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Introduction

The monk is dead long since. We have a statue that is said to depict his features faithfully. There are some texts by people who knew him well, even traveled with him. There is a scroll painting from the 13th century that imagines his journey, ancestor of the several comic books that tell his story today. There is a novel by Inoue Yasushi and a CD with Buddhist music bearing his name. What name? 鑑真 of course, but how shall we call him? If the key to continuity of any sign and person is memory, we won't be far amiss to call him in the language of the people that remember him most: We will call him Ganjin.

Text and previous translations

This is a translation of the *Tōdaiwajō tōseiden* 唐大和上東征傳, the text found as no. 2089 (7) in volume 51 of the *Taishō*.¹ The text is dated 779 and describes the adventurous journey of 鑑真 Jianzhen/Ganjin (688-763) from China to Japan. Ganjin's arrival there in 754, after five unsuccessful attempts to cross the sea, is seen as an important milestone in the history of the transmission of Buddhism to Japan. The editor of the text as found in the T. and

¹ *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (Abbr.: T.) 大正新修大藏經. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 & Watanabe Kaikoku 渡辺海旭 (Eds.). Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai 大正一切經 刊行会, 1924-1932.

The same text is included as No. 553 in the *Dainihon bukkyō zensho* (Abbr.: DBZ). *Dainihon bukkyō zensho* (Abbr.: DBZ) 大日本仏教全書 [Complete Works of Japanese Buddhism]. 100 vols. Suzuki Research Foundation - edition 鈴木学術財団, Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 1972.

the DBZ is Takakusu Junjirō. His edition is the product of the comparison of four previous editions.²

For this English version I have made ample use of two earlier translations from the classical Chinese. First, the translation by Takakusu Junjirō. Takakusu's original English translation: *Kanshin's (Chien-Chen's) voyage to the East, A.D. 742-54, by Aomi-no-Mabito Genkai (A.D. 779)*. seems to have been published by Probsthain, London in 1925.³ This edition is however not listed in the WorldCat or any other library catalog that I consulted and I could not locate a copy. Fortunately, a French version was prepared for the *Bulletin d'Ecole Française de l'Extrême Orient*⁴ by Jeanne Wilkin (1928) and Emile Gaspardon⁵ (1929). Takakusu's introduction to the translation is, to my knowledge, the only study on Ganjin in a western language (apart from my unpublished MA thesis on some aspects of the Ganjin story). Takakusu's short, but extremely helpful footnotes to his translation focus on various aspects of the text. Especially valuable are his attempts to provide us with the geographic latitude and longitude of each location mentioned in the texts. He also put a lot of work into defining the items on the two lists of things that Ganjin took along in his second and sixth attempt to cross over to Japan.

The second translation I have used, is the one into modern Japanese by Chūjō Dōshō 中條道昭.⁶ In his extensive annotation (more than 400 footnotes) Chūjō draws mainly on the seminal research on the *Tōseiden* done by Andō Kōsei 安

² Dated 1721, 1762, 1892 as well as one undated 19th century manuscript.

³ I am grateful to Shayne Clark for this information.

⁴ BEFEO XXVIII (1928) pp.1-42 (Introduction), pp.442-472 (Translation Part I) and BEFEO XXIX (1929) pp.48-62 (Translation Part II).

⁵ The translation is signed only with the initials "E.G." I thank Hubert Durt, who kindly provided me with the full name.

⁶ *Tōdai wajō tōsei den* 唐大和上東征傳. In: Takasaki Naomichi 高崎直道 (Ed.): *Daijō butten* 大乘仏典 vol.16: *Shōtoku Taishi & Ganjin* 聖徳太子・鑑真 Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha 中央公論社, 1990.

藤更生⁷. Andō's work is so far the largest in-depth study of the *Tōseiden*.

However, Andō treats only the first and larger part of the *Tōseiden*, the one that is set in China. He cites a host of sources and related material especially for the many legendary motives that appear in the text. In an appendix he provides a descriptive study of Yangzhou during the Tang and Sung, the city where Ganjin lived and taught.

For a number of reasons I think that, in spite of the French version available of Takakusu's excellent work, another translation of the *Tōseiden* is justified. First, the *Tōseiden* offers some rare glimpses into the everyday affairs of 8th century Buddhist China. Just the kind of insight that Buddhist scriptural tradition usually denies us by centering its narrative on doctrine or narrow hagiographic models. Second, the *Tōseiden* throws some light on the transmission of Buddhism from China to Japan and by extension on early Chinese-Japanese relations. Though perhaps surprising, this is the very reason why Ganjin has retained a certain prominence in China and Japan today. Third, the story as it is, is at times very entertaining and likely to appeal to a wider audience.

Most translators envision the wishes of their ideal readers as similar to their own. So I have provided plenty of Chinese characters and marked my own additions with square brackets. In the footnotes I have done some standardization (measures, titles, plant names, Taishō numbers) and added references to recent research.

The author and his sources

Ōmi no Mabito Mifune 淡海真人三船 (722-785), with the Dharma name Genkai 元開, was originally ordained by Daoxuan 道璿, the Chinese Vinaya master who arrived in Japan in 736. In 751 the emperor ordered Genkai to return to lay-life.

⁷ Andō Kōsei 安藤更生: *Ganjin daiwajō den no kenkyū* 鑑真大和上傳之研究. Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1960 (1994).

After Ganjin's arrival in 753, Genkai became Ganjin's lay disciple. For writing the *Tōseiden* Genkai has, next to his personal contact with Ganjin, Fushō and the others, probably made use of the *Daitō denkaishi sōmeiki daiwajō ganjin den* 大唐傳戒師僧名記大和上鑑真傳 written by Ganjin's follower Situo 思託 (d.801-806) some when before 779. This work (hereafter called *Ganjinden*) gives a much more detailed account of Ganjin's adventures. Unfortunately it is lost, though a few fragments have been preserved in other works.

Genkai condensed the three *juan* of Situo's *Ganjinden* into the one *juan* *Tōseiden*. This ratio also appears when one compares the story surrounding the Aśoka stupa in the *Tōseiden* and the *Ganjinden*. The *Tōseiden* says (see translation part T.2089, p.989c):

[Ganjin and his followers stop at a temple that has a so-called Aśoka stupa.]

In the first years of the Jin Dynasty a certain Liu Sahe 劉薩訶 from Lishi-west-of-the-river in Bingzhou 并州 Prefecture died and went to the underworld, the kingdom of Yama. Yama told him [about the stupa] and ordered him to [return to the world of living beings, become a monk and] dig it out. From the Jin through the Song, Qi, Liang, and until the Tang Dynasty many a towers and halls were built [at this temple].

In a fragment of Situo's *Ganjinden* the same story is told much more elaborate:

In the *Ganjin daiwajō den* (by Situo) it is said: Concerning the Aśoka stupa at the Aśoka temple. This Aśoka stupa was found by Liu Sahe from Bingzhou Prefecture in the Jin Dynasty. Sahe was a hunter. Galloping on a red horse, with his black dogs and his greenish falcons he caught all kinds of beasts. Suddenly one day, he fell ill and died. [He went to the underworld where he] met Yama the King [of this realm], who ordered to open the book of Sahe's life to weigh his sins and good deeds. And he saw how all the deer he had killed came to demand his

life. Sahe said, “I did not kill you.” The deer said, “At the foot of the green mountain you slaughtered us secretly (*mi* 密). At that time you commanded black dogs and greenish falcons, galloping on a red horse you killed us.” Thereupon in the karma-mirror (*yejing* 業鏡), there appeared one by one the green mountain, the red horse, the greenish falcons and the black dogs. They all came to testify but were not allowed to speak. [However, though] the great king had ordered Sahe to descend into the underworld, his life-span was not yet finished and the great king wanted him to return to southern Jambudvīpa [, the world of humankind]. But he warned him not to kill as he had done in the first half of his life. The great king said, “I will set you free and let you return to Jambudvīpa, if you leave home and follow the [Dharma] way. Go to the east of Yuezhou Prefecture, there is an Aśoka stupa on the Mao Mountain of Mao district, find it and stay in this place as a monk.” Sahe said [he would] and king Yama let him go. Thereupon the animals [Sahe had killed] said, “[The offense of] taking live must be atoned by death. How can he be sent straightway back home?” King [Yama] said, “I made him leave his home and follow the way [i.e. become a monk]. Life and death are in balance, therefore I let him go.”⁸

The authors of the *Tōseiden* and the *Ganjinden* still knew Ganjin personally. There are also a number of later works treating Ganjin’s journey to Japan (e.g. DBZ 554, 555 and 556) which at first glance do not add much new facts but do contain some interesting material and definitely deserve further study.

