the Vinaya

[380] "Wei yitian sengtong kaijiang yaoyi 為義天僧統開講要義," in *Zhiyuan yibian*, X59, no. 1104, 645a15-19 // Z 2:10, 282a12-16 // R105, 563a12-16.

[381] See the discussion of Charles Jones's *Chinese Pure Land Buddhism*: Understanding a Tradition of Practice (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2019), Chapter 2, and 5-9. Other scholars who have joined the discussion on the identity of Chinese Pure Land are Robert Sharf (2002) and Daniel Getz (1999). Both argue that Pure Land never acquired an independent institutional presence in Chinese history as did other branches of Buddhism.

and precepts in the Kamakura period as well as the Edo period, results in more research on Yuanzhao's Pure Land teaching, especially on his possible influence in Japan. Although this tendency represents a persistent preference in Japanese Buddhist studies, recent studies on Yuanzhao's Pure Land thought also show reflective endeavors. Satō Seijun and Yoshimizu Gakugen have contributed two monographs on Yuanzhao's Pure Land teaching. Sato's research examines Yuanzhao's contribution and influence over a broad background of Buddhism in the Song, while Yoshimizu focuses on Yuanzhao's significance in the context of Pure Land thought.

Yuanzhao has two major commentaries on the Pure Land sūtras: *Guan wuliangshou fojing yishu* 觀無量壽佛經義疏 (Commentary on the Meaning of Meditation on the Buddha of Immeasurable Life Sūtra. T37, no. 1754, hereafter Guanjing*yishu*) and *Amituo jing yishu wenchi ji* 阿彌陀經義疏 (Commentary on the Meaning of Amitābha Buddha Sūtra. X22, no. 0420, hereafter *Mituoyishu*). According to Yoshimizu Gakugen's analysis on the inter-textual connection between these two commentaries, *Yishu* was written before *Wenchiji*.[382] However, the primary source for Yuanzhao's Pure Land teaching is not limited to these two commentaries, mainly because the merging of the Vinaya and Pure Land, as I will address later, also took place in Yuanzhao's commentaries on the Vinaya texts. Yuanzhao's Pure Land thought received and absorbed the latest developments in Tiantai teaching within his intellectual circle; and, most importantly, came with a special attentiveness to the cultivation of ethical virtue from the perspective of the Nanshan Vinaya school. Yuanzhao's Pure Land thought is the result of a unique combination of these two trends of thinking and will encounter controversy in its later acceptance.

[382] Yoshimizu Gakugen, *Reishi Ganjō no kenkyū: Sōdai Rissō no Jōdokyō,*149-153.

As noted above, one of the works that granted Yuanzhao theoretical assurance of suitable practice for ordinary beings was *Jingtu shiyilun* 淨土十疑論 (*Discourse on Ten Doubts about Pure Land*, hereafter *Shiyilun*) attributed to Zhiyi. The attribution to Zhiyi, the founder of the Tiantai School, no doubt enhanced the popularity of *Shiyilun* among monastics and literary circles in the Hangzhou area of the Northern Song. For instance, Yangjie 楊傑 (n.d.), one of the most well-known literati Pure Land devotees, wrote the preface for the reprinted version of *Shiyilun* and praised *Shiyilun* as the best work on the theology of the Pure Land. In *Shiyilun*, the author answered the question of how sinful ordinary beings could attain rebirth in the Pure Land. The answer addresses Yuanzhao's concern over the danger of slandering the dharma by separating the central concepts of self-power and other-power. The author illustrated the path relying on self-power (e.g., arousing the bodhicitta and receiving bodhisattva precepts) as relatively fruitless for rebirth in the Pure Land and rendered the rebirth as a "resonance between the practitioner's capacities and the Buddha's response" (Chi. *jigan xiangying* 機感相應).[383] This indicates a dynamic mutual relationship—an association—on both sides of self-power and other-power. Since all ordinary beings' capacities are extremely limited compared to the power of the Buddha, relying on other-power becomes the only reasonable resolution. However, the text still raises the question of how one should evaluate self-power in this mutual relationship, and what capacity of ordinary beings can invoke Buddha's response. The discussion of Yuanzhao's work will shed some light on how he attempted to resolve the age-old tension between self-power vs. other-power in favor of observing the Vinaya and precepts.

[383] I follow the translation of Charles Jones, *Chinese Pure Land Buddhism,* 28.

Besides *Shiyilun*, which emerged from an earlier period, Yuanzhao most often refers to works from his own milieu, when the Tiantai teaching was recovered through the hands of monks such as Siming Zhili and from his fellow scholar monk Ciyun Zunshi. Both devoted their efforts to the development of Pure Land societies across the boundaries of the monastic and lay worlds. Zhili and Zunshi's teachings complement each other; Zhili is famous for his philosophical construction and Zunshi is known for his development of practice, especially of the repentance ritual. I will focus on the philosophical in this section and put the practice aspect aside for later discussion.

Although apparently familiar with Zhili's works, Yuanzhao hardly ever cited Zhili directly. What is more, Yuanzhao used Zhili as an opponent for argumentation. Yet it would be too hasty to conclude that Yuanzhao disagreed with Zhili, the towering figure who integrated Pure Land Buddhism into Tiantai teaching. Yuanzhao's contribution of incorporating Pure Land into the Nanshan Vinaya teaching is in many ways comparable with Zhili and Zunshi and reflects the intimate relationship between the Nanshan and Tiantai schools in the Song. Through the works of Zhili and his role in the enduring controversies between the so-called "on-the-mountain" and "off-the-mountain" factions, Tiantai teaching in the Song predates the time when Yuanzhao had experienced substantial change and development. Yuanzhao did not identify with any side of the debate; however, he did cite Cihui Qingwen 慈慧慶文[384], who belonged to the off-the-mountain faction. This is not the place to review the controversy, however, the debate is mostly related to Yuanzhao's thought in terms of the discussion on

[384] In his *Guanjingyishu*, Yuanzhao cited Cihui Qingwen's *Nianfo zhengxinjue* 念佛正信決, which does not survive. Based on Yuanzhao's citation of Tiantai masters of the off-the-mountain faction, Yoshimizu Gakugen infers that Yuanzhao is affiliated with this faction (2015, 76-77). Since the original debate did not concern only doctrine, and Yuanzhao has a clear sectarian affiliation with the Nanshan Vinaya school, I think his citations of Tiantai works are more based on the selection of similar understanding than faction affiliation.

"nature inclusion" (Chi. *xingju* 性具), the principle of mutual inclusion of everything without exception, as well as the nature of evil (Chi. *xing'e* 性惡) [385].

Based on the logic of mutual inclusion and his understanding of evil, Zhili further developed a unique theory of Pure Land. He considered that not only good, but also evil are the very reason for one's rebirth in the Pure Land. An even more striking point is his theory that the very highest of the good associates with the very worst of the evil; a belief that is evidenced in his sub-commentary on Zhiyi's commentary on the Pure Land sūtra (*Guan wuliangshoufo jing shu* T.37, no. 1750)[386]. This commentary represents Zhili's contribution to bringing the Tiantai and Pure Land into one consistent system. This idea of nature inclusion— which tends to break the conceptual dualist barrier between good and evil and emphasize the power of belief in transforming and transcending—will be translated into Tiantai practice, which will resonate with Yuanzhao's theorization of good and evil.

Yuanzhao used an impressive metaphor to describe this mutual inclusion and pushed it into a kind of mutual dependence and mutual establishment. He said in a final sermon right before his death,

> It is as when in the wilderness, there is a big king tree. If the root gains water, the branch, leaf, flower and fruit all flourish. In the same way that the wilderness is saṃsāra, the king tree is enlightenment, and buddhas and bodhisattvas are flowers and fruits…therefore, enlightenment belongs to sentient beings. If there are no sentient beings, all bodhisattvas cannot attain the ultimate perfect enlightenment.

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[385] The idea of nature inclusion is one of the foundational concepts in Tiantai teaching. It was first systematically explained by Zhanran in reference to Tiantai's special view of reality. See studies by Andō Toshio, *Tendai shōgu shisōron*, 1973.

[386] "In general, if all goods can be dedicated, they are all reasons for rebirth in the Pure Land. Still, if all evils can be repented, that is also the reason for rebirth in the Pure Land. All goods, depending on the depth of practice, are divided into nine levels; each evil, depending on the power of repentance, can also be divided into nine levels. The best of the best good associates with the worst of the worst evil. The worst of the worst evil associates with the best of best (good)." 蓋一切善若能迴向。皆淨土因。仍一切惡。若能懺願。亦淨土因。故種種善。修之淺深。無非九品。其一一惡。約懺功力。亦皆九品。故上上品善。通下下品。下下品惡。通上上品。*Guang wuliangshou jing shu miaozongchao* 觀無量壽佛經疏妙宗鈔, T37, no. 1751, 229a8-12,

譬如曠野沙磧之中有大木王。若根得水。枝葉華果悉皆繁茂。生死曠野。菩提木王。亦復如是。一切眾生而為木根。諸佛菩提而為華果...是故菩提屬於眾生。若無眾生。一切菩薩終不能成無上正覺。[387]

Through this image, unenlightened beings and enlightened beings are absorbed into a larger, organic system, in which the interdependent relationship intrinsically connects everyone. The achievement of enlightenment cannot be a standalone event outside the relationship between ordinary and enlightened beings. Enlightenment must be rooted, constantly nourished, and finally transformed from ordinary beings of ignorance and evil. The organic tree exists in a sense that differs from the wilderness of life and death: without branch, leaf, flower, and fruit, what can be perceived from on the ground is merely the wilderness of life and death.

Another crucial source of influence in Yuanzhao's writing is Gushan Zhiyuan 孤山智圓 (976-1022), an eminent monk from the "off-the-mountain" faction. Zhiyuan was known for his distinctive vision of the Pure Land. Yoshimizu discovers that Yuanzhao's selection of writing topic overlapped with Zhiyuan, showing considerable influence from the latter.[388] The surviving fragments of *Xizichao* 西資鈔 by Zhiyuan and essays collected in his anthology *Xianjubian* 閑居編 (X56, no. 0949) contain the idea of relying on observance of the Vinaya and on the other-power, which is in line with Yuanzhao's own argument. Yuanzhao's commentary on *Amituo jing* also contains passages referring to Zhiyuan's commentary on the same sūtra. Although Yuanzhao did not always use Zhiyuan's argument, it is still clear that they are arguing for the same issues. Thus, it is safe to conclude that Yuanzhao included Zhiyuan and Renyue 仁岳 (992-1064) as interlocutors.

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[387] "*Daxiaocheng lun*" 大小乘論. In *Zhiyuan yibian*. X59, no. 1104, 629b20-c3 // Z 2:10, p 266d14-267a3 // R105, p 532b14-533a3.

[388] Yoshimizu, 2015, p 43,

The combination of Pure Land thought and practice with different Buddhist teachings is a strong thread in the Song, through the effort of scholar monks such as the previously discussed Zhili. But combining the practice for rebirth in a Buddha land together with another doctrinal affiliation is hardly a new phenomenon. The sectarian division does not necessarily indicate an exclusive way of practice. According to Buddhist deathbed rituals prescribed by Daoxuan and hagiographies of eminent monks in early Buddhist history, a practitioner has a certain agency to make a choice for the destination of rebirth. The common options are Amitābha Buddha's Pure Land, Maitreya bodhisattva's Tuṣita Heaven, and Śākyamuni Buddha's vulture peak; and beyond a specific option Daoxuan also recognized realization based on doctrines such as emptiness and mind-only.[389] Daoxuan's *Shimen guijingyi* 釋門歸敬儀 (T45, no. 1896) can be perceived as the prototype of works which combine the teachings of the Vinaya with afterlife belief in a Buddha land. In this work Daoxuan recommended following Buddhist precepts and practicing ten wholesome deeds as the precondition for rebirth in Maitreya's Tuṣita Heaven.[390] What is often neglected is that Daoxuan also prescribed the practice of the recitation of Buddha's name for those who find it difficult to concentrate. Daoxuan specifically included the practice of reciting the name of Buddha in his instruction on repentance ritual in the Vinaya commentaries.

The major difference between Daoxuan and Yuanzhao is the exclusiveness of the destination of rebirth, and the intentional combination with Pure Land practice within the framework of the Vinaya and precepts teaching. Yuanzhao gave one of his most powerful arguments about the inner consistency of these two teachings as follows:

> Although there are multiple paths, they are all indeed the Buddha vehicle. It is where practitioners place their mind. Yet, the defiled world holds great obstacles; the habit is hard to remove. The beginner's mind is timid and weak, which permits

[389] *Xingshichao*, T40, no. 1804, 144c18-23.

[390] In this work, also citing *Dazhidulun*, Daoxuan invoked a similar argument of Zhiyi that one living without the Buddha is like an infant who cannot survive without its mother. (T45, no. 1896, p 867b30-c2).

> retrogression of the [aspiration] for the enlightened mind. Therefore, one should aspire to a rebirth in the Pure Land. The three categories of pure precepts of the perfect teaching are indeed the three minds of the higher level. The precepts for the maintenance of restraint are the perfectly sincere mind; the practice of all virtuous deeds and cultivation of *prajñā* are the profound mind; the precepts of granting mercy to all sentient beings are the mind that offers its merit to others. Since one already has these three minds, one surely rises to the higher level. To obtain patient acceptance based on awareness of the non-arising of phenomena, one does need to wait for multiple lives. To attain the bodhi of the Buddha without retrogression and compromise, this is the ultimate place where practitioners should place their minds.
>
> 雖說種種道。其實為佛乘。此即行人域心之處。然而濁世障深。慣習難斷。初心怯懦。容退菩提。故須期生彌陀淨土。況復圓宗三聚。即是上品三心。律儀斷惡。即至誠心。攝善修智。即是深心。攝生利物。即迴向發願心。既具三心。必登上品。得無生忍。不待多生。成佛菩提。了無退屈。此又行人究竟域心之處矣。[391]

The above citation appeared in Yuanzhao's *Sifenlü shanbu suiji Jiemoshu Jiyuanji* (hereafter *Jiyuanji*), the sub-commentary on one of the Great Three Works of the Nanshan Vinaya School. This commentary is not dated. Considering that Yuanzhao devoted his early career to the teaching of the Vinaya, this work would have been finished when he established himself as a Vinaya master. This passage is possibly the result of a re-editing of an earlier commentary for the purpose of associating the *trividhāni śīlāni* with the three minds in the Pure Land teaching. This exegesis movement bridges the gap between the two teachings and demonstrates the compatibility of the two. One cannot miss the note of association of the three pure precepts with the three minds of the higher level in the nine-level rebirth scheme. This arrangement no doubt places the follower of the Vinaya and precepts in a place of advantage in the scheme of rebirth in the Pure Land. Even though Yuanzhao did not invent this association, which already exists in the *Guan wuliangshou jing*[392], we will

[391] *Jiyuanji*. X41, no. 728, 260c9-15.

[392] *Guan wuliangshou jing* confirms the idea: "three kinds of sentient beings will be reborn [in the Pure Land as the highest of the best level] Which three? First, those who do not kill out of compassion, and observe precepts." 復有三種眾生，當得往生。何等為三？一者、慈心不殺，具諸戒行。T12, no. 365, 344c13-14.

see later that his embracing of the higher-level rebirth will bring Yuanzhao some theoretical difficulty.

Another effort to juxtapose the two teachings is found in his lecture for laypeople:

> According to *Dazhidulun*, some say the mind is the precepts; [and if this is so] why should one receive it from another? I cannot agree with this opinion. Why? Because all sentient beings, even worms and insects, have Buddha nature, as well as Buddha decorum. For lacking the good of precepts, evil is not removed. They wander between life and death and receive endless karmic retribution. They have no cause to be liberated; thus, Buddha in the ten directions—from sages of the three times down to two circumstantial and direct karmic retributions in Amitābha Buddha's Pure Land—are all realized by the mind of the vow [for rebirth in the Pure Land]. This cannot be established without a vow, and completely relies on the power of faith, aspiration and practice as its adornment.
>
> 大論云。或云即心是戒。何假他受。未敢取焉。何也。以一切眾生。下至蠕動蜎飛。皆有佛性。亦具佛禮。以無戒善。不斷諸惡。輪迴生死。受報無窮。無由解脫。所以十方諸佛。三世聖人。乃至彌陀淨土依正二報。並由願心取證。非誓不立。亦須全藉信願行力之所莊嚴也。[393]

In this public speech, Yuanzhao diagnoses the difficulty in realizing one's potential Buddha nature as a lack of the power of precepts. At first glance, Yuanzhao seems to turn away from the power of precepts and move toward the power of faith, aspiration, and practice. However, if we view this move from the corresponding relationship of the three precepts and three-minds discussed above, Yuanzhao was in fact treating both as equal and interchangeable. From this standpoint, the mind wishful for rebirth in the Pure Land is no different from the vow to observe the three pure precepts. In this formula for identifying the precepts which combines motivation to cultivate good and remove evil with aspiration toward the Pure Land, Yuanzhao placed great weight on the practitioner's subjective motivation. The same power (faith, aspiration, and practice) which directs one's everyday behavior in this lifetime will translate into the power of rebirth in the next. He deliberately chose not to designate this power completely to one side or another, neither to the practitioner nor the Amitābha Buddha. The effort to

[393] "*Wei panfu jiangshuji kaijiang yaoyi"* 為判府蔣樞密開講要義, in *Zhiyuan yibian* 芝苑遺編. X59, no. 1104, 643b11-16. For the translation of "*yizheng erbao*" 依正二報, I follow Charles Jones' translation, 2019, 47.

bring Pure Land into the teaching of the Vinaya and precepts places Yuanzhao on the verge of clashing together the categories of self-power and other-power, which would not be in line with the Shandao's clear separation of the two.

Let us make no mistake: Yuanzhao was aware that Shandao's practice replied completely on other-power. It is in stressing the compatibility of the Vinaya and Pure Land that Yuanzhao ran the risk of blurring the difference. As Charles Jones rightly concludes, there are three models regarding the relationship between self-power and other-power; relying solely on self-power, relying solely on other-power, and relying on the joint effort of self-power and other-power.[394] Yuanzhao took the third option, synchronizing the two in an idiosyncratic way. When his works were brought back to Kamakura Japan, he was considered the representative of the latest development of the Pure Land teaching by Gyōnen. Yuanzhao could not have foreseen his reception in Japan, or the criticism caused by his explanation of self-power and other-power by the Pure land monks such as 顕意 (1238-1304).

To sum up the merging of Pure Land practice with the two major sources of thought from Nanshan Vinaya and Tiantai doctrine, I will briefly describe Yuanzhao's thoughts on the conferral of the Bodhisattva precepts— a subject which deserves separate study. Considering the importance of precepts in Nanshan teaching and its intimate relationship with Pure Land practice for Zhili and Zunshi, it is no surprise that Yuanzhao actively advocated the conferral of precepts, especially for lay people. In the previously mentioned liturgy of bodhisattva precepts, Yuanzhao divided it into ten sections, but with adjustments in content and sequence. The most obvious difference in formality is that in the explanatory text before the formal ritual, he applied the same

[394] Charles Jones, 2019, 80-81.

four divisions of precepts as did Daoxuan in the opening of *Xingshichao*, which in fact explained the precepts matching the Vinaya text.

Another feature in Yuanzhao's ritual is that he allowed the practice of inviting the witness of Amitābha as one's preceptor monk; a practice which was not seen in liturgies in the past. He stated:

> Recently, both monastics and lay people have engaged in the practice of the Pure Land. The karmic bond with Amitābha Buddha is mature, therefore, [Amitābha Buddha] is often invited [as a witness]. Since all Buddhas have the same dharma body, the Buddha path of three times is the same. The teaching corresponds with one's ability; there is nothing wrong in doing so.
>
> 近時道俗。皆修淨業。彌陀緣熟。故多請之。況法身體一。三世道同。隨機之教。義無不可。[395]

Thus, Yuanzhao's version of bodhisattva precepts is a combination of Tiantai ritual based on the theoretical effort of the Nanshan School, with a concentration on the karmic bond with Amitābha Buddha. Yuanzhao engaged in conferring Bodhisattva precepts as a pure Mahāyāna practice for the purpose of arousing bodhicitta for the sake of all sentient beings.[396] Tiantai teaching claims that once one has received the bodhisattva precepts, they will follow one through different lives. Yuanzhao considered that this fact remains unrecognized by the receiver until one receives the bodhisattva precepts in this lifetime.[397] Interestingly, Yuanzhao made a distinction between the sequence of conferring the bodhisattva precepts in the Huayan as opposed to the Tiantai School. The former follows a universal model based on *Fanwangjing*, and the latter contains a fixed gradual sequence of receiving precepts, in which the bodhisattva

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[395] *Zhiyuan yibian*. X59, no. 1104, 634b14-15 // Z 2:10, 271d5-6 // R105, 542b5-6.

[396] "Mahāyāna follows ten grave offences, forty-eight lesser offences, and eighty thousand duties. Although the descriptions in *Pusa shanjie jing* and *Yingluo jing* are different, the purpose is none other than arousing bodhicitta, then following the bodhisattva path. This is called the Mahāyāna precept." 大乘則以十重．四十八輕．八萬威儀。戒善戒經瓔珞經所述不同。無非發菩提心。行菩薩行。名為大乘戒。from "Daxiaocheng lun" (the final lecture of Yuanzhao), in *Zhiyuan yibian*. X59, no. 1104, 630b8-10 // Z 2:10, 267d2-4 // R105, 534b2-4.

[397] See Yuanzhao's *Shou Dacheng pusajie yi* 授大乘菩薩戒儀, in *Zhiyuanyibian*. X59, no. 1104.

precepts should be received as the last precepts.[398] His observation is that lay persons follow the first model, and monastics the second. His recommendation, however, is to follow *Fanwangjing* in general; advice which can be applied to both monastic and lay. This may indicate that Yuanzhao's bodhisattva precepts ritual, just like its Tiantai precedents, was intended to address a wider audience.

It is worth spending some time to clarify Yuanzhao's vision of the Pure Land tradition before the Song to prepare for a deeper understanding of his detailed practice. After the initial encounter with *Shiyilun*, Yuanzhao immersed himself in the study of Pure Land teaching. Tracing its origin to Lushan Huiyuan, Yuanzhao recognized three branches of Pure Land teaching, represented by Shandao, Huiri 慧日 (680-748), and Tanluan 曇鸞. Yuanzhao agreed on the superiority of the exclusive recitation method advocated by Shandao, especially for those who have difficulty focusing on meditative practice on a visual object. [399] Shandao distinguished himself from earlier Pure Land masters by establishing a two-fold practice, namely the single-minded practice (*zhuanxiu* 專修) and the miscellaneous practice (*zaxiu* 雜修). For its superior efficacy for ordinary beings of lowest birth of the lowest grade, Shandao apparently preferred the single-minded practice, which he associated with oral invocation. Yuanzhao also cited Shandao directly or indirectly in his own commentary. [400] However, we will see later that he still wanted to incorporate the visualization into his system of practice.

An interesting episode in Yuanzhao's career is that after he commissioned the reprinting of the *Anthology of Cimin Sanzang* 慈閔三藏文集, written by Huiri, he was

[398] *Shou Dacheng pusajie yi*, X59, no. 1104, 631a16-24 // Z 2:10, 268c1-9 // R105, 536a1-9.

[399] *Jingye lichan xu*, in *Lebang wenlei*, T47, no. 1969A, 170b8-10. Harakuchi Tokusei considers this passage as evidence for Yuanzhao's conversion to Shandao's exclusive way of practice. 1935, p 122.

[400] Fukushima Kōsai discusses Yuanzhao's reception of Shandao's theory on the nature of the Pure Land. See Fukushima 1995.

accused of forging the work in order to unjustly criticize the Chan School. *Fozu tongji* recorded this incident as follows:

> The fourth year of Shaoxing (1097). Chan master Yin and others from Mt. Damei of Siming reported that the monk Yuanzhao from Hangzhou came to their county to distribute a collection of Pure Land. It is claimed that the collection is written by Tang master Cimin. Although on the surface it is about persuading people to practice Pure Land Buddhism, it is in fact a slander of the School of Chan, calling them heretics who are attached to emptiness. Master Ying searched the Buddhist Canon and did not find such a text. Therefore, they composed a "rejection of slander" in response. They questioned Yuanzhao about the authenticity of the text. Yuanzhao could not answer, and claimed it was an inherited text from an ancient collection. The governor knew that Yuanzhao's claim was indefensible but respected him as an observer of the Vinaya. He commanded Yuanzhao to withdraw and destroy the original woodblocks in order to achieve reconciliation. (The essay of the rejection of slander was printed in Mt. Damei. The meaning and principle are the most elegant and correct.)
>
> 四年。四明大梅山法英禪師等十八人列狀於郡稱。杭州僧元照至郡分淨土集。云是唐慈愍三藏作。雖以勸修淨業為名。意實毀謗禪宗指為異見著空之人。英等今檢藏經即無此文。遂作解謗一通以詰之。乞取問元照窮覈真偽。照無以為答。乃稱古藏有本。州司知其理窮。而敬其持律。但令收毀元本以和解之 (解謗書刻板在梅山。說義立理最為雅正) 。[401]

Fozu tongji clearly sided with the Chan masters and their accusation was certainly not completely groundless. Huiri's work indeed focused on the observation of precepts and criticized superficial practice, possibly related to the Chan practitioners in his time of the Tang. Judging from the remaining part of *Cimin sanzangji*, the major if not the only opponents are the so-called Chan masters. However, the critique is not of the meditative practice *per se*, but rather of the method of proselytization by Chan masters which is not fully grounded in observing the precepts. "For those who seek the *dhyāna* must fast and observe precepts first. Fasting and precepts are the cause, which lead to *dhyāna*. 夫求禪定。先持齋戒。齋戒為因。方能引定。"[402] What Faying master found

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[401] *Fozu tongji*, T49, no. 2035, vol. 46, 418b19-26. The first fascicle of *Cimin sanzangji* (retitled *as Lue zhujinglun nianfo famen wangsheng jingtuji* 略諸經綸念佛法門往生淨土集) is found only in the woodblock print collection of Haeinsa, Korea, and thus include in the *Daizōkyō* in modern time. The accusation is correct in that this work was never canonized and was only circulated independently outside the canon.

[402] Huiri, *Lue zhu jinglun nianfo famen Wangsheng jingtuji* 略諸經論念佛法門往生淨土集 T85, no. 2826, 1237c2-3.

problematic was the denigration of Chan throughout the text which made no effort to validate Chan practitioners of the day. Yuanzhao wrote an apology to reiterate the authenticity of the work and his criticism of the antinomian practices was supported by Huiri's writing.[403] The similarity between Huiri and Yuanzhao at least shows Yuanzhao found ample support from Huiri's concentration on the observation of monastic order and the refutation of antinomianism.

A more intriguing point here is perhaps not so much the sectarian dispute, but that body sides started to use the canon as the ultimate evidence for endorsing the legitimacy of a text. Faying's reasoning must be the most correct since hardly any Pure Land work written by a Chinese author has been canonized at this point of history. The overpowering and dominant position of the canon pushed Yuanzhao to seek alternative evidence, such as the coincidence of the discovery of a stone inscription of the text. Yuanzhao lost the appeal, even though he had already established himself as a Vinaya master and the original copy was destroyed. This might give us some clue as to why this particular text did not survive the accusation of Chan Buddhism and eventually disappeared in China.

To sum up this section, Yuanzhao's construal of Pure Land Buddhism serves as his own genealogy by synchronizing Shandao's single-minded practice, the Tiantai method of visualizing meditation, and Cimin Sanzang's insistence on observing the Vinaya and precepts. I shall attempt next to decipher the concrete practice that Yuanzhao prescribed.

Seeing the Buddha's Pure Land

The practice of Pure Land is generally divided into two parts: one is oral recitation or invocation (*chiming* 持名), and the other is related to visualization of the Pure Land,

[403] "*Lun cimin Sanzang ji shu*" 論慈愍三藏集書 in *Zhiyuanji*. X59, no. 1105.

either with the help of an actual image, or in one's mind eye. Although Yuanzhao recognized Shandao's single-minded practice, he does not limit the practice to oral recitation as the single method suitable for everyone. Yuanzhao considered the theme of *Guan wuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽佛經 (T.12, no.365) as mental contemplation (*guanxin* 觀心), and he also used the term as an umbrella for his practice of Pure Land.

In his letter "*Shang Zhi'an fashi lun shiliuguanjing suoyong guanfashu*" 上檐菴法師論十六觀經所用觀法書, Yuanzhao summarized his view of meditation as a Pure Land practice. The object of the meditation is divided into two parts. The first takes the mind as object. Yuanzhao groups *zhiguan* (*śamatha-vipaśyanā)* of the Tiantai School, the meditation of *dharma-dhātu* of Huayan, and the meditation of pure mind of the Nanshan Vinaya school, etc. in this category. The principle is that when the mind is pure, the land is pure. Therefore, the practitioner seeks no external destination other than the mind. The second part is based on meditation on the visual image of Buddha and bodhisattvas. Meditation is further divided into three groups by the position of the meditator, situating him or herself in the Buddha world. In the first group, such as *Guanfoxiang haijing* 觀佛像海經 and *Puxian xingfajing* 普賢行法經, the focus is on a specific Buddha or bodhisattva in this very world with us; the second group seeks rebirth in a Buddha Land such as Maitreya's Inner Court still located within this *sahā* world (the world in which Śākyamuni Buddha teaches); and the third group is reserved exclusively for the meditative method described in the *Guan Wulangshoufo jing*. [404]

By using this typology, Yuanzhao situated the method for rebirth in Amitābha's Pure Land as substantially distinctive. Compared with other meditative methods, the practice prescribed in *Guan Wuliangshoufo jing* entails a comprehensive meditative method for rebirth in a Buddha land, which is beyond the world in common Buddhist

[404] *Zhiyuan yibian*. X59, no. 1104, 645c11-21.

cosmology. First, meditation on the Pure Land differs from simply taking the mind as a meditative object in this world, (i.e., the *zhiguan* meditation of the Tiantai school explained by Zhiyi) in six ways:

> First, mental contemplation means to retrieve mental activities into the mind. This sūtra (*Guan Wuliangshoufo jing*) is to send the mind to a different realm. (The sūtra says to fix the mind on a single thought of contemplating the Amitābha Buddha. The Tiantai commentary says, the setting sun is like a floating drum, which marks the direction to send the mind[405]). Second, mental contemplation is not restricted to the four postures. These sūtras require one to sit in the lotus position. Third, mental contemplation has no restriction on the direction faced while sitting. This sūtra requires one to sit facing the west. Fourth, mental contemplation is not restrictive regarding time. This sūtra cannot be practiced while eating and using the bathroom. Fifth, mental contemplation removes affliction and makes one realize the principle. This sūtra achieves karmic fruit and causes one to reborn. Six, mental contemplation may cause demonic karma. This sūtra is protected by the virtue of the holy. This briefly illustrates the drastic difference in the Pure Land method of meditation.
>
> 觀心則攝想歸心。今經則送心他境。(經云一心繫念。諦觀彼佛。天台疏云。落日懸鼓。用標送想之方)。二觀心不局四儀。此經則要須正坐。三觀心則不拘方所。此經則定須西向。四觀心則不簡餘時。此經則須除便食。五觀心則斷惑證理。此經則成業感生。六觀心則魔業發現。此經則聖德護持。略明六異則知淨土觀門迥然天別。[406]

This illustration does not make a judgement between these two kinds of meditation. However, it does set a clear line making apparent the methodological and soteriological differences between the two. The Tiantai way of meditation is categorized as a suitable method only for those who rely on self-power, and the meditation of the Pure Land has a clear soteriological goal. Yuanzhao recognized that if one follows the Tiantai's goal of attaining enlightenment on self-power, mental contemplation is the best choice; otherwise, contemplation of the Buddha is the superior practice.[407] But Pure Land meditation is not to be understood as devoid of mental contemplation. What Yuanzhao

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[405] Yuanzhao. "落日懸鼓。用標送想之方。" *Guan wuliangshoufo jing shu* 觀無量壽佛經疏. T37, no. 1750, 186, c6.

[406] *Guan wuliangshoufo jing yishu* 觀無量壽佛經義疏. T37, no. 1754, 281b28-c6.

[407] "觀法被機。各有所主。若此方入道。斷惑證真。則觀心至要。若往生淨土。修因感報。則觀佛最優。" T37, no. 1754, 281c10-13. This passage is to answer the question of why, in Zhiyi's *Miaofalianhuajing xuanyi* 妙法蓮華經玄義 mental contemplation is prescribed as the best practice for ordinary beings. T33, no. 1716, 696a15-17.

wanted to exclude is Tiantai meditation aimed at enlightenment by self-power. Daniel Getz rightfully points out the internal tension between Pure Land practice and the Tiantai method of meditation on the principle in Zhili's *Miaozong chao*.[408] What distinguishes Yuanzhao from Zhili is that he perceived the Buddha as the fruit itself, while the Buddha in western Pure Land is seen only as the reason for the fruit. We shall see that mental contemplation remains a crucial part of Yuanzhao's comprehensive formula. He reoriented the position of mental contemplation in a relationship with visual meditation of the Pure Land:

> There are two parts to the practice. First is the mind that contemplates, which takes the current operating conscious mind as its object. This is what has been described as "the thought arises and contemplates the sun." The second is that sensory realm of contemplation, which takes the adornment of Amitābha Buddha—namely dependent recompense and proper recompense—as its object. These are the sixteen sensory realms listed [in the sūtra]. Only the cooperation of the contemplating mind and the contemplated realm can achieve the meditative practice.
>
> 修法有二。一者能觀心。即以現前識心想念為體。下云當起想念諦觀於日是也。二者所觀境即以彌陀依正莊嚴為體。即下所列十六種境是也。能所相冥方成觀行。

Apparently, for Yuanzhao, mental contemplation is an inseparable part of the practice, while the sensory realm is exclusively directed to Amitābha's Pure Land as listed in the sūtra. Yuanzhao was aware of a subtle uneasiness brought about by combining the mind as the subject of meditation and the Buddha as the object. Thus, he attempted to reach a higher harmony by absorbing the two into a relationship determined by a karmic bond that is beyond conceptual thinking:

> Because of the karmic bond, the mind arises. By contemplating the karmic bond, the sensory realms arise. Although the mind and sensory realms are not distinct in nature, they are both brought out by the karmic bond. The contemplator is the mind; the contemplated is the Buddha. The dharma of the mind and the dharma of the Buddha are all inconceivable.
>
> 以緣生心。觀緣生境。心境雖殊。緣生不異。能觀是心。所觀即佛。心法佛法。皆不思議。[409]

[408] Daniel Getz, dissertation, 211-217.

[409] T37, no. 1754, 281a22-24.

The last important notion is that meditation based on self-power can also visualize the Buddha. Yuanzhao had to push the method further to tease out the visualization of the Buddha as a pure self-effort. He explained:

> Previous virtuous ones said that there two ways of seeing the Buddha. First is by the samadhi of one's own mind. Second is when the cause of [pursuing rebirth] in the west resonates with the fruit of [seeing] Amitābha Buddha. All sūtras on meditations are about seeing the Buddha in one's own mind; the current [sūtra of] the sixteen meditations is the resonation with the fruit of seeing the Buddha by correct contemplation. With this twofold distinction, there is then no doubt and misunderstanding.
>
> 古德有言觀佛有二。一者自心三昧所見佛。二者西方從因感果佛。諸經觀心即觀自心所見佛也。今十六觀正觀西方感果佛也。據此兩分。求無疑濫故。

Yuanzhao consistently applies the associative relationship between practitioners and Amitābha Buddha to the meditative practice. By constantly comparing the practice of the Pure Land with other known practices, Yuanzhao not only heightened the uniqueness of the practice, but also matched the practice with the soteriological theory of the Pure Land.

The identification of repentance as a practice of rebirth in Amitābha's Pure Land can be traced directly back to Pure Land sūtras[410] and the early practice of Lushan Huiyuan. Yet it is through the effort of the Tiantai school that the practice of repentance became fixed and ritualized. Yuanzhao closely followed the model of Zunshi, who invented a special repentance ritual for the use of Pure Land practice.[411] This was probably based on Zunshi's *Wangsheng Jingtu chanyuanyi* 往生淨土懺願儀 (T47, no. 1984, hereafter *Chanyuanyi*) and *Wangsheng jingtu jueyi xingyuan ermen* 往生淨土決疑行願二門 (T47, no. 1968, hereafter *Xingyuan ermen*). The second text follows the structure of

[410] We should not forget that in the narration in *Guan wuliangshou jing*, it is in response to Vaidehi's profound reflection and repentance of her previous evil karma that Śākyamuni came to rescue her in her despair.

[411] Yuanzhao. "唯天竺慈雲法師。精窮教理。盛振一時。出大小彌陀懺儀。往生傳。正信偈念佛三昧詩。並諸圖幀。見行于世。自後鮮能繼者。" *Guanwuliang shoujing yishu*, T37, no. 1754, 284a23-25.

Tanluan's 曇鸞 five gates of recitation (Chi. *wuninamen* 五念門), in which repentance is placed in the first category. The repentance ritual part is an abbreviated version with a minimal ritual sequence. An interesting point is that in the opening part and throughout the ritual, Zunshi identified Amitābha Buddha as crossing the three kinds of Buddha lands in Tiantai's typology. Only the land of skillful means with remainder (Chi. *fangbian youyutu* 方便有餘土) is left out of the typology. *Chanyuanyi* is created according to the larger *Amituo jing*. It is divided into ten sections and can be read as the full version of the ritual described in *Xingyuan ermen*.

> Fourfold bhikṣu [and bhikṣuṇī], male and female followers, whoever lacks faculties, whoever wishes to speedily break the darkness of ignorance; and whoever wishes to forever eliminate [the sin of] the five heinous crimes and the ten unwholesome kinds of behavior, should practice this method. Whoever wishes to restore the state of purity, to have precepts of the great and lesser [vehicles] in one's presence, to obtain the samadhi of recitation of the buddha name, and to be endowed with perfections of all bodhisattvas, should study this method.
>
> 比丘四眾及善男女。諸根缺具者。欲得速破無明諸闇。欲得永滅五逆十惡。犯禁重罪及餘輕過。當修此法。欲得還復清淨。大小戒律現前。得念佛三昧。及能具足一切菩薩諸波羅密門者。當學此法。[412]

This statement bears a strong quality of granting universal salvation to all sentient beings, including the sinful and those who lack faculties. The concrete repentance resembles Zhiyi's twofold division of repentance of the phenomenon and repentance of the principle, with a signature section on sitting meditation in the Tiantai ritual. The object of meditation has two parts. One is meditation on oneself sitting inside a lotus, where in seeing the blossom of the lotus one sees the Pure Land (this explains why in the early quote Yuanzhao cited, he intentionally omitted the parts in which one does not see the Buddha inside the lotus). The other focuses on meditation on Amitābha Buddha. In the end, Zunshi attempted to combine visual contemplation with Tiantai contemplation of the nature of principle, which is empty, provisional, and mean.

[412] *Wangsheng jingtu chanyuanyi* 往生淨土懺願儀. T47, no. 1984, 490c27-491a3.

Yuanzhao wrote a ritual manual entitled *Qiusheng Jingtu lichan xingfa* 求生淨土禮懺行法 [413]. Unfortunately, this text did not survive. But there is the preface "*Jingyelichanyi xu*" 淨業禮懺儀序 written by Yuanzhao, which is discussed in the first section of this paper. Regarding the repentance ritual, Yuanzhao only briefly discussed that the ritual is divided into ten parts and follows the example of previous sages.[414] We may infer that he would have preserved most of Zunshi's ritual and probably left out the last section on Tiantai contemplation.

To practice repentance, Yuanzhao built himself a chamber of repentance within his monastery. An intriguing detail is that, after Zeying's dramatic passing, Yuanzhao did not follow Zeying's original will specifying that his cremation remains be scattered in the West Lake of Hangzhou, but rather saved some of the remains from the water and had them buried around his chamber of repentance. Although Yuanzhao considered this an act done for the sake of sentient beings—to save the remains of an eminent monk— it is of no small importance that Yuanzhao saved the remains of a dharma brother as a karmic bond with the Pure Land in term of practicing repentance. I will discuss in the next section why the concrete practices of vocal invocation and meditation in terms of visualization, observing precepts, and repentances, rather than donation and freeing of captive animals—are far more attractive for Yuanzhao.

The tradition of recording the narrative of rebirth can be traced in early Pure Land commentaries. For instance, the third chapter of Jiacai's 迦才 *Jingtu lun* 淨土論 is devoted to monastic and lay people's rebirth stories. Tang also witnessed the rise of interest in collecting rebirth stories in general; works such as *Wangsheng xifangjingtu ruiyingzhuan* 往生西方淨土瑞應傳 and *Jinguangming jing mingbao yanzhuanji* 金光

[413] The title is preserved in *Xinbian zhuzongjiaozang zonglu* 新編諸宗教藏總錄. T55, no. 2184, 1172a13.

[414] T47, no. 1969A, 170b18-20.

明經冥報驗傳記. Liao inherited this tradition of narrative and produced works such as *Xinbian suiyuan wangshengji* 新編隨願往生集 and *Sanbao ganying yaoluelu* 三寶感應要略錄, which were brought to Japan and influenced the writing of rebirth narratives in there. These stories are preserved in Japan, which shows a direct influence passing from the Liao dynasty to Japan. I will discuss Liao's Pure Land literature in the third chapter. Yuanzhao, after his conversion to the Pure Land belief, also shows considerable enthusiasm in recording the personal stories of both monastics and lay persons.

Daoxuan's description of deathbed ritual in *Xingshichao* has influenced Buddhist practice in both China and Japan.[415] In Daoxuan's original commentary, it was recommended that the patient be placed facing west, which is in line with the Buddha's deathbed ritual in the *Nirvana Sūtra*. Probably also as a result of re-editing previous writings, Yuanzhao seized the chance and connected the Buddha land's location in the west solely to Amitābha's Pure Land in the deathbed ritual.[416]

> Although there are Pure Lands in all ten directions, one [should] exclusively refer to the Pure Land in the west. This is because if one focuses the mind on a single realm, it is better to be established. Although there are multiple Buddhas in the western direction, one (should) only resort to Amitābha Buddha. This is because the vow [of Amitābha Buddha] is profound and the karmic bond is mature.
>
> 然十方淨土而偏指西方者。繫心一境想念易成故。西方諸佛而獨歸彌陀者。誓願弘深結緣成熟故。

In contrast to Zunshi's ritual of repentance, which was invented for Pure Land practice in an everyday setting, Zhili made a somewhat extreme attempt to have a carefully planned and controlled death after a repentance ritual. Daniel Getz discussed the ritual suicide of Zhili to attain rebirth in the Pure Land after a three-year penance dedicated to the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Fahua chan* 法華懺), which is intrinsically related to the Pure

[415] See Jacqueline Stone's discussion on Daoxuan, 2016, Chapter One.

[416] *Sifenlü Xingshichao Zichiji* 四分律行事鈔資持記. T40, no. 1805, 411b4-6.

Land.[417] There is no need to repeat the importance of deathbed ritual for a practitioner and for constructing a Pure Land society. Zhili's effort demonstrated one possible solution to dealing with the uncertainty of death. In the same vein, Yuanzhao examined another uncertainty— disturbance from demonic power—which would harm one's chance of rebirth in the Pure Land.

The scene in which Amitābha Buddha comes to meet the dying believer and bid them welcome to the Pure Land (Chi. *laiying* 來迎) is the most celebrated theme in Pure Land narrative and art. An advanced practitioner may even preview the auspicious scene before death, which would grant enormous assurance and confidence to believers. In his commentary on *Guan wuliangshoufo jing*, Yuanzhao addressed the long-standing question of how one may distinguish a demon from a Buddha.[418] The rhetorical interrogator asked how one could be sure that the welcoming Buddha retinue are not demons. In line with the distinction between self-power and other-power, Yuanzhao responded that the appearance of demons in various meditation sūtras is the result of self-power. Since welcome to the Pure Land cannot be accomplished by self-power, it is certain that this scene is not the work of a demon.[419] He went so far as to pose these rhetorical questions:

> The current *nianfo samādhi* is based on the power of the Buddha…how could it not protect the practitioner of *nianfo* until the time of death and remove all [demonic] obstacles? If [Amitābha Buddha] cannot protect, then where is the power of compassion? If [Amitābha Buddha] cannot remove demonic obstacles, then again where are the cognition power, meditative power, the majestic power, evil-destroying power, demon-removal power? If [Amitābha Buddha] cannot perceive that a practitioner is obstructed by a demon, then again where are the heavenly-eye seeing power, the heavenly-ear hearing power, and the knowing-the-other-mind power?

[417] See Daniel Getz, dissertation, chapter VI, 174-188.

[418] Yuanzhao's selection of this topic is influenced by the Tiantai traditions. For instance, Zhiyi discusses the issue of seeing the demon in one's meditation at length in his *Mohe zhiguan* and the theme is continued in the following commentaries in the Tiantai School.

[419] T37, no. 1754, 283c22-26

> 今約所修念佛三昧乃憑佛力...豈不能護持念佛之人至臨終時令無障礙耶。若不為護持者則慈悲力何在。若不能除魔障者智慧力三昧力威神力摧邪力除魔力復何在耶。若不能鑒察被魔為障者天眼遠見力天耳遙聞力他心徹鑒力復何在耶。[420]

These powerful questions completely shifted the burden of doubt to the power of Amitābha Buddha. If one is a believer in the Amitābha, this should automatically dispel any doubt regarding demons. Anyone familiar with the work of Shinran will immediately recognize similar rhetorical devices used by Shinran in *Tannishō*, which in fact reverse the attribution of power to Amitābha Buddha and put an enormous weight on faith alone. In the last section of this paper, I will discuss how Yuanzhao deviated from the popular practice of Pure Land masters and advocated a path to living beyond secular good and evil; of course, for those endowed with the proper ability and resolution for the path.

Living Beyond Good and Evil

As quoted in the beginning of this paper, Daoxuan maintained that ultimate realization must transcend the dichotomy of good and evil. In other words, any good in the secular moral sense is substantially different from cultivation aimed at the ultimate liberation of Buddhism. From the point of view of karmic results, good deeds in the secular sense at best can result in rebirth in the highest heaven. Daoxuan even went so far as to compare secular good deeds to a burning golden ball to be avoided, meaning that although the secular may appear valuable, it is in fact harmful.[421]

Yuanzhao's sub-commentary on this intriguing passage further explained the necessity of going beyond secular good. He wrote:

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[420] T37, no. 1754, 283c27-284a8.

[421] Daoxuan. "古人有言。慎莫作善。斯有遠旨。如造世善。生極有頂。娑婆三界。更增苦諦。如燒金丸。不可觸也。" *Jiyuanji*. X41, no. 728, 334c14-16 // Z 1:64, 501b17-c1 // R64, 1001b17-1002a1.

> As by evil deeds one falls into the three evil paths; so, by good deeds one *falls* into three good paths, which are not outside the saṃsāra. Although this is a fortune, it (still) blocks the holy path. Thus, it is even worse than conducting evil deeds.
>
> 以作惡則墮三惡趣。作善則墮三善道。皆不出輪迴善。雖是福。能障聖道。甚於作惡。[422]

This idea of intentionally avoiding morally good deeds appears to be inconsistent with Daoxuan's recommendation to practice the ten wholesome deeds in order to gain rebirth in the Maitreya's Tuṣita heaven.[423] There is no better example to emblematize the principle of preaching according to the ability of one's audience. As cited previously, Yuanzhao sermonized on the importance of doing good deeds and how these assure one's rebirth in the Pure Land. In this commentary, written for people who hold a similar interest in the complexity of the teaching of the Vinaya, performing karmic good deeds is considered even worse than performing evil deeds. This is certainly not meant as an encouragement of evil deeds. In the context of Yuanzhao's advocacy of repentance ritual suitable for Pure Land practice, as discussed previously, evil deeds supposedly have multiple remedies either through one's own repentance efforts or others' help. In contrast, after practicing good deeds, one can only wait passively for the maturation of karmic fruit, being dragged down to the three upper paths, which will inevitably prolong one's lingering within the saṃsāra.

Yuanzhao's view of evil deeds is further confirmed in the following passage:

> This practice completely relied on other-power, the original power of will by Amitābha Buddha, the power of merit accumulated by the practice of kalpas, and the luminous saving power. Therefore, the sūtra says, if one had committed evil deeds and had even seen the sign of the burning wheel (in hell); and, if one encountered a good friend who made one recite the name of the Buddha ten times, this person could gain rebirth (in the Pure Land), not to mention someone who has been practicing the Pure Land throughout this lifetime. How could one have any doubt about it?

[422] X41, no. 728, 334c18-20 // Z 1:64, 501c3-5 // R64, 1002a3-5.

[423] T45, no. 1896, 867b30-c2.

> 此門全假他力。彌陀世尊本誓願力。積劫熏修功德之力。威神光明攝取之力。故經中造眾惡業。火輪相現。遇善知識。教稱十念。尚得往生。何況畢世修行淨業。復何疑乎。[424]

This direct transformation from the lower hell to the Pure Land resonates with Zhili's idea of how in the scheme of Pure Land, evil and good can be transformed. However, putting these two arguments together, the logical conclusion is that the practice of the Pure Land must transcend common practice of good deeds for this-worldly benefit. Otherwise, the achieved Pure Land would be restricted to the realm of rūpa and within saṃsāra. In this sense, the Pure Land practice is in tune with Yuanzhao's view on the nature of precepts, "making the precepts for the [buddha] path, fundamentally not for this-worldly benefit".[425] Thus, the practice of Pure Land and the practice of the Vinaya school reach a harmonious reconciliation. The unification of the path towards enlightenment, which begins from the precepts and ends in Pure Land, points to a life beyond good and evil in the secular sense, in which evil deeds are remittable through repentance ritual and the purifying practice of meditation and vocal invocation, but good deeds are linked—counter-intuitively—to a passive and helpless situation. It is in this precise sense that Yuanzhao was more cautious in his dealing with popular rituals oriented toward the achievement of merit. Unlike in the case of Zunshi and Zhili, we find very few mentions of Yuanzhao having engaged in popular merit-increasing rituals such as freeing captive animals. The reader who is familiar with Shinran would immediately recognize that Shinran turned this comparative pair of practitioners around to prove his own argument in *Tannishō*.

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[424] "*Wei yitian sengtong kaijiang yaoyi"* 為義天僧統開講要義, *Zhiyuan yibian*, X59, no. 1104, 645b1-4 // Z 2:10, 282b4-7 // R105, 563b4-7.

[425] 為道制戒本非世福。T40, no. 1805, 160c4.

PART FOUR
THE COMMUNITY OF DHARMA IN COMMON

Chapter Seven
Shunjō and the Sino-Japanese Communication

This chapter explores transnational connections and exchanges in the teaching of the Vinaya and precepts between the Southern Song and Japan. Shunjō began his twelve-year study in the capital area in the context of the trend of Japanese monks' travels to the Southern Song. The first section traces Shunjō's studies, communications in the Song and his efforts to establish Sennyūji in Kyoto. The Vinaya tradition which originated in Sennyūji is referred to as *hokkyōritsu* 北京律 (Vinaya of the northern capital), while the Vinaya tradition centered around several Nara monasteries is named *nankyōritsu* 南京律 (Vinaya of the southern capital). The second half of the chapter covers the active communication between these two branches of the Vinaya tradition. Reflecting founder-centered (Hōnen, Shinran, Dōgen, and Nichiren) and reformist discourse-oriented research since the early 20th century, recent scholarship on Kamakura Buddhism calls for a renewed approach that transcends sectarian division and the overly simplistic framework of new vs. old, orthodox vs. heresy.[426] This is particularly important for the study of the revival movement of the Vinaya, as concern for the Vinaya and precepts is the point of origin for multiple Buddhist traditions, each containing syncretic characteristics. Not only does sectarian oriented reading not fit into a single identification, but also such a propensity would distort the materials of

[426] See Satō Hiroo. "*Henbō suru nihon Bukkyokan*" 変貌する日本仏教観, in *Shin Ajia Bukkyō shi* 新アジア仏教史 (Tōkyō : Kōsei Shuppansha, 2010), Vol. 12, 351-375; Sueki Fumihiko. *Nihon Bukkyōshi shisōshi toshite no apurōchi* 日本仏教史 思想史としてのアプローチ (Tōkyō: Shinchōsha, 1992), 140-148; Taira Masayuki. *Kamakura Bukkyō to senju nenbutsu* 鎌倉仏教と専修念仏 (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 2017), 5-10.

this period. For most cases in the revival of the Vinaya, sectarian designation is better understood as *ex post* discourse which only gained momentum in a much later period.