Ganjin’s position in the transmission of Buddhism

With Ganjin’s arrival the first phase of the transmission of Buddhism to Japan came to an end. He is credited with the introduction of the Vinaya school the

⁸ Cited in Andō (1960), p. 146.

last of the six schools of Nara.⁹ While for the other Nara schools all that was needed was a set of texts and someone who could read and explain them, a transmission of the Vinaya had to rely on a specialist in matters of rule and ritual. The debate on the right interpretation of the Vinaya, in particular the ordination rite was of great importance for both the Sangha and the rulers of a realm.

While Vinaya texts of at least five different Indian schools found their way to China early on, only one gained lasting importance. One of the most influential monks of the Nanbeichao period, Huiguang 慧光 (467-537) propagated the Vinaya of the Dharmaguptaka (*Sifenlü* 四分律 (T. 1428)) in northern China and established it as basis for the ordination ceremony there. Later Zhishou 智首 (566-635) and Fali 法礪 (569-635) made sure that during the reunification of China during the Sui the Sifenlü Vinaya became firmly established in Chang'an. During the Tang, lively and even passionate scholastic debates developed between different Vinaya schools, which however, all took the Sifenlü for their basic text.

Out of three schools¹⁰ it was Daoxuan's 道宣 (596-667) Nanshan school that emerged as orthodox interpretation for centuries to come. His *Sifenlü xingshi chao* 四分律行事鈔¹¹ is considered the most influential Chinese Vinaya text. According to the *Tōseiden*, Ganjin's teachers were Daoan 道岸 (653-717) and

⁹ 1.) Kosha shū 具舍宗 (that studied the *Abhidharmakośa*). 2.) Jōjitsu shū 成實宗 (studying the *Satyasiddhi*). 3.) Hossō shū 法相宗 (Yogācāra scriptures). 4.) Sanron shū 三輪宗 (Mādhyamika scriptures). 5.) Kegon shū 華嚴宗 (*Avatamsaka sūtra*). 6.) Ritsu shū 律宗 (Vinaya texts). The Vinaya is concerned with the legal framework of the Sangha community, the description of ritual and, on a more philosophical note and especially in the Chinese scholastic discourse, the integration of these rules and regulations with the teachings of various schools.

For the introduction of these schools to Japan see my *A Biographical Dictionary of the Japanese Student-Monks of the Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries*. München: Iudicium, 2001. (Buddhismus-Studien / Buddhist Studies 4).

For their philosophical context see: Paul, Gregor: *Philosophie in Japan – Von den Anfängen bis zur Heian-Zeit. Eine kritische Untersuchung*. München: Iudicium Verlag, 1993.

¹⁰ The Xiangbu-相部宗, Dongta-東塔宗 and the Nanshan school 南山宗

¹¹ Full name *Sifenlü shanfan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔, T.1804.

Hongjing 弘景 (?-?), both second-generation students of Daoxuan. According to a fragment from the *Ganjinden*, however, also a number of monks from the Xiangbu school were present at Ganjin's ordination.¹²

Again from the *Tōseiden* we learn that Ganjin lectured mostly on Vinaya scriptures and their Chinese commentaries. The *Sifenlü xingshi chao* alone he explained seventy times.¹³ Moreover, of the forty-eight texts he took with him to Japan, thirty-three belonged to the Vinaya tradition, among them very specialized works, several commentaries on the same text, sub-commentaries thereof etc. Obviously Ganjin, while specializing in the Nanshan tradition of the Sifenlü Vinaya, had a broad understanding of the other Vinaya schools.

Another side of Ganjin's scholarship was Tiantai philosophy and he is credited with bringing Chiyi's famous "three great works" (*tiantai san da bu* 天台三大部) to Japan for the first time.¹⁴ Ganjin's interest in Tiantai, together with his promotion of the Bodhisattva vows for lay-people and members of the Sangha, lead Michihata Ryōshu to the conclusion that he might have taught a Tiantai interpretation of the Bodhisattva vows. My assumption that Chiyi was the author of the commentary on the Bodhisattva precepts by a certain Lingxi shizi 靈溪釋子 seems to support this.¹⁵

Ganjin made it into Japanese history books (an uncontroversial issue for once) and many people in Japan remember his name from school. Despite the popularity of his story however, Ganjin's influence on the development of the Japanese Vinaya, to say nothing of Japanese Buddhism as a whole, was extremely limited. Even granted that the story of the great bestowal of the Bodhisattva vows on the (*insei*-) emperor and his family is true (see T.2089, p.

¹² Andō (1960), p.55. This is however, not unusual, it was the Dongta school that held the more radical views. Xiangbu and Nanshan seemed to have had more in common.

¹³ See translation T.2089, p.992b.

¹⁴ In his *Sangoku buppō denzū engi* 三國佛法傳通緣起, DBZ 467, p. 20a Gyōnen gives us a short outline of Ganjin's connection with Tiantai.

¹⁵ Michihata Ryōshu 道端良秀: *Chūgoku bukkyōshi zenshū* 中国仏教史全集. 10 vols. Tokyo: Shoen 書苑, 1985. Vol.5, p.141. And this translation T.2089, p.993a.

993c), which I seriously doubt, his overall impact was of little importance beyond the legitimization it gave to the emperor and the Nara clergy. Handicapped by his blindness, Ganjin had to rely on interpreters to communicate in a foreign environment. Unable to speak Japanese, he must have found himself at a loss to exert his charismatic powers when encountering resistance to his interpretation of the Vinaya. And resistance there was. It is hardly surprising that the established Japanese clergy was not amused when the famous teacher told them their ordination was incomplete and they had to be reordained by him. Disagreeing voices have not found their way into the official account of events. Traces of discontent, however, have survived in Situo's *Enryaku sōroku* 延曆僧錄.¹⁶

Ganjin was treated with great respect by the rulers of the time since he gave them the opportunity to centralize and unify the ordination process. Relying on Ganjin's impeccable claim to orthodoxy, the imperial house quickly moved to establish national ordination platforms that after Ganjin's death allowed them (and later for a short while the Nara clergy) to control the number of monks and nuns. The power to do so has been and is still a perennial bone of contention between the Sangha and the rulers of East Asia.

Later Saichō 最澄 (767-822) wrestled back the right to hold ordinations from Nara. Not, however, without significantly changing the content of the ordination, something with which Ganjin would probably have disagreed.¹⁷ In the complex contest between various factions in the clergy and the ruling elite, Ganjin's vision of the Vinaya was not successful. If he had come to Japan to establish the *Sifenlü* Vinaya as orthodox practice, he failed. The understanding of Vinaya in Japanese Buddhism was to take a different road.

¹⁶ Written between 782 and 805, fragments in *Nihon kōsōden yōmonshō* Ch. 3, DBZ 468. See especially p. 52a+c.

¹⁷ For a detailed account of the discussion between the faction upholding traditional Sifenlü rites and Saichō see: Paul Groner: *Saichō – The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School*. Berkeley: Buddhist Studies Series 1984.