Shunjō and the Era of Nissōsō

The flourishing of Kamakura Buddhism lasted for over a hundred years. Here I follow Kuroda Toshio and Sueki Fumihiko's three-fold periodization (formative, developmental, and expansive). This chapter focuses on the first formative period, which is characterized and facilitated by frequent communication with the Song; and the next chapter will discuss the third period. The reconnection between Chinese and Japanese Buddhist communities via maritime trade routes can be traced back to King Qian Liu 錢鏐 (852-932, r. 907-932) of Wuyue Kingdom in the early 10th century. Yang Yi recorded how king Qian Liu, a fervent supporter of Buddhism, brought the lost works of the Tiantai master Zhiyi back from Japan:

> The Qian family in the Wuyue area was in contact [with other countries] through the maritime route. The teaching of Tiantai Zhiyi, which contains more than five hundred fascicles, is recorded in the catalog but is incomplete [as a text]. Merchants have reported that the teachings are in Japan. Qian Jiaoshu (the King of Wuyue) sent an epistle to the emperor, and by sending five hundred *liang* (one *liang* is approximately 37.5 grams) of gold, acquired the manuscript [of Zhiyi] and received it in the complete version. Ever since then, the teaching of Tiantai has been successfully transmitted in the south of the lower reaches of the Changjiang River.
>
> 吳越錢氏多因海舶通信，天台智者教五百餘卷有錄而多闕，賈人言日本有之，錢俶置書於其國王，奉黃金五百兩，求寫其本，盡得之，訖今天台教大布江左。[427]

After a long delay due to political and military instability, the retrieved texts of Zhiyi played an indispensable role in the revival of Tiantai doctrine in the Song through the hands of Siming Zhili and Ciyun Zunshi. Unlike the case with the Tang, there were no diplomatic relationships between the Liao-Song and Japan; thus, all communication was conducted through forms of non-governmental, economic, technical, and religious exchanges. Although it was clear that the place they were traveling to was under the

[427] Yang Yi, *Yangwengong tanyuan* 楊文公談苑 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), 9.

reign of the Song, the Japanese did not connect the knowledge and objects they received from Song to a continuation of the great Tang. Oftentimes, we find that *nissōsō* address their experience in the Song as if they went to the Tang. Of course, all of them knew they were in contact with a different dynasty; however, the cultural memory of the Tang has become a long-lasting staple part of Japanese culture. For instance, the imported Chinese material culture is referred to as *karamono* 唐物 (objects of the Tang), and China is called *morokoshi* 唐土 (land of the Tang).

Based on ample materials and historical evidence produced from this period, scholars have begun to reconstruct Sino-Japanese communication in which connections between the religious groups are one of the most attractive topics for study. Previous studies focus on the historical side of communication, such as Kimiya Yasuhiko's study of the importation of Buddhist canonical texts; Mori Katsumi's examination of Sino-Japanese trade, Murai Shōsuke's research on the traveling of Zen masters along the maritime trade route, and Enomoto Wataru's comprehensive collection of traveling records and biographies of *nissōsō*,[428] to list a few monographs among many. According to historical record, 22 monks studied in the Northern Song, and the most well-studied figures are Chōnen 奝然 (938-1016) and Jōjin 成尋 (1011-1081).[429] When Chōnen visited the Song, it was said of him that, "the monk does not speak Chinese, but is good at writing [Chinese]. So, he responds to questions by writing down answers."[430] Therefore, we know that at least in the early phase, people relied on

[428] Kimiya Yasuhiko 木宮泰彦. *Nikka bunka kōryūshi* 日華文化交流史 (Tōkyō: Fuzanbō, 1965), Chapter 3, 4; Murai Shōsuke 村井章介. *Nihon chūsei no ibunka sesshoku* 日本中世の異文化接触 (Tōkyō : Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2013); Enomoto Wataru 榎本涉. *Nansō Gen-dai Nitchū tokōsō denki shūsei* 南宋・元代日中渡航僧伝記集成 (Tōkyō : Bensei Shuppan, 2013); Mori Katsumi 森克己. *Nissō bōeki no kenkyū* 日宋貿易の研究 (Tōkyō : Kokusho Kankōkai, 1975).

[429] Kimiya Yasuhiko, 1965, 275-278.

[430] Yang Yi, *Yangwengong tanyuan* 楊文公談苑 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), 9.

writing for communication. The situation may have changed when Japanese monks spent a longer time in China, and Chinese monks resided at length in Japan.

In terms of communication on Buddhist doctrine and practice, there were frequent pilgrimages and exchanges of writings between Japanese Tendai and Chinese Tiantai monks. The most well know example of this is the seminal work *Ōjōyōshū* 往生要集 sent by Genshin 源信 (942-1017), which shows a strong soteriological concern in the shared Final Dharma period. He also sent 27 questions on Tendai doctrine to Siming Zhili and received responses accordingly.[431]

In the Southern Song period, communication about Buddhism flourished, when almost 200 recorded Japanese monks traveled and studied mostly in the Ningbo area. For the purposes of the current chapter, I will focus on the Vinaya-related communications in the Southern Song, although we should keep in mind that the scope of cultural exchanges between China and Japan is comprehensive and not limited to any single domain. Also, the transmission of teaching of the Vinaya and precepts was pervasive, if not one of the few common characteristics for the group of *nissōsō,* who actively sought to import Buddhist monasticism in the Song style to Japan. For instance, Yōsai is normally seen as a monk advocating Zen Buddhism. However, his *Kōzen kokoku ron* 興禅護国論 (Propagation of Zen for the Protection of the Country) puts great emphasis on precepts and the establishment of a disciplined Buddhist community. Based on his experience in the Song, Yōsai also composed *Shukke taikō* 出家大綱 (Essential for Monastics), which contains chapters on lay and monastic robes, begging for alms, bhikṣu and bodhisattva precepts, and selected parts of the Vinaya.

[431] For the latest research on this document, see Murakami Akiya. “Nihon Tendai ga ataeta chōsō tendai eno eikyō genshimon chiraidō dō nihon kokushi ninyunana mon o chūshinni 日本天台が与えた趙宋天台への影響—源信問・知礼答『答日本国師二十七問』を中心に—. “ In *Nihon bukkyo sogo kenkyū.* 2019 (17), 99-124.

This text is Yōsai's attempt to provide a general guide for the Japanese Buddhist community and to import Song style monasticism.

Dōgen, who is commonly known as the founder of Soto Zen in Japan, represented an approach different from Yōsai's. Dōgen's position on the conferral of bodhisattva precepts appears to be consistent with his training in Mount Hiei, even to his traveling to the Song without a certificate of full ordination. However, it would be simplistic to assume that Dōgen did not take precepts seriously. The ritual manual for bodhisattva precepts written by Dōgen shows a close connection with Zhanran's ritual manual.[432] What is more, for the use of his monastery and community, Dōgen crafted overarching guidelines for monastic life, to the extent that the practice of Zen is pervasive and also meditative.

In the context of this Sino-Japanese Buddhist exchange, Shunjō sought to study in the Song by taking a trade boat to the Southern Song in 1199. What motivated Shunjō to take this trip was primarily his doubt about the Vinaya and precepts and his dissatisfaction with the *status quo* of Japanese monasticism. Shunjō joined the monastic order and became a novice monk at the age of eighteen, then taking on full ordination at nineteen in the Tendai tradition. In his biography, Shunjō is described as undergoing a lifechanging transformation at the age of twenty-seven:

> [Shunjō] bewailed, "life and death are hard to sever, samsara is endless. If I do not excel at observing precepts, how can I reach enlightenment?" He immediately took off the silk robe and changed to a cotton robe.
>
> 喟然歎曰。生死難斷。輪迴無窮。若不戒行專精。如何證菩提。忽脫蚕衣。乃著布衣。[433]

[432] Seiryū Sōji 青龍宗二. "Dōgen zenshi no butsukai siso—tokuni jurokujokai no seiritsu o megutsute"道元禅師の仏戒思想 -特に十六条戒の成立をめぐつて-. In IBK. 1974 (22), 726-731.

[433] *Sennyūji bukaki hōshiden* 泉涌寺不可棄法師傳 (BZ 115, 519-536). I use the version edited by Nishitani Isao. *Nansō, kamakura bukkyō bunka shiron* 南宋・鎌倉仏教文化史論 (Tōkyō: Bensei Shuppan, 2018), 531.

We know from his biography that Shunjō showed exceptional talent in doctrinal learning from a very early age. After ten years of studying Tendai doctrine, he came to the realization that doctrinal learning alone is not sufficient for achieving enlightenment. It is intriguing that his first step towards the new practice was to abandon the silk robe. It is highly possible that Shunjō was reading Daoxuan's commentaries on the monastic robe, in which he rejects silk as a legitimate material. With this new aspiration to properly observe the precepts and with many doubts he could not solve, Shunjō made the resolution to study in the Song.

In the Southern Song, Shunjō studied under the Vinaya master Ru'an Liaohong 如庵了宏 in Jingfu Monastery 景福寺 (in present Ningbo). Liaohong was a fourth-generation disciple of Yuanzhao and excelled at interpretation of *Xingshichao* and *Zichiji*. Shunjō spent twelve years in study (1199-1211), during which period he received a wide spectrum of teachings. Besides the Vinaya, he also studied Tiantai doctrine, Chan, and New Confucianism, which became the orthodoxy in the Southern Song. After Shunjō finished his studies, he brought back with him a large number of texts and objects to Japan, of which the most essential were the commentaries and portraits of Daoxuan and Yuanzhao, relics, Buddha statues, and sixteen paintings of *Luohan* (Skt. *arhat*) for the use of summer retreat ritual.[434] What is more, Nishitani Isao points out that the relic of Buddha's teeth (Jpn. *butsuge shari* 仏牙舎利, currently preserved in Sennyūji) brought back by Shunjō was an essential part of the ordination ritual in the Song style. [435]

[434] *Sennyūji bukaki hōshiden,* 541. Also see Nishitani Isao. "Daitokuji tenrai gohyaku rakanzu kara fugen sareru soin sekatsu" 大徳寺伝来五百羅漢図から復元される僧院生活. In Ide Seinosuke 井手誠之輔 ed. *Daitokuji tenrai gohyaku rakanzu no sakuhinshi* 徹底討論大徳寺伝来五百羅漢図の作品誌 (Fukuoka: Kushu Daigaku, 2019), 155-181.

[435] Nishitani Isao. "Kamakuraki kairitsu fukō no jitsusō Sennyūji sō ga hatashita yakuwari" 鎌倉期戒律復興の実像一泉涌寺僧が果たした役割. In *Setsuwa bunkgaku kenkyū*, 2020 (55), 32-45.

I have discussed Yuanzhao's creation of a lineage for the Nanshan Vinaya school which ends by recognizing Daoxuan as the ninth patriarch. On the Japanese side, the lineage continued to grow in the Song, including several Song Vinaya masters such as Yunkan and Yuanzhao. Liaohong, the master of both Shunjō and Tieweng Shouyi 鐵翁守一 (1210-1242), is given a position (although not as a patriarch) in the lineage, which instituted Shunjō's authority to transmit the teaching of the Vinaya in Japan.[436] Looking at this chart of lineage, the nuanced information is that Shunjō, Shouyi, and Shangweng Miaolian 上翁妙蓮 (1182-1262, the twentieth patriarch) are conveniently marked as contemporaries and indeed their communication is the most frequent. I shall turn next to the conversations among these three Vinaya masters.

The Vinaya Mondō

The communication between two sides was not limited to exchanges of classic works. This period gave rise to the continued popularity of a particular form of Buddhist literature, *mondō* (Chi. *wenda* 問答), which literally means "question and response." The most common form of *mondō* is seen when scholar monks in Japan pose question and Chinese monks provide responses to these questions. The genre of *mondō* is easily misunderstood from a nationalistic perspective. *Mondō* involves the posing of genuine questions and sincere responses. The aspect of communication in the form of dialogue makes it more distinctive than a catechism, in which the questions as rhetorical devices are easy to discern. Nonetheless, *mondō* can still be used as a pedagogical tool for educating a more general audience than can a pure record of theoretical discussions on controversial points. Examples of doctrinal dispute are found in the exchanges of

[436] See the first three, seventh, and eleventh lineage charts written on the back pages of Eison's *Kantō ōkanki* 關東往還記. In SEDS, 92-93, 96, 98-100. These charts are replicated and integrated into the chart of *Denritsu zugen geshū* 伝律図原解集, BZ105, 76.

letters between “on the mountain” and “off the mountain” branches of Tiantai masters. These characteristics of *mondō* make the genre stand somewhere in between a catechism and a doctrinal discussion, as least in the case of the Vinaya *mondō*.

There are two *mondō* texts preserved. One is entitled *Da riben reng fashi jiaoguan zhuwen* 答日本芿法師教觀諸問 (Responding to Japanese master Shunjō’s questions on the doctrine, hereafter *Dazhuwen*). It records Shouyi’s response to Shunjō’s questions and is collected in Shouyi’s anthology *Zhongnan jiaye* 終南家業 (X59, no. 1109). In the preface of the piece, Shouyi clearly expresses his view that these questions aim to dispel the doubts of practitioners. “I have met and conversed with him (Shunjō), and I know his intentions. They are not real doubts.” [437] As I mentioned regarding the lineage of Shunjō, he and Shouyi share the same Vinaya master, therefore he was potentially more familiar with and influenced by Shouyi’s interpretation of Yuanzhao. Even though Shunjō’s own training in Japanese Tendai may frame his overall focus on the Vinaya, it would be unwise to assume that Shunjō only spoke from a Tendai position. At the same time, Shouyi and Miaolian differ on almost all critical understandings of the Vinaya and precepts. Miaolian composed a harsh critique of Shouyi’s position in *Pengzhezhen* 蓬折箴 (X60, no. 1112) and *Pengzhe zhibian* 蓬折直辯 (X60, no. 1111). This is exactly what makes the conversations ultimately polyphonic, demonstrating the multiplicity of positions.

The other *mondō* is entitled *Lüzong wenda* 律宗問答 (Questions and Responses of the Vinaya School, X59, no. 1108), in which three Vinaya masters from China answered Shunjō’s questions in the first half of the text. The formality of the text indicates that Shunjō’s questions were sent to the three masters separately, and they provided

[437] Shouyi, “余嘗會語。扣知彼懷。而非實疑也。” *Da riben reng fashi jiaoguan zhuwen*. X59, no. 1109, 727b15-16.

responses according to their abilities. The text combines their responses, and we can see that not everyone replied to every single question. As with Shouyi, the purpose of this *mondō* is seen in the description: "Scholar monks from two countries, have insights into the abysmal ocean of the Vinaya; therefore they pose questions. 兩國學宗。徹見律海淵底。故詰之耳。"[438] The literary form of *mondō* is better seen as a preferred rhetorical device for a pedagogic goal.

In the above two *mondō*, Shunjō plays the role of an interrogator and poses questions to the Chinese Vinaya masters. The questions in these two texts overlap but are not identical. Shunjō's questions are derived from his own experience of study in both Japan and the Song, and the responses are formulated in the context of Yuanzhao's influence on the Vinaya interpretation. It is equally essential to bear in mind that the topics of their discussion have been controversial issues from the beginning of monasticism in China. The responses are not and cannot provide a definitive solution for these hotly debated questions and are certainly not to be naively taken as proof of superiority based on nationality. What are represented in these two *mondō* texts are conversations among mutually recognized Vinaya masters, displaying a polyphonic understanding of the Vinaya. We must take intertextuality and readership into consideration and not be limited to a single question in grasping the nuanced meaning and allowing these divergent positions to shed light on each other.

Due to limitations of space, I can only discuss several essential points in these two *mondō*. The opening questions in *Dazhuwen* are about the classification of *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* and locating the text within the system of Buddhist teaching. Shouyi's response is consistent with Yuanzhao, attesting that although the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* is partially associated with Mahāyāna, it certainly belongs to

[438] *Luzong wenda* 律宗問答. X59, no. 1108, 707c19-20.

the Hinayana. From the perspective of Nanshan teaching, there is no principal distinction between the two vehicles. Even the lesser vehicle is self-consistent, not to mention that "the great and lesser vehicles both concern the mind; they share the same Vinaya."[439] Regarding the five branches of Vinaya texts, the differences are conceived of as stemming from sectarian leaders' distinctive readings of the Buddha's original prescription.

As I discussed in the beginning of the third chapter. Yuanzhao's retroactive practice of conferring repeated bodhisattva precepts aroused resistance in the Buddhist community. In the Southern Song, questions about the legitimacy of his practice remain. On the surface, this question is about whether a fully ordained monastic needs to receive the bodhisattva precepts. However, the central problem is how a Buddhist monastic should reconcile the inconsistency between the Mahāyāna identity and the Hinayana ordination ritual, and how this should be reflected in the practice of monastic conferral rituals. Shouyi's question sharply points out the most problematic part of Yuanzhao's theory:

> According to Nanshan's (Daoxuan) intention, if one receives full ordination by taking the four-ascertainment ritual, and then acquires the perfect *jieti*, should this person receive the bodhisattva precepts again? If you say yes, then what of the previously endowed perfect *jieti*, already endowed with *trividhāni śīlāni*? What is the purpose of repetitive reception? It is not at all seen in the patriarch's writing about the repeated bodhisattva precepts. It is thus known that the four-ascertainment ritual gives rise to perfect *jieti*, therefore there is no need to receive it again.
>
> 若南山意。以白四受具。而發圓體者。更受菩薩戒否。若云受者。一發圓體。則三聚具備。而更受何為。故諸傳中。全不見祖師自增菩薩戒。驗知白四即發圓體。故不用更受也。[440]

Regarding the potential inconsistency between Daoxuan's writing and current practice, Shouyi's basic position is to review the reason for this persistent doubt. First, he

[439] Ibid. "大小俱心。律儀不異。" X59, no. 1109, 728a18 // Z 2:10, 362c17 // R105, 724a17.

[440] Ibid. X59, no. 1109, 729c16-19 // Z 2:10, 364b9-12 // R105, 727b9-12.

confirms Daoxuan's position that the quality of *jieti* depends on the quality of mind of the receiver, not the ritual. He says,

> So long as one has the willingness, [the quality of] *jieti* is associated with one's will. That is the reason for this teaching, although in terms of teaching it is the lesser vehicle. However, depending on the meaning of the great vehicle, [one can] directly receive the great precepts (precepts of the Mahāyāna).
>
> 但有志願。戒隨願感。亦復此宗。教雖是小。義當大乘。所以上品一受。全依大義。直納大戒。[441]

The confirmative position of the four-ascertainment ritual shows that Shouyi did not see the absolute necessity of a repeated bodhisattva precepts ordination when one has already aroused the upper quality of mind in the full ordination ritual. From this perspective, the upper quality *jieti* is identical to the *jieti* received from the bodhisattva precepts. However, the repeated bodhisattva precepts are not specifically rejected by Daoxuan (in fact Daoxuan did not write on this topic). If one doubts, there is no harm in receiving the bodhisattva precepts for extra safety. He cites Yuanzhao to support his position:

> "[Yuanzhao said] once that it is allowable to interpret the precepts as Mahāyāna. Based on the Vinaya of the lesser vehicle, the practice of the great vehicle is established. " Inferring from his writing, it is clear that there is no need to receive the Mahāyāna precepts.
>
> 既開大解。依小律儀。即成大行。豈須棄捨。方曰大乎。(彼文)據斯伸釋。不須受大明。[442]

In the development of Vinaya teaching in the Southern Song, the idea of "Three Meditations of Nanshan" (Chi. *Nanshan sanguan* 南山三觀) as a valid way of practice beyond the passive observation of monastic rules became popular. The so-called three meditations refers to Nanshan's method of meditating on the threefold nature of phenomena (Chi. *sanxingguan* 三性觀). Shouyi argues that meditative practice has always been an essential part of the Vinaya practice. He says,

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[441] Ibid. X59, no. 1109, 730a19-21 // Z 2:10, 364c18-d2 // R105, 728a18-b2.

[442] Ibid. X59, no. 1109, 730c2-4 // Z 2:10, 365a13-15 // R105, 729a13-15.

> [Daoxuan] demonstrated to the novice monk that the foundation of going forth is consciousness only. And he made their initial mind move towards the path. He instructed the receiver of [precepts] to make the mind of the upper quality, and to understand that sensory objects are nothing but consciousness only. As for the writings on the acquisition of *jieti*, observing practice, and repentance, all take meditation as the key. The meaning is that acquisition and observation are nothing but the dharma realm, and passive prohibition and active observation are all *tathatā*. The permission and restriction are all from the supreme vehicle. Grave offences and minor offences all determine where one should permanently abide. Therefore, it is known that mediation is the main purpose of our patriarch's promotion of the Vinaya.
>
> 示初入道。以唯識為出家本。令彼初心。便知歸趣。教彼受者。心發上品。了境唯識。及納體隨行悔罪等文。並以妙觀而為樞要。意使一受一隨無非法界。一止一作悉是真如。一開一遮即為上乘。一輕一重皆歸常住。則知吾祖弘律。全以妙觀為主。[443]

Shouyi concludes that all practices related to the Vinaya precepts can be conceived of as meditative practices. His position provides a frame of unification, incorporating everyday monastic life as a method of meditative practice. Shunjō's question is on the very nature of such meditation as a perfected meditation of one mind (Chi. *yixin yuanguan* 一心圓觀) or as sequential meditation (Chi. *cidiguan* 次第觀). Without going into the details of the theological discussion here, Shouyi's response is that the three meditations of Nanshan should be approached based on a proper understanding of Yogacara doctrine, and then be elevated to the higher teaching of emptiness (Chi. *kongzong* 空宗), with which the Nanshan school self-identifies.

The questions and responses between Shunjō and Shouyi are in a mode closer to a deep conversation surrounding a few key topics of Vinaya teaching. Shunjō poses follow-up questions for Shouyi, and Shouyi provides eloquent clarification and sometimes returns to a previous point. In contrast, the questions and answers in *Lüzong wenda* are more formalistic and concise. In the first half of the text, Shunjō poses questions, most of which center around the three meditations of Nanshan, and only a few of which are directly related to the Vinaya. In the second half, the questions

[443] Shouyi, *Luzong huiyuan* 律宗會元. X60, no. 1110, 1b1-6 // Z 2:10, 403b4-9 // R105, 805b4-9.

posed for Shouyi reappear and are answered by another Chinese Vinaya master, who insisted on the necessity of receiving the bodhisattva precepts. We can infer that those Chinese masters in *Lüzong wenda* belonged to a different branch of the Vinaya school in the Hangzhou area.

Based on the above *mondō*, it is uncertain whether Shunjō's own position is always in line with the questions he posed, for there are obviously occasions when he asked questions on behalf of other people who might need clarification. Nonetheless, one definitive conclusion we can make is that Shunjō and the Chinese Vinaya masters share a common interest in the Vinaya, and that all were deeply familiar with primary sources and the whole commentarial tradition. Carrying the knowledge and experience he gained while staying in Song monasteries, Shunjō went back to Japan and started the missionary work that would shape the direction of Kamakura Buddhism.

The Sennyūji Tradition in the Northern Capital

After returning to Japan in 1211, Shunjō established Sennyūji Monastery in Higashiyama of Kyoto. The monastery took a syncretic approach to Buddhist teaching, in which Tendai doctrine, esoteric Buddhism, Pure Land practice, and the teaching of Vinaya are all included. Shunjō was remembered as the founder who revived the Vinaya tradition in Kyōto and the trend of Vinaya teaching initiated by Shunjō is later referred to as Vinaya of the northern capital.[444] In the initial phase of Shunjō's community, when there were not enough fully ordained monastics to perform the ordination ritual, Shunjō temporarily permitted self-ordination according to *Zhancha jing*.[445] This practice indeed confirmed the comprising attitude towards the conflicts of the two

[444] Mujū 無住, "Recently the Waga Zen master (Shunjō), traveled to the Tang and transmitted the etiquette of the Vinaya according to the dharma. This is called the revival in the northern capital." In *Zōtanshū* 雜談集 (Tōkyō: Koten Bunko, 1950), 287.

[445] Genkyū 元休. *Tetteishō* 徹底章. NDKS 2, 667.

vehicles that was expressed in the *mondō* texts. At least, the expedient means of self-ordination was validated as a preparation for formal monastic ordination by Shunjō himself. By allowing monastics to obtain full ordination qualification through the ordination of the Mahāyāna precepts, Shunjō was able to reestablish a Buddhist community. There is no definitive record to indicate whether all members had accumulated enough monastic age to confer the ordination ritual before the opening of Sennyūji. Rather, given the long period of preparation, it is highly possible that Shunjō had recruited enough masters through self-ordination to perform the ordination of *prātimokṣa* precepts in 1226.

Nishitani Isao has argued that when we discuss the so called "revival of the Vinaya," we should not restrict ourselves to the doctrinal aspect alone. What is more important in this movement is the dimension of "action," which means the revival of the monastic way of life including monastic ritual, etiquette, commission of Buddhist art objects, management of daily life, planning of monastic space and so on.[446] Nishitani has considered the watershed event in the history of Sennyūji as the beginning of summer retreat starting in 1226. [447]

I mentioned that Shunjō brought back portraits of Daoxuan and Yuanzhao. These paintings hang in the ritual space, for instance on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the summer retreat (Jpn. *ketsuge* 結夏) and commemoration of the patriarch (Jpn. *soshiki* 祖師忌). The portraits are accompanied by poems of praise. The poems of praise used in the Sennyūji ritual are Gushan Zhiyuan's *Nanshan zushi lizanwen* 南山祖師禮讚文 and selections from Ze'an's 則安 (Yuanzhao's disciple) *Dazhi lüshi lizanwen* 大智

[446] Nishitani Isao, 2020 (55), 32-41.

[447] Nishitani Isao, 2018, *Nansō, kamakura bukkyō bunka shiron.* Chapter 2.

律師禮讚文 (X74, no.1507). [448] In the portrait of Yuanzhao at the Cleveland Art Museum, part of Ze'an's poem is written on the upper part of the portrait, suggesting a ritualistic use of such a portrait in the monastery.[449] A similar practice is found in the Song Tiantai monasteries and Vinaya monasteries.[450] Shunjō's method of conducting summer retreat, repentance ritual, and other monastic rituals was later introduced to Eison and put into use at Saidaiji.

From the year 1226 onward, Sennyūji became a fully functional monastery and its newly ordained monastics gained proper monastic seniority by participating in the summer retreat. After ten years, many of them would earn the qualifications to confer full ordination as an exclusive monastic ritual, and to transmit a total way of monastic living. Sennyūji exerted a profound influence on Kamakura Buddhism by hosting monks from all over Japan for study, including disciples under eminent monks of Yōsai, Hōnen, and Myōe, as well as monks from the Tendai and Shingon tradition.[451] It is no exaggeration to say that Sennyūji was the only educational institution for the teaching and practice of the Vinaya in the Song style, carrying Buddhist traditions into Japan.

On the everyday practical level, Nishitani Isao has conducted groundbreaking research on the importation of Song style monastic rituals into Sennyūji in the Song style. The remains of pronunciation in Song Chinese have been discovered in Japanese material. For instance, the high chair is pronounced as "*i-zu*" in Song pronunciation in the monastery.[452] Also, in the ceremony commemorating the establishment of Sennyūji,

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[448] Ibid., 385-389.

[449] Portrait of Vinaya master Dazhi, Cleveland Art Museum, hanging scroll, ink and slight color on silk, 92.4 x 40.5 cm, 1974.29.

[450] Zunshi, *Tiantai Zhizhe dashi zhaiji lizanwen* 天台智者大師齋忌禮讚文. T46, no. 1948, and "Nanshan Lingzhi zuji 南山靈芝祖忌." In *Lüyuan shigui* 律苑事規. X60, no. 1113.

[451] Ibid., 35.

[452] Nishitani Isao, 2020, 36.

Sennyūji kaisangi 泉涌寺開山忌, *ryōgonshu* 楞嚴咒 (*Śūraṅgama mantra*) has been chanted using Song pronunciation.[453] Another approach to organizing monastic life according to the Vinaya is to mark rituals and events into the monastic calendar. In this way, the sense of time in the monastery is carefully controlled and marked by Vinaya related events in the daily schedule and annual calendar.

Shunjō unfortunately passed away in 1227, soon after the establishment of Sennyūji. A few short texts are confirmed as written by Shunjō, mainly *Nanzan shū shiyō shō* 南山宗旨要鈔 (hereafter *Shiyōshō*) and *Shinshūkishiki i toroku kandō ki* 清衆規式井十六觀堂記 (Regulation of the Pure Assembly and Record of the Sixteen Contemplations Hall, hereafter, *Shinshūkishiki*).[454] Composed based on his study in the Southern Song, these texts are the only direct textual evidence for us to understand Shunjō's systematic reflection on Buddhist soteriology, how he put his knowledge of the Vinaya into pragmatic use, and its significance in the Vinaya movement. Both texts merit separate study. I will limit myself to discussing some key points to clarify Shunjō's vision of Vinaya teaching and monastic management.

Shiyōshō serves as Shunjō's notes on essential theoretical points in Daoxuan and Yuanzhao's central commentaries, many of which go beyond discussion on the Vinaya *per se* and touched one general concerns about Buddhist soteriology. Other than the fact that this text was written from the perspective of the Nanshan Vinaya school, it is unclear whether Shunjō used a source text that as reference. In *Shiyōshō*, excerpts from *Xingshichao* are quoted under *jisho* 事鈔, and corresponding parts of *Zichiji* are quoted

[453] Nishitani Isao, 2015. "Zenritsu jien niokeru sōshi shuryōgonshu segaki reigi" 禅律寺院における宋式「首楞厳呪」「施餓鬼」儀礼. In *Ashita no tōyōgaku* 明日の東洋学. 2-5.

[454] All three texts are transliterated and edited by Japanese scholars and found in Ishida Mitsuyuki, ed. *Kamakura bukkyō seiritsu no kenkyū: Shunjō risshi* 鎌倉仏教成立の研究: 俊芿律師. (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1972). *Nanzan shū shiyō shō* 南山宗旨要鈔, 358-390, *Shinshūkishiki i toroku kandō ki* 清衆規式井十六觀堂記, 391-404.

under *shiji* 資持. In the next chapter, we will see that Shunjō's method of juxtaposing the associated parts of *Xingshichao* and *Zichiji* was inherited in the study of Vinaya commentaries by the religious group of Eison. *Shiyōshō* consists of nineteen themes, each containing clusters of questions and answers. In terms of formality, for one question multiple answers are often listed, representing disparate yet related positions; and follow up questions and answers are offered, imitating the form of a real conversation or debate. Therefore, the form of *Shiyōshō* resembles the rhetorical form of *mondō* as discussed in the previous section. The unique aspect of *Shiyōshō* is that Shunjō inserted his own voice on critical issues from time to time under the notion of *shi'un* 私云 around several controversial themes. When there was more than one interpretation of thusness (Skt. *tathatā*), Shunjō clarified that it is normal to have different understandings and one should not be attached to any single view.[455] Still one should not mistakenly think that these are the only places where Shunjō expressed his opinion, since the whole work can be conceived of as a synopsis of his comprehension of the gist of Vinaya teaching.

As expected, *Shiyōshō* clearly shows the strong influences of Tiantai doctrine and Yuanzhao. Yuanzhao's works are cited in almost every theme as an authoritative voice. Shunjō followed Yuanzhao's theory of mapping the three categories of pure precepts with three bodies of the buddha, three virtues etc. as discussed in Chapter Three. Most intriguingly, Shunjō directly incorporated Pure Land theory, especially the four kinds of Buddha land into the Nanshan teaching.[456] This combination may suggest that based on Yuanzhao's effort, Pure Land Buddhism has become an essential part of Vinaya monasteries in terms of both theology and practice in the Southern Song.

[455] Ishida Mitsuyuki, ed. *Kamakura bukkyō seiritsu no kenkyū*, 363.

[456] Ishida Mitsuyuki, ed. *Kamakura bukkyō seiritsu no kenkyū*, 360.

We may take theme four as an example. The theme question is about the meaning of the suggestion to "constantly be mindful with a single mind, to eliminate obstructions" 常爾一心念除諸蓋者.[457]This question and the following answers reflect a tendency to teach the observation of precepts as a form of meditative practice in the Southern Song Nanshan School. This recommendation for eliminating obstruction is then deemed to be "the teaching to be permitted" in the *skandhaka* part of the Vinaya. For Shunjō, the object of single mind contemplation appears to be to "give rise to contemplation by robe and food" 衣食起觀,[458] which suggests that the contemplation is practiced in the minute details of everyday life. It is intriguing that mindful practice based on quotidian objects is for "sharp faculties." Shunjō also mentioned a minimum requirement for monastics, called "six mindfulness" (Chi. *liunian* 六念) prescribed by *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya*.[459] The six mindfulness means to know the date and month, to be mindful of receiving food from someone, to remember one's monastic age, to know one's donor of robes and other objects, to be mindful of not eating alone, and to know if one is sick. From this basic requirement we infer that, from the perspective of the Vinaya school, the skeleton of monastic life is oriented within self-awareness in the social setting of the monastery.

The current edited version of *Shinshūkishiki* contains fourteen independent short texts, from which we can grasp a general sense of the monastic life established by Shunjō. The first text in this collection is *Shinshūkishiki* which contains regulations on the management of monastic daily life. Tuchihashi Syūkō has compared *Shinshūkishiki* with *Jiaoyuan qinggui* 教院清規,Tiantai's corresponding guide, and has concluded that

[457] Ishida Mitsuyuki, ed. *Kamakura bukkyō seiritsu no kenkyū*, 366.

[458] Ishida Mitsuyuki, ed. *Kamakura bukkyō seiritsu no kenkyū*, 366-67.

[459] Buddhabhadra 佛陀跋陀羅, trans. *Mohe sengqi lü dabiqiu jieben* 摩訶僧祇律大比丘戒本 T22, no. 1426, p. 549a10-18.

Shunjō used the Tiantai text as a major reference.[460] Besides showing the influence of Tiantai doctrine, this text also resembles the ideal of Buddhist community living according to the Vinaya which Yuanzhao had described in the Third Chapter. Unlike the aforementioned *Shiyōshō*, this text covers pragmatic issues on the minimum requirements of monastic management. Several details not seen in other materials so far should catch our full attention.

The idea of community living (Jpn. *kyōshū* 共住) is emphasized, in that all occasions where one might be alone are marked (such as going outside of the monastery), and even inside the monastery community living should still be observed, such that one must not eat alone unless sick.[461] Again, there is a hundred-day probationary period for new-comers from other monasteries During this time, one's monastic status in Sennyūji is not fully established. Regardless of one's actual monastic age (except for the case of an eminent monk), the outsider is placed at the very end of the assembly in monastic gatherings and should be devoted to repentance every day. Only after this period is one given monastic status based on monastic age.[462] The purpose of the probationary period may be to allow people from other monasteries to get used to the regulations and ways of living in Sennyūji, assumably different from other monasteries in this period. Lastly, times for chanting and repentance are allocated three times in the daily schedule, and anyone failing in one of the three is required to compensate with a fixed number of prostrations; while anyone who fails all three must heat bath water for everyone.[463] Here, we observe a unique record of punishment for failing to fulfill the

[460] Tuchihashi Syūkō, "Shunjō no risei" 俊芿の律制. In IBK 34 (1969): 28-32.

[461] Ishida Mitsuyuki, ed. *Kamakura bukkyō seiritsu no kenkyū*, 391.

[462] Ibid., 392.

[463] Ibid., 392.

duties of practice. This kind of compensative labor might have been pervasive in medieval monasteries, but we rarely have access to direct records of such detail.

Another essential text in the collection of *Shinshūkishiki* is *Sennyūji yuizoku kōmon* 泉涌寺遺属誥文, a record of Shunjō's will which was finished on his sickbed. Like *Shinshūkishiki,* the will of Shunjō discloses details that are otherwise unknown. For all texts, statues, and other material objects, Sennyūji monks need the permission of the head monk (Jpn. *shuza* 首座) to borrow, and the text "can never be circulated outside the gates of the monastery. 寺門之外永不可出。"[464] From this episode, we gain a better sense that when Shunjō willingly gifted a copy of Yuanzhao's *Zichiji* to Jōkei—an episode that I will turn to in the next section—the meaning exceeds simple circulation of material texts. The invaluable woodprint symbolizes the beginning of the communication about the Vinaya and precepts between two Buddhist communities in different locations.

Another fact gained from the description of the will is that we know that *poṣadha* was led by a head monk or temporary replacement sitting on a Chan chair (Jpn. *zen'i fusatsu* 禅椅布薩).[465] We have seen this style of chair many times in *Tōseiden* and the portraits of the Vinaya masters. Shunjō assigned various positions beyond those commonly seen, including a librarian and maintenance/repair person. Shunjō insisted that, based on Chinese regulations, this position should be passed on to someone who purely observed the Vinaya and that it "must never be taken by someone from another monastery" 永不可用他所之僧.[466] While this restriction might reflect a pragmatic sense of monastery property on the surface, my speculation is that it could also be the result

[464] Ibid., 392-93.

[465] Ibid., 393.

[466] Ibid., 393.

of a strong consciousness of sectarian boundaries that became dominant in the Southern Song. The layout of Sennyūji is marked by a self-identification with the lineage of the Nanshan Vinaya school, as shown by the establishment of Patriarch Hall in which the nine Vinaya school patriarchs (conjured by Yuanzhao) are worshipped.

Even though Shunjō was responsible for importing Song style monasticism to Sennyūji, he could not create a functioning monastic community overnight. We know, for example, that the minimum requirement for acquiring the qualifications of main preceptor of the full ordination ritual takes ten years, and there should be at least ten qualified monastics participating in the four-ascertainment ritual. For this technical reason, the beginning of Shunjō's community was established through self-ordination, which could be one source of inspiration for the revival movement in Nara.[467]

The recently discovered *Nanzan hokugi kenmon shiki* 南山北義見聞私記 (hereafter, *Shiki*) provides invaluable information on the lifestyle followed in the Vinaya and Song style monasteries.[468] The manuscripts (with five extant retentions) contains numerous details about the management of monastic rituals, decoration of tables in the ritual with flowers in a vase and an incense burner (resembling the tables found in *Tōseiden*), spatial arrangement of a ritual hall, chanting of verses used in the bimonthly repentance ritual, and the detailed method of setting monastic boundaries. [469] The current research cannot do justice to the richness of this encyclopedic guide. I can only conclude that *Shiki* is a crucial text for use in reconstructing the monastic life after the precepts revival movement in Kamakura Japan.

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[467] Genkyū, *Tetteishō* 徹底章. NDKS 2, 677.

[468] An annotated version is prepared by Nishitani Isao, 2018, 697-756. For general information on this manuscript see Nishitani Isao's paper. "Shinshu shiryo Nanzan Hokugi Kenmon Shiki hakken no yigi" 新出資料『南山北義見聞私記』発見の意義. In *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (70), 2014. 73-108.

[469] *Nanzan kitadashi genbun shiki*, 2018. 677, 670, 676, and 621.

Etani Ryōkai 惠谷隆戒 has concluded that under Shunjō's influence, multiple monasteries in Kyōto (such as Kenninji, Tōfukuji, and Kaikōji) became focused on the observance of the Vinaya and followed the new interpretation of Daoxuan by Yuanzhao along with Yuanzhao's syncretic approach of combining Tiantai, Pure Land, Vinaya, and meditation.[470] In the meantime, Shunjō's influence reached Nara and converged with the revival movement in the Southern Capital. On this matter, Tokuda Myōhon has directed our attention away from the central monasteries in the city to more peripheral monasteries such as Kairyūōji 海龍王寺, which served as fertile ground for the training of religious leaders and cultivation of the quotidian practice of a monastic lifestyle according to the Vinaya. [471] The initiation of the Vinaya revival movement from peripheral monasteries is associated with the trend of the "reclusive monk" (Jpn. *tonseisō* 遁世僧) [472] in the Kamakura period. Reclusive monks were groups of monks who were disappointed with the bureaucratic system and volunteered to move to a small monastery. The title "reclusive" should not be taken at face value since these monks remained active in preaching and social networking. Next, I show how the influence of Shunjō was transmitted to the Nara area through the reclusive monks outside the Nara, the Buddhist center south of Kyōto.

Revival in the Southern Capital

After Shunjō passed away, his disciples continued to exert his influence regarding the teaching and practice of the Vinaya based in Sennyūji. We see that the communication

[470] Etani Ryōkai 惠谷隆戒, "Shunjō risshi no hokkyōritsu o chūshin toshita kyōto no kairitsu fukko undo "俊芿律師の北京律を中心とした京都の戒律復興運動. In Ishida Mitsuyuki, ed. *Kamakura bukkyō seiritsu no kenkyū: Shunjō risshi* 鎌倉仏教成立の研究: 俊芿律師. (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1972), 61.

[471] Tokuda Myōhon 徳田明本. "Shunjō risshi to nankyō Ritsu nit suite" 俊芿律師と南京律について. In Ishida Mitsuyuki, ed. *Kamakura bukkyō seiritsu no kenkyū: Shunjō risshi* 鎌倉仏教成立の研究: 俊芿律師. (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1972), 69-73.

[472] Matsuo Kenji, *Kamakura shin Bukkyō no seiritsu* 鎌倉新仏教の成立 (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1988), 180-183.

between Shunjō' s group in Kyoto and precepts revival groups in Nara culminated around 1236, when the watershed event of self-ordination of the four Nara monks in Tōdaiji took place. The revival movement in the southern capital not only coexisted with Shunjō and his disciples' efforts, but there were also multiple exchanges between the two groups. In the Heian period of the southern capital after Jianzhen's arrival, the teaching of the Vinaya was primarily accepted as one branch of Buddhist teaching among the six Buddhist schools settled inside Tōdaiji in Nara. This means Vinaya teaching did not hold overarching power over the monastic practices of Japanese Buddhism, as perhaps imagined by Jianzhen. As discussed in the first chapter, Jianzhen began his career as a Vinaya master in Japan by establishing the ordination platform in Tōdaiji. Fajin, Jianzhen's direct disciple who traveled with him to Japan, standardized Jianzhen's method of conferring precepts by composing "the ordination ritual procedure of Tōdaiji." This extensive work of Fajin contains six parts, [473] covering topics from the lesser vehicle to the greater vehicle, and a final repentance section to conclude the conferral ritual.[474]

The practice transmitted by Jianzhen and prescribed by the Fajin ritual procedure was abolished in everyday monastic life. The teaching of precepts retained only a formalistic value over the course of time. As the practice waned, the early stage of a renewed interest in the Vinaya was marked by Jippan's writing of an "Ordination ritual procedure of Tōdaiji Kaidan'in" based on Fajin's ritual procedure. In the section on inviting the main preceptor (*upādhyāya*), Jippan stated, "Receptors of precepts should invite the *upādhyāya*. Upādhyāya is the foundation for the reception of precepts. By taking refuge in this master, the great precepts arise."[475] This is a clear statement that

[473] *Tōdaiji yōroku* (Ōsaka: Zenkoku Shobō, 1944), 313-333.

[474] Ibid., 334-338.

[475] Jippan, *Tōdaiji kaidenin jukai shiki*, T74, no. 2350, 0026c07-09.

obtaining the essence of the precepts, namely acquisition of the official qualifications of a Buddhist monastic, is fundamentally based on the role of *upādhyāya* in the context of an ordination ritual exclusively for monastics. This sense of returning to the ordination tradition of the Vinaya masters is also mentioned in Jippan's biography:

> The practice of the Vinaya values [personal] transmission. Even though I am proficient [in the teaching of Vinaya], what can I do without a succession from a master?
>
> 戒貴傳授。我雖精究。爭奈無師承何。[476]

Jippan wrote an essay similar in intent entitled *Shukke jukaihō* 出家受戒法 (NDKS 3, no. 316). Lacking a proper ordination ritual, Jippan even had a dream of seeing the clear water of Nakagawa from Tōshōdaiji. Motivated by his wish to receive precepts from a Vinaya master, and by the sign in his dream, Jippan traveled to Tōshōdaiji only to find the monastery half abandoned. By accident, he encountered a monk there and eagerly received precepts in the memorial hall of Jianzhen. After this legendary episode, Jippan returned to Nakagawaji 中川寺 and began preaching on the Vinaya in Jōshin'in 成身院.[477] Jippan's ordination ritual is more symbolic, in terms of his reconnecting with the Vinaya lineage of Jianzhen, rather than following the prescription of the Vinaya in a strict sense. Jippan wrote both on the bodhisattva precepts and prātimokṣa precepts. Minowa Kenryō has confirmed that, according to Jippan's theory of precepts, it is necessary to take on separate *prātimokṣa* precepts to obtain full monastic qualification, and there is no internal conflict with also receiving bodhisattva precepts.[478]

In the conclusion of Jippan's biography, Kokan Shiren praised his for being an exemplar of following the Chinese Vinaya. The author then summarized a historical

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[476] Kokan Shiren 虎関師錬, *Genkō shakusho* 元亨釋書. BZ, Vol. 101, 159

[477] Ibid., 159.

[478] Minowa Kenryō, *Chūsei shoki nanto kairitsu fukkō no kenkyū* 中世初期南都戒律復興の研究 (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1999), 76-77.

principle: “[Vinaya practice became] extinct and then revived; revived and then became extinct. Between revival and extinction, who is the figure in the world? 蓋絕而又興。興而又絕。其興絕之間。世有人乎。”[479] He concluded that Jippan is indeed the figure who initiated the transformation of history from decline to rise. This is an intriguing holistic view of the decisive part played by human agency in the objective vicissitudes of historical development. Jippan’s creative solution for reconnecting became the inspiration for later Vinaya and precepts revival movements.

After Jippan, Kōfukuji produced a continuous line of scholar monks who focused on the teaching of the Vinaya, such as Zōshun 藏俊 (1104-1180) and Kakuken 覚憲 (1131-1213). The next influential scholar monk was Jōkei 貞慶 (1155-1213), the central figure who maintained the mission of the restoration of the Vinaya and brought it to a higher level. Jōkei built the compound for the study of the Vinaya and precepts inside Kōfukuji in 1212 and named it Jōki’in 常喜院; and it was here that eventually the revival movement of self-ordination was fostered. Jōki’in was established shortly after Shunjō’s return to Japan.

Jippan spent time in Enjōji 円成寺 as a “reclusive monk.” Since Jippan, almost all Vinaya-related monks have had the common experience of living a reclusive life in peripheral monasteries. Following the example of Jippan, Jōkei moved to Kasagidera 笠置寺 when he was twenty-eight years old (1192), breaking away from the official bureaucratic monastic system. In this year, Jōkei sent a letter to Shunjō with questions on the Vinaya and dispatched his disciple Kainyo 戒如 to study with Shunjō.[480] Genkyū’s 元休 *Tetteishō* 徹底章 records this intriguing episode during Jōkei’s stay at Kasagidera. One day Jōkei was reading *Xingshichao*, and he could not make sense of

[479] Kokan Shiren, *Genkō shakusho*. BZ, Vol. 101, 160.

[480] *Sennyūji bukaki hōshiden*, 545.

the “long robe” (Chi. *changyi* 長衣). He sent someone to ask help of Sennyūji. Shunjō responded that the “long” character in the context does not mean a long robe, but rather “extra robe,” beyond what is permitted. It is noted that Jōkei at that time only had access to *Xingshichao* and did not know the other commentaries of Daoxuan and Yuanzhao. Together with the response, Shunjō sent a copy of Yuanzhao’s *Zichiji* as further verification. This is the beginning of the frequent communication between the two lineages, and the beginning of the transmission and popularity of *Zichiji* in the southern capital. [481]

Jōkei reflected on the idea of *shū* 宗 (lineage); the foundation for new religious identity. He wrote *Nanto eizankai shōretsu ji* 南都叡山戒勝劣事 (BZ 105), arguing against the pejorative discourse coming from the Tendai school, and theoretically preparing for the later revival movement. Recognizing that the first category of the three categories of pure precepts is shared by śrāvakas and the two vehicles, Jōkei further posited,

> Therefore, if a bodhisattva has previously taken bhikṣu precepts (*prātimokṣa* precepts), then he is included in the bhikṣus assembly. If a bodhisattva does not take bhikṣu precepts, isn’t he not a [member] of the bhikṣu assembly? If a bodhisattva takes bhikṣu precepts, he is called a [member] of the bodhisattva-bhikṣu assembly.
>
> 設[故]雖菩薩先受比丘戒，即列比丘衆。其上可受菩薩戒也。若菩薩不受比丘戒，是應非比丘衆哉。若菩薩受比丘戒。名為菩薩比丘衆。[482]

To demonstrate the double precepts, one is expected to receive, Jōkei used this special term, bodhisattva-bhikṣu (Jpn. *bosatsu biku* 菩薩比丘). This compound term touches upon the sensitive issue that by receiving bodhisattva precepts alone (as in the Japanese Tendai precepts tradition), one is not distinguished from a layperson and

[481] Genkyū. *Tetteishō.* NDKS 2, 681-682. Also see Otani Yuka. "Nissōsō Shunjō to nanto kairitsu fukō undo"入宋僧俊芿と南都戒律復興運動. In IBK, 2017, 65(2): 605-11.

[482] *Nanto eizankai shōretsu ji,* BZ 105, 14.

cannot be called a Buddhist monastic. This compound would be popularized by later Nara monks and became part of their identification. Jōkei cited three predecessors, Amoghavajra 不空金剛 (705-774), Jianzhen and Gyōki, to support his argument. Another profound influence for Jōkei's theory of precepts is his interpretation of the nature of precepts as *avijñapti rūpa* from the Yogācāra perspective, especially in line with Kuiji's commentary.

> Bodily movement and spoken words, arising from the intention of active behavior, are thus called the karma of intention. It is also twofold. First is the *vijñapti* karma, which is the manifestation of the karma of intention. Second is *avijñapti* [karma]. Depending on the division of good and evil [nature] in the volitional mind, it may provisionally establish *avijñapti* based on the increase of the dominant bodily, verbal [action], and the good or evil seed of intention.
>
> 動身發語作動意故說思爲業。此亦有二。一者表業。現行思業。表示他故。二者無表。然依思願。善惡分限。或依發勝身語。善惡思種。增長之位。假立無表。[483]

Jōkei's conceptualization of the process of receiving bodhisattva precepts should invoke the intellectual history of Yogācāra theory, starting from Vasubandhu's propositions in AKBh, Kuiji's commentary, Yuanzhao's previous designation of the nature of *jieti* as a rūpa, to the author of *Fanwangjing shouji* in the fifth chapter. Even though Jōkei was well versed in terms of Vinaya commentaries and sufficiently self-identified with the Daoxuan's Vinaya lineage, he did not have to shift from the inherited Yogācāra position to Daoxuan and Yuanzhao's interpretation of *jieti*. Rather, we can see in this case that the teaching of the Vinaya is flexible enough to be blended with one's own scholastic identification.

In his volitional text *Kairitsu kōgyo gansho* 戒律興行願書, Jōkei went so far as to claim that the lineage of Tōdaiji has "Jianzhen as its patriarch and *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* as the foundational teaching." [484] He then argues that the declining of the Vinaya lineage is a loss to the whole Buddhist community. Jōkei's emphasis on the

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[483] *Shinyōsho* 心要鈔, T71, no. 2311, 52c23-27.

[484] *Kairitsu kōgyo gansho* 戒律興行願書, NDKS 2, 491.

Vinaya is consistent even in his commemoration ritual. To commemorate the thirteenth anniversary of his passing, a four-walled space was constructed for the ritual, in which the Shakyamuni statue was worshiped in the central position, accompanied by the portraits of six Vinaya masters. [485]

General attitudes towards the Vinaya and precepts did not change overnight just because of the efforts of Jippan and Jōkei. The diary of the eminent scholar monk Sōshō 宗性 (1202-1278) shows that, even as the abbot of Tōdaiji, he is known by modern scholars not to have observed precepts strictly.[486] This sense of dissatisfaction, or the very awareness of the current situation in Japanese monasticism, is the direct result of knowing the prescribed methods of practice in the Vinaya though the efforts of previous generations of monks before, as well as through renewed communications with the continent.

[485] "Issaikyō kuyōshiki narabine shōnin jusannen gammon" 一切経供養式并祖師上人十三年願文. In the collection of Tōdaiji library.