唐大和尚上東征傳

The Great Master of the Tang Travels East

by

Mabito Genkai 真人元開 (779)

<T.2089, p. 988a> <DBZ (Dai Nihon Bukkyō Zensho) 553, p. 24a> The name of the Great Master was Ganjin [ch. Jianzhen]. He was from Jiangyangxian 江陽縣 District in Yangzhou 揚州 Prefecture¹⁸. His family name before he became a monk was Chunyu 淳于. He was one of the descendants of the orator Kun 髡, who lived in the state of Qi¹⁹. His father had received the [lay-] precepts from Master Zhiman 智滿 of the Dayunsi-temple 大雲寺 and had been studying meditation with him. One day, when he was fourteen, Ganjin followed his father to the temple. When he saw an image of the Buddha he was deeply moved and asked his father to allow him to become a monk. The father, surprised by his determination, gave his permission.

During this time, the great Zhou Dynasty, [the empress Wu] Zetian, in the first year of the era Chang'an (701), issued an edict [allowing] the ordination of [many] monks in all prefectures of the empire. Thus [Ganjin] became a novice under Zhiman and was lodged in the Dayunsi-temple 大雲寺, the name of which was later changed to Longxingsi-temple 龍興寺²⁰. During the first year of the

¹⁸ Located in today's Jiangsu province, extending some hundred kilometers along the Yangzi River.

¹⁹ Chunyu Kun appears in the *Shiji* 史記 and in *Mengzi* 孟子 (J. Legge: *The Works of Mencius*. p. 307+432) as a model orator who lived in the fourth century BC.

²⁰ In 690 empress Wu decreed that a Dayunsi should be established in the two capitals and in

Shenlong 神龍 era (705) of the emperor Xiaohe 孝和 (whose temple name was Zhongzong 中宗), he received the Bodhisattva-precepts 菩薩戒²¹ from the Vinaya Master Daoan 道岸. In the first year of the era Jinglong (707) he visited the Eastern Capital [Luoyang] and from there went to Chang'an. The following year, on the 28th day of the third month, [Ganjin] ascended the ordination platform at the Shijisi-temple 實際寺 in the Western Capital to receive the the full ordination 具足戒²². His ordination master was Vinaya Master Hongjing 弘景 from the Nanquansi-temple 南泉寺 in Jingzhou 荊州 Prefecture. During his sojourn in the two capitals he studied thoroughly the Tripiṭaka. After that he went back, to the circuit of Huainan[dao] and, all by himself, propagated the Buddhist cause there, in the area between the Yangzi and the Huai River, converting and saving many people. His deeds are too manifold to describe in their entirety.²³

every prefecture. In 707, two years after the end of her reign, her son, the emperor Zhongzong, ordered these temples to be renamed Longxingsi (lit. "bestirring of the dragon") to commemorate the restoration of the Li family to power. See: Weinstein (1987), p. 48.

²¹ There were different versions of Bodhisattva-precepts. In our case, Ganjin probably took the ten major and forty eight minor precepts as they are found in the *Bramalajāla-sūtra* [ch. *Fanwangjing* 梵網經, jp. *Bommōkyō*] T.1484.

²² Skr. *upasampāda*. The 250 rules of monkhood according to the *Sifenlü* Vinaya tradition.

²³ Three teachers of Ganjin appear in this paragraph – Zhiman, Daoan and Hengjing. Nothing seems to be known about Zhiman, but Daoan (653-717, biography in SGSZ T.50, p. 793a) and Hongjin (also found as Hengjing 恒景 (?-?), biography in SGSZ T.50, p. 732b), were both second generation students of the great Vinaya Master Daoxuan and famous figures in their day. Gyōnen (1240-1321), the famous historian and Kegon monk writes in his *Sangoku buppō denzu engi* 三國佛法傳通緣起 (DBZ 467, p. 18c) he writes, "The monk Ganjin belonged to the fourth patriarch generation of the Tendai [-sect] when counted from Tendai [i.e.Chiyi] or of the fifth generation when counted from Nanque [i.e.Huisi]. He received his full ordination from Zen master Hongjing, but also studied the [Ten]dai teachings. Hongjing was a close follower of Nanshan [i.e.Daoxuan]. Ganjin studied Tendai with Master Zhang'an 章安 and received the Bodhisattva-precepts from Daoan." Gyōnen continues to list more teachers, even detailing how often Ganjin had attended lectures on certain texts. The material on which his description is based is lost. In a passage in the *Kegon nishu shojigi* 華嚴二種生死義 (cited in Andō (1960), p. 53) Gyōnen gives a complete list of the monks present at Ganjin's ordination. It includes a monk

In Japan, during the fifth year of the era Tempyō (733), the monks Yōei 榮叡 and Fushō 普照 joined the embassy led by Tajihi no Mabito Hironari 丹墀真人広成 to study in China.²⁴ <T. 2089, p. 988b> In China this was the twenty-first year of the Tang dynasty era Kaiyuan 開元. The monks of the various temples in China all considered the Vinaya precepts as the principal entrance gate to the Way [of the Buddha]. Those who did not follow the precepts were not considered monks.

There, [Yōei and Fushō] understood for the first time that nobody had yet transmitted the [proper] precepts to Japan. [Therefore] they asked Daoxuan 道璿²⁵, a Vinaya Master at the Dafuxiansi-temple 大福先寺 in Luoyang, to board the ship of the Vice-ambassador Nakatomi no Ason Nashiro 中臣朝臣名代 and transmit the precepts in a preliminarily fashion.

1st Departure

[Yōei and Fushō meet Ganjin, who consents to their plea. They have a boat built and see their plans thwarted by a squabble among the members of their group]

named Fazang, who was perhaps the famous Kegon scholar. Obviously, Ganjin studied with different teachers of different schools. Specializing in the *Sifenlü* Vinaya tradition, he obtained a comprehensive understanding of the Buddhist discourse of his day.

²⁴ On this ninth Japanese embassy to the Tang 594 people on four ships went to Chang'an. One year later, on their way back, two of the ships were lost.

²⁵ This Daoxuan [jp. Dōsen] (701-760) (not to be confused with the great Vinaya Master Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667)) arrived in Japan in 736. Daoxuan /Dōsen was the first Vinaya scholar invited to Japan. His impact however, was limited, perhaps because of his youth, a lack of charisma or because he arrived in the company of other important figures. On the same ship as Daoxuan, arrived the returning student-monk Gembō and the Indian Bodhisena both of whom would later become Sōjō 僧正. From 751 until his death Daoxuan held the office called Risshi 律師, the third position in the official clerical hierarchy after the Sōjō and the Sōzu 僧都. Daoxuan had a friend in the influential politician and overseas student Kibi no Makibi 吉備真吉備 (694-775) who composed his biography after Daoxuan had died in 760.

After ten years of study in China Yōei and Fushō, wishing to return early, did not want to wait any longer for an embassy [from Japan]. They asked the monks Daohang 道航 and Chengguan 澄觀, from the Anguosi-temple 安國寺 in Chang'an to come along. They also asked the monks Deqing 德清 from Luoyang, and Hohae 如海 from [the Korean state of] Koguryō. Moreover they asked [Li] Linzong 林宗 the elder brother of [prime minister] Li Linfu 李林甫 for a letter to [his nephew] Li Cou 李湊, the [administrator of the?] Luoyang granaries.²⁶ The letter he sent ordered Li Cou to build a large ship and provide the monks with the provisions for their journey. Together with two more student-monks from Japan, <DBZ 553, p. 24b> Genrō 玄朗 and Gembō 玄法²⁷, the party left for Yangzhou²⁸.

²⁶ Of the three members of the Li family mentioned here Prime Minister Li Linfu is the most famous (see his biographies in both *Tangshu* 唐書). He was one of the most powerful Prime Ministers in Chinese history.

Li Linzong's name, on the other hand, hardly ever appears in Tang sources. In the *Quan tang wen* 全唐文, chapter 333, two short texts by Li Linfu are preserved. In the first (titled *Wei Li linfu xie xiong linzong wei taipuxiang zhuang* 為李林甫謝兄林宗為太僕卿狀 and cited in Andō (1960), p. 94) Linfu thanks the emperor for the promotion of his brother to the position of *Chief Minister of the Court of the Imperial Stud* 太僕卿. Since this was a post involved with the logistics of transportation, Li Linzong was probably the right man to ask at the time our group of monks needed a boat. Andō also found a very interesting story in the *Tang yu lin* 唐語林 (by Wang Dang 王讜 – Song Dynasty) in which Linzong appears together with the poet Bai Juyi. There must be a mistake however, either in the *Xin tangshu* or the *Tang yu lin*, because their life dates do not match (s. Andō, p. 93).