[486] Paul Groner. "Debates on what reviving the precept and Vinaya meant in Thirteenth Century Japan." In *Annual Report of the Zen Institute special issue.* 2020, 19-29.

Chapter Eight
Eison and the Revival of the Vinaya

Whether it be the bodhisattva precepts, five, eight, ten, or complete precepts, all are causes of Buddhahood.

——Eison[487]

This chapter concentrates on the third phase of Kamakura Buddhism, in which Eison and the Buddhist community he was related to were most active. Eison is best remembered as one of the four monks who initiated what we now understand as a revival movement of precepts and the Vinaya by taking on a self-ordination ceremony (Jpn. *jiseijukai* 自誓受戒) in Tōdaiji, along with Kakujō 覚盛 (1194-1249), Ensei 円晴 (1180-1241), and Ugon 有厳 (1186-1275). This seminal initiation is better understood in the context of the archaeological discovery of Gyōki's tomb and the urgency of the Final Dharma period. Even though Eison studied and took on self-ordination with Kakujō, their understandings of the precepts and the Vinaya are not identical. I examine Eison's understanding of the Vinaya through several of his essential writings on the topic. Then I discuss Eison's idiosyncratic approach of seeing the Vinaya and precepts as an essential part of esoteric Buddhism by providing a close reading of a rainmaking ritual map commissioned and commented upon by Eison. The last part of the chapter turns to the unique "culture of death" created by Eison's community. I look at how Eison, before and after his passing, was commemorated by his community through a variety of material objects. I offer a reading of the study notes on Daoxuan and Yuanzhao's

[487] The original classic Japanese reads,"凡ソ菩薩戒、五八十具等、皆成仏因也。" in the entry "Jikai jōbutsu shōin koto" 持戒成仏勝因事"Kōshō Bosatsu gokyōkai chōmonshū." In *Kamakura kyū bukkyō* 鎌倉舊佛教 (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1971), 205. For modern Japanese translation of the text, I use the version prepared by Matsuo Kenji, "Kōsho bosatsu go kyokai chōmonshū yakuchū no kenkyū"『興正菩薩御教誡聴聞集』訳注の研究. In *Nihon bukkyō sōgō kenkyū*, vol.2, (2004): 97-152.

commentaries produced by this group, demonstrating how knowledge and practices of the Vinaya are preserved and circulated in Eison's community.

It is important to clarify the issue of group identity. Eminent monks such as Eison and Ninshō and members of their community are generally referred to as "Vinaya monks" (Jpn. *ritsusō* 律僧). However, Matsuo Kenji suggests that it is perhaps improper to consider them as official monks (Jpn. *kansō* 官僧) affiliated with one of the six branches of Buddhism under the official monasteries of Tōdaiji and Kōfukuji (although this is not to deny their close relationship). Rather, they are better seen as reclusive monks (Jpn. *tonseisō* 遁世僧) actively seeking further renunciation away from the official monastic system. Again, only after the early modern period were monasteries affiliated with Eison's Saidaiji and Ninshō's Gokurakuji identified as Shingon Risshū 真言律宗, therefore such sectarian awareness and labels are not applicable to Kamakura groups. Within these conceptual frameworks, we shall review the archaeological finding which became the catalyst for the Vinaya and precepts revival movement in Nara.

Becoming a Bhikṣu Once Again

The second year of Bunryaku 文暦 (1235) is a significant year in the Vinaya revival movement. In the eighth month, the eminent monk Gyōki's 行基 (668-749) mausoleum was excavated in Chikurinji, the monastery known for Gyōki's ascetic practices. The most important discovery was a water-jar shaped copper container of Gyōki's relics. Reporting this unusual find to Tōshōdaiji, the monk Jakumetsu 寂滅 (n.d.) wrote, "Inside the octangular stone container is a copper container, in which the relic of Gyōki

is preserved. "[488] Jakumetsu also wrote *Ikomayama Chikurinji engi* 生駒山竹林寺縁起 to record how the excavation was directed by several prophecies from Gyōki.

This exceptional episode was based on local communities and enhanced the formation of a Gyōki cult. The image of Gyōki went through a series of transformations over the course of time through the production of saints' biographies. In the late 12th and early 13th centuries, Gyōki's association with charitable activities gained momentum, showing the growing importance of *kanjin* (勧進 fund raising) campaigns.[489] Another aspect I want to highlight is that Gyōki's very identity as a living bodhisattva is also a motivation for the revival of precepts. The above discovery of Gyōki's mausoleum became the source of inspiration for Eison and his fellow monks to retake Buddhist precepts.

The year 1234, one year before the discovery of Gyōki's mausoleum, marks a critical time for Eison's transformation in the understanding of Buddhism. Trained as a Shingon monk and ordained in Daigoji, Eison expressed his doubts about esoteric teaching when he realized that many monks did not observe monastic rules. He went so far as to describe these precepts-violating monks as falling into the path of hell. After studying the Vinaya and precepts, Eison wrote in the 1235 entry, right before his self-ordination, that he realized that the four *pārājikas* in the Vinaya are the life faculty of esoteric practice. [490] Within Eison's concern about the violation of rules by monks in reality was hidden seed of his different attitudes towards *pārājika* and other categorical transgressions with Kakujō that I will discuss later. With this new realization, Eison

[488] The full title of the text is "*Chikurinji syari bin ki shutsugen chūjin jō*" 竹林寺舎利瓶記出現注進状, written by Jakumetsu, and collected in BZ, vol. 120, under the title "Sō Jakumetsu *chūjin jō*" 僧寂滅注進状. A copy of this manuscript is preserved in Tōshōdaiji.

[489] David Quinter, "Emulation and Erasure: Eison, Ninshō, and the Gyōki Cult." In *The Eastern Buddhist*, 39, no. 1 (2008), 29-60.

[490] *Kanjin gakushō ki.* In SEDS, 6-7.

seized the chance to attend a lecture on Daoxuan's *Xingshichao* at Tōdaiji in the spring and autumn of 1235, further realizing that "a lot of my practices are against the correct dharma."[491] It is reasonable to imagine that the way to correct the deviation from monastic rules would be to create a *tabula rasa*, a fresh start.

In 1236, on the first day of the ninth month, in Kensaku-in 羂索院 in Tōdaiji (the main complex is known as Hokkedō 法華堂 or Sangatsudō 三月堂), the above-mentioned group of four received the five precepts of laypersons. On the second day they received the ten precepts of novice monks, and on the third and fourth days, four of them received the full precepts in the form of three categories of pure precepts, becoming bhikṣus. A central connection between self-ordination and Daoxuan is that right after the self-ordination ritual, due to the limits of time, they rushed to study what are considered the most important sections in *Xingshichao*, namely the chapters on Robes in Two-fold Division 二衣總別篇, Medicine and Purification 四藥受淨篇, Kṣudraka Practice 諸雜要行篇 and etc.[492] All of these chapters are extracted from the Third Fascicle of *Xingshichao*, mostly concerning quotidian monastic life and instructions about handling possessions, materials and interpersonal connections as a monastic. This detail is of ultimate importance. To emphasize these chapters means that the understanding of the precepts is not about the formalistic ritual of receiving the precepts, nor about seeing precepts from the perspective of pure ethical apprehension—not even the 250 rules of the *prātimokṣa* precepts. What really matters is to take the prescription of the Vinaya as a guide for living the everyday practice of monastic life. As I discussed in Chapter Four, this is also the central concern for Yuanzhao's revival campaign. We can infer that these chapters of the *Xingshichao* later

[491] *Kanjin gakushō ki,* 9.

[492] *Kanjin gakushō ki,* 10.

became the emphasis of Vinaya study in the group. Later in this chapter, I will demonstrate, through a close reading of the manuscript *Niehen* 二衣篇, a serious and continued engagement of Vinaya study by Eison's community.

After this (re)initiation into the monastic order, Eison and his fellow monks understood their newly acquired identification as "bodhisattva bhikṣu" (Jpn. *bosatsu biku* 菩薩比丘), indicating an encompassing attitude of full acceptance of the two-fold Vinaya and bodhisattva precepts. As a result, Eison dated his monastic age from the year 1236 onward, showing his resolution to embrace the renewed monastic identity. The idea of "bodhisattva bhikṣu" has been widely accepted in the Vinaya revival group circle. Gyōnen clarified the definition by stating:

> Current practitioners of the bodhisattva [path], in order to form judgement of light and grave offences and objects respectively should depend on the Vinaya of the lesser vehicle. Bodhisattva bhikṣus are ordained under the Vinaya of the lesser vehicle. Based on one's reliance on the Vinaya, one establishes practice and matter, because they follow the rules of practice, in accordance with [the precepts] they have received.
>
> 今菩薩行者。分判輕重物。須依小律也。菩薩比丘依小律受。依所依律。成其行事。隨持行相。與受符故。[493]

It is important to note that the Vinaya, albeit clearly recognized as the teaching of the lesser vehicle, functions as the basic guide for everyday practice as well as the foundation for the monastic ordination of bodhisattva bhikṣus. Use of the Vinaya as an everyday guide, especially for handling material objects and arranging the monastic calendar, is understandable since the bodhisattva precepts do not contain such information. Intriguingly, Gyōnen argued that bodhisattva bhikṣus are all ordained under the Vinaya of the lesser vehicle. This could potentially yield two different understandings: first, the *trividhāni śīlāni*, even by self-ordination, which entails the Vinaya; second, a separate ordination ritual of the *prātimokṣa* in the form of the four-

[493] Gyōnen, *Bonmō kaihonsho nichijushō* 梵網戒本疏日珠鈔, T62, no. 2247, 98a25-28.

ascertainment ritual. When scrutinizing the writings of Kakujō and Eison's on this issue, nuanced differences emerge. Although Eison took on self-ordination with Kakujō and they shared a similar educational background in terms of the Vinaya and precepts, Eison's understanding of precepts, especially the transgression of prātimokṣa rules, differs from Kakujō in several critical aspects. Their distinctive positions resonate with, yet still diverge from the two approaches discovered in the two *mondō* texts as discussed in the previous chapter.

Kakujō's theory of comprehensive conferral and separate conferral is comparable with Daoxuan and Yuanzhao (see Chapter One) and found in his two essays of *Bosatsukai tsūbetsu nijushō* 菩薩戒通別二受鈔 (1238, hereafter *Nijushō*) and a follow-up text *Bosatsukai tsūju kengishō* 菩薩戒通受遣疑鈔 (1246, hereafter *Kengishō*). Minowa Kenryō has studied the theory of Kakujō and concluded that for Kakujō the comprehensive conferral is a synonym for *trividhāni śīlāni*, in which the first category, *saṃvara-śīla*, is conceived as entailing seven-fold *prātimokṣa* precepts in the Vinaya according to the identity of the receiver. [494] This theory is only partially consistent with Daoxuan's position, and Kakujō indeed quoted Daoxuan's position on this matter. However, the critical difference is that although they all agree that *saṃvara-śīla* contains *prātimokṣa* precepts, Yuanzhao insisted on the necessity of a separate full ordination ritual of the four-ascertainment according to the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* for monastics.

In Kakujō's conceptualization, he allowed *trividhāni śīlāni* to take the place of full ordination of monastics in the Final Dharma period when no qualified Vinaya master is available, which in fact makes a separate ordination for monastics unnecessary. This is

[494] Minowa Kenryō. *Chūsei shoki nanto kairitsu fukkō no kenkyū* 中世初期南都戒律復興の研究 (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1999), 494. Kakujō's original phrase is, "the first category of saṃvara-śīla is the category of the Vinaya" 初律儀戒毗奈耶聚, ND 13. *Bosatsukai tsūbetsu nijusho*, 504.

problematic in the context of Japan, as Kakujō's method appears—at least on the surface—indistinguishable from the Tendai method of ordination, while Kakujō painstakingly insisted in an essential difference between the two in the two above commentaries. Kakujō's rebuttal against criticism is based on a conviction that the teaching of the Vinaya has been practiced by a Mahayanist, and thus is part of Mahāyāna.[495] Again, this position deviates from Yuanzhao's theory of a compromise between the two vehicles.

In slight contrast to Kakujō, we may discern Eison's effort to find a more balanced stance, leaning towards Jianzhen's tradition. To fully understand Eison's position, it is necessary to explore his connection with Yuanzhao's teaching of the Vinaya. Shortly after his self-ordination, Shunjō's direct disciple Jōshun 定舜 (?-1244) was invited to lecture on the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* at Kairyūōji 海龍王寺 in 1237, presumably as part of the study section during the summer retreat.[496] At this point, Jōshun had accumulated over 10 years of monastic age, and he was qualified to lecture on the Vinaya in the summer retreat. Eison attended this lecture as a resident of the monastery. It was on this occasion that Eison was exposed to a way of conducting summer retreat in the Song style, as well as to the teaching of Yuanzhao transmitted by Shunjō. Eison observed that "in recent years Kairyūōji has been studying the Vinaya from Sennyūji. All residential monks keep to a vegetarian diet and wear monastic robes, take alms by holding the bowl, and sit on the monk's seat to eat." 凡當寺近年學泉涌寺儀。住侶皆長齋着法衣。持鉢坐僧牀受食。[497] Eison described the essential and visible part of monastic life according to the Vinaya: wearing monastic robes (likely not

[495] *Nijushō*, T.74, no. 2354, 57b21-23, and 57c10.

[496] Eison, *Kanjin gakushō ki* 感身学正記. In SEDS. The full name of Eison's autobiography is *Kongo busshi Eison kanjin gakushoki* 金剛仏子叡尊感身学正記.

[497] *Kanjin gakushō ki*, In SEDS, 12.

made of silk), practicing mendicancy, and keeping to a vegetarian diet. This is not new, nor does it concern any profound doctrine; but these practices become meaningful through efforts to embody them.

Both Eison and Kakujō acknowledged the necessity and significance of monastics receiving the separate full ordination ritual. This approach is closer to the tradition of Daoxuan and Yuanzhao. A telling piece of evidence is that on the thirteenth day of the ninth month of 1245, Eison received separate conferral of the full ordination ritual in the four-ascertainments at Ebaraji 家原寺, together with Kakujō.[498] Ebaraji is an esoteric monastery in which Gyōki had practiced when he was thirty-seven years old, and Eison actively participated in the renovation of the monastery.[499]

Notice that so far, the sequence of Eison's ordination ritual is in fact identical to what was recorded in Jianzhen's biography (albeit different from the picture scroll of *Tōseiden*, for which I have given possible interpretations in the first chapter). Were Eison not constrained by the contingency, it is highly likely that he would take the precepts in the same ideal sequence shown in the picture scroll of *Tōseiden*. The most obvious difference in form is that in self-ordination they received the bodhisattva precepts directly in front of the Buddha's statue, while we see that in *Tōseiden*, Jianzhen's ritual in front of the Buddha statue was mediated by ritual masters from the side.

We should not forget that by 1245 Eison had accumulated nine years of monastic age since his self-ordination, which would (almost) enable him to be the main preceptor for full ordination for monastics and bodhisattva precepts. Eison was fully aware that he still needed one more year to be qualified as a main preceptor. However, at that point

[498] *Kanjin gakushō ki*, In SEDS, 20. The record that Kakujō also received the separate ordination is found in *Chōmonshū*. In *Kamakura kyū bukkyō* 鎌倉舊佛教 (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1971), 208.

[499] Hosokawa Ryōichi 細川涼一, *Kanjin gakushō ki 1: Saidaiji Eison no jiten* 感身学正記 1: 西大寺叡尊の自伝 (Tōkyō: Heibansha, 1999), 170-171.

Kakujō said to him, “Next year will I still be alive? If I die in a way that is devoid of the venerable Buddha dharma, it is not my intention. Although it is indeed against the regulation, it is possible that we might confer [precepts] first and repent later. ”[500] Sensing the urgency of conferring separate precepts to monastics, Eison and Kakujō did become preceptors after the separate ordination ceremony. This year marked the beginning of Eison’s active conferral of separate ordination precepts for monks. Matsuo Kenji has given a detailed analysis of Ebaraji’s separate ordination ritual. He observes that the reception and conferral of separate precepts marked the transformation from an individualized practice (of self-ordination) to the official reproduction of a new monastic ordination system outside the traditional ordination center— such as in Tōdaiji— and instead, centered around Eison and Kakujō. [501] This revived ordination system bears a syncretic nature, merging elements from Fajin’s ritual and the newly imported ritual by the Sennyūji tradition through the transmission of Jippan.[502] This separate conferral tradition has been kept at Saidaiji and Tōshōdaiji.

In the second fascicle of Eison’s chronology, the year 1247 is particularly important, as it is then that Eison finally established the Sangha Hall at Saidaiji as the place for the annual summer retreat and bi-monthly poṣadha ritual. Adding significance to the event, three pieces of volitional text were inserted in this year, which Eison and his disciples all signed. The second volitional text is worth quoting, for in it, Eison formulated a mature theory of the relationship between the Vinaya and other Buddhist teaching, including esoteric Buddhism:

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[500] *Chōmonshū*. In *Kamakura kyū bukkyō* 鎌倉舊佛教 (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1971), 208, and Matsuo Kenji, “Kōsho bosatsu go kyokai chōmonshū yakuchū no kenkyū,” 129.

[501] Matsuo Kenji, *Kamakura shin bukkyō no seiritsu* 鎌倉新仏教の成立 (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1988),186.

[502] Tuchihashi Syūkō 土橋秀高 *Kairitus no kenyū* 戒律の研究 (Tōkyō: Nagata bunshōdō, 1980), 352-353.

> In line with the vow of Mañjuśrī [bodhisattva], the mother of enlightenment for the three times,[503] to benefit sentient beings [one] must depend on the three jewels. The two jewels of Buddha and dharma must depend on the jewel of the sangha. The prospering and progressing of the sangha jewel cannot be established without precepts. [We] wish to concentrate on the Vinaya, and gradually study all expedient and true holy teachings, the universal and specific Mahayana and Hinayana, and the profound meanings of branches [of Buddhism], also reaching the various views of non-Buddhists.
>
> 恭同文殊三世覺母之誓。仰利益有情。必依三寶。佛法二寶。必依僧寶。僧寶興行。非戒不立。願專毘尼。漸學一切。權實聖教。通別大小。諸宗奧旨。兼達外道。種種異見。[504]

Eison presented a way for Buddhist teaching to be approached systematically. The anchor of this way is the aspiration of Mañjuśrī to save sentient beings, which is intrinsically related to Eison's engagement with esoteric practice. The Vinaya is then set as the foundation for realizing such a goal. All expedient and true teachings, teachings of the two vehicles, and teachings based on sectarian division are categorized as depending first on a concentrated study of the Vinaya; and these teachings should be approached in a gradual fashion. Eison suggested a syncretic way to unify the multifaceted teaching of Buddhism based on the shared foundation of the Vinaya. Without prioritizing any sectarian division, this view of Buddhism is fundamentally different from the *panjiao* system of either Tiantai or Huayan doctrine.

Eison is known for reestablishing monastic orders for Buddhist nuns. After two more years of separate ordination in Ebaraji, Eison started to confer probation precepts to nuns as well. Fulfilling the two-year requirement of probation precepts, Eison first conferred the full set of nuns' precepts on twelve nuns, who had already received the special probation precepts for Buddhist nuns from him two years ago at the Hokkeji, in

[503] This is a common alternative name for Mañjuśrī. Eison and his disciples are responsible for the rise of the cult of Mañjuśrī. For an inclusive study of Eison's relationship with Mañjuśrī, see David Quinter, *From Outcasts to Emperors : Shingon Ritsu and the Mañjuśrī Cult in Medieval Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

[504] Jikō 慈光, *Saidai chyokushi kōshō bosatsu kyojitsu nenpu* 西大勅諡興正菩薩行實年譜. In SEDS, 131.

1249.[505] These detailed recorded practices show that Eison was invested in establishing a full-blown monastic order distinguishable from the life of laypersons.

In 1238, Eison moved to Saidaiji and remained there until his passing in 1290. An important detail is that after Eison's move to Saidaiji, Kakujō and Eison, together with three other monks, performed the ritual of setting the outer boundary of Saidaiji according to the prescription of *Xingshichao* and then began to perform the bimonthly poṣadha precepts meeting according to the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya.[506] This episode symbolizes that Saidaiji was operating according to the rules of the Vinaya (Jpn. *nyohō* 如法), alluding to a comprehensive restoration of monastic practices in Saidaiji under the leadership of Eison.

Arousing the Bodhicitta by Taking Precepts

Recent studies by Paul Groner pay close attention to *Kōsho bosatsu go kyokai chōmonshū* 興正菩薩御教誡聴聞集, the anthology of Eison's lectures. Groner argues that the focus of the thirteenth century "revival of the precepts and the Vinaya" movement is on restoring monastic ritual rather than on strict adherence to the monastic precepts or ethical considerations. [507] Groner refers to the details in the first restored fortnightly assembly for the repentance ritual by Kakujō and Eison, intended to show heartfelt attentiveness to monastic ceremonies as prescribed by the Vinaya and interpreted by the commentarial tradition.[508]

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[505] *Kanjin gakushō ki*, 21-22.

[506] *Kanjin gakushō ki*, 14.

[507] Paul Groner, "Reflections on the Movement to Revive the Vinaya: With a focus on Eison's Chōmonshū." In *Nihon Bukkyō no tenkai to sono zōkei* 日本仏教の展開とその造形 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2020), 67-91.

[508] Paul Groner. "Debates on what reviving the precepts and Vinaya meant in Thirteenth Century Japan." In *Annual Report of the Zen Institute special issue.* 2020, 19-29.

Evidence along the same lines is found in the biography of Eison. Just one month before Eison's reception of the full ordination precepts, he had a mystical experience in which Mañjuśrī conferred the esoteric samaya precepts upon him during evening meditation.[509] Eison's effort to revive the Vinaya and precepts tradition received direct confirmation from Mañjuśrī, which enormously enhanced his confidence in his religious mission. Mañjuśrī was the master of ceremonies for self-ordinations, based on the Samantabhadra Sūtra. The unique aspect of this mystical vision is that Mañjuśrī validated Eison's method of transmitting the *samaya* precepts through the ritual found in the *Yogācārabhūmi śāstra*. Several years later, Eison recorded that he made his disciple copy Huizhao's 慧沼 (648-714) *Quanfa putixin ji* 勸發菩提心集 (Collection on the Encouragement of the Mind that Aspires for Enlightenment, T45, no.1862) from Jippan's own hand copy, essentializing the authenticity of Yogācāra teaching.[510] In this work, the conferral ritual of bodhisattva precepts entitled *Datang sanzang fashi chuan xiyu zhengfazang shou pusajie fa* 大唐三藏法師傳西域正法藏受菩薩戒法 (hereafter *Shou pusajie fa*) contains a description of self-ordination. The text has drawn the attention of previous scholars since it was used as the ritual text for the revival of monastic orders in Saidaiji.[511.] On the twenty-fifth day of March, 1290, only half a year before his passing, Eison wrote an epilogue for the reprinting of *Quanfa putixin ji* by Saidaiji's printing house. According to the epilogue, the reprinting was a joint effort of both lay patrons and monks. Eison wrote:

> This work is the critical path for the arousal of the mind of practice. It is a great foundation for enlightenment and nirvana. Practitioners of Buddhahood cannot disrespect it… We hope it will pass down to future generations and cause arousal of the great mind.

[509] *Kōshō Bosatsu nenpu* 興正菩薩年譜. In SEDS, 125.

[510] *Kanjin gakushō ki*. In SEDS, 23.

[511] See Minowa Kenkyū. *Chūsei shoki nanto kairitsu fukkō no kenkyū*. 1999, 434.

原夫此書者。發心修行之要路。菩提涅槃之大基。求佛行人不可不崇。……冀流通永代。開發大心者。[512]

In addition to copying and printing *Quanfa putixin ji*, the very method of conferral of bodhisattva precepts in his community, Eison composed *Kanhotsu bodaishinshu ryūyōki* 勸發菩提心集流壅記 (Commentary in Dredging Blocks on Encouragement of the Mind that Aspires for Enlightenment, hereafter *Ryūyōki*), the only extent commentary on Huizhao's collection.[513] This commentary of Eison's is a concise and relatively short text. As the title suggests, the theme of the text is "dredging blocks," namely difficult parts of the root text. Given that Huizhao's text is essentially a collection of related excerpts from mostly Yogācāra sūtras and commentaries and given Eison's deep investment in Hossō teachings in Kōfukuji, it is hardly surprising that Eison relied on the Bodhisattvabhūmi chapter in YŚ, Kuiji's *Fahua xuanzan* 法華玄讚 (T34, no. 1723) and Dunlun's 遁倫 *Yujia lunji* 瑜伽論記 (T42, no. 1828). There is a risk of neglecting the fact that the connection in Eison's theory of precepts, the precepts of "arousing the bodhicitta" in the Yogācāra tradition, is a synonym of *samaya* precepts, which is the goal of Eison's precepts revival campaign, not only for monastics but even more for the people. [514]

In the section on the conferral of *trividhāni śīlāni*, Eison showed that references were two variations of the same text. One is the Saionji 済恩寺 version; the other was received from Chōyo'in 長誉院 of Kōfukuji and edited by Eichō 永超 (1014-1095).[515] In this section, Eison applied careful philological analysis to comparison of the minor differences between these two versions, including different ways of spelling the same

[512] Epilogue of *Quan fa putixin ji* 勸發菩提心集, T45, no. 1862, 408b9-17.

[513] An original printed copy is preserved in the library of Tōdaiji.

[514] *Kōshō Bosatsu nenpu* 興正菩薩年譜. In SEDS, 125.

[515] ND11, 742a.

term. It is most likely that the bodhisattva precepts conferral in Saidaiji is based on these texts, thus Eison wanted the text to be as precise as possible. Eison's own edited version of the bodhisattva precepts conferral ritual derived from Xuanzang's translation is found in *Bosatsukai komamon shakumoncho* 菩薩戒羯摩文釋文鈔 (ND22).

A large portion of *Ryūyōki* is devoted to an extensive list of all the conceivable differences between monastics and laypersons. On occasions when laypersons visited the monastery, when an encounter between the two was inevitable, Eison cited the following requirements of monastics:

> [Laypersons] should observe that bhikṣus are endowed with proper deportment, [which entails] appearing with a peaceful complexion, wearing a monastic robe and holding the alms bowl. [Whether] sitting, lying down, walking, or standing, [whether] sleeping or eating, all etiquette and movements should be pleasant to see.
>
> 若見諸比丘威儀具足。視瞻安詳。攝持衣鉢。坐臥行止。寤寐飲食。言說寂默。容儀進止。皆可觀察。[516]

This passage demonstrates the assumed relationships between monastics and laypersons. Monastics are responsible for constantly behaving according to the monastic ideal under the watchful eyes of the laypersons. In return, a layperson may donate to the proper monastic group. If a monk or nun is fully mindful of their behavior from moment to moment and lives the monastic life completely according to these requirements, it is conceivable that they would have little chance to violate rules. For Eison, this is the desired dynamic for Buddhist monastics in a functioning Buddhist community.

Eison did not stop at the boundaries of the monastery. Examining his chronicle and autobiography, we find that he was constantly moving forward on the way, in an unmistakable similarity to Gyōki. Eison's and his groups' charitable actions towards the

[516] ND11, 742b11-13.

poor, the sick, beggars, orphans etc.' which were called *hinin* 非人,[517] have attracted scholarly attention.[518] What makes Eison's relief activity distinctive from modern philanthropy is that a conferral of the bodhisattva precepts was designed as an essential part of the program, followed by charitable offerings of medical treatment, food, money, and the opportunity to bathe. Eison considered his involvement in social welfare as a public servant an expedient means to preserve the Buddha dharma. Further, as deftly demonstrated in David Quinter's study, Eison and Ninshō's social welfare activities were strongly associated with the Mañjuśrī cult and emulation of Gyōki, who is considered the manifestation of Mañjuśrī.[519] Besides *hinin* relief, Eison also engaged in the promotion of no-hunting and no-fishing zones, particularly in today's Uji area outside of Kyoto.[520]

Observation and Transgression According to the Vinaya

Despite all the similarities and experiences shared between Kakujō and Eison, they differ on one essential point: whether the transgressive behavior of a bodhisattva bhikṣu should be categorized based on the Vinaya. Gyōnen noticed this apparent distinction in the method of repentance between Tōshōdaiji and Saidaiji, and he summarized that Kakujō, when considering the violation of the three categories of pure precepts, follows the meaning seen in Chapter 44 of YŚ that for bodhisattvas "the word

[517] The term literally means nonhuman, or nonperson. In the context of Kamakura society, it specifically refers to people, who engaged in funerary activity, who are lepers, beggars, deaf, blind, or mute, living on the margins of the society.

[518] Hosokawa Ryōichi, *Chūsei jiin no fūkei* 中世寺院の風景 (Tōkyō: Shinʾyōsha, 1997), Chūsei no Risshū jiin to minshū 中世の律宗寺院と民衆 (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1987); Matsuo, Kenji. *Chūsei Toshi Kamakura No Fūkei* 中世都市鎌倉の風景. (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1993), *Chūsei No Toshi to Hinin* 中世の都市と非人 (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1998).

[519] David Quinter. "Creating Bodhisattvas: Eison, "Hinin", and the "Living Mañjuśrī"." In *Monumenta Nipponica* 62, no. 4 (2007): 437-58.

[520] Eison, *Kanjin gakushō ki. In* SEDS, 54-55, and *Kantō ōkanki.* In SEDS, 77.

for violation is generally 'misbehaving', without further division of names. 罪名通名惡作。不立別名。”[521] In Gyōnen's recounting of Kakujō's theory, a misbehaving transgression (Chi. *ezuo* 惡作) does not correspond to *duṣkṛta* (Chi. *tujiluo* 突吉羅), even though *ezuo* is an alternative translation of *duṣkṛta*.[522] The categorical division of *prātimokṣa* rules has been re-affirmed by Daoxuan as "five and seven categories" (*wupian qiju* 五篇七聚). It appears to me that Kakujō's position is not to find a convenient way to alleviate the burden of the categorical offences. Instead, it is an effective interpretation which fundamentally avoids the long-established problem of the four unremittable *pārājikas* and permits repentance for all transgressions. Instead, Kakujō's theory followed the division of rules based on Chapter 44 of YŚ, in which there are four grave offences and forty-four (or what should be forty-three) minor offences (these also differ from the ten grave offences and forty-eight minor offences in *Fanwan jing*).[523] Again, what is at stake is not the difference in rules, but rather that the four *pārājikas* in YŚ are atonable.

In contrast, Eison insisted that bodhisattva bhikṣu and bhikṣuni must comply with the prātimokṣa rules and the categorical repentance according to "five and seven categories." The quintessential distinction is that a qualified bodhisattva bhikṣu and bhikṣuni must have received the separate *prātimokṣa* precepts and repent in the method prescribed by the Vinaya. In Eison's travel log, *Kantō ōkanki* 關東往還記, it is recorded throughout the text that even while on the road Eison stuck to the dual-system of repentance of Fanwang *poṣadha* and Sifen *poṣadha*, with some slight variation in terms the second repentance ritual of the month.

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[521] Gyōnen, *Tsuju sange ryōji fudō ki* 通受懺悔兩寺不同記. NDKS 2, 770.

[522] Gyōnen, *Tsuju sange ryōji fudō ki*, NDKS 2, 773.

[523] Gyōnen, *Tsuju sange ryōji fudō ki*, NDKS 2, 775.

To provide a brief review, the discrepancy between the repentance of the Vinaya and the great repentance (repentance of the great vehicle) can be traced back to Zhiyi and the framework juxtaposing the two systems of repentance was adopted by Daoxuan and Yuanzhao. Zhiyi used the distinction to prove the superiority of Mahāyāna which essentially permits atonement of the four *pārājikas*. Daoxuan incorporated the Mahāyāna repentance into the monastic practice of the Vinaya and argued that both should be used by monastics in a comprehensive approach.[524] Based on Zhiyi and Daoxuan, Yuanzhao relied on a central citation from *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* 大智度論 to further elevate the importance of the categorical repentance. He cited the following passage:

> [According to] the precepts in the Vinaya, although they are detailed and subtle, if there is one repentance it is cleansed. [When one] violates the ten wholesome precepts, although one repents, the sin of [falling in] the three evil paths is not eliminated. For instance, if a bhikṣu slaughters an animal, although he may repent, the sinful karmic retribution is not eliminated.
>
> 戒律中戒，雖復細微，懺則清淨；犯十善戒，雖復懺悔，三惡道罪不除。如比丘殺畜生，雖復得悔，罪報猶不除。[525],

According to this passage, against many Mahāyāna texts advocating the efficacy of Mahāyāna repentance, *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* argues for the merit of Vinaya repentance. The karmic retribution of following the three evil paths cannot be purified by repentance of the Mahāyāna. It appears that Eison and Kakujō each focused on one kind of repentance ritual as a remedy for transgression.

Minowa Kenryō pointed out that Kakujō's strategy is only to be distinguished in terms of karmic retribution and repentance, not the rules in the Vinaya.[526] Nonetheless, Kakujō's interpretation still gives rise to the question of whether the separate

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[524] See my upcoming paper, "Vessel to the Other Shore: On Daoxuan's Theory of Repentance Ritual."

[525] *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* 大智度論. T25, no. 1509, 395, c11-15.

[526] Minowa Kenryō, *Chūsei shoki nanto kairitsu fukkō no kenkyū*, 391.

ordination of *prātimokṣa* precepts has only nominal meaning and is without any consequence in practice. Eison appeared inclined to execute Vinaya repentance rituals. However, since we lack detailed cases showing who violated the four *pārājikas*, and mostly rely on Gyōnen's secondhand description, it is hard to speculate if the respective punishment was enforced.

Shingon Esotericism and the Vinaya Practice

Before the age of thirty-four, esotericism played a central role in Eison's monkhood. As I have shown in previous sections, Eison's early training and experience as an esoteric monk triggered his concern about the lack of respect for the precepts, and eventually led him along the path of the precepts revival movement with fellow monks. However, this does not mean that esotericism ceased to be a pivotal part of his monkhood. What I am going to analyze below is a rainmaking ritual map, commissioned and commented upon by Eison in 1279 when he was seventy-nine years old. From a close reading of this map, we can see how he conceived of the relationship between esotericism and the practice of the Vinaya.

Shinsenen shōukyōhō dōjōzu[527] 神泉苑請雨経法道場図 (Rainmaking Sūtra Ritual Map in Shinsenen, hereafter *Dōjōzu*) depicts a rainmaking ritual that took place in Shinsenen pond in Kyoto. *Dōjōzu* is drawn on a piece of thin mulberry paper measuring 139.3*86.3CM. Shinsenen pond is illustrated on the middle-right hand side of the map in ultramarine blue. The waves, rock and island in the pond demonstrate the *yamato* style of painting. The main altar is shown on the left side of the pond of Shinsenen,

[527] The map is currently preserved in the Nara National Museum. Since a seal on the map's back reads "Saidaiji," it perhaps originally belonged to Saidaiji, Eison's base monastery. The map may have remained in Saidaiji after Eison's copy of the map until it fell into the hands of a private collector during the Meiji period. The general background of the map comes from the information provided by http://www.narahaku.go.jp/collection/1151-0.html and Horiike Shunpō's 叡尊書写の神泉苑図について, in *Nanto Bukkyō shi no kenkyū*, vol.2, 1982. 492-509.

surrounded by thirteen ritual pillars also colored in ultramarine blue, seen through a bird's eye view. The boundaries of the ritual are marked in a rectangle, protecting the ritual realm from external impurity. On the upper right-hand side there are thirteen larger ritual pillars shown at eye level, each with a dragon-shaped pillar and Chinese character (indicating Sanskrit seed letters in siddham) on the side.

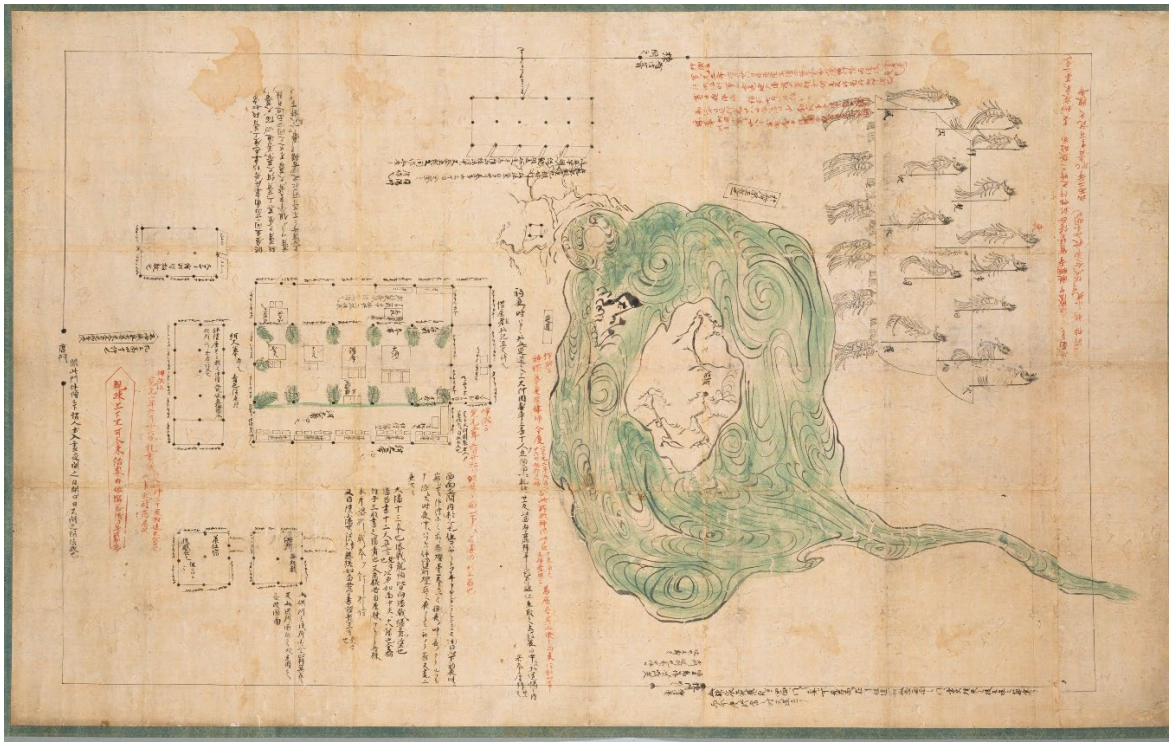


Illustration 8.1: Rainmaking Sūtra Ritual Map in Shinsenen (*Shinsenen shōukyōhō dōjōzu* 神泉苑請雨経法道場) commissioned and commented upon by Eison, 1279, Nara National Museum.

Eison's own signature on the map is authenticated by comparing it with samples of his handwriting. The first collections of illustrations were written in black ink and it appears that illustrations in red ink were added later for supplementary clarification. In his commentary on *Dōjōzu*, Eison referred the current map to a previous copy of the map as used by Hōin 法印, from Tōji, and by Jitsugen 実賢 (1176-1249), from Daigoji,

when a great drought hit the Kyoto area in 1244. Thus, the map itself is a remaking of what has always been in use in the esoteric tradition in Japan. Eison summarized the ritual map with his signature at the end.

Shinsenen, in normal times, is an imperial park for social gatherings which has existed since the end of the eighth century. It is remembered in Japanese Buddhist history as the place which hosted Kūkai's (774-835) rain ritual when he was still in the process of establishing Shingon Buddhism after his return from China. Representing Tōji, Kūkai won the competition in making rain with Shubin 守敏 (n.d.), who came from Saiji monastery in 828. *Taiheiki* 太平記, a fourteenth century historical literary work, includes a legendary narrative on Kūkai's victory.[528] *Taiheiki* attributed the ritual efficacy to the power of relics worshipped inside the palace and the abhiṣeka ritual performed by inviting a dragon king called Zannyu Ryuō 善女龍王 all the way from the snowy area of Northern India to the ritual space through Kūkai's spiritual power.[529] Ever since Kūkai's victory, the dragon king is reputed to have remained in the pond later called Shinsenen. Accordingly, the location of the dragon king is identified on the ritual map, as the center of the pond labelled "the place of that" (Jpn. *ka no tokoto* 彼所). Although the map does not envision the dragon in a visible form, the rainmaking ritual is organized to plead for the assistance of this dragon king.

Before analyzing the ritual map, it is necessary to briefly review the textual sources related to the rainmaking ritual, especially in the esoteric Buddhist tradition. As Péter-

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[528] "Shinsenen no ji 神泉苑の事," *Taiheiki* 太平記 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1980), Vol.2, 233-240.

The same narrative, with much less elaborate detail, is also found in earlier historical works such as *Kojidan* 古事談 and *Genkō shakusho* 元亨釋書. BZ 101, 173, 177c7-17.

[529] The esoteric text related to this deity, *Ruyibaozhu zhuanlun mimixianshenchengfo jinglun zhouwangjing* 如意寶珠轉輪祕密現身成佛金輪呪王經, T19, no. 961. The text is translated by Amoghavajra, which dedicated the power to *cintāmaṇi*, the wish fulfilling gem. The passage on Sannyu Ryuō is not related to the rainmaking ritual. However, it seems Kūkai resorted to the power of this deity in his ritual.

Dániel Szántó observes, there are two kinds of texts related to Buddhist esoteric ritual. He makes the distinction between scripture (Skt. *upāyikā, upaikā*) and manuals (Skt. *vidhi, vidhāna*), the former being an outline of a ritual procedure, and the latter spelling out the procedure in greater detail.[530] In the context of East Asian Buddhism, regarding the rainmaking ritual in particular, the corresponding terms are altar procedure (Chi. *tanfa* 壇法) and ritual sūtra (which contains explanatory texts in greater detail). I tend to reserve scripture for a broader reference to Buddhist texts; thus, I will use the altar procedure, while recognizing that the concept is no different from Szántó's definition. The reason for keeping the term sūtra rather than the general category of ritual manual, is that the esoteric texts in Chinese maintain the format of a Buddhist sūtra, including the term "sūtra" in the title, the opening phrase "Thus have I heard," as well as a complete structure of narrative.[531]

The rainmaking ritual (Skt. *varṣāpaṇa*) is a kind of civil esoteric ritual, which is usually performed upon request, normally from a layperson of high social status. This ritual has been in high demand in East Asian history, understandably in agrarian societies. Other than the abhiṣeka text used by Kūkai, there are two esoteric texts directly related to the rainmaking ritual readily available in East Asia. They are *(Mahā) Meghasūtra* (*Dayunlun qingyujing* 大雲輪請雨經 T19, no. 989), and *Mahamāyūrīvidyarājñīsūtra* (*Fomu dakongque mingwang jing* 佛母大孔雀明王經 T19, no. 982, hereafter *Vidyarājñīsūtra*). *Meghasūtra* has been translated three times into Chinese. Two earlier version are by Narêndrayaśas 那連提耶舍 (517-589) and

[530] Péter-Dániel Szántó, entry "Ritual Texts: South Asia," in Brill *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, Vol. 1, 2015, 655-661.

[531] Ibid. Szántó points out that most Buddhist esoteric ritual manuals do have an author, which indicates the authorship of a human being other than the result of divine revelation.

Jñānayaśas 闍那耶舍 (active 564-572) in the sixth century.[532] Yet, the most popular is that translated by Amoghavajra 不空金剛 (705-774), one of the three most celebrated esoteric masters who traveled to Tang China in the eighth century. The *Meghasūtra* is accompanied by a standalone altar procedure text entitled *Dayunjing qiyutanfa* 大雲經祈雨壇法 (T19, no. 990). *Vidyarājñīsūtra* is also translated by Amoghavajra. Accordingly, it comes with an altar procedure text called *Foshu dakongque mingwang huaxiang tanchang yigui* 佛説大孔雀明王畫像壇場儀軌. Both were included in set of Buddhist texts that Kūkai brought to Japan.[533] The major difference between these two esoteric texts is that the *Meghasūtra* only focuses on weather rituals of rainmaking, while *Vidyarājñīsūtra* has much wider applications such as suppressing warfare, disease, famine and so on. Both sūtras contain a significant number of transliterations of Sanskrit spells, which are central portions of the esoteric formula of ritual.

As we see in Kūkai's narrative, *Meghasūtra* has been applied since the ninth century. However, there is no evidence that the rain ritual was only under the control of esoteric experts nor that it followed the altar procedure of the *Meghasūtra*. In an alternative cohesive ritual logic, there are cases where people drained the water and made noises to agitate the pond of Shinsenen.[534] By the time of the creation of the ritual map in the thirteenth century, the rain ritual had been registered under esoteric masters and appeared repeatedly in historical records.

As for what is shown in *Dōjōzu,* the ritual center is arranged around a fire altar (Skt. *homa*, Jpn. 護摩). On the northern side of the fire altar hangs a portrait of *Vidyarājñī*.

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[532] Narêndrayaśas' translation is *Dayunlun qingyu jing* 大雲輪請雨經, T19, no.991. Jñānayaśas' translation is *Dadangdeng dayunjing qingyupin chapter 64* 大方等大雲經請雨品第六十四. T.19, no. 992-993.

[533] See the catalog made by Kūkai, *Go shōrai mokuroku* 御請來目錄, T55, no. 2161.

[534] Horiike Shunpō, "叡尊書写の神泉苑図について." In *Nanto Bukyoshi no Kenkyu*, 500.

Next to the portrait of *Vidyarājñī*, a portrait of Kūkai as the predecessor of this rainmaking ritual is also placed. The invitation of *Vidyarājñī* suggests that the rainmaking incorporates elements from *Vidyarājñīsūtra*. Incorporating these elements, *Dōjōzu* encompasses a visualization of the prescription of the esoteric ritual manuals and the historical awareness of Shinsenen as a meaningful space for hosting rainmaking rituals in the esoteric tradition.

The historic rainmaking ritual referred to in *Dōjōzu* was performed to relieve a severe drought in 1244. In the beginning, the ritual was hosted by Nine Sōjō (Archbishop) 仁慧僧正, the new abbot of Tōji, on June 13th. However, after eleven days of continuous ritual there was still not a single sign of rain. The sūtra chanting group had requested that the ritual be extended an unprecedented three times. On June 26th, the request to extend the ritual was made for the third time. It received harsh criticism: the limit for the rain ritual given by the Kūkai master was nine days, but seven days is the common limit, and it is unheard of to ask for such an extension. In such a case, even if there were rain, it would not be considered the effect of the ritual.[535]

At this critical point, under considerable pressure, the sixty-eight-year-old Jitsugen was summoned to take the place of Nine Sōjō to perform the ritual. Jitsugen was the current abbot (Jpn. *zasu* 座主) of Shingon monastery Daigoji and had had successful experiences in the past. Daigoji has a tradition of conducting the rainmaking ritual. For instance, the previous abbot Shōgen 勝賢 (1138-96) wrote an entry entitled *Kiuhōnikki* 祈雨法日記 in 1191 on how to perform the rainmaking ritual.[536] Another related text from a slightly later period is Jōken's 成賢 (1162-1231) *Kiunikki* 祈雨日記. Jōken recorded events of successful rainmaking rituals in Japanese history focusing on

[535] Ibid., 504.

[536] The manuscript is currently preserved in Tokyo National Museum, as an Important Cultural Property, no. B-1918.

Shinsenen and emphasizing the use of esoteric rituals such as *Meghasūtra* and *Abhiṣekasūtra* [537]. Coming from the same monastery, Jitsugen would have had access to Shōgen's writing and may well have been trained to perform the same rain ritual. According to *Kiuhōnikki*, the ritual was prescribed for the drought which occurred in May of 1191, and the ritual itself followed the ritual manuscript of *Āryamahavidyarājñīsūtra,* which is discussed in the previous section.

According to *Kiuhōnikki* and *Kiunikki*, performing the rainmaking ritual is the specialty of esoteric ritual masters. Understandably, these two records never reveal any failed attempts. This calls our attention to the case when *Dōjōzu* referred to the first conducted ritual as a failure. This abnormal event and what happened subsequently provide clues to why Eison, after 35 years of performing this ritual, was commissioned to make a copy of the ritual map and provide comments. My hypothesis is that Eison tried here to link Vinaya practice with the efficaciousness of esoteric ritual, as part of his grand agenda to revive the teaching of the Vinaya in the esoteric tradition with which he is identified.

It must be clarified immediately that the attributed reasons of ritual efficacy are not singular, but rather a joint effort of multiple causes and conditions. As just mentioned, Kūkai's ritual was successful due to the power of the Buddha's relics, while in other cases the performance of the *abhiṣeka* ritual before the rainmaking ritual is considered to enhance the esoteric power. Eison commented that after the switch to Jitsugen, the ritual was instantly efficacious. However, as a result, Jitsugen's disciple Shōzon 勝尊 (n.d.) was promoted from the position of Gon no Daisōzu (Associate Major Bishop) 権大僧都 directly to the position of Gon no Daisōjō (Associate Major Archbishop) 権大僧正,

[537] The manuscript written in *kobun* is preserved in the library of the Imperial Household Agency in Japan. For the record of Meghasūtra, see page 9 of the manuscript of the Imperial Household Agency library. Another manuscript, written in *kuzushiji* is preserved in the National Institute of Japanese Literature.

the same position held by the failed Tōji abbot. There is no evidence to indicate what exact role Shōson played in the ritual. Given his immediate promotion after the ritual, it is safe to assume that Shōson's contribution was not minimal. In the commentary in the very center of the map, Eison wrote:

> The note says: The god-worshipping venerable Associate Preceptor (Shōson), at this time (the second year of Kangen, June 26th, the beginning time [of the rainmaking ritual]) in this place, performed the god offering (ten fascicles were used, without obtaining [the desired results], and [then] disclosed it by means of the mind). [The Associate Preceptor] sits in the upper position, facing east, and the ritual proceeds smoothly.
>
> 押紙云：神供尊口 権律師今度（寛元二年六月廿六日始行之時）於此所般神供以養（十巻用之不得意開之）為座居其上儀之向東法則如常。

Here Eison emphasized Shōson's identity as a Vinaya master who supposedly observes the Vinaya and precepts. It is highly likely that Eison tied the efficacy of the rain ritual to the Vinay-observing monk who possessed enough merit to empower the rainmaking ritual.

The 1244 rainmaking ritual also echoes the initial competition of the ritual between Kūkai and Shubin. Kūkai saw his successful execution of the rainmaking ritual in Shinsenen as a symbolic event establishing the authority of the newly imported esoteric Buddhism.[538] Just as Kūkai took his decisive victory in Shinsenen more than 400 years ago, Eison may have seen the similarity with Jitsugen and his group as fervent observers of the Vinaya and precepts. Considering that Eison, Jitsugen, and Shōson are contemporaries, it is highly possible that they had encountered one another and even been acquainted, thus Eison's designation of Shōson as a Vinaya master may be based on firsthand information.

[538] "*Daijyōkan fuan hei Yuigō"* 太政官符案并遺告. In *Kōbō daishi chosaku zenshū* 弘法大師著作全集 (Tōkyō: Sankibō Busshori, 1968).Vol. 7, 343.

Eison's emphasis on precepts observation as a precondition for conducting esoteric ritual finds support in the textual tradition of esoteric Buddhism. This argument is supported by the prescription of the rain ritual text:

> If the ritual expert praying for rain is an ordained monk, he should be a fully ordained monk; if the person is a layman, that person should receive the eight precepts.
>
> 祈雨之人若是出家苾芻。應具律儀。若俗士應受八戒。[539]

To strengthen the qualifications from the perspective of precepts, the sūtra further adds:

> If there are bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇī (performing the rainmaking ritual), they must keep the precepts pure. If they committed violations of *naiḥsargika-pāyattikāḥ* (rules of forfeiture of the things that a monk or nun possesses superfluously) and *śaikṣā* (bad manners to be corrected through training), they must have already sincerely repented for seven days and nights. If there are laypersons (performing the rainmaking ritual), they must have received the *aṣṭâṅga-samanvāgatôpavāsa* every day for seven days and nights. Up until the day of the conducting of the rainmaking ritual, everyone should be pure and devoid of arrogance.
>
> 若有比丘及比丘尼必須戒行本來清淨。若曾違犯尼薩耆罪乃至眾學。皆須已前七日七夜殷重懺悔。若在俗人亦須於前七日七夜日。別須受八關齋戒。乃至請雨行道之日。悉須清淨無得懈慢。[540]

This passage requires some interpretation. The two violations of precepts for monastics, namely *naiḥsargika-pāyattikāḥ* and *śaikṣā*, are the most minor offences among the 250 or so rules in the *prātimokṣa* precepts. The passage indicates that if one had committed any more serious offences, one would be considered impure in behavior and would be denied the qualifications for participating in the rain ritual. Even for these minor offenses, the ritual requires an intensive form of repentance. The repentance of seven days and nights is not commonly used for minor offences. This shows an exceptional concern with ethics in ritual space. The requirement of

[539] *Dayunjing qiyu tanfa* 大雲經祈雨壇法. T19, no. 990, 493a15-16.