As for Li Cou, we know that he was the nephew of Li Linfu, and since Li Linzong is the only known brother of Linfu, Andō (1960, p. 96) hints at the possibility that Cou was the son of Linzong. In that case the letters would have been from father to son.

²⁷ Somewhat surprisingly, the names of these two Japanese monks do not appear in any other Chinese or Japanese sources.

²⁸ Andō (1960), in the second half of his work, provides a thorough historio-geographical study of Yangzhou city in the Tang and Song dynasties. As for the location of places mentioned in the text, Takakusu (1928) gives the geographical length and width of most of them. Since this is as detailed as it can be, I will concentrate on some of Andō's findings concerning Buddhist history, legend and lore, giving only very basic information on the geography.

In the tenth month of the first year of Tianbao 天寶 (742), the fourteenth year of Tempyō the Great Master was residing at the Damingsi-temple 大明寺 in Yangzhou, where he lectured to a large audience on the Vinaya. Yōei and Fushō went to the Damingsi, prostrated themselves at the Master's feet, and explained their cause:

“The teachings of the Buddha have flown east and reached Japan. But although these teachings are there, nobody has [properly] transmitted them. In Japan there was once Shōtoku Taishi, who said that after 200 years, the holy teachings would prosper in Japan.²⁹ Now the hour has come. We beseech the Great Master to venture to the East and take charge of the advancement [of Buddhism].”

The Great Master answered: “A long time ago I heard that the Meditation-master Huisi 慧思 from Nanque 南岳 after his demise was reincarnated as a prince in Japan to promulgate Buddhism and enlighten the people [there]³⁰. I

²⁹ This alleged saying of Shōtoku Taishi does also appear in Situo's biography of Shōtoku Taishi (preserved in the *Nihon kōsōden yōmonshō* 日本高僧傳要文抄 DBZ 468, p. 53c) and, slightly different in DBZ 544, p. 122c.

³⁰ Which would have been miraculous indeed, considering that Shōtoku (574-622) was born three years before Huisi (513-577) died. According to Andō (1960), p. 111, the legend that Shōtoku Taishi is a reincarnation of Huisi (the alleged founder of the Tiantai sect) cannot be found in any text older than Situo's *Daitō denkaishi sōmeiki daiwajō ganjin den* 大唐傳戒師僧名記大和上鑑真傳. This work, written in Japan sometime before 779, is now lost but survives in quotations. The passage recording the answer Ganjin gave to Yōei and Fushō on their request was preserved in a work called *Shōtoku taishi heishiden zatsukanbun* 聖德太子平氏雜勘文. In this quotation Ganjin first mentions Prince *Nagaya* and his thousand robes (see following FN) and then cites Chiyi 智顛 (538-597), Huisi's student and *defacto* founder of the Tendai school: “Also Tendai's Chi[yi] said: ‘In three hundred years, the texts that left my table [i.e. that I have written] will be transmitted widely in the world.’ Now two hundred years have passed since this great teacher left the world, and in this nation of the Great Tang, both clergy and lay-people are thriving mightily. The words of the sage have not been wrong. Meditation Master Chiyi had been ordained by Meditation Master and Bodhisattva Sihui [i.e. Huisi]. The same Meditation Master Sihui has reincarnated himself in Japan to become Shōtoku Taishi.” (as cited in Andō, p.111). Situo's biography of Shōtoku Taishi (DBZ 544 and DBZ 468, p. 53) is rather peculiar because

have also heard that in Japan there was King Nagaya 長屋王, who deeply revered Buddhism.³¹ He had a thousand robes made and gave them to the virtuous monks of our country; on the collars of these robes was embroidered the verse:

mountains and rivers differ from place to place
wind and moon are the same all over the world

the first half of it relates the importance of Huisi, who is described as one of the monks in the assembly that had witnessed the preaching of the Lotus-sutra on Vulture Peak. In about the middle of the biography the focus abruptly shifts to Shōtoku Taishi and his life as Buddhist. It seems we have here an attempt to legitimize the fledging Tiantai School in Japan by cleverly fusing the second patriarch of the school with Shōtoku Taishi, who at that time was already extremely popular. The Japanese Tiantai school of the late eighth century, being 'officially' introduced by Saichō, encountered massive resistance from the established Nara schools and needed any help it could get.

In a thorough study on this legend Tsuji Zennosuke 辻善之助 ("Shōtoku Taishi Eshi zenji kōshin setsu ni kansuru gi 聖徳太子慧思禪師後身説に関する疑 [Doubts concerning the theory that Shōtoku Taishi was an incarnation of Zen-master Huisi]." *Rekishī chiri* 歴史地理 53,1 (January 1929)) shows that Situo at the same time attempted to legitimize Ganjin, who was thought to carry on the teaching of Huisi/Shōtoku. The prophesy of Shōtoku (see previous FN) could therefore be taken to refer to Ganjin himself. Concerning the genesis of the legend, too, Tsuji proposes a plausible way of how Situo created it.

Interestingly, the legend of Huisi/Shōtoku made its way back to China where a critical Zanning 贊寧 (919-1001) mentions it in his *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (T.2061): "I have heard that Meditation Master [Hui]si became a king in the country of *Wa* [Japan]. Is this false? Is this true? Regarding that I say: If Huisi decided not to become a Buddha, why then a king?"

³¹ In a Japanese context the correct translation would be Prince Nagaya, but here Ganjin (if these words are his at all) is referring to a foreigner and it should be King. Cf. Hucker, Charles O.: *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford: 1985 (Reprint Teipei 1995), no.7634. Prince Nagaya (684-729) is an illustrious figure in early Japanese history, a patron of the arts and Buddhism, who became involved in a power struggle with the mighty Fujiwara family and was forced to kill himself for an alleged 'uprising' bearing his name: *Nagaya-ō no hen* 長屋王の變. The story of his having a thousand (a hundred) robes made for Chinese monks is not mentioned anywhere else. As Andō remarks, if Prince Nagaya did indeed send robes to China, it must have been with the embassy of 717 (Ando (1960), p. 317).

this I send to the sons of the Buddha³²

may our ways meet in another life

Considering this, [your] country is indeed destined to see Buddhism flourish. Who of you among my followers will fulfill this request from afar and transmit the Law to Japan?”

When he had asked this, all the monks were silent and not one answered. After a long pause the monk Xiangyan 祥彦 stepped forward and said:

“This country is too far. [Going thither] it is hard to preserve one’s life. The vast sea rolls on and on; out of a hundred who go, only one arrives. It is difficult to be incarnated in a human body. It is difficult to be born in China³³. Our practice [of the Law] is still deficient, and we have not yet obtained the fruit [of enlightenment]. This is why the assembly of monks has fallen silent and no one responded [to the call].”

The Great Master said: “This is a matter concerning the law; how can you worry about body and life? Now, since out of all these people no one will go, I will go myself.”

said: “If the Master goes, I will follow.”

Thereupon <T.2089, p. 988c> Daoxing 道興, Daohang 道航, Shending 神頂,

³² 佛子 (via 釋子 from *śakyaputrā* ‘sons of the Buddha’) i.e. monks.

³³ 人身難得。中國難生。 This is a nice example of how Chinese and Buddhist sacred geography were melded together by Chinese buddhists. The passage is a free quote from the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* (*Dabanniepanjing* 大般涅槃經, T.374) where in a list of ‘six things difficult to obtain (六事難得)’ it is said: “四難生中國、五難得人身 [the fourth thing difficult to obtain is to be born in *madhya-deśa*, the fifth is to be born with a human body]” Probably Xiangyan was not aware of the fact that 中國 (*madhya-deśa*) in this context meant Northern India rather than China, otherwise his argumentation would not make sense. For further examples of the acculturation of Buddhist geography in China see Max Deeg: “Umgestaltung buddhistischer Kosmologie auf dem Weg von Indien nach China.” in: *Religion im Wandel der Kosmologien*, Dieter Zeller (Ed.). Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1999.

Chongren 崇忍, Lingcan 靈粲, Minglie 明烈, Daomo 道默, Daoyin 道因, Fazang 法藏, Fazai 法載, Tanjing 曇靜, Daoyi 道翼, Youyan 幽巖, [the Korean] Hohae 如海, Chengguan 澄觀, Deqing 德清 and Situo 思託 all declared their intention of following the Great Master.³⁴

Now that the decision was made, [some of them] first went to East River 東河³⁵ to have a boat built. Following the letter of Li Linzong, [the administrator?] of the Yangzhou granaries, Li Cou supervised both the building of a boat and the gathering of provisions. The Great Master, as well as Yōei, Fushō and the others all stayed at the Jijisi-temple 既濟寺 where they prepared dried food. To outsiders they said the food was a gift they intended to donate to the monks at the Guoqingsi-temple 國清寺 in the Tiantai Mountains [where they intended to go] on a pilgrimage. <DBZ 553, p. 24c> This was in the second year of the era Tianbao (743).

At this time there were many attacks by pirates. In [the coastal prefectures] Taizhou 台州, Wenzhou 温州 and Mingzhou 明州 great damage was done and private and official maritime traffic came to a halt. The monk Daohang said, “Now those who venture to foreign countries to transmit the Vinaya teachings, should all be of highly virtuous conduct, their practice strict and pure. People of inferior understanding like Hohae had better stop [trying] it.” Thereupon Hohae became very angry, covered his head and went to the provincial capital where he said to the Investigation Commissioner: “Does the Commissioner know that

³⁴ Including Ganjin, Xiangyan, the four Japanese, Gembō, Genrō, Yōei and Fushō, the party consisted, therefore, of at least twenty-three monks, four of whom had come to Yangzhou with Yōei and Fushō. Of this group only five (Ganjin, Fushō, Situo, Fazai and Tanjing) actually arrived in Japan twelve years later. Interesting though it might be to know more, we know only the temple and the prefecture that Fazai and Tanjing came from (see DBZ 553, p. 28b). Also, the monk Fajin, who appears later in the story and follows Ganjin to Japan, may have been part of the group from the beginning.

³⁵ According to Chūjō, ‘East River’ might be a name for the location where the (North-South) ‘Great-transport-canal’ that connected the city of Yangzhou with the Yangzi enters the Yangzi. For a map of Yangzhou and vicinity see Andō (1960), p. 8.

there is a certain monk named Daohang who is building a ship? He wants to go to sea to work together with the pirates. There are several of them. They are preparing dried food at the Jijisi, the Kaiyuansi-temple 開元寺 and the Damingsi for an attack of five hundred pirates on the city.” The Investigation Commissioner of Huainan, Ban Jingzhai 班景儻 by name, was startled. He put Hohae in prison to have him questioned further, and sent henchmen to the temples to arrest the collaborators. [In the course of this investigation] they found the prepared food in the Jijisi, seized the Japanese monk Fushō in the Damingsi, and detained Genrō and Gembō at the Kaiyuansi. Yōei went into a pond, crouching low and facing upwards [to breathe], but unfortunately the henchmen seeing the surface of the water moving, went in and got hold of Yōei. All of them were sent to the district office for interrogation.

The monk Daohang hid among lay-people, but he too was caught and thrown into prison. He was asked, “How many collaborators with the pirates are there?” He answered, “We are not collaborators. The boat belongs to the monks [associated with] the household of Prime Minister Li Linfu’s elder brother Li Zong. We are under orders to bring offerings to the Guoqingsi in the Tiantai Mountains. Because it is too arduous to cross the mountain ranges on the overland route, we have built a ship to take the sea route. <T.2089, p. 989a> There are two letters from Li Zong [concerning this matter] at the granaries administration.” When the Investigation Commissioner sent there to inquire the reply came [that there were] indeed [two letters]. He had the letters brought over and read them. Then he said, “The venerable monk is acquitted. In these days, [however], there are three big pirate rings; you should not venture on the sea.” The boat was confiscated by the officials, [but] the various belongings of the monks were returned to them. Because of his defamatory talk, the slanderous monk Hohae was defrocked, dealt sixty blows with the cane and sent back to his homeland.

Concerning the four Japanese monks, a message was sent from Yangzhou to

the capital [Chang'an]. The Honglusi-bureau 鴻臚寺³⁶ inquired at the temple to which they had been allocated when they first arrived. The monks there said that, "these monks left the temple in an official carriage and have not returned." The Honglusi passed this information on, and on the grounds of the report by the temple, [the authorities in Chang'an] sent the following decision to Yangzhou. "The monk Yōei and the others are foreign monks who came to China to study. Every year they are given twenty-five bolts of coarse silk. Four times a year they are given appropriate robes. They are not impostors. Now that they wish to return to their countries they may do so as they desire. Following precedence they should be send to Yangzhou."

Yōei and Fushō were imprisoned in the fourth month and set free in the eighth month. [Of the four Japanese monks,] Genrō and Gembō from there on [wanted to] return to Japan [by themselves] and parted ways with [Yōei and Fushō].

2nd Departure

[In which they set out with a large load of precious goods only to suffer shipwreck early on their way.]

<DBZ 553, p. 25a> At that time Yōei and Fushō came to an agreement. They reasoned: "Our original intention had been to ask several eminent monks to transmit the Vinaya teachings and then return home. Now this order has come from Yangzhou that sends the four of us [back to Japan]. [However,] we have not [yet] acquired the teachers, and to return empty-handed would be useless. So we cannot but defy the official order and, as before, appeal to some monks to return [with us] to Japan to transmit the Vinaya teachings."

Therefore they avoided the authorities and went together to the Great Master to devise a plan. The Great Master said:

³⁶ The Honglusi was the bureau in charge of supporting and controlling the foreign official guests to the Tang court. cf. Hucker No.2906.

“Don’t be sad. With the appropriate ‘skilful means’ you will certainly be able to follow your original intention.”

He then gave them eighty strings of cash in *zhenglu* 正爐 coins³⁷ with which they bought a boat from Liu Julin 劉巨鱗, the Investigation Commissioner of the circuit Lingnandao 嶺南道. They hired a crew of eighteen men. As provisions for the sea journey they loaded: licorice, a hundred *shi* 石³⁸ of *honglümi* 紅綠米 [lit. red and green rice³⁹], thirty *shi* of *tianchi* 甜豉 [sugared beans], a hundred eighty *jin* 斤⁴⁰ of *nibusu* 牛蘇 [a kind of cheese], fifty *shi* of [dried] noodles, two cart-loads of dried *hubing* 胡餅 [small unsweetened cakes], one cart-load of dried *chengbing* 蒸餅 [lit. steamed cakes], ten thousand dried *bobing* 薄餅 [lit. slim cakes] and one cart-load of *niantou* 捻頭 [oil-baked cakes]. Also thirty lacquered dishes with covers.

Moreover, they took on board a painting of the five Buddhas of Wisdom⁴¹ and another one of a bejeweled Buddha⁴². One gold-encrusted statue. A six-panel screen 障子⁴³ depicting Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, *Mahāsamghāta-sūtra*, and the *Mahānirvaṇa-sūtra*

³⁷ Coins issued by the imperial mint, as opposed to various ‘privately’ minted ones.

³⁸ A *shi* is a measure used for both weight and volume. As a weight, one *shi* is approx. 80 kilo. The corresponding volume is between 70 and 95 liters.

³⁹ Takakusu (1928, p.448) holds that "red and green rice" means glutinous and non-glutinous rice.

⁴⁰ One *jin* is approx. 600 grams.