[540] *Dayunlun qingyujing* 大雲輪請雨經. T19, no. 991, 500a9-13.

purification also extends to quotidian behavior such as keeping a strict vegetarian diet and personal hygiene.[541] This passage also concentrates on the idea of purity within the ritual space. In *Dōjōzu*, the ritual space is enclosed by boundaries to prevent interruptions by impure people, meaning those who do not observe proper precepts. As for laypersons, a noticeable point is the prescription that they should receive the precepts of *aṣṭâṅga-samanvāgatôpavāsa* for seven continuous days before the ritual. These are the highest precepts that a layperson may temporarily receive.

This moralistic explanation does not only concern the ritual expert. As Lambert Schmithausen points out, in esoteric texts, the first and most prominent means of protecting oneself from being bitten by snakes (or rather dragons) is the cultivation and/or declaration of friendliness towards snakes and even all creatures.[542] This attitude of cultivating a universal friendship including with non-human beings is rooted in Vedic tradition and represented in the preceding esoteric sūtras. I borrow the term "inter-person relationship" from Graham Harvey's inclusive definition of persons, applying not only to humans but to various significant other-than-human beings[543]. Buddhism is at a privileged vantage point in its recognition of the width of inter-person relationality since within the doctrine of the six paths of existence, human beings only occupy one path, and all six existences are transformative, not definitive. All sentient beings are subject to the same karmic principle, and this indicates that there is no unbridgeable gap between human and non-human.[544] This view of personhood brings

[541] *Dafangdeng Dayunjing qingyupin diliushisi* 大方等大雲經請雨品第六十四. "One can only eat cheese, yogurt, course rice, fruit and vegetable, and one must take a bath after excretion and urine. 唯得食蘇酪乳糜粳米果菜。大小便竟必須澡浴。" T19, no. 992, 506b24-25.

[542] Lambert Schmithausen, *Maitrī and Magic: Aspects of the Buddhist Attitude Toward the Dangerous in Nature*, (The Netherlands: BRILL, 2000), 25.

[543] Graham Harvey. *Animism: Respecting the Living World*, xxiii-xxv.

[544] This inclusive view of animal-human relationship in Buddhism speaks to philosophers such as Mary Midgley.

the necessity of forging a benign association with non-human-existence and it is confirmed in the rainmaking sūtras. For instance, the *Meghasūtra* opens by the Buddha's preaching for the dragon kings in a dragon's palace in which dragons are the dominant audience. The Buddha's answer to the dragon king's question about the means for all dragons to be free from suffering is to first practice great compassion (for sentient beings), followed by a dhāraṇī and a final chanting of the names of Buddha. The sūtra is written from the perspective of the dragon.[545] Interestingly enough, in the accompanying altar procedure, the perspective is shifted to ritual experts and closes as follows:

> [The ritual expert should] make a vow to redirect the merit of chanting the sūtra to dragons, and should wish them free of suffering, and [wish them to] arouse the mind of enlightenment, to make rain for all sentient beings.
>
> 應發願讀經所生功德迴向諸龍。願皆離諸苦難。發無上菩提心。為一切有情降注甘雨。[546]

In this prescription the ritual expert is directing merit to dragons and applying the power of the wish to remove their suffering and help them cultivate the compassionate mind for sentient beings. The implication is that the real problem behind the lack of rain is that the dragons are also suffering from ignorance and are thus not able to cultivate the mind of compassion for the benefit of sentient beings. Therefore, the remedy is to help them step onto the current path. The inter-person relationship here is no different in type from that among human beings. The logic of the ritual is also based on a moralistic interpretation of existence rather than solely on magic power manifested in a specific ritual. Both sides must co-exist in the ritual to guarantee its efficacy. Accordingly, a ritual expert cultivates the power of ritual as twofold: one aspect

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[545] Schmithausen argues properly that the sūtra is written ultimately in the interest of humans themselves (p 59). My concern here is not to question that the esoteric ritual itself is benefiting human beings, but rather to show that the rhetorical mode of the sūtra clearly affects ritual experts, such as Eison's vision and interpretation of the rain ritual.

[546] *Dayunjing qiyu tanfa* 大雲經祈雨壇法, T19, no. 990, 493a26-28.

is the mastery of an accurate altar procedure, the other the maintenance of purity of ethical status. In such a way, the ritual expert can properly generate and reorient merit to dragon kings in charge of rain.

This moralistic explanation ties the very reasons for natural disaster to human amoral behavior. Accordingly, the remedy for such natural disaster is based on ethical means. It is remarkable that Eison concludes, "if each and every one observes the precepts and recites the precious title [of the dragon]" then the good dragon will be empowered to rain in the human realm.[547] Thus, the observance of precepts is considered by Eison to be the precondition and virtue necessary to gain support from heavenly beings. Being ethical is not only related to one's own salvation in this life, but also concerns the welfare of human beings in the time to come. It is intriguing that Eison, at the end of the same entry, concludes that drought is not the fault of monastics, nor of current deeds in the human realm, but is rather caused by evil deeds accumulated by human beings in the past. Thus, Buddhist monastics are saving everyone from an otherwise inevitable karmic retribution, by keeping the precepts and pleading for help from the good dragon by performing rain rituals. At the same time, Eison moves the burden of responsibility from current society and attributes it to misbehaviors in the past. The practice of rainmaking ritual demonstrates how the ethical teaching of monastic codes and esotericism could mutually reinforce each other in the most tangible and verifiable way. The virtuous body is the medium for connecting with the realm of the dragon in charge of weather, and in turn the ritual's efficacy requires the cultivation of a virtuous monastic order.

Five years after making the map in 1284, Eison performed a rainmaking ritual which is found under the title "*Jisai Kiu ji* 持齋祈雨事" (Fasting and Praying for Rain) in his

[547] "Kōshō bosatsu go kyōkai chōmonshū." 興正菩薩御教誡聽聞集. In *Kamakura kyū bukkyō* 鎌倉舊佛教(Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1971), 197.

preaching notes, "*Kōshō Bosatsu gokyōkai chōmonshū*". This is also the last year for which we have records in this text, in which he designated the cause of drought as people who committed evil conduct and fell into the realm of asura as evil spirits such as an evil dragon, who can keep the rain from falling to the human realm.[548] At the same time, he credited the rain to the "good dragon" in the realm of heaven. The good dragon refers, as the name indicates, to the one residing in the pond of Shinsenen.

Eison's writings showcase the syncretism between exoteric and esoteric teaching in medieval Japan. The stereotypical view which takes the Vinaya as exoteric and Shingon as esoteric is far too simplistic. For Eison, within the exoteric teaching, the Vinaya and Yogācāra are not considered of the same importance, and Shingon teaching cannot exist independently or even function successfully without the teaching of the Vinaya. How can one determine which part of the practice of the rain ritual is exoteric or esoteric? One may realize that there are multiple deeply intertwined traditions, each bearing the twofold notion of visibility and invisibility according to a specific context. Most importantly, they share one foundation of the oneness of the mind and meet one another in concrete practices such as the ritual.

As discussed previously, the so-called magical rainmaking ritual is justified and supported by moralistic reasoning. A comparison of failed and successful cases reveals that the power of the ritual may reside outside the ritual procedure, since both ritual masters supposedly inherited the rainmaking ritual from a shared esoteric tradition. The contrast makes the virtuous body of the ritual expert a crucial variant in the formula. The question here is where exactly does power reside in ritual? In the Japanese case, an operating principle has been the corresponding relationship between

[548] A ritual procedure attributed to Narêndrayaśas entitled *Qiyu fatan yigui* 祈雨法壇儀規 lists and explains five reasons why rain is blocked, not all of them from the perspective of human morality. It is possible that Eison had access to this text; however, he was only interested in the fifth reason and neglected the previous four reasons.

the dragon, who is in charge of rain, and the ritual expert. Esoteric ritual masters may gain power by mastering the ritual. However, mastering the ritual alone is not enough. One must also account for the other moralistic principle, which means observing monastic precepts to maintain the purity of the ritual space.

Weather remains one of the most uncontrollable and life-threatening natural factors. Even compared with the medieval period, human beings still live with the consequences of uncertain weather. In perilous times, this may trigger the need to seek help from a non-human power. In the story of Moses' miracle, the action itself was enough to save him and his followers from a dangerous situation, but the so-called lack of accompanying faith was shown in the blocking of further grace. While in the Japanese case, the same essential ritual is not even enough to bring an immediate result, the ethical status of the ritual master may be a weightier variant. The vulnerability brought out by the uncertainties of natural disasters provides an opportunity to turn to divine intervention. The attempt to plead directly with the divine forces one to attend to both self-examination and a communal sensibility. The immediately verifiable features of the rainmaking ritual intensify the social drama and give rise to diversified interpretations of human-divine relationality in both traditions.

Commemoration of Eison

Eison, as the religious leader of the Buddhist community, transformed his legacy into institutional construction. Matsuo Kenji properly calls the funerary practice created by Eison and his group "the culture of death." [549] I have argued elsewhere that the carefully arranged deathbed of the eminent monk provides an excellent example of how doctrine and practice in Buddhism are conceptualized and embodied as a singular

[549] Matsuo Kenji, "*Bukkyōsha no syakai katsudo*" 仏教者の社会活動, in *Shin Ajia Bukkyō shi* 新アジア仏教史 (Tōkyō : Kōsei Shuppansha, 2010), Vol. 12, 142-152.

whole, in which the assumed difference between the physical body and dharma-body calls for careful investigation and reflection. [550] Eison was unique in actively engaging in his own commemoration even long before his passing away. He celebrated his eightieth birthday—the same year when Sakyamuni Buddha entered final nirvana—by producing a *juzō* 壽像, a statue made while one is still alive. Eison had woven multiple elements into the making of this statue to implicitly indicate his spiritual status as an enlightened being, namely a living Buddha (Jpn. *shōjin butsu* 生身仏). The conscious construction of self-image is found in Eison's carefully arranged autobiography and chronicle.

As I have argued, Eison's approach of esotericism entails the Vinaya and precepts as its foundation. This syncretic characteristic is manifested in the design of Eison's tomb. As I have shown in Chapter One when the painter of *Tōseiden* used the jeweled stūpa, part of the construction of the ordination platform according to Daoxuan's plan was to suggest the existence of the whole platform. The nuanced connotation of the stūpa is that Daoxuan also conceptualized the ordination platform as the site of the Buddha's mausolea, in which the relic of the Buddha is preserved inside the jeweled stūpa. From the above two points, we can understand why Eison's tomb is designed in this form combining the square-shaped ordination platform and the *gorintō* 五輪塔 (five wheeled stūpa) in the top center (see illustration 8.2).

[550] "Eison's Two Bodies: His Final Moment and Rebirth," in forthcoming book, co-authored with Paul Groner and Lori Meeks.



Illustration 8.2: Eison's tomb in Saidaiji's Okunoin cemetery, Nara, photo by Xingyi Wang

For the last part of this chapter, I will focus on a manuscript entitled *Niehen*, discovered inside the Shōtoku Taishi Statue at the Harvard Art Museum.[551] The Shōtoku Taishi Statue was most likely commissioned to commemorate the third anniversary of Eison's passing. In addition to the exceptional quality of the statue's exterior, more than 70 objects are contained within the hollow body cavity, demonstrating the width, depth, and polyphony of the religious beliefs of the Buddhist community related to Eison. [552]

[551] Object number 2019.122.23. Kamakura period, datable to circa 1292, ink on paper and bound into a booklet. The booklet measures 14.4 cm high and 18cm wide. Consisting of sheets of paper folded into two-sided pages bound with a simple loop, the manuscript contains 43 two-sided pages (of which 7 1/2 are blank), and approximately 15,000 characters.

[552] See John M. Rosenfield "The Sedgwick Statue of the Infant Shōtoku Taishi." In Archives of Asian Art, Vol. 22, 1968, 56-79; Rachel Saunders. "Secrets of the Sedgwick Shōtoku" ハーバード大学美術館所蔵聖徳太子二歳像に秘められた意味. In *The Poetics of Form: New Horizons in Japanese Art History*, ed. Sano Midori Festschrift Committee, trans. Ando Chihoko (Tokyo: Seikansha, 2021), 71–86.

Niehen is grouped together with two other manuscripts on repentance ritual (entitled *San Senranchū* 三懺蘭中 and *Sen Rokushūhōhen* 懺六聚法篇). The title *Niehen* is an abbreviation derived from *Eryi zongbie pian* 二衣總別篇, a chapter in *Xingshichao*. At the very beginning of the manuscript, its intertextual position is marked in the chapter arrangement of this Vinaya commentary tradition by its identification as "Fascicle Three • The First Section in Fascicle Three" 下卷 •下之一. This self-identified position illustrates its double reliance on Daoxuan's *Xingshichao* (Third Fascicle) and Yuanzhao's *Zichiji,* the sub-commentary on *Xingshichao Zichiji*). Considering that the other two manuscripts focus on categorical Buddhist monastic repentance rituals which correspond to different chapters in Daoxuan and Yuanzhao's commentaries, it is highly possible that these three texts belong to a more complete collection organized by chapter in *Xingshichao* and *Zichiji*.

The central position in terms of commentaries is taken by *Xingshichao* and *Zichiji,* marked as "*chao*" 鈔 and "*ji*" 記 all over *Niehen*. The newly imported sub-commentary by Yuanzhao (a result of the reestablished Sino-Japan maritime trade route) offers a key interpretation, as well as vivid descriptive critique of the monastics of the time. Much of the discussion in Yuanzhao's commentary was translated and paraphrased in Japanese as the base text of *Niehen*. Intriguingly, on the occasions where Daoxuan's commentaries are cited, corresponding passages are picked from Yuanzhao's citation as an interpretation of Daoxuan. Instead of going back to Daoxuan's original text directly for further information, *Niehen* chooses to follow Yuanzhao's stream of thought. Thus, the writer of *Niehen* shows considerable trust and reliance on Yuanzhao's understanding of Daoxuan, supplemented by commentaries from Vinaya masters such as Dajue and Jingxiao.

Niehen contains information about the first generation Vinaya masters Jippan and Shunjō:

> Vinaya master Shingo (Naka no kawa) disagrees with Vinaya master Daichi (Yuanzhao). According to him, the lost part which Vinaya master Daichi mentioned was seen by Vinaya master Gazen (Shunjō) from Sennyūji. Vinaya master Shingon said that even though the Vinaya master from Sennyūji sought after the book he had seen, he could not find a copy. According to an old saying, [the text] was found in the library of a peripheral place.
>
> コレヲ真語〈中ノ川（カハ）。此ノ人ノ言クナンソ大智律師我カ見タマワサラウカ従ラニ文逸ストハ云 せん ~~せんノ~~（泉涌寺）我禅律師ハ親アタリ見タリト云真コヨリ律師カク云ニツキテ、せん涌寺ノ律師ノ見タマヘル本ヲモトムレトモナシ、フルクヨ□ユイツタヘテハキハノ法藏ノクラニ有リト云コレヲ見タマヘリト云ナリ。[553]

The formality worth noticing is that although *Niehen*—due to its constant editing and numerous direct citations from sources—reads like a written text,—one should not rule out too quickly the possibility that it was originally a note recording an oral teaching. One example is the fact that this is the place where the Chinese character Sennyūji appears for the first time in *Niehen*. The writer used the combination of katakana *sen* "せん" and the Chinese character "入" to mark the sound of *sennyū* 泉涌, and these were later amended to the correct Chinese characters. This indicates that the writer may have heard the sound *sennyū* and written it down quickly on the spot, making a correction later, although it could be that the handwriting the text did not recall the Chinese character on the spot, and wrote down a makeshift pronunciation. It appears to me equally likely that the writer was not from the Kansai area, and thus did not know the correct spelling of this famous monastery.

The above is not the only place in *Niehen* where Shunjō's activities in China are mentioned. In the part discussing the sewing of the robe, two kinds of stitches are allowed. The first is called the bird-claw-stitch (Chi. *niaozufeng* 鳥足縫), and the second the horse-teeth-stitch(Chi. *machifeng* 馬齒縫). In *Niehen*'s corresponding passages on methods of sewing, the horse-teeth-stitch is also discussed. However, not only is there a different interpretation in this instance, but also unexpected information

[553] *Niehen*, 18.

on the Vinaya movement was inserted in the Kamakura period. The whole passage should be cited first:

> As for the "horse-teeth-stitch", Japan has this in its tradition. The Vinaya master Gazen (Shunjō) in Sennyūji has made vows to promote the Vinaya and precepts and wrote about fifty questions regarding the study of the Vinaya and precepts. He heard that it was possible to study the Vinaya in Nara and he went to Nara; but his questions were not answered. He thought that it was not possible to solve the problems in Japan and wanted to travel to Tang (China). At that time, there were two Vinaya masters from the land of Tang called Shuichi (Shouyi) and Myōren (Miaolian). (Shunjō) met these two masters and proposed these fifty questions to them, but neither could answer the questions. (Shunjō) gave up and returned to Japan. At that time, the Vinaya master in Tang was called "*sūsu*". The Vinaya master Gazen himself received ordination in the Tang and returned to Japan. Afterwards (he) promoted the teaching of the Vinaya. His disciples asked, "We want to know if we can receive precepts by self-ordination." (Shunjō) replied, "You may practice self-ordination" and allowed his disciples to be self-ordained.
>
> 馬齒縫者コレニハ舊傳有リ。泉涌寺ノ我禅(ヤン)房戒律ヲ~~ヒロメント願ヲ~~ヒロメント言願(ツク)ヲヽコシテ律学ヲシタマイシニ。五十餘ケ條不番有リ。コレヲ南トニコソ律ハ学セラルナレト~~カキ~~聞テ、南トヘクタリテ、コレヲ聞クニスヘテ不番ケツセス、サテハ日本ニテハカナフマシトヲホシメシテ、マツ唐シタマフテ。其ノ時唐土ニ守一妙蓮トテ二人ノ律師有リ。其ノ人々ニアイタテマツリテ五十餘ケ條ノ不皆。アキラメテ日本エ~~クタ~~カヘリタマフ。其ノ時唐土ニハ律師(スウス)ヲハトユイ者律師トイフナリ。我禅律師唐土ニシテ自セイ受戒シテ日本ヘカヘリタマフ。其ノ後チ律ヲヒロメタマフ。其ノ御弟子タチニモ我レ自セイ受戒シタルモテ得否シリカタシ。汝等モ自セイ受戒スヘシト云テ、御弟子タチニ自セイ受戒セシム。[554]

This passage tells a complete narrative of Shunjō's motivation for study and his activities in the Song. This narrative fulfills a consistent internal logic: (1) Shunjō had unsolved questions and was not satisfied by the teaching of the Vinaya; (2) although he studied in the southern Song, his questions remained unsolved; (3) he received self-ordination in the Song and returned to tell his disciples to do the same. However, these three points do not conform to what we already know about Shunjō as discussed in the previous chapter. The above passage mentions fifty some questions, which refer to the *mondō* text of *Lüzong Wenda*.[555] As I argued about the nature of *mondō*, it would be a

[554] *Niehen*, 20.

[555] According to *Lüzong wenda* 律宗問答 (X59, no. 1108), thirty questions and twenty-four doubts raised by Shunjō to the Chinese Vinaya masters were recorded. The number fits *Niehen*, the writer who might be reading this text.

superficial reading to conclude that Shunjō did not receive responses to his questions, although doubts indeed remained. Many of the questions Shunjō asked pertained to the understanding of Yuanzhao's commentary. If Shunjō was the first person to bring Yuanzhao's commentaries back to Japan, he would not have been able to formulate those questions before his travel to the continent. And lastly, there seems to be little reason for Shunjō to engage in self-ordination when he had lived in a Buddhist community with plenty of fully ordained monastics for over a decade. This information is also not found in key primary sources such as in Genkyū's *Tetteishō* or Shizue's biography of Shunjō. I have shown that the reason why self-ordination was conducted after Shunjō's immediate return is that his community had to accumulate ten fully ordained monastics to confer precepts upon novice monks based on the regulations of the Vinaya. The above passage shows considerable familiarity with, but not completely accurate details about Shunjō.

After this narrative on Shunjō, the writer goes on to tell a story making the connection with Eison's activity by linking him with the figure of Raienbo, from Shunjō's group:

> Among Gazenbo's disciples there was a man called Raienbo.[556] At that time, the late abbot of Saidaiji called the abbot of Tōshōdaiji, Kakujō to make the vow to revive the teaching of the Vinaya. The late abbot of Saidaiji put aside the esoteric Buddhism he had originally studied, and after that he studied the Vinaya and determined to promote the teaching of the precepts, for the sake of letting others learn. As a single person he did his best to promote this. Kakujō belonged to Nara's Jōkiin. The late abbot of Saidaiji invited Raienbo, originally from Nara's monastery, to ask about the "horse-teeth-stitch". (Raienbo) replied, "Japan had this in its tradition. It is an imitation of the shape left by a horse eating a kind of grass that grows in the ridge of the paddy field. (The late abbot of Saidaiji) asked why it is written as "horse-teeth-stitch". (Raienbo) answered that it is an imitation of the shape of a horse pacing around the ridge of the paddy fields.
>
> 我禅房ノ御弟子ニ来円房トマフス人ト有リ。其ノコロハ、西大寺ノ古長老セウ大寺ノ覚盛房マシ/＼テ律ヲコフセント言願ヲヽコシタマフ。西大寺ノ古長老ハ~~但~~

[556] Among Shunjō's disciples, the dharma name of Raienbo is Jōjun (?-1244), who later became the abbot of Sennyūji.

本ハ真言シニテマシ/＼ス。後ニ律ヲ學シテ、戒法ヲヒロメントヲホシメシテ、人ニモナラワセタマワス。但一リシテ見アキラメテヒロメタマフニ。覚盛房ハナラノ常キ院ノツタエナリ。本ナラ房シニテマシキヲモテ、西大寺ノ長老来円房ヲヨヒタテマツリテ馬歯縫ノヤフヲ問タマフ答テ、言クコレニハ舊傳有リ。田ノ畦ニ馬ノ草サハウタル歯ノアトノ相ナリヲマナフテヌフナリ。馬足縫モカクノコトク問タマイシカハ、答（コタヘ）テ、馬ノ畦ニイタル足シノアトノ相ヲマナヒタルナリト云。[557]

As Chikamoto Kensuke 近本謙介 points out, “the late abbot of Saidaiji” 西大寺古長老 that *Niehen* repeatedly referred to can be none other than Eison.[558] In *Niehen,* a compelling passage about the origin of the “horse-teeth stitch” of the monastic robe reveals the deep connection between Shunjō’s group in Kyoto and Eison’s Buddhist group in Nara. As shown in Chapter Seven, Shunjō actively incorporated monastic practices of the Southern Song into Sennyūji, as well as investing in the Vinaya revival movement in the circle of Kōfukuji in Nara.

Niehen provides some information on the community which produced the Shōtoku Taishi Statue, namely the passage on “*setsujō*” 説淨 (instructions in purity), the ritualized redistribution of monastic possession through an intermediary. In a Buddhist context, personal possessions of deceased monks and nuns, namely objects of the *setsujō,* are symbolized by monastic robes:

> The abbot of the East Country requested, “When I die, I want the news to be sent to Nanto within ten days”. Although he had this wish, it is not possible to send the news and come back in ten days. Again, according to the response from Saidaiji in Nara, regarding traveling to the East Country, (it is the case that) within five days the extra things on our side could be purified. From the sixth day onward, (the pure person) will certainly be able to travel to that country within the limit of ten days to purify those which have not yet been purified.
>
> 東國ノ長老ハ我カ死シタラン時ハ南トナントヘハ十日カ内ニハ定メテ聞ユヘシト云テ請シモカヘサシメタマワス。又西大寺ナントノ御義ニハ東國ナントヘ行ニハ+

[557] *Niehen*, 20.

[558] Chikamoto Kensuke 近本謙介. “Hokkyō nanto niokeru ritsu no tenkai to kōsatsu omeguru shiryō to gensetsu” 北京・南都における律の展開と交差をめぐる史料と言説, in *Setsuwa bungaku kenkyu* 説話文学研究, 2020, 9. 67-82.

五日ハコナタノ分ナルヲモテ已説淨トシ第六日ヨリヨリハ未説淨スヘシ十日カ内ニ定メテ彼ノ國へ行キツクヘキヲモテナリ。[559]

This passage unmistakably shows that the author of *Niehen* self-identifies with the Buddhist group in the Kanto area, which retains a close relationship with Eison's group in Nara; for they request that the Vinaya masters in Saidaiji travel to Kanton to conduct the redistribution ritual of monastic possessions according to the time limit prescribed in the original Vinaya.

Niehen provides a precious window through which we can glimpse how the Vinaya and precepts were studied through the commentarial tradition of monastics. It suggests a continued and shared Vinaya tradition in the Vinaya revival trend from the continent as well as in Kamakura Japan. *Niehen* selectively uses primary sources, such as those newly imported by Yuanzhao and the already existing Vinaya masters' works, to solve pragmatic issues in the management of Buddhist communities. *Niehen* cites Eison twelve times on various occasions, Kakujō three times, and Shunjō four times. As described in *Niehen*, Vinaya masters such as Shunjō and Eison showed striking proficiency in the knowledge of the Vinaya and commentaries. They were able to apply detailed yet minute instructions from the Vinaya to their monastic practice. It is here that we can safely conclude that the community which produced *Niehen* itself, and possibly also the Shōtoku Taishi statue, must be from the East Country, which had an intimate connection with Eison's Saidaiji.

The purposes of *Niehen* and its writing and targeted readership are quite different in kind from other works on the Vinaya such as Gyōnen's *Risshūkōyō*. *Niehen* reads more like a facilitator for the study of Vinaya texts, and its readership is probably more restricted to certain religious groups. The strong pragmatic dimension in the above discussion shows that Buddhist groups in the late Kamakura period not only had

[559] *Niehen*, the inserted page after 45.

appropriated abundant knowledge regarding the Vinaya and precepts; they also had accumulated experience in dealing with the everyday affairs of the monastery. The examples quoted previously fit Jan Nattier's description of the "principle of irrelevance." This shows that when details in the text are not directly related to the purpose of the text, the reliability of these details is high. For instance, I cited the pronunciation of "*sokuten*" as "*shukuten*" by Eison. This piece of information is not directly related to the purpose of the text, which is to explain the proper color of the robe. Since the narrative of the Empress Sokuten was used in Yuanzhao's commentary, Eison's alternative pronunciation not only indicates that he and his groups were studying and teaching Yuanzhao's commentary in detail, but it also discloses the group identity of the writer.

Although there is obvious continuity in the teaching of the Vinaya from the continent to Japan, and one senses the effort to incorporate Japan's Vinaya renovation into the tradition of the Nanshan Vinaya school, this does not mean the boundaries of region or country are meaningless. On the contrary, the meaning is more often produced based on a conscious awareness of geographical and cultural boundaries. The theme of actively locating Japan in the Buddhist world side by side with India and China (under the name of Tang while recognizing the existence of Song) repeats itself all through *Niehen*. The special locality of Japan is also used as a reason for exploring the malleable part of the Vinaya. Daoxuan normally cites plural sources to show a variety of possibilities for the same issue. Regarding the question of whether one should remove shoes while circumambulating the Buddha, Daoxuan cites the following:

> *Treatise on the Source of the Vinaya* says the reason for taking off one's shoes to circumambulate the Buddha is in order [not to] cause criticism and an arrogant mind to arise in the layman. *Wubaiwenshi Sūtra* says one can pay homage to the Buddha wearing purified boots and shoes. *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya* says [when monastics] obtain new shoes, the "pure person" should wear them for seven steps. Situational codes in *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* say that, for protecting the body, clothes, and bedding, [one wears shoes] in the monastery.

毘尼母云。所以脫革屣繞佛行者。以生俗人呵言起慢心故。五百問云。淨潔靴鞋履。得著禮拜。五分得新履。令淨人著七步。四分聽為護身護衣護臥具故。在寺內著。[560]

Niehen senses the differences in daily practice in the monastery in Japan and gives the following explanation:

> In *Xingshichao* it says, according to the *Treatise on the Source of the Vinaya* "taking off one's shoes" is the custom in India; however, in the kingdom of Tang, the custom is to keep the shoes on. Japanese monks, imitating the monks in the Tang, follow the custom of keeping their shoes off. But laypeople in Japan take off their shoes, following the teaching of India.
>
> 鈔 毗尼母云所以脫革屣等者 天竹ニハヌクヲ礼ニシ唐土ニハハクヲ礼ニスルナリ日本ノ○僧ハ唐土ノ僧ヲマナヒテ敬ノ時ニハハクナリ日本ニモ俗人ハ脫クナリ天竹ノ義ヲモテ。[561]

Within this citation, one discerns the local production of meaning within the framework of *Sangoku Denrai* 三国伝来, the transmission over three counties of. One might ask, what is local? What is authoritative Buddhist history? Although it is somewhat different from the custom practiced in Japan today, in the text Japan follows the Chinese custom, which is different from the custom which supposedly originates authentically in India. At the same time, however, laypeople followed the custom from India. It appears that there is flexibility in picking and choosing customs. *Niehen* constantly put Japan in the same context with China, yet with its own characteristics. Another example of the juxtaposition of China and Japan is:

> In *Xingshichao* it says "*Tōrei* (the law of the Tang) says" the text is divided into 20 fascicles. In this text, one can know and see things about Tang's society. In the kingdom of Japan, the text entitled "*Koshiki*" (*Kojiki*) is said to be [like] *Tōrei*.
>
> 乁鈔　即唐令云等者 文中子二十巻有ルナリコレニ唐ノ世ノコトヲシルシタルフミナリ。日本國ニモコシキテウト云ヤウニ又ハ唐令テウトモ云ナリ。[562]

[560] *Xingshichao*, T40, no. 1804, vol. 3, 110 b19-23.

[561] *Niehen*, 42.

[562] *Niehen*, 42.

It is also important to note what has been discussed in detail in previous commentaries, but not discussed in *Niehen*. For instance, on the issue of exposing the right shoulder, *Jianzhengji* discussed at length the different occasions when monks should show their right shoulder and when they should cover both shoulders. But *Niehen* did not mention any such occasion, perhaps because Japan never had a period when monks bared their right shoulder. Although the title of Daoxuan's original chapter is on robes, it is quite clear in Daoxuan and other Chinese commentators that the chapter is about all the personal possessions of monastics, including cushions, begging bowls, needles, water bags etc. However, *Niehen* focuses almost exclusively on the robe and mentions only a few other possessions of monastics. In Daoxuan's original chapter the ratio of formulative codes and situational codes is generally balanced. *Niehen* is unique in mixing the division of chapters and devotes more interest to formulative codes.

Although *Niehen* is not a standalone work of scholarship, what makes this text exciting to read is that buried in explanations of *Xingshichao*, it occasionally discloses unexpected historical information on the Vinaya revival movement in late Kamakura Japan, the environment from which the text was produced. As a result, it provides a unique window through which to glimpse the ongoing interest in studying the Vinaya in Japan and facilitates the effort to reconstruct how knowledge on monastic codes from the continent was circulated and appropriated on Japanese soil.

Conclusion

The Vinaya is one of the oldest institutional codes that human beings have ever created, and it is also one of the most long-lasting operating set of codes. Since its creation, the challenges of time, disagreements, schisms, and changes accompanied the transmission of the Vinaya in the Buddhist world. Not only the validity of detailed codes but also the authoritative status of the Vinaya as the foundation of Buddhist practice has been questioned and debated over the course of time. To be sure, not all branches of Buddhism share the same attitude towards the Vinaya. Nonetheless, there are some seemingly stable prescriptions, such as the ordination ritual based on the Vinaya, which remains one of the foundational rites of passage for becoming a Buddhist monastic; the passing of summer retreat to accumulate monastic age; and the issue of celibacy which always stir heated debates in Buddhist communities.

Historically in East Asian Buddhism, the dubious status of the Vinaya has been entangled with the rhetorical tension between the two vehicles. The intrinsically contemptuous tone in many Mahāyāna texts intensified the impression that the Vinaya, being firmly affiliated with the Hīnayāna, is inferior to or at least inopportune to the Mahāyāna ideal of a true bodhisattva. Furthermore, attachment to a fixed set of rules of the *prātimokṣa* precepts and numerous detailed rules in the Vinaya may impede one's spiritual growth. The natural remedy to resolve the tension is either to abandon the Vinaya and replace it with new codes fully embracing the bodhisattva ideal or to establish a common ground bridging the conceptual gap between the two vehicles. We can see in this study that the Vinaya school has consistently chosen the second path.

Viewed from a long-term perspective, the legitimacy of the Vinaya school is built on the authority of the Vinaya texts as the words of the Buddha, as one of the *piṭakas* in Buddhist Tripiṭaka, and as the foundation of Buddhist soteriology. Whenever Buddhist monastic practice on the ground deviates from the prescribed ideal in the Vinaya, it

may invoke a profound anxiety at failing to meet the expectation of the Buddha and losing the hope of attaining enlightenment. The overall and repeated narrative which fuels the urgency of Vinaya revival or reestablishment of the Buddhist monastic order goes as follows: when monastics cease to observe precepts, Buddhism is on the brim of extinction or falls into the danger of deterioration. This discourse of deterioration is associated with and reinforced by the Buddhist prophecy of decline which Buddhist doctrine has adopted from early on. To recalibrate the trajectory of Buddhism, one needs to "return" to the original Vinaya, as the last teaching the historical Buddha required. However, every return to the Vinaya is pregnant with historical specificity which makes the return always more than a mechanical reenactment of the codes on paper.

This study has situated the revival of the Vinaya school in medieval China and Japan at the juncture of several interrelated questions. How could the ritualized monastic everyday life derived from the Vinaya coexist with the bodhisattva precepts and Mahāyāna teachings? How could the Vinaya continue to be a valid soteriological path in the Final Dharma period? How could the practices about the Vinaya be translated into religious movements? And how could the Vinaya maintain its authority while allowing changes to occur? I believe that the key to answering these questions is to understand what kind of religious self has been envisioned and formed through the practice surrounding the Vinaya and precepts. I will attempt to recapitulate and flesh out some of the conceptual connections.

Yuanzhao, the protagonist of the project, used the metaphor of a path and reduced the monastic experience to two ends. One is to be initiated to the path by taking precepts, and the other is to seek rebirth in Amitābha's Pure Land. What falls in between these two ends is what Yuanzhao conceived of as the long and gradual formative process of the religious self, requesting attentiveness of one's mental and

bodily behavior down to each moment. This conscientious request to the self in its totality (of mental, bodily, and verbal behavior) eventually developed into a meditative-like practice, endowed with the efficacy of eliminating obstructions for one's enlightenment.

These two ends envisioned by Yuanzhao are both problematic in East Asian Buddhism. The first, taking precepts— specifically taking the *prātimokṣa* precepts—is complicated because, as just mentioned above, of the pejorative position which takes the Vinaya as only belonging to the lesser vehicle. However, we should avoid taking the disparaging attitude of the lesser vehicle at face value, for it is often an empty signifier, a staple rhetoric of Mahāyānists. For Vinaya masters, taking precepts creates a, ethical obligation that governs the everyday life of monastics, and the theory of the Vinaya school is characterized by concretizing this ethical obligation as *jieti*, the essence of precepts. Debates surround the nature of the essence of precepts (as a form, a mind, or as neither-form-nor-mind), for it sets the very foundation and direction for the whole process of the formation of the self, which is non-cohesive, voluntary, and may be ceased at any time by act of will.

To ask what is really at stake, we need to take the historical dimension into consideration. The Chinese Buddhist community, in its critical shaping period of the fifth century, faced too many choices in terms of taking precepts: on the one hand, when four newly translated complete Vinaya texts became available; on the other hand, when the so-called Mahāyāna precepts, namely the bodhisattva precepts along with a multifaceted textual tradition, became popular around the same time. These factors have created a unique historical situation in those two competing ordination systems, each containing conflicting divisions were at play simultaneously.

For a period, the Chinese Buddhist community was operating without a consensus on how to ordain its members. The *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* has become promising in the

south before Daoxuan finally elevated the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* and unified the interpretation of Vinaya texts. Most attempts to provide a harmonious narrative of history are at best from an *ex-post* perspective. The essential evidence of the superiority of the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* by Daoxuan is a straightforward claim that it is "partially in accord with Mahāyāna." Daoxuan further secured *prātimokṣa* ordination's connection with Mahāyāna by arguing that the quality of the precepts is determined by the quality of aroused mind in the ritual. This move permits the coexistence of a *prātimokṣa* ordination ritual and the religious aspiration to become a great bodhisattva. It also implies that the power of the volitive mind may transcend the formalistic ritual differences. But for Daoxuan, once the mind is aroused in the ritual there is no second chance of changing its quality.

When Yuanzhao started to build his ideal monastic community, living according to the Vinaya, he was caught in the dilemma that the connection between *prātimokṣa* ordination and Mahāyāna aspiration was weakened if not cast into doubt. He then actively performed the so-called augmentative or repeated ordination to strengthen the link. Yuanzhao based his practice on the interpretation of *jieti*, as neither-form-nor-mind, and deemed that the in-between nature of *jieti* makes it malleable for alteration. Thus, he allowed his community to live both according to the Vinaya and also as conforming to the great bodhisattva ideal. This is one of the crucial moments which established Yuanzhao as an original thinker faithful to his tradition.

Bodhisattva precepts, the competing system, have been one of the most entangled but important topics in East Asian Buddhism. We know that bodhisattva precepts come with a bifurcated textual tradition. One is the Bodhisattvabhūmi Chapter in the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*, translated several times from Sanskrit into Chinese, which advocates the precept of "three categories of pure precepts." The other is the *Fanwangjing (Brahmajāla sutra)*, the Chinese apocrypha. The intriguing point is that

that these two branches cannot be completely separated, (1) *Fanwangjing* absorbs elements from the textual tradition of *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*; (2) *Fanwangjing* became predominant in the practice of East Asian Buddhism, especially in the Tiantai school. Unlike *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*, *Fanwangjing* does not have an accompanying ritual manual, which is why we see that Yuanzhao basically followed the Tiantai conferral ritual to compose his version of the bodhisattva precepts ordination ritual, (3) these two texts are often used together as a staple reference by a specific Buddhist community. That is why in chapter five, the Liao Vinaya master used the doctrine of Yogācārabhūmi to explain *Fanwangjing*.

This study attempts to break the nationalist boundaries between China and Japan and show the Vinaya traditions as a shared ground for Buddhist communities in both countries. I have demonstrated, by reading the *Tōseiden* picture scroll, how an imagined continued Vinaya lineage was constructed through the media of visual art and biographical narrative. Jianzhen's ordination rituals as rearranged in the *Tōseiden* reflected the compromising attitude of the Vinaya school in Japan, which was influenced by Yuanzhao's interpretation. The idea that the bodhisattva precepts are universal precepts for both monastic and laypersons, but cannot replace *prātimokṣa* precepts for monastics is central for Eison's community. This returning to the *prātimokṣa* precepts was emphasized by the religious leaders from Jippan and Shunjō to Kakujō and Eison. Shunjō is the linking figure who received training in the Southern Song and brought the teaching of the Vinaya school and other Buddhist doctrinal works back to Japan.

In Kamakura Japan, Buddhist masters who aspired to revive the Vinaya tradition encountered the challenge to revive a broken lineage of the Vinaya after Jianzhen's initial transmission. Both Shunjō' and Nara monks such as Kakujō and Eison have chosen the expedient means of self-ordination. After the initial group of monastics

accumulated legitimate monastic age, they then return to the prescribed *prātimokṣa* ordination ritual. The practice of self-ordination, on the surface, solved the problem of a lack of qualified monastics to perform the ordination ritual. On a deeper level, it was also a golden opportunity to restart the monastic order from *tabula rasa*, away from the influence of official monasteries, while claiming the authority of the Vinaya. Shunjō incorporated Song style monasticism into Kamakura Japanese monasteries and facilitated the popularity of Yuanzhao's works, while Eison reestablished the seven-fold Buddhist assembly, including the bhikṣuni order, and universal salvation for the peripheral population. When Eison took a missionary trip to the Kanto area and converted massive numbers of people by conferring bodhisattva precepts, and when butchers and fisherman were reported to have given up their careers to observe the precept of non-killing, the Vinaya and precepts revival movement had broken through the physical boundaries of a monastery and transformed into a social movement.

In terms of the other end of monastic life, Yuanzhao's sudden conversion to Pure Land Buddhism was derived from his personal experience, but also connected to the general prophet of time in the medieval period. In Daoxuan's original commentary, he was living in a transitional period and believed that if monastics tried hard enough, the arrival of the Final Dharma period could potentially be postponed. However, this sense of optimism was lost in Yuanzhao's time, especially after he felt severely sick and realized the limitations of the practice based on his own power. In Yuanzhao's volitional text establishing the ordination platform, he addressed the audience from within the urgency of living in the Final Dharma period. Yuanzhao, as a Vinaya master, relied on the approach of combining the Vinaya and Pure Land. He recognized that those who rigidly observe the precepts gain the advantage of rebirth in the Pure Land, while the Pure Land development in Japan flipped this meaning of virtuous person to be saved, as even the virtuous will be saved to emphasize the absoluteness of faith. I argue that

the transmission of Yuanzhao's Pure Land works, through the transmission of Shunjō, facilitated the flourishing of Pure Land masters in Japan. I expect to continue working on the topic, bringing the connection of Yuanzhao with Japanese Pure Land masters to the fore.

Regarding the cultivation of a religious self between these two ends, it is now evident that the most effective method of embodying the Vinaya is not through mechanical memorization of specific rules to avoid breaking them. To observe the rule instead means to live the rule, to cultivate and master the art of living according to a highly ritualized monastic calendar, which entails repentance ritual (such as the bimonthly repentance ritual and the annual summer retreat), a full spectrum guide on "how to behave," and living with other monastics embedded in the social reality of relations and materiality. The result of this training through everyday cultivation is a particular kind of subjectivity that clearly knows and embodies the boundaries of proper behavior of oneself in relation to the other, and fulfills the moral obligation generated by taking on the precepts.

From early on, the Vinaya commentators realized that the rules should be adapted to according to social and historical circumstances, but even more importantly, they knew that monastic life as lived experience always exceeds the rules on paper. One way to keep up with the changes of time is to constantly update codes, which is problematic when the Vinaya text itself is the source of authority and not subject to change. Instead, the Vinaya school has developed a systematic method of self-surveillance regarding the formation of ethical judgment, and repentance according to the transgression in order to live an ethical, religious life.

The importance of being mindful of one's behavior in each moment gives rise to what I see as a quasi-contemplative practice, roughly referred to as "giving rise to contemplation by robe and food." This kind of contemplative practice evidently differs

from the traditional walking, sitting, standing, and sleeping meditation. Although both aim to achieve an all-time mindfulness, the contemplative practice in the Vinaya tradition is intrinsically tied to the everydayness of the monastic life. The most basic version is called "six-mindfulness": to know the date and month, to be mindful of receiving food from someone, to remember one's monastic age, to know one's donor of robes and other objects, to be mindful of not eating alone, and to know if one is sick. From this practice, we grasp the elements of being a Buddhist monastic: always to be mindful as a person embedded in a specific social and material setting.

The emphasis on cultivation is not on observing the 250 or 350 rules in the *prātimokṣa* precepts, but rather on gaining the ability to navigate social relationships, perform self-reflection on possible misconducts, and then practice categorical repentance to compensate for all kinds of possible transgressions. Shunjō's decision to take off the silk robe, and Eison and his fellow monk's decision to take on self-ordination well exemplified what Foucault calls "the principle of activity," in which the position of the active subject is acceptable, satisfactory, and valid. This is exactly where the practice of the Vinaya differs from prohibitive civil law codes, as the Vinaya as an art of life always exceeds the cohesive system of codes.

Appendix I.

Added 18 works in *Kunaishō toshorō issai kyo Mokuroku*
宮內省圖書寮一切經目錄 (From character Dan to character Ying)

Song gaoseng zhuan, Song Zanning, 33 [fascicle], 10 jō 宋高僧傳 宋贊寧撰 三十三 十帖
Sifenlü biqiu hanzhu jieben, Tang Daoxuan, 3 [fascicle], 2 jō 四分律比丘含注戒本 唐釋道宣述 上中下 二帖
Sifenlü hanzhu jieben xingzongji, Song Yuanzha, 4 [fascicle], 8 jō 四分律含注戒本疏行宗記 宋元照述 四 八帖
Sifenlü hanzhu jiebenshu, Tang Daoxuan, 4 [fascicle], 8 jō 四分律含注戒本疏 唐道宣述 四八帖
Shi Sifenlü hanzhu jiebenshu kefen, Song Yuanzhao complied, 2 jō 釋四分律含注戒本疏科分 宋元照錄 二帖
Sifenlü shanfan buque Xingshichao, Tang Daoxuan, 9 jō 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔 唐道宣撰述 九帖
The table of contents of the previous text, Song Shi Yuanzhao, third fascicle, 1 jō 同上科第三下卷 宋釋元照錄 一帖
Tanwudebu Sifenlü shanbusuiji jiemo, Tang Shi Daoxuan, 2 [fascicle], 2 jō 曇無德部四分律刪補隨機羯磨 唐釋道宣集撰 上下二帖
Sifenlü shanbusuiji Jiemoshu, same author as above, 7 jō 四分律刪補隨機羯磨疏 同上 七帖
Shi Sifenlü shanbusuiji Jiemoshu kefen, Shi Yuanzhao, 1 jō 釋四分律刪補隨機羯磨疏科分 釋元照錄 一帖
Sifenlü shanbusuiji jiemo jiyuanji, Song Yuanzhao, 6 jō 四分律刪補隨機羯磨濟源記 宋元照述 六帖
Sifenlü shanbusuiji jiemoshu ji, 1 jō, second [fascicle] 四分律刪補隨機羯磨疏記 一帖二下
Shi Jingangjing xiyao kandingji, Song Zirui, 16 [fascicle], 6 jō 釋金剛經纂要刊定記.宋子璿錄 一六 六帖
Jifude sanmei jing, first fascicle 集福德三昧經 初卷第一
Sifenlü Xingshichao Zichiji, Song Yuanzhao, 12 jō 四分律行事鈔資持記宋元照撰 十二帖
Jingangjing xiyao kandingji, Song Zirui, 16 [fascicle], 6 jō 金剛經纂要刊定記 宋子璿錄 一六 六帖
Foshuo shengzuisheng tuoluoni jing, Song Shihu trans. 佛說聖最勝陀羅尼經 宋施護譯
Wushisong bore boluomi jing, Song Shihu trans. above two are in the same fascicle, 1 jō 五十頌聖般若波羅蜜經 同上 右二經同卷 一帖

Appendix II.

Volitional Text for the Construction of the Ordination Platform
of Kaiyuan Monastery in Mingzhou (present day Ningbo)

The transmitted dharma of Śākyamuni Buddha. Bhikṣu (Yuanzhao), at the *sahā* world, the Southern Jambudvīpa, the Great Song Country, Ming area, Kaiyuan Monastery, respectfully constructed the ordination platform, and installed the dharma protector godly kings on the platform. I have heard that godly kings have made great vows to protect stupa and statues in the degenerate period of Buddha dharma, to maintain Buddha Dharma, to benefit sentient beings. At present, I construct this ordination platform, as a direct repayment to the Buddha, who has made the Vinaya and precepts flourish, and the three jewels remain in the world. I wish that the compassionate invincible might constantly arrive to protect. If there are people who destroy the precepts and conduct evil deeds for the sake of fame and gain, pretending to be a master holding the holy dharma and delaying newcomers, then please dispel that person; do not let the person ascend to the (ordination) platform. Or if someone pollutes the place with meat, alcohol, or dirt, then immediately punish the person, and made that person hold discipline in awe. Were there disaster of flood, fire, wind, robbery, I wish for [your] protection to maintain the platform intact, making this ordination remain stable in the world, making countless persons ascend to the platform to receive precepts, arousing great mind of the path, practicing action of the bodhisattva, transmitting the precepts, making the seed of the Dharma unceasing, and making Buddha dharma flourish until the endless future.

The fifth year of Shaoxing (1098)
Sincerely
śramaṇa Yuanzhao

建明州開元寺戒壇誓文

釋迦遺法。比丘(元照)恭於娑婆世界南瞻部州大宋國明州開元寺。建築戒壇。敬造護法神王。立於壇上。我聞神王有大弘誓。於末法中。護持塔像。住持佛法。利樂群生。我今建此壇場。直欲報答佛恩。令戒律興隆．三寶住世。仰願同軫威神。常來擁護。若有毀戒作惡之人。為求名利。妄居師首。秉實聖法。誤彼來蒙。即請驅逐令退。勿使登壇。或將腥酒觸汙此處。即時誅罰令知畏敬。將有水火風劫盜等難。願同力捍護。不令毀壞。且使此壇在世久固。令無量人登上受戒。發大道心。行菩提行。展轉授受。佛種不斷。盡未來際興佛事。

紹聖五年二月十五日

沙門(元照)謹誓 [563]

[563] *Zhiyuan yibian*, X59, no. 1104, 641a14-b1 // Z 2:10, 278b17-c10 // R105, 555b17-556a10.

Appendix III.

Certification of the bodhisattva precepts ordination platform (Fogong Monastery)

Disciple XX who receives the bodhisattva precepts

As for the saint, they were not originally a saint, but became so only because sin has ceased like a cloud. The worlding is not permanently a worlding, but only if the precepts are perfect like the moon. At present it is fortunate to have [this] encounter to dispel the mistakes of the worlding. The sin cloud has ceased, the precepts moon is round. Until the end of this life one should be constantly clear, until death one should forever protect the precepts. At the reception [of precepts] now, until the perfection of fruit, [I] make the vow not to commit acts of killing, stealing, sexual misconduct, lying, or selling alcohol. [I] make the vow not to commit self-praise, parsimony, aversion, and denigration again; the faculty will be destroyed, and there will be no way to regain it. Like being watchful of footsteps while climbing a mountain, like being clear-cut as a matter of principle, the lifebuoy to cross the ocean, how could that be destroyed halfway? Also like the jade that Liancheng gave to the King of Chu, like grasping a luminous jewel at night, the origin of these objects is a deep and remote way. If [precepts] can be compared to an object, it would be like these things. You should diligently uphold the precepts, by your body and your life.

Thus, the certification is presented, with the hope that you will follow the precepts.

Date of the certificate: _Year of Qiantong _Month _Year

菩薩戒壇所牒
受菩薩戒　弟子
夫聖非元聖。由罪雲滅。而聖方陞。凡非永凡。因戒月圓。而凡過出。今者幸遇。罪雲已滅。戒月初圓。異畢命以恆清。須亡軀而永護。從今一得。乃至果圓。誓不煞盜染妄酤。誓不說讚慳瞋謗。再起絕根。重罹無路。如夫登危望足。大節憑歸。架海浮囊。豈合中毀。至若連城楚王。奪夜隋珠。出夫所奇幽途。何託事堪遇。喻于此者乎。唯愼唯持。以身以命。以是給牒。佩隨箴規。
故牒。 乾統 年 月 日 [564]

[564] See Illustration 5.1.

List of Bibliography Abbreviations

BZ *Dai nihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書. Tōkyō: Bussho Kankōka, 1912-1922.

IBK *Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu* 印度學佛教學研究. Tōkyō: Nihon Indogaku Bukkyō Gakka. 1952-

MBD *Mochizuki Bukkyō Daijiten* 望月仏教大辞典. Mochizuki Shinko 望月信亨. Tōkyō: Seikai seiten kankyū kyōkai. 1954-1973.

ND *Nihon daizōkyō* 日本大蔵経. Edited by Nihon daizōkyō hensankai. Tōkyō: Daihōrinkaku. 1914-1921.

NDKS *Nihon daizōkyō kairitsushū shōsho* 日本大蔵経戒律宗章疏. Edited by Nihon daizōkyō hensankai. Tōkyō: Daihōrinkaku. 3 vols. 1916.

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