⁴¹ 五頂像 short for 五佛灌頂像 *wu fo jiangding xiang*. The panel probably showed the the five Buddhas of esoteric Buddhism in connection with the *abhiṣeka*-ceremony. The *abhiṣeka* is an initiation ceremony in which water (symbolising wisdom) is sprinkled on the head of a devotee. cf. M. (Mochizuki Shinko (Ed.) 望月 信孝: *Mochizuki bukkyō daijiten* (Abbr.: M.) 望月佛教大辭典, 10 vol., Tokyo: 1954-58), p. 811.

⁴² *Bao xiang* 寶像, the word appears in the Lotossutra where it clearly denotes a statue. Whether *xiang* here means ‘statue’ or ‘painted image’ (as the counting word 鋪 *pu* suggests) cannot be decided (cf. Chūjō (1990), p. 385).

⁴³ Different from today’s Japanese *shōji* these screens were probably not meant to stand freely, but rather like tapestries to be attached to a wall.

all inscribed in golden letters, and one hundred other sutras, śāstras, commentaries and sub-commentaries. A one-panel screen displaying the lunar cycle and another showing a celestial chart. One hundred and twenty *bodhimaṇḍa* banners 道場幡⁴⁴, fourteen beaded banners, eight hand-banners with jade rings, fifty sutra containers inlaid with mother-of-pearl, <T.2089, p. 989b> twenty copper jars, twenty-four floral rugs, one thousand clerical robes, one thousand clerical overcoats, one thousand clerical seat-cloths 床⁴⁵, four large copper canopies, forty bamboo-leaf canopies, twenty large copper cymbals, twenty of medium and forty-four of small size, eighty copper plates measuring one *chi* 尺⁴⁶ in diameter and two hundred of a smaller dimension, sixteen white rattan baskets, and six polychrome rattan baskets.

[Of medicine and aromatics], twenty globules of musk, and more than six hundred *jīn* in all of aloe wood, tortoiseshell-incense, incense of spikenard⁴⁷, camphor⁴⁸, an incense called *dantang* 膽唐⁴⁹, benzoin⁵⁰, light aloe wood⁵¹,

⁴⁴ On banners as Buddhist ritual implements see Nakamura Hajime 中村元 (Ed.): *Zusetsu bukkyōgo daijiten* 図説仏教語大辞典. Tokyo: Tôkyōshoseki 東京書籍, 1988, p. 542.

⁴⁵ Part of the traditional Indian equipment for monks and nuns, this rectangular piece of cloth was spread out for prostration and sitting.

⁴⁶ One *chi* is approx. 30 cm.

⁴⁷ *Nardostachys jatamansi*. Read (Bernhard E. Read: *Chinese Medicinal Plants – from the Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu*. Shanghai: 1935 [Taipei: Southern Materials Center, 1982].) No.71.

⁴⁸ *Dryobalanops aromatica*, Gaertn., Skr. *karpūra*; BSJ (Waku Hakaryū 和久博隆: *Bukkyō shokubutsu jiten* 仏教植物辞典 [Dictionary of Plants in Buddhism] (Abbr.:BSJ). Tokyo: Kokusho 国書, 1979.), p. 104.

⁴⁹ Cannot be clearly identified. Perhaps the same as *danba xiang* 膽八香, the Black Dammar, *Canarium strictum*, Roxb. (Read No. 339). Takakusu (p. 450) suggests: “peut-être s'agit-il du *long-tan* 龍膽, sorte de gentiane.”

⁵⁰ *Styrax benzoin*, Dryand., Skr. *guggula*; BSJ, p. 11.

⁵¹ For the uses of aloe wood as aromatic see the translation by Almuth Netolitzky: *Das Ling-wai Tai-ta von Chou Ch'ü-fei – Eine Landeskunde Südchinas aus dem 12. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1977. p. 117.

incense of *tagara*⁵², incense of *qingmu* 青木⁵³ and frankincense; some five hundred *jin* of *pippala* wood⁵⁴, yellow myrobalan⁵⁵, pepper, asafetida⁵⁶, crystallized sugar and sugar cane; forty hu 斛⁵⁷ of bee's honey; and eighty bundles of sugarcane stalks. [As for money] they brought ten thousand strings of bronze coins, a thousand strings of *zhenglu* coins and five thousand strings of *zibian* 紫邊⁵⁸ coins. [Moreover, they gathered] two thousand gauze hoods, thirty pairs of linen shoes and thirty bamboo hats.

Seventeen monks went aboard. Among them were Xiangyan, Daoxing, Qingde, Yōei, Fushō and Situo. <DBZ 553, p. 25b> [In addition to them there were] 85 artisans, jade-workers, painters, sculptors of wooden Buddha images 雕檀, wood and metal engravers 刻鏤, artisans who could make copies of statues and ritual implements 鑄写, embroiderers, scribes 文修⁵⁹ and stone-masons. They all boarded one ship.

In the twelfth month of Tianbao 2 (743) they set sail for the East. When they came to Langmanpu 狼满浦, they met with adverse winds and high waves and the boat was damaged by the attacking breakers. Everybody went ashore, wading up to their waists in the tide. The Great Master was lifted on a reed

⁵² Takakusu identifies this as *Ocimum basilikum*, Linn., which is a kind of basil. BSJ (p. 73) has *Tabernaemontana coronaria*, Willd., which is the Indian tree *tagara*. Incense from the *tagara* is often mentioned in Buddhist texts.

⁵³ *Aristolochia debilis*, Sieb. et Zucc..

⁵⁴ BSJ, p. 90. Takakusu has *pippalī*. For this see BSJ, p. 92.

⁵⁵ *Terminalia Chebula*, Rezt.. Skr. *harītakī*. BSJ, p. 28.

⁵⁶ *Ferula narthex*, Boiss.. Skr. *hiṅgu*. BSJ, p. 53.

⁵⁷ One *hu* is approx. 20 liters. This would amount to a lot of honey, but at any rate I guess that most of the given quantities are somewhat exaggerated. It is not clear how this list and the list of things taken along on the final attempt have been compiled. Were they remembered or did some sort of inventory (perhaps in the possession of one of Ganjin's disciples) make its way to Japan?

⁵⁸ A type of coin first minted in 621. Issuance was stopped soon thereafter but evidently the coins were still around about one hundred years later.

⁵⁹ Probably specializing in inscribing ritual implements.

stack⁶⁰ while the others made their way through the water. With the cold winter winds blowing fiercely, [all this] was extremely excruciating.

3rd Departure

[After the ship is completely lost the travelers spend some time at the Aśoka temple and pay homage to the various holy places there. Yōei is imprisoned but escapes.]

They repaired the boat and went on to Dabanshan [Island] 大坂山⁶¹ but could not moor the boat there so they continued on to Xiayushan [Island] 下嶼山 where they stayed for a month, waiting for good winds. Finally they set sail for Sangshishan [Island] 桑石山, but because of the strong wind and high waves, the ship could not reach the shore, however hard they tried. In one moment they were swept away from the steep shore, in the next they were thrown back on the rocks again. The boat was damaged and men and ship went ashore. Lacking both rice and water, they suffered from hunger and thirst for three days. When the wind and waves were calm again, some fishermen came to their rescue and brought them water and rice. After another five days had passed, an official on his way back to [Zhen]hai came by and inquired about their situation. They petitioned the Prefect of Mingzhou 明州 Prefecture to provide accommodation, and they were lodged in the Aśoka temple⁶² on a mountain in the district Mao 鄞⁶³.

⁶⁰ For a thirteenth century image of this and other scenes see the illustrated scroll dated 1298. This beautiful *Tōseiden emakimono* is available in print. (Kadokawa Shoten Henshūbu 角川書店編集部 (Ed.): *Nihon emakimono zensho* 日本絵巻物全書. Vol. XXI (*Tōseiden emaki* 東征傳絵巻). Tokyo: Kadokawa 角川書店, 1964.)

⁶¹ One of the Saddle Islands (Ma'an dao 馬鞍島). Takakusu (1928), p.452, has "île Gusleff".

⁶² An outline of the history of this temple can be found under the entry A-iku-ō-ji in M.vol. I, p.6.

⁶³ According to Chūjō (1990), p. 370, this mountain (called Maoshan) is a few kilometers east of today's Ningbo. Takakusu translates "Tsuian-hien-chan 鄞縣山" and annotates "Le texte porte Meou 鄞, mais c'est une erreur pour Tsuian 鄞". Takakusu does not further explain his change.

At this temple there was an Aśoka stūpa. In ancient times Mingzhou was a district of Yuezhou 越州 Prefecture, but in 733⁶⁴ following a petition by Wang Shutong 王叔通, the District Magistrate 県令 of Mao District in Yuezhou, Mao District was separated from Yuezhou. [Thus] Mingzhou Prefecture was established and divided into three districts; [joined with Mao District] it was ordered to become a prefecture with four districts. Today it is called Yuyao 餘姚 city⁶⁵. Concerning this Aśoka stūpa⁶⁶, it [is said] that a hundred years after the death of the Buddha there was the Iron-wheel King 鐵輪王⁶⁷, with the name of Aśoka. <T.2089, p. 989c> [This stūpa] is one of the 84,000 stūpas Aśoka built with the help of demons and spirits. It is made neither of gold nor jade, neither of stone nor clay, neither of bronze nor iron. It is of a dark purple hue and its engravings are extraordinary.

[The engravings] on one side depict the [Jātaka-] story of the Prince [Mahā-] Sattva 薩埵 [sacrificing himself to a hungry tigress].⁶⁸ Another side depicts the [Jātaka-] story [of the Buddha, as a King named Śivi (pali: Sivi, jap.: Shibi 尸毘), during one of his former existences,] gouging out his own eyes [to give them to

Andō (1960), p. 145 has no problem with ‘Mao mountain’, which is indeed the name found on the map.

⁶⁴ According to the official records in the *Tanghuiyao* 唐会要 (ch. 71), Wang submitted his petition five years later in 738 (see the quote in Chūjō (1990), p. 371).

⁶⁵ This is probably a mistake. Yuyao never gained city *du* 都 status; it is listed as *district* in the official records (Chūjō (1990), p. 371).

⁶⁶ See also Daoxuan’s description of it (quoted in Andō (1960), p. 162). This particular Aśoka stūpa was actually deposited in a larger wooden building and, according to Daoxuan, about fifty centimeters high, with a side length of twenty centimeters. A picture of a miniature stūpa similar to the one mentioned in the text can be found in Andō (1960), plates 19 and 20.

⁶⁷ The Iron-wheel-king is one of four ‘Wheel Kings’. He is said to have reigned over the southern part of the world, i.e. India. The relationship between these Wheel Kings and the *cakravartin* 傳輪王, the ‘Wheel-turning King’, which is a more common appellation for Aśoka, is explained in M.3827a.

⁶⁸ One of the most famous Jātaka stories. It was transmitted to China at an early stage and has been part of Chinese Buddhist lore ever since the later Han.

a brahmin].⁶⁹ Another side depicts the [Jātaka-] story [in which the Buddha, again as the king of a mighty kingdom,] cuts off his own head [as part of his Bodhisattva practice]. [The fourth] side depicts the story [where the Buddha, again in his incarnation as Shibi, cut some flesh out of his thigh to] feed a hungry eagle.⁷⁰

On top of the stūpa there is no 'dew-catching plate' *lupan* 露盤.⁷¹ There is a bell suspended inside it.

The stūpa lay buried in the earth and no one knew it was there. Only the square foundations [of the stūpa-building] were left, rising several meters high. It was overgrown by grass and bushes and hardly anyone came to the spot.

In the first years of the Jin Dynasty a certain Liu Sahe 劉薩訶 from Lishi-west-of-the-river in Bingzhou 并州 Prefecture died and went to the underworld, the kingdom of Yama. Yama told him [about the stūpa] and ordered him to [return to the world of living beings, become a monk and] dig it out.⁷²

⁶⁹ *Śīvi-Jātaka*. No. 499 in Edward B. Cowell (Ed. & Transl.): *The Jātaka - or Stories of the Buddha's former births*. 6 vols. Cambridge University Press, 1895 (Reprint: Delhi: Motilal 1994). This is related to the story of Prince Kuṇāla as told by Xuanzang (Beal (1884), p. 139).

⁷⁰ All four of these Jātakas are among the most famous rebirth stories, their connection to stūpas in India is attested by Faxian 法顯 (? ~ 422) who found stūpas in North India, where the Jataka stories had supposedly taken place and which people called the 'four great stupas' 四大塔 (s. Legge (1886), p. 30-32). It seems the miniature stūpa mentioned in the *Tōseiden* merged the 'four great stūpas' that Faxian had seen in India into one by depicting each the four stories on one side.

In a count by Mookerji (Mookerji, Radhakumud: *Asoka*. London 1928 [Reprint: Delhi: Motilal 1995], p. 82), the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang 玄奘 (600-664) mentions 80 stūpas. At Udyāna he found a depiction of the Bodhisattva as Śīvi slicing his body to feed the bird of prey. In two reliefs at Taxila, the first showed how the Bodhisattva cut off his head, the second told a story similar to that of Prince Sattva, who lost his eyes. Finally, the story of the Bodhisattva feeding the hungry tigress with his body was seen by Xuanzang at Sinhapur as one of three reliefs on an Aśoka stūpa.

⁷¹ Nakamura Hajime (1988), p. 722.

⁷² Andō (1960, p. 145) has found several more versions of this story. See the introduction for an

From the Jin through the Song, Qi, Liang, and until the Tang Dynasty many a towers and halls were built [at this temple]. On a peak southeast of Maoshan, there is an imprint of the right foot of a Buddha and on a small hill northwest [of Maoshan] there is an imprint of his left foot. [The imprints were] one *chi* four *cun* long, five *cun* eight *fen* wide at the toes, four and a half *cun* across the heel and three *cun* deep.⁷³ <DBZ 553, p. 25c> The [Buddha] mark of the wheel with a thousand spokes, and a fish pattern were clearly visible. According to a legend, these were the footprints of the Buddha Kāśyapa.⁷⁴

Two miles to the east there was a holy well next to a road. [The water in it] was about one meter deep, it was clear and cool and tasted sweet. In heavy rain the well did not overflow, and in times of drought it did not dry out. In it there was an eel⁷⁵, one *chi* and nine *cun* long [half a meter]. Legend had it that it was a Bodhisattva protecting the stūpa, and some people made offerings of incense and flowers to it. Lucky people saw it at once, but unlucky people, though they might try for many years, could not see it. [Then] there were people who erected a building over the well, with walls and roof made of the seven treasures⁷⁶. Thereupon, the well's water rose and washed [the structure] away.⁷⁷

example.

⁷³ 42 cm long, 18 cm and 13,5 cm wide and 9 cm deep.

⁷⁴ Kāśyapa is one of the Buddhas that appeared before Gautama Buddha. For *buddhapada*, 'footprint of the Buddha' see: Anna Maria Quagliotti: *Buddhapadas*. Kamakura: Institute of Silk Road Studies 1998 (For the *buddhapada* of Pratyekabuddhas see p. 109-110).

⁷⁵ *Man yu* 鰻魚 some editions have *lin yu* 鱗魚 which could be rendered "scaly one" (see Fn 77 below).

⁷⁶ Skr. *sapta ratna*: gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, agate, rubies or red pearls, cornelian.

⁷⁷ According to Ando (1960, p. 154) the earliest occurrence of the Bodhisattva-eel can be found in chapter 38 (On Revered Stupas) of the encyclopedia *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (T.2122, dated 668) by Daoshi 道世. There, in a passage on the King Aśoka temple the story goes: "Two *li* north of the temple there is a holy well. In the depths of this pond, there is an eel, whom the common people call the 'Bodhisattva Fish'. When people came to the pond and prayed, the fish uttered a sound. Around the end of the Sui dynasty, a bandit feigned a prayer, the fish appeared and the bandit lashed out with his knife. The fish, its tail being severed, from then on stayed hidden under water and though called did not come out again. Once a worshipper begged him

In the third year of the era Tianbao (744), the monks of the Longxingsi-temple 龍興寺 in Yuezhou 越州 petitioned the Great Master to lecture on the Vinaya and administer the monastic vows. Also [people] came from Hangzhou 杭州, Huzhou 湖州 and Xuanzhou 宣州 and invited him to lecture on the Vinaya. The Great Master followed [their call] and went from one place to the other giving lectures and administering the monastic vows. <T.2089, p. 990a> [After this journey] he went back to the Aśoka temple on Maoshan. At that time monks from Yuezhou learned that the Great Master wanted to go to Japan. So they told the prefectural authorities that a Japanese monk called Yōei had coaxed the Great Master in consenting to go to Japan. Following this, the District Defender 縣尉 of Shanying [District] 山陰 [縣] sent [his henchmen] to the house of [the patron?] Wang Zheng 王蒸, where they seized Yōei. He was put in shackles and led off to the capital. When they came through Hangzhou he lay down [as if] sick and asked for a respite to cure himself. After some time it was said that [Yōei] had died of his illness; thus he was freed.

4th Departure

[Having travelled overland through the Tiantai Mountains, the travelers on their way to the coast are detained by the authorities, who were tipped off by Ganjin's disciple Lingyou, and are sent back to Yangzhou.]

The Masters Yōei and Fushō, in their attempt to search for the Law, suffered unspeakable hardships. But their will was firm and unrelenting and they never passionately to appear, but all he did was to spurt some water. Then once there was a monk who had heard about the stūpa and came to worship it. The place was deserted and barren and it was difficult to find food. However, an old woman with a sore foot came, prepared a meal for him and left. This happened day after day and the monk thought this strange. Secretly, he followed her and found that she was entering the pond. He concluded that she was a shape-changed form of the fish.” Andō has followed the motive thoroughly through the Chinese sources. When the Aśoka stūpa was moved to Hangzhou in 916, the legend moved, too. A pond with the name Ling man jing 靈鰻井 could be found in Hangzhou up until the nineteenth century. Andō thinks the eel legend has evolved out of the traditional Chinese belief in dragons, which would explain why *lin* 鱗 “scaley” is sometimes used for *man* 鰻 “eel”.

retreated or felt any regret. The Great Master was very pleased with this and ready to fulfill their request. Therefore he sent the monk Fajin 法進⁷⁸ together with two helpers and some money to Fuzhou 福州 to buy a boat and prepare the provisions for the journey. [Then] the Great Master led Xiangyan, Yōei, Fushō, Situo and more than thirty other monks in a rite for their departure from the Aśoka stūpa. They paid a visit to the footprints of the Buddha [Kāśyapa], made offerings at the holy well to the fish-bodhisattva that protected the stūpa, and shortly thereafter left the mountains and the prefecture. The Prefect [of Mingzhou] Lu Tongxiang 廬同宰, several monks and elder lay-person treated them to a vegetarian feast. They also provided them with food for the journey and with an escort that accompanied them until they reached the Baishecunsi-temple 白社村寺. Here [Ganjin had] a stūpa repaired and urged the people to build a hall of worship. [From there] they arrived at the Baiquansi-temple 白泉寺 in Ninghai 寧海 District of Taizhou 台州 Prefecture, where they spent the night. The following day, after breakfast, they went on into the mountains. The peaks towered high and the way was long. At dusk, when night fell black, they had to wade through knee-deep water, their eyes dazzled by the drifting snow. Many of them wept silently as they suffered the bitter cold together. The next day they [managed] to cross the mountain range and entered the district Tangxing 唐興. In the evening they arrived at the Guoqingsi-temple 國清寺.

“The pine-trees and the bamboo flourishing profusely”, “gem-trees glistening along the sides of the path.”⁷⁹ The treasure pagoda with its roofs [ornated with]

⁷⁸ Fajin, who would eventually follow Ganjin to Japan, is mentioned here for the first time. We do not know for how long he had been with the group.

⁷⁹ The first part of this line was perhaps inspired by the poem *Shudu* 蜀都 by Zuo Taizhong (cf. *Wen xuan* 文選, compiled by Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531), annotated by Li Shan 李山. Teipei: Shimen tushu 石門圖書, 1976. 4.16b. Translated by David R Knechtges: *Wen xuan – sections of refined literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982-1996. Vol.1, p. 347.). There, however, “pine and cypress (*songbai* 松柏)” flourish profusely, not, as in the *Tōseiden*, “pine and bamboo (*songhuang* 松篁)”.

The second part is from a poem called *You Tiantaishan* 遊天台山 by Sun Chou (cf. *Wen xuan* (1976) 11.8a). Sun Chou’s ode is a common description in the travelogues of Japanese monks

jade appeared beautiful and dignified. Its majesty and splendor surpassed any description. <DBZ 553, p. 26a> Sun Chou's "*Ode on the Tiantai Mountains*" does not fathom a thousandth part [of the scenerie's beauty].

The Great Master visited the sacred sites [of the area]. Leaving Shifeng 始豐 District, they entered Linhai 臨海 District. Guided by the White-peak mountains, following a river they arrived in Huangyan 黃巖 District, from there they took the road to the city of Yongjia 永嘉 [a port in Zhejiang]. They stayed overnight in the Chanlinsi-temple 禪林寺. The next morning they had an early breakfast and departed. They were on their way to Wenzhou 温州 [i.e. Yongjia], when suddenly a messenger from the Investigation Commissioner caught up with them.

[The message he brought] was to the following effect: Lingyou 靈祐, a disciple of the Great Master in Yangzhou and the elder monks of various temples [there], agree in saying: "Our great Master has made a vow to go to the country of Japan. For several years he has made his way across mountains and journeyed on the sea with great hardship. The dark sea is endless and no one can foretell whether he will live or die [in his attempt to cross]. Together we now petition the authorities to intercept [his travels] and order him to stay. Furthermore we ask that this be forwarded to the prefectures and districts."

Thereupon the Investigation Commissioner of Jiangdong 江東 sent henchmen to the various prefectures. First, they seized the temple elders of the temples where [Ganjin and his party] had come through and then they interrogated them in prison. <T. 2089, p. 990b> Soon they tracked [Ganjin's group] to the Chanlinsi and got hold of the Great Master. The henchmen encircled [them] many times for their 'protection' and brought them to the Investigation Commissioner's office [in Yangzhou]. In the prefectures and districts they passed

visiting the Guoqingsi in the Tiantai Mountains. (For later instances of its use see: Robert Borgen: "The case of the Plagiaristic Journal. A Curious Passage from Jōjin's Diary." in *New Leaves: Studies and Translations of Japanese Literature in Honor of Edward G. Seidensticker*, ed. A. Gatten and A. Chambers. Univ. of Michigan Press, 1993.)

through, the Great Master was welcomed by the officials there, who came to see him and pay their respect. They were highly pleased and immediately set free the temple elders they had imprisoned. The Investigating Commissioner ordered Ganjin to live in his temple [at Yangzhou] as before. He further let the temples elders promise not to let [Ganjin] go to another country again.

When the clerics and lay-people of the various prefectures heard that the Great Master had returned to Yangzhou, they all arranged food, clothing, furniture and medicines to be offered. They vied with each other to come [and see Ganjin], to celebrate, shake his hand and congratulate him on the end of his hardships. Alone, [in all this] the Great Master was sad and listless. He strongly rebuked Lingyou and kept frowning at him. Everyday Lingyou repented and begged for [Ganjin's] forgiveness. Every night Lingyou stood upright from the early evening to the early morning [without sleeping] to apologize for his deed. After sixty days the elders of the various temples came again to apologize and ask for forgiveness. [At that time] the Great Master finally forgave them